The Influence of Spanish on the English Language since 1801

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A Lexical Investigation

By

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For my students

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This book is dedicated to all of my students who are interested in the field of lexicology and inspired me to carry out an investigation into the language contact situation between Spanish and English.

Julia Schultz, August 2017

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It is well known that the increasing proportion of lexical items adopted from English, also referred to as Anglicisms, constitutes a typical feature of the vocabulary of Spanish. Hence, there is a plethora of investigations of Anglicisms in Anglo-Spanish linguistic research. In the preface to his edited volume *Spanish Loanwords in the English Language*, Rodríguez González (1996a, vii) points out that:

> 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 communication which also results in a growing use of Hispanic loans, or "hispanicisms," in the English lexicon.

The present study will concentrate on the opposite direction of lexical borrowing,[1] which has as yet been comparatively neglected in existing analyses of the language contact situation between Spanish and English. It will focus on the diversity of words and meanings that have been borrowed from Spanish into English since 1801.

As will become apparent, electronic dictionaries such as the *OED Online* and corpora of present-day English (e.g. the *BNC*, the *COCA*, and newspaper articles searchable at the database *LexisNexis*) represent valuable tools to provide a detailed and up-to-date count and account of the variety of borrowings adopted from Spanish over the centuries. These sources offer sufficient linguistic documentary evidence to study the various Spanish-derived items, their chronological distribution, semantics, contextual usage, and stylistic function in current English. It will be seen that Spanish has provided English with a multitude of words and meanings that have become indispensable to "modern" language usage.

[1] For a detailed definition of the term "borrowing" see the terminology chapter of the present study.

Symbols and Abbreviations

/…/	phonological transcription
"…"	meaning
*	hypothetical form
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
int.	interjection
n.	noun
phr.	phrase
v.	verb
AmE	American English
BE	British English
EFL	English as a foreign language
BNC	*British National Corpus*
COCA	*Corpus of Contemporary American English*
DRAE	*Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española*
LDOCE	*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (fifth edition)
Now Corpus	*News on the Web Corpus*
OALD	*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (ninth edition)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OED2	*Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition)
OED3	*Oxford English Dictionary* (third edition)
OED ADD Series	*OED Additions Series*

PART I

CHAPTER ONE

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON THE INFLUENCE OF SPANISH ON THE ENGLISH LEXICON SINCE 1801

The surveys of the history and structure of the English language by Foster (1968, 109–10), Potter (1975, 68), Beal (2004, 28), Baugh and Cable (2013, 296), and Algeo and Acevedo Butcher (2014, 287–8) comprise a fairly small study of Spanish borrowings adopted into English during the past few centuries. They include several isolated examples of nineteenth and twentieth-century borrowings from Spanish and its national varieties, such as the fairly widespread terms *lasso*, *silo*, *bonanza*, *rodeo*, and *fajita*. These examples appear to have been collected from general studies of the English vocabulary and from dictionaries, including the *OED* and Bliss's *Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* from 1966.

A comprehensive investigation of lexical borrowing into English down the ages by Serjeantson, entitled *A History of Foreign Words in English*, was published in 1935. Serjeantson's survey includes examples collected from glossaries, literary texts, dictionaries such as the *OED*, and additional sources. Clearly, Serjeantson detects several significant tendencies relating to the words borrowed from Spanish throughout the centuries. According to Serjeantson (1935, 195–202), an essential proportion of the Spanish-derived vocabulary was initially adopted into AmE. As will become clear from the present study, a number of the borrowings under review are still chiefly confined to AmE or its regional variants. As regards lexical borrowing during the nineteenth century, Serjeantson (1935, 201–2) identifies the following subject fields from which Spanish-derived items were taken over into English: agriculture (e.g. *silo*), products of Spanish origin (e.g. *camisole*, a variety of garment), politics and the military (e.g. *guerilla*, *pronunciamento*), games and dances (e.g. *pelota*, a Spanish ball game, and *cachucha*, a style of dance), art (e.g. *plateresque*, relating to a type of decorative art), literature (e.g. *picaresque*), farming, including words originally adopted into AmE such as *rodeo*, flora and fauna (e.g. *yerba*, a shortening of *yerba-maté*, and *pichiciego*, a particular animal native to South America), mining (e.g. *bonanza*), and building (e.g.

pueblo), as well as several miscellaneous terms such as *canyon*. It should be noted that Serjeantson's survey does not provide any examples of lexical items borrowed from Spanish in the twentieth century, and she erroneously classifies the words *cafeteria* and *tango* as twentieth-century borrowings. A careful perusal of the linguistic data of the *OED* however reveals that these words had already entered the English language in the nineteenth century. The present survey will offer a more up-to-date and exhaustive description of the variety of words and meanings that have been introduced from Spanish into English since 1801. It will be shown that Spanish provided English with a range of borrowings from a considerable number of additional subject fields that have not yet been made explicit in existing studies of the Spanish-English language contact scenario.

Several studies can be found that analyse the contact between Spanish and English from a historical perspective, with much emphasis placed on the colonization of America and the time of the Spanish Empire and its outcomes on the linguistic level. This is true for Bentley's (1932) investigation, which offers a dictionary of Spanish-derived items in English with a particular focus on borrowings used in southwest AmE. There are additional surveys of the occurrence of Spanish borrowings in AmE and its regional varieties. Examples are the studies by Salado (1924), Blanco (1971), and Santoyo (1971). Of these, Salado researches words of Mexican origin in North AmE. Blanco's focus of linguistic concern lies on the history and use of the Spanish language in California, and Santoyo identifies Basque terms introduced into English via Spanish, such as *jai alai*, the name of a ball game.

The collective volume edited by Rodríguez González in 1996, *Spanish Loanwords in the English Language: A Tendency towards Hegemony Reversal*, comprises several different illuminative essays related to the linguistic contact between Spanish and English. The majority of articles from this volume concentrate on specific aspects, ranging from the stylistic functions of Spanish borrowings in political rhetoric (Rodríguez González 1996b), Hispanic words relating to cowboys and gold-rushers in the North American Southwest, such as *rodeo*, *vaquero*, and *bonanza* (Lodares 1996), Spanish-derived ethnic nicknames in AmE, such as *Chicano* (Varela 1996), place names of Spanish descent that can be found in the United States (Craddock 1996), and words of Spanish origin occurring in AmE slang (Murray 1996). It should be noted that some of the borrowings identified as AmE slang terms by Murray (1996) are no longer confined to AmE. Examples are *macho*, *to vamoose*, and other lexical items that are listed in Murray's glossary (1996, 110–26). As will

be seen, a number of these types of word belong to the collection of Spanish-derived terms analysed in the present investigation.

Further examples of articles compiled in the volume edited by Rodríguez González are Burciaga's (1996) survey, which offers an overview of the usage of Spanish vocabulary in Anglo-American literature from a Chicano point of view, Allsopp's (1996) paper on Spanish borrowings in Caribbean English (e.g. *armadillo*, a variety of animal, and *escabeche*, a particular dish), and Gooch's essay referring to essential linguistic, historical, political, and psychological aspects that may have enhanced the adoption of Hispanicisms such as *fiesta*, *bonanza*, and *mañana* into BE. Gooch (1996, 231) summarizes significant reasons that might have led to the introduction of Spanish words into English:

> Firstly, Spanish terms have come into certain semantic areas of English because of the need to express concepts which are specifically Hispanic in nature or which have a special connexion with the Hispanic world. Secondly, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the military, naval, political and economic power of Spain and her empire naturally fostered the spread of Spanish words, while, in addition, the *descubridores* and *conquistadores* brought to Europe a whole new world of flora and fauna, accompanied by a corresponding lexis. Later, as the nascent United States spread south and westwards, the English-speaking settlers came into contact with vast Hispanic areas such as Texas, New Mexico, Nevada and Colorado and with many Spanish words, which were destined to form an important element in the language of the cowboy, and to pass, subsequently, through the medium of innumerable Hollywood films, into the speech not only of the American people in general but also of the people of the British Isles.

Rodríguez González's essay collection also includes Algeo's (1996) article, which offers a *tour d'horizon* of Spanish borrowings assumed into English by 1900. Algeo (1996, 18) emphasizes that Spanish has exerted influence on the English lexicon since the fourteenth century. According to Algeo (1996, 13), the Spanish impact has become more intense in the recent past, which has resulted in an increased adoption of words especially into AmE and its national varieties. In order to retrieve Spanish-derived words in English, he uses the electronic version of the *OED2* from 1989 (available on CD-ROM). Algeo also consults the third edition of *Webster's New World Dictionary of American English* to determine which items collected from the *OED2* are still current in English. As regards lexical borrowing in the nineteenth century, Algeo (1996, 24) concludes that:

> The nineteenth century was the most productive time in the history of borrowings from Spanish into English before 1900. About 46 percent of the pre-1900 Spanish loanwords still current today were borrowed in the nineteenth century. Of the nineteenth century loans, 241 are still current. The increased influx of loanwords was doubtless due in considerable measure to the linguistic contact between English and Spanish speakers in the American Southwest. Whereas pre-nineteenth-century loans were largely from Spain (albeit many of them were New World terms transmitted by way of Iberian Spanish), the more recent borrowing has been increasingly from varieties of American Spanish into American English. The history of Spanish loanwords is thus typical of the expanding importance of the New World, both Hispanic and Anglo, in international affairs.

Algeo's survey comprises a chronological list in which the various borrowings have been arranged according to subject areas. In all, his study consists of about 240 nineteenth-century borrowings that have been divided into eighteen major fields, such as: animals (e.g. *coyote*), plants and their products (e.g. *sabadilla*), food (e.g. *salsa*), tobacco (e.g. *cigarillo*), terms for individuals (e.g. *amigo*, *paisano*), the military (e.g. *guerrilla*), entertainment (e.g. *fiesta*), monetary units (e.g. *dinero*), and farming (e.g. *silo*). In the present study, it will be shown that the current version of the *OED Online* contains far more nineteenth-century borrowings showing a Spanish origin in their etymological description. This might be due to the fact that a multitude of new words and meanings have been added to the electronic *OED* in recent decades.

In his 1994 article entitled "Modern Spanish-based Lexical Items in English," Cannon concentrates on the analysis of seventy-four lexical items coined from Spanish borrowings after 1949. His sample of words was retrieved from general dictionaries such as the second edition of the *OED2*, *Webster's Third* (1961), dictionaries of new words (e.g. Mort's [1986] *Longman Guardian of New Words* and Tulloch's (1990) *Oxford Dictionary of New Words*), and additional compilations of words supplementing the content of dictionaries, such as Webster's *12,000 Words* (Mish 1986). The corpus compiled in this manner consists of 227 lexical items, which Cannon groups into two sets of data; i.e. what he refers to as *Corpus A* and *Corpus B*. Of these, *Corpus A* comprises seventy-four assimilated Spanish-derived words that have been subjected to a word-formation process within the English language. Examples are the hybrid compound *gringoland*, which was formed from the twentieth-century Spanish borrowing *gringo* and the "English" noun *land*, and the verb *to cha-cha*, which was converted from the noun *cha-cha*, another recent acquisition from Spanish. Cannon also surveys the chronological

distribution of the words included in *Corpus A*. He comes to the conclusion that most recent Spanish-based lexical items first appeared in the 1960s in English. The majority of them belong to the fields of politics, status and occupation, and food and drink (Cannon 1994, 120).

In his 1996 essay Cannon concentrates on the investigation of *Corpus B*, which encompasses 153 borrowings introduced from Spanish into English in the twentieth century. He points out that, in recent decades, the Spanish influence on the English lexicon was strongest in the field of politics, consisting of thirty-nine lexical items such as *aperturismo*, and food and drink, which includes twenty borrowings such as *burrito*. According to Cannon (1996, 45), "occupation and status" constitutes the third largest domain from which English borrowed from Spanish words and meanings in the twentieth century.

Needless to say, the aforementioned articles are informative in many ways. Yet, they do not exhaustively explore the impact of Spanish on the English lexicon during the last few centuries.

Algeo (1980), Durkin (2006; 2014), and Suárez-Gómez (2012) are examples of noteworthy studies that survey the lexical transfers of a variety of foreign languages into the English vocabulary. Algeo (1980), who investigates one thousand new words selected from the *Barnhart Dictionary of New English Since 1963* (1973), points out that, of the borrowings identified in his sample, words with a Spanish etymon represent the fourth largest category of foreign-language items.

Durkin's (2006) article investigates lexical borrowing from several different languages, such as German, French, and Spanish during the last quarters of the last three centuries; i.e. between 1775–99, 1875–99, and 1975–99. His analysis is based on the borrowed lexical items listed in the third edition of the *OED3*. As far as lexical borrowing from Spanish is concerned, Durkin (2006, 29) emphasizes that Spanish-derived words make up three percent of all the foreign-language items assumed into English between 1875 and 1899, while their proportion amounts to 8.5 percent in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

In his excellent study *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (2014), Durkin portrays how and to what extent various phases of linguistic contact have left their mark on the English language down the ages. He summarizes the highs and lows of the influx of Spanish borrowings and the historical background of the language contact scenarios over the centuries as follows:

> Loanwords from Spanish become much more frequent after 1550 through to the mid seventeenth century. These reflect the later stages of the Golden Age of European Spanish culture, and also the wider European impact of

> Spanish discoveries and conquests in the New World. The absolute totals in both *OED2* and in the parts of *OED3* so far revised present a very similar picture from this point onwards … There is a decline in the absolute number of Spanish loanwords in the later seventeenth century and a further decline in the eighteenth century, followed by a sharp rise in the early nineteenth. This rise probably reflects the intense contacts between English and Spanish speakers in the context of the westward expansion of English-speaking settlers in North America … From the mid nineteenth century the absolute totals again fall away steadily … (Durkin 2014, 365)

Durkin rightly outlines that since the nineteenth century, when the influence of Spanish on English was strongest, a significant proportion of borrowings have also entered several varieties of English, notably AmE:

> From the nineteenth century onwards the question of whose English we are examining also becomes particularly important, since some varieties of English (particularly US English) show many more loanwords from Spanish than other varieties (and where other varieties do show loanwords they are in some cases probably via US English rather than directly from Spanish) … (Durkin 2014, 365–6)

As will become clear from the present analysis, a number of Spanish-derived words and meanings which were first attested in AmE subsequently found their way into BE.

Suárez-Gómez (2012) examines the linguistic contact between English and European languages, including Italian and English. As to the Spanish impact on English, she concentrates on two specific language contact scenarios: the contact between English and American Spanish (with a specific focus on the influence of Spanish on Chicano English), and that of English and Spanish in Gibraltar.

Muñoz-Basols and Salazar (2016) take a slightly different approach: they examine the reciprocal lexical impact between English and Spanish from a comparative perspective. Their study includes a brief chronological overview of Spanish borrowings in English and English borrowings in Spanish down the ages, based on the evaluation of the linguistic data in dictionaries such as the *OED* and the *DRAE*. In addition, Muñoz-Basols and Salazar look at the historical and social factors that might have influenced the mutual borrowing of words between English and Spanish over the centuries. They rightly point out that, in recent decades in particular, the mass media and information technology might have enhanced the adoption of foreign words into both languages. According to Muñoz-Basols and Salazar, TV programmes, for instance, may contribute to the spread of Hispanicisms in present-day English:

> Selected, often pre-packaged words and catchphrases from TV are used to encapsulate a linguistic and cultural representation that exposes English speakers to lexical units that they might never have heard otherwise, and which they may even reproduce in the future. For this reason, it is not surprising to hear in these TV programmes genuine Spanish words like *nada*, *mucho*, *quiero*, *bueno*, *chica*, *vámonos*, and *cuidado*, or distorted ones such as *no problemo* … (Muñoz-Basols and Salazar 2016, 91)

Some of the studies mentioned above rely on the examination of a new variety of dictionary, i.e. the "new words" dictionary. Stein (2002, 10) ascribes its genesis to the attempt to document all the words used in a language, a tendency that would seem to have emerged in recent times. Examples of dictionaries that record new words are Berg's *Dictionary of New Words in English* (1953), Reifer's *Dictionary of New Words* (1955), Barnhart, Steinmetz, and Barnhart's *Dictionary of New English Since 1963* (1973; 1980; 1990), Mager and Mager's *Morrow Book of New Words* (1982), Mort's *Longman Guardian of New Words* (1986), LeMay, Lerner, and Taylor's *New Words Dictionary* (1988), Ayto's *Longman Register of New Words* released in 1989 and 1990, Algeo and Algeo's *Dictionary of Neologisms* (1991), Tulloch's *Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (1991), Green's *New Words* (1994), Fergusson's *Chambers Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (1995), Knowles and Elliott's *Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (1997), Hargraves's *New Words* (2004), Speake's *Oxford Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (1997/2005), and Delahunty's *Oxford Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases* (2008). These sources list words and meanings that have recently occurred in English. This is equally valid for Ayto's lexicon entitled *Twentieth-century Words* from 1999. There are also additional supplements to existing dictionaries, such as Webster's *6,000 Words* (Kay, Mish, and Woolf 1976), Webster's *9,000 Words* (Mish et al. 1983) and Webster's *12,000 Words* (Mish 1986).

Durkin (email dated February 9, 2010) outlines that the words and meanings covered by these sources will also be documented in the *OED* if they are in line with its inclusion criteria. He states that "the most important of these dictionaries have been read (or "carded") for *OED*'s files, and all of them are available for consultation by *OED* editors." As will be seen, the *OED* will function as a major tool to identify the Spanish borrowings investigated in the present survey.

CHAPTER TWO

AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

1. The *OED Online* as a Source of Spanish Borrowings

The *OED Online* constitutes a significant tool for collecting Spanish-derived words and meanings that have been assumed into English since 1801. The results provided by the present survey are due to a close investigation of the comprehensive linguistic data offered by the *OED Online*. The reader might observe that the *OED* is currently undergoing its first complete revision. The electronic form of the *OED* can be found at www.oed.com, consisting of the text of the second edition published in 1989 (*OED2*), the content of the 1993 and 1997 *OED Additions Series*, and an essential percentage of revised and new dictionary entries that are part of the third edition (*OED3*). The linguistic material of the digitalized variant of the *OED* is supplemented every quarter with the findings of the revision work.[1]

The digitalized form of the *OED* allows the assessment of the entire body of words and meanings that show a Spanish origin in their etymological description.[2] The following search permits the performance of a comprehensive count of the various nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century Spanish borrowings included in the *OED Online*: *Advanced Search: Entries containing "Spanish" in "Etymology" and "1801-" in "Date of Entry."* The collection of Spanish borrowings presented in this study was retrieved from the *OED* in the winter of 2016. In all, the corpus compiled in this manner consisted of 1,355 lexical items. It included a substantial number of borrowings from Spanish and a multitude of words and meanings taken over from different varieties of Spanish, such as Mexican Spanish, Cuban Spanish, and Bolivian Spanish. Examples are the words *ranch*, which was adapted from the American Spanish *rancho* in 1807, and *jalapeño*, a variety of chilli pepper introduced from Mexican

[1] Durkin email dated February 9, 2010.

[2] For details with respect to the benefits of an electronic form of the *OED* see Brewer (2004, 1–43; 2007, 213–57). For a comprehensive description of the making of the third edition of the *OED3* see Gilliver (2016, 550–86).

Spanish into English in 1949. According to the 1993 *OED ADD Series*, the latter is originally and mostly used in AmE.

The sample of Spanish borrowings also comprised words which were given a "mixed" etymology in the *OED*. *Ruana*, "[a] South American cape or poncho, worn esp[ecially] in Colombia and Peru" (*OED3*), serves as an example. From the *OED3* it becomes apparent that the word was partly influenced by the French *ruana* and partly by its American Spanish etymon *ruana*, which might be a shortening of *manta ruana*, denoting a variety of blanket occasionally worn as a gown by poor people. The *OED* also identifies possible borrowings. That is, words which may or may not have their origins in Spanish, such as *mustang*, which might be a confusion of the Spanish words *mestengo* (now referred to as *mesteño*) and *mostrenco* (see *OED3*). All these types of borrowing included in the *OED* were considered in the present survey.

It should be noted that the borrowed lexical items under review were categorized as adopted from Spanish as the immediate donor language. The word *silo*, for instance, "[a] pit or underground chamber used for the storage of grain, roots, etc." (*OED2*), was classified as an adoption of Spanish *silo*, albeit the item ultimately goes back to the Greek *σιρός*, "a type of pit for storing corn."

2. Aims

The methodology developed by Schultz in 2012 and 2016 to examine twentieth-century borrowings from French and German functioned as a model for the present study. It may thus be considered a complement to Schultz's 2012 and 2016 analyses. As already pointed out, electronic sources such as online dictionaries and databases serve as indispensable tools for this kind of survey.

The various borrowings collected from the *OED Online* will be grouped into different subject fields so as to provide insight into the variety of areas from which Spanish words and meanings have been transferred into English since 1801. The order of the subject areas with their subcategories will mostly be based on semantic aspects: areas which are semantically interrelated will be arranged together. Subject fields with a higher proportion of borrowings chiefly succeed areas comprising a smaller number of Spanish-derived items. Another criterion on which the arrangement of the various subject areas depends is the duration of the borrowing process: domains where the impact of Spanish extends over a relatively long period of time will generally follow areas on which the Spanish influence was less intense.

It is noteworthy that the assignment of the majority of technical terms included in the present study results from the classification in the *OED*. Yet, the overriding grouping of the borrowed words into subject areas is based on my own considerations.

A significant aim of the present investigation is to identify those Spanish borrowings that are part of a more common vocabulary with which the "ordinary" native speaker of English is usually familiar. A careful review of EFL (English as a Foreign Language) dictionaries allowed for the assessment of those adopted words that make up a certain "core field" of comparatively frequent borrowings (because these resources list lexical items that passed into everyday use in English). Just like in Schultz's 2012 and 2016 books, the term "core vocabulary" will be used to designate those Spanish-derived items recorded in recent editions of EFL dictionaries such as the *OALD* and the *LDOCE*, both of which are searchable online. Borrowed lexical items that are recorded relatively frequently in English will be opposed to less-familiar terms. It should be noted that the Spanish-derived words and meanings that appear in bold in the present study are part of the electronic versions of the *OALD* and *LDOCE*.

A systematic appraisal of the varieties of loan influences is missing in most of the prior investigations of Spanish-derived words and senses. The present survey seeks to offer a detailed analysis of the different categories of lexical borrowing, such as direct loans, loan translations, semantic loans, pseudo-loans, and hybrids.

More than a mere count of the borrowings under consideration, the present survey will give a rounded picture of the chronological distribution, semantics, stylistic function, and contextual usage of the different words of Spanish origin.

To survey the dimension of Spanish influence, the present analysis will address the question of how many words and senses acquired from Spanish belong to each subject area and whether the number of borrowings varies over the years as a result of the increasing or diminishing impact of Spanish on English. Hence, it reaches beyond the extent of previous surveys in this field.

An essential objective is to examine the semantic integration of the Spanish borrowings retrieved from the *OED*, to which little attention has been given so far. Similar to Schultz's 2012 and 2016 surveys, the present study will assess the types of sense development a borrowing might show after its first documented use in English. To determine changes in meaning, the six categories that are generally accepted as standard types of change (i.e. broadening, narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, metaphor,

and metonymy) will serve as a major framework for categorization.[3] Manifold illustrative examples of Spanish borrowings that have diverged from their original sense will be offered.

One may assume that rare technical terms adopted from Spanish are less frequently subjected to a sense development compared with borrowings that are more common in English. It seems important to find out whether dictionaries and databases reflecting present-day language use still contain documentary evidence of the usage of these types of word. This also raises the question of whether they are now confined to historical contexts or whether their meaning has become obsolete.

The present study will also offer an overview of the stylistic functions of the Spanish borrowings taken over into English since the nineteenth century, ranging from local colour, precision, intentional disguise, vividness, and tone to variation of expression.

The linguistic evidence compiled in the *OED* and digitalized corpora offers valuable clues with respect to the context in which a borrowing might occur. As will be seen, a borrowing might be confined to Spanish-speaking contexts in English. The present investigation seeks to analyse whether the linguistic evidence that comprises the different borrowings reflects a Spanish locality or atmosphere, and to what extent the usage of a lexical item is stereotypically related to Spain, or whether there are any additional significant characteristics relevant for the contextual usage of a Spanish-derived item. Such a comprehensive investigation of the stylistic function and contextual usage of the words of Spanish origin has not been undertaken in this manner before.

3. Methodology

As in Schultz's 2012 and 2016 studies, much emphasis has been placed on the linguistic documentary evidence available in the electronic *OED* in order to provide a detailed analysis of the various Spanish borrowings and their meanings, stylistic functions, and contextual usage in English.

Needless to say, new or updated *OED* entries that are part of the third edition, or *OED3*, illustrate in detail the sense development of a word, i.e. the different meanings it might have developed from its earliest recorded use in English to the present. The reader should be aware of the fact that this study sets out to offer an overview of the semantics not only of the Spanish borrowings that belong to the *OED3* but also of those Spanish-

[3] As to the essential varieties of semantic change see Durkin (2009, 235–45) and Traugott (2006, 124–31).

derived items that have not yet undergone revision. The assessment of the entire semantic spectrum borrowings manifest in English can, in some cases, be problematic since the unrevised edition of the *OED2* and the 1993 and 1997 *OED ADD Series* do not include recent usage examples of the relevant lexical items. In these instances, a perusal of English corpora proves to be beneficial: databases reflecting present-day language usage such as the *BNC*, the *Now Corpus*, the *COCA*, and *LexisNexis* provide sufficient linguistic evidence that reveals the recent meanings of Spanish borrowings. To search the *BNC*, the *Now Corpus* and the *COCA*, the online facilities accessible at Mark Davies's webpage at Brigham Young University, were consulted. The *BNC*, initially compiled by Oxford University Press from the 1980s to the early 1990s, constitutes a sample of one hundred million words. The texts are taken from a variety of genres, ranging from newspapers, magazines, and fiction to spoken language. The *Now Corpus* encompasses four billion words of texts retrieved from online newspapers and magazines from 2010 up to the present day. In contrast to the *BNC*, the *Now Corpus* represents a growing internet resource: about four to five million words are added to this corpus each day. For present uses of words of Spanish origin in AmE, one might look at the *COCA*, which consists of a collection of 520 million words of data from 1990 to 2015, including several different genres (e.g. newspapers, fiction, academic writing) as well as spoken material. At *LexisNexis*, manifold newspapers from the last twenty to thirty years such as *The Times*, *The New York Times*, or *The Guardian* are searchable online.

Gazpacho might serve as an example of a borrowing showing a meaning in corpora of recent usage that has not yet been made explicit in the *OED2*. The borrowing initially entered English as a term for a soup containing vegetables, notably onions and cucumbers. It belongs to the group of fairly common borrowings documented in EFL dictionaries. *Gazpacho* occurs quite frequently in corpora reflecting present-day usage. In databases such as *LexisNexis* we find several examples of recipe variations of *gazpacho*, which may turn the savoury food into a sweet dish. In recent decades in particular, the borrowing may, by extension, relate to a soup made with sweet ingredients, such as vanilla, strawberries, watermelon, and cantaloupe. Examples from *LexisNexis* are:

> *The Observer* (England), May 15, 2011; "JASON ATHERTON TOMATO AND TOMATO BLOODY MARY SORBET"
> To make the tomato and vanilla gazpacho, mix all the ingredients together apart from the vanilla, leave for 24 hours then season with vanilla—scrape the vanilla pod—and leave overnight.

> *The Telegraph*, August 17, 2016; "Algarve restaurants"
> Gusto by Heinz Beck, Conrad Algarve Hotel
> Heinz Beck, the highly acclaimed chef, is often to be found at the stove in this, his Portuguese outpost, where Italian flavours and technical wizardry are combined to produce such signature dishes as Fagottelli Carbonara. Seasonal delights include Strawberry Gazpacho, Tuna Carpaccio or Veal fillet in grissini crust. Seamless service and a chance to explore Portuguese wines with a knowledgeable sommelier make this the place for a special meal.

> *The Northern Star*: Northern Illinois University, August 29, 2016; "Watermelon and Cantaloupe Gazpacho is a refreshing soup"
> Watermelon and Cantaloupe Gazpacho takes advantage of the wonderful melons that are abundant at this time of year. It's a refreshing end-of-summer soup and a choice dish with which to launch a Labor Day party. I call it a gazpacho, but I'm using the term very loosely because it makes no use of tomatoes. What puts it within shouting distance of the classic Spanish soup is that it's served chilled and it's chunky.

It seems important to point out that the unrevised edition of the *OED2* does not yet document the recipe variations of *gazpacho*, which lead to an extension of the semantic scope of the borrowing.

To compare the meaning of a borrowed word to that of its Spanish source term, it is worth considering the *Diccionario de la lengua española*, compiled and edited by the Real Academia Española (henceforth referred to as the *DRAE*). The *DRAE* was first published as a single volume in 1780. Since then, twenty-three editions of the work have been released. The most recent edition from 2014 is available online and allows a variety of search options within the dictionary. The *DRAE* represents a historical dictionary that comprehensively covers vocabulary generally used in Spain and Hispanic countries. As to the original Spanish *gazpacho*, the word is defined as follows in this resource: "[s]opa fría cuyos ingredientes básicos son tomate, pimiento, aceite, vinagre, ajo y sal, que es propia sobre todo de Andalucía." Obviously, the meaning of the Spanish equivalent corresponds to the initial sense in which the word was borrowed into English. The documentation of culinary variants of *gazpacho* is absent from this source. One might thus come to the conclusion that the change in meaning *gazpacho* shows in English may constitute an independent sense development of the borrowing within the receiving language.

The analysis of the stylistic functions and pragmatic-contextual usage of the Spanish borrowings under consideration will also be due to a careful perusal of the linguistic data included in the *OED* and the corpus facilities mentioned before. Durkin (email dated November 14, 2007) outlines that

the *OED3* quotations reveal the typical contextual use a particular lexical item may show in English:

> [O]ur intention is that the quotations will provide the reader with a reasonably representative indication of the range of contexts etc. in which a word or sense is found, with some weighting towards what is most typical, and with the proviso that they are of course intended to be read in conjunction with the definition (just as it is intended to be read in conjunction with the quotations). Quite often we will try to use the quotations to reflect typical nuances that are not made explicit in the definition: although sometimes also we will include a quotation which points towards a slightly different use, which does not seem prominent enough to reflect in the definition, but which seems worthy of recording somehow in the entry.

Corpora such as the *BNC* might equally offer the key to revealing the typical context in which a borrowing might be embedded in English, especially with respect to those items that still belong to the unrevised version of the *OED2*. As will be seen, recent examples found in corpora of present-day English may indicate a new or slightly different contextual usage of a Spanish-derived word that has not yet been documented in the *OED2*.

4. Terminology

Before I move on to the investigation of the borrowings that have been imported from Spanish since 1801, a definition of the various linguistic terms employed in the present study will be provided:

(a) Word

In scholarly research, there are several different conceptions of the term *word*. It has been investigated by taking syntactic, semantic, or phonological criteria into account. A syntactic perspective is assumed by Sweet (1875, 474), according to whom the word constitutes "an ultimate, or indecomposible sentence." Sapir (2007, 37) assesses the word from both a syntactic and semantic point of view, pointing out that it represents "one of the smallest, completely satisfying bits of isolated "meaning," into which the sentence resolves itself." The French linguist Meillet (1975, 30) has semantically, phonologically, and grammatically investigated the word, and provides the following notion of the term: "Un mot est défini

par l'association d'un sens donné à un ensemble de sons susceptible d'un emploi grammatical donné."

Several succeeding definitions correspond to Meillet's approach, for example the formula offered by Arnold in her study entitled *The English Word* (1973, 9):

> The term w o r d denotes the basic unit of a given language resulting from the association of a particular meaning with a particular group of sounds capable of a particular grammatical employment. A word therefore is simultaneously a semantic, grammatical and phonological unit.

The understanding of "word" in the present analysis reflects Arnold's definition of the term.

(b) Lexical item

Quirk et al. (2008, 2.35) emphasize that, "a lexical item is a word as it occurs in a dictionary." Grammatical variants that represent different elements of a particular phrase of a sentence might be related to the same overriding unit that belongs to the lexicon. The plural *gringos* and the past form *vamoosed*, for instance, are viewed as inflected variants of two superior, "abstract" lexical items: the noun *gringo*, a borrowing from Mexican Spanish, and the verb *to vamoose*, which goes back to Spanish *vamos* "let us go" (see *OED2*). Schultz (2012, 35) points out that "different grammatical forms may at the same time represent different realizations of the same lexical item on the morphological, phonological or orthographic level." Just like in Schultz's 2012 study, "lexical item" will be used to designate the form of a word as it is recorded in a dictionary.

(c) Term

In this study, "term" is used to denote a word that is recorded in a specific meaning in a relevant subject field, such as the natural sciences, the humanities, or the fine arts and crafts.

(d) Meaning

The term "meaning" serves as the usual designation of the sense or signification of a lexical item; that is, the idea or concept it corresponds to. Words may have only one specific meaning, such as *burrito*, a twentieth-century borrowing from American Spanish. From the *OED2* it becomes clear that it is mostly restricted to AmE, denoting "[a] Mexican dish

consisting of a maize-flour tortilla rolled round a savoury filling (of beef, chicken, refried beans, etc.)." There are also words which are documented in multiple senses. This is valid for the Spanish borrowing *querencia*, literally "preference." It was initially adopted into English as a bullfighting term in 1932 for "[t]he part of the arena where the bull takes its stand" (*OED3*). Since 1944, the word has shown figurative uses in English, where it may relate to "[a] person's favourite place" (*OED3*). By metaphor, *querencia* can also denote "home ground, a refuge" (*OED3*). All these uses are paralleled in Spanish according to the sources consulted.

It might occasionally be problematic to determine the degree to which a metaphorical meaning that occurs in a corpus revealing present-day language usage has to be classified in a transient or idiosyncratic sense. In the present investigation, the emphasis will be on those senses of borrowings that are made explicit in resources including the *OED* or which occur comparatively often in English corpora such as the *BNC* or the *COCA*. Occasional examples of changes in meaning will not be considered because they may point to only temporary usages of words that will not be listed in dictionaries.

4.1 Categories of semantic change

Earlier investigations of semantic change, such as the studies by Bréal (2005), Stern (1931), and Ullmann (1967), identified six types of change in meaning, which are usually considered the most essential categories. These are broadening, narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, metaphor, and metonymy. They will be used as a classification scheme to categorize the semantic developments of the different borrowings that have been adopted from Spanish into English since the nineteenth century. The reader should be aware of the fact that the six types can refer to both the process of semantic change and the lexical item that was subjected to the relevant sense development:

(a) Broadening

The term "broadening" (also described as expansion, extension, generalization, or schematization by linguists investigating semantic change)[4] relates to the process by which a word becomes more extended in

[4] For a comprehensive account of the various terms used to classify semantic change, see Geeraerts (2010, 26–7), Traugott (2006, 124ff.), and Traugott and Dasher (2005, 24ff.).

meaning. It equally denotes the result of this development. The borrowing *vaquita*, for instance, shows two meanings in English. It has been associated with a variety of beetle since its first documented usage in 1933, as is illustrated by the following *OED3* quotation:

> 1933 *Science* 27 Oct. (Sci. News Suppl.) 9/2 Entomologists who have reared "vaquita" in captivity for research purposes found that it preferred laying its eggs between two sheets of paper.

The word was subjected to a semantic broadening in 1961, adopting the additional meaning of "a type of porpoise,: e.g.:

> 1961 *Univ. Calif. Pub. Zool.* **63** iv. 351 The animals were called "vaquita" or little cow. (*OED3*)

> 1982 R. Ellis *Dolphins & Porpoises* 196/2 Where the harbor porpoise is … lead-black or gray … the vaquita … is brownish. (*OED3*)

The American Spanish source *vaquita* is recorded in both senses in the dictionaries consulted. One might conclude that the semantic change of the borrowing in English was induced by Spanish.

The reader might notice that "sense extension" (also referred to as "semantic extension") will also be used to designate "broadening" in the present survey. In addition, "extended use" refers to the wider semantic application of a borrowing compared to its initial or earlier usage.

(b) Narrowing

Narrowing (also called "restriction" or "specialization" in scholarly analyses) occurs when the semantic scope of a word becomes more restricted. The term can equally designate the outcome of this variety of change in meaning. An example is the bullfighting term *tienta*, which was borrowed from Spanish in a specific sense. The borrowing serves as an exoticism[5] in English, where it is documented as a culture-specific term in contexts related to Spain, denoting "an occasion at which young bulls in the field are tested for spirit as prospective stud and fighting bulls" (*OED2*), e.g.:

[5] As to a definition of the term "exoticism," see the chapter on varieties of loan influences of the present study.