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Introduction

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Sport and adventure tourism are two areas with much appeal to modern society. Different though they are conceptually and historically, they tend to represent two sides of the same coin, namely the increasing interest in physical activity and outdoor adventure among people today. This development seems to be due to several factors. One of them is clearly the continued leisure revolution in society, where a growing number of people are able to enjoy a greater proportion of free time from work, domestic chores, etc. Another factor is the recent media explosion, where a wide range of sports events and adventurous activities suddenly have become part and parcel of our daily lives, through virtual experiences on television screens, computers, smart phones, etc. To these two, one may add, the increased commoditization of sport and adventure, which has turned these areas into proper businesses, providing a livelihood for large groups of people. In the case of sport, this trend is marked by growing financial support of different sporting activities, mainly through various types of sponsorships. In the case of adventure tourism, the same development applies and has also rescued some disadvantaged areas and sectors of the population from poverty and created tourism opportunities for areas with little or no agricultural or industrial power.

Sport, as we know it, is thought to have originated some 3 000 years ago in China. At that time, it consisted primarily of preparations for war or training as a hunter, a situation which may also explain why so many of the early sporting activities involved the throwing of objects and one-on-one sparring with opponents. A milestone in the development of the modern concept came with the introduction of the Olympic Games in Greece 776 B.C. This era saw the emergence of a greater variety of sporting activities, such as wrestling, jumping and discus throwing as well as various foot and chariot races. Since then, sport has developed its forms gradually over the centuries, becoming more organized and regulated, and giving birth also to the notion of team



sport, as practised in, for example, football, floor bandy, ice-hockey and rugby. Accordingly, today, we tend to think of sport as organized physical activities in which athletes, players or teams compete against each other on the basis of a predefined set of rules or a code of practice.

Adventure tourism, on the other hand, has a much more recent history. Relying on features of the natural terrain, and generally requiring some specialized equipment, it is thought to have appeared in its modern sense in the mid-1800s, when adventurers began to push the limits of mountaineering and river rafting. Two specific events stand out as exponents of this early trend: the first climbing of the Matterhorn in 1865 and the descent of the Colorado River in 1869. Over the years, such adventurous activities have been popularized by the media and thus become more of a public pastime, bringing larger groups of people out of their comfort zone. Aided to some extent by technological invention, the range of activities has also been extended to include new disciplines, such as kayaking, boating, diving, surfing, snowboarding, ice climbing, snow-cat driving and various aerial adventures.

Given the noted interest in sport and adventure tourism in recent years, it is only natural that these activities have also attracted some scholarly attention. Thus, there are a host of academic studies published on the topic of sport in its different forms. Usually, such accounts take a sociological perspective (Hargreaves & McDonald, 2000; Guilianotti, 2005; Spaaij, 2011) or an anthropological one (Blanchard & Cheska, 1985; Sands, 2002; McGarry, 2010; Besnier et al., 2018), but there are also a fair share of studies focusing on linguistic issues, e.g. Ferguson (1983), Seagrave et al. (2006), Lipoński (2009) Callies & Levin (2019). Within linguistics, the language of football has received particular attention, either generally, as in Müller (2007), Lavric et al. (2008), Bergh & Ohlander (2012), or from the point of view of various subdisciplines, as in Balteiro (2011, 2018, 2019), Ringbom (2012), Bergh & Ohlander (2017, 2018).

A similar development can be noted within the realm of adventure tourism. Here we find studies of a mainly sociological or anthropological nature, such as Midol & Broyer (1995). Works on tourism and tourism management include Cloke & Perkins (1998), Pomfret (2006), Buckley (2006, 2007, 2010), Roberts (2011), amongst others. As for linguistics proper, there are studies dealing mainly with adventure terminology, e.g. Turčová et al. (2005), Dragoescu & Merghes (2012).

In spite of the great growth of these activities, in terms of both practitioners and professionals involved in their provision, research on the language of sport and adventure tourism does unfortunately not seem to have developed in parallel fashion. This is a somewhat surprising situation, given the proliferation of sport and outdoor activities in general, and the great economic impact they have had on the economies in Europe and elsewhere. Still, there is a clear need for academic studies on professional languages and languages for specific purposes, not least those reflecting sport and adventure tourism. This is necessary, arguably, in order to contribute not only to the education of present and future sports professionals, but also to cater for the needs of sports translators and commentators. In addition, such work is also likely to contribute to the establishment of a proper platform for general communication between sporting officials, athletes and lay people.

The present volume can be seen as a new, state-of-the art contribution to the field of scholarly studies on sport and adventure tourism. In particular, it contains eight original articles, which may be grouped into the following topics: (1) the language of sport and adventure tourism in general, (2) the language of football, (3) the language of surfing, (4) the language of running and (5) the language of boating. Three of the articles deal with the specific use of syntactic, semantic or lexical elements (stance markers, synonyms and Anglicisms) in sport and adventure tourism (Wilton, Klégr & Bozděchová, and De la Cruz & Tejedor, respectively); two focus on the language of football (Bergh & Ohlander, and Nomdedeu), whereas the other three address linguistic issues related to either surfing, running or boating (Granvik, Jeandidier, and Brooke, respectively).

The volume begins with Bergh & Ohlander's "A hundred years of football English. A dictionary study on the relationship of a special language to general language", where the authors address the question of how dictionaries reflect ongoing lexical changes. Particular attention is paid to special language elements that become part of the general language, as well as to those that become increasingly specialized, occasionally becoming almost incomprehensible to non-specialists. The second article, authored by Brooke, adopts a systemic functional approach to the analysis of the language and discourse of dragon-boating. exploring the rich schema of unique semiotic associations in Hong Kong and Singapore. These two articles are followed by five papers reflecting the pervasive influence of English on selected sports and outdoor activities, either due to the origin of the sport itself or to the status of English as a *lingua franca* worldwide. The studies deal with the question of sports Anglicisms, their presence and incorporation in different European languages, namely Spanish, Portuguese, French and Czech. Accordingly, while De la Cruz and Tejedor deal with sports and adventure Anglicisms found in recent texts from specialized websites and printed magazines in Spanish, Granvik focuses on the presence of English loan words in both Portuguese and Spanish surf talk and its descriptions. Jeandidier addresses the question of Anglicisms in French, where attention is paid to the semantic extension and precision of the term running, whereas Klégr and Bozděchová concentrate on how Anglicisms in sports terminology tend to be replaced or supplemented by vernacular terms in Czech, creating new relations of synonymy in the language. Unlike these, Nomdedeu, using a historical approach, examines the lexical contribution of fifty-three football-related Anglicisms to the history of Spanish. Finally, in the last paper of the volume, Wilton applies an ethnographic conversation analytic approach to explore the use of epistemic stance markers in professional sports interviews. The analysis looks at how such markers contribute to the foregrounding of the players' perspective as well as to the maintenance, negotiation and progression of the interviews.

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E s s a y s

A Hundred Years of Football English: A Dictionary Study on the Relationship of a Special Language to General Language*

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ABSTRACT

General-purpose dictionaries may be assumed to reflect the core vocabulary of current language use. This implies that subsequent editions of a desk dictionary should mirror lexical changes in the general language. These include cases where special-language words have become so familiar to the general public that they may also be regarded as part of general language. This is the perspective of the present study on English football vocabulary, where a set of well-known football words – *dribble*, *offside*, etc. – are investigated as to their representation in five editions of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1911–2011), and in four of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (1948–1995). Two other dictionaries are also consulted: the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2010) and – for first occurrences of the words studied – the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It is shown that, over the past hundred years, football vocabulary has gradually, at an accelerating pace, become more mainstream, as demonstrated by the growth of such vocabulary (e.g. *striker*, *yellow card*) in subsequent dictionary editions. Yet, some football terms make an esoteric impression, e.g. *nutmeg* ‘play the ball through the opponent’s legs’. Interestingly, such words also tend to be included in present-day dictionaries. Thus, football language is in a state of constant flux, responding to developments in and around the game. This is reflected in the dictionaries studied. In conclusion, due to the status and media coverage of the “people’s game” today, English general-purpose dictionaries have increasingly come to recognize much of its vocabulary as part of general language.



Keywords: football language, diachronic perspective, general-purpose dictionaries, learners' dictionaries, lexical change

1. Introduction

Football, as a popular pastime in some form or other, has been around for ages (Goldblatt, 2007: Ch. 1). One indication of this, on British soil, is that, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (*OED*), the first occurrence of the word football dates back to the Middle Ages (1409). Football is also referred to by Shakespeare, in *The Comedy of Errors* and *King Lear*, in a way implying that, in those early days, football's reputation was at a constant low, owing to its extremely rough and violent nature, occasionally resulting in fatal casualties.¹ Football at that time could certainly be called "the people's game", although in a different sense from now, when the world's most popular sport is also commonly referred to as "the beautiful game". Thus the historical trajectory of football can, in several respects, be considered a true from-rags-to-riches tale (cf. also Harvey, 2005).

In contrast to the long and winding road of football, football language cannot boast a very long history, the modern game being invented, i.e. regulated, in Britain in the early 1860s. Thus, football language – loosely defined as the elements making up football-related communication (spoken and written) at various levels, on and off the pitch – was, to begin with, synonymous with English football language, later to be converted to other varieties along with the international spread of the game, where English loans played a substantial role (Bergh & Ohlander, 2012b, 2017). Further, due to the fast-rising popularity of the game from the late 19th century onwards, football language as a special language, with a vocabulary of its own, gradually came to infiltrate general language, continuously blurring and modifying the boundary between them.² For example, as an indication of this state of affairs, some familiarity with football language, even among those not directly involved in the game as players or spectators, was becoming increasingly common in the first few decades of the 20th century, not least in Britain (Bergh & Ohlander, 2018: 256–257).

In this paper, the relationship between English football language and general language over time, with special regard to vocabulary, is our main focus. Such a diachronic perspective also involves change *within* football vocabulary, mainly an incremental process – for example, the word *striker* was introduced in the 1960s – although leaving in its wake a fair number of more or less obsolete expressions; for instance, the term *centre half* (along with *left-half* and *right-half*) started to disappear in the latter half of the 20th century following the emergence of new tactical formations (cf. Wilson, 2008: 82).

In the present context, the relatively condensed history of English football language may be seen as an advantage, in that there should be comparatively few completely dark linguistic corners. Further, given the brief time span of the modern game, the influence of historical and social change on its vocabulary over the past

hundred years or so should be comparatively straightforward to trace. In many ways, today's football language can be viewed as a mirror not only of technical, tactical and organizational changes in or around the game, but also – in some layers of its vocabulary – of changes in society at large, whether of a political, financial or sociocultural nature. For instance, from an international perspective, the language policies of dictatorial regimes – and not only those – in 20th-century Europe often implied purist attitudes towards foreign loanwords, not least football terms, giving rise to the replacement of early English direct loans by loan translations or more independent indigenous creations (for discussion, see Görlach, 2002; cf. also Bergh & Ohlander, 2012a: 293–298).

Such wider sociolinguistic issues, however, are not relevant to the present context. Our study of English football vocabulary will stick to the home turf of football language, being a diachronic, lexicological and lexicographic investigation of a sample of English football words and their spread into general language. In many cases, it may be expected, there should be a fairly transparent causal and temporal relationship between the first occurrence of a new term in the language, and its subsequent acceptance by language users, and the underlying cause or “event” – e.g. a rule change or tactical innovation – that prompted it. Obviously, there was no need for terms like *crossbar*, *penalty line* and *centre circle* before the crossbar, penalty line and centre circle were introduced in the 1880s; similarly, the term *goal net* would have to wait until 1892 to make its first appearance (Goldblatt 2007: 34). Other words or phrases may be more difficult to pinpoint as to their first occurrence, especially such terms as have resulted from more gradual changes of, say, a technical or tactical nature. When, for example, did expressions like *one-two*, *through ball*, *offside trap* and *keep a clean sheet* first turn up? Or *ball watching* and *holding midfielder*? In general, for dating of first occurrences, the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* is an indispensable tool, even though some very special football expressions may elude even this outstanding reference work, at least for a while.

As will already have appeared, however, first occurrences are not the only, perhaps not even the most intriguing, historical aspect of football language; nor is it the main concern of this study, aimed at illuminating the special–general language interface of English football vocabulary. It should thus be of interest to determine, as far as possible, when a certain term may be said to have become part of general language – and, possibly, how long it took after its first recorded occurrence. For example, when may football terms like *free kick* and *penalty*, or *striker* and *yellow card*, be said to have “entered” general language? And why did some terms take longer than others?

Needless to say, answers to such seemingly simple questions can never be an exact science. For one thing, general language is not a well-defined entity; nor, indeed is special language (cf. Sager et al., 1980: 68). In particular, the underlying problem concerns how to devise and design a method to make the somewhat woolly notion of general language accessible to empirical investigation in more concrete, operational terms. What does it mean to say that a football word like *free kick* or *striker* is, or has become, part of general language? On what grounds, except purely intuitive or

impressionistic, can such a claim plausibly be made? More specifically, what manageable criterion may be applied for a football word, whether of old or more recent provenance, of an exclusively football-specific or a more general sporting nature, to be considered part of general language? This basic question, among others, will be further discussed below.

2. Aim, material and method

This section will give a more precise account of the outline of the study sketched in the introductory section – its overall aim and basic research questions, the lexical material investigated and the methodological framework and design of the study.

2.1. Aim

As will already have appeared, the overall aim of the present study is to explore the relationship between football vocabulary, the core of the special language associated with football in a wide sense, and general language. More specifically, this kind of investigation relates to the time span between a football word's first documented (written) occurrence in a footballing context, i.e. with a recognizable football sense, and its first appearance as a football term in an ordinary, non-specialist dictionary, i.e. a dictionary aimed at the general reader rather than a dictionary specifically intended for those with a special interest in football.

In more narrow terms, then, our overall aim will be primarily realized by investigating to what extent a selection of English football terms are represented, if at all, in different editions of a general-purpose dictionary, and also, for comparative purposes, in different editions of a learner's dictionary for foreign students of English.

The chronological perspective in our study means that questions such as the following are brought to the fore: When did a certain football word make its first appearance in English, as recorded in the *OED*? When was the word first included in a general-purpose dictionary, such as the *Concise Oxford Dictionary (COD)*, and in a learner's dictionary, such as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD)*? How fast are changes in football vocabulary – in particular, the introduction of new terms, for whatever reason – reflected in general language, i.e. included in the dictionaries investigated? Is there any difference between early football words and more recent ones with regard to the time elapsing before a certain word is included in a general-purpose or learner's dictionary? Is there evidence of a closer relationship between football vocabulary and general language nowadays than, say, a hundred years ago and, if so, what may be the reasons for this? Other questions include: What differences, if any, may be noted between dictionaries as regards coverage of football words? How specific – or exclusive – to football are the football words accounted for? These and related questions will be discussed at some length in section 3.

2.2. Material investigated

English football language comprises thousands of words and expressions relating to various aspects of the game, referring to players and activities on the pitch, equipment and rules, tactical and technical dimensions, spectators and media, etc. The approach taken here is to use as our basis what we consider a representative selection of football vocabulary, older as well as more recently added items, reflecting both the core of the game itself and somewhat more peripheral perspectives.

The football terminology providing a basis for the present study includes 40 English football terms. All of them may be considered relatively basic to the game in its various contexts. The main part consists of the 25 football words used in the studies by Bergh & Ohlander (2012a, 2017), in turn taken from the compilation of Anglicisms presented in Görlach (2001). However, Görlach's collection is limited to words adopted as direct loans in at least one of the 16 European languages included in his material. This means, among other things, that football words like *forward* and *offside*, appearing as direct loans in a number of languages, are included in his material, whereas words like *free kick* and *midfield* are not, usually rendered as loan translations in the same languages. Due to these limitations in Görlach's study, it was deemed necessary to add a further 15 words to our selection, a piece of discretionary sampling with a view to extending and complementing the lexical basis of our investigation, making it more representative of football language at large. All in all, the words making up our sample may be regarded as belonging to mainstream football language, although, to be sure, some of them are undoubtedly of a more narrowly specialist – opaque – nature than others, e.g. *nutmeg* and *sweeper*.

Among the 40 terms, the majority are simple words or derivatives (e.g. *dribble*, *supporter*), while a dozen are compounds (e.g. *crossbar*, *kick-off*);³ one is an adjective-plus-noun phrase (*yellow card*). Most of the words are nouns (e.g. *corner*, *hooligan*, *penalty*), reflecting the fact that nouns are, generally speaking, more common than verbs and adjectives, football language being no exception. A number of words display dual wordclass membership, functioning as, for instance, both nouns and verbs (e.g. *draw*, *dribble*, *score*, *tackle*). In our study, however, wordclass membership is largely irrelevant: for example, if a word like *dribble* is first documented as a verb or a noun does not matter as long as its meaning is clearly related to what may be seen as a football context. The word *head*, primarily used as a noun in general language, is normally used as a verb in football language.

From a semantic point of view, the 40 lexical items chosen represent different layers, or domains, of football terminology. Some belong to the very core of the game, closely linked to players and events on the pitch, e.g. *back*, *dribble*, *midfield*, *striker*, *shoot*; some refer to the pitch itself, e.g. *crossbar*, *goal*, *goal line*. The rules ("laws") of the game are reflected by words like *free kick*, *handball*, *offside*, *penalty*, and *yellow card*. Others belong to what may be called its periphery, e.g. *coach*, *hooligan*, *supporter*. As mentioned earlier, a few terms are semantically very specific, e.g. *offside*, defined in the following elaborate – yet incomplete – way in the 12th edition (2011) of the *COD*: '(in games such as football) occupying a position on the field where playing

the ball ... is not allowed, generally through being between the ball and the opponent's goal'; a hundred years earlier, the 1st edition of the *COD* defined *offside* more briefly: 'in football, between goal and opponents [sic] goal'. Other football terms, such as *score* and *team*, have wider reference, well beyond football. This is related to the fact that most expressions that are part of football language are words with wider contextual reach, i.e. they tend to be used in a variety of sports, as well as in other settings, e.g. *derby*, *goal*, *match*, *substitute*, *team*. They should, nonetheless, be seen as representing the base of football language, which is thus, to a large extent, made up of words and phrases that are part of sports language in general, alongside their potential for football-oriented reference. In other words, football vocabulary does not only include words that are exclusive to football (cf. Bergh & Ohlander, 2012b: 16–17). At the same time, some terms, although in a clear minority, are indeed more or less exclusive to football, e.g. *head*, *kick-off*, *nutmeg* and *side-foot*.

The following table provides a list of the 40 words selected (cf. also Appendix 1):

back	free kick	kick-off	shoot
coach	goal	libero	side-foot
corner	goal line	linesman	soccer
cross	goalpost	match	striker
crossbar	handball	midfield	substitute
derby	hands	nutmeg	supporter
draw	hat-trick	offside	sweeper
dribble	head	pass	tackle
football	hooligan	penalty	team
forward	keeper	score	yellow card

Table 1. The 40 football words used in the present study

2.3. Method

One of the main methodological problems of this study relates to the somewhat nebulous notion of general language. In our view, as suggested earlier, a practicable way of approaching this issue, and the overall aim of the present study, involves a comparison between the first documented occurrence of the football words specified in Table 1 and their inclusion in, on the one hand, a general-purpose desk dictionary and,

on the other, a learner's dictionary. More specifically, we use five editions (1911–2011), of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary (COD)* – its 12th edition (2011) retitled the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary (COED)* – and, for comparative purposes, four editions (1948–1995) of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD)*, the first two editions (1948, 1963) titled *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Apart from these two dictionaries, we have also checked the *Oxford Dictionary of English (ODE, 2010)*, with greater overall coverage than the *COED*, for inclusion of football terms. Last but not least, to determine the first recorded occurrence of each individual football word, with a football sense, in our material, the *OED* was consulted.

Thus, having established their first occurrences by means of the *OED*, the 40 football words were then looked up in the *COD/COED* and the *OALD* to establish in which edition of the two dictionaries each word was first included, as a basis for calculating the time lag between the first *OED* occurrence of the word and its appearance in the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*. This, in essence, is the basic method employed here to study the relationship between football language as a special language and its role in general language, from a mainly diachronic perspective. This kind of method, however, is by no means self-evident, and so merits some further discussion.

Our underlying assumption is that inclusion of a word with a football meaning in a general-purpose dictionary such as the *COD/COED*, as well as in the *OALD*, may be seen as an operational criterion for being part of the general language current when the various editions were published. This line of reasoning, of course, is closely related to the stated aims and scope of the dictionaries in question, as opposed to more specialist dictionaries, intended for more narrowly circumscribed fields, e.g. law or medicine. Accordingly, words like *dribble* and *offside*, by virtue of being included in the first edition of the *COD* (1911), may be considered part of the general language at the time of – or, rather, well before – its publication, whereas *corner* and *midfield* are not. Further, using consecutive editions of the same dictionary should be an advantage in this kind of undertaking, even though inclusion policy may not have been consistent throughout its history; different editors may have adopted different approaches. As a complement to the *COD/COED*, our main source, different editions of the *OALD*, will also be referred to, for the latter half of the 20th century. It should be borne in mind, however, that learners' dictionaries, being intended for foreign students of English, are generally more restrictive as to which words they include. Nonetheless, both *dribble* and *offside* are present in the first edition of the *OALD* (1948), in contrast to *corner* and *midfield*. Here, then, the first editions of the two dictionaries, though decades apart, provide joint support for the general-language status – or lack thereof – of these particular football words. However, as will be seen in due course, such consensus between the *COD* and the *OALD* is not always the case.

Our choice of the *COD/COED* as a representative general-purpose dictionary can hardly be seen as controversial. For one thing, its original close connection to the *OED*, still a work in progress at the time of the first edition of the *COD*, made it uniquely authoritative (cf. Fowler & Fowler 1911: iii; cf. also Knowles 2011: ix–xi). Further, it is probably still the best-known English desk dictionary in use by the general

public, thus being a prime candidate for reflecting generally current language. Indeed, the full title of the *COD* (“the *Concise*”), in all its editions throughout the 20th century, is: *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. From the start, the *Concise* could be seen as, in many ways, a pioneering kind of dictionary, as noted by Crystal (2011: xi): “What is initially surprising, then, is to encounter in the *Concise* a dictionary that is so modern, descriptive, and inclusive in character”. Further, Fowler & Fowler (1911: v) particularly emphasize, as a matter of editorial policy, the notion of “currency” and their commitment to “the main stream of the language”, including “a fuller treatment than is usual in dictionaries of its size to the undoubtedly current words forming the staple of the language”, while being explicitly restrictive with regard to “scientific and technical terms”. This, it would appear, represents as good an intention as any to capture what we are after in the present study, i.e. the general, or mainstream, language, rather than an abundance of special vocabulary. Such ambitions also pervade the subsequent editions of the *COD/COED*, despite an inevitable succession of editors and other changes, use of computerized corpora, etc. (cf. Knowles, 2011). Stevenson (2011: viii) states that the *COED* “aims to cover all those words, phrases, and meanings that form the central vocabulary of English in the modern world”, i.e. words that are part of “the mainstream language”, echoing the words of the Fowler brothers a hundred years earlier. This, it may be assumed, will include a number of words belonging to the language of football.

Out of the twelve editions of the *COD/COED* (1911–2011), we have used five (see Table 2), at intervals ranging from 40 years, in the first half of the 20th century, to 16 years (at the end of the period covered), intended to mirror the increasing pace of changes in football vocabulary, as well as the increasing frequency of new editions in the course of the 20th century. As a complement to the *COD*, as pointed out earlier, we have also used, for the latter half of the 20th century, a learner’s dictionary, intended for another kind of readership, viz. the *OALD*, pioneered by A.S. Hornby in the 1940s and perhaps still the best-known of all English learners’ dictionaries (see Cowie, 1999). Like the *COD*, its title includes the phrase *Current English*. However, its purpose and scope differ substantially from those of the *COD*, as can be gathered from its original title: *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary*. According to its “Introduction”, its aims can be described as much more “productive” than those of a general-purpose dictionary like the *COD*: “to give [foreign students] as much information as possible concerning idioms and syntax” (p. iv; cf. Cowie, 1999: 13). Its focus on foreign learners also means that its coverage of vocabulary is considerably more restrictive than that of the *COD*. At the same time, it naturally aims to cover general rather than special vocabulary, even more so than the *COD*, since it necessarily includes far fewer words. For that reason alone, it may be of interest to use it in the same way as the *COD* in our investigation of English football vocabulary, on the assumption that if a word is found in the *OALD*, this is even stronger proof of it being established as part of the general, mainstream language. Four different editions of the *OALD* have been used in our study, published between 1948 and 1995.⁴

Consequently, a comparison of results from the *COD/COED* with those from the *OALD* with regard to the 40 football words studied may be highly relevant, especially

for football terms making their appearance towards the middle and in the latter half of the 20th century, a period of expansion and change for football at large (Goldblatt, 2011: Ch. 11). The editions of the two dictionaries mainly used in our investigation are shown in Table 2:

<i>Concise Oxford Dictionary (COD)</i>	1 st ed., 1911	4 th ed., 1951	6 th ed., 1976	9 th ed., 1995	<i>COED</i> , 12 th ed., 2011
<i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD)</i>	1 st ed., 1948	2 nd ed., 1963	3 rd ed., 1974	5 th ed., 1995	

Table 2. Editions of *COD/COED* and *OALD* used in the present study

In addition to the various editions of the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*, we have also, as mentioned earlier, consulted another one-volume, general-purpose dictionary, the *Oxford Dictionary of English (ODE)* (3rd ed., 2010).⁵ Considerably more comprehensive in word coverage than the *COED* (2011) – 350,000 words, phrases and meanings versus the *COED*'s 240,000 – it may provide additional evidence that a certain football term may be regarded as being part of the mainstream language. Like the *COED* (2011), it is based on evidence drawn from the enormous Oxford English Corpus of more than two billion words – a far cry indeed from the lexicographic methods used for the first editions of the *COD* and the *OALD* (let alone Dr. Johnson's dictionary of 1755).⁶

The procedure proposed here – determining the first *OED* occurrences of the football words in our material and comparing them with their first occurrences in the relevant dictionary editions – may seem straightforward enough. However, the general requirement of an identifiable football sense in order for a word – e.g. *corner* and *penalty* – to be assigned a proper first occurrence, whether in the *OED* or in the other dictionaries examined, occasionally gives rise to some borderline cases, calling for special attention. As emphasized above, what we refer to as football vocabulary does not only include the minority of words that are more or less exclusive to football, but also words that may occur in a variety of sporting contexts apart from football, e.g. *coach*, *match*, *pass*, and *score*. Such words are just as much part of football language as more football-specific words like *nutmeg* and *side-foot*.

Thus, from our perspective, for a word to be considered a football word in our various dictionary searches, a dictionary entry must include some sort of indication or reference – including examples of usage – either to football/soccer or to some more general sporting context which may reasonably be seen as including football. A few examples will clarify matters. The noun *back* is defined as 'football player stationed behind' in the *COD* 1/1911, whereas *match* is defined in more general terms: 'contest of skill &c. in which persons are matched against each other, as *cricket m.*'. Both these

words, despite the difference in football specificity in their definitions, have been counted as football words in the *COD* 1/1911, *back* with a distinct football-specific sense, *match* with a more general sporting sense, as shown by the reference to cricket. Similarly, the noun *penalty* is included, in a general sporting sense in *COD* 1/1911, introduced by the general domain marker '(Sport.)', reappearing with a specific football sense in *COD* 4/1951, now introduced by the marker 'Football'. This example also illustrates differences between different editions of the same dictionary in their treatment of football terms. By contrast, the entry for the verb *shoot* in the *COD* 1/1911 does not include any reference to football, whether specifically or in some other relevant sporting terms; it does, however, turn up with a specific football sense in *COD* 4/1951, introduced by the domain markers 'Assoc. Footb., Hockey, etc.' and defined as 'take a shot at goal'.

An especially interesting case, illustrating the kind of footwork required in deciding whether a particular term should be considered a football word or not in a dictionary edition, is provided by the noun *striker*. *COED* 12/2010 offers the following definition, in explicitly football-specific terms: '(chiefly in soccer) a forward or attacker'. Now, how old is this specific football usage? The word is recorded as a tennis term in the *OED* as early as 1699. However, since this usage differs radically from the meaning associated with that of a football striker, first recorded as late as 1963, *striker* has been classified as a 20th-century word here. Another intriguing example is the word *crossbar*. While the *OED* gives 1857 as its first recorded instance, the crossbar as such was not introduced in football until 1875 (when a change in *The Laws of the Game* was implemented). Still, as the notion of crossbar, with a function similar to that in football, seems to have been prevalent in related sports, especially rugby, before the 1870s, the earlier date has been used here; the difference between *striker* and *crossbar* as regards first occurrence as football words seems relatively clear.

As will be obvious from the above discussion, intended to show the occasionally intricate decision-making process involved in how a certain football word should be regarded and classified in a specific dictionary, the handling of problematic cases will ultimately depend on qualitative arguments about relative closeness to football and the like, thus on a partly subjective basis. This means, inevitably, that some uncertainty will remain, in a limited number of cases. However, they are unlikely to affect the overall picture resulting from our investigation, to which we now turn.

3. Results and discussion

The overall results, the raw data, of all the dictionary searches concerning the 40 football words are to be found in Appendix 1. It presents a master table accounting for the first occurrences of the words according to the *OED*, as well as their presence in the various editions of both the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*, along with their coverage in the *ODE*. This table provides the basis for the different sortings of our findings that form the bulk of this section, after a brief numerical account of our main results.

3.1. General overview

A condensed survey of the results of our dictionary searches is given in Table 3. It provides absolute numbers and corresponding percentages for the football words investigated, deriving from the distribution of the following markers in the master table: “–” (non-inclusion), “+” inclusion, “fb” (football-specific definition); the “double” marker “+fb” thus refers to inclusion of a word with football-specific definition (e.g. *kick-off*), as opposed to inclusion with a more general sporting definition (e.g. *match*).

Dictionary editions		COD					OALD				ODE
		1 st ed. 1911	4 th e d. 1951	6 th ed. 1976	9 th ed. 1995	12 th ed. 2011	1 st ed. 1948	2 nd ed. 1963	3 rd ed. 1974	5 th ed. 1995	3 rd ed. 2010
Absolute numbers	–	23	16	9	4	1	19	17	11	5	1
	+	17	24	31	36	39	1	23	29	35	39
	+fb	8	14	19	19	24	16	17	22	30	27
Percentages (of 40 words)	–	58	40	23	10	2	48	42	28	12	27
	+	42	60	77	90	98	52	58	72	88	98
	+fb	20	35	48	48	60	40	42	55	75	68
Per cent +fb of +		47	58	61	53	62	76	74	76	86	69

Table 3. Numerical summary (absolute numbers and percentages) of master table, involving 40 football words and three dictionaries (cf. Appendix 1)

A few general comments are due on the numbers and percentages given in Table 3. First of all, as already emphasized, the “+fb” marker constitutes a subset of the “+” marker, distinguishing football-specific definitions from more generally defined football words within the inclusion category, both of them contrasting with the “–” marker, i.e. the non-inclusion category. Yet, it should be noted that “fb” does not necessarily mean that a word is exclusive to football, only that it is defined in football-specific rather than general sporting terms.

Altogether, apart from the *OED* datings, the master table contains 365 markers, relating to the 40 words in the ten dictionary editions investigated. Their distribution is as follows: “–” 106, “+” 147, “+fb” 112. This means, on the one hand, that a clear majority (147 versus 106) of the football words are actually included in the dictionary editions searched; on the other hand, it also means that, among the inclusions, an equally clear majority (112 out of 147) display football-specific rather than more general sporting definitions. Let us now take a closer look at these figures.

Overall, the absolute numbers of football words included are slightly larger in the *COD* than in the *OALD*, as can be seen from a comparison of temporally

corresponding editions of the two dictionaries, e.g. *COD* 6/1976 (31) versus *OALD* 3/1974 (29) and *COD* 9/1995 (39) versus *OALD* 5/1995 (35). This difference, though small, is hardly surprising in view of the difference in coverage between a general-purpose dictionary like the *COD/COED* and a dictionary for foreign learners, such as the *OALD*; if anything, the difference might have been expected to have been bigger. Further, both dictionaries display steadily increasing coverage of football words over time, in the *COD/COED* from 17 to 39 words in the hundred years elapsing between its 1st and 12th editions, in the *OALD* from 21 to 35 words from its 1st to its 5th edition, spanning roughly half the time covered by the *COD/COED*. And, of course, it is only natural that later editions, of both dictionaries, should include a larger proportion of the 40 football words than earlier ones; after all, some of the words in our material were not in general football use until the 1960s.

It may also be noted that the absolute number, as well as the proportion, of football-specific definitions in the two dictionaries increases along with the growing number of football words – however defined, i.e. also in more general (sporting) terms – included in them. Here, the *OALD* is consistently in the lead, peaking at 30 football-specific definitions (75% of the 40 football words) in its 5th edition (1995), to be compared with only 19 (48%) in the corresponding *COD* 9/1995. Thus, the share of football-specific definitions in relation to the words investigated is substantially larger in the *OALD*. This is also reflected, even more clearly, in the percentage figures for the two dictionaries with regard to football-specific definitions in relation to all the football words included in the two dictionaries (bottom line of Table 3), where the *OALD*, around 75% in its first three editions, attains 86% in its 5th edition (1995): out of the 35 football words included, 30 have football-specific definitions. Neither the *COD/COED* nor the *ODE* can match the percentage figures of the *OALD* in this respect. This finding merits further attention and will be discussed in due course, like several others briefly commented on above.

3.2. Chronological aspects

On the basis of the master table (Appendix 1) and Table 3, we now proceed to some more specific angles of the main data, accounting in more detail and depth for the parameters and dimensions most relevant to the overall aim of the study.

A fitting point of departure is our findings concerning the first occurrences of the 40 football words as documented in the *OED*, presented in Table 4:

Pre-19 th century	The period 1800–1862	The period 1863–1899	The 20 th century
football 1409	draw 1825	dribble 1863	hat-trick 1901

Pre-19 th century		The period 1800–1862		The period 1863–1899		The 20 th century	
match	1531	substitute	1826	offside	1863	derby	1914
goal	1577	team	1834	head	1871	side-foot	1945
		goalpost	1842	Hands	1874	keeper	1957
		supporter	1843	forward	1879	cross	1961
		score	1844	handball	1879	striker	1963
		crossbar	1857	Back	1880	sweeper	1964
		kick-off	1857	corner	1882	libero	1967
		goal line	1862	shoot	1882	nutmeg	1968
				tackle	1884	yellow card	1970
				coach	1885		
				soccer	1885		
				midfield	1890		
				free kick	1894		
				linesman	1894		
				penalty	1897		
				hooligan	1898		
				pass	1899		

Table 4. The 40 football words in chronological order according to first recorded instances in *OED*

First of all, a caveat is in order: in view of the popularity of football, not only as a competitive game but as a pastime, a large number of football words may be assumed to have existed in spoken colloquial English long before their first occurrences in print. Be that as it may, Table 4 shows that the great majority of the football words included in our study seem to have made their first documented appearances in the 19th century, here divided into an earlier and a later period, based on the all-important regulation of English football in 1863, together with the establishment of the Football Association (FA) (Goldblatt, 2007: 30–31) – incidentally, the year of the first documented instances of the central football-specific words *dribble* and *offside*. Not surprisingly, in view of

the long prehistory of the modern game in Britain, the word *football* itself emerges as the undisputed, medieval Nestor among the 40 words, followed in the 16th century by two other words at the very centre of the game: *match* and *goal*, albeit in a general sporting – rather than football-specific – sense. The 19th century, during the breakthrough of the modern game, saw the first written appearances of a large number of familiar football words of a much more specific nature, from *draw* (1825) to *pass* (1899), as well as a host of other words still alive and kicking on and off today's pitches – the backbone, as it were, of English football vocabulary. At the same time, the game experiences a constant influx of new words and expressions, as indicated by such well-known mid-20th-century additions as *libero* (1967) and *yellow card* (1970), reflecting developments in the tactics and rules of football. Also, among the relative late-comers, somewhat surprisingly, is the word *cross*, not appearing as a football word until 1961, according to the *OED*.

Having determined the first *OED* instances of the football words, we now turn to the number of words included in the different editions of the dictionaries used. The relevant figures are shown in Table 5 (cf. also Table 3):

<i>COD/COED</i>	football words	<i>OALD</i>	football words	<i>ODE</i>	football words
1 st edition 1911	17	1 st edition 1948	21	3 rd edition 2010	39
4 th edition 1951	24	2 nd edition 1963	23		
6 th edition 1976	31	3 rd edition 1974	29		
9 th edition 1995	36	5 th edition 1995	35		
12 th edition 2011	39				

Table 5. Number of football words included in selected editions of *COD*, *OALD* and *ODE*

It should be noted that the numbers shown include occurrences of football words found in earlier editions of the same dictionary, with the exception of the *ODE*, where only one edition (the 3rd) has been used. This means, for example, that *OALD* 3/1974 includes the football words accounted for in the two previous editions of the dictionary.

The figures for the 40 football words investigated provide a neat picture, showing a steady increase over time. For the *COD/COED*, the number more than doubles, going from 17 to 39 words in a hundred years, an increase of 22 words, i.e.

from 42% to 98% of the words in our material. For the *OALD*, a similar trend is in evidence, with a substantial 14-word increase from 21 to 35 in the 47 years covered, i.e. from 52% to 88% of the 40 football words. *ODE* 3/2010, finally, displays the same number of football words (39) as *COED* 12/2011, hardly surprising in view of the close link between them, noted above.

Despite the differences in aim, scope and intended readership between the *COD/COED*, a general-purpose dictionary, and the *OALD*, a dictionary for foreign students, the similarities between them are obvious with regard to the number of football words included in comparable editions. For instance, *COD* 6/1976 includes 31 football words, *OALD* 3/1974, 29; similarly, *COD* 9/1995 contains 36 football words, *OALD* 5/1995, 35. This relative consensus between the two dictionaries lends some support to the general assumption underlying this study, namely that inclusion of words in certain types of dictionaries may be used as an indication of what may be seen as general language. It is also of interest to note that all but one in our selection of football words turn up in our dictionary searches. The odd man out is *hands*, an outmoded word referring to “illegally” handling the ball, its first *OED* occurrence from 1874. This word, it appears, was gradually outcompeted by the synonymously used *handball* (not to be confused with the sport), included in both *COD* 9/1995 and *COED* 12/2011, as well as *ODE* 3/2010. By contrast, *handball* qua football word is missing from the *OALD*, regardless of edition; this also goes for *libero*, *nutmeg* and *side-foot* (see further below).

As can be seen from the master table (Appendix 1), a fair number (16) of the 40 football words turn up in all the dictionary editions searched, belonging to what may be considered the staple of football vocabulary, dating back to the 19th century. These are: *back*, *draw*, *dribble*, *goal*, *hooligan*, *kick-off*, *linesman*, *match*, *offside*, *penalty*, *score*, *tackle*, *team*, *side*, *soccer* – and, of course, the word *football* itself. The words *goal line* and *goalpost* are included in all the editions of the *COD/COED*, but missing from the earlier editions of the *OALD*.

This means that already by the early 20th century almost half of the 40 football words may be seen as part of general language, appearing in *COD* 1/1911. They are well-established ingredients in the subsequent editions, as well as in more recent editions of the *OALD*. Somewhat surprisingly, among the words initially missing from the *COD* but included in later editions, and in the *OALD*, are some fairly basic football terms, such as *corner*, *forward*, *head* (verb), *pass*, and *shoot*. The latter half of the 20th century also saw the addition, in both the *COD* and the *OALD*, of some more recent terms, often the result of various tactical changes and formations, such as *midfield*, *sweeper* and *striker*, all to be found in editions from the 1970s. By contrast, the word *libero* – like *striker* and *sweeper* a child of the 1960s, according to the *OED* – makes its first appearance only in *COD* 9/1995, not being included in any edition of the *OALD*. Likewise, *yellow card*, with the latest first occurrence (1970) of all the 40 words, is introduced in the 1995 editions of both the *COD* and the *OALD*. Incidentally, this also applies to the word *cross* (first *OED* occurrence 1961), whereas *nutmeg* (first *OED*

occurrence 1968), included in *COED* 12/2011 as well as *ODE* 3/2010, is missing from all the *OALD* editions searched.

3.3. Football-specific and general sporting words: some tendencies

Apart from the overall chronological picture outlined in section 3.2, some more specific tendencies may be noted in our material, as will become clear from a closer look at the master table (Appendix 1). Thus, besides the dimension of inclusion versus non-inclusion in the various editions, exemplified above, there are other lines of development between different editions of the same dictionary. Here, the notion of “football specificity” (“fb” in Table 3) in the dictionary definitions plays a pivotal role, especially in contrast to more general sporting definitions.

To be sure, as already pointed out, some of the 40 words are indeed exclusive to football – *free kick*, *head*, *kick-off*, and *side-foot*, apart from *football* and *soccer*, of course – and are, consequently, given football-specific definitions throughout the dictionary editions investigated. This also goes for *tackle* in the *COD/COED*, but not consistently so in the *OALD*, while the opposite holds for *dribble*, defined in football-specific terms throughout the *OALD*, but not so in the *COD/COED*; in the *ODE* 3/2010, however, they are both defined as football-specific. By contrast, *forward* and *head* are missing from *COD* 1/1911 but given football-specific definitions in subsequent editions of the dictionary, as well as in the *OALD* and *ODE* 3/2010. Similarly, the word *corner*, missing from *COD* 1/1911 and *OALD* 1/1948, is given football-specific definitions in the remaining editions of both dictionaries, and in *ODE* 3/2010. On the other hand, words like *draw* and *hooligan* are defined in more general sporting terms in the great majority of the dictionary editions investigated. The word *goal*, finally, with football-specific definitions throughout the *OALD*, is less clear-cut in the *COD*, with general sporting definitions in the first three editions studied, displaying football-specific ones in *COD* 9/1995 and *COED* 12/2011, like *ODE* 3/2010.

However, despite the considerable amount of variation and lack of consistency just exemplified, between and within the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*, certain – admittedly weak – tendencies, in different directions, are noticeable among our dictionary findings. On the one hand, there are football words indicating, in their definitions across editions, a movement from a general sporting sense to a more football-specific definition. One example of this is *goal line*, missing from the first two editions of the *OALD*. Both *COD* 1/1911 and *COD* 4/1951 define the word in general sporting terms, *COD* 6/1976 and later editions, like *ODE* 3/2010, in football-specific terms. The *OALD* presents a different picture: when the word is first included, in *OALD* 3/1974, its definition is football-specific, to be replaced by a more general sporting definition in *OALD* 5/1995. Another situation obtains for the word *hooligan* (cf. above), which is defined in fairly general terms throughout the different editions of the *COD/COED*, in contrast to *ODE* 3/2010. In the *OALD*, the word is also given a general definition until the 5th edition (1995), when – possibly inspired by the particularly outrageous behaviour of English football hooligans at the time – its lexical entry

specifically refers to football hooligans. The lack of agreement between the *COD/COED* and the *OALD* in these and many similar cases will be further looked into in due course.

The opposite direction is also in evidence in the material studied, i.e. definitions changing from football-specific reference to a more general (sporting) sense. The word *back* is a case in point. The 1st (1911), 4th (1951) and 6th (1976) editions of the *COD* define the word in football-specific terms, the 9th (1995) and the 12th (2011) in general sporting terms, like *ODE* 3/2010. The *OALD*, by contrast, adheres to football-specific definitions throughout the editions investigated. Another example is *pass*. While (somewhat surprisingly) missing from *COD* 1/1911, *COD* 4/1951 and *COD* 6/1976 give football-specific definitions, supplanted by more general definitions in the last two editions investigated, unlike *ODE* 3/2010. Again, the *OALD* uses football-specific definitions across the board. In the *COD*, *linesman* is defined in football-specific terms in the first three editions searched, while the 9th (1995) and the 12th (2011) use more general sporting definitions, like *ODE* 3/2010. The *OALD* presents a somewhat more wobbly picture: its 1st edition (1948) gives a football-specific definition, the following two a general sporting one, the 5th (1995) reverting to football-specific reference. As also shown for the opposite direction – from general sporting to football-specific definitions – the picture emerging from the examples just discussed can hardly be considered neat and orderly, with a frequent lack of agreement between the dictionaries studied as well as a lack of consistency within them, i.e. between different editions. Clearly, in the cases so far exemplified and discussed, there is no self-evident path of development for football-word definitions between dictionary editions.

Nonetheless, a third kind of process at play between definitions across dictionary editions may also deserve some attention, involving words which were first used in other sporting contexts than football but were then adopted by the “people’s game” – in some cases so successfully as to make many people forget the words’ original provenance. It may be illustrated by the well-known football word *hat-trick*, its first *OED* occurrence dating back to 1901. According to *COD* 1/1911, however, the word is restricted to cricket (‘taking 3 wickets by successive balls’), and so does not qualify as a football term there. In *COD* 4/1951, the word is given wider sporting reference in a sense “transferred” from cricket (‘scoring of three goals by the same player’), and so accepted as a football word. In *COD* 6/1976, finally, *hat-trick* has achieved full football-specific status: ‘(Footb. etc.) scoring of 3 goals by the same player in the same match’. In *COD* 9/1995, however, the football-specific reference is gone again, only to return in *COED* 12/2011. What we have here, then, is one of football’s household words, which actually started – and still maintains – its career in cricket, even though to most people today, presumably, the footballing sense is now the primary one. Nonetheless, the definitions given in *OALD* 3/1974 and *OALD* 5/1995 are couched in general sporting terms rather than football-specific ones, unlike *ODE* 3/2010.

A parallel case is provided by the word *derby*, originally associated only with horse racing, but for decades at least as common in footballing contexts (cf. also *local derby*). This development is well reflected in the various editions of the *COD*. As a

football word, *derby* does not show up until *COD* 6/1976, with a general sporting definition, as in the subsequent editions. The *OALD*, however, in its 5th edition (1995), gives a football-specific explanation of the word, a change from the 3rd edition (1974), where the definition of *derby* was of the general sporting kind, as in the corresponding *COD* 6/1976.

The upshot of the discussion in this section is that the evidence for the tendencies observed can hardly lay claim to be being very strong. Rather, the examples cited should be taken as illustrations of the main directions at hand as regards developments of definitions between dictionary editions, from general to more specific, or the other way around – and, occasionally, a sideways movement, from one sport to another.

3.4. *COD* versus *OALD*

In the preceding exemplification and discussion of the football words studied, we have noted a number of differences between the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*, on the one hand, and between different editions of the same dictionary, on the other. One noticeable tendency relates to the considerably more frequent use of football-specific definitions in the *OALD* than in the *COD/COED*. This applies, in particular, to a number of football words with a relatively general sporting definition. Take a word like *match*. Throughout the definitions in the *COD/COED*, this word is defined in general sporting terms rather than football-specific ones. In the *OALD*, except for the 1st edition (1948), *match* is explained in football-specific terms. The word *team* provides another example. The 1st (1911) and 4th (1951) editions of the *COD* give football-specific definitions, replaced by more general ones in later editions. In the *OALD*, all the editions used give football-specific definitions of *team*. A number of less general football terms give evidence of the same tendency. For instance, the word *penalty* is defined in general rather than football-specific terms in three of the five editions of the *COD/COED*, whereas the *OALD* uses only football-specific definitions across the different editions. A similar situation applies to the word *pass*: two of the four *COD/COED* editions where the word is included use football-specific definitions: the 4th (1951) and the 6th (1970) – the later ones resort to more general ones. The *OALD*, again, uses only football-specific explanations throughout the four editions studied. Apparently, as suggested by these examples, the *COD/COED* tends to move from football-specific definitions towards general sporting direction more readily than the *OALD* (cf. also discussion in 3.3.).

Examples could be multiplied. Now, what might be the reason for this discrepancy between the two dictionaries? It seems unlikely that the examples cited here are only the result of random variation. In our view, the main reason may be related to the different aims and intended readerships of the *COD* compared with the *OALD*. It should be borne in mind that the *OALD* is primarily intended for foreign learners of English, making special demands on clarity and concreteness in definitions. In the present context, this means that definitions of words that are part of English

football language may be regarded as more clearly identified, thus more easily understood by foreign language students if they refer to specific rather than more general notions. Football, by virtue of its international status and worldwide popularity, is arguably more specific, or recognizable, than sports in general and, perhaps even more important, something which many students may be assumed to be familiar with at a personal level. Consequently, pointing to football as the most typical exponent of the referential potential of fairly general football words, such as *match* and *team*, may be seen as an efficient, or “ostensive”, pedagogical technique, of special significance in a vocabulary-learning context. In other words, the relative abundance of football-specific definitions in the *OALD* could well be seen as an outgrowth of a deliberate pedagogical strategy on the part of A.S. Hornby.

3.5. Principles for dictionary inclusion among the 40 words?

Throughout the preceding account and discussion of our results, the diachronic, or chronological, perspective of the relationship between English football vocabulary and general English has been paramount: words starting out as technical terms within a narrow specialist field gradually become sufficiently familiar to sufficiently many people to qualify as members of the mainstream language. However, this is by no means an automatic process. Depending on a variety of circumstances, some words take longer than others to be admitted; some words or expressions may never cross the line between special and general language. For example, as noted above, football words like *back* (1880) and *tackle* (1884) are included in *COD* 1/1911, as opposed to, words like *corner* (1882) and *shoot* (1882), all of them with first *OED* occurrences in the early 1880s. What general tendencies, if any, can be detected as to the time lag between first documented *OED* occurrences and first inclusion in the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*? What factors appear to be of special relevance?

To attempt to answer these and similar questions, let us consider, in some more depth, the time span between the first *OED* occurrences of the football words studied and their first inclusion in the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*. The basic data are provided in Table 6:

words + first <i>OED</i> occurrence	<i>CO(E)D</i> edition	<i>OALD</i> edition	words + first <i>OED</i> occurrence	<i>CO(E)D</i> edition	<i>OALD</i> edition
back 1880	1/1911	1/1948	kick-off 1857	1/1911	1/1948
coach 1885	4/1951	1/1948	libero 1967	9/1995	---
corner 1882	4/1951	2/1963	linesman 1894	1/1911	1/1948
cross 1961	9/1995	5/1995	match 1531	1/1911	1/1948
crossbar 1857	6/1976	1/1948	midfield 1890	6/1976	5/1995

words + first OED occurrence		CO(E)D edition	OALD edition	words + first OED occurrence		CO(E)D edition	OALD edition
derby	1914	6/1976	3/1974	nutmeg	1968	12/2011	---
draw	1825	1/1911	1/1948	offside	1863	1/1911	1/1948
dribble	1863	1/1911	1/1948	pass	1899	4/1951	1/1948
football	1409	1/1911	1/1948	penalty	1897	1/1911	1/1948
forward	1879	4/1951	1/1948	score	1844	1/1911	1/1948
free kick	1894	6/1976	3/1974	shoot	1882	4/1951	1/1948
goal	1577	1/1911	1/1948	side-foot	1945	12/2011	---
goal line	1862	1/1911	3/1974	soccer	1885	1/1911	1/1948
goalpost	1842	1/1911	5/1995	striker	1963	6/1976	3/1974
handball	1879	9/1995	---	substitute	1826	12/2011	5/1995
hands	1874	---	---	supporter	1843	6/1976	5/1995
hat-trick	1901	4/1951	3/1974	sweeper	1964	6/1976	3/1974
head v.	1871	4/1951	1/1948	tackle	1884	1/1911	1/1948
hooligan	1898	1/1911	1/1948	team	1834	1/1911	1/1948
keeper	1957	9/1995	2/1963	yellow card	1970	9/1995	5/1995

Table 6. First OED occurrences of the 40 football words and their first inclusion in *COD/COED* and *OALD*

As even a cursory glance at Table 6 will reveal, a general question concerning the average number of years it took, from their first *OED* occurrences, for the 40 football words to be included in the *COD/COED* or the *OALD* is basically pointless. The reason for this is obvious. For example, it took the word *football* 502 years to be included in *COD* 1/1911, another 37 years for its first inclusion in *OALD* 1/1948. On the other hand, it took the word *hooligan* no more than 13 years to be admitted to *COD* 1/1911, *sweeper* a mere 12 years to enter *COD* 6/1976 – and only ten for its inclusion in *OALD* 3/1974. True, these examples make up the two extremes, but they show the irrelevance of questions about average number of years from first occurrence to first inclusion in the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*. More specifically, *COD* 1/1911 simply presents the first opportunity for inclusion, but only for those football words already in existence at the time of its publication, regardless of their first *OED* occurrence, whether in 1577 (*goal*) or, say, 1897 (*penalty*). Likewise, relative newcomers, such as

libero (1967) and *yellow card* (1970), could naturally qualify for inclusion only in the more recent editions of the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*.

Consequently, the following discussion will instead focus on some more qualitative issues, relating to certain individual words and their first inclusion – or non-inclusion – among the various editions of the *COD/COED* and the *OALD*. Here, only a few representative cases – some early and some more recent – will be brought up, cases that may be seen as typical in one way or another.

As noted earlier, 17 of the 40 football words turn up in *COD* 1/1911, corresponding to 21 in the considerably later *OALD* 1/1948 (cf. Table 5). The vast majority of these words date back to the 19th century. Not surprisingly, given the time gap between *COD* 1/1911 and *OALD* 1/1948, there is no complete overlap between the words included in *COD* 1/1911 and those present in *OALD* 1/1948: *goal line* and *goal-post* are included in *COD* 1/1911, but missing from *OALD* 1/1948; conversely, *crossbar*, *forward*, *head*, *pass*, and *shoot* are all missing from *COD* 1/1911, but present in *OALD* 1/1948.

Let us first take a look at some words from the 1890s. Among these, the following are included in both *COD* 1/1911 and *OALD* 1/1948: *hooligan* (1899), *linesman* (1894), *penalty* (1897). Such early inclusion, however, does not apply to all the 1890s words: *pass* (1899) is not to be found until *COD* 4/1951 and the roughly contemporaneous *OALD* 1/1948, while *free kick* (1894) makes its first dictionary appearances only in the 1970s, in *COD* 6/1976 and *OALD* 3/1974; *midfield* (1890) is missing from the first few editions of both dictionaries, not being included until *COD* 6/1976 and *OALD* 5/1995.

As is readily seen, these early examples, and many similar ones, do not in any obvious way seem to reveal any clear principles underlying decisions as to dictionary inclusion or non-inclusion, particularly as regards *COD* 1/1911. As a typical illustration of the issue involved, let us consider the words *penalty* and *free kick*, both dating back to the 1890s. These two words belong to the core of football's rule system, as codified in the *Laws of the Game* (2015/2016), being equally familiar elements in football games since the late 1800s. Still, while *penalty* is included in *COD* 1/1911, *free kick* is not, as opposed to more "special" word like *kick-off* and *offside*. The logic of these decisions is far from transparent. Another example involves *back* (*OED* 1880) versus *forward* (*OED* 1879), where it is equally unclear why only *back* – but not *forward* – should have deserved inclusion in *COD* 1/1911.

The same goes for some words denoting players' actions in relation to the ball, closely associated with events on the pitch in the course of a game. Here belong some other 19th-century words, such as *head*, *pass* and *shoot*, none of which is included in the *COD/COED* until the 4th edition (1951), as well as in *OALD* 1/1948. By contrast, the word *dribble* appears in *COD* 1/1911, as does the word *score*. It may be noted, in this connection, that *head*, *pass* and *shoot* are all given football-specific definitions when first included in *COD* 4/1951 (but not, except for *head*, consistently so in subsequent editions); *dribble* and *score*, by contrast, are defined in more general sporting terms throughout the *COD/COED* (except for *dribble* in *COD* 9/1995).

However, the distinction between football-specific and more general definitions does not appear to play a major role as to inclusion or non-inclusion. After all, as shown in Table 3, roughly half (8 out of 17) of the football words included in *COD* 1/1911 are of the football-specific kind, e.g. *kick-off*, *offside* and *tackle*.

Another football-specific word in *COD* 1/1911 is *linesman*, which also exemplifies another potentially vital dimension with regard to inclusion versus non-inclusion in *COD* 1/1911, namely that between what may be termed central and peripheral football words. As argued above, words such as *free kick* and *shoot* should be seen as central football terms, helping to define the nature of the game. *Linesman*, on the other hand, can hardly claim the same status, being clearly more peripheral to the essence of football. The same goes for *hooligan*, which, however, is defined in general rather than football-specific terms in *COD* 1/1911. Thus, the central–peripheral dimension, while certainly a reasonable parameter with regard to inclusion of football words as well as other special vocabulary in general-purpose dictionaries, does not seem to be relevant for inclusion decisions as far as *COD* 1/1911 is concerned.

As should be clear by now, far from all 19th-century words are included at the earliest opportunity available, i.e. in *COD* 1/1911. Further, it is hard to escape the impression that, to a considerable extent, it is futile to seek a consistently applied rationale guiding decisions on inclusion versus non-inclusion in individual cases. As the preceding discussion will have indicated, such decisions seem, in many cases, to have been guided by subjective rather than objectively applied principles – inevitably so, it could be argued, in the absence, in those early days, of reliable frequency counts, let alone the multimillion (or even larger) corpora available to lexicographers a hundred years later. It should also be said, however, that this circumstance does not in any way invalidate the overall, clearly observable trend of football words gradually becoming part of the mainstream language around the year 1900, as a consequence of football's skyrocketing popularity in the previous decades (Goldblatt, 2007: 51–64; cf. Bergh & Ohlander, 2018: 256–257). The main issue, rather, concerns the necessarily blurred edges of the interface between football language and general language, as illustrated in the various dictionary editions studied here, not the impact of football language per se.

3.6. Some recent cases

Let us finally consider a few cases whose dictionary appearances are of relatively late provenance. For example, the word *midfield* (first *OED* occurrence 1890) may be considered to hold a modicum of special interest. Like some other words from the 1890s, it is not included in *COD* 1/1911, only in later editions. The *COD/COED* inclusion of *midfield*, however, is considerably later than that of some other stragglers – such as *head*, *pass* and *shoot* (cf. above) – not to be found until *COD* 6/1976 and, later still, in *OALD* 5/1995, in both cases with football-specific definitions. In our view, the reason for this late appearance of *midfield* is not far to seek. Today, the notion of *midfield* – and, of course, *midfielder* – is of fundamental importance as regards tactics, and so the corresponding terms, *midfield* and *midfielder* (first *OED* occurrence from

1888) are among the most frequently used words in football reporting and commentary. This, however, was not always the case. In fact, the tactical prominence of the midfield as well as midfielders did not come to the fore until well into the latter half of the 20th century (Wilson, 2008). This change in tactical thinking and formations on the pitch is clearly what underlies the relatively late appearance of *midfield* in *COD/COED* and *OALD*. In this way, changes of various kinds – tactical, technical, organizational, etc. – are reflected in football’s language over time and, at a later stage, also in general-purpose dictionaries.

Closely related to the various changes sweeping football in the second half of the 20th century is the emergence of the terms *libero*, *striker* and *sweeper*, all with first *OED* occurrences from the 1960s. Of these words, *libero*, originating in Italian football and roughly synonymous with *sweeper*, had to wait for inclusion in the *COD/COED* until 1995, not turning up at all in the *OALD*. However, both *striker* and *sweeper* are included as early as *COD* 6/1976 and *OALD* 3/1974. Their rapid progression – with a lapse of only 13 and 12 years, respectively, between first *OED* occurrence and *COD/COED* inclusion – along with the fact that both words are defined in football-specific terms – may be seen as an indication of football’s increasing status in popular culture in mid-century Britain, and the world at large, with a social appeal well beyond the working classes. This also implies that new football words may tend towards faster inclusion in general-purpose dictionaries today than earlier, especially as intervals between new dictionary editions are considerably shorter today than in, say, the mid-20th century, including continuously updated online dictionaries.

Finally, let us consider the words *side-foot* and *nutmeg*, with first *OED* occurrences from 1945 and 1968, respectively. Unlike *striker* and *sweeper*, neither word reflects some special innovation in football; side-footing a ball and nutmegging an opponent have been around for as long as football has existed, even though the words might not. Both *side-foot* and *nutmeg* refer to technical aspects of the way players carry out certain actions on the pitch: a shot or a pass, on the one hand (*side-foot*), and a way of getting – or dribbling – past an opponent, on the other (*nutmeg*). In view of their relatively technical character, it is not unexpected that they appear considerably later in the *COD/COED* than *striker* and *sweeper*, i.e. not until *COED* 12/2011, while missing from both *COD* 9/1995 and *OALD* 5/1995. At the same time, the fact that football words of such special nature – defined in football-specific terms – are indeed to be found in a general-purpose dictionary like *COED* 12/2011, and *ODE* 3/2010, can be seen as further evidence of football’s continuing and expanding presence in the public consciousness towards the end of the 20th century and into the new millennium. The boundary between football language and general language, it would appear, is becoming ever more porous.

4. Concluding remarks

The most obvious conclusion of the present study, based on a sample of 40 football words and their occurrence in different editions of the *COD/COED* (1911–2011) and

the *OALD* (1948–1995), as well as the *ODE* (2010), is that there is no hard and fast division between English football language and the general, or mainstream, language. Thus, over the past hundred years or so, there has been a steady influx of football words, whether of a football-specific nature (e.g. *dribble*, *offside*) or defined in more general sporting terms (e.g. *goal*, *score*), into both the *COD/COED*, a classical general-purpose-dictionary, and the well-known *OALD*, mainly intended for foreign students of English. The words investigated vary as to their first occurrence according to the *OED*, the bulk of the words studied dating back to the 19th century (e.g. *back*, *forward*), the most recent ones to the 1960s (e.g. *libero*, *striker*) and 1970 (*yellow card*). It appears that, mainly due to the ever-increasing public appeal and media coverage of football in the course of the 20th century, new additions to its vocabulary tend to be included more rapidly in today's general-purpose dictionaries than a hundred years ago. In many cases, such lexical innovation can be seen as the result of football-internal developments, such as technical or tactical changes (e.g. *nutmeg*, *sweeper*).

Both the *COD/COED* and the *OALD* display an increasing number of football words over the period and dictionary editions covered. Our results further show that the number of football words included in the two dictionaries mainly investigated is somewhat – but not much – larger in the *COD/COED* than in the *OALD*. This kind of divergence is only to be expected, given the overall differences in aims, scope and readership between the two dictionaries. These differences, not least the explicitly pedagogical purposes of the *OALD*, may also account for the larger proportion of football-specific definitions in this dictionary.

However, as also argued here, even though the overall picture seems reasonably clear, its edges convey a somewhat blurred impression, mainly owing to the circumstance that the principles for inclusion in the various dictionary editions are far from obvious. Thus, as virtually all dictionaries where a selection has to be made as to which words to include, both the *COD/COED* and the *OALD* have their fair share of inconsistencies – in the case of the pioneering *COD* 1/1911 easily detected a hundred years after the event, but often difficult to spot for editors struggling at the front line, often under severe time pressure. The contrast to present-day lexicography, with unlimited access to enormous computerized corpora, could hardly be more striking. Still, this means that the specific grounds for the inclusion or exclusion of certain words of a similar nature – (cf. *back* versus *forward*, *free kick* versus *penalty*) – often remain obscure, apparently dependent on ultimately subjective or arbitrary decisions.

However, the inconsistencies just mentioned do not in any serious way invalidate our main conclusion about the continuing impact of English football language on the general language since the late 1800s and onwards. Naturally, it may be speculated, another sample of football words instead of the ones selected for this study might have given a slightly – but surely not radically – different result; it seems unlikely that the general picture would have diverged very much from our main findings. In our view, there is likely to be considerable consensus on what football words should be considered general, and frequent, enough to be included in general-purpose dictionaries such as the *COD/COED* – or the more comprehensive *ODE*, for that matter. For

example, many fairly recent and rather specialized additions to football vocabulary – e.g. *ball watcher* (‘player who neglects to watch opponents’ moves’), *first touch* (‘first ball contact when receiving a pass’), *inswinger* (‘inwardly curved corner kick’), and *sitting* (‘defensive’) *midfielder* – would be unlikely candidates for inclusion in a general-purpose dictionary, thus not (yet) seen as part of the mainstream language; nor are they included in either *COED* 12/2010 or *ODE* 3/2010.

Then again, somewhat surprisingly, such relatively esoteric technical terms as *offside trap* (‘a manoeuvre in which players in the defending team move upfield in order to put one or more opposing players into an offside position’) and *one-two* (‘a move in which a player plays a short pass to teammate and moves forward to receive an immediate return pass’) are included in both these dictionaries. This is also the case with numerous other football words, compounds such as *goal difference* and (the semantically opaque) *goal kick* (‘a free kick taken by the defending side from within their goal area after attackers send the ball over the byline’), or an abbreviation like *WAG* (‘wife or girlfriend of a sports player’). Such and similar examples demonstrate the imprecise boundary between football language and general language, a boundary that keeps moving along with football-specific developments and trends, as well as reflecting the extent to which football is continuously not only confirming, but expanding its role in popular mass culture. Obviously, a number of special football expressions are, by now, so frequent and well-represented in the vast corpora used by today’s lexicographers that numbers alone may convince dictionary editors to include them as part of 21st-century mainstream language – which, of course, should not be taken to imply that all of them are familiar to the majority of dictionary users.

Incidentally, further evidence of football’s influence on general language use relates to the increasingly frequent use, not only in English, of metaphorical expressions deriving from football, employed to enliven, or simply vary, public language in other domains, not least in political contexts, such as debates, commentary, editorials, etc. This applies not only to individual words or short phrases, such as *kick-off*, *yellow card* and *political football* (‘topical issue’), but also to longer expressions, where the basis is often provided by pivotal football words, not least the words *ball* and *goal*, as illustrated by idioms like *to get the ball rolling*, *to be on the ball*, *to take one’s eye off the ball*; *to score an own goal*, *to move the goalposts* (cf. Bergh & Ohlander, 2017).

In the meantime, football vocabulary itself keeps changing. Some older terms fall into disuse as the game changes, e.g. *half-back* and *outside left*, in general use in the mid-20th century, while new ones are added, e.g. *midfielder* and *striker*, part of present-day football usage since the 1960s. And, as the lapse between the emergence of a new football term and its inclusion in general-purpose as well as learners’ dictionaries seems to be getting ever shorter, due to the ongoing invasion of the mainstream language by the “people’s game”, it may not be long before even some very recent, initially incomprehensible innovations make their first dictionary appearances. Thus, we eagerly await the arrival of one of football’s newest – and most controversial – words, referring to a much-debated issue: *VAR* ‘video-assisted refereeing’.

In a word, football and football language have come a long way since the first recorded *OED* occurrence of *football* in 1409.

Notes

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1. Cf. *The Comedy of Errors* (Act 2, Scene 1): "Am I so round with you as you with me, / That like a football you do spurn me thus?"; in *King Lear* (act 1, scene 4), the phrase "you base football player" is used as a term of abuse. Long before that, in 1314, football had been banned by King Edward II, who referred to it as a "mob game".

2. For some discussion of the relationship between special language and general language, see Sager et al. (1980: 63–69): special languages are defined as "semi-autonomous, complex, semiotic systems based on and derived from general language" (p. 69), comprising "the totality of means of expression used by specialists in messages about their special subject" (p. 74), with "no absolute borderline between general and special language" (p. 68). Cf. also, concerning football language, Bergh & Ohlander (2012a: 14–17).

3. As is well known, the spelling of compounds with regard to hyphenation may vary a good deal. In this study, we follow the authoritative *Oxford Dictionary of English* (3rd ed., 2010), e.g. *offside*, *kick-off*, *free kick*, etc.

4. *OALD* 1/1948 is a photographic reprint of the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary*, published in Tokyo in 1942 (*OALD* 1/1948: iii-iv).

5. Henceforth, the different dictionaries and editions used will also be referred to as *COD* 1/1911 up to *COED* 12/2011, *OALD* 1/1948 up to *OALD* 5/1995, and *ODE* 3/2010.

6. Cf. Stevenson (2011: vii): "In producing this edition, we have been able to draw on the language research and analysis carried out for the third edition of the groundbreaking *Oxford Dictionary of English*, which was published in 2010".

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Appendix 1. Master table: inclusion versus non-inclusion of the 40 football words investigated in the four dictionaries used

	<i>OED</i>	<i>COD</i>					<i>OALD</i>				<i>ODE</i>
	Online	1 st ed. 1911	4 th ed. 1951	6 th ed. 1976	9 th ed. 1995	12 th ed. 2011	1 st ed. 1948	2 nd ed. 1963	3 rd ed. 1974	5 th ed. 1995	3 rd ed. 2010
back	1880	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+	+	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+
coach	1885	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ fb	+
corner	1882	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
cross	1961	-	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	-	-	-	+ fb	+ fb
crossbar	1857	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
derby	1914	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+ fb	+
draw	1825	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ fb	+	+
dribble	1863	+	+	+	+ fb	+	+ fb				
football	1409	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb				
forward	1879	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
free kick	1894	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
goal	1577	+	+	+	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
goal line	1862	+	+	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	-	-	+ fb	+	+ fb
goalpost	1842	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
handball	1879	-	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	-	-	-	-	+ fb
hands	1874	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
hat-trick	1901	-	+	+ fb	+	+ fb	-	-	+	+	+ fb
head	1871	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
hooligan	1898	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ fb	+ fb
keeper	1957	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+ fb	+ fb
kick-off	1857	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb				
libero	1967	-	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	-	-	-	-	+ fb
linesman	1894	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+	+	+ fb	+	+	+ fb	+
match	1531	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+
midfield	1890	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	-	-	-	+ fb	+ fb
nutmeg	1968	-	-	-	-	+ fb	-	-	-	-	+ fb
offside	1863	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
pass	1899	-	+ fb	+ fb	+	+	+ fb				
penalty	1897	+	+ fb	+	+	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+
score	1844	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ fb	+ fb	+	+
shoot	1882	-	+ fb	+ fb	+	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
side-foot	1945	-	-	-	-	+ fb	-	-	-	-	+ fb
soccer	1885	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb				
striker	1963	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	-	-	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
substitute	1826	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+ fb	+
supporter	1843	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+ fb	+

	<i>OED</i>	<i>COD</i>					<i>OALD</i>				<i>ODE</i>
	Online	1 st ed. 1911	4 th ed. 1951	6 th ed. 1976	9 th ed. 1995	12 th ed. 2011	1 st ed. 1948	2 nd ed. 1963	3 rd ed. 1974	5 th ed. 1995	3 rd ed. 2010
sweeper	1964	–	–	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	–	–	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb
tackle	1884	+ fb	+ fb	+	+	+ fb	+ fb				
team	1834	+ fb	+ fb	+	+	+	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+ fb	+
<i>yellow card</i>	1970	–	–	–	+ fb	+ fb	–	–	–	+ fb	+ fb

Notations

italics = the 15 words added to the original 25 taken from Görlach (2001)

– = non-inclusion

+ = inclusion

fb = football-specific definition

The Language of Dragon Boating in Hong Kong and Singapore*

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ABSTRACT

This research draws on elements of systemic functional linguistics to conduct a discourse analysis of dragon-boating in Asia, predominantly in the commercial areas of Hong Kong and Singapore, where this sport has both a long history and strong culture today. It seeks to understand how experiential and interpersonal meanings are related to this sport in a variety of online texts ranging from local news media sites, corporation team websites, sites from dragon boat companies specialising in training corporations, dragon boat paddlers' websites and other popular sources such as 'expatliving'. Findings demonstrate that dragon boating has certain unique characteristics which help to give it significance in this region. With the Duanwu Festival held annually, the sport is steeped firmly in mythology and legend. Additionally, the nature of the boat as a synchronised machine is exploited by corporations and linked to competitive performance. As an intense sport, physical and mental attributes such as 'strength' and 'tenacity' are associated with it; the upper body requirements of the practice also gives it a unique trait for breast cancer survivors. 'Tragedy' is also a part of dragon boat's modern history with a fatal accident for the Singapore men's team during an international race in Cambodia. In sum, the sport of dragon boating can be seen to have a rich schema of semiotic associations in Hong Kong and Singapore.

Keywords: systemic functional linguistics, discourse analysis, dragon-boating, Hong Kong and Singapore.

1. Introduction

The aim of the research is to explore the contexts in which dragon boating is presented and discussed in multiple texts in Hong Kong and Singapore to understand the cultural practices related to the sport. Using McGannon's (2016) words, the research seeks to provide a 'socially constructed, nuanced analysis of culture, identity and experience' (233) related to dragon boat in these cities. In this research, the objective is to provide an analysis which uncovers the discursive construction of dragon boating from a variety of texts from Hong Kong and Singapore; and thus, to better understand its nature in these contexts. To develop this understanding, the experiential meanings related to the sport are presented. As Halliday (1999) points out, humans 'make sense of the complex world, to classify, or group into categories, the objects and events' (355). Experiential meanings represent the active role of grammar in construing reality. Additionally, Appraisal (Martin & White, 2005; and Martin & Rose, 2007) from systemic functional linguistics and specifically the systems of meaning of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION belonging to ATTITUDE are employed. From initial analyses of multiple texts, these systems emerged to be the most relevant elements of the Appraisal framework for explaining the patterns of interpersonal meanings.

A variety of texts were collected to form a corpus of over 100 000 words. Local media sites such as *The Straits Times*¹, *The South China Morning Post*¹ and *Channel News Asia*¹ are explored; the discourse of company websites and their social media sites also. For example, two corporations heavily involved in dragon boat racing are *DBS*² and *HSBC*². Moreover, there are companies who specialise in providing dragon boat events and training for these corporations such as *SAVA*³ and *Dragon-Boat Innovate*³. In addition, many dragon boat clubs have their own websites or social media sites. Finally, the national archives of the Hong Kong and Singapore sports councils were investigated from 1981 to the present for reports on dragon boating events. Exploring the experiential and interpersonal meanings related to this sport through the language in these texts enables us to understand its nature in this context. It is, to this author's knowledge, research that has yet to be conducted in the field of the language of sports.

The paper begins by providing background knowledge about the commonly held beliefs of the historical origins of dragon boating. After that, the literature reviewed concerns how sport has been linked to cultural heritage and the workplace, which sets the backdrop for the section on dragon boating as a corporate sport. The paper then moves on to describe the methods for data collection as well as the data analysis approaches drawing on systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1978, 1999; Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2007). The findings then follow. Language observed from the data relates to several themes. One selective code is 'dragon boating as an Asian sport'. Axial codes under this section are 'tradition and identity building' and in-vivo code 'keeping dragon boat afloat'. Another selective code is 'corporate discourse'. Axial codes relating to this are 'synergy and putting team before self'; 'tenacity, spirit of excellence and competition'; as well as 'corporate responsibility and environmentalism'. 'Individual mental and physical health benefits' is the third selective code. This is separated into three axial codes: 'physical fitness, discipline and mental toughness'; 'being close to nature'; and

‘cancer survivors’. The final selective code is ‘tragedy’, as this is strongly in the public memory of Singapore’s national team’s dragon boating history.

2. Literature review

2.1. Sport and Asian culture

There has been some research on Asian sports such as Kung Fu or Wushu as a part of Asian culture (Gang, 2001; Wang, 2012). Wushu has a unique oriental underpinning as the Chinese language and complex imagery from nature is used to describe its techniques. Thus, Yang (2008) reports that despite English being the lingua franca in many Wu Shu classes, coaches still find it key to keep the Chinese terminology. These are seen as essential for teaching the sport’s essence. Other sports are also linked specifically to an Asian identity such as Speak Takraw and Chinlone. This latter is the national Burmese sport, and is deeply embedded in the Burmese Buddhist religion. Dragon boating can also be seen to be deeply embedded in Asian culture and have highly symbolic meanings.

Before looking at dragon boat’s contemporary experiential and interpersonal meanings, an overview of its history and its mythical origins demonstrates the depth of this culture in Asian societies such as Hong Kong and Singapore. Dragon Boating dates as far back as ancient Olympia in Asia. In fact, it is much more than a sport. Each year, a dragon boat festival known as the Duanwu Festival is held in Asian countries such as China, Malaysia, and Taiwan as well as Singapore and Hong Kong. The festival is a public holiday in these Asian societies and is steeped firmly in mythology and legend. The historical narrative evokes how the death of Qu Yuan (屈原, 340–278 BC), an official of the Chu State during the Warring States period, and a respected poet, occurred. The story holds that Qu Yuan was outspoken against the King’s idea to join forces with the state of Qin and for that was banished for treason. Over the next twenty years of his banishment, he wrote poetry extensively and in much of it lauded the Chu State. When Qin invaded and took control of Chu, he was heartbroken, and committed suicide in the Miluo River (a branch of the Yangtze) in 278 BC. When the locals heard of this, they rushed to the river and threw cooked rice balls into the water to prevent the fish from eating his body.

The process of throwing cooked food into the river became commonplace and the same activities are conducted every year as memorial to Qu Yuan’s life. Since then, the use of these boats to save Qu Yuan’s body has developed into dragon boating and the rice balls, referred to as *fongzi*, are now much more complex, mixed among other ingredients with pork, peanuts and salted eggs in glutinous rice and wrapped with bamboo leaves in a pyramid shape. Additionally, participants of the festival carry a *fragrant bag* of blue, green, red and yellow silk, fine satin or cotton. It is embroidered with animals, flowers and fruits and Chinese herbal medicines can be found inside. This bag is believed to ward off evil spirits and welcome in fortune and happiness for the year. The historical and cultural backdrop helps to explain why dragon boating might be used as a social identifier in Hong Kong and Singapore as it enables these citizens to draw on their Chinese history and culture.

2.2. Sport and the workplace

Another element of dragon boating in Hong Kong and Singapore is its link to the workplace and in particular corporate culture. These cities have a significant amount of dragon boat events that attract competitive national and international corporations. Before exploring this field, a brief overview of how sport has become viewed as part of the workplace culture is provided as a backdrop to this element of corporate culture today. In the 1970s, the term 'culture' began appearing as a corporate theme. Organizational value-systems were seen to be increasingly important if the corporation were to be effective. Deal & Kennedy (1982) point out that:

Companies that have cultivated their individual identities by shaping values, making heroes, spelling out rites and rituals, and acknowledging the cultural network have an edge. These corporations have values and beliefs to pass along — not just products. They have stories to tell — not just profits to make. They have heroes whom managers and workers can emulate — not just faceless bureaucrats. In short, they are human institutions that provide practical meaning for people, both on and off the job (Deal & Kennedy, 1982: 15).

The development of a strong identity developed as a necessary element of a positive corporate culture. Additionally, the persona of the successful employee who can be emulated, became accentuated as part of corporate culture. This developed into reasoning why sport can also be linked to corporate culture. Indeed, as the sport-corporate culture nexus has developed, it has become popular to posit that soft skills learned from sport can transfer to the workplace.

In their book *Applied Sport Management Skills*, Lussier & Kimball (2019) link organisational culture with team sport culture. They state that the ideal in both is to develop bonds to build a solid group identity. This identity can be built, according to Hal Leavitt, professor of organizational behaviour at Stanford University's Business School, by having 'your own team competing against others'. He points out how corporate executives may also utilize sport to overcome the entrenched hierarchy within corporations, and to reinforce the company culture. Arnold (1994) also contends that sport's positive value systems empower participants and are beneficial to employees. Roessler & Bredahl (2006) similarly portray how a company in West Zealand, Denmark, whose eighteen employees report how they were able to network with their colleagues and develop strong bonds eroding any divisions that might be present through their weekly swims and gymnastics sessions. Manufacturing, administration and strategic development sections socialised together building a team culture. This is concurred by Smith and Westerbeek (2007) who view sport in the workplace as a social influencer with its unique social responsibilities to engage participants and spectators. These factors are perhaps partially why corporate sporting activities are present on a global scale today with branding events such as the Standard Chartered Marathon occurring annually in Hong Kong and Singapore as well as in other business hubs around the world.

2.3. Corporate culture of dragon-boating in Hong Kong and Singapore

Brooke (2015) has researched dragon boating's prevalence in Hong Kong and Singapore. It appears that its links to the corporate section seems to be one of the reasons why it is so popular in this region. A good example of the growth of the sport in Singapore is represented through its main events calendar. In 1987, the Singapore Dragon Boat Association (SDBA) comprised only eighteen affiliates from both private and public institutions; it now boasts over one-hundred-and-thirty-five. There are at least two major competitions held in Singapore and Hong Kong every year. In Singapore, these are the Singapore World Invitational Dragon Boat Races and the Singapore River Regatta. In Hong Kong, these are The Hong Kong Dragon Boat Festival and the Hong Kong Dragon Boat Carnival. In 2018, at the Singapore River Regatta, two-thousand-and-fifteen dragon boat athletes in fifty-five participating teams competed in two all-day events on the 7th and 8th July 2018, with around half of these as corporate teams. Events like the Regatta provide a platform for fierce competition at the corporate level with races for women, men, and mixed gender teams. Some of the corporate teams are DBS Asia Dragons; Deloitte & Touche LLP; ExxonMobil; Hewlett Packard Asia Pacific; Hewlett Packard Singapore; HSBC Sports and Social Club; Keppel Dragons; Marina Bay Sands Dragons; POSB Dragons; Standard Chartered Bank; and Team OCBC Dragons. In addition to corporate crews, there are a number of companies who help to manage these events. Dragon Boat Innovate (DBI) and SAVA are good examples. SAVA's logo is 'think dragon-boat think-SAVA'. These companies exist solely as corporate dragon boat event organisers in Singapore. Their missions are to focus on training participants for racing or facilitating corporate teambuilding. The companies also hire out their fleets of dragon boats; and provide coaching expertise to teams on demand.

Confucianism, with its focus on ethical values, is said to be part of the way of life in cities such as Hong Kong and Singapore, profoundly influencing these societies at individual, community and national levels (Kuah, 1990; Chen & Chung, 1994). Consequently, Confucianism is present in corporate culture also (Kuah, 1990). It signifies a strong value of institutions, if they help to maintain social solidarity and enable people to live in harmony and prosperity. For Confucianism to function, a strong loyalty to hierarchy is required (Chen & Chung, 1994) represented in the value of *xiao* or filial piety (Kuah, 1990). The self should be viewed as subordinate to the collective good as a form of disciplined subordination. The collective may be the corporation, or the local, or national community. Also stemming from Confucianism is a focus on modelling what is 'good and successful' (Kuah, 1990). The *junzi* refers to exemplary persons. Citizens should seek to reproduce *junzi* behaviour in daily life. The *junzi* may refer to exceptional employees in the workplace (Chen & Chung, 1994). It can also refer to athletes involved in corporate sport activities. This link to Confucianism might also be a reason for the strength of the dragon boating culture in Hong Kong and Singapore as both *xiao* and *junzi* are valued.

3. Method

The aim of the research is to explore the contexts in which dragon boating is presented and discussed in multiple texts in Hong Kong and Singapore so as to understand the cultural practices related to the sport. Using McGannon's (2016) definition of critical discourse analysis, the research seeks to provide a 'socially constructed, nuanced analysis of culture, identity and experience' (McGannon, 2016: 233) related to dragon boat in these cities. The objective is therefore to uncover the discursive construction of dragon boating and to understand its nature in these contexts, not to enact social change as a function of critical discourse analysis, as noted in Fairclough's (2013) Critical Discourse Analysis overview. Through a process of textual analyses of multiple texts, hypotheses about how to present the findings from this research were formed and refined via a to-and-fro process of inductive and deductive reasoning (Walliman, 2005). It was found that a thematic presentation depicting the experiential meanings (Halliday, 1978, 1999), or content areas where the sport is discussed in the discourse, was most effective. Additionally, Appraisal (as set out by Martin & White, 2005; and Martin & Rose, 2007) from systemic functional linguistics, and specifically the systems of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION as parts of ATTITUDE, were surmised sound frameworks to help to present the interpersonal meanings given to the sport and its socio-political and cultural practices. Using these approaches combined to analyse news media sites, national archives, and websites of corporations and non-corporation teams involved in dragon boating from Singapore and Hong Kong, it is possible to capture how dragon boating is depicted and valued.

3.1. Data collection

Purposive sampling was employed to find suitable texts for the analyses. The texts were taken from online versions of the news media sites of *The Straits Times*¹, *The South China Morning Post*¹ and *Channel News Asia*¹. The criterion for selection was that the main heading of the news article should contain the term 'dragon boat'. In this way, the search criteria could be specific but also neutral in connotation, providing some objectivity. Thirty news media reports were examined using this method. Additionally, ten commentaries containing the term 'dragon boat' from the national archive of the Singapore Sports Council from 1981 to the present day were analysed. These describe dragon boating events in the region. Further, texts devoted to dragon boating from corporations such as *DBS*² and *HSBC*² were examined. Also, websites containing written texts and interviews from two companies specialising in dragon boat training for corporations were analysed. These companies are called *SAVA*³ and *Dragon-Boat Innovate*³. Five dragon boat paddle club social media sites were also examined. Finally, articles referencing dragon boat on well-known social media site 'expatliving' for Singapore (<https://expatliving.sg/>) and Hong Kong (<https://expatliving.hk/>) were also studied. In all, these sources provided a corpus of over 100 000 words.

3.2. Data analysis

McGannon (2016: 233) explains the main tenet of critical discourse analysis is to capture a 'socially constructed, nuanced analysis of culture, identity and experience'. This approach differs to Fairclough's (2013: 19) notion of critical discourse analysis based on a 'social wrong', which gives 'relative centrality given to social change'. In this research, discourse analysis is used, not to enact social change, but to uncover the discursive construction, and therefore the underlying nature, of dragon boating in Hong Kong and Singapore.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), developed by Michael Halliday, is a theory of language that provides effective tools to conduct discourse analysis because it also posits that language is a meaning-making resource which can only be understood in its situational contexts (Halliday, 1978). For this paper, the experiential meanings are drawn from content related to dragon boating as a sport such as historical associations and corporate as well as physical culture today. Experiential meanings are predominantly provided through lexical taxonomies and verbal processes for the instrumental reason of being able to represent and explore our experiences of the world (Halliday, 1978, 1999). In terms of the interpersonal meanings related to the sport, the system of Appraisal is drawn on. Martin and Rose (2007: 22) define Appraisal as a system about 'the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned'. ATTITUDE, a sub-group of Appraisal, has to do with evaluating things, people's character and their feelings (Martin & White, 2005) and is divided into AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. ATTITUDE is used for the analysis of the discourse in this study. AFFECT refers to the expression of negative or positive feelings. These feelings are further divided into 14 sub-categories: *happiness/cheer; happiness/affection; unhappiness/misery; unhappiness/antipathy; security/confidence; security/trust; insecurity/disquiet; insecurity/surprise; satisfaction/interest; satisfaction/admiration; dissatisfaction/ennui; dissatisfaction/displeasure; affect/fear; affect/desire*. ATTITUDE also comprises JUDGEMENT (evaluation of human behaviour), which can be distinguished between personal judgements of admiration or criticism and moral judgements of praise or condemnation (Martin & Rose, 2007). Finally, APPRECIATION is used to assess entities, things, and processes. It comprises three main subsystems: *reaction, composition, and social valuation* (Martin & White, 2005). This paper focuses specifically on *social valuation*. As Lee (2014) points out, *social valuation* analyses a writer's non-aesthetic assessment of a text or process. For example, whether it is viewed as crucial and of social significance or not. Thus, valuations are strongly influenced by their social environment.

Conventional content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), similar to a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), was conducted to construct the findings section. The process involves shifts from inductive to deductive reasoning. Initially, an immersion in the data to understand meanings related to dragon boating took place. Then, data were re-read in closer detail to derive thematic codes from specific areas of the dragon boating discourse; for example, as a historical or corporate sport. After that, exact words and phrases from texts collected were highlighted to capture key concepts and attitudes related to dragon boating. Thus,

with these initial analyses, the content areas (experiential meanings) as well as the subjectivity (interpersonal meanings) related to dragon boating were examined. The meanings derived at this stage from these observations of interpersonal language led to the decision to use a coding scheme drawing on ATTITUDE, JUDGEMENT and *social valuation* from APPRECIATION. Then, codes were sorted into meaningful clusters (axial codes) based on how they related. These axial codes were then further organised into categories or selective codes. In sections 4.1. to 4.4. selective codes can be found, while axial codes are found and represented in sections 4.1.1. to 4.3.3.

A seasoned independent qualitative researcher, and one versed in systemic functional linguistics, was provided with ten example excerpts of text collected randomly from the analysed corpus. The analyst was asked to code these texts by first interpreting their subject matter or experiential meanings to thematically label them. Then, the analyst was asked to describe these excerpts for their interpersonal meanings, or subjectivity, as a part of ATTITUDE, JUDGEMENT and *social valuation* from APPRECIATION. High agreement (80%) was reached with the primary researcher from these trials. Sixteen out of twenty meaning units were coded in consistent ways suggesting that these are accurate representations. Discrepancies were overcome through discussion. For example, rather than the axial code of ‘dragon boat enduring’, the independent researcher provided an in-vivo code (one directly citing a text) ‘keeping dragon boat afloat’. Other minor refinements were required to discuss inferences such as the one made in the axial code *tradition & identity building* in which the primary researcher observed a moral JUDGEMENT (*praise*) for the North Koreans rather than solely a feeling of building *trust* (AFFECT) with this nation’s citizens through the sport. The independent analyst had not made this observation but through discussion, agreement was found. Other discussions of this ilk occurred.

4. Findings

Dragon boating is consistently linked to positive AFFECT (Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2007) and is given great historical, cultural and social value in the corpus collected. Cultural and historical identity are important elements of the discursive construction with language commonly relating the sport to the Duanwu Festival, and its historical significance for these Asian cities. Selective codes in the findings constructed from the media texts relating to cultural and historical meanings are *tradition* and *identity building*. Dragon boating is also strongly linked to corporate culture in Hong Kong and Singapore. Salience is given to competitive strength, team building and social engineering in the corporate discourse. Selective codes constructed to relate these corporate meanings given to dragon boat are *synergy and putting team before self; tenacity, spirit of excellence and competition; as well as corporate responsibility and environmentalism*. Additionally, themes at a more individual level were observed to be common in the corpus. The selective code for this section is *individual mental and physical benefits*. Axial codes for this selective code are *discipline and mental toughness; being close to nature; and women cancer survivors*. Finally, a selective code *tragedy* emerges from the corpus as it appears consistently in the media. In 2007, Singapore’s national dragon boat team suffered a tragic accident during a competition in Cambodia. This proved fatal for five of its twenty-two-man crew.

4.1. Dragon boating as an Asian Sport

4.1.1. Tradition & identity building

Positive AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION permeate this selective code. The sport is consistently associated with historical and cultural *interest* (AFFECT) in the news media as well as the websites of corporations that specialize in setting up and running dragon boat events, such as SAVA and Dragon Boat Innovate (DBI). It is viewed as a unique platform because of these links. The sources explored refer to the ‘traditional pageantry’ of the events as well as ‘centuries-old-races’; and ‘rowing rituals’. Examples of footage portray different teams’ preparations and also present interviews with team members from various countries in Asia-Pacific. Part of the commentaries are also commonly linked to the special food eaten as well as other Asian cultural phenomena such as Chinese Opera, and Lion Dance. In the news media, JUDGEMENT (*esteem/admire*) is also very much present in the references to the behaviour of individuals at the festivals as they ‘re-enact the legend’ of Qu Yuan and ‘immortalise’ his death. Thus, participants in the dragon boating competitions are admired for their behaviour. *Social valuation* from APPRECIATION is also strong in these references because the sport is given great social significance as an entity. This is evident in several media articles such as this from The South China Morning Post, in which the journalist states: ‘Reverellers and rowers gathered at waterways across Hong Kong’. This demonstrates the widespread significance of the dragon boat festival as an island-wide activity. Additionally, these sporting traditions are commonly associated with *happiness/cheer* (AFFECT). In the article ‘Soaked in Fun’ in Singapore’s *Straits Times* about a Hong Kong dragon boat festival¹, the participants of a dragon boating event engage in a water fight to mimic rainfall to evoke the dragon gods. Similarly, in a *South China Morning Post* article⁴, participants of a dragon boat festival are reported to ‘Soak in the Fun and Festivities’ as they celebrate these rituals dating back to ancient times.

Dragon boating is also given *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) as a cultural identity signifier for Asians living outside the Asia region. It is valued because it is viewed as a way to further relations with other nations. For example, a media report in Singapore’s *The Straits Times* presents how Chinese citizens living in Uganda hosted a dragon boat event. The event was led by the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the China Africa Friendship Association of Uganda on the shores of Lake Victoria in Entebbe city, 40km South of the capital Kampala. The journalist writes how ‘The dragon boat festival not only serves as a competition and gathering, but also deepens the relationship between the two peoples and the two cultures’.⁵ Therefore, in this report there is an inference of how dragon boating is part of developing *security/trust* (AFFECT) between nations, which also gives it *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) as a tool for international relations.

In the same way, another article presents how dragon boating enabled the North Koreans to be initiated into Asian culture. A participant in that study states:

‘The North Koreans hardly knew what dragon boating, a traditional form of canoeing, was until the team came together’.⁶ Thus, not only was *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) as a cultural identifier present but it was also viewed as a detente builder between the North and South Koreans. This associates the sport with *security/trust* (AFFECT) also. In an interview in the article, a South Korean canoeist Eun Jeong-byun talks about being in the same boat and competing as a unified Korea: ‘I was deeply emotional... We’re divided and forbidden from seeing each other, but we both know the same song and speak the same language’. Therefore, dragon boating has a symbolic meaning as an acculturation mechanism for North Koreans as well as a unifying force for Asians; in this case, the Koreans. There is also here an inference of a moral JUDGEMENT (*praise*) for the North Koreans’ behaviour. Although they may be isolated and citizens of an unwanted social regime, they still remain Asian and are able and enthusiastic to appreciate their Asian identity through the practice of dragon boating. Thus, more praise seems to be given to their behaviour.

Social valuation (APPRECIATION) is also a part of dragon boating in terms of its community building at the national level in Singapore. In an interview at the Singapore National Premier Open final of the Singapore Dragon Boat Festival held at the Marina Channel on July 16, 2017, the Singapore Dragon Boating Association’s (SDBA) president Chia Shi-Lu⁷ states that the SDBA’s work spans across ‘three decades of community building through dragon boating’. He then remarks: ‘We hope that the sport will continue to attract more fans as we work closely ... to bring people from all walks of life together to build stronger community ties.’ As cities like Singapore and Hong Kong are both international hubs for business, there tends to be a mix of racial groups in the corporate sector. Many corporations have their own dragon boating teams; other international teams are from universities. In addition, there are some teams belonging to local community sports clubs. Dragon boating is viewed as a significant institutional unifier (*social valuation*/ APPRECIATION) for these different groups. There also appears to be moral JUDGEMENT (*praise*) of these dragon boating participants’ engagement in the activity as part of their duty to build relations with significant others.

Additionally, there are references to the dragon boat being a location where social status, gender and bodily shape become insignificant, inferring JUDGEMENT (*praise*). In a Dragon Boat Innovate (DBI) video,⁸ the boat is said to bring staff within a company ‘from CEO to janitor together to achieve a common goal’ and each has equal importance. The discourse in these promotional videos states that ‘mass participation’ regardless of age or fitness level can be facilitated. Similarly, in an article on the ‘expatliving’ website of Singapore,⁹ the captain of the British dragon boat team states that the sport is ‘all encompassing’. He goes on to point out that it is ‘one of the very few sports where men and women get to compete in the same team’. He also states: ‘We take in anyone who wants to join, whether they’re fat, thin, tall, short, male or female. Our slogan is: “One team, 16 nationalities, and two goals: Party hard! Paddle harder!’’. This demonstrates how the sport is given *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) as it can accommodate diversity, unlike traditional sports which tend to be single gendered and tend to seek the physically elite. As noted, there is also an inferred JUDGEMENT (*praise*) of the behaviour of the British dragon boat team as it is viewed as accepting of diversity. Dragon

boating is also associated with *happiness (cheer/affection)*, observed from the reference to 'party hard'.

4.1.2. 'Keeping dragon boat afloat'

Despite the symbolism related to an Asian identity, and the community building and diversity associated with dragon boating, several media texts discuss the difficulties the sport is facing. In this respect, *insecurity/disquiet (AFFECT)* is present in the discourse. Dragon boating is described as a sport that is not represented at the Olympics or even the Asian or SEA Games. Therefore, it is not considered as an official competitive sport with the usual formal codes to follow such as the World Anti-Doping Association's (WADA) regulations. A media text in *The Straits Times* relating to this lack of official status refers to the Singapore Dragon Boating Association (SDBA) as 'keeping dragon boat afloat'¹⁰ with its 30-year tradition of annual events. This metaphor of keeping the sport afloat is also represented by an interviewee from Daimler Financial Services in Singapore at a competitive event¹¹, who goes as far as saying that it is the region's responsibility to 'not let it die'. Similarly, the notion of the sport requiring active support to prevent it from disappearing is present in Hong Kong media articles. A journalist at The Hong Kong Dragon Boat Festival in Aberdeen fishing port refers to its links to the death of Qu Yuan in 278BC. He writes that these 'elements endure in dragon boat racing' as there is still the tradition of the 'fongzi'.¹² This idea of a sense of *insecurity/disquiet (AFFECT)* due to the possibility that the sport is fading away is reiterated in an article in the *South China Morning Post*.¹³ A local Ray Chan participant notes: 'Dragon boat racing has a rich history here and you've got to visit this event if you're a part of Hong Kong'. *Social valuation (APPRECIATION)* is therefore given to these agents who are involved in maintaining dragon boating as a sport. In these cases, there is also an implicit moral *JUDGEMENT (condemn)* that those who do not attend to support it, could be responsible for its potential disappearance.

Although there exists this negative view of the future of dragon boat, it is linked closely to the established socio-political institutions in Singapore and Hong Kong, providing it with *social valuation (APPRECIATION)*, and implicitly *praising (JUDGEMENT)* the establishment for its ongoing participation. The naming of the competitions helps to confer this meaning. There is the 'Prime Minister's Cup' to be won at an annual event for university teams. Similarly, there is the 'President Shield' in Hong Kong and the 'HKSAR Anniversary Dragon Boat Trophy' commemorating Hong Kong's liberation from Britain in 1997. These links with official Heads of State and important historical events at national levels in this Asian region, give it *social valuation (APPRECIATION)*. Moreover, the Singapore Prime Minister is photographed with winning teams several times in the news media. It is also common for other high-ranking officials to present trophies to the winners at competitive events in Hong Kong and Singapore. For example, Singapore's Minister for Education (Higher Education & Skills) and Second Minister for Defence Ong Ye Kung were the guests of honour at several recent dragon boating events. Through this building of *social valuation (APPRECIATION)* regarding the sport, there is also a strong association with *desire (AFFECT)* to preserve it. As noted, the Heads of State are also implicitly judged positively (*praise/JUDGEMENT*) for their participation in this activity.

4.2. Corporate discourse

4.2.1. Synergy and putting team before self

Dragon boating has much *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) in the corporate discourse. Dragon Boat Innovate's (DBI) Business Manager declares:

Many companies and organisations use the sport of dragon boating as a relevance to educate their staff, that working together is actually literally the same as paddling in the same boat.

Similarly, a corporate member of the Singapore Paddle Club¹⁴ reports that dragon boating is particularly good for team building. The need for the boat to be driven by one collective of paddlers emerges considerably. A member of the Dragon Boat Innovate (DBI) company¹⁵ states:

When you try the sport of dragon boating, that's where everybody will come together with that collective effort to paddle in synergy, paddle in cadence. That's when you realise that success is driven by unity.

Participation in the sport is therefore seen as a way for employees to understand that a successful workplace (social valuation/ APPRECIATION) is also 'driven by unity'.

The need for synchronisation is commonly discussed and contrasted to traditional team sports. The same DBI employee reports how teamwork in a dragon boat is different to traditional sports: 'even if I work in a team, you see a lot of individuals in a team, more (like) a blend'. In the same way, on corporation SembCorp's¹⁶ webpage, the dragon boat page contains the headline 'Many Hearts, One Stroke'. Importance is given to synergy as a team can win even if it is weaker statistically, according to the DBI interviewee: 'A team with lesser strength but better synchronization can actually be a stronger team, right?' 'Teamwork', 'unity', 'focus' and 'alignment' are all concepts referred to as important for dragon boating and performativity. Thus, the very strong need for paddler synchronisation in the sport is given *praise* (JUDGEMENT) and this is linked to 'putting team before self'. Paddlers must pay careful attention to the caller's instructions to ensure precise synchronisation essential for performativity. A standard boat comprises twenty paddlers, a steerperson, facing the bow; and a drummer, standing or sitting high at the bow with a large drum, facing the paddlers. The paddlers sit in pairs. The first pair are the pacers or strokes who establish the team's pace by following the rhythm of the drum. The paddlers behind seek to synchronise their reach with the Stroke on the opposite side. Paddlers on the starboard (right) mimic the pacing of the stroke on the port side (left) and vice versa. If paddlers are not paddling in unison, an effect similar to the movement of a centipede is produced and a significantly slower boat, the result. Therefore, although strength is important, synchronisation is essential. This is also linked to *happiness/affection* (AFFECT) in several texts. For example, one corporate member of the Singapore Paddle Club states: 'It's a very different feeling when you're all paddling in a boat and everyone is working towards the same goal - you can't find it in an individual sport'.

The concept of synchronisation is also given strong *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) in the corporate environment. The sport of dragon boating might be developed in corporations in these cities because it requires disciplined subordination to authority, which is also a fundamental element of Confucianism (Chen & Chung, 1994). This philosophy is argued by political scientists to exist as a part of the corporate culture in both Hong Kong and Singapore (Chen & Chung, 1994; Kuah 1990). Community should also come before self in Confucianist thought. Thus, the Confucianist culture of following a leader might be linked to following the beating of the drum and the pacers. It appears from the interviews with corporations involved in dragon boating that *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) is given to this disciplined subordination and acceptance of authority in both environments. It also appears that the ability to provide exemplary synergy in the boat is given *praise* (JUDGEMENT). A successful dragon boating team is said to be excellent for corporate ‘brand building’ and a strong image advertised at events can be a powerful message to other corporations. In this way, the practices of a corporate dragon boat team are also viewed with *admiration* (AFFECT).

4.2.2. Tenacity, spirit of excellence and competition

Reported on the DBS newsroom webpage¹⁷, DBS Singapore Country Head, states that the DBS Marina Regatta ‘demonstrates our tenacious spirit’ and it ‘plays to our spirit of excellence and competition’. These ideas of tenacity, excellence and competition as elements of corporate culture are viewed with *esteem/admire* (JUDGEMENT). Not only are these seen as essential learning areas for dragon boating but also as important in the corporate context. According to SAVA¹⁸, employees, participating in dragon boating might lead to ‘increased productivity and effectiveness’ and ‘decreased absenteeism’ at work as ‘tenacity’ in participants is developed. This provides strong *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) to the sport as an institution helping to maintain the smooth running of the Hong Kong and Singapore societies. Further, corporate dragon boat victories in national competitions demonstrate a ‘spirit of excellence’ in corporations separating the best from the crowd. It also allows the merits of exemplary employees, or as Deal and Kennedy (1982) state, ‘heroes’ who ‘have an edge’, to be rewarded as posters of the team are published at corporate dragon boating events and on intranets. This focus on modelling what is ‘good and successful’ can also be linked to Confucianist ideals. Therefore, *esteem/admire* (JUDGEMENT) is an important element of the Hong Kong and Singapore corporate environments. This might also help towards the sport’s popularity in these cities.

4.2.3. Corporate responsibility and environmentalism

Corporate responsibility and environmentalism are also becoming increasingly linked to dragon boating in the region. The sport is connected to *condemning* (JUDGEMENT) behaviour negatively impacting the environment. In a 2014 Straits Times article, Dr Chia Shi-Lu, Singapore Dragon Boat Association president¹⁹ points out how the annual Singapore River Regatta focus not only on the sport but also on raising awareness about the environment and in particular ‘the importance of keeping our water bodies clean’. The mascot for the 2014 regatta was Bobby the hawksbill turtle to promote environmental conservation. Similarly, in an article from

2019, the DBS Marina Regatta in Singapore also features ‘carnival activities centred on sustainability and environmental issues’. The headline for the article is ‘DBS Regatta goes green’.²⁰ At the festival, solar energy is used; urban farming is presented; there are also activities demonstrating marine life in the oceans and how they are impacted by plastic waste. Similarly, in Hong Kong, a South China Morning Post article,²¹ offers the heading ‘Enter the dragon boat: Hong Kong rowers brave 12 hours in Taiwan waters for green fundraiser’. An event, organised by Dragon Overtime, a dragon boat team, set out to raise HK\$5.3 million to help support clean-up efforts of the rivers in that region. It appears therefore that some corporations involved in dragon boating are trying to raise awareness about the harmful practices impacting the environment and the importance of conservation. This discourse also helps to provide *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) to the sport as a vehicle through which these essential awareness-raising messages can be conveyed.

4.3. Individual mental and physical health benefits

4.3.1. Physical fitness, discipline, mental toughness and being close to nature

Dragon boating is a very intensive sport with 1000 metre races covered in about 5 minutes. Mental and physical strength are reported as essential requirements from athletes in multiple sources. The Singapore Dragon Boat Association states on its website²² that ‘Dragon boating is an excellent sport which strongly promotes the important intrinsic life values of teamwork, discipline, physical fitness and mental toughness.’ Similarly, articles on individual paddlers such as one in *The Straits Times*²³ often reference how doing a sport such as dragon boating develops ‘mental strength, resilience and discipline’. In several other texts, such as the following from Hong Kong paddlers,²⁴ it is stated that ‘you need discipline to go beyond the pain’. References to individual benefits from being close to nature in the dragon boat are also common. This is linked to ‘an absolute sense of freedom’ and ‘mental well-being’ (Dragon-Boat Innovate, DBI.²⁵ Similarly, in a UNESCO²⁶ source discussing the cultural heritage of Asian sport, a harmonious and healthy relationship between humanity and nature is said to develop from dragon boating. In these cases, feelings such as *happiness/affection* (AFFECT) are evoked about the sport as well as a moral JUDGEMENT related to *praise* for dragon boating, which harmoniously abides with nature. In this case, dragon boating might be compared to sports such as golf and motor racing, which are well-known for their negative impact on the environment (*condemn*/JUDGEMENT).

4.3.2. Women cancer survivors

There are also several reports of dragon boat teams entirely comprised of cancer survivors. Survivors of breast cancer are said to join together to paddle dragon boats to the benefit of their physical health and social wellbeing. Women who have suffered with breast cancer are at risk of developing lymphedema following surgical and/or medical treatment of the disease. Because of this, they were advised not to participate in any upper body activity. However, women’s dragon boat teams have sprung up to challenge this medical suggestion. Dragon boating has had positive

results on participants' health. This indicates a moral JUDGEMENT (*esteem/admire*) for participation in the sport as a positive act defying negative, limiting medical advice. In this context, a moral JUDGEMENT related to *condemning* the medical authority is also present as these paddlers spoke out against this initial advice to avoid upper body activity. Several teams in Hong Kong and Singapore are now supported by the International Breast Cancer Paddlers' Commission (IBCPC). They have proven that the sport can have very positive impacts on their health.

There is a Singapore team known as the 'Paddlers in Pink'²⁷ comprising only breast cancer survivors and supporters. The group is portrayed in *The Straits Times*.²⁸ The dragon boaters are publicized as part of a campaign to raise awareness about the importance of conducting regular mammograms. According to the article, less than forty per cent of women aged between fifty and sixty-nine undergo breast cancer screening. On the webpage of the 'Paddlers in Pink', they state that on their Pink Boats an important message is provided: 'Early Detection Saves Lives, Saves Breasts!' Additionally, the team's tagline is 'We can, we dare, we live it! Paddlers in Pink Rock!' This idea of daring and living is also brought up in an article on a Paddler in Pink.²⁹ Breast cancer survivor Irene Chui states that she enjoys dragon boating because of the need for 'endurance' and 'perseverance'. These are both characteristics she has needed in her fight with cancer. In this report, the journalist demonstrates *admiration* (AFFECT) for the dragon boater. This also conveys the message that individuals are responsible for their own lives (moral JUDGEMENT/*esteem/admire*). Additionally, in this aspect of the dragon boating discourse, the sport is given *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) as a vehicle for maintaining breast cancer survivors' health in both Hong Kong and Singapore.

4.4. Tragedy

Dragon boating is linked to tragedy in Singaporean discourse. In 2007 in Cambodia, the Singaporean national dragon boat capsized during a training run. Several local news sources cover the incident. Channel News Asia devoted a five-part series in November 2017 to mark the 10th anniversary of the accident, which left five Singaporean national dragon-boaters dead. One of these parts is written by journalist Justin Ong, who was a member of the crew of the boat team.³⁰ It is entitled 'I escaped death. 5 of my teammates didn't' and is accompanied with a local spectator's video of the tragedy. Ong recollects his experiences in Phnom Penh on the river Tonle Sap or 'large river', connecting to the Mekong. The currents of the river were strong: 'churning, surging, spitting me back at speeds of up to 8 knots - as fast as the most ferocious white-water rapids', he recollects. When the boat crashes into a pontoon at speed, which is about 50-square metres in size, set up for the event, it quickly sinks, with the athletes still seated in it. The 22 crew members spend the next few moments in the pitch-black darkness fighting the currents trying to escape from underneath the pontoon. Ong was lucky. He remarks:

I was last to be picked up, with my teammate on a rescue boat grabbing me by the tights as I floated past lifelessly. I hazily recall choking on water as I came to, a local's open mouth hovering over mine, his fist on my chest.

In the fifth part of the report, Bryan Kieu, former coach of the women's national team and national paddler states that the 'event helped trigger some shaking up of the whole ecosystem' and that 'attention, resources and energy were pooled to make things happen'. Because of the tragedy, dragon boating in Singapore became better funded and organised. In 2007, the men's team participated in the world championships and since then, men's, women's and mixed teams have won medals at multiple international dragon boating events. Kieu posits that these achievements were in large part because the community was 'determined to do it right and move forward on a fresh note' after the Cambodia tragedy.

In these recounts and reflections on the incident, language tends to not only exhibit tragedy and feelings of *unhappiness/misery* (AFFECT) but there is also inferred a moral JUDGEMENT (*condemn*) of the mismanagement of the event in Cambodia. When Ong recounts his narrative, he refers several times to the 'conditions'. As he describes these conditions, he invokes a lack of organisation through feelings of *displeasure* (AFFECT). For example, he states: 'a topless toddler defecated into the river' and a villager was 'rinsing clothes near the team's rest area'. Ong also refers to the 'abnormality of the river'. The Tonle Sap is known as the 'reversing river' because the force of water rushing through it causes its current to be reversed. For four to five months, the river flows upstream instead of down. This anomaly causes a 'ferocious' current. Together these characteristics demonstrate that it was not a well-managed event, inferring a moral JUDGEMENT (*condemn*) of the organisers in Cambodia.

5. Conclusion

From this study of the language related to dragon boating in multiple diverse texts providing a corpus of over 100 000 words, it is evident that this sport helps to build and maintain the identities of the cities of Hong Kong and Singapore through a number of semiotic associations. A considerable extent of discourse is concentrated on fun experienced at festivals (*happiness/cheer/AFFECT*). Additionally, dragon boat's historical and cultural *interest* (AFFECT) as an Asian sport and how traditions have been kept alive through the centuries are consistently evoked. In relation to this tradition, *social valuation* (APPRECIATION) is also present as the sport can be seen as an institutionalised social identifier. That is also represented by the establishment often being associated with the sport. Appearances of Prime Ministers, and other important members of state, at festival events lends the sport credibility and status despite its lack of recognition by sporting organisations such as the International Olympic Committee. The establishment is often *esteemed* and *admired* (JUDGEMENT) for its participation at these events. Overseas, in Uganda, or in races with the North Koreans, dragon boating is also connected to feelings of *security/trust* (AFFECT) as relationships between nations are strengthened through the sport. Dragon boating is also strongly linked to the corporate world of Singapore and Hong Kong. In this milieu, it is said to be an activity offering ideal opportunities for shows of team building and excellence (JUDGEMENT/*esteem/admire*). This is also the way the Confucianism connects to both corporate culture and dragon boating. This philosophy holds similar characteristics such as a respect for excellence and a strong loyalty to hierarchy (Chen & Chung, 1994) represented in the value of *xiao* or filial piety. Apart from that, the language of dragon boating

tends to focus on the sport as a means to develop mental and physical strength and, interestingly, is taken up by a particular group of cancer survivors because of its focus on upper body strength. In this context, a moral JUDGEMENT (condemn) of the medical field is present as well as more (JUDGEMENT/*esteem/admire*) for cancer survivor participants. Finally, tragedy is connected to the sport's modern history with the national team's boat accident in 2007 in Cambodia.

Notes

* Received: May 9, 2019; Accepted: October 15, 2019.

1 *The Straits Times*, <https://www.straitstimes.com/>; *The South China Morning Post*, <https://www.scmp.com/frontpage/international>, and *Channel News Asia*, <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/>.

2 *DBS*, <https://www.dbs.com/corporate-citizenship/dbs-in-the-community/dbs-marina-regatta/default.page>, and *HSBC*, <https://www.facebook.com/HsbcCommercialBankingDragonBoatTeam/>.

3 *SAVA*, https://www.facebook.com/pg/SG.SAVA/events/?ref=page_internal, and *Dragon-Boat Innovate (DBI)*, <http://www.dbi.com.sg/>

4 See <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/community/article/2151239/hong-kong-celebrates-dragon-boat-festival-rowing-rituals>.

5 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/world/africa/dragon-boat-festival-in-uganda-bridges-peoples-and-cultures>.

6 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/sport/unified-koreas-first-medal>.

7 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/sport/more-than-3000-turn-up-for-singapore-dragon-boat-festival-sim-rule-in-prime-ministers-cup>.

8 See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7X5a_4zoS_I#t=198.

9 See <https://expatliving.sg/interview-paul-robinson-on-dragon-boating-in-singapore/>.

10 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/sport/keeping-dragon-boating-afloat>.

11 See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7X5a_4zoS_I#t=198.

12 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/multimedia/photos/soaked-in-fun-at-dragon-boat-festival>.

13 See <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/community/article/2151239/hong-kong-celebrates-dragon-boat-festival-rowing-rituals>.

14 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/sport/dragon-boating-ex-national-lindsay-tan-relishes-new-racing-experience-with-singapore-paddle>.

15 See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7X5a_4zoS_I#t=198.

16 See https://www.sembcorp.com/internal_enewsletter/sepoct10/ppl_Dragon_Boat_Race.htm.

17 See https://www.dbs.com/newsroom/DBS_Marina_Regatta_returns_bigger_than_ever_as_DBS_celebrates_its_Golden_Jubilee.

18 See <http://www.sava.com.sg/>.

19 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/paddlers-at-singapore-river-regatta-encouraged-to-protect-environment>.

20 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/sport/dbs-regatta-goes-green>.

21 See <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/health-environment/article/2138611/enter-dragon-boat-hong-kong-rowers-brave-12-hours>.

22 See <http://sdba.org.sg/events/11th-national-inter-schools-dragon-boat-championship-2011-2/>.

23 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/dragon-boat-training-helps-him-unwind>.

24 See <https://vrcpaddleclub.com/>.

25 See <http://www.dbi.com.sg/>.

26 See <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/dragon-boat-festival-00225>.

27 See <https://www.facebook.com/BCFPIP>.

28 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/pink-train-to-highlight-breast-cancer-risks>

29 See <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/health/dragon-boating-helps-mum-grow-young>.

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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



1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Methodology

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

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

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

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

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

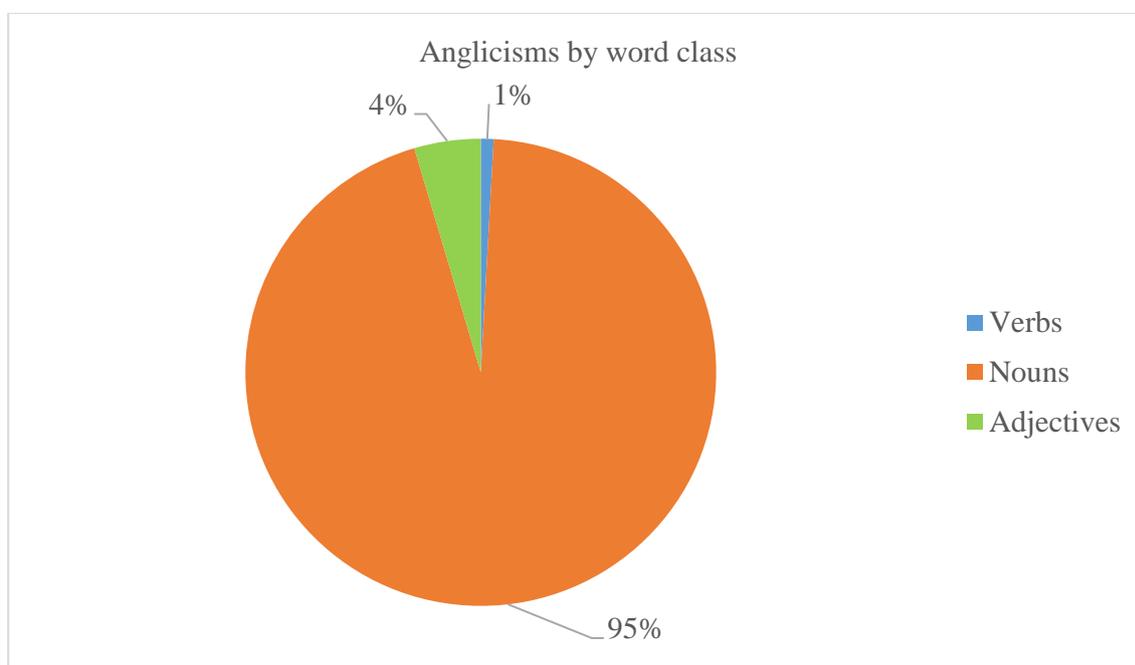
Magazines	Web sites
Aire Libre, January-February (issue 272)	Campo Activo, Aventura y naturaleza
Aire Libre, March (issue 273)	Deportes de Aventura para todos
Aire Libre, April (issue 274)	Karma Turismo Activo
Aire Libre, May (issue 275)	Multiaventura Buendía
Aire Libre, June (issue 276)	My protein
Aire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

Table 1. Textual corpus

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

3. Analysis

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



Graph 1. Anglicisms by word class

3.1. The gender of nouns

We will firstly establish the various factors determining the gender assignment of loanwords to see whether the general tendency of using the masculine is observed. Secondly, a classification of the gendered items of our corpus will be provided according to the established factors, as well as the reasons describing gender assignment. We would like to determine whether there is a hierarchy of dominance between different kinds of gender assignment criteria when dealing with Anglicisms in Spanish touristic texts.

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

Several studies on gender assignment have been carried out in situations of language contact, especially in the United States (Zamora, 1975; Barkin, 1980; Poplack, Pousada and Sankoff, 1982; Chaston, 1996; García, 1998; Smead, 2000; Dubord, 2004). The main differences between these pieces of work and our own research are that almost all of them are based on interviews and tests with lists of words and not on the analysis of written texts; and that the bilingual context in which the subjects live is different from the situation in Spain, though there is a considerable influence from the English language. In this sense, our study is in line with the investigation carried out by Onysko et al. (2013).

Dubord examines how Anglicisms are incorporated into the grammatical structures of the Spanish language, mainly gender assignment, in a situation of language contact, and states that “Spanish in the Southwest [of the United States] is going through a process of simplification that could lead to random gender assignment or the overgeneralization of one gender” (2004: 28). In fact, she concludes that there is a tendency to use the masculine when unsure of the assigned gender or a tendency to use the masculine with English words or new cognates. This claim was already present in Hock (1991: 401), who states that there is “a default class to which words are assigned if none of the other criteria provides a solution”. Subsequently, this involves that the masculine gender will prevail over the feminine in Spanish. This is also the conclusion reached by other scholars, for example, Zamora (1975: 243), who explains that “menos de una tercera parte de los nombres fueron asignados al femenino al incorporarse al español; parece evidente que el masculino resultaba el más productivo de los géneros” [Our translation: “less than a third of the nouns were assigned to the feminine when introduced into Spanish; it seems to be evident that the masculine turned out to be the most productive of the genders”].

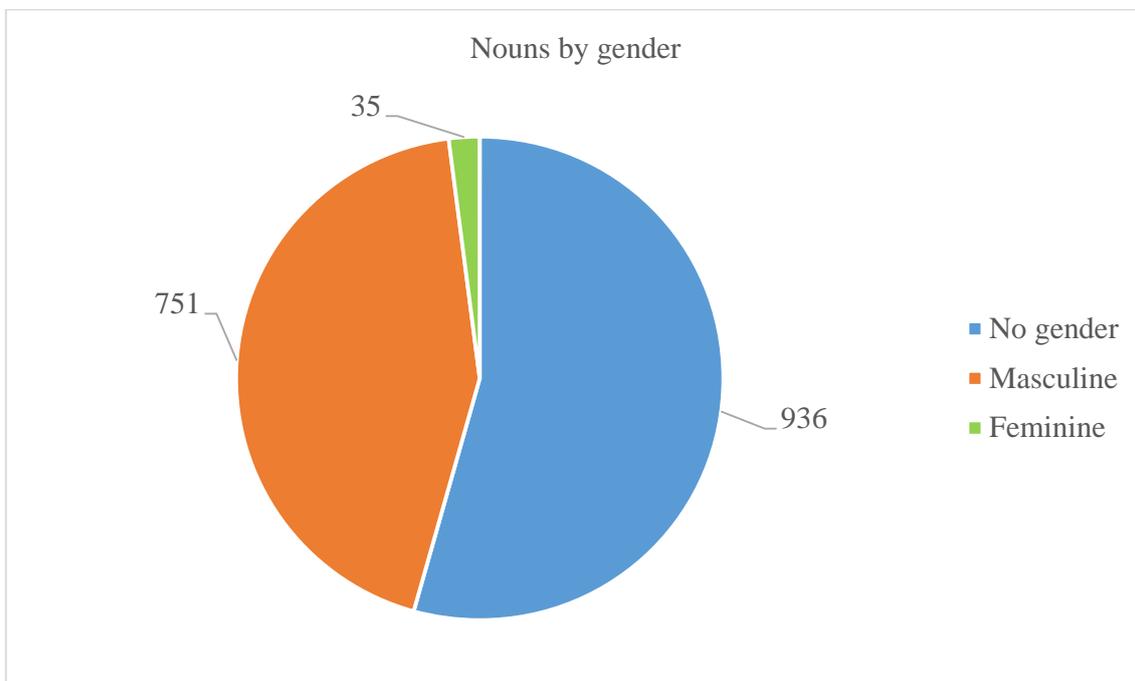
Dealing with the gender assigned to loanwords, Corbett (1991: 74) claims that “loanwords are assigned to a gender according to meaning or form, depending on the assignment system of the borrowing language”. On the contrary, Barkin (1980: 105) states that “the gender of an English loanword in Spanish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

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

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

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

After analysing the collected data, we can point out that the majority of the terms have no gender marking in the texts of the selected magazines and web pages, as shown in Graph 2:



Graph 2. Results for gender

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

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

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

These findings make it sometimes difficult to determine why the noun is masculine: because of the influence of the phonological criterion, because of its association with its equivalent term in Spanish, or because it is the unmarked gender and, therefore, masculine by default. Likewise, it is impossible to confirm with certainty whether *skatepark*, for example, is masculine through association with *parque* in Spanish, since it could also be explained as a case of unmarked gender, as final /k/ is not usually found at the end of words. The problem is to determine whether a speaker who has no knowledge of the English language is able to establish a semantic association between *park* and *parque*.

More than half of the total nouns analysed (54.36%) presented no gender assignment; the rest of the terms, that is, those which were marked for gender, applied the aforementioned criteria with variable degrees of productivity. The following sections include a more qualitative explanation of the use of each criterion for the assignment of gender according to the findings in our corpus.

3.1.1. Phonological Criteria

Very often the gender in Spanish can be deduced by the ending of the word. Thus, nouns are feminine if they finish in: *-a*: *casa* ‘house’. Important exceptions are *día* ‘day’ and modern classic borrowings *tema* ‘topic’, *problema* ‘problem’ or *programa* ‘programme’. Some suffixal endings included within feminines are:

- dad, tad*: *ciudad* ‘city’, *libertad* ‘freedom’;
- ión, ción*: *reunión* ‘meeting’, *nación* ‘nation’;
- umbre*: *cumbre* ‘summit’, *costumbre* ‘custom’;
- ez*: *palidez* ‘paleness’;
- sis*: *crisis* ‘crisis’, *tesis* ‘thesis’, but *oasis* ‘oasis’ and *brindis* ‘toast’ are masculine;
- itis*: *otitis* ‘otitis’, *rinitis* ‘rhinitis’.

A noun is masculine mainly if it ends in:

- o: *libro* ‘book’. Exceptions are *mano* ‘hand’ and clippings like *foto* ‘photo’, *moto* ‘motorbike’, among others;
- l: *papel* ‘paper’, *pincel* ‘brush’;
- n: *balón* ‘ball’, *jardín* ‘garden’;
- e: *parque* ‘park, playground’, *elefante* ‘elephant’. Noticeable exceptions include *leche* ‘milk’, *llave* ‘key’, *noche* ‘night’ and *sangre* ‘blood’;
- r: *dolor* ‘pain’, *sudor* ‘sweat’. However, *flor* ‘flower’ is feminine;
- s: *interés* ‘interest’, *mes* ‘month’.

When the word ends in *–ed*, it is mainly masculine as in *el césped* ‘the lawn’, but *la pared* ‘the wall’ is feminine. Likewise, there are some other minor rules governing gender assignment, but no instances are found in our corpus.

Although many of the terms in our corpus are introduced in the language through written discourse, the occurrences analysed allow us to assert that if we follow the phonological criterion, gender assignment is determined by the pronunciation of the last segment of the word by a Spanish speaker. The difficulty lies in finding out how a Spanish speaker pronounces a certain ending, because the cognitive process underlying the gender assignment would be different depending on whether a specific item is assigned to the masculine because of its pronunciation or because it is the unmarked gender in Spanish. Even two different speakers might activate distinct mechanisms which are hard to determine. This means we cannot completely rule out the idea that “the masculine default strategy is, at least to some degree, driven by phonological factors” (Beatty-Martínez & Dussias, 2019: 5).

All in all, we have taken into account the ending of the word and following this, nouns are feminine if they end in *–a*, such as *adrenalina*, *gymkhana*, *ionosfera* and *jungla*. It is worth noting that in the case of *adrenalina*, whose origin is English, although based on Latin according to the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, it is perfectly understood as a feminine due to its ending in *–a*. However, it is striking that it does not follow the tendency of internationalisms, coined on classical etymons, where the *–a* ending stands for masculine as in *mapa* ‘map’ or *telegrama* ‘telegram’.

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

Apart from the lexical units mentioned above, other masculine nouns within this group are those ending in /r/, especially in *–er*, like *freerider*, *poliéster*, *snowboarder* or *snurfer*. Although Barkin (1980: 107–108) states that “[...] English borrowings that end in *–er* [...] are assigned to the feminine gender”, all the nouns ending in *–er* in our corpus are masculine. In favour of this interpretation, Zamora (1975: 246) explains that “la mayoría de los sujetos aceptaron que *freezer* se pronunciaba [fríser] y asignaron la palabra al masculino, atendiendo al segmento final” [Our translation: “most subjects admitted [fríser] as the right pronunciation for *freezer* and assigned the word to the masculine gender, taking into account the final segment”].

The terms *slalom*, *solarium* and *tándem* also belong to this group. There are very few lexical items ending in <m> in Spanish. In fact, they tend to be borrowings adopted from several languages at different times; for example, from Latin (*fórum*, *quórum*, *réquiem*), from Arabic (*islam*, *harem*), from French (*álbum*). All of them have taken the masculine gender.

Finally, the explanation about *ponche* being a masculine is not so transparent, as nouns ending in *-e* are mainly masculine, but there are noticeable feminine nouns in *-e* as well. Finally, we consider that *freeride*, *freestyle*, *halfpipe* and *quarterpipe* belong under this criterion because Spanish speakers would probably pronounce them with a final /e/, which complies with the criterion for masculine gender, just like other words ending in /e/. Very often the advertising world gives clues about the pronunciation of foreign words in Spain. Thus, brand names like *Scotch-brite*, *Colgate* and *Palmolive* are pronounced with a final /e/, while more recent ones, like *Dove*, try to reproduce the English sound.

We also have here some examples ending in <i/y> and <ie> preceded by a consonant, as in *walkie talkie*, *buggys/bugis*, *canopy*, *jacuzzi* and *safari*. It is dubious that Spanish speakers may pronounce *canopy* as it is in English; they would certainly stress the second syllable, which is the most frequent pattern found in Spanish words.

3.1.2. Morphological Criteria

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

Another relevant issue is the fact that, as happens in other Romance languages, the unmarked gender in Spanish is the masculine. This means that when doubting about which gender a foreign item should take, nouns tend to be assigned to the masculine one. Thus, this criterion is clearly applied to nouns ending in a consonant sound which is not frequent or documented in Spanish, like *bus-bob*, *club*, *kayac/kayak*, *chip*, *surf*, or those ending in *-ing*, like *camping*, *mushing*, *rafting*, *trekking*, *cross training*, *trailrunning*, *wave riding*, *zorbing*, etc. Examples of loanwords or native coinages (e.g. *puenting* and *goming* for *bungee jumping*) with the suffix *-ing* are numerous in Spanish and all of them take the masculine gender as mentioned by Lorenzo Criado (1996: 250–251), among others.

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

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

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

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

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

The same applies to nouns like *cicloturista*, *kayakista* and *surfista*. We classified them in this group, because they are used as generic. Although some people would like to eradicate this usage, traditionally the masculine serves to designate not only males but also females when both sexes are present. The examples *cicloturista*, *turista(s)*, *kayakista* and *surfista(s)* are used as generic terms to refer to any tourist (*cicloturista* < *cycle+tourist* or *turista*) and any kayakist or surfer. Likewise, *musher*, being the person in charge of the training and care of dogs, is always treated as masculine and so is *handler*, ‘the musher’s assistant’, because it is used as a generic reference for person.

3.1.3. Semantic Criteria

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

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

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

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

Another feminine noun is *mountain bike* and the initials *MTB*, because the speaker can easily associate it with the equivalent meaning in Spanish (*bicicleta*). Other feminine noun phrases are *Monster Bike Race* and *Open Race*, because *carrera* (‘race’) is a feminine and so is *academia* recalling *academy* in *Photo Academy*. The rest of the items are masculine, because the noun they recall in Spanish is also masculine. For instance, *el benji*, *big jump* and *bungee jump* referring to jump as a noun (‘el salto’). Both *chipsystem* and *snow park* can be considered compounds; in Spanish the gender is provided by the second element, where both *system* (‘el sistema’) and *park* (‘el parque’) are masculine. Finally, any speaker who has a basic instruction in English would recognize *water men* as a plural form of *water man*, where the Spanish equivalent, ‘hombre’, is masculine; in fact, the words *man/men* are frequently used in some advertisements on TV.

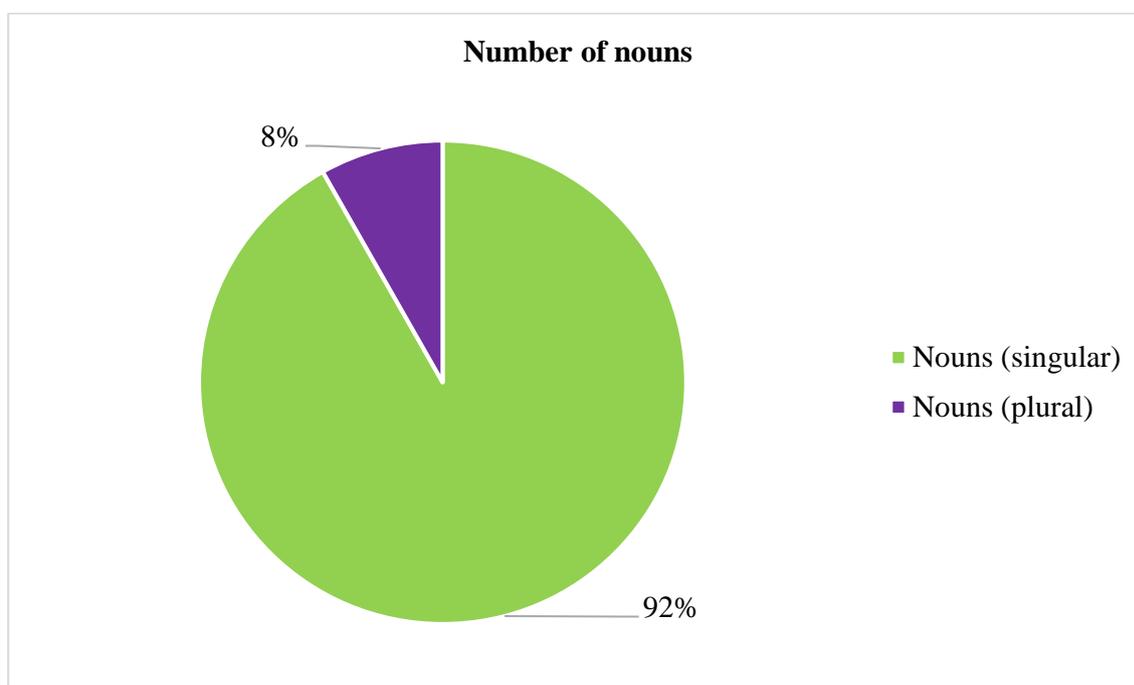
Likewise, under this criterion paronyms, such as *interface* and *interfaz*, are documented. The term *interfaz* in our corpus is attested as a feminine noun, for instance, in “Una interfaz de pantalla táctil fácil de usar facilita a los invitados la impresión de sus propias fotos” [An interface with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

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

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

3.2. The number of nouns

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



Graph 3. Number of nouns²

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 2. Classification of nouns in plural

Regarding the analysis of the results, we can establish three groups: Anglicisms following the Spanish rules for plural assignment (72.34%), Anglicisms following the English rules for plural assignment (22.70%) and those with zero plural (4.96%). Probably their inclusion in these groups gives a clue about the degree of assimilation of the word in the language. As Rodríguez González (2002: 159) points out, the speaker selects the plural allomorph that must be applied to an Anglicism depending on the level of assimilation that the item has reached in the system. Most speakers would not understand these words out of context (for instance, *freeriders*, *snowboarders*, *quads*, *raids*, etc.), so the English plural formation is kept as an identity mark of their foreign character. Although it is also possible that speakers are not aware of the Spanish rules for plural assignment in the case of borrowings and decide, therefore, to keep the original plural formation, as they may have some knowledge of the English language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Conclusions

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

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

In fact, the study of gender assignment is one of the most interesting aspects of the analysis: the assimilation process of Anglicisms in Spanish is recorded in the way in which speakers assign gender to foreign elements that lack grammatical gender in their original language. That is the case of English borrowings adopted into Spanish. Our results are similar to those obtained in previous research, which validates our first hypothesis: the masculine is the preferred gender in loanwords. This is so, either because the masculine is generally assigned to nontypical endings, or because it is the default or unmarked gender or due to the fact that it also serves a mark for the generic.

By way of conclusion, it should be clarified that the present classification of terms is not definite but arguable in some respects. Our goal is to show tendencies in the

gender assignment of the Anglicisms found in touristic texts; hence the fact that an isolated element could be inserted in one group or another does not drastically influence the final result. There is still space for future research in determining the factor that accounts for the so-called masculine tendency, since it is not easy to discern the mechanism that drives speakers' decision in gender assignment. What seems clear is the fact that it is a multifactorial issue motivated by the above-mentioned factors.

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

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

Notes

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1. On the one hand, we have taken the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* as the main source of incorporation of items in our corpus, even if some of the other dictionaries consulted did not agree with the ultimate origin of the word. This is the case of *trekking*, *safari* and *ski*, which the *Oxford English Dictionary* considers of Dutch, Swahili and Norwegian origin respectively. But we have included the first two items, since the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* labels them as Anglicisms, whereas the third is of French origin. On the other hand, not all the items in our corpus come from touristic contexts; this is the case, for example, of *GPS*, *record* or *swell*, which we have included because they were found in those touristic texts that were analysed.

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

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

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“Para Hacer un Buen *Reentry* es Esencial que te Salga Bien el *Bottom Primero*” – The Presence of English in Portuguese and Spanish Surf Talk*

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ABSTRACT

Although modern surfing can be traced back to early 20th century Hawaii, only quite recently has surfing become a truly global phenomenon. The aim of this paper is to discuss how the arrival of such a new cultural phenomenon as surfing to the Spanish and Portuguese speaking world is managed linguistically, i.e. to account for how one goes about talking about surfing in Portuguese and Spanish. I propose to investigate how the existing surfing vocabulary in English affects surf talk in Portuguese and Spanish. On the one hand, I will determine which words are incorporated as such and which pieces are incorporated as semantic loans. On the other hand, I will describe what old, native vocabulary is adapted to fit the needs of surf talk. The results indicate that loans are used in roughly 65 per cent of the surfing terms in both Portuguese and Spanish. On a more detailed level, the surfing manoeuvres and conditions, for example, are mostly lexicalized using direct loans, as the terms *reentry* ‘re-entry’ and *bottom* ‘bottom turn’ used in the title indicate. Waves, on the other hand, are most often described by means of loan translations, i.e. using Portuguese and Spanish terms reflecting English uses. For example, the goal of any surfer is to ride a tube, *tubo* in both Portuguese and Spanish. The main difference between the two languages is found in the manoeuvre terms, where Portuguese has introduced several own expressions (e.g. *cavada* and *rasgada*) while Spanish relies almost uniquely on direct loans from English.

Keywords: surf language, direct loans, loan translations, Anglicisms, Portuguese and Spanish.



1. Introduction

The history of modern surfing can be traced back to the early 20th century Hawaii, Australia and the Californian coastline (Esparza, 2017; Finnegan, 2018), but only quite recently has surfing become a truly global phenomenon. As an example, consider the following piece of information. In a recent commercial newsletter (March 8, 2019), the Scandinavian airline SAS included as one of its offers quite a long piece (1700 words) called “Extreme surfing in Lofoten” on surfing in the exotic setting of Lofoten, a remote region in Norway, north of the Polar Circle. In the wake of globalization in the 1990s, surfing in sunny California was an activity only members of different countercultures were engaged in (as pictured in e.g. blockbuster movie *Point Break* (1991); in 2019 a major airline includes a piece on surfing in physically extreme conditions as something mainstream travellers could be interested in.

Since modern surfing has such a geographically and linguistically well-defined point of departure, almost everything related to it has been lexicalized in English, spiced with a handful of Hawaiian terms such as *aloha*, *mahalo*, and *shaka*. From a linguistic point-of-view, this means that in order to talk about surfing in other languages than English, the relevant concepts, i.e. the essential terminology, needs to be transferred by some means into the target language. This is a similar process as the one involving many specialized discourses within areas such as technology, economics, science, etc. (see Muñetón Pérez, 2011).

In this paper, I propose to investigate how the existing surfing vocabulary in English affects surf talk in Portuguese and Spanish. The overarching questions I will attempt to answer are: Which loan words are incorporated as such? Which pieces are incorporated as loan translations? And what native vocabulary (e.g. related to marine terms) is reused or recycled so as to fit the needs of surf talk? The aim of the paper is thus i) to characterize the surfing vocabulary used in Portuguese in Spanish with an emphasis on the presence of English loanwords; and ii) to account for the relationship between the use of loanwords and own expressions (reused or newly coined) for talking about surfing in Portuguese and Spanish.

It is well known through popular culture that there exists a specific surfer slang or surfer lingo in English. For example, there are dozens of web pages offering lists of the essential expressions a surfer needs to know: *Extended Glossary of Surfing Terms and Slang*, *Glossary of Surfing Terms*, *Surfing Terms, Talk, Phrases and Slang*, including a Wikipedia page *Glossary of Surfing*. For the aims of this paper, I have identified some 200 concepts central to surfing in Portuguese and Spanish.

Based on previous studies on the language of football (Bergh & Ohlander, 2012, 2017), I will describe how these concepts are lexicalized in Portuguese and Spanish. The expressions are characterized as either direct loans (adapted or not), loan translations (calques or semantic loans) (Haugen, 1950; Pulcini et al., 2012; Vega Moreno, 2016: 288–289), own expressions (i.e. Portuguese and Spanish terms acquiring a specific meaning in the context of surfing) or general expressions (Portuguese and Spanish terms which are used in the context of surfing but which maintain their general meaning).

The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2 I will shortly describe the history of surfing as a global phenomenon. Section 3 introduces the theoretical framework of the paper, i.e. the central concepts concerning neologisms, linguistic borrowing, Anglicisms and sports language as a sort of specialized language. In Section 4 I describe the material gathered and the methods used to characterize the surfing vocabulary in Portuguese and Spanish. The descriptive analysis of the loanwords and own expressions used in Portuguese and Spanish is presented in Section 5. Section 6 concludes.

2. Background: surfing from underground to mainstream and commercialism

Although surfing has been considered a millennium old activity, documented observations or descriptions of surfing from before the ones made by members of the British explorations of the Pacific in the 18th century are in fact extremely rare (Esparza, 2017). In his exploration into the sources of the history of surfing, Spanish historian Daniel Esparza (2017), finds references to primitive surfing in four different areas: 13th to 16th century China, pre-Columbian Peru (4th to 15th centuries), 18th century Polynesia, and 19th century Western Africa.

According to Esparza (2017), however, with the exception of Hawaii, none of these primitive surfing traditions has any direct contact with modern surfing, which undoubtedly started in the Waikiki bay area of Honolulu at the turn of the 20th century. A major factor in the expansion of modern surfing outside Hawaii was the exhibitions given by prominent Hawaiians such as Duke Kahanamoku and George Freeth. Freeth gave an exhibition of surfing in Southern California in 1907, whereas Olympic swimming champion Duke Kahanamoku toured Australia in the 1910s giving both swimming and surfing exhibitions (Esparza, 2016a: 202).

The decisive boost in the globalisation of surfing came in the 1950s and 1960s, when new materials revolutionized the surfboard design, making them lighter and easier to produce. In Europe, surfing was introduced in England in the 1920s, where the Newquay area had an import role. It reached the continent in the 1950s, starting in the seaside resort town of Biarritz in southern France. The first surf club in France was founded in 1959, and the same year Pedro Martins the Lima was apparently also surfing in Estoril, Portugal, on a board he had bought in Biarritz (Esparza, 2016a: 203–204).

In Spain, surfing was introduced successively during the 1960s on different Atlantic beaches. Early surfers in the Basque Country were inspired by the Biarritz area, whereas in Cádiz, Andalusia, the influence came from the presence of US military at the Rota naval base (established in 1953). According to Esparza (2015: 53), the first spark to attempt surfing came from a copy of *National Geographic* (in English) that reached the hands of a group of youngsters in Cádiz. Some years later, in 1964, an originally Australian surfboard and a couple of homemade surfboards appeared on the beach of Cortadura (Cádiz) and finally enabled a local crew to attempt surfing the waves. The technique was copied from the images in the magazines. As these cases show, the

introduction of surfing in Spain, and Portugal, was clearly the result of foreign influence (Esparza, 2016b: 136).

After the pioneering attempts at surfing, the expansion was slow at first, but since the turn of the millenium the increase in popularity has been remarkable. Nowadays, the national surfing federations in Portugal (Federação Portuguesa do Surf) and Spain (Federación Española de Surf) have 2 383 and 27 624 members (the last figure doubling the approximately 14 000 members in 2010), respectively (FPS and FES). However, as Esparza (2015) indicates, with regards to Spain, the figure can probably be multiplied by ten for a more realistic approximation of the number of surfers. In Portugal, the true number lies somewhere between 150 and 250 thousand (Calheiros, 2018). A 2017 article in *O Observador* estimates the surfing industry to be the most valuable area of tourism in Portugal (Porto, 2017; see also Campos, 2016).

The presence of surfing as a professional sport in Portugal and Spain is also reflected in the many world class surfing events and contests which are organized, yearly, along the coast. Portugal's famous *Supertubos* beach break in the small town of Peniche hosts one of the eleven events on the Championship Tour of surfing, attracting all of the world's best surfers. Apart from the Meo Rip Curl Pro Portugal, the surf towns of Ericeira, Santa Cruz, Cascais and the Costa da Caparica also host international surfing contests, and the same goes for Spanish Galicia Pro at Pantín (Galicia) (see World Surf League). One must also not forget the village of Nazaré, where a deep canyon on the sea bottom regularly produces giant waves attracting professional surfers from around the world trying to push the limits of the biggest surfable waves.

3. Making sense of a new reality—neologisms, loanwords, Anglicisms and sports language

As the short overview of the introduction of surfing to the Iberian Peninsula shows, surfing is a prime example of an imported product. Given its foreign origins, when learning about surfing the pioneers were faced with a new reality, and hence had to take on the task of naming new referents, i.e. concepts and objects that did not exist previously in the Portuguese and Spanish speaking world. In fact, a standard definition of a *neologism* is precisely a term used for “putting name on new referents in an ever-changing reality “(Creus & Julià-Muné, 2015).

In the following subsections, I will briefly introduce the notions of neologisms (section 3.1), linguistic borrowing and loanwords (section 3.2), Anglicisms and the status of English as the prime international language (section 3.3.) as well as some considerations on the specifics of sports language (section 3.4).

3.1. Neologisms and lexical creativity

Following Cabré (2015: 126), “[i]t is an inherent feature of the human species that we are able to create new words in order to adapt to new realities and to simply refer to things”. And she continues:

apart from knowing an extensive list of words in the own language, a speaker is capable of increasing the list of known lexical items with new incorporations, be it as loan words from another language (used either in their original format or adapting them to meet the formal requirements of the receptor language), or by creating them according to the patterns available in the grammar s/he has interiorized. This capacity is what in linguistics is referred to as “lexical creativity”. (Cabré, 2015: 126 [my translation])

For Cabré (2015), a neologism is a novel lexical unit in a certain linguistic code («unité nouvelle de nature lexicale dans un code linguistique défini», Alain Rey, 1976: 3–17, quoted by Cabré, 2015: 133).

According to Creus & Julià-Muné (2015), there are three kinds of neologisms, which all manifest themselves in the vocabulary of surfing in Portuguese and Spanish: loanwords (*casting couch*, *business friendly*, *spam*, *reentry*...), (learned) word formation (derivation, composition, prefixation, etc.: *eurócrata*, *cibernauta*, *pranchão/tablon*, *cavada*) and hybrids (*whatsappitis*, *hackergate*, *tubaço/tubazo*). As will become evident when discussing the examples of surfing concepts, it is an undeniable fact that neologism is a highly relative concept, in the sense that the status of “new” can never be absolute, but is always tied to a certain temporal, social, geographic, functional or thematic reference point (Cabré, 2015: 127). However, when determining whether a given term is to be considered a neologism or not, an important initial criteria may its absence from a given reference dictionary or corpus (Cabré, 2015: 130; see Balteiro, 2011) for a comparison of the presence of sports Anglicism in language corpora and reference dictionaries).

In the case of surfing concepts in Portuguese and Spanish, most terms and concepts can indeed be considered neologisms when compared to reference dictionaries. However, terms such as *reentry* or *bottom (turn)* can be found in the large online corpora of both languages (see Davies, 2016 and Davies & Ferreira, 2016). When considering the status of the so-called own expressions (see Section 4, below, for details), the relative status a given surfing concept or term becomes obvious when trying to determine whether the use in the surfing context is, actually, “new”. Consider a term such as Portuguese *cavada* ‘bottom turn’, which is a nominal derivation with the literal meaning ‘a digging’ based on the verb *cavar* ‘to dig’—to what degree is this surfing-related meaning extension “new”?

3.2. Linguistic borrowing and loanwords

As Creus & Julià-Muné's (2015) classification of neologisms into three types, *loans*, *own creations* and *hybrids* shows, loans constitute an important part of the “new” expressions in a language. In fact, it is a defining trait of the evolution of human societies that new fields of knowledge are successively incorporated into the minds of the speakers. Many technological and cultural innovations come from the interaction with people from the outside of the own group, i.e. they are borrowed.

As Pulcini et al. (2016: 5) note, the study of linguistic borrowing within modern linguistics started alongside the study of language contact in the early 20th century, with the work of pioneers such as Einar Haugen (1950) (see Pratt, 1980: 26–29) and Uriel Weinreich (1953). Haugen's (1950) influential paper defines borrowing as “the process that takes place when bilinguals reproduce a pattern from one language in another”, i.e. his account is based on bilingual speakers in a situation of language contact. When it comes to the spoken language of surfing in a Portuguese and Spanish speaking context, the speakers are generally not bilingual English–Portuguese or English–Spanish, so it is a question of language contact only in the sense that the one language comes into contact with words and expressions from another.

It is no easy task to determine exactly what counts as a loan word, since these can be highly divergent and thus need to be classified into different types. Often both the terms and classification used are dependent on the focus of the investigation, leading to a plethora of overlapping terms. Pulcini et al. (2012), however, establish the schematic picture reproduced in Figure 1 to describe different types of lexical borrowings. As Figure 1 shows, the division of loan words can be made on different levels. There is, on the one hand, the question of how the loan word is rendered, formally, in the recipient language, i.e. as direct or indirect reflections of the original term. On the other hand, there are, obviously, different degrees of formal complexity, i.e. the loan words can be either single word or complex, multi-word expressions.

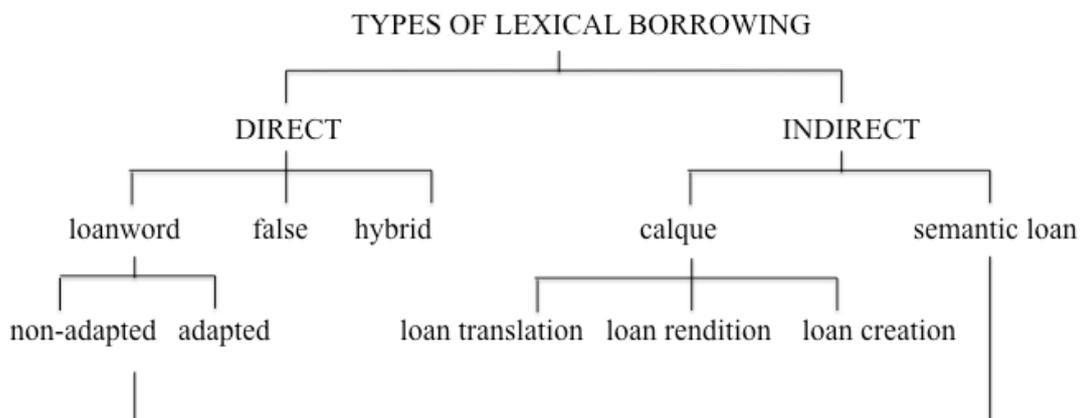


Figure 1. Types of lexical borrowings according to Pulcini et al. (2016: 6).

Reading Figure 1 from top to bottom, one can see how several important questions are, subsequently, considered: Firstly, is the source language directly reflected in the recipient language? What is borrowed can be either a form (i.e. a word or multiword expression) or a concept (or meaning). In the first case, direct borrowings, both form and meaning is transferred, that is, when a form is borrowed its meaning is usually borrowed as well, whereas in the second case (indirect borrowings) only the meaning is adopted. In the first case, the borrowing is complete, whereas when only the meaning is borrowed, it is sometimes considered incomplete (cf. Vega Moreno, 2016: 287).

Second, within the direct borrowings, Pulcini et al. (2016: 6–8) distinguish between loanwords (also called direct loans), false borrowings, and hybrids. Loanwords are terms which clearly reflect their origins, such as *airbag* and *hobby*. The direct loans can be further divided into adapted or unadapted loans.¹ In Portuguese and Spanish it is rare that an English loanword enters in a phonetically unadapted form due to the pronunciation differences between the languages. Most nominal and verbal expressions are also morphologically adapted (taking plural endings, entering the class of either feminine or masculine nouns, a Portuguese/Spanish infinitive form, and so on).

False loans are expressions which seem to be of a foreign origin, but which are not used in the concerned sense in the source language (e.g. Spanish *footing* which looks like English but is actually a loanword from French, and is never used in the sense of ‘jogging’ in English). Finally, the hybrids involve both foreign and native elements, such as Spanish *fiesta acid*.

Third, within the indirect borrowings in Figure 1, where it is mainly meaning which is transferred, Pulcini et al (2016) make a distinction between calques and semantic loans, in order to reflect whether it is a question of creating new expressions based on a foreign model (e.g. loan translations, etc. such as Sp. *rascacielos* ‘skyscraper’) or of a native word acquiring a new sense, e.g. Sp. *aplicar* ‘to apply’ instead of *solicitar* (semantic loan). Although Pulcini et al. (2016: 7–8) make a further distinction between different kinds of calques (loan translation, loan rendition and loan creation), I will not go further into this here.

In this paper I will use a classification of loan words that is a simplified adaptation of Pulcini et al.’s (2016) model. Following Bergh & Ohlander (2017: 15–17) and Vega Moreno (2016), I use two main categories, a) direct loans and b) loan translations for classifying the loan words, adding a third category for native expressions which acquire a new, specific meaning in the context of surfing. These classes are:

- Direct loans (e.g. Pt./Sp. *wipeout*, *longboard*, *tail*)
- Loan translations (Pt./Sp. *bomba* ‘bomb’, Sp. *labio* ‘lip (of the wave)’)
- Own expressions (Pt. *cavada* ‘bottom turn’)

This simplified model is motivated by the fact that this paper involves an exploratory analysis, the main purpose of which is to identify and characterize the most important surfing vocabulary in Portuguese and Spanish. This means that it does not seem purposeful to go into deeper analyses as the kind of adaptation a given English term goes through when used in Portuguese or Spanish. In Section 4, below, I will make explicit the steps involved in classifying the different surfing expressions into the above classes.

3.3. Anglicisms and English as source language

The spread of English as the main vehicle of international communication has long been acknowledged, as has its establishment as a global lingua franca (cf. Mauranen & Ranta, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011). As Pulcini et al. (2016: 2) put it: “in the 21st century no languages operating in the global market have gone unaffected by the inflow of English lexical items.” Among the reasons for the “extraordinary boost” of English the authors mention its use as “carrier of scientific and technological innovation and as the language of business, trade and especially popular culture” (2016: 2).

In line with this, Pratt (1980) discusses the Americanization of European society, referring to the omnipresence of American things such as laundromats, self-service coffee shops, discos, fast food restaurants, and supermarkets. The omnipresence of both the English language and of Anglo-American cultural phenomena has, of course, led to the spread of English terms into many realms of modern languages, including the language of business, fashion, law, medicine, science, and sports. These realms can be considered specialized languages of sorts, in the sense that they all make use of a specialized vocabulary. A specialized language usually has two kinds of elements in its vocabulary: (i) technicisms or technical terms, that is, terms which are specific to that area and (normally) not used outside it; and (ii) technical or genre specific uses of general terms. Due to the predominance of English in the realms mentioned above, Anglicisms naturally abound and can, with only little exaggeration, be considered the loanwords par excellence.

3.4. The language of sports

In the 21st century, sports are a truly global phenomenon, encompassing both a private and a public sphere: on the public level it is a prime example of popular culture (Bergh & Ohlander, 2012: 281), the major sports stars having the capability of moving masses and attracting the interest of millions of people. On the private level, never before has individual physical activity been so popular: millions of people worldwide go out for a run several times a week, organized amateur leagues of different ball sports (football, basketball, handball, volleyball, tennis, badminton, and so on) and different classes at the local gym attract thousands of middle-class citizens for weekly sports sessions; and

many more play football, basketball or cricket on an even more informal level in the parks and open terrains across the world.

In a sense, then, the global popularity of sports, in general, equals that of the English language. This is no coincidence, since, as Balteiro (2011: 30) puts it, “many sports are born and first established in England or the United States and, consequently, all the terminology appears for the first time in English, which then spreads quite soon to the rest of the world” (see also Rodríguez González, 2012: 319). Balteiro (2011: 30) also finds that “in the Spanish language of sports most foreign words come from English”.

A prime example of world dominance where English and sports go hand in hand is football. As an example, one might recall the following quote of the legendary British football player Bobby Charlton: “Football and English are the only true global language” (quoted by Bergh & Ohlander, 2012: 283). In the words of Solivellas Aznar (1987: 148) football is a “universal social phenomenon.” In the Portuguese and Spanish speaking world, football is undoubtedly the most popular sport as well, and it has a long tradition on both sides of the Atlantic. The Latin American countries are famous for their extremely skilled players, many of whom represent Spanish clubs, such as FC Barcelona and Real Madrid, which are among the top five sport clubs and brands in the world.

When talking about football, however, Portuguese and Spanish recur to English in a great number of expressions (see Solivellas Aznar, 1987: 149). According to Bergh & Ohlander (2012: 294), in Spanish 15 out of the 25 terms they investigate are direct loans (including *corner*, *gol*, *hat-trick*, *hooligan*, *penalty*, and *shoot* > *chutar*); in addition, their 2017 study on loan translations finds evidence of two cases (out of the same 25 terms) (Bergh & Ohlander, 2017: 21). Rodríguez González (2012) mentions many more: *derby*, *free kick*, *fútbol*, *off-side* and *play off* are direct loans; *balompié* ‘football’, *defensa* ‘back’, *delantero* ‘forward’, *falta* ‘foul, fault’, *linier* ‘linesman’, and *tiro libre* ‘free kick’ are loan translations.

However, the world of sports either as a professional or private physical activity goes beyond football. As the history of modern surfing shows, there is little reason to question the English speaking origins of the sport, meaning that we should expect to find a considerable portion of English terms within the Portuguese and Spanish language of surfing. The aim of this paper, as stated in the introduction, is to find out exactly what kind of English influence is found, and if the English terms are especially frequent in certain areas of the surfing vocabulary. Also of interest is to find describe what the relationship is between the foreign terms and native expressions that have been recruited into Portuguese and Spanish surf talk.

The purely descriptive objectives of this paper are a consequence of the fact that there are as of yet (as far as I am aware) no linguistic studies of the languages of surfing in either Portuguese or Spanish. Apart from football, which has been the subject of several papers (Solivellas Aznar, 1987; Castañón Rodríguez, 1991, 1992, 1993; Bergh & Ohlander, 2012, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Rodríguez González, 2012), I have found

papers on the Spanish language of baseball (Alba, 2006, 2007), boxing (Ayuso Collantes, 2018) as well as tennis (Diosdado, 2011).

And, apart from the term *surf*, which is analyzed as a false Anglicism, being a truncated or abbreviated form of English *surfing* (see Balteiro, 2011; Campos-Pardillos, 2015), the surfing terms are absent from most work on Anglicisms and loan words in Spanish, *Surf(ing)* and some of its derivatives (*windsurfing*) are the only surfing Anglicism included in Görlach's (2005) *Dictionary of European Anglicisms*², used by Bergh & Ohlander (2012, 2017) as their main source of football terms. Among the 428 sports Anglicisms analyzed by Balteiro (2011), only eight can be related to surfing: *surf(ing)*, *surfer*, *surfear* 'to surf', *surfero/surfista* 'surfer', *alley-hoop*, *chop*, and *jet-ski*.

As hinted at above, sports language can well be considered a specialized language, in the sense that there are a series of concepts central to any sport which are undeniably the same, regardless of the language used to lexicalize them. As Solivellas Aznar (1987: 148) points out in his discussion of Italian and Spanish sports terms,

"it [football] is identical when it comes to the game itself, the characteristics which make up the game and, above all, in the description one makes of it in all possible locations. it is a matter of concepts that practically mirror one another in the two linguistic environments. Messages are being transmitted with meanings which are immediately evocable."

This is a very similar situation to what one can find among physicists or astronomers, who largely share the same concepts and the names for them in the international language of these scientific areas.

Finally, regarding the formal characteristics of sports language, Balteiro (2011: 30) suggests that it is

one of the most innovative jargons as regards the use of new or uncommon morphological mechanisms in the creation of new lexical items, but also concerning the introduction and enthusiastic acceptance of loanwords.

Following Méndez Santos (2015), characteristic for the Spanish language of sports is its frequent use of certain morphological mechanisms, such as derivation. Morphemes which stand out in this sense include the action suffixes *-ada*, *-azo*, agentive suffixes such as *-ero* and *-dor* '-er', the absolute superlative *-ísimo* used for dramatic or exaggerated descriptive effects, and more general ones such as *-ismo* '-ism' and *-ista* '-ist'. Also learned prefixes such as *ex-*, *pre-*, *post-*, *sub-*, *co-*, *vice-*, *anti-*, *pro-*, *hyper-*, etc. are frequently used. As will become evident in the analysis section (see section 5), the action suffixes *-ada*, *-aço/azo* are found among the surfing expressions in both Portuguese and Spanish.

4. Material and methods

Since the purpose of this paper is to characterize surf talk in Portuguese and Spanish by means of describing the essential surfing vocabulary, the obvious starting point is to identify the most frequent and relevant surfing concepts. In order to establish a basic inventory of terms and expressions, I have gathered information from an eclectic mix of sources, including web sites, books, surf contest broadcasts, and WhatsApp conversations. The web pages, which constitute the main input, are listed in the end of the paper under the Primary references.

Most of the material is based on glossaries, vocabularies, and word lists found on the internet. There are dozens of such pages freely available, all seemingly sharing the aim of providing beginning surfers with some insights into the world of surfing, an important element of which is, surf lingo, or *a gíria do surf* in Portuguese and *la jerga del surf* in Spanish. The quotes in (1) and (2) provide representative examples of the objective of these web sites:

(1) *Yo, duuuude! Rad barrels out there!*

Surf talk has got to be one of the most unique and recognizable lingos in the English language. Countless movies have portrayed the special way surfers speak, and even cartoons are using the surf terms for comedic relief.

Case and point: Remember Crush, the turtle/laid-back surfer dude in Disney's *Finding Nemo*? He was speaking in 'surferese'!

Needless to say, though we know that not all surfers talk like Crush, there is an undeniable surf slang that one needs to know in order to understand the world of surfing. After all, you wouldn't want to go on a surf camp and not understand what your instructors are telling you. This is precisely why we've decided to come to your rescue with an extended glossary of 180+ essential surf terms!

(<https://www.booksurfcamps.com/news/surfing-terms-slang>)

(2) Ahora que tienes pensado meterte en el mundo del Surf, es importante que te vayas familiarizando con varios términos que vas a usar. Tipos de Tablas, Olas, modalidades, maniobras..... aquí os ofrecemos un poco de Vocabulario Surfista (<http://escueladesurflasdunas.com/vocabulario-surfista/>)

'Now that you have decided to get to know the world of surfing, it's important that you get familiarized with the various terms you'll be using. Kinds of boards, Waves, modalities, manoeuvres... Here we offer you some surfer vocabulary.'

In addition to the web sites, I also used the Portuguese and Spanish commentaries of the live broadcast of the final surfing contest of 2018, Billabong Pipe Masters, Hawaii as input. The terms and expressions were recorded by hand while listening to the commentaries. The commentaries of the broadcasts are made by speakers of Brazilian and Mexican origin (judging by their accents). I also checked the geographical origin of the web pages, some of which are Brazilian and American whereas others are based on the Iberian Peninsula.

The material is thus not limited to Portugal and Spain, but includes their American variants. Since it is too early to try to make geographical distinctions at this stage, and the geographical origins of the writers/speakers of a particular website is difficult to determine, it seems appropriate not to limit oneself to a certain region, but to consider Portuguese and Spanish as a whole. This, however, does not mean that there cannot be considerable differences in the surf talk in different regions of the vast Portuguese and Spanish speaking world. But investigating possible regional differences must be left to future work.

On the basis of the different sources, I established an inventory of basic concepts, amounting to what I consider an essential surfing vocabulary. This inventory has the format of a word list with four components: a conceptual level accompanied by three language specific levels, all of which may include several lexical elements for each concept. This means that the inventory allows for the existence of synonyms and referential overlaps; at this point in the research —the main purpose of this paper being to establish and describe the essential surfing vocabulary in Portuguese and Spanish— it is too early to try to capture individual, geographical or social differences in usage of the individual terms. For obvious reasons, the conceptual component is expressed using English terms, and consequently there is considerable overlap between this and the English language level. The latter will mainly serve to illustrate the existence of synonyms for certain concepts.

In the makeup of the Portuguese and Spanish vocabulary lists on which the analysis is based, I decided to respect the sources and let these guide the setup of vocabularies. This means that, instead of starting with existing surfing concepts (in practice, the English terms) and checking the Portuguese and Spanish equivalents for each concept, the lists include all the expressions found in the Portuguese and Spanish material. Accordingly, the vocabularies of the two languages do not coincide completely, but rather include different items to a certain degree. Since I used the same amount of web pages, and a similar amount of surf contest broadcast, this is an empirically more truthful option and avoids the problem of (possibly) forcing the issue by tracking and listing ‘translations’ of English concepts into Portuguese and Spanish.

In any case, in the detailed analysis (see section5) I have taken the liberty to report on the existence of additional expressions from outside the data set based on other sources (WhatsApp conversations, books, videos, personal knowledge). For example, when a given expression is only found in the data set of one of the languages, but is in general use in both, I will comment on this by mentioning the term in question. The quantitative data presented are, however, restricted to expressions found in the listed sources.

The analysis of the terms and expressions of the two data sets was done in two successive steps. First, the surfing concepts were divided into nine categories designating:³

- **actions and activities:** *to paddle out, catch a wave, wipe-out, etc.*
- **the surfboard:** *rocker, front, tail, softboard, fish, etc.*

- **surfing competitions:** QS, CT, heats, rounds, scores, etc.
- other **concepts** related to the world of surfing: *shaka, Aloha, priority, back and front side*, etc.
- surfing **conditions:** *glassy, overhead, onshore, offshore*, etc.
- surfing **equipment:** *leash, wax, board bag, wet suit*, etc.
- surfing **manoeuvres:** *cutback, tube ride, snap, bottom-turn*, etc.
- **people**, e.g. kinds of surfers: *pro, grommet, bro(ther), ripper*, etc.
- **waves:** *barrels, white water, lip, set wave*, etc.

Second, within and across each of these nine conceptual categories, all expressions in the inventory were classified according to the following criteria:

- language (English, Portuguese/Spanish, other = Hawaiian)
- true or false Anglicism
- kind of loanword: direct loan; loan translation; own expression; and general expression

The first step of this second classification was to determine whether the expressions were loanwords or not, that is, the English terms were separated from the Portuguese and Spanish ones. The English terms were then classified as either false or true Anglicisms (see Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015). The false Anglicisms, however, were so few that this criterion is not explicitly addressed in the analysis. Finally, the expressions were divided into direct loans, loan translations, own expressions and general expressions. Together with the nine expression classes, these four expression types constitute the main dimensions of the analysis (see section 3.2, above; here I have added the fourth type of General expressions). The direct loans correspond to the English as well as the few Hawaiian terms, whereas the Portuguese and Spanish terms were assigned to one of the three remaining types.

The loan translations, naturally enough, have a clearly English origin and can be direct translations (*pillar olas/apanhar ondas* ‘to catch waves’), cognate forms (*manobra/maniobra* ‘manoeuvre’) or hybrid forms (*surfista* ‘surfer’). The difference between own expressions and general expressions is based on the observation that some of the Portuguese and Spanish terms acquire a specific meaning in the context of surfing, e.g. Portuguese *leque* ‘spray [of water produced when performing a surfing manoeuvre pushing water over the top of the wave]’ or Spanish *comer* ‘to take one on the head [used to refer to a situation in which a surfer gets overrun by a big wave]’. The general expressions maintain their meaning in the surfing context: Spanish *frenar* ‘to brake’ or Portuguese *mergulhar* ‘to dive’.

Finally, it needs to be acknowledged that the difference between what I have called loan translations and own expressions is not always clear-cut. The main criteria used to separate the two was by assuring that, in the loan translations, the semantic structure of the English expression is, in some way, visible in the PT/SP expression. In

the own expressions, on the other hand, the concept referred to is not based on English. This is shown in examples (3) to (6):

Loan translations

(3) *bomba* 'bomb'; 360 > Same word (=cognates) – same, transferred meaning

(4) PT *levar ondas na cabeça* 'to take one on the head', *ser agarrado* 'to be caught' > literal translation = Different words — same semantics

Own expressions

(5) PT/SP *quilha/quilla* 'fin' > own word in ES/PT and EN – specific, surfing-related meaning = REUSE

(6) PT *varrer* 'to sweep > clean-up wave' > own, non-equivalent word – new, surfing-related meaning = NEW COINAGE

In (3) and (4), the Portuguese and Spanish expressions mirror the English originals, either directly as cognate forms (*bomba*, 360), or indirectly, as loan translations (*levar ondas na cabeça* and *ser agarrado*), whereas in (5) and (6) *quilha/quilla* and *varrer* are Portuguese/Spanish words which are used in a sense which is unmodified by the English equivalent, while acquiring a specific surfing-related meaning. *Quilha/quilla* is a term used to designate the keel of a boat or ship, so the sense is quite naturally extended to the fins of a surfboard. *Varrer* 'to sweep' is a Portuguese metaphor, whereby the action of the wave mirrors the sweeping action of a broom. Although cleaning part of the metaphor is common to both Portuguese and English, the elements seem separate enough not to consider the case of *varrer* a loan translation.⁴ As this last example shows, however, the distinction between loan translations and own expressions is not always obvious, a fact that must be kept in mind in the analysis.

5. Analysis: Talking about surfing using surfing concepts

In this section I present the results of the analysis of the roughly 200 concepts central to surfing identified for this study. As illustrated above, the concepts were grouped into nine surf-related classes (actions, boards, manoeuvres, waves, etc.) as well as four expression types (direct loans, loan translations, own expressions, and general expressions). The overall distribution of the surfing concepts in Portuguese and Spanish are displayed in Tables 1 and 2, with a short, comparative summary in Table 3.

Class / Type	Direct loan	Loan translation	Own expression	General expression	Sum	%
Actions	4	11	12	9	36	14%
Board	9	3	6	1	19	7%
Competition	13	7	1	7	28	11%
Concepts	11	6	0	0	17	6%
Conditions	23	7	11	8	49	18%
Equipment	6	2	1	3	12	5%

Manoeuvres	10	11	9	1	31	12%
People	13	2	14	4	33	12%
Waves	9	18	10	3	40	15%
Sum	98	67	64	36	265	100%
%	37%	25%	24%	14%	–	

Table 1. Distribution of surfing concepts and loan types in Portuguese

Class / Type	Direct loan	Loan translation	Own expression	General expression	Sum	%
Actions	2	13	6	4	27	13%
Board	14	2	7	0	23	12%
Competition	1	2	1	7	11	6%
Concepts	3	5	2	1	11	6%
Conditions	19	3	9	6	37	19%
Equipment	2	1	3	0	6	3%
Manoeuvres	12	12	0	1	26	13%
People	5	3	2	5	15	8%
Waves	4	21	15	0	41	21%
Sum	62	64	45	24	195	100%
%	32%	33%	23%	13%	–	

Table 2. Distribution of surfing concepts and loan types in Spanish

Class / Type	Direct loan	Loan translation	Own expression	General expression	Sum
Portuguese	98 / 37%	67 / 25%	64 / 24%	36 / 14%	265
Spanish	62 / 32%	64 / 33%	45 / 23%	24 / 12%	195

Table 3. Comparison of loan types in Portuguese and Spanish
(X-squared = 2.2793, df = 3, p-value = 0.5165)

As the comparative figures in Table 3 indicate, there are no substantial differences in the presence of direct loans, loan translations and own or general expressions in the Portuguese and Spanish surfing vocabularies. It can, of course, be noted that there are somewhat more direct loans and own expressions in Portuguese and more loan translations in Spanish, but the figures are not statistically significant.

Formally, the surfing terms belong to four different word classes, nouns, verbs, adjectives and more complex phrasal expressions. Unsurprisingly, the nouns constitute the great majority, representing 70 per cent of all the terms in Portuguese, and 67 per

cent in Spanish. The nouns are followed by the verbs, 18 per cent in Portuguese and 15 per cent in Spanish, whereas the adjectives amount to nine and twelve per cent, respectively. The phrasal expressions, such as *Está entrando mar* 'There's a swell coming in', make up only two per cent in Portuguese and six per cent in Spanish. There are hence no differences worth mentioning between the two languages when it comes to word classes.

Despite the lack of differences between the two languages on a general level, the minute counts referring to the different classes of surfing concepts show certain differences. For example, Portuguese possesses a significant amount of own expressions for talking about manoeuvres, which do not seem to have a counterpart in Spanish (10 vs. 0 cases in Tables 1 and 2).

Taking the two loan categories together, as shown in Table 4, there are differences between Portuguese and Spanish as to where most loan words are used. For example, Spanish uses more loans in the Actions and Manoeuvres classes, whereas there is a higher percentage of loans in the Competition, Concepts and Equipment classes in Portuguese. This difference seems to be statistically significant. The figures in Table 4 also reveal that the classes with most loan words in Spanish do not coincide with the ones in Portuguese: in Spanish above average loans are found in the Board, Concepts, Manoeuvres and Waves classes. In Portuguese, there are most loans in the Competition, Concepts, Equipment, Manoeuvres and Waves classes. There thus seems to be a difference between the two languages also in the Board and the Equipment classes.

Loan words	Portuguese	Spanish
Actions	15 / 42%	15 / 60%
Board	12 / 63%	16 / 70%
Competition	20 / 71%	3 / 27%
Concepts	6 / 100%	8 / 73%
Conditions	30 / 61%	22 / 59%
Equipment	8 / 67%	3 / 50%
Manoeuvres	21 / 68%	25 / 96%
People	15 / 45%	8 / 53%
Waves	27 / 68%	26 / 63%
Average	165 / 65%	121 / 61%

Table 4. Comparison of loan word percentage across classes of surfing terms in Portuguese and Spanish (X-squared = 17.464, df = 8, p-value = 0.02562)

Furthermore, within the direct loans, Spanish seems to use more Anglicisms for naming boards (14 to 9) and manoeuvres (12 to 10), whereas in Portuguese parts of the Competition (12 to 1), People (13 to 1) and Waves (9 to 4) are more often referred to with Anglicisms. Similarly, in Portuguese the Action (13 to 6), Manoeuvres (10 to 0) and People (12 to 2) classes include more Own expressions than in Spanish. In Spanish, own Board (7 to 6) and Waves (9 to 8) terms are more frequent than in Portuguese (see Tables 1 and 2).

Finally, beyond the comparison of the two languages, Tables 1 and 2 also show that some classes include more direct loans than others. For example, the concepts used for describing the surfing conditions amount to over 25 per cent of all direct loans (i.e. Anglicisms). The Board and Manoeuvres classes also show higher than average numbers of direct loans. When it comes to loan translations, the Action and Manoeuvres classes excel, with proportions above 20 per cent. Also, of all terms used to name different kinds of surfing equipment, almost 50 per cent are of foreign origin (direct loans, 8/18 expressions).

As the above discussion of the general findings shows, there are several interesting observations to be made when looking at the different loan types and classes of surfing expressions. In what follows, I will comment on each of the nine classes of expressions, contrasting the two languages and the kinds of loans and expressions used. Within each subsection there will also be space to present and comment on the vocabulary items in greater detail.

5.1. Surfing actions

The first of the nine classes of surfing terms, the surfing actions is one of the four classes with most terms. In both Portuguese and Spanish, the action terms amount to around 14 per cent of the expressions included in the two datasets. In general, it is also clear that the direct loans have a low presence among the terms used to describe surfing actions (only 10%, 6/61 terms), whereas the loan translations make up a considerable part (25/61, or 40%). Although, in general, there are no statistically significant differences in the use of direct loans or loan translations between the two languages, most action terms in Spanish are loan translations (52%, 13/25), whereas in Portuguese the own expressions are the most numerous type (39%, 14/36).

Actions term (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
to pump	<u>dar passadas</u>	hacer pumps , <i>bombear</i>
wipe out	wipe out , <u>vaca</u> , <u>caldo</u>	wipe out , <u>revolcón</u>
to pull out	<i>sair</i>	<i>salir</i>
to take (one/a series) on the head	<i>levar/pegar/tomar</i> <i>ondas/uma na cabeça</i>	<i>comer, caerte una en</i> <i>la cabeza</i>
to position oneself	<i>manter o posicionamento</i>	<i>posicionarse</i>
to catch waves	<i>pegar/apanhar ondas</i>	<i>pillar/coger olas</i>
to paddle	<u>remar</u> , <u>ter remada</u>	<u>remar</u> , <u>tener remade</u>

Table 6. Shared surfing action terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

As Table 6 shows, there is only one direct loan which is shared by both languages, *wipe out*, the main term used to refer to a surfer falling off the board while

surfing. Both languages have home-made synonyms for this concept, though: there is Spanish *revolcón*, a derivation based on the verb *revolcar* ‘to turn over, fall’, and Portuguese surf slang terms *caldo* ‘lit. soup’ and *vaca* ‘lit. cow’. Apart from *wipe out*, Spanish also includes the Anglicism *pump(s)*, used in combination with light verb *hacer* ‘to do’ to form a complex verbal predicate; the Portuguese equivalent uses only domestic terms: light verb *dar* ‘to give’ in combination with *passadas* ‘steps’, yielding the same meaning of stepping on the surfboard, pumping it, in order to create more speed. Spanish *bombear* is a derived verb based directly on English *to pump*.

Shared loan translations include the use of the verb *saír/salir* to render the idea of *pulling out*, or moving out of a wave, and the act of catching waves is also translated into both Portuguese and Spanish by verbs largely equivalent to English *catch*: Spanish *pillar* ‘to catch (in the act)’ and *coger* ‘to take, grab’, and Portuguese *pegar/apanhar* ‘to grab, catch’. Also the concept of taking a wave on the head, i.e. when a surfer is unable to pass either over or beneath an approaching (usually big and powerful) wave and gets smashed by it, is rendered in Portuguese and Spanish by similar light verbs roughly equivalent to English *to take*, i.e. *levar* ‘to take (with)’/*pegar* ‘to grab, catch’/*tomar* ‘to take’ in Portuguese, and *caerle* ‘to fall on someone’ in Spanish. *Comer* in Spanish is a figurative use of a verb meaning ‘to eat’.

Finally, the verb *remar* and the derived action noun *remada*, which can be made into a complex predicate, *tener/ter remada*, in combination with light verb *ter/tener* ‘to have’, are used in both Portuguese and Spanish to refer to different aspects of paddling. *Remar*, of course, is not a verb which is specific to surfing, just as English *to paddle*, but the expression *ter remada* ‘to have a good arms for paddling’ gets close. *Remada* can be used quite freely in order to create other expressions, such as *essa foi uma boa remada* ‘that was a good paddle’ or *¡Buah! ¡Qué remada más dura!* ‘Pff, what a tough paddle that was!’

Outside the set of shared terms referring to actions, there are *surfear*, *cazar olas*, *agarrar velocidad*, *combinar maniobras*, *buscar sección*, *navegar el tubo*, and *leer la ola* in Spanish, which all mirror English expressions. In Portuguese, *ser agarrado*, *pegar umas bombas* and *pular de cabeça* similarly echo English expressions. Although these expressions are only found in either Portuguese or Spanish, they have very similar equivalents in the other language. For example, Spanish verb *surfear*, built on English *to surf* with the main verb creating suffix *-ear*, is echoed by Portuguese *surfear*, which includes the suffix *-ar*. Something similar applies to the rest of the expressions: *cazar olas* ~ *caçar ondas* ‘to chase waves’; *agarrar velocidad* ~ *pegar velocidade* ‘to catch speed’; *combinar maniobras* ~ *combinar manobras* ‘to combine manoeuvres’; *buscar uma seção* ~ *procurar uma secção* ‘to look for a section’, *navegar el tubo* ~ *navegar (n) o tubo* ‘to navigate (within) the tube(ride)’ and *leer la ola* ~ *ler a onda* ‘to read the wave’. Conversely, *ser agarrado* ~ *quedar atrapado* ‘to get caught (inside); *pegar umas bombas* ~ *coger unas bombas* ‘to catch some bombs’ and *pular de cabeça* ~ *tirarse de cabeza* ‘to jump head first’.

If the loanwords are, actually, very similar in the two languages, there are more differences among the own expressions. The idiomatic use of Spanish verb *comer* ‘to

eat' was already mentioned, but it is accompanied by three verbs which do not mirror English expressions, nor are they found, as such, in Portuguese: *deslizarse por la pared* (*de la ola*), *entrar en el pico* and *remontar*. The verb *deslizarse* seems to be a Spanish equivalent, but not a loan translation, to the English verb *ride* which is used to characterize the surfer's movement along the face of a wave. The calque *cabalgar una ola* is sometimes used in Spanish, especially in translations (e.g. in the 2004 movie *Chasing giants*), but it does not occur in my dataset and I have never encountered it in spontaneous conversation, most likely because it feels much less idiomatic than *deslizarse*. A Portuguese alternative to Spanish *deslizarse* seems to be *descer* 'to descend', which is included in my dataset. *Remontar* 'lit. re-climb' refers to the act of paddling out into the line-up, where, before actually catching the waves, the surfer enters the line-up, i.e. *entrar en el pico*.

As stated above, the own expressions found in Portuguese are more numerous than in Spanish. They are also more varied, as the following list shows: *arrebentar* 'to rip, surf really well', *surcar* 'to cut across', *elevador* 'elevator', *me quebrei* 'I sucked', *rabear* 'to drop in on someone, i.e. to steal their wave', *rabuda* 'robbed wave', and *varrer* 'to clean up'. All of these expressions have their origins outside the world of surfing, but have idiomatic uses for surfing activities. *Arrebentar* is an interesting case, since this verb shares the same base as the nouns *rebentação* and *arrebentação* which refer to the breaking of the waves (see Section 5.9. below). Semantically, *arrebentar* 'explode, to break with violence' is also closely related to English *rip*, and this parallel can be an explanation for it being used to refer to explosive and impressive surfing, just like English *rip* in a surfing context.

The expressions *rabear* and *rabudo* also merit a comment, both being derivations build on the base *rabo* 'tail'. The derived nominal *rabudo* includes the suffix *-udo*, indicating 'someone with a X (tail in this case)' and carrying negative connotations (i.e. carrying a tail is not seen as a positive feature). So, the terms is well suited to refer to the action of having robbed a wave from someone, a feat which is clearly outside the rules of good surfing. The verb *rabear* literally means 'move the tail', which in the case of dropping in on another person's wave, is, in a sense, inverted, since when you drop in on someone, you normally jump out in front of that person, not behind. In any case, the idea of a 'tail' is perfectly compatible with one surfer, unduly, getting onto the wave of another. The final term I want to discuss in this section is the verb *varrer* 'to sweep', which is imported to the surfing scene from the world of cleaning. This means that the same metaphor as in the English expression *clean-up wave* is involved also in the Portuguese expression, although in a different manner. What the big wave that cleans up the line-up where the surfers are sitting does in Portuguese is, quite simply, to sweep that area clean.

Another metaphor is involved in the expression *elevador* 'elevator', which is used to refer to the up-and-down-movement typical of an elevator which a surfer experiences when passing a big oncoming wave, going up on the front side of it, and down again on the back side after passing the crest. The term *surcar* appears to be a

phonetic variant of the verb *sulcar* ‘to open up; plow’, and makes reference to the surfer cutting through a certain part of the wave.

5.2. The surfboard

The second class of expressions are the ones which make reference to the surfboard or parts of it. Compared to the surfing actions, the board terms are loaned to an even higher degree, reaching 70 per cent in Portuguese and almost 75 per cent in Spanish. Apart from this, there are few differences between the two languages when it comes to the board terms. Table 7 presents the terms used to refer to nine board concepts which are found in the inventories of both languages.

Board term (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
board	<i>prancha</i>	<i>tabla</i>
longboard	<i>longboard</i> , <u><i>pranchão</i></u>	<i>longboard</i> , <u><i>tablón</i></u>
ding	<u><i>bolha</i></u>	<i>ding</i>
grip, deck	<i>grip</i> , <i>gripdeck</i> , <i>astrodeck</i> , <i>traction</i>	<i>deck</i>
gun	<i>gun</i>	<i>gun</i> , <u><i>pincho</i></u>
nose	<i>nose</i> , <i>bico</i>	<i>nose</i>
outline	<i>outline</i>	<i>outline</i>
tail	<i>tail</i> , <u><i>copinho</i></u> , <i>rabeta</i>	<i>tail</i>
rail	<i>rail</i> , <u><i>borda</i></u>	<i>rail</i> , <i>reil</i> , <u><i>borde</i></u>
evolution (board)	<i>evolution</i>	<i>evolutiva</i>
fin(s)	<u><i>quilha(s)</i></u>	<u><i>quilla(s)</i></u>

Table 7. Shared board terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

As Table 7 shows, most of the shared board terms are direct loans which are found in exactly the same form in both Portuguese and Spanish. The only exception is the expression *ding*, which is used in Spanish while Portuguese prefers the own expression *bolha*. The own expressions also coincide to a great degree, whereas the loan translations are slightly different. For example, apart from the shared loan translation *prancha* and *tabla*, which reflect English *board*, in Portuguese we find loan translations for both the nose and the tail of the board in *bico* and *rabeta*. In Spanish these concepts are rendered as direct loans, but instead an adapted version *evolutiva* is used for the English term *evolution*, a terms use to name a kind of board used by people who are learning to surf. Among the own expressions the augmentatives *pranchão* and *tablón* are noteworthy, as home-made derivations based on the standard *board*-terms used to refer to the bigger board called *longboard*. Also *quilha/quilla* and *borda/borde* are own expressions lacking a direct counterpart in English *fin* and *rail*. Apart from these expressions, Portuguese includes the terms, *copinho* ‘tail’ which has no equivalent in

Spanish; but Spanish introduces the own term *pincho* to refer to the big board called *gun* in English which is used to surf big waves.

Apart from the shared board terms, both languages showcase a certain number of expressions which are not found in the other. Among the direct loans, there are the terms *fish (thruster)* and *thruster*, *funboard*, *Mini-Malibu*, and *morey doyle*, which make reference to specific kinds of surf boards, in Spanish. A parallel direct loan in Portuguese is *hot dog*, which refers to a particular kind of small board. Outside the realm of board types, there are the terms *rocker*, *shape* in Spanish which are not found as such in the Portuguese dataset.

Only the Spanish vocabulary includes the loan translations *cera* and *corta*, mirroring English *wax* and ‘short board’. The term *cera* is also used in Portuguese, although it is not found in the inventory. The adjective *corta* is based on the English model *shortboard*, with the nominal element left out. This is the same situation that can also be observed with *evolutiva*, which retains only the adjective of the N+A combination. Among the own expressions, Spanish *corcho* is worth mentioning, referring to what in English is called *bodyboard*, making use of the material out of which this kind of board is often made. In Portuguese, the term *tocossauro*, including the ending *-sauro*, is used to refer to an old and worn-out surfboard.

Finally, it is interesting to observe that Portuguese *borda* seems to be used in two senses. On the one hand, it is used to refer to the rail of the surfboard, a use classified as an own expression. On the other hand, in the expression *uma borda mais grossa* ‘a thicker board’, *borda* seems to refer to the surfboard, in which case it corresponds to a loan translation, calquing the English *board* with its cognate form *borda* in Portuguese.

5.3. Surfing competitions

Another important class of surfing expressions are the ones which make reference to different elements of the surfing competitions. This is one of the classes where there is big difference in the number of expressions included in the two datasets, Portuguese presenting more than twice as many terms as Spanish. As a consequence, there are many more direct loans and loan translations in Portuguese (see Tables 1, 2, 4 in section 5.1. above). For example, Spanish only includes one direct loan and two loan translations against 13 and seven in Portuguese. For the same reason, there are only three concepts which are shared by the two languages. Of the four terms referring to these three concepts, there is one direct loan (in bold), one loan translation and two own expressions (underlined) in Spanish, whereas in Portuguese there are two direct loans and one loan translation and own expression:

- Spanish ***heat*** and *manga* vs. Portuguese ***heat*** and *bateria* for ‘heat’;
- Spanish *calificación de respaldo* and Portuguese ***back up*** for ‘back up score’;
- Spanish *calificación* vs. Portuguese *nota* for ‘score’.

The only remaining loan translation in Spanish is *batalla* ‘fight’, which is not really a term unique to surfing but a more general sports term. In fact, seven out of the eleven competition expressions in Spanish are general sports terms: *calificación* ‘score’, *clasificación* ‘classification’, *eliminar* ‘to beat/eliminate someone’, *final*, *formato doble* ‘double format’ and *mejorar una calificación* ‘to improve a score’. Also in Portuguese are there general sports competitions expressions used in a surfing context: *atuação* ‘performance’, *campeonato* ‘event’, *campeão mundial* ‘world champion’, *liderança* ‘leader(ship)’, *patrocinador* ‘sponsor’ and *vaga do ranking* ‘empty spot in the ranking’.

Furthermore, direct English loans which are found only in the Portuguese dataset are: *lay day*, *expression session*, *performance*, *ranking*, *round*, and *wild card*. As with Spanish *batalla*, which translates English *fight*, the Portuguese expressions are not all specific to surfing but used in other sports competitions as well. The same applies to the loan translations, which include expressions such as *perna europeia* ‘European leg’, *brigar pelo título* ‘to fight for the title’, *passar baterias* ‘to make it through heats’, *estar na disputa* ‘to be in the contest’, *encarimar o lugar no CT* ‘to stamp a seat on the C(hampionship) T(our)’, and *janela* ‘(event) window’.

5.4. Surfing concepts

The common denominator for the terms included in the class called surfing concepts is that they express concepts that are central to surfing (without fitting in any of the other classes). It is hardly surprising to find that the great majority of these expressions are loans, either direct ones or loan translations. In the Portuguese data set there are no own expressions categorized as concepts, whereas in Spanish two out of nine are Spanish phrases referring to surfing: *una y me salgo* ‘one more and I’m out’ and *¿tienes algo de parafina?* ‘do you have some wax?’

As the concepts are a heterogeneous class of expressions, there are few shared concepts. Among the three I have found, two are direct loans, *back side* and *front side*, and one is a loan translation, *prioridade/prioridad*, in Portuguese and Spanish, respectively. The two first expressions refer to how the surfer is riding a wave, either facing it (*front side*) or with her/his back on it (*back side*), whereas the concept of *priority* is just as central to surfing as yielding to a car approaching from the right is to right-hand side traffic. According to the unwritten rules of surfing, a surfer who is already riding a way, having stood up closer to the peak, always has priority over one who tries to catch the wave at a later point.

Among the surfing concepts only found in Spanish two adjectives stand out: *stoked* and *épico* (loan translation), both with inherited meaning but with an unadapted and an adapted form. Both adjectives refer to positive vibes and sensations related to surfing. Someone who is stoked is, simply, very happy, and this sensation is often connected with the conditions being epic, that is, of high class. There are many things which may be epic: the conditions, a specific surfing session, the preview, an event, and so on. Although *épico* is only found in the Spanish dataset, it is also used in Portuguese with much the same sense(s). In Spanish, *épico* is much more frequently used than the

direct loan *stoked*, which, being an adjective, is more difficult to introduce into normal conversation. The last Spanish surfing concept is *tribu del surf*, a calque of English *surf tribe*.

In Portuguese, both the direct loans and the loan translations are more frequent than in Spanish. Among the direct loans we find expressions of two kinds: on the one hand there are basic Anglicisms such as *quiver*, *surf trip*, and *estar show*. On the other, there are false Anglicisms such as *aloha* ‘welcome, farewell, good wishes’, *aloha spirit*, *mahalo* ‘thank you’, and *shaka* (presumably of Japanese origin, but rooted in Hawaii), which are Hawaiian in origin but have arrived in Spanish through English (cf. *OED*).

5.5. Surfing conditions

When talking about surfing, the conditions are key, for obvious reasons. If the conditions are not right, there is no surfing or the surf session is a waste of time. The class of surf conditions is the one that contains the most terms in both Portuguese and Spanish, with 18 and 19 per cent, respectively. It is also the class with the most direct loans (around 50 per cent, with 22/48 in Portuguese and 19/38 in Spanish). The 16 shared terms are presented in Table 8.

Conditions term (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
beach break	<i>beach break</i>	<i>beach break</i>
bottom	<i>bottom</i> , <u><i>fundo</i></u>	<i>bottom</i> , <u><i>fondo</i></u>
choppy	<i>choppy</i>	<i>choppy</i>
crowd	<i>crowd</i>	<i>crowd</i>
flat	<i>flat</i>	<i>plato</i> , <i>mar plato</i>
glass	<i>glass</i>	<i>glassy</i> , <u><i>sin viento</i></u>
line up	<i>line up</i>	<i>line up</i>
offshore	<i>offshore</i>	<i>offshore</i>
onshore	<i>onshore</i>	<i>onshore</i>
outside	<i>outside</i>	<i>outside</i>
point	<i>point</i>	<i>point</i>
point break	<i>point break</i>	<i>point break</i>
reef	<i>reef</i>	<i>reef</i>
reef break	<i>reef break</i>	<i>reef break</i>
spot	<i>spot</i>	<i>spot</i>
swell	<i>swell</i>	<i>swell</i>
messy	<i>mexido</i>	<i>messy</i> , <i>mezclado</i> , <u><i>revuelto</i></u> , <u><i>tocado</i></u>

Table 8. Shared conditions terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

As Table 8 indicates, the terms referring to surfing conditions which appear in the datasets of both Portuguese and Spanish are almost identical in both languages, with

the direct loans constituting the great majority. The only differences are the expressions *flat*, i.e. an ocean with no waves whatsoever, where Portuguese uses the English term whereas Spanish has two translations: *plato* and more explicit *mar plato*; and *messy*, referring to an ocean with unorganized waves, affected by the wind, leading to bad surfing conditions, where the Portuguese data only includes the loan translation *mexido*, whereas Spanish, besides the equivalent loan translation to Portuguese *mexido*, i.e. *mezclado*, has both the Anglicism *messy* and two own expressions: *(mar) revuelto y tocado* ('unorganized' and 'touched', respectively).

Although the great majority of direct loans are shared by both languages, there are a few direct loans in each language which are not encountered in the other. These are *cross shore*, *inside*, *secret point*, *secret spot*, *storm* and *gringo* in Portuguese, and *outline* and *side shore* in Spanish. Curiously, *cross* and *side shore* are almost synonyms, referring to a wind blowing neither on nor off shore (i.e. towards or away from the beach) but from either side (*cross* or *side*). It is also probably due to the configuration of the data set that *inside* is not encountered in Spanish (while *outside* is, see Table 8). The absence of *secret point* or *secret spot* in Spanish is also probably a question of the data set, since both *point* and *spot* are used. For *storm* the own expression *temporal* is often used in Spanish (although it is not included in the data set); indeed, as a general term with little special surfing meaning added to it, it makes little sense to borrow it.

Finally, the Portuguese expression *está gringo* 'it's pumping' warrants a comment. The originally Spanish loanword *gringo*, which is used to refer to excellent surfing conditions when the waves are 'pumping' and surf is on, can probably be considered a false Anglicism, since the term seems to be ironically motivated. *Gringo*, as is well known, is a Spanish euphemism frequently used in Latin America to refer to US tourists and white people in general (see *DRAE* and *DPLP*, v.g. *gringo*). The move from a pejorative meaning to a positive, jocular one is not hard to imagine: since surfing is an importation from the Anglophone world, good surfing has long been associated with famous US regions such as California and Hawaii, i.e. where the gringos come from. As a consequence, up until five years ago, when Brazilian surfer Gabriel Medina became the first non-Anglo world champion of surfing in 2014, almost all world-famous surfers were either of Australian, Hawaiian or US origins (see World surf league for statistics). So, from a Latin American, and more precisely Brazilian, perspective, what comes from the US, i.e. is *gringo*, and is related to surfing, must be of high quality. Hence, the originally pejorative *gringo* can be used in several positive contexts: *a prancha é gringa*, *o surf dele é de gringo*, etc. (cf. Lobo, 2009).

When it comes to loan translations, there are only three cases in Spanish, all included in Table 8 (*mezclado*, *mar plato*, *plato*). But in Portuguese, apart from *mexido* 'messy' included in Table 8, there are six further terms which calque English expressions: *bancada* '(sand)bank', *(mar) grande* 'big swell', *direção da ondulação* 'swell direction', *direção ideal* 'ideal (swell) direction', *a linha de rebentação* 'line up', and *clássico* 'classic (conditions)'. Three of these are adjectives, *grande*, *ideal* and *clássico*, which are obviously used in Portuguese outside the world of surfing as well. However, in the context of surfing, one can consider *big swell*, *ideal swell direction* and

classic conditions semi-fixed expressions, or collocations, with a specific meaning. This gives them a different status, which is shown also in the Portuguese terms, where the N+A combinations are highly reminiscent of the English collocations. The remaining three nominal compounds also mirror English complex concepts which are typical for talking about surfing conditions, which is why they are included here: *bancada de areia*, *direção da ondulação*, and *linha de rebentação*.

The own expressions show even larger differences between the two languages. The datasets include ten expressions in Portuguese and nine in Spanish, none of which coincide. Apart from the expressions themselves being different, there is also a difference in the kind of expressions—in Portuguese all ten terms are words (nouns or adjectives) which have been reused, acquiring a special sense in the context of surfing, whereas in Spanish there are only four such reused expressions, the remaining five being new expressions with specific reference to surfing. The expressions in question are presented in Table 9.

Expression type	Portuguese	Spanish
Reused	<i>noronha</i> , <i>mormaço</i> , <i>marola</i> , <i>terral</i> , (<i>mar</i>) <i>forte</i>	<i>merreca</i> , <i>maral</i> , <i>maroleiro</i> , <i>demarcação</i> , (<i>surf</i>) <i>gordo</i>
New	–	<i>tocado</i> , <i>revuelto</i> , <i>bañazo</i> , <i>está</i> <i>entrando mar</i> <i>rompebrazos</i> , <i>salen</i> <i>tubos</i> , <i>alguna sale</i> , <i>baño</i> <i>quitamonos</i> , <i>está para corto</i>

Table 9. Own expression for surfing conditions in Portuguese and Spanish

Among the Portuguese terms, there are two morphologically and semantically related pairs, *maral* – *terral* and *marola* – *maroleiro*. The first two are home-made equivalents—derived from the words *mar* ‘sea’ and *terra* ‘land’, respectively—of the English concepts *onshore* and *offshore* when referring to the direction of the wind. The root *mar* seems to be involved also in the pair *marola* – *maroleiro*, the noun *marola* referring to small conditions, i.e. a sea with small, barely surfable waves. Its derivative, the adjective *maroleiro* enhances the negative connotations of small conditions, and can be used to refer to unsurfable conditions, in general. The three expressions *noronha* ‘bad spot’, *merreca* ‘small and unimpressive conditions’ and *mormaço* ‘crowded, packed’, also bear negative connotations, which can be inferred especially by the derivative suffixes *-ca* and *-aço*. They are, however, also used outside the world of surfing, with similar meanings: *merreca* (adj.) ‘very small, unimpressive’, *mormaço* ‘excessive heat; excessively hot day’ and *noronha* ‘nickname, apellative’.

The remaining three expressions, *demarcação* ‘lines’, *forte* ‘strong’, and *gordo* ‘big, fat’, include a general noun which has a particular interpretation when referring to the wave lines one can see on the sea. *Forte* and *gordo* are highly frequent adjectives,

which acquire a particular meaning when applied to surfing conditions: *um mar gordo*, lit. a fat sea refers to big conditions, with massive waves, whereas *um surf forte* makes references to a strong, impressive surfing performance.

As stated above, among the Spanish expressions there are four which are reused in the surfing context: the adjectives *tocado* ‘touched’ and *revuelto* ‘unordered, unruly’ have already been referred to in Table 8, above. *Rompebrazos* ‘arm-breaker’ seems to be a new coinage, making explicit reference to surfing conditions so hard that the paddling effort is harsh enough to ‘break your arms’. The phrase *está entrando mar*, on the other hand, makes use of the general verb *entrar* ‘to enter, come in’, which in combination with *mar* makes reference to an approaching swell, that is, the building up of bigger, more challenging waves (cf. the mention of Portuguese *entrar* with a similar, approaching meaning in relation to the noun *waves* in Section 5.9. below). The idea, here, is that *entra mar* ‘a swell is approaching’ makes up a specific, complex concept in the world of surfing, the building up of bigger surfing conditions, which is why this expression has been classified as pertaining to the class of Conditions.

The six remaining expressions, which have been characterized as new expressions (in contrary to the reused ones), make reference to quite heterogeneous aspects of surfing conditions. There are three phrasal and three nominal expressions. Two of the phrases include the verb *salir* ‘to go out’, *salen tubos y alguna sale*, making reference to the fact that there are either ‘barrels’ or ‘(some) waves’ on offer. *Está para corto* ‘It’s good for (a) short (wetsuit)’ includes the truncated term *corto*, based on the compound *traje (de neopreno) corto* ‘short(-sleeved) wetsuit’, and makes reference to conditions in which the water has, finally, after a long winter, become warm enough.

Two of the three nominal expressions, *bañazo* and *baño quitamonos* include the noun *baño* ‘bath’, which is used idiomatically in Spanish to refer to a surfing session. When used with the augmentative suffix *-azo* it refers to a good session, where a surfer has performed well and is stoked, or highly pleased with her/himself. Another form of surfing session is *baño quitamonos*, where the compound *quitamonos—quitar* ‘get rid of’ and *mono* ‘urge to do something’—makes reference to ‘a session where one has finally managed to get rid of a pressing need to surf after a long wave-less period’.

5.6. Surfing equipment

Besides the surfboard, there are a number of other items which are involved in the surfing activity, such as board bags, wetsuits, and so on. As shown in the general tables presented above, the equipment terms are relatively few, especially in Spanish, where only five concepts are found compared to eleven in Portuguese. As such, there is only one shared concept in the respective vocabularies, *leash*, i.e. the strap which attaches the surfboard to the surfer’s leg:

- (1) Portuguese: *leash, shop, strap, fio*
- (2) Spanish: *leash, agarradera, invento*

As the expressions in a) indicate, both languages use several terms to refer to the same concept. In Portuguese three different direct loans as well as one own expressions are used; this can be compared to one direct loan in Spanish, accompanied by two own expressions. In Peninsular Spanish, the own term *invento* is the most frequently used.

Apart from the leash, in the Spanish dataset there is only one other concept, i.e. *wax*, which is referred to either by the direct loan *wax* or by the own expression *parafina*. Often, a short version *parafa* can be heard in spontaneous conversation. Although neither term is listed, as such, in the Portuguese dataset, both are used indirectly (in the explanations of other terms), meaning that one can talk about *wax* and *parafina* in Portuguese just as well as in Spanish.

On the other hand, although only the Portuguese data set includes terms for the wetsuit, direct loans *john*, and *longjohn* as well as the loan translation *fato* 'suit', the concept obviously exists in Spanish as well: the hybrid expression *traje de neopreno* 'neoprene suit', consisting of the loan translation *traje* 'suit' combined with the morphologically adapted loan word *neopreno*, a term referring to the material used in manufacturing wetsuits. The wetsuit is often made reference to in a simplified manner, using either *el neopreno* or *el traje*, the last one mirroring Portuguese *fato*. Another related term which is only included in the Portuguese dataset is the direct loan *lycra* 'rash guard', a term referring to the material used for making the t-shirts used as protection when surfing without wetsuit; the same term is frequently used in Spanish as well: *licra* or *lycra*. The Portuguese dataset also includes a loan translation for the boardbag, *camisinha* 'boardbag; condom'. This is an interesting case, being a translation of the English term *rubber* in the sense of 'condom'. In the surfing context, however, only the boardbag sense is activated. The word play involved, however, may be seen as typical of surf lingo.

5.7. Surfing manoeuvres

The terms used to describe the several manoeuvres surfers perform while riding down the shoulder of a wave is the one class of expressions where there is a clear difference between Portuguese and Spanish. Although both languages share a similar number of direct loans and loan translations, in Spanish there are no own expressions for surfing manoeuvres, where the Portuguese data set includes ten. As will become evident shortly, Portuguese seems to have come up with a series of own terms which act as synonyms to the English loanwords, e.g. *cavada* for *bottom-turn*, *batida* for *re-entry* or *hack*, and *rascada* for a *carve*.

Manoeuvres (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
bottom-turn	<i>bottom turn</i> , <i>cavada</i>	<i>bottom turn</i>
cutback	<i>cutback</i>	<i>cutback</i>
Drop	<i>drop</i>	<i>drop</i>
floater	<i>floater</i>	<i>floater</i>

Manoeuvres (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
take-off	takeoff	takeoff
to be deep (in the barrel)	<i>estar deep</i>	<i>estar profundo</i>
360	<i>360^o</i>	<i>360 grados</i>
manoeuvre	<i>manobra</i>	<i>maniobra</i>
aerial	<i>aéreo</i>	<i>aéreo</i>
barrel, tuberide	<i>tubo</i>	<i>tubo</i>
great tuberide	<i>tubaço</i>	<i>tubazo</i>
to go to the air	<i>ir para o ar</i>	<i>ir al aire</i>
re-entry	<u><i>batida</i></u>	r(e)entry
behind the curtain	<u><i>dentro da bancada</i></u>	<i>detrás de la cortina</i>

Table 10. Shared manoeuvre terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

Table 10 lists the shared terms which are found in both languages, displaying two of the above home-made manoeuvre terms, *cavada* and *batida*, in Portuguese. A significant number of the basic surfing manoeuvres are referred to by using borrowed expressions, either direct loans or loan translations. Among these *take off*, *drop*, *bottom turn*, *cutback* and *tubo* need mentioning, since they are essential for surfing. The *take-off* is when a surfer stands up on his board, the *drop* refers to him/her riding down the wave for the first time, the *bottom turn* is the first turn the surfer makes in order to start following the shoulder of the wave, a *cutback* is the first major manoeuvre a surfer learns to do, implying a 180 degree turn towards the whitewater followed by another 180 degrees turn to start facing the shoulder of the wave again, drawing up the infinitum sign on the face of the wave. Finally, the *tube*, or barrel, is the most spectacular, advanced and dangerous manoeuvre of surfing. Among these basic manoeuvres, then, only Portuguese *cavada* stands out as an own expression among the Anglicisms.

Apart from the shared manoeuvre terms, the data sets of both languages present several direct loans and loan translations which are not encountered in the other language. Examples of Portuguese direct loans which, for some reason, are not found in the Spanish data set are *doggy door*, *drop in*, *grab rail* and *tail slide*, whereas the Spanish data includes *drop knee*, *hang five/ten*, *rodeo flip*, *roller* and *snap*. Compared to the shared list, however, these are more specific and rare manoeuvres.

Among the loan translations Portuguese includes *pegar na prancha* ‘grab the board’, *botar fora* ‘pull out’, *belo tubo* ‘beautiful tube(ride)’ and *descer numa bomba* ‘ride down a bomb’. The first and third expressions seem quite transparent, referring to the rider grabbing his board during a manoeuvre, or a beautifully executed tube ride. *Botar fora* is when a ride is interrupted and the surfer kicks out by crossing the lip of the wave and starts paddling towards the line of incoming waves, and a *bomb* is a gigantic wave, the size of which enhances the downward movement (see section 5.9 below).

Spanish loan translations are *estar profundo en el tubo* ‘to be deep in the barrel’, (*hacer el*) *pato/patito* ‘(do a) duckdive’, *flotar la última sección* ‘to float the last section’, and *drop vertical* ‘vertical drop’. To float a section (of a wave) refers to passing on top of the foaming lip instead of surfing beneath or in front of it, and a *vertical drop* is similar to *descer numa bomba*, referring to a steep wave which forces the takeoff to be made on an (almost) vertical surface, with little or no contact between the board and the water, making the move much more critical.

The most noteworthy term in the Spanish list is *hacer el pato* which translates English’ (*to*) *duckdive*, that is, to pass beneath an oncoming wave—much like a duck dives, head first, under water—on the way from the beach to the outside where the waves are breaking. This is an essential move in surfing, and the English *duckdive* is, as is often the case in Spanish, rendered by combining an essential part of the original expression, *duck* in this case, with light verb *hacer* ‘to do’ in order to create a complex predicate: *hacer el pato*. The nominal concept, duckdive, is rendered simply by the noun *pato*, or its diminutive form, *patito*. Although the Portuguese data does not include reference to this concept, it uses the same strategy as Spanish: *fazer o patinho* (with the diminutive form of *pato* ‘duck’), or, alternatively the more explicit form (*fazer o*) *bico do pato* ‘duck’s beak’.

As stated above, in Spanish there is only one manoeuvre term which is not an Anglicism, namely *girazo* ‘great turn’, based on the general sports term *giro* ‘turn’ by adding the augmentative suffix *-azo*, referring to a great turn in a generic fashion (that is, it could be a *re-entry*, a *snap*, or a *cutback*). In Portuguese, on the other hand, there are several home-made terms for the manoeuvres, such as *batida* ‘re-entry, hack’, *leque* ‘spray’, *cavada* ‘bottom-turn’, *demorar na/fazer a cavada* ‘to bottom-turn (too slowly)’, and *rascada/rasgada* ‘carve’. Especially *batida*, *cavada* and *leque* are important, since these expressions make reference to central concepts of surfing. As indicated in Table 11, *cavada* is a Portuguese term for the *bottom-turn*, i.e. the first turn a surfer makes in the lower part of the wave (hence the term *cavada*, derived from the ver *cavar* ‘to dig’) in order to set the direction and get going on the rest of the wave. As was the case with *hacer el pato/o patinho*, above, Portuguese uses the same strategy as Spanish in creating predicates, i.e. the light verb *fazer* ‘to do’ is combined with a nominal element to create a compound predicate of the format V+N. Of course, when need be, the noun *cavada* can also be combined with a more specific verb, such as *demorar* ‘to take time’.

A truly competitive manoeuvre, *batida* is derived from the ver *bater* ‘to hit’ using the *-(i)da* suffix for indicating (violent or sudden) actions, in this case, hitting the wave. Uma *rascada/rasgada* is similar, derived from two near synonymous verbs, *rascar/rasgar* ‘to scrape/to tear; to plow’ by the same action-suffix *-ada*, these terms are used to describe the manoeuvre where a surfer makes a long, powerful carving turn across the shoulder of the wave, thus mirroring the actions of carving into the wave. While performing either a *batida* or a *rascada*, a surfer probably will also create a *leque* ‘fan’. This figurative expression captures the form the spray makes when a surfer doing a turn pushes back the water with the board.

5.8. Surfers and people

The terms used to refer to the people involved in surfing are many, some of which are not exclusive to surfing but which nevertheless have a significant role in surf talk, such as *bro*, *pro*, *grom*, (*surf*)*rider*. A significant portion of these terms is found as direct loans in both Portuguese and Spanish, but there are also a large number of own expressions in Portuguese but not in Spanish. This situation is reflected in the fact that there are over 30 terms included in the Portuguese dataset, but only 15 in Spanish. All in all, the main difference between the two languages resides in the larger portion of own expressions among the terms referring to people involved with surfing in Portuguese. The loan translations, on the other hand, are few.

Table 11 presents the shared items in both the Portuguese and Spanish datasets, which, actually, reflect the distribution just mentioned quite accurately, including some five direct loans (in bold), a single loan translation and three or four own expressions (underlined):

People (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
Rider	(big) rider	rider
goofy	goofy	goofy
grummet	grommett	gremmie
regular (footer)	regular footer , <i>regular</i>	<i>regular</i>
shaper	shaper	shaper
surfer	<u>surfista</u>	<u>surfista</u>
beginner	<u>iniciante</u> , <u>jojolão</u>	<u>novato</u> , kook
one who steals waves	<u>queixão</u>	<u>buitre</u> , <u>lancero</u>

Table 11. Shared people terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

As the examples show, the direct loans are almost identical, with some minor spelling variations in *grommett*, *gremmie* and the presence of English *big* in Portuguese *big rider* and *footer* in Portuguese *regular footer* vs. the loan translation *regular* which is found in both Portuguese and Spanish. Among the own expressions, the two languages share the form *surfista* ‘surfer’, in which the autochthonous nominalizing-agentive suffix *-ista* is preferred over the possible, more English-like *-eiro/ero* ‘-er’. The remaining expressions, referring to a beginning and badly behaving surfer, respectively, are formally distinct sharing only their meaning: Portuguese *iniciante*, *jojolão* ‘beginner’ vs. Spanish *novato* and Portuguese *queixão* vs. Spanish *buitre*, *lancero* ‘one who steals waves from other surfers’.

Outside the shared direct loans, Spanish only includes one term which is not included in the Portuguese inventory, *kook* ‘one who’s is not very good’ (this term is, of course, related to the terms for beginner, but has a bit wider meaning range, which is why it is considered an expression of its own). In Portuguese, on the other hand, there

are several direct loans apart from the ones included in Table 11: *Aussie*, *brother*, *free surfer*, *pro*, *tube rider*, and *haole*. Of these, *brother* is, of course, not unique to surfing, but it has a distinguished place in making reference to a member of the surfing community. Although unattested in the Spanish dataset, *brother* and its short form *bro* are quite frequently used in Spanish. *Haole* needs a special mention, being one of the few false Anglicisms in the data set, along with *aloha*, *mahalo* and *shaka* mentioned earlier (see section 5.4, above).

The only loan translation which is not included in Table 11 is *local/locais*, making reference to the people who are local to a certain surf spot or region. Although the equivalent Spanish expressions *local*, *locales* are not included in the dataset, they are, however, in frequent use in Spanish as well.

The kind of expressions where there are most differences between Portuguese and Spanish are the own expressions, where Spanish includes the two terms *buitre* and *lancero* included in Table 11. In Portuguese, however, there are thirteen own expressions which are not paralleled in Spanish: *merrequeiro* ‘one who surfs on the inside, where the waves are smaller’, *bóia* ‘a surfer who’s out in the lineup but catches no waves’, *jaca* ‘= *bóia*’, *pangas do pantano* ‘one who lives close to sea but is afraid of the ocean’, *ramado* ‘local’, *maria-parafina* ‘girl who is a big surf fan’, *casca grossa* ‘ripper, very good surfer’, *prego* ‘ripper’, *paraíba* ‘= *merrequeiro*’, *juaca* ‘tube riding wizard’, *cabrerão* ‘surfer who is afraid of the waves’, and *cabuloso* ‘strange, wierd person’.

Among these expressions, *maria-parafina* is worth mentioning because of the second element of the compound, *parafina*, a term used to refer to the wax used on the surfboard. Another noteworthy term among the Portuguese own expressions is *bóia*, a maritime term put to a special use in the surfing context: used metaphorically, *boia* refers to surfers that are not catching any waves, i.e. just floating around in the line-up as a buoy without actually surfing.

In Spanish, finally, there are also a couple of own, general expressions which are put to a special use within the world of surfing: *caganet* ‘one who shits him/herself’, *peligro* ‘danger’ and *suicida* ‘suicide’. The first term is, actually, a mythical, Catalan character, *el caganet*, or *caganer*, referring to a simple peasant doing his needs in a squatting position above a log, but the figurative sense which is activated here is the one making reference to somebody who is scared of the waves and the ocean. The semantic association between being scared and shitting oneself is, of course, present in many languages and cultures. *Peligro* and *suicida*, on the other hand, are general terms which can be used to describe a certain, excessively dangerous behaviour in the water, i.e. people who do not take much care either for other surfers’ (*peligro*) or for their own safety (*suicida*).

5.9. Waves

When it comes to talking about waves, perhaps the single most essential part of surfing, both Portuguese and Spanish make use of direct loans, loan translations and own

expressions. In the basic inventory of surfing terms managed in this study, there are 33 Portuguese wave terms and 26 in Spanish. Of these, 17 constitute shared concepts, i.e. terms which are found in the inventory of both languages. Of these 17, Portuguese has five direct loans, nine loan translations and three own expressions, whereas in Spanish the corresponding figures are: four direct loans, nine loan translations, and four own expressions, meaning that the distribution is essentially the same. The seventeen common terms are presented in Table 12.

Wave term (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
back door	<i>back door</i>	<i>back door</i>
bomb	<i>bomba, <u>morra</u></i>	<i>bomba</i>
close-out	<i><u>quebradeira</u>, <u>fechadeira</u></i>	<i><u>barra</u>, <u>cerrón</u></i>
foam ball	<i>foam ball</i>	<i>foam ball</i>
Left	<i>esquerda</i>	<i>izquierda</i>
Lip	<i>lip</i>, <i>crista</i>	<i>lip</i>, <i>labio</i>, <i>cresta</i>
Peak	<i>pico</i>	<i>pico</i>
Right	<i>direita</i>	<i>derecha</i>
section	<i>secção</i>	<i>sección</i>
series	<i>série</i>	<i>serie</i>
two feet	<i><u>meio metrim</u></i>	<i><u>medio metro</u></i>
Wall	<i>parede</i>	<i>pared</i>
white-water	<i>white water</i>, <i>parte branca</i>	<i><u>espuma</u></i>
Set	<i>set</i>	<i>Set</i>

Table 12. Shared wave terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold, own expressions are underlined, and direct translations in normal font)

As Table 12 shows, the two languages show little differences when it comes to the shared wave terms. *Back door*, *foam ball*, *lip* and *set* are direct loans in both Portuguese and Spanish, whereas *bomba*, *esquerda/izquierda*, *crista/cresta*, *pico*, *direita*, *secção/sección*, *série/serie*, *parede/pared* are loan translations. Finally, Portuguese *morra*, *quebradeira/fechadeira* and *meio metrim* are own expressions, as are Spanish *barra/cerrón*, *medio metro* and *espuma*. The main differences are that Spanish has only one term for the concepts *bomb* and *white water* where Portuguese has two, adding the own expressions *morra* and *parte branca* to the Anglicism and direct translation. Spanish, on the other hand, has a third term for the lip of the wave, the loan translation *labio*, apart from shared Anglicism *lip* and *cresta* (cf. English ‘crest’).

Beyond the shared concepts, there are also several surfing terms which are only encountered in one of the languages. In Portuguese, three Anglicisms, *back wash*, *bone crusher*, and *double up* are not encountered in my Spanish data (although the first is often known as a *contraola*, i.e. an own expression). There is a series of verbs describing wave actions which have been classified as loan translations, e.g. *rebentar* and *quebrar* which calque English *a wave breaks*, as well as *reformatar* (*a onda*), *fechar* (*a onda*), and *espremer* (*a onda*) which mirror English’ *reform*, *close (out)* and *spit*.

Finally, four own expressions referring to waves are encountered: *the incoming waves* are expressed in Portuguese by the verb *entrar* ‘to enter’ and the build-up or forming of a wave is referred to by *levantar* ‘to rise, get up’; the back-wash, or water moving out to sea again, encountering the waves approaching the shore, is also known by the autochthonous term *pororoca*; and a big so-called clean-up wave breaking outside the line-up where the surfers are waiting for a surfable wave, is sometimes called *quebracoco* ‘head breaker’.

Although these expressions are not part of the inventory of Spanish surfing terms managed in this paper, the Portuguese verbs *rebentar*, *quebrar* have Spanish equivalents in *reventar* and *romper* ‘to break’, and the same goes for *reformatar*, *fechar*, and *espremer* which are rendered in Spanish by *reformatar*, *cerrar* and *escupir*.

The wave terms only found in the Spanish dataset include twelve expressions, six loan translations and six own expressions. The loan translations include *cortina* ‘curtain’, used in order to describe the position of a surfer inside a barrel, behind the curtain of water falling from the breaking wave, and *brazo* ‘shoulder’, used to refer to the part of the wave that is not yet breaking. Apart from these two concepts describing parts of a wave, there are two descriptive adjectives referring to its size: *olas medianas*, *normales* ‘medium and normal sized waves’ which calque English expressions.

The own expressions, on the other hand, include three measures of wave size according to the metric system: *olas de metro* ‘waist-high or three-to-four feet’, *metro y medio* ‘chest or head-high or six-to-eight-feet’ and *metro pasado* ‘head-high’, as well as two adjectives describing its (lack of strength), *fofa* ‘slow, powerless’ and form, *cóncava* ‘hollow’. Finally, there is the verb *apachurrarse* ‘flatten out’, referring to when a wave starts to lose strength and speed as it moves towards the shore (often due to lack of size and too much water underneath it).

Although not included in the Portuguese inventory, the adjectives *mediana* and *normal* can be used. The same applies to the metric measures used to describe wave size, where expressions such as *ondas de (um) metro* and *de metro e meio* ‘meter-high and one-and-a-half-meter-high waves’.

In order to end this subsection, a last series of concepts merit a short comment, namely those referring to wave size. Wave size is a hot topic among surfers, since it is a well-known fact, or legend, that the bigger the wave you manage to ride, the better you surf. So surf stories describing the sensation of riding a particularly intense or intimidating wave tend to include somewhat exaggerating characterizations of wave size. At the same time, when conditions are clearly not impressive, understatements regarding wave size are equally common. When to this one adds the fact that it is notoriously difficult to actually determine the size of a breaking wave, it becomes obvious that talking about wave size is a highly subjective and speculative endeavour. This is reflected in surfing terminology, as well.

In English, following William Finnegan’s account in his autobiographical book *Barbarian days* (2015: 326–330 [391–396]), there are different cultures when it comes to talking about wave size, meaning that Hawaiians, West-coasters and East-coasters use different terms and different scales to measure and refer to wave size:

Wave size ends up being a matter of local consensus. A given wave, transferred intact somehow from Hawaii, where it was considered six feet, to Southern California, would be called ten there. In Florida it would be twelve, maybe fifteen. In San Francisco, when I lived there, a double-overhead wave was reckoned, for no good reason, to be eight feet. A triple-overhead wave was ten feet. A wave four times the height of the rider was twelve feet. Five times was fifteen feet, more or less. Beyond that, the system—if you could call it a system—disintegrated. (Finnegan, 2015: 327–328)

Being a subjective matter, it is hardly surprising that the Ibero-Romance languages Portuguese and Spanish should make use of one of their trademarks, the diminutive and augmentative suffixes, in their wave description. An example included in the inventory of Portuguese surfing terms is *meio metrim*, with its distinctive *-im* ending indicating an understatement regarding the size and importance of the wave. Although its Spanish counterpart in my data set, *medio metro*, includes no diminutive, expressions such as *medio metrín* ‘half a meter’, *un metrín*, *un metrío* ‘a meter’, *un metrazo* ‘a big meter’ are frequent in Spanish surf talk. Recall the use of the augmentative in the term *tubaço/tubazo* used to indicate a thrilling, spectacular barrel-ride (not just a big barrel, which is why this term was analyzed as a manoeuvre, not as a wave description).

6. Conclusions

In this paper I have provided an account for the presence of English loan words in the Portuguese and Spanish language of surfing, focusing on a set of some 200 surfing terms in both languages. The different concepts, and the terms used to refer to them, were divided into nine classes, designating different aspects of the world of surfing, the most prominent which are surfing actions, conditions, manoeuvres as well as boards and waves. The expressions were also divided into four types, two representing loan words (direct loans and loan translations, respectively) and two representing own expressions (own expressions and general expressions).

Comparing the two Ibero-Romance languages, the results presented in this paper reveal that there are only minor differences Portuguese and Spanish when it comes to the surfing vocabulary. Thus we find that 62 and 65 per cent of the surfing terms investigated are of foreign origin, mainly English. Given that modern surfing was made known world-wide through the medium of the English language, starting its development in the early 20th century in areas such as Hawaii, Australia and California, this predominance of English terminology was to be expected.

The results also show that the loan words (direct loans and loan translations) are most frequent in the following classes: surf concepts (*aloha*, *backside*, *frontside*), surfing manoeuvres (*cutback*, *floater*, *take off*) and waves (*tubo* ‘tube’, *back door*, *bomba* ‘bomb’, *pico* ‘peak’). On the other hand, the analysis also shows that within the own expressions, Portuguese and Spanish surf language makes use of similar morphological resources as sports language in general, such as diminutives (*-(z)inho/-(-c)ito*, *-im*), augmentatives (*-ão/-ón*) and different action suffixes

(-aço/azo, -ada) (see Méndez Santos, 2015). Some examples are: *patito/patinho*, *tubaço/tubazo*, *meio metrim*, *fechadeira*, *batida*, *cavada*, *cerrón*, *olón/olaza*, *ola quedona*, *revolconazo*, *tabla/tablón*, etc.

Although the two languages show more similarities than differences, there are some aspects that are worth underlining. For example, in Portuguese there is an above average presence of loans in the terms referring to surfing contests, surfing concepts, the equipment, manoeuvres and waves. Among the manoeuvres, Portuguese uses several home-made expressions which are not found in Spanish, such as *cavada* vs. *bottom* and *batida* vs. *reentry*. In Spanish there are above average numbers of loan words in the board, general concepts and manoeuvres classes.

Having said this, it needs to be underlined that the results presented in this paper are based on a rather eclectically collected material. This is reflected in considerable differences among the terms included in the Portuguese and Spanish datasets. Considering that one of the aims of the paper was to establish a basic inventory of surfing terms, this aim can be considered to be satisfactorily met. However, the uneven but empirically authentic setup of the datasets means that the comparison between the two languages in terms of presence vs. absence of English loans is not as precise as it could have been, had I chosen to only focus on the shared concepts and ignore the others.

Being a first, exploratory study, the results of this paper actually give rise to many new questions. There are thus several aspects left to investigate in the future, of which I will name only a few in order to set the stage for following studies:

On the formal, or grammatical side, one might consider looking into the phonetic and morphological integration of the direct loans (see Freitas, 2003), or the variation or alternate use between loan words and own expressions when both are available. Another interesting aspect would be to look into the morphological mechanisms used when creating forms such as *tubaço/tubazo*, *revolconazo*, *bañazo*, *tablón*, *um metrim*, *rascada*, etc., or the lexical creativity that the compounds and other morphological adaptations showcase.

On a more sociolinguistic level, there are of course geographical and regional differences to look into. Are there, for example, more loan words in some varieties of Portuguese and Spanish than in other? What differences are there between European and American varieties of Portuguese and Spanish surfing concepts? To what degree does the surf tribe actually identify itself linguistically, i.e. what indexes of social meaning are established and identified by the surfing community?

Notes

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1. Balteiro (2011: 33) distinguishes between unadapted, adapted and morphologically adapted loans, making reference to different levels of the receptor language.

2. The terms offshore and onshore are included in Görlach (2005), but in senses unrelated to the two wind directions which the terms indicate in the surfing world (i.e. onshore vs. offshore winds).

3. The order is alphabetical, according to the bold face terms.

4. Note also that the Pt. expression is a verb whereas the English clean-up wave is a compound noun.

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Running* in French: A Question of Performance

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ABSTRACT

Running entered the official French language dictionary in 2019. This paper proposes to focus on the motivations which have led to the acceptance of this Anglicism in French. Indeed, *running* has achieved the performance of being more than the mere activity of running: it is a whole phenomenon which has been gaining ground since the late 2000s, as communities, events and derived products have been flourishing. Supposedly, *running* must have been a buzzword in the field of sports. But given its lexicalization, *running* could not just remain a buzzword. It has become a whole concept as it contributes to feeding the field of running in French through both semantic extension and precision. It will be of interest to examine the pathway of the Anglicism *running* from a phenomenon creating the buzz to a widely accepted and frequently used lexeme in French. The question of linguistic performance will therefore be tackled, thanks to recent online data, in order to show how *running* has become important not only in the world and language of sports, but also in the standard everyday language in France.

Keywords: *running*, buzzword, language contact, performance, sports and everyday language

1. Introduction

Running is an Anglicism used in French belonging to the field of sports, borrowed from the English noun “running” which is recorded in the English dictionary as such and can be defined as the activity or sport of running.¹ *Running* entered the official French Dictionary *Le Petit Robert* in 2019, with two definitions:



Nom masculin : pratique régulière et intensive de la course à pied dans un esprit de compétition. (Masculine noun: regular and intensive practice of running in a competitive spirit. [My translation])

Nom féminin : chaussures de sport pour la course à pied. (Feminine noun: sports shoes for running. [My translation])

In the field of sports, the French *course* is also defined both as the action of running and as a struggle and competition of speed, as one can read in *Le Petit Robert* and *Larousse* dictionaries. Therefore, the Anglicism *running* and its French counterpart *course* seem to share similarity of context (sports) and similarity of meaning (running, competition, speed) – i.e. the very definition of synonyms (Rubenstein & Goodenough, 1965: 627). Consequently, what distinguishes the Anglicism from the original French lexeme? In other words, the core question of this paper is: why has the Anglicism *running* been integrated into French despite the presence of a French lexeme referring to the same sports?

The distinction may lie in the fact that, metonymically, *running* in the French dictionary also designates the shoes used for this activity. The Anglicism thus appears to extend the definition around the activity of running by being polysemous. Hence, my first hypothesis is that *running* has been integrated because it presents more semantic possibilities. If this Anglicism has become a French lexeme, it is probably because it fills a gap which its French counterpart *course* missed.

Additionally, the presence of sports in the media has resulted in the language of sports becoming more significant (Taborek, 2012: 237). This has facilitated the spreading of *running* since the late 2000s, resulting in a whole world building around it (communities, events, derived products, etc.). It may be argued that *running* has created the buzz in France – that is to say, innovation and consequent excitement and enthusiasm around the activity of running. My second hypothesis thus states that *running* is a buzzword of English origin whose role is to embody sports performance. Performance is here understood in the way someone or something acts or behaves in order to be the best in a particular domain – something which is particularly sought-after in sports. A buzzword is basically a fashionable word or expression meant to sound important and attract attention for a while before vanishing for excess of use. However, because of its recent integration into the dictionary, *running* has not disappeared from the French linguistic landscape. Therefore, how has the Anglicism *running* managed to achieve this linguistic performance?

This study aims to explore the motivations which have led to the acceptance of *running* in the official French language. It focuses on the French language in contemporary France. It adopts a sociolinguistic standpoint and a qualitative way of analyzing the data. The following section lays out linguistic background around borrowings and sports Anglicisms. A more thorough definition for buzzword will also be provided, before overviewing the main criteria leading to the integration of a word from a donor language to a recipient language. Section 3 will be devoted to the

presentation of the methodology and database collected for this study. Finally, Section 4 will give an interpretation of the data to identify the criteria which have contributed to using and adopting the Anglicism *running* in French.

2. Linguistic Background

This section will provide the necessary linguistic context on Anglicisms– with a focus on the field of sports –, on the notion of “buzzword”, and on the progression of a lexeme from a borrowed item to a lexicalized word in the dictionary.

2.1. Borrowing from English: A thriving variety of Anglicisms

Defining an Anglicism may seem simple as, generally speaking, it can be any word borrowed from the English language, and therefore of English appearance and/or origin. However, various studies have demonstrated that defining an Anglicism is not as simple. There are indeed recognizable lexical Anglicisms (Picone, 1996; Saugera, 2017), and more or less recognizable Anglicisms since the latter can be semantic, structural, graphological, phonetic (Colpron et al., 1998), not counting hybrids and false Anglicisms (Picone, 1996; Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015). Scholars have also distinguished the concept of pragmatic borrow ing typical of some Anglicisms (Khoutyz, 2009; Andersen, 2014; Winter-Froemel, 2017). Gottlieb (2005: 163) says the term Anglicism is “an umbrella label for any sign of interference”. Due to the variety of aspects Anglicisms may take, Gottlieb (2005: 163) thus identifies an Anglicism as “any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English”. The Anglicism *running* in French belongs to the category of recognizable lexical Anglicisms.

At this juncture, it is worth introducing the notion of false Anglicism:

[A] false Anglicism (henceforth FA) is defined as a new lexical unit in a recipient language (RL) which has one of the two following defining features:

- it is homographic to an English lexeme and has acquired a different or additional sense in the RL (...)
- it is made up of a combination of English morphemes and/or lexemes, but has no established meaning in any native variety of English [...]. (Renner & Fernández-Domínguez in Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015: 148)

Renner and Fernández-Domínguez note that the canonical way to prove an Anglicism is false is to translate it into English. Let us check this for *running*. Consider the utterance “Le *running* est l’un des sports les plus pratiqués”. It is perfectly English to say: “Running is one of the most popular sports”, like “Football is one of the most popular sports”. In English, the *-ing* suffix can turn the verb into a noun, either for contextual reasons (e.g. “Eating too fast will make you sick”), or because the noun has

been lexicalized – which is the case for “running” in English. However, whereas one can say “Je vais faire un *running*” in French, it is impossible to say **“I’m going to do a running”* in English (the correct form would be “I’m going out for a run”). Therefore, *running* can be more or less categorized as a false Anglicism, depending on its meaning in the utterance. Interestingly, *running* is similar to common false Anglicisms in French (e.g. *parking* < “parking lot”, *dressings* < “dressing room”, *pressing* < “dry cleaner”), because of the nominalizing *-ing* suffix typically used in French when it comes to borrowing from English (Picone, 1996: 356) – as if this suffix were already attesting to the Englishness of the word. Humbley (2007: 8–9) says of the *-ing* suffix construction that it is successful in French due to its capacity for borrowing from English while modifying the syntax and the semantics of the loanword.

Notwithstanding all their considerable forms, Anglicisms undeniably constitute a vivid source of borrowings from foreign languages, principally due to the growing influence of Anglo-American culture and of English as a world *lingua franca* since the second half of the 20th century (Andersen, 2014: 17) – and ever more since the advent of World Wide Web in the nineties, thus providing “heavy lexical influence” and “potentially novel and deeper contact outcomes” (Saugera, 2017: 7). It is difficult to measure the number of Anglicisms permeating a foreign language, as only the ones that are officially integrated into specialized and general lexicons can be recorded. In France, according to an article published by the French national newspaper *Le Monde* in March 2019, the proportion of Anglicisms that have entered the last three dictionary editions since 2017 amounts to 16.6% of the total number of new lexicalized words – given that nearly four new words out of ten are foreign borrowings, the other 22% coming from sixteen different languages.² Also, lexicalized Anglicisms affect all fields of language, from specialized lexicons (e.g. computing: *geek*, *tag*, *pop-up*; fashion: *tweed*, *trench*, *jean*; sports: *football*, *tennis*, *rugby*) to standard everyday language (e.g. *week-end*, *job*, *overdose*) – sometimes with alterations to adapt to the French rules of construction (e.g. *un jean* with the dropping of the “s” plural form, as opposed to the English “a pair of jeans” or “Ø jeans” because English takes the shape of the garment into account – two legs, justifying the plural). Anglicisms then account for a significant part in terms of borrowing in French. Considering that and all the other unmeasurable temporary Anglicisms, Chesley (2010) argues Anglicisms can be regarded as being a particular subset of borrowings endowed with flexibility and polysemy: they can easily change cultural and semantic context (e.g. *pack* from the rugby lexicon used to talk about a group of political negotiators in a press article). According to Chesley (2010), Anglicisms are a phenomenon of borrowing of their own.

According to Dubois et al. (2001: 177), “il y a emprunt linguistique quand un parler A utilise une unité ou un trait linguistique qui existait précédemment dans un parler B (dit langue source) et que A ne possédait pas ; l’unité ou le trait emprunté sont eux-mêmes qualifiés d’emprunts”.³ Whether borrowing is necessary comes into question. Myers-Scotton (2002) makes a distinction between core borrowings (words which duplicate already existing words) and cultural borrowings (words for new non-lexicalized concepts). The former can be considered unnecessary as they are a kind of

replication, whereas the latter can be deemed necessary to fill a lexical gap. In the same line, Rodríguez González's (1996) study considers the motivations leading to the use of Anglicisms in Spanish. Rodríguez González refers to Halliday's theory of functions in the semantic system of a language (1978): the "ideational, the "interpersonal", and the "textual" functions.

The "ideational" function basically corresponds to the thing a word refers to. Rodríguez González (1996: 110) applies it to the borrowings integrated at an early stage – i.e. those which fill a lexical gap in the recipient language (e.g. *caddie* in golf – for both Spanish and French).

The "interpersonal" function "is concerned with the use of linguistic units or structures that mark personal and social relations" – i.e. "words and expressions that are stylistically marked and have an emotive connotation" (Rodríguez González, 1996: 111). Concerning loanwords, the "interpersonal" function comes on stage as a way to highlight something which would not stand out with equivalents in the recipient language. This function applies to borrowings which are usually not integrated. Because these borrowings are "foreign", they "are apt to develop an 'expressive' meaning" – e.g. contempt, irony, affectation (prestige), exaggeration, etc. (González Rodríguez, 1996: 112) – which would not be conveyed by the native equivalent. The following French utterance can be used to exemplify the "interpersonal" function: "dedans y a tout mon *love*".⁴ This is a private Facebook publication accompanying a picture of a bag a godmother had manufactured herself for her godchild. Borrowing from English here fulfills stylistic purposes; *love* is somehow synonymous with its native counterpart *amour*, but with something more – probably stressing the time and heart she had devoted in making this present. The Anglicism *love* takes on a positive emotional connotation.

The "textual function" is "the function that language has of creating text, of relating itself to the context – to the situation and the preceding text" (Halliday, quoted by Rodríguez González, 1996: 116). According to Rodríguez González, when applied to borrowings, the "textual" function can include loanwords with both "ideational" and "interpersonal" functions, and reflects tendencies on the part of the author resorting to borrowing – aiming "to obtain a high degree of information, clarity and precision" (Rodríguez González, 1996: 116). In the case of Anglicisms, a tendency towards simplification, clarity and precision may be observed (Rodríguez González, 1996: 116). In my previous example, *love* is shorter than *amour*, expressing economy of language (one syllable), and as a corollary going straight to the point. Furthermore, Rodríguez González (1996: 117) argues that the textual function in borrowings can help avoid polysemous clashes. A French example would be "*le Penelopegate*": back during the 2017 presidential primaries, a candidate had to quit because his wife (Penelope) had been involved in political and financial fraud. Affixing the end of a well-known American political scandal (the Watergate) to the fallen candidate's wife's name not only contributes to making it sound shocking, but also avoids any ambiguity with the French *scandale* which can have a sexual connotation.

Anglicisms used in the “interpersonal” and “textual” functions may not be deemed necessary as they do not fill a lexical gap in the native language. Nonetheless, they fill a semantic gap and are used stylistically to convey language effects that would not be possible with native counterparts. What about sports Anglicisms?

2.2. Sports Anglicisms

The language of sports can be regarded as a specialized language because of its specific vocabulary and rules. According to Cabré (1998: 119), specialized languages are linguistic codes different from the common language, consisting of rules and specific units: in this way, they are pragmatic sub-assemblies of the language in its broad sense, generally in inclusion relations, intersecting with the common language (Cabré, 1998: 126). Taborek (2012: 237) reckons there is a language of sports, existing since antiquity, and being “a rich area of specialist linguistic communication”. In this perspective, there is a specific terminology attached to the language of sports – which, as in any other specialized language, has the particularity of being monoreferential (Durieux, 1996: 89).

The proportion and necessity of borrowings may vary according to the specialized language field. In the case of sports, Anglicisms appear to structure the whole language (Bernard-Béziade & Attali, 2012: 120): sports Anglicisms would then belong to the class of cultural borrowings (i.e. necessary), so would be monoreferential and linked to the “ideational” function.

Bernard-Béziade & Attali (2012: 121) trace the origin of the word *sport* in French as being an Anglicism, itself a former old French borrowing *desport* (12th-13th century) – initially designating any type of amusement. In England, at the beginning of the 17th century, people started betting on performances. A word was thence needed to express that new reality: *sport* was deemed appropriate. Its first attestation in English with its modern meaning dates back to 1812 (Herráez Pindado, 2009: 3). *Sport* came back to France in the second half of the 19th century. This corresponds to the unprecedented development competitive sports enjoyed at that time, principally taking place in England (Defrance, 2011: 13). Herráez Pindado (2009: 2) observes most sports come from England. (e.g. football, rugby, rowing, tennis). Even the sports from other countries (e.g. judo) would undergo changes in their rules due to the strong leverage England exerted on the world of sports. Stated differently, England exported a model of physical play not only in the form of disciplines created home and spread internationally, but also by modifying the practice of the disciplines from abroad (Defrance, 2011: 14). This explains the correlated development of English sports language exporting elsewhere.

Bernard-Béziade & Attali (2012: 122) note that when it comes to the language of sports, Anglicisms are characteristic, if not indispensable, elements to refer to realities related to sports (*football, rugby, tennis, surf, golf, basketball*, etc. concerning the very names of some sports; *dribble, corner, set, ring, tee*, etc., for some specific actions, phases, places, or objects), and in some way to be kinds of passwords shared in all

countries so as to be able to play the sports and to compete with one another⁵ Bernard-Béziade & Attali (2012: 122) quote Dauzat (1952) who suggested one of the reasons for the use and consequent entry of Anglicisms in French is their typical concision and rapidity – features which, to a certain extent, fit well with the field of sports. Bernard-Béziade & Attali thus contend Anglicisms have been feeding the language of sports for decades, and they will probably continue doing so. In this perspective, Anglicisms are narrowly coupled with the language of sports in the same way as values and performances are associated with sports activities. Bernard-Béziade & Attali (2012: 121) emphasize on the unique model offered by sports since the activities are codified and framed by rules, federations and competitions which take on an international scope, leaving but little space for language flexibility – and thus reinforcing English prevalence in this domain.

However, not all the words referring to sports are from English origin. The French sports lexicon is quite rich (e.g. *alpinisme*, *athlétisme*, *course à pied*, *natation*, etc.). *La course* or *la course à pied* is a discipline of its own, with many practitioners. So, how come the Anglicism *running* has been integrated into French? At first sight, *running* is a lexical borrowing, being integrally borrowed from the English “running”. Lexical borrowings are the most obvious Anglicisms due to their complete English appearance – and supposedly semantic correspondence to the donor language’s lemma. Chesley (2010: 233) recalls that a lexical borrowing is defined “as a lexical item (lemma) from a donor language satisfying the following criteria:

- i. the (approximate) form and meaning are copied from donor to recipient language, without adaptation to French morphological and graphical conventions;
- ii. the borrowing is not yet found in a particular French dictionary.

The form and meaning of *running* are apparently directly copied from the English lemma. Chesley’s first criterion is met. However, the particularity of *running* is that it has just entered the 2019 French dictionary edition: it does not meet the second criterion stated by Chesley anymore. This Anglicism may not be necessary contrary to other sports Anglicisms. Therefore, one may logically wonder why *running* has eventually integrated the official French lexicon.

2.3. From a Buzzword to a Lexicalized Item

This subsection aims to understand the pathway of an Anglicism from a borrowed item to a lexicalized item. Assuming the focus of the present study is a buzzword, I will deal with the Anglicisms which are frequent to the point of being fashionable and thus regarded as buzzwords.

The word “buzzword” is originally a neologism forged by students from Harvard Business School in order to create shortcut phrases and keywords to refer to important notions (Hallgren & Weiss, 1946: 263). The aim of a buzzword was to be a means through its shortness and consequent buzzing effect for the students to remember a

concept. There were as many buzzwords as there were students and promotions in Harvard: buzzwords would then pop up and out accordingly. Over time, the lexeme “buzzword” entered the English dictionary⁶ in 1965, and it has since become the hypernym for trendy words fluctuating according to fashion and time – whatever the field of language. Contemporary dictionaries such as the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, the *Cambridge Dictionary*, the *MacMillan Dictionary*, and the *Merriam-Webster* insist on the voguish character of a buzzword, its sudden popularity, its attachment to a special area of knowledge, and its capacity for producing an effect. Buzzwords in the fields of business, fashion, sports, politics, or technology, are particularly thriving.

In French, there are many Anglicisms which can be considered buzzwords and which are more or less successful over a given period: *swag*, *asap*, *amazing*, *story*, *battle*, *OMG*⁷, to quote but a few which have been in vogue for the past few years – either among the young, the journalists, or any other category of people. All these words seem to have equivalents in French⁸ though, which does not necessarily justify their use after all – apart from the fashionable adding effect they may produce (Jeandidier, 2018). Where does this fashionable adding effect come from? The answer to this question probably lies in the age-old infatuation of French for Anglicisms (Saugera, 2017). As said earlier, the English language has benefited from an ever-growing popularity in many fields; no surprise it exerts attraction and consequent prestige on French, being considered chic and trendy:

Furthermore, it is also undeniable that in today’s globalised world, English enjoys a particular prestige, and it seems that many a concept originating from American/English discourse is willingly adopted as a marker of ‘updatedness’, especially among the young, but not only among them. (Ben-Rafael, 2008: 64)

Such prestige may also lie in the very form of the English loanwords, as Furiassi puts it (2003: 121):

The steady success and popularity of English loanwords has been motivated largely by their own inherent appeal: English words have a strong sound and visual impact which make them easily trend-setting.

The use of Anglicisms is therefore significant: they contribute to the marking of a certain standpoint adopted by the speakers, privileging prestige over meaning. Indeed, as Anglicisms come from another language system, it may be difficult for some French speakers to clearly understand such words – even for the users themselves sometimes; this is notably the case for buzzwords of English origin (Jeandidier, 2018). Concerning the Anglicisms coexisting with French equivalents, the speakers also adopt a specific standpoint loaded with newness, trend and prestige, as Khoutyz (2009: 9) states:

The use of the borrowing often signifies the fact of shared knowledge and the existence of the connection between the previous local term and new, more fashionable and easy-to-use

anglicisms. The speaker's choice of anglicisms illustrates their perception of the narration and their standpoint on the discussed topic.

Borrowing from English is thus done for pragmatic purposes, in order to adopt a certain point of view for a certain topic at a certain moment in specific circumstances. This is typical of buzzwords of English origin in French. The above-mentioned buzzwords of English origin, and probably all the others, are therefore necessarily linked to a given context in a given time and place, among given people. Consequently, a buzzword is not meant to live on, but to disappear with its attached concept, and to be replaced by another to designate either a similar concept or a new one. Considering that, a buzzword is not easy to appreciate as it is an unstable linguistic item – especially when it comes from a foreign language system (Jeandidier, 2018). In this perspective, buzzwords could be connected with slang. Slang is defined as follows:

Slang is an ever changing set of colloquial words and phrases that speakers use to establish or reinforce social identity or cohesiveness within a group or with a trend or fashion in society at large. (Eble, 1996: 11)

In a 2010 study, Fiévet and Podhorná-Polická explain how slang can spread rapidly among a given community. Their case study focuses on the lexeme *bolos* among French youngsters – to exemplify slang within a group – and the syntagm *faire le buzz* in the media – to illustrate how slang can become fashionable on a broad scale. Fiévet and Podhorná-Polická notice that *bolos* has found greater resonance among the interviewed set of the Paris banlieue youth mainly for attachment of identity to their everyday reality – drug dealing in front of their HLM housing – and also for the difficulty of tracing the etymology of the word, hence reinforcing its appropriation by the group using it (Fiévet & Podhorná-Polická, 2010: 37). Concerning the phrase *faire le buzz*, Fiévet & Podhorná-Polická note that it comes from media slang. *Faire le buzz* benefited from excessive media coverage especially at the end of 2009 (Fiévet & Podhorná-Polická, 2010: 33). The authors predicted this phrase would sooner or later leave the sphere of media slang – which indeed happened since the Anglicism *buzz* eventually entered the French dictionary edition of 2010.

In some cases, buzzwords may therefore be completely adopted and lexicalized – which totally lies in contrast to what has just been said about the buzzwords' instability and dependence on circumstances. This is the case for *buzz* (2010), but also for *hashtag*, *selfie* (2015), and more recently *like* and *liker* (2019). These examples can be labelled buzzwords since they literally made the buzz when they appeared in French.⁹ A closer look reveals these former fashionable words were not really in competition with French equivalents as they expressed realities that did not exist before. Those realities were new at the time, hence provoking excessive craze. *Buzz* in French takes on the meaning of excitement created by an Internet phenomenon, and has been used in expressions such as *faire le buzz*, *créer le buzz*, *gros buzz*... for more than a decade now. Even if the hashtag symbol has its French equivalents *mot-dièse* or *mot-clic*, the Anglicism *hashtag* refers to the symbol which transforms a clickable link into a

topic for discussion, and even now directly to the link opening to the discussion – a totally new concept when it appeared, and which became rapidly popular. A *selfie* is a photo of yourself in a special context you take with your smartphone, something which did not exist before the advent of smartphones and their incredible technological capacities: no wonder people massively want to capture precious moments at any time and in any circumstance. Finally, a *like* and its derived verb *liker* can only be used in media contexts, thus being different from the French *aimer*. All these Anglicisms have been integrated since they have shifted from a buzzword initially highly dependent on a specific semantic context and register, to a full lexical item which can be fully recognized and understood with no context in standard language.

The reasons for integrating these buzzwords of English origin into the dictionary follow the usual integration continuum. Greavu & Zdrenghea (2010: 127) recall the definition of “integration” given by Hasselmo in 1970: “the habitualization through repetition of certain instances of interference from one language into another”. This means that after a certain period of frequent usage, the loanword can be incorporated into a specific language. Grosjean (2001: 335) states:

A loanword is finally accepted when it is no longer treated differently from other words in the language and when dictionaries, national academies, and influential writers accept it. It is then a loan only in the historical sense.

Before that ultimate stage, various factors come into play. Greavu & Zdrenghea (2010: 131) mention the different adaptations a borrowing may go through such as morphophonemic adaptation to the rules of the recipient language. A loan can remain adapted and finally disappear, or evolve to complete adoption and assimilation, especially thanks to sociocultural factors which play an important part in the criteria of integration (Greavu & Zdrenghea, 2010: 128). These criteria of integration can be used by lexicographers to officially adopt a loanword – criteria such as usage, frequency, domain of language, register, word class, and the time elapsed between the apparition of the word and its full acceptance. Josselin-Leray and Roberts (2010: 1–2) particularly focus on lexical banalization, i.e. “le fait qu’un terme passe de la langue spécialisée à la langue non spécialisée (à la langue courante), phénomène dû à sa diffusion par divers interlocuteurs (dont les principaux représentants sont les médias)”.¹⁰ Four things come into play: the situation of communication in which the term is used, its lexical frequency and/or its significance in the area of use, the documentation used by the lexicographers, and the users’ needs (Josselin-Leray & Roberts, 2010: 2). Other processes can also be taken into consideration, such as metaphorization and morphology – including word class (nouns are often overrepresented), derivation (usually following the first-group construction such as in *liker*), length of the word (Béjoint, 1988: 362) notes “one-element words have more chances of being recorded than multi-element words”), and acronyms (Josselin-Leray & Roberts, 2010).

Considering all these elements, the Anglicism *running* appears to be in keeping with some of the key criteria for a lexeme to be easily integrated. Indeed, *running* is a one-element noun; it seems to have crossed the border between specialized and non-

specialized language since it has entered the common language dictionary; and obviously it has been used considerably enough for the lexicographers to adopt it.

3. Data, methodology and results

The present study intends to provide a qualitative analysis of the Anglicism *running* in French. Section 3 presents the database and methodology used to retrieve and interpret the data. The results are displayed in tables and figures for the sake of clarity.

3.1. Presentation and analysis of the data collected from JSI Web Corpus 2014–2016

First, I specifically explored the written corpus *JSI Web Corpus 2014–2016* indexed in Sketch Engine. This corpus consists of various online French journalistic resources from French speaking countries over the period 2014–2016. After typing the first four letters of *running* followed by an asterisk (*runn**), all the occurrences found were saved into an Excel document. It must be said that the data provided as such only contain the extracts in which the occurrences appear. I then proceeded to the elimination of the items which did not correspond to my object of study: utterances in English; film and song titles and references; proper names (at the exception of French running clubs and events, and of a few products which I believe participate in the integration of the lexeme *running* into the French language); lexemes containing *running* but used in other sports (*running-back*, *ultra-runner*, *runner-up*); and the fields of video games (a *runner game*), politics (*running mate*), show (*running gag*, *running joke*, *show runner*), business (*runné*, *front running*), and jobs (*runners* used to mean “couriers”). Also excluded from the study were occurrences appearing in strange sentences mixed with letters and symbols – probably because some data transferred to Excel had been damaged. All the occurrences which were not from French websites were also eliminated, but for Canadian, Belgian, Swiss, African and Lebanese websites – i.e. countries which use French as an official or vehicular language. I should also indicate that while sorting out some six thousand occurrences, a few might have been deleted inadvertently. Overall, the 2 825 occurrences collected for this study should be sufficient to support analyses and conclusions.

The presentation of the data collected from *JSI Web Corpus 2014–2016* is displayed in the next paragraphs and follow-up tables according to the origins of the websites and their nature, and according to the different meanings and declensions *running* has in French.

3.1.1. Results according to websites

Table 1 classifies the websites according to their origins. Tables 2 through 5 transcribe the numbers and percentages of the websites according to their nature, i.e. their appropriate fields of competence.

The share of websites according to their origins is as follows:

Total number of websites (corpus <i>JSI Web Corpus 2014–2016</i>): 252		
French websites: 201	Specifically French	188
	French-speaking websites (adaptations from Anglo-American and francophone websites)	13
		Including 6 explicitly mentioning they are francophone
Foreign French-speaking websites: 51	Europe	Belgium: 15 Switzerland: 7 Luxembourg: 2
	North America	Canada: 11
	Africa	Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, Mauritius, others: 15
	Middle East	Lebanon: 1

Table 1. Distribution of websites according to their origins

Table 1 represents the distribution of websites according to their origins. Out of 252 websites, 201 are French so nearly 4 out of 5, and 51 are from foreign French-speaking websites so nearly 1 out of 5. I deemed it important to keep French-speaking websites to see whether *running* and its declensions are used with the same forms and meanings in other parts of the world – which seems to be actually the case. Yet, what matters most is the specifically French data since they can help explain the incorporation of *running* into the French language.

Tables 2 through 5 shelve the data according to the nature of the websites. Classifying the websites according to their nature enabled me to identify the frequency of *running* and its declensions, in order to see whether *running* is confined within the specialized language and world of sports. The nature of the websites has been defined according to their main field of competence. Six areas have been distinguished through the processing of the websites: general information press; regional press; computing and technology; lifestyle, culture and entertainment; sports; economy and business. General information press websites are concerned with current events and deal with a range of various topics (national and international general news, politics, economy, sports, etc.). They include typical French press and radio websites such as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Libération*, *RTL*, *France Info*, etc. Foreign French-speaking general information press websites include *24.ch* for Switzerland, *7sur7.be* for Belgium, *cridem.org* for Mauritania, or *huffingtonpost.ca* for Canada. Regional press websites are usually the mirrors of the written regional press, but not exclusively. Each French region has its own newspapers and/or websites, such as *Le Bien Public* for Burgundy, *Le Courrier de*

l'Ouest for the west of France, *La Montagne* for the Auvergne, *Clicanoo* for La Réunion, etc. It is the same for foreign French-speaking countries (e.g. *acadie.ca* for Canada, *anderlecht.be* for Belgium, *lagruyere.ch* for Switzerland). Computing and technology websites deal with computing, science and new technologies. In my corpus, these websites are essentially concerned with connected objects and devices in the world of sports (e.g. *01net*, *Clubic*, *Numerama*). Lifestyle, culture and entertainment websites are about fashion, communication, people, shows, culture, ways of life and life hacks for a better life, health, diet, etc. They include: websites dedicated to fashion, beauty and well-being (e.g. *Canoe* in Canada); websites dedicated to women (e.g. *Elle*, *Femme Actuelle*, *Terrafemina*, *Madmoizelle*); websites dedicated to men (e.g. *Chaussures-Homme*); websites dedicated to fashion aficionados (e.g. *Viacomit*); websites dedicated to celebrities (e.g. *Pure People*, *Staragora*); websites dedicated to TV shows (e.g. *Telerama*). Sports websites exclusively deal with sports topics (e.g. *Football365*, *Jiwok*, *L'Equipe*, *Velo101*, *We Love Tennis*). Finally, economy and business websites are about finance, economy, and business matters (e.g. *Boursier*, *Capital*, *Kiss Kiss Bank Bank*, *Zone Bourse*). The distribution of the websites according to their nature is as follows (in descending order):

ALL WEBSITES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Total number	252	100%
General press information	86	34.13%
Regional information	51	20.24%
Computing and technology	47	18.65%
Lifestyle, culture and entertainment	38	15.08%
Sports	18	7.14%
Economy and business	12	4.76%

Table 2. Distribution of all analyzed websites according to their nature

FRENCH WEBSITES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Total number	201	100%
General press information	48	23.88%
Regional information	47	23.38%
Computing and technology	46	22.89%
Lifestyle, culture and entertainment	35	17.41%
Sports	17	8.46%

FRENCH WEBSITES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Economy and business	8	3.98%

Table 3. Distribution of French websites according to their nature

FOREIGN WEBSITES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Total number	51	100%
General press information	38	74.52%
Regional information	4	7.84%
Computing and technology	1	1.96%
Lifestyle, culture and entertainment	3	5.88%
Sports	1	1.96%
Economy and business	4	7.84%

Table 4. Distribution of foreign websites according to their nature

WEBSITES	FRENCH	FOREIGN	TOTAL
Total percentage	79.76%	20.24%	100%
General press information	19.05%	15.08%	34.13%
Regional information	18.65%	1.59%	20.24%
Computing and technology	18.25%	0.4%	18.65%
Lifestyle, culture and entertainment	13.89%	1.19%	15.08%
Sports	6.75%	0.4%	7.14%
Economy and business	3.17%	1.59%	4.76%

Table 5. Overview of the percentages of all the websites according to their nature

It is noticed that whether the websites are specifically French or not, the sports category does not come first. It may suggest that *running* is not a specifically codified sport like football, tennis or rugby: it is more accessible as anyone can just put on running shoes and go out for a run. *Running* and its declensions are mostly encountered in the general information press websites, followed by the regional information press websites. What has been remarked in nearly all occurrences is that *running* and its variants are encountered in the sports pages – especially for the regional press relating local sports events, given the context I could grasp in the extracts – but not only: *running* is also frequent in pages devoted to society and lifestyle. Surprisingly, the category “computing and technology” comes third: it is presumably because of the

development of new technologies around sports, particularly connected objects such as watches, wristbands, applications on smartphones... Interestingly enough, the category “lifestyle, culture and entertainment” comes fourth, probably meaning that *running* has become synonymous with both an enjoyable activity and a healthy way of life in keeping with the contemporary codes of the consumption society – consuming a thing or an activity in order to line up one’s status, identity, style and appearance with given standards, to look for pleasure, and to achieve performance (Kara, 2009). The category “economy and business” eventually comes last: *running* has been generating a new form of economy and business around sports equipment, technology and lifestyle.

3.1.2. Results according to occurrences

The next classifications concern the 2 825 occurrences containing the letters “*runn*” – following the methodology stated above, dealing with the field of running as a sports activity. I also manually examined the 2 825 saved in the Excel file, thanks to a range of colors allowing me to distinguish between *running* as referring to the sports activity, the name of a club or of a connected device, a pair of shoes, etc. The results are presented in the two tables below. It is worth noting that sometimes it was difficult to attribute a clear referent to some occurrences as they would hover between at least two spheres – for example, some instances would refer both to running clubs and their websites. This is the reason why the results shown in Table 7 may slightly differ from the inventory presented in Table 6. Capitalization being randomly distributed in the database – so not necessarily corresponding to a proper noun and vice versa –, I have decided to record all the lemmas with lowercase letters.

Table 6 lists all the found occurrences¹¹ according to types (representing distinct semantic referents) and tokens (instances of a given type) in alphabetical order. Table 7 recapitulates the different referents *running* is associated with in descending order.

TYPES	TOKENS	REFERENT	PART OF SPEECH
<i>runner</i> ¹²	2	Action of running	Verb
<i>runner</i> ¹³	83	Part of the name of a connected app, site, or object	Noun and proper noun
<i>runner</i> ¹⁴	12	Part of names of clubs, teams, magazines, contests, or events	Proper noun
<i>runner</i>	3	A stroller designed for mothers practising running	Noun and proper noun
<i>runner</i> ¹⁵	8	Running shoes	Noun and proper noun
<i>runner/runneur</i>	274/11	A man who practises running	Noun
<i>runner-traileur</i>	1	A man who practises both	Compound noun

TYPES	TOKENS	REFERENT	PART OF SPEECH
		running and trail	
<i>runner's high</i>	1	A state of euphoria felt while running	Compound noun
<i>runneuse</i> ¹⁶	32	A woman who practises running	Noun
<i>running</i> ¹⁷	1281	The activity of running	Noun
<i>running</i> ¹⁸	366	Part of names of clubs, teams, contests, venues, or events	Proper noun
<i>running</i> ¹⁹	313	Running shoes	Noun
<i>Running</i> ²⁰	313	Part of the name of a connected app, site, or object	Noun
<i>running</i> ²¹	65	Accessories and shops linked to running	Noun
<i>running</i> ²²	26	Part of names of challenges and contests	Proper noun
<i>running-business</i>	1	Business around running	Compound noun
<i>runningcafe</i>	1	Website dedicated to running	Compound noun
<i>running-club</i> ²³	21	Names of running clubs in France	Compound noun
<i>running-conseil</i>	1	Name of a running shop	Compound noun
<i>runningfood</i>	2	Name of a book on running	Proper noun
<i>runninglicious</i>	1	Blog on running	Blend
<i>running-poussette</i>	2	A stroller made for running and running with a stroller	Compound noun
<i>running-team</i>	1	A team of runners	Compound noun
<i>runnistique</i>	2	Typical of running	Adjective
<i>runnosphère</i>	2	A web community around running	Blend

Table 6. List of the 2 825 occurrences (in alphabetical order)

REFERENT	NUMBER OF ITEMS	PERCENTAGE
Total	2825	100%
Sports activity	1282	45.38%
Places, clubs, events, contests, books	433	15.33%
Computing and technology	401	14.19%
Sports shoes	321	11.36%
People practising running (both men and women)	318	11.26%
Accessories, clothes, fashion, trade, shops	68	2.41%
Others	2	0.07%

Table 7. Distribution of the 2 825 occurrences of *running* and declensions according to their fields of reference (in descending order)

Obviously, when looking at the results, *running* is mainly a sports activity (45.38%) with its places and events (15.33%), its sophisticated equipment (14.19% for technology, 11.36% for shoes and 2.41% for other practical accessories), and its practitioners (11.26%). Tables 6 and 7 confirm the predominance of technology and specific equipment surrounding *running* in French. This potentially means that *running* conveys a whole world with a well-oiled machine. The word *running* is overrepresented with a total of 2 398 tokens (blends mixing English and French hybrids, compounds and proper names included). *Running* also has various declensions including morphological derivations: nouns *runner/runneur* (11 tokens for *runneur* which adopts the French nominal suffix “-eur” for agent nouns) and its corresponding feminine form *runneuse* (32 tokens) following the French inflectional gender forms; a verb belonging to the first group *runner* (2 tokens: one in the infinitive form, and one conjugated “ils *runnent*”); and even an adjective formed with the adjectival suffix “-istique” *runnistique*. Plural forms are also included in the list and amount to 333 (all tokens taken together). More interestingly, *running* and *runner* can refer to various elements, hence constituting different types although the forms are similar. *Running* is thus a flexible word in terms both of morphology and semantics.

The next subsection presents a sample of French online publications collected from 2004 to 2018 – to complement the empirical data with more context.

3.2. Presentation of the data collected from the sample of French online publications from 2004 to 2018

I explored a variety of French online publications (articles, briefs, podcasts, forums) dedicated to *running*. The objective is to demonstrate the importance *running* has acquired in all sectors, thanks to a qualitative analysis of the contents and points of views provided. Furthermore, reviewing entire publications allows for a better contextualization of *running*.

Fifty publications have been examined for this purpose. They were selected according to the following method. On Google France, I successively typed the keywords “*running phénomène*”, “*running mode*”, “*running évolution*”, and “*running business*”. Then, I selected the results displayed (at that time²⁴) on the first and second pages. I proceeded to the classification of the 50 publications according to their dates, sources, and topics. The results are explained below.

The dates of the publications range from 2004 to 2018. Such a choice is motivated by the fact *running* has in fact been used in France for about twenty years, as one of the websites mentioning its integration remarks.²⁵ Overall, 1 publication is from 2004; 1 from 2006; 1 from 2011; 2 from 2013; 5 from 2014; 13 from 2015; 11 from 2016; 8 from 2017; 4 from 2018; and 4 which are not dated.

The sports sites come first with 22 publications (including 2 forums and 3 blogs), followed by lifestyle, culture and entertainment (12, including the Académie Française and a blog), the general information press (11, including 2 podcasts), economy and business (3), and the regional press (2).

The main topics which stand out are: *running* as a phenomenon; *running* as a trend; *running* as an evolution of the practice of running; *running* as a business; and *running* as a question of language. The details are developed below.

Twelve publications dating from 2013 to 2017 deal with *running* as both a sport and a social phenomenon. 6 are from the general information press; 2 from the regional press; 2 from the lifestyle, culture and entertainment press; and 2 from the sports sites. The ideas exposed in these publications overlap: they all agree that *running* in France has become a social phenomenon. *Running* deals with competition and performance, and differs from the other Anglicisms *jogging* and *footing* more linked to leisure in French – from what is perceived in the publications. *Running* takes on a community dimension especially thanks to social networks – which is in accordance with new technologies always reinventing themselves to enhance the sports practice. Additionally, *running* generates a growing popularity with millions of practitioners (men and women alike) each year; and subsequent events and competitions combining fun, fellowship, and sports. Moreover, *running* has reached such a dimension as debates and symposiums are organized around it, especially by the *Fédération Française d’Athlétisme* (French Federation of Track and Field).

Fifteen publications dating from 2015 to 2018 deal with *running* as a trend and even as a lifestyle. 10 are from the sports sites; 4 from the lifestyle, culture and entertainment press; and 1 from the general information press. These publications all state that *running* in France has become a fashionable way of practising running. They

insist on the trendiness of the activity linked to its accessibility and easiness, its community dimension, the cool healthy look it gives you – flashy clothes and shoes, stylish accessories, ostentatious smart objects, etc. A few publications having a more or less critical standpoint think *running* is just a fad which will be replaced by another. One site joyfully plays on words with the expression “welcome les *runnistas*”, probably modelled after “fashionistas”.

Nine publications dating from 2014 to 2017 present the idea of sports and life evolution around *running*. 3 are from the general information press; 3 from the lifestyle, culture and entertainment press; and 3 from the sports sites. These publications emphasize the evolution of the activity of running, sometimes going back to the times when it was confined within the limits of a stadium and reserved to men. Also highlighted is the evolution from *jogging* to *running*: the former makes us think of a lonely relaxed way of running, while the latter is meant to boost performance, to share it within a community and to improve it thanks to technology and fashion.

Six publications dating from 2013 to 2018 raise the issue of economy and business around *running*. 3 are from the business and economy press; 1 from the sports sites; 1 from the lifestyle, culture and entertainment press; and 1 from the general information press. These publications say that *running* has become a thriving business, especially around sport equipment, technology and fashion – and it is frequent all three sectors join up to develop a lucrative market around *running*, particularly thanks to the help of startups. The sectors play on the democratization and massification of the practice of running. The products which are developed and commercialized are often expensive, yet comfortable. They contribute to making the practice of running even more complex and sophisticated.

Eight publications dating from 2004 to 2018 tackle the question of language and terminology around *running*. 6 are from the sports sites; and 2 from lifestyle, culture and entertainment websites. While some publications acknowledge the competitiveness, regularity and intensity conveyed by the word *running* – hence leading to its integration into the dictionary –, others stress the confusion it may create especially as it coexists with *footing* and *jogging*. One publication highlights the fact *running* is a noble sport contrary to *footing* and *jogging*. Conversely, the Académie Française is ironical about the fact that *running* appears to be totally different from the traditional French *course à pied* – before authoritatively indicating that one cannot say “Je vais faire du *running*” and “Des chaussures de *running*”. Finally, some websites propose a “dictionary” around *running*, which looks more like a sports glossary around running.

The data from a journalistic corpus and the random selection tend to prove *running* has become a social phenomenon and a successful lifestyle, representing a new culture of performance with its own codes and vocabulary. The next section endeavors to interpret the collected data to demonstrate how the Anglicism *running* in French has become the privileged lexeme to talk about this phenomenon.

4. Interpretation and discussion of the results

In this section, different criteria will be tackled: the significance of running in terms of figures; the Englishness conveyed by running; the language around running; and the semiotics around running.

4.1. Significance of *running* in terms of figures

Running is said to have been used for about 20 years before entering the French dictionary. It was maybe initially quite unnoticed, as it was in competition with the French *course à pied*, and the false Anglicisms *jogging* and *footing*: such a long lifespan maybe doubled with an obscure beginning – probably confined within a few communities of sports amateurs²⁶ – does not necessarily speak in favor of *running* as a buzzword. However, what the database illustrates in this paper is that *running* suddenly grew in popularity around the end of the 2000s, and especially in the 2010s. One reference states that *running* in 2018 was searched on the net four times more than its French counterpart *course à pied*.²⁷ The popularity inherent in a buzzword can thus be identified in *running*. First, because of the figures: no less than 2 825 occurrences have been censused within the two-year period 2014–2016. On an indicative basis, a quick search on the French press archive portal Europresse – but with no cleaning up of the data, so probably mixed with occurrences found in domains other than sports – shows that between early January 2017 and early April 2019, *running* was mentioned 22 772 times, and 339 in the plural; *runner* 12,291 times, and 3 873 in the plural; *runneur* 17 times, and 136 in the plural; *runneuse* 88 times, and 77 in the plural. Even if these data may be a little erroneous, they still show that *running* and its declensions were widely used in the French online press in another two-year period. This may well indicate *running* is a buzzword through such wide use in such little time. Given these figures, *running* therefore seems to hold its promise of popularity.

4.2. Englishness conveyed by running

Englishness within *running* is also representative. Surprisingly enough, the collected data in the 2014–2016 corpus only contain 329 occurrences of the French *course*. A more thorough research reveals there are only 90 occurrences of the expression *course à pied*. Similarly, there are 106 occurrences of *coureur(s)* (99) and *coureuse(s)* (7) compared to the 318 occurrences of *runner(s)* (275), *runneur(s)* (11), and *runneuse(s)* (32). The figures are undoubtedly in favor of the words of English origin. The analysis of the online publications indicates *running* is different in meaning and practice from *course à pied*. Two questions arise: firstly, how can a word of English origin induce innovation and subsequent sensation inherently linked to the buzz in the recipient language? Secondly, does this specifically English origin automatically generate a new concept in the recipient language?

The answer to these closely related questions may lie in the prestige naturally induced by the Englishness of the word. The appearance of the word already catches the eye. First, because it looks and sounds foreign. Moreover, some tokens are accompanied with flagging cues testifying to the foreignness of the word. For instance, 150 occurrences of *running* and its declensions in the 2014–2016 corpus are found between inverted commas. Only 6 occurrences of *running* are followed by a French translation (*course à pied*) given in brackets. Adding inverted commas or translations to a loanword contributes to marking its foreign status, as Saugera recalls; yet she also mentions that these flagging devices and others are not infallible: “Even when flagging is used to convey conscious use of an Anglicism, there is no clear proof that it indicates a lack of integration into the recipient language” (Saugera, 2017: 31). In the case of *running*, the tokens explicitly accompanied with flagging cues are not very numerous – a total of 156 out of 2,825. Does this prove the uselessness of indicating the English origin of *running*? Thus, does that prove the integration of *running* into standard French? The 2014–2016 corpus data extracted from Sketch Engine are unclear in terms of flagging cues: only the inverted commas and the translations in brackets are visible. With the transfer of the data to Excel, it is impossible to know whether some tokens were originally written in italics.

Another aspect of the foreignness of *running* and its declensions is their assimilation to the normal French morphological rules of gender and plural.

For gender, it is noted that *running* (the activity) is systematically provided with a masculine gender article (“*le running*”). This is somewhat typical of names of sports of Anglo-American origin like “*le football*”, “*le rugby*”, “*le golf*”, “*le tennis*”, “*le rafting*”, “*le twirling*”, etc. When *running* refers to the shoes, it follows the French feminine gender rule of *chaussures*: gender information is provided either through the feminine article “*la*” in the singular, or through the attributive adjective bearing the feminine ending (e.g. “*la running*”, “*la running shoe*”, “*les running imprimées*”, “*les running connectées*”). By comparison, there are 11 occurrences of *running shoe(s)* from Canadian websites indicating the masculine gender (“*le running shoe*”).

For the plural form, all tokens included, there are 333 explicit plural forms: 241 *runners*, 64 for *runnings*, 18 for *runneuses*, 9 for *runneurs*, and 1 for *runnings-bottes*. This means *running* and its declensions are morphologically flexible as they naturally adopt the standard French inflectional rule of the plural principally represented by the ending in *-s*. However, in the French websites, it is surprising to find a few utterances in the plural but with no *-s* for *running* and *runner*: 9 occurrences for running shoes (e.g. “*chausser les running*”, “*on tâtonne au niveau de l’équipement, à commencer par les running*”, “*les running Ignite correspondent aux besoins de beaucoup de sportives*”, “*les running imprimées en 3D*”, “*les running connectées*”, “*le temps des running version citadine*”); and 2 occurrences for practitioners (“*les lipides sont beaucoup moins performantes que les glucides pour les runner en recherche de performance*”, “*alarme pour les runner ou comment se protéger*”). The lack of plural form for these few tokens may reflect the foreignness of the word, as usually foreign words remain invariable in French when not integrated. It may be concluded from this that there is still some

grammatical instability around *running* and *runner* in French, since they come from another language system. Nevertheless, these occurrences are sparse and cannot really be representative of the question of the integration of *running* into French.

Overall, *running* has followed the Saussurian principle: in order to function and exist, a word must adapt to the phonological system of the language – *running* is pronounced with the French phonemes /ʁ/ and /ng/ contrary to the English phonemes /r/ and /ŋ/, and to assimilate the morphological rules – here gender and plural.

4.3. Language around *running*

As mentioned in Section 2, the English language has undeniably gained importance since the past century. English is especially synonymous with progress and globalization, because of its predominance in technology, business, and communication. Greavu & Zdrenghea (2010: 132) note:

Another important factor which has been shown to influence the integration process is an attitudinal one, and it refers to whether the recipient language speakers want or do not want to sound like donor language speakers. Such attitudes can be promoted by certain values attached to foreign sounding or looking words, for example social prestige or fashion. This aspect can be of great importance in today's linguistic global environment, where English has become the international language of business and communication and is being increasingly perceived as modern and fashionable.

Clearly, the Englishness contained in *running* seems to promote a new kind of running, more modern through technology, and more fashionable through equipment and the healthy way of life it offers, as perceived in the database. The above-mentioned attitudinal factor may here correspond to the use of the word not only to sound English, but to adopt a way of speaking and living in accordance with the social prestige and fashion the word implies. As regards with Rodríguez González's study (1996), the Anglicism *running* may be used in the "interpersonal" function in French: the underlying feeling and connotation contained in *running* would be affectation (prestige) and performance (the best way to run, to be healthy and to be modern). A community of *runners/runneurs* and *runneuses* builds around *running* – in fact, a community of *adepte(s)* (57 occurrences) and *communauté(s)* (26) worshipping *running* ("un véritable culte au *running*", "culte de la performance", "culte du corps"). Furthermore, some of the publications stress the fact *running* possesses its own dictionary ("le dictionnaire du *running*"), thus its own language which can be deciphered by the happy few who practise it. This is called "ingroupness" – i.e., belonging to a specific group with its own codes and criteria of admission and recognition. Such specific language could be considered jargon for the non-initiated. Or it could be a kind of slang, used to reinforce cohesiveness (another sports value) within the community of *runners*, or to illustrate the fashion of the moment – the goal being reaching performance.

Performance around *running* can be seen in the co-occurrences usually found in the utterances containing *running*, especially implied in those referring to the world of

sports – since, intrinsically, practising a sport means ultimately reaching performance. For example, there are 60 co-occurrences of *running* with *jogging*; 24 with *footing*; 182 with *trail*; 56 with *fitness*; 52 with *coach*; 55 with *tennis* (both sports and shoes); 15 with *training*; 41 with *challenge*; etc. As it happens, these sports co-occurrences are Anglicisms. Moreover, there are a few co-occurrences which are lexicalized since they refer to a particular type or object of *running*: 43 with *free* (*free running*, a kind of obstacle race in which one can perform gymnastic moves); 36 with *trail* (*trail running*, which consists in a long race through nature); 17 with *tower* (*tower running*, which consists in climbing stairs and buildings as quickly as possible); and 14 with *map* (*running map*, a map tracing the course). Other Anglicisms can be found around *running*: *apps* (2), *blog* (15), *boom* (8), *business* (3), *buzz* (8), *fun* (20), *glamour* (3), *healthy* (1), *life* (14), *lifestyle* (4), *marketing* (7), *playlist* (25), *shopping* (1), *startup/start-up* (9), *top* (61), *week-end* (21)... It is as if an Anglicism attracted others. Saugera (2017: 97–98) remarks:

English fuels various kinds of jargon in French. In the daily press, business jargon and fashion jargon illustrate this neological function of English, which routinely manifests a serial effect in which the use of one English word triggers the use of others.

Furthermore, the Anglicisms around *running* either belong to the fields of sports (*trail, football, tennis*), entertainment (*fun, shopping, week-end, buzz, glamour, top*), lifestyle (*life, lifestyle, healthy*), technology (*apps, blog, playlist*), evolution (*boom*), or business (*business, marketing, startup*). This is logically linked to the nature of the websites examined for this study. But this also demonstrates something interesting. The semantic fields of those co-occurrences suggest *running* is positively connoted around the notion of performance: performance in terms of sports (*running* is a sports in itself), entertainment (it is a smart hobby), lifestyle (it contributes to a better health), technology (it is modern), evolution (*boom* means both “prosper” and “burst”, there is the “*running boom*” like the baby boom), and business (it generates a thriving industry). To a certain extent, *running* is thus used in the “interpersonal” function described by Rodríguez González. *Running* may also have a positive semantic prosody – according to Louw’s principle (1993) – because *running* is often found with positive co-occurrences conveying the idea of performance, whatever the semantic fields.

Running is also accompanied by telling French co-occurrences. The privileged semantic fields are: craze – *engouement* (15), *événement/évènement* (64), *folie* (10), *passion* (32); history and sociology – *histoire* (15), *phénomène* (30), *philosophie* (1), *révolution* (13); universe – *monde* (66), *salon* (55), *temple* (1), *univers* (31); language – *bible* (4), *dico* (11), *dictionnaire* (3), *magazine* (19); performance and innovation – *performance* (36), *innovation* (16); and economy – *boutique* (26), *entreprise* (20), *magasin* (26), *marché* (36). The utterances in which these examples of co-occurrences appear also show that *running* is preferably found as a nominal complement (“salon du *running*”, “la philosophie du *running*”, “l’univers du *running*”, “le monde du *running*”, “la bible du *running*”, “le dico du *running*”, “le marché du *running*”, “la folie du *running*”, “l’engouement pour le *running*”, “l’évènement *running* de l’année”, etc.).

The Anglicism *running* can therefore be used in many opened constructions, giving it the possibility to be found in an infinity of utterances in different semantic fields. It can thus be found in any kind of paradigmatic relation. This implies that *running* can broaden its scope of application instead of being restricted in fixed prepositional groups – the database does not contain any occurrence such as “*running de fond*”, “*running à pied*”, “*running d’endurance*”, which are on the contrary typical declensions of the French *course* in order for this word to be clearly related to a type of sports.

In this perspective, the Anglicism *running* may be associated with the “textual” function delineated by Rodríguez González (1996). Indeed, since it can occur in different contexts and always be identified as the activity or the shoes, *running* displays the criteria of simplification, clarity and precision that are typical of the “textual” function. Let us consider the following examples. It is quicker – so simpler – to say “*les runnings connectées*” instead of “*les chaussures de course connectées*”: the Anglicism is reduced to a two-syllable word. Thanks to the plural and feminine forms of the article and adjective, we can also understand we are talking about the shoes. It is more precise to say “*Je vais faire un running*” instead of “*Je vais faire une course*”: what “*course*” is it? A car race? A speed race with a friend? Or shopping? Even when trying to give a precision in French (“*Je vais faire une course à pied*”, “*Je vais faire une course de vitesse*”), the confusion remains – with going shopping on foot for the former, and with the means of locomotion for the latter (on foot, by car...). With *running*, one knows straight away what kind of sports is referred to. The same may be observed when comparing “*le Sancerre Running Club*” and “*le club de course de Sancerre*”: what type of sports “*course*” is? And it is the same when comparing “*le running est le sport le plus pratiqué*” with “*la course est le sport le plus pratiqué*”: in French, “*course*” has to be specified (“*la course à pied est le sport le plus pratiqué*”) in order not to confuse it with any kind of “*course*” (*course automobile*, *course de vitesse*, *course de fond*, etc.). In French, all these utterances may be ambiguous because of the large polysemy of “*course*”. Whereas *course* needs to be complemented or given a context to be used and understood (*course à pied*, *chaussures de course*, *course automobile*, *course* meaning “shopping”), the one-word Anglicism *running* avoids polysemous clashes and offers immediate precision – hence the possibility to be unequivocal and direct. Such precision is paired with the broadening capacity of *running*: because it is precise, *running* can be found in any semantic context and always identified as the sports activity or the shoes it refers to.

The capacity of *running* to extend both its lexical and semantic applications to domains other than sports is typical of Anglicisms (Saugera, 2017: 46), or polysemous borrowings which open onto new perspectives compared to their original meaning in the donor language (Chesley, 2010). This can be regarded as linguistic creativity: indeed, broadening and therefore recreating meaning in an already existing basis contribute to creating both a new lexeme and concept. However, one may logically talk of productivity since the uses of *running* and its declensions in French seem to be part of the productive processes which can be used *ad hoc*, i.e. for the specific needs

required by the practice of running in the 21st century – this practice being different from the one that existed some decades ago, as the dataset indicates.

4.4. Semiotics around *running*

The significance and popularity of *running* eventually go beyond the dimension of the word. The sample of 50 French online publications together with the contexts provided by the 2014–2016 corpus highlight the fact *running* is associated with performance, and has thus become popular and trendy among both sports specialists and amateurs. This is quite in keeping with the popularity surrounding a buzzword. *Running* somehow marks ‘updatedness’ through specific accessories and codes. For instance, famous sports and technology brands fight on the *running* market to keep offering the best and most innovative products ever – e.g. *RunningHeroes*, a web platform designed to connect runners together and to reward their effort; *Nike+* and *Runtastic*, applications on your smartphone supposed to upgrade your running performance; the *Garmin Forerunner 620*, defined as a high-tech connected watch, which is in competition with the *TomTom Cardio Runner*; the *Enko Running Shoes*, meant to revolutionize the way you run thanks to incredible comfort and resistant material combined with an innovative design, in competition with Nike and Adidas too; and so on and so forth.²⁸ Taking a close look at the English names of these brands and products also contribute to emphasizing the idea of performance around *running*: nouns (e.g. *heroes* in *Running Heroes*) and affixes (e.g. *-tastic* in *Runtastic*, copied from the adjective “fantastic”; *fore-* in *Garmin Forerunner*, implying this watch is ahead of others) are all positively connoted. The business around *running* is meant to constantly arouse excitement by proposing accessories associated with innovation and performance – which are in fact characteristic of the buzz. The 2014–2016 corpus figures tend to confirm this: added all together, the tokens related to shoes, technology and other accessories account for 27.96%, so nearly a third of all occurrences.

Additionally, the contexts of the corpus mention new kinds of running events and contests in France (also bearing English names) involving specific codes of performance: the Mud Day, a run in the mud, and the Color Run, a run in which runners are thrown different color sprays. In both cases, the contestants go through difficulties and must surpass to finish the race all stained with mud or colors – which is also supposed to add fun to the competition. And even if there is no mud or color spray, the holy grail for a *runner* is to take part in local, national, and international contests such as marathons and charity runs, wearing their team’s colors – e.g. “les Beauty *Runneuses*” for the cosmetic brand Sephora, “les Color *Runners*” for a charity association, “les *Runneurs* des Vignes” in Poitiers, etc. Accessories, colors, evocative team names... All these seem to be in line with the adding effect produced by a buzzword; the particularity here with *running* is that the word is accompanied by visible signs. Hence an important semiotic dimension around *running*. *Running* makes the buzz because it conveys a dimension of visibility and competition reinforcing the impression of adding effect. Visibility means that, to be performant, you need to be visible by being

endowed with specific accessories, being part of a team or a community, and taking part in specific contests. Competition means that to be performant in *running* you must always strive to push beyond your limits – and this is somehow represented in the *running* market which keeps pitting products against one another, and in the *running* communities which keep challenging one another. Besides, the semiotic dimension of *running* does not only create the buzz: it also goes along with the extension of *running* from a mere activity to a full-fledged sport with its own rules and codes.

Regarding the linguistic dimension around performance and the semiotic dimension revolving around competition and visibility, *running* thus conveys the cult of appearance and consumption typical of today's consumer society (Kara, 2009: 158), hovering between useful values – sports, health – and vain values – fun, style, challenge –, to eventually achieve the ultimate performance of being the best.

5. Conclusion

The present study has focused on the newly integrated Anglicism *running* and its declensions in contemporary French. It has shown the importance *running* has gained over time. Such importance is not only linguistic, but also closely related to the evolution of the practice of running in contemporary France. Was *running* a buzzword in the first place? Yes, as a buzzword is meant to trigger popularity and subsequent craze for it and for what it represents in given circumstances and period, and among given people. It is certainly the case with *running*: this hypothesis is thus confirmed, because *running* exemplifies sports performance through its Englishness associated with modernity, in the field of sports and among communities of runners.

But *running* has jumped from the microcosm of a buzzword to the universe of a lexeme designating a new concept of running. This new concept of running is fierce, flashy, and fashionable, building around new technology and new sociocultural codes. It has developed its own style and aesthetics. Sports performance is supposed to be better with *running* than with *course à pied*. Visibility and competition are key in understanding the difference between the newly integrated Anglicism *running* and the traditional French word *course*. To a certain extent, one may talk of publicity for *running*. Publicity is the attention someone or something gets from the media, and the business of making sure that people know about a new product or concept. As Kara (2009: 166) notes, “Une consommation de masse nécessite la publicité pour assurer sa permanence”.²⁹ The goal of *running* as a sports activity and as a business is to attract attention, to be noticed and noticeable, and to be made widely available – and consumed.

Considering that, *running* may well still be a buzzword despite its recent integration into the dictionary. This buzzword has achieved the performance of extending the scope of running by following the new criteria of the contemporary society. At the same time, its scope of application has gained in precision. *Running* appears to have more semantic possibilities than its French counterpart. The other hypothesis of this study is therefore verified, albeit with a reservation regarding the

innovation this Anglicism is supposed to bring to the French language. Indeed, the action and practice of running have always existed and therefore cannot be invented; they can only be reinvented with new products and new words. It is a question of perspective: how you make something already existing appear under a new light. The innovation brought by these new words and products gives the illusion that because the concept is new, it is better – and thus more performant. One occurrence in the database even distinguishes between *running* and sports in general: “le *running* et le sport”, as if *running* were something more than sports! As long as there is attention, attraction and consequent consumption for this seemingly new sports concept, the Anglicism *running* and what it represents will still be performant – that is to say, a popular way of doing sports and a booster feeding the field of running in various contexts (sports, technology, health...). But the newly integrated Anglicism *running* may just be an accessory to promote a concept and may be here only to “fulfill spur-of-the-moment functions in the French language”, as Saugera puts it for Anglicisms temporarily borrowed and doomed to disappear if they are not recorded (Saugera, 2017: 12). *Running* has had the good fortune to be recorded. Yet, does that mean it will be perennial?

The aim of this paper has been to examine the motivations underlying the recent integration of the Anglicism *running* into the French lexicon. This specific case is of course not representative of all the sports Anglicisms, nor of all the Anglicisms in contact with contemporary French. The conclusions drawn from the investigations are built upon snapshots of written press language. Nonetheless, this study offers an insight into the pathway of a buzzword of English origin to a full-fledged French concept of sports. This study does not compare English and French usages of *running*, yet the following question remains open for future investigations: has *running* – and any other Anglicism – in French something different from the English original lexeme? To conclude, proposing and testing buzzwords of English origin in other domains would be promising avenues of research in order to demonstrate their potentialities in terms of semantic extension and precision, and their substantial roles in language contact.

Notes

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1. Definition provided by the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* online. Accessed 14 Apr. 2019, (<https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/running>).

2. These figures are provided by the French national newspaper *Le Monde*, in an online article published on 22 March 2019, https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2019/03/22/d-ou-viennent-les-nouveaux-mots-de-la-langue-francaise_5439961_4355770.html.

3. “linguistic borrowing takes place when a language A uses a linguistic unit or trait which previously existed in a language B – known as source language – and which A did not have; the borrowed unit or trait are described as borrowings” [my translation].

4. Sic, published on Facebook 6 May 2017.

5. I am focusing here on full lexical borrowings, being the ones which can be universally exchanged. Of course, some sport Anglicisms can undergo changes in order to adapt to the

recipient language – such as derivation, morphological adaptation, and extension or restriction of meaning according to the local needs. There are even false Anglicisms created perhaps to perpetuate the English dominance in sports: *tennisman*, *racingman*, *recordman*, as Humbley notes the pattern *sport* + *-man* (in Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015: 51).

6. According to www.dictionnaire.com

7. Buzzwords can be single words, phrases, or acronyms.

8. *Stylé, dès que possible, surprenant, histoire, bataille, oh mon Dieu !*

9. For example, a quick search on Google France displayed about 266,000,000 results for “buzz 2010” (revealing mostly funny videos and stars’ behaviors), 115,000,000 and 384,000,000 and 1,020,000,000 respectively for “hashtag 2015” and “selfie 2015”, and 16,960,000,000 for “like 2019”. These figures are spectacular, but Google results are not very reliable. Yet, they can still give an overview of the scale and importance those words had on entering the dictionary. Further studies would be needed to document the topic. For instance, it would be interesting to analyze the points of view of different French newspapers on those buzzwords of English origin – such as the following article of *Le Point* dated August 23rd, 2017, on a decade of *hashtag*, the success of both the word and symbol, and its subsequent entrance into the dictionary. https://www.lepoint.fr/high-tech-internet/dix-ans-de-hashtag-23-08-2017-2151718_47.php.

10. “the fact that a term moves from the specialized language to the non-specialized language – the everyday language –, a phenomenon due to its spread by different interlocutors – whose main representatives are the media” [my translation].

11. A few typo mistakes have been included: *runnig* (1 occurrence referring to the activity of running), and *running* (6 occurrences: 1 related to shoes, 2 related to the activity, 3 related to technology).

12. E.g. “je suis allée *runner*”, “ils *runnent* vers le record du monde de vitesse”.

13. E.g. “la TomTom *Runner* Cardio”.

14. E.g. “les Front *Runners*”.

15. E.g. “lancement de la ‘Flight *runner*’”, “il ne se passe pas une semaine sans qu’il ne chausse cinq fois ses *runners*”.

16. One occurrence is found in a proper name: “le projet World Wide *Runneuze*”.

17. Some tokens are compound nouns like “*running*-bike” (3 occurrences) and “*running*-trail”, also found in one word “*running*trail” (2 occurrences). “Trail” is quite often associated with *running* in the corpus.

18. E.g. “ouverture du village *Running* Expo”, “le Trail *Running* Association Chevenonnaise”, “le licencié du Team *Running* Shop”, “le club Sancerre *Running* s’est littéralement lancé dans la course”.

19. E.g. “mes chaussures de *running*”, “une paire de *running*”, “chausser ses *runnings*”. An occurrence is quite difficult to classify as it stands between a sports pair of shoes for the design and a fashionable pair of shoes not meant for running: “le Kaiser a assorti ses silhouettes de *runnings* et même de *runnings*-bottes lacés jusqu’en-dessous du genou”. “*Runnings*-bottes” is thus an example of a compound noun both mixing an Anglicism with a French word, and a sport shoe with a fashionable shoe. This is somehow characteristic of the plasticity *running* can have when used in French.

20. E.g. “une montre de *running*”, “*Running* Heroes”, “Runtastic et Nike + *Running*”.

21. E.g. “une tenue de yoga, fitness ou *running*”, “short de *running*”, “la mode du ‘*running*’”, “boutique de *running*”, “au rayon *running*”, “la nouvelle gamme *running*”, “collection *running*”, “les accessoires de *running*”.

22. E.g. “le *RunningManChallenge*”, “les sessions *Running Mad*”.
23. The plays on words in clubs’ names have been included such as “*Runn in Sens*” (3 occurrences).
24. The search on Google France was made on the 9th and 10th of January 2019 – i.e. at the beginning of the year 2019 which marks the integration of the Anglicism *running* in the official French language dictionary. I chose to stop selecting the publications at 50, hence giving the sample a round figure which makes it easier to carry out analyses.
25. This is an article dated May 28th 2018 available on the sports website *L’Equipe*. <https://www.lequipe.fr/Coaching/Running/Actualites/Le-mot-running-entre-dans-le-dictionnaire/905307>.
26. The purpose of this paper actually focuses on the rapid evolution of *running* in the past few years and on its contemporary uses: in the absence of any quantitative evidence at the end of the 1990s, it can only be conjectured that *running* was not widespread.
27. This is an article dated May 28th 2018 available on the sports website *Run-Motion*, <https://run-motion.com/running-course-a-pied-dictionnaire/>.
28. Interestingly, even if some of these brands are not English or American – Enko is a French brand, and Adidas a German one –, their products bear English names.
29. “Mass consumption requires publicity to ensure its continuity” [my translation].

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Sports Terminology as a Source of Synonymy in Language: the Case of Czech*

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ABSTRACT

Modern sports and their terminologies in European and other languages have been strongly influenced by English. The reason is that some of the most popular sports originating in Anglophone countries have been exported to other countries together with established terminology. There are several possibilities of how to transfer terminology into recipient languages: to borrow and adapt original English terms, to use vernacular terms, or to do both. For the purposes of the study, 100 essential terms were selected for three different Anglophone sports, association football, tennis and golf, and all their Czech equivalents were gathered using available sources. It was assumed that a typical development involves the adoption of an Anglicism which is subsequently either replaced or supplemented by a vernacular term or terms. It was found that the 300 English terms are matched by the total of 540 equivalents. Thus, the results confirm the Anglicism-to-vernacular shift as a potent source of synonyms, though other intervening factors such as the length of time since the introduction of the sport, the general and social media popularity and accessibility of the sport for the general public play an important part and explain alternative patterns.

Keywords: sports terminology development, synonymy, association football, tennis, golf



1. Introduction: aim and methodology

The paper explores the Czech sports terminologies of three Anglophone sports, association football, tennis and golf, and examines the hypothesis that the development of these terminologies favours the appearance of terminological synonyms. Its aim is to show that the introduction of a new sport entails an urgent onomasiological need for vernacular terminology which, in effect, leads to the proliferation of new synonyms in the recipient language. Although Anglicisms and sports terminology have been explored before (see, for example, Benson, 1958; Balteiro, 2011; Ćirić-Duvnjak, 2013; Milić, 2013; Bergh & Ohlander, 2017; Kudla, 2018), the focus on synonymy in this connection is relatively rare. The study by Cocca et al. (2016) of sports terminology synonyms concentrates on their typology rather than their generation.

We start with the basic outline of lexical synonymy (including its sources and purposes) and a brief discussion of the synonymy and terminology relationship. The main aim of the paper is to build representative samples of English terms related to each of the three sports. The next step is to gather and analyse the corresponding Czech terms and to identify the emergent patterns of their appearance and discuss them with regard to terminological synonymy.

The three ball games, association football, tennis and golf were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, they are typically associated with English-speaking countries (and originating in the UK with the exception of tennis) and their terminologies were introduced into Czech through English. Secondly, they were introduced at different times and enjoy a different status and popularity in the Czech context. For each of the sports, 100 core terms, both standard and colloquial, were selected, mainly from internet sources (including articles, commentaries, official rule books, lists and glossaries of terms; some sources are electronic versions of printed books, such as the dictionaries Room, 2010 and Zahradníček, 2013). The sources listed in the References are the principal ones used (only a few additional terms were found elsewhere). It is to be noted that English-Czech sports terminology has not been comprehensively covered so far. Also, Görlach (2001, xix) in his dictionary places sports terms in the category of the most problematic words which are not known to the general educated reader and acknowledges that specialists “could easily point to hundreds of items we have not included”.

Since there is no study that has systematically analysed these terminologies and can offer a “terminological minimum” of the basic terms for these sports, the samples were built to cover the most fundamental concepts essential to the game and to represent an intersection of the terms appearing in most of the sources. Due to the range and variety of sources quantitative methods, such as frequency analysis of terms, are not applicable and the final selection was made at the authors’ discretion. Quite importantly, the English terms were chosen without regard to their Czech equivalents so as not to bias the sample and the distribution of equivalents (see more in 4.1). The collection of equivalents relies on the bilingual glossaries and dictionaries and comparative content analysis of the sources (see References).

2. Lexical synonymy: adopted definition, sources and functions

To quote Hüllen (2003: 122), “linguistically speaking, the act of translating is nothing more than the act of finding interlingual synonyms”. It follows that synonymy is a crucial concept as regards both Czech equivalents and their (intralingual) synonyms. In keeping with the mainstream approach, the operational definition adopted here views lexical synonymy as mutual substitutability between words (lexical units) in context ranging from full interchangeability in all contexts to cases of context-specific substitutability, i.e. it includes all degrees of synonymy posited, for instance, by Cruse (2011: 142): absolute synonymy, propositional synonymy and near-synonymy. Cruse’s propositional (cognitive) synonymy defined in terms of mutual entailment in which truth conditions are preserved is relatively unambiguous: the semantic differences between presumed propositional synonyms involve only differences in non-propositional aspects of meaning (expressive, stylistic and field-of-discourse). Near-synonyms share the same core meaning, do not contrast with one another, nevertheless they yield different truth conditions. Murphy (2010: 111) describes (cognitive) synonyms simply as being denotationally identical, while near-synonyms are not. Thus, slang synonyms, for instance, may exhibit additional semantic features, yet still are interchangeable with neutral terms in suitable contexts. The cut-off point between near-synonymy and non-synonymy is not so clear. The study does not distinguish between synonyms and near-synonyms as the formation of either type, triggered by Anglicisms, equally contributes to the expansion of vocabulary, which is the main concern here.

Additionally, it is important to note which mechanisms are used to form (near-) synonyms in language. It appears that their emergence is due to all kinds of lexicogenetic processes which draw on both external and internal sources. Synonyms from external sources result from borrowing (tapping a foreign language, or a dialect) typically as loanwords at different stages of adaptation (material borrowing), including hybrid loan blends, or as lexical or semantic calques (structural borrowing). The relation between loanwords and their near-synonyms in the recipient language is explored by Baeskow and Rolshoven (2018). Internal means producing synonyms include morphological word-formation processes (derivation, compounding) and other onomasiological processes, such as conversion, shortening, word creation and deformation, and onomasiological-semasiological processes, i.e. semantic shift (metonymy, metaphor, generalization, and specialization), and last, but not least, word combination supplying multi-word units and paraphrases. It is expected that (near-)synonyms in sports arise primarily from internal sources in reaction to terminological Anglicisms.

The existence of synonyms in sports terminology touches on the question of why a language acquires new synonyms in the first place. The expansion of vocabulary, i.e. the emergence of new words, is usually attributed to three general causes: (a) the necessity to name (label) new concepts; (b) the need for syntactic recategorization (transposing a concept into a different word-class), and (c) social motivation (ranging from novelty seeking and attention raising, the desire for stylistic variation, the assertion of one’s social identity, to the expressive indication of one’s attitude and

feelings, etc.). Clearly, as synonyms do not name new concepts but give new names to the existing ones, only the third cause applies to them. They are the staple of lexical variation which is an ineluctable fact of human communication. Without them stylistic diversity would disappear, and texts, including sports-related ones, would become impoverished, repetitive and monotonous.

3. Synonymy and terminology

Bertaccini et al. (2010: 14) note that “[o]ne of the cornerstones of traditional terminology is the so-called ‘univocity principle’, according to which only one term should be assigned to a concept and vice versa. The principle is thought to ensure effective and efficient communication, whereas its violation is perceived as a source of ambiguity.” Synonymy, they claim, may not only distort communicative efficiency, be “a strain on memory” and give “the impression of confusion”, but most of all it seems to interfere with the standardization of terminology. Therefore, technical language, it is often insisted, should not favour variety and expressive richness but rather semantic clarity, and hence synonymy should be avoided in terminologies (Cabr e, 2003; Grojean, 2009). Looking for synonyms in sports terminology therefore cannot avoid the issue of the relation between terminology and synonymy in general (synonymy as a phenomenon that affects terminology).

On the other hand, there are voices that question the univocity ideal of traditional terminology, seeking to eliminate near-synonyms and indicate a preferred term. Temmerman (2000: 150), for one, maintains that (near-)synonymy “exists because the mechanisms for naming can trigger several possible lexicalizations” and that synonymy is simply functional. She goes on to demonstrate the functional advantage of having synonyms in technical language. Bertaccini et al. (2010) likewise accept that “synonymy and variation do not belong exclusively to general language but also characterize specialized terminology”. In their own study they find that (p. 11) “both Italian and French DVT-B terminologies include a large number of English borrowings and are marked by a proliferation of synonyms and variants, probably for lack of standardization in this new developing domain”. Although terminology standardization and efficiency of communication are said to be hampered by synonymy, technical discourse takes place at different levels some of which may actually profit from the use of synonyms. The use and extent of terminological synonymy appears to vary from one discipline to another depending on the circumstances; moreover, even within the same field, different (sub)branches may display a different tolerance of synonyms. Polackova (2001), for instance, reports that the problem of synonymy which complicates efforts at systematization in medical terminology relates mainly to clinical medicine, but only to a small extent to anatomical terms.

The functionality of synonymy in sports terminology is supported, among other things, by the fact that, in addition to official documents (such as rules written by the governing bodies of the respective sports), sports terminology and language are used in written or live sports commentaries which are by nature expressive, attention-seeking,

often emotional and in constant need of innovative lexis, all of which is provided by (near-)synonyms. Also, unlike in scientific and technical vocabularies, the borderline between technical terminology and colloquial and even slang usage in sports language tends to be blurred.

4. Terminology of the sports under review

4.1. Preliminaries: terminology development hypothesis, describing equivalents

The sports terminologies discussed here in connection with synonymy are related to sports adopted in the Czech environment from the English-speaking world. The donor language of the sports terminologies under review is thus (British) English. In practical terms it means that the first step in the process of terminology development in the recipient language is the transfer of the English lexical field on which the sport's terminology and its rules are based into Czech, only then come the subsequent stages of assimilation and further elaboration.

It is only to be expected that a sizable number, if not most, of the Czech terms translating the English sports terminology in the first stage will be Anglicisms, as borrowing is the easiest and commonest way of lexicalizing imported concepts. Borrowing may take different forms, and the framework used here follows the generally accepted types (see Haugen, 1950; Capuz, 1997; Haspelmath & Tadmor, 2009; Durkin, 2014, and others). The most likely candidates are terminological Anglicisms in the form of loanwords (form-meaning borrowings in different stages of assimilation), loan translations (lexical calques), semantic borrowings (semantic calques or loanshifts), loan blends (hybrids), English-inspired loan creations (but not direct translations) and English-based neologisms (pseudo-Anglicisms, i.e. vernacular formations using English material). In some cases, even code-switching has to be taken into consideration.

From a formal point of view, vernacular Czech terms and neologisms used as equivalents of the English terms again come in many possible forms, ranging from formations based on morphological word-formation processes, derivation and compounding, to creations due to non-morphological processes, shortening, deformation, coinage, to word combinations, etc. In addition, the equivalents of English terms may be existing Czech terms recycled from the established terminologies of other sports or from general language (such as *victory*, *defeat*).

Given the many possible ways in which new terms may come into existence, the development of a sports terminology can be predicted to give rise to parallel variant terms as a matter of course. The same English term may, for example, be rendered in Czech as two or more different Anglicisms (e.g. loanword or loan translation). In other words, the English term will over a time frequently acquire not one, but two or more equivalents which are both interlingual synonyms of the original English term and intralingual (near-)synonyms by dint of their denotational identity or semantic closeness allowing for mutual interchangeability. The hypothesis is then that unless there happens to be a suitable Czech term at hand, or an easily formed vernacular neologism (possible,

but not always available solutions), the standard way of terminology development typically starts with an Anglicism which is subsequently supplemented or replaced with one or more alternative vernacular terms. This assumed tendency to vernacularization is seen as the primary source of new synonyms.

In the analysis Czech sports terms assigned to the original English terms on the basis of their translation equivalence (after being excerpted from the web sources given in the References) and used in Czech as their primary counterparts are called 'equivalents' in the overview tables in the appendix. The alternative terms, functionally, but not necessarily denotationally, equivalent and typically differing pragmatically, expressively or stylistically, are called 'synonyms' of the primary equivalents.

The equivalents in the samples will be broadly categorized into three groups: (i) Anglicisms, which are subdivided into loanwords (exhibiting different degrees of adaptation: *tiebreak* or *tajbrejk*; *green* or *grýn*, *grin*; *fairway* or *fervej*; *game ball* changed to *gejmbol*, *gembol* or *gambol*; *tee* to *týčko*; *dróčko* derived from *draw*; *halvbek*; *faul*, etc.) and calques, including both semantic (*wing* → *křídlo*, *header* → *hlavička*) and lexical calques (*attacking midfielder* → *útočný středopolař*, *ball retriever* → *lovítko míčků*); (ii) vernacular terms (*referee* → *rozhodčí*, *advantage* → *výhoda*), and (iii) hybrid terms, i.e. terms composed of an Anglicism and a vernacular word (*links* → *linksové hřiště*, *side-line* → *postranní lajna*, *lifted drive* → *liftovaný úder*).

Stylistically speaking, the sports terms used in the Czech samples can be generally classified into standard or official terms, colloquial and slang. However, the transition between official and colloquial, and sometimes even slang, expressions is often gradual. Slang expressions (marked by figurative and strong evaluative features) would not be normally used in official sports reports and commentaries in the media. We excluded them from the count (except for cases where the distinction between colloquial and slang is problematic), although they are mentioned in the text (and the tables) for the sake of completeness and their amusement value. In order to illustrate their figurative meaning they are provided with their English equivalents in the text. In most cases, they can be identified by their heavy markedness; moreover, wherever possible, decisions about their slang status are based on Czech dictionaries. The distinction between standard and colloquial expressions is more difficult to make, and colloquial terms may often have greater frequency than the official ones. They will not be distinguished and labelled in the text nor in the tables. Also, terminological Anglicisms may switch their position with their Czech vernacular synonyms, the former becoming more colloquial and wide-spread than their Czech counterparts.

4.2. The sample of English football terminology and its Czech equivalents

Of the three sports under examination, (association) football or soccer is the one which enjoys the greatest popularity and has become both a truly spectator sport and a mass sport for all. The Czech Football Association (*Český svaz fotbalový*) was founded as early as 1901, became a provisional member of FIFA in 1904 and a full member in 1922. Today, the Football Association of the Czech Republic (FACR) is a member

association of FIFA and UEFA. The fact that Czech football has such a long tradition means that the domestic football terminology has had enough time to develop and diversify stylistically.

The analysis looks at 100 basic and most common terms related to (association) football or soccer and concentrates especially on the field of terms describing the categories of players (Table 1 in the appendix). Symptomatically, the very name of the game in Czech reflects a competition between an English-based and a Czech expression: the term *fotbal* (adapted loanword) appears in the FACR's official rules of the game, although the vernacular term *kopaná* (combining the verbal basis *kopat*, 'to kick', with the feminine suffix *-ná*, denoting, among other things, games) is a well-established word which used to be regarded as stylistically more elevated (thus the standard dictionary of Czech defines *fotbal* as *kopaná* and not the other way round). Their respective frequencies in the Czech Corpus SYN version 7 (2018 update) are: *kopaná* 86457, *fotbal* 900193. There is also a colloquial expression *čutaná* (formed analogously from the verb *čutat*, 'to kick' or 'to shoot', its frequency in the corpus, however, is just 76).

Football is a team sport played with a ball (*míč*, *balón*, coll. *mičuda*, *meruna*) between two teams of eleven players (*jedenáctka*) on a rectangular field called a football pitch (*fotbalové hřiště*, *hrací plocha*). The object of the game is to score a goal (*gól*, *branka*) by moving the ball beyond the goal line into the opposing goal (*fotbalová brána*, *branka*). While the English goal metonymically describes both the structure into which a ball is kicked and the score itself, in Czech only the word *branka* does so. Although of the two terms for the score, *gól*, is probably the more frequent word, in the FACR's official rules only the word *branka* is used. As might be expected, there are special terms for goals, such as breakaway goal (*gól z protiútoky*) or an own goal (*vlastní gól*, *vlastenec*, *vlastňák*), and a number of slang expressions used by football aficionados: *banán* ('banana'; often accompanied by the comment *A voloupej si ho*, 'And you can peel it'), *angličan*, *angličák*, *anglík* ('Englishman'; a goal scored by a rebound from the goal post), *fík*, *fíkus* ('fig'), *haluz* ('branch'; a lucky goal), *golem* (an extended punning variant of *gól*), *kentus*, *kladivo* ('hammer'; a rebound from the cross bar), *kulec* (a rebound from a player's privates), *Sokrates* (a goal scored by the back heel), etc.

The pitch on which a football match (*fotbalové utkání*, *zápas*, *mač*), also a friendly match (*přátelské utkání*, *přátelák*) or a return match (*odvetný zápas*, *odveta*), is played is bordered by touchlines (*pomezní čára*, *pomezní lajna*, *postraní čára*, *postranní lajna*) and goal lines (*branková čára*). The ball crossing a touchline, or a goal line is out (of play) (*aut*, *míč v zázemí*) and is followed by a throw-in (*vhazování*). The goal positioned at the middle of the goal line consists of goal posts (*branková tyč*, *tyčka*) and a crossbar (*břevno*, *horní břevno*). In front of the goal is the goal area (*brankoviště*, coll. *malé vápno*, 'small lime'; metonymically after dry lime used to mark the lines) and the penalty area (*pokutové území*, *velké vápno*, 'big lime') where a penalty foul by a member of the defending team becomes punishable by a penalty kick. Other markings, such as the penalty spot (*pokutová značka*), centre spot (*středová značka*) or

corner flag (*rohový praporek*), define the position of the ball or players at a kick-off (*výkop*), goal kick (*kop od branky, kop z brankoviště*), corner kick (*rohový kop, kop z rohu*) and penalty kick or penalty (*pokutový kop, penalta*; coll. *jedenáctka*, ‘eleven’, from the distance of 11 m between the penalty mark and the goal line, also *desítka*, ‘ten’ and *pětka*, ‘five’, different names for the same distance; and the creative alterations of penalty, *penclle, pentle*).

The football player or footballer is called in Czech *fotbalista*¹, the derogatory slang is *čutalista, kopalista* and, rarely, *kopáč* (the frequencies in the Czech Corpus SYN v7: *fotbalista* 999096, *čutalista* 354, *kopalista* 17). They wear jerseys or shirts (*dres, tričko*), boots (*kopačka*), stockings (*podkolenka, štulpna*) and shin guards (*chránič holeně*). Players are divided into four categories according to their positions and functions, attacker, midfielder, defender and goalkeeper. Except for the goalkeeper, whose position and function never changes, the players are arranged in different basic formations (*základní formace* or *rozestavení*), such as the classic 2-3-5 “Pyramid” formation (*pyramida, systém 2-3-5*) with two fullbacks, three halfbacks and five forwards, or the modern formations, e.g. 3-5-2 or 4-5-1 (the first figure stands for the number of defenders, the second for midfielders and the third for attackers). The positioning and tasks of players in the formations may blur the differences between forwards and midfields and between midfields and defenders (see Table 1).

A special position among players is that of the goalkeeper (*brankář*, coll. *gólman*). The word *gólman*, a presumed pseudo-Anglicisms (-*man* was possibly borrowed from German), appears in other languages too (e.g. Serbo-Croatian). There are many jocular figurative slang expressions for the goalkeeper in Czech, referring to his skills, sometimes excellent, *kouzelník*, ‘wizard’, but mostly poor, *cedník*, ‘colander’, *síto*, ‘sieve’, *hadr*, ‘rag’ or ‘floor cloth’, *lata*, ‘patch’, i.e. implying holes, *pekař*, ‘baker’, *pouštěč*, ‘clumsy-hands’, *popelnice*, ‘dustbin’, etc.

The referee (*rozhodčí, soudce, sudí*; plus many figurative slang expressions such as *kanár*, ‘canary’, *tučňák*, ‘penguin’, *karbaník*, ‘card gambler’, etc.) punishes the players for offences against the rules. He is aided on either touchline by assistant referee, or linesman (*asistent rozhodčího*, formerly *pomezni/čárový/lajnový rozhodčí*), and by a (video) goal judge (*brankový rozhodčí*). Offences (*přestupek, provinění*) range from technical ones, such as offside (offence) (*ofsajd, postavení mimo hru*, slang *ofál*), to fouls (*faul, nedovolený zákrok*) and misconduct or unsportsmanlike conduct (*(hrubé) nesportovní chování*). Misconduct is punishable by a caution (*napomenutí*) indicated by a yellow card (*žlutá karta*), e.g. for delaying (the restart of play) (*zdržování hry*), or even by a dismissal or sending-off (*vyloučení*), i.e. by a red card (*červená karta*). Fouls are punished by a free kick (*volný kop, volňák*, or *trestný kop, trestňák*) or possibly a penalty kick or penalty. Direct free kicks (*přímý volný kop*) are awarded, e.g. for tripping (*podrážení*), charging (*vrážení, nedovolené vrážení*), pushing (*strkání, strčení do soupeře*), obstruction (*bránění ve hře*), or serious foul play (*surová hra*), e.g. slide tackle or two-footed tackle (*skluz*), over-the-ball tackle (*šlapák*). An indirect free kick (*nepřímý volný kop*) is awarded, e.g. for a high foot or “playing in a dangerous manner” (*hra vysokou nohou, vysoká noha*) or handling the ball (*hra rukou, ruka*).

Game-related activities include passes (*pas, přihrávka, nahrávka*), such as a cross (*centr*), diagonal pass (*křížná přihrávka*), back pass (*přihrávka dozadu, nahrávka dozadu, zpětná nahrávka*, coll. *malá domů*), ground pass (*přihrávka po zemi*), chip pass (*přihrávka obloučkem*), backheel (*patička*) or header (*hlavička*), and kicks, such as a clearance (*osvobozující odkop*), drop kick (*výkop z ruky*), bicycle or scissor kick, scissors (*kop přes hlavu, nůžky*, coll. *koloběžka*, 'scooter'), goal attempt (*střela na branku*), or assist or goal pass (*asistence, nahrávka na gól*). Other activities are, e.g. a jink or dummy (*klička*), nutmeg (*housle*, 'violin', *jesle, jesličky*, 'hay rack', *dudy*, 'bagpipes'), shielding (*clonění*), building a defensive wall (*obranná zeď*), zone defence (*zónová obrana, územní obrana*), a breakaway (*rychlý protiútok*), a set piece (*standardní situace*), or penalty shootout (*penaltový rozstřel*) after extra time (*prodloužení doby hry, prodloužení*), which is not the same as added/additional time, injury time (*nastavení doby hry, nastavení, nastavený čas, nastavená doba*).

A precise count of the Czech football terms mentioned in this section is somewhat complicated by the fact that some of the equivalents are used for different concepts (cf. *centr, křídlo*), some are polysemous, etc. Spelling variants, however, are not counted in (*forward, forvard; half, halv*). The equivalents are divided into three main groups: (a) Anglicisms, which are subdivided into (i) (un/adapted) loanwords and (ii) calques (lexical, i.e. word-for-word translations, or semantic), (b) vernacular terms, and (c) hybrid terms (Anglicism-vernacular combinations). Bearing in mind that the figures are approximate (but reasonably close), the total of 210 Czech equivalents of 100 English terms includes 70 Anglicisms (25 loanwords and 45 calques), 133 vernacular terms and 7 hybrid expressions (see Table 4). The surplus of Czech equivalents (110 terms) is interpreted as synonyms.

4.3. The sample of English tennis terminology and its Czech equivalents

Although tennis also enjoys great popularity and thanks to television may be considered a spectator sport in the Czech Republic, its position is different from that of football. Its history in the country officially dates from 1893 when *I. Český lawn-tenisový klub* (1st Czech Lawn-Tennis Club) was founded and in the same year the English rules of tennis were translated into Czech. The next step leading to the spread of tennis was the founding of the Czech Lawn-Tennis Association in 1906, re-established as the Czechoslovak Lawn-Tennis Association in 1919 (a member of ITF), with the newly formed and independent Czechoslovakia taking part in the Davis Cup as early as 1921. After the great era of Czech tennis in the mid-20th century represented by Jaroslav Drobný (1954 Wimbledon winner, 1951 and 1952 French Open winner), tennis had to weather a period of disfavour by the Communist regime (Drobný was forced to emigrate) before acknowledged as a useful propaganda tool. The new generations of successful tennis players have appeared only from the mid-60s onwards (Suková, Kodeš, Lendl, Navrátilová, and others).

However, as a relatively expensive sport, tennis has never been taken up on such a large scale as football which was genuinely embraced by the masses. With a smaller

number of practitioners and followers, Czech tennis terminology appears to have developed fewer colloquial terms and tends to be more English dependent than football terminology.

The distribution of different kinds of Czech equivalents (and their synonyms) of the English terms is illustrated by the following selection of the basic terminology. To begin with, there is no vernacular term for tennis, only the English form has over time been simplified to “*tenis*”. The expression tennis player (the derived term “*tenniser*” exists only as a curious possibility in English) translates as *tenista* (a vernacular derivation on the same pattern as *fotbalista*). The match is played either by two players (singles, *dvouhra*), or two pairs of players (doubles, *čtyřhra. debl*, and mixed doubles, *smíšená čtyřhra* or *mix*). There are no such categories of players as in soccer, although there are different kinds of specialists (in court surfaces, play styles, etc.): grass-court specialist or grass-courter (*specialista na travnatý povrch, trávař*), hard-court specialist (*specialista na tvrdý povrch, hráč na rychlý povrch*) and clay-court specialist or clay-courter (*specialista na antukový povrch/antuku, antukový specialista, antukový hráč, antukář*), all-court player (*celodvorcový hráč*), base-liner (*tenista hrající od základní čáry*), etc. Instead, the richest terminology appears to have evolved around different types of stroke or shot (*úder*). They are categorized from many aspects: how they are hit (forehand, backhand, etc), when they are hit (serve, volley, etc.), where they are hit (lob, passing shot, dropshot, etc.), and others. The basic shots and their Czech equivalents and synonyms are summarized in Table 2. Strokes are affected by rotation or spin (*rotace, faleš*), bounce (*odskok, odraz*), swing or backswing (*nápřah*), the serve by a foot fault (*přešlap, chyba nohou, foot-fault*).

Tennis is played with racquets (*raketa*) and a tennis ball (*tenisový míč, míček, balón, tenisák*) on a court (*kurt, dvorec*) marked by lines (*čára, lajna*), such as the base-line (*základní čára, základní lajna*) or side-line (*postranní čára, podélná čára, boční lajna*) beyond which the area is “out” (*aut, zázemí, mimo*).

A tennis match (*mač, utkání, zápas*) is divided into sets (*set, sada*), sets into games (*gem, hra*). A game consists of points (*bod*): fifteen (*fiftýn, patnáct*), thirty (*třicet*), forty (*čtyřicet*), the next point wins the game; no point is called love (*nula, ‘zero’*). After three points the tied score (*vyrovnané skóre*) is called deuce (*shoda*). Other terms related to scoring are advantage (*výhoda*), game ball (*gejmbol, gembol, gambol, gamboll*), set ball (*setbol*), break point or break ball (*brejkbol*), break (*brejk, zisk soupeřova podání, ztráta podání, prolomené podání*), and tiebreak (*tiebreak, tajbrejk, zkrácená hra, zkrácená sada*). The points may be lost by net ball (*míč tečovaný sítí, prasátko, ‘piggy’*), fault (*chyba*) or double fault (*dvojchyba, double fault*) and, if the player is on serve (*na podání*), by a forced error (*vynucená chyba*) or unforced error (*nevynucená chyba*) after a rally (*výměna*) which, incidentally, in one case took 643 shots (a Vicki Nelson and Jean Hepner match in 1984). The decisions or calls (*výrok, rozhodnutí rozhodčího*) are made by the chair umpire (*hlavní rozhodčí, empajrový rozhodčí*), referee (*vrchní rozhodčí*), net-cord judge (*rozhodčí u sítě, síťový rozhodčí*), and line umpire/judge or linesman/linesperson (*čárový rozhodčí*), nowadays assisted by

Hawk-Eye (*jestřábí oko*) after the player's challenge (*challenge, žádost o přezkoumání dopadu míče*).

Tennis matches are played as part of tournaments (*turnaj*), such as challengers (*challenger, čelendžr*), challenge cups (*vyzývací pohár, vyzývací turnaj*) or Grand Slams (*grand slam*), in which the players try to reach quarterfinals (*čtvrtfinále, čtvrtka, osmička*), semifinals (*semifinále, semi*) and finals (*finále*). A knockout tournament (*vyřazovací turnaj*) is organized by a bracket (*pavouk, 'spider', hrací plan 'plan of matches'*). Players take part in it according to their ranking (*žebříček, pořadí, pořadí na žebříčku, postavení na žebříčku, umístění na žebříčku, místo na žebříčku*), or protected ranking (*chráněný žebříček, žebříčková ochrana*), or they get a wild card (*divoká karta, volná karta*). Top-seeded (*nejvýše nasazení*) players in a tournament are awarded a bye (*volný los*). The player who manages to avoid a losing streak (*série, šňůra porážek*), scores a bagel (*kanár, 'canary'*), wins a golden set (*zlatý set*), etc., and does not scratch (*skrečovat, vzdát*) a match, wins prize money (*prajz many, peníze za výhru, finanční odměna*). But even if defeated the player may be a lucky loser (*šťastný poražený*).

As with football terminology, the count of Czech terms is to be taken cum grano salis for reasons given above. The 100 English terms were translated by a total of 177 Czech terms of which, 78 were Anglicisms (45 loanwords, 33 calques, lexical or semantic), 91 vernacular expressions and 8 hybrid terms (Anglicism-vernacular) – see Table 4 below. It follows that the Czech equivalents of the 100 English concepts are supplemented with 77 additional expressions, synonyms (a 77.0 per cent increase). Again, spelling variants of the English loanwords (*tiebreak, tajbrejk; return, ritern*) are counted as one.

4.4. The sample of English golf terminology and its Czech equivalents

While the origins of golf go back to the 15th century Scotland (the oldest golf rules were laid down for the Company of Gentlemen Golfers in 1744), the first two Czech golf clubs appeared only in the latter half of the 1920's. In 1929, Golf Club Praha issued the rules and customs of golf in Czech for the total of 164 Czech golfers then organized in the two clubs. Later, *Golfový svaz ČSR* (Golf Association of the Czechoslovak Republic), subsuming two Czech and one Slovak golf clubs, was active between 1931 and 1948. Following the lacklustre Communist period (the regime looked askance at this "bourgeois" pastime of the upper class), the sport began to flourish after 1990 when over a hundred new courses were built and *Česká golfová federace* (Czech Golf Federation) was founded in 1991. Not only is golf the newest of the three sports on the territory of the Czech Republic, but it is probably even more exclusive and expensive than tennis, and certainly much more than football. The cost of building a golf course, and the price for its use, a so-called green fee (*hrací poplatek, fičko*), plus the expensive golf equipment, rule out golf becoming a mass sport. As a result, the community of speakers using and developing Czech golf terminology is smaller (and has been around for a shorter time) than is the case with football and tennis. This may account for the difference in the pace of its terminology development.

Again, we will look only at a selected sample of the basic terms that should give us a sufficient picture of the state and sources of Czech golf terminology. First of all, golf is, not surprisingly, called *golf* in Czech (no alternative expression) and a golf player, a golfer, is *golfista* in Czech (slang *golfař*, *golfák* or *plejer*), while a group of golfers on the course is called a flight (*flight*, *flajt*, *skupina*, ‘group’). Golf is played on a golf course (*golfové hřiště*, *kurz*), public course (*veřejné hřiště*), municipal course (*státní hřiště*) or, when near a coast, links (*links*, *linksové hřiště*). The principal parts of a golf course are the tee (*tee*, *tý*, *týčko*, *odpaliště*) and the green (*green*, *grín*, *grýn*, *jamkoviště*) with a hole (*jamka*). The area between the tee and the green is called a fairway (*fairway*, *fervej*). The fairway is bordered by rough (*rough*, *raf*, slang terms *rafuša*, *ráfek*, *rafík*, *rafíček* or *zelí*, the latter meaning ‘cabbage’ in Czech). As the golf course has typically 18 holes, its first half is called the front nine (*první devítka*) and the second one back nine (*druhá devítka*). There are different types of holes, such as dogleg (*dogleg*, coll. *zátáčka*, ‘curve’, *rohlík*, ‘roll’, *jamka do rohlíku*, ‘roll-shaped hole’), i.e. one whose fairway bends, cape hole (*cape hole*), blind hole (*slepá jamka*), par-four (hole) (*čtyřpar*, *čtyřparová jamka*, *čtyřpárovka*), etc. The player has to be careful not to get “out (of bounds)” (*out*, *aut*, *mimo hřiště*) and they must avoid all kinds of hazard (*překážka*), such as bunker or sand trap (*bunker*, *bankr*, *písečná překážka*, *písková překážka*, slang *písek* ‘sand’, *pískoviště* ‘sand pit’, *pískovna* ‘sand quarry’, *pláž* ‘beach’, *Florida*, *poušť* ‘desert’), pot bunker (*pot bunker*, *krater* ‘crater’), grass bunker (*travnatý bunker/bankr*), or water hazard (*vodní překážka*, slang *voda* ‘water’, *vasr*), casual water (*náhodná voda*), and finally watch out for the break (*break*, *zalomení*, *sklon* (*greenu*)).

The game is played with a ball (*míček*, *balón*, *balónek*, slang *kulička*, ‘marble’) and a golf club (*golfová hůl*, slang *palička* ‘mallet’, *rákoska* ‘cane’, *tyčka* ‘pole’) which features a shaft (*shaft*, *násada*), loft (*loft*, *úhel*), head (*hlava*) and sweetspot or sweetzone (*sweetspot*, *sweetzóna*) and is held using different types of grip (*grip*, *držení*), such as baseball grip (*baseballové držení*), or cross-handed grip (*obrácené držení*). There are different types of clubs (according to the material, function, properties, etc.), namely (a) woods (*dřevo*), subdivided into drivers (*drajvr*, slang *doga*, ‘Great Dane’, *kladivo*, ‘hammer’) and fairway woods (*fairway wood*, *fairwayové dřevo*), (b) irons (*iron*, *železo*, slang *kov* ‘metal’), subdivided into wedges (*wedge*, *večka*, slang *véčko* ‘letter V’, *veka* ‘French loaf’, *Vendula*), e.g. the approach wedge (*approach wedge*), gap wedge (*gap wedge*), sand wedge (*sand wedge*), pitching wedge (*pitching wedge*, *pičinkvečka*, slang *péčko* ‘letter P’) or lob wedge (*lob wedge*), then putters (*putter*, *patr*), e.g. belly putter (*bely patr*), and also the blade (*blade*, *žiletka*), and (c) hybrids (*hybrid*). The golf set (*golfový set*, *sada*) made up of fourteen clubs and a ball retriever (*lovítko míčků*, *lovítko*, *patnáctá hůl*) is kept in a bag (*bag*, *bágl*, *vak*). The golfer also needs a tee (*týčko*, *kolíček*) and a ball marker (*markovátko*). The bag is carried for the golfer by a caddy or caddie (*caddy*, *kedy*, *nosič*, slang *kedík*, *tahač* ‘tractor’) and for greater comfort and speed they may use a golf buggy or cart (*buggy*, *bugina*, *golfový vozík*, *golfové auto*).

Another rich field of terms is that of hole scores and shots (see Table 3). The standard score for a hole is called par (*par*, *norma*), and if the score is not “even par” (*v*

paru; slang *párek* 'pair'), it is either over par (*nad par, nad normu*) or under par (*pod par, pod normu*). Holes played one or more strokes over par are a bogey (*bogey, bogy*, slang *bogýčko, bogyna, bugyna* 'beach buggy', *bugy*; +1) and a double bogey (*double bogey, dabl*; +2). Conversely, holes played one or more strokes under par are a birdie (*birdie, berdý*, slang *berdík, Berd'ouš, ptáček* 'birdie', *pták* 'bird'; -1), eagle (*eagle, ígl*, slang *orel* 'eagle', *íglů*; -2), double eagle or albatross (*albatros*; -3), and condor (*kondor*; -4). An amateur golfer's potential scoring ability is called handicap or HCP (*handicap, hendikep, hcp*, slang *hendík*). Shots are called according to where and how they are played, e.g. drive (*drive, drajv, úder z odpaliště*), approach (shot) (*approach, eprouč, přihrávka, přibližovací rána*), bunker shot (*bankršot*), putt (*pat*), ace (*eso*) or hole-in-one (*hole-in-one, houlin*, slang *houlinka, houláč, dátin*), draw (*draw, dróčko*), chip (*čip*), pitch (*pič*), punch (*panč*), lay-up (*layup, pozice*), slice (*slajs, šlajs*), banana ball (*banán*), fade (*fejd*), bite (*bite, zakousnutí*), flop (shot) (*flop shot, lob*), flier (shot) (*flier, flajr*), hook (*hook, huk*), short game (shots) (*krátká hra*), long game (*dlouhá hra*), gimme (*darovaný pat, darovaná rána, darovaná hra*), mulligan (*maligan*), etc. A badly hit ball results in a poor shot, such as a shank (*shank, socket*, slang *soketka, sokol* 'falcon'), top (*top*, coll. *topinka* 'toast'), or fat (*fat, krtek*, 'mole'), producing a divot (*drn, řízek*, 'cutting').

Golf play comes in different forms, e.g. match play (*hra na jamky, jamkovka, jamková hra*), stroke play (*hra na rány*), stableford (*stableford, hra na body*), foursome (*forsom, čtyřhra*), best ball (*best ball*). In a multiple round stroke play tournament, the golfer has to make the cut (*kat*) to participate in the next round(s).

The 100 English golf terms are matched by 163 Czech equivalents. Of these 163 expressions, 98 are Anglicisms (80 loanwords and 18 calques), 9 are hybrid expressions and the rest, 56 terms, are vernacular (see Table 4 below). Compared to the 100 English terms, the Czech golf sample is larger by 63.0 per cent, and the 63 surplus equivalents are interpreted as synonyms.

5. Discussion of results

Analysis of the English-Czech football, tennis and golf terminology samples deals both with individual samples and their mutual contrast. Comparison of the findings in all three samples shows that they can be meaningfully correlated with the history of these sports in the Czech Republic: football with the longest history, followed by tennis, while golf is a relatively new sport (see the respective sections). All this is in lockstep with the status of the sports. Football is, beyond doubt, a mass sport, appearing on TV literally every day. Tennis less so, but thanks to Czech top-ranking tennis players, including Wimbledon winners, and the Davis Cup, it is presented on TV relatively often. Czech golf, by contrast, has no players of international renown, there are not so many golf courses in the country and so, being still a comparatively elitist sport, it is only rarely aired on TV.

This, we believe, is reflected in the extent to which the respective terminologies adopted from English have become assimilated and vernacularized in Czech. As can be

inferred from Table 4, the two telltale indicators of the development and vernacularization of terminology is the proportion of Anglicisms to vernacular terms and the total number of Czech equivalents per 100 English terms in each sample. The three samples contain 246 Anglicisms and 280 vernacular terms altogether. The hybrid terms (24 items) which, for simplicity's sake, are included neither in Anglicisms, nor vernacular terms are too few to play any role and are counted only when the total size of the English and the Czech sample is compared. It is assumed that when the new sport is introduced the terminology will be heavily dependent on English (in the form of both loanwords and calques) and only gradually, as the sport starts to live its own life in the Czech context, will more vernacular terms find their way into the terminology. Some of the Anglicisms will become firmly rooted, but in many cases Czech terms will take over and become the norm. As suggested above, the exact details of the process, are influenced by the duration of the sport's presence and the growing numbers of speakers who participate in or talk about it.

Table 4 shows that the set of Czech football equivalents includes the lowest number of Anglicisms of the three samples, 70, and the largest amount of vernacular terms, 133, i.e. in terms of percentage it has 34.5 per cent of Anglicisms to 65.5 per cent of vernacular terms (not counting hybrids). The Czech tennis sample comprises 78 Anglicisms and 91 vernacular terms, i.e. 46.2 per cent of Anglicisms to 53.8 per cent of vernacular terms. The golf sample includes 98 Anglicisms and 56 vernacular terms, i.e. 63.6 per cent to 36.4 per cent. The difference between football and golf is particularly conspicuous; the proportion of Anglicisms to vernacular terms in these sports is practically the reverse, with the percentage of Anglicisms in golf close to double the size of the vernacular group. The difference between tennis and football and tennis and golf is less pronounced. If we accept that loanwords are an even more telling sign of dependence on English than calques – Furiassi et al. (2012: 6) describe loanwords as direct, calques as indirect Anglicisms – and look at the incidence of English loanwords in the sample, the differences between the sports become even more prominent. Our focus on loanwords stems from the fact that loanwords manifestly preserve the form of the original and its semantics (both at least to some extent), while calques are words of the recipient language that assume another meaning according to the foreign model. In fact, of the total of 150 English loanwords in the three samples, the 25 football loanwords account for only 16.7 per cent, 45 tennis loanwords for 30.0 per cent and 80 golf loanwords for 53.3 per cent (more than three times compared to football).

Inasmuch as the aim of the paper is to examine why sports terminology should be a source of synonymy, it is important to note how much the size of each Czech sample differs from the respective English sample of 100 items. In aggregate, the difference between the 550 recorded Czech equivalents and the 300 original English sample terms is 250 items, i.e. an 83.3 per cent increase. It means that in 83.3 per cent of cases the English term had on average more than one equivalent. The findings also suggest that the lower the number of loanword Anglicisms in the Czech sample, the larger the total number of items in the sample. Thus, the football sample has the highest number of equivalents but the fewest number of loanwords (25 in 210). By contrast, the

golf sample with the largest number of loanwords is characterized by the smallest amount of equivalents (80 in 163). The sample of Czech tennis terms includes 45 loanwords in the total of 177 equivalents, which is half way between the other two.

It also follows from the findings presented in Table 4 that every English term had on average 2.1 Czech equivalents in football, 1.77 equivalents in tennis and only 1.63 in golf. However, the exact distribution of Czech equivalents per English term in the football, tennis and golf samples is recorded in Tables 5, 6 and 7 respectively. The focus of the following analysis is on the two sports which represent opposite extremes, football and golf, since the tennis sample is again positioned midway between them on the continuum and so is of less interest. A detailed analysis of the Czech football equivalents, the most numerous sample of the three, reveals that 39 terms of the English football sample have only one Czech equivalent, 34 English terms have 2 equivalents, 15 English terms have 3 equivalents, 7 English terms had 4 equivalents, 5 English terms have 5 to 7 equivalents (see Table 5). In terms of percentages, 39.0 per cent (slightly more than one third) of the English terms had one equivalent, 34.0 per cent (one third) of the English terms had two equivalents, and 27.0 per cent had had three and more Czech equivalents.

The findings also show that football and golf markedly differ not only in how many of their English terms have one, two or more Czech equivalents (see Table 6) but also in the type of these equivalents. In the case of the 39 English football terms with a single equivalent, the equivalents include 22 vernacular terms (*boot* – *kopačka*, *caution* – *napomenutí*, *set piece* – *standardní situace*, etc.), 14 lexical calques, i.e. translations by Czech words, 2 hybrid expressions (combining English loanwords *gól* – *goal* and *penaltový* – *penalty* with Czech words), and only one equivalent, *centr*, which can be considered a loanword (and at the same time a good candidate for a pseudo-Anglicism). *Centr* corresponds to the English term “cross”, a pass towards the centre of the pitch; this or the fact that the receiver of the pass is the centre forward (or *centr* in Czech) may have given it its name. Anyway, as far as football is concerned, if the English term has only one equivalent it turns out to be almost invariably a vernacular expression (or a Czech-based lexical calque), not a loanword. We may hypothesize then that if the English term has a vernacular equivalent right from the beginning, this seems to make the development of more equivalents unnecessary.

A different situation obtains with the remaining 61 English terms that have two and more equivalents. Equivalents of the English football terms with two and three equivalents (34 and 15 terms respectively) include 21, i.e. most of the English loanwords in the Czech sample (*gól*, *foťbal*, *mač*, *ofsajd*, *bek*, etc.), then 21 calques (*return match* › *odvetný zápas*, *penalty area* › *pokutové území*, *sweeper* › *zametač*, *wing* › *křídlo*, etc.) and two hybrids. In sets of two equivalents there are 25 pairs including an Anglicism of which only 3 do not adhere to the Anglicism-vernacular pattern; in sets of three equivalents, thirteen contain an Anglicism and only two do not exhibit the Anglicism-vernacular-vernacular pattern. Finally, the group of 12 English terms with sets of 4 to 7 equivalents includes eight terms with Anglicisms (3 loanwords, 10 calques and 3 hybrids; typically the pattern is one Anglicism-vernacular equivalents), and just

four English terms have only vernacular equivalents (*mič, housle, hrot, nastavení doby hry*). All in all, the multiple equivalents of English football terms are in accordance with the hypothesized progress of terminology development: starting with an Anglicism which, in the course of time, is supplemented by one or more vernacular expressions. The Anglicism acts as a stimulus activating the process of vernacularization. Thus, the rise of synonyms is typically triggered by borrowing accompanied and followed by the use of vernacular terms in increasing measure. This de-anglicizing tendency ties in with the inverse proportion between the number of loanwords and the total of equivalents in the samples pointed out in the preceding paragraph.

The same kind of analysis was applied to the set of equivalents with the highest number of Anglicisms, the golf sample of equivalents. Compared to the other two samples (tennis, and especially football), Czech golf terminology is marked by the lowest degree of de-anglicization, which is signalled not only by the largest number of Anglicisms (and the smallest total of equivalents) in the sample, but also by different patterns of equivalent distribution compared to football (see Table 7). More than half of the English terms (51) have only one Czech equivalent, of which 27 are loanwords (*birdie, bogey, fairway*, etc.), 16 are calques (e.g., *dřevo, kondonr, banán, slepá jamka*), 3 hybrids (*travnatý bankr*) and only 5 are vernacular terms (e.g. *jamka, hůl, překážka*), which is in stark contrast to the composition of single equivalents in football. Of the 37 English golf terms with two equivalents, 23 have equivalents in keeping with the hypothesized terminology development pattern, i.e. Anglicism → vernacular term expansion, in 13 cases both equivalents are Anglicisms (loanword + loanword, e.g. *draw-dróčko, wedge-večka*, or loanword + hybrid, e.g. *links-linksové hřiště, sweetspot-sweetzóna*) and in just one case the English term has two vernacular equivalents (*divot-drn, řízek*). In the remaining 12 English golf terms with three and four equivalents, the pattern Anglicism + 3–4 vernacular terms appears in eight cases. In two cases the equivalents of an English term included two loanwords (*tee, týčko, odpaliště; buggy, bugina, vozík, auto*) and only two English terms had vernacular expressions as the only equivalents (*hra na jamku, jamková hra, jamkovka, míček, balon, balónek*). Thus, the expected course of terminology development was confirmed in 31 of 49 English golf terms with two to four equivalents.

Naturally, the data also reveal that there are alternatives to the Anglicism-vernacular pattern of equivalents. Thus the English term may have only one equivalent (Anglicism or vernacular word), or the multiple Czech equivalents may include only Anglicisms (*sweetspot, sweetzóna*) or only vernacular expressions, although such cases are relatively infrequent (e.g. the equivalents of the English terms *pitch, ball, referee, goal post, crossbar, stocking, offence, added time, nutmeg, striker, bounce, side-line, match play*, or *divot*). Obviously, many of the Czech words serving as equivalents had existed in the language independently of the sport and so could be easily recycled.

Anglicisms in Czech terminologies appear to stimulate the process of vernacularization resulting in terminological variants typically with different stylistic values. Sometimes the vernacular term acquires official status and relegates the Anglicism to colloquial use, sometimes it is the other way around (*fotbal* as an official

term replacing the otherwise established *kopaná*). The degree of de-anglicization of Czech terminologies based on English models and the amount of terms are quite clearly dependent on such circumstances as the length of time the sport has been around, its popularity and affordability influencing sports participation, etc. Hence the terminology of football, the most popular sport of the three, has become the most de-anglicized and richest of the three. By contrast, the Czech terminology of golf, the most elitist sport among the three, is the least vernacularized and has the narrowest range of terms.

The difference between a highly anglicized terminology and a highly de-anglicized one, represented by golf and football respectively, shows even in cases where the English term has only one equivalent. Single equivalents of English football terms are predominantly vernacular expressions, while 46 of 51 single equivalents of English golf terms are Anglicisms. The tentative explanation is that the popular demand to de-anglicize golf terminology is relatively low, while with football, which has become a national pastime in a nation of bar room football experts and is heavily promoted by the media, the readiness to vernacularize its terminology is much stronger. Also, this tendency will not be evenly paced, being subject to a whole range of factors both external (language variation, the need for stylistic diversification, etc.) and internal (availability of vernacular words and word-formation patterns).

6. Conclusions

The study focuses on three Anglophone sports, football, tennis and golf, which were brought into the Czech language environment at the beginning of last century. For each sport, one hundred representative English terms were chosen and for each term Czech equivalents were looked up by consulting available articles, commentaries, glossaries, dictionaries and other reference sources. The equivalents are restricted to standard (official) and colloquial terms which are not always readily distinguished both stylistically and in terms of frequency; slang terms though occasionally mentioned are not included in the Czech samples (although the cline between standard – colloquial and slang is gradual and the boundary sometimes elusive).

The search resulted in 550 equivalents, i.e. in excess of 250 terms compared to the 300 English terms. This 83.3 per cent increase was the first finding of the study. As might be expected with Anglophone sports, the new terminologies in the recipient language are rich in Anglicisms (246 Anglicisms, i.e. 44.7 per cent, among the 550 Czech equivalents). The Anglicisms are divided into loanwords and calques (both lexical and semantic), of which the former appear to be particularly conspicuous indicators of the English influence. Secondly, the analysis uncovered a reverse proportion between the number of loanwords (the most distinct type of Anglicism) and the total of vernacular terms among the equivalents; it places the Czech terminologies of the three sports on a continuum from the most strongly influenced by English to the most vernacularized terminology. Thus, Czech golf terminology is the most anglicized of the three, containing as it does, the largest number of English loanwords and the smallest number of vernacular terms (80 loanwords to 56 vernacular terms), while

Czech football terminology is at the opposite end of the continuum (25 loanwords to 133 vernacular terms), with tennis terminology in between (45 loanwords to 91 vernacular terms).

The third finding provides a strong support for the presumed general tendency existing in contemporary vocabulary: terminology development under the influence of another language (in this case English) will proceed from loanwords (Anglicisms) to vernacular terms (either pre-existing or created for this specific purpose). The latter either supplement or, perhaps less commonly, replace the borrowed word (see Martincová, 2003; later on, she introduces the concept of a so-called balancing tendency, Martincová, 2013). This tendency is attested both in Czech golf terminology in 31 out of 49 English terms (with two to four equivalents) and football terminology where the same pattern in sets of equivalents including an Anglicisms and one or more vernacular terms is equally common.

Finally, although the paper does not make a claim to rigorous accuracy or completeness of data (due to having to rely on raw information provided by the consulted sources), we may conclude that the overall pattern of the data supports the initial hypothesis, namely, that the development of Anglophone sports terminologies in Czech results in vernacular terminological synonyms. It will be interesting to test whether further analysis of Czech terminologies of other Anglophone sports, such as ice hockey, baseball, basketball, softball, etc., will find similar trends in the distribution of their equivalents and the mechanisms of terminology development producing synonymy.

Notes

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1. In all sports, there are also female counterparts of terms for players in Czech (m. *fotbalista* – f. *fotbalistka*); however, they were omitted from the list of equivalents.

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Appendix

Table 1. Terms for the categories of football players with Czech equivalents

English		Czech	
general	specific or synonym	equivalent	synonym
attacker	forward	<i>útočník</i>	slang <i>forward</i> , <i>forvard</i>
	centre forward	<i>centrfoward</i> , <i>centrfoward</i>	<i>střední útočník</i> , <i>středový útočník</i> , slang <i>centr</i> , slang <i>hrot</i> , <i>hrotový útočník</i>

	winger (right, left)	<i>křídlo (pravé, levé)</i>	<i>(pravý, levý) křidelní útočník, slang brko</i>
	inside forward	<i>spojka</i>	
	striker	<i>útočník</i>	<i>hrotový útočník, slang hrot (útok), útočný hrot, hroťák</i>
midfielder	midfield player	<i>středopolař</i>	<i>záložník</i>
	half-back	slang <i>halvbek, halfbek</i>	<i>záložník, slang halv, half</i>
	attacking midfielder	<i>útočný středopolař</i>	<i>ofenzivní středopolař, útočný záložník, ofenzivní záložník, spojka, podhrotový útočník, slang podhroťák</i>
	right/left midfielder	<i>pravý/levý středopolař</i>	<i>(pravý/levý) krajní záložník, (pravý/levý) krajní středopolař</i>
	winger, wingman, wide midfielder	<i>křidelník</i>	<i>křídlo, křidelní záložník</i>
	defensive midfielder	<i>obranný středopolař</i>	<i>defenzivní středopolař, obranný záložník, defenzivní záložník, štít, štítový záložník, rare, slang štíťák</i>
	central midfielder	<i>střední středopolař</i>	<i>střední záložník</i>
	centre-half	slang <i>centrhalv</i>	<i>střední záložník, slang centr</i>
defender	back	<i>obránce</i>	slang <i>zadák, bek</i>
	right/left full-back	slang <i>pravý/levý krajní bek</i>	<i>krajní obránce, slang krajní zadák</i>
	wing-back (a combination of winger and full-back)	<i>(útočný) křidelní obránce</i>	<i>falešné křídlo</i>
	attacking full-back	<i>útočný obránce</i>	<i>ofenzivní obránce</i>
	centre-back, centre full-back, central defender	slang <i>centrbek</i>	<i>střední obránce</i>
	stopper	<i>stoper</i>	<i>střední obránce</i>
	libero	<i>libero</i>	<i>střední obránce</i>
	sweeper	slang <i>zametač</i>	<i>poslední obránce</i>
goalkeeper	goalie, keeper	<i>brankář</i>	slang <i>gólman</i>

Table 2. Types of shots in tennis with Czech equivalents

English term	Czech equivalent	Synonym
shot, stroke	<i>úder</i>	
backhand	<i>bekhend</i>	<i>hřbetový úder</i>
forehand	<i>forhend</i>	<i>dlaňový úder</i>
topspin	<i>topspin</i>	<i>úder s horní rotací (i.e. a shot with forward rotation)</i>
backspin	<i>backspin</i>	<i>úder s dolní rotací (i.e. one with backward rotation)</i>
sidespin	<i>sidespin</i>	<i>úder s boční rotací</i>
block	<i>blok</i>	

slice, slice stroke	<i>slajs</i>	<i>slajsovaný úder</i>
chop, chop stroke	<i>čop</i>	<i>čopovaný úder</i>
flat, flat drive	<i>přímý úder</i>	
drive	<i>drajv</i>	
smash	<i>smeč</i>	
serve, service	<i>servis</i>	<i>podání</i>
groundstroke	<i>úder po odskoku</i>	
volley	<i>volej (liftovaný, forhendový, bekhendový)</i>	
half volley	<i>halfvolej</i>	
lob (defensive, offensive)	<i>lob (obranný, útočný)</i>	
passing shot	<i>prohoz</i>	<i>prohození, obhoz, obhození</i>
stop-ball, drop-shot	<i>stopbal</i>	<i>dropšot, zkrácení hry, slang kratas</i>
drop volley, stop-volley	<i>stopvolej</i>	<i>stopbol volejem</i>
cross-court shot	<i>křížný úder</i>	<i>úder křížem</i>
down-the-line shot	<i>úder podél (postranní) čáry</i>	<i>úder po čáře, úder podél lajny, úder podél</i>
approach shot	<i>nabíhaný úder</i>	
overhead	<i>úder nad hlavou</i>	<i>vysoký volej</i>
single-handed (backhand)	<i>jednoručný (bekhend)</i>	<i>(bekhend) jednoruč</i>
double-handed (backhand)	<i>obouručný (bekhend)</i>	<i>(bekhend) obouruč</i>
lifted (drive), topspin (lob)	<i>liftovaný (úder, lob)</i>	
ace	<i>eso</i>	
return	<i>return, ritern</i>	<i>vrácení podání, vrácení míče</i>
mishit	<i>chybný úder</i>	<i>špatně zahráný míč, pokažený úder, slang kiks</i>

Table 3. Golf terms for the categories of hole scores and shots with Czech equivalents

English term	Czech equivalent	Czech synonym
par	<i>par</i>	<i>norma</i>
over par, under par	<i>nad par, pod par</i>	<i>nad normu, pod normu</i>
bogey	<i>bogey, bogy</i>	<i>bogýčko, bogyna, bugyna, bugy</i>
double bogey	<i>double bogey</i>	<i>dabl</i>
birdie	<i>birdie, berdý</i>	<i>slang berdík, Berd'ouš, ptáček, pták</i>
eagle	<i>eagle, ígl</i>	<i>slang orel, iglů</i>
albatross, double eagle	<i>albatros, double-eagle</i>	
condor	<i>kondor</i>	
drive	<i>drive, drajv</i>	<i>úder z odpaliště</i>
approach	<i>approach, eprouč</i>	<i>přihrávka, přibližovací rána</i>
bunker shot	<i>bankršot</i>	

putt	<i>pat</i>	
ace	<i>eso</i>	
hole-in-hole	<i>hole-in-hole</i>	slang <i>houlin, houlinka, houláč, dátin</i>
draw	<i>draw</i>	slang <i>dróčko</i>
chip	<i>čip</i>	
pitch	<i>pič</i>	
punch	<i>panč</i>	
lay-up	<i>layup</i>	<i>pozice</i>
slice	<i>slajs, šlajs</i>	
banana ball	<i>Banán</i>	
fade	<i>Fejd</i>	
bite	<i>Bite</i>	<i>zakousnutí</i>
flop (shot)	<i>flop shot, lob</i>	
flier (shot)	<i>flier, flajr</i>	
hook	<i>hook, huk</i>	
short game	<i>krátká hra</i>	
long game	<i>dlouhá hra</i>	
gimme	<i>darovaný pat</i>	<i>darovaná rána, darovaná hra</i>
mulligan	<i>Maligan</i>	
shank	<i>shank, socket</i>	<i>soketka, slang sokol</i>
top	<i>Top</i>	slang <i>topinka</i>
fat	<i>fat</i>	slang <i>krtek</i>
divot	<i>Drn</i>	slang <i>řízek</i>

Table 4. The distribution of the Czech equivalents of 100 English terms from three sports

sport / equivalent	Anglicism			vernacular term	hybrid term	total
	loanword	calque	total			
football	25	45	70	133	7	210
tennis	45	33	78	91	8	177
golf	80	18	98	56	9	163
total	150	96	246	280	24	550

Table 5. The number of Czech equivalents per English term in the football sample

Number of equivalents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	total
English terms	39	34	15	7	2	1	2	100
Total of equivalents	39	68	45	28	10	6	14	210

Table 6. The number of Czech equivalents per English term in the tennis sample

Number of equivalents	1	2	3	4		5	6	total
English terms	47	37	10	5		-	1	100
Total of equivalents	47	74	30	20		-	6	177

Table 7. The number of Czech equivalents per English term in the golf sample

Number of equivalents	1	2	3	4	total
English terms	51	37	10	2	100
Total of equivalents	51	74	30	8	163

The First Football Anglicisms in the Spanish Language (1868–1903)*

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ABSTRACT

This study has the objective of presenting fifty-three (53) football-related Anglicisms found in Spanish texts published between 1868 and 1903. Using heuristics in various texts and documents digitalized, a corpus was built using the *Reglamento de foot-ball* (1902), adopted by the Asociación Clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona, Antonio Viada's *Manual del Sport* (1903), and general and specialized texts taken from newspapers, like *La Vanguardia*. This study on fifty-three Anglicisms found between 1868 and 1903 aims to be a lexical contribution to the history of Spanish language and to the Historical Dictionary of Football Terms in Spanish (DHTEF, in Spanish), currently in progress.

Keywords: football Anglicisms, Historical Dictionary of Football Terms in Spanish, history of Spanish language, sport press

1. Introduction

The first news in Spanish about football appeared as early as 1868, while the first chronicle of a football match played in Spain appeared in 1890. During this twenty-two-year period, news in brief about matches or a particular aspect related with football were very rare. However, in the late 19th century, news about this new sport were published under chronicle and news-in-brief formats. This resulted in an increase of new lexical units related with football.



Lexical borrowings and, particularly, Anglicisms related to football were infrequent in news in briefs or chronicles published in the late 19th century. As analyzed by Nomdedeu (2019, in press), out of a total of fifty-five (55) football-related terms found in texts until 1899, only four English borrowings (8.3%) were present, namely, *foot-ball*, *goal*², *growl*, and *match*. In the early 20th century (1899–1902), more football-related Anglicisms were introduced and popularized mainly due to the daily newspaper *La Vanguardia*. Since then, Anglicisms became more popular. The publication of *Reglamento de foot-ball* -the first manual of football rules published in Spanish- in 1902 by the Asociación Clubs Foot-ball de Barcelona, was very important for the incorporation of football terms from English into Spanish (Nomdedeu, 2014); indeed, out of sixty-seven (67) terms detected, thirty (30) were borrowings (44.8%), and twenty-nine (29) were Anglicisms. The publication of this manual had a strong influence from the lexical point of view on further discussions published in newspaper articles. In 1902, Antonio Viada started a series of articles about lexical aspects (published between February and December, 1902: 1902a–1902i), and the discussion about adopting or not Anglicisms continued until 1919, when Federico Caro (1919) reflected on the need of coining sports-related Anglicisms in Spanish. Evidence of this discussion is found in publications such as Un Delantero (January, 19, 1902), Antonio Viada (1902a–1902i), Mariano de Cavia (1908a, 1908b), Carlos Miranda (1908), an anonymous article dated in 1908 (1908), Luis Zozaya (1908), Narciso Masferrer (1911, 1912), Francisco Bru (1918), Moreu (1919), and Federico Caro (1919) (See Nomdedeu 2019, in press).

Considering this, the objective of this study is to show and analyze fifty-three (53) Anglicisms related to football and found in publications made between 1868 and 1903. The results are intended to be a lexical contribution to the history of Spanish language especially in relation to the corpus-based project about the Historical Dictionary of Football Terms in Spanish (DHTF, in Spanish), currently in progress.¹

2. Context of the Study

This study is based on literature review methodology, and its main objective is to determine the history of football language in various types of texts written in Spanish. At the lexical level, some publications based on partial research studies doing historiographical analysis of football-related terms have been made during the last years (Torrebadella & Nomdedeu 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016; Nomdedeu 2014, 2015, 2019 in press; Nomdedeu & Torrebadella 2016, 2018). However, these have been insufficient for the diachronic study of football terminology.²

Some dictionaries on football³ and sports⁴ have been published, but few studies have been made on the analysis of football terms in texts. Then, it becomes necessary to go through the first texts that introduced football language in Spanish. In this sense, no study on football-related language has been made from an interdisciplinary perspective, *i.e.*, a study where linguists, sports historians, football experts, and documentalists may have participated. This, then, justifies the elaboration of *DHTF* dictionary.

For describing the context and time of the first football Anglicisms in Spanish language (1868–1903) – the first years from the first period (1868 and 1913) divided into the six-year period for the history of football terminology,⁵ named “First Movements in Sport Journalism and Birth of an Autonomous Character”, at least three factors should be considered.

Firstly, it should be considered that football-related language was not published in different text types (news articles, chronicles, journals) regularly until the 1890s. During those years, football news were shared with other sports news, even with other kind of news. Starting the 20th century, football language was still under construction. By 1902, competitions celebrated in Catalonia, such as Copa Macaya or the competition organized by the Spanish Federation of Gymnastics, required to spread news about football as well as to set some rules for its practice. Football became a sport that gained importance and presence among the high class society in Spain. As described by Torrebadella & Olivera (2013), hunting and cycling were the main sports; hunting was considered the traditional recreation activity for high and middle class society during the first years of sports practice in Spain. Cycling, on the other hand, was present in many press news between 1865 and 1899⁶, due to the fact that the bicycle as a recreation means of transportation for Spanish people became the symbol of modern times. These, however, were not the only sports present in the news. Other sports like riding, fencing, and tennis (*lawn tennis*) were also sports practices that were gradually added to those practiced exclusively by the aristocracy and high class society. People practicing those activities were known as *sportsmen*; they were people who followed the same attitudes and fashion activities of the English colony (Castro 2012; Lagardera 1996; Otero 2003; Pujadas & Santacana 2003; Torrebadella 2011), settled near factories and industrial sites (Castro 2012; Torrebadella 2012; Torrebadella & Nomdedeu 2014). As Rivero (2005: 83) has stated:

en la década de los ochenta del siglo XIX, se practicaban deportes con orígenes militares y aristocráticos, relacionados con las salas de armas, la hípica, la náutica, los clubes de lawn-tenis y el automovilismo (...), deportes que se siguieron desarrollando en el nuevo siglo. (...) En los noventa, se crearía un movimiento gimnástico protagonizado por educadores, que fue seguido por sectores de clase media que veían en la actividad una fuerza ‘regeneradora’ y positiva. (...) El deporte se fue popularizando y algunos sectores sociales de las ciudades españolas vieron en él una nueva variante de ocio y espectáculo. Tras la derrota del 98, todas estas actividades físicas empezaron a ser consideradas como un buen instrumento para la regeneración de la ‘afligida raza’ y por tanto como algo beneficioso ‘para la patria’.

Football was somewhat used as a mechanism of Spanish reaction to the end-of-century crisis. In this sense, Torrebadella, Olivera & Bou (2017: 3) have stated that:

Indeed, football bloomed in Spain at the time of the regenerationist movement following the political and institutional crisis that erupted in 1898. Regenerationist policies had an impact upon the emerging sports clubs, and football in particular was to become the setting where the new ideology would thrive.

Secondly, it was not until 1902 when the *Reglamento de foot-ball* from the Asociación de clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona⁷ (Nomdedeu, 2014) was published. With the exception of Barcelona, football was still widely unknown in most populated industrial and urban settlements (Torrebadella, 2012). Barcelona was, on the other hand, the main promoter of football and other sports (Lagardera, 1996).⁸ Evidence of this is shown in some texts published outside Catalonia, such as *Los Deportes* (1897–1910), *El Mundo Deportivo* (1906), and in an incipient specialized literature where football was in the spotlight. In Madrid, the sports magazine *Gran Vida* (1903–1935) included news and commercial announcements about football. While having a disadvantage in relation to other aristocratic sports, football gained presence in a relatively short period of time (Otero, 2003). Until 1910, football was practiced in a rudimentary way, as an athletic and amateur activity with little knowledge of the rules (García-Castell, 1968). This period is called “*Etapa de gestación o regeneracionista*” (1900–1919)⁹, a period which finished with sport demands for being included in the Olympic Games in Antwerp (Kuntz, 1919; Reparaz, 1919). During this period, those who played football also practiced other sports, and were followers of physical education. These were known as *sportsmen*; they were people who followed the same attitudes and fashion activities of the English colony (Castro, 2012; Lagardera, 1990; Otero, 2003; Torrebadella, 2009) normally located around industrial settings (Castro, 2012; Torrebadella, 2012; Torrebadella & Nomdedeu, 2014).

The use of football terms was significant during that period. Starting the 20th century, two events occurred and showed the increasing interest on football game. In 1902, journalists and editors reflected upon the adaptation of football terms in Spanish (Nomdedeu 2019, in press). At the same time, *Heraldo del Sport* newspaper was founded. Its orientation was mainly towards motor racing and football, though it also included news about cycling sport, fencing, *yachting* or horseriding, among other sports. In 1903, *Gran vida* sports newspaper (1903–1935), the *Revista de Sport*, and the newspaper ABC (1903–...) were founded. On the same year, the *Manual del Sport* by Antonio Viada was published. This, in turn, can be considered the first complete bibliographic contribution to Spanish sports and the first publication that illustrated and popularized sports based on the English model.

Thirdly, it is necessary to consider that the sport press in Spain received an extraordinary impulse under the *regeneracionista* movement (Torrebadella & Olivera, 2013), shown through the increasing number of publications that appeared during the last quarter of the 19th century. This was possible thanks to the Regenerationism movement towards the diffusion and practice of physical activities. Therefore, the period included in this study (1868–1903) represents an important time for the insertion of football terms, especially in newspaper articles, where attention was paid towards this new sport. Evidence of this was the foundation of new clubs and the high frequency of football matches. Concern about neologisms was not still present during this period, in spite of the important number of English borrowings found in publications since 1902 (see Nomdedeu, 2019, in press). However, we cannot consider there was a national specialized literature in football, because there was almost no bibliography on sports,

actually (Torrebadella, 2011). Then, it is important to consider that the first important sports publication in Spain was the *Manual del Sport*, by Antonio Viada¹⁰, in 1903 (See Nomdedeu & Torrebadella, 2018). There, Viada (1903: 15) complained about the lack of interest Spanish society had towards sports and referred to the fact that the sports were better developed and practiced in the rest of Europe than in Spain.¹¹

3. Corpus compilation and methodology

In achieving the main objective of this study, some resources and techniques of historical analysis on original texts have been used. The texts from the study period (1868–1902) were obtained through heuristics. Contributions from Torrebadella & Olivera (2012, 2013) and Torrebadella & Nomdedeu (2014, 2015) were used in relation with physical education, sports, and football. Other important documentary collections, such as *Biblioteca de l'Esport* (Barcelona), were used. Digitization of important texts from the last decade of the 19th century found in various repositories - Hemeroteca Digital de la Biblioteca Nacional de España, Biblioteca Virtual de la Prensa Histórica, Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antigues (ARCA) de la Biblioteca de Catalunya, Xarxa d'Arxius Comarcals. Premsa digitalitzada catalana, Hemeroteca Histórica del Ayuntamiento de Huelva, and Hemeroteca digital de *La Vanguardia*- has facilitated term search and documentation in a way that it would not be possible without the current technological advances. Once textual resources were documented, a critical analysis was made followed by terminological data retrieval for obtaining the first football terms for the *DHTF*. Other secondary sources of historical information were considered in order to complete an adequate theoretical context of the study (e.g. Bahamonde, 2002, 2011; Castro, 2012; García-Castell, 1968; Torrebadella, 2012). These studies have also offered a good opportunity for approaching sources of historical information. This methodological procedure has permitted to show a coherent information analysis, to understand historical events, and to show new lexical data.

It should be noticed that the subject field of this study includes technical manuals, sports regulations and other sports-related texts that are not easily available at public access catalogues. Private football collections have made to consider private libraries for information retrieval. In spite of limitations for text cataloguing and term detection, we have found this is an adequate procedure for text extraction, term description, and hence, to make a historical dictionary that may include the first football terms and their evolution through history. Therefore, it is probable to discover new text sources as the study research goes on. In this case, both data and data analysis from this study are not exhaustive, but representative, and highly reliable.

4. Text Corpus for the *DHTF* (1868–1903)

Text corpus for the *DHTF* (1868–1903) is composed by newspaper articles, a sports rules text, and a sports manual. The texts were taken from compilations made by

Torrebadella & Olivera (2013) and from term extraction studies related with football documents published between 1890 and 1936 (Torrebadella & Nomdedeu, 2014, 2015, 2016; Nomdedeu & Torrebadella, 2016). Thus, the study corpus is mainly made of 85 texts about sports and 121 texts about football. Other periodicals from the study period were also included. The analysis corpus is composed by the following texts:

- (1) 30/04/1868: The first reference of football published by *El Panorama, Periódico ilustrado quincenal* (Valencia). [News]
- (2) 01/02/1881: *La Vanguardia*, Barcelona.
- (3) 14/10/1883–30/06/1904: *La Dinastía. Diario político, literario y mercantil*, Barcelona.
- (4) 12/03/1890: First chronicle of a football match (Sevilla-Recreativo de Huelva). *La Provincia*, Huelva. [Chronicle]
- (5) 01/11/1897–15/07/1910: *Los Deportes* [Newspaper], Barcelona.
- (6) 1902. Asociación de clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona: *Reglamento de foot-ball*, Barcelona. [Rules] (See Nomdedeu, 2014).
- (7) 1903. Viada, Antonio: *Manual del Sport*, Ed. Adrian Romo, Madrid. [Manual] (See Nomdedeu & Torrebadella, 2018).

DHTF text corpus is based mostly on journalistic texts. They represent the way where the first football terms were introduced, and also the space where these terms became stable: the first reference to football (1868), the first chronicle of a football match (1890), and newspapers like *La Vanguardia* (1881–...), *La Dinastía* (1883–1904), and *Los Deportes* (1897–1910).

Linguistic analysis of these texts, from which some advances have already been published¹², has been necessary to determine the origin of football terms and thus, to describe their characteristics by the time of their introduction to Spanish, and then of their consolidation in Spanish language. As already mentioned, the texts listed above are not all the texts including football terms; instead, some loose notes or brief news announcing a football match in local newspapers¹³ have been collected constantly. Recent research studies have shown that football history in Spain is under constant revision. Regarding historical studies, in this first phase we decided to review the most representative terms used in the history of this sport. In further phases, other less relevant texts for the period of study will be considered, as stated by Pascual (2012: 2).

The first reference to football was published in Valencia, by *El Panorama, Periódico ilustrado quincenal*, on April 30, 1868 [1N]¹⁴, five years later than the foundation of *The Foot-ball Association*, in London (1863). This news, found in Martínez (2010), has been included thanks to the digitization made by the Hemeroteca Digital de la Biblioteca Nacional de España. The news described the game rules in a very rudimentary way, but it has linguistic relevance because of the presence of words and phrases like *bola de pie*, *foot-ball* -meaning *balón* and *fútbol*- and *poste* and *percha* (*larguero*). After this first news about football, the word *foot-ball* (related to the football match) began to appear in numerous newspapers or magazines after the celebration of

an activity called football, such as in *El Progreso. Periódico político* de Jerez, in November 1, 1870; or the *Eco Republicano de Compostela*, on June 26, 1873. From 1883 onwards, such a term was used in other periodical publications such as *El Día* (12/02/1883, p. 7), *La Ilustración artística* (14/03/1887, p. 82), *La Ilustración católica* (25/10/1889, n.º 30, p. 4), *Diario oficial de avisos de Madrid* (28/04/1891, p. 3), *El Heraldo de Madrid* (3/10/1891, p. 1), *Revista de España* (1/1892, n.º 138, p. 199), *La Época* (14/7/1892, n.º 14.313, p. 3), *La Iberia* (22/11/1892, p. 3), *La Dinastía* (24/12/1892, p. 2), and *La Publicidad* (03/03/1895, p. 3), among others.

As mentioned by Torrebadella (2012: 82), “en esta época el fútbol era completamente desconocido entre los españoles. Las pocas referencias que se tenían sobre este deporte llegaban a través de algunas noticias de Inglaterra, en las que habitualmente daban información de la desmedida brutalidad del juego.”

It is important to notice that the first Spanish association for football practice, the Huelva Recreation Club, was founded in 1889,¹⁵ twenty-one years later than the first Spanish news on football.¹⁶

Before 1890 football news were based mostly on anecdotes. In the 1890s the first reference to this sport was published in a chronicle. This news was the first football match written in Spanish.¹⁷ It was played on March 12, 1890, between the Huelva Recreation Club and the English Colony at Sevilla – English workers from Portilla White Co – at the hippodromus from Dehesa de Tablada de Sevilla (Rodríguez & Narbona, 1954; Seijas, 1975; Bálmont, 2007; Franco, 2010; Castro, 2012). This chronicle was published in *La Provincia* (Huelva) [1C], and it is a very important text at the lexical level because the first football terms related to the match, the movements, and demarcations were registered on it. In [1C] the following six terms were registered for the first time: *botar* (‘serve’), *capitán*, *colocar* (‘score’), *goal*¹ (‘score’), *jugador*, and *partida*. The only anglicism that represents a first documentation is *goal*¹ (‘score’). Until 1890, the terms registered were almost exclusively about football, because news on football matches or news in brief were used to announce a match.

Neither *El Panorama* nor *La Provincia* were newspapers that could pay attention to sports news, and football, in particular. These are basic texts because of their lexical relevance for the study corpus. The first news (*El Panorama*) and the first chronicle (*La Provincia*) about football were there published.

General-interest newspapers, such as *La Dinastía* and *La Vanguardia*, being both from Barcelona - this city has been recognized as the cradle of modern sports in Spain-, published the first columns on football news in Spain. Both newspapers are significant for football terms diffusion (§5), especially *La Vanguardia*. Both newspapers were founded for supporting each one of the two parties that took turns in the government of Spain by the time.

La Dinastía was a periodical publication ideologically linked to the Conservative Party of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, and was founded with the purpose of collaborating in the attempt to regain lost political power. Its name shows the orientation towards the restitution of monarchy as a system of government. Thus, it was an anti-republican and an anti-anarchist publication. After Cánovas del Castillo’s

murder, *La Dinastía* increased its reactionary character, while the Conservative Party was losing recognition in Catalonia because of the emerging force of the Regionalist League and of lerrouxism. *La Dinastía* last publication was on June 30, 1904, at the same time the Catalan conservative leader Josep Maria Planes i Casals resigned and retired from political life. The column called “Sport Internacional”, written by E. Font Valencia, was published on November 5, 1892 in this newspaper, being the first sports column published in Spain. The fact of publishing this kind of news meant that there was certainly a good disposition towards these kind of news.

La Vanguardia was created as a branch of the Liberal Party led by Práxedes Mateo Sagasta for the province of Barcelona. Its name was taken after an early short-lived republican and federalist weekly magazine, founded by Anselmo Clavé after the revolution of 1868. At the time of the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition, *La Vanguardia* introduced a new format as an independent newspaper, having morning and afternoon editions and with no links to the Liberal Party. *La Vanguardia* started to be a football reference in 1894–1895. It became a “corporate newspaper” that highlighted especially in Catalonia. After the arousal of other political parties, like Solidaritat or the one led by Alejandro Lerroux, *La Dinastía* disappeared and *La Vanguardia* was detached from the liberal party to become a neutral and commercial newspaper. Since its first editions, *La Vanguardia* showed interest for publishing sports articles: “Noticias relacionadas con los habituales deportes aristocráticos como las carreras de caballos, la caza, el tiro al pichón o los deportes náuticos, se encuentran desde los primeros números de la cabecera” (Simón Sanjurjo, 2012: 29). However, some football terms had been used between 1893 and 1895: *football* (February 1, 1893), *match* (March 11, 1894), *goal* (December 13, 1894), *campo* (May 18, 1894), *bando* (December 6, 1894), *delantero* (February 5, 1895), and *team* (March 12, 1895). Since “Crónica de Sport” started its editions on October 31, 1894, more sports news were published. They were signed by the journalist named Franco until 1898. Then, the sports section became “Notas de Sport” (the first article was published on July 28, 1898), under the responsibility of Alberto Serra.¹⁸

Other newspapers did not collect as many lexical units as it would be expected. However, this does not mean they did not publish articles showing football terms or writing about football-related news on their time.¹⁹ There were a plenty of newspapers that during the last years of the 19th century had published football-related news: *El País*, *El Cardo*, *El Día*, *La Ilustración católica*, el *Diario oficial de avisos de Madrid*, *El Heraldo de Madrid*, la *Revista de España*, *La Iberia* or *La Publicidad*. In spite of this, we are still on a very early phase to establish differences between terms based on their usage. This element will be considered for term extraction from texts published in the 1900s. Thus, terminological variation from different publications could be analyzed and compared.

Regarding specialized periodicals, *Los Deportes* newspaper from Barcelona, founded and presided by Narciso Masferrer, was “la publicación periodística especializada más representativa del momento a nivel nacional” (Torrebadella & Nomdedeu, 2013: 12) and “sirvió como plataforma de lanzamiento de diversas

entidades deportivas y se caracterizó por el rigor de los contenidos y por la labor efectuada en defensa de los valores del deporte” (Saiz de Baranda, 2013: 25).²⁰ A total of 520 numbers were published between November 1, 1897 and July 15, 1910.²¹ The first editions were published every two weeks, but since May 7, 1899, publications were weekly. This coincided with the acquisition, in March, of *Barcelona Sport* magazine, which had been founded in 1897 (Berasategui, 2000: 158). Since then, “la revista se consolidó como la cabecera deportiva más importante en Cataluña, (...) se convirtió en semanario, diversificó el contenido informativo e inició la organización de competiciones deportivas” (Pujadas & Santacana, 2012: 144). On December 24, 1899, Number 43, *Los Deportes* published for the first time a column called “Foot-ball”. Obviously, the percentage of football-related information increased notably. Before this column, news were published under the column called “Miscelánea”. On December 31, 1899, Number 44, Alberto Serra, author of the article called “Foot-ball”, justified the creation of the column by writing about the how football had been accepted in Barcelona:

es el sport del día que ha tomado plena carta de naturaleza en esta capital. El deporte que cautiva la atención de todos los aficionados y que practican por las tardes de los días festivos en el ex Velódromo de la Bonanova los distinguidos socios del ‘Foot-ball Club Barcelona’, del ‘Foot ball Club Catalán’ y los del ‘Team Inglés’ (p. 1119).

In the same volume, Serra wrote the chronicle of football matches between “los teams del “Foot-ball Club Barcelona” and “Foot-ball Club Català” (p. 1119), and “Match entre el team inglés y el team mixto de socios de los clubs “Català” y “Barcelona” (p. 1120), the first *in strictu sensu* chronicle published in *Los Deportes*. The terms used in this document were *match*, *team*, *foot-ball*, *partido*, *jugada*, *bando*, *combinación*, *conducción*, *jugador*, *juego*, *pelota*, *campo*, *growl* (‘partida’), *corredor* (‘football player’), *primer espacio de tiempo*, *defensa* (f.), *jugar la pelota*, *entrada* (‘goal’, ‘score’), *puerta* and *hacer goal*.

Apart from journalistic texts, where the first football terms were found as well as the first football-related Anglicisms, we found a football rule (*Reglamento de foot-ball* used by the Asociación Clubs Foot-ball, 1902) and a sports manual (*Manual del Sport* de Antonio Viada, 1903), being both of them very important for the detection and extraction of the first football Anglicisms in Spanish.



Figure 1

Given the elements described in §2, presence and diffusion of match rules were necessary during the first years of the 20th century. Then, the first *Football Rules* published in Spain was promoted by the Asociación Clubs Foot-ball de Barcelona (1902) (Fig. 1).

In the *Estatutos de la Asociación Clubs de Foot-ball* (Fig. 2) –approved by the football clubs Barcelona, Catalá, Catalonia, Catalunya, Español, Hispania, Iberia, Internacional, Irish, Salud, Universitari, and X, that came into force on January 1, 1903 and later published on October 11, 1903 on Number 41 in *Los Deportes*– the need for establishing rules for football (“Reglamentar el juego de Foot-ball”, in Spanish) (p. 646) is found in Art. 11, regarding the obligations of the *Asociación*. The publication of these rules was the starting point for playing football under certain order (Torrebadella & Nomdedeu, 2014), since football training was taught orally by football followers – sports leaders from the English colony, mainly-, though insufficient for setting new rules, given the constant evolution of football practice.



Figure 2

An example of this evolution can be seen on the fourteen rules established by the then new football rules that resulted in the foundation of the *Football Association* (FA), written on October 26, 1863 by 11 English clubs at Freemasons' Tavern, in London. These rules were modified constantly: by 1871, the goalkeeper was the only player who could use his hands everywhere in the field; by 1886, the rule established that the goalkeeper could use his hands within his own area; by 1891, penalty area kick and nets on the goalposts were introduced. These first football rules in Spanish showed the last changes applied to match regulations. A good example can be the presence of the penalty area and half-way line that had been introduced in 1902 by the English Rules. As can be seen in the figure of the football pitch (Fig. 3), these elements also appeared on the Spanish rules. Hence, new terms were introduced and used frequently.

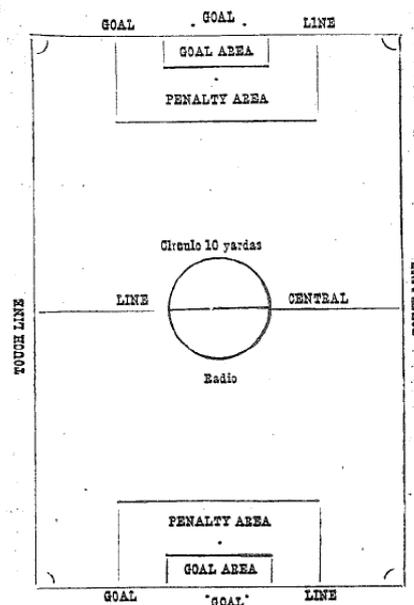


Figure 3

Antonio Viada's *Manual del Sport* (1903), as said, is the first complete modern text that contributed extensively with sports practiced in Spain. Torrebadella & Olivera (2012) has considered this manual one of the most important one-hundred publications of the sports history in Spain. This text deals with numerous historical, technical, and rule-oriented elements related with sports, some of which were almost unknown in Spain. This was a simple but complete encyclopaedia of sports, being the first one published in Spain. Viada introduced the term *sport* to explain the elements that structured sports practice: match fields, materials, tests, players and other related people, and regulations. Likewise, he proposed a "scientific" classification from his "common sense" comprehension of the similarities he observed in the objectives and/or the equipment used: weapon sports, whose equipment is mainly a weapon; *ball* sports (*bolas o pelotas*, in Spanish), whose purpose is the use of a ball; athletic sports, whose

purpose is the practice of gymnastics or athletics. This, then, is considered the first systematic classification of sports in Spanish.

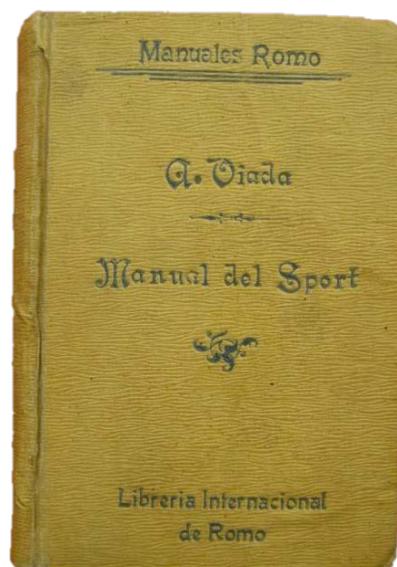


Fig. 4. *Manual del Sport* (1903)

Manual del Sport (Fig. 4) was also the first Spanish publication that offered examples and imitated the English style for sports practice. Then, it should be considered an important contribution for sports knowledge in Spain, since sports were practiced by few groups of people. There were some sports that took many years for their practice, such as basket-ball, foot-ball rugby, and skating-hockey. Until 1920s, *Manual del Sport* was the only reference for modern sports published in Spanish for Spanish people. It was the first text ideologically linked with regenerationism (Torrebadella, 2014). As explained by Nomdedeu & Torrebadella (2018), this was the first technical text of Spanish sports that included a whole chapter on *football*, from which thirty-nine (39) terms were documented.

5. The first football Anglicisms in Spanish (1868–1902)

There are fifty-five (55) lexical borrowings documented between 1868 and 1903 in study corpus from *DHTF*:

<i>área de la (meta) goal</i>	<i>foot-ball association</i>	<i>kick-off</i>
<i>área de penalty</i>	<i>Foot-ball Association Cup</i>	<i>línea de goal</i>
<i>association ('fútbol')</i>	<i>football rugby</i>	<i>linesman</i>
<i>Back</i>	<i>foot-vall</i>	<i>marcar goal</i>
<i>Behind</i>	<i>forward</i>	<i>match</i>
<i>Calcio</i>	<i>fothal</i>	<i>offside</i>
<i>centre half</i>	<i>free-kick</i>	<i>Penalty</i>

<i>challenge</i>	<i>fut-bol</i>	<i>penalty kick</i>
<i>Copa Manier</i>	<i>goal</i> ('portería')	<i>poste-goal</i>
<i>Copa Sheriff Dewar</i>	<i>goal</i> ('tanto')	<i>primer kick</i>
<i>Corner</i>	<i>goal kick</i>	<i>referee</i>
<i>corner-flag-kick</i>	<i>goal line</i>	<i>shooter</i>
<i>corner-kick</i>	<i>goal-keeper</i>	<i>shuot</i>
<i>cronometeur</i>	<i>growl</i> ('partido')	<i>team</i>
<i>dribbling</i>	<i>hacer goal</i>	<i>terreno de association</i>
<i>entrar goal</i>	<i>half-back</i>	<i>time keeper</i>
<i>football</i>	<i>hands</i>	<i>touch</i>
<i>foot-ball</i> ('balón')	<i>kick</i> ('puntapié al balón')	<i>touch line</i>
<i>foot-ballista</i>		

Table 1. The first football Anglicisms (1868–1903)

From the terms ordered alphabetically in Table 1, fifty-three (53) are Anglicisms, one term is a galicism (*cronometeur*), and one term is an italianism (*calcio*). All cells in green show non-Spanish-adapted Anglicisms (=37 terms, such as *back*); all cells in blue show compound terms (=11, such as *terreno de association*), and all cells in yellow show hybrid terms, representative of “spanglish” variation (=5, such as *foot-ballista*).²²

Regarding diachronic documentation of these 55 lexical borrowings, Fig. 5 shows that the first loans observed were introduced in Spanish very slowly between 1868 and 1901, but it was not until 1902–1903 when an increase is observed mainly due to their use in different publications.

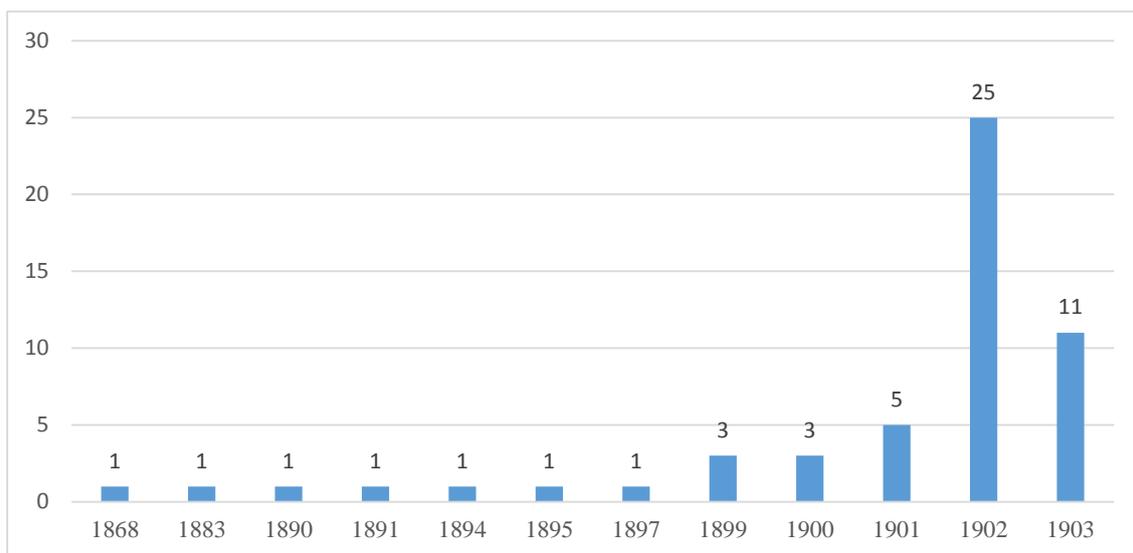


Figure 5. Number of Linguistic Borrowings

Given the English origin of football, it could be expected that most football terms introduced during the last quarter of the 19th century were taken from English.

There have also been other “sports” from which English loans have been taken to Spanish, such as horseriding, during the first half of the 19th century (Vázquez 2014). However, it was not until 1902 that their documentation increased substantially.

As said above, journalistic texts (general and sports-oriented) were mostly used to detect and extract football borrowings (Fig. 6).

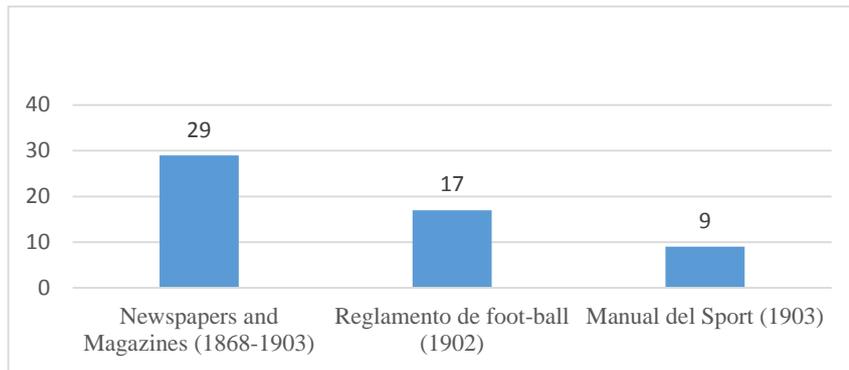


Figure 6. Documentation Sources of the First Football Anglicisms (1868–1903)

However, the *Reglamento de foot-ball*, published in Spain and promoted by the Asociación Clubs Foot-ball de Barcelona (1902), together with the *Manual del Sport*, by Antonio Viada (1903), were the first non-journalistic texts that registered the first football borrowings in Spanish language.

The texts from which 55 borrowings were detected and extracted include three authors who introduced the majority football borrowings in Spanish, as shown in Fig. 7.

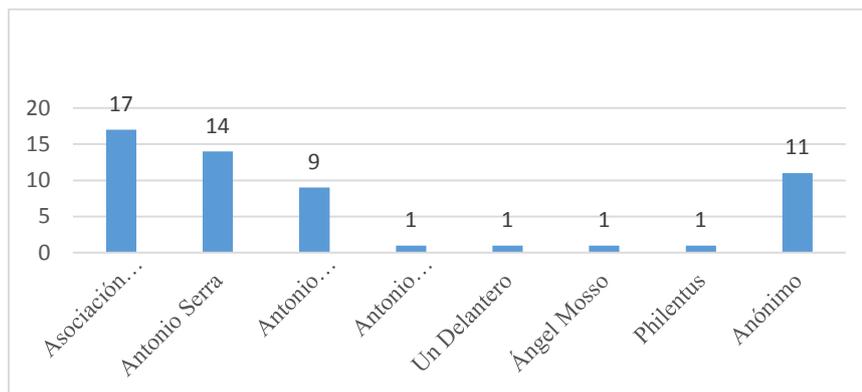


Figure 7. Authors

Alberto Serra, Antonio Viada and the *Asociación de Clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona* were fundamental in the introduction of football borrowings into Spanish. From the 55 borrowings documented as the first terms used between 1868 and 1903, only 40 were introduced by these authors between 1902 and 1903.

Alberto Serra was a sport journalist at *La Vanguardia* for 18 years and was the author of most sport news there published during the first years of the 20th century. He also introduced the football chronicles in *Los Deportes*, and was the author of the football chronicles from F.C. Barcelona. He has been considered the first great sport journalist of Barcelona, and was substituted by Narciso Masferrer after his death in 1912. His articles documented within this period show fourteen Anglicisms: *centre half*, *fofbal*, *free-kick*, *fut-bol*, *goal* (‘portería’), *goal-keeper*, *growl* (‘partido’), *hacer goal*, *línea de goal*, *offside*, *penalty*, *penalty kick*, *shooter*, and *shuot*.

The *Reglamento de foot-ball* (1902) from the Asociación de Clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona registers sixty-seven (67) football terms for the first time in Spanish²³ (Table 2):

<i>área de la (meta) goal</i>	<i>goal</i> ¹ (<i>meta</i>)	<i>off-side (falso avance)</i>
<i>área de penalty (área de castigo)</i>	<i>goal</i> ² (<i>tanto</i>)	<i>partido (match)</i>
<i>back (defensor)</i>	<i>goal kick (saque de meta)</i>	<i>Pelota</i>
<i>bando (team)</i>	<i>goal line</i>	<i>penalty (saque del castigo)</i>
<i>Campo</i>	<i>goal-keeper (guarda meta)</i>	<i>penalty-kick (saque de castigo)</i>
<i>campo de juego</i>	<i>guarda meta (goal-keeper)</i>	<i>Poste</i>
<i>Carga</i>	<i>half-back (medio)</i>	<i>poste-goal</i>
<i>centro del campo</i>	<i>half-time (descanso)</i>	<i>primer kick (primer saque)</i>
<i>corner (esquina)</i>	<i>hands (manos)</i>	<i>primer saque (primer kick)</i>
<i>corner-flag-kick (saque de ángulo)</i>	<i>juez árbitro (referee)</i>	<i>puerta (goal¹)</i>
<i>corner-kick (saque de ángulo)</i>	<i>juez de línea (lineman)</i>	<i>referee (juez árbitro)</i>
<i>cronometeur (time Keeper)</i>	<i>Jugador</i>	<i>Saque</i>
<i>defensor (back)</i>	<i>kick-off (primer saque)</i>	<i>saque de ángulo (corner-kick)</i>
<i>delantero (forward)</i>	<i>línea de meta (goal line)</i>	<i>saque de castigo (penalty-kick)</i>
<i>descanso (half-time)</i>	<i>línea lateral (touch line)</i>	<i>saque de meta (goal kick)</i>
<i>entrar goal</i>	<i>lineman (juez de línea)</i>	<i>saque del castigo (penalty)</i>
<i>esquina (corner)</i>	<i>manos (hands)</i>	<i>saque libre (free-kick)</i>
<i>falso avance (off-side)</i>	<i>marcar tanto</i>	<i>Sustitución</i>
<i>foot-ball</i>	<i>marco (goal)</i>	<i>Tanto</i>
<i>forward (delantero)</i>	<i>match (partido)</i>	<i>team (bando)</i>
<i>free-kick (saque libre)</i>	<i>medio (half-back)</i>	<i>time keeper (cronometeur)</i>
<i>fuera de juego (off-side)</i>	<i>meta (goal)</i>	<i>Touch</i>
		<i>touch line (línea lateral)</i>

Table 2. Football terms registered for the first time in Spanish, in the *Reglamento de foot-ball* (1902)

From these sixty-seven (67) terms, there are thirty (30) borrowings (44,8%); twenty-nine (29) terms are Anglicisms -*área de penalty, back, corner, corner-flag-kick, corner-kick, entrar goal, foot-ball, forward, free-kick, goal¹, goal², goal kick, goal line, goal-keeper, half-back, half-time, hands, kick-off, lineman, match, off-side, penalty, penalty-kick, poste-goal, primer kick, referee, team, time keeper, touch, and touch line* - and one galicism - *cronometeur*. From the twenty-nine (29) Anglicisms, there are five terms composed by a Spanish word and by an English word - *área de la (meta) goal, área de penalty, entrar goal, poste goal, and primer kick*. The other thirty-seven (37) terms (55,2%) are terms created in Spanish, most of which (=27), calques or Spanish translations from English. This last element highlights the importance synonymy and equivalence have for both languages in contact, with respect of football terms used by the time, such as *descanso (half-time)*.²⁴ Moreover, there were terms used as synonyms, like *corner-flag-kick* and *corner-kick*. From the thirty (30) borrowings used by this *Reglamento*, there are seventeen (17) introduced for the first time in Spanish: *área de la (meta) goal, área de penalty, back, corner, corner-flag-kick, corner-kick, cronometeur, entrar goal, goal kick, goal line, hands, kick-off, poste-goal, primer kick, time keeper, touch, touch line*.

As said above, Antonio Viada devoted a whole thirty-four-page chapter (pp. 481–515) to football in his *Manual del Sport* (1903). Sixty-nine (69) football terms were used. From them, thirty-nine (39) were terms introduced for the first time in Spanish (Table 3) (see Nomdedeu and Torredadella 2018):

association ('fútbol')	<i>atacar</i> ('entrar, acometer')
bolea	campo de meta
carga	Challenge
círculo de saque	Copa de la Liga Inglesa
Copa Manier	Copa Sheriff Dewar
dribbling	foot-ball association
Foot-ball Association Cup	<i>fuera de juego</i> ('balón fuera del terreno de juego')
<i>golpe aplicado</i> ('tiro directo')	golpe de rebote
golpe franco	guarda de meta
guardián	guardián de meta
<i>juez de pasa</i> ('juez de línea')	<i>kick</i> ('puntapié al balón')
<i>línea de pasa</i> ('línea lateral')	línea divisoria de los dos campos
madero travesaño	<i>meta</i> ('gol')
obstrucción	Pasa
pasar	Pase
puntapié	puntapié de meta
puntapié de rincón	Resto
<i>rincón</i> ('córner')	Sacador
<i>salida</i> ('saque inicial')	terreno de association
travesaño de meta	

Table 3. Thirty-nine terms introduced for the first time in Spanish, in the *Manual del Sport* (1903)

From these thirty-nine (39) terms, nine terms were borrowings representing the first lexical documentation in Spanish: *association* (*'fútbol'*), *Copa Manier*, *dribbling*, *Foot-ball Association Cup*, *challenge*, *Copa Sheriff Dewar*, *foot-ball association*, *kick* (*'puntapié al balón'*), and *terreno de association*.

Therefore, many Anglicisms and neologisms were used in the pages of press media written in Spanish, especially of newspapers. In consequence, a linguistic discussion started by Antonio Viada in 1902 (shown in a series of articles published between February and December, 1902: 1902a–1902i) and kept until Federico Caro (1919) was about to adopt or not into Spanish those Anglicisms found in sport areas. Participants of this polemic discussion were Un Delantero (January 19, 1902), Antonio Viada (1902a–1902i), Mariano de Cavia (1908a, 1908b), Carlos Miranda (1908), an anonymous article (1908), Luis Zozaya (1908), Narciso Masferrer (1911 and 1912), Francisco Bru (1918), Moreu (1919), and Federico Caro (1919) (See Nomdedeu 2019 in press). A campaign about Spanish adaptation of Anglicisms was started, as shown in Nomdedeu (2019, in press). Only in 1902, twelve articles about the terminology of football and sports were published, particularly two articles signed by Narciso Masferrer (January 12 and March 2, 1902), one article signed by Un Delantero (January 19, 1902), and nine articles published by Antonio Viada, between February and December, 1902 (1902a–1902i).

In the article named “Crónica de la Semana”, published in *Los Deportes* on January 12, 1902, Masferrer adopted a clear position in defense of hispanizing lexical borrowings, though his article did not make an approach to sports vocabulary as Viada’s articles (1902a–1902i):

Mi excelente amigo, el ilustrado *Cartero* de *La Vanguardia*, me ha dirigido atenta misiva en súplica de que influya cerca de mis compañeros para que vertamos al castellano ese fárrago de *palabrotas* (¡qué dirán los lores luego de nosotros!) que tanto se usan al hablar de cuestiones de *sport*, y el *Cartero* tiene requetemuchísima razón; desde que fundamos y bautizamos estos DEPORTES fué ese nuestro mayor afán, el traducir al castellano todo lo que olera á *sportivo*, dejándonos de *match*, *teams* y una baraunda de palabras que ni Dios entiende y que con tanta sal y pimienta comentó un cronista de *La Esquella*, quien afirmaba que el lector que se tragaba una crónica deportiva mixta de inglés y castellano, acaba por no entender de la crónica la mitad.

(...)

Está muy en lo cierto el simpático *Cartero*; al escribir en castellano precisa escribir en nuestra lengua patria, amoldar aquellas palabras que los más no entienden en nuestro idioma, para que las comprendan todas, muy principalmente los no iniciados en nuestras prácticas, y llamar al pan, pan y al *sport*, *deporte*; al *team*, bando; al *match*, desafío y al *goal*, tanto, *et sic de caeteris*. (Masferrer, 1902: 19–20)

The article signed by Un Delantero, entitled “Foot-ball. La cuestión del día”, and published in *Los Deportes*, Number 3, on January 19, 1902, shows some aspects related with the translation of terms. Those aspects were placed on the center of the terminological debate in the first years of the 20th century: “Mi parecer es contrario á una traducción más ó menos fiel de todos los términos, pero sí favorable á la de algunos

de ellos” (Un Delantero, 1902: 38). This opinion would be in the same line of terminologists from the last century, who stated that the main feature of a term is its universal character. Following Un Delantero’s words, he defended the use of a universal language in both areas and, therefore, was against terminological variation of one single concept:

Mi opinión contraria á un cambio total de nombres, no sólo en este deporte sí que también en los demás, es debida á entender sería de gran utilidad existiera un lenguaje universal, no sólo para las relaciones mercantiles y comerciales, sí que también para las sociales y deportivas (ibíd.).

This article included football terms from English, such as *corner kick*, *goal*, *free kick*, *kick-off*, *kick*, *off-side*, *goal kick*, *behind*, and *penalty*. According to Un Delantero:

los que desean dedicarse ú ocuparse del foot-ball deben adoptar los primitivos nombres, universalmente usados, siendo mi parecer serán de difícil traducción, y mejor seria [sic] dejarlas como están las palabras *Corner kick = goal = free kick = kick-off = kick = off-side = goal kick = behind = penalty, etc.*, no sólo por ser la razón antedicha, sí que también por expresar el significado con gran concisión, debiendo tener presente también, que dichas palabras han tenido buena aceptación. (ibíd.: 38–39)

The other terms were referred by Un Delantero as those that:

podrán muy bien traducirse al español, pues son muchos los que saben que en Francia se designa el lugar de los jugadores por: *goal = arrières; demis, avants*; pudiéndose asimismo traducir: *match = team = linesman = referee = goals lines = touch lines = time keeper = hands = half-time, etc.* (ibíd.: 39)

This personal consideration about the translation of terms was different from the opinion further authors would have when writing about football area. Likewise, Un Delantero made a call to those who would want to translate football words from English to Spanish, and urged them to

se pongan de acuerdo cuanto antes para adoptar uno definitivo, pues queriendo todos traducirlos á su antojo, cada uno saca á relucir un nombre nuevo y con ello va á armarse mayor confusión que antes, pues si hay muchos que se quejan de no entender la palabra *goal keeper*, más engorroso será saber si significan diferentes cosas: *guarda meta*, *portero*, *guardián*, *custodiante*, si unos usan una palabra de éstas y otros las demás. (ibíd.)

Since then, most authors would translate the lexical borrowings into Spanish.

Antonio Viada, who collaborated with *Los Deportes* newspaper from 1897 to 1910, published nine articles about the problem of adapting or not foreign sports terms. One of the articles was addressed to Narciso Masferrer and was entitled “¿En qué quedamos?” (Viada, 1902a). The other eight articles were named “Sobre el vocabulario

deportivo” (Viada, 1902b-1902i), and dealt with hispanizing sports Anglicisms. These nine articles together with the previous articles by Masferrer (1902a, 1902b) and by Un Delantero (1902) were published in *Los Deportes* newspaper. All these texts were about linguistic insights on terminological borrowings in sports. As stated by Viada in his seventh article, “no son ni pueden ser mis propósitos pasar revista á todas las voces deportivas extranjeras, sino sólo á las que se introducen ó se trata de introducir en España” (Viada, 1902g: 507). In his first article (1902a), published on February 10, 1902, and entitled “¿En qué quedamos?”, Viada addressed to Narciso Masferrer²⁵, and set up his position about untranslatable neologisms by arguing that their presence in Spanish would enrich the language:

Porque es el caso que existen vocablos ¡hay que reconocerlo! que no tienen traducción castellana. Representan objetos nuevos y se traen, como es natural, nombres nuevos; nombres que hay que aceptar con librea exótica, mientras el uso no los vista con traje de la tierra, ó sea con asinencia ó desinencia castellana. Si los idiomas se cerraran en absoluto á la banda en esto de no admitir nombres nuevos, se quedarían pobres y estacionarios y no corresponderían á los progresos de las ideas. (Viada, 1902a: 101)

Regarding *foot-ball* anglicism, Viada wrote some months later that “una voz tan en boga como lo es el foot-ball, que casi sería preferible españolizarla escribiendo futbol, y aún mejor fudbol como se pronuncia. Tienen la palabra los futbolistas o fudbolistas” (Viada, 1902c: 179–180). In this sense, the journalist José Elías Juncosa (1880–1944), alias “Corredissas”, who was in charge of sports department at *La Veu de Catalunya*, used *futbol* in 1902, both in Spanish and Catalan (Corredissas 1902), and spread it from his position as a journalist, writer, and editor (Torrebadella & Planas, 2011: 24), a conduct that was flattered by Viada (1902g: 508): “el amigo Corredisses ha emprendido también la tarea de españolizar los exóticos deportivos, vistiéndolos en catalán, que no deja de ser una lengua española, y, según Menéndez y Pelayo, más antigua que la castellana.”

In his first article, Viada (1902a) asked Masferrer to follow the behavior of the editor in chief of *Le Vélo*, Paul Rousseau, who used to require his journalists to avoid using Anglicisms such as *veloceman* or *cycleman*. In offering Masferrer examples, Viada told him that when he was in charge of *El Ciclista* magazine, he asked to replace the term *entraînement* by *entrenamiento*: “Hoy [en 1902] “entrenamiento” es de uso corriente.” Likewise, he said that while working on the 1899 edition of the Spanish Language Dictionary from the Royal Spanish Academy (*DRAE*, in Spanish), Víctor Balaguer²⁶ asked him “una lista de voces de *sport* españolas ó españolizadas por el uso ó que á mi juicio fuesen españolizables” (Viada, 1902a: 101–102). Then, Viada forgot Balaguer’s petition; in consequence, the word *entrenamiento* was still not included in 1914 edition of *DRAE*:

Con un poco menos de negligencia por mi parte, de la cual me acuso contritamente, hoy tendríamos en el diccionario: entrenamiento, entrenador, entrenar, deporte (en el sentido de sport, único que hoy tiene), deportivo, deportivamente, handicap, (por *handicap*), mache

(por *match*), embalaje (en el sentido de *emballage*), embalar, espor y esportman (por *sport* y *sportman*,) y otras voces, hasta una cuarentena, que ahora no recuerdo, escritas tal como se pronuncian y están en uso. (Viada, 1902a: 102)

Viada invited Masferrer to offer, in advance, the use of these and other related terms so that they could be included in the 1914 edition of *DRAE*: “pues mi consabida listita fué [sic] entregada posteriormente al secretario Sr. Tamayo²⁷ (Viada, 1902a: 102). Another argument used by Viada to defend his position for hispanizing the Anglicisms was the following:

que las tales voces exóticas que tanto se usan y de que se hace gala en estas columnas, están escritas con frecuencia rematada mente mal y algunas veces mal apropiadas.

El lector recordará haber leído algunas veces *sportmant*, *sportmans*, *recordmans*, *entrenement*, *chauffeur*, *cronometreur*, *embalage*, *canoé* y otras, en vez de *sportman*, *sportmen*, *recordmen*, *entraînement*, *chauffeur*, *chronométrreur*, *emballage*, *canoe* (que los franceses escriben *canoé* por razón de sus reglas de acentuación). (Viada, 1902a: 102)

Finally, Viada told Masferrer that in a further article he would point out those words that could be adapted to Spanish as well as those words that could not accept any kind of adaptation.

Masferrer published the article entitled “Observatorio deportivo” in *Los Deportes*, on March 2, 1902, two months later than Viada’s first article. There, Masferrer did not deal with sports terms, though he used the term foot-ball and concluded the article with the same statement of a previous article dated January 12, 1902:

Desde lo más alto de mi observatorio elevo mi potente voz, y ordeno y mando abolir para siempre jamás amén todo lo que trascienda á *inglis* ó á *franchute* y ¡Viva España! Y de ahora en adelante atengámonos, queridos compañeros y estimados colaboradores, á lo dicho: al pan pan, al *sport* deporte, al *team* bando, al *match* partido, al *goal* tanto, *et sic de caeteris*. (Masferrer, 1902b: 117)

The other eight articles written by Viada showed aspects related with the translation of 192 terms related to sports. Thus, one article, one sport and its terms. In 1902b, the article was devoted to general terms; 1902c was about names of sports; 1902d dealt with horseriding; 1902e was about motor racing; 1902f was devoted to cycling; 1902g was for football and rugby; 1902h was about ball-related sports; and 1902i, about paddle and sailing. For the 192 foreign sports terms, Viada proposed 217 equivalents. This means that he proposed more than one equivalent for a foreign term - examples of this are found in *concurso* or *chaleje* as equivalents of *challenges*; *polo-patín*, *patín-polo* or *polo en patines* as equivalents of *skating polo*-. He also proposed one equivalent for two or more borrowings. Examples of this are found in *esquife* as an equivalent of *skiff* and *scull*, or *saque* having the same meaning in different sports like *bowl* (cricket), *honor* (golf), *pitch* (baseball), *bully* (hockey), *service* (tennis).

6. Conclusions

Considering the English origin of football, it was expected that most terms used in Spanish during the last quarter of the 19th century were Anglicisms. This was common by the time when other sports activities, such as horseriding, had been incorporating Anglicisms as early as the first half of the 19th century. However, this did not happen as expected. Between 1868 and 1890 the first news and chronicles on football matches were published in newspapers, though their frequency was rare.

In the 1890s news on football changed their anecdotic tone in general-interest newspapers for a more systematic treatment in specialized periodicals. During this period of time, terms documented are mostly created in Spanish, but between 1899 and 1902, Anglicisms started to be introduced into Spanish especially by *La Vanguardia*, a newspaper, where fourteen (14) English loanwords related to football were used for the first time, thanks to Alberto Serra. This initial impulse given by this newspaper in Barcelona towards the incorporation of new terms was later endorsed and increased by the *Reglamento de foot-ball* (1902), adopted by the Asociación Clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona. This document is a turning point in relation to the incorporation of football English terms into Spanish. In particular, thirty (30) from sixty-seven (67) terms there registered are foreign borrowings (44.8%). From them, seventeen (17) terms were used for the first time in Spanish. The *Manual del Sport*, by Antonio Viada (1903), followed the same line of including football terms already established by *La Vanguardia* and by the *Reglamento de foot-ball* (1902). This manual contributed with nine (9) new English borrowings. This was so evident by the time, that a discussion on linguistic aspects began in 1902 in different journalistic texts. This discussion was started by Antonio Viada through a series of articles under his signature between February and December 1902: 1902a–1902i, and was finished by Federico Caro (1919), who questioned about adapting or not English terms into Spanish. The authors that participated in this important discussion were Un Delantero (January 19, 1902), Antonio Viada (1902a–1902i), Mariano de Cavia (1908a and 1908b), Carlos Miranda (1908), an anonymous article (1908), Luis Zozaya (1908), Narciso Masferrer (1911 and 1912), Francisco Bru (1918), Moreu (1919), and Federico Caro (1919) (see Nomdedeu, 2019, in press). As a consequence, a campaign to hispanize English sports terms was developed.

This study is considered pioneering because it sheds light on how and when the first football Anglicisms were introduced in Spanish documents between 1868 and 1903. Particularly, fifty-three (53) football Anglicisms were documented within these years. The documents included in the study corpus -newspapers, a football rule, and a technical manual- are fundamental to explain and know more about football language in Spanish; in other words, a segment in the history of Spanish language.

Notes

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1. Some incomplete sample articles may be consulted at <http://www.dhtf.es>.

2. Puyal (1972), Gutiérrez Gutiérrez (1991), Castañón (1991, 2005), Loureda (1997), Vivas (1998), Palacios (1999), Nomdedeu (2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009b), Nomdedeu & Márquez (2001), Alba (2010, 2011), Aleixandre et al. (2007), Gómez Torrego (2003, 2010a, 2010b), Gómez Torrego & Mapelli (2010), Saiz Noeda (2010), Pascual (2012), Ricco & Nomdedeu (2012), Pérez (2013), Torredadella & Nomdedeu (2013 y 2014a).

3. Polo (1996), Silveira (1996), Koch (1998), Peltzer (2007), Teruel (2007), Nomdedeu (2009a), Tolares (2009).

4. Karag (1958), Agulló (2003), Real (2003), Castañón (2004), Loza & Castañón (2010), Pascual (2012).

5. See Nomdedeu & Torredadella (2016).

6. For more information, see Torredadella & Olivera (2013), where more than twenty-five publications on this topic have been compiled.

7. The Football Club Association of Barcelona was created in 1902. This showed the rapid growth football was having in Barcelona (Torredadella, 2012). Indeed, it was the first association known throughout Spain, as published in Number 44 Los Deportes magazine, dated November 9, 1902 (p. 683). It was created on November 12, 1902 under the name of Asociación Clubs Foot-ball (“Asociación Clubs Foot-ball”, 1902: 683) without any reference to the name, as a result of the enlargement of the Catalan Federation created on November 11, 1900, under the name of Foot-ball Asociación. However, by the end of 1902, some meetings were held in Madrid in order to create a Spanish Federation of Football Clubs – football in Madrid was practiced by high class members, mainly-. Finally, the Asociación Madrileña de Foot-ball was founded and presided by Carlos Padrós, one of the most important football leaders – also, a sports journalist and a football referee- who, together with his brother, Juan Padrós, founded the Real Madrid Club de Fútbol, and presided the club for about five years, among other activities.

8. Apart from Catalonia, this sport was mainly practiced in Madrid as well as in northern port cities like Bilbao, Vigo, La Coruña, and Gijón, as well as Oviedo (Soto, 1930), and in the southern regions and towns such as Jerez de la Frontera, Huelva or Seville (Castro, 2012).

9. See Torredadella & Nomdedeu (2014) for detailed explanation of the texts included in this period. See Torredadella & Olivera (2014) for more detailed explanation of sports news in Spain within the Regenerationist period.

10. Writer of “Notas de sport”rom Ilustración Española y Americana” (Torredadella & Olivera, 2012).

11. *Manual del sport* was the only publication published in Spain until the 20s of 20th century.

12. Examples are found in Nomdedeu (2014, 2015, 2019 in press), Nomdedeu & Torredadella (2016, 2018), and Torredadella & Nomdedeu (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016).

13. We found information of first news and chronicle of the first football matches in cities like Jerez (*El Progreso*, 1870), Huelva (*La Provincia*, 1890), Sevilla (*El Porvenir*, 1890), Barcelona (*La Dinastía*, 1892), Tenerife (*Diario de las Palmas*, 1894), Bilbao (*Noticiero Bilbaíno*, 1894, and *El Pelotari*, 1894), La Coruña (*Anunciador*, 1894), Vigo (*El Pelotari*, 1895), or Madrid (*La Correspondencia de España*, 1898).

14. Franco (2010) says erroneously that this first reference to football was published by *El Progreso. Periódico político de Jerez* (November 1, 1870).

15. As remarked by Torredadella (2012: 82), the foundation date of the Huelva Recreation Club as shown in other studies until recent years (1878), is, by far, inexact. Bálmont (2007) has pointed out that 1878 is the year when Club Inglés de Rio Tinto was founded. Officially, “el

Huelva Recreation Club quedó constituido en 1889, a iniciativa de la colonia inglesa, pero todavía se trataba de una asociación recreativa, en la que se practicaban diferentes sports como pelota, cricket, lawntennis, regatas, ciclismo o foot-ball. Sin embargo, sí que puede admitirse que probablemente fuese la primera asociación española que practicó oficial y públicamente el fútbol en España” (Torrebadella, 2012: 82).

16. During these years, football was present everywhere an English community was and with the number of young players necessary to play football. The controversy of when the first football match occurred in Spain is still open. Mouriño (2003) and Domínguez (2009) have referred to 1873 as the year when the *Eco Republicano de Compostela* – June 26 and December 10 – published a news about the ball-pushed-by-feet-match played by English sailors at the Port of Vilagarcía de Arousa. However, a documentary study about football in Spain has shown this information is untrue (Moreno, 2007).

17. It should be noticed that it is not completely clear which was the first football match in Spain. Recent news say that a brief chronicle about a match played in Bilbao in 1899 (the reference is shown at <http://olimpismo2007.blogspot.com.es/2013/02/primera-cronica-periodistica-de-un.html>, though it has not been possible to access the news directly), and published in the English newspaper *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette* on July 4, 1889, could lead to revise the information about the “first football match played in Spain” related to Sevilla-Recreativo match, played on March 12, 1890. Torrebadella, Olivera & Bou (2017) state that “Matters such as who brought the first football to Spain, who played the first match and where, or which was the first association to play it, whether in a casual or an organized manner, remain to be ascertained. There is probably no record of the first spontaneous match played in Spain, but the first press news can likely shed some light.” Then, it is not easy to find the first document showing the echoes from football.

18. Simón Sanjurjo (2012: 30) indicates 1895 as the first publication of “Crónica de sport”, and 1899 as the first publication of “Notas de sport”. We have found, however, that the first “Crónica de sport” was indeed on October 31, 1894, while the first “Notas de sport” appeared on July 28, 1898.

19. With the exception of *La Provincia* (Huelva), in which we found the first two chronicles written in Spanish. However, no more football-related news have been found in this newspaper in the subsequent months.

20. For more details about *Los Deportes*, see Cervelló (2011).

21. This newspaper began its decadence mainly because of the creation of *El Mundo Deportivo*, in 1906, a sports newspaper that occupied the place that *Los Deportes* had been left. It followed the same pattern of European periodicals, like *Gazzetta dello Sport* (1897), in Italy, or *L'Auto* (1900), an antecedent of *L'Equipe* (1945), in France. It was also a leader in communication and organization of sports events in those years (Berasategui, 2000: 159).

22. Classifications of Anglicisms proposed by Pratt (1980) or Gutiérrez (1998) were not considered because they are out of the scope of this study.

23. Terms in parentheses were also included in the rules analyzed, and are shown in the same order of Table 1.

24. In section 3, more details are given about the need for explaining and translating football borrowings within this period of time.

25. Narciso Masferrer did many activities. Among others, he participated in the foundation of FC Barcelona, where he was also its vice-president; likewise, he was the president of the Catalan Federation of Football; he was a member of both the Catalan and Spanish Olympic Committes, and the founder of *El Mundo Deportivo* and *Los Deportes* newspapers.

26. Víctor Balaguer (1824–1901) was a numerary member of the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE, in Spanish). He took his position on February 25, 1883, under chair b.

27. Viada referred to Manuel Tamayo y Baus (1829–1898), a numerary member of RAE, who took his position on June 12, 1859 under the chair O. He was elected as a life secretary from the Academy on December 3, 1874, until his death, in 1898.

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Epistemic Stance Markers in German and English as a Lingua Franca Media Sports Interviews*

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates a particular type of media interview to explore the use of epistemic stance markers in professional media sports contexts. The study focuses on interviews with male professional football players usually taken straight or very shortly after the match (*post-match interviews* or *PMIs*). Two data sets were investigated using a simple quantitative and an ethnographic conversation analytic approach: 57 interviews conducted with German professional football players in German, and 27 interviews conducted with professional football players of various nationalities and first languages, including German, in English as a lingua franca (ELF). The aim of this study is to find out how the use of epistemic stance markers such as *I think* in English and the German equivalents *ich denke/ ich glaube* contributes to the foregrounding of the player's perspective and thus the maintenance and negotiation of an epistemic gradient, which is essential for a smooth and unproblematic progression of the interview.

Keywords: post-match interview, conversation analysis, stance markers, epistemics, media ritual

1. Introduction

This study investigates a particular type of media interview to explore the use of epistemic stance markers in professional media sports contexts. The study focuses on



interviews with male professional football players usually taken straight or very shortly after the match (*post-match interviews* or *PMIs*). For the purposes of this article, two data sets were investigated using a simple quantitative and a qualitative ethnographic conversation analytic approach (*ethnographische Gesprächsanalyse*, Deppermann, 2008): one dataset contains 57 interviews conducted with German professional football players in German, the other dataset contains 27 interviews conducted with professional football players of various nationalities and first languages in English as a lingua franca. The aim of this study is to investigate how the use of epistemic stance markers such as *I think* in English and the German equivalents *ich denke/ ich glaube* contributes to the foregrounding of the player's perspective and thus, the maintenance and negotiation of an epistemic gradient, which is essential for a smooth and unproblematic progression of the interview.

The PMI is an established element in the television broadcast of a football match and can be viewed as being part of a genre chain (Chovanec, 2018: 30) that creates a narrative extending beyond the actual match both temporally (by including reports on past and future events) as well as spatially (by reporting from different locations such as the stadium, the studio and the wider urban environment, Wilton, 2017), using a variety of documental and fictional as well as scripted and unscripted genres (Adelmann & Stauff, 2003: 110).

The PMI has a number of typical characteristics that mark it as a distinctive media genre: the interviews take place right after the match and are comparatively short – on German television, they usually consist of three question-answer pairs. While the questioning turns are usually kept very short, the player's replies are more extensive and elaborated. This self-presentation becomes ritualised in the interview through the rigid structure, the frequent use of repetitive and often formulaic language and the overall aim to conduct a harmonious and essentially cooperative exchange (Wilton, 2019; see also Caldwell, 2009 and File, 2012). Thus, the PMI is not the place to discuss and evaluate the match in all its details or to hold the player accountable for his actions, but to turn the player's individual experience into a collective emotional experience which is shared by the audience (Montgomery, 2010; Wilton, 2019). This observation already points to the underlying epistemic relationship that the PMI has to establish and maintain in order to progress smoothly: the player's perspective is the dominant one, and it is the task of the interviewer to establish that dominance in the questioning turns. At the same time, however, he or she has to present him/herself as an expert in the field of football. The player's task is to mark his perspective explicitly and to counteract any implicit or explicit violations of his epistemic authority. The use of stance markers, therefore, plays a vital role in this interactional accomplishment.

These observations hold true also across linguistic and cultural boundaries – football is a global sport being played and broadcast locally, regionally and nationally all over the world. Professional football is now highly international, with a volatile transfer market of players migrating temporally to another country, often several times during their careers. Internationality is also created by highly popular tournaments such as the World Cup or the Champions League, and national competitions of

internationally renowned leagues such as the German Bundesliga or the English Premier League. Such events are broadcast around the world, often addressing an international audience in English as a lingua franca (ELF). Players participating in such tournaments are frequently required to be available for PMIs, for which ELF is then the language of choice. In such ELF situations, Seidlhofer (2011: 18) states, “it is usually taken for granted that speakers will have a command of English that varies along a continuum from minimal to expert, but that they regard themselves as capable of accomplishing the task at hand” and “that they can meet the requirements of participation in a particular speech event”. Previous research on the datasets discussed in this article has shown that players (and interviewers) are able to fulfil these expectations even with a limited command of English. The ritualised structure and the repetitive use of locally produced and conventionalised lexical material typical of the PMI allows players to fill their slot and participate satisfactorily in the exchange (Wilton, under review).

Section 2 introduces the main characteristics of the PMI. Section 3, a quantitative and qualitative investigation of the data reveals distinct patterns of distribution and interactional function for epistemic stance markers in the German and ELF versions of such interviews. Section 4 summarises and evaluates the results before giving some suggestions for further research.

2. The post-match interview as a media ritual

In characterising the PMI as a media ritual, its typical – and often criticised or ridiculed – features can be regarded as constituting a recurrent event that has a media social function rather than a purely informative or democratic function, i.e. to hold public decision makers accountable for their actions. Previous investigations into its structural and interactional characteristics have revealed the following features:

(1) The interviews show a distinctive pattern of repetitions and uptakes (Wilton 2019) that connect the player’s replies to the previous journalist’s turn. By explicitly repeating lexical material from the journalist’s turn in their own contribution, players connect to the questioning turn on the surface of the interaction, relating their contribution to the previous turn and thus designing it as a relevant contribution. The pattern reveals that repetitions overwhelmingly connect player’s answers either with the previous journalist’s turn or their own previous turn(s). Journalist’s turns hardly ever display repetitions or uptakes of lexical material used in a preceding contribution by the player, i.e. they do not refer back to the player’s replies to advance thematic progression. This results in the interview consisting of (usually) three thematically rather independent Q&A pairs that are only loosely connected to each other by the overall thematic orientation to the match. Similarities between interviews within and across the German and ELF datasets reveal that the first question tends to address the match in general (e.g. its result), the second question zooms in on a notable aspect of the match (individual achievement of player, a goal, a foul, a special tactical move etc.) and the third and (usually) final question focuses on the relevance of the match for the

future (progression of the tournament, subsequent changes in strategy etc.). This pattern reinforces the impression of a routinised procedure in which the details of the player's contributions remain largely without consequences for the successful completion of the exchange.

(2) A further characteristic contributing to the ritualistic impression is the frequent employment of formulaic language, often in combination with repetitions and uptakes. Typically, the beginning and the end of an interview are accomplished through conversational routines (Coulmas, 1981) such as congratulatory and leave-taking phrases, good luck wishes or mutual expressions of thanks. A restricted set of phrases and mostly general sports vocabulary are used to comment on a recurrent and restricted set of actions (Wilton, 2019). Players use formulaic language to expand and structure their turns, which are expected to be longer than a simple affirmative or negating reply. Players might take up phrases that were used in the previous questioning turn, conventionalised phrases that are used in everyday or sports contexts and phrases that are produced locally (*individuelle Formulierungsroutinen*, Dausenschön-Gay et al., 2007: 182) and often used more than once, all of which help the players to produce speech in a physically and cognitively demanding situation. It is much more common in the interviews to use words and phrases from everyday language or the general sports register than highly specialised terminology. For example, in the German interviews, it is much more frequent to comment on the scoring of a goal with *ein Tor machen* (to make a goal) than with *ein Tor schießen* (to shoot a goal) or even *ein Tor erzielen* (to score a goal) (Wilton, 2019).

(3) The supporting function of formulaic language becomes even more explicit in interviews that are conducted in English as a lingua franca (Wilton, under review). Despite varying degrees of competence, interviewers as well as players manage to accomplish the task of providing a commentary on the match which foregrounds the player's perspective. The predictable structure, predefined interactional roles, reduced importance of coherence, content and thematic progression and the frequent use of set phrases and formulaic language enable the participants to deliver acceptable contributions in the appropriate slot in the interaction. The data show that in contrast to non-institutionalised, less predetermined ELF conversation, PMIs exhibit a very low level of negotiation for meaning, repair or mutual support in the production of meaningful speech among participants.

(4) The basic idea of an interview is to elicit information. However, in the case of a PMI, this information is unlikely to consist of general and basic information about the match, as both journalists and the audience in- and outside of the stadium have just witnessed the event in question. What is required from the participants is to provide room for the delivery of an evaluation of the match by one of the active participants. However, as the players are interviewed right after the match and therefore had little to no time to reflect on it, this evaluation can only be expected to be preliminary and/or rather general. Consequently, the PMI is not the place to analyse the match in all its details nor to hold the player accountable for his actions and critically evaluate his performance. Instead, both participants strive to reach a consensual evaluation of the

match as an alignment of the perspectives of the audience, the journalist and the active protagonists (Wilton, 2017) without risking conflict (Caldwell, 2009; File, 2012). Interviewers frequently either remain neutral or empathise with the interviewee either in their defeat or in their celebrations (Montgomery, 2010).

The above observations suggest that the PMI is a genre with ritualistic features that serves as a means to unite players, journalists and audience by turning the player's individual perspective on and experience of the match into a collective emotional experience for a community brought together by the media and not primarily by physical co-presence (Wilton, 2019). As such, they contribute to the establishment of para-social relationships (Gleich, 2009; Horton & Wohl, 1956) that provide the illusion of a close, personal, one-to-one relationship between (members of) the audience and the *persona* of a public figure. Rituals are part of our social organisation, setting apart events that are important within a community from the everyday flow of life (Becker, 1995: 635). They become invested with a symbolic sense that is shared by the community (Mikos, 2008: 35), and create collective emotions that intensify the individual's perception of and participation in a temporary collective reality (Bergesen, 1998: 49).

The media play an important part in the constitution of sport events as media rituals (Bartsch et al., 2008: 11–12). If the media social function of PMIs is to make the player's perspective collectively accessible, then that perspective/experience has to be systematically, even ritually, foregrounded in the interview.

Means to establish this foregrounding can be found on various levels: first of all, media technology and infrastructure serve to foreground the player by zooming in on him after a first full shot of both participants. Furthermore, the interviewer has the power over the microphone and therefore over the organisation of turn-taking – the microphone visible in front of the player's face is a concrete manifestation of the fact that the player is expected to talk at a certain point in time. Microphone and camera are also reminders of the presence of the media audience for which the player's contribution is designed and made available.

Secondly, the timing and the setting of the interview are important. The players are interviewed right after the match, either still on the pitch or in the mixed zone, often still wearing their jersey and being out of breath, sweating and generally restless, i.e. still visibly marked by the physical experience of the match. The impression created is one of temporal and spatial immediacy. Thus, the media setting reinforces the superiority of direct experience through active involvement to that of indirect experience through observation.

Thirdly, the very nature of an interview implies an asymmetry of knowledge. The person asking the questions is assumed to have less information about an issue than the person being interviewed. In the case of media interviews, this is most obvious in expert or news interviews. The role of the interviewer is ideally that of a neutral agent acting on behalf of an anonymous and diverse audience, assuming a less knowledgeable position than that of the interviewee. In the PMI, this asymmetry is in danger of being jeopardised by two factors: on the one hand, journalists have been criticised frequently

to be too uncritical, even ingratiating in PMIs. Depending on the outcome of the match for the player being interviewed, journalists frequently align their perspective of the match with the (supposed) perspective of the player: i.e., pride of a victory is reinforced by congratulatory and celebratory phrases and positive evaluations, while a defeat is commiserated upon and evaluated negatively:

Overall, however, in these news interviews we find not neutrality and detachment but, on the contrary, strong affiliation by the interviewer with the interviewee. And the function of these latter moves by the interviewer (e.g. ‘you timed it to perfection’) is in part to provide the warrant for the particular character of the interview itself. In effect they establish for the overhearing audience some special quality of the contestant’s performance at the same time as congratulating them in person. In this way they encourage a different kind of alignment between the audience and the interviewee. Whereas in the adversarial accountability interview the audience is invited to scrutinize the interviewee for signs of evasion, in these interviews the audience is offered the opportunity to co-celebrate with the contestant. (Montgomery, 2010: 196)

On the other hand, both participants in this type of institutional interaction are professionals in their respective, but overlapping fields of expertise (sports journalism and football), they experience the same event, albeit from different perspectives (observer and actor) and through different types of involvement (reporting and playing). Consequently, they have different kinds of epistemic access to the event, resulting in different, but overlapping territories of knowledge. Even though both participants know the essentials of the match, the interview provides them with an opportunity to portray the player as an expert of his own experience for the benefit of the media audience. The data show that as long as the player’s experience of the match is given epistemic primacy by the participants, the interview develops in a cooperative and consensual way. However, if the player’s epistemic authority is challenged, the interview can develop into a competitive or even adversarial exchange in which fields of expertise and epistemic access are contested (Wilton, 2017).

3. Epistemic stance markers in post-match interviews

One means to express epistemic stance is the employment of conventionalised epistemic stance markers such as *I think* in English and *ich denke/ich glaube* in German. Generally, *I + predicate* combinations focus the ongoing talk on the current speaker: “*I + predicate* combinations in discourse are self-revelations. They are the prime sites of the speakers’ self-stylization” (Baumgarten & House, 2010: 1185). Part of this self-stylisation is taking stance towards what is relevant in the ongoing discourse. The first person pronoun “is the most basic and prototypical source of subjectivity in language because it always explicitly refers to the speaker and thereby automatically introduces an explicit argumentative perspective to the discourse” (Baumgarten & House, 2010: 1185). In combination with verbs of cognition, the first person pronoun typically reveals subjective evaluations, attitudes and knowledge claims. This process of

subjectification leads to a loss of grammatical dependency, therefore making *I think/ich denke/ich glaube* more versatile with respect to the syntactic positions in which they can be used. Their semantic meaning becomes more vague and context-dependent, while their pragmatic functions become more prominent (Imo, 2011; Baumgarten & House, 2010).

In her study of *I think* in political interviews, Simon-Vandenberg found that the high frequency of the stance marker is linked to the “type of discourse in which the formulation of viewpoints is central” (2000: 59). This is certainly also to be expected of the PMI, in which the players are invited to present their point of view of the match. Furthermore, in such contexts, the assertive use is more frequent than the tentative use, which expresses uncertainty (Aijmer, 1997; Simon-Vandenberg, 2000). A distinction between the two types of use is claimed to be possible according to syntactic and prosodic features (Aijmer, 1997; Simon-Vandenberg, 2000; Imo, 2011). Referring to Fairclough (1992: 204), Simon-Vandenberg (2000: 60) links the tentative use of stance markers not only to a hesitant and uncertain stance towards an issue, but suggests that the frequent use of *I think* might reflect an increasing *conversationalisation* of public discourse, reducing the formality of some media genres such as interviews and blurring the distinction between the private and the public.

3.1. Data and methodology

In order to explore these pragmatic interactional functions in the PMI, the following analysis will take a quantitative as well as a qualitative approach. The analysis is based on 57 German and 28 ELF interviews with male professional football players which appeared on television, club websites and social media sites such as YouTube. The interviews were transcribed according to the GAT2 transcription conventions (Selting et al., 2011). To reveal the frequencies and distributions of the stance markers in both datasets, a search tool designed to read GAT2 transcripts was used to provide a preparatory and supportive quantitative analysis to the following more detailed qualitative analysis, which uses an ethnographic conversation analytic approach to identify and analyse the functions of stance markers for the ritual realisation of the interview. A systematic (quantitative) comparison between the datasets in terms of the interactional functions of the stance markers is not intended. Thus, the approach taken in this study can be described as corpus-assisted rather than corpus-based (Partington, 2011). With this approach, I follow the study on epistemic stance markers by Baumgarten & House (2010).

3.2. Epistemic stance markers in PMIs – a quantitative survey

As a first approach to the data, a simple quantitative survey done on both datasets reveals the high overall frequency of first personal pronouns singular and plural (*ich/I* and *wir/we*).

ich // I	total occurrences of <i>ich // I</i>	total tokens in dataset	frequency rank in dataset
German language data set	292	13,045	# 3
	2.24%	100%	
ELF data set	201	7797	# 6
	2.58%	100%	

Table 1. Overall frequencies of *ich/I* in both datasets

wir // we	total occurrences of <i>wir // we</i>	total tokens in dataset	frequency rank in dataset
German language data set	354	13,045	# 1
	2.71%	100%	
ELF data set	381	7797	# 2
	4.89%	100%	

Table 2. Overall frequencies of *wir/we* in both datasets

As Tables 1 and 2 show, in terms of overall frequency of *ich/I* the datasets are very similar. This similarity also holds for the normalised frequency, which is 22,38 for the German and 25,78 for the ELF dataset.

Table 3 illustrates that the most frequent combination of the first person singular pronoun with a verb is *I/ich + verbs of cognition (voc)* such as *I think/I believe/I mean* and *ich denk/ich glaub/ich mein*.¹ The combination *I/ich + voc* in the datasets is restricted to the three forms that can be conventionalised as stance markers. Other combinations of *I + voc* such as *ich vermute/nehme an/weiss/bezweifle* or *I assume/surmise/know/doubt/suppose* occur very rarely (once or twice) or not at all.

	<i>ich denk</i> I think	<i>ich glaub</i> I believe	<i>ich mein</i> I mean	Total	Total occurrences of <i>ich // I</i>
German language data set	48	69	6	123	292
	39%	56%	5%	100%	42,12%
ELF data set	88	0	8	96	201
	92%	0%	8%	100%	47,76%

Table 3. Frequency comparison of *ich/I + voc* in the German and ELF datasets

The comparison in Table 3 shows first of all that combinations of *I/ich + voc* take up almost half of all instances of *I/ich* in both datasets (42,12% and 47,76%,

respectively). Furthermore, it is quite clear that the distribution of *I+voc* variants are different between the datasets. While *ich mein/I mean* is used only very rarely in both German and ELF interviews, *ich glaub* is used more frequently than *ich denk* in the German dataset, but the English equivalent *I believe* is not used at all, giving the combination of *I + think* a comparatively high frequency (92% of all *I + voc*). Other studies have remarked on the ubiquity and high frequency of the *I + think* combination as stance markers in spoken American and British English:

I think and *I don't know* belong to the high-frequency *I + verb* collocations in spoken American and British English. *I think* is the single most frequent *I + verb* combination in the spoken components of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and the British National Corpus (BNC). *I don't know* is the single most frequent negative collocation in both corpora. In other words, *I think* and *I don't know* are almost ubiquitous as stance-markers in spoken L1 English. (Baumgarten & House 2010: 1186).

Similarly, in his study of German *ich glaube*, Imo (2011: 169) argues that the pragmatic similarity of *ich glaube* and *I think* as stance markers justifies their treatment as translation equivalents.

If we now look at the distribution of occurrences of *ich/I + voc* across speaker types we see that the overwhelming majority of *ich denk/I think* and *ich glaub* are produced by players (Table 4). Furthermore, it becomes clear that instances of *I believe*, *ich mein* and *I mean* can be disregarded as they either do not occur at all (*I believe*), very infrequently (*ich mein*) or are due to idiolectal preferences of a single speaker (6 out of the 8 instances of *I mean* were produced by the same speaker).

	players	interviewers
<i>ich glaub // ich denk</i>	114 97.4%	3 2.6%
<i>I think</i>	84 95.5%	4 4.5%

Table 4. Distribution by speaker type in both datasets

In their analysis of *I think* in ELF conversation, Baumgarten & House (2010: 1187ff.) identify the expression of stance with *I think* through three formal structures: 1) as a main clause in a simple clause construction, 2) a main clause complement clause construction with *I think* as the main clause, 3) utterance-medial or final finite adverbial *comment clauses* as verbal routines.

This is similar to German, where the stance markers can either occur as a main clause *ich + denk(e)/glaub(e)/mein(e)* followed by a dependent complement clause or they occur with subject-verb inversion as *denk(e)/glaub(e)/mein(e) ich* in clause or utterance-medial or –final position, where they are less syntactically and prosodically integrated (Imo, 2011). Furthermore, the verbs are frequently phonetically reduced by the omission of the final schwa sound, and can be reduced to the verb only, as in *in der*

zwElten halbzeit hat das **glaube** jeder gesehn (in the second half, (I) think everybody saw that).

It is useful for the functional analysis of epistemic stance markers to refine the distinction between instances of *I think/ich denk/ich glaub* followed by a complementiser (*that/dass*) overtly marking subordination and instances of *I think/ich denk/ich glaub* followed by a dependent main clause. Imo (2011) shows that the distinction between German *ich glaube* as a main clause for an overtly subordinated clause, marked by complementiser and a finite verb at the end of the clause, and *ich glaube* as a main clause followed by a dependent main clause expresses a reduction in saliency or profile determinacy of *ich glaube*, decreasing its power to project. Furthermore, the use of post-positioned *glaub(e) ich*, in particular when it is prosodically and/or syntactically integrated, takes on the function of an adverb or modal particle, suggesting a broader application in spoken discourse than the fixed verbal form would suggest. The main overall function is to mark the speakers perspective in a process of subjectification (Imo, 2011: 186, Baumgarten & House, 2010: 1190), which might indicate different degrees of assertiveness or tentativeness. In the German dataset, 9 of the instances of *ich glaube* and 12 of the instances of *ich denke* are followed by a complementiser. In the ELF dataset, overt subordination with the complementiser *that* does not occur at all, which is in line with the findings of Baumgarten & House (2010: 1190):

In the majority of cases the complementizer *that* is omitted. The L2 speakers show a much higher ratio of *that*-omission (7.6% of full structures) than the L1 speakers (25% full structures), which suggests that the L2 speakers are less aware of the structural variability of the collocation, and possibly also of the associated meaning differences with respect to the ‘tentativeness’ and ‘deliberativeness’ of the speaker’s stance.

3.3. Interactional functions of stance markers and their role in the negotiation of epistemic authority

To explore the interactional functions of epistemic stance markers in their discourse contexts, we will now look at examples from both datasets in more detail. In Excerpt 1, the player uses *ich glaub* three times in his reply.

Excerpt 1

Interviewer: Int

Philipp Lahm: PhL

- 09 Int: äh jetzt wars natürlich im vergleich zum HINspiel,
ehm now it was of course in comparison to the first leg
 10 als ihr verLOREN habt gegen mainz-
when you lost against Mainz
 11 n ganz anderes SPIEL;
a completely different match.

- 12 WAS is eigentlich ANDers inzwischen bei den bayern;
 What is now different with the Bavarians?
- 13 PhL: .hh **ja ich glaub** wir ham uns besser EINGestellt wenn der
 Well, I think we have positioned us better when
- 14 gegner DRUCK macht ;
 the opponent put pressure on us.
- 15 ehm äh wir tun uns dann (-) äh LEICHTer als
 ehm we find it easier
- 16 als in der HINrunde ,
 than in the first leg,
- 17 und heute ham wir (--) die ERste chance gleich geNUTZT ;
 and today we used the first chance straight away
- 18 und <<laughing> des (is) immer> wichtig für ne MANNSchaft-
 and that is always important for a team.
- 19 ähm **ich glaub** am schluss hätt mer's
 Ehm I think towards the end we could have
- 20 noch besser AUSspielen können-
 played even better
- 21 .h und hätten NOCH höher gewinnen können-
 and could have won higher.
- 22 in: geWISSen phasen hatten (wir) aber
 in certain phases we had
- 23 auch n bisschen GLÜCK ,
 a little bit of luck
- 24 ähm: dass MAINZ kein tor erzielt hat-
 that Mainz did not score,
- 25 .hh aber INSGesamt **glaub ich** wars ne ORDentliche LEistung-
 but all in all it was a respectable achievement
- 26 woBEI wir spielerisch natürlich BESSer spielen können ;
 although we could have played better, of course.

This sequence shows how the functions of the first person pronoun singular and plural are typically distinguished in PMIs: *ich* occurs only as part of an epistemic stance marker, while *we* is used to refer to the team's actions in the evaluative description of the match. Even when asked explicitly about their own actions such as scoring a goal, players tend to avoid reference to themselves and prefer to refer to the whole team as an actor. The use of this so-called "modesty plural" (Du Bois, 2012: 324) serves to minimise self-praise and threats to the player's negative face. Thus, the stance taking function of *ich* in combination with *glaube* takes a prominent role in the player's turn.

As Baumgarten & House (2010: 1192) note, a typical context for the occurrence of *I think* is (at the beginning of) an answer to a question. Although the formal characteristics of the interview presuppose a Q&A structure, the questioning turn does not necessarily contain what would formally be classified as a question. Heritage (2013: 385) and Clayman (2010: 257) argue that questioning can be done by utterances that in other contexts would not qualify as a question, such as declaratives with falling final intonation. Similarly, the player's reply does not necessarily fulfil the criteria of a typical answer in the sense of providing previously unknown information, but is seen

more generally as a reply or response which might or might not contain an answer to a previous question (Lee, 2013: 416). In an institutional context such as the media setting of the PMI, the pre-allocation of turn types provides a structural frame within which turns can deviate from a strictly questioning or answering format and still be treated as acceptable contributions (Ehrlich & Freed, 2010: 5). Therefore, the actions performed within the Q&A structure by the participants in a PMI can be more broadly characterised as an initial request or invitation to comment and/or evaluate by the interviewer and a subsequent delivery of a comment/evaluation by the player.

In line with this characterisation, *ich glaube* is used three times in sentence-initial position with a starting point function (Kärkkäinen, 2003: 121ff.): in lines 13 and 18, the player starts his evaluation of aspects of the match with *ja ich glaube* as a matrix clause with a dependent main clause, marking and asserting the following evaluation overtly as his subjective assessment. *Ja* in this context serves as a marker of an initiated planning process (Imo, 2013: 176) after a specifying *wh*-question (Fox & Thompson, 2010), introducing an explanation that was requested by the previous turn. The player responds to that request by accepting the presupposition that something has changed and elaborates on the team's improvements that led to the victory. The use of *ich glaube* in line 18 can be seen as marking a boundary towards a slight topic shift from positive evaluation to negative evaluation (Kärkkäinen, 2003: 143). In line 22, he employs *glaube ich*, the inverted form, in combination with *aber* (but) and a summarising *insgesamt* (all in all) in order to set off and introduce his final evaluation of the whole match. The employment of *but* as a marker of contrast (Schiffrin, 1987: 152ff.) serves three functions in this position: it marks a semantic contrast to the immediately previous evaluation of the team's negative performance, it marks a return to the positive assessment at the beginning of the player's turn and it serves to introduce a final return to the interviewer's invitation to evaluate the match. This foregrounding of an evaluation as contrastive and/or independent from previous evaluations occurs relatively frequently in both datasets: 14% of all occurrences of *I think* are in combination with *but*, 15% of *ich denke* occur in combination with *aber*, as do 16% of *ich glaube*.

All three occurrences mark the player's turn as the expected and required subjective assessment of the match, foreground the player's perspective against the actions of the team and structure the turn into an initial part containing a positive evaluation, a medial part containing a negative evaluation and a final part containing an overall summarising evaluation. Thus, the starting point function, in addition to routinely marking the beginning of the current speaker's perspective, indicates the treatment of boundaries between parts of talk (Kärkkäinen, 2003: 143ff.).

The use of the inverted form *glaub ich* in sentence- or utterance-medial or final position is thought to indicate a less assertive, more tentative stance towards the proposition in question (Imo, 2011; Aijmer, 1997). Prefaced by *aber* and *insgesamt*, the expression loses its prominent sentence-initial status, and as an inverted form, its power of projection (Imo, 2011: 182). However, *glaube ich* in this case still appears to convey an assertive stance rather than a tentative one, because it is used in a summarising

statement that is meant to foreground the player's overall assessment. The summarising function of *glaube ich* is marked and enhanced by the contrast to previous talk with *but* and by the summarising adverb *insgesamt*, making the interpretation as a marker of uncertainty less likely.

In Excerpt 2, again from the German dataset, the case for an interpretation of *glaube ich* as an uncertainty marker is clearer:

Excerpt 2

Interviewer: Int

Jörg Butt: JöB

- 01 Int: jörg; stimmste mit mir übereIN, (-) bei dem FAzit,
jörg do you agree with me in this assessment
- 02 schwer ANgefangen aber am ende DOCH verdient gewonnen;
a difficult start but a well-deserved victory at the end
- 03 JöB: (---) JO (.) so kann man das: (-) **glaub ich**
yeah you can I think
- 04 ganz gut AUSdrücken;
say it that way
- 05 wir ham uns äh SIcherlich en bisschen schwer getan in
we certainly had our difficulties
- 06 der ERsten halbzeit-
in the first half
- 07 .h ham nich gut geSPIELT_äh-
did not play well
- 08 sind dann (.) DENNoch eins null in FÜHrung gegang(en)-
but nevertheless came to lead one - nil
- 09 .hh ham_äh:: hh selbst AU(ch) nich viel ZUGelassen-
did not allow much for the others
- 10 inSOfern:_äh (-) war das auch OK,
so that was ok
- 11 äh:m ka und in der ZWEITen halbzeit ham wir (.) dann
in the second half we then had
- 12 VIEle KONtermöglichkeiten gehabt,
many opportunities to counterattack
- 13 DIE leider (--) .h öh: erst nicht genutzt,
unfortunately did not use them at first
- 14 und_öh hhh ja. (.) wie gesagt öh-
and ehm well, as already said
- 15 insofer:n hatte man SCHO:N im SPIE:L das gefühl wenn man
one had already during the match the feeling when one
- 16 sich das ANgeschaut hat,

- looks at it*
- 17 öh (.) dass wir (-) uns da schwertun,
 ehm that we had our difficulties
- 18 ANDERerseits **glaub ich** ham wir (.)
 on the other hand I think
- 19 schon verDIEnt auch gewonnen.
 we deserved to win.

The interviewer puts forward an evaluation which is clearly marked as his own and invites the player to agree with him. The invitation is realised as a closed question to which a positive answer, i.e. agreement is preferred (Lee, 2013: 423; Pomerantz, 1984: 63). Thus, the pressure to comply with this expectation is relatively high for the player, and his initial hesitation at the beginning of his turn in line 3 already expresses the need to deliberate. The following token of agreement *JO* is conventionally used to indicate that agreement is only partial or provisional and might even be followed by a counter statement (Imo, 2013: 169ff.). It is then quite plausible to interpret the occurrence of *glaub ich* in line 3 as a marker of tentativeness. In the continuation of his turn, the player recounts the match in its progression, but fails to align this with what the interviewer's evaluation suggests: a difficult start resulting in a deserved victory. Instead, from the description of the player, it becomes clear that the difficulties, but also the achievements occurred throughout the match and that apparently, there was no significant improvement during the course of the event. This discrepancy is reflected in the hesitant agreement the player showed as an initial response. In the remaining part of his turn from line 13 onwards, he makes an effort to explicitly align his own experience of the match with that of the interviewer as an observer, using the indefinite pronoun *man* (one) to potentially include anyone, including himself, who was in a position to reflect on the match while it was still running. Finally, he takes up the second part of the interviewer's evaluation and presents the deserved victory as his conclusion. Introduced with *andererseits* (on the other hand, line 18), it is clearly set off from the preceding assessment of a difficult match as a contrast, but the following assertion is less convincing than in the previous example. Particularly noticeable in this case is the use of the particles *schon* and *auch* (line 19) which can both be used to assert, but also to concede, especially so in the combination *schon auch*. The use of *glaub ich* and the almost random placement of *schon* and *auch* within the utterance indicate a hesitant and tentative concession to the interviewer's evaluation, making the summarising function less prominent here than in the previous case.

A very similar start to an interview in the ELF dataset results in a much more assertive response by the player:

Excerpt 3

Interviewer: Int

Per Mertesacker: PeM

- 01 Int: pe:r (-) you did it the HARD way but-
 02 (.) did you deSERVE it in the end;
 03 PeM: (--) yeah **i think so** because of the:: second half_e:h-
 04 (-) first half (--) (we_were) a bit TIMid-
 05 (-) e:h couldn't get THROUGH enough;
 06 but second half uh-
 07 (-) **i think** we hit the post TWICE then had couple of good
 08 chances so:;
 09 it was a good comeback.
 (...)

 13 Int: what have you PROVED today (-) in terms of chAracter.
 14 PeM: eh:m (-) i **i think** we have GREAT character.
 15 a lot of people QUESTioned that e:h (-) rEcently but e:h-
 16 (-) how we came BACK today e:h-
 17 (.) we prOved a LOT.

The interviewer's closed question suggests that an affirmation is the preferred response. After some hesitation, in line 3 the player delivers an overtly affirmative response with an agreement token (*yeah*) and *I think so* followed immediately by a prepositional phrase giving the reason for the player's conviction (*because of the second half*). The affirmative formulaic expression *I think so* is used three times in the ELF dataset, and also occurs as *ich denke schon* twice in the German dataset – the particle *schon* here enhancing the agreement. Continuing his turn, the player elaborates on the development of the match, using *I think* in line 7 to express uncertainty about the number of times the team hit the post. When referring to events and actions rather than giving an evaluation, such as in this example, *I think* and its German equivalents are used as markers of uncertainty, regardless of their syntactic position.

The interviewer's second question, a *wh*-question, leaves potentially more room for the type of answer that can be regarded as appropriate. However, questions addressing the team's character are usually treated as opportunities for the player to assert the team's motivation, will to win and perseverance. Thus, the player's overtly assertive statement in line 14, preceded by *I think* and followed by a rejection of recent rumours, serves exactly that purpose. Furthermore, the player links his reply to the previous questioning turn by taking up two salient words – character and proved in lines 14 and 17 – and qualifying them positively – with *great* and *a lot*. The uptake in the final sentence of the player's turn directly refers back to the interviewer's question and functions as a summarising and closing statement of a turn that is designed as an authoritative evaluation of the match result.

In Excerpt 4, the same player uses *I think* twice in the same turn. Despite the fact that in both instances *I think* is used as a main clause followed by a dependent main clause, the functions of *I think* are different. In the first instance in line 63, *I think* is used as a starting point for an evaluation, while in the second instance in line 66 it is used as an uncertainty marker, indicating that the player cannot remember exactly when the match against Barcelona will take place.

Excerpt 4

Interviewer: Int

Per Mertesacker: PeM

61 Int: can you still cause an (upside) per and
 62 what will it take °h,
 63 PeM: e:hm ((clears throat)),
 64 **i think**_°h we have to concentrate on on the PREmiere
 65 league now and then_ehm-
 66 i **i think**_eh in one month (.) we're facing barcelona
 67 again_ehm-
 68 °h with the same COUrage,
 69 eh_with the same_eh BRAvery and_eh-
 70 °h we stIll have a little CHANce,
 71 eh_we don't give UP <<acc> as i said> and_eh-
 72 as a team;
 73 °h eh we're always fighting.
 74 that's our SPIrit an_e:h-
 75 we keep GOing like that.

The distinction between marking conviction towards an evaluation and marking uncertainty towards a proposition is also evident in Excerpt 5.

Excerpt 5

Interviewer: Int

Lukas Podolski: LuP

16 Int: we felt like an early goal would be the KEY for arsenal
 17 tonight,
 18 the LONGer it went did you feel like the less likely it
 19 was that you would maybe get the (.)
 20 the result you WANTED;
 21 LuP: (---) of COURse;
 22 (.) when you (-) score a quick goal here;
 23 (.) eh the the they get a little bit NERvous;
 24 e:h but **i think** the first half wasn't GOOD enough (.)
 25 and_e:h-
 26 °h we have only ONE chance **i think** and eh-
 27 YEAH we played good second half=-
 28 =but on the end it's not GOOD enough and e:h-
 29 °h we're OUT-
 30 (-) but eeh (--) we FIGHT-
 31 (-) the second half was GREAT-
 32 (.) and eh (-) yeah;
 33 (.) we have eh CONFidence (.) eh for the next matches.

In line 23 the player evaluates the performance of the team in the first half with *I think* as a main clause followed by a dependent main clause. In line 25, he uses post-positioned *I think* to express his uncertainty about the number of chances in that first half. Additionally, the use of *I think* in connection with *but* in line 23 functions as a marker of change or contrast, separating the previous talk from what is to follow. In this instance, the player starts his turn by showing agreement with the interviewer's suggestion that an early goal would have been necessary for the team's success. Furthermore, the interviewer already suggests in his question that the player might have lost hope of a victory during the course of the match. With *but I think*, the player sets off his own evaluation from his previous agreement to the interviewer's suggestion and evaluates the first half of the match as not good enough before elaborating on the further progress and outcome of the match. He thus marks his own evaluation as different and independent from a) his own previous agreement and b) the interviewer's rather tentative suggestion.

In Excerpt 6 from the ELF dataset, the player heavily relies on *I think* to structure his turn and assert his perspective.

Excerpt 6

Interviewer: Int

Shkodran Mustafi: ShM

01 Int: shkodran; have you been involved in a (.) !BE!tter;
 02 (.) arsenal performance (.) than THAT.
 03 ShM: **i THINK so** yes;
 04 **i THINK** we had eh-
 05 (--) since i joined here **i think** we had a few (.)
 06 GOOD performances **i think** eh==
 07 =the only (.) important thing is to to keep it UP;
 08 °h **i think** we did well toDAY,
 09 it was ehm (.) a DERby it's you know;
 10 so it's a special GAME;=
 11 =**but i think** eh-
 12 °h we showed CHARacter,
 13 e:hm (.) we were there in the ehm important MOMents,
 14 and **i THINK** ehm (-) eh-
 15 when you do all THAT **i think** ehm-
 16 you win GAMES.

The player replies to the interviewer's question with an overtly assertive *I think so* in line 3, with *think* prosodically prominent and complemented by a token of agreement (*yes*). In line 4, he begins his evaluation with *I think*, which again receives prominent stress, then breaks off and restarts in line 5 with a restriction that indicates that his evaluation only refers to his personal experience with the club (*since I joined here*). In the continuation of his turn, it is difficult to accurately assign the occurrences of *I think* to preceding and/or following speech. Prosodically, as indicated in the

transcript, it appears that the player's evaluation in lines 5 and 6 is framed by a pre- and a post-positioned *I think*, which can be taken as an overt assertion of his evaluation. However, the occurrence of *I think* followed by a short hesitation marker in line 6 is latched immediately onto the following statement. Thus, *I think* in line 6 might function as a pivot, simultaneously asserting a previous and a following evaluation. Addressing the match in question in line 8, the player once more introduces his positive evaluation of the match with *I think* before commenting on the fact that a derby is a potentially difficult (*special*) match. The use of *but I think* in line 11, then, indicates a return to the positive evaluation of line 8 (Schiffrin, 1987: 117), emphasising the achievements of the team and ending in a summarising statement introduced with *and I think*. The instances of *I think* in lines 14 and 15 show a similar function to those in lines 5 and 6: they provide a frame to the first part of the sentence while the second *I think* also projects forward to include the following statement, giving it extra salience as a final and general evaluation.

What becomes clear from the examples so far is that variants of *I think/ich denke/ich glaube* are used extensively and repetitively in the players' turns where they fulfil various functions depending on the context and the position in which they occur. While in German, the functions can – but need not be – differentiated by a greater variety of syntactic constructions and phonological forms, the ELF data shows that *I think* is used generically as a multifunctional marker of epistemic stance. Thus, the extensive and multifunctional use of stance markers in the players' turns shows the importance of marking subjectivity and epistemic stance, regardless of whether it expresses conviction or uncertainty. This emphasises the foregrounding of the player's perspective as a typical characteristic of the PMI.

In contrast, interviewers very rarely use epistemic stance markers in their turns and when they do, players signal a problem in their following reply, as in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 7

Interviewer: Int

Thomas Müller: ToM

- 24 Int: (.) weil (--) man sieht das ist SEHR viel
because one sees that this is a lot of
- 25 one TOUCH fußball;
one touch football
- 26 und **ich glaube** das macht ihnen AUCH sehr viel spaß oder?
and I think that this is a lot of fun for you, isn't it?
- 27 ToM: **jaha !KLAR!** ;=
ye(e)s, of course!
- 28 =äh wem macht's NICHT spaß mit äh .h hochkarätigen
who wouldn't have fun playing with such excellent
- 29 spielern zuSAMMen zu spielen-
players together

- 30 .h äh die geben unserm spiel
eh they give our play
- 31 natü(1)i(ch) nomal en andern TOUCH,
a different style, of course.
- 32 ähm (--) nichtsdestotrotz öh-
ehm nevertheless,
- 33 JA.
Yeah
- 34 (.) müssen wir auch als MANNschaft Auftreten
we must also present ourselves as a team
- 35 un: (-) öhm: ja erfolgreich zu sein,
ehm ehm: to be successful
- 36 und die_öh si (.) die bEIden die öhm sind
and those two are
- 37 jetzt nicht nur EINzelkünstler,
not just single artists
- 38 sondern in den letzten wochen gliedern sie
but in the last weeks they integrated
- 39 sich auch super ins MANNschaftsgefüge EIN,
well into the team
- 40 °h öh ph: JA.
eh ph: yeah
- 41 (--) machen nicht nur allEINGänge sondern
they don't just go it alone
- 39 sehen auch den NEbenmann;=
but see their neighbour
- 40 =und so machts RICHTig spaß-
and that is real fun
- 41 so macht's IHNen spass-
fun for them
- 42 un:d wenn mer erFOLGreich sind,
and when we are successful
- 43 dann macht's uns ALlen spass.
it's fun for us all.

In Excerpt 7, the interviewer presents an observation as generally valid through the use of the indefinite personal pronoun *man* (one). He then puts forward his own personal observation, introduced by *ich glaube* as a main clause followed by a dependent main clause (line 26). This main clause is a closed question ending with a tag (*oder?*). This design a) presents the presupposition as the interviewer's personal assessment, b) asserts the interviewer's presupposition that the player must have fun and c) expresses a preference for agreement (Hayano, 2013: 405). In line 27, the player replies with *ja klar*, which is a combination of two response tokens (*ja* and *klar*, Imo, 2013: 167) and a German equivalent of *of course*. It has been shown that in response to a question, *of course* does offer confirmation, but that it “also treats the alternative (...) as inconceivable” and therefore speakers “contest the presupposition of the question that both confirmation and disconfirmation are possible and thus treat the question as

unaskable.” (Stivers, 2011: 87). In Excerpt 7, despite the fact that the interviewer’s question is designed to invite agreement, the alternative of denying the presupposition remains viable and is addressed by the player in the design of his reply. In the continuation of his turn, the player explicates why he deemed the question unaskable: it is obvious, i.e. firmly grounded in general knowledge, that playing together with excellent players is fun. He marks this by asking a rhetorical question in lines 28 and 29, suggesting that anyone in his position would have fun. The uptake of *touch* in line 31, albeit with its different, i.e. German loanword, meaning, overtly aligns the player’s reply with the interviewer’s questioning turn. However, already in the following line 32, the player presents a contrasting perspective, introduced by *nichtsdestotrotz* (nevertheless). In the remainder of his turn, he goes on to explain why he thinks that the individual achievement of his teammates is less important than their contribution to the team as a whole. As a final move, he refers back to the issue of having fun by explicitly assigning fun to his teammates (line 41) and to the whole team (lines 40 and 43), including himself (*uns allen*). It becomes clear that he treats the interviewer’s subjective reference to the player’s personal experience as inappropriate on two levels: first, he rejects the possibility of not having fun as inconceivable based on epistemic access, thereby taking the moral high ground (Stivers, 2011: 88). Second, he rejects the invitation to comment on his emotional state by diverting attention away from the personal evaluation of the interviewer to an evaluation of his teammates’ achievements for the teams’ success.

In Excerpt 8, the interviewer’s personal evaluation is rejected both on an epistemic as well as on a propositional level:

Excerpt 8

Interviewer: Int

Manuel Neuer: MaN

- 01 Int: (da)s eins eins öh-
the one one
- 02 gibt’s **glaub ich** keine zwei MEINungen;
I think there can’t be two minds about it
- 03 war (--) IHR fehler?
was your mistake?
- 04 MaN: ((laughs ironically)) woll(e)n sie mich verARSCHEN?
are you kidding me?
- 05 Int: ne ERNSThaft.
no seriously
- 06 Also.
well
- 07 (--) war ja’n (---) FERNSchuss (-) eigentlich-

- it was a long distance shot really*
- 08 (-) oder wie ham sie s tor überHAUPT gesehen;
or how did you see the goal?
- 09 MaN: ja (.) wenn sie vom FACH sind öh denk ich ma dann
well if you're an expert I think then
- 10 wissen sie beschEId,
you are in the know
- 11 ähm es war erstmal en verDECKter schuss;
it was first of all a hidden shot
- 12 es war n .h öh BALL den de:r feulner-
it was a shot that Feulner
- 13 (.) ich weiß nicht ob er ihn so !WILL!
I don't know if he wants it
- 14 um den mann herumschießen-
to bend it past the player
- 15 der geht LINKS .h am: spieler vorbeI
it goes left past the player
- 16 und geht in die rEchte ecke,
and into the right corner
- 17 und (-) dementsprechend
and that is why
- 18 man muss sich die FLUGkurve mal Angucken;
you have to look at the trajectory
- 19 normAlerweise .h geht der nämlich in meine !RECHTE! ecke;
normally it goes into my right corner
- 20 und äh- (---)
and ehm
- 21 das is schön dass die journalIsten
it's nice that journalists
- 22 sowas äh (--) gut erKENNEN.
recognise this so well

In this interview, the interviewer puts forward an evaluation of a conceded goal as a personal statement marked by *glaub ich* and intensifies his commitment by stating that there can be only one opinion about the reason for the goal – a mistake by the player. Despite the potential interpretation of *glaub ich* as a downtoner (Imo, 2011: 180) and the final rise in intonation as a marker of a question rather than an assertive statement, the interviewer's turn conveys a strong commitment to the expressed proposition. This interpretation can be seen in the reaction of the player, who expresses his incredulity first with a short ironic laugh, then with an almost formulaic counter question doubting the interviewer's serious intent. The interviewer, however, starts his reply by asserting his serious intent before changing his strategy. This change is indicated by the discourse marker *also* in line 6. He then tries to describe the shot that led to the goal, but gives up any further elaborations on his reasoning in favour of a

much more open and less provocative question about the player's experience of the shot. The player uses this invitation as an opportunity to mock the interviewer's assumed expert status in lines 9 and 10 before launching into a more detailed description of his perspective as a participant in the match. He finishes his turn by another mocking remark, ironically praising the journalist for his keen observation skills.

In this excerpt the player shows that the personal evaluation of the interviewer is inappropriate on the level of epistemic balance because observation is seen as inferior to participation in terms of epistemic access and therefore, concerning the two competing types of expertise, the journalist's knowledge must be subordinated to the player's knowledge. The interviewer violated this expectation and subsequently, the player reacts with uncooperative behaviour. Additionally, the player addresses the central issue of how the shot resulted in a goal to refute the interviewer's claim that it was the player's fault.

4. Conclusions

From the above analyses we can draw the following conclusions:

(1) The frequency and distribution of first person pronouns reflect their functions in the PMI: *we/wir* is used by players to comment on the team actions, and by interviewers to refer to the entity of observers, including themselves and the audience, whereas *I/ich* is used primarily and frequently by players to communicate personal involvement, perspective and evaluative stance.

(2) The functions of *I+voc* as epistemic stance markers are consistent with the player's task of providing a personal evaluation of the match. They have been found to aid the player in structuring his turn by marking boundaries within the turn (starting point function, closing/summarising function, contrasting function), by marking tentativeness and uncertainty and by asserting and marking the independence of stance.

(3) In particular, for the collocations of *I think/ich denke/ich glaube* with *but/aber* three functions have been identified:

a) They are used to introduce a part of the turn that usually follows a first assessment of the proposition or evaluation proffered in the prior turn to introduce the player's perspective and to demonstrate its independence. The presentation of one's own perspective as contrasting or different, following a previous recognition of or concession to the interviewer's proposition or question, can be seen as a strategy to claim epistemic authority.

b) They mark a return to a prior point made by the current speaker. Again, this can be seen as strengthening one's personal perspective. As Schiffrin (1987: 177) states, "the use of *but* in point-making has an expressive relevance, in that a repeated point displays a committed orientation toward a proposition, and an interactional corollary, in that stating one's point can take precedence over interactional goals."

c) They often occur towards the end of the turn, introducing a summarising statement as a closing strategy, in some cases in the German dataset intensified by summarising adverbs such as *insgesamt* and *ansonsten*. Again, this foregrounds the player's perspective as the final word on the matter, marking the boundary of a largely self-contained Q&A sequence.

(4) A delineation between an assertive and a tentative use is not always possible, and syntactic position alone is not a reliable indicator. The examples showed that tentativeness can be reliably established when the player does not evaluate or when the stance markers are accompanied by other markers of tentativeness or deliberation. In other cases, both interpretations are possible, and stance markers occurring between clauses might even assume a pivotal function, qualifying both the preceding as well as the following talk as subjective and/or assertive.

(5) There is a general similarity in the use of epistemic stance markers across both datasets. The extensive use of *ich denke/ich glaube* and its variants in German and of *I think* in ELF shows similar frequencies, distribution and functional range in both datasets. The media institutional setting in which the PMI takes place imposes a number of constraints on the turn types and their allocations in order for them to count as acceptable contributions and to which participants orient in the design of their turns.

It is evident from both the German and the ELF data that the player's perspective, his subjective experience and evaluation of the match is routinely, even ritually foregrounded through the extensive and multifunctional use of epistemic stance markers by the players. In contrast, the interviewers hardly ever use epistemic stance markers, and when they do, the players' replies show that there is a problem with the questioning turn. This asymmetry in the use of stance markers is characteristic for the PMI and reflects a genre-specific epistemic gradient that needs to be maintained by both participants if the interview is to be successfully accomplished.

What remains to be investigated in more detail in the future is the way in which interviewers design their turns in order to "do questioning" or "do an invitation to comment" while keeping the epistemic gradient intact. Journalists' questions

(...) participate in a distinctive environment that embodies a mix of professional and public accountability. Both of these dimensions, in turn, leave their imprint on the questions that reporters ask of public figures. What such questions are meant to accomplish, and the specific manner in which they are designed, are conditioned by specialized journalistic tasks and norms, as well as general public attitudes and preferences. (Clayman, 2010: 256)

As a first speaker, the interviewer is responsible for each first pair part of a Q&A sequence – in fact, the interviewer has an obligation to "do questioning" (Clayman, 2010: 257). The elicitation of an evaluation from the player can be done in a variety of ways; direct questioning being only one of them. Another one is offering an evaluation for the player to agree to or to refute. As argued above, journalist and player are both professionals, and journalists – also as representatives of an informed audience – seek

to display their own professional expertise by asking knowledgeable questions or by putting forward assessments based on knowledge and experience in the field. Thus, the ritual foregrounding of the player's perspective as epistemically more authoritative requires some skill and careful handling of the epistemic balance necessary for a successful interview.

Notes

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1. For the German language dataset, reference to *ich denk/ich glaub/ich mein* includes the variants *ich denke/ich glaube/ich meine* as well as variants with reversed order such as *denk(e) ich/glaub(e) ich/mein(e) ich*.

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Appendix

Main GAT2 transcription conventions (Selting et al. 2011)	
[]	overlap and simultaneous talk
=	fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)
:, ::, :::	lengthening, according to duration
Accentuation	
SYLlable	focus accent
sYllable	secondary accent
!SYL!lable	extra strong accent
Final pitch movements of intonation phrases	
?	rising to high
,	rising to mid
–	level
;	falling to mid
.	falling to low
In- and outbreaths	
°h / h°, °hh / hh°, °hhh / hhh° in- / outbreaths according to duration	
Pauses	
(.)	micro pause, estimated, up to 0.2 sec. duration appr.
(-)	short estimated pause of appr. 0.2–0.5 sec. duration
(--)	intermediary estimated pause of appr. 0.5–0.8 sec. duration

(--)	longer estimated pause of appr. 0.8–1.0 sec. duration
Other	
((coughs))	non-verbal vocal actions and events
<<coughing>>	descriptive/interpretative comment with indication of scope
()	unintelligible passage

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