Spanish Loanwords in the English Language

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Spanish Loanwords in the English Language

A Tendency towards Hegemony Reversal

Edited by

Félix Rodríguez González

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Las voces extrañas no son un mal sino un síntoma o un barómetro... Las voces extranjeras de las lenguas son reflejo del prestigio y del poder expansivo de las culturas. (Ángel Rosenblat)

Die Gewalt einer Sprache ist nicht, daß sie das Fremde abweist, sondern daß sie es verschlinght... (Goethe)

The ideal of the melting pot symbolized the process of blending many strains into a single nationality, and we come to realize in modern times that the melting pot need not mean the end of the particular ethnic identities or traditions. (John F. Kennedy)

Preface

One of the most characteristic and well-known features of the contemporary Spanish lexicon is the growing number of words and phrases borrowed from English, or "anglicisms", which can be taken as a reflection of the hegemony of the United States in a wide variety of fields such as science, technology, business, politics, and culture. Less obvious, especially outside the United States, is the reverse process, i.e. the comparatively smaller but increasing presence of the Spanish language in international communications which also results in a growing use of Hispanic loans, or "hispanicisms", in the English lexicon. Such loans have their roots in the early period of the Spanish colonization of America, a time when, as the fifteenth-century Spanish grammarian Antonio Nebrija said, "language was the companion of the empire".

Research studies on this matter so far have been fairly numerous, but they have frequently been superficial or trivial. Although there are important articles on some specific aspects of the question, no overall, coherent and up-to-date examination of the subject has yet been published. The best and most comprehensive work, the well-known study of Bentley (1932), together with those of Salado (1924), Blanco (1971) and Santoyo (1971), refer to earlier stages of the history of English. It was with this idea in mind that I conceived an anthology of studies of Spanish loanwords in the language, especially in the American variety, which bears stronger traces of the influence. The topics analysed focus on Spanish contributions in a variety of semantic fields, from the rhetoric of politics to the slang of socially marginal groups. The data have been drawn partly from oral usage, but especially from the written language as found in specialized literature, the press, and dictionaries.

The anthology, though it does not claim to be exhaustive, contains a large amount of significant material about such issues as stylistic motives, phonological adaptations, morphological and semantic changes, concurrent influences and dubious etymologies. As a result, a number of threads which run through various articles could be followed up and developed into monographs.

Given the double frame of reference of the loanwords examined here, it was essential to include the collaboration of scholars from both Anglo-American and Hispanic backgrounds. The complexity of language borrowing and its interdisciplinary nature requires that a diversity of themes and aspects be approached from different perspectives and methodological frameworks. For the same reason, in addition to its lexicographic interest, this work should be useful to specialists and students in the various fields of sociolinguistics, sociology, anthropology, and the history of English and Spanish language and culture.

And finally, a word of gratitude to the contributors and all those who provided me with data and ideas for this volume. In particular, I would like to thank Armando Miguélez for his advice on matters related to Spanish language and literature in the United States.

Alicante, Spain
September 1995

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Introduction

Félix Rodríguez González

From the beginning of its history, the United States has been a multiethnic and multicultural country. At the present time, from a linguistic perspective, two cultural forces can be distinguished: the Anglo-Saxon and those derived from the immigrants which are very slowly joining the mainstream of the predominant culture.

Of all the immigrant groups in the U.S., the Hispanic is the largest, numbering around 30 million people. Thus, around 12% of the population is Spanish-speaking. This group not only constitutes the most important linguistic minority of the United States but also the one that is experiencing the highest rate of growth, estimated at five times the rate for the whole population (Elgrably 1990: 37). This growth, due in great part to the continuous influx of Hispanics from all over Latin America and a high birth rate, is expected to result in one sixth of the United States's population (around 50 million people) being Hispanic at the beginning of the 21st century.[1] Some foresee a future hispanization of the country or the creation of a completely parallel nation, others an assimilation or absorption of Hispanics. At the very least, assimilation seems to be slowly giving way to acculturation, and ethnic groups are increasingly adhering to their own values and peculiarities to the point that the old idea of the "melting pot" is no longer valid. In either case, the Spanish language is destined to reach new and higher levels of diffusion.

According to a recent report, Spanish in the United States is now studied by more than 6 million students and is chosen as a second language by the majority of high school students (57.8%), in marked contrast with French (28%). This increase is thrown into higher relief when we consider that two generations ago the percentage of students taking these languages was equal.[2]

The high rate of growth of the Hispanic population, together with the great interest in Spanish, partly accounts for the enormous surge in Spanish-language publications. According to the *Asociación Nacional de Publicaciones Hispanas*, more than 350 journals and magazines in the

United States are published in Spanish, 65% more than in 1985. In California alone, 45 weeklies have come on the market in the last few years.[3] Recently, even some nationally distributed newspapers such as *The Washington Post* have included a section in Spanish. Furthermore, there is an extensive Spanish International Network (SIN) which provides service for more than 300 television markets.

This interest in Spanish in the United States stems not only from the linguistic but also from the political and economic potential of the Hispanic sector. If Spanish is in fashion, it is mainly due to the fact that it is spoken by around 330 million people and is the official language of 21 countries that are geographically close to the United States. It is also an official language of various important international organizations such as the UN, UNESCO and the EU.

Because of Spain's urge to expand and colonize in the past, and because of the American, African and Asiatic roots of the language, Spanish is supreme among the Romance languages. Spain and Portugal, in discovering the New World, created a balance between the Latin and Germanic languages, a balance which is a characteristic mark of western culture (cf. Entwistle 1936: 2).

The growing importance of Spanish in the U.S. is reflected in a large increase in research into the language over the last two decades, with a considerable body of work being produced for specialized journals, symposia and conferences, and published in various anthologies such as Hernández-Chávez et al. (1975), Bowen and Ornstein (1976), Amastae — Elías-Olivares (1982), Elías-Olivares (1983), Barkin et al. (1983), Gómez — Becker (1983), Aguirre (1984), Wherritt — García (1989), and Coulmas (1990). In a society so aware of the sociolinguistic problems of bilingual education, most studies deal with the distinctive features of Spanish as it is spoken in the United States, and the alternations ("code-switching") and interferences produced between the two languages. English being the dominant language, particular attention is paid to its influence on Spanish, especially when considering those dialectal areas characterized by a significant language mixture ("Tex-Mex", "Spanglish"). Less attention has been given, however, to the lexical borrowings brought into the English stock by contact with the Spanish language and culture.

For historical reasons, most of the Spanish loanwords in English have originated in the United States. A good number are in general use but most of them are specific to American English, constituting one of its most

distinctive features when compared with the British or other varieties of English.

English and Spanish nowadays are good examples of languages that incorporate loanwords with great ease, in spite of the campaigns in some Spanish-speaking countries against anglicisms, Spanglish and other borrowings perceived as verbal excesses. In borrowing words from English, Spanish has reflected a position of cultural and ideological affinity which has been manifest since the second world war. This attitude shows a clear contrast with other languages such as the Hebrew of Israel (Davis 1979; Fisherman 1990: 6) or Icelandic which, at least until recently, were unamenable to borrowing, no doubt as an attempt to preserve an ethnic identity (cf. Orstein 1976: 71).

English, in this regard, is uniquely open to external influence. It is probably the language with the greatest number of words in the world — around 750,000 in American English alone, according to the calculation of lexicographers (cf. Murray, in this volume) — approximately half of which have entered through borrowing. Because of its high borrowing capacity, English has been typologically classified as a "heterogeneous" language, whereas Romance languages, among them Spanish, are classed as "amalgamate" because their parent language, Latin, is the main model for the formation of their learned vocabulary (cf. Vočadlo 1938: 170).

The peculiar composite structure of English can be partially explained by historical and cultural factors. Since its own birth, English has been in contact with the languages of very different peoples in Europe: Celts, Teutons, Romans, Franks, etc., and its linguistic system, as a result of the loss of declensions, became more analytic and more prone to borrowing. During the Renaissance, under new social conditions, the English vocabulary was considerably enriched by incorporating more than 100,000 words, mostly drawn from foreign sources, notably from the Romance and classical languages. Although the strangeness of new words raised serious objections in the sixteenth and especially in the eighteenth century, the prevailing feeling was that not only English but also all other languages, including Latin and Greek, had been enriched in this way (cf. Baugh 1971: 264; Cannon 1987: ch. I). The Spanish contribution had its first impact in the sixteenth century, due to the cultural exchanges between Spain and England, at a time when Spain was the main world power and Spanish military power represented the biggest challenge to the emerging British empire.

American English has continued and developed this tradition of hospitality. Of key importance among other influences was its inevitable relation with the Hispanic community, for reasons linked first with the Spanish colonization of America and later with military interventionism and the subsequent absorption by the United States of its southern borderlands, which had formerly belonged to Mexico. Then came the conversion of the United States into a great world power, at a time when Britain was beginning its military and political decline and gradually sinking into isolation. From then onwards, the American way of life has acted as a powerful talisman for continuous waves of people from all parts of the world who have left their own countries to go in search of greater prosperity, welfare and freedom. With such multifarious cultural ingredients in the language, one can understand why the American English lexicon of today is so kaleidoscopic and cosmopolitan.

The influence of foreign languages on the English lexicon has been widely examined in general studies and acknowledged in dictionaries (Serjeantson 1935; Fennell 1964; Bliss 1966; Carroll 1973; Buchanan-Brown et al. 1980; Pythian 1982), the majority of which are now out of date or incomplete, and in monographs on the contribution of various languages in particular. There are recent studies on the contribution of European languages such as German (Pfeffer 1987; Pfeffer — Cannon 1994), French (Otman 1989; Swallow 1991), Scandinavian languages (Geipel 1972), Russian (Benson 1962; Manczak-Wholfeld 1984) and others which are more distant, geographically or genetically, such as Hindi (Hawkins 1980), Chinese (Knowlton 1973; Cannon 1988), Malay (Cannon 1992), Japanese (Cannon 1981; 1984), Yiddish (Ornstein 1992) and Arabic (Peters 1973; Cannon 1994). With regard to Spanish, although there are various individual studies, no comprehensive study like the present one exists to take account of recent borrowings and evaluate the overall dimension of the phenomenon.

In analysing Spanish borrowings, or hispanicisms, I have taken this concept in its broadest sense, to include words or phrases that have been borrowed via Spanish, or that present morphological or semantic features, or peculiarities of usage in a particular text, which may be attributed to Spanish influence. In other words, borrowings that have Spanish as the "close source" (or "immediate etymon"), although the "ultimate source" (or "far etymon") might be in another language. *Tomato* and *tamale*, for example, are widely viewed as Spanish, although further etymological investigation points to a prehispanic origin, Nahuatl or the language of the

Aztecs (*tomatl* and *tamalli)*; the same applies to Taino *cacique*, Arabic *alcalde* and *banana*, Basque *jai-alai*, etc. There are terms that have undergone the influence of Spanish and other languages such as Portuguese (*comandante*, *apertura*) and Italian (*gusto*, *al fresco*), which makes them susceptible to a different classification. Finally, one may also take into account expressions like *al primo*, which have a Spanish air although they are non-existent in the Spanish language.

In relation to the question of the integration or assimilation of borrowings into the system of the recipient language, following the tradition of other studies on loanwords, I have been liberal in considering Spanish terms in any of the various stages of the process of borrowing, leaving aside the traditional and controversial distinction between "foreignisms" (*Fremdwörter*) and naturalized or nativized "loans" (*Lehnwörter*), as well as operational distinctions such as "nonce borrowings" and "widespread borrowings". Nevertheless, the main focus has been on words that exhibit a higher level of linguistic or social integration.

The morphological and semantic nature of borrowings has varied according to the period in which they were incorporated into English. Early on, many of the words of Spanish origin that were transmitted orally from one generation to another underwent a phonetic erosion which was increased with time to such an extent that today the majority of them are unrecognizable as hispanicisms (e.g., *sherry* < *Xeres* [now, Jerez de la Frontera], *lariat* < *la reata*, *vamoose* < *vamos*, etc.). Unlike these early assimilations and corruptions, nowadays there seems to be a tendency to preserve the original morphological features of a term with hardly any alteration. This probably has to do with the development and widespread diffusion of the written mass media and the greater familiarity with and acceptance of the Spanish language by the English-speaking peoples.

With regard to semantics, at an early stage the concepts subject to borrowing were chiefly connected with topography, fauna and flora, as well as economic activities such as livestock, agriculture and mining. This was due to the close relation between the land and its people, who were of Spanish origin. Today, however, the items that stand out belong to the shifting world of politics, which daily attracts more and more attention because of the importance of US relations with Latin America. This holds true as far as the written media are concerned, but on the oral and conversational level an important group of innovations consists of words pertaining to the underworld and to slang and unconventional language. Using the degree of formality as a scale, we could place the traditional and

more characteristic lexicon of borrowings which in the eyes of foreigners comprise the stereotype of what is considered to be typically Spanish (words such as *siesta, fiesta, flamenco, torero*, and *señorita*) between these two poles.

In relation to the frequency of use, on the whole one can find very different meanings and connotations in the words loaned by the two languages. Whereas English, especially in Spain, has influenced fields such as industry, technology and culture, the words which come most easily to mind as representative of Spanish have to do with folklore, the sun and the summer; in other words, they refer to the world of leisure and therefore have connotations which involve less prestige and are sometimes even comical. Now, this view, which is widespread and traditional, especially among British observers, is open to question in the case of American English, especially when one takes into account the Southwest and other areas inhabited by significant numbers of Spanish-speaking people, where the cultural and linguistic exchanges are more fluid.

All these matters are dealt with in the pages that follow. Although the perspective of the book is predominantly synchronic and refers to present-day usage, a number of articles include references to the past or to the historical development of some Spanish loans. In the first chapter, "Spanish loanwords in English by 1900", John Algeo concentrates on this issue by tracing the presence of such loans in the English language throughout the past four centuries.

Continuing partly with this historical perspective, the second chapter, "Recent English borrowings from Spanish", by Garland Cannon, offers a panoramic view of the entry of Spanish words into the English language during the last few decades, using as a source some recent new-word dictionaries. This detailed tracking of loans allows him to evaluate the relative weight of the different conceptual or lexical fields within the total vocabulary. Furthermore, by comparing these data with those obtained from other languages in recent studies, he emphasizes the role of Spanish as a donor language, surpassed today only by French and possibly Japanese.[4]

Narrowing the focus of attention, the remaining articles contained in the volume refer to specific areas of usage and a wide range of fields. In "Stylistic aspects of borrowings in the political press: Lexical and morphological variations", I examine the frequent use of Spanish terms in the press, especially in weekly magazines that are basically general in nature but also offer extensive political coverage. Since this is the field

most susceptible to borrowing, the data examined are particularly useful in the study of some general issues such as the stylistic conditions which allow for the coinage of loans or their selection at a particular point in time, as well as the variation found in their forms.

In the next article, "Spanish loanwords in contemporary American English slang", Thomas Murray complements the two previous studies by giving an account of the large number of loanwords taken from general slang and certain argots, especially those related to drugs and delinquency. Like Cannon's, his sources include lexicographic works but, in harmony with the subject matter examined, they are more specialized, and the data they supply have also been tested orally by the author.

In "Ethnic nicknames of Spanish origin in American English", Varela covers one specific area of slang and onomastics where terms of Spanish origin particularly flourish. These include terms with a markedly colloquial, humorous and mostly pejorative connotation referring to different races and nationalities (Anglo-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Afro-Americans and Cuban-Americans).

In "Hispanic tracks in English: cowboys and gold-rushers in the Old West", Juan Ramón Lodares examines two legendary figures in the folk history of the United States which are closely related to important economic activities of the time, such as farming, mining and raising livestock. These are activities that in the past provided the English lexicon with words of a markedly Hispanic stamp. Although a number of these words have fallen into oblivion, some of them are still found among the most popular Spanish loans (*rodeo*, *ranch(o)*, *sombrero*).

Place names undoubtedly constitute the part of lexicon that best preserves the influence of a language. In the United States, from Florida to California, there are countless names that bear a Spanish imprint, a subject on which there is a large bibliography. In "Spanish place names in the United States", Jerry Craddock analyzes this aspect of onomastics from a very specific angle: the adaptations — phonological or syntactic — that Spanish names undergo when they are assimilated into the English linguistic system.

Of all American lands, the Southwest deserves special mention because of the intense language contact beween English and Spanish speakers. In "Lexical selection and borrowing in the bilingual Southwest", Jacob Ornstein-Galicia explores the various phases of the loan process with examples used in the area, in addition to other sociolinguistic issues pertinent to the question of borrowing in general. He further analyzes a

lexicon composed of terms illuminating contemporary Southwest cultures as well as others referring to two specific subjects, Southwest flora and folk or popular medicine. The study is not meant to be exhaustive and preference is given to items which are fairly frequent among Mexican-American Spanish-English bilinguals.

This is followed by the article by Eleanor G. Cotton — John M. Sharp's, "The Anglo-American stereotype of the Hispanic as reflected in loanwords". Its focus of attention is the picturesque vocabulary contained in some semantic categories — among them, food, fiestas, religion, music, bullfighting — which contribute to the folk image of Hispanics in the United States, especially in the Southwest.

In the next chapter, "Spanish words in Anglo-American literature: A Chicano perspective", José Antonio Burciaga reviews the Spanish lexicon used by writers in various literary works as a narrative device designed to convey a stronger sense of atmosphere and characters. There is a special reference to the early Anglo-American literature of the Southwest, but mention is also made of some classic names from the American literature, such as Mark Twain, Steinbeck and Hemingway.

To complete the picture of Spanish influence on English vocabulary, in addition to North America, there are two areas which deserve to be examined because of their common early relationship with Spanish history. In "Aspects of the incidence of hispanicisms in British English", Anthony Gooch turns to Spanish borrowings as used in the British media (press, radio, television and cinema), focusing on words which are of particular interest for their political and psychological implications. And finally, Jeannette Allsopp takes a look at a very distinctive set of Spanish terms, namely those which appear in Caribbean English.

The book ends with a bibliography which aims at an almost exhaustive collection of the studies and references of words bearing a Spanish heritage. The bibliographical items, accompanied by occasional commentary, include data and aspects of the subject not developed in this volume and therefore help to complete the picture of the overall influence of Spanish, thus forming a groundwork for more comprehensive future research.

Notes

1. Cit. in *El País*, May 7, 1991, Educación/8. According to some reports which include the approximate number of illegal immigrants, the total Spanish population has already reached the figure of 40 million, which would place the US as the second country in number of Hispanics (after Mexico and ahead of Spain) (cf. Davis 1988: 239). The number is growing so fast that the president of the *Academia Norteamericana de Lengua Española*, Betanzos Palacios (1991: 13), predicts that 60 million will speak Spanish by the end of the 20th century, and some observers even predict that within the next century there will be more Spanish than English speakers in the United States (cf. Wickman 1993).
2. Cit. in *El País*, July 14, 1990, p. 24.
3. According to estimates of 1990 as quoted in *El Independiente* (Madrid), Oct. 17, 1990, p. 36.
4. In spite of the fact that the latest Japanese lexicographic corpus surpasses that of Spanish, it is doubtful whether Japanese is likely to rival Spanish in the future if we consider the intimacy of Spanish-English contacts in North America now and before, and the "intimate borrowings" (Bloomfield) resulting from such interaction.

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Spanish Loanwords in English by 1900

John Algeo

Spanish has been a major influence on the English vocabulary during the past five hundred years. In recent times, that influence has increased, especially upon American English and through it upon other national varieties, but even during the centuries before the current one, the tendency of Spanish to grow in its effect through influence on American English is clear. The importance of Spanish to the English lexicon is therefore beyond question. Here evidence before 1900 will be examined.

1. General principles

Tracing the etymology of Spanish loanwords in English involves several problems. Some are principally questions of methodology and definition; others are uncertainties about facts.

First, there is a purely methodological decision of distinguishing between "immediate" and "ultimate" (or more correctly, "distant") sources. In addition to borrowing Spanish words that developed historically in Spanish (such as *pueblo*, a development within Spanish of Latin *populus*), English has borrowed many Spanish words that Spanish itself had borrowed earlier from other languages, notably various Amerindian languages (such as *barbecue* from Spanish *barbacoa*, from a Taino word for a framework of sticks). All such words whose "immediate" source is Spanish, regardless of their earlier history, are here treated as Spanish loans.

On the other hand, Spanish words that English borrowed not directly from Spanish, but through some other language, are regarded not as Spanish loans, but rather as from the language of direct or "immediate" borrowing. Thus, Spanish or Portuguese *baranda, varanda* 'handrail, balcony' was introduced into Hindi, Bengali, and other Indic languages, and from the latter was borrowed into Anglo-Indian and thence into general

English as *veranda*. Despite its "ultimate" Iberian origin, as far as English is concerned, the word is an Indic borrowing.

Second, it is often difficult or impossible to know whether a word entered English from Spanish or one of the other Romance languages. This is a question about historical fact. Thus the ultimately Arabic *nadir* was common to many of the languages of Europe by the late Middle Ages. Whether its first (1391) use in English represents a borrowing from Medieval Latin, French, Spanish, Portuguese, or Italian is unclear. We do not know what source or sources Geoffrey Chaucer used in writing his *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, which contains the *OED*'s first attested use of the word, but he certainly read Latin, French, and Italian; and Spanish or Portuguese are not unimaginable as possible sources.

Moreover, the fact that our earliest attestation of *nadir* is from Chaucer is no guarantee that he introduced the word into English. Indeed, it is likely that he did not, but was rather using a word with existing currency among English students of astronomy. We simply cannot say from what language the first English user of *nadir* borrowed it. If he was widely read and traveled, like Chaucer, he may well have known the word in several European languages and thus have borrowed it from all of them, rather than from any one in particular. Such instances of multiple etymologies are doubtless very frequent.

A more recent case is *nave* for the central part of a church. It is adapted from Latin *navem* but its first recorded date in the *OED* is 1673, and there are parallel uses in Spanish, Italian, and French. The history of the word is certainly interlingual, that is, the languages in which it appears were mutually influencing, the exact lines of influence being difficult to trace. It was to handle such cases of indeterminacy in recent technological terms that Philip Gove, editor of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, invented the etymological category of "ISV" (international scientific vocabulary). However, as *nadir* and *nave* show, the indeterminacy is not limited to the modern or the scientific.

For the present purpose, a word for which Spanish is a possible (even if not the most likely) source is regarded as a Spanish loan. Alternative sources are, however, noted in the glossary.

Third, words can be borrowed more than once, either in the same or different senses. *Castilian* was used in English in 1526 as a term for a Spanish gold coin. In 1796 it was used for 'a native of Castile' and thereafter for 'pertaining to Castile'. The late eighteenth-century general use certainly did not develop out of the early sixteenth-century specific

sense. The two uses are separate coinages. The older use is now obsolete; only the later one survives in current English. To date the form as 1526 is therefore misleading because the current use is an eighteenth-century reformation. Similarly, *sombrero* was first borrowed in the sense 'a parasol' (1598) and later reborrowed in the sense 'a broad-brimmed hat' (1770), the unifying sense being 'that which gives shade (*sombra*)'. Likewise, *gracioso* was borrowed in 1650 as 'a court favorite' and again in 1749 as 'a buffoon in a Spanish comedy'.

With little variation in sense, *muchacho* appears in the *OED* record in 1591 for a boy servant in the Spanish army and next in 1852 from a San Diego newspaper. The mid nineteenth-century American use is surely a reborrowing, not directly connected with the late sixteenth-century British use. Such a common word is likely to be reborrowed frequently when the speakers of two languages are in contact. Consequently, for it the first known date of use is only an episode in the history of the word. Without doubt, *muchacho* has entered English many times.

As a combination of the two preceding situations, a word may be borrowed at different times from different languages, but blended in current use. *Ladrone* 'rogue, robber' is first attested in 1557, borrowed from French *ladron*. As early as 1626, however, Spanish *ladrón* was being used in English discussions of Spanish matters. An English pronunciation of the word with first-syllable stress gave way to the Spanish-influenced pronunciation with last-syllable stress, a sign that the present-day form is descended from the Spanish borrowing.

Fourth, a word can be borrowed at various times in several different forms. Thus, *paco* was borrowed in 1604 as a term for a variety of llama; then in 1792 it was reborrowed in the form it still has, *alpaca*, with the formative *al-* from Arabic having been added.

Fifth, words from other languages may serve as models on which an English word is constructed from existing elements. For example, *marquisate* was clearly composed in English from *marquis* and the suffix *-ate*. However, its construction was probably modeled on the prior existence of cognate words in Spanish (*marquesado*), French (*marquisat*), and Italian (*marchesato*). Those Romance words are probable etyma for the English one, but secondary, rather than primary etyma.

Sixth, a word in another language may serve as a model on which the meaning of an English word is changed as a calque. Thus, *intendancy* was a sixteenth-century English formation from *intendant* + *-cy*, but in the

nineteenth century, under the influence of Spanish *intendencia*, it acquired the meaning of 'an administrative district in Spanish America'.

Seventh, a loanword may develop new forms and senses in English. The question then is whether the new uses are the same lexeme as the old one, or new items. For example, Spanish *mondongo* 'tripe' was borrowed in 1622; by 1637 it appeared in a pseudo-Latin shape: *mundungus* with the sense 'refuse, garbage' and somewhat later 'a dark smelly tobacco'. Are *mondongo* and *mundungus* the same word because of their common etymology or different words because of their differences in form and meaning?

Eighth, loanwords may be recognizably foreign in preserving the spelling, pronunciation, grammar, or meanings of the source language. The distinction between foreign and naturalized loanwords is a continuum; and because several features (orthography, phonology, morphosyntax, semantics) are involved, it is not feasible to specify degrees of naturalization. *Cañon* is a more foreign spelling than *canyon*. The pronunciation /læso/ is closer to the Spanish *lazo* than the alternative /læsu/, which exhibits a common substitution of English /u/ for Spanish /o/. *Tamale* is a metanalysis by which the Spanish morphology *tamal-es* was converted into a more English *tamale-s*. *Ranch* and *rancho* were both borrowed from Mexican Spanish in 1808, the former being less foreign than the latter because of its loss of the ending *-o*. *Lariat* is doubly more naturalized than *riata* since it has both lost the grammatical ending *-a* and merged the Spanish article *la* into the stem of the word. *Tenace*, the bridge term, has lost all semantic association with Spanish *tenaza* 'pincers' and is instead linked in the mind of many bridge players with a *ten* and an *ace*, as shown by the popular pronunciation /'tɛn,es/ instead of the traditionally expected /'tɛnəs/.

Chinampa denotes a field artificially built up from soil dredged out of an irrigation canal or as a floating island on a lake. The word is common in technical language about Mexican agriculture, but is rare elsewhere. It is recorded in large unabridged works like the *OED* and *Webster's New International Dictionary*, but not in desk dictionaries like *Webster's New World Dictionary*, Third College Edition, or *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, Tenth Edition. Such words limited to technical use in reference to the culture of the source language are still strongly foreign for most English speakers.

Ninth, loanwords (like words of other provenience) are of various degrees of currency in the language today. At two extremes, a loanword

may be used freely and with high frequency; or it may be obsolete, not used at all in present-day English. Between those two extremes a continuum of currency exists on which various benchmarks can be located:

1. active in present-day English
2. used, but rarely, in present-day English
3. archaic, used, but with an old-fashioned aura
4. used, but only for historical referents
5. obsolete, not used in present-day English

For simplicity's sake, it is useful to reduce those categories to two: current and noncurrent in present-day English. For this study, simple procedures were adopted to identify Spanish loanwords and to decide whether or not they are still current. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition on Compact Disc, was consulted for entries identifying Spanish as an etymological source language. Any entry with an appropriate identification of Spanish in its etymology was considered a (possible) Spanish loanword. Then *Webster's New World Dictionary of American English*, Third College Edition, was consulted to determine which entries are still current. Any *OED* entry that appears in *WNW* is considered current, at some point on the continuum.

Clearly no dictionary is either complete or perfectly accurate. Therefore, the *OED* has doubtless misidentified some words as wholly or partly of Spanish provenience which are not, and it has doubtless failed to identify some that are. But it is a useful and reasonably accurate guide. Likewise, *WNW*'s entries are not infallible guides to currency of use, and consulting other current dictionaries of approximately the same size, or larger or smaller ones, would certainly have produced a different list of current words. Yet, however imperfect any one dictionary may be, its entries reflect a knowledgeable judgment about history and currency of use, even though expert opinion varies.

Only when there was reason to believe that some editorial policy systematically excluded certain entries have those words been treated in this paper as current even if not entered in *WNW*. Examples are a few words associated with proper names (a category of the vocabulary covered variably, if at all, in most dictionaries). Examples are *Corona* 'a brand of Havana cigar', *Cuba libre* 'a drink with rum and lime juice', *loma* 'hill' (limited to the Southwestern U.S. but more widely known as a trade name *Loma Linda*), *Prado* 'a Madrid park, hence a promenade' (also used, for

example, as the name of a street in Atlanta, Georgia), *ramada* 'a porch' (limited to Western U.S. use as a simplex, but widely known as part of the name of a hotel chain, *Ramada Inn*). These items are included in this study only to suggest that Spanish has had a wider influence on English than appears from dictionary entries. If the *OED* included U.S. place names (*California, Florida, San Antonio*, etc.), the Spanish influence on English would appear far greater than it does.

Another, smaller class of words not in *WNW* but included here are phrasal expressions that a lexicographer might exclude on the combined grounds of technical use and analyticity, such as *dark night (of the soul)*, from the *noche oscura* of San Juan de la Cruz.

Finally, there is a class of words that are ethnically offensive. There was a time when sexual and scatological vulgarisms were omitted from dictionaries to avoid alienating users who think that a dictionary entry confers legitimacy on a word or who object to recognizing aspects of reality they do not like. Today responsible dictionaries have overcome that bowdlerizing policy. However, a new sensitivity has taken its place, namely, a reluctance to include racial and ethnic terms that will cause an activist response from offended members of a cultural minority. Examples are the Spanish loanwords *dago, pickaninny, sambo*, none of which are in *WNW*, but all of which are at least as current as other Spanish loans that are entered.

2. A chronological survey

The influx of Spanish loanwords over the centuries has varied in intensity, but on the whole they have increased in numbers and in viability. The glossary at the end of this paper includes those that are still current. The early fourteenth century (1326) saw the Spanish loan *alkanet* 'a red dye' entering English. Later in the century other words came from a Romance source, which may have been Spanish or another related tongue: *brazil* (1386) and *nadir* (1391).

On the threshold of the fifteenth century, *crimson* entered English in the form *cremesyn* (1400), being later modified in shape. A third of the way through the century (1436), *Seville* entered as an attributive for (olive) oil, and at the end of the next century (1593) for oranges. *Jordan* (*almond*) and *steeve* 'to stow' may have been from either Spanish or French; the former, a garden (*jardin*) almond, was reformed by association with the place name

Jordan. *Cork* may have come to English by way of Dutch or another Low German dialect or may originally have referred to a cork-soled shoe. *Quintal* 'a unit of weight' was probably from French, but there is a Spanish analog. Those six words are about half of the baker's dozen for which Spanish is a possible source in the fifteenth century.

In the sixteenth century, Spanish loans in English increased dramatically. Of some 260 borrowings from Spanish during that century, 106 still are current (according to the criteria of this study). Several semantic categories are prominent among those loans:

ANIMALS

alcatras	armadillo	caiman	manatee
alligator	bacalao	flamingo	mosquito
anchovy	bonito	iguana	toucan

PLANTS AND FOODSTUFFS OR OTHER PRODUCTS DERIVED FROM THEM

apricot	guaiacum	papaya	sassafras
banana	guava	plantain	tacamahac
cacao	maguey	potato	tamarind
coco(nut)	maize	sapota	tuna (pear)
copal	palmetto	sarsaparilla	yam
copra			

OTHER FOODS, DRINKS, AND COOKING

carbonado	olla podrida	sherry
lunch	rusk	

TOBACCO AND DRUGS

tobacco

HUMAN BEINGS BY OCCUPATIONS AND QUALITIES

booby	cavalier	mestiza	Negro
bravado	don	mestizo	Nigro
cacique	hidalgo	miser	padre
cannibal	major-domo	Morisco	señora
caste	Marrano	mulatto	

PLACES AND INHABITANTS

Aragonese	El Dorado
Carib	Inca

GOVERNMENT

alcalde	grandee	infante

AGGRESSION AND THE MILITARY
armada caporal
camisado passado

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT
bastinado contraband sanbenito
bilbo renegado strappado

CLOTHING AND DRYGOODS
baldachin brocade sombrero
biretta cordovan

METEOROLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY
breeze hurricane tornado
corposant savannah

MEASUREMENTS
arroba parasang

TRAVEL AND MOVEMENT
buoyant disembogue
canoe skiff

ENTERTAINMENT
bandore masquerade primero

MONEY
peso

FARMING AND TRADES
magazine

COWBOYS, CATTLE, AND HORSEMANSHIP
corral

OTHER ARTIFACTS
hammock machete

MISCELLANEOUS
cedilla indigo mustachio punctilio
halo marquisate peccadillo

It is clear from these lists that a number of sixteenth-century Spanish loanwords resulted from Spanish exploration of the New World and the transmission through Spain of a knowledge of America and of terms for