



THE ANGLICIZATION OF LGBTQ+ SLANG IN SPANISH: TYPOLOGY AND PRAGMATIC MOTIVATIONS

ANDRÉS MUÑOZ GARCÍA 

Universidad de Alicante

andres.munyo@ua.es

JOSÉ A. SÁNCHEZ FAJARDO 

Universidad de Alicante

jasanchez@ua.es

ABSTRACT. This study analyzes the typology and pragmatic functions of anglicisms found in Spanish LGBTQ+ slang using language data from a self-created corpus, *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*, extracted from the Spanish queer magazines *Shangay* and *Togayther*. The anglicisms are first classified according to Pulcini et al.'s typology and then arranged and examined in terms of their semantic fields and their morphopragmatic features. Furthermore, the paper includes a case study of the lemmas *queer*, *drag*, and *gay* as well as an analysis of the ideational and expressive pragmatic functions of the anglicisms to unravel the motivations behind their use in the context of Spanish LGBTQ+ slang.

Keywords: LGBTQ+ slang, anglicisms, morphopragmatics, pragmatic functions, corpus, Spanish.

ANGLICIZACIÓN DEL ARGOT LGTBIQ+ EN ESPAÑOL: TIPOLOGÍA Y MOTIVACIONES PRAGMÁTICAS

RESUMEN. Este estudio analiza la tipología y las funciones pragmáticas de los anglicismos encontrados en el argot LGTBIQ+ español mediante el uso de material lingüístico procedente de un corpus de creación propia, *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*, extraído de las revistas queer españolas *Shangay* y *Togayther*. Los anglicismos son preliminarmente clasificados según la tipología de Pulcini et al. y examinados según sus campos semánticos y sus propiedades morfopragmáticas. Además, el análisis incluye un estudio de caso de los lemas *queer*, *drag* y *gay* y el análisis de las funciones pragmáticas ideacional y expresiva de los anglicismos para desentrañar los factores que motivan su uso en el contexto del argot LGTBIQ+ español.

Palabras clave: argot LGTBIQ+, anglicismos, morfopragmática, funciones pragmáticas, corpus, español.

Received 10/06/2025

Revised version accepted 02/11/2025

1. INTRODUCTION

The spread of English as a lingua franca is an extensively documented phenomenon, which has been particularly explored through the access and acceptance of anglicisms into many domains, as in education, media, or youth culture (Ferguson 4), as well as in those subject to social stigma and discrimination like non-standard sexuality (Crespo-Fernández and Luján-García, “Anglicisms and Word”) and more recently drug addiction (Crespo-Fernández, “Estoy en dexys”). While anglicisms are characterized by varied typologies, they also seem to be borrowed in a non-arbitrary fashion, which means that their being accepted by target-language speakers is also underpinned by specific communicative motivations. This paper concerns a typological account of the anglicization of LGBTQ+ slang in Spanish, as well as an analysis of two pragmatic motivations: ideational (or referential) and interpersonal (or expressive).

Based on a compilation of anglicisms extracted from two LGBTQ+ online magazines, our premise is grounded in the notion that the property of Englishness is linked to morphosemantic trends and pragmatic functions. Being a form of peripheral language, LGBTQ+ slang offers a clear-cut picture of how anglicisms, particularly direct lexical borrowings (see section 2.1 for a discussion of direct/indirect types of borrowings), can be employed by members of the LGBTQ+ community as discursive, community-bonding tokens. Then, the results of this study can shed light on the speakers’ attitudes towards the lexical borrowings themselves, which are, in turn, acknowledged as facilitators of in-group cohesiveness. We hypothesize that a lexical borrowing is purposefully and consensually adopted by members of a speech community, and that this linguistic consensus is made possible through a set of common typological rules and functions. Hence, this paper is aimed

at examining the morphosemantic features and pragmatic motivations of English direct lexical borrowings in LGBTQ+ Spanish slang through an examination of their formal typology, semantic variation, and ideational/expressive functions. In the morphosemantic analysis of LGBTQ+ anglicisms, this investigation also presents a case study of three high-frequency terms in the corpus (i.e., *queer*, *gay*, and *drag*) to better understand their type of grammatical and semantic shift, and to make predictions on how these peripheral words behave in the target language.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 begins by laying out the theoretical grounds of our research, particularly those involved with the typology and pragmatic motivations of lexical borrowings, in which the anglicization of LGBTQ+ slang is specifically reviewed. Section 3 is devoted to a description of the methodology employed in this study. In section 4, the main findings of the research are outlined, along with the discussion of results, where closer attention is paid to the correlation between linguistic typology and pragmatic motivations. The conclusions of the research study are drawn in section 5. Finally, the linguistic units selected for the study are presented in the Appendix.

2. DELIMITING THE SCOPE OF STUDY

2.1. *Typology of lexical borrowings*

Although the term “anglicism” is stereotypically associated with a lexical unit that is imported from English, an anglicism (or anglicized unit) might also refer to any linguistic change that is triggered by English structures in the form of an “umbrella label [used] for any sign of interference” (Gottlieb 163). Hence, rather than being limited to the lexical level, these changes can occur at the phonological, orthographic, or morphological level, where they are accepted by the host or recipient language (Spanish, in this case) as forming part of the linguistic stock (Görlach 1). What is undeniable is that an anglicism, as a form of linguistic borrowing, cannot be conceptually approached through the lens of a single linguistic level, which means that there are multiple varieties and denominations, for example, loanwords, loan translations, false anglicisms, and so forth (Gómez Capuz, *Anglicismos Léxicos* 10). All these forms of English borrowings in Spanish, their typologies, and generalizations, have been addressed by a growing body of literature, particularly in European Spanish (see, e.g., Lorenzo Criado; Pratt, *El anglicismo*; Rodríguez González, “Anglicisms in Spanish”, *El lenguaje, Gran diccionario*; Medina López; Gómez Capuz, *Anglicismos Léxicos, Los Préstamos, Lengua y Sociedad, La Inmigración Léxica*; Gimeno and Gimeno; Luján-García; González-Cruz; González-Cruz and Rodríguez Medina; among others).

In an attempt to approach the wide-ranging varieties of lexical borrowings, Pulcini et al. integrated a series of types and subtypes into a comprehensive typology, where formal and semantic properties of direct borrowing and indirect borrowing are merged, as illustrated in Figure 1. While the former involves units that are formally recognized as anglicisms (direct, as in *crush*), the latter concerns

lexical units whose property of Englishness is camouflaged in the form of translation (e.g., *salir del armario* < *come out of the closet*) or extended meaning (e.g., *viral*).

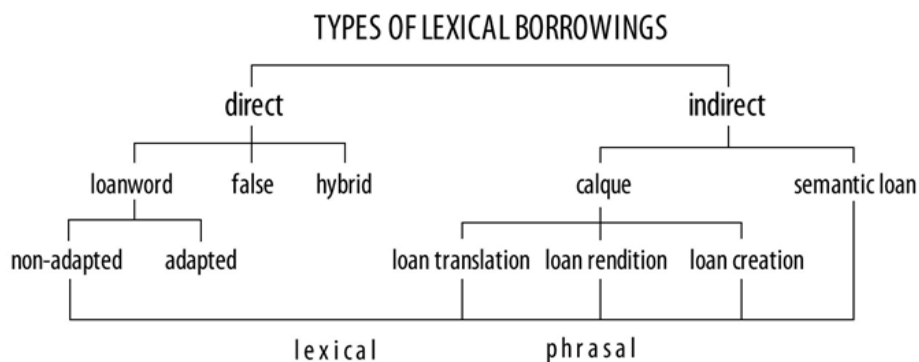


Figure 1. Typology of lexical borrowings (Pulcini et al. 6).

As regards direct lexical borrowings, Figure 1 outlines three subtypes: loanwords, false borrowings (henceforth FBs), and hybrid borrowings (henceforth HBs). Loanwords are, in turn, subdivided into two subcategories: adapted (henceforth AL) and non-adapted (henceforth NL). AL, as in *magacín* (< *magazine*) in (1), includes borrowings that result from “orthographic, phonological and/or morphological integration into the structures of the [recipient language]” (Pulcini et al. 7). Alternatively, NLs, as in *lifestyle* in (2), are words or phrases borrowed from English “without or with minor formal and semantic integration, so [they remain] recognizably English in the [recipient language]” (Pulcini et al. 6). FBs, on the other hand, are lexical units that are “made up of English lexical elements but unknown or used with a conspicuously different meaning in English” (Pulcini et al. 7), for instance, *feats* in example (3). This subcategory poses an intricate challenge as far as morphological recognizability is concerned, since their forms, although not being recognized as English words, indicate the guise of Englishness. The last subcategory, HB, as in *a full* (4), involves units that combine components of the recipient language (< Sp. preposition *a*) and the source one (< En. *full*). Notably, the examples mentioned and forthcoming ones are retrieved from the self-created corpus *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*.

- (1) *Empecé hace bastantes años en informativos y he trabajado mucho en el **magacín** y el entretenimiento.* (Shan_2024_567_32)¹

¹ The way examples are codified is further explained in section 3.

I started out in news reporting many years ago and have worked extensively in **magazine shows** and the entertainment industry.²

- (2) *No sé cuánto tiempo va a durar, pero tengo que decir que Instagram es un escaparate para mostrar lo que tú haces, tu **lifestyle**, mostrar alguna tendencia.* (Togay_2018_5_6)

I don't know how long it will last, but I have to say that Instagram is a showcase for what you do, your **lifestyle**, and trends.

- (3) *Ellas nos desvirgaron en esto de los **feats**.* (Shan_2024_569_26)

They initiated us into the world of **collabs**.

- (4) *En mi caso, dejar los curros que tenía antes y dedicarme **a full** a la música.* (Shan_2024/25_570_34)

In my case, quitting my previous jobs and devoting myself **fully** to music.

Although this paper concerns direct lexical borrowings extracted from interview transcripts employed in magazines targeting at LGBTQ+ readership, our data-compilation stage also includes all types of direct lexical borrowings, regardless of their being internationalisms or their being exclusive to the LGBTQ+ community. An internationalism, from a lexical viewpoint, is a unit or a multi-word expression that is variably adopted by a number of languages that are not necessarily 'genetically' related.³ The use of "variably" in our definition implies that an internationalism can be fully integrated into the recipient language to the extent that speakers of this language do not recognize its "foreign" etymology, as in the case of *shampoo*, *champú*, *szampon*, and *shanpū* in English, Spanish, Polish, and Japanese, respectively.

Conversely, other forms of internationalisms, particularly those arising from social media, are considered more peripheral and exhibit a limited degree of integration due to various influencing factors, such as communicative immediacy, (speaker's) approval of anglicized terms, and lack of equivalents in the target language. Examples of this form of internationalism are *influencer*, *YouTuber*, and *tweet*. Hence, a distinction should be made between a "self-consciously used 'foreign word'" (Ivir 139) and an unconsciously used nativized word. The former can be a stylistic strategy or a sociolect marker (e.g., *YouTuber*), whereas the latter is recognized as a native word (by standard speakers of the recipient language), which is not limited to any speech community (e.g., Sp. *champú*). Since one of the objectives of this research study is to unravel the pragmatic functions of anglicisms in Spanish, unconsciously nativized internationalisms are omitted from the final compilation of lexical borrowings.

² All translations from the original Spanish are by the authors unless otherwise indicated.

³ For further discussions on the term "internationalism", see, for instance, Ivir; Braun et al.; Waszakowa; Pulcini; Hacken and Panocová.

2.2. Pragmatic functions of lexical borrowings

In adopting English words in a recipient language, speakers are triggered by a series of motivations that reflect a specific communicative intentionality. The study of these motivations is of considerable utility in further understanding the non-arbitrary and self-conscious nature of lexical borrowings. The classification of pragmatic functions adopted in our study is based on Rodríguez González's categorization of functions of anglicisms in Spanish ("Functions of Anglicisms"), which is, in turn, grounded in Halliday's study of the functional components of language (*Explorations*).

According to the semantic framework of anglicisms, there are three functions or motivations: ideational (or referential), interpersonal (or expressive), and textual. This research study is particularly concerned with the first two types, which are, respectively, referent-oriented and speaker-oriented. What makes these two categories of interest is the fact that they straddle the continuum between pragmatic novelty and expressiveness. While the ideational function comes to fill a referential gap in the target language, as in *cruising* in (5), the expressive function serves an emotive or stylistic purpose, which can be perceived, by way of illustration, as a form of snobbery, as in *sex parties* in (6). Additionally, a case study of the dataset high-frequency words *queer*, *drag*, and *gay* is also conducted to provide a more detailed analysis of the linguistic behavior of anglicisms in queer Spanish.

- (5) *Hace unos días, a propósito de un artículo de prensa que olía a rancio, se abrió en las redes sociales un debate acerca del **cruising**.* (Shan_2024_567_4)

A few days ago, sparked by a press article that smelled a bit stale, a debate about **cruising** broke out on social media.

- (6) *Las [experiencias] que he vivido en **sex parties** y en festivales queer como el *Whole en Berlín*.* (Shan_2024_569_24)

The experiences I've had at **sex parties** and queer festivals like *Whole* in Berlin.

The expressive function "is usually fulfilled by words and expressions that are stylistically marked and have an emotive connotation" (Rodríguez González, "Functions of Anglicisms" 7). This means that an anglicism, being a carrier of sociocultural properties pertaining to English-speaking societies, can be adopted as a unit of expressiveness on the part of the speaker. Hence, anglicisms are employed to convey a myriad of feelings and attitudes towards a referent, which implies that these units do coexist with native forms, as happens with *bullying* vs. *acoso* in (7), and *refresh* vs. *actualización* in (8). Figure 2 shows a set of expressive categories (i.e., in-group cohesiveness, conversational implicature, euphemism, dysphemism, and emergent conversational humor), but expressiveness should not be limited to these, as feelings and emotions are wide-ranging categories.

(7) *Tuve una infancia superfeliz. Algo de **bullying** recibí, pero no me afectaba*
 (Shan_2024_569_42)

I had a very happy childhood. I experienced some **bullying**, but it didn't affect me.

(8) *Les hemos hecho un **refresh** [a los conciertos], es como cambiarles de ropita*
 (Shan_2024_569_26)

We've given them [the concerts] a **refresh**, it's like changing their clothes.

Pragmatic functions

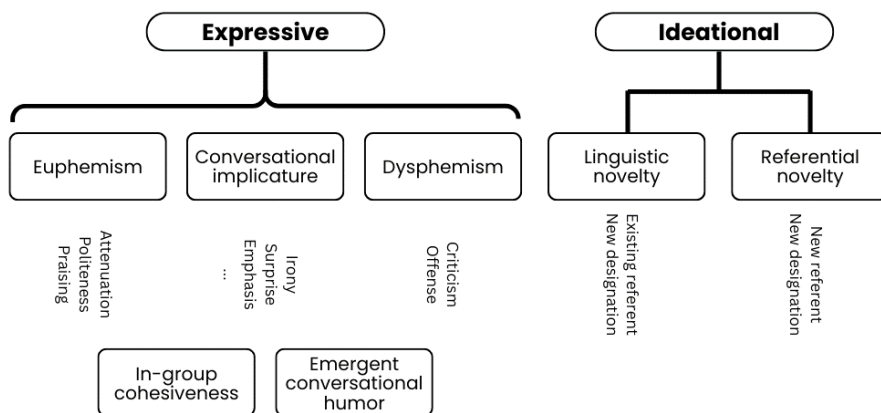


Figure 2. Expressive and ideational functions being examined as subtypes of pragmatic motivations in this study.⁴

The ideational function, conversely, is underpinned by the process through which speakers interact with the external world (Halliday, *Language as a Social* 48), which involves a series of cognitive-linguistic processes such as perception, naming, and conceptualization. Through an ideational function, particularly as regards referential novelty, foreign realities are imported and designated with the aim of filling a referential gap or niche in the target language and cultural framework. This “referential niche” has also been referred to as “ecological hole” by Pratt (*El anglicismo* 157) and “ecological space” by Hope (711). It represents a comprehensive process in the sense that anglicisms are borrowed from scratch: a nonexistent reality is first borrowed, and then goes through a conceptualization process, resulting in the designation of a linguistic form in the recipient language.

⁴ This classification has been adapted from Rodríguez González (“Functions of Anglicisms”).

Alternatively, in the case of the expressive function, a reality does not have to be imported since it already exists in the target cultural framework, although it lacks conceptualization, and, consequently, a linguistic form with which it is associated. Rather than “referential novelty,” this second type is referred to as “linguistic novelty,” as shown in Figure 2. The reason behind the absence of a linguistic dimension might lie in the nature of the referent itself. For instance, the referent might be a form of taboo in the target language or might pertain to a peripheral or nonstandard speech community. By way of illustration, see example (5) above. The anglicism *cruising* has no equivalent in Spanish, which does not mean that the act of approaching and suggesting sexual relations to someone else (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*), particularly in the gay community, constitutes a new reality in a Spanish-speaking country, but rather a reality that was acknowledged as *verboten* or interdicted, and then “condemned” to non-designation in Spanish for sociocultural reasons.

Various publications on the expressive functions of anglicisms in Spanish (see, e.g., Rodríguez González, “Functions of Anglicisms”; Rodríguez Segura; Rodríguez Medina; González-Cruz and Rodríguez Medina; Crespo-Fernández, “‘Estoy en dexys’”; González-Cruz, “Anglicizing Humor”) concur in that these subcategories might overlap, as it is difficult to discern one type of emotion in a communicative stretch. For instance, in (9), although the speaker self-consciously employs *bitch* to highlight the feelings of empowerment and confidence, this pragmatic marker also encompasses a sense of communicative cohesiveness that characterizes youngspeaks, as, according to Rodríguez González in *Anglicismos en el español*, “[y]oung people tend to change the meaning of old words and resort to foreignisms because of their exotic connotations” (qtd. in González-Cruz and Rodríguez Medina 265).

(9) *Blessed, bitch!* (*Shan_2024/25_570_34*)

A similar effect (with cohesiveness and surprise) occurs with the function of euphemism, which is abundantly expressed by lexical borrowings.⁵ These research studies converge in that an anglicism, whose native form is perceived as offensive or derisive, can be employed by a Spanish speaker to mitigate the effect of linguistic taboos or pejorative meanings, in an attempt “to be positively regarded in social context” (Crespo-Fernández *Sex in Language* 45). By means of this transfer, a borrowing perceived negatively in the original language is employed in the recipient language to replace a pejorative native term and acquires a less negative connotation in this recipient language. This study of LGBTQ+ slang allows for the expansion of our knowledge on taboo meanings and innovative communicative strategies, as well as on sociocultural frameworks, as “queerness represents a pragmatically marked semantic field in which the lexicon is highly dependent upon social factors and the communicative context” (Lo Vecchio 167).

⁵ For a discussion of anglicisms also employed as euphemistic strategies, see, for instance, Díez-Arroyo; Crespo-Fernández and Luján-García, “Anglicisms and Word”; Luján-García and Núñez Nogueroles.

2.3. Lexical borrowings and LGBTQ+ slang

Several lines of evidence suggest that LGBTQ+ communities, regardless of their countries and languages, are characterized by linguistic change and innovation, where the anglicization of lexis stands out as a frequent word-formation mechanism. This evidence includes a number of studies where the meanings and forms of anglicisms are approached in varied linguistic environments.⁶ All these studies also concur with the pragmatic role played by anglicisms, particularly their role in softening social taboo notions or terms. This role is motivated by the fact that homosexuality has been a long-standing, universal form of interdiction, which generates numerous cover-up expressions with a euphemistic or quasi-euphemistic intent.

In Spanish, the use of anglicisms by LGBTQ+ community members is also associated with multiple functions, which range from guaranteeing in-group solidarity to employing X-phemistic strategies (Crespo-Fernández and Luján-García, “Anglicisms and Word”). From a euphemistic perspective, a lexical borrowing coexists with its native counterpart while being subject to different axiological values, which thereby depend on the sociocultural properties of the referent and the pragmatic intent of the speaker. For instance, the dysphemistic forms En. *bitch* and Sp. *zorra* (or *puta*) constitute two ways of disparagingly referring to a member of the LGBTQ+ community, where the former (*bitch*) can have a higher likelihood of coming across as less offensive for various reasons. One of these reasons lies in the cognitive motivations behind the process of lexical borrowing, according to which a loanword fails at triggering a series of nuanced properties that are overtly associated with the conceptualization of the referent. Secondly, offensive terms, even the anglicized lexis, can be subject to a process of reappropriation, as happens with *bitch* in Spanish, currently employed as a harmless vocative among LGBTQ+ community members. Finally, being integrated into a native construction where the anglicized word clashes with the Spanish syntax, a loanword also contributes to mitigating its originally dysphemistic intent, as in *no seas tan bitch* (“don’t be so harsh”) or *madre mía, es la bitch de la casa* (“gosh, she’s the boss of the house”). These two examples are used in familiarity contexts where the speaker’s implicature can be perceived as humorous.

In general, the anglicization of lexis constitutes a seedbed for X-phemistic expressions in Spanish, particularly when these loanwords pertain to interdicted semantic fields, such as sex or homosexuality (Crespo-Fernández and Luján-García, “Anglicismo y Tabú” 59). However, loanwords initially adopted as forms of euphemisms could undergo a semantic transition in Spanish, whereby they gain a certain degree of semantic specificity that has nothing to do with the negative

⁶ There are multiple studies that address the adoption of lexical borrowings in LGBTQ+ communities, as observed in Polish (Witalisz, “Polish”, “Semantic Shifts”), in Spanish (Rodríguez González, *Diccionario Gay-Lésbico*, “The Feminine Stereotype”; Crespo-Fernández and Luján-García, “Anglicisms and Word”; *Anglicismos Sexuales*), in French (Białas), in German (Minning), and in Filipino (Bedoya Ulla et al.).

axiological value that was either neutralized or mitigated. See, for instance, as outlined by Rodríguez González (“Estereotipos y Términos”), the interplay of *gay* and *homosexual* in contemporary Spanish, where the latter is reserved for professional jargon (someone who is attracted to someone of the same gender). The former, however, refers to a homosexual activist who fights for the rights of the LGBTQ+ community (114). Therefore, while euphemism is a strong motivator behind the process of lexical borrowing, anglicisms are not merely employed as discreet forms for taboo words; they can form part, in fact, of new pragmatic functions that imbue LGBTQ+ members with inherent linguistic codes and strategies. Following this line of reasoning, this work aims at identifying and examining the pragmatic and semantic features of English loanwords to gain a better understanding of their expressive motivations and semantic axiology within LGBTQ+ communities in Spanish.

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this study is mixed (i.e., qualitative and quantitative), which means that the data extracted from the corpus is used (i) to identify the typological criteria and semantic fields underpinning the formation of direct lexical borrowings (e.g., pragmatic functions and semantic fields), as well as (ii) to make calculations on the frequency of the typological and grammatical categories annotated. This mixed methodology allows for establishing if there is any correlation between, say, a type of lexical borrowing, its pragmatic function, and its semantic field.

There are two general methodological stages: data compilation and data analysis. The former involves elaborating a repository of direct English lexical borrowings found in written interviews from two magazines: *Shangay* and *Togayther*. Participants are not necessarily LGBTQ+ community members but have at least a certain connection to it. Using interviews as a type of text facilitates the identification of contextual information of anglicisms, particularly in spontaneous and conversational settings. The resulting corpus is found in *SketchEngine* under the name *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*, and the dataset that is extracted from the corpus is composed of standard and LGBTQ+ specific anglicisms, in which proper names and internationalisms (e.g., *General Motors*, *champu*) are excluded.

Regarding the magazines employed in the corpus creation, *Shangay* is a monthly Spanish-language magazine founded in 1993. Catering for the LGBTQ+ community, it is divided into sections that address topics like music, theater, films, fashion, and lifestyles. Each issue includes multiple interviews with celebrities and artists who either belong to or are popular among members of the LGBTQ+ community. Even though the journal spans from 1994 to the present, its online archive only covers from 2015 to 2025, from which the latest six issues were selected because they provide sufficient data to plot the results and examine the pragmatic functions. From the full set of interviews, 37 were extracted, excluding those with non-native Spanish speakers. The second magazine is *Togayther*. It was created by a homonymous

LGBTQ+ cultural and leisure association founded in 2017 in Seville to promote queer culture, tourism, and leisure in Andalusia. The magazine, which also started in 2017, is currently issued biannually, in autumn and spring. Its publication span is from 2017 to the present, with a total of 22 issues, all of which can be found on the magazine's website. Like *Shangay, Togayther* comprises different sections dedicated to relevant issues and entertainment for the queer community. In this case, 17 interviews were extracted from issues 1 to 9 as the analysis considers the material as a whole rather than aiming to conduct a contrastive study between these two publications.

The data-analysis stage involves both a typological categorization of anglicisms and an analysis of the pragmatic functions that are interpreted from the data. The typological categorization of anglicisms is conducted on the basis of their lexical borrowing typology, semantic field, and grammatical category. The direct lexical borrowing typology is based on Pulcini et al.'s classification, as outlined in Figure 1, and the following types are assigned: AL, NL, HB, and FB. Additionally, although this study does not primarily focus on the lexicographical treatment of these anglicized units, we also confirmed if these units were included in descriptive and prescriptive dictionaries⁷ in Spanish: *Diccionario de la lengua española* (henceforth *DLE*), *Diccionario de uso del español* (henceforth *DUE*), *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas* (henceforth *DPD*), the language support platform *FundéuRAE* (henceforth *FR*), and *Gran diccionario de anglicismos* (henceforth *GDA*). Furthermore, English dictionaries like *Collins Dictionary* (henceforth *CD*), and *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (henceforth *MWD11*) are used to compare the morphosemantic features of the lexical units in the origin and recipient language, and in the case-study analysis in section 4.1.4.

Another stage in the annotation process was the classification of borrowings into semantic fields. At the preliminary stage, 19 semantic fields were established considering the meaning and use of the units. Nevertheless, some semantic fields were merged due to semantic similarity, resulting in the 11 semantic fields found in the study. Borderline cases of anglicisms that could be included in more than one semantic field were classified according to their most prevalent use. Moreover, the identified lexical categories of the analyzed borrowings include nouns and noun phrases (N(P)s), adjectives and adjectival phrases (Adj(P)s), verbs and verb phrases (V(P)s), and adverbs and adverbial phrases (Adv(P)s).

As regards the quantitative stage of this project, we calculated the number of borrowing types to identify predominant lexical categories and semantic fields. We also extracted tokens and types from the corpus. While tokens are counted for the purpose of quantitative analysis (as with frequency), types are considered in the qualitative analysis. It is noteworthy that multi-word expressions are treated as a single unit in this study, meaning that they count as one type or one token. Section 4.1.4 is devoted to a case study analysis of the three most frequent queer borrowings

⁷ In line with Bergenholtz, “descriptive” refers to the explanation of language usage, whereas “prescriptive” concerns how a particular language element should be used (68).

in *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*: *queer*, *drag*, and *gay*. These borrowings are analyzed in depth, comparing their use and semantics in the original and the target language, aiming to shed light on the development of frequent LGBTQ+ borrowings in Spanish.

Furthermore, this study employs text samples extracted from *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*, as well as from additional sections of the analyzed magazines, when necessary, to support and illustrate the theoretical claims of this study. Each example is systematically coded, beginning with an abbreviation representing the magazine (*Sban* for *Shangay* and *Togay* for *Togayther*) followed by the year of publication, the issue number, and the page number. This coding method ensures clarity and facilitates the identification of sources within the context of the study.

The last stage of the analysis concerns the pragmatic functions of anglicisms. The purpose of this stage is to unravel how referential and expressive motivations are expressed through anglicized units. Close attention has been paid to the expressive functions of language, as shown in Figure 2 above, where various subcategories are identified and examined. The categorization of the expressive functions does not mean that in determining one function, the other ones are excluded from the equation; in fact, it is possible to see more than one expressive function within the same lexical borrowing. Our choice is based on our perception of expressive predominance, which is in turn associated with the intentionality of the utterance where the lexical borrowing is employed. Additionally, the specific phraseological context of the anglicized units is considered to determine their expressive value.

4. ANALYSIS

The analysis addresses the morphosyntactic and semantic features of borrowings in LGBTQ+ Spanish slang, their typological classification, and their lexicographical treatment. Moreover, a case study of *queer*, *drag*, and *gay* examines the development of these frequent anglicisms. Finally, the examination of pragmatic functions seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of their motivations in conversational contexts.

4.1. A typological account of the anglicisms extracted from the corpus

There are a total of 40,212 tokens and 34,247 types in *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*, as shown in Table 1. Of these numbers, 20,061 types come from *Shangay* and 14,185 from *Togayther*. Concerning the English direct borrowings extracted for the analysis, there is a total of 254 tokens and 89 types. Proper names, brand names, and festivities were excluded from the analysis, as well as two internationalisms (namely, *homófono*, *lesbófono*), and indirect borrowings, such as loan translations, as *salir del armario* (< *come out of the closet*).

4.1.1. Morphosyntactic features of direct borrowings and their semantic fields

This section examines the primary grammatical characteristics of linguistic borrowings and categorizes them into semantic fields. The quantitative analysis of lexical categories confirms a predominance of N(P)s over the rest of the categories, accounting for 56.69% of the borrowings. Adj(P)s comprise 9.06% of the borrowings, whereas Adv(P)s and V(P)s comprise 1.18% and 0.79%, respectively (see Table 1). Some tokens alternate between N(P) and Adj(P), comprising 32.28% of the borrowings. These results are not unexpected, as they align with the evidence presented by prior publications, such as Pratt (“Anglicisms in the Academy”), Rodríguez González (“Anglicisms in Spanish”), and Sánchez Fajardo, all of them stressing the high ratio of N(P)s, as high-frequency forms of referential motivation. This motivation is further described in section 4.2.

Table 1. Classification of direct borrowings in lexical categories.

Lexical categories	Tokens	Percentage (%)
N(P)	144	56.69
Adj(P)	23	9.06
N(P)/Adj(P)	82	32.28
Adv(P)	3	1.18
V(P)	2	0.79

The dataset in Figure 3 shows 11 semantic fields: performative arts and culture, feelings and evaluation, LGBTQ+, celebrities, social issues, technology and social media, race, travel and leisure, people, business, and sports. It does not come as a surprise that the largest semantic fields are performative arts and culture, feelings and evaluation, and LGBTQ+. The considerable size of the second and third largest semantic fields is owing to the fact that the interviewees are generally artists from different disciplines, as well as to the fact that the interviewees often make reference to issues like their careers or personal lives. Additionally, LGBTQ+ units are unquestionably prevailing because the common ground (and readership) of all the interviews is the queer community, considering most of the interviewees’ queer identity and the LGBTQ+ theme of both magazines.

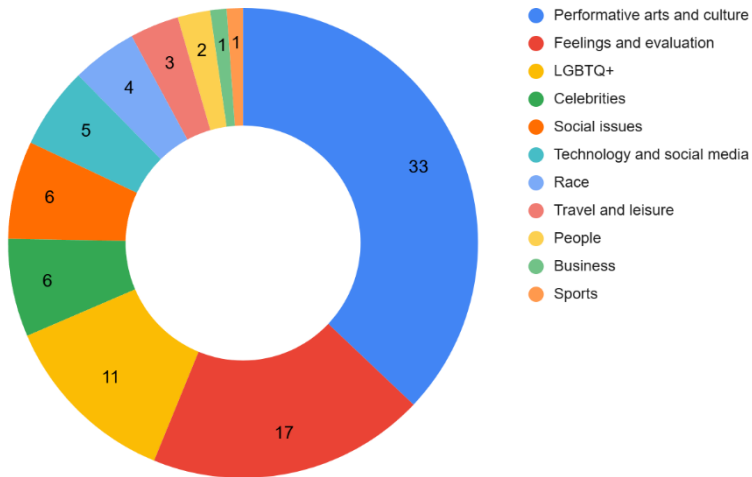


Figure 3. Classification of borrowings as regards their semantic fields.

4.1.2. Classification of direct borrowings

The classification of direct borrowings, as observed in section 2.1, is based on Pulcini et al.'s typology. NL constitutes the most significant category in the dataset, accounting for 217 tokens. AL, HB, and FB account for 33, 3, and 3 tokens, respectively (see Figure 4). Noteworthy is the term *drag*, which straddles the borderline between NL and FB depending on the context. This is further explained in section 4.1.4.

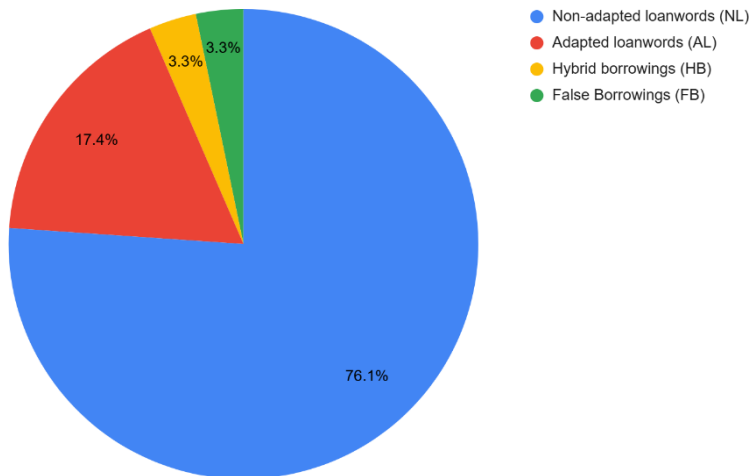


Figure 4. Typologies of direct borrowings extracted from *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*, as proposed by Pulcini et al.

The most significant finding regarding the typological classification of loanwords is the high number of NL in the corpus. The figures imply that borrowings tend to maintain their native spelling, and that considerably fewer of them are adapted in the recipient language. Furthermore, some instantiations from this dataset show a certain preference for native forms over existing adapted ones. For instance, the case of *striptease*, as in (10), might corroborate the magazine editor's choice for the native form over the already existing adapted ones (as in *estriptis* and *estriptís* < *striptease*). This preference for native forms is not merely coincidental because, in some cases, language users employ them thoughtfully for stylistic or pragmatic reasons, as further discussed in section 4.3.

(10) *Ha sido un **striptease** musical [risas]. (Shan_2024_568_24)*

It was a musical **striptease** [laughter].

A brief account of FB and HB is made prior to the analysis of the most frequent borrowings. With regard to HB, the three cases found in *Queer_ES_Anglicisms* are *página web*, *megaviral*, and *a full*. First, *página web* (< *webpage*), is assimilated considerably and was first found in the language in 1997 (DPD). By contrast, *megaviral*, as in (11), a derived form of *viral*, is related to the reach of posts in social media and its use in Spanish is relatively recent. The term *megaviral* is classified as a hybrid borrowing because no instances have been found in any English-speaking corpus or dataset. It combines the prefix *mega-*, originally Greek but commonly used in Spanish, with the adjective *viral*. The latter, which already existed in Spanish with its biological and medical sense, is a semantic loan because its social media-related meaning was acquired from English, just as much of the vocabulary associated with social media and new technologies. The adverbial expression *a full* is used in Spanish to mean that something is done with dedication and intensely (FR). This adverbial phrase is parallel to other Spanish phrases like *a tope* or *a muerte*, which convey similar discursive meanings.

Finally, despite certain cases of *queer* and *drag*, the only term that belongs exclusively to FB is *sense*, as in (12), since the other two terms are also NL. *Sense* is employed by the interviewee as an adjective to mean “sensible” or “balanced”, differing from its original English meaning and lexical categories (i.e., noun or verb).

(11) *Fue con Contrato, la canción que subí a TikTok y se hizo **megaviral**. (Shan_2024/25_570_50)*

It was with Contrato, the song I uploaded to TikTok and went **megaviral**.

(12) *Abora estoy más tranquila, no estoy tan ciclotímica, ni tan terremoto como antes. Estoy más **sense**. (Togay_2018_5_5)*

Now I am calmer, I am not as cyclothymic or such a whirlwind as before. I am more **sensible**.

Table 2. The ten most frequent anglicisms in the corpus and their typology.

Direct borrowing	Tokens	Typology
<i>queer</i>	32	NL / FB
<i>drag</i>	17	NL / FB
<i>pop</i>	14	NL
<i>gay</i>	13	NL
<i>EP</i>	10	NL
<i>fans</i>	10	NL
<i>shows</i>	8	NL
<i>rock</i>	6	NL
<i>single</i>	6	NL
<i>show</i>	6	NL

What is particularly interesting about the data in Table 2 is that all the borrowings are NL, except for specific cases of *drag* and *queer* that will be examined in section 4.1.4. This fact underscores the prevalence of NL within the context of Spanish queer slang. Additionally, three of the most frequent borrowings are in fact employed to designate members of the queer community (i.e., *queer*, *drag*, and *gay*). This is significant, as it relates to the queer themes present in both magazines and the interviewees' identities or connections to the LGBTQ+ community regardless of their gender. In fact, gender distinction is not relevant for the present study. The remaining borrowings are associated with the interviewees' professions and the topics discussed in the interviews, which focus mostly on the performing arts, particularly music.

4.1.3. Lexicographical treatment of anglicisms

Traditionally, lexicographical works, particularly prescriptivist dictionaries such as *DLE*, have been reluctant in accepting new anglicized forms (see, e.g., Balteiro). Of the 89 types analyzed, 37 are found in *DLE*, which means that 41.6% of the word types examined are widely accepted in Spanish. Twenty-seven out of the 37 accepted borrowings are NL. The other borrowings were found in *DUE* and *GDA*, where 3 (3.4%) and 19 (21.3%) were attested. Interestingly, we did not find 30 units (33.7%) in any of these dictionaries. Several reasons may explain this fact for some of the borrowings. This can be related to taboo or peripheral restriction, as with *fucking*, *bitch*, or *sex parties*. Admittedly, some concepts associated with technology and social media have undergone a relatively recent assimilation into Spanish, like *DM*, *tiktokers*, or *tiktokeable*. Other concepts that fall within the semantic field of evaluation and feelings show connotations different from their Spanish equivalents, and their use can be associated to youngspeak, like *fierce*, *delusional*, or *blessed*.

Focusing on the 11 anglicisms classified as LGBTQ+ specific (see section 4.1.1), only three are not registered in the consulted dictionaries (i.e., *progay*, *sex parties*, and *voguing*). The first one, however, originates from the standard form *gay*, which is indeed registered in all the dictionaries consulted. Nonetheless, the other two

unregistered lexical units are two of the three hapaxes in *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*. Although the size of our corpus is limited, this finding still confirms that high-frequency anglicisms have higher chances of entering lexicographical works. The question that arises is to what extent their nature as being unnecessary in Spanish would have a bearing on their exclusion from lexicographical works.

4.1.4. Case-study analysis of *queer*, *drag*, and *gay*

This section is devoted to a case-study analysis of the three most frequent LGBTQ+ borrowings from the dataset, which was carried out due to their high frequency in the dataset as well as their morphosemantic behavior in context. The objective of this case study is to trace the evolution of these borrowings within the queer speech community, as well as the morphosemantic changes they have undergone. Thus, their semantics and usage in the original and the recipient languages are compared.

Of interest here is the case of *queer*. Being the most frequent anglicism in the dataset, most instances of *queer* convey an adjectival meaning: “of, relating to, or being a person whose sexual orientation is not heterosexual and/or whose gender identity is not cisgender” (*MWD11*). On the other hand, *DLE* defines *queer* as “dicho de una persona: [q]ue tiene una identidad de género o una orientación sexual que no se corresponde con las categorías tradicionales” (“said of a person: who has a gender identity or sexual orientation that does not correspond to traditional categories”), as in (13). Additionally, *queer* refers to “[p]erteneciente o relativo a las personas queer” (“pertaining to or relating to queer people”), as in (14).

- (13) *Poder saber que detrás de cada obra podía haber un artista **queer** nos habría enseñado que lo que estábamos sintiendo estaba bien.* (*Shan_2024_566_42*)

Knowing that there could be a **queer** artist behind every work would have taught us that what we were feeling was okay.

- (14) *También es una mirada atrás, y un manifiesto como artista gráfico comprometido con la cultura **queer**.* (*Shan_2024_565_86*)

It is also a glimpse into the past, and a manifesto as a graphic artist committed to **queer** culture.

The word *queer*, however, undergoes different nominalization processes in English and Spanish. In English, the adjective is nominalized when referring to either someone’s sexual orientation or gender identity (*MWD11*). Alternatively, the anglicized form in Spanish is nominalized using the neuter article, as seen in (15) and (16), thus turning the anglicism into an umbrella term that refers to all types of queer-related matters. From a usage-based perspective, (15) and (16) illustrate cases where *queer* becomes an FB, indicating that it formally and semantically deviates

from the adjectival meaning carried by *queer* when it was first borrowed, as in (13) and (14).

- (15) *En este aspecto entra también mi activismo, no solo en lo **queer**.*
(Shan_2024_569_26)

My activism also comes into play here, not only in terms of **queer matters**.

- (16) *Nosotros hacemos en la galería muchas exposiciones que tienen que ver con lo '**queer**', con lo LGTB+.* (Togay_2018_5_5)

We hold many exhibitions in the gallery that are related to '**queer matters**', to LGBT+ affairs.

Additionally, in example (17), *queer* becomes a gradable adjective while being modified by the Spanish adverbial *muy* ("very"). This contrasts with its English usage, where the adjective in its standard use is non-gradable. Nonetheless, some *queer* forms extracted from the dataset prove that specific uses differ considerably from the established morphosemantics of the term in English.

- (17) *[M]i arte es muy "**queer**" y es así de forma totalmente espontánea y natural, no es algo premeditado.* (Togay_2019_7_28)

My art is very "**queer**," and it is so in a completely spontaneous and natural way, it is not something premeditated.

The second most frequent term in the dataset is *drag*. In queer contexts, *drag* is used to describe a form of "entertainment in which performers caricature or challenge gender stereotypes (as by dressing in clothing that is stereotypical of another gender, by using exaggeratedly gendered mannerisms, or by combining elements of stereotypically male and female dress) and often wear elaborate or outrageous costumes" (*MWD11*). The grammatical description of *drag* in *MWD11* points out that the noun often accompanies another noun (e.g., *queen*), thus functioning as an adjective. A preliminary examination of the dataset indicates that out of the 14 instances of *drag*, two correspond to an adjectivized noun, as in (18), and it is used alongside *queen*. Furthermore, the isolated forms of *drag*, both singular and plural, comprise 95% of the tokens of *drag* in the corpus.

- (18) *Por supuesto que nos han dado mayor visibilidad y han permitido que la sociedad vea que ser **drag queen** no es nada malo.* (Togay_2019_9_31)

Of course, they have given us greater visibility and allowed society to see that being a **drag queen** is not a bad thing.

Standing alone, *drag* appears 11 times in singular and 3 in plural in *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*. This is noticeable compared to English, where *drag* most commonly accompanies *queen* or another head noun. The term is not listed in *DLE*

or *DUE*, and therefore absent in the prescriptive dictionaries used in this research. Nevertheless, *drag* is attested in *GDA*, where it is defined as “[v]estimenta que es característica de un sexo y es usada por el otro” (“clothing that is characteristic of one sex and worn by the other”). Moreover, *GDA* defines *drag* as an abbreviation of *drag queen* and points out that it retains the concept of *drag queen* but it has developed new functions, as in nominal and adjectival functions. This supports the findings in our analysis concerning the use of *drag* as a meaningful single unit in multiple syntactic and lexical environments.⁸

The high frequency of isolated Sp. *drag* usage, contrasted with its absence as a standalone unit in English, points to the transition of the loanword from NL to FL. Both forms (i.e., shortened *drag* and its full etymon *drag queen*) coexist in Spanish, where the shortened version has been integrated into the target language to the extent that it retains the original meaning of *drag queen* conveying the meanings [+person], as in (19), and [+cultural movement], as in (20).

(19) *Detrás de kilos de maquillaje, mucho humor y pelucas infinitas, nosotras, las **drags** aportamos alegría.* (Togay_2019_9_31)

Behind kilos of makeup, lots of humor, and endless wigs, we **drag queens**, bring joy.

(20) *¡Viva mama Ru, viva el **drag**!* (Togay_2019_9_31)

Long live Mama Ru, long live **drag**!

Another noteworthy use of *drag* is illustrated in (21). In this context, *drag* is part of a phrasal verb whose English equivalent would be *to perform in drag*. However, it is unclear if the verb phrase came into Spanish as a borrowing from the English equivalent or if the verb phrase was developed in Spanish once *drag (queen)* had come into the language.

(21) *Por suerte, empecé a hacer **drag** y eso, estar con mi transición, empezar terapia y tener a mis amigas a mi lado me salvó.* (Shan_2024_569_42)

⁸ In order to provide evidence of the use of *drag* (as opposed to *drag queen*) in English, a random sample of 200 occurrences from the corpus *enTenTen21* (also in *SketchEngine*) was retrieved. From these occurrences, 38 matched the meaning of *drag* related to “the wearing of women’s clothes by men or men’s clothes by women, usually as part of an entertainment” (CD). In 27 instances, *drag* was employed as an adjectivized noun accompanying other nouns like *queen*, *ball*, *performer*, or *club*. The remaining cases exemplify the prepositional phrase *in drag*, where it modifies verbs like *perform*, *dress*, or *go*, as illustrated in (18). Furthermore, other instances show the use of this prepositional phrase modifying other elements in the sentence, such as the subject in (19). None of these instantiations, however, confirmed that *drag* can be used as an independent noun.

Luckily, I started doing **drag**, and that, being in transition, starting therapy, and having my friends by my side saved me.

Finally, we look at the nominal form of *drag* with an adjectival function. In this case, the anglicism is fully integrated into the Spanish syntactic environment. These cases generally adopt *drag*, instead of *drag queen*, taking into consideration that the latter was the lexical unit originally borrowed from English. The lexicalization of *drag* is particularly interesting in the way it has evolved as an autonomous word in Spanish, oftentimes employed in nominal phrases as a modifier of the nominal head, with which there is even number agreement according to Spanish number agreement conventions. Nevertheless, its integration into Spanish grammar is not complete, as the number agreement does not always occur, as seen in (22) and (23). In the corpus, it also appears as a postmodifier of the nouns *mundo*, *temas*, and *artistas*.

(22) *Mi Instagram lo enfoco a temas de maquillaje, artísticos y **drags**.*
(*Togay_2018_3_9*)

My Instagram focuses on make-up, artistic and **drag** topics.

(23) *Para mí y para muchos artistas **drag**, mama Ru ha sido esa voz y esa inspiración para que la sociedad nos tome más en serio.* (*Togay_2019_9_31*)

For me and many **drag** artists, Mama Ru has been that voice and inspiration for society to take us more seriously.

Lastly, the third most frequent borrowing from the dataset pertaining to queer slang is *gay*. Even though its plural form is a different type, both are relevant in the morphosemantic analysis. What is interesting about this unit is, in fact, its plural form *gais*, as illustrated in (24). This form, according to *DPD*, is the correct plural form in Spanish, leaving the singular form unadapted, whereas the plural is adapted. Nonetheless, the unadapted form is widely accepted and used frequently.

(24) *Yo creo que hay muchos **gais** que tienen más miedo al momento de la vejez.*
(*Shan_2024/25_570_42*)⁹

I think there are many **gays** who are more afraid of old age.

Furthermore, as regards pronunciation, *DPD* indicates that “[a]unque entre los hispanohablantes está extendida la pronunciación inglesa [géi], en español se recomienda adecuar la pronunciación a la grafía y decir [gái]” [“although the English pronunciation [géi] is widespread among Spanish speakers, in Spanish it is recommended to adapt the pronunciation to the spelling and say [gái]”]. In that

⁹ The alternance between the source and the recipient language pronunciation entails expressive differences. However, due to length constraints, this has not been explored in this paper.

sense, the native pronunciation is acknowledged, but they promote the use of the Spanish phonetic adaptation, and consequently its plural pronunciation as well.

4.2. Pragmatic functions

As shown in Figure 2 and discussed in section 2.2, this work concerns two general types of pragmatic functions: ideational and expressive. The latter is more variably expressed than the former, since the expressive function is dependent on a wide range of feelings and attitudes. This analysis subsection does not aim at quantitatively examining the value of each of the categories. Instead, it analyzes (through a number of illustrations) how these two pragmatic functions, following Rodríguez González's claims, underpin the adoption and usage of these anglicisms ("Functions of Anglicisms").

4.2.1. Ideational function

Of the two subcategories that fall within the ideational function (see Figure 2), referential novelty (i.e., new referent, or denotatum, and new designation of the referent) is not as frequent as linguistic novelty (i.e., existing referent and new designation of the referent), since both languages generally share a number of realities that are known to Spanish speakers although their designating form (or signifier) is missing. Many of the examples pertaining to referential novelty originate from social media (e.g., *influencer*, *bater*, *YouTuber*), which behave similarly to internationalisms in that they have been exported to multiple languages. Regardless of their being adopted internationally, they are not excluded from the dataset (see section 2.1 for a discussion on internationalisms). These loanwords are by-products of digital language, which indicates that they imbue any language with new referential value (e.g., *bater* "someone who criticizes people without a good reason", *CD*). Although the figure (or reality) of a "hater" is not unknown to the Spanish-speaking cultural framework, the word *bater* enters Spanish as a digital term that describes the form of disparaging (particularly public figures) online, as in (25). Then, *bater* was adopted as a general term that criticizes someone else (to excess) off-line, in spoken discourse, as in (26). In transitioning from online *bater* to offline *bater* in Spanish, the word is believed to undergo a change of pragmatic functioning through semantic specificity: from referential novelty to linguistic novelty, that is, from a nonexistent referent (in Spanish) to an existing one ("someone who dislikes or criticizes other people"), camouflaged under a new form of denomination.

(25) *Si abro Twitter, tengo más de cien comentarios metiéndose conmigo. A mí los **hater**s no me preocupan, son gente anónima que no da la cara.*
(Shan_2024_561_27)

If I open Twitter, I have over a hundred comments picking on me. I don't worry about **hater**s; they're anonymous people who don't show their faces.

(26) *Porque soy cero **hater** con los estilos. Me siento muy libre cuando compongo.*
(Shan_2024_569_22)

Because I'm not a **hater** when it comes to styles. I feel very free when I compose.

Hence, linguistic novelty, on the other hand, does not depend on a referential gap, since the referents characterized by linguistic novelty are also present in Spanish-speaking contexts. Instead, these existing referents need to be conceptualized, which is why they retain English denominations to complete the process of conceptualization, thus allowing users to employ them in various contexts, as in (27). In this regard, “[i]f you describe an action or thing as a statement, you mean that it clearly expresses a particular opinion or idea that you have” (CD). The English term *statement* carries political, ideological, or idiosyncratic nuances that are not as salient in the Spanish equivalent *declaración*, defined in *DLE* as “[m]anifestación del ánimo o de la intención” (“expression of mood or intention”). In contrast, the Spanish term needs further contextual cues to convey these nuances. Hence, *statement* in Spanish is a by-product of language economy that simultaneously functions as an expressive unit.

(27) *Yo lo soy [LGBTIQ+], pero el disco no es un **statement**.*
(Shan_2024/25_570_32)

I am [LGBTQ+], but the album is not a **statement**.

4.2.2. Expressive functions

As opposed to ideational functions, which are referent-based, expressive functions are, contrastingly, speaker-based. This means, as commented in section 2.2, that these functions are dependent on the feelings or attitudes expressed by the speaker towards the object of the communicative stretch or even towards the interlocutors. Figure 2 shows a summary of the expressive functions, but, as hinted by the ellipsis observed under the category of conversational implicature in the figure, this is merely a representation of the functions extracted from the dataset. So, it is not illogical to assume that the category of conversational implicature is open to multiple intentions.

Figure 2 shows some of the relevant expressive functions that are examined in this work: euphemism, conversational implicature, evaluation, in-group cohesiveness, and emergent conversational humor. These functions are not isolated from each other, since an anglicism can perform a combination of two (or more) functions. See, for instance, *flow* in (28), which has a strong ideational value in that it fills a referential gap by denoting a form of musical cadence and attitude, a meaning that is not assigned to any native form in Spanish. Aligned with the ideational value, *flow* also encompasses a positive characterization of one's singing (form of evaluation) and an instance of youngspeak in Spanish (in-group

cohesiveness). The latter also involves the fact that this type of anglicisms is frequently used by young speakers in Spanish, thereby accentuating their leaning towards the expression of modernity, particularly in areas where slang words tend to be ephemeral, as in music or social media (González-Cruz and Rodríguez Medina 259).

(28) *El canario Bejo y la Villana se marcan un tema gamberro y sexual en donde descubrimos que los **flows** de ambos empastan de maravilla.*
(Shan_2024_567_26)

The Canarian Bejo and La Villana deliver a rowdy, sexual track where we discover that their **flows** blend together beautifully.

As indicated in section 2.3, a euphemistic expression might originate from the need to neutralize taboo topics, as happens with words or expressions used to designate homosexual-related referents, as in *dark room* in (29). Although the calque *cuarto oscuro* is frequently used in Spanish, its English etymon comes to attenuate the negative connotations that this lexical unit might evoke, as the term describes a place where homosexuals are engaged in sexual activities. Example (30) below illustrates how the anglicisms have an attenuative effect in an interview, where the context of visiting dark rooms abroad adds to the foreign fringe (and thus, modernity) denoted by the unit. Additionally, there are instances of euphemistic function that originate from the import of English offensive or vulgar words, as in *fucking* in (30). In this example, the word *fucking* is also used as an intensifier in Spanish, but as opposed to its English etymon, which is avoided in standard context, the Spanish form retains its intensifying function while importing a whiff of ludicrousness or humor. Then, it does not come as a surprise that, due to its new ludic function, the intensifier *fucking* is still employed in standard contexts, as shown in (30).

(29) *En los **dark rooms** berlineses me he encontrado con espacios muy seguros.*
(Shan_2024_569_24)

In Berlin's **dark rooms**, I have found very safe spaces.

(30) *No nos **fucking** importa la opinión de los que no nos respetan.*
(Shan_2024_565_82)

We don't **fucking** care about the opinion of those who don't respect us.

The intensifying function conveyed by *fucking* also aligns with the pragmatic function of conversational implicature. A conversational implicature, as outlined by Levinson, refers to the fact that a communicative stretch or utterance can have an implicit meaning, that is, its function does not match the meaning of its component(s). From a lexical-borrowing perspective, English communicative utterances can retain their source function (e.g., irony, surprise, emphasis...) in the recipient language, where their implicature is not as salient as in English. This is

attributable to Spanish speakers not always being aware of the semantic clash that there is between the meanings of components and the implicit function of the utterance. According to this line of thought, the latter is, therefore, generally adopted in Spanish, while the former is only accessible to those who are truly proficient in English. For instance, the unit *fucking* in (30) illustrates an utterance whose conversational implicatures are connected with the functions of intensification.

Anglicisms are also employed as evaluative forms that are intended to assess something or someone through different values of axiology: negative (e.g., *punki*, *beavy*, *funny*), positive (e.g., *trendy*, *flow*, *chill*), or even offensive (e.g., *bitch*), which leads to dysphemism. The case of *bitch* is an interesting one, since it has transitioned, as also happens with its English etymon, from an offensive term to a familiarity vocative, through the process of reappropriation. Examples (31) below and (9) above show how *bitch* is employed, respectively, as a swearword and a cohesive (or familiarity) token. What is interesting about the expressiveness of loanwords is that their evaluative properties can be rendered by either imported semantic traits (as in *chill* and *flow*) or their novel ones in the recipient language (as in *beavy*). Hence, the connotational value of an English word does not entirely reflect on its borrowed form. This means that a Spanish speaker, regardless of their proficiency in English, repurposes the evaluative terms, particularly the negative or offensive ones, through ludic and euphemistic functions.

(31) *Pero te confieso que me jode que estés batiendo los récords de puterío que, con mucho sacrificio, estableció servidora hace unos años... Bitch!*
(Shan_2024_569_40)

But I'll admit, it pisses me off that you're breaking the records for being a bitch that I worked so hard to set a few years ago... **Bitch!**

Another pragmatic function of anglicisms is that of in-group cohesiveness, which is tightly linked to stylistic functions, which can be, as outlined by Eckert, "a visible yet inexplicit means for constructing social meaning" (113). Anglicisms also become means of group distinctiveness in that members are self-consciously driven by the need to build a linguistic environment that represents speakers' attitudes and aspirations. In this study, in-group cohesiveness is perceived in multiple examples where the property of Englishness is associated with those of modernity and lexical novelty. See the examples of *dancer* (32) and *voguing* (33), both forms falling under the lexical field of performative arts. These terms strategically contribute to reinforcing the distinctive lexis that characterizes LGBTQ+ users as a community of practice.¹⁰ Hence, members of this community are in fact enticed by these lexical and stylistic conventions while also guaranteeing expressivity through the anglicisms. Nonetheless, although a number of anglicisms extracted from the data

¹⁰ The same applies to other social groups like that of drug addicts, in which anglicisms are strategically used, in some cases, to reinforce in-group cohesion (cf. Crespo-Fernández, "Estoy en dexys")

are used in standard vocabulary (e.g., *gay*, *influencer*...), which means they are not limited to LGBTQ+ users, it is logical to assume that their being adopted and employed by members of the LGBTQ+ community of practice resonates with their lexical and stylistic conventions. Therefore, regardless of their being (or not) exclusive to this community, anglicisms do add to the general status of anglicization of language as serving an expressive function.

(32) *Una Carmen más sensual, coplera, **dancer** y cómica. (Togay_2017_1_5)*

A Carmen who is more sensual, coplera, **dancer**, and comic.

(33) *Esta serie de ilustraciones inspiradas en el **voguing** no es solo un homenaje a este baile. (Sban_2024_565_86)*

This series of illustrations inspired by **voguing** is not only a tribute to this dance.

While the vast majority of anglicisms serving an expressive function of in-group cohesiveness are in fact adjusted to the syntactic and lexical categories of Spanish, there are some cases where the adjustment is violated on account of lexical innovation and communicative crypticism, as in *sense* in (12) above, in section 4.1.2.

Among the expressive functions in Figure 2, emergent conversational humor is couched in the Gricean principle of cooperation, whereby interlocutors “co-construct humor and process various layers of meaning” (Kotthoff 271). Following this line of thought, a humorous function, which is co-constructed through anglicisms, essentially emerges out of unexpectedness and novelty. This means that, although interlocutors, being members of the community of practice, are in synchrony (and thus, familiarized) with the use of anglicisms in communicative stretches, they can adopt lexical borrowings as drivers of hilarity. See, for instance, examples (32) and (12) above, where the anglicisms *dancer* and *sense* are employed in texts with which they show syntactic mismatch in Spanish: **una [Carmen] dancer* and **be sense*. Both examples exhibit a certain degree of agrammaticality, where *dancer* and *sense*, both nominal forms, perform an adjectival function in Spanish. In these examples in particular, this type of mismatch adds to the perception of unexpectedness. While humor does not necessarily correspond to the implicature intended in these examples, it seems to have an effect on the stylistic value of the conversation, one in which interlocutors share consensus on how anglicized lexis are perceived and adopted. This finding is consistent with that of González-Cruz, who states that “switching between languages or borrowing words provokes funny surprises, making humor and jokes more interesting, due to their drawing on cultural frames that resonate with the audience, thus rewarding those who are fluent in English” (“Anglicizing Humor” 12).

5. CONCLUSION

The main goal of this project is to unravel the underpinnings of the pragmatic nuances conveyed by anglicisms, which can, in turn, shed light on the social and communicative frames where these lexical units are used. The study indicates that some morphosemantic features of LGBTQ+ anglicized terms do not differ from standard anglicization, as also corroborated by Crespo-Fernández and Luján-García; González-Cruz and Rodríguez Medina; Crespo-Fernández, “Estoy en dexys”, among others. For instance, nominal forms prevail and most of the units compiled are NL. We also found that the performative arts and culture, feelings and evaluation, and LGBTQ+ are the most prolific semantic fields, corroborating the pragmatic relevance of expressiveness, particularly in how these terms are repurposed by users to strengthen their feeling of togetherness and community membership. The conversational (or dialogic) nature of the corpus was of considerable avail in identifying the way these words are employed through explicitly expressive functions. This study concerns the ideational and expressive pragmatic functions, which are believed to play a relevant role in the intentionality behind the assimilation of anglicized lexis, as stated by Rodríguez González in “Functions of Anglicisms”. The analysis shows that there are multiple realizations of ideational and expressive motivations, revealing the overlapping of expressive functions and the frequent contribution to humor by the use of anglicisms, international or not, as well as the relationship between linguistic novelty and taboo. These findings resonate with previous research, such as González-Cruz, who claims that, in using anglicisms, Spanish TV shows upgrade humor in structure and meaning (“Anglicizing Humor” 13) and Rodríguez Medina, who highlights their role as expressive resources with humorous and parodic aims (117). In addition, González-Cruz and Rodríguez Medina further point out that the informants participating in their study, particularly in colloquial contexts, lean towards English words and expressions “with expressive, ironic or humorous purposes” (271), aligning with the findings of the present study.

Due to the peripheral (or nonstandard) nature of LGBTQ+ slang, 30 of the analyzed units are unregistered in prescriptive dictionaries. The case-study analysis of *queer*, *drag*, and *gay* shows that these anglicized units, rather than remaining unchanged, vary typologically and semantically, like the NL/AL variation in singular and plural of *gay/gays*, or the semantic extension of *queer* in Spanish. While this paper contributes to recent research projects regarding the anglicization of peripheral communities, like the one under study, the small sample size did not allow to make precise calculations of productive word-formation models. We believe that considerably more work will need to be done on other text types and corpora to assess the impact of community membership on linguistic borrowing as an expression of lexical creativity and/or extravagance.

REFERENCES

- Bergenholtz, Henning. "User-Oriented Understanding of Descriptive, Proscriptive and Prescriptive Lexicography." *Lexikos*, vol. 13, 2003, pp. 65-80. <https://doi.org/10.5788/13-0-722>
- Balteiro, Isabel. "A Reassessment of Traditional Lexicographical Tools in the Light of New Corpora: Sports Anglicisms in Spanish." *International Journal of English Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2011, pp. 23-52. <https://doi.org/10.6018/ijes/2011/2/149631>
- Białas, Mateusz. "Power Bottom, Gay Versatile, Top Persistent, and Other Borrowings from English in Erotic Biographies of Gay and Bisexual Porn Stars on French Adult Websites." *Crossroads A Journal of English Studies*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2024, pp. 25-40. <https://doi.org/10.15290/CR.2024.45.2.02>
- Braun, Peter, et al., editors. *Internationalismen I: Studien Zur Interlingualen Lexikologie Und Lexikographie. Studien Zur Interlingualen Lexikologie Und Lexikographie*. De Gruyter Mouton, 1990. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111376318>
- Collins Dictionary*, Harper Collins publishers, <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english>. Accessed 25 Apr. 2025.
- Crespo-Fernández, Eliecer. *Sex in Language: Euphemistic and Dysphemistic Metaphors in Internet Forums*. Bloomsbury Academic. 2015. <https://hdl.handle.net/10578/42390>
- Crespo-Fernández, Eliecer. "Estoy en dexys': formas, funciones y axiología del anglicismo en el argot de la drogadicción." *Sintagma*, vol. 36, 2024, pp. 7-24. <https://doi.org/10.21001/sintagma.2024.36.01>
- Crespo-Fernández, Eliecer, and Carmen Luján-García. "Anglicismo y tabú: valores axiológicos del anglicismo." *Estudios Filológicos*, no. 52, 2013, pp. 53-74. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0071-17132013000200004>
- Crespo-Fernández, Eliecer, and Carmen Luján-García. "Anglicisms and Word Axiology in Homosexual Language." *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada/ Spanish Journal of Applied Linguistics*, vol. 1, no. 30, 2017, pp. 74-103. <https://doi.org/10.1075/resla.30.1.04cre>
- Crespo-Fernández, Eliecer, and Carmen Luján-García. *Anglicismos sexuales en español: el inglés como recurso eufemístico y disfemístico en la comunicación virtual*, Interlingua; 177, Granada: Editorial Comares, 2018.
- Díez-Arroyo, Marisa. 2016. English Words as Euphemisms in Spanish Fashion: Anglicisms, a Persuasive Stylistic Strategy in Spanish Fashion Magazines. *English Today*, no. 32, vol. 3, Cambridge UP, 2016, pp. 300-339. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078416000043>
- Eckert, Penelope. "Language and Adolescent Peer Groups." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2003, pp. 112-118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X02250063>

- Ferguson, Gibson. "Attitudes to English." *Attitudes towards English in Europe: English in Europe*, vol. 1, De Gruyter Mouton, 2015, pp. 3-24. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614515517-002>
- Fundéu. *FundéuRAE*. Fundación del Español Urgente, www.fundeu.es.
- Gimeno Menéndez, Francisco, and María Victoria Gimeno Menéndez. *El desplazamiento lingüístico del español por el inglés*, 1st ed., Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2003.
- Gómez Capuz, Juan. *Anglicismos léxicos en el español coloquial: análisis semántico de los anglicismos y sus equivalentes españoles en un corpus de lengua hablada*, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2001. <http://hdl.handle.net/10498/26776>
- Gómez Capuz, Juan. *Los préstamos del español, lengua y sociedad*, Cuadernos de Lengua Española, no. 82, Arco Libros, 2004.
- Gómez Capuz, Juan. *La inmigración léxica*, Cuadernos de lengua española, no. 84, Arco Libros, 2005.
- González-Cruz, María Isabel. "Anglicismos innecesarios en el habla culta de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria." *EPOS: Revista de Filología*, no. 19, 2003, pp. 193-218. <https://doi.org/10.5944/epos.19.2003.10396>
- González-Cruz, María Isabel. "A Pragmatic Approach to a Corpus of Anglicisms Used in Canarian-Spanish Digital Headlines." In *Language and Linguistics in a Complex World*, vol. 32, De Gruyter, 2023, pp. 103-132. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111017433-006>
- González-Cruz, María Isabel. "Anglicizing Humor in a Spanish Satirical TV Show— Pragmatic Functions and Discourse Strategies." *Languages*, vol. 10, no. 9, 2025, p. 230. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages10090230>
- González-Cruz, María Isabel and María Jesús Rodríguez Medina. "On the pragmatic function of anglicisms in Spanish: a case study." *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, no. 24, Universidad de Alicante, 2011, pp. 257-273. <https://doi.org/10.14198/raei.2011.24.11>
- Görlach, Manfred. *English Words Abroad*, vol. 7, John Benjamins, 2003. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tlrp.7>
- Gottlieb, Henrik. "Chapter 11. Anglicisms and Translation." In *In and Out of English, Multilingual Matters*, 2005, pp. 161-184. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853597893-014>
- Hacken, Pius ten, and Renáta Paconová, editors. *The Interaction of Borrowing and Word Formation*. Edinburgh UP, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.19130/iifl.adel.2022.10.1.2877X40>
- Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood. *Explorations in the Functions of Language*. Edward Arnold, 1973. https://archive.org/details/explorationsinfu0000hall_b7x4

- Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood. *Language as a Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. Edward Arnold, 1978.
- Hope, Thomas E. *Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages: A Critical Study of Italianisms in French and Gallicisms in Italian from 1100 to 1900*, vol. 2, Basil Blackwell, 1971. <https://archive.org/details/lexicalborrowing0000hope/page/n3/mode/2up>
- Ivir, Vladimir. "Internationalisms: Marked or Unmarked." *Markedness in Synchrony and Diachrony*, De Gruyter Mouton, 1989, pp. 139-150. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110862010.139>
- Kotthoff, Helga. "Pragmatics of Performance and the Analysis of Conversational Humor." *HUMOR*, vol. 3, no. 19, 2006, pp. 271-304. <https://doi.org/10.1515/HUMOR.2006.015>
- Levinson, Stephen C. *Presumptive Meanings: The Theory of Generalized Conversational Implicature, Speech, and Communication*. The MIT Press, 2000. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/5526.001.0001>
- Lorenzo Criado, Emilio. *Anglicismos hispánicos*. 1st ed., Biblioteca románica hispánica, vol. 396, Gredos, 1996. <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/DIDA/article/view/DIDA9797110334A>
- Lo Vecchio, Nicholas. "Borrowing and the Historical LGBTQ Lexicon." *Pragmatics & Cognition*, vol. 1, no. 28, 2021, pp. 167-192. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.00022.vec>
- Luján-García, Carmen. "Analysis of the Presence of Anglicisms in a Spanish Internet Forum: Some Terms from the Fields of Fashion, Beauty and Leisure." *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, vol. 277, no. 30, Universidad de Alicante, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.14198/raei.2017.30.10>
- Luján-García, Carmen, editor. *Anglicismos en los medios de comunicación – Tendencias actuales*. Comares, 2021.
- Luján-García, Carmen, and Eugenia Esperanza Núñez Nogueroles. "On Political Dream Teams and Financial Killers." *International Journal of English Studies*, vol. 1, no. 24, 2024, pp. 77-97. <https://doi.org/10.6018/ijes.567391>
- Medina López, Javier. "Anglicismos en el español atlántico." *Iberoamérica y Canarias: actas del I Congreso Diálogo Fe - Cultura*, 1992, pp. 222-227.
- Merriam-Webster, Incorporated. *Merriam-Webster*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>
- Minning, Heidi. "Qwir-English Code-Mixing in Germany: Constructing a Rainbow of Identities." *Speaking in Queer Tongues: Globalization and Gay Language*, edited by William Leap and Tom Boellstorff, University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Moliner, María. *Diccionario de uso del español*. Abridged ed., Gredos, 2008.

- Pratt, Chris. *El anglicismo en el español peninsular contemporáneo*. Gredos, 1980. <https://archive.org/details/elanglicismoenel0000prat>
- Pratt, Chris. "Anglicisms in the Academy dictionary: 'No pasarán'." *Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense*, no. 5, 1997, pp. 279-295. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=174409>
- Pulcini, Virginia. "Internationalisms, Anglo-Latinisms and Other Kinship Ties between Italian and English." *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis*, vol. 2, no. 136, 2019, pp. 121-141. <https://doi.org/10.4467/20834624SL.19.011.10606>
- Pulcini, Virginia, Cristiano Furiassi, and Félix Rodríguez González. "The Lexical Influence of English on European Languages." In *The Anglicization of European Lexis*, John Benjamins, 2012, pp. 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1075/z.174.03pul>
- Real Academia Española. *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas*. Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 2005, www.rae.es/dpd/. Accessed 11 Apr. 2025.
- Real Academia Española. *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 2014, <https://dle.rae.es/>. Accessed 11 Apr. 2025.
- Rodríguez González, Félix. "Functions of Anglicisms in Contemporary Spanish." *Cabiers de Lexicologie*, no. 68, 1996, pp. 107-128.
- Rodríguez González, Félix. "Anglicisms in Contemporary Spanish: An Overview." *Atlantis*, vol. XXI, no. 1-2, 1999, pp. 103-139.
- Rodríguez González, Félix. 2002. *El lenguaje de los jóvenes*. Ariel, 2002.
- Rodríguez González, Félix. "Estereotipos y términos de caracterización homosexual." *Cultura, homosexualidad y homofobia*, vol. 1: Perspectivas Gays, 2007, pp. 105-134.
- Rodríguez González, Félix. "The Feminine Stereotype in Gay Characterization: a Look at English and Spanish." *Languages and Cultures in Contrast and Comparison*, 2008, pp. 221-243. <http://hdl.handle.net/10045/19443>
- Rodríguez González, Félix. *Diccionario gay-lésbico: Vocabulario general y argot de la homosexualidad*. Gredos, 2008.
- Rodríguez González, Félix. *Gran diccionario de anglicismos*. Arco/Libros, 2017.
- Rodríguez González, Félix. *Anglicismos en el español contemporáneo: Una visión panorámica*. Peter Lang, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.3726/b20002>
- Rodríguez Segura, Delia. *Panorama del anglicismo en español. Presencia y uso en los medios*. Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Almería. 1999.

- Rodríguez Medina, María Jesús. “La búsqueda de efectos humorísticos, irónicos y paródicos a través de los anglicismos.” *ELIA: Estudios de Lingüística Inglesa Aplicada*, no. 5, 2004, pp. 105-120. <https://revistas.uned.es/index.php/ELIA/article/view/18150>
- Sánchez Fajardo, José Antonio. “‘Tips de tu bff sobre make-up’: el uso de anglicismos en revistas digitales en español para jóvenes adolescentes.” *Anglicismos en los nuevos medios de comunicación. Tendencias actuales.*, edited by Carmen Luján-García, Comares, 2021, pp. 97-118. <http://hdl.handle.net/10045/114204>
- Shanghay. *Shanghay Magazine*. <https://shanghay.com/>. Accessed 11 Apr. 2025.
- SketchEngine. *enTenTen21 Corpus*. <https://ske.li/7uu>. Accessed 11 Apr. 2025.
- SketchEngine. *Queer_ES_Anglicisms Corpus*. <https://ske.li/7uf>. Accessed 11 Apr. 2025.
- Togayther. *Togayther Magazine*. www.togayther.es/revistas-togayther/. Accessed 11 Apr. 2025.
- Ulla, Mark Bedoya, Jonathan Marcos Macaraeg, and Renz E. Ferrera. “‘What’s the Word? That’s the Word!’: Linguistic Features of Filipino Queer Language.” *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, vol. 1, no. 11, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2024.2322232>
- Waszakowa, Krystyna. *Przejawy internacjonalizacji w słownictwie współczesnej polszczyzny*. WUW, 2005.
- Witalisz, Alicja. “Polish LGBTQ+-Related Anglicisms in a Language Contact Perspective.” *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, vol. 56, no. 1, 2021, pp. 631-653. <https://doi.org/10.2478/stap-2021-0013>
- Witalisz, Alicja. “Semantic Shifts of ‘Coming out’ and ‘Come out of the Closet.’” *Gender and Language*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2024, pp. 175-197. <https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.24299>

APPENDIX

List of LGBTQ+ anglicisms extracted from *Queer_ES_Anglicisms*:

a full, beats, bitch, blessed, bullying, business, casting, clubs, crew, dancer, dark rooms, delusional, DM, drag, drag queen, drags, EP, fans, feat, feats, feeling, feedback, film, flight cases, fierce, folclore, funk, fucking, gais, goles, gay, heavy, bater, hate, hobby, influencer, influencers, lifestyle, lipsing (sic), look, looks, marketing, megaviral, nanoinfluencer, one bit wonders, pódcast, pop, progay, punkis, punki, rap, racializadas, racializado, racializados, refresh, reality, rave, rock, rock stars, self, selfie, set, sex parties, sense, shows, shippeo, single, soul, statement, strippers, striptease, stop, top, top ten, trap, tiktokers, tiktokeable, trash, underground, voguing, zona de confort.