

Exploring the Canarian Contribution to the Hispanicism in English

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ABSTRACT

The Canary Islands (Spain) have always been in close contact with the Anglo-Saxon world, which has had important consequences for the economy but has also meant a significant influence at the socio-cultural, linguistic and literary levels. A review of the English bibliography on the Canaries reveals, among other aspects, a tendency in most authors to use Hispanicisms and Canarianisms in their texts. This article offers a record of the Spanish and Canarian words which appear in a corpus of fourteen works taken from an extensive bibliography, namely twelve travel books and two tourist guides published between 1851 and 1917. Besides providing an overview of the studies on Hispanicisms in English, this paper's main aim is to highlight the contribution of Canarian Spanish to the enrichment of the vocabulary of the English language by checking which of the Hispanicisms in our corpus which are actually Canarianisms have been included in the lexical repertoire of the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (2007).

1. Introduction

The Canary Islands have always aroused a great deal of interest in different disciplines. This is reflected not only in the great number of visitors who have arrived there from a wide variety of places and areas of specialisation, but also in the fact that many of them have written about the Islands. In fact, the English, French and even German literature

on the subject is quite extensive, as is shown by the data collections published recently (González-Cruz 2002; Pico and Corbella 2000; Sarmiento 2005). However, it is contact with British and some American travellers, traders, scientists and writers which has been most intense. These relations between the Canaries and Great Britain have had decisive consequences for their economic, socio-cultural and linguistic development. (González-Cruz 1995), and have given rise to many studies from different perspectives (Bethencourt 1956; Morales 1970; Fajardo 1977; Guimerá 1985; Martín 1985; Herrera 1987; García-Pérez 1988; Quintana 1992; Hernández 1995; González-Cruz and Luján-García 2003; Almeida 2005; among others).

In this article we shall study another important contribution to Anglo-Canarian relations: Hispanicisms and Canarianisms which, because they appear in the numerous English texts about the Islands, contributed to a certain degree to their inclusion in English dictionaries. We shall begin by making a short review of the most relevant aspects of the Hispanicism in English. The following section will describe briefly the context of Anglo-Canarian contact before going on to list the Hispanicisms and Canarianisms taken from a corpus of fourteen texts selected from the vast English bibliography about the Canaries (specifically twelve travel books and two tourist guide books). We shall show which of these terms appear in the *Shorter English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (2007) (henceforth, *SOEDHP*), making special mention of the cases which also appear in *Diccionario ejemplificado de canarismos (Dictionary of Canarianisms with Examples)* by Corrales and Corbella (2009), without doubt the most exhaustive recent lexicographical study. We shall finish with a small global analysis and the relevant conclusions.

2. On the Hispanicism in English

There is a great tradition of research into the Hispanicism in the Anglo-Saxon world: Many aspects are covered, above all the role of Spanish in the United States (Peñuelas 1964; Amastae and Elías-Olivares 1982; Lope-Blanch 1990; Alvar 2000; Ortiz and Lacorte 2005; López-Morales 2008; Vilar 2008; Lacorte and Leeman 2009; among others).

However, the most significant work on the lexical influence of Spanish on English is the one coordinated by Rodríguez González in 1996. This is an interesting monograph covering the Spanish contribution to a variety of semantic fields, from the beginning up to the present, contributing data which range from political rhetoric to the slang of marginalised groups, and focussing specially on the influence of Spanish on the American variety of English, as well as including a bibliographic guide to the studies carried out on the influence of Spanish on the English language. It is a fact today that even though it is an inexhaustible source of borrowings for the majority of languages on the planet, including Spanish, English does not escape the interference of other languages. What is more, experts of the first class in the study of English, such as David Crystal, have even compared it to a vacuum cleaner, because of its great ability to absorb words from any language that it comes into contact with. Thus, while speakers of other languages try to stop foreign words becoming part of their lexicon, when it comes to adopting foreign words we

could say that English is insatiable and indeed openly welcomes them (Crystal 2003: 126). Wardhaugh (2002: 190) points out that it is the English speakers themselves who tend to adopt words from other languages indiscriminately, in contrast to the speakers of other languages such as French, German, Modern Hebrew and Icelandic, who seem to be the most reluctant. In fact, the same author states that throughout its history English has been inclined to make thousands of borrowings from almost a hundred languages, a figure which Delahunty (2008) has raised to more than three hundred and fifty. According to Finegan (1994: 101), during the twentieth century English mainly borrowed from French. After that, in diminishing order, English took words from Japanese, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, German and Yiddish and a few from Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Portuguese and Hindi. Ayto (1995), author of the *Wordsworth Dictionary of Foreign Words in English* (formerly published by Chambers Ltd., Edinburgh, with the title *Making Sense of Foreign Words in English*) points out that all these languages have enriched the expressiveness of English in areas such as food, music, sport, medicine, furniture and fashion. The Spanish influence on the English vocabulary has been studied by several specialists (Rodríguez González 1996; 2001) who have shown that this influence has existed not only during the last five centuries (Algeo, 1996) but has also increased recently, especially in American English. Algeo (1996: 27) specifically points out that the *Oxford English Dictionary* includes some 1,350 words which appear to be of Spanish origin, of which some 526, that is to say 40 per cent, are listed in dictionaries in everyday use. This figure seems much more realistic than the one derived from English dictionaries which specialise in foreign loanwords, as they tend to use selective criteria when compiling their lexicons. Therefore, in the preface to *The Oxford Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases*, Jennifer Speake, in charge of the first (1992) edition, recognised that if terminology from the world of bullfighting or judo had been included, the number of Spanish or Japanese entries would have increased considerably. Delahunty (2008) confesses that, as he was compiling the second edition of this dictionary, in order to create space for the many new words that had found their way into the English language, he had eliminated a number of items present in the first edition, considering that they had become sufficiently naturalised or adapted to English. Thus, the second edition initially gives a listing of 230 Hispanicisms, classified according to the century when they entered the English language. To these may be added the Hispanicisms that have a double origin: Spanish and Italian or Spanish and Portuguese, which bring the total in this dictionary up to only 319.

As Mary S. Serjeantson (1935: vii-viii) recognised, a study of the history of foreign words and borrowings in English is necessarily incomplete: an exhaustive work would take up several volumes even if, as she did, words used in very specialised texts were avoided. It would also be difficult for two authors to agree on which words they should include in this type of work. In any case, the Spanish influence on English occupies an important chapter in Serjeantson's work.

Although the Spanish influence on English has ebbed and flowed throughout history, the greatest number of borrowings come from the period of the Spanish colonisation of America, when the language, as shown by Rodríguez González (1996: vii), was the faithful companion of empire. Although in the 14th and 15th centuries some terms of Spanish origin were already noted, it was in the 16th century that the number of loanwords increased dramatically. Algeo (1996: 18-21) points out some 260 Hispanicisms of this

period, many of which arose from the exploration of the New World and from the transmission through Spain of new knowledge about America, such as terms connected to phenomena peculiar to the new continent. The increase in other types of borrowings from Spanish is merely a reflection of the growing importance of Spain as an economic and political power, which followed its colonial expansion in that century. The number of Hispanicisms continued at a high level in the 17th century, when more than 300 loanwords have been noted.

According to Algeo (1996: 22–23), the number of Hispanicisms picked up by the *Oxford English Dictionary* during the 18th century seems to be smaller than in other periods. However, this decrease is not only in loanwords from Spanish, but affects all the vocabulary, and does not seem to be due to any change in the linguistic inventiveness in the Age of Enlightenment nor to any social factors, but rather to the fact that the texts of this century were not searched as thoroughly as those of the 17th and 19th centuries. In fact, it is the eighteenth hundreds which are the most productive in the history of Hispanicisms in the English language, at least until 1900, the date in which the author concludes his research. In fact, 46 per cent of all Hispanicisms previous to this year still in use were acquired in the 19th century. This rise in the influence of Spanish on English was due in great part to the linguistic contact in the south-western United States between speakers of the two languages (Peñuelas 1964; Lope-Blanch 1990). What seems clear is that the Hispanicisms which entered English before the 19th century came mainly from Spain (although many of them were words from the New World, they entered English through European Spanish), while the more recent borrowings are words which are taken increasingly from American Spanish by American English. The American variety of English is the one which is currently subject to the greatest influence, because of the great pressure of the Hispanic community in the United States, with the result that some have even come to fear a future Hispanicization of a country which, with 40 million Latinos who speak Spanish to a greater or lesser degree, is on the way to becoming the nation with the third largest number of Spanish speakers (Silva-Corvalán 2000) – unless, as Lipski (2010: 556) suggests, it has already done so.

On looking back we shall concentrate on a time and place which stand out as having been a meeting point between the Spanish and English worlds and words: the last decades of the 19th century in the Canary Islands. The following section will cover this contact and its context.

3. The context of Anglo-Canarian contact

British subjects began to settle in the Canaries in the 16th and 17th centuries, a period when the English colony was very numerous due to the growth in the export trade of Canary wines to England. Commerce between the two archipelagos is documented from 1519 (Bethencourt 1956: 211).

During the first half of the 17th century, the Tribunal of the Inquisition counted more than 1,500 Protestants among the foreign colony in Tenerife (Morales 1970: 71), an island which recorded the highest production of malmsey, followed in quantity and quality by the wines of La Palma and Gran Canaria. The colony played the role of intermediary between the island harvesters and the wine merchants of London

(Bethencourt 1956: 71–81). Although the *sack* or *canary* so highly praised by Shakespeare¹ was drunk in the markets of the North, its main consumers were always in England.

The crisis in the wine market and the censorship of the Inquisition obliged many of the British to abandon the Islands during the first half of the 18th century. However, it was precisely because of the Catholic nature of the archipelago that in the second half of the century many exiled Irish took refuge here fleeing from clashes with the Protestants after the overthrow of the Stuarts and the ascent to the throne of the new dynasty of the Prince of Orange. After 1883, the construction of La Luz Port meant an intense and growing process of Britanisation of the capital of Gran Canaria and the archipelago in general. The data on the population of the Canaries confirm that already in 1887, 64 per cent of those born abroad came from England (Martín 1985: 401–402). To be exact, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and the present Puerto de la Cruz (Tenerife) were the towns with the greatest number of British residents and tourists. In fact, the two cities retain a cultural inheritance which derives from the special relationship with *los ingleses*, as they were popularly called. This legacy consists of churches, cemeteries, a library and several social and sports clubs, all still functioning. We also have the evidence of *The Canary Islands Review*, which was considered the “only English newspaper published in Spain” (González-Cruz 2003), as well as many texts about the Archipelago published between 1583 and the present, valuable documents which we have classified typologically into the following categories (González-Cruz 2002): tourist guides, studies about the climate and health, travellers’ tales and diaries, works of fiction, studies of a historical, socio-cultural, linguistic or scientific nature. We believe that the use of Hispanicisms and Canarianisms in all the English texts contributed to a certain extent to the diffusion of these terms among the many readers of the different types of literature which, of course, established another way for these words to enter the language.

4. The Canarian contribution: Canarianisms and other Hispanicisms found in the texts

As was shown elsewhere (Gonzalez-Cruz 2011: 820), a trait common to the great majority of the works that comprise the English bibliography on the Canaries is that there are cases of interference from Spanish vocabulary in almost all of them, a phenomenon which is, logically, not exclusive to the Anglo-Canarian contact, but appears whichever the languages in contact. This has been clearly demonstrated in other works which have studied the use of Hispanicisms in texts about journeys to the Canaries by French authors (Corbella 1991; Curell and de Uriarte 1998, 2001; Vega 2009) or by Germans (Batista and Sarmiento 2007; Tabares, Batista and Sarmiento 2009). There are many Hispanicisms in travellers’ tales, tourist guides and works of fiction but perhaps fewer in other types of works. There is no doubt that the first two types of text were the most popular and for this reason they became important channels

for the spread of the Spanish vocabulary used in them. This recurrent use of Hispanicisms in English discourse is a significant phenomenon which could have several explanations that we have discussed elsewhere (González-Cruz and González-de-la-Rosa 2006, 2007). The need to add a certain local colour, emphasise the differences or else express a positive attitude towards the subject are all motives which, taken together, can help to explain our subject. However, we consider the last motive to be of special interest, given that some studies (Romaine 1995: 66–7) have revealed that, in reality, the propensity to use loanwords is acquired through socialisation in a specific community and less because of lexical necessity; or, which amounts to the same thing, social factors seem to play a fundamental part. It is therefore clear that when our travellers choose to use a Spanish word instead of its English equivalent, they appear to be demonstrating, consciously or unconsciously, their involvement with and their positive attitude towards the society and culture around them. In fact, authors such as Traugott and Pratt (1980: 376) have pointed out that changing from one language to another is a way of expressing attitudes. This seems to be connected in some way with the phenomenon known as linguistic convergence (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991), that is to say, moving towards the language of the other group as an expression of a positive attitude to that culture (López-Morales 1989).

In 2007, when we asked what importance these Spanish words might have in the English language, we noted the warning of Silva-Corvalán (1989: 174) that the fate of loanwords and transfers is difficult to predict, as there are many intra- and extra-linguistic factors which play a part in the process of the diffusion of a linguistic innovation. No doubt, the subject is complex and researchers have differing opinions. As Cooper (1982: 28) states, very little is known about the social circumstances which aid or hinder the expansion of linguistic innovations, although it has been suggested that the changes spread according to the degree of verbal interaction and the relative esteem in which one speaker holds the other. In short, as a generalisation, we see that there are many factors of great complexity which seem to affect the process by which a lexical transfer or interference becomes integrated as a loanword in another language and is recognised in dictionaries, something which has already happened in the English language with many Spanish words and, as we shall see, also with words from the Canaries. In the following sub-section, we shall check the inclusion in the *SOEDHP* of the Hispanicisms and Canarianisms used in the works in our corpus. Because of limitations of space, we shall omit examples of complete phrases, which often appear to be translated, and we shall restrict ourselves to explaining the use of the Hispanicisms which have been included in the *SOEDHP* and also appear as Canarianisms in the *DEC*. We shall then list the remaining Canarianisms used but not included. Finally, we shall give two groups of Hispanicisms which appear in the corpus: those included and those not included in the *SOEDHP*. In order to do this, we shall begin by defining the concept of Canarianism.

4.1. Canarianisms

The study of Canarianisms has attracted growing interest among researchers in the Canaries in recent years. After the appearance of the first compilation in the strict sense, carried out by the journalist Juan Maffiotte La-Roche before 1887,² there have been several compilations of different lengths which are at our disposal today. Among other works the following, in chronological order, stand out: *Diccionario de canarismos* by Lorenzo, Morera and Ortega (1995); *Diccionario diferencial del español de Canarias* by Corrales, Corbella and Álvarez (1996); *Diccionario histórico del español de Canarias* by Corrales and Corbella (2001); *Diccionario histórico-etimológico del habla canaria* by Marcial Morera (2006); *Diccionario ejemplificado de canarismos*, mentioned above (2 vols.) by Corrales and Corbella (2009) and *Diccionario básico de canarismos*, published in 2010 by the *Academia Canaria de la Lengua*.³

Maffiotte's glossary was the first to use the term *Canarianism* in its title. However, it is strange to note, as Corrales and Corbella point out in their *Introducción* (2009: xvi), that the concept of *Canarianism* did not enter academic lexicography until the twenty-second edition of the *DRAE*, published in 2001, by which time other *-isms*, which denoted the special geographic distribution of certain dialectal terms, had established themselves in general lists. In their definition of the concept of *Canarianism*, these authors choose to change the definition given by the *DRAE* and substitute "word, phrase or way of speaking peculiar to the inhabitants of the Canaries, whose use has settled into both the spoken and written language." What Corrales and Corbella mean by *peculiar* here is:

not only words exclusive to the Canaries but also those used in Spanish-speaking areas, (paying attention to the history and geographical position of the archipelago, meeting point for the words that circulated around the Atlantic), the use or different labelling of the words (the more frequent use of hereditary terms or of certain variants, the continued use of words considered archaic in standard Spanish, variation or specialisation of a meaning, the adaptation of nautical or agricultural terms to the everyday language, the different diastatic or diaphasic updating for some words the different syntactic combination, the abundant lexicalisation of diminutives, changes in grammatical categories, etc.).

According to these authors, there are also terms which are regarded as *Canarianisms of frequent use*, that is, general words which also appear in other varieties of Spanish but are used much more frequently in the Islands than in other parts of the country, which makes them one of the indicators that characterise the Canarian way of speech. All these different types of words are included by Corrales and Corbella (2009) in an exhaustive compilation of 18,935 entries. It is their definition of *Canarianism* that we shall use in this study. From this and the other compilations both by these and other authors, we shall also take the information that we consider relevant in each case to justify our analysis of the Canarian words that appear in the texts of our corpus.

We realise that not all these words appear in all the lists, either because the lexicographers do not agree or on account of the different levels of exhaustiveness of some studies (some such as the *DBC* indicate this in their title). In any case, we have decided to use the *DEC* as our main reference, as this is the latest contribution by Corrales and Corbella, two leading authorities in the study of the lexis of the Islands, who give us an exhaustive and exemplified list, as is stated in the title.

It is worth noting that many of these Canarian words are listed in the *DRAE* with more or less the same meaning as in the Islands. In fact, in many cases they are not words used exclusively in the Canaries. In spite of this, the great majority appear as Canarianisms in the different lexicological sources consulted because they refer to objects, concepts or species peculiar to the archipelago. For this reason they have a referent, use or labelling which is different from ordinary Spanish: or as we already stated, they are used more frequently in the Islands than in other Spanish-speaking regions. Be that as it may, it is clear that in the texts that were used, these words denoted objects or real concepts of the Islands. Besides, our objective is in no way to maintain that the Spanish of the Canaries is the only variety to contribute these terms (with the exception, perhaps of the word *Guanche*). We simply wish to state, on the one hand, the fact that some of the Hispanicisms listed in the *SOEDHP* are recorded as Canarianisms in the *DEC*, and, on the other, to point out how their recurring appearance in very popular English texts, such as those included in our corpus, could be one of the ways that contributed to their spread and finally to their inclusion in a dictionary like the *SOEDHP*. As already noted above, this process is very complex, and many factors of diverse types which go beyond mere frequency come into play.

4.1.1. Canarianisms in the *SOEDHP*

In the texts of the corpus we found the following words which the *SOEDHP* lists as Hispanicisms and which, as we can see, also form a part of the list of Canarianisms identified by the *DEC* and, depending on the case, by the other dictionaries consulted: *barrilla*, *caldera*, *fanega*, *guanche*, *guano*, *malagueña*, *malpaís*, *manta*, *mantilla*, *médano*, *orchilla*, *papaya*, *pintadera*, *puchero*, *retama*, *tostón*, *trapiche* and *venta*.

Obviously, the *SOEDHP* only marks them as words derived from Spanish, without specifying which particular variety or varieties they came from, a task that would doubtless be difficult to carry out. As for the sources used by this dictionary and the type of words collected, the preface of the 1993 edition (also included in the new 2007 version, which we have used) states the following:

The *New Shorter Oxford Oxford English Dictionary* [...] sets out the main meanings and semantic developments of words current at any time between 1700 and the present day: those which have been in regular literary or colloquial use at some point in their history; slang or dialect words which are nevertheless likely to be generally **encountered through accessible literature** or the modern mass media; and in addition a wide range of scientific and technical words such as may be of interest to serious amateurs or advanced students. Every headword is traced back to the time of its first

known use, however early, in many cases to the manuscript records of the Old and Middle English periods.

Words which have fallen into disuse during the past three centuries are included if they meet the other general criteria. Words which became obsolete before 1700 appear if they are significant in the formation or history of some other headword in the text, or if they remain familiar from the works of Shakespeare, the 1611 Authorised Version of the Bible, and a small number of other influential literary sources (notably the poems of John Milton and Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*). [Bold type is ours.]

In the following lines we shall give illustrative examples of the Canarian words we have found in the texts of the corpus, texts which, we believe, can be included within that "accessible literature" referred to by the *SOEDHP*. We shall comment briefly both on the information that the *SOEDHP* gives on each of these words and on the data offered in the different lexical lists mentioned above if they seem relevant to us. However, our main source of reference will be the *DEC* (2009) because, as already stated, it is the most exhaustive recent work on Canarianisms.

1. BARRILLA: "The two barillas formed the principal gofio during the past seven years." (Stone 1887: 357)

Recorded by the *SOEDHP* as *barilla* from the beginning of the 17th century, the word is included as a Canarianism in the *DEC*, the *DB*, the *DDEC* and the *DHE*. It denotes a plant which the Canaries traded with England in the 19th century (cf. Millares-Cantero 1995). The cultivation of this plant in other areas of Spain probably explains why the *DRAE* also lists it.

2. CALDERA: "It is also good to ascend the hilltop to the east of the caldera, whence a grand panoramic view is obtained." (Whitford 1890: 13)

The *SOEDHP* states that this word of Spanish origin was used in English from the end of the XVII century to describe a large volcanic crater. The descriptions of the Islands, because of their volcanic nature, led to the frequent use of this Canarianism, which appears in all the lists consulted. The *DRAE* includes several meanings but only the sixth, from a geological point of view, has a connection to its value as a Canarianism, although – as with the rest of the words – it does not expressly state this: "A depression of great size with steep sides, caused by very powerful volcanic explosions or eruptions."

3. FANEGA: "A ploughman with a 'yunta' (pair) of oxen would be paid half a fanega of 'chochos' (lupines) per day or its equivalent." (Brown 1910: c3)

This is the oldest Spanish noun in our corpus, since, according to the *SOEDHP*, it appears at the beginning of the 16th century. It is rendered in English as *bushel*, a unit of volume equal to 36,36 litres in the United Kingdom. The *fanega*, explains the

SOEDHP, is worth a *bushel* or a *bushel* and a half. In the Canaries it is a measure of grain, area or liquids, and its value varies from one island to another. In fact, as the *DRAE* notes, this unit of measurement “is very variable in the different regions of Spain”. The *DHEC*, the *DHEHC*, the *DBC* and the *DC* do not list it (although the last two do include *fanegada*).

4. GUANCHE: “The specimens of Guanche pottery are also of interest.” (Lee 1887: 35)

This term, very frequent in the texts as both a noun and an adjective, is recorded in English, according to the *SOEDHP*, from the end of the 16th century, to refer to the aborigines that inhabited the Canary Islands when they were conquered by the Castilians in the 15th century. As well as appearing in the *DRAE*, all the lexicographical sources consulted give it as a Canarianism.

5. GUANO: “[A]nd guano which is given to the crop with a lavish hand[.]” (du Cane 1911: 116)

The *SOEDH* registers this Hispanicism, which comes from Quechua, as dating from the 17th century to denote the fertiliser made from the excrement of seabirds. In the mid-19th century it came to mean an artificial fertiliser. The online version of the *DRAE*, does not include this word but, according to the *DDEC*, it does appear in the *DRAE-92*, with the same meaning, which is used in Chile, Peru and in the north and west of Argentina. The *DDEC* notes its use in Tenerife with another meaning, ‘leaf of a Palm tree’, also listed in the *DRAE-92* with this and another related meaning used in Cuba. Besides being included in the *DEC*, this word is also given as a Canarianism in the *DHEC*.

6. MALAGUEÑA: “[T]he people parade the streets playing their guitar and singing the inevitable *Malaguena*[.]” (Foreign Official 1897: 152)

The *SOEDHP* lists this word with two meanings. The first is not relevant here, as it is an adjective describing the inhabitants of Malaga; the second, from mid-19th century, refers to a Spanish dance similar to the fandango, and to a melancholy Spanish song of gypsy origin. It is in this sense that it is used most often in the Canaries. Corrales and Corbella (2009) say that the word was introduced into the archipelago in the 18th century. All the lexicographical sources list this Canarianism, which the *DRAE* includes with the first meaning, and also as an adjective referring only to the ‘Popular air peculiar to and characteristic of the Province of Malaga’.

7. MALPAÍS: “Fifty minutes after starting we came to the end of the malpaís, and passed on to a smooth plain[.]” (Stone 1887: 316)

This Canarianism, listed in all the lexicological sources consulted, means, according to the *SOEDHP*, stony volcanic ground, and first entered English in the mid-19th century. The word does not occur very often in our texts, in spite of the fact that authors like Brown (1919: 85) include it in their list of words used in preference to its English equivalent in his writings. The *DRAE* includes it but only in reference to the word *karst*, which it then defines as ‘rough terrain, with cracks and sharp ridges, caused by chemical erosion in calcareous soils’.

8. MANTA: “[E]very man and boy is closely wrapped in his manta, often it must be owned in an indescribable state of filth.” (du Cane 1911: 124)

This is another noun listed in the *SOEDHP* from the end of the 17th century. According to the *DEC*, it means ‘a type of long woollen cloak, gathered at the top and tied at the neck, worn by the *mago* (peasant) as an overcoat’, a meaning also recorded in the *DDEC* and the *DHEC*. The *DC*, the *DBC* and the *DHEHC* include it but only with the meaning of ‘a type of fish’. This does not appear in the *DRAE*, which does give a meaning related to the first, that of ‘a loose garment used by country people to wrap themselves up, and in some provinces it is considered part of the local costume and is worn in all seasons’.

9. MANTILLA: “It was while here that we first saw women wearing the white mantillas that are the only remaining vestige of local custome[.]” (D’Este 1909: 200)

The *SOEDHP* lists this word from the beginning of the 18th century. It is a very frequent Canarianism in the texts, from which derivatives (*mantillaed*) and compounds (*mantilla-clad*) are formed. Although it does not appear in the *DC*, the *DBC* or in the *DHCHC*, the *DDEC* and the *DEC* list it in the phrase *mantilla canaria*. This last source defines it as ‘fine woven cloth formerly used by women to cover their head and shoulders, which is still used today in certain functions and ceremonies such as the processions of Holy Week’. We believe that the fact that the word *mantilla* is not qualified by the adjective *Canarian* in the texts does not detract from its being considered as a Canarianism, given the general tendency in colloquial speech to economise on words, because it is evident that the authors were referring to the Canarian *mantilla* in particular and which, logically was the one they saw in the context of the Islands.

10. MÉDAÑO/MÉDANO: “It is only in this one place that the medaños cross the road.” (Stone 1887: 308)

Listed as appearing in the second half of the 19th century, the word is defined by the *SOEDHP* as a moving dune caused by the action of the wind, a meaning also picked up by the *DEC*. Stone (1887) spells it as *medaño*, a form which the *DHEC* also lists as a variant. It does not appear in the other lexicographical sources consulted.

11. ORCHILLA: “Upon the rocks on the sea-coast grows a great quantity of orchilla-weeds, an ingredient used in dying[.]” (Stone 1887: 291)

Although it indicates the Spanish provenance of this word, which dates from the beginning of the 18th century and is recognised as a Canarianism by the *DEC*, the *SOEDHP* comments on its unknown origin. It refers to the lichen that grows on the steep rocks and crags by the sea and from which a purple dye is obtained. The *DHEC* also states that this word appears for a second time in an English text of 1591, published in London by Richard Percyvall with the title *Bibliotheca Hispanica, containing a Grammar with a dictionary in Spanish, English and Latine* [sic], which defines it as “a certaine herbe comming from the Canaries”. This source shows the existence of the variant *urchilla*, appearing in many American lists (Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela), and adds: “The English language sources mention repeatedly that it comes from the Canaries and also from the Cape Verde Islands”. The two variants are listed by the *DRAE*.

12. PAPAYA: “[T]he papayos (Paw-paw of India) with its fruit in appearance resembling a melon, growing high up its slender stem.” (Latimer 1888: 260)

The *SOEDHP* lists the word *papaya*, which dates from the end of the 16th century and comes from Spanish and from Portuguese (ultimately from the Taino *papaia*). It gives two meanings, one for the fruit and the other for the tree. Although according to the *DRAE* the name of the tree is *papayo*, *papayero* is in fact the usual name given to the tree in the Canaries, where the masculine form *papayo* and the feminine *papaya* distinguish two varieties of the same fruit with different sizes and tastes. It is the second form, *papaya*, which appears as a Canarianism both in the *DEC* and the *DHEC*, while the *DHEC*, the *DC* and the *DBC* give *papayo*, the *DDEC* listing both. Given the apparent difficulty for English speakers in distinguishing the masculine and feminine forms, we have regarded *papaya*, given by the *SOEDHP*, and the masculine plural *papayos*, given by Latimer, as equivalents.

13. PINTADERA: “But the most valuable collection is that of the seals or pintaderas.” (Foreign Official 1897: 83)

This noun, used in English from the end of the 19th century, is given in the *SOEDHP* with two meanings, the first coincides with the one given by the *DRAE*: ‘an instrument used to decorate with certain designs the upper surface of bread or other things’; while the second meaning is closer to the meaning it has in the Canaries: ‘a clay seal with geometric patterns used by the aborigines of Gran Canaria’. In this latter sense, the *SOEDHP* describes it as a small seal for decorating, which was used in the neolithic cultures of the Mediterranean and America. It is a Canarianism given in the lists consulted.

By chance we came across this word (used with a question mark) in the title of a scientific article published by the Scottish archaeologist John Abercromby (1841–1924), known for his works on the Canaries: “A Neolithic ‘Pintadera’ (?) from Derbyshire”, published in *Man* magazine in 1906 (vol. 6, pp. 69–71).

14. PUCHERO: “[T]he shopkeeper, who was eating his supper, a plate of puchero, at once offering us some.” (Stone 1897: 39–40)

According to the *SOEDHP*, *puchero* dates from the 19th century and has two meanings, the casserole dish itself and the stew of meat and vegetables which is prepared in it. The latter meaning (‘food’) is the one given by the *DEC*. It also appears in the lists of the *DHEC*, the *DHEHC*, the *DC*, the *DBC* and the *DDEC*. This last dictionary states that the *DRAE-92* also gives the word *puchero* with a similar meaning, ‘a kind of stew, similar to Spanish stew’. The online *DRAE* includes this meaning together with another three, one of them being the sense of dish included in the *SOEDHP*. The *DHEHC* points out the equivalence of the term with the *potaje de viudas* (bean stew) of other regions like Granada.

15. RETAMA: “Nor must I forget the scarlet poppies among the vines, and the bushes of yellow retama which sweetened the air”. (Edwardes 1888: 352)

The *SOEDHP* lists this word as coming from Spanish, ultimately from the Arabic *ratam(a)*. It is used often in the texts and dates from the mid-19th century, meaning a type of bush peculiar to the Canaries, different from the type of broom (known in the Canaries as Spanish broom) which designates the same term in standard Spanish, according to the *DHEC*. It is recorded by the *DEC* and the *DDEC*, while the *DC*, the *DBC* and the *DHEHC* do not include it in their lists.

16. TOSTÓN: “A boy to look after the horse may, however, take the place of a man for a *tostón*, or a shilling a day instead of two dollars.” (Edwardes 1888: 364)

This noun, which dates from the end of the 19th century, denotes a silver coin in use in several Latin-American countries and also in the Canaries. In 1884, when Stone visited the Islands, it was worth about 7 shillings (Stone 1887: 69). The *DRAE* seems to recognise indirectly that it is a Canarianism when it lists the following as a fourth meaning: ‘In the Canaries, a coin used with a value equal to the *peseta columnaria*’, a meaning which appears in the *DRAE-70*, according to the *DDEC*, which also mentions its use in Mexico and New Granada. However, the *DHEC* says that the above mentioned definition appeared for the first time in the 1984 edition of the *DRAE* and takes from Manuel Lobo the date of 1520 for the use of this coin in the Archipelago, at first in the hands of the Portuguese settlers until it became legal tender. Besides the *DC*, all the lexicological sources consulted, including Maffiotte, list this word.

17. TRAPICHE: “[T]o Tamaraceite [...] where a small sugar mill (*trapiche*) is to be seen.” (Brown 1910: m13)

The *SOEDHP* attributes the origin of this word from the middle of the 17th century to American Spanish. The *DEC* identifies it as a Canarianism used to denote the ‘mill powered by draught animals, to grind sugar cane and obtain sugar’, which was produced in the Islands from 1540. The *DDEC* notes the similarity of meaning given in the *DRAE-92*, as ‘a mill used for extracting the juice of some crops, such as olives or sugar cane’. However, this source adds that this meaning “appears only in documents connected to the cultivation of sugar cane and the sugar industry in the Archipelago”. The *DHEC* lists the use of this word in other Spanish-American territories such as Cuba, Mexico, Central America, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay, whereas “in Argentina and Chile it refers to a type of mill for crushing minerals” (although the online *DRAE* states that it is in Bolivia and Chile that this last meaning is used).

The other lexicographical sources do not list this Canarianism.

18. VENTA: “Elsewhere, however, the hotels and *ventas* of the country are Spanish to the backbone.” (Edwardes 1888: 362)

“[W]hen we came to the next venta, he went inside and bringing out a glass of red wine[.]” (D’Este 1909: 204).

The *SOEDHP* lists this word as from the beginning of the 17th century, with the meaning of lodging-house, boarding-house, a meaning also listed by the online *DRAE*: ‘a house established on the highroads or in the open countryside to shelter travellers’. In the Canaries, however, it means ‘a small establishment where food can be bought’ (Corbella 1991: 145), and ‘sometimes even alcoholic drinks’, as is stated by the *DHEC*. The *DHEC* notes that the same meaning is also known in America, in particular the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Venezuela and Chile. In the texts under study, we have established that the word is used in both these senses, as is shown in the two examples above. Barker (1917: 84) also uses the diminutive *ventita*.

Venta is a Canarianism listed by all the sources we have consulted, including Maffiotte. Although the meaning given by the *SOEDHP* does not coincide exactly with the meaning of the term as a Canarianism, we have decided to include it because we feel that its use in the texts with this and the other meaning supports our theory that English writing on the Canaries contributed to the diffusion of certain words, regardless of the different nuances of meaning that they might have.

The word *folía* is a special case. The *SOEDHP* gives the origin of this Canarianism as Portuguese (end of the 17th century). It notes that its meaning is a song and a dance which are very popular in the Islands, the first meaning which the *DRAE* also gives, including in the fourth place the meaning of ‘a very loud Portuguese dance with many participants’. The *DEC* also gives its origin as Portuguese but via mainland Spanish.

The guide of the *Foreign Official* (1897: 158-59) also underlines the Canarian origin when it says: "... the *Folía* is eminently Canarian and has no similitude with any national or foreign dance. [...] One can almost trace the *Folía* to the Guanches..."

Other Canarianisms used in the texts of the corpus are *chochos*, *campo*, *corona* and *majo*. All these words appear in the *SOEDHP*, but with other unconnected meanings and, in the case of *chocho*, another origin. Moreover, the following Canarianisms used in the texts (given in the *DEC* and other lexicographical sources) do not appear in the *SOEDHP*. They are listed here in alphabetical order:

barranquillo, *bobería*, *bobo*, *botana*, (*antiguos*) *canario-s*, *calado*, *capirote*, *cardón*, *cumbre-s*, *cherne*, *codeso*, *Conejeros*, *cuarto*,⁴ *cumbres*, *fanegada*, *faycán*, *frangollo*, *gallos ingleses*, *gánigo*, *gofio*, *harimaguadas*, *Herreño*, *higo chumbo*, *isleño*, *lanza*, *lucha*, *madre*,⁵ *magado*, *Majoreros*, *mata*, *medianero*, *mi niña*, *millo*, *mocán*, *negra*,⁶ *oreja de burro*, *palo blanco*, *patilla*, *pico de paloma*, *piedra viva*, *plátano*, *sama*, *silla inglesa*, *tabaiba dulce*, *tasarte*, *tiempo de abajo*, *tunera*, *vaca*, *viñátigo*, *yerba de vidrio*.⁷

4.1.2. Other Hispanicisms used in the texts

Here we shall mention, first of all, other Hispanicisms which appear in the works of the corpus and which also appear in the *SOEDHP*. In this group we shall find some terms such as *alforjas*, *alpaca*, *arriero*, *batata*, *bonito*,⁸ *capa*, *corona*, *inglés*, *junta*, *muchachos*, *mulato*, *paseo*, *patio*, *pico* and *sereno*, all of which are listed in the *DEC* because they are used with a different meaning in the Islands and therefore qualify as Canarianisms. Nevertheless, because this is not the case in the texts, where they are used in their general sense, we include them here together with other Hispanicisms. They are the following:

adiós, *alameda*, *alcalde*, *alforjas*, *alpaca*, *Armada*, *arriero*, *azotea*, *bacalao*, *bandurria*, *barranco*, *barrio*, *batata*,⁹ *bodega*, *bonito*, *brasero*, *caballero*, *capa*, *caramba*, *carretera*, *céntimo*, *cigarrillo*, *conquistador*, *cordillera*, *corona*, *corral*, *dueña*, *faja*, *fiesta*, *finca*, *fonda*, *garbanzo*, *garrote*, *guardia civil*, *infanta*, *infante*, *inglés*, *junta*, *manto*, *manzanilla*, *mañana*, *Marquesa*, *mero*, *muchachos*, *mulato*,¹⁰ *paseo*, *paso-s*, *patio*, *peseta*, *Pico*,¹¹ *plaza*, *posada*, *pueblo*, *quinta*, *sala*, *Semana Santa*, *señor-a*, *sereno*, *siroco*, *sombrero*, *tartana*, *tertulia*, *toreador*, *tortilla*, *vara*, *victoria*, *vino*, *yerba*.

We have not included here some words frequently used in Spanish, which are listed in the *SOEDHP* but with another origin (Latin, Greek, Italian or French) and/or meaning. This is the case of *aire*, *aloe*, *altar*, *aroma*, *ama*, *Ave María*, *casino*, *exvotos*, *faro*, *fresco*, *hoy*, *lava*, *médico*, *nave*, *panorama*, *pórtico*, *triste*, *vista*, *viva* and *vuelta*. Possibly the authors learned and used them because of their contact with Canarian Spanish.

Finally we shall list the Hispanicisms and Spanish expressions from the corpus not listed in the *SOEDHP*. Among them we include some which are mixed, containing a

word or words which do appear in isolation in the *SOEDHP* (some, as already mentioned, with a different origin). These are marked in bold type:

*A su disposición de Vd., acequia, acequero, **Adiós Señor Capitán**, aguacate,¹² álamos, albarda, almud, almuerzo, almorzando, ama, amo, aprobado, Aquí imposible, (Presidente de la) Audiencia, **Ave María** (Santísima), ayuntamiento, baños minerales, barriendo, bendecido, beneficiado, bizcochado, bizcocho, bordados a mano, brisa, buen camino, buen negocio, buen viaje, “Buena,¹³ **señor**”, buenas tardes, bueno, buenos días, cabra, caldo, calle, cállese, calzones largos, camino real, **Campo Santo**, cantería, caoba, capilla mayor, **capitán** general, cárcel, carne de vaca con patatas, carro, casa (de huéspedes), castillo, católico, cazadores, **cédula** personal, cementerio, cepas, chinches, ciudad, coche, cochino, cohete, colegio, colonia agrícola, comandante, comedor, convendría, coro, correísta, correo, cortejo, cosa de risa, costumbre (del país), cristianos, (el señor) cura, demonio, despacio, día de **fiesta**, el desdichado, el hombre tan fino, el infierno, el inglés, el libro perseguido, (el **señor**) **médico**, el muerto, empleados, entero, ermita, escobón, **estancia** de los Ingleses, expósitos, falso, faro, feliz viaje, fielato, fondista, fortaleza, fuego, Gabinete, gallera, gente, golfos, hondo, hoy mismo, iglesia (Católica Apostólica Romana), “Jesús, qué frío!”, **jota** aragonesa, juez municipal, la ciudad, la gloria, la guerra, la **plaza** de la iglesia, la pelota, la pena negra, la Real ciudad, la **señora** inglesa, las palabras del diablo, las Sagradas Escrituras, librería, libros del demonio, libro protestante, libros malos, mal de estómago, malo, más **fresco**, mayordomo, mentira, modorra, montañaeta, moscas, mucha agua, muchísimas gracias, mucho alimento, mucho frío, muelle, mulato, municipio, muy alegre, muy claro, muy malo [sic] camino, muy **simpático**, muy **triste**, “**nada**, hijo, **nadita**”, **negros** oriundos, niña muy **simpática**, niño enfermo, nísperos, “no, **Señora**”, nombrado, Obispo, Obras Públicas, otra cosa, otro día, otro reloj, padre (misionero), pajarillo, **palacio** (militar), paparrucha, parque, parroquia, patronos, pensión, perro, picadura, pobre bestia, pobre choza, pobrecitas, portería, portillo, postigo, pozos, propina, protestante, pulgas, racimo, registro de la propiedad, sacerdote, **sala** civil, **sala** criminal, seminario, (**corridas** de) sortija-s, tantísimas cosas bonitas, tiempo de agua, tiempo muy malo, tilo, torno, traje de **fiesta**, traje del país, tránsito de consumos, tunera, un buen cristiano, un pecado mortal, un pobre por Dios, una casa particular, una perrita, vamos a ver, vender, verdugo, viento, **vino** (del campo), Virgen del Pino, **Viva** la Marina, **Viva** la República, **vuelta**, yunta.*

4.1.3. A brief general analysis

As we have seen, the 18 Hispanicisms listed in the *SOEDHP*, which are also Canarianisms according to the *DEC*, are words which refer to realities of the Islands and lack an exact equivalent in English. We could classify these 18 Canarian Hispanicisms into three semantic groups or general subjects: elements/products of nature (*caldera, barrilla, guano, malpaís, médano, orchilla, papaya, retama*); units of measurement/coinage (*fanega, toston*) and socio-cultural elements – including food and clothing – (*Guanche, malaguena, manta, mantilla, pintadera, puchero, trapiche, venta*). This connects to part of the results of an earlier work (González-Cruz 1995) in which we saw that the semantic or thematic fields, from which the greatest number of Spanish

and Canarian words filtered into the texts by authors who wrote about the Islands, were in this order: the house and other place names, politics and economy, society and culture, nature, food, religion and leisure. They cover, doubtless, those fields where the cultural differences between the two communities in contact with each other were most obvious.

It is clear that, on many occasions, the authors seem to prefer the local term either because it is closely linked to particularly Canarian cultural elements or concepts, and do not have an exact equivalent in English, or because the elements or concepts they denoted were up until that time unknown to English speakers. This made their use in the texts almost obligatory. This is the case of words for currency (*cuarto, peseta, half-peseta, toston-es*), a different system of measurement (*almud, fanega, fanegada, gánigo*), elements of the geological and biological nature of the Islands (*caldera, siroco*), religious expressions and concepts (*Paso-s*) and exclamations such as *Ave Maria* and *Santissima*, widely used in the Islands, as well as words denoting cultural elements in the strict sense (*Guanche, torno, corridas de sortija, mantilla, tertulia*). Many of these terms are connected with the particular daily habits of the Islanders, with their gastronomy, full of dishes and fruit, vegetables and fish up until then unknown to the English (*aguacate, papayos, gofio, cherne, papaya, puchero*); and a home-produced drink, *vino del campo*, that is to say, not an outstanding wine but one that is bottled in the locality. There were different types of dwelling with very particular elements not present in British architecture: *azotea, patio, postigo, sala* –meaning the typical room which is not in daily use and is only opened to receive elegant visitors.

We do not deny that in some cases the intention of the authors was to give local colour to their descriptions, although, in reality, it is difficult to know behind every individual word.

Finally, it is worth noting that many of the Spanish words used in the texts surprise us because they could have been replaced quite easily by English words. In addition to the many Hispanicisms listed above, this is also true when we read *the campo people, the islenos, the comedor, the cura, the alcalde, the pulgas, the señora of the fonda*, etc. We feel that all these examples also help to reveal the level of socio-cultural and linguistic exchange produced by Anglo-Canarian coexistence.

5. Conclusions

In this article we have reviewed the importance of Hispanicisms in the shaping of the English language and also in the vitality of Hispanic studies, both in the past and today. Concerning the relevance of the Anglo-Canarian relations and their effects in different fields, we have highlighted how the popularity of the many writings in English on the Islands could have contributed to the penetration and diffusion of the Hispanicisms used in them, among which there are several Canarianisms. In fact, we have found that 18 of these words of Spanish origin used in the texts of the corpus and listed in the *SOEDHP* are also listed as Canarianisms in the *DEC* and, in many cases, in other island

lexicographical lists. This seems to show that the English works on the Canaries constitute a modest, but nonetheless interesting contribution to English Hispanicisms.

Notes

1. Cf. *Henry IV, The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Twelfth Night*.
2. We refer to *Glosario de canarismos. Voces, frases y acepciones usuales de las Islas Canarias* by Juan Maffiotte. It is a manuscript which is kept in *El Museo Canario*. It was always known about and used by those studying the vocabulary of the Canaries, although it did not appear in print until 1993, in an edition by Corrales and Corbella, which is the one we have consulted. There is, however, an earlier document by José Agustín Álvarez Rixo, called *Voces, frases y proverbios [sic] provinciales de nuestras Yslas Canarias con sus derivaciones, significados y aplicaciones*. It is a manuscript from about 1868, owned by his heirs in Puerto de la Cruz (Tenerife), and of which a copy was made in 1880 by Agustín Millares Torres in the library of *El Museo Canario*.
3. These works will be referred to hereafter as *DC*, *DDEC*, *DHEC*, *DHEHC*, *DEC* and *DBC* respectively.
4. The *SOEDHP* gives *quarto*, whose meaning is different.
5. The word *madre* appears in the *SOEDHP* as a Hispanicism from the beginning of the 19th century, but with its general meaning and, above all, for its use in exclamations like *¡Madre mía!* As a Canarianism it can have several meanings, but in the texts it is used to mean the seed from which the new plant grows, specifically the cochineal.
6. Both the *DEC* and other dictionaries list this word, but with different meanings from that used by Stone (1887: 30), which refers to a type of cochineal and not to a variety of fig tree, fish or “*papa*” (a Canarianism for “potato”) peculiar to the Islands. The *SOEDHP* lists *negro*.
7. The *SOEDHP* gives the Hispanicism *yerba*, but with its general meaning of “herb” and as part of the expressions *yerba mate*, *yerba buena* and *yerba santa*.
8. The case of *bonito* is curious. The *SOEDHP* gives it as a noun to describe a type of fish, which is precisely the meaning given to it by the *DEC* as a Canarianism. However, it only appears in one of the texts as an adjective.
9. The *DEC* gives *batata* as a Canarianism when it is used with meanings other than the one of “edible root vegetable” and in many expressions such as *batata amarilla*, *batata blanca*, *batata canaria* etc.
10. In the same way as we included *barrilla*, we include *mulato*, in spite of the small spelling difference (*mulatto*, in English). Thus also with *sirocco*.
11. The appearance of the word *Pico* is interesting. According to the *SOEDHP* it means ‘a conical shaped mountain’ but with special reference to the Pico de Tenerife, that is to say, the Teide. It has been used in English since the end of the 16th century.
12. The word *aguacate* is not listed in the *SOEDHP* in this form but as *avocado*, a word used both as a noun and an adjective, because of an alteration from the Spanish word *abogado*. The *SOEDHP* regards it as a word of Spanish origin – derived from the original *aguacatl* in the Nahuatl language. It has been used in English since the mid-17th century.
13. In this, as in many other cases, the author reflects in the transcription of the greeting “Buenas” the Canarian pronunciation, which tends to aspirate the final *-s*.

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