

Anglicisms and word axiology in homosexual language

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Among those areas linked to the forbidden, homosexuality has traditionally met one of the strongest interdictions. Given the taboo nature of homosexuality, it is our purpose in this paper to gain an insight into the axiological values that anglicisms present in the Spanish homosexual vocabulary. The analysis of the different types of anglicisms in a sample of 253 English borrowings reveals that pure anglicisms (including clippings and initialisms) are the most frequently used, followed by pseudoanglicisms. Calques, hybrids and adapted anglicisms are used less often to refer to homosexuality. The research carried out reveals that anglicized units perform different X-phemistic functions in homosexual discourse: not only that of softening or avoiding the use of a taboo term in Spanish but also displaying in-group solidarity or referring to homosexuality disparagingly. Homosexual-related anglicisms promote innovative uses of the Spanish language and provide evidence of a special kind of language used by homosexuals.

Keywords: anglicism, taboo of homosexuality, axiology, euphemism, dysphemism

1. Introduction

There are certain areas in human life which are intrinsically linked to the forbidden and the unspeakable and are therefore considered taboo.¹ Sexuality (and its less physical counterpart, eroticism) is one of these areas. Among sex-related

1. It is important to distinguish between *taboo* and *linguistic taboo*. Wardhaugh (2010, p. 234) defines taboo as “the prohibition or avoidance in any society of behavior believed to be harmful to its members in that it would cause them anxiety, embarrassment or shame”, whereas the linguistic taboo is the term that is avoided in public discourse and usually replaced by a euphemism.

topics, homosexuality has usually met the strongest interdiction.² Whether owing to social, moral or religious impositions, the fact remains that homosexuality has, at least until recently, traditionally remained hidden and related with marginality. Indeed, the association between marginality, sin and homosexuality has made homosexuals easy targets for every sort of intolerance and repression throughout the years (see Rodríguez González, 2008a, Introduction). In fact, male and, above all, female homosexuals do not conform to what is expected on men and women according to dominant male heterosexist ideology (Cameron & Kulick, 2006; Coates, 2013), which makes them a social group subject to discrimination and social stigma. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that homosexual practices and tendencies have traditionally remained hidden and removed from our consciousness. Although the censorship surrounding sex has progressively relaxed in Western democratic societies, it is true that social and religious intransigence still holds out in some social groups nowadays in which interdictions surrounding homosexuality are very powerful; in fact, in some Muslim communities homosexual practices are legally sanctioned today. The pervasiveness of the homosexual taboo demonstrates that, as BurrIDGE (2004, p. 199) put it, what is taboo is not only untouchable, disturbing and unmentionable, but also powerful.

The stigma attached to the taboo of homosexuality is, as could not be otherwise, reflected on language (see Ayto 2007, pp. 104–110). This taboo subject keeps people from avoiding homosexual-related terms; rather, language users tend to either preserve or violate the prescription, in a proof of the paradoxical nature of the taboo which compels people to refer to the concepts themselves, despite the interdiction that surrounds them. In the verbalization of concepts related to homosexuality, people resort to different X-phemistic varieties between the two major modalities of taboo naming: *euphemism*, i.e., the process whereby the taboo is stripped of its most explicit or obscene overtones and *dysphemism*, i.e., the process thanks to which the most pejorative traits of the taboo concept are highlighted with an offensive aim to the addressee or to the concept itself.

The recourse to borrowings taken from other languages constitutes a powerful source of sexual X-phemistic reference. In fact, Spanish people turn to English borrowings to talk about a wide range of sex-related issues, as demonstrated in previous studies (Rodríguez González, 2008b; Crespo-Fernández & Luján-García, 2013). The use of anglicisms as a way to cope with taboo subjects does not come as a surprise. Indeed, the impact of English on Western societies is so pervasive that

2. In this paper we go beyond the conception of homosexuality as the attraction between people of the same sex. We consider here both male and female homosexuality as well as bisexuality and transgender issues; that is, we explore the vocabulary related to what is known as the *LGBT* ('Lesbian. Gay. Bisexual. Transgender') community.

English has become the *lingua franca* in today's world, the language that people from different countries and cultures share (Jenkins, 2007; Fischer & Pulaczewska, 2008; Furiassi, Pulcini, & Rodríguez González, 2012a). And Spain is not, of course, an exception. The imprint of English in the Spanish language is reflected in a range of studies which have accounted for the role of English words in the Spanish lexicon in such different areas as advertising (van Hoof Comajuncosas, 2006), computers (Bolaños Medina & Luján-García, 2010), sports (Rodríguez González, 2012), fashion and beauty (Balteiro & Campos, 2012), or the film industry (Luján-García, 2013), among others.

In this regard, it is our purpose in this paper to gain an insight into the axiological values that anglicisms present in Spanish. To this end, we analyze the X-phemistic (i.e., euphemistic, dysphemistic, and quasieuphemistic) references to homosexuality or, more precisely, to LGBT issues (see Note 2) in a sample of anglicisms taken from a thematic dictionary by Félix Rodríguez González: *Diccionario gay-lésbico* (Rodríguez González, 2008a). This seems to prove a worthy enterprise, because, to the best of our knowledge, no study, apart from our own (Crespo-Fernández & Luján-García, 2013), has considered so far the phenomenon of anglicism as a purely X-phemistic device. Here we depart from two hypotheses: first, sex-related anglicisms abound in homosexual language in Spanish; and second, different types of anglicized items perform a variety of X-phemistic functions in homosexual discourse: not only that of softening or avoiding the use of a taboo term in Spanish but also displaying in-group solidarity, attracting people's interest or talking about homosexuals and homosexual-related issues disparagingly.

This paper is structured as follows: after introducing some theoretical considerations regarding anglicisms and X-phemism, we present the data and the methodology used in our study. Then, we will proceed to examine the axiological values of the anglicisms encountered in the sample data, which constitutes the primary focus of this paper. A summary of the results obtained will bring this study to an end. We will finally present five appendixes which compile the different types of anglicisms excerpted from the corpus.

2. Anglicism and X-phemism

We cannot go any further without delimiting the key concepts in this study, namely the anglicism in its different linguistic forms (pure anglicisms, adapted anglicisms, hybrids, calques, and pseudoanglicisms) as well as the diverse varieties of X-phemism used in taboo naming (euphemism, dysphemism, and quasieuphemism).

2.1 Anglicisms and their typology

As said earlier, anglicism is one of the linguistic resources of taboo naming. It is essential to establish a typology of anglicisms as a basis for the analysis of the sample. The classification that we will follow here is based on the taxonomies of anglicisms proposed by Lorenzo (1996) and Furiassi, Pulcini, and Rodríguez González (2012b), which will be adapted to the specific features of this particular research. These typologies have not been chosen at random. They are widely accepted in research on lexical anglicisms in Spanish and are quite encompassing, since they cover most of the kinds of loanwords that may appear in a given language including a type of borrowing which is becoming extensively used, that of *pseudoanglicisms* or *false anglicisms*. In accordance with this, the following kinds of anglicized items will be considered here:

- *Pure (or non-adapted) anglicisms*. Terms which keep their original English spelling and meaning, despite their use in Spanish. In many cases, people intend to reproduce – more or less successfully – the English pronunciation of these lexical borrowings. Some pure anglicisms found in this study are *cruising* and *escort*. Clippings of full English forms like *bisex* and *les* – borrowed in Spanish as shortened forms of *bisexual* and *lesbian* respectively – are included in this category. Initialisms, i.e., abbreviated units which are formed from the initial letters of English words and pronounced as a series of letters like *FTM* ‘Female to Male’, are also considered as pure anglicisms.
- *Adapted anglicisms*. Words or multi-word units borrowed from English “with orthographic, phonological and/or morphological integration into the structures of the recipient language” (Furiassi et al., 2012b, p. 6). This means that the English word is either orthographically, phonologically, or morphologically adapted to Spanish. Examples of this category of anglicism are *quin* and *dragcuin*, words adapted to Spanish morphology from *queen* and *drag queen* respectively. The English loanwords can be *partially* assimilated (as in *auting*, from *outing*, in which there is an adjustment of pronunciation and spelling to Spanish in the first syllable whereas the final English *-ing* is retained) or *fully* assimilated (as in *léder*, from *leather*). It is important to note here that, during the borrowing process, some originally pure anglicisms tend to be eventually adapted to Spanish either phonetically, morphologically or in spelling: what today is regarded as a pure anglicism may, with the passing of time and its continuous use, turn into a partially or wholly adapted anglicism.³

3. In any case, as we have adopted here a synchronic approach to language data, we are not concerned with the evolution of the English words first borrowed into Spanish as non-adapted anglicisms.

- *Hybrids*. Free combinations of a Spanish term and an English word. Multi-word units like *hacer outing* ‘to reveal one’s homosexual condition’ or *fiesta black* ‘a gay party where people wear black leather clothes’ fall into this category. The English element in these multi-word units may present different degrees of adaptation, from the fully adapted *crossin* from *cruising* (in *hacer un crossin*) to the non-adapted *outing* in *hacer outing*.
- *Calques*. Words or multi-words units translated from English which are used to refer to new concepts in the target language. Typical examples of morpheme-by-morpheme loan translations found in our sample are *cuarto oscuro* and *poder rosa*, calques of *dark room* and *pink power* respectively. For the sake of simplicity, the different types of indirect loans proposed by Furiassi et al. (2012b, pp. 7–8) – loan translations, loan renditions, and loan creations – are considered here as calques.
- *Pseudoanglicisms* or *false anglicisms*. Lexical units based on English patterns which have an English appearance although they do not exist in that language and therefore are not attested in English dictionaries. These terms are fully or partially borrowed from English but used with a different meaning in Spanish in which they turn out to be “fake” English words. Even some authors have questioned the status of anglicism itself for these anglicized formations. Heath (1994), for example, considered pseudoanglicisms as “borrowings of grammatical morphemes” rather than as “true” anglicisms. It is of note that false anglicisms are not always easy to identify and categorize (Rodríguez González, 2013, pp. 124–146). In fact, the diversity of classifications proposed so far account for the complexity of the pseudoanglicism. A good case in point is that proposed by Furiassi (2010, pp. 38–52). This author puts forward a total of eight types of pseudoanglicisms: autonomous compounds (*nude look*), autonomous derivatives (*footing*), compound ellipses (*shopping*), clippings (*relax*), semantic shifts (*slip*), eponyms (*liberty*), toponyms (*bermuda*), and generic trademarks (*rimmel*). Examples of false anglicisms in the Spanish homosexual vocabulary are *burgay* ‘upper-middle class and conservative homosexual’, *maribuilding* ‘male homosexual concerned with his physical appearance’, and *gayhetero*, a syntactic pseudoanglicism which coexists with the English word *heterogay* and with the phonologically adapted *galletero* (Rodríguez González, 2013, p. 127). Despite the fact that their signifiers are taken directly from English, these anglicized items do not have a meaning in English; hence their consideration as *false* English words.

2.2 X-phemism and X-phemistic categories

Studying word axiology involves reflecting on the positive and negative connotations and value judgments attached to language units, which necessarily implies looking at the X-phemistic force of words in discourse. We will follow here Allan and Burridge's (2006) approach to the subject. These scholars coined the cover term X-phemism to explain the set union of euphemistic and dysphemistic functions that words perform in discourse. They define X-phemism in relation to the notion of face (i.e., public self-image the speaker wants for him or herself in society, according to Brown and Levinson [1987]) as the degree of face affront which is caused by the X-phemistic verbal expression. As Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 32) put it, "dysphemism is a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum and/or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance", whereas euphemism is an expression which is used to "avoid possible loss of face by the speaker, or also the hearer or some third party". From this viewpoint, euphemism is the use of mild-sounding words to avoid a possible loss of face both to the speaker and hearer, whereas dysphemism leads to an overt face affront. To these major types of taboo naming these scholars add the category of orthophemism as that which provides an axiologically neutral reference to the taboo topic, usually through direct and literal language.

As Casas Gómez (2012, p. 44) claims, the boundaries between euphemism and dysphemism are not always clear-cut in real discourse. On many occasions, the location (i.e., the form of words) does not coincide with the illocution (i.e., the aim of a speaker in making an utterance). We will refer to these axiological categories – which basically correspond with Allan and Burridge's (2006) "dysphemistic euphemism" and "euphemistic dysphemism" – as *quasieuphemism* and *quasidysphemism*. To the former belong those items which are used positively, as a means to display friendship, affection, or intimacy despite their dysphemistic location, whereas the latter includes those words and expressions which are intentionally offensive despite their social acceptance, i.e., euphemistic, disguise.

We can distinguish, in turn, different types of X-phemistic units depending on the function they perform in discourse. The different X-phemistic categories take their names from the communicative functions they serve in discourse (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, p. 47): *consolatory* (X-phemism used to assist to cope with the death of a loved one); *protective* (to avoid offence); *provocative* (to attract someone's interest); *underhand* (to deceive and misrepresent); *uplifting* (to upgrade and magnify); *cohesive* (to display in-group solidarity); *complimentary* (to praise); *dirty* (to sexually stimulate the partner); *ludic* (to defuse the seriousness of taboo topics); and *derogatory* (to make a socially acceptable criticism). Some of these X-phemistic types are typical of (and limited to) certain discourse types and

communicative situations. For instance, the so-called consolatory euphemism is characteristic of obituaries and epitaphs whereas uplifting euphemism is usually found in advertising. As we will see in the course of our analysis, the anglicized units found in the sample consulted perform some of the above commented communicative functions in homosexual discourse.

3. Data and methodology

Prior to the analysis of the sample of X-phemistic anglicisms, we will briefly present the corpus and the methodology used to retrieve and interpret the data.⁴

As said in the Introduction, the anglicized units which constitute the language data for the present research have been excerpted from a sex-related thematic dictionary by Félix Rodríguez González: *Diccionario gay-lésbico* (Rodríguez González, 2008a). Even though the use of other sources such TV series, movies, newspapers or Internet forums could have been used to extend and further update the sample, our choice of this dictionary as data source is not at random; rather, it responds to a double criteria. First, *Diccionario gay-lésbico*, although published a few years ago, paints a full picture of the vocabulary of homosexuality and LGBT issues in Spain: it is an extensive dictionary which includes around 1,500 entries. Rodríguez Gonzalez, free from prejudice or self-censorship, collects terms and expressions which designate concepts subject to a high degree of interdiction, even in our times. This lexicographer also includes lexical units belonging to both oral and written English and to different language registers, from medical English to the slang of homosexual prostitution. Second, by gathering data from a dictionary exclusively devoted to homosexuality, we believe that basic principles of data compilation like the representativeness and homogeneity of the sample are followed.

The research methodology followed here corresponds to the adoption of a “bottom-up” approach to analyze the data obtained: first, certain linguistic data is selected; second, that data is classified and interpreted; and third, some conclusions are reached from the data collected. In this sex-related dictionary we have collected all types of words and expressions of English origin concerning the topic of homosexuality. We have not limited our sample to the so-called *pure* anglicism, that in which the influence of English is more evident; rather, as said in the

4. We must make it clear that the research presented here cannot be considered as a typical corpus-based analysis of homosexual-related anglicisms. We do not rely on quantitative data derived from a large database, as happens in the tradition of corpus linguistics. This does not mean, however, that our language data is not systematically collected or analyzed, as explained in this section.

previous section, we have selected all types of Spanish words or expressions which have been influenced by English in some way or another, giving way to adapted and hybrid anglicisms, calques, and pseudoanglicisms.

After having collected all the anglicized units related to homosexuality encountered in the dictionary, we proceeded to classify them according to their axiological value, i.e., as euphemistic, dysphemistic, or quasieuphemistic units. To this end, given that X-phemistic units do not perform their communicative function in isolation, we looked at the context in which the anglicism in question occurs. This information is contained, in the vast majority of cases, in the entries of the dictionary. We should not forget that, as Allan and Burridge (2006, p. 51) claim, a given word or expression is not euphemistic or dysphemistic *per se*; rather, its mitigating or offensive force considerably depends on the context in which it occurs. Therefore, the examination of the communicative context provides us with the X-phemistic quality of a given lexical unit. It is worth noting that we collected all the anglicized items which refer, in some way or another, to homosexuality and, by extension, to LGBT issues. Take the word *fisting*, for example. Although *fisting* primarily designates a sexual practice typical of sadomasochism, it is also related to homosexuality (Rodríguez González, 2008b, p. 259) and is therefore included in our sample.

Before moving to the analysis of the anglicisms found, it is remarkable to say that all the morphological variations of a given word (for example *leatherón*, *letherón*, and *lederón*) are counted as individual items. It is also to be noted that in those words which present more than one X-phemistic value depending on their context of use (*dyke*, for example, is halfway between the categories of dysphemism and quasieuphemism) both axiological values are considered.

4. Analysis and discussion

In order to analyze the axiological value of LGBT-related anglicisms we will first distinguish the different types of anglicized units compiled in the corpus consulted. The total amount of anglicized items found is 253. Figure 1 displays the number of borrowings in the different types of anglicisms encountered in the dictionary.

The first noticeable quality here is that the pure anglicism is, by far, the most relevant type of borrowing from a quantitative point of view: a total number of 159 borrowings from English used in Spanish with an English spelling and meaning have been found in our sample, which makes up 62.8% out of the total number of anglicisms encountered. Within this category there are 10 clippings and 13 initialisms (see Appendix I). The category of pure anglicisms is followed by that of pseudoanglicisms (see Appendix V), which is the source of 42 “false”

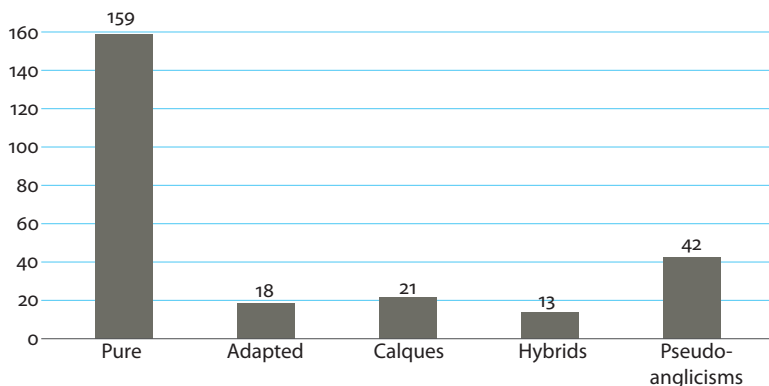


Figure 1. Scores of anglicisms with a breakdown of the different types

English words (16.6%). Calques and adapted anglicisms are less relevant in quantitative terms, with 21 (8.3%) and 18 (7.1%) cases encountered respectively (see Appendices IV and II). The least frequent variety of anglicism is that of hybrids: 13 formations (5.1%) in which Spanish and English combine have been detected (see Appendix III).

The anglicized units which fall into the aforementioned categories perform different axiological values in the sample consulted. Figure 2 graphically shows in quantitative terms the euphemistic, dysphemistic, quasieuphemistic, and orthophemistic units encountered in Rodríguez González's dictionary.

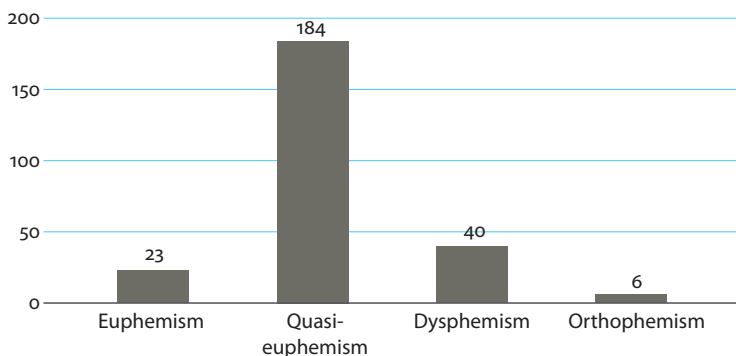


Figure 2. X-phemistic categories of anglicisms

As seen in Figure 2, the category of quasieuphemism is, by far, the most relevant in quantitative terms: anglicism is responsible for a total of 184 cases of quasieuphemistic naming, which makes up more than two thirds out of the total number of anglicized units collected (72.7%). This X-phemistic modality is followed by dysphemism, with 40 items (15.8%), and by euphemism, with 23 cases (9.1%).

Orthophemism is the least relevant category from a quantitative point of view, with only six cases detected (2.3%).

In what follows we will study the axiological values of anglicisms in the language of homosexuality. We will start by considering the mitigating function that anglicized units perform.

4.1 Euphemistic anglicisms

As pointed out before, 23 English loanwords perform a euphemistic function in the sample data. These anglicisms tend to soften the sense of obscenity, vulgarity or rudeness associated with the Spanish term; in fact, the English word does not usually contain the negative connotations that the Spanish equivalent has. The most popular anglicism within this category is *gay*, a term which does not perform a real euphemistic function in Spanish nowadays; rather, it is halfway between the categories of orthophemism – as it provides an axiologically neutral reference to the male homosexual in some contexts – and quasieuphemism – insofar as the word has been adopted by the male homosexual community in Spain and Spanish-speaking America (Stewart, 1999, p. 159), which can be seen in the extensive lexical family that the term has generated, as we will see below. *Gay* was originally chosen and used by male homosexuals because of the positive connotations it carried to refer to homosexuals in contrast to the more descriptive *homosexual* and to the colloquial and pejorative words *marica*, *sarasa*, and *bujarrón* (Rodríguez González, 2008b, p. 249). Despite the fact that *gay* is generally used in Spanish as a near synonym of *homosexual* and as an in-group word by the male homosexual community, we should bear in mind, following Rodríguez González (2008b, pp. 251–252), that *gay* is not always accepted as neutral or positive: “What happens is that in general language, especially in heterosexual circles (...) *homosexual* is taken as a generic term, which gives it a certain neutral air, and *gay* is still colored by a degree of social stigma.”

The high frequency of the pure anglicism *gay* in Spanish leads to a considerable number of compound nouns (*gay shop*, *gay side*, *friendly-gay*), blends (*gayby*, *gaydar*), and derivatives (*gaidad*, *gayería*, *gayismo*) in which the original orthophemistic value of *gay* changes. Indeed, the anglicized units in this lexical family serve quasieuphemistic purposes: first, to provide in-group words for the homosexual community; second, to sound fashionable and attract people’s interest on the topic in question. These items are, therefore, cases of the so-called *cohesive* and *provocative X-phemisms*.

One of the most popular anglicized items in the field of homosexuality is the calque *salir del armario*, a word-for-word translation of the English *come out of the closet* (‘reveal one’s homosexual orientation’). This expression is an occurrence

of the CONTAINER metaphor which provides the euphemistic basis for homosexuality. By virtue of this metaphor conventional society is seen as a bounded and closed space. This view of society evokes pressure and difficulties to get out to the exterior and, by so doing, get sexually liberated. Following the well-known cognitive-linguistic framework of the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor,⁵ the underlying metaphor can be postulated as SOCIETY IS A CLOSET IN WHICH HOMOSEXUALS ARE LOCKED UP (see Crespo-Fernández, 2015, pp. 107–108). Curiously enough, the English expression has been borrowed by Spanish as a calque, whereas the words this phrase is made up of have been borrowed as pure anglicisms: *come*, *out*, *outing*, and *closet*. In this way, by way of ellipsis, an extra-euphemistic effect is achieved. The CLOSET metaphor has also given way to the pure anglicism *inning* to refer to the fact of not revealing one's sexual orientation. It is worth noting that in the use of isolated words belonging to the CLOSET metaphor, euphemism combines with quasieuphemism: these words are used by people belonging to the homosexual community with no intention to hide or mitigate the topic of homosexuality. Apart from its euphemistic (or quasieuphemistic) component, a taste for snobbery or prestige seems to justify the use of English loanwords like *inning* or *outing* to refer to homosexuality.

Another anglicized unit with a euphemistic function is *escort*. Although originally referred to female prostitution, by way of broadening or semantic generalization this pure anglicism is used to avoid referring to the taboo of homosexual prostitution in an undeviating way.⁶ *Escort* refers to high-class prostitution, far from the dark side of street prostitution, commonly associated with venereal diseases, delinquency, etc. In this way, *escort* is an example of the so-called *uplifting* euphemism in which mitigation combines with expressive enhancement to refer to the topic of prostitution (Casas Gómez, 2012, pp. 53–54). In addition, this word can be considered a case of *protective* euphemism in that it aims at avoiding personal discrimination and, in this way, serves to maintain the speaker's face or public self-image.

5. Contemporary Metaphor Theory claims that metaphor is a device with the capacity to structure our conceptual system which provides a particular understanding of reality and a way to make sense of our experience. In this regard, Lakoff (1993, p. 203) defines metaphor as “a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system”, that is, a set of conceptual correspondences from a source domain (the realm of the more concrete reality) to a target domain (the concept we want to talk about, homosexuality in our case).

6. The revelant role of euphemistic anglicisms in the field of prostitution does not come as a surprise. Most of the anglicisms related to prostitution (*escort*, *call-girl*, *night club*, etc.) perform a euphemistic function (Crespo-Fernández & Luján-García, 2013).

Anglicism also performs a euphemistic function in the areas of lesbianism and transvestism. Three pure anglicized units detected in our sample indirectly refer to lesbianism: *girls crush* ('lesbian attraction') and *only for women* and *women only* ('only for lesbians'). Concerning transvestism, there are two entries which Rodríguez González labels as euphemisms: *cross-dresser* and *cross-dressing*. Although these phrases actually belong to homosexual slang, this lexicographer has found them in anthropological essays with a clear euphemistic reference to the taboo concept.

It is important to note that euphemistic anglicisms function as *protective* X-phemisms. The already commented words *gay*, *cross-dresser*, or *escort* as well as other euphemistic compounds like *homo-mobbing* 'harassing homosexuals in their workplace' are used in communication in order to avoid referring to non-heterosexual people disparagingly. Euphemistic anglicism thus conforms to the so-called PC (politically correct) language as a form of linguistic behavior that attempts to avoid discrimination against sexual minorities (see Allan & Burridge, 2006, Chapter 4). In this way, anglicism allows the speaker to save one's social image in communication.

4.2 Quasieuphemistic anglicisms

The vast majority of anglicized words found in the sample (184) are used with a quasieuphemistic value: not only as a sign of cohesion within a group with the same sexual orientation or gender identity but also as a way to attract attention to the topic. Quasieuphemistic anglicisms therefore do not really aim at avoiding or concealing homosexuality and homosexual-related issues. They refer to a wide range of concepts typical of the LGBT community, as we will see in what follows.

An area which constitutes a breeding ground for quasieuphemistic references is that of sexual practices. Here we have found, among others, the pure anglicisms *cruising* or *cottaging* 'looking for homosexual partners', *shaving* 'erotic shaving of the head', and *barebacking* 'anal penetration without a condom'.⁷

Another field in which quasieuphemistic anglicisms abound is that of the names used in reference to the different subcultures and stereotypes within the LGBT community, many of which of metaphorical origin: *bear*, *cub*, *daddy*, and *leatherman* as types of male homosexuals (see Rodríguez González, 2008b, p. 254);

7. As Rodríguez González (2008a, p. 39) notes, the anglicism *barebacking* derives from the English adverb *bareback* which in the jargon of riding means "riding without a straddle". The analogy here between riding without a straddle and practising anal penetration without a condom is evident. Therefore, *bareback* is an instantiation of the dysphemistic conceptual metaphor TO COPULATE IS HORSE RIDING (Crespo-Fernández, 2015, pp. 152–153).

*butch*⁸ and *lipstick* to refer to a masculine and a feminine lesbian respectively; and *drag* and its compounds *drag king* and *drag queen* in the area of transvestism.⁹ It is noteworthy that calques coexist with some of the aforementioned pure anglicisms (*oso/bear*; *papi*, *papito*, *papaíto/daddy*) in the quasieuphemistic reference to homosexual stereotypes. Together with pure anglicisms, morphologically adapted anglicisms are used to categorize groups of people within the LGBT community like *dragcuin* and *lederón*, fully adapted to Spanish from English *drag queen* and *leatherman* respectively. Equally used to designate types of lesbians we find the hybrid formation *lesbiana light*. A considerable number of clipped anglicisms typical of non-formal registers (*bisex*, *lesbi*, *homosex*, and *transex*) as well as hyphenated clipped compounds of an English origin (*gay-lesbi*, *gay-lesbi-trans*) are also employed to refer to LGBT stereotypes.

The pure anglicism *queer* deserves a closer look. This word clearly exemplifies that the axiological value of existing words may change with usage over time. As attested in Rodríguez González's (2008a, p. 385) dictionary, *queer* is, from a purely semantic viewpoint, a negative or, at least, non-positively loaded word (its original meaning is 'weird' or 'strange'), and it was indeed used pejoratively to refer to homosexuals in English until the 1970s, when the word started to be used as a euphemism. During the 1980s the term was adopted by a subgroup within the LGBT community and used as a sign of identity. For queer activists the quality of being eccentric that *queer* expresses is seen in positive terms: it defines a particular LGBT identity, less conformist than that of the "traditional" gay community, which praises an alternative social model for LGBT people, deliberately subjective and ambiguous (Mira, 2002, pp. 601–602). In this sense, *queer*, first used in Spanish in the mid-1990s, presents a quasieuphemistic value and performs a cohesive function in discourse. An example of the way *queer* is used to promote in-group solidarity can be seen in the formula used by the first lesbian queer group in Spain (called LSD, an initialism standing for *Lesbianas sin duda* 'Lesbians without doubt') as a sign of identity which appeared in 1994 in the fanzine *Non-Grata*: "Yo soy queer, yo soy diferente" 'I am queer, I am different' (Rodríguez González, 2008b, p. 254).

8. Despite the image of roughness that first comes to mind, *butch* is not used offensively in the lesbian community; rather, this term provides (and has long provided) a sense of sexual identity and in-group cohesion (Lapovsky & Davis, 2014) and therefore belongs to the category of quasieuphemism.

9. It is worth mentioning that the anglicism *drag queen* has acquired connotations that the Spanish term *travesti* 'transvestite' does not carry. Whereas *travesti* derives from heterosexual and homophobic views based on discrimination against sexual minorities, *drag queen* implies a sense of pride in wearing female clothes for performance in public places (Mira, 2002, p. 238).

Queer is also used both in English and as a pure anglicism in Spanish to refer to certain academic disciplines dealing with LGBT issues, namely *queer studies* and *queer theory*, as well as the cultural manifestations of queer groups: *queer cinema* or *queer rock*. Of course, no offence or mitigation of the taboo of homosexuality is intended; rather, *queer* is here part of a specialized usage in which homosexuality is seen as a sign of cultural identity that is worth looking at from a sociological or anthropological perspective. From this viewpoint, *queer* performs an uplifting function, based on the belief that homosexuality is no longer shameful or taboo but a wide-ranging social and political movement whose influence cannot be ignored. It is with the quasieuphemistic values commented that *queer* has been borrowed in Spanish. It should be highlighted that not only has *queer* generated an array of compound nouns, as already seen (*queer cinema*, *queer studies*, *queer theory*, etc.) but also some derivatives based on the English term (*queerizar*, *queerización*, *queerness*, *queerzine*) found in homosexual discourse in Spanish. Let us see an example of use excerpted from Rodríguez González's (2008a, p. 387) dictionary: "Podríamos imaginar su queerness como parte positiva de su atractivo para un público ansioso de asegurar su autoridad" 'We could imagine his queerness as the positive part of his attraction for an audience eager to reassure their authority' (our translation).

A considerable number of quasieuphemistic anglicisms related to LGBT issues show a considerable degree of inventiveness and lexical creativity. Many of them are compound nouns in which the jocular component is evident like the pseudo-anglicisms *burgay* (from Spanish *burgués* 'bourgeois' and *gay*), *bollipunki* (from *bollo* – allusion to lesbianism in Spanish – and *punk*), or *machogay* (a compound consisting of two apparently antithetical words like *macho* and *gay*).

A case which clearly illustrates the change in the axiological value of English loanwords when used in reference to sex-related issues is *cock*. Despite the fact that *cock* is an outright vulgar word in English to refer to the penis, its axiological value drastically changes when used as an anglicism. In fact, this term is part of the compound noun *cockring* 'a ring placed around the penis to keep the erection', a quasieuphemistic word mostly used by male homosexuals. A similar case happens with *dyke* 'lesbian', a straight dysphemism in English which is, however, adapted in Spanish as a sign of in-group solidarity by the lesbian community.

The names given to the places associated with homosexuality tend to present a quasieuphemistic value. Here we find pure anglicisms like *cottage*, *cruising area*, *black room*, and *tea room/T-room* to refer to places where homosexual encounters take place, more or less secretly, whereas *village* designates an area where gay premises abound. Hybrid anglicisms are also employed to refer to homosexual-related places. Compound nouns consisting of a Spanish and an English word like *barrio gay* or *fiesta black* belong to the private code used by homosexuals and are

thus felt as quasieuphemisms adopted in Spanish by the LGBT community with no pejorative intention whatsoever. The same can be said of *dark rum*, an anglicism phonetically adapted to Spanish from *dark room*, a room where homosexual encounters take place which is part of saunas and clubs for gays. This meaning has its origin in the room where sensitive photographic materials are processed which is either in complete darkness or lit with a special kind of red light. The expression *dark room* is so popular among the gay community that it is not only used in Spanish as a pure anglicism; it has also generated a lexical family including the calques *cuarto oscuro* (and *sala oscura* in the case of heterosexual swinging clubs), the already mentioned adaptation *dark rum*, and the derivatives *cuartoscuro*, *cuartoscuro*, and *cuartoscuro* (Rodríguez González, 2008b, p. 257). Very close in meaning is the pure anglicism *black room*.

Before moving to the section devoted to pejorative anglicisms, there are two important remarks to be made. The vast majority of initialisms encountered in the sample present a quasieuphemistic value. For example, *MtF* and *KY* are used by the LGBT community to designate a feminine transsexual ('Male to Female') and a water-based lubricant commonly used as a lubricant for anal penetration respectively. Initialisms like *LGBT*, *GLBT*, and *GLBTI* 'Gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender' or *GLB* 'Gay, lesbian, bisexual' are halfway between the axiological categories of quasieuphemism and orthophemism: they are not only used by the LGBT community to identify those who are not heterosexual, but also appear in the media with a purely descriptive and informative, i.e., non-evaluative, intention. It is also important to mention that the main motivation behind the use of some quasieuphemistic anglicisms responds to the speaker's desire to sound high-minded or fashionable, as happens in the case of the euphemistic anglicisms *inning* or *outing* (see 4.1). This is the reason why English loanwords like *gay pride*, *gay line*, and *top* are preferred to their equivalent Spanish terms *orgullo gay*, *línea gay*, and *homosexual activo* respectively with the same quasieuphemistic value.

4.3 Dysphemistic anglicisms

Anglicism appears as a dysphemistic resource in 40 items from the sample. In these cases the English borrowing aims at highlighting the least acceptable traits of the referent in question as a means to refer to homosexual-related topics disparagingly. The dysphemistic approach to homosexuality is mostly based on metaphor, hyperbole, and humor, as we will see in some of the examples that follow.

Humor – a defining characteristic of anglicism – plays a role in naming homosexual stereotypes through anglicisms. The intentional use of the anglicism as a comic device is evident, for example, in the pure anglicisms *rustic gay* 'unsophisticated and coarse gay' and *teletubby* 'teenage homosexual' (which coexists with

the partially adapted *teletubby*). In both cases, the jocular component makes these compound words especially apt for disrespect and offence; indeed, in the first case, the anglicism exploits the lack of delicacy or refinement of the person in question; in the second, the loanword associates the homosexual to a funny children's television series character.¹⁰ There are other adopted English words in which the pejorative reference to homosexuals is evident: *homofreak*, a compound noun in which the pejorative component is based on the dysphemistic nature of *freak* 'weird' and *chubby*, used in a disrespectful way to refer to a homosexual who is plump and round. Humor is also at the core of *opus gay*, a hybrid formation which designates a religious homosexual. Here we find a case of wordplay which relies for its humorous effect on the phonetic similarity of the anglicized compound with the organization known as *Opus Dei*, a very conservative Roman Catholic organization founded in Spain. A different type of humor appears in the pure anglicism *bug chaser*, which designates the homosexual who has sexual relationships without a condom in order to contract HIV. This lexical unit refers in a frivolous way to such a serious subject as AIDS, an illness which has provoked the death of thousands of people; hence its dysphemistic value.

Metaphor is a linguistic resource which adapts to the expression of dysphemism particularly well, as it tends to reinforce, by way of conceptual analogy, the pejorative connotations of the concept referred to. There are some dysphemistic anglicisms to refer to lesbians which, following Contemporary Metaphor Theory (see Note 5), can be included in the dysphemistic conceptual equation A LESBIAN IS A MACHINE, a metaphor which has hyperbolic overtones. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2014, p. 190) considers hyperbole as a conceptual mapping whereby "we make use of a virtually impossible situation [i.e., a woman is a machine] in order to think and reason about a real one [i.e., a lesbian]". In this hypothetical situation hyperbole serves to reinforce the dysphemistic effect intended in that it contributes to paint a picture of the lesbian as a strong, powerful, even aggressive woman, leaving other possible defining features aside. These specific features of the source domain of MACHINES (which are especially apt for offence and disrespect) are singled out and highlighted for dysphemistic purposes. This can be explained by virtue of the process of metaphorical highlighting (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 91–93) whereby metaphor only focuses on some aspects of the source domain, which are applied, in our case, to target the domain of lesbianism. The selection of these aspects of the source domain which are mapped onto the target derives from the contrast that is

10. The teletubby character Tinky Winky was said to be a covert symbol of homosexuality because he was purple (the gay color) and his antenna had the form of a triangle (the gay pride symbol). On the controversy that this character caused in the UK in the late 1990s, see Kraidy (2005, pp. 106–108).

established within a speech community between a machine and a lesbian. Some occurrences of the MACHINE metaphor encountered in the sample are *caterpillar*, a term which associates lesbians to a powerful truck of this brand, and *black-and-decker*, a lexical unit which invokes the image of a drill of this manufacturer. The same notion of strength is highlighted in *maribúunker*, a pseudoanglicism used to refer to male homosexuals by way of antithesis between a typical feminine name like *Mary* and a *bunker*, i.e., a shelter, usually underground, that has strong walls to keep people safe from attacks. The intensification which characterizes metaphorical language helps to explain why hyperbolic metaphor is a useful resource to refer to lesbians disparagingly.

Another hyperbolic metaphor with dysphemistic overtones is the term *jet*. Here the language user takes a jocular approach to homosexuality by associating a male homosexual to a jet plane, an aircraft which moves by back propulsion; hence its association with anal sex typical of sexual relations between men. Hyperbole again plays a decisive role in the dysphemistic nature of the anglicism: the exaggerated view of anal intercourse that this hyperbolic metaphor transmits has the effect of enhancing those attributes which are used to represent anal penetration as a form of sexual potency. In this way, the term *jet*, which can be considered as an instantiation of the hyperbolic metaphor A HOMOSEXUAL MALE IS A BACK PROPULSION PLANE, depicts anal penetration as on top of a hypothetical intensity scale through which sexual activity can be measured in line with Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez's (2011, 2014) view on hyperbole as a cognitive mapping in which we find a hypothetical source domain including an extreme case of a scalar concept and a target domain which is the real concept we want to talk about.

English loanwords made up of the adjective *pink* are dysphemistic. The compound nouns *pink power* and *pink mafia* are pejoratively used in the Spanish press to criticize the favoritism shown to relatives or friends by those homosexuals in power. It is worth noting that this intended dysphemistic effect is achieved despite the fact that *pink* is a non-dysphemistic term which alludes to male homosexuality due to the obvious gay connotations of this color (Rodríguez González, 2008b, p. 251).

The places associated with homosexual encounters are also designated through dysphemistic borrowings. The pure anglicism *guetto* (and its orthographically adapted *gueto*) refers to the place where homosexual relationships take place. However, unlike *cottage* or *cruising area*, which belong to the private code used by homosexuals and are not inherently negative (see 4.2), *guetto* is a negatively-loaded word. The negative connotations of this term derive from its primary meaning: a dangerous place restricted to a minority of people somewhat alienated from society.

5. Conclusions

The analysis carried out demonstrates that anglicisms decisively contribute to word axiology in Spanish homosexual language. Indeed, the examination of the X-phemistic values of the anglicized units encountered in the sample reveals that different types of anglicisms provide the language user with a particular way to refer to homosexuality-related issues. Pure anglicisms (including clippings and initialisms) are the most frequently used, followed by pseudoanglicisms. Calques, hybrids, and adapted anglicisms are less frequently used in Spanish to refer to homosexuality.

Judging from the analysis of the data collected, anglicisms can be said to perform different communicative functions in homosexual discourse:

- Anglicisms are typically used with a quasieuphemistic value. English borrowings are used, in most cases, as a means to display in-group solidarity and attract people's interest on the homosexual-related topic being talked about. In this regard, anglicism is mostly a source of cohesive and provocative X-phemistic types. Another quasieuphemistic function of some anglicisms found in Rodríguez González's dictionary responds to the desire of upgrading homosexuality and considering it as an influential social and cultural movement in its own right which should be no longer regarded as a marginal phenomenon.
- Anglicisms are also a dysphemistic resource. Some English loanwords are used to refer to members of the LGBT community disparagingly. In this respect, humor considerably contributes to the dysphemistic effect intended in the derogation of non-heterosexual people. In fact, some anglicized formations rely on humor for their pejorative effect. It is worth mentioning that metaphor and hyperbole are intentionally used as comic devices and play a decisive role in the dysphemistic force of anglicisms.
- Although less relevant in quantitative terms, anglicisms may also perform a euphemistic function. Some of the items examined are cases of PC language used to avoid offence against minorities and hence save the speaker's face or social image. These euphemistic anglicisms have been found to perform both protective and uplifting communicative functions.
- Some X-phemistic anglicisms seem to satisfy the speaker's taste for snobbery or prestige and reflect an orientation towards modernity. Indeed, the anglicized word or expression is used, despite the existence of a Spanish equivalent to refer to the same denotatum, when the speaker tries to sound more fashionable or high-minded and, in so doing, attract the interlocutor's attention.

When it comes to the different types of anglicisms, it is important to say that the majority of the euphemistic units encountered in the sample (to be precise, 18 out of 23) belongs to the category of pure anglicisms, whereas pseudoanglicisms, hybrids, and adapted anglicisms tend to favor a non-euphemistic approach to the taboo of homosexuality in the form of quasieuphemistic and dysphemistic anglicized units. In any case, although it is necessary to establish a typology of anglicisms in a study like the one presented here, we should bear in mind that the anglicism categories proposed are not always clear cut: what has been considered as a pure anglicism may, with the passing of time, turn into an anglicism either fully or partially adapted to Spanish orthography, phonology, and/or morphology.

It is also to be noted that many of the anglicized formations encountered are playful coinages whose life expectancy is difficult to predict. Indeed, it seems hard to state with any certainty whether some puns based on anglicism (like *opus gay*) or pseudoanglicisms (such as *gaylopar*) currently in use are meant to last or will soon fall out of favor. And, for the same reason, one cannot foresee if some anglicized formations which a speaker may consciously invent on a single occasion for a specific communicative purpose, i.e., nonce-formations, will ever be adapted by the speech community and thus become neologisms (see Crystal, 2000). Data on frequency of occurrence is required to discard nonce-formations as words occasionally used and not likely to be part of the lexical inventory of the language. In any case, what is evident is that many anglicisms – in particular those of an offensive nature – show that language is alive and its users remarkably inventive at times.

Further in this line, although beyond of the scope of the present study, it would be interesting to know whether the anglicized units discussed in this paper are commonly used in Spanish or are part of a private code used by the LGBT community by checking for their presence in general corpora of Spanish like CREA (Reference Corpus of Contemporary Spanish) (2015), in general reference dictionaries of Spanish like DLE (Dictionary of the Spanish Language) (2014), or in dictionaries of anglicisms (Rodríguez González & Lillo Buades, 1997). Take, for example, the pure anglicisms *barebacking*, *felching*, and *homofreak*, the hybrid formations *lesbiana light*, or the adapted *queerizar*, just to mention a few. These items cannot be found in CREA or DLE and, given their specific homosexual-related meanings, they do not even appear in the dictionary of anglicisms consulted. Other anglicized formations discussed here, however, found their way, to a greater or lesser extent, into mainstream Spanish. For example, according to CREA database, *gay* appears in 369 quotations, *drag queen* in 7, *salir del armario* in 6, *bi* in 2, and *queer* in 1. Out of these items, *gay* (together with the compounds *gay-line* and *gay power*) and *drag queen* are collected by Rodríguez González and Lillo Buades's dictionary of anglicisms, and, surprisingly enough, only the term *gay* is attested in DLE. Evidence of this kind would provide valuable data for future research

regarding the frequency of occurrence of homosexual-related anglicisms and their degree of integration into contemporary Spanish.

In sum, the relevant role that anglicisms play in homosexual vocabulary stands as evidence that non-heterosexual Spanish people readily accept English borrowings as a means to talk about homosexuality and related issues. These anglicisms promote innovative uses of the Spanish lexicon, which is adapted to meet the needs of these language users. The fact that the vast majority of anglicized units encountered in the sample are non-adapted English words which perform a quasi-euphemistic function in discourse seems to confirm two important facts: first, the strong presence of English in the vocabulary of sexually “non-conventional” people in Spain; and second, the relaxation of censorship surrounding a taboo which has traditionally been subject to a high degree of interdiction.

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Appendix I. Pure anglicisms¹¹

antigay.	Someone who is against gay rights. (QE)
auntie.	An effeminate and mature male homosexual. (DY)
baby-boom gay.	Increase in the number of homosexual families with children. (QE)
baby butch.	A young lesbian on her way to become a butch. (QE)
barbie.	A young and sexually-alluring woman. (DY)
barebacking.	Anal penetration without using a condom. (QE)
bear.	Hairy and strong homosexual male. (QE)
black room.	A place to have sexual relations. (QE)
bottom.	A homosexual who adopts the passive role in the sexual relationship. (QE)
bug chaser.	A person who engages in sexual activity with HIV-positive individuals in order to contract HIV. (DY)
butch.	A masculine lesbian. (QE)
butch party.	A lesbian party for butches. (QE)
caterpillar.	A very masculine lesbian. (DY)
chap.	A male homosexual who prostitutes himself. (QE)
chubby.	A plump and round homosexual. (DY)

11. In these appendices the axiological value is indicated in brackets: DY: Dysphemism; EU: Euphemism; OR: Orthophemism; QE: Quasieuphemism.

cibergay.	A homosexual who frequently browses the Internet. (QE)
closet.	Reference to homosexuality. (EU)
cock ring/cockring.	A ring placed at the base of the penis to keep the erection. (QE)
come out.	To reveal one's homosexual identity. (EU)
cottage.	A public place where homosexuals have sexual relations. (QE)
cotting.	To have anonymous sexual relations in a cottage. (QE)
cross-dresser.	A man who wears females clothes for pleasure. (EU)
cross-dressing.	To wear females clothes for pleasure. (EU)
cruising.	To search for homosexual partners in public places. (QE)
cruising area.	A place where cruising takes place. (QE)
cub.	A young homosexual who likes to be cared and protected. (QE)
daddy.	An old, fat, or hairy homosexual. (QE)
dark room.	See black room. (QE)
dental dam.	A piece of latex used for performing safe oral sex among lesbians. (OR-QE)
divine.	A male homosexual who considers himself as a person of extraordinary beauty and charm. (QE)
drag.	Clothing used by both men and women. (QE)
drag king.	A woman dressed with men's clothes usually for performance. (QE)
drag king kong.	A strongly-built drag king. (QE)
drag queen.	A man who wears female clothes usually for performance. (QE)
drama queen.	A hysterical homosexual. (DY)
dress code / dresscode.	A set of rules indicating the manner of dress acceptable in certain (especially homosexual) clubs. (QE)
dyke.	A lesbian. (QE-DY)
dyke-friendly.	Someone empathetic and supportive with lesbians. (QE)
escort.	A male homosexual who prostitutes himself. (EU)
Europride.	Event taking place in Europe to celebrate the pride of being homosexual. (EU-QE)
fast sex.	Quick and spontaneous sexual relationship in a public place. (EU-QE)
felching.	To suck semen out of the anus of one's partner. (QE)
fist-fucking.	To insert one's fist into the vagina or anus. (QE)
fister.	A person who practises <i>fist-fucking</i> . (QE)
fisting.	See <i>fist-fucking</i> . (QE)
gay.	A homosexual. (OR)
gayby.	A child adopted by a homosexual couple. (QE)
gayby-boom.	Increase in the number of homosexual parents. (QE)
gaydar.	An intuitive ability to identify homosexual people. (QE)

gayfriendly / gay friendly / gay-friendly.	Someone empathetic and supportive with gays. (QE)
gay-line.	A telephone line to communicate with gays. (QE)
gay-line.	A telephone line to communicate with gays. (QE)
gay movie.	A film about gays' lives. (QE)
gay power.	A social movement in the 1960s that supported the rights of gays. (QE)
Gay Pride.	The idea that LGBT people should be proud of their sexual identity. (QE)
gay shop.	A shop intended for gay consumers. (QE)
gay side.	An area or club for homosexuals. (QE)
gayskin.	A homosexual with a skinhead appearance. (QE)
gay Tea-dance / gay T Dance.	An event celebrated in some clubs of big cities. (QE)
ghetto.	An area or club for homosexuals. (DY)
girls crush.	Lesbian attraction. (EU)
go fish.	To go somewhere to flirt with lesbians. (QE)
guppie.	A gay yuppie. (QE)
hetero-butch.	A heterosexual woman with a masculine appearance. (QE)
heterofriendly / hetero friendly.	See <i>friendly-gay</i> . (QE)
heterogay.	A gay who maintains a heterosexual appearance. (QE)
homofreak.	A weird and unconventional homosexual. (DY)
homo-gay.	A male homosexual. (QE)
homo-mobbing.	To harass homosexuals in their workplace. (EU)
infragay.	A homosexual who practices homosexuality sporadically. (DY)
inning.	To hide one's homosexual orientation. (EU-QE)
jet.	A male homosexual. (DY)
king.	See <i>drag king</i> . (QE)
leather.	Leather worn by homosexuals. (QE)
leatherman.	A homosexual who feels sexually aroused by leather. (QE)
leatherwoman.	A lesbian who feels sexually aroused by leather. (QE)
lesbian baby-boom.	Increase in the number of lesbian mothers. (QE)
lesbian chic.	Feminine-looking and glamorous lesbian. (QE)
lesbigay / lesbi-gay.	Combined reference to lesbians and gays. (QE)
lesbo-rock.	Rock music sung by lesbian bands or artists. (QE)
lesbothriller.	A suspense film about lesbians. (QE)
lipstick.	Feminine-looking lesbian. (QE)
lobby gay.	Homosexual pressure group. (DY)

miss (+homosexual's name).	A way to address gays in typical female discourse of male homosexuals. (QE)
muscle queen.	A muscular homosexual man. (DY)
nervous.	A reference to one's homosexual orientation. (QE)
only (for) women.	A club where only lesbian women are accepted. (EU)
out.	Referred to a homosexual who has revealed his or her sexual orientation. (EU-QE)
outing.	To publicly reveal one's homosexual orientation. (EU-QE)
pink.	Reference to homosexuality. (EU)
pink mafia.	Organised influence exerted by homosexuals as a group. (DY)
popper.	A stimulant with aphrodisiac effects used by homosexuals. (QE)
power finger.	A lesbian. (DY)
pride / Pride.	See <i>gay pride</i> . (QE)
prince.	A feminine male homosexual. (QE)
Prince Albert.	A male genital piercing. (QE)
queen.	1. See <i>drag queen</i> . 2. A mature and effeminate male homosexual. (QE)
queer.	Relative to homosexual, bisexual or transgender people. (QE)
queer cinema.	Cinema genre about homosexuals. (QE)
queer nation.	A radical group of LGBT people. (QE)
queer rock.	Rock music created by homosexuals. (QE)
queer studies.	Studies focused on queer issues. (QE)
queer theory.	Theoretical paradigm applied to queer studies. (QE)
queización.	Revision of something from a queer perspective. (QE)
queerness.	The quality of being queer. (QE)
queerzine.	A queer fanzine. (QE)
rainbow.	Reference to homosexuality. (QE)
rubbing.	Masturbation through genital frottage. (QE)
rustic gay.	An unsophisticated and coarse gay. (DY)
sadogay.	A sadomasochistic gay. (QE)
shaving.	To shave a male's head as a way to get sexually excited. (QE)
stone-butch.	A very masculine lesbian. (QE)
straight.	A heterosexual person. (QE)
superbutch.	A butch with a strong male appearance. (QE)
tea dance / tea-dance.	A dance session offered to a gay audience. (QE)
tea room / T-room.	A public toilet used as a gay meeting place. (QE)
teletubby.	A teenage homosexual. (DY)
top.	A homosexual who has an active role in sexual relationships. (QE)
trailer.	A very masculine lesbian. (DY)

transgay.	A transsexual man who is gay. (QE)
underwear.	A sex party where people strip down to their underwear. (QE)
underwear party.	See <i>underwear</i> . (QE)
village.	An area where gay clubs are located. (QE)
Wilde.	Reference to male homosexuality. (EU)
women only.	See <i>only for women</i> . (EU)
World Gay Pride.	See <i>gay pride</i> . (QE)

Clippings

<i>bi</i> .	<i>Bisexual</i> . (EU-QE)
<i>bisex</i> .	<i>Bisexual</i> . (QE)
<i>gay-lesbi</i> .	<i>Gay-lesbian</i> . (QE)
<i>gay-lesbi-trans</i> .	<i>Gay-lesbian-transsexual</i> . (QE)
<i>gaylesbitrans</i> .	<i>Gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transsexual</i> . (QE)
<i>gay-les-trans</i> .	<i>Gay, lesbian, and transsexual</i> . (QE)
<i>homosex</i> .	<i>Homosexual</i> . (QE)
<i>les</i> .	<i>Lesbian</i> . (QE)
<i>lesbi</i> .	See <i>les</i> . (QE)
<i>transex</i> .	<i>Transsexual</i> . (QE)

Initialisms

FTM / F2M.	Female to male. A male transsexual. (QE)
GLB / glb.	Gay, lesbian, and bisexual. (QE)
GLBT.	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender. (OR-QE)
GLBTI.	See <i>GLBT</i> . (QE)
GLT.	Gay, lesbian, and transgender. (QE)
GyL.	Gay and lesbian. (QE)
KY.	A lubricant used for anal penetration. (QE)
LGBT.	See <i>GLBT</i> . (OR-QE)
LGTB.	See <i>GLBT</i> . (OR-QE)
MtF.	Male to female. A female transsexual. (QE)
XL.	A big penis. (QE)

Appendix II. Adapted anglicisms

auting.	From <i>outing</i> . (QE)
barbi.	From <i>barbie</i> . (QE)
dark rum.	From <i>dark room</i> . (QE)
divain.	From <i>divine</i> . (QE)
dragcuin.	From <i>drag queen</i> . (QE)
gai.	From <i>gay</i> . (QE)

galletero.	From <i>gayhetero</i> . (QE)
Gaylandia.	An imaginary country full of happiness for gays. (DY)
gueto.	From <i>guetto</i> . (DY)
léder.	From <i>leather</i> . (QE)
lederina.	An effeminate young boy who feels sexually aroused by leather. (QE)
lederón.	A <i>leatherman</i> . (QE)
lederonga.	A leatherwoman. (DY)
poper.	From <i>popper</i> . (QE)
quin.	From <i>queen</i> . (QE)
teletuby.	From <i>teletubby</i> . (QE)
wildeano / wildiano.	Related to homosexuality. (DY)

Appendix III. Hybrids

barbie complemento.	See <i>barbie</i> . (DY)
chica gay.	A girl who has gay friends and goes to gay clubs. (QE)
fiesta black.	A gay party where people wear black leather clothes. (QE)
fiesta underwear.	See <i>underwear party</i> . (QE)
fiesta white.	A gay party where people wear white clothes. (QE)
hacer outing.	See <i>outing</i> . (EU-QE)
hacer un crosin / cruising.	See <i>cruising</i> . (QE)
hacerse un finger.	To masturbate oneself. (QE)
lesbiana light.	A lesbian who has no problem in being homosexual. (QE)
macho man.	A virile and sexually active man. (DY)
macho queen.	A mature homosexual fond of bodybuilding. (QE)
opus gay.	A very religious gay. (DY)

Appendix IV. Calques

armario.	From <i>closet</i> . (EU)
barrio gay.	From <i>gay village</i> . (QE)
cáncer de los gays / cáncer gay.	From <i>gay cancer</i> (AIDS). (DY)
cuarto oscuro.	From <i>dark room</i> . (QE)
fiesta negra.	From <i>black party</i> . (QE)
gay-área.	A place where there are gays. (QE)
gay-lesbiano.	From <i>gay-lesbian</i> . (QE)
gen gay.	From <i>gay gene</i> . (EU-QE)
movimiento de liberación gay.	From <i>Gay Liberation Movement</i> . (OR)
nación queer.	From <i>Queer Nation</i> . (QE)
orgullo gay.	From <i>Gay Pride</i> . (OR-QE)
oso.	From <i>bear</i> . (QE)
papaíto.	From <i>daddy</i> . (QE)
papi / papito.	From <i>daddy</i> . (QE)

poder gay.	From <i>gay power</i> . (DY)
poder homosexual.	From <i>gay power</i> . (DY)
poder rosa.	From <i>pink power</i> . (DY)
Príncipe Alberto.	From <i>Prince Albert</i> . (QE)
salir del armario.	From <i>come out of the closet</i> . (EU)

Appendix V. Pseudoanglicisms

blackandecker.	A very masculine lesbian. (DY)
bollipunki.	A punk lesbian. (QE-DY)
bollicout.	A lesbian who goes out with other lesbians on a trip. (QE)
burgay.	An upper-middle class and conservative homosexual. (DY)
dragformismo.	A performance of drag queens and drag kings together. (QE)
dragmanía.	Addiction to the drag movement. (QE)
dragqueenismo.	A performance by a <i>drag queen</i> . (QE)
dragquiniano.	Related to drag queens. (QE)
draguerío.	1. Quality of being a <i>drag</i> . 2. Group of <i>drags</i> . (QE)
dramaqueenismo.	Exaggeration and extravagance typical of a <i>drama queen</i> . (QE)
filogay.	Someone empathetic and supportive with gays. (QE)
fistear.	See <i>fist-fucking</i> . (QE)
fistero.	See <i>fister</i> . (QE)
friendly-gay.	See <i>gayfriendly</i> . (QE)
gaidad.	The condition of being gay. (QE)
gaismo.	See <i>gaidad</i> . (QE)
gayedad.	See <i>gaidad</i> . (QE)
gayez.	See <i>gaidad</i> . (QE)
gayicidad.	See <i>gaidad</i> . (QE)
gayería.	See <i>gay-área</i> . (QE)
gayhetero.	See <i>heterogay</i> . (QE)
gay-inero.	See <i>gay-área</i> . (QE)
gayismo.	See <i>gaidad</i> . (QE)
gaylería.	A group of gays or issues related to them. (QE)
gaylopar.	To gallop. (QE)
gayo.	A <i>gay</i> . (QE)
Gayxample.	Blending of <i>gay</i> and <i>Eixample</i> (a gay village in Barcelona). (QE)
gayzación.	The process of acquiring homosexual identity. (QE)
leatherón.	A <i>leatherman</i> . (QE)
letherón.	See <i>leatherón</i> . (QE)
machogay.	A very masculine homosexual. (QE).
maribuilding.	A homosexual concerned with his physical appearance. (DY)
maribúnker.	A tough and unpleasant homosexual. (DY)
marigayla.	A teenage homosexual. (DY)
maripiercing.	A homosexual addicted to sadomasochistic aesthetics. (DY)
ortogay.	A traditional and orthodox gay. (QE)
queerización.	Considering something from a <i>queer</i> perspective. (EU-QE)

queerizar.	To transform someone into a <i>queer</i> . (EU-QE)
renegay.	A homosexual who denies his homosexual orientation. (QE-DY)
retrogay.	A homosexual who secretly engages in heterosexual activities. (QE-DY)
taligay.	A homosexual who holds radical political views. (DY)
verdegay.	A young and inexperienced homosexual. (DY)

Resumen

La homosexualidad es uno de los ámbitos más asociados a lo prohibido y sujetos a interdicción. Dada la naturaleza tabú de la homosexualidad, en este artículo se analizan los valores axiológicos que presentan los anglicismos ligados al lenguaje homosexual. El estudio de los distintos tipos de anglicismos en una muestra de 253 préstamos revela que los anglicismos crudos (incluyendo acortamientos léxicos y siglas) son los más empleados, seguidos de los pseudoanglicismos. Este trabajo pone de relieve las funciones X-femísticas por parte de los préstamos del inglés en el discurso homosexual: no solo la función de evitar o hacer menos mal sonante el uso del tabú lingüístico en español, sino además la de crear solidaridad dentro del grupo o referirse a la homosexualidad peyorativamente. Estos vocablos, tanto adaptados como de nueva acuñación, promueven usos creativos del léxico en español y reflejan un tipo de lenguaje especial empleado por los homosexuales.

Palabras clave: anglicismo, tabú de la homosexualidad, axiología, eufemismo, disfemismo

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