
Research Article

A Pan-Hispanic approach to the usage of Anglicisms in the thematic area of sports

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Abstract: The influence that English exerts on different languages has been widely examined. Particularly, many studies that have brought the classification of Anglicisms according to thematic fields into focus have shown that, in relation to various languages and varieties, sports is the area in which Anglicisms seem to appear most frequently (Seidel 2010, Andersen 2011). Considering Spanish, when introducing English names of sports, the two main choices are either to adopt/adapt these foreign names or to calque them into the recipient language. This paper aims to clarify which of these two options has been the most successful one and whether diatopic variation plays a part in this respect. To fulfil this goal, a series of equivalent pairs and their variants are looked up in CORPES XXI, and the statistics provided by this corpus in relation to geographical distribution are analysed. Results show that diatopic variation affects disparity in the frequency of use of the different forms of English ball sports names in Spanish.

Keywords: Anglicisms, sports, loanwords, Spanish, diatopic variation, English borrowings, corpus-based studies, lexicography

1 Introduction

The role of English as the main donor language over the last decades has been widely analysed. Specifically, one of the approaches commonly adopted when dealing with the study of English loanwords¹ is their classification according to thematic fields. Results obtained by several authors –such as the ones mentioned below– have shown that, with respect to various European languages and varieties, sports is the area comprising most Anglicisms. Indeed, in Seidel’s corpus-based analysis of “the quantitative as well as the qualitative usage of English loanwords in the language of the German press” (2010, p. 3), sports is the most common thematic category. Moreover, in Andersen’s (2011) investigation of the distribution of Anglicisms appearing in the Norwegian Newspaper Corpus, the top position is held by the domain of sports (42%) too. As regards Spanish, Sánchez Fajardo’s (2016) study on the Cuban variety revealed that sports is also the field in which Anglicisms appear most frequently (in sources as diverse as dictionaries, web pages, glossaries, newspapers, etc.). When examining another geographical variety of Spanish (the European one), Núñez Nogueroles (2017) observed that, out of the 93 subfields of the thematic classification provided in the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA, Real Academia Española, online), the topic which is the most likely to contain Anglicisms is that of sports as well.

The fact that the majority of sports originated in English-speaking countries (Rodríguez González, 2012) can be suggested as the main reason for their position in the ranking. Sports

1 In this study, “English loanword” will be employed as a synonym of “Anglicism”.

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indeed entered the respective recipient societies together with their original names. Since such sports were previously unknown to Spanish-speaking countries, no equivalents existed for the words that denoted them. Consequently, when facing the introduction of sports names into a donee language, the two feasible options were either to adopt/adapt their source-language names or to calque them into the receptor language – the creation of pseudo-Anglicisms being a marginal possibility, as illustrated by the fact that, among the 28 forms collected in Table 1 below (§ 3), only two of them belong to this category. On some occasions, both procedures were implemented (as will be shown in this study).

The present paper aims to clarify (1) which of these two main choices has been the most successful one in Spanish and (2) whether diatopic variation plays a part in this respect. In order to fulfil these objectives, a series of equivalent pairs and their variants (for example, *baloncesto* – *basketball*, *basket*, *basquetbol*, *básquetbol*, *básquet*, *basquet*, *básquet*), are checked in the *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES XXI, Real Academia Española, online), and the statistics provided by this corpus in relation to geographical distribution are analysed. An additional goal is to explore how two lexicographic works by the Real Academia Española (‘Royal Spanish Academy’, henceforth, RAE) – *Diccionario de la lengua española* (online; henceforth, DLE) and *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas* (online; henceforth, DPD) – approach these Anglicisms. Specifically, this study focuses on four ball sports, namely *baseball*, *volleyball*, *football* and *basketball*. By selecting a small sample of terms like this one, it will be possible to carry out an exhaustive analysis. Given space constraints, this would be out of reach if we opted for a larger number of lexical items. The fact that the four Anglicisms refer to ball sports provides the study with coherence and allows us to make comparisons among sports names of the same type.

2 Anglicisms in the specialised domain of sports

As for Spanish, when dealing with English loanwords in the specific field of sports, the main reference tool that deserves attention is the *Diccionario de anglicismos del deporte*, published by Rodríguez González and Castañón Rodríguez in 2021. This lexicographic work contains more than 2,100 entries. The presence of such a great number of Anglicisms belonging to such a specific thematic sphere proves that, as the authors highlight, English acts in this domain as the *lingua franca par excellence* as new sports specialities are coined.

Throughout the second decade of the 21st century, many studies have focused on the usage of Anglicisms in the field of sports. From a diachronic point of view, Vázquez-Amador and Lario-de-Oñate (2015) carried out a comparative analysis of two corpora in order to explore the evolution undergone by the Anglicisms used in Spanish concerning the realm of sports. Their findings show that the influence of the English language on this domain has increased over the last century, in number as well as in the topics involved. In addition, Nomdedeu Rull (2019), by looking at the period from 1868 to 1903 and examining different sources (a football rulebook, newspapers and a technical manual), recorded the first 53 football-related Anglicisms employed in Spanish. As the author states, “[t]his study is considered pioneering because it sheds light on how and when the first football Anglicisms were introduced in Spanish documents” (Nomdedeu Rull, 2019, p. 207).

By focusing specifically on sports names, Torredadella i Flix and Nomdedeu Rull (2013), through a historical-lexicographical approach to the Spanish sports lexicon, analysed the usage

of the words *foot-ball*, *balompié* and *futbol*,² the terms around which a ground-breaking debate over Spanish sports terminology revolved. In late 19th- and early 20th-century Spain, with the peak of the regenerationist³ movement, foreign sports terminology was introduced and adapted to Spanish. By examining the sports press as well as some dictionaries from this period, the authors shed light on the path followed by the translation and adaptations of the English form *foot-ball* in the Spanish language. Their findings show the frequent use of *futbol* in the texts produced in Catalonia from 1902 onwards, while the original word *foot-ball* was preferred outside this region. According to Torrebadella i Flix and Nomdedeu Rull (2013), it was in 1908 that the calque *balompié* was introduced and, since then, this form has coexisted with the adapted Anglicism *futbol*. For several decades, the three options were employed. However, as time went by, *futbol* and *balompié* prevailed whereas *foot-ball* disappeared. The study by Torrebadella i Flix and Nomdedeu Rull reveals that the efforts made to adapt foreign sports terms to the Spanish language started sooner than previously thought.

Within the areas of stylistics and pragmatics, and revolving mainly around football-related terminology, Rodríguez González (2016) delved into the metaphorical uses that several Anglicisms have acquired in Spanish. Concentrating on the same subfield (i.e. football lexis) but adopting a cross-linguistic perspective, Bergh and Ohlander (2017) compared 16 European languages in terms of their preference for loan translations or direct loans when importing English words. The authors concluded that,

[o]n the whole, purely linguistic circumstances seem clearly less significant in accounting for the borrowing patterns found in the different languages than those related to sociolinguistically potent variables, such as attitudes and language-planning policies in different language communities, as well as changes over time in the same language community (Bergh & Ohlander, 2017. p. 31).

Focusing on surf talk –an area that had not been previously addressed in depth–, Granvik (2019) also enquired into the introduction of direct loans and loan translations in Spanish and Portuguese. Results suggest that surfing manoeuvres and conditions, for instance, are more likely to be referred to by means of direct loans, whereas the specific subfield of waves is “most often described by means of loan translations, i.e. using Portuguese and Spanish terms reflecting English uses” (Granvik, 2019, p. 89).

In her study on the volleyball-related Anglicisms employed in the Spanish variety of Costa Rica, González Gómez (2005) collected the terms obtained by recording Costa Rican sports commentators at the end of the 1980s. The adapted variant of the Anglicism *volleyball* which appears in the title of her article –namely, *volibol*– immediately reveals its geographical provenance.

Rodríguez Medina (2016) carried out an analysis of the web sites of 15 Spanish gyms. By examining the 268 English loanwords she took into consideration, the preference of these online sources for the use of pure Anglicisms was unveiled. Hybrid forms as well as some false

2 When referring to the word as it appears in written sources from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Torrebadella i Flix and Nomdedeu Rull present the term *futbol* without graphic accent and in italics. Nevertheless, when using the word by themselves to denote the sports game, they write it with the form fútbol.

3 Regenerationism was an ideological movement which promoted a complete regeneration of Spanish life. It emerged at the end of the 19th century (<https://dle.rae.es/regeneracionismo>).

Anglicisms (also called pseudo-Anglicisms) were detected too. On the contrary, assimilated Anglicisms hardly appeared in the web sites.⁴

By contrasting two lexicographic sources with a reference corpus, Balteiro (2011) explored Anglicisms and false Anglicisms that are employed in the domain of sports in present-day Spanish. At a later date, Campos-Pardillos (2015) focused on the false Anglicisms that are found in the same specialised field. As the author states, the usage of terms that “are attractive because they *look* English” (Campos-Pardillos, 2015, p. 169, original emphasis) constitutes an interesting phenomenon inasmuch as it reflects the large extent to which English influences other languages.

Vázquez Amador et al. (2015) examined three sports newspapers published in Mexico, Argentina and Spain in the 1950s. The Anglicisms identified in these texts were classified according to different parameters, and the English loanwords were subsequently analysed in terms of their degree of acceptance and their admission into two 21st-century Spanish dictionaries. Results show that the number of Anglicisms included in both Latin American newspapers, especially in the Mexican one, is higher than the quantity of English terms recorded in the one from Spain. While the latter evidences a general tendency towards adapting English words, the former display a higher percentage of non-adapted Anglicisms. Moreover, the permeability of these foreign items in a variety of sports names is also greater in the Latin American press. The authors suggested the geographical proximity of the United States and the linguistic policy of General Franco’s dictatorship as reasons behind these findings.

In more recent years, Rodríguez-Medina (2021) dealt with the use of Anglicisms in the Facebook page of the Spanish sports newspaper *Marca*. In addition to exploring numerous posts by specialised journalists, the author also examined comments written by readers. This book chapter stressed the remarkable presence of (particularly non-adapted) English loanwords in the source analysed and unfolded current trends in the usage of and attitudes towards sports Anglicisms in present-day European Spanish.

As clearly attested by the sources reviewed thus far, studies on the presence of sports Anglicisms in several geographical varieties of the Spanish language do exist. However, to the author’s knowledge, no previous piece of research has adopted a pan-Hispanic approach. Therefore, the present article would be the first one in bringing forward a comparative analysis of the current usage of ball sports Anglicisms in the Spanish varieties covered in CORPES XXI.⁵

4 This terminology corresponds to the taxonomy presented by Rodríguez Medina (2016, pp. 132-133):

1. Pure Anglicisms. Those used in their original form in English (e.g. *training*).
2. Hybrids. Those made up of two terms, one of which is written in English and the other in Spanish (e.g. *ciclo indoor*).
3. Pseudo-Anglicisms or false Anglicisms. Those words that seem to be English, though they do not exist in this language (e.g. *tataning*) (...)
4. Assimilated Anglicisms. Anglicisms with a morphology adapted to the Spanish language (e.g. *pádel*).

5 Linguistic areas in America: (1) Andean region: Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru; (2) the former Spanish Antilles: Cuba, Puerto Rico and Dominican Republic; (3) Continental Caribbean: Colombia and Venezuela; (4) Chilean: Chile; (5) United States: the United States; (6) Mexico and Central America: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Panama; (7) the Río de la Plata (River Plate region): Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay. Linguistic area in Europe: Spain. Other linguistic areas: Equatorial Guinea and the Philippines (<https://www.rae.es/banco-de-datos/corpes-xxi>). These two other linguistic areas will not be considered in the analysis due to data scarcity and lack of representativity of the texts compiled in the corpus.

3 The study

Table 1 presents the four ball sports names that were analysed in this study: *baseball*, *volleyball*, *football* and *basketball*. *Handball* was not included because it comes from German (DLE). The terms in the first and last rows of Table 1 (namely, non-adapted Anglicisms and calques) are considered equivalent pairs (original English form – equivalent form in Spanish), whereas the words collected in the third row constitute the different adaptations of the original foreign names/the pseudo-Anglicisms to the Spanish language. As for the second row, *volley* and *basket* illustrate a type of pseudo-Anglicism named “compound ellipsis” (i.e. the elimination of one of the two lexical items –usually the one on the right– constituting the original English compound) according to the taxonomy devised by Furiassi (2010, pp. 41–43).

Table 1

Ball sports names analysed in the study

Type of Anglicism	Forms			
Non-adapted Anglicisms	<i>baseball</i>	<i>volleyball</i>	<i>football</i>	<i>basketball</i>
Pseudo-Anglicisms		<i>volley</i>		<i>basket</i>
	<i>béisbol</i>	<i>voleibol</i>	<i>fútbol</i>	<i>basquetbol</i>
	<i>beisbol</i>	<i>vóleibol</i>	<i>futbol</i>	<i>básquetbol</i>
		<i>voleybol</i>		<i>básket</i>
		<i>volíbol</i>		<i>basquet</i>
Adapted Anglicisms		<i>volei</i>		<i>básquet</i>
		<i>vólei</i>		
		<i>voley</i>		
		<i>vóley</i>		
		<i>voli</i>		
Calques	<i>pelota (base)</i>	<i>balonvolea</i>	<i>balompié</i>	<i>baloncesto</i>

3.1 Main source of investigation and methodology

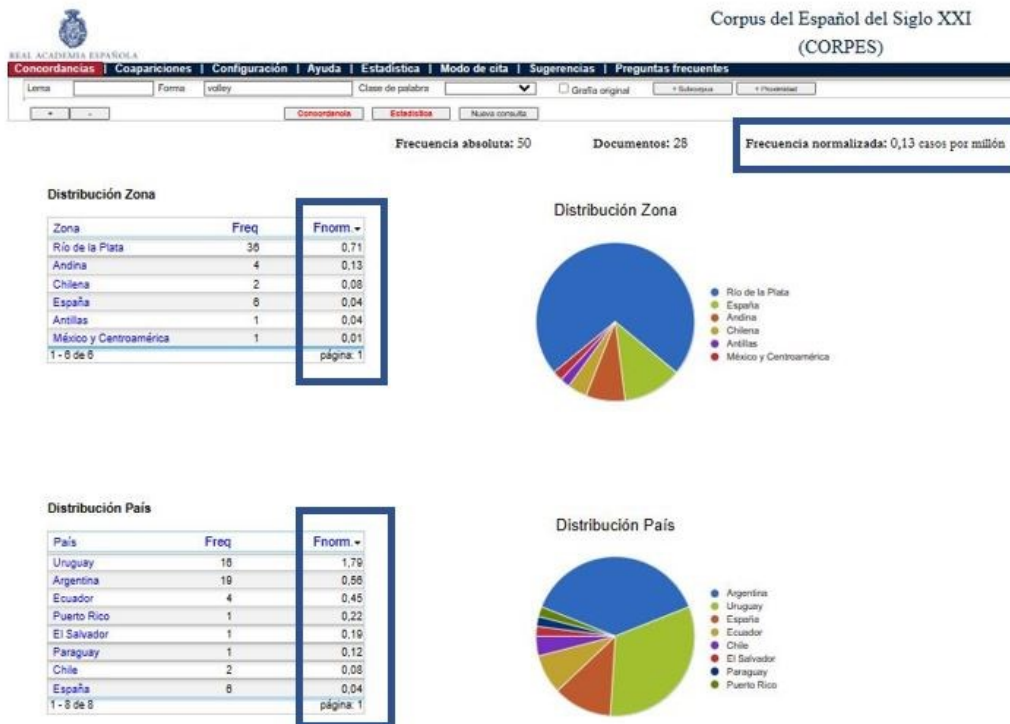
The terms collected in Table 1 were looked up in CORPES XXI, a reference corpus compiled by the RAE which contains 21st-century Spanish texts from various regions of the world, namely 30% from European Spanish and 70% from varieties of Spanish spoken in the Americas. Being constantly growing, at present it is made up of over 300 million forms.

CORPES XXI also offers statistical information about the given word in terms of geographical area, country, chronological period, thematic criterion and typological distribution. For the purposes of the present study, the first two aspects were considered. By means of blue boxes, Figure 1 highlights that, in order to make comparisons among areas and countries, attention must be paid to normalised frequencies (in the whole Spanish-speaking world as well as in the two tables that concentrate on the geographical distribution of the word) rather than to absolute frequencies.⁶

⁶ Please, note that the pie charts displaying the geographical distribution of the word show the absolute frequencies.

Figure 1

CORPES XXI interface: example of statistics (emphasis on normalised frequencies added)



The searches were made by introducing the terms in the “forma” search field, which allowed us to obtain the results of the words either with or without graphic accent. Since, on several occasions, this element was the unique difference (for instance, in the case of *basquetbol* vs. *básquetbol*), it was essential to distinguish between forms carrying it or not. Using the “lema” search field would have provided us with all the results together, which would have not been useful for the purposes of the present study.

Covering the whole Spanish-speaking world is possible nowadays thanks to previously published corpora. These electronically manageable compilations of texts allow researchers to develop large scale projects that were unapproachable in the past. Furthermore, they make it feasible to check intuition by using real data. In this case, the corpus that is currently being compiled by the RAE, i.e. CORPES XXI, is consulted as the main source for the study, since the geographical areas it covers (i.e. those that encompass the whole Spanish-speaking world, including all its varieties) as well as the statistical information it offers (see above) make it ideal for achieving the goals of the present piece of research.

3.2 Results

This section examines the findings obtained after consulting CORPES XXI in relation to the four ball sports names analysed, that is, *baseball*, *volleyball*, *football* and *basketball*. Results are laid out in tables (see Tables 2, 3, 4, 5) which contain information concerning:

- the different forms of each term: non-adapted Anglicism, pseudo-Anglicism (if any), adapted Anglicisms, calque
- the normalised frequency of each term per million words (pmw) in the whole pan-Hispanic world
- the following geographical data:
 - the area with the highest normalised frequency
 - the country with the highest normalised frequency

Every form included in the tables is illustrated by means of an example extracted from CORPES XXI and belonging to a text that was produced in the country with the highest normalised frequency in each case (unless otherwise indicated).

Furthermore, the explanations provided in the two lexicographic works referred to in this study, i.e. DLE and DPD, are displayed. Additionally, in order to trace the date of the first attestation of the original English terms in the different geographical varieties of Spanish, the Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE) as well as the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA) –both of them also compiled by the RAE– were consulted. The former contains texts from the beginning of the Spanish language until 1974, whereas the latter consists of texts which date from 1975 to 2004.

3.2.1 *Baseball*

When searching for the term *baseball* in CORDE (RAE, online), 9 results from only three different countries (Spain, Argentina and Guatemala) are found. The first attestation of this English loanword in the Spanish language dates from 1916 in Spain; in the case of Argentina, *baseball* appeared in a series of literary texts published from 1951 to 1961; as for Guatemala, the first recorded use is from 1954.

According to the data present in CORPES XXI, as Table 2 shows, the most common form corresponding to the Anglicism *baseball* is the adaptation *béisbol*. As regards the geographical factor, the area where the latter is most frequently employed is the Antilles, precisely Puerto Rico. In relation to the original English form *baseball*, the area where it is most commonly used is also the Antilles and, the country, Puerto Rico too. Therefore, there is variation as well within a given place.

Considering the calque *pelota (base)*, Sánchez Fajardo (2016) explains that

base-ball, as it was initially borrowed, was substituted by *béisbol* (an adapted form), which derived into *pelota*. *Béisbol* and *pelota* survive in contemporary Cuban Spanish, being the former preferred over by the media and specialised texts (Sánchez Fajardo, 2016, p.76–77, original italics).

Since the form employed in the Caribbean area is *pelota* ‘ball’ (a search for *pelota base* in CORPES XXI produced no hits) and, therefore, the statistical results the corpus provided for *pelota* covered all the uses of this word, it was necessary to manually identify those corresponding to the sense ‘baseball’. However, due to the fact that the total number of concordances in the whole pan-Hispanic world was 13,044, and taking into consideration the strong regional character of the usage, two geographically-restricted searches were implemented in order to analyse the resulting cases on a one-by-one basis.

The first of the two searches was limited to Continental Caribbean and produced 1,500 concordances (normalised frequency: 32.19 pmw). Specifically, 728 appeared in texts from

Venezuela (44.33 pmw) and 772 belonged to texts from Colombia (25.58 pmw). Out of the 1,500 occurrences, 305 showed examples of the word meaning ‘baseball’ (277 from Venezuela and 28 from Colombia). Therefore, in the Continental Caribbean as a whole, the normalised frequency of *pelota* ‘baseball’ was 6.55 pmw; in Venezuela, it was 8.87 pmw and, in Colombia, it was 5.12 pmw.

The second enquiry focused on the Antilles and resulted in 1,056 concordances (normalised frequency: 43.40 pmw), namely 631 from Cuba (50.18 pmw), 290 from the Dominican Republic (40.01 pmw) and 135 from Puerto Rico (29.94 pmw). Out of the 1,056 occurrences, those corresponding to ‘baseball’ were 583 (327 from Cuba, 165 from the Dominican Republic and 91 from Puerto Rico). Thus, in the whole area of the Antilles, the normalised frequency of *pelota* ‘baseball’ was 23.96 pmw; in Cuba, it was 27.60 pmw, in the Dominican Republic, it was 22.01 pmw and, in Puerto Rico, it was 16.47 pmw.

The two searches reported above glean insights concerning this particular usage of *pelota* in the Caribbean. The Antilles are the area where the word *pelota* meaning ‘baseball’ is most commonly used. In relation to the countries, out of the five analysed, Cuba is the one where this usage is most frequently found.

Table 2

Baseball

	Anglicism	pan-Hispanic normalised frequency (pmw)	top area	top country
non-adapted	<i>baseball</i>	0.58	Antilles	Puerto Rico
	<i>béisbol</i>	9.75	Antilles	Puerto Rico
adapted	<i>beisbol</i>	3.33	Continental Caribbean	Venezuela
calque	<i>pelota (base)</i>	-	Antilles	Cuba

Examples 1 to 3 below show contextualised occurrences of the forms *baseball*, *béisbol* and *beisbol* as found, respectively, in the “top countries”. Example 4 corresponds to an instance of the use of *pelota* (‘baseball’) in the country where it has the highest normalised frequency:

[1] ya que señalaba en el San Juan News: “que el efecto del **baseball** en la americanización del pueblo era sorprendente” (Puerto Rico, 2006).

[2] y le agradece su continua labor para el desarrollo del **béisbol** internacional (Puerto Rico, 2006).

[3] Dueños de equipos y peloteros siguen enfrascados en férreas posiciones, mientras el tiempo acecha en contra del **beisbol** (Venezuela, 2020).

[4] Las luces del terreno de **pelota** estaban encendidas, el equipo de béisbol comenzaba su entrenamiento para el campeonato entre escuelas (Cuba, 2002).

The term *baseball* is not present in DLE. However, considering the adapted forms, *beisbol* is cross-referenced to *béisbol*. When looking up *béisbol*, the following piece of information is provided: Also *beisbol*, Antilles, Costa Rica, United States, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Venezuela. From English *base ball*.

In relation to the calque, when looking up *pelota base* in DLE, no results are obtained. However, the 13th sense of the word *pelota* indicates the following: Antilles and Venezuela. *béisbol*.⁷

On the other hand, *baseball* is cross-referenced to *béisbol* or *beisbol* in DPD. This reference tool explains that

the English word *baseball* was adapted into Spanish with two different accentuations, both of them valid. The form *béisbol*, which retains the etymological stress, is the one employed in Spain as well as in large areas of America, whereas in countries such as Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela, Cuba and the Dominican Republic the variant in which the last syllable is stressed, i.e. *beisbol*, is preferred. In relation to the calque *pelota base*, the shortened form *pelota* is used in several American countries, mainly in the Caribbean area (*author's translation*).

3.2.2 Volleyball

In CORDE, no results are found for the English word *volleyball*. It is necessary to consult a more recent corpus, CREA, in order to retrieve 14 concordances for this form, which is attested for the first time in 1976 in Argentina. After this, it is documented in Puerto Rico in 1989, in the US in 1997 and in Spain in 1997 as well, although in this case it performed a metalinguistic use in a text dealing with foreign words.

Table 3

Volleyball

	Anglicism	pan-Hispanic normalised frequency (pmw)	top area	top country
non-adapted	<i>volleyball</i>	0.05	Antilles	Puerto Rico
pseudo-Ang.	<i>volley</i>	0.13	Rio de la Plata	Uruguay
	<i>voleibol</i>	3.37	Antilles	Puerto Rico
	<i>vóleibol</i>	0.21	Chilean	Chile
	<i>voleybol</i>	0.01	Spain	Spain
	<i>volibol</i>	0.19	Antilles	Puerto Rico
adapted	<i>volei</i>	0.01	Andean	Bolivia
	<i>vólei</i>	0	Andean	Ecuador
	<i>voley</i>	0.19	Rio de la Plata	Argentina
	<i>vóley</i>	0.43	Andean	Peru
	<i>voli</i>	0.24	Antilles	Cuba
calque	<i>balonvolea</i>	0.02	United States	United States

Examples 5 to 16 illustrate the forms included in the second column of Table 3 by means of cases found in texts belonging to the respective ‘top countries’ where they are used:

⁷ In light of the findings obtained in the present study, Colombia should be added to these 2 geographical origins, since 28 concordances showing this usage of *pelota* come from this country. Thus, the whole Continental Caribbean area, and not just Venezuela, is characterised by employing this word with this meaning.

- [5] La pelota no goza de la rapidez del odiado fútbol de Borges, ni del basketball, ni del **volleyball**, ni del ping-pong, ni del tennis, ni del badminton (Cuba, 2002).⁸
- [6] En el patio disponían de un frontón y de instalaciones para soft ball, **volley** y basket (Uruguay, 2002).
- [7] en la que sobresale el baloncesto y el **voleibol**, pero en que también se organizan eventos de otras disciplinas (Puerto Rico, 2007).
- [8] Esta tradicional competencia permite la práctica deportiva y la interacción social de los apoderados en disciplinas como el **vóleibol** (damas y varones), básquetbol, beibifútbol, tenis de mesa, ajedrez, atletismo y fútbol (Chile, 2005).
- [9] deportes recreativos, como el futvoli, que mezcla elementos tanto del fútbol como del **voleybol**, o el floorball, que deriva del jockey (Spain, 2004).
- [10] para participar en el tercer torneo municipal de **volibol** infantil femenino del barrio París (Puerto Rico, 2004).
- [11] Warnes ganó básquet varones y **volei** damas. Ichilo quedó en el tercer lugar y el último de la tabla fue Sara (Bolivia, 2005).
- [12] temporada de playa comienza en enero y con ella la práctica de deportes como el surf, el **vólei** playero, buceo, la pesca, entre otras actividades de la costa (Ecuador, 2012).⁹
- [13] Ofrece paseos en sulky, yerra, pesca, **voley**, badminton, croquet y, a 8 km, golf y tenis (Argentina, 2005).
- [14] los secretos y fundamentos de diversas disciplinas como artes marciales, fútbol, **vóley**, básquet, ajedrez, pimpón, pesas y diversos juegos recreativos (Peru, 2006).
- [15] La historia, caprichosa, quiso que los cubanos festejáramos dos medallas de oro en domingos consecutivos, porque esta del **voli** se une a la del Mundial de Béisbol, en un excelente remate de fin de año (Cuba, 2001).
- [16] dijo que se registró durante un partido de **balonvolea** y añadió que una residencia cercana al recinto deportivo se derrumbó a causa de la explosión (US, 2010).

The term *volleyball* is not recorded in DLE. In relation to the adapted forms, this lexicographic resource provides us with the following data:

- *vóleibol*: It forwards us to *voleibol*.
- *voleibol*: Also *vóleibol*, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay. From English *volleyball*.
- *vóley*: Shortening. 1. m. *voleibol*.

The pseudo-Anglicism (*volley*) and the rest of the adapted forms (*voleybol*, *volibol*, *volei*, *vólei*, *voley* and *voli*) are not recorded in DLE. Considering the calque *balonvolea*, this dictionary states that it is a calque from English *volleyball* and forwards us to the variant *voleibol*.

DPD offers the following cross-reference:
volibol or *vólibol*, *volleyball*. → *voleibol* or *vóleibol*. This lexicographic work indicates that

⁸ In this case, the example does not come from the “top country” (Puerto Rico) because the instances with this geographical origin show contexts where *volleyball* is used either in a name in English (for example, “USA Volleyball” or “Henry Rivera Volleyball School”) or in a text dealing with Anglicisms and their equivalents in Spanish. Thus, a concordance from another country belonging to the “top area” has been selected.

⁹ In this example, *vólei playero* constitutes a variant of the form *volei playa*. CORPES XXI also contains an instance of *volei de playa* (Cuba, 2008).

the English word *volleyball* has been graphically adapted to Spanish with two different accentuations, both of them valid. *Voleibol* (acute accent) is the most common variant in the Spanish-speaking world, although the proparoxytone one (*vóleibol*) –which is more in line with the original English pronunciation– is preferred in the Southern Cone. The partially adapted forms *voleybol*¹⁰ and *voleyball*¹¹ are not admissible. In some American countries, especially in Mexico and the Central American area, the variants *volibol* and *vólibol* are also present. The shortening *vóley*, which is employed in the compound word *vóley-playa*, is frequently used as well. As for the calque *balonvolea*, it is only resorted to, and on an occasional basis, in Spain (*author's translation*).¹²

3.2.3 Football

When searching for *football* in CORDE, 13 results are obtained. The first use of the term which is recorded by this corpus dates from 1914 and is geographically located in Spain. It appeared in Guatemala in 1927, in Argentina in 1931, and in El Salvador in 1956. Considering *foot-ball*, it was employed for the first time in 1913 as far as CORDE indicates. However, Nomdedeu Rull (2019: 192) reveals that, in Spain, “[t]he first reference to football was published in Valencia, by *El Panorama, Periódico ilustrado quincenal*, on April 30, 1868”. The author specifies that, in this piece of news, the form *foot-ball* was used. Later on, “the word *foot-ball* (related to the football match) began to appear in numerous newspapers or magazines after the celebration of an activity called football” (Nomdedeu Rull, 2019, pp. 192-193).¹³

Regarding the presence of *football* in CORPES XXI, as Table 4 reveals, the form *fútbol* is, by far, the most frequent one. Indeed, in this case there is a remarkable difference between the commonest variant and the rest. It is also worth noting that the name of this sport is employed many more times pmw than the terms referring to the other three sports games that are analysed in this study.

As far as the geographical distribution is concerned, Table 4 underscores that, sometimes, the top country is not located within the top area, as is the case in three out of the four rows in the Table – all but “Mexico and Central America”- “Mexico” (see also Table 5).

10 When searching for *voleybol* in CORPES XXI, it displays only four concordances, all of them from Spain.

11 CORPES XXI only contains one occurrence of *voleyball*, which appears in a text from Spain.

12 Indeed, on a very rare basis in Spain at present, as its normalised frequency in CORPES XXI is 0.05 pwm. According to the data retrieved from this corpus, *balonvolea* is, in fact, most frequently attested in the United States (0.23 pmw).

13 Nomdedeu Rull (2019, p. 193) also explains that:

the first Spanish association for football practice, the Huelva Recreation Club, was founded in 1889, twenty-one years later than the first Spanish news on football.

Before 1890 football news were based mostly on anecdotes. In the 1890s the first reference to this sport was published in a chronicle. This news was the first football match written in Spanish. It was played on March 12, 1890, between the Huelva Recreation Club and the English Colony at Sevilla – English workers from Portilla White Co – at the hippodromus from Dehesa de Tablada de Sevilla (Rodríguez & Narbona, 1954; Seijas, 1975; Bálmont, 2007; Franco, 2010; Castro, 2012). This chronicle was published in *La Provincia* (Huelva).

(...)

General-interest newspapers, such as *La Dinastía* and *La Vanguardia*, being both from Barcelona - this city has been recognized as the cradle of modern sports in Spain-, published the first columns on football news in Spain. Both newspapers are significant for football terms diffusion (§5), especially *La Vanguardia*.

Table 4

Football

	Anglicism	pan-Hispanic normalised frequency (pmw)	top area	top country
non-adapted	<i>football</i>	0.95	Andean	Puerto Rico
	<i>fútbol</i>	96.41	Rio de la Plata	Ecuador
adapted	<i>futbol</i>	10.72	Mexico and Central America	Mexico
	<i>balompié</i>	2.87	Mexico and Central America	Ecuador

Examples 17 to 20 display instances of the four forms of the Anglicism *football* recorded in Table 4:

[17] Los únicos títulos a nivel profesional en la ciudad se han registrado en el béisbol y en el **football**. (Puerto Rico, 2015).

[18] el seleccionado nacional Édison Méndez, quien jugó **fútbol** con el resto de sus compañeros y se mostró en buenas condiciones físicas (Ecuador, 2005).¹⁴

[19] El desierto es como un vasto campo de **fútbol** con unos cuantos obstáculos vegetales (Mexico, 2001).

[20] En Uruguay, el traspaso del goleador del equipo celeste en la Copa América, Daniel Chevantón, al **balompié** italiano fue la última novedad (Ecuador, 2001).

The term *football* is not present in DLE. As for its adapted variants, the following information is found in this reference tool:

- *futbol*: It forwards us to *fútbol*.

- *fútbol*: Also *futbol*. From English *football*.

As far as the calque is concerned, DLE indicates that *balompié* is a calque from English *football* and it forwards us to the form *fútbol*.

DPD, for its part, includes the following entry:

fútbol or *futbol*:

The English word *football* has been graphically adapted to Spanish with two different accentuations, both of them valid. The form *fútbol*, which maintains the etymological stress of the English lexical unit, is the most widespread variant in Spain as well as in most of America. In Mexico and in the Central American area, the acute form *futbol* is used. **Fóbal*,¹⁵ on the other hand, should be avoided.

The calque *balompié* has not succeeded in being frequently employed;¹⁶ in fact, it is just due to stylistic reasons (avoiding repetitions) that it is resorted to most of the times (*author's translation*).

14 This example shows a step further in the influence exerted by the English language. In addition to the lexical Anglicism (“fútbol”), the whole structure has been calqued: “jugar fútbol” –rather than the Spanish form “jugar + preposition *a* + article + sports name”– is employed.

15 CORPES XXI offers six instances of *fóbal*, three of them from Uruguay and the other three from Argentina.

16 However, it is included in the name of a major Spanish football team, Real Betis Balompié, as well as in others which are lesser-known – for instance, Albacete Balompié.

3.2.4 Basketball

A search for *basketball* in CORDE returns only 2 concordances, both from Spain. Out of them, the oldest one dates from 1945. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that its author, the Spanish poet Pedro Salinas, had already been living in the US for several years when he wrote the text in which the Anglicism appears. This contextual feature makes it difficult to consider this particular concordance as an instance of the penetration of the form *basketball* in Spain.

As for the presence of *basketball* in CORPES XXI, it is noteworthy that, in this case, it is the calque option that stands out in terms of frequency. Considering the geographical distribution, Table 5 draws attention to the fact that, sometimes, the top country is not located within the top area – as in “Andean” - “Nicaragua”; “Rio de la Plata” - “Costa Rica” and “Chilean” - “Uruguay” (see also Table 4).

Table 5

Basketball

	Anglicism	pan-Hispanic normalised frequency (pmw)	top area	top country
non-adapted	<i>basketball</i>	0.24	Antilles	Puerto Rico
pseudo-Ang.	<i>basket</i>	0.86	Antilles	Dominican Republic
	<i>básket</i>	0	Andean	Nicaragua
adapted	<i>basquet</i>	0.06	Rio de la Plata	Costa Rica
	<i>básquet</i>	1.34	Andean	Ecuador
	<i>basquetbol</i>	1	Mexico and Central America	Mexico
	<i>básquetbol</i>	1.47	Chilean	Uruguay
calque	<i>baloncesto</i>	12.54	Antilles	Puerto Rico

Examples 21 to 28 show the different forms of the Anglicism *basketball* in context by means of a selection of concordances:

[21] La pelota no goza de la rapidez del odiado fútbol de Borges, ni del **basketball**, ni del volleyball, ni del ping-pong, ni del tennis, ni del badmington (Cuba, 2002).¹⁷

[22] tiene experiencia en el **basket** internacional y parece estar dispuesto a incorporarse al equipo nacional (Dominican Republic, 2004).

[23] rositeños y bonanceños recuerdan lo grato que eran los encuentros deportivos de **básket**, fútbol y voleibol (Nicaragua, 2006).

[24] llevó a Cartago a su único título en el **basquet** (1986); y ganó oro en Juegos Centroamericanos de Honduras (1997), entre otros (Costa Rica, 2001).

[25] dos años, tiempo durante el cual se debe cultivar el **básquet** desde las etapas infantiles (Ecuador, 2003).

[26] A la izquierda, la cancha de **basquetbol**, a la derecha la pista de atletismo (Mexico, 2001).

¹⁷ In this case, the example does not come from the “top country” (Puerto Rico) because the instances with this geographical origin show contexts where *basketball* is used in a name in English (for example, “USA Basketball” or “San Juan Basketball League”). Thus, a concordance from another country belonging to the “top area” has been selected.

[27] El **básquetbol** de Salto es sacudido por un hecho impactante (Uruguay, 2001).

[28] LeBron James, quien promedió 20.9 puntos en su debut en la mejor liga de **baloncesto** del mundo (Puerto Rico, 2014).

The term *basketball* is not recorded in DLE. With respect to the adapted forms, the following data from this lexicographical resource should be reproduced:

- *basquetbol*: It forwards us to *básquetbol*.

- *básquetbol*: Also *basquetbol*. From English *basketball*. It forwards us to the form *baloncesto*.

- *básquet*: Shortening from English *basketball*. 1. m. *baloncesto*.

Neither the pseudo-Anglicism *basket* nor its adapted forms *básket* and *basquet* are included in DLE. As for *baloncesto*, this dictionary states that it is a calque from English *basketball*.

In DPD, the following cross-references and explanations can be found:¹⁸

**básket*, *basketball*, **básketbol* or **basketbol* → *baloncesto* and *básquetbol* or *basquetbol*.

básquet → *baloncesto* and *básquetbol* or *basquetbol*.

baloncesto:

It is a calque from the English word *basketball*. Its use is widely established in the whole Spanish-speaking world; therefore, it is more appropriate than the graphic adaptations with which it coexists in American Spanish, such as *básquetbol* or *basquetbol* and *básquet* (*author's translation*).

básquetbol or *basquetbol*:

The English word *basketball* (*baloncesto*) has been adapted graphically in American Spanish with two different accentuations, both of them valid. The proparoxytone variant *básquetbol* maintains the etymological pronunciation and is the most widespread one; nevertheless, the acute form *basquetbol* is also used, especially in Mexico. The shortening *básquet*, which is equally acceptable, must be written with the graphic accent because it carries the stress in the penultimate syllable and ends in a consonant different from '-n' or '-s'. Due to their less widely usage, the partially adapted forms **básketbol*, **basketbol* and **básket*, which retain the etymological 'k', are not recommended.

The variants of the adapted Anglicism coexist in America with the calque *baloncesto*, which is the only form employed in Spain¹⁹ (*author's translation*).

3.3 Discussion

This study focuses on the variants of four ball sports names: *baseball*, *volleyball*, *football* and *basketball*. Rather than displaying a superficial analysis of a higher number of sports-related Anglicisms, this paper goes through this sample of English loanwords comprehensively.

In relation to the first aim of this piece of research, i.e. to clarify which of the two options (adopting/adapting vs. calquing) is the most successful one for each sport term in the whole pan-Hispanic world, the following results were obtained:

- *baseball*: adoption/adaptation, specifically the adapted form *béisbol*
- *volleyball*: adoption/adaptation, specifically the adapted form *voleibol*
- *football*: adoption/adaptation, specifically the adapted form *fútbol*

¹⁸ Note that an asterisk precedes those forms considered as incorrect or inadvisable.

¹⁹ The idea that *baloncesto* is the only form employed in Spain is disproved by CORPES XXI; in fact, *basket* appears 190 times in texts from this country.

- basketball: calque, the form *baloncesto*

In light of these findings, when deciding between the (non-) adapted Anglicism or the calque, the former is the most frequent one, the latter being preferred only in one out of the four cases analysed: *baloncesto*. Precisely, results obtained in relation to this form contradict one of the examples presented by Oliva Marañón (2012), who claimed that, on many occasions, the foreign term has succeeded against its Spanish translation, the latter being considered by speakers as less expressive and effective. The author offered the following two instances: *fútbol/balompíe*; *básket/baloncesto*.

Moreover, it must be pointed out that the adoption of the non-adapted Anglicism was not the most frequent option in any of the four cases examined. This finding confirms the tendency of the Spanish language to adapt Anglicisms, at least as far as ball sports names are concerned (Torrebadella i Flix & Nomdedeu Rull, 2013).

Indeed, Torrebadella i Flix and Nomdedeu Rull (2013) provided evidence of the fact that, in the case of *football*, the adapted form and the calque survived in Spanish whereas the non-adapted term fell into disuse. Now, the present study corroborates that it continues being the case for the name of this sport²⁰ and it also sheds light on the names of three other ball sports. The findings of this paper suggest that *baseball*, *volleyball* and *basketball* show the same tendency as *football* in relation to the speakers' preferences when it comes to using either the non-adapted form or any other option (i.e. adaptations/calque/pseudo-Anglicism). Specifically, in two out of the three cases, it was an adapted form which succeeded (*béisbol* and *voleibol*), whereas in the other one the preferred word was the calque (*baloncesto*). Therefore, the efforts made at the beginning of the 20th century to Hispanicise the sports terminology that was entering the Spanish language (Torrebadella i Flix & Nomdedeu Rull, 2013) seem to have taken effect in the case of ball sports names.

Regarding the second aim of the present study, i.e. to find out whether diatopic variation plays a part in the spreading of one option or another, it has been proven that geographical distribution affects disparity in the frequency of use of the different variants of originally English ball sports names in Spanish. Particularly, the usage of each of the 28 forms stands out in a different Spanish-speaking area and country.

With respect to the "top area", as Table 6 shows, the Antilles occupy this position on 10 occasions (*baseball*, *béisbol*, *volleyball*, *voleibol*, *volibol*, *voli*, *basketball*, *basket*, *baloncesto*, *pelota* 'baseball'), the Andean region on 6 (*volei*, *vólei*, *vóley*, *football*, *básket*, *básquet*), the Rio de la Plata on 4 (*volley*, *voley*, *fútbol*, *basquet*), Mexico and Central America on 3 (*fútbol*, *balompíe*, *basquetbol*), the Chilean region on 2 (*vóleibol*, *básquetbol*), the Continental Caribbean on 1 (*beisbol*), Spain on 1 (*voleybol*) and the United States on 1 occasion (*balonvolea*). Further research is needed to clarify the possible explanation for this distribution. Checking whether the kind of data included in CORPES XXI is not uniform across countries and the impact this can have in the distribution of the forms could be a good starting point.

20 Although the adapted forms are, by a long way, the most frequently employed variants, even the not-very-successful Spanish literal translation *balompíe* has a higher pan-Hispanic normalised frequency per million words (2.87) than the non-adapted Anglicism *football* (0.95).

Table 6*Top areas and types of Anglicisms*

Top Area	Type of Anglicism			
	Non-adapted	Pseudo-Anglicism	Adapted	Calque
Antilles	<i>baseball</i> <i>volleyball</i> <i>basketball</i>	<i>basket</i>	<i>béisbol</i> <i>voleibol</i> <i>volíbol</i> <i>voli</i>	<i>baloncesto</i> <i>pelota</i>
Andean	<i>football</i>		<i>volei</i> <i>vólei</i> <i>vóley</i> <i>básket</i> <i>básquet</i>	
Río de la Plata		<i>volley</i>	<i>voley</i> <i>fútbol</i> <i>basquet</i>	
Mexico and Central America			<i>fútbol</i> <i>basquetbol</i>	<i>balompié</i>
Chilean			<i>vóleibol</i> <i>básquetbol</i>	
Continental Caribbean			<i>beisbol</i>	
Spain			<i>voleybol</i>	
United States				<i>balonvolea</i>

Considering the countries, Puerto Rico is the top one in 8 cases (*baseball*, *béisbol*, *volleyball*, *voleibol*, *volíbol*, *football*, *basketball*, *baloncesto*), Ecuador in 4 (*vólei*, *fútbol*, *balompié*, *básquet*), Cuba in 2 (*voli*, *pelota* ‘baseball’), Mexico in 2 (*fútbol*, *basquetbol*), Uruguay in 2 (*volley*, *básquetbol*), Argentina in 1 (*voley*), Bolivia in 1 (*volei*), Chile in 1 (*vóleibol*), Costa Rica in 1 (*basquet*), the Dominican Republic in 1 (*basket*), Nicaragua in 1 (*básket*), Peru in 1 (*vóley*), Spain in 1 (*voleybol*), the United States in 1 (*balonvolea*) and Venezuela in 1 (*beisbol*).

In relation to geographical distribution, it is worth noting that, in several cases (*football*, *fútbol*, *balompié*, *básket*, *basquet* and *básquetbol*), the country where the form is most frequently used is not located within the area where the very same variant is most commonly employed. Another remarkable point is the fact that more than one form of a given sports name can share the area or country where they are most frequently employed. For instance, the area where *fútbol* is most commonly used is Mexico and Central America, which is also the area where *balompié* is most frequently resorted to.

As far as the pan-Hispanic normalised frequency pmw of all the forms is concerned, few words are characterised by having a frequency which equals or is higher than 1. Specifically, two variants of ‘baseball’ –*béisbol* (9.75) and *beisbol* (3.33)–, one of ‘volleyball’ –*voleibol* (3.37)–, three of ‘football’ –*fútbol* (96.41), *fútbol* (10.72) and *balompié* (2.87)– and four of ‘basketball’ –*baloncesto* (12.54), *básquetbol* (1.47), *básquet* (1.34) and *basquetbol* (1)– meet

this criterion.²¹ The frequency with which the rest of the forms are used is quite low. As could be expected due to its worldwide relevance, out of the four sports, *football* towers above the others as the one whose name (adding up all its variants) is most commonly employed in the whole Spanish-speaking world.

As for the additional objective of this study, which aimed to explore the treatment that two dictionaries by the RAE (DLE and DPD) give to these Anglicisms, the first issue that can be mentioned is that neither the non-adapted terms (i.e. *baseball*, *volleyball*, *football* and *basketball*) nor the pseudo-Anglicisms (i.e. *volley* and *basket*) are recorded in DLE. Insofar as the adapted forms are concerned, this lexicographical resource registers *béisbol*, *beisbol*, *voleibol*, *vóleibol*, *vóley*, *fútbol*, *futbol*, *basquetbol*, *básquetbol* and *básquet*, whereas *voleybol*, *volibol*, *volei*, *vólei*, *voley*, *voli*, *básket* and *basquet* are left out. With respect to the calques, all of them are included. Nevertheless, in the case of *baseball*, only one of the meanings listed below its calque (i.e. *pelota*) refers to this sports game, whereas the other three Spanish literal translations (i.e. *balonvolea*, *balompié* and *baloncesto*) correspond univocally to *volleyball*, *football* and *basketball*, respectively.

The definitions in DLE are always presented in the entry corresponding to the most frequently employed word (*béisbol*, *voleibol*, *fútbol* and *baloncesto*), while the rest of the forms forward us to these main entries. Considering the adapted variants, there is a difference between two cases where not all of them are registered in DLE – namely, *volleyball* and *basketball*. As for the latter, the ones that are included turn out to be the forms with the highest normalised frequency per million words in the Spanish-speaking world (*basquetbol*, *básquetbol* and *básquet*). Regarding the former, *voleibol* and *vóley* are the most frequent ones, but *voli*, despite occupying the third position, has been overlooked – whereas the fourth form, *vóleibol*, is included.

When it comes to the non-adapted terms and the calques, the original English form *volleyball* is left out in spite of having a pan-Hispanic normalised frequency of 0.05 per million words, a higher figure than the one obtained by the calque *balonvolea* (0.02), which does appear in DLE. This seems to be in line with the Hispanicising efforts referred to by Torrebadella i Flix & Nomdedeu Rull (2013), which are still present, apparently, a century afterwards. Nevertheless, a different reason may have motivated this decision. When accessing the 24 concordances of the non-adapted form *volleyball*, 10 out of them reveal uses of the word within a name written in English (for instance, “Beach Volleyball World Tour 2002”). Something similar happens with 165 out of the 231 occurrences of *baseball*, 54 out of 104 concordances of *basketball* and 242 out of 370 cases of *football* – they show uses of the word within a proper name in English (or even other languages, such as French or Italian), in texts which deal with Anglicisms in Spanish, or belonging to a whole fragment which is written in English. Therefore, not all the occurrences of these non-adapted Anglicisms illustrate real examples of English loanwords totally integrated into the Spanish discourse. This may explain why these non-adapted terms are not registered in DLE.

The other lexicographical resource consulted in this study –DPD– provides the reader with detailed explanations on the different name forms of these ball sports. Guided by the prescriptive approach that characterises the works published by the RAE, DPD makes recommendations and also advises against the use of certain variants. Although they have not been reproduced in the previous section (3.2. Results), DPD entries are illustrated by examples that present the word in a real context.

21 All these forms are recorded in DLE.

In light of the findings obtained in the present piece of research, some of the commentaries offered in DPD match the real data contained in CORPES XXI, while others do not. For example, the results produced by the corpus confirm that the acute form *basquetbol* is used especially in Mexico. Likewise, the proparoxytone variant *vóleibol* is preferred in the Southern Cone – Chile is the place where it is most frequently used. However, the idea that *baloncesto* is the only form employed in Spain is disproved by the corpus –in fact, the pseudo-Anglicism *basket* appears 190 times in texts from this country–, as is the statement about *balonvolea* only being resorted to in Spain – actually, this form is most frequently attested in the United States.

4 Conclusions

This study provides insight into the usage of English ball sports names in 21st-century Spanish. By examining data extracted from CORPES XXI, each variant of these loanwords was explored in order to determine whether diatopic variation plays a role when it comes to preferring one form over the others. The results show that geographical distribution affects disparity in the frequency of use of *baseball*, *volleyball*, *football* and *basketball*, their calques and the rest of their variants. The area and country where each form is most commonly employed have been unveiled.

Furthermore, an overall picture of the pan-Hispanic normalised frequencies of all the terms has been presented, which has revealed whether adopting/adapting or calquing is the most successful procedure when introducing English ball sports names in Spanish. Specifically, *béisbol*, *voleibol*, *fútbol* and *baloncesto* proved to be the most frequent forms, showing that adaptation (in the first three cases) and calquing (in the last one) are the most productive procedures, whereas adopting the original English term is not the most salient strategy in any of the four ball sports names analysed.

Two lexicographical resources, DLE and DPD, were consulted with the purpose of going through the treatment they give to the Anglicisms at hand. The content of the two dictionaries concerning these loanwords has been approached in the light of the actual data provided by CORPES XXI, which has brought about some mismatches, such as the form(s) of the name *basketball* which is/are used in Spain and the place(s) where the calque *balonvolea* is resorted to. Furthermore, according to the provenance of 28 concordances offered by the corpus, Colombia should be added to Antilles and Venezuela as the places where the 13th sense of the word *pelota* (DLE) is employed.

The present paper, whose focus is on the diatopic variation that characterises the forms that have been analysed, has also included the date of first attestation of the original English terms in the different geographical varieties of Spanish. This diachronic perspective, which can be delved into by means of exploiting the Corpus del Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española (CNDHE)²² as well as CORPES XXI, constitutes a future research avenue which could complement this study.

In this article, the diatopic variation of English loanwords in present-day Spanish has been dealt with from a pan-Hispanic point of view. This represents a new approach insofar as it encompasses a much larger number of Spanish varieties than those covered in the studies on sports-related Anglicisms published earlier.

22 CNDHE is a corpus by the RAE which contains texts from the 12th century up to the year 2000 (<https://apps.rae.es/CNDHE/org/publico/pages/ayuda/ayuda.view>).

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