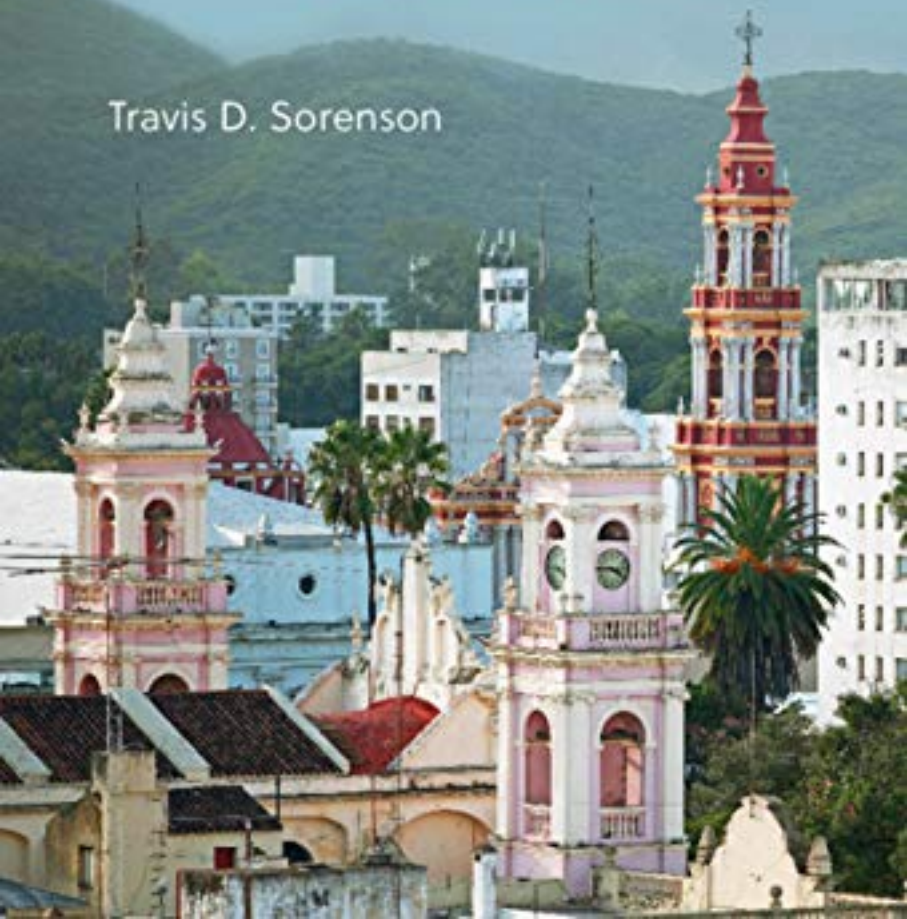


The Dialects of **Spanish**

A Lexical Introduction

Travis D. Sorenson



The Dialects of Spanish

Spanish is one of the most widely-spoken languages in the world, and there is extensive lexical variation between its numerous dialects. This book, the first of its kind, focuses uniquely on the origin, diversity, and geographic distribution of portions of the lexicon. The hundreds of words analysed – related to food, clothing, vehicles, and certain miscellaneous items – provide a representative study not only of the many etymological routes by which they have entered the Spanish language over time, but of the considerable diatopic variety which they display across the different Spanish-speaking nations and regions. Representative maps are provided to illustrate several instances of these astounding dialectal differences. This variation is also discussed in terms of its evident link to the historical developments of Spanish. Providing a compelling overview of lexical variety in the Spanish-speaking world, this book will interest anyone who wants to delve into the richness of this fascinating language.

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This book is dedicated to the students who first helped inspire me to write it: NeAmber, Taylor, Danielle, Carrie, Charlene, and Kaylyn

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Preface

As I set out to design a college course on Spanish dialectology some years ago, I soon discovered that while there existed several adequate sources on the diversity of phonological and morphosyntactic traits, such ready-made materials on word variation were not as readily available, a somewhat ironic situation given the fact that a language's lexicon is its least stable system and thus prone to the greatest change, including in the adoption of dialectally unique vocabulary. Multiple renowned linguists, for instance, have described the *distinción* present in the pronunciation of speakers in north-central Spain vis-à-vis the *seseo* (or even *ceceo*) heard in Andalucía, the Canary Islands, and Latin America; or the tendency for syllable- and word-final /s/ aspiration and elision in the Caribbean and other coastal areas of the Americas versus general retention in the highlands; or the *zeísmo/feísmo* of River Plate Spanish. But what about the where and why of different words for 'corn' or 'green beans' or 'mushrooms' between countries such as Spain, Mexico, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Argentina? Similarly, sources abound containing thorough explanations of the historical background and current state, on both sides of the Atlantic, of the *tuteo/voseo* and *ustedes/vosotros* address-form dichotomies; the use of *-ito*, *-ico*, *-illo* and other diminutive suffixes; and instances of word-order flexibility such as the Caribbean *¿Qué tú quieres?* But where can one read not only of the origins but also the modern isoglosses for the Spanish equivalents of 'skirt' or 'blanket' or 'bus' in Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Colombia, and Chile? Although a considerable amount of this information can be found loosely across highly disparate sources, a systematic, one-stop reference has not existed heretofore, a gap addressed by this book.

Of course the aforementioned gap can only be partially filled by any one book, due to the obvious immensity of the Spanish language's lexical inventory. The question then becomes, what types of words should be a priority for inclusion? The logical answer is to focus on some of the most common categories of words that also display some of the greatest variation from one end of the language's geographic domain to the other. This has been done through a sixty-eight-item survey completed by respondents from the following twenty-one predominantly

Spanish-speaking territories: mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay.¹ Although at least ten surveys were gathered for each of these locales, in some cases the number was notably higher.² This was particularly important in the largest, most populous countries, such as Mexico, Spain, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Argentina, in order to determine, when possible, not only inter- but intra-national variation in the lexicon. While survey responses were sought from adult speakers continuing to live in the above-mentioned areas, this was not possible in Cuba, where, despite the recent, gradual opening of US travel to the island, contacts for purposes of research continue to be elusive. In this instance, therefore, respondents were sought from among Cubans in the United States who had spent the majority of their lives in their native country before emigrating, with a focus on the most recent arrivals. Furthermore, to ensure the integrity of their answers, a response was not considered valid if not given by at least two respondents, a standard applied to all countries.

A final pair of questions to be answered is for whom this book was written and how it might be utilized. The most evident answer is that it may be used as a text by instructors of Spanish dialectology courses of the type that first inspired it, at both the undergraduate and graduate level, as well as in more general, introductory courses on Spanish linguistics. Its scope, however, is more multifaceted. It may also serve as a dictionary of common but widely varying vocabulary for students traveling abroad, or for individuals journeying internationally for commerce or tourism. It may come in handy as a glossary for journalists, translators, and those who dub or subtitle movies with the aim of achieving an appropriate level of localization when their target audience belongs to a particular dialect. Finally, it may simply be of interest to those who are naturally curious about diatopic lexical variation, be they second-language learners of Spanish or those for whom it is their native tongue. Members of this latter population are often unaware of much of the vocabulary employed in varieties beyond their own, such as the ignorance of a speaker in Spain regarding relevant terminology in Mexico and vice versa. This and

¹ For ease and consistency of treatment, these twenty-one different territories are called “countries” or “nations” throughout the remainder of the book. This is despite the fact that Puerto Rico is in actuality a US protectorate and that the Canary Islands, while located off the coast of West Africa some 800 miles southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, are part of Spain. As many, perhaps even a majority, of the participants did not speak English, responses were solicited by presenting a photographic image of each of the items in the survey. Since no Spanish terms were listed as options on the survey, any mention in the data analysis of informants ‘choosing’ or ‘selecting’ terms is simply an alternative way of indicating that they responded to an image by offering a word or words from their personal lexical inventories.

² The total number of respondents from all twenty-one territories was 319.

similar cases represent a pan-Hispanic twist on the famous quip, variously attributed to George Bernard Shaw and Oscar Wilde, that “England and America are two countries separated by a common language,” though of course there is considerable variety between the different Spanish-speaking American nations themselves.

Introduction

¿Cómo se dice? This is a query heard hundreds, perhaps thousands of times over the career of a Spanish instructor. If the word being sought is a universally employed one, like ‘house’ or ‘dog’ or ‘bread,’ the task of replying is straightforward. What should the answer be, however, if it varies according to regional dialect and thus can have more than one, often several, iterations? This can occur particularly when the topic is food. If a student wants to know *cómo se dice* ‘popcorn,’ do we respond with the default term *palomitas*, which is used throughout most of Spain, Mexico, and Central America, though not to the absolute exclusion of other words? Or, do we offer up *cotufas*, the most common version in Venezuela, or Cuba’s *rositas*, or Colombia’s *crispetas*, or Ecuador’s *canguil*? What about a variant based on an indigenous tongue, such as Paraguay’s Guaraní-derived *pororó*? In Argentina, the most common form is *pochoclo*, which combines the Guaraní term with *choclo*, the Quechuan name for ‘corn.’ The choice of which word to use may well depend on the background of the instructor, or perhaps on any textbooks or dictionaries utilized in the class. For example, among a list of food items in *Nexos* (Long et al. 2016), an introductory Spanish grammar text, the only word given for ‘pea’ is *guisante*, the most common term in Spain. This modest green legume, however, goes by a variety of names, including *chicharo* in Mexico, *arveja* in Argentina, and, in many Central American and Caribbean countries, a Hispanicized version of the French *petit pois*: *petipúa* or *petipoa*. Some words have so many variations that textbooks may understandably avoid an attempt to list them all, opting instead to feature items with only one or two universally accepted equivalents, such as ‘carrot’ *zanahoria*, ‘lettuce’ *lechuga*, ‘apple’ *manzana*, ‘orange’ *naranja*, ‘grape’ *uva*, or peach *durazno/melocotón*.

It is important to note here that the words considered in this book, like the examples in the previous paragraph, are not variants of other words due to a difference of register. They are not the result of subgroup jargon. They are not informal. They are not colloquial. They are not slang. The class of words explored, rather, are those akin to the multiplicity of formal names described above for ‘popcorn,’ an item not denoted in Spanish by one, universal term. It is for this reason that a study of this type of lexical variation depends much more

on geography than social factors. If one is studying phonological traits, such as intervocalic /d/ elision, or morphosyntactic characteristics such as *voseo* vs. *tuteo* usage in regions where both exist, or even the type of slang vocabulary already mentioned, the consideration of social variables such as age, gender, educational attainment, and class are crucial, as they can lead to significant levels of variation. If, however, we consider formal terms to denote the ‘drinking straw,’ one can observe that Mexicans use *popote* almost universally, from lower-class young men to well-to-do older women, as is the case with Guatemalans’ *pajilla*, Panamanians’ *carrizo*, and Puerto Ricans’ *sorbeto*. It is for this reason that the social factors mentioned have not largely been considered in terms of either the makeup of the survey participants in each country or in the analysis of the resulting data.¹ In the few cases when informants explained, of their own volition, that a certain word is now only used mostly by older speakers, or among the lower classes, or as a low-register alternative to a more formal word, these exceptions have been noted but are merely peripheral to the larger question of dialectal variation based on geography.

However, even when one accounts only for geographical considerations, there exists no one agreed-upon way to divide the Spanish-speaking world for dialectal analysis. On the eastern side of the Atlantic, Pharies (2007) proposes three general dialects: north-central Spain, Andalusia, and the Canary Islands (190–202). In the Americas, he suggests four such areas: the River Plate region, the Andean countries, the greater Caribbean, and Mexico and the southeastern United States (211). While some linguists for certain traits incorporate Paraguay into a greater River Plate region, Pharies does not, leaving this country unaccounted for altogether. His delineation also excludes El Salvador, a Central American nation without a Caribbean coastline. Hualde et al. (2010), while treating the Spanish of mainland Spain and the Canary Islands essentially the same as does Pharies, apportion the American domains into a more comprehensive and representative set of seven dialect zones: a *porteño* region, including not only Argentina but also Uruguay; Paraguay; Chile; the remainder of the Andean nations; Central America; the Caribbean; and Mexico (407). In his book *Latin American Spanish* (1994), Lipski affords each of the American nations where the language is dominant its own chapter, a treatment akin to classifying each country as its own variety, though he does not fail to account for common traits across borders suggestive of larger

¹ In order to obtain survey responses, the author contacted acquaintances in several countries to request their collaboration, as well as that of any interested friends or family, via an online tool. He also invited peers and their students in academic institutions to participate. These factors – as well as the technical ability needed to complete the survey, which is indicative of certain levels of literacy and cultural sophistication – point to a general academic level among the informants that ranges from having finished high school to completing graduate work, all of which would tend to correlate to at least a middle-class average.

dialectal areas. Such a country-by-country assessment can be particularly advantageous in the lexical realm, as vocabulary is often more apt to be confined within the borders of a single country than phonological or morpho-syntactic characteristics. For instance, while Argentina and Uruguay are nearly invariably discussed together regarding the use of *zeísmo/feísmo* and the predominance of *voseo* over *tuteo*, there are several lexemes, often for common objects, which constitute cases of virtual mutual exclusivity between the two countries, as can be seen in many of the entries in this book. This situation, however, in no way precludes a more comprehensive treatment of terms in the narrative section, which, whenever appropriate, takes into account obvious larger dialectal regions of lexical similarity.

Transitioning from the dialectal zones by which the use of Spanish vocabulary may be evaluated to the manner in which these words came to form part of the language in the first place, Pharies (2007) notes that the lexical inventory in question is broadly comprised of three categories of words: (1) popular words (*palabras patrimoniales*) inherited in uninterrupted fashion from Vulgar Latin, (2) new words created within the language itself through processes such as derivation, and (3) loanwords from other languages (not excluding learned words, or *cultismos*, taken from Classical Latin), some which of themselves can in time undergo the processes of new-word creation inherent in the second category (167). Borrowings in Spanish are accounted for in different ways depending on the publication. A common practice has been to list these loanwords based on the language of provenance, the individual terms often then being arranged in alphabetical order. This method is employed by Penny (2002) in discussing the history of the Spanish language. Dworkin (2012), stressing the importance of contact in borrowing, refined this method by ordering the discussion of these source languages according to the general chronological order in which they exercised their influence on the Spanish lexicon. While these approaches are valid and have served the purposes of their authors, a different system is required for the current book, which is not only chiefly dialectal in nature but which – as per the first and second of Pharies' points – also includes both popular words and internally produced neologisms. Although source languages and periods of entry into Spanish are addressed for each word when available, this information plays a supporting role to the main thrust of each entry, which is based on geographical considerations in ways both diachronic and, in the final analysis, synchronic.

To facilitate discussion of the words in this book, each item to which they relate is divided into one of four themes, each of which constitutes a chapter. As food-related vocabulary arguably shows the greatest variation in Spanish, it makes up Chapter 1. However, the variability displayed in connection with food items also occurs to a significant extent in words used for articles of clothing (Chapter 2), for motor vehicles (Chapter 3), and, finally, for a wide

array of miscellaneous items (Chapter 4). While the vocabulary explored in the latter chapter represents but a minuscule tip of the enormous iceberg that is the totality of the Spanish lexicon, the words addressed in the previous three chapters represent a non-negligible percentage of the possibilities in each respective category. There are, after all, only so many things one can eat, wear, or drive.

Although it must be acknowledged that there exist various word atlas projects that seek to identify dialectal terms in the Spanish-speaking world, and which in some instances contain information similar to that found in this book, by definition these studies are limited to a single country or region, and most fail to gauge the relative frequency of competing synonyms within these areas. Others are so ambitious, covering objects and concepts both common and obscure, that many remain long-running efforts that are either yet to be published or whose results are disseminated piecemeal and often narrowly. Also, as the current work has been assembled as a language-wide lexical reference, more broadly based dictionaries must also form a part of the discussion on what might yet be lacking in works of this type. While the Real Academia Española has long maintained and updated its *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DLE) – also known as the DRAE – it has only relatively recently begun to make progress on a new dictionary whose goal, when completed, is to rival, or at least resemble, what is widely considered the greatest lexicographical work in history, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). The DLE lacks some of the most salient features of the OED, principal among them copious amounts of original examples and first known years of usage for each word. While the *Nuevo diccionario histórico del español* (NDHE) aims to replicate these features, the number of finished entries is still most easily counted in the hundreds or perhaps thousands, not tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands.

Some fifty years were required to finish the first A–Z edition of the OED, published nearly a century ago, and while the tools made available by modern computer science will surely facilitate much of the work that will go into the NDHE, its completion, even barring the types of setbacks that have plagued this and other efforts toward a new dictionary in the past, is still surely decades away. Furthermore, even compared to a dictionary the likes of an OED or future NDHE, the present volume contains elements that make it unique. In short, it offers both less and more than other works of reference. One of its strengths, somewhat paradoxically, is precisely the relatively modest number of Spanish words – just over 500 – that it analyzes due to its targeted focus, allowing each lexeme to be richly explored and explained. It is rare for a person to set out to read a dictionary cover to cover, whereas this book has been crafted for precisely that purpose, an element both appealing and necessary in a work whose original and main intent is as a textbook. Additionally, while the OED

and DLE often note the geographical uses and limitations of words, the current tome places these considerations in much greater context, tracing the extension of a term in relation to competing terms across countries and regions, and, when known, revealing how such conditions have changed over time.² Particularly noteworthy cases have been illustrated with maps denoting the relevant iso-glosses of such words.

A final note regards the overall composition of this book, one that again relates to its distinctive nature as a work of reference. While each Spanish term, as well as its English equivalents, may be looked up in alphabetical order in the corresponding indices, the main text of this volume does not read like a dictionary, glossary, or atlas. Not only are the items organized by category and according to the relative quantity of corresponding Spanish terms, but many entries feature brief historio-linguistic treatises designed to be informative as well as inviting, crafted to offer relief from the tedium related to works comprised principally of word lists. In numerous cases these narratives are indispensable in chronicling the emergence and distribution of the lexemes themselves; the story of an object and the words created to denote it can be so intricately linked as to be essentially inseparable. Furthermore, as this book is written in English, advantage is taken of this fact to provide the etymologies of the English terms for the items addressed in much the same way that they are given for their considerably more numerous Spanish counterparts.

² The Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, which includes both the Real Academia Española and the language academies of more than twenty other nations in the Spanish-speaking world, publishes the *Diccionario de americanismos* (DAMER). This work often includes dialectal terms in Spanish that are not found in the DLE and has also been consulted in the writing of this book.

1 Food-Related Items

1.0 Brief Note on the Organization of Chapters 1–4

As this is the first chapter to explore the survey data that constitutes the basis for the book, an explanation is in order regarding how the following chapters are organized. A simple alphabetical listing in English of the items under consideration in each chapter, or of the words employed to denote them in Spanish, is not deemed to be the most profitable approach. The items, rather, will be divided into the following three broad categories according to their relative degrees of lexical diversity in Spanish as per informants' responses:

Category 1: minimal nomenclature variation (2–3 words per item)

Category 2: moderate nomenclature variation (4–6 words per item)

Category 3: extensive nomenclature variation (7+ words per item)

Within each of these categories of frequency, items are arranged either by dialectal distribution, the chief focus of this book, or in terms of subcategory interrelatedness (e.g. the grouping of vegetables when practicable). The manner in which the tally of survey responses for each item is organized at the end of each entry also merits explanation. The default order is alphabetical, by country. This sequence is only altered when a single term has been selected in multiple nations, in which case the countries are grouped together at the top of the list with the word in question, marked as “unanimous.” If a particular word or words have been chosen in only a small number of countries, including as few as one, these terms are placed above in connection with the corresponding nation(s), after which the remaining majority word is listed under “all other countries.”

1.1 Introduction

The study of a language's lexicon, including dialectal factors, necessarily involves an exploration of the trajectory of the language over time. In typical sources on this topic as it pertains to Spanish, geohistorical

considerations affecting its development necessarily focus on the north-to-south spread of Castilian during the *Reconquista* in Spain; followed by the subsequent east-to-west migration of this and other dialects, such as Andalusian, to the Americas; and, finally, the spread and blending of these varieties throughout vast swaths of the Western Hemisphere. The works tend to focus principally on phonological and morphosyntactic changes. Such resources, to the extent that they address the Spanish lexis as a separate category, almost invariably include lists of words acquired from Arabic, Amerindian languages, and other tongues, often in alphabetical order or presented by topic. Often given short shrift, however, are lexical matters that go beyond these word lists, particularly as they relate to dialectology, including words that made the Atlantic journey in reverse. This west-to-east movement of New World-inspired terms to mainland Spain, at times via the Canary Islands, has included the indigenous names of several agricultural commodities. When thinking of the spoils that the *conquistadores* took back to the motherland, it is perhaps more common to visualize the gold, silver, and even *indios* with which they presented the monarchs than it is to appreciate that they also transported edibles, and the native words for them, which were arriving in Europe for the first time: *maíz*, *cacahuete*, *aguacate*, *tomate*, *chile*, etc.

It has long been known that Christopher Columbus was not the first to travel from the Old World to the New. Not only is it widely accepted that Norse explorers made the voyage several hundred years earlier, but non-Europeans had also made contact, and while they did not settle permanently in the hemisphere, at times they came away from the encounter with more than just memories and tales of adventure. The sweet potato, of American origin, was being grown and eaten by native New Zealanders well before 1492 (Crosby 1972: 169–170). It is true, however, that any pre-Columbian mutual influence was minimal at best. In the area of food, for instance, late-fifteenth-century Spaniards and Meso-Americans both had three basic crops that underpinned their diet, with no overlap between the two groups. In Spain, wheat for bread, olives for oil, and grapes for wine held sway (70). Across the ocean, the “alimentary trinity” consisted of corn, squash, and beans (172). The true significance of Columbus’ arrival, then, is that it portended, for the first time, centuries of permanent and intense contact between these starkly contrasting civilizations. This inevitably led to a transatlantic exchange of items unique to each culture, including plants and animals used for food, as well as many of the names employed to describe them, many of which are discussed in the present chapter.

1.2 Food-Related Items with Minimal Nomenclature Variation

Item 1: Potato

If Hernán Cortés and his men did not encounter potatoes as they marched from Veracruz to the heart of the Aztec empire at Tenochtitlán in 1519, it is at least in part because they do not naturally tend to grow well in tropical climates, though with care and persistence successful cultivation is possible under such conditions. The situation of Cortés' somewhat distant cousin Francisco Pizarro was different when he conquered the Incan Empire in 1532. As long as an area's climate is reasonably temperate, with adequate but not overabundant moisture, potatoes are a forgiving crop. They can be grown, even in somewhat poor soil, from sea level to elevations well above 10,000 feet (Crosby 1972: 171). This makes them ideal for the mountains and altiplano of Peru and west-central Bolivia, the region recognized as the home to all varieties of domesticated potato cultivars, including the most common, the *Solanum tuberosum*. This was the species encountered by the Spaniards and introduced to Europe in the second half of the same century (Roberts 2001: 187–191).¹ The first documentation of *papa*, from Quechua, is attested from 1540 in Coromines and Pascual's (1980–1991) *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (DCECH).

Survey respondents in all nineteen American countries, as well as those in the Canary Islands, selected *papa* exclusively to identify the photograph of the tuber in question. Those from mainland Spain were also categorical in their reply: *patata*.² The reasons for the use of this Peninsular variant are complex and not without controversy. The *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DLE) states that the term *patata* is a “*cruce de papa y batata*,” a claim seconded by Roberts (2014b: 320). However, while this assertion is not precluded on linguistic grounds, it is untenable historically. Furthermore, the word-initial /p/ in *papa*, even if it had been available, was not strictly necessary to enable the *batata* > *patata* change to occur; all that was required was a [b] > [p] transition. Such a transformation can transpire due to the influence of a neighboring consonant, an environment that would have obtained when the word was used in plural form together with its corresponding direct article (*las batatas*). In normal, rapid speech, the two words may have melded together, allowing the

¹ The most widely grown North American potato today, the Russet Burbank, introduced in 1902 and originally called the Netted Gem, is a variety of the subspecies *S. tuberosum tuberosum* (Bethke et al. 2014: 594).

² Ballón Aguirre and Cerrón-Palomino (2002) attest to limited *papa* usage in rural parts of southern Spain, including Extremadura, Murcia, and Andalucía (97, 102–103). With regard to the current book, the seventeen survey participants from Spain represented all major regions of the country, though most lived in cities (Barcelona, Zaragoza, A Coruña, Salamanca, Madrid, Granada, Seville, Cadiz, etc.).

word-final voiceless /s/ in *las* to exert its influence on the voiced word-initial /b/ in *batatas*, in the same manner that *Éste es mi esbozo* could easily be taken for *Éste es mi esposo*. The difference between /sb/ and /sp/ is difficult to discern if not intentionally emphasized. Understood enough times as [laspatátas], many speakers – the majority illiterate and thus ignorant of any /<p> orthographic distinction – may have begun to equivocate in their use of these similar-sounding variants.³ Indeed, Ballón Aguirre and Cerrón-Palomino (2002) demonstrate that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *batata* and *patata* were used as alternates of each other even among those who could write, and that, crucially, both forms shared the meaning of ‘sweet potato’ (97). Herein lies the main problem with the DLE’s proposed etymology of *patata*, this one chronological in nature.

It was on his first voyage to the New World, in November of 1492, that Columbus encountered the sweet potato in Cuba, though he incorrectly applied a name to it that was already familiar to him: *ñame* ‘yam.’⁴ Bartolomé de las Casas used the word *batata*, the name most commonly employed by the Caribbean locals, likely speakers of the now-extinct Taíno language (Brücher 1989: 5).⁵ They also referred to it as *axe*; this word, however, soon lost currency in Spanish, where it competed not only with *batata* but also with *camote* (<Náhuatl *camotli*), the name still preferred today in Mexico and Central America (Andión Herrero 2004: 70, DLE). When Columbus returned to the Iberian Peninsula, he took with him this food of various New World names, though the designation that would prevail in Europe is the one that gives the sweet potato its scientific name (*Ipomoea batatas*). In 1516, Italian historian Peter Martyr d’Anghiera reported having eaten “*batatas*” in Spain (Andión Herrero 2004: 5). The OED states that by 1526, *patata* was being used in Spanish as a variant of *batata*, and the CORDE features an example from this same year. Since Pizarro and company would not discover the *Solanum tuberosum* for another half dozen years in Peru, and as it would not be introduced to the Canary Islands until the early 1560s and mainland Europe perhaps a decade or more later (Acquaah 2007: 539), it is clear not only that both *batata* and *patata*

³ A [b] > [p] transition under these circumstances would admittedly be atypical, for at least three reasons. First, the most common modification of plosives in the history of Spanish has been not devoicing but voicing, through lenition: [p] > [b] (L. *scopa* > Sp. *escoba*). Second, it is more common for a preceding phone to be influenced by a following one, a process called anticipatory assimilation ([obtenér] > [optenér]), than for the inverse, or lag assimilation, to occur ([lasbatátas] > [laspatátas]). Third, there is an apparent absence of other cases of [b] > [p] devoicing in the environment proposed here for the creation of *patata* from *batata*.

⁴ Even though the ‘sweet potato’ is often called a ‘yam’ in the United States, the two foods are unrelated: the former is a New World swollen root and the latter is a tuber, most species of which are indigenous to Asia and Africa (Cumó 2015: 347–350).

⁵ Taíno is classified as a member of the Arawakan family, whose languages are thought to have originated in South America and spread to the Caribbean. Many of these languages have died out, including Taíno.

as used in Spain in the first half of the sixteenth century and beyond referred to *Ipomoea batatas*, but that the Quechuan word *papa* had nothing whatsoever to do with the emergence of the form *patata*. This example is fittingly apropos of McWhorter's (2009) words of caution regarding efforts to trace word origins:

[E]tymology is not the most rigorously policed of fields. Much of the basic work was done long ago under different standards of evidence than linguists would admit today; there are a great many holes ("etymology unknown"), and legions of etymologies that, if linguists were moved to seriously examine them today, would fall apart. (47)

The OED reveals that the first known use of 'potatoes' in English came in 1565, when John Hawkins reported taking specimens back to England from his voyage to Florida. This word bore the semantic value of Spanish *batata*, which, like the variant *patata*, still referred to the 'sweet potato.' In 1750, this food was described as having a "sweetish taste," and in the same year it was directly called "sweet potatoe." Such clarifications in references to *Ipomoea batatas* were increasingly needed after more than a century and a half of confusing overlap in which the lexeme 'potato' had also been utilized in one form or another to denote *Solanum tuberosum*. This latter commodity, the 'common potato,' had been introduced to England in the 1590s, though it is unsure if this occurred via continental Europe or independently from the American colonies (Roberts 2001: 190). A clue comes from that fact that in his 1597 work *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes*, John Gerard, who was the first individual known to employ this term in English for *Solanum tuberosum*, wrote of "potatoes of Virginia," or "Virginia potatoes" (OED). Salaman and Burton (1985) note that it is unclear if he meant to imply that they were by then being grown in Virginia, or merely that they had reached England via this region of North American (82). Either way, his choice of words caused 300 years of confusion among historians regarding the point of origin of the common potato, as it obscured its Andean roots (78).

The importance of the English word 'potato' being used as Gerard and others did in the late sixteenth century lies in the fact that this form, with its voiceless /p/, was apparently the first such form in any language to be used for the common and not sweet iteration (OED). It is possible, therefore, that after having received the word *patata* from Spanish, English returned the favor, but with a semantic twist: what had been borrowed as a referent for *Ipomoea batatas* was being returned as a term to denote *Solanum tuberosum*. The latter cultivar had been in mainland Spain for little more than a decade or two, and during that time it appears that the word *papa* had not firmly taken root, perhaps because it was only one of several possibilities.⁶ Ballón Aguirre and Cerrón-Palomino (2002) note that for much of

⁶ The year 1588 as a date for the arrival of the common potato in Spain has often been cited, though as early as 1580 is also a possibility (Salaman and Burton 1985: 142).

the pertinent decades of the sixteenth century, Spaniards in the Americas, and later in Spain itself, had often used two words for the common potato that actually mean ‘truffle’ – *turma* (*de tierra*) and *criadilla* (*de tierra*) – due to the somewhat similar appearance of the New World tuber to the wild fungus long found natively in Spain (63–67). Not all of these terms were likely to survive, and a reasonable argument can be made that the influence of English tipped the balance in favor of *patata* for the common ‘potato,’ the use of which still left *batata* for ‘sweet potato.’ The English word may have also influenced Italian and other languages. In the late sixteenth century, the common potato traveled from Spain to Italy (Salaman and Burton 1985: 142), where it is also called *patata*. Perhaps following the English pattern further, the sweet potato in Italy is *patata dolce*.

All of the above leads to the question of how *papa* and not *patata* came to be the default word for the ‘potato’ in the Canary Islands, which is, after all, part of Spain. The islands were often a layover point for seafaring journeys in both directions between the mother country and the America colonies. New World products often arrived there before being introduced to the Iberian Peninsula. Some products were transported north to the mainland rather promptly, while others took more time. As noted earlier, the common potato may have been in the Canary Islands for well over a decade before it finally reached Europe, including mainland Spain. As a result, its native Quechan name had considerable time to become entrenched in the local lexicon before events elsewhere could lead its speakers to be exposed in any significant way to other variants.

Tally of survey responses for ‘potato’ by country (total of two)

- Spain: *patata* (unanimous)
- All other countries: *papa* (unanimous)

Item 2: Shrimp

The English noun ‘shrimp,’ first attested in the fourteenth century, along with variants such as ‘schrympe,’ ‘shrympe,’ and ‘shrimpis,’ is most likely derived from the Middle High German verb *schrumpfen*, meaning ‘to shrink up’ (OED). Spanish features two words for this creature: *gamba* and *camarón*. The separation of these terms by the Atlantic Ocean in most daily usage is so nearly categorical that the survey respondents from mainland Spain and the Canary Islands chose the former exclusively, while those in all nineteen American countries did likewise with the latter. Just as there is no universally accepted hierarchy of proportions for ‘shrimp’ vis-à-vis ‘prawns’ in the English-speaking world, the species that bear the name *camarón* in Spanish are not de facto smaller

than their *gamba* counterparts.⁷ This does not mean, however, that there are not stubborn misperceptions to that effect. The DLE gives the following definition for *camarón*: “Crustáceo decápodo, macruro, de tres a cuatro centímetros de largo, parecido a una gamba diminuta, de color parduzco y comestible.” This description of a *camarón* as being limited to species scarcely larger than those battered and fried as “popcorn shrimp” in the United States simply does not conform to reality. The DLE definitions for *gamba* and *langostino*, with their categorical language, are equally problematic:

gamba:

Crustáceo semejante al langostino, pero algo menor, y sin los surcos que tiene aquel en el caparazón a uno y otro lado de la quilla mocha. Habita en el Mediterráneo y es comestible.

langostino:

Crustáceo decápodo macruro, marino, de doce a catorce centímetros de largo, patas pequeñas, bordes de las mandíbulas fibrosos, cuerpo comprimido, cola muy prolongada, caparazón poco consistente y de color grisáceo, que cambia en rosa subido por la cocción, y cuya carne es muy apreciada.

With purported lengths of 3–4 cm for the *camarón* and 12–14 cm for the *langostino*, the length range of the *gamba*, which the DLE defines as an intermediate variety in terms of size, would be approximately 5–11 cm. This is not borne out by the available scientific descriptions of what Spaniards themselves call *gambas*. The two Mediterranean species of shrimp most targeted by deep-water Spanish trawlers are *Aristaeomorpha foliacea* (FAO name: *Gamba española*, local name: *gamba roja*) and *Aristeus antennatus* (FAO name: *Gamba rosada*, local name: *gamba rosada*) (Kapuris and Thessalou-Legaki 2009: 1, Holthuis 1980: 8–10).⁸ The first species can grow to nearly 20 cm, while the second can reach lengths of up to 22 cm. What is more, American-fished species of *camarón* not only routinely eclipse the 3–4 cm figure given by the DLE, but in some cases they are larger than Mediterranean *gambas*. One example is the Royal red shrimp, or *Pleoticus robustus* (FAO name: *Camarón rojo real*, local names: *Camarón rojo gigante* in Mexico, *Camarón real rojo* in Cuba). This species, whose habitat extends from Massachusetts to French Guiana, has a maximum length of 20.3 cm, compared to the shorter, mostly Mediterranean-fished *gamba roja* (*Aristaeomorpha foliacea*) already mentioned (19.8 cm) (Holthuis 1980: 4–10). Marine biologist José Antonio González

⁷ Holthuis (1980) argues that while in Britain ‘prawn’ is always used for species larger than those called ‘shrimp,’ the relatively few uses of ‘prawn’ in the United States, while at times certainly meaning large varieties, at other times refer to freshwater species that are smaller than those generally termed as ‘shrimp’ (xv).

⁸ The FAO is the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

(2014), of the Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, confirms that the notion of shrimp nomenclature being based accurately on species size is a myth: “*En España, erróneamente, existe una tendencia generalizada a considerar ‘gamba’ a las especies de tamaño grande y ‘camarón’ a las pequeñas*” (5).⁹ If the true difference, then, between *camarón* and *gamba* is not one of size or other meaningful scientific distinctions, the only remaining explanations for this dialectal difference lie in the realm of historical linguistics and sociolinguistics, particularly lexical shift through borrowing, the post-Columbus spread of Spanish from the Old World to the New, and notions of prestige. The first question that needs to be addressed in relation to these matters is the following: how and when did these two words enter the Spanish language?

The Real Academia Española (RAE) maintains an online version of *El Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE), a database containing some 250 million records captured from the earliest available medieval texts of the language through the year 1974. (The *Corpus de referencia del español actual*, or CREA, likewise features more than 160 million lexical forms collected between 1975 and 2004.) The CORDE serves as the basis for the RAE’s ongoing *Nuevo diccionario histórico* project, the goal of which is an end result akin to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). A search for *camarones* and *gambas* as ‘shrimp’ in the CORDE yielded 294 results for the former term and 184 for the latter.¹⁰ The first appearance of *camarones* is from the year 1280, and this word is found in the corpus 120 times before the first mention of *gambas*, which does not register until more than 600 years later: 1891.¹¹ This

⁹ A reality that must be recognized, however, is that this size-based notion does at times translate into larger specimens of the crustacean in question being sold in Spanish seafood markets as *gambas*, and at a different price than smaller varieties sold under the name *camarones* (Álvarez 2015). This situation, dictated by a specific commercial need, constitutes one of the few instances in which the latter word is used today in the Iberian Peninsula. However, these same *camarones*, if not compared to larger types, would surely be referred to with the default term *gambas* by the average Spaniard or Canary Islander.

¹⁰ The plural form was used as it yielded both more and earlier results in each case. In connection to the many other CORDE results given in this book, not only were plural forms sought out and compared to singular iterations, but the search feature of this database is also sensitive to uppercase and lowercase distinctions, and alternative historical spellings must likewise be taken into account. For instance, to find the initially recorded use of the word *caja*, the following forms would also need to be searched: *cajas*, *Caja*, *Cajas*, *caxa*, *caxas*, *Caxa*, *Caxas*. Some of these details, particularly those related to pluralization and capitalization, are often not explicitly noted in the cases featured in the present book.

¹¹ The first documented case of an iteration of *camarón* actually came nearly two centuries earlier than the 1280 instance of *camarones* cited above. A botanical glossary in Mozarabic dating to approximately 1100 features the word as *qamarín* (DCECH). Mozarabic, or *mozárabe*, was the Romance dialect spoken by Andalusian Christians after the Muslim occupation. It was a continuation of the Latin spoken under the Roman Empire, though it was subject to pressures in all its linguistic systems by the more prestigious, or superstrate, Arabic (Dworkin 2012: 87). It ceased to be spoken when it was replaced by the Castilian dialect upon completion of the *Reconquista*.

and all subsequent cases of *gambas* are from Spain. This also occurs with the first thirty-six recorded instances of *camarones*, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, after which American uses begin to appear. The first New World documentation of *camarones* is from Mexico, in 1576.

Given the geographic and chronological disparities in the uses of *camarón* and *gamba*, the next question that needs attention regards the origin of these words. The following are two dictionary etymologies for *gamba*:

gamba¹

Del cat. *gamba*, este del lat. tardío *gambārus*, var. del lat. *cammarus* ‘camarón,’ y este del gr. κάμματος *kámmaros* ‘langosta’. (DLE)

gamba (2)

f. a Mediter. prawn. [Cat. *gamba*: id. <LL. *cambarus*, var. of L. *cammarus*: crayfish <Gk. *kammaros*: lobster. (Roberts 2014a: 749)

Both sources agree in general terms, including on the word’s Greek origins, its passage through stages of Latin, and its adoption from Catalan. Its connection to the latter language is bolstered by the fact that both it and Spanish have historically shared not only *gamba*, but the variant *gambeta*, used for small varieties of the crustacean.¹² The most significant discrepancy in these etymologies lies in the timing of the word-initial voicing, which Robert’s indicates occurred in Catalan, whereas the DLE places it earlier, in Late Latin. While it is commonly held that the voiceless Latin plosives /p, t, k/ were invariably realized as [p, t, k], Cravens (2002) explores the possibility of allophonic [b, d, g] intervocalically in colloquial speech that predates any of the Romance varieties (40).¹³ More crucially, Borrelli (2002) notes that “the tendency to voice word-initial velars was present even in vulgar Latin” (59). The two examples she gives are *cattus* as *gattus* ‘cat’ and *cammarus* as *gammarus* ‘crab, lobster.’ This latter rendition, then, is close to the DLE’s offering of *gambārus*. The principal difference is one that, again, is most often depicted by post-Latin developments that may have begun to emerge earlier in certain environments and dialects: /mm/ to /mb/. This first entails the simplification of the geminate /mm/, a transition akin to the one seen in the Latin to Spanish development of *flamma* > *llama*: /flámma/ > /jáma/. Then, under the influence of one bilabial phoneme there arises another by way of epenthesis: /m/ > /mb/, as in *homine* (ablative of nominative *homo*) /hómine/ > /ómne/ > */ómre/ >

¹² The DCECH notes *gambetas* in Spanish from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it can be seen in Valencia still today in dishes such as *gambetas amb bleda* ‘shrimp with chard’ (Capel 2014).

¹³ The morphemic voicing of these plosives in intervocalic position is one of the most constant and predictable sound changes from Latin to Western Romance languages (Smith 2016: 300). Craven’s (2002) examples of potential allophonic voicing in Latin include the given name *Ablonius* from *Aplonius* (date unknown), *tridicum* from *triticum* ‘wheat’ (before 79 AD), and *sagerdotis* from *sacerdotis*, the genitive of ‘priest’ (c. 219 AD) (47–49).

/ómbre/ (Pharies 2007: 92).¹⁴ While it is true that this process is most prone to occurring when /m/ precedes a consonant, such as the liquids /r/ and /l/, strengthening the case for the development of this /mb/ cluster in words related to *cammarus* is the DCECH's documentation of the Asturian variant *cambarón*, from 1720.¹⁵ Often surprised earlier to find that *camarón* and *gamba* were synonyms for 'shrimp,' it will now begin to dawn on perceptive speakers of Spanish, to their even greater astonishment, that the two names in fact come from the same root.¹⁶ To better envision this, below are Roberts' (Roberts 2014a) entries for *gamba* and *camarón*:

gamba (2)

f. a Mediter. prawn. [Cat. *gamba*: id. <LL. *cambarus*, var. of L. *cammarus*: crayfish <Gk. *kammaros*: lobster. (749)

camarón

m. shrimp. [Aug. of *cámáro* <L. *cammarus*: a crustacean, poss. crayfish <Gk. *kammaros*: lobster, crab. (294)¹⁷

The inescapable conclusion regarding these now competing names is that the very species of shrimp captured in and around Spanish waters today as *gambas* were, in the not-too-distant past, and for centuries previously, harvested in the same precise locations under the name *camarones*. This is further evidenced by the fact that these same creatures, also landed by shrimpers from Portugal, still bear the name *camarão* in said country. In a 2006 fishing report by the Portuguese Ministry of Agriculture in *Diário da República*, the nation's official government gazette, *Aristaeomorpha foliacea*, Spain's *gamba roja*, is listed as the *camarão-púrpura*, while *Aristeus antennatus*, the *gamba rosada*, is referred to as the *camarão-vermelho* (4425). After shrimping was undertaken by the Spanish in American coastal waters beginning in the sixteenth century, *camarón* was the de facto term used for the species harvested on both sides of the Atlantic. That Iberian shrimpers would supplant this completely functional name hundreds of

¹⁴ This occurs in other languages, including English, in which Old English 'þymle' became 'thimble' through epenthetic /b/ (Page 1997: 177).

¹⁵ This word at the time meant *cangrejo* 'crab.'

¹⁶ While the DCECH recognizes certain unknown phonological and even morphological elements in the rest of the *cambarus/gambārus* to *gamba* evolution in Catalan, it proposes an early plural **gàmbers* form, which would have been pronounced /gámbes/. As *-es* endings in nouns of this language indicate feminine plurality, **gambes* would have yielded the singular, analogical form of *gamba* 'shrimp,' which this work of reference notes has long been well documented in Catalonia and Valencia.

¹⁷ Robert's notion of *camarón* in modern Spanish as an augmented form of *cámáro* (<Latin *cammarus*) is likely taken from the DLE's same assertion. The DCECH, however, notes that this explanation is not feasible, since *cámáro* was never a word used by Spanish speakers to which such a suffix could then have been added by any reasonable morphological process. It states that this blatant Latinism was invented and utilized by Jerónimo Huerta alone in his sixteenth-century translation of Pliny the Elder's first-century AD Latin work *Naturalis Historia*.

years later with another, most likely beginning late in the nineteenth century, is a phenomenon that requires a sociolinguistic perspective to understand. In the same way that many words for already existing items passed into Hispano-Romance from Arabic during the Middle Ages due to the higher status of the latter – such as *almohada* for *façuerelo* ‘pillow’ (Dworkin 2012: 96) – certain classes of words in neighboring Romance varieties also enjoyed preeminence and were the most likely to be borrowed (Dworkin 2012: 189, 197). During much of the medieval period prior to the conclusion of the *Reconquista*, Castilian was limited to the northern interior of the Peninsula, and even today Spanish is only free from the influence of other languages in the central and southern portion of this region. As a result, Spanish has long been reliant on other sources, such as Portuguese and Catalan, for terms dealing with boating, fishing, and other marine-related phenomena. Lusisms of this nature include *almeja* ‘clam,’ *buzo* ‘diver,’ and *estela* ‘ship’s wake’ (188, 190). Catalan, for its part, contributed *esquife* ‘skiff,’ *muelle* ‘dock,’ and *paella* (a rice dish containing seafood), among various others (197). This latter language also made *gamba* available to Spanish, which accepted the term together with its perceived cultural cachet. As *gamba* generally displaced the use of *camarón* in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, it is likely that the former signifier, as well as the signified concept behind it, soon came to be viewed as more prestigious than its counterpart. This appears to have occurred to a degree that led to a belief that among speakers on the eastern side of the Atlantic that Old World *gambas* were not only better but also, in a logical but unfounded progression, larger than New World *camarones*.

Tally of survey responses for ‘shrimp’ by country (total of two)

- Canary Islands, Spain: *gamba* (unanimous)
- All other countries: *camarón* (unanimous)

Item 3: Juice

Survey participants in twenty of the twenty-one countries chose *jugo* to denote ‘juice.’ The exception was mainland Spain, where only responses of *zumo* were given. In the Canary Islands, *jugo* was the minority choice, selected by seven people, compared to the twenty-two who opted for *zumo*. This latter name was the choice of only two people in all of the American countries, both of them from La Paz, Bolivia. These two individuals also joined their ten compatriots, eight of whom resided outside the capital, in selecting *jugo*. Therefore, while the *jugo-zumo* dichotomy is perhaps slightly less stark in terms of New World-Old World lexical segregation than is the case of *camarón-gamba*, the Atlantic

divide is doubtless the predominant element in the use of these terms. It is important then to determine if the etymologies and diachronic evolution of these terms provide any clues regarding their current dialectal distribution.

The word *jugo* is from the Latin *sucus*. While the expected intervocalic /k/ > /g/ voicing during the medieval period appears in the earliest Spanish examples, the word-initial /s/ > /x/ evolution is not only less clear in terms of causation but also less swift in its completion. *Sugo* and *xugo* /ʃügo/ are first attested in the late thirteenth and early seventeenth centuries, respectively (DCECH). It appears that this intermediate step of /s/ > /ʃ/ was caused by the influence of a derivative of *sucus*, namely the Late Latin *exsucare* (ex- ‘out from’ + *sucare* = ‘to remove the juice’) (DLE, DCECH). The modern *enjuagar* ‘to wipe or dry off,’ displays the same /x/ pronunciation that analogically influenced the final phonological evolution of *jugo*: the velarization of /ʃ/ to /x/ in the seventeenth century (Pharies 2007: 153).¹⁸

While *jugo* is not etymologically linked to *zumo*, this does not mean that it had no impact on the latter word stemming from their semantic affinity. One such effect seems to have occurred in the area of phonology. The term *zumo* comes from the Greek word *zōmos* (Roberts 2014b: 721). While the DLE argues that this word may have passed into Spanish via the theoretical Hispano-Arabic *zūm*, the DCECH views this as highly unlikely as the use of this Hellenism in dialectal Arabic has been shown to be limited to Near Eastern countries such as Syria and Egypt, and only in modern times, as opposed to the documented thirteenth-century usage of *zumo* in Spain. The vehicle, then, of the *zōmos* > *zumo* vowel change was surely Peninsular Latin, with the /o/ being replaced by the /u/ through analogy with *sucus/sugo*. However, in at least one regard an ostensible Arabic influence on *zumo* would be temptingly convenient in an attempt to explain an otherwise inexplicable fact: variants of this word are found nearly exclusively in the Iberian Peninsula, which was influenced to greater or lesser degrees by the Moors for nearly eight centuries. In Portugal ‘juice’ is *sumo*, while in Galician and Asturian it is *zume*. The DCECH indicates that *zumo* was also employed historically in Catalan, though today *suc* is the term used. In other, non-Peninsular Romance languages, Romanian also features *suc*, compared to Italian *succo*.¹⁹

Also apparently lacking in the literature is any hint as to why *zumo* came to dominate in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, in contrast to the preeminence of *jugo* in the Americas. If *zumo* had entered Spanish as a post-fifteenth-

¹⁸ It will be recalled that the phoneme /x/, not to be confused with the letter <x>, is conventionally used to transcribe the modern Spanish letter <j> – as well as <g> before <e> and <i> – and is roughly the equivalent of /h/ in English.

¹⁹ This form, with its voiceless geminates, refers to fruit juice, while the voiced version, *sugo*, is reserved for meat juice (Collins 2020). French *jus*, from the same Latin form, is the source of English ‘juice’ (OED).

century learned word, perhaps the prestige of its Greek origin would have led Spaniards to adopt it over the plebeian *jugo* of the colonies. Both words, however, entered Spanish early on as popular words via Latin, with the common speaker not being aware of such etymological details. It is surely not a mere coincidence that the same transatlantic dichotomy present in Spanish as *jugo-zumo* also exists in Portuguese, and from the same *sucus-zōmos* roots. The term for ‘juice’ in Brazil is *suco*, while in Portugal, as noted above, it is *sumo*. Some yet-to-be-determined factor caused the equivalent terms in each language in this context to thrive in one region while withering to the point of relative disuse in the other and vice versa.

In addition to the isolating impact of their nearly uniform New World-Old World dialectal differences, it is also likely that both of the words used for ‘juice’ in Spanish have survived because they are not synonyms in all cases. Spaniards in mainland cities such as Madrid and Barcelona still use the terms *jugo* and *jugoso* when referring to a juicy steak, for instance, whereas *zumo* tends to be limited to the liquid extracted from food items in the plant kingdom (Butt and Benjamin 2011: 151, DLE). In contrast, it is *zumo* that adopts another meaning in the Spanish of Latin America, where it is used specifically to describe two related but distinct substances: (1) the oily liquid, also referred to as ‘essence,’ that comes not from the flesh of the fruit itself but from the peel, such as that of a lemon, when bent or pressed, and (2) the gratings of this same peel, or ‘zest,’ used in cooking (*Diccionario del español de México* 2020).

Tally of survey responses for ‘juice’ by country (total of two)

- Bolivia: *jugo* (12), *zumo* (2)
- Canary Islands: *zumo* (22), *jugo* (2)
- Spain: *zumo* (unanimous)
- All other countries: *jugo* (unanimous)

Item 4: Cream

The English word ‘cream’ is a borrowing from French *crème*, derived from Old French *craime*, which Roberts (2014a) identifies as “a blend of LL. *crāmun* <Celt. *crammen*: skin, surface (as cream on top of milk . . .) & LL. *chrīisma*: an anointing <Gk. *khrīisma*: unguent <*khrīein*: to anoint” (442). Survey participants were shown images of this substance both in liquid form in a pitcher and in a bowl in whipped form so that the first picture would not be mistaken for milk and so that contributors would not think they were simply considering a dessert topping. All gave responses of either *crema* or *nata*, the former

constituting the overwhelmingly dominant term selected by informants in the Americas, while the same occurred regarding the latter among mainland Spaniards and Canary Islanders. *Crema* also derives from French *crème* (DLE). *Nata* comes from French *natte*, a variant of Late Latin *natta*, itself an alternate form of *matta*, all of them meaning ‘mat.’²⁰ The meaning is therefore metaphorical, since “cream covers milk as a mat covers a floor” (Roberts 2014b: 244). The timing of these borrowings helps to understand their modern dialectal distribution.

The first recorded use of *crema* in the context in question dates to 1646, when it was included in the picaresque novel *La vida y hechos de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor*, author unknown (DCECH). A 1729 entry in the *Diccionario de autoridades* defines *crema* thus: “*La nata. Es voz usada por los Españoles en los Países baxos; pero no tiene uso en España.*” This reference, along with the fact that *Estebanillo González* was published in Antwerp, is linked to the 1581–1714 period in which the Spanish Netherlands, spanning the approximate area of modern Belgium and Luxemburg, were ruled by Spain, mostly under the House of Habsburg, as part of the Holy Roman Empire. This territory bordered northern France, making it a prime location for loanwords such as *crema* to enter the Spanish language, even if in this case it was not generally adopted in Spain itself. Indeed, the DCECH notes that French Hispanist César Oudin, in his *Tesoro de las dos lenguas francesa y española*, published in Madrid in 1616, rendered French *crème* as “*nata*” in Spanish, ignoring *crema*. This largely continues to be the case today in the European dialect. One of the few survey respondents in mainland Spain who chose *crema*, from Granada, qualified this use as pertaining only to cream that had been whipped. This use of the term in reference to dessert makings is echoed by the DCECH, which states that in modern Spain *crema* is used with the meaning of “*natillas*,” which the DLE defines as “*dulce cremoso que se hace con leche, huevos y azúcar.*” In Latin America, this type of confection beyond simple whipped cream is often called *crema chantilly*, the latter word yet another French borrowing.

The predominance of *nata* over *crema* in Spain appears largely to be the result of the fact that the former word, first attested in 1330, entered the language some three centuries earlier than the latter (DCECH). Furthermore, this adoption of *nata* transpired in Spain itself, as opposed to occurring in a temporary enclave hundreds of miles away. Less clear is not only the process by which *crema* made its way from the Spanish Netherlands to the American colonies, but through what mechanism and circumstances it has largely come to supplant *nata*, which by then had been used in the New World for at least 150 years. Only in two South American nations, Venezuela and Paraguay, was *nata* selected as a minority term.

²⁰ The DCECH, tracing the etymology one step further, lists *matta* as being of Semitic origin.

Tally of survey responses for ‘cream’ by country (total of two)

- Canary Islands: *nata* (unanimous)
- Paraguay: *crema* (10), *nata* (3)
- Spain: *nata* (14), *crema* (4)
- Venezuela: *crema* (17), *nata* (4)
- All other countries: *crema* (unanimous)

Item 5: Butter

The lexical variety surrounding the concept of ‘butter’ is one that essentially pits the three River Plate countries against the rest of the Spanish-speaking world.²¹ The most common name for ‘butter’ in Spanish is *mantequilla*, a derivative of *manteca*. While sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary figures Cervantes and Góngora wrote of *mantequilla*, they did so with the meaning of sweetened whipped cream, which Spaniards today would most likely refer to as *crema batida* or *natilla*. Its first documented use with a savory connotation can be traced to 1588, found in the works of a contemporary of the authors mentioned above, renowned Spanish doctor Francisco Díaz de Alcalá. Since then it has become the nearly universal term for ‘butter’ not only in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, but throughout Spanish-speaking America (DCECH). *Mantequilla* was the unanimous choice of informants in fifteen of the twenty-one countries and a primary or secondary response in three. In Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, it was not selected by a single individual, replaced completely by *manteca*, which, as will be addressed further in the discussion of the next item, typically means ‘lard.’ The DCECH mentions the use of *manteca* as ‘butter’ in Argentina but not in the latter two nations.

While the etymology of *manteca* is uncertain, its most likely source was a pre-Roman Iberian tongue.²² The first two known cases of variants of this term in Spanish are from the twelfth century. The 1155 form is recorded as *mantega*, even as the other, from 1181, is given as *mantecca*. While the thirteenth century also saw uses of *mantega*, with the voiced intervocalic consonant seen today in other Romance languages, it was the voiceless *manteca* that prevailed in Spanish. Catalan and Portuguese to this day employ

²¹ While some sources consider Argentina and Uruguay a discrete dialectal pairing, Paraguay is included with them in this book as part of a greater River Plate linguistic region.

²² The Romans tended to show little interest in butter, and even its Latin name is a Greek loanword, *butyrum*. In this root can be seen not only English and German ‘butter,’ but also French *beurre* and Italian *burro* (DCECH).

mantega and *manteiga*, respectively, and both do so to denote ‘butter.’²³ The writings of Sevillian author Mateo Alemán demonstrate that such was also the meaning of the word *manteca* in Peninsular Spanish until at least the early seventeenth century, after which *mantequilla* replaced it (DCECH). The significance of this chronology lies in the fact that *manteca* as ‘butter’ was the term initially carried to the Americas. However, Díaz de Alcalá’s 1588 use of *mantequilla* in Spain meant that this new Peninsular form would likely also be transmitted to the empire’s New World holdings during the early colonial period.

Another area that requires special treatment for this item is northern Central America, home to the other three countries where informants did not select *mantequilla* exclusively. A typical breakfast in this region revolves around refried beans, often accompanied by tortillas, fried plantains, avocado, eggs, perhaps sausage or another meat, and, crucially, a cream similar to sour cream. While Mexicans eat a similar cream with related dishes, they simply call it *crema*, whereas their southern neighbors often refer to it as *mantequilla crema* or just *mantequilla*. As a result, the use of *mantequilla* for ‘butter,’ while it still exists, can cause confusion. To ameliorate this situation, the term *margarina* is often employed to denote ‘butter,’ even when it is the true dairy variety and not the vegetable substitute.²⁴ The cream used in these dishes is most popular in Honduras, a situation that led a large majority of informants in this country to prefer *margarina* over *mantequilla*. A narrower majority in El Salvador did the same. This phenomenon occurred to a lesser extent in Guatemala, where *mantequilla* proved more popular than *margarina*.²⁵

Tally of survey responses for ‘butter’ by country (total of three)

- Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay: *manteca* (unanimous)
- El Salvador: *margarina* (9), *mantequilla* (8)
- Guatemala: *mantequilla* (11), *margarina* (4)
- Honduras: *margarina* (11), *mantequilla* (2)
- All other countries: *mantequilla* (unanimous)

²³ As Brazil borders all three River Plate nations, the retention of *manteiga* for ‘butter’ in Portuguese may have played a role in the continuance of *manteca* with this meaning in the Spanish-speaking region in question.

²⁴ Spanish *margarina*, as well English ‘margarine,’ come from French *margarine* (DLE, OED).

²⁵ In Honduras as well as Guatemala three respondents selected both words. In the latter country one specifically noted that these names are used interchangeably.

Item 6: Lard

The vast majority of Spanish speakers use the word *manteca* for ‘lard.’²⁶ Until the sixteenth century, however, this name carried the meaning of ‘butter’ in Spain, a situation that remains in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. These facts naturally prompt the following question: what term was used in Spain to denote ‘lard’ prior to the emergence of the word *mantequilla*, and what is employed today in the River Plate countries where this latter term did not replace *manteca* for ‘butter’? If someone in English were ignorant of the meaning of ‘lard,’ they would surely be told that it is rendered pork fat used as a shortening agent in recipes or melted down to fry foods. The word for ‘fat’ in Spanish is *grasa*, a feminine noun derived from the masculine Latin adjective *crassus*, whose Vulgar form was *grassus*.²⁷ The first documented use of *grasa* dates to the first half of the fourteenth century. For hundreds of years, then, *grasa* was surely the Iberian term utilized for ‘lard,’ and specific examples of its use as such begin to be seen also in the fourteenth century. As *manteca* and *mantequilla* overlapped in their meaning of ‘butter’ in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in cases where the former began also to be used to denote ‘lard,’ it was often accompanied by a mention of the source for clarification (e.g. *manteca de cerdo*) (DCECH).

Since *manteca* remains the term for ‘butter’ in the River Plate countries, its use to denote ‘lard’ is limited, often replaced altogether with *grasa*. In Argentina and Paraguay, all respondents referred to this fatty food item as *grasa*, in the majority of cases as a standalone word, though in some instances accompanied by either *de cerdo* or *de chancho*. In Uruguay, while six survey participants chose simply *grasa*, two selected *manteca*, both adding *de cerdo* to avoid confusion, as they and the rest of their compatriots had given *manteca* as the sole response for ‘butter.’ In the eighteen countries outside of the River Plate region, *manteca* was the default term for ‘lard’ in all of them and the exclusive choice in fifteen. In Chile, seven cases of *manteca* competed with two cases of *grasa*. In Guatemala, there were nine instances of *manteca* and two of *grasa*. In the Canary Islands, whereas a large majority of contributors opted for *manteca*, two chose *tocino*, one in Tenerife and the other in Gran Canaria. The image for this item clearly displays three white, rectilinear blocks of refined lard in a frying pan. Despite its undeniable pig fat content, it cannot be mistaken for strips, or even a solid side, of bacon. Roberts (2014b), who claims that even today *tocino* can denote ‘lard,’ elucidates the matter further by revealing that the medieval Latin *tuccinum* also meant both ‘bacon’ and ‘lard,’ and that,

²⁶ The source of English ‘lard,’ Latin *lardum* (via Old French *lard*), also yielded *lardo* for a time in Spanish, though only as a learned word that appears never to have enjoyed wide usage (DCECH).

²⁷ This is the source of ‘grease’ in English, through the Old French *graisse*.

moreover, its apparently Celtic progenitor *tucca* meant ‘liquid lard’ (622). This echoes the DCECH definition of this most anciently traceable form as “*jugo mantecoso*.” The Canary Islands, isolated geographically from both mainland Spain and America, and to a certain extent among themselves, is an ideal place for such semantic conservatism.

Tally of survey responses for ‘lard’ by country (total of three)

- Argentina, Paraguay: *grasa* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands: *manteca* (18), *tocino* (2)
- Chile: *manteca* (7), *grasa* (2)*
- Guatemala: *manteca* (9), *grasa* (2)
- Uruguay: *grasa* (6), *manteca* (2)*
- All other countries: *manteca* (unanimous)

*While there were twelve survey participants in both Chile and Uruguay, questions occasionally went unanswered, leading to these tallies of fewer than ten.

Item 7: Pineapple

The two names used in Spanish for ‘pineapple’ are distributed almost exclusively between the River Plate countries and the rest of the Spanish-speaking world. Research on the distribution of wild varieties of this tropical fruit indicates that it most likely originated near the modern tri-border region of Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil, between the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers (Okihiro 2009: 74). From this area the pineapple has spread around the globe, a process that had already begun on a smaller scale when Europeans first began exploring the Western Hemisphere in earnest.

During his second voyage in 1493, Columbus was introduced to the pineapple on the island of Guadeloupe in the Lesser Antilles. This was not his only encounter with the fruit, as he once again reported its existence on the Caribbean coast of what today is Panama, during his final journey of 1502–1504 (Py et al. 1987: 23). While explorers such as Columbus were impressed with the taste of the pineapple, they apparently had little interest at first in the names locals used for it. Instead, they originally opted for a name that already existed in Spanish: *piña*, which up until this time had only meant ‘pine cone.’²⁸ It is the word that Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo chose for this fruit as he wrote from Seville his 1535 *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (280). This

²⁸ The word *piña* is a derivative of the Latin *pineae*, with the same meaning of ‘pine cone,’ which is a feminine variation of *pineus* ‘of pine,’ itself taken from *pinus* ‘pine tree’ (Roberts 2014b: 359).

lexical solution in Spanish is similar to the one settled on by English speakers. Beginning no later than the end of the fourteenth century, the English term ‘pineapple’ was used to denote a ‘pine cone,’ owing to the fact that, like an actual apple, it was the fruit of the conifer. When Spanish and English speakers lent their respective Old World lexemes to the New World food in question, both languages had to deal with the fact that one word now covered two distinct items. The remedy in Spanish was to continue utilizing the same name for both articles, with the possibility of qualifying its use for the American fruit with expanded terms such as *piña de las Indias* or *piña de América* (Collins 2020). In English, the last known case of ‘pineapple’ in reference to the fruit of a pine tree dates to 1749, more than a century after its first documented usage in connection with the tropical American fruit, in 1624, and a quarter-century after the initial recorded instance of ‘pine cone,’ in 1723 (OED).

Piña is the sole word for ‘pineapple’ among the majority of Spanish speakers. It was selected unanimously by informants in seventeen nations and as a majority response in two others. The progenitor of this fruit belongs to the *Bromeliaceae* family, classified under the genus *Ananas*, species *Ananas comosus*. The domesticated cultivar is *A. comosus* var. *comosus*. This scientific designation of the genus is linked to the term used by a minority of Spanish speakers, most of them in Argentina and Uruguay: *ananá(s)*.²⁹ This word is rooted in the term *naná*, reported variously to mean “delicious” or “excellent fruit” in the Guaraní language spoken in Paraguay and Brazil (Okihiro 2009: 74; Py et al. 1987: 24). In contrast to their compatriots who decades earlier had simply recycled the Spanish word *piña* for the fruit they found in the Caribbean, the Spaniards who encountered this fruit in South America adopted the name that they perceived was given to it by the native peoples. The word-initial <a> that it eventually acquired appears to have come via the influence of another fruit, this one the *maçã anana*, literally ‘dwarf apple’ in Portuguese (DCECH). A likely candidate for this apple is the ‘lady apple,’ known in many countries as the ‘api.’ It is a small dessert apple that is perhaps the oldest variety in the world still under cultivation (Cumo 2015: 8; Downing 1847: 115). This means that a portion of the word for a fruit that the Portuguese brought from the Old to the New World would soon make the return trip attached to a term belonging to another fruit that would become popular in the farthest reaches of the globe. And, since the languages in these lands had no word for this new commodity, *ananás* – typically spelled *ananas* in its borrowed form – was nearly as widely

²⁹ In Spanish the <s> on this word is not etymological in singular use and is routinely dropped, though it tends to be retained in the other languages that borrowed it. The DLE lists both forms as correct. Nevertheless, it is *Ananas* (not only with <s> but without the written accent) that is first the word’s first documented form, dating to 1779. While the source is from Spain, it references American cultivars being grown there. The first case of *ananá* is from Ecuador in 1789, followed by Paraguay in 1790 (CORDE).

adopted as the fruit itself. The following is a partial list of the many countries and regions in which this original Guaraní word, with minimal adaptation, is the name used today after having been taken there along with the fruit beginning with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese trade: Africa (Swahili, Malagasy), Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, India (Hindi), Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Sweden, and Turkey (Okihiro 2009: 82–92; Collins 2020).

Ironically, while the word *ananás* is used in Portugal, it is not employed today for ‘pineapple’ in Brazil, and is a minority term in Paraguay, despite the fact that both of these nations were at the epicenter of its genesis. Whether the use of this term was initially misunderstood by the Portuguese or whether its connotation changed over time is not certain, but today it is used to denote wild pineapple plants in the region (Py et al. 1987: 24). One such specimen, the abundant *A. comosus* var. *ananassoides*, is thought to be the progenitor of *A. comosus* var. *comosus* (Coppens d’Eeckenbrugge and Leal 2003: 27). This latter, domesticated variety, also has a Tupí name: *avakachi*, adopted in Brazilian Portuguese as *abacaxi* /abakaʃi/ and first documented as such in 1757 (Murawaka and Gonçalves 2015: 35; Py et al. 1987: 24; Ramírez and Lustig 1996).³⁰ Since Paraguayans, most of them Spanish-Guaraní bilinguals, would likely know that *ananás* referred to untamed fruit, and perhaps not wanting to share the term *abacaxi* with Brazilians, they seem to have simply adopted the name *piña*, used in neighboring Bolivia and most other Spanish-speaking countries. All eleven survey informants in Paraguay chose this option, compared to only two who also offered *ananá*, both of whom qualified its use as less frequent.

In contrast to the predominance of *piña* in Paraguay, Spanish speakers in the other two River Plate countries have retained the use of *ananá* almost categorically. Eighteen of the nineteen Argentines surveyed selected this word. One person in Buenos Aires chose both words, while one individual, in the northern province of Tucumán, selected only *piña*. All thirteen Uruguayan participants chose *ananá*, only two of whom also listed *piña* as a secondary consideration. The seemingly logical question as to why *ananá* is still the default term for ‘pineapple’ in Argentina and Uruguay may be misleading in one aspect. The use of this word may not be *continued* in this region as much as it is *renewed*. This matter is addressed, without definitive resolution, in the DCECH:

Hoy se dice ananá en la Argentina y en otras partes, pero no está averiguado si por conservación de la forma originaria o por el restablecimiento secundario de la misma . . . Es palabra poco frecuente en español antes del S. XIX.

³⁰ Py et al. (1987) propose the compounding of “‘iba’ (fruit) with ‘caté’ (fragrant)” (24). A consultation of Ramírez and Lustig’s (1996) *Interactive Guaraní Dictionary* does yield “yva” for ‘fruit,’ and while “kati” is listed in relation to a smell, rather than referring to a pleasant aroma it is linked to the foul-smelling “olor a sobaco” ‘armpit odor.’

The answer to how *ananá* could have been reestablished in Argentina and Uruguay, or perhaps buoyed up in such a way as not to yield to the preeminence of *piña*, is most likely found in the history of immigration to this region. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, millions of Europeans immigrated to the River Plate region, including many from Italy (Benavides 2003: 619). While these Italians eventually assimilated linguistically to Spanish, they left several lexical items as a lasting legacy. These Italianisms include such words as *chau* (Italian *ciao*) for Spanish *adiós*, *valija* (It. *valigia*) for *maleta*, and *laburo* (It. *lavoro*) for *trabajo* (DLE, Teruggi 1974: 115). If these lexemes, completely unknown in the area before the arrival of the Italians, could be incorporated into Argentine and Uruguayan Spanish, surely speakers could accept the also Italian *ananas*, a word they may have already known as *ananá* and which, having originated in or near these very environs, had come full circle and returned home.

Unexpectedly, the only other country where survey participants selected *ananá* was Cuba, far from the River Plate. This occurred with two individuals, even as both of them, along with the other eight contributors, also chose *piña*.³¹ While CORDE examples of the two terms in question are scarce in Cuban sources, *ananá* in particular, they indicate that the use of this latter name on the island is more recent. The few dozen mentions of *piña* begin in 1810, continue in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and conclude in 1966, eight years before the end of record keeping for this corpus. There are only two documented cases of *ananá* in Cuba, one in 1963 and the other in 1964.

Tally of survey responses for ‘pineapple’ by country (total of two)

- Argentina: *ananá* (18), *piña* (2)
- Cuba: *piña* (10), *ananá* (2)
- Paraguay: *piña* (11), *ananá* (2)
- Uruguay: *ananá* (13), *piña* (2)
- All other countries: *piña* (unanimous)

Item 8: Strawberry

Botanists have identified over forty species of strawberries growing wild in temperate zones in various parts of the world, including Asia, North Africa, Europe, and North and South America. They belong to the genus *Fragaria*, of the rose family, or *Rosaceae*. When Shakespeare wrote of the strawberry in his play *Richard III*, he was referring to the wild *F. vesca*, which the French called

³¹ One of these two Cuban respondents opined that the use of *ananá* is limited to the eastern side of this largest island in the Antilles.

fraise de bois, meaning ‘wood strawberry,’ a popular name for it in English, also (Roberts 2001: 26–27). The English word ‘strawberry’ is likely the compound of Old English ‘stréaw’ (straw) and ‘berige’ (berry). The ‘straw’ may refer to the yellow, seed-like achenes spread over the surface of the fruit (OED), or it might have been inspired by the verb ‘to strew,’ or the variant ‘to straw,’ as the runners, also called stolons, become strewn over the ground as they grow (Roberts 2001: 26). The following are the first six documented cases of names for this fruit found in the OED: ‘streaberige’ (c1000), ‘strauberiiis’ (1328), ‘streberie’ (c1340), ‘streberies’ (c1450), ‘strabery’ (c1500), and ‘streberes’ (1541).

F. vesca and most other wild species in the genus bear small fruit. This is the case, for example, with *F. viridis*, the creamy strawberry, and *F. moschata*, the musk strawberry. The Romans and others, including the English and the French in their medieval gardens, attempted to increase the size of the fruit through domestication and breeding, to little effect (Roberts 2001: 27). Early explorers in North America also found such a small fruit in the deep-red *F. virginiana*, popularly called the Virginia or Scarlet strawberry (28). It was not until the early eighteenth century that a large-fruited strawberry plant was finally documented widely, when the sand strawberry was encountered in the dunes outside the city of Concepción, Chile, by Frenchman Amédée Frézier. This species, *F. chiloensis*, produced firm, juicy fruits that alternated between shades of red, yellow, and even white. Frézier introduced this South American cultivar to France via Marseilles in 1714. However, since he only gathered the runners of fruit-bearing female plants and none from male specimens whose flowers provided the necessary pollen for fertilization, reproduction of the fruit was not successful in Europe. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, growers realized that planting rows of the Chilean strawberry between those of another *Fragaria* species often led to adequate fruit set through hybridization. It was this process that led to the emergence, most likely in France around 1750, of the modern strawberry, a cross of *F. chiloensis*, with its large fruit, and *F. virginiana*, with its rich red color and superior flavor (Trinklein 2012). Early eaters of this new species likened the taste of its fruit to that of a pineapple (*Ananas comosus*), prompting them to call it the ‘pineapple strawberry’ or ‘pine strawberry’ and inspiring taxonomists later to classify it as *Fragaria* × *ananassa* (Small 2009: 491).

It has been surmised by some, erroneously, that the French name for ‘strawberry’ was chosen to commemorate Frézier’s introduction of the Chilean strawberry to his homeland. This notion becomes impossible once it is realized that *fraise* has been used to denote species of this fruit since at least the twelfth century (DCECH). This Gallicism was eventually borrowed and adapted as *fresa* by the Spaniards and, subsequently, by the majority of Spanish-speaking countries in the New World. The first known use of *fresa* for ‘strawberry,’ employed originally for *F. vesca*, was recorded in Spain in the mid-1500s (CORDE), after

which it began to replace other names, now largely in disuse. These include *miésgado* (also *(a)miésgado*), a Vulgar form of the Classical Latin *domesticus* (indicating a domesticated strawberry), also first reported in the mid-sixteenth century (CORDE); *mayueta*, a pre-Roman word, perhaps Celtic in origin, initially documented in the late sixteenth century but still reportedly used today in Cantabria for wild species (DCECH, DLE); and *fraga*, the Latin term for the fruit, from which French *fraise* is derived, via preliterate *fraie* (DCECH). The word *fraga* reportedly continues to be heard sparingly for ‘strawberry’ in eastern Aragon and western Catalonia (DCECH, DLE). Among survey respondents, however, *fresa* was the only word offered by mainland Spaniards and Canary Islanders alike. This was also the case with all participants in Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Central America, and the Caribbean minus Puerto Rico. On this latter island, while all eleven respondents selected *fresa*, two of them also listed an iteration of the English word, one of them writing “*estroberi*” and the other, who appears to have had training in phonetics, noting “*strawberry* (pr. /estróbeři/).”

In contrast to *fresa* among informants were cases of *frutilla*, the other Spanish word for the fruit in question. This term, strictly speaking a diminutive form of *fruta*, was initially used to refer to small fruit in general (DCECH). Its first documented use as ‘strawberry’ comes from Chile in 1590, indicating that the Spaniards discovered the species *F. chiloensis* more than 100 years prior to the French, though they did not transplant it to Europe (CORDE). Among survey participants, *frutilla* was the exclusive response in the following countries in southern South America: Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, and Bolivia. Ecuador was the only country in which both *frutilla* and *fresa* were selected. The use of *frutilla* in this latter country is perhaps to be expected, as the Spanish actively cultivated *F. chiloensis* there (Roberts 2001: 28). However, they also planted the *frutilla* in Peru during this early period, and the eighteenth-century *Diccionario de autoridades* cites this country as the focal point of this word at the time, making noteworthy its eventual replacement there by *fresa*. This likely occurred under the normative influences of Spain on the Viceroyalty of Peru, where *fresa* was first noted by the CORDE in 1748 and was still in use in 1969, virtually the end of record gathering for the database (1974), whereas the last use of *frutilla* in the country dates to 1889.

Tally of survey responses for ‘strawberry’ by country (total of three)

- Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay: *frutilla* (unanimous)
- Ecuador: *frutilla* (6), *fresa* (5)
- Puerto Rico: *fresa* (11), *strawberry* (2)
- All other countries: *fresa* (unanimous)

Variant of strawberry: *estroberi*

Item 9: Peach

The peach belongs to the rose family, or *Rosaceae*, which consists of as many as 3,000 species within approximately 100 genera, including the genus *Fragaria*, under which strawberries are classified. Other important fruits in the family are the apple (genus *Malus*), the pear (*Pyrus*), the raspberry (*Rubus*), and several which, like the peach, belong to the genus *Prunus*: the apricot, the cherry, the plum, and the almond (Hummer and Janick 2009: 3–4). The peach (*P. persica*) and the almond (*P. dulcis*) split from a common *Prunus* ancestor in Central Asia, the almond later being domesticated to the west, in and around the Mediterranean, and the peach to the east, in China. Records of *P. persica* cultivation date to 2000 BC in Tibet and Western China, where wild species still grow. This fruit eventually arrived in Greece in the fourth century BC and in Rome in the first century BC (Roberts 2001: 48–50). The fact that the peach reached Europe via Persia impacted the nomenclature of this fruit in several languages. In Classical and post-Classical Latin, its name was, respectively, *persicum malum* and *persica malus*, literally ‘fruit of Persia’ or ‘Persian apple.’ The abbreviated sixth-century form, *persica*, which would eventually inspire the peach’s scientific name, passed into Old French as *persche*, which gave way to the Middle French and Anglo-Norman *pesche* that would enter medieval English, where Chaucer’s 1374 reference to ‘peches’ would become the language’s first known use of the word (OED). The modern French term is *pêche*. The word is *pêssego* in Portuguese (fifteenth century), *pesca* in Italian (fourteenth century), and *préssec* in Catalan (thirteenth century) (OED). Also in the thirteenth century, Spanish adopted *pisco* to denote the ‘peach.’ This word, however, was mostly used in Spain and has not survived (DCECH).

The two modern names for ‘peach’ in Spanish are *durazno* and *melocotón*. The word *durazno* is first documented in Spanish from 1330, much earlier than its now synonymous counterpart. It is derived from the Latin *duracinus*, which is a compound of *durus* ‘hard’ and *acinus* ‘small fruit.’ The notion of hardness may refer to the firmness of a specimen’s flesh or the strength of its skin, or to the fact that it clings tightly to the stone (DCECH). In contrast to its semantic adoption into Spanish, the Latin word did not always specifically refer to *P. persica*, but rather was a general term that could also refer to other firm, pitted fruits, such as cherries (Roberts 2014a: 570). The name *melocotón*, first noted in Spain in 1513, is also a compound, though it only became so in Spanish, stemming from two separate Latin words: *malum cotionium* ‘fruit’ or ‘apple’ of the ‘quince tree.’³² The adoption of *melocotón* in Spanish is due to the practice in the Peninsula of grafting existing *durazno* cuttings into quince rootstock to

³² While the quince is a relative of the apple, the <e> in *melocotón* is possibly due to the influence of another fruit: *melón* ‘cantaloupe’ (DCECH).

improve fruit quality.³³ Originally, therefore, this name had a narrower meaning than *durazno* (DCECH). This distinction can be seen in the first documented use of *melocotón* in the New World (Mexico, 1536), where it is listed alongside the first American mention of *durazno* in the same source, likely to distinguish these different varieties (CORDE). In time, however, *melocotón* ceased to convey this particular meaning and became as generic as *durazno*. This appears to have occurred in the late seventeenth century. While prior to the 1670s the vast majority of *durazno* uses in the CORDE were linked to Spain, afterwards they increased dramatically in Latin America and grew sporadic at best in the Peninsula, where *melocotón*, the more recent of the two words, came to dominate for everyday references to *P. persica*.

Although the words *durazno* and *melocotón* have existed for centuries and both have survived in modern Spanish, certain geographic and dialectal patterns emerge when the use of these terms is considered by region. As the existence of *melocotón* is nearly exclusive in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, and since *durazno* is the dominant form in the majority of countries in the Americas, a rough generalization is that these two words for ‘peach’ are largely divided between the Old and New World. A refined evaluation is obviously more complex than this, however, since both terms continue to exist on either side of the Atlantic. While *melocotón* was the only survey response given by all mainland Spaniards, *durazno* was selected by a minority of Canary Islanders. Meanwhile, even though *durazno* is the preeminent name in South America, this dominance varied by degrees among informants. In the southernmost countries – Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, and Bolivia – it was the only term offered. Moving north, however, *melocotón* accounted for between 18 and 34 percent of replies in Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Colombia. In Panama, 81 percent of contributors showed a preference for *melocotón*, a phenomenon which in Costa Rica reached 100 percent. In El Salvador, respondents chose *melocotón* and *durazno* at a rate of 50 percent each. In the rest of Central America and Mexico, *durazno* was the dominant term. In Cuba and Puerto Rico, *melocotón* was the exclusive response, while in the Dominican Republic half of the cases corresponded to this term and half to *durazno*.

Tally of survey responses for ‘peach’ by country (total of two)

- Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay: *durazno* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Spain: *melocotón* (unanimous)

³³ Once *malum cotionium* > *melocotón* came to be used for ‘peach,’ another name was needed for the Spanish version of ‘quince.’ That name, *membrillo*, is from the Latin *melimelum* (likely Late Latin **memirellum*), which was originally used to refer to “a variety of sweet apple” (Roberts 2014b: 192).

- Canary Islands: *melocotón* (24), *durazno* (3)
- Colombia: *durazno* (10), *melocotón* (5)
- Dominican Republic: *durazno* (8), *melocotón* (8)
- Ecuador: *durazno* (9), *melocotón* (2)
- El Salvador: *durazno* (8), *melocotón* (8)
- Guatemala: *durazno* (11), *melocotón* (3)
- Honduras: *durazno* (9), *melocotón* (4)
- Mexico: *durazno* (31), *melocotón* (2)
- Nicaragua: *durazno* (6), *melocotón* (4)
- Panama: *melocotón* (13), *durazno* (3)
- Peru: *durazno* (13), *melocotón* (4)
- Venezuela: *durazno* (22), *melocotón* (6)

Item 10: Cabbage

A member of the *Brassicaceae* or mustard family, the wild cabbage, *Brassica oleracea*, grows on the limestone cliffs of southern Great Britain, as well as across the English Channel and the Bay of Biscay, on the Atlantic coast of France and Spain (Roberts 2001: 142). Polymorphic in nature, the domesticated varieties of *B. oleracea* include cultivars with dense leafy heads, such as cabbage (*B. oleracea* var. *capitata*); those with flowering heads, such as broccoli (var. *cymosa*) and cauliflower (var. *botrytis*); non-heading plants like leafy kale (var. *acephala*); the kohlrabi (var. *gangylodes*), technically a swollen stem; and the Brussel sprout (var. *gemmifera*), an edible bud. These food plants are often referred to collectively as the ‘cole crops.’ The cabbage was known among the Classical Greeks, who called it and similar stemmed and stalked plants *kaulos*, the name adopted and adapted by the Romans as *caulis* (Roberts 2014a: 378). Cato wrote of the cabbage’s culinary virtues in the second century BC, and Pliny the Elder enumerated what were then viewed as its myriad medicinal uses in the first century AD (Roberts 2001: 144–145). After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century, the coexistent variants *couve* and *col* emerged in Western Romance, the former eventually limited to Portuguese and the latter assumed by Spanish, first documented in 1219, as well as by Galician. The Latin *caulis* was masculine, the gender retained by equivalents in modern French (*le chou*), Italian (*il cavolo*), and even German (*der kohl*). The Peninsular forms, however, became feminine over the centuries: *a couve*, *la col*, *a col*. While *col* is not as common in American Spanish as it is in Spain, when used it is treated as a masculine noun, *el col*, likely due to assimilation with most other -ol final nouns: *el sol*, *el español*, *el caracol*, *el árbol*, *el mármol*, *el estiércol*, etc. (DCECH).

The other name for ‘cabbage’ in Spanish, *repollo*, is of much more recent origin. This word has roots in the Latin *pullus*, which meant the young of any animal, but particularly those of fowl (Roberts 2014b: 379). By the time *pollo* was first documented in Spanish in 1251, it was reserved for ‘chicks’ and the flesh of chickens (DCECH). Nevertheless, the etymological notion of offspring contained within the word made it productive in the creation of new lexical items. The term *repollo* initially referred to the *retoño* ‘shoot’ of any plant.³⁴ The *re-* prefix used to distinguish it from *pollo* may denote intensification (DLE), such as the image conjured by a new plant springing forth. The word *repollo* with this general meaning has been documented from the fourteenth century, though by the end of the fifteenth century it had begun to be used more specifically for cabbage sprouts. By the seventeenth century, through the type of semantic creep to which words are often subject, this word had come to mean not the tender shoots of the cabbage plant but the mature head itself, with the result that it now competed with the older, well-established *col* (DCECH). The ancient nature on the Iberian Peninsula of both the cabbage plant and the words used for it – *caulis*, *couve*, *col* – have evidently caused these forms to be resistant to, though not entirely exempt from, the use of *repollo* and its variants.³⁵ Among the seventeen survey participants in mainland Spain, there were twelve responses of *col* and five of *repollo*. Use of the latter name does not appear to be the result of residing in one particular region of the country as there were cases from places as geographically diverse as Madrid, Catalonia, and Galicia. In the Canary Islands, *col* was the exclusive word selected for this item.

The situation of cabbage nomenclature in American Spanish is largely the inverse of what occurs among Spaniards. *Repollo* was the only reply among survey participants in fifteen of the nineteen Spanish-speaking countries in the New World. These include each of the nations in Central America, the majority of countries in South America, and Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. Responses by informants indicate that this name came to be accepted over *col* in those countries which during colonial times had minimal direct contact with Spain, whereas the opposite obtained in those territories heavily engaged in trade and other exchange with their Iberian counterparts. In Mexico, where the Viceroyalty of New Spain was established in 1535, a majority of respondents favored *col* over *repollo*. This was likewise the case in Peru, whose capital was also that of the viceroyalty there beginning in 1542, as well as in Ecuador, apparently influenced by its proximity to Peru. Among Caribbean respondents, only Cuba featured cases of *col*, and it did so overwhelmingly. While Puerto Rico, and to an extent the Dominican Republic, often share lexical items and

³⁴ Roberts (2014b) postulates a theoretical Vulgar Latin **repullus* leading to Spanish *repollo*, with the same meaning in both instances of ‘young plant’ (476).

³⁵ Portuguese is largely reflective of the Spanish situation, as *couve* is used for ‘cabbage’ in Portugal while in Brazil the common name is *repolho* (Collins 2020).

other linguistic features with Cuba, Havana was the main Caribbean hub for ships entering and leaving the American colonies and thus received more direct influence from Spain (de la Fuente 2008: 11–12).

Tally of survey responses for ‘cabbage’ by country (total of two)

- Canary Islands: *col* (unanimous)
- Cuba: *col* (8), *repollo* (2)
- Ecuador: *col* (10), *repollo* (3)
- Mexico: *col* (18), *repollo* (13)
- Peru: *col* (9), *repollo* (5)
- Spain: *col* (12), *repollo* (5)
- All other countries: *repollo* (unanimous)

Item 11: Avocado

The avocado, *Persea americana*, belongs to the *Lauraceae*, or Laurel, family. Plants of the *Persea* genus come in various shapes, sizes, and characteristics, and it is believed that the first species with fruit recognizable as the modern avocado, *P. americana*, emerged north of what today is Mexico City and was cultivated by humans as early as 6000 BC. When Cortés reached the area in 1519, he found an Aztec people who consumed the avocado as an important part of their diet (Roberts 2001: 12–14). The Spanish initially referred to the item in question as *ahuacate*, loosely copying the Náhuatl word *ahuacatl* (15).³⁶ This anatomically descriptive term was used by the locals for both the ‘avocado’ and the male ‘testicle’ whose shape they thought it resembled (DLE). While Spanish speakers in Latin America came to use the term *aguacate*, the word was initially corrupted in sixteenth-century Spain to *abuacado*. The permanence of this variant was perhaps forestalled by the fact that this New World food was not initially popular in the Iberian Peninsula. It was not until the early seventeenth century that planters in southern Spain began to actively cultivate the avocado seed transported from the New World, presumably along with the reintroduced name *aguacate*, which became and remains the term used in Spain. This, however, did not occur before the adulterated *abuacado* inspired its modern equivalents in languages such as English, Italian,

³⁶ The DLE also lists the Aztec word as *ahuacatl*, giving the impression that the accents falls on the final syllable. The DCECH, however, reports this word as *awákatl*. This dictionary also gives the related etymology of *guacamole*, first recorded in Spanish in 1895. The name of this “*manjar de aguacates con chile*” comes from the Náhuatl compound of *awakamüllli*: *awákatl* + *mulli* (*mole*, a modern Spanish word employed for various chili-based sauces popular in Mexican cuisine).

and Romanian (*avocado*); Russian (авокадо/*avokado*); and French (*avocat*) (Roberts 2001: 15). Portuguese evidently adopted a compromise form that retains the from the older *abuacado* and the <te> from the modern *aguacate*: *abacate*.³⁷

A subspecies of avocado traced to the West Indies (*P. americana* var. *americana*) spread farther than any other in pre-Columbian times, eventually extending from the Yucatan Peninsula to Peru (Bost et al. 2013: 14). In his *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Garcilaso de la Vega (1991[1609]) reports that when the son of Emperor Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, Túpac Inca, subjugated the Palta tribe, in the modern Loja Province of southern Ecuador, he discovered the avocado, which was given the name of the tribe itself: “... porque de una provincia de este nombre se comunicó a las demás” (160, 175). Túpac Inca reportedly then transported this cultivar to Cuzco, the capital of the Inca Empire, now in Peru, in approximately 1450–1475 (Galindo-Tovar et al. 2008: 447). While the word *palta* was adopted by the early Spanish explorers to the Andes, the name, first documented in 1560 (DCECH), did not spread beyond the region due to the influence of the northern avocado varieties and the name used to denote them, which, originating centuries earlier in Mexico, had more time to spread south both agriculturally and lexically. Indeed, the DCECH states that *aguacate* is the default name except in “los países americanos australes.” While this gives the impression that *palta* is the term used in all of Spanish-speaking South America, this is clarified somewhat in other parts of the dictionary. Under the entry for *palta*, the word is listed for usage in Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Argentina, while it states, in contrast, that “se dice aguacate desde Colombia y Venezuela hacia el Norte.” These descriptions align closely with the data from the survey participants, with a certain exceptions. All Colombian and Venezuelan contributors, as well as the totality of respondents in the twelve countries to the north, including Central America, Mexico, the Caribbean nations, the Canary Islands, and mainland Spain, did indeed select only *aguacate* for ‘avocado.’ Inversely, *palta* was the exclusive choice among informants in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. While the latter country is not Andean, it shares much of the lexicon of neighboring Argentina. This is less the case with Paraguay, where *aguacate* was the sole response given. Ecuador and Colombia, in contrast, are Andean countries, though the latter took in only a small portion of the extreme northern reaches of the Incan Empire and its speakers rarely employ words borrowed from Quechua. Ecuador, in contrast, farther south and bordering Peru, the heart of the Incan domain, does include many Quechuan words in its dialect. It would therefore not be surprising to hear the word *palta* used there, as the DCECH claims,

³⁷ This modern Portuguese name is very similar to the one case of Spanish *abuacate* found in the CORDE, dating to 1769 in Venezuela).

especially since the word itself is reported to have originated in what is now the southern part of the country. Nevertheless, all eleven Ecuadorian survey respondents, from varying parts of the country, selected *aguacate* exclusively. While CORDE mentions of this food item in Ecuador are not abundant, those gathered indicate that *palta* perhaps predated and then coexisted with *aguacate*, after which the latter word increased in popularity at the expense of the former. The two recorded sources of *palta* are from 1597 and 1606. In contrast, the 1605, 1606, and 1650 uses of *aguacate* are not the last, followed by cases in the nineteenth century (1882) as well as the twentieth (1910, 1928, and 1962).

Tally of survey responses for ‘avocado’ by country (total of two)

- Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Uruguay: *palta* (unanimous)
- All other countries: *aguacate* (unanimous)

1.3 Food-Related Items with Moderate Nomenclature Variation

Item 12: Grapefruit

As with the *aguacate-palta* dichotomy, the two principal words for ‘grapefruit’ in Spanish, *pomelo* and *toronja*, are largely divided between the term used by speakers in the majority of southern South America and the one employed by those in most other countries. The exception in this case is that the dominant word in the southern region of South America was also the exclusive choice among survey participants on the other geographical extreme of the Spanish-speaking world: mainland Spain and the Canary Islands. This diatopic variety has roots in the variability of citrus fruits themselves. The grapefruit (*Citrus paradisi*) is the only major citrus fruit to have emerged in the New World (Roberts 2001: 104). Its true origins, however, like that of all species in the genus *Citrus* (family *Rutaceae*), are to be found in Asia, where the Chinese began to domesticate some of the nearly chaotic array of these fruits as early as the fourth century BC (96–99). Over time as many as 160 different citrus species emerged, many of which eventually made their way through India, Persia, and Africa to Europe and the rest of the world. Nevertheless, DNA evidence indicates that all commercially important citrus fruits, most of which are hybrids, descend from a mere three wild species: the citron (*C. medica*), the pummelo (*C. grandis* or *C. maxima*), and the mandarin (*C. reticulata*) (98).

The pummelo is the largest of the citrus fruits. It is also called ‘shaddock,’ an apparent reference to Philip Chaddock, a British ship captain who in 1649 is reputed to have transported seeds of the pummelo to the West Indian island of

Barbados from Java or another nearby area in the Malay Archipelago (Kumamoto et al. 1987: 98–99, 105; Roberts 2001: 104). In time, perhaps in the early eighteenth century, one of the resulting pummelo cultivars served as the maternal parent of the grapefruit, being fertilized by the sweet orange, the paternal, or pollen, parent. This sweet orange species, *C. sinensis* (itself a mandarin-pummelo hybridization), was introduced to Portugal from Asia via the country's explorers in the mid-1500s and to the rest of Europe over the next century. The Portuguese, Spanish, English, and others exported the fruit to their American territories and there are records of this fruit in Barbados by 1676. Planters on this island at first concluded that they had “simply produced a highly desirable form” of the shaddock or pummelo (Kumamoto et al. 1987: 99). The true nature and origins of the grapefruit eluded even scientists for many years. It was not until the 1940s that botanists recognized that this species had emerged due to a pummelo-sweet orange cross (Cumo 2013: 466).

Even though the English name ‘pummelo,’ then, does not refer to the ‘grapefruit,’ but rather to its larger, maternal ancestor, *C. grandis*, the obvious lexical relationship between it and *pomelo* provides a starting point to understanding why the latter word is used as one of the names for ‘grapefruit’ in Spanish today. In its entry for *pomelo*, the DLE simply states that it is a borrowing of the English “pom[m]elo,” which in turn took its name from the Dutch “*pompelmous*.”³⁸ It is not clear if *pomelo* is intended to mean *C. paradisi* or its forebear *C. grandis*. While the former is a logical assumption, the matter is complicated by the fact that the dictionary in question then goes on to define this *pomelo* as a *toronja*, from Arabic *turunja* (DCECH). The separate DLE entry for *toronja* describes it as a *cidra* (<Latin *citra*), the ‘citron.’ The dictionary further states that there is a type of *toronja* called *zamboa*, as well as a variety of *cidra* by the name of *azamboa*, both from Hispano-Arabic *azzanbū*. All of this could leave one with the impression that there is only one species of fruit involved, perhaps with slightly differing varieties, being described in circular fashion with up to five different synonyms. In reality, however, this situation reflects how semantic change, in this case due to the introduction of new lexemes and changes in the fruits themselves, has led to circumstances in which a language and its speakers now grapple to define, in both current and historical references, three different citrus species: the citron, the pummelo, and the grapefruit.³⁹ The seeds of this confusion regarding the first two of these fruits may have been planted as early as half a millennium ago.

³⁸ ‘Pummelo’ – variably ‘pommelo’ and ‘pomelo’ (OED) – is generally thought to have come from the Dutch word *pampelmoes*, a contraction of *pompel* ‘large’ and *limões*, Portuguese for ‘lemons’ (DCECH).

³⁹ These lexical difficulties in dealing with citrus fruits have also occurred in other Romance languages. In French, *citron* means ‘lemon,’ not ‘citron,’ which is *cédrat*, and *pamplemousse*, close to Dutch *pompelmous*, denotes ‘grapefruit.’ In Catalan, ‘orange’ is *taronja* and

While the citron and the pummelo both likely arrived in Spain via separate paths during the thirteenth century (Martin and Cooper 1977: 2), Ramón-Laca (2003) demonstrates that by early sixteenth century, they were at times both referred to as *toronja* (509). Four hundred years later, an early-twentieth century guide to Spanish cooking reflected this same lack of specificity, stating that the Arabs introduced the “*cidra o toronja*” to the Iberian Peninsula (Pérez 1929: 16). While these examples demonstrate the absolute need for scientific taxonomy in dealing with these species, it is a luxury, of course, that the average Spanish speaker does not have. The CORDE reveals that the terms *cidra* and *toronja* have been in constant use in Spain and America for nearly as long as written records have existed there. In contrast, (*a*)*zamboa*, always a minority term, is never recorded in America and ceases to be productive in Spain in the seventeenth century. The term *pomelo* is also not seen in American sources as of the end of the record keeping for the database in question, in 1974, and even in Peninsular Spanish the cases are paltry. Significantly, however, these few uses of *pomelo* – eighteen between 1933 and 1972 – correspond to the beginnings and gradual growth of grapefruit cultivation in Spain, which will be traced briefly below, along with that of other countries, particularly Mexico and Argentina.

Following its hybrid birth in Barbados in the eighteenth century, the grapefruit spread throughout the Caribbean over the next century and was introduced to Florida in the early decades of the nineteenth century (Kahn and Vidalakis 2014: 83). By the late 1800s and early 1900s, demand for the fruit in northern US cities such as New York and Philadelphia led to the diffusion of this cultivar to Texas, Arizona, and California (Cumo 2013: 466). By the end of the 1920s, as a taste for this fruit grew more international, it spread in both consumption and production to such far-flung locales as Argentina, South Africa, and modern Israel (USDA 1931: 25). Much of the exported grapefruit at this time went to the United Kingdom, whose climate is too cold for this heat-loving citrus, though other European nations also imported it. If Spaniards wanted to eat the flesh or drink the juice of this fruit at that time, they also had to do so almost entirely through importation as production in their country was at best in its infancy and its widespread availability was decades in the future. The grapefruit reportedly reached Spain for the first time via California during the early twentieth century (Gómez Espín 1989: 1610), and measurable, though minimal, production commenced in around 1934 (Manera Bassa 2004: 2).

Grapefruit production in Argentina appears to have both occurred earlier and progressed more quickly and on a larger scale than in Spain. By 1931,

‘grapefruit’ is *aranja* or *naronja* (University of Cambridge 2020, DCECH). This switches the typical order of these Arabic-based names seen in other Romance languages, such as Spanish (*naranja* and *toronja*) and Portuguese (*laranja* and *toranja*).

Argentina was producing enough of the fruit that it had begun to export the commodity, a practice that would increase in the coming decades. By the late 1960s, Argentina was the fourth largest producer of grapefruit (Sinclair 1972: 9). Nearly half a century later, it remained among the top ten nations in this category (FAO 2012). This emergence of grapefruit as an important crop in Spanish-speaking nations like Argentina is reflected in the CREA, which during the brief period of 1975–2004 lists in excess of 200 cases of *pomelo*, more than ten times the number that the CORDE manages to capture over nearly a thousand-year period, revealing the novel and recent nature of the grapefruit. The uses of this word that correspond to Argentina and Spain equal 184, or 87 percent of the total. Of these cases in the two countries, more than half – ninety-nine – are from Argentina, compared to eighty-five from Spain. Among Argentine survey participants, *pomelo* was the exclusive response, as it was in three bordering nations: Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The same occurred in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands. Informants in two other countries selected *pomelo*. Whereas it was a minority second choice in the Dominican Republic, in Bolivia it was the majority option, followed by *toronja* and *grey*, the latter an abbreviation of ‘grapefruit.’ In Venezuela, ten contributors offered responses based on the full Anglicism of *grapefruit*, some with orthographic variants listed at the end of this entry. The majority of Venezuelans, however, chose *toronja*. This was also the leading selection in Nicaragua, though a smaller number chose *grapefruit* or a variation thereof.

Following is the list of countries in which the only reply was *toronja*: Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico. The latter country is surely the reason for the dominance of this term in the other nations belonging to this group. It is not only geographically close to the US states, which launched the grapefruit industry and sent it abroad, but as of 2010 it was third only to China and the United States among the top producing countries (FAO 2012). As this fruit spread through Central America, the Caribbean, and northern South America, it surely carried the name given to it in Mexico, *toronja*. However, while the influence of Mexican Spanish on the name for ‘grapefruit’ in much of the Spanish-speaking world is evident, less clear is why *toronja* was the term selected, rather than a less ambiguous name. While English’s solution of compounding the existing words ‘grape’ and ‘fruit’ – likely because this fruit grows in clusters like grapes (OED) – was not terribly original, at least it did not risk confusing this new species with the much older pummelo or citron. Mexicans, however, did choose a name applied to one of these fruits, likely the pummelo. While the majority of *cidra* and *toronja* cases in the CORDE database are from Spain, several are from the Americas, though only two exist for the former and one for the latter in Mexican sources. These words, and the likely fruits they initially denoted, predate the emergence of the grapefruit in this

region. The *cidra* cases date to 1591 and 1780 and most likely refer to the citron. The *toronja* example is from the same 1780 source, and the tartness and size of the fruit are compared to those of a “*naranja*” and a “*melón*.” This indication of a large fruit points to the pummelo. Furthermore, the fact that even scientists initially had difficulty differentiating the pummelo from the grapefruit may have led to its name being transferred to the latter fruit when it arrived in Mexico near the beginning of the twentieth century. This would have been facilitated by the fact that the pummelo, though introduced in North, Central, and South America, has never been especially popular or widely grown in any of these areas. The countries where this fruit has been a mainstay of production continue to be those of its ancient homeland of Asia: China, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, etc. (Martin and Cooper 1977: 2–3). Therefore, any real confusion between *C. grandis* and *C. paradisi* arising from the use of *toronja* for the latter in modern Latin America would appear to be relegated largely to historical references to these species.

Spain and Argentina, followed by other countries in southern South America, also opted to apply an existing term to the grapefruit. However, as the words *cidra* and *toronja* had existed in both countries (CORDE), the adoption of the Anglicism *pomelo* arguably made for less confusion than the Mexican solution. While it is uncertain which country assumed the name first, the sheer distance between Spain and Argentina strongly indicates that a common event, rather than coincidence, explains this shared lexical choice. Since Argentina has been shown to be the country in this pair to have started cultivating the grapefruit first and more abundantly, to the point of exporting it before Spain even initiated its commercial production, a reasonable argument can be made that this Southern Cone nation was the first to call it *pomelo*, subsequently sharing the name with its European counterpart. This would have been even more likely if some of the early Argentine exports of the fruit itself had made their way to Spain. Such information from the better part of a century ago can be difficult to encounter, but its feasibility is enhanced by the fact that Argentina exports grapefruit to Spain to this day (CFI 2015: 8). A final consideration in favor of a Southern Cone origin of *pomelo* for ‘grapefruit’ is the fact that when this cultivar was introduced to Argentina, the word *toronja* was perhaps not reasonably available as a name since the term has also been used in the country for a hybridized orange that is no longer grown there (Izaguirre 2017, personal communication).⁴⁰ As an alternate choice, then, perhaps the ancestral role of the pummelo in creating the similar, though smaller grapefruit inspired local agronomists to Hispanicize the English lexeme as a suitable name for the newly arrived citrus species.

⁴⁰ Izaguirre, Miriam. 2017. School of Agronomy, University of Buenos Aires.

Tally of survey responses for ‘grapefruit’ by country (total of four)

- Argentina, Canary Islands, Chile, Paraguay, Spain, Uruguay: *pomelo* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *pomelo* (6), *toronja* (5), *grey* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *toronja* (14), *pomelo* (3)
- Nicaragua: *toronja* (8), *grapefruit* (6)
- Venezuela: *toronja* (18), *grapefruit* (10)
- All other countries: *toronja* (unanimous)

Variants of *grapefruit* used by survey respondents included: *greifrut*, *great fut*, *greifu*, *greyfu*, *graifu*, *grayfu*.

Item 13: Peanut

The compound word ‘peanut,’ first attested in 1802, is the English name employed to describe a legume that, while not a pea, belongs to the same family, and though not a nut botanically speaking, is often informally classified as one for culinary uses. This edible seed, whose ovary is fertilized above the soil before the stem pushes it underground where the podded fruit matures and ripens, comes from the *Arachis hypogaea* plant, whose family, *Fabaceae* or *Leguminosae*, is commonly referred to as the bean or pea family (OED). While the default names of food items in Spanish are often borrowed from their places of origin, such as Quechua’s *papa*, native to the Andes, or Náhuatl’s *aguacate*, first cultivated in modern Mexico, in other instances the determining factor is the word used in the area where Europeans first made contact with the items in question. Such is the case with the term employed for ‘peanut’ in the majority of Spanish-speaking countries: the Taíno word *maní*. In the mid-nineteenth century, peanut remnants were discovered in pre-Columbian tombs located in Peru, while in the second half of the twentieth century the wide array of species of the *Arachis* genus growing wild in eastern Bolivia allowed scientists to conclude that this was the birthplace of the peanut (Smith 2002: 3–4). Nevertheless, the native words for this legume in these regions are not among the terms employed in modern Spanish.

Despite its relatively distant origins, by the time the Spaniards began exploring the isles of the Caribbean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the peanut had already made its journey there from South America. Columbus himself described it to the king and queen of Spain in a letter dated 1495: “... y ansimesmo el ‘maní,’ qu’ es fruta que debajo de la tierra naze y es acá gran mantenimiento y en todo el año lo siembran” (CORDE). The fact that these were the American territories nearest to Spain would in time, paradoxically,

lead this Taíno word to be the dominant Spanish term for ‘peanut’ in the most distant of the mother country’s colonies, though not in mainland Spain itself. Boyd-Bowman (1971) observes that as Spanish conquistadors advanced from one American region to another, they did not tend to adopt new words for items if they had already firmly adopted a native term for the same article from earlier encounters with other languages. In many cases, this led to the spread of Caribbean-based vocabulary to areas where languages such as Náhuatl and Quechua were spoken, even when these tongues had the same concepts and synonymous words to express them. This is why one reads of *caciques* in Peru during colonial times, even though the word is from Carib and despite that fact that Quechua surely had an equivalent term to denote such leaders. The same occurred with the Taíno word *canoa*, which has been adopted broadly by Spanish speakers even in areas where such hollowed-out vessels were not a novelty, due to the Spaniards’ early contact with them in the Caribbean (196). The word *maní* spread in this same fashion throughout Central and South America, while the Quechua and Aymara names utilized for ‘peanut,’ *inchic* (or *anchic*) and *chocapa*, respectively, were not adopted (Hammons 1994: 31). The result of this is reflected in the responses of survey participants, who, in the nine Spanish-speaking South American countries, selected *maní* exclusively.

There was, however, another indigenous word for ‘peanut’ that had the impetus to resist the influence of *maní*: *cacahuate*, from the Náhuatl *cacáhuatl* (DLE), whose first documented use in Spanish, from Mexico in 1521, coincides with the conquest of the Aztecs (CORDE). This name is used nearly exclusively today in Mexico, where all thirty-one survey respondents selected this word, while only two of them also allowed for the use of *maní*. Its influence, furthermore, extends well beyond Mexico. When the newly discovered legume was transported to Spain, it was accompanied by the name *cacahuate*, which at some point was altered to *cacahuete*, likely due to a misperception that the name was the diminutive form of the similarly sized and shaped *cacao* ‘cocoa’ bean, *cacáhua* in Náhuatl (DCECH).⁴¹ The influence of this modified rendition can also be seen in Catalan (*cacahuet*), Galician (*cacahuete*), and French (*cacahuète*). Among the seventeen contributors in Spain, *cacahuete* was the only form chosen. In contrast, this word was the minority selection of three terms found in the Canary Islands, chosen by only five of the twenty-five participants there, in comparison to the eleven participants who opted for *maní*. The third, and most popular, word for ‘peanut’ among the Canary Islanders will be discussed below.

While *maní* was the only word selected in both Nicaragua and Costa Rica, among the other Central American informants *cacahuate* was offered to greater and lesser degrees; it was the leading response in Panama and Honduras, and

⁴¹ The CORDE records *cacahuetes* from 1803.

was a secondary and tertiary one in El Salvador and Guatemala, respectively. In this latter country, neither *cacahuete* nor *maní* is the dominant name for ‘peanut,’ but rather the variant *manía(s)*, which was chosen by ten of the twelve participants. While the literature appears silent on how and when this form emerged, it appears likely that it resulted from a chain of vowel shifts set in motion by usage of the plural form of *maní*. When the peanut reached Guatemala, it was likely consumed predominantly by the humbler classes initially, as it was in other areas (Smith 2002: 3). In Guatemala, these groups would have included large numbers of speakers of indigenous languages such as Mayan Quiché and Kaqchikel. As Can Pixabaj (2017) notes the existence of [ɛ] in the Quiché vowel system (464), and as Léonard and Sucuc (2009) have documented a [e] > [ɛ] shift in Kaqchikel (206), the influence of such Amerindian tongues on *manies* could have weakened its tense /e/ to a more lax, allophonic [ɛ]. A subsequent step, also documented in Quiché and related Mayan languages, would have been [ɛ] > [ə] (Donegan 2013: 44). The schwa in the resulting [manías] pronunciation would have caused it to sound much closer to the Guatemalan variant *manías* than to the original *manies* still preserved in the plural form of this word in other countries. Whatever the exact mechanism and processes were that led to this name for ‘peanut’ in Guatemala, the fact that it is not used as such beyond the confines of this country can lead to amusement or confusion when it is heard by Spanish speakers abroad. This is not least of all because *mania*, a longstanding homonym from Greek via Late Latin that is also the source of English ‘mania,’ refers not to a food item but to an obsessed fixation, crazed action, or other behavior considered outside the realm of normal human comportment.

The fifth and final term used in modern Spanish for ‘peanut’ is another variant of *maní*: the word *manises*. While this alternative constitutes a different outcome from the Guatemalan term *manías*, it is also the evident result of pluralizing a form that most speakers use in the singular. Spanish features numerous polysyllabic words containing syllable-final stress, particularly those that end in consonants. They can be adjectives (*fiel*), nouns (*verdad*), or all unconjugated verbs (*amar*, *comer*, *vivir*). This is much less common, however, with words that conclude in vowels. While an exception is seen in certain preterite verb forms (*amé*, *comí*, *vivió*), these words are not subject to pluralization. Furthermore, though some nouns and adjectives ending in a stressed vowel in modern Spanish have developed within the language itself, including gentilic names such as *marroquí*, *israelí*, and *iraní*, most are borrowings from other languages: *menú* (French), *bisturí* (French), *carmesí* (Hispano-Arabic) (DLE). A certain instability in the processes governing their pluralization leads to varied outcomes. While the nationality related words above are universal in their use of *-es* endings (*marroquíes*, *israelíes*, *iraníes*), this suffix merely represents the preferred prescriptive form in other cases, where both solutions

are commonly found: *menúes/menús*, *carmesíes/carmesís*, *bisturíes/bisturís* (Chacón Berruga 2012: 170).

While the circumstances described above account for the *manís/maníes* dichotomy, *manises*, common in the Canary Islands, is the result of pluralization that is much more marked than simply adding *-s* rather than *-es* to words ending in *-ú* and *-í*. It exemplifies, rather, a pattern for the production of various such “vulgar” words (Chacón Berruga 2012: 170). A case in point is the Spanish word for ‘foot.’ The Latin genitive form relating to this body part, *pedis*, has yielded the modern *pie*. Its plural form, *píes*, which strictly speaking would have been possible in Latin owing to its monosyllabic nature, nonetheless represents a rare case in Spanish of such a short noun ending in a plural-forming *-s*. Since other short nouns ending in consonants carry *-es* endings, such as *col* > *coles*, *paz* > *paces*, and *as* > *ases*, this may well have influenced the nonstandard *pieses*. Such analogical processes are also evident in several words whose singular forms, like *maní*, end with an accented vowel, leading to non-normative variants: *sofases*, *vermuses*, *teses*, *cafeses*, *ajises*, etc. This type of hypercorrection typically arises among the less educated, rural sectors of society. Álvarez Nazario (1992), while not limiting its existence to Puerto Rico, discusses the use of *-ses* to pluralize words ending in accented vowels in the “*campesino*” language of the island, specifically listing “*manises*” (179–180). The DCECH, for its part, also claims that this “*barbarismo*” can be heard in Puerto Rico, as well as Argentina and Cuba. While none of the survey respondents from any of these three countries selected this variant, opting in each case instead for *maní*, its mention in connection with Cuban Spanish is significant. Havana’s importance in the Spanish Empire’s transatlantic trade, including the goods that left the New World in the holds of ships destined for the Old, almost surely led to the shipment of peanuts, and the names used for them in the Caribbean, to the Canary Islands. These names likely included both *maní* and *manises*. However, while the latter word was born of nonstandard pluralization among the lower classes, this distinction vis-à-vis its more cultured counterpart appears to have been lost on Canary Islanders, who retained both words but rearranged them in a new dichotomy. The following is the entry for *manises* in the online dictionary of the Academia Canaria de la Lengua (2015):

1. m. pl. Frutos de la planta del maní. *No comas muchos manises, que son pesados para el estómago.*
2. m. pl. Semillas que contiene este fruto.

This entry plainly shows that *maní* was largely adopted as the name for the peanut plant, while *manises* came to denote the pod and the edible kernels growing therein. While there is flexibility in this terminology, the fact that this is the default meaning of these words today is largely demonstrated by the replies of the survey participants, fourteen of whom selected *manises* for

‘peanut,’ compared to eleven cases of *maní* and five of *cacahuete*. It is also clear that *manises* is no longer considered an uneducated or vulgar form in the Canary Islands.

Tally of survey responses for ‘peanut’ by country (total of five)

- Canary Islands: *manises* (14), *maní* (11), *cacahuete* (5)
- El Salvador: *maní* (8), *cacahuete* (4)
- Guatemala: *manías* (10), *maní* (3), *cacahuete* (2)
- Honduras: *cacahuete* (7), *maní* (5)
- Mexico: *cacahuete* (31), *maní* (2)
- Panama: *cacahuete* (12), *maní* (2)
- Spain: *cacahuete* (unanimous)
- All other countries: *maní* (unanimous)

Variants of *maní* used by survey respondents included: *maníes*, *manís*

Item 14: Mushroom

Even though mushrooms are grown on a large scale like other food crops, they are not classified as plants, belonging to their own taxonomic kingdom: fungi. Among the oldest life forms on the planet, mushrooms, both wild and domesticated, poisonous as well as edible, are ubiquitous worldwide, dispersed among an astonishing array of species, which number in the thousands, falling under not only dozens of genera but at least two different phyla: *Ascomycota* and *Basidiomycota* (Peintner et al. 2013). A well-represented genus of edible mushrooms within the latter phylum is *Agaricus*, and cultivated varieties of *A. bisporus* constitute the most popular culinary specimens in the world, including in Europe and America (Calvo-Bado et al. 2000: 311). The first documented iteration of the English word for this item, ‘muserun,’ dates to approximately 1400, having entered the language via Anglo-Norman, other variants of which included *musseron*, *muserum*, *musscherom*, and *mussherum*. The ultimate origins of these names are unclear (OED). In contrast, one of the principal words for ‘mushroom’ in Spanish is directly traceable to its Latin roots. Through the expected /f/ > /h/ > /ø/ transition, /u/ > /o/ confluence, and final /-s/ loss, *fungus* begat the modern Spanish *hongo*. Its first documented use, also dating from around the turn of the fifteenth century, took the form of *fongo* (DCECH), though by then the etymological <f> would have been pronounced as /h/ for as long as perhaps the last 500 years, a phoneme that in the sixteenth century finally fell silent in Spanish (Pharies 2007: 89). Perhaps to mitigate confusion stemming from the fact that *hongo* in Spanish is employed

not only narrowly, for ‘mushroom,’ but also broadly, for ‘fungus,’ other terms are used in the language to denote this same object. The French word for it, *champignon*, was first recorded in Spain in 1820, though uncaptured older cases surely exist, as the Hispanicized *champiñón* (in the pluralized form *champiñones*) dates from an earlier 1785, in what is now Venezuela (CORDE). This Gallicism appears to have replaced *hongo* for ‘mushroom’ nearly completely in mainland Spain, where a majority of survey respondents chose *champiñón*, a minority selected *seta*, and none opted for *hongo*. A similar result obtained in the Canary Islands.

The DLE defines *seta* thus: “*Cualquier especie de hongo, comestible o no, con forma de sombrilla, sostenida por un pedicelo.*” Certain Spaniards and Canarians, therefore, may consider this name to refer broadly to all types and classes of capped mushrooms, both wild and cultivated, to the extent that they might posit that all *champiñones* are *setas* but not all *setas* are *champiñones*. In truth, however, many speakers of these dialects clearly view both terms as being synonymous. In her book on Spanish cuisine, *La cocina de hoy en España*, published in Madrid, Gil de Antuñano (2013) addresses various mushroom species and their common names. Under the entry “*Champiñón cultivado (agaricus bisporus)*,” she gives the following acceptable nomenclature: “*champiñón cultivado, seta de París.*”⁴² In reference to this same most commonly cultivated species, the Madrid-based newspaper *La República de las Ideas* (2012) offers “*champiñón de París, seta de París o seta francesa*” and stresses that when most cookbooks “*hacen referencia a las setas, se refieren al champiñón.*” However, not only can both of these sources be traced to Madrid, but two of the four contributors who gave *seta* as a response for ‘mushroom’ were likewise from this capital city (another was from the Basque Country and one failed to indicate a place of residence). In some parts of Spain, the terms *seta* and *champiñón* may very well not be employed synonymously. Among the Canarian informants, both *seta* responses came from individuals on the island of Gran Canaria, which, akin to Madrid, in the heart of mainland Spain, is at the geographic center of the archipelago and is home to the islands’ largest city, Las Palmas. The various informants on the islands of Tenerife, Lanzarote, La Palma, and Fuerteventura selected only *champiñón*.

The DCECH cites two possibilities regarding the etymology of *seta*. The first is that it is a word whose existence in the Iberian Peninsula predates the arrival there of the Romans, beyond which time its origins are uncertain, a view with which the DLE concurs. The second is that it is from the Greek *septa* ‘rotten

⁴² Significantly, the terms she lists for wild specimens also include both of the names in question: “*Champiñón silvestre (Agaricus campestris, Agaricus arvensis) cas: champiñón silvestre, seta de campo.*”

things,’ the neuter plural of *septos*, and that its meaning over time transformed from rot generally, to mold and moss and then a mushroom of little or no value more specifically, to, eventually, an equivalent of *hongo* for ‘mushroom’ regardless of variety or worth. Roberts (2014b) sees this as the more plausible argument (542). Evidence in favor of Greek origins is that even though the other Romance languages have terms for ‘mushroom’ that in general are unrelated to *septa*, certain dialects of northern Catalan feature *sép* (or *cep*) to denote a specimen of middling value, a name and meaning which, along with the variant *set*, also exist in Gascon, a dialect of Occitan spoken in France, outside the Iberian Peninsula (DCECH).

Even though the first known usage of *seta* in Spanish, recorded in 1423 as *xeta* (DCECH), predates Spanish colonization in the New World, this name for ‘mushroom’ is seldom heard in American Spanish. It was cited by survey participants in only two countries there, both of which had considerable contact with Spain during colonial times. In Mexico, twenty-five cases of *champiñón* were selected, compared to eleven of *hongo* and two of *seta*. Puerto Rico is the only country on either side of the Atlantic in which *seta* was chosen as the majority form, offered by eight contributors, compared to three cases of *hongo* and none of *champiñón*. In the remainder of the Caribbean and throughout Central America, *hongo* was the dominant option, whereas in South America there was a roughly even balance between it and *champiñón*, as seen in the tallied results at the end of this entry. Chile was the only country in which a fourth word for ‘mushroom’ was selected: *callampa*, a Quechuan word (DLE).⁴³ The first known documentation of this term dates to 1640, though it referred to poisonous specimens. It is found in Álvaro Alonso Barba’s seventeenth-century treatise *Arte de los metales*, which, while printed in Madrid, was written in South America as it concerns the refining of precious metals in the New World, particularly related to the silver mines in and around Potosí, Bolivia. In a section of this work, which focuses on the alleged curative qualities of different chemical elements and compounds, Alonso Barba writes that sulfur and potassium nitrate are effective in counteracting “*callampas u hongos venenosos*” (CORDE). It is obvious from later mentions of this word, however, that over time it has come to be used for edible varieties. Recipes cited in the CREA from the years 1989 and 1991 in Chile list “*callampas*” as an obviously innocuous ingredient.

⁴³ The principal use of this word in the CREA, however, is as part of the phrase *población callampa*, which refers to a ‘slum’ or ‘shanty town.’ The metaphoric imagery is one of improvised shacks and other makeshift dwellings springing up in the most unexpected or least desirable places, like mushrooms. Equivalent terms in Latin American Spanish are *cinturón de miseria* (Mexico), *villa miseria* (Argentina), *barrio marginal* (Ecuador), *barriada* (Venezuela), and *tugurio* (Colombia and Costa Rica).

Tally of survey responses for ‘mushroom’ by country (total of four)

- Costa Rica, Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama: *hongo* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *champiñón* (13), *hongo* (8)
- Bolivia: *hongo* (8), *champiñón* (5)
- Canary Islands: *champiñón* (22), *seta* (2)
- Chile: *champiñón* (8), *callampa* (4), *hongo* (3)
- Colombia: *champiñón* (12), *hongo* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *hongo* (15), *champiñón* (4)
- Ecuador: *hongo* (7), *champiñón* (5)
- El Salvador: *hongo* (14), *champiñón* (2)
- Guatemala: *hongo* (10), *champiñón* (3)
- Mexico: *champiñón* (25), *hongo* (11), *seta* (2)
- Paraguay: *hongo* (9), *champiñón* (6)
- Peru: *hongo* (8), *champiñón* (8)
- Puerto Rico: *seta* (8), *hongo* (3)
- Spain: *champiñón* (15), *seta* (4)
- Uruguay: *champiñón* (9), *hongo* (7)
- Venezuela: *hongo* (15), *champiñón* (15)

Item 15: Ice Cream

The forerunners of ice cream were non-dairy drinks made from ice and snow, substances which Alexander the Great, in the fourth century BC, reportedly ordered be stored in pits for this and other refrigerative purposes. This method was practiced earlier, both in China, around 1100 BC, and as early as 1,000 years previous in Mesopotamia (Weiss 2011: 13). Historians are of the belief that the first dairy-based frozen confection was concocted in seventh-century China, during the Tang Dynasty. Meanwhile, Arabs, Turks, and Persians during the Middle Ages also consumed iced drinks, flavored with fruits such as cherries and pomegranates (14). Arabic speakers called them *šarāb* ‘beverage’ or ‘potion’ (<*šārib* ‘to drink’), a form that was modified to *šārbat* ‘glass of lemonade’ in the Syrian dialect. When this word passed into Turkish, it became *šerbét*, undergoing a double vowel shift from /a/ to /e/, the latter of which, along with /o/, does not exist in Arabic. Under the influence of Italian *sorbire* ‘to sip’ – a verb featuring semantic and phonological affinities with the Arabic and Turkish forms in question, though without etymological connections – *šerbét* yielded *sorbetto* in the mid-sixteenth century. This Italian word was followed by French *sorbet* and Spanish *sorbeta* in the seventeenth

century (DCECH).⁴⁴ During the process of phonetic and morphological change in the lexemes described above, the semantic implications of their usage were also evolving. By the second half of the seventeenth century, *sorbetto* had come to be used in Italy for both cold drinks and more solid desserts akin to modern Italian ices. In Naples at this time, Antonio Latini experimented by adding milk and sugar to the watery base before cooking the mixture and freezing it in snow and salt. The resulting milk *sorbetto* is often considered by culinary historians as the first ice cream (Weiss 2011: 16). As an evident result, survey participants in three nations chose *sorbete* with this meaning; it was a majority selection in El Salvador and a minority option in Nicaragua and Mexico.⁴⁵

Even as ice cream grew in popularity, the Italians continued to apply the word *sorbetto* to both it and non-dairy ices until the nineteenth century (Kronld 2011: 159). It is difficult to pinpoint with precision the moment that *gelato* began to be used as a noun for this creamy dessert, as historically it has also been an adjective with the meaning of ‘frozen.’ While the DLE states that the Spanish noun *helado* is derived from the past participle of *helar*, it seems likely, given Italy’s influence as the birthplace of ice cream, that *gelato* had at least some influence on the adoption of *helado* with this meaning. This is bolstered by the OED’s assertion that *gelato* was first used as ‘ice cream’ in Italian in approximately 1803, which, if correct, was only two short decades before the first CORDE mention of *helado* with this meaning, in 1822. The potential influence of *gelato* can also be seen in the word for ‘ice cream’ in other Romance languages: Catalan (*gelat*), Peninsular Portuguese (*gelado*), and Galician (*xeado*).⁴⁶ *Helado* was selected for ‘ice cream’ by informants in each country, exclusively so in sixteen.

A popular secondary choice among Mexican contributors was *nieve*, a term which literally means ‘snow.’⁴⁷ Two individuals indicated that this word applies to water-based frozen desserts, such as a sorbet. While this may indeed be the case at times, anyone who has spent time in Mexico can attest to the fact that *nieve* is also widely used there for true, dairy ice cream. In Nicaragua, three of eleven respondents selected *eskimo*.⁴⁸ This is owed to the fact that the

⁴⁴ *Sorbete* is related to *jarabe* and *sirope*, a case of triplets derived from *šarâb* (DLE). While *jarabe* means ‘syrup,’ this English word itself is a borrowing of French *sirope* (OED).

⁴⁵ The English word for this dessert is a nearly direct translation of the French *crème glacée*, though the final word means ‘iced’ rather than ‘ice’. The first known use of ‘ice cream’ dates to 1672, while cases of the less-used ‘iced cream’ are attested in 1688 and 1757 (OED).

⁴⁶ Portuguese speakers in Brazil use *sorvete* for ‘ice cream.’

⁴⁷ This recalls the earlier French use of *neige*, prior to the adoption of *crème glacée* (Kronld 2011: 159–160).

⁴⁸ This Inuit-related name, at times Hispanized orthographically to *esquimo* by Nicaraguans for this usage, features a pronunciation similar to that of English: /éskimo/. The Spanish name for this native group of extreme North America is *esquimal*. While the term *eskimo* can also be encountered in Mexico, it does not refer to ready-to-serve ice cream products like those of the

country in question has been the home of the Eskimo ice cream company since its founding in the 1940s. In Puerto Rico, a majority of participants opted for a word not offered by informants in the other country: *mantecado*. The DCECH cites this term as being derived from *manteca* ‘lard,’ but without mention of a grammatical category or date of first appearance in Spanish. In the CORDE, *mantecado* as an adjective meaning ‘fatty’ or ‘buttery’ is first documented in 1545. As a noun denoting a type of ‘shortbread’ it is found from 1766. Since shortbread is also a dessert, it can be difficult to determine in a given case if the reference is to this or to ‘ice cream.’ The first clear case of the latter, evidently inspired by the milk fat that it contains, dates to 1956, in Spain. From there the name appears to have migrated to the Caribbean, where there are two uses from Cuba in 1966, as well as a case in 1981 listed in the CREA. The term appears to have eventually been adopted more extensively by Puerto Ricans than Cubans, all of whom in the survey selected only *helado*. Finally, in Honduras, although most contributors selected *helado*, a smaller group opted for the Anglicism *ice cream*.

Tally of survey responses for ‘ice cream’ by country (total of six)

- El Salvador: *sorbete* (13), *helado* (4)
- Honduras: *helado* (10), *ice cream* (4)
- Mexico: *helado* (23), *nieve* (14), *sorbete* (2)
- Nicaragua: *helado* (6), *sorbete* (3), *eskimo* (3)
- Puerto Rico: *mantecado* (8), *helado* (4)
- All other countries: *helado* (unanimous)

1.4 Food-Related Items with Extensive Nomenclature Variation

Item 16: Pig

It has been calculated that the Eurasian wild pig, *Sus scrofa*, was domesticated in the Near East in approximately 5000 BC. Since that time, *Sus domesticus* has become one of the world’s most ubiquitous sources of meat (Rogers 2012: 7). While English utilizes both ‘pig’ and ‘hog’ for this animal, these words are used globally in the language, not dialectally. In contrast, Spanish features no fewer than nine names for this creature, but only one of them is employed universally: *cerdo*. The oldest word for ‘pig’ in Spanish, however, is *marrano*, dating from a very early 965 (DCECH). It ultimately comes from the Classical Arabic verb

Eskimo company, but rather to a liquid milkshake containing ice cream blended with milk and additional flavoring syrups.

harama ‘to exclude’ or ‘deny,’ but in the dialect spoken in Spain it assumed the derived noun form *mahram*, used to denote things forbidden, particularly for human consumption (Roberts 2014b: 176). In informal speech it was pronounced with a word-final /-n/, *mahran*, later passing into Spanish as *marrano* for ‘pig’ due to the strict Muslim prohibition against eating the flesh of this mammal due to its perceived uncleanness.⁴⁹ With the Reconquista, the name was sarcastically applied to ‘new Christians,’ former Muslims and Jews whose conversion to Catholicism in Spain tended to be viewed suspiciously. If Spaniards considered this usage humorous, however, the joke was soon on them as other Europeans began to use the word to implicate all Spaniards, even those born in the Christian faith. As a result, by the sixteenth century the word *marrano* had declined steadily in Spain (DCECH).⁵⁰ The effects of this were felt somewhat less strongly in American Spanish, where the word had also been used since presumably the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. While all seventeen survey participants in mainland Spain selected *cerdo* exclusively, *marrano* has persisted in American Spanish and was chosen by multiple respondents in Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico, though it was the leading option in none of them.

Almost as old as *marrano* is *puerco*, whose first documented use is from 1044, though its origins can be traced back much further (DCECH). This should come as no surprise given the prevalence of cognates in other Romance languages: *porc* (Catalan, French, Romanian) and *porco* (Italian, Portuguese, Galician). In fact, the etymon of these terms, Latin *porcus*, is held to be merely a more recent iteration of the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **porko-* ‘young pig’ (Roberts 2014b: 877). While English ‘pork’ is an obvious Latinate borrowing, via Anglo-Norman (*porc*), the word ‘pig’ itself is of uncertain origin (OED). Even though *puerco* as a noun was never used in Spain to disparage individuals on the basis of religious status, its adjectival form had long carried the connotation of something ‘dirty’ (Roberts 2014b: 420). As a result, *puerco* fell into disuse in Spain by the seventeenth century, following the fate there of *marrano* a century earlier (DCECH). When

⁴⁹ The term *marrão* also entered Portuguese with this meaning but has fallen into disuse. Owing to the unique circumstances of the Moors’ nearly eight-centuries-long occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, no other Romance language has an equivalent of this word (DCECH).

⁵⁰ This does not mean that *marrano* is never heard in Spain, though it typically occurs under specific circumstances with historical import. As an example, annually in La Alberca, a town in the province of Salamanca, an approximately 500-year-old tradition called the *Rifa del marrano de San Antón* takes place. After allowing a piglet to begin wandering around the town in mid-June, from which time it is fed by locals and tourists over the next seven months, the town’s leaders hold a raffle in order to sell the now fattened *marrano* on January 17 of the following year. This day marks the celebration of *San Antón*, in honor of Anthony the Great, a Christian monk from Egypt born in the mid-third century AD. While the proceeds now go toward a charitable cause, originally these hogs, raised by Christians eager to prove to leaders of the Inquisition that they were not Jews, were donated to help feed the poor (Cañas 2017).

Spaniards hear speakers of American Spanish use *puerco* in their country, they understand what it means but often find it amusing. However, just as *marrano* did not disappear in American Spanish, *puerco* has also enjoyed uninterrupted use in many New World countries. Survey respondents selected multiple cases of this word in eleven such nations, from Mexico to the Caribbean to Central and northern South America.

The term *cochino*, which dates to at least 1330, is an onomatopoeic word derived from *joch!* (variously *coche*, *cochi*, *cuch*, and *cuche*), an interjection employed in many languages to call pigs. The earliest manifestation of this word in Spanish was *cocho*, a term reportedly still used for ‘pig’ in the Spanish dialects of Navarre and Asturias, as well as in Galician. This form eventually became *cochino*, which, as a diminutive word, applied only to a ‘piglet’ in its original fourteenth-century usage, though by the sixteenth century it had come to denote the adult variety. In time, *cochino* came to be used metaphorically in reference to a man with dirty habits, particularly that of burping, which led to its frequent use in jokes and puns by the seventeenth century. As a result, it largely ceased to be used in Spain, just as occurred with *marrano* and *puerco* (DCECH). Its decline has been less categorical in the Canary Islands, where a majority of informants selected both *cochino* and the slightly more popular *cerdo*. *Cochino* also survived in the Spanish of the New World, where it was offered by respondents in three countries, Mexico, Honduras, and Venezuela, in dominant fashion in the latter.

With *marrano*, *puerco*, and *cochino* generally unavailable for usage in non-insulting contexts in mainland Spain, and perhaps to a certain extent in the American colonies, new words were needed. One such term would be born in Spain itself in the early seventeenth century, while others would emerge across the Atlantic beginning at somewhat later dates. While the first known uses of *çerdos* and *cerdos* are from 1580 and 1611, respectively (CORDE), it was a lexeme long in the making. Its Spanish etymon, *cerda* ‘bristle’ or ‘tuft of hair,’ appeared as early as 1280, derived from the Vulgar Latin word of the same meaning, *cirra*, which in turn was the plural form of the Classical *cirrus* ‘horsehair’ (DCECH).⁵¹ Since the hair of pigs is as coarse as that found on the tails and mane of horses, the flexible and evolving semantics of these terms gradually allowed for allusions to swine, as seen in *ganado de cerda* ‘hairy livestock’ (Roberts 2014a: 349). This expression, dating from perhaps the sixteenth century or earlier, while general at first, soon narrowed in meaning to refer to porcine stock, making the emergence of *cerdo* a fairly simple abbreviatory step, the /o/ in *ganado* evidently

⁵¹ In both Spanish and Portuguese, *cerda* continues to mean ‘bristle’ in the sense of the flexible filaments found on a brush or broom, of either animal or synthetic sourcing. In Spanish, it can also denote a female pig, or ‘sow.’

influencing the *cerda* > *cerdo* transition (DCECH). While not heard as frequently in the New World as in Spain after its emergence there near the beginning of the seventeenth century, *cerdo* did cross the Atlantic and gradually entered the lexical inventory of every Spanish-speaking country in the Americas. This process appears to have taken effect first in South America, where its initial CORDE mention in the region is from Venezuela in 1687, followed by Peru, Argentina, Colombia, and Uruguay between 1748 and 1789. In the nineteenth century, after a documented case in Chile (1805), its continued progress is marked by its use outside of South America, noted in Mexico, Cuba, and Guatemala (1812–1867). In the twentieth century, the diffusion of the term continued in Central America and the Caribbean, where it was recorded in Costa Rica, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Honduras (1901–1966). In fact, the popularity of *cerdo* has grown in American Spanish to the point that among survey respondents it was a majority term in more than half of the countries in question: ten of nineteen. Furthermore, these countries, as the CORDE data presages, range from the Caribbean through Central and South America.

During the time in which *cerdo* was beginning to spread through the New World, an American-born lexeme for ‘pig’ appeared whose use would become extensive in its own right throughout the hemisphere. Although Roberts (2014a: 466), the DCECH, and the DLE all agree that *chancho* is derived through the palatalization of the first consonant in /sánʃo/, they disagree on whether this source word was the male name *Sancho* or the uncapitalized *sancho*. While the DLE argues for the latter, stating that *sancho* comes from *sanch*, a term used to call pigs, the DCECH claims that this theory, along with *chan* as a similarly postulated source, “*es afirmación arbitraria y sin pruebas.*” Both the DCECH and Roberts assert that *Sancho*, while a proper noun, was, for reasons they do not explain, often used as a nickname for swine as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, eventually leading it to become a formal word for the animal through a /sánʃo/ > /ʃánʃo/ transformation by the second half of the eighteenth century, though only in the New World. Its first known use as such dates to 1764 in Chile, followed by Costa Rica in 1777 (DCECH). The distance between these countries would suggest that in the years intervening between these cases of *chancho* the term was also being adopted in other South and Central American countries. This is certainly the case today, as this word is used in all regions of the Americas except perhaps Mexico and the Caribbean, the Spanish-speaking countries located farthest from Chile and which remained for several more decades in close contact with mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, where it was not adopted. *Chancho* was selected in four of the six Central American countries and seven of the nine South American nations, between El Salvador and the Southern Cone. Apart from

Mexico and the Caribbean, the only countries in the Americas where *chanchó* was not selected were Guatemala, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela.

As mentioned earlier, the DCECH lists *cuche* and *cochi* as historic interjections related to the calling of pigs. The latter is cited by the DLE as the source of *coche* in dialectal Spanish to mean *cerdo*. While this work of reference does not limit the use of this noun to any one geographical area, it does specifically note Guatemala as the country where the adjectival form of *coche* can mean *sucio* 'dirty.' Guatemalan informants were indeed alone in selecting this word, the most popular response in this Central American nation. Across the border, in El Salvador, the similar *cuche*, also limited to only this country, was one of the names most selected for this animal. While the DLE does not contain an entry on this word, the DAMER lists it as a synonym of *cerdo* in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Peru, as well as metaphorically in reference to a dirty person in the latter two. Another term, unrelated to *cuche* but again chosen only by Salvadoran contributors, was *tunco*, which the DLE claims is also employed in Honduras and Mexico. This name is so widespread in El Salvador that a rock formation visible off its Pacific coast in the Department of La Libertad resembling a pig lying on its back, legs in the air, led to the name of what is now a popular resort beach there: Playa El Tunco (Diario San Sivar 2017). Given as a minority response by three Salvadoran informants, *tunco* was one of six terms offered in this country of only 6 million inhabitants.

Finally, the term *lechón*, derived from *leche* 'milk' and thus historically used for a 'suckling pig,' or a "*cochinillo que todavía mama*," to cite the DLE's first definition of the word, also has at least two other uses.⁵² The second definition in this dictionary, unsurprisingly, is one of disrespect reserved for humans: "*Persona sucia, puerca, desaseada*." Returning to the four-legged species, the third meaning given is "*cerdo macho de cualquier tiempo*." Even though most Spanish-speaking countries avoid using *lechón* according to the latter definition, it has been embraced to a significant degree in Puerto Rico, while not displacing other forms. In an unattributed article on culture from 2009 entitled '*De puercos, cerdos y lechones*,' Puerto Rico's *El Nuevo Día* newspaper states that this meaning of *lechón* has become part of the island's vocabulary to the extent that a restaurant specializing in roasted pig, even of the full-grown variety, is called a "*lechonera*." A reflection of this is the fact that the two Puerto Rican survey respondents who selected this term for an adult 'pig,' as seen in the photograph for the survey item, were the only participants in any country to do so. Answering the question about what term is used in Puerto Rico to denote a 'piglet' now that *lechón* is on par with *cerdo* and *puerco*, the article offers the term "*cochinito lechal*."

⁵² The first known case of *lechón* in Spanish dates from the first half of the thirteenth century (CORDE).

Tally of survey responses for 'pig' by country (total of nine)

- Argentina: *chancho* (15), *cerdo* (11)
- Bolivia: *cerdo* (8), *chancho* (7)
- Canary Islands: *cerdo* (20), *cochino* (15)
- Chile: *chancho* (11), *cerdo* (8)
- Colombia: *cerdo* (12), *marrano* (3)
- Costa Rica: *cerdo* (9), *chancho* (6)
- Cuba: *puerco* (8), *cerdo* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *cerdo* (14), *puerco* (10)
- Ecuador: *cerdo* (5), *puerco* (2), *chancho* (2)
- El Salvador: *cerdo* (12), *puerco* (10), *cuche* (9), *marrano* (5), *chancho* (3), *tunco* (3)
- Guatemala: *coche* (9), *cerdo* (8), *puerco* (5), *marrano* (4)
- Honduras: *cerdo* (8), *chancho* (6), *puerco* (5), *marrano* (3), *cochino* (2)
- Mexico: *puerco* (21), *cerdo* (15), *cochino* (8), *marrano* (8)
- Nicaragua: *chancho* (9), *cerdo* (6)
- Panama: *puerco* (12), *cerdo* (9)
- Paraguay: *chancho* (9), *cerdo* (9)
- Peru: *chancho* (10), *cerdo* (6), *puerco* (3)
- Puerto Rico: *cerdo* (10), *puerco* (6), *lechón* (2)
- Spain: *cerdo* (unanimous)
- Uruguay: *cerdo* (11), *chancho* (10)
- Venezuela: *cochino* (22), *puerco* (6), *cerdo* (4)

A final note on the pig regards the terms used to refer to its meat. Following the photograph of a living specimen in the survey was another showing pork chops. Several contributors, apparently assuming the two images represented the same item, only responded to the first. However, enough discrete answers were given to draw certain conclusions, the main one being that *carne de cerdo* is clearly the most popular term in Spanish for 'pork.' Not only was this the most selected answer in the countries where *cerdo* was also the preferred name for 'pig,' but it was also the case in most of those in which another word for the living animal was more abundant. For example, in Argentina fifteen participants chose *chancho* for 'pig,' compared to eleven cases of *cerdo*. However, to denote 'pork,' only one individual selected *carne de chancho*, versus six who opted for *carne de cerdo*. An exception occurred in Mexico: after twenty-one cases of *puerco* and fifteen of *cerdo* were selected for 'pig,' five participants opted for *carne de puerco*, compared to zero for *carne de cerdo*. Other equivalents of 'pork' included the (minority) selection of *carne de cochino* in the Canary Islands and *carne de cuche* in El Salvador.

Item 17: Beefsteak

In England, the country perhaps most associated with roast beef, the meat of choice for the average person in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was pork. At the time, most people fortunate enough to have a cow either kept it for milk or as a draft animal, tending to slaughter it only when it was old and its meat tough (Rogers 2012: 43). This popularity of pork dishes with the middle classes endured into the eighteenth century. However, among the more well-to-do, including nobility, beef was becoming the meat of choice by the sixteenth century, in part because these people did not want to eat what was viewed as the simpler foods of the commoners. By the seventeenth century, pork was largely absent from upper-class tables, replaced by mutton and beef (47–50). The term ‘beefsteak,’ first recorded in England in 1711 (OED), is a compound word whose constituent parts traveled countless miles and hundreds of years to be united. ‘Beef,’ whose first known use in English dates from end of the thirteenth century, entered the language via Old French *boef* (modern French *bœuf*), which itself was derived from Latin *bovem*, the accusative form of *bos* ‘ox.’⁵³ ‘Steak’ came into English through Old Norse *steik*, its first documented case in English recorded in approximately 1420. It is not certain, however, that this term originally held the same precise meaning as today, that of a flat cut of meat with relatively uniform thickness specifically designed to be cooked on a gridiron or other grill or pan. In fact, the Old Norse verb *steikja* meant ‘to roast on a spit’ (OED). ‘Beefsteak’ is the etymon of Spanish *bistec*, which is attested in the language from the mid-nineteenth century (DCECH). This word was selected by survey participants in seventeen of the twenty-one countries and was the first choice in fifteen of them. It was only absent in Bolivia and the three River Plate countries: Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay. Another ‘beef’-inspired name for the item in question, popular in these very same South American nations, is *bife*. This term was selected as the top choice among survey respondents in Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia, and as the second option in Uruguay. The CORDE first documents its use in Argentina in 1926.

As the word *bife* perhaps only appeared in River Plate Spanish in the early twentieth century, and since the CORDE contains no uses of the older term *bistec* in Argentina or Uruguay – the two countries where *asado* is most phenomenally popular – another word was logically employed in the interim for this type of grilled beef. The answer appears to have been provided by survey participants, among whom the most popular word for ‘steak’ in Uruguay was *churrasco*, the second-leading response among Argentines, as

⁵³ Therefore, in the taxonomy of the common ‘cow,’ *Bos taurus*, the names of both the genus and the species, come from Latin: *bos* ‘ox’ and *taurus* ‘bull.’ *Bos* is also the etymon of the Spanish term for ‘ox’: *buey*.

well as Peruvians and Venezuelans. It was not chosen by informants in any other country. The CORDE records the first known use of *churrasco* in Argentina, from 1853, whereas the initial case in Uruguay dates to 1883. It derives from the Portuguese borrowing *chamuscarse* ‘to scorch.’ This Lusism, combined with the alternative *chumascarse*, has yielded variants that include *charrascarse* ‘to burn superficially’ and *churrascarse* ‘to begin to burn.’ Derived from the latter verb is the noun *churrasco*, which the DCECH defines as a River Plate lexeme meaning “*pedazo de carne a la brasa*.”

When ‘fillet’ entered English from French *filet* in the early fourteenth century, it was not to denote a cut of meat but rather any kind of string, ribbon, or narrow strip of cloth used to secure hair, or simply as a decoration (OED). This was the same original meaning of Spanish *filete*, whose first documented use dates to 1580. Also borrowed from French, its diminutive suffix *-ete* is similar to that in Italian *filetto* (also ‘fillet’). Among survey respondents, *filete* was a relatively popular choice for ‘beefsteak,’ present in eleven of the twenty-one countries. It was the choice of a majority of contributors in mainland Spain, a logical result of the country’s proximity to France, and the second option in the Canary Islands. On the other side of the Atlantic, it was offered by informants in Mexico, the Dominican Republic, parts of Central America, and northern and central South America. Not selected by participants in the other two Caribbean islands, Cuba and Puerto Rico, *filete* was also notably absent in the River Plate countries.

Although the English word ‘steak’ is normally employed to denote cuts of beef, one does see it used in relation to other meats, including ham and some of the larger fish, such as tuna or halibut. However, when such portions of fresh mutton and pork are described, the word utilized tends to be ‘chop,’ a term not used with beef. In Spanish, ‘pork chop’ is indicated by the default use of *chuleta*, or the more specific *chuleta de cerdo/puerco*. Indeed, the concept of pork lies within the very etymology of the word *chuleta*, which is the Hispanicized borrowing of Catalan *xulleta*, the diminutive form of *xulla*, both meaning ‘chop’ or ‘cutlet.’ The Old Catalan variant was *ensunya*, from the Latin *axungia* ‘pork fat’ (Roberts 2014a: 477). Nevertheless, there is more flexibility in the use of this Spanish word than there is with its English counterpart. The DLE defines *chuleta* rather generally as a cut that includes both rib bone and “*carne de animal vacuno, lanar, porcino, etc.*” Although no survey participants responded with *chuleta* for ‘beefsteak,’ two of them in Spain did use the augmented form *chuletón*. The DLE, which also restricts its usage to Spain, provides the following definition: “*Chuleta grande de vacuno.*”

Informants chose two additional words for ‘steak’ that, as occurred with *chuletón*, were only selected in one country each. A significant difference, however, is that while *bistec*, *bife*, *churrasco*, *filete*, and *chuletón* are all loanwords from, or were otherwise influenced by, languages other than Spanish, the terms in question, *lomo* and *solomillo*, both descend from the same Latin etymon

and developed via internal linguistic processes. *Lomo* is from Latin *lumbus*. In humans it refers to the central part of the lower back, hence references to the ‘lumbar’ region. In connection to cuts of porcine and bovine meat, it typically relates to the ‘tenderloin,’ a muscle extending internally from below the ribs to the pelvis.⁵⁴ The first documented case of this word in Spanish dates to 912, appearing first as *lombo*, though by its second known usage, in 969, it had assumed the modern form of *lomo*. Since the *lomo* is a specific cut of meat, it is not often used more generally as ‘beefsteak.’ Among survey respondents, it was only selected with this broadened meaning by two individuals in Ecuador.

Solomillo was chosen for ‘beefsteak’ generally by five Canary Islanders. Important, however, is the fact that cattle are butchered differently from one country to the next and the accompanying nomenclature can be confusing and contradictory, even within the same language. In English, for example, the ‘sirloin’ is a different cut between Britain and the United States. The etymology of this term, however, sheds light on its original meaning, indicating that it was a cut taken from above the tenderloin. ‘Sirloin’ was first documented in English in 1544, borrowed from the likely Old French **surloigne*, a variant of *surlonge*, a compound word comprised of *sur-* ‘above’ + *longe* ‘loin.’⁵⁵ Spanish *solomillo*, from *solomo* – the latter documented from 1554 and the former by 1565 (CORDE) – also contains morphological clues regarding the original orientation of this cut of beef. The beginning of the word, *so-*, is derived from its Latin counterpart *sub-* via vowel confluence and consonant apocope. Consequently, the term features both a prefix and a suffix: *so-* ‘under’ + *lomo* ‘loin’ + *-illo* ‘small.’ Since *-illo* does not always indicate a literal diminutive condition, it is difficult to determine if there is, or has ever been, any semantic difference between *solomo* and *solomillo*. In terms of modern usage at least, Roberts (2014b) claims that they are equivalents (564). Furthermore, although it is evident from its name that *solomillo* originally referred to a portion of meat below the tenderloin, a butcher in one Spanish-speaking country might consider this name today to mean the tenderloin itself while another may understand it as a cut located above it. Indeed, the DLE places it neither above nor below the tenderloin, but *between* it and the ribs. Such terminological flexibility surrounding the use of *solomillo* goes a long way toward comprehending how it constituted nearly 18 percent of responses among Canary Islanders to indicate not a specific cut, but, as with *bistec* and *filete*, any portion of beef that may be considered a ‘steak.’

⁵⁴ The word ‘loin,’ which entered English at the end of the fourteenth century, is itself also derived from *lumbus* via medieval Latin **lumbea* > Old French *longe* > dialectal *logne/loigne* (OED).

⁵⁵ *Sur-* is the typical French adaptation of the Classical Latin prefix *super-*, also the source of the Spanish preposition ‘sobre.’ The ‘sir-’ rather than ‘sur-’ spelling in English may be due to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literary puns to the effect that this portion of meat is delicious enough to merit a knighthood as ‘Sir-Loin’ (OED).

Finally, a handful of contributors offered orthographically unmodified English borrowings. In a fashion similar to the pair of Puerto Ricans who, surely due to their US citizenship and close ties to the mainland United States, chose *strawberry* rather than Spanish *fresa*, three respondents on the island selected *steak*. In Colombia, two contributors chose the unabbreviated Anglicism *beefsteak*.

Tally of survey responses for ‘beefsteak’ by country (total of nine)*

- Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay: *bistec* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *bife* (18), *churrasco* (2)
- Bolivia: *bife* (3), *filete* (2)
- Canary Islands: *bistec* (16), *filete* (7), *solomillo* (5)
- Colombia: *bistec* (3), *beefsteak* (2), *filete* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *filete* (4), *bistec* (3)
- Ecuador: *bistec* (6), *lomo* (2)
- El Salvador: *bistec* (3), *filete* (3)
- Honduras: *bistec* (5), *filete* (2)
- Mexico: *bistec* (16), *filete* (3)
- Panama: *bistec* (10), *filete* (2)
- Peru: *bistec* (4), *churrasco* (2), *filete* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *bistec* (7), *steak* (3)
- Spain: *filete* (9), *bistec* (5), *chuletón* (2)
- Uruguay: *churrasco* (7), *bife* (4)
- Venezuela: *bistec* (8), *churrasco* (4), *filete* (2)

*This was one of the items that resulted in the fewest usable replies. It is evident that when viewing the image of a beefsteak several survey participants considered it in more general terms and gave responses such as *carne*, *asado*, and *carne asada*.

Item 18: Sandwich

The roots of the word ‘sandwich’ can be traced to Anglo-Saxon. ‘Sand’ is a Common Germanic form that even today retains the same meaning in German and the Scandinavian languages as it does in English (OED). The second half of this compound word, ‘-wich,’ is derived from the Old English *wic*, meaning ‘station,’ ‘village,’ or ‘bay.’⁵⁶ The English town of Sandwich, which could be

⁵⁶ The use of Anglo-Saxon *-wic* as a suffix led not only to the creation of the place name Sandwich, but to the designation of other British locales ending in ‘-wich’ and ‘-wick,’ such as Ipswich and Keswick.

interpreted as “sand dwelling or port,” is located in the county of Kent, roughly equidistant between the seaside locations of Dover and Broadstairs (Bosworth 1838: 457). In medieval times it was indeed an important seaside port, though silting over the centuries has altered the flow of the English Channel here and left the town some two miles inland. An 851 mention in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* listed it as “Sondwic” (Fellows-Jensen 1991: 342), and the eleventh-century *Domesday Book* catalogued it variously as “Sandwic” and “Sandwice” (Powell-Smith and Palmer 2011). In the mid-eighteenth century, the fourth Earl of Sandwich, John Montagu, was evidently rather fond of playing cards. On one occasion, when he reportedly spent twenty-four hours straight at this endeavor, rather than taking time to consume a regular meal, he ordered slices of cold beef brought to his gaming table, which he ate between pieces of toast. Though this was surely not the first time a person had eaten meat between slabs of bread, it evidently took such a well-known figure to baptize this food with a catchy moniker; the first use of ‘sandwich’ with this culinary meaning was documented soon after, dating to 1762 (OED). The past two and a half centuries have seen the use of this term spread to many languages throughout the world. Even speakers of French, reputed for their efforts to avoid Anglicisms, employ the term *sandwich*. This precise orthographic form of the word is also found in several other languages, including Italian, German, Dutch, Danish, and Norwegian. Variants exist in Portuguese (*sanduiche*), Catalan (*sandvitx*), Czech (*sendvič*), and many other languages, including some written in non-Latin alphabets, such as Russian, which features сэндвич (/ˈsendviʃ/). The first known case of *sandwich* is from Peru, c. 1908, while the accented *sándwich* dates to 1958 in Mexico (CORDE). Of the twenty-one countries, this response was given in all but one, Ecuador, and even there the unanimous choice among informants was the variant *sánduche*, a form also chosen in neighboring Colombia as the principal reply and in Venezuela as the second-leading option. Similarly, *sánguche* was the second or third selection in six countries: five South American nations and Costa Rica.

In addition to *sándwich* and its variants, survey participants selected six other terms for this item. In mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, a large majority of contributors chose the term *bocadillo*, the diminutive form of a word whose first known usage came in the thirteenth century: *bocado* ‘mouthful’ (CORDE, DCECH).⁵⁷ Three respondents in Spain also offered the term *bocata*, which the DLE considers a slang form.⁵⁸ The only related form in American Spanish came in Cuba, where *bocadito*, also a diminutive

⁵⁷ It is difficult to ascertain the first cases of *bocadillo* and *bocadito* employed for ‘sandwich’ as opposed to a ‘small mouthful.’

⁵⁸ A survey participant in Salamanca likewise claimed that *bocata* is an informal register word. However, a restaurant owner in Toledo once told the author of this book that, at least in his

variant of *bocado*, was the leading choice. While three informants in mainland Spain and seven in the Canary Islands gave a response of *sándwich*, all but one in the latter destination also selected *bocadillo*.⁵⁹ Furthermore, several of these individuals clarified that the word *sándwich* was tied to the use of soft bread (“*pan blando*”) purchased in pre-cut square loaves (“*pan de molde*”), as opposed to the French-style baguette featured in the survey image. Such distinctions are less likely to be made in the Americas, perhaps with the exception of Mexico. In this country, an equal number of survey participants, fourteen each, selected the words *sándwich* and *torta*, though several of them distinguished between the two. They stipulated that a *sándwich* is made with “*pan de molde*” or “*pan de caja*,” while a *torta* is not only made from a special oval-shaped Mexican bun, but it is a hot food whose bread portion is typically fried in a pan with butter. Not only was *torta* not selected for ‘sandwich’ in any other country, but as will be seen later in the book, this lexeme is the predominant term in South America to denote not a savory food but a sweet one: ‘cake.’ In Mexico, perhaps since neither *sándwich* nor *torta* captures precisely the notion of a sandwich made with more European-style bread, eight respondents chose the term *emparedado*.

The word *emparedado* was chosen by contributors in ten of the twenty-one countries, eight of them in Central America and the Caribbean if Colombia is counted among the latter group. It was a majority selection only in Panama. It is a word that came to mean ‘sandwich’ only as a metaphor and centuries after its first literal usage. The first CORDE mention of this term, c. 1230, is as a noun, referring to a recluse who has chosen to cloister himself in a cave, between its walls, thus literally living as an *emparedado*: *em* ‘in’ or ‘between’ + *pared(es)* ‘walls’ + *ado* (participle). Such past participle endings often lead to adjective and noun forms and are indicative, logically, of a preexisting verb. Indeed, the DLE states that *emparedado* is the past participle form of *emparedar*. It seems likely, however, that this verb and other parts of speech are in fact based on an initial noun usage of this word. The first CORDE record of *emparedar* dates to a much later 1534, and true past participle and adjective forms stemming from this verb are only documented afterward, in 1549 and 1550, respectively. In any event, *emparedado* was not recorded in its metaphorical sense as ‘sandwich’ – the slabs of bread as walls and the meat or other filling as the confined person constricted between them – until 1880, in Spain, followed

region of central Spain, *bocadillo* was a general term, normally used with cold sandwiches, while *bocata* was often reserved as a name for hot varieties of this food item.

⁵⁹ A respondent from the island of Tenerife, clearly familiar with the conventions of phonetic transcription, offered the following as a perception of how *sándwich* tends to be pronounced in the Canary Islands: /sángui(h)/.

by an 1884 usage in Cuba. Its use as such has waned in the Old World even as it has grown in popularity in the New.

There are two terms for ‘sandwich’ selected by survey participants that are simply descriptive of what this food entails. Five individuals in Guatemala and two in Cuba offered the response *pan con jamón* ‘bread with ham,’ one of them clarifying that other meats and ingredients would also fit the description by adding “*o lo que tenga*” (‘or whatever it might have on it’). Similarly, two Venezuelans selected *pan relleno* ‘stuffed bread.’

Finally, an answer was given in one country with regard to what a ‘sandwich’ can supposedly offer the eater when five Uruguayans selected the term *refuerzo* ‘reinforcement.’ This indicates that such a repast is not meant to be a main dish but rather to serve as a snack to supplement one’s energy between meals. This notion of a light food is conveyed in the DLE definition of this Uruguayan word: “*Panecillo o trozo de pan relleno con fiambre, queso u otro alimento.*”

Tally of survey responses for ‘sandwich’ by country (total of eleven)

- Paraguay, Puerto Rico: *sándwich* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *sándwich* (15), *sánguche* (7)
- Bolivia: *sándwich* (8), *emparedado* (3)
- Canary Islands: *bocadillo* (23), *sándwich* (7)
- Chile: *sándwich* (11), *sánguche* (2)
- Colombia: *sánduche* (7), *sándwich* (6), *emparedado* (5)
- Costa Rica: *sándwich* (6), *sánguche* (5), *emparedado* (3)
- Cuba: *bocadito* (4), *sándwich* (2), *emparedado* (2), *pan con jamón* (or other meat) (2)
- Dominican Republic: *sándwich* (14), *emparedado* (5)
- Ecuador: *sánduche* (unanimous)
- El Salvador: *sándwich* (9), *emparedado* (2)
- Guatemala: *sándwich* (9), *pan con jamón* (or other meat) (5)
- Honduras: *sándwich* (11), *emparedado* (4)
- Mexico: *sándwich* (14), *torta* (14), *emparedado* (8)
- Nicaragua: *sándwich* (7), *emparedado* (3)
- Panama: *emparedado* (13), *sándwich* (5)
- Peru: *sándwich* (8), *sánguche* (6)
- Spain: *bocadillo* (17), *bocata* (3), *sándwich* (3)
- Uruguay: *sándwich* (10), *refuerzo* (5), *sánguche* (2), *bocata* (2)
- Venezuela: *sándwich* (17), *sánduche* (4), *sánguche* (2), *pan relleno* (2)

Item 19: Hot Dog

Assyrian and Greek sources document the existence of sausages in the Middle East and the Mediterranean during the first millennium BC, and Italians were consuming links of smoked *lucanica* by the first century AD (Kraig 2009: 16–17). Sausages in the West have traditionally been pork-based, and countless iterations still abound in the cuisine of these countries, including Polish *kielbasas* and Spanish *chorizos*. It is the German-speaking countries, however, that have perhaps been most associated with this class of food, including the production of frankfurters, the meat portion of the modern American hot dog. The first mention of the particular sausage in question in the OED, from 1877, is that of a “Frankfort sausage,” though by 1894 ‘Frankfurter’ is encountered as a standalone word. Interestingly, despite the name of this food, its precise connection to the city of Frankfurt is unclear. What is clear is the provenance of a similar product in neighboring Austria whose city of origin lends it its name: the *wienerwurst*, or ‘sausage of Vienna.’ In fact, when made by an experienced *wurstmacher*, the two are nearly identical, with the possible exception of additional garlic in the *wienerwurst* (Kraig 2009: 10–11, 18–19). This noun is first attested from 1889 in English, followed by the abbreviated ‘wiener’ in 1904, and the colloquial ‘wienie’ from 1906, variously spelled ‘weinie’ and ‘weenie’ (OED). The commonality of ingredients, manufacture, and culture between these two sausages is why ‘wiener’ and ‘frankfurter,’ or ‘frank’ are generally used to refer to the same product in America.

A common refrain is that if most people knew what went into making sausages they would not eat them. Suspicion, at times justified, regarding the process and ingredients employed in this industry has led some to avoid this food or to give it derogatory names. It appears that the slang term ‘hot dog’ originated in the 1880s among university students in the United States who either truly believed that this food contained dog meat or joked about the possibility. The first recorded use of the term is from 1884, though it appears that for nearly a decade it was used as a single mass noun to designate ‘sausage meat.’ By 1892, ‘hot dog(s)’ was being used for individual links of sausage, particularly those of the frankfurter and wiener type, and increasingly in reference to its consumption on a long roll made of soft bread (OED). The popularity of this food in the United States influenced both the culinary and linguistic behavior of Spanish speakers in other nations. The name for this item most selected by survey participants was simply the English borrowing. *Hot dog*, one of ten words selected in the twenty-one countries, was chosen in twelve of them and was the leading choice in ten, including five of the six Central American nations.

Also spread across a dozen countries was the term *perro caliente*, a direct loan translation, or calque, of ‘hot dog.’ It was the unanimous single

choice in four Caribbean-area countries: Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Venezuela. However, in the eight countries where both *hot dog* and *perro caliente* were chosen, the latter was the leading option only in Ecuador. In mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, the sole choice among informants was the diminutive *perrito caliente*. The Anglicism *hot dog* is likewise not used in the River Plate countries, where the dominant term is *pancho*, an abbreviated compound of *pan* ‘bread’ and *chorizo* ‘sausage,’ the diminutive form of which, *panchito*, was a secondary selection among Bolivian respondents.⁶⁰ In these nations, if one is speaking of the meat portion only, *salchicha* is employed. This word is derived from Italian *salciccia* (<the variant *salsiccia* <Late Latin *salsicia* ‘salted sausage’>) (DLE). In Puerto Rico, while the term *hot dog* is more prevalent, *salchicha* is used for the same food item, bun included.

Another descriptive name for ‘hot dog’ in the Spanish-speaking world is Chile’s *completo*, the word chosen by all of the survey respondents in this country. As the name suggests, this version is loaded with condiments, including chopped tomatoes, sauerkraut, pureed avocado, and a thick layer of mayonnaise. It could be viewed as the Latin answer to the Chicago-style hot dog, with its diced onions, sweet pickle relish, dill pickle spear, tomato slices, peppers, and mustard. In a nod to the Austrian capital as the birthplace of the *wienerwurst*, the wiener used on the Chilean hot dog is called a *vienesita*. Also available in Chile is a more toned-down version of this food, along the lines of a New York-style hot dog, a minimalist food often simply garnished with a bit of mustard and perhaps ketchup.⁶¹ As a likely result of this, two Chileans, both in Santiago, opted for the term *hot dog* in addition to *completo*.

Guatemala, even more than Chile, features hot dog iterations of varying style and complexity, including those served on tortillas. In reference to the types served on a bun, most Guatemalan participants selected *hot dog*, though three each chose the terms *perro caliente* and *shuco*. The latter term is a variant of the word *chuco/a*, a Guatemalan adjective of indigenous extraction meaning ‘dirty’ (Burgos-Debray 1985: 286, DLE). The <sh> combination is rare in Spanish orthography, not only because <h> is silent except when preceded by <c>, but because the /ʃ/ phoneme common in English is only allophonic in Spanish, confined to certain dialects as a nonstandard feature. In Argentina and Uruguay, the alveo-palatal [ʃ] is associated with <y> and <ll>, whose standard pronunciation in other dialects is the palatal /j/. An example of this River Plate pronunciation is

⁶⁰ The *pancho* is not to be confused with another sausage-based food, consumed in Argentina, which likewise bears a portmanteau name comprised of the same two terms, though in opposite order: *choripán*.

⁶¹ The image shown to survey respondents was of a hot dog topped with ketchup, mustard, relish, and chopped onions.

found in the word *calle* [káʎe].⁶² In Chile, it is the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate that often undergoes a /tʃ/ > [ʃ] fricativization, especially among lower-class speakers: *Chile* [ʃile] (Lipski 1994: 197). While the [ʃ] heard in Guatemalan Spanish is typically linked to <tr> in postconsonantal situations, such as *entre* [énʃre], its existence among speakers in the country may help to explain the /tʃuko/ > [ʃuko] transformation (Lipski 2008: 184). Harder to explain is why someone would equate a food they ostensibly enjoy eating to the filthiness associated with the traditional meaning of *chuco/shuco*. Such paradoxes are typically the result of events that are difficult to identify with any precision, in part because they not only tend to play out in stages but they also generally spawn numerous competing anecdotes that over time grow further away from the reality of what truly occurred. Nevertheless, a possible narrative to explain the word in question begins in Guatemala City in 1984, when a street vendor set up a hot dog stand across the street from the Liceo Guatemala, a private high school in the city's Zona 5. The legend states that the principal of the school at the time asked his teachers to warn students against eating this food due to his perception that it was prepared under dubious sanitary conditions. When a certain teacher shared this advice with his class, one student, perhaps the proverbial class clown, reportedly stood up and shouted to his classmates “*¡Sí, no sean shucos, muchá!*” ‘Yeah, don’t be dirty, guys!’ As adolescents are wont to do, these young people, if the gist of the story is accurate, were contrarian enough not only to buy and eat the hot dogs but to christen them with a humorously ironic new name (Villalobos Viato 2014).

Finally, while a majority of participants in Uruguay chose the name *pancho* for ‘hot dog,’ a third of all cases consisted of the word *frankfurter*.⁶³ This term clearly did not enter Spanish directly from the German etymon, as it did in English. A clue to its existence in this country comes from one of the respondents, who claimed that Uruguayans employ the word because it is a brand name in the country. While the search for a specifically trademarked product of this type was not fruitful, it did lead to at least two companies in Uruguay that manufacture hot dogs and package them in a way that likely explains the use of the German word. A search of the Tienda Inglesa (2020) website reveals that this national supermarket chain sells Centenario and Schneck products, both of which make wieners whose labels bear the words “*Salchichas tipo frankfurter.*” In both cases the first two words are small compared to the third. As a result, *frankfurter* seems to have found its way into the mind and lexicon of many Uruguayans, not only for the sausage portion of the food in question but in relation to its complete form, bun and toppings included.

⁶² In Argentina, while this voiceless version is common in Buenos Aires (as it is in Montevideo), the voiced [ʒ] is heard in much of the rest of the country: *calle* [káʒe].

⁶³ Two respondents indicated that a common pronunciation of this term in Uruguay is /fránfruter/.

Tally of survey responses for ‘hot dog’ by country (total of ten)

- Argentina, Paraguay: *pancho* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands, Spain: *perrito caliente* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Venezuela: *perro caliente* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *hot dog* (7), *panchito* (4)
- Chile: *completo* (12), *hot dog* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *hot dog* (13), *perro caliente* (8)
- Ecuador: *perro caliente* (7), *hot dog* (4)
- El Salvador: *hot dog* (12), *perro caliente* (3)
- Guatemala: *hot dog* (9), *perro caliente* (3), *shuco* (3)
- Honduras: *hot dog* (7), *perro caliente* (6)
- Mexico: *hot dog* (21), *perro caliente* (10)
- Nicaragua: *hot dog* (8), *perro caliente* (4)
- Panama: *hot dog* (13), *perro caliente* (4)
- Peru: *hot dog* (10), *pan con hot dog* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *hot dog* (11), *salchicha* (3)
- Uruguay: *pancho* (12), *frankfurter* (6)

Item 20: Cake

The first known instance of the word ‘cake’ in English dates to the thirteenth century, having most likely entered the language from Old Norse *kaka*, the form still used in modern Icelandic and Swedish and similar to the Danish *kage*. The uses of this term, however, have varied over the centuries, with some of the distinctions still remaining. It was originally employed in English to denote a flat, rounded, bread-like food baked hard on both sides (OED). Regardless of the name, however, this type of unleavened comestible is not the ancestor of the modern dessert cake, which is a relatively recent development, but is more closely related to a cracker. The type of cake served at festive occasions such as birthday parties descends, rather, from yeast-raised bread. For hundreds of years in Britain, there were few distinctions between bread and cake. The latter perhaps contained a bit of honey or other sweetener when such a luxury item was available, supplemented over time with sugar, spices, cream, and fruit (Humble 2010: 10–16). A much more definitive split occurred among these two baked goods, at least in Britain, when, in the first half of the eighteenth century, ingredients other than yeast began to be used in cakes as leavening agents, including eggs (17–18).

There are at least eight terms in Spanish that denote a ‘cake,’ the most common of which is *pastel*, chosen by survey respondents in fifteen of the twenty-one countries. It was the exclusive or leading option in Mexico and

most of Central America, while it was a lesser-selected term in Spain, Cuba, and much of South America. The term *pastel* is derived from Late Latin *pasta*, though circuitously, whereas Spanish *pasta* entered the language directly in the thirteenth century (DCECH).⁶⁴ In Vulgar Latin, the diminutive form *pastellum* took on the specialized meaning of ‘dyer’s woad’ (*Isatis tinctoria*) and the indigo-like dye obtained therefrom. The name alluded to the paste made from the woad plant’s blue flowers as part of the dye-refining process. Italian *pastello* assumed the more general sense of any substance made into a paste, while also retaining its meaning of dyer’s woad, both concepts then passing into French as *pastel* (Roberts 2014b: 318–319). When this word emerged in Spanish as a Gallicism in the early fifteenth century, its first uses were to denote blue dye (CORDE), while English ‘pastel,’ also from the French etymon, was originally used in reference to the aforementioned plant itself toward the end of the sixteenth century (OED). Over time, both the Spanish and English iterations came to define soft colors of all hues and the crayons used to produce them. By the end of the fifteenth century, Spanish *pastel* was also being used to describe a food item, though apparently a savory one initially (DCECH). Perhaps this is why the sweet variety (cake) is to this day in Spain referred to with *pastel* only as a minority option, one that is possibly not utilized at all in the Canary Islands. In much of South America, where *torta* is the term most widely used for the dessert food, *pastel* is likewise employed for meat pies, casseroles, or other non-sweet foods baked in a pan. The first known use of *pastel* in Spanish as a sweet food dates to the early sixteenth century (CORDE).

The second-most common term for ‘cake’ in Spanish, after *pastel*, is *torta*, selected by informants in all nine South American countries and as the most popular name in eight of them. It entered the language from the Late Latin word of the same form in the thirteenth century. As this was prior to the advent of the modern dessert cake, its original meaning was that of a “round loaf of bread” (Roberts 2014b: 629). This helps to explain why in Mexico, where *pastel* is the universal term for ‘cake,’ *torta* is reserved for a specific type of sandwich, one whose bun is either oval-shaped or features rounded corners. This focus on the shape of the various food items with *torta*-derived names is important because, while the Late Latin etymon in question is the source of the names of numerous foods in many languages, some savory and some sweet, what they all have in common is their general spherical nature. Late Latin *torta* led to cognates in several tongues, including Middle French *tourte*, borrowed by English as ‘torte’ in the sixteenth century with the now obsolete meaning of “round cake

⁶⁴ This was the same period in which ‘paste,’ of both the edible and non-edible varieties, entered English from Anglo-Norman via the same Late Latin etymon, which in turn is from the Greek *παστή* ‘barley porridge’ (OED).

(of bread),” as well as the German iteration *torte*, first recorded in English as ‘tort’ (now ‘torte’) in eighteenth century in the current sense of “sweet cake or tart.” This last word, ‘tart,’ traceable to the medieval Latin *tarta*, which is presumed to be a variation of *torta*, emerged in English even earlier, borrowed from French *tarte* during the fifteenth century, and can be defined as “the same or nearly the same as a *pie*” (OED).⁶⁵ In Spanish, the word *tarta*, also a likely variant of French *tarte* (Roberts 2014b: 597), was first documented in the eighteenth century (CORDE). In both mainland Spain and the Canary Islands it was the overwhelmingly preferred term for ‘cake’ among survey respondents. While it was not selected in any other country, this does not mean it is not used in other contexts. In South American countries, for example, *torta* denotes a sweet ‘cake,’ whereas *tarta* is a dessert more pie-like in nature. In Spain, however, *tarta* can be used in reference to both types of desserts, perhaps because many varieties occupy a middle ground between the more distinct items that in American English are termed ‘cake’ and ‘pie.’

The term *biscocho* was the exclusive response of Dominican and Puerto Rican survey participants to refer to ‘cake.’ It was also chosen as a minority option among Colombians and Panamanians. In these countries, the modern word conforms to the first definition provided by the DLE: “*Dulce blando y esponjoso, hecho generalmente con harina, huevos y azúcar, que se cuece en el horno.*” The second definition, however, gets at the etymological heart of this food: “*Pan sin levadura, que se cocía por segunda vez para que perdiese la humedad y durase mucho tiempo.*” This description of what in English is termed ‘hardtack’ notably employs the past tense, as refrigeration on ships has rendered this twice-baked cracker unnecessary as a food item for sailors on long sea voyages. The source of the noun *biscocho* is the Latin adjective *bis coctus* ‘twice-cooked.’ The first known use of *biscocho* dates to 1293. By the mid-fifteenth century, *biscocho* became the preferred spelling as the <z> replaced the <s> (CORDE).⁶⁶ As other nations also had navies to feed or otherwise had use for foods that could be stored for long periods of time, variants of this word exist in several other languages. The ‘biscotti,’ popular today as an accompaniment to coffee, is the plural form of the Italian *biscotto*. Old French *bescoit* became *biscuit* and entered English in the early fourteenth century, having been spelled since as ‘bisket’ and then ‘biscuit’ (OED).

In Panama, just as in other countries, *dulce* as an adjective is used to denote something ‘sweet,’ and *los dulces* is a noun phrase referring to ‘candy’ or

⁶⁵ There exist other *torta*-based terms in various languages. The first recorded use of the Spanish word *tortilla* dates to the early fifteenth century (CORDE). Another word, which entered English in the 1930s, is ‘tortellini,’ the plural of Italian *tortellino*, the diminutive form of *tortello* ‘cake’ or ‘fritter,’ itself a diminutive variant of *torta* (OED).

⁶⁶ Between these dates, cases of *viscocho* have also been recorded, beginning in 1310 (CORDE).

‘sweets’ in general. However, this is the one country in which the default use of the singular noun *dulce* is in specific reference to a ‘cake.’ This was the leading reply of survey participants in this Central American nation, who also chose *pastel*, *bizcocho*, and the English loanword itself: *cake*. This Anglicism was also selected in Cuba, where it was the majority option. The modified *queque* was the majority choice in Costa Rica, while it was a secondary option in the Canary Islands, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru.⁶⁷ In Colombia, the second-leading choice for this food item was another name adapted from English: *ponqué*. This Hispanicized compound of the term ‘pound cake’ is used generally in Colombia for all sorts of sweet cakes, whereas in English it refers specifically to a confection that is produced by combining and baking a pound each of butter, sugar, flour, and eggs (normally about eight). There are only two instances of *ponqué* in the CORDE, both from the same Venezuelan source in 1918. However, of the nine cases found in the CREA between 1981 and 2002, only one is linked to Venezuela, while the other eight are from Colombia.

Tally of survey responses for ‘cake’ by country (total of eight)

- Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela: *torta* (unanimous)
- Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico: *bizcocho* (unanimous)
- El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico: *pastel* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *torta* (8), *pastel* (3)
- Canary Islands: *tarta* (21), *queque* (3)
- Chile: *torta* (10), *pastel* (2)
- Colombia: *torta* (8), *ponqué* (5), *pastel* (4), *bizcocho* (2)
- Costa Rica: *queque* (11), *pastel* (2)
- Cuba: *cake* (8), *pastel* (2)
- Ecuador: *pastel* (8), *torta* (6)
- Honduras: *pastel* (12), *queque* (5)
- Nicaragua: *pastel* (6), *queque* (5)
- Panama: *dulce* (11), *pastel* (8) *cake* (6), *bizcocho* (2)
- Paraguay: *torta* (10), *pastel* (2)
- Peru: *torta* (9), *queque* (4), *pastel* (2)
- Spain: *tarta* (15), *pastel* (6)

Variants of *cake* used by survey respondents included: *key*, *quei* (both in Cuba)

⁶⁷ This list, dominated by Central American nations, differs substantially from that given by the DLE for use of *queque*, which favors South American countries: “*Bolivia, Chile, Cuba y Perú.*”

Item 21: Soft Drink

As may easily be surmised, the term ‘soft drink,’ first recorded in English in 1843 (OED), was coined to describe those beverages antonymous to hard liquor. A honey-sweetened lemonade sold in France during the second half of the seventeenth century is often cited as the first publicly marketed soft drink. This beverage, however, was not carbonated, a condition presupposed in the modern use of this term, which almost always carries the connotation of fizziness (Encyclopædia Britannica 2020). While some springs emit water that is naturally effervescent due to carbonic acid (H_2CO_3) rising up through fissures in the earth’s crust in areas with a history of volcanic activity, this effect is normally reproduced artificially by adding carbon dioxide (CO_2) to H_2O . This was first accomplished by British scientist Joseph Priestley, who in the early 1770s invented a pump-operated machine that forced pressurized CO_2 into water, where the gas dissolved, completing the carbonating process. As a result, Priestley has been called “the father of the soft drinks industry,” though it was left to others to bottle both the idea and the product commercially. This was done by Thomas Henry in Manchester in the 1780s, followed in Geneva in the 1790s by Jacob Schweppe, who began to add flavors such as ginger and lemon to these soda waters (Bond 2007: 78). American efforts in this industry were pioneered by the likes of Benjamin Silliman and Joseph Hawkes in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1885, Charles Alderton invented Dr. Pepper in Waco, Texas, followed in 1886 by John Pemberton’s creation of Coca-Cola in Atlanta, Georgia, and in 1893 by Caleb Bradman’s development of Pepsi in New Bern, North Carolina (Almqvist 2003: 94).

Various other terms exist in English to refer to soft drinks. One of them is ‘soda pop,’ each part of the name bearing a unique history. ‘Soda’ refers to the fact that in the second half of the nineteenth century, an apparatus in England called the gasogene was used to mix a combination of tartaric acid and sodium bicarbonate (baking soda) with water under pressure, thus producing carbon dioxide-infused ‘soda water’ (Doyle and Crowder 2011: 161, OED). ‘Pop’ is an onomatopoeic word first attested in England from 1812 (Warter 1856: 284). The first documented use of these words together, in ‘soda pop,’ dates to 1863. Today, both words in the term ‘soda pop’ can be employed separately to denote the same beverage. In the eastern United States, ‘soda’ is heard frequently, while in the west ‘pop’ is quite common. In the southern states, many people use the name ‘Coke’ as a general term for ‘soft drink’ rather than a specific reference to Coca-Cola alone. Something similar also occurs in Spanish. In both Argentina and neighboring Paraguay, two survey participants selected the term *coca*. In Ecuador, it was the second half of the American brand name, *cola*, that was the leading response.

The most common word in Spanish for ‘soft drink’ is *gaseosa*, selected by survey respondents in thirteen of the twenty-one countries and as the leading choice in nine, including five in which its use was unanimous. This term was most popular in South America, followed by Central America, whereas there were no cases in Mexico, the Caribbean, or mainland Spain and the Canary Islands. *Gaseosa* is a feminine adjective turned noun. The root and source of this word, *gas*, can be traced to Greek *χάος* ‘chaos,’ which implied, as it did in Latin *chaos*, a ‘void.’ The term was coined in Dutch by Flemish chemist J. B. van Helmont in the 1640s (OED). The word-initial orthographic transition may have been influenced by the Dutch word *geest*, ‘ghost’ or ‘spirit,’ made easier by the fact that in this language <ch> and <g> are both pronounced /h/ (DCECH). Likewise, the loss of the <o> toward the end of the word may have been through analogy with another term related to atmospheric phenomena also invented by van Helmont: *blas* ‘gust’ (Roberts 2014a: 755). The first documented use of *gas* in Spanish dates to 1791, while *gaseoso* emerged by 1835 (CORDE). This adjective likely entered the language via French *gazeux* (1775) or English ‘gaseous’ (1783) (OED). The first known case of its usage in connection to a beverage is from 1848 – “*limonada gaseosa*” – and by 1878 it was being used as a feminine noun for ‘soft drink’ (CORDE). This is not to say that its adjectival use in this area has completely disappeared. In Ecuador, two contributors selected the term *bebida gaseosa*, ‘gaseous beverage.’⁶⁸ Similarly, in Guatemala three individuals chose *agua gaseosa*, a term akin to the once more common ‘soda water’ in English. In this same country, three others, instead of dropping the noun, omitted the adjective, responding simply *agua*. It is assumed that this term is used in specific and clear contexts and that any confusion with pure H₂O can easily be negotiated.

The second-most common word for ‘soft drink’ was *refresco*, selected by survey participants in nine countries. The exclusive response in Spain, the Canary Islands, and the Dominican Republic, it was also the leading choice in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and Uruguay. Only in this latter country and Bolivia was the term selected in South America. *Refresco*, initially recorded in Spanish in the early fifteenth century, is derived from the much earlier verb *refrescar*, existent since at least the thirteenth century (CORDE). Since the ‘soft drink’ was not invented until the late 1700s, the noun *refresco* had other, broader meanings for hundreds of years. Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, it typically either signified ‘refreshment’ in general, including both food and drink, or was utilized in the prepositional phrase *de refresco* in reference to something that could serve as a replacement at an opportune time, such as *tropas de refresco* ‘reserve troops’ able to enter a battlefield ‘fresh’ at a decisive point in the fray.⁶⁹ Specific cases of *refresco* as a

⁶⁸ In French, the cognate *boisson gazeuse* is the default term for ‘soft drink.’

⁶⁹ ‘Refreshment’ in modern Spanish is *refrigerio*.

carbonated drink began to appear in Spanish in the 1890s. The abbreviated *fresco* was the most popular choice among Honduran survey participants but was selected in no other country.

The word *soda* was selected for ‘soft drink’ by respondents in eight countries, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean. It was the leading choice only in Panama. The term *soda* first entered Spanish from Italian (DLE). While this occurred no later than the second half of the eighteenth century, it first referred to caustic soda, which is sodium hydroxide, or lye, also expressed *sosa* in Spanish.⁷⁰ By the mid-nineteenth century, *soda* was also employed to denote the type of soda water or tonic mixed with alcoholic beverages such as gin (CORDE). However, as the precise content of drinks associated with this word cannot be ascertained in many historic references, it is difficult to know when it was first applied to more sugary, flavored soft drinks. The OED identifies such instances of ‘soda’ by 1933 in English, a language which perhaps influenced the use of the Spanish cognate with this broadened meaning. This is even more likely given the fact that this ‘soda,’ which refers not to lye but to baking soda, or sodium bicarbonate, and was used during the period in question to carbonate drinks, is not called *soda* in Spanish but *bicarbonato*.

Finally, all Chilean respondents chose the same word for ‘soft drink,’ one selected elsewhere only as a minority option in Ecuador: *bebida*. While this word means ‘drink’ or ‘beverage’ generally in Spanish, it has somehow become specialized in Chile. It should be noted, however, that this term continues to be used in this South American nation in other contexts, including references to an ‘alcoholic drink’: *bebida alcohólica*.

Tally of survey responses for ‘soft drink’ by country (total of ten)

- Canary Islands, Dominican Republic, Spain: *refresco* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Peru, Venezuela: *gaseosa* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *gaseosa* (19), *coca* (2)
- Bolivia: *gaseosa* (8), *soda* (6), *refresco* (3)
- Chile: *bebida* (unanimous)
- Cuba: *refresco* (7), *soda* (3)
- Ecuador: *cola* (5), *bebida* (2), *gaseosa* (2), *bebida gaseosa* (2)
- El Salvador: *soda* (11), *gaseosa* (9)
- Guatemala: *gaseosa* (7), *agua* (3), *agua gaseosa* (3), *soda* (2)
- Honduras: *fresco* (7), *refresco* (5), *soda* (2)
- Mexico: *refresco* (27), *soda* (7), *coca* (2)
- Panama: *soda* (13), *gaseosa* (4)

⁷⁰ By the late nineteenth century, *soda* was also being used in reference to ‘baking soda,’ or ‘sodium bicarbonate,’ which today is exclusively termed *bicarbonato*.

- Paraguay: *gaseosa* (9), *coca* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *refresco* (9), *soda* (4)
- Uruguay: *refresco* (10), *gaseosa* (5)

Item 22: Corn

Corn is a New World crop whose discovery by Old World explorers was first noted in November of 1492 by Columbus, who recorded having encountered this food plant on the island of Hispaniola, calling it “*maiz*” (Sturtevant 1919: 610). This name was the inspiration for the subsequent botanical designation of *Zea mays*, in the *Poaceae* family, also known as the *Gramineae* or grass family. The relatively new presence of this commodity beyond the Americas may come as a surprise to readers of accounts of ‘corn’ written as early as the ninth century, which is when this Old English word was first recorded with the general meaning of a ‘cereal’ (OED). Both the Old and New Testaments of the *Bible* in English speak of ‘corn’ despite the fact that the discovery of *Z. mays* was hundreds and even thousands of years in the future from the settings depicted in these books of scripture. Although the first known use of ‘corn’ with the specific meaning of *Z. mays* was recorded in 1608, the translation of the King James Version (1611) was by then nearly complete. This still popular rendition has thus preserved the historic meaning of the term in question, often causing misunderstanding among modern readers.⁷¹ Furthermore, even when the word ‘grain’ had entered English in the late fourteenth century, from Old French *grain* or *grein*, the use of ‘corn’ with this broad meaning continued due to the fact that the American crop was as yet unknown outside of the Western Hemisphere.⁷² Indeed, even now the term ‘corn’ may be employed in reference to whatever grain is dominant in an area, including ‘wheat’ in England and ‘oats’ in Ireland, though in the United States it is limited to *Z. mays*. This American cultivar has at times also been termed ‘Indian corn’ or ‘maize,’ the latter name regularly used in British English to distinguish *Z. mays* from these other grains (OED).

While Columbus noted the existence of “*maiz*” in his diary, this Taíno word was also recorded at times as *mahís* (DCDCH, DLE). Not surprisingly, given its advantage as the first term borrowed in Spanish, it is the dominant lexeme in the

⁷¹ In the Reina-Valera version of the *Santa Biblia* (1964[1602]), in contrast, the grains depicted as ‘corn’ in English are rendered in Spanish as *trigo* ‘wheat,’ an ancient Old World food linked to the Latin word *tritium*.

⁷² ‘Corn’ and ‘grain’ are in fact doublets. While the former entered English from Germanic **korno-*, both ultimately derive from the same Proto-Indo-European (PIE) word: **gr̥hnom* (Kapović 2017: 22).

language employed to denote this food and its kernels, though it is only one of at least seven. Among survey respondents, *maíz* was chosen in each of the twenty-one countries except for Chile, and it was the leading selection in fifteen. It was the exclusive option in Spain, all three Caribbean countries, Honduras, and Nicaragua, and was the majority form in Mexico, the remaining four Central America nations, and neighboring Colombia and Venezuela in northern South America. Although the preeminence of *maíz* in the Northern Hemisphere of the New World is not proof that the food plant in question was first domesticated there, botanical and archaeological evidence does indeed point to that conclusion.

Central Mexico is thought to be the place of origin of *Z. mays*, as small cobs of corn thought to be over 5,000 years old have been discovered in caves there. Much more recent are the corn remnants identified in Peru, dating to approximately 500 BC. This, however, was still well in advance of the arrival of Europeans like Columbus, who encountered a land where indigenous peoples were growing corn from what is now New England to the Argentine pampas (Roberts 2001: 218). These native groups included those in the Andean region, where even today this food is referred to as *choclo*. This Quechuan word was first recorded in Spanish in 1540, a mere eight years after Pizarro conquered the Incan Empire (DCECH). Among survey participants, who were shown an image of shelled yellow sweet corn, it was the exclusive choice in Chile, and was the majority selection in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Peru. Although an array of other corn types in various colors are grown in Latin America, including large-kernel varieties of field corn, such as those used to make hominy for the production of grits in the United States, tamale dough in Mexico, or the Argentine dish *locro*, in these southern South American countries they are all called *choclo*. The minority use of *maíz* tends to be more stylistic than semantically differentiating. The situation, however, is somewhat different in Ecuador and Bolivia. In these countries, though both *choclo* and *maíz* were selected in significant numbers by respondents, the former term is most often associated with young, fresh corn on the cob (Rodríguez 2005: 302). This *choclo* stage comes about seventy days after planting, compared to the hard, dry *maíz* kernels that result from postponing the harvest for up to 120 days (El Comercio 2011). In addition to these two terms, two contributors in Bolivia selected *mote*, from Quechua *mut'i*, a name reserved to denote cooked corn, which may be prepared from either soft or hard kernels (DLE, El Comercio 2010).

Other terms chosen by survey respondents alongside *maíz* in a handful of countries were *elote*, *mazorca*, and *jojoto*. In Mexico, as well as in neighboring Guatemala and two other Central American nations, El Salvador and Costa Rica, *elote* was the second option following *maíz*. This order in the frequency of selection is likely because the image on the survey was of shelled corn rather than corn on the cob, the latter being the form typically termed as *elote*, from

the Náhuatl *élotl*, which is recorded in Spanish from 1575 (DCECH). However, the fact that several respondents selected this term, including fifteen in Mexico compared to the only slightly more numerous seventeen cases of *maíz*, indicates that speakers in these countries have also come to view kernels of corn not still on the cob as *elote*.⁷³ This is demonstrated by a recipe for a “*Crema de elote*” soup in del Paso and del Paso’s (2016) book of Mexican cuisine that mentions “*elote desgranado*” and “*granos de elote*” (82). It is obvious that these phrases, specifically describing shelled corn, could not simultaneously and logically mean kernels of corn on the cob. The same dynamic holds in Colombia and Panama, where, in addition to *maíz*, participants selected various secondary cases of *mazorca*, from Hispano-Arabic *masúrqa* (DLE). This term, first documented in Spanish in 1494 as *maçorca*, also normally means ‘corn on the cob’ (DCECH). However, just as with *elote* in Mexico, a recipe featured in a popular Colombian magazine also demonstrates that *mazorca* can apply to shelled kernels. The name of the dish itself describes corn in this state: “*Mazorca desgranada con cubos de pierna de cerdo*.” Furthermore, the ingredient list uses the more general word as a synonym for *mazorca*: “*maíz tierno desgranado*” (Cromos 2016). Finally, while *maíz* was the dominant choice for ‘corn’ in Venezuela, *jojoto* was also selected. The DLE defines this word, whose etymology is unknown, as corn on the cob in Venezuela (“*mazorca de maíz tierno*”).⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the four Venezuelan respondents who chose *jojoto* evidently also consider that this term applies to shelled corn.

Canary Islanders were the only survey participants whose leading reply for ‘corn’ was neither *choclo* nor *maíz*. While two individuals did choose the latter term, all but one of these twenty-five contributors selected *millor*, a word not offered in any other country. The use of this term is the result of a misidentification that occurred among speakers of another language. Millet, a seed-bearing plant also in the grass family, was domesticated in Northern China about 6000 BC and was first cultivated in southern Europe in approximately the first millennium BC (Hornsey 2012: 253–254). The Portuguese, therefore, would have been familiar with this Old World crop, which in Latin was called *milium*, meaning ‘having a thousand grains,’ when they found *Z. mays* in the New World (Austin 2007: 13). While millet does not have a husk, the head of some varieties does resemble an ear of corn bared to reveal its rows of kernels. Apparently mistaking the new American crop as a variation of the Eurasian cultivar, Portuguese explorers called it *milho*, an early designation which, never corrected, remains to this day the standard Lusophone word for ‘corn’ (Sauer 2009: 222). Since the millet plant was still known in Portugal and began to be cultivated in Brazil, a

⁷³ Loose kernels of corn in Mexico are at times also called *esquite* (Cantú Ortiz 2014: 230). This word is from Náhuatl *izquitl*.

⁷⁴ The only case of *jojoto* for ‘corn’ listed in the CORDE is from a book on medicinal plants published in Spain in 1962.

separate name was needed for it. The most common term in Portuguese is the diminutive *milhete*, likely from French *millet*, the same source as English ‘millet’ (OED). The term in Spanish is *mijo*, also from Latin *milium* (DLE). While it is uncertain how or when the Portuguese-influenced *milho* was adopted as the dominant name for ‘corn’ in the Canary Islands, perhaps the well-earned fame of Canarians as mariners played a role. When Portuguese explorer Fernão de Magalhães (Magellan) set out in 1519 to discover a western sea route to the Spice Islands, or East Indies, he did so under the auspices of the Crown of Castile and took as crew members many Spaniards. When the chronicler of the voyage, Antonio Pigafetta, noted that natives in Rio de Janeiro were planting corn, he did so by calling it *milho*, or rather the similarly pronounced *miglio*, also ‘millet’ in his native Italian (Sauer 2009: 222). This and other contacts between Portuguese and Spanish speakers, perhaps particularly among seafarers, were evidently sufficient for *milho* to inspire *milho* and for the latter term to gain a lasting linguistic foothold in the Canarian dialect.

Tally of survey responses for ‘corn’ by country (total of seven)

- Cuba, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Spain: *maíz* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *choclo* (18), *maíz* (3)
- Bolivia: *maíz* (7), *choclo* (4), *mote* (2)
- Canary Islands: *milho* (24), *maíz* (2)
- Chile: *choclo* (unanimous)
- Colombia: *maíz* (11), *mazorca* (5)
- Costa Rica: *maíz* (10), *elote* (2)
- Ecuador: *choclo* (6), *maíz* (6)
- El Salvador: *maíz* (8), *elote* (4)
- Guatemala: *maíz* (9), *elote* (6)
- Mexico: *maíz* (17), *elote* (15)
- Panama: *maíz* (13), *mazorca* (2)
- Paraguay: *choclo* (7), *maíz* (5)
- Peru: *choclo* (14), *maíz* (4)
- Uruguay: *choclo* (10), *maíz* (8)
- Venezuela: *maíz* (25), *jojoto* (4)

Item 23: Pea

The common pea, also known as the field or garden pea, is part of the same *Fabaceae* family as peanuts, beans, and other podded legumes. Despite these

familial relationships, the pea is unique in that it is often eaten raw straight from the pod, while its cousins are typically only consumed after being cooked. It belongs to the genus *Pisum*, which contains two species, *fulvum* and *sativum*. The domesticated pea, *P. sativum*, is the result of a cross between the wild varieties *P. sativum elatius* and *P. sativum humile* (Ladizinsky 1979: 285). The oldest known pea remnants, discovered in a cave on the border of modern Myanmar and Thailand, date to as early as 9000 BC (Rumble 2009: 33). During much of the medieval period, this legume was generally utilized as a pulse, meaning it was stored in a dried state until being ground and mixed with other types of flour or soaked for cooking as a porridge (Chiffolo and Hesse 2006: 240–241). Italian botanists in the late Middle Ages were the first to breed a variety of pea meant to be eaten directly after picking instead of being dried (Cumò 2013: 780).

The word ‘pease,’ singular, entered Old English from post-Classical Latin *pisa* (plural *pisae*), also the plural form of Classical Latin *pisum* (<Greek *pison*), the inspiration of the genus name *Pisum*.⁷⁵ For centuries the plural varieties of ‘pease’ bore a Germanic suffix based on *-n*, as well as the occasional *-s* ending: *pesen* (fourteenth century), *pesis* and *peesen* (fifteenth century), *peason* (sixteenth century), *peasen* (seventeenth century). However, by late Middle English, ‘pease’ was used in both singular and plural fashion as its word-final /z/ was confused by speakers as marking a plural form similar to ‘trees.’ As a result, by the late seventeenth century an inferred singular ‘pea’ had emerged. Demonstrating not only morphological but semantic shifts, the word ‘pea’ has come to be used with other podded food plants that are not *Pisum sativum*, including the ‘black-eyed pea’ (*Vigna unguiculata*) and the ‘chick pea’ (*Cicer arietinum*). In the latter case, ‘chich-pease’ entered English in the sixteenth century as an inverted adaptation of French *pois chiche* (OED). The fact that this food item is also referred to as the ‘garbanzo bean,’ and that the ‘black-eyed pea’ is also called the ‘black-eyed bean,’ is an example of the flexibility in the popular terminology associated with these and other legumes. It is also another compelling example of the need for scientific taxonomy.

The past and present variation related to the term ‘pea’ in English is rather minor compared to the complex history and current state of the Spanish lexemes utilized in reference to *Pisum sativum* and other members of the *Fabaceae* family. Not only did survey participants offer more than a half dozen different options for this legume, but in most cases these terms have also denoted, or continue to denote, commodities other than the ‘pea’ proper. While the name *guisante* was not the leading response for ‘pea’ among

⁷⁵ This is the reason that the traditional English nursery rhyme is called ‘Pease Porridge Hot’ and not ‘Pea Porridge Hot.’

contributors, it is used in several countries and its unexpected etymological relationship with the name in English makes it the logical starting point in the examination of this varied terminology. While *guisante* has always meant ‘pea’ in Spanish, it only arrived at its current form after substantial phonological and morphological modification. The direct etymon of this term is Mozarabic *biššāut*, apparently a translinguistic portmanteau derived from the Latin *pisum sapidum* ‘tasty pea,’ the adjective serving to differentiate this garden legume eaten by humans from similar-looking plants in the family more commonly utilized as animal fodder, such as vetch (DCECH).⁷⁶ Over time this word likely evolved into **bisant*, leaving as the final two steps to the modern form the paragogic addition of a word-final /-e/ and a /b/ > /g/ velarization of the first consonant (Roberts 2014a: 788). This latter phenomenon was perhaps due to the influence of the verb *guisar* ‘to stew,’ which was a typical form of cooking the pea from its pulse state (DLE), though the noun *garbanzo* may have also played a role (DCECH).

While the first known use of *biššāut* dates to 1106 (DCECH), the CORDE does not capture *guisante* itself until 1583. This is due at least in part to the fact that during the Middle Ages and until this same sixteenth century, the word *arveja*, first recorded in 1219 (DCECH), was the default name for ‘pea’ in Spanish in both the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas. Meanwhile, *guisante* had been limited to the regions of Navarre and Aragon, neither of which contributed an appreciable number of New World colonizers. However, as will shortly be discussed further, *arveja* was a problematically ambiguous term which, untrue to its etymological roots as ‘common vetch,’ had been applied to *P. sativum*. Over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and beyond, as Peninsular speakers desired an unequivocal term for the latter cultivar, *guisante* slowly but surely came to replace *arveja* (DCECH). Survey participants in Spain chose *guisante* exclusively, while Canarians did so as a majority, even as many also selected *arveja*, the latter word apparently having not been expelled as comprehensively from the islands as it has been from the mainland. Although *guisante* has not been as effective at supplanting *arveja* in the New World as in the Old, it is found in and around the Caribbean and Central America. The term was offered by informants in five nations: the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, Panama, and Venezuela (as the majority option only in the latter).

Latin *pisum* also led to the emergence of another name for ‘pea’ in Spanish, *petit pois*, a borrowing from French. The unaccompanied *pois* appears to have been a general word for this and similar legumes in France until the sixteenth or

⁷⁶ As the voicing of word-initial plosives from Latin to Western Romance languages such as Spanish is normally limited to velar consonants, such as the /k/ > /g/ change in *cattus* > *gato*, the proposed labial /p/ > /b/ shift in *pisum sapidum* > *biššāut* would be a rare exception.

seventeenth century.⁷⁷ In the seventeenth century, a French nobleman presented a fresh basket of peas brought from Genoa to King Louis XIV, who liked them so much that he ordered them to be grown in his greenhouses and the public at large soon followed his example of eating them fresh (Cumò 2013: 780). As this type of sweet pea was different from the larger one that peasants commonly dried as pulse and then boiled before eating, it was baptized as *petit pois* ‘tiny pea,’ a specific name that over time became the general word for *P. sativum* in the French language (University of Missouri 2017). It is not known when this term was adopted in Spanish. The CORDE does not list it or any of its Hispanicized variants, some of which, offered by respondents, are listed at the end of this entry.⁷⁸ Also uncertain is the precise vehicle by which this term entered the Spanish lexicon of the New World, where it was chosen in nine of the nineteen nations, second only to *arveja*. It was the unanimous or majority choice in Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama, and was selected as a secondary option in El Salvador, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela. What appears more readily knowable is why the use of this French term is limited in scope to Central America and the Caribbean. Whereas *P. sativum* thrived in many parts of North and South America, this cool-climate plant was not generally cultivated in the warmer-weather nations in between (Gardner 1903: 51). In this region, the tropical pigeon pea (*Cajanus cajan*), likely introduced to the West Indies from Africa or India, stood in for many of the uses of the common pea (Pratap and Kumar 2011: 6). Until faster modes of shipping developed, fresh peas were rare in these countries. Therefore, a likely clue to the use of the term *petit pois* in these nations is the importance of France in the history of canned peas.

In his 1810 book *L'Art de conserver les substances animales et végétales*, French confectioner Nicolas Appert detailed his method of preserving food in corked bottles sealed in hot water baths. Remarking on the products offered in Appert's shop, renowned gourmet Alexandre-Laurent Grimod de La Reynière remarked that “the peas above all are green, tender and more flavorful than those eaten at the height of the season” (Laudan 2013: 295). While it was the British in subsequent years who pioneered the use of tin cans rather than glass jars under the same method, this predilection for preserved peas has been most popular in France and even today many in this country prefer the canned to the fresh variety (Toussaint-Samat 2009: 40). While initial efforts to preserve such

⁷⁷ Today the use of unaccompanied *pois* in French generally means ‘spot’ or ‘polka dot’ (*une robe à pois* ‘a polka dot dress’), evidently through metaphorical extension based on the roundness of peas. *Pois* alone is occasionally employed in reference to the ‘pea’ in Quebec, whereas in the Parisian dialect *petit pois* is the default term. Modified, it can also denote other legumes, such as the *pois chiche*, the source of English ‘chickpea’ (OED).

⁷⁸ However, in 1903, the US Department of Agriculture agent Frank Gardner, reporting on a federal experiment station in Puerto Rico, noted that even then local inhabitants called the ‘pea’ *petipua* (51).

foodstuffs were aimed at providing better nourishment to European soldiers and sailors, many of these products were eventually exported abroad, including to American nations. In 1908, the *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office* reported the granting of ‘Jockey Club’ as a brand name under the Strohmeier & Arpe Company in New York City to sell such food items as “Canned French Peas.” The following year, an annual report by Michigan’s Office of the Dairy and Food Commissioner (1909) noted the testing of samples of canned goods, one of which indicates information on the label: “Imported Peas (Petit Pois).” Use of the French term in this fashion clearly occurred in certain Latin America countries as well. Panamanian journalist Ana Alfaro (2009), reminiscing about dishes popular some fifty years earlier in her country that are now largely passé, notes that preparing them during those years often meant using canned goods, since a number of the vegetables and other ingredients available fresh now were not readily obtainable in such a state then. She specifically mentions canned red bell peppers, mushrooms, and peas. While she uses common Spanish names for the first two, “*pimentones rojos*” and “*hongos*,” for the latter she employs “*petit pois*.” This same dynamic holds true in this and other countries to an extent even today. A search of the website for Comercial Abreu Toribio (2017), a bulk distributor in the Dominican Republic, reveals that at least three companies there offer canned peas labeled as *petit pois*: Bahía, La Famosa, and Linda. Only the latter brand, in comparatively small letters, lists a Spanish equivalent also used on the island: *guisantes*.

While *arveja* – for hundreds of years the language’s default name for ‘pea’ on both sides of the Atlantic – was eventually replaced by *guisante* in Spain and is only a minority form in the Canary Islands, it remains a dominant term in the Americas, principally in South America, where it was selected by survey participants in eight of the nine countries. Venezuelans were the only informants in this region who did not offer *arveja*, opting instead for *guisante* and *petit pois*. The etymological history of the word *arveja* begins in Classical Latin with *ervum*, which in its Vulgar form was *erum*, the source of Spanish *yero* ‘bitter vetch’ or ‘ervil,’ the earliest known remains of which, found in Israel, have been dated to the Paleolithic Period (Zohary et al. 2012: 92). Later, *ervum* also begat *ervilia*, which led to *arveja*, meaning ‘common vetch,’ which has been traced to southwest Asia and Europe during the more recent Neolithic Era (95).⁷⁹ Importantly, *veza* (<Latin *vicia*) is a synonym for ‘common vetch,’ meaning that it was able to maintain its semantic load even as *arveja* was free to be (mis)applied to the somewhat similar-looking ‘pea’ plant.⁸⁰ This meaning

⁷⁹ The seeds of both bitter and common vetch are toxic to humans and horses without special treatment, though they are edible for sheep and cattle, which has led to their extensive cultivation for use as fodder (Bakels 2009: 132).

⁸⁰ In Portuguese, the word for ‘pea’ is the similar *ervilha*, also taken, nearly unchanged, from Latin *ervilia* ‘common vetch.’

shift appears to have already been fully realized by the time the earliest medieval Spanish texts containing such information were composed no later than the mid-thirteenth century (DCECH).

A variant of *arveja* is *alverja*, a dichotomy whose determining factor in usage is clearly geographical.⁸¹ In the Southern Cone only *arveja* was selected by informants. This was also the case in the Canary Islands, reflecting the original use of this form in mainland Spain. In the more northern American nations of Cuba and El Salvador, *alverja* was the sole variant offered. The countries located between these extremes display a mixed picture. In Bolivia, Colombia, and Ecuador, for instance, *arveja* was the majority form chosen, followed by the minority variant *alverja*.⁸² Only in Peru was *alverja* dominant, followed by equally minority responses of *arveja* and *arvejita*. It should come as no surprise that the three cases of the latter, diminutive form came from Peruvian contributors, arguably the most frequent users of *-ito/a* suffixes among Spanish speakers. More in need of explanation, however, are the processes through which *arveja* transformed into *alverja*. As regards the first syllable, a lateralized /t/ > [l] shift in the liquid consonants is rather common in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba (ex: ‘puerta’ /puérta/ > [pwéлта]). Indeed, a seeming result of this, *albeja*, has been documented in Cuba from 1836. Such changes, however, likely occurred in different times and in multiple locations, with varying results. In Spain, a modern-looking *alverja*, with /t/ already in the second syllable, had been recorded nearly two centuries earlier, in 1645. It appears that before being replaced by the /l/ near the beginning of the word, the simple vibrant was replicated through a type of assimilation at the end of the middle syllable. Plausible evidence for this exists in the word *arverjana*, an ill-defined wild legume in Andalucía (DCECH).

As mentioned earlier, another legume is the chick pea, botanical name *Cicer arietinum*, which has been traced to modern Turkey and Syria during the Neolithic Period (Zohary et al. 2012: 89). It is the only domesticated species in the genus, the scientific designation of which is taken directly from the Latin name of the cultivar. *Cicer* led not only to the English term for this legume, via French *pois chiche*, which earlier had simply been *chiche* (OED), similar to Italian *cece*, but it is also the source of *chicharo* by way of Mozarabic *čičar(o)* (DLE). Nevertheless, unlike the others, this Spanish term is no longer utilized to denote *C. arietinum*. It appears that the semantic scope of *chicharo* first broadened, in time signifying various legume seeds (FAO 2018). At some point, however, this general term narrowed again, coming to refer specifically

⁸¹ While *alverja* is documented from 1766, *alberja* dates to 1605.

⁸² Use of *alverja* in Bolivia may well be regional, as all three such responses corresponded to the only participants from the east-central city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in contrast to eight selections of *arveja* alone among the balance of contributors in locales including La Paz, Cochabamba, Beni, Sucre, and Tarija.

to the ‘common pea’ (*P. sativum*) in certain Spanish-speaking countries, leaving *garbanzo* alone to denote the ‘chick pea.’ Survey respondents in Mexico and Guatemala chose *chicharo* exclusively for ‘pea,’ and it tied for the leading option in both Cuba (with *petit pois*) and El Salvador (with *guisante*). It was not selected in any other country.

The final term used for ‘pea’ in Spanish is *gandul* and variants thereof. As noted in the discussion of the term *petit pois*, *P. sativum* tends to grow successfully only in cool climates. This cultivar was therefore not widely available in Central American and Caribbean countries prior to efficient means of shipping and reliable methods of preservation. What was available was the tropical pigeon pea (*Cajanus cajan*) (Gardner 1903: 51). This legume was domesticated in India, reached West Africa in about 2000 BC, and was eventually transported to the West Indies (Lim 2012: 549). The common name of this plant in English originated in Barbados in the late seventeenth century, where its seeds were originally used as pigeon feed (Small 2009: 404). The Spanish name, *gandul*, is thought to be derived from the Telugu term *kandulu* ‘lentils’ (Pratap and Kumar 2011: 6). Variants of this word include *gandule*, *guandul*, and *guandú*, the latter akin to Portuguese *guandu* ‘pigeon pea’ (Lim 2012: 549–550). Even as the common pea has grown more popular in this region, as evidenced by the adoption of other Spanish terms to denote it, the pigeon pea has remained a mainstay in the cuisine of the area, to an extent that in at least two Caribbean countries, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, speakers have evidently grown accustomed to using *gandul* as a general word for both *Cajanus cajan* and *P. sativum*. In fact, *Cajanus cajan* is sometimes colloquially referred to as the ‘Puerto Rico pea’ (Lim 2012: 549). Nevertheless, while it is true that the fruit of both plants tends to be green when young, this conflation ignores the fact that more mature pigeon pea seeds are often brown or even purple, not to mention that they are flatter and less sweet than those of the common pea (Small 2009: 404). These distinctions are important in Panama, for instance, where *arroz con guandú* is a popular dish. In this case, the legume employed, *Cajanus cajan*, is typically dark in color, and the name *guandú* is not applied to the ‘common pea,’ which Panamanian informants termed either *petit pois* or *guisante*. In contrast, respondents in Puerto Rico, looking at the same image clearly depicting the common pea, chose *gandul* as the leading option, followed by *guisante* and *petit pois*. Dominican contributors selected nine cases of the variant *guandul* vis-à-vis two of *gandul*, along with three instances each of *guisante* and *petit pois*.

Tally of survey responses for ‘pea’ by country (total of seven)

- Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay: *arveja* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua: *petit pois* (unanimous)

- Guatemala, Mexico: *chicharo* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *arveja* (8), *alverja* (3)
- Canary Islands: *guisante* (18), *arveja* (10)
- Colombia: *arveja* (12), *alverja* (3)
- Cuba: *petit pois* (4), *chicharo* (4), *alverja* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *gandul* (11), *guisante* (3), *petit pois* (3)
- Ecuador: *arveja* (7), *alverja* (4)
- El Salvador: *guisante* (3), *chicharo* (3), *petit pois* (2), *alverja* (2)
- Panama: *petit pois* (8), *guisante* (6)
- Peru: *alverja* (7), *arveja* (3), *arvejita* (3)
- Puerto Rico: *gandul* (4), *guisante* (3), *petit pois* (3)
- Spain: *guisante* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *guisante* (11), *petit pois* (7)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *gandul*: *guandul* (only in the Dominican Republic)
- *petit pois*: *petipúa*, *petipoa*, *pitipoas*, *peti poa*, *peti pou*, and *piti poi*

Item 24: Bean

The *Fabaceae* family consists of more than 600 recognized genera and 18,000 species, some of which are trees, like the carob, while others are bushes or climbing plants. Considering only the genera that produce bean-like fruit typically consumed by humans reduces the number to four, only the last two of which will be considered further in this section: *Glycine*, whose soybean species, which originated in northeast China, is the most widely cultivated bean on earth; *Vigna*, a species of which is the black-eyed pea (*V. unguiculata*), native to Africa; *Vicia*, under which the fava bean is classified; and *Phaseolus*, to which all New World beans are assigned (Albala 2007: 6, 117, 209). A cache of cultivated favas (*Vicia faba*), also called the ‘broad bean,’ has been discovered in a settlement near Nazareth, in modern Israel, dating to approximately 6500 BC. By the third millennium BC, they were being cultivated not only in Greece and Central Europe, but also in the Iberian Peninsula (Roberts 2001: 130–133). Varieties of *V. faba* were the bean-related legumes most widely known in Europe prior to 1492, as the black-eyed pea was a more recent arrival from Africa and the soybean was as yet confined to Asia (Albala 2007: 135, 221).

While the fava is the only *Vicia* species of true bean, *Phaseolus* features several species and subspecies, not to mention countless varieties thereof. The lima, *P. lunatus*, is likely the longest cultivated American bean. Despite its altered pronunciation in English, it is indeed named after the South American

capital city due to the fact that the first remains of this species were found in Guitarrero Cave, in the Peruvian highlands, evidence of which dates to 6500 BC, making its domestication contemporary with that of the Old World fava (Albala 2007: 190–191). In the American Southwest, another species exists, the small, unusually hard tepary bean, *P. acutifolius* (203). Nevertheless, the species that is responsible for most varieties of New World beans is *P. vulgaris*, the common bean. The oldest surviving wild remnants of this legume can again be traced to Peru, from around 6000 BC, followed by domestication sometime later in Mexico (127–128). *P. vulgaris*, like most bean plants, is a self-fertilizing hermaphrodite, a characteristic that inhibits spontaneous hybridization between varieties, whose overall traits thus remain relatively constant from one generation to the next. As a result, while some random genetic variation does occur, almost all differences in size and color among common bean varieties are the result of human intervention in the form of selective breeding (8, 128). While someone lacking expertise in legume morphology and genetics is likely to assume that the black turtle bean, the red kidney bean, the white navy bean, and the mottled pinto bean are all different species, the truth is that they are all simply *P. vulgaris* varieties (127).⁸³

As Spaniards and other Europeans arrived in the New World in increasing numbers after 1492, one of the items they transplanted was the fava bean, in Central and South America, beginning in the sixteenth century. Brazil is a major producer of this bean today, whereas in North America it has historically been a marginal species due to the many native American beans already being cultivated there (Roberts 2001: 133). While the Old World's impact on the Western Hemisphere in terms of beans was therefore modest, the opposite occurred in the west-to-east flow of the exchange, as varieties of *P. vulgaris* have become prominent the world over, ousting many previously existing cultivars in the process. This legume revolution, however, was a rather silent one. Unlike other American foods transported to Europe and elsewhere, including tomatoes, corn, peppers, and potatoes, which in some cases were not accepted into local cuisine for centuries, the previous existence in these places of the fava bean kept its New World counterparts from being viewed as exotic outsiders upon their sixteenth-century arrival. Many people simply thought them a *V. faba* variety. Even Carl Linnaeus, the eighteenth-century Swedish botanist often credited with being the father of modern taxonomy, assumed that these new beans had entered Europe from India (127, 136–137).

The English term 'bean' is one of Common Germanic stock that has existed since Anglo-Saxon times, its first known use documented as 'béan' from 940 (OED). The German equivalent is *bohne*, while the Dutch term is *boon*,

⁸³ The image shown to survey respondents contained all four of these most common types of *Phaseolus* beans.

compared to *bønne* in Danish and Norwegian and *böna* in Swedish. These cognates may all well derive from Indo-European *bhouna* ‘that which swells out.’ This could be a reference either to the bloating gas that beans produce in the digestive tracts of those who eat them or to the manner in which the pod itself becomes distended as its seeds grow within (Albala 2007: 39). Spanish features no fewer than eleven names for ‘bean.’ *Phaseolus*, the designation employed in botanical taxonomy today to denote the genus of American beans, is from the Latin *faseolus* (<Greek *phaselus*), which originally referred to the African black-eyed pea, which is now classified under the genus *Vigna*. This was the food item originally signified by the Spanish word *frisol*, ironically first documented in 1492, the year that would soon change its meaning. When American beans arrived in Europe early in the next century, this and several Romance cognates ceased to apply to the black-eyed pea specifically and were henceforth applied to both Old and New World beans generally (7). The following are modern cognates in other European languages: Portuguese *feijão*, Galician *feixón*, Catalan *fesol*, Romanian *fasole*, and Italian *fagiolo*. The reason for the epenthetic <r> in modern Spanish *frijol* has not been determined (Roberts 2014a: 735). This form, also having undergone a /s/ > /x/ velarization, was first documented in Mexico in 1530, though it has fallen into disuse in Spain (DCECH).⁸⁴ Among survey respondents, *frijol* was the exclusive choice in Mexico, Cuba, and all six Central American nations. This word, or a variant thereof, was also the leading selection in four South American nations: Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. One variant, offered by Colombian participants, involves a change in the prosodic accent, moved from the final to the penultimate syllable: *frijol*.⁸⁵ The DCECH notes this tendency in Bogotá, and indeed, of the five informants from the capital (of a total of thirteen nationwide), four opted for this alternate form. Another variant entails an /i/ > /e/ shift: *frejol*. This term was the leading choice in both Ecuador and Peru, followed in each case by selections of the standard *frijol*, which was a tertiary response in Venezuela.⁸⁶

Even older than *frijol* in Spanish is *haba*, from the Latin *faba* that inspired both the binomial *Vicia faba* and the English ‘fava.’ It was first recorded as *fava* in 1330, followed by *hava* in 1490 (DCECH). Even though the English cognate continues to refer specifically to *V. faba*, the word *haba* in Spanish followed the same path as the *faseolus* variants, eventually being applied to both Old and New World beans. Only survey participants in mainland Spain chose this term, and only as a minority choice, the third of three. Nevertheless, while *haba* is not used in the Americas, another derivative of Latin *faba* is employed for ‘bean’

⁸⁴ *Frijol* was also often spelled *frisol* between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

⁸⁵ The oldest known example of *frijol* dates to 1605, in Perú, whereas the pluralized *frijoles* is recorded from as early as 1519, in Spain (CORDE).

⁸⁶ The DLE states that the oxytone *frejol* can also assume the paroxytone form of *fréjol*.

there. The name *habichuela* was a popular selection among both Puerto Rican and Dominican informants. While the word is obviously a diminutive form of *faba*, Roberts (2014b) notes the possibility of it having entered Spanish via Mozarabic **fabicella* (5).

The most common reply for ‘bean’ in mainland Spain, as well as the unanimous selection in the Canary Islands, was *judía*, whose first known use with this meaning dates to 1530 (DCECH). While the DLE notes the possibility that this word is somehow related to *judío* ‘Jew,’ from Latin *Iudaus* (<Greek *Ioudaios* <Hebrew *yəhūdî*), it may in reality derive from the unrelated Arabic *chudiya* (Roberts 2014a: 103). The second-leading term for this legume in mainland Spain is doubtless an Arabism: *alubia*, from *al-lubiya*, itself from Persian *lubeya* (DCECH, DLE). This word, first documented in Spanish from 1644 (DCECH), was not offered in any other country.

As most beans eaten in the world today are of American origin, it is not surprising that a New World term is also used to denote them in parts of the Spanish-speaking world, especially in the Andean region, thought to be the site where these legumes were initially domesticated in the Western Hemisphere. The first recorded use of *poroto*, from Quechua *purútu*, dates from 1586, a half-century after Pizarro’s conquest of the Incas (DCECH). This word was the exclusive choice of respondents in the Southern Cone. It tied with *frijol* as a first choice in Bolivia and was a minority selection in Ecuador. Although Peru lies between Ecuador to the north and Bolivia and Chile to the south, and despite the fact that Cuzco was the capital of the Inca Empire whose dominant Quechuan tongue gave Spanish *poroto*, the first known use of which was documented in Peru (DCECH), this word was not selected by a single Peruvian informant. The reason for this appears again to be traceable to the establishment of the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542, which, though it extended beyond the modern borders of the country, was, importantly, headquartered in Lima. Therefore, beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, this city and surrounding environs were more heavily influenced by Spain than any other part of the colonies except perhaps the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico). As a result, it was only a matter of time before the Peninsular use of *frisol*, first documented in the mother country at the end of the fifteenth century (DCECH), was transported to the heart of the Andes on the lips of explorers, governors, soldiers, merchants, and others. Indeed, *frisol* first appeared in Peru in 1568, nearly twenty years before *poroto* was documented, though the latter word had obviously come into use among the native population long before then. By 1572, the modern *frijol* was also recorded in Peru (CORDE).⁸⁷ In this country

⁸⁷ The earliest known use of this word with a <j> is *frijoles*, stressed on the first syllable, recorded no later than 1526 in Spain. Another early form in the same country, *frixoles*, is from 1527 (CORDE).

the European loanword appears largely to have eventually displaced the indigenous *poroto*, even as the latter name spread and became dominant in neighboring nations, particularly to the south.

Another likely indigenous name for ‘bean’ is *caraota*, evidently used only in Venezuela. All fourteen examples in the CORDE correspond to this country, the first dating from 1687. The DCECH is silent on this word. Writing in the *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* in 2000, Hernández explains that while the twenty-first edition of the Academy’s *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (DLE), published in 1990, contained nearly 900 words whose native American etymology was clearly marked, approximately 600 other lexemes in the dictionary had not been so designated (361). Her entry lists these Amerindian words, along with proposed etymologies for consideration in future editions of the dictionary, the next of which would be published the following year. Under *caraota*, Hernández noted that Santamaría’s 1942 *Diccionario general de americanismos* (DGA) cites Carib as the source of the word (368). However, apparently owing to the absence of sufficient corroborating evidence, such an etymology for this word was not included in the twenty-second edition of the DLE (2001) and is still missing in the twenty-third (2014). While ten of the twenty-seven respondents in Venezuela selected *caraota*, even more popular was the term *grano*, the choice of thirteen individuals. In contrast, only four participants gave *frijol* as an answer. One individual annotated her reply in a manner that may partially elucidate this situation. As the survey image portrayed beans of differing colors, she stated that *granos* is employed to speak of these legumes generally, while *caraotas* tends to refer specifically to black and red beans and *frijoles* to white varieties. However, this opinion of one contributor, while of interest, must also be treated with care, as such nuances can be merely regional. In fact, she and two of the other participants who chose the word *frijol* came from the western part of the country, namely Maracaibo and Táchira. This likely reflects the influence on this region of neighboring Colombia, where all informants selected a variant of *frijol*. Responses of *grano* were only offered in one other country, as a minority choice: the Dominican Republic. Reluctance among most Spanish speakers to use this word specifically for ‘bean’ is surely due to its normally general meaning of ‘grain,’ whose default reference, as in English, is to cereals rather than legumes.

The final term to be considered in this entry is that of *menestra*, chosen by three of the fourteen respondents in Peru but in no other country. The sparse use of this word for ‘bean’ is perhaps a reflection of the ambiguity associated with it both in modern Spanish and historically in the language from which it was borrowed. While *minestra*, the etymon of *menestra*, is the Italian word for ‘soup’ today, it arrived at this meaning in a roundabout way. The noun *minestra* is a derivative of the Italian verb *minestrare* ‘to serve (at the table),’ itself an

adaptation of the Latin *ministrare*. While many foods can be served at the table, the Italians settled on hot brothy liquid. When the term entered Spanish as *menestra*, the first known use of which dates to 1517, it apparently conveyed more or less the same meaning (DCECH). Over time, however, the concept of ‘soup’ in this particular case gradually shifted to that of a thicker *guisado* ‘stew.’ This is the meaning of the word today in Spain, where *menestra* is a stew containing a variety of vegetables and often chunks of ham or beef. This is the first definition of the term given by the DLE. The second, however, focuses on what may be only one of the ingredients of such a concoction: dried legumes, such as beans. The third refers to the same sort of staple, but in the form of rations which can be stored until cooked to feed troops or even prisoners. It is perhaps this sort of unflattering connotation that today has limited the use of *menestra* for ‘bean’ to Peru, while in other nations terms viewed as more common and recommending hold sway.

Tally of survey responses for ‘bean’ by country (total of eleven)

- Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay: *poroto* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama: *frijol* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *poroto* (5), *frijol* (5)
- Canary Islands: *judía* (unanimous)
- Colombia: *frijol* (9), *frijol* (4)
- Dominican Republic: *habichuela* (15), *grano* (3)
- Ecuador: *frejol* (5), *frijol* (3), *poroto* (3)
- Peru: *frejol* (7), *frijol* (3), *menestra* (3)
- Puerto Rico: *habichuela* (unanimous)
- Spain: *judía* (7), *alubia* (6), *haba* (3)
- Venezuela: *grano* (13), *caraota* (10), *frijol* (4)

Item 25: Green Bean

The green bean belongs to the same *Fabaceae* family as the other beans already discussed, as do peas and peanuts. However, while other beans are grown to maturity and shelled, green beans are varieties of the New World *Phaseolus vulgaris* that are simply harvested in an immature state since their still verdant pods, not the underdeveloped seeds, are the desired food. The green bean is at times called by other names. The term ‘snap bean’ is a reference to the noise made when the ends of fresh specimens are broken off by hand. The name ‘string bean’ refers to the fibrous strand that ran the length of the pod, along one

of the seams, until this feature was eliminated through selective breeding. This minimal lexical variety in English – the word ‘bean’ after all is present in each case – pales in comparison to the abundance of terms used for this food item in the Spanish-speaking world.

A number of the terms used for this food in Spanish function like the ‘bean’ versus ‘green bean’ dichotomy in English. For instance, as discussed in the previous entry, the most selected word among survey participants in mainland Spain for mature, shelled beans was *judías*. When the same respondents were asked their preferred word for the pods that are eaten while still immature, fleshy, and green, a majority, eleven of the seventeen, selected *judía verde*. This was also a secondary choice in the Canary Islands. Use of the adjective *verde* was likewise employed with *poroto* among Chilean informants, in unanimous fashion, as well as *frijol* in Nicaragua and Honduras, and *habichuela* in Puerto Rico. In this latter territory, the most popular selection was *habichuela tierna*, the ‘tender’ qualifier lending the same connotation of a food harvested young. Nevertheless, the default meaning in general Spanish of the unmodified term *habichuela* is precisely that of ‘green bean,’ whereas its use in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic for a mature bean seed is, as demonstrated in the previous entry, the exception. It is for this reason that *habichuela*, unqualified, was the unanimous choice for ‘green bean’ among respondents in Colombia, Panama, and Cuba, as well as the majority selection in both the Canary Islands and Honduras.

In several countries the ‘green bean’ is denoted with the word *vaina*, as well as three diminutive forms thereof. This term, whose first known use dates to 1155 in Spanish, has its origins in Latin *vagina*. Besides its obvious connection to female anatomy, this word and its Romance derivatives have been employed generally in reference to coverings such as knife sheaths or sword scabbards, or, in the natural world, to the ‘pod’ of *Fabaceae* plants. From its twelfth-century emergence until as late as possibly the early seventeenth century, the Spanish word, based on the Latin syllabification of *va-gi-na*, was rendered *vaina* (*va-i-na*) following the loss of the middle consonant through lenition. Its eventual reduction to a two-syllable word through diphthongation, *vai-na*, is parallel to that of Latinate *regina*: *re-gi-na* > *re-í-na* > *rei-na* ‘queen’ (DCECH). In the eighteenth century, the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1729–1736) defined “*vaina*” as the “*corteza tierna, y larga, en que están encerradas algunas legumbres: como judías, habas, &c.*” While this general definition is largely unchanged in the modern DLE (“*cáscara tierna y larga en que están encerradas las semillas de algunas plantas*”), the dictionary has added a definition regarding the regional use of this term across parts of north-central Spain to denote the “*judía verde*” specifically.⁸⁸ One of the areas mentioned is

⁸⁸ The Portuguese word for ‘green bean’ is the similarly Latin-derived *vagem* (plural *vagens*).

the Basque Country, and indeed, both survey participants from this autonomous community selected *vaina*, while those from Galicia, in the northwest of the country, and Catalonia, in the northeast, as well as the remainder from points further south, all selected either *judía verde* or simply *judía*. While neither the DLE nor the DAMER makes allowance for this use of *vaina* in American Spanish, it was nonetheless a secondary choice in both Nicaragua and Peru.

The most common *vaina*-related term for ‘green bean’ is the diminutive *vainita*, which was the word selected exclusively by respondents in the Dominican Republic and the leading choice in the countries of northern South America with the exception of Colombia. In Costa Rica, all eleven participants chose *vainica* unanimously, a selection not made in any other country. This word was first recorded in early seventeenth-century Spain, where the diminutive suffix *-ico/a* had long been, and continues to be, identified with the Aragonese dialect (Callebaut 2011: 12). Its use, especially in combination with /t/, as in *momento* > *momentico*, eventually spread to much of the Caribbean, all of Central America, and northern South America. Perhaps its most prevalent usage, however, is among Costa Ricans, leading to their appellation of *ticos* (Callebaut 2011: 12, 15). The primary and secondary words for ‘green bean’ chosen by survey participants in Peru were *vainita* and *vaina*, respectively. No other country featured two *vaina* variants in this manner, let alone a third. Nevertheless, two Peruvian respondents also selected the form *vainilla*. While this word, first recorded in 1555, at one time merely denoted a small pod of any legume (DCECH), its absence today in other countries in reference to the ‘green bean’ is due to the fact that in most dialects of the modern language it has come to be reserved uniquely for what in English is termed ‘vanilla,’ taken directly from Spanish in the second half of the seventeenth century as a name for the New World plant whose fragrant pods and seeds provide this important extract in the culinary world (OED).

As *Phaseolus vulgaris*, whose pods constitute green beans when harvested young, was first domesticated in South America, it is fitting that a word also autochthonous to the region is used for this food in certain dialects of Spanish. The word *chaucha*, the noun selected unanimously by respondents in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, comes from Quechua with the adjectival meaning of ‘immature.’ Though surely used at one time in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, the Amerindian borrowing appears to have been supplanted in these nations by *vaina* and its variants. In Chile, the use of *poroto verde* instead of *chaucha* is evidently due to the fact that the latter term, rather than referring to the ‘green bean’ in said country, denotes a small, young potato which, after being harvested early, is set aside for planting the next crop (DLE).

The final word to be considered in this entry on the ‘green bean’ is another indigenous name, this one from Mesoamerica, where *P. vulgaris* varieties were domesticated somewhat later than in the Andes. The Náhuatl term for this

tender legume is *exotl*, first recorded in a Spanish-language source, from Mexico, in 1656. The Hispanicized version, *ejote*, was selected unanimously by survey respondents in three, contiguous countries: Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador. It was not offered in any other nation.

Tally of survey responses for ‘green bean’ by country (total of thirteen)

- Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay: *chaucha* (unanimous)
- Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Venezuela: *vainita* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Panama, Cuba: *habichuela* (unanimous)
- El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico: *ejote* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands: *habichuela* (21), *judía verde* (3)
- Chile: *poroto verde* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica: *vainica* (unanimous)
- Honduras: *habichuela* (8), *frijol verde* (2)
- Nicaragua: *frijol verde* (3), *vaina* (2)
- Peru: *vainita* (9), *vaina* (4), *vainilla* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *habichuela tierna* (6), *habichuela verde* (4)
- Spain: *judía verde* (11), *judía* (3), *vaina* (2)

Item 26: Chili Pepper

One of the first spice plants ever cultivated by humans was *Piper nigrum*, the transparently classified ‘black pepper,’ whose fruit grows bunched together on this spreading vine of the *Piperaceae* family. It is comprised of one-seeded drupes that when dried constitute the peppercorns that are then ground into the flakes that have flavored food for millennia. Grinding stones used for this very purpose, dated to around 2000 BC, have been discovered in the Indus Valley of modern Pakistan, though still existing wild plants in the Western Ghats near the Malabar Coast point to southern India as the ultimate source of the modern cultivar (Roberts 2001: 178). Peppercorns were plentiful and therefore inexpensive in the East, but by the time they reached Venice, Genoa, and other points in Europe, by both land and sea via way stations such as Aden and Alexandria, the expenses of this transport rendered them very costly (179–180). Indeed, to this day the expression *peperduur* (‘pepper dear’) means ‘very expensive’ in Dutch and Afrikaans, indicating the high prices this spice once commanded (van Wyk 2013: 216). The elevated costs of such culinary necessities and luxuries led European explorers to seek a water-only route to India and the Spice Islands in order to expedite and therefore hopefully monopolize the spice trade. While Columbus discovered neither these lands nor any trace of

Piper nigrum, what he did find in the Western Hemisphere was an abundance of plants whose seeds were not contained individually within tiny round drupes, but rather in large numbers inside single though much larger, partially hollow, often elongated pod-like fruits of edible flesh. These were cultivars belonging to the genus *Capsicum*, in the *Solanaceae* or nightshades family. *Capsicum* peppers are native to the American tropics, having perhaps originated in modern Bolivia, though they eventually spread until as many as thirty types ranged from this part of South America to the southern United States. These specimens can be classified within five distinct species, all of which have been domesticated: *C. baccatum*, native to Bolivia and mainly limited to South America; *C. chinense*, native to Brazil, its famous variety being the habanero; *C. pubescens*, cultivated in its native Andean and Mexican highlands; *C. frutescens*, originally from the lowlands of South America but now grown in Mexico, where the town of Tabasco gave this species' cultivar its common name; and *C. annuum*, whose domesticated varieties, which constitute the majority of *Capsicum* peppers grown and consumed by humans worldwide, are classified as *C. annuum* var. *annuum*. Among them are most chili peppers, types of which include the jalapeño, the banana, and the poblano (Roberts 2001: 182–183). Ironically, New World peppers are nowhere more popular today than in India, home of the unrelated black pepper.

When Columbus arrived in Barcelona in the spring of 1493, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera was on hand to record first-hand accounts from expedition members. As a result, he reported that *Capsicum* peppers, due to their similar strength and flavor, had been deemed a suitable replacement for black pepper if the latter were unavailable (Roberts 2001: 181). Such culinary comparisons made by European explorers between *Piper nigrum* and *Capsicum* varieties has led to lexical equivalents in more than one language for the Old World spice and these New World cultivars. The word 'pepper' has been used to denote the ancient condiment since it entered Old English as a loanword from Classical Latin *piper*, which in turn had been borrowed from the Indo-Aryan realm; the Sanskrit word is *pippali*. By the late sixteenth century, however, English speakers had also begun to apply the term to *Capsicum* specimens, though typically accompanied by a distinguishing word, as in the case of "Bell Pepper" (1707), or used in the plural, as in "Pickled cucumbers & peppers" (1760) (OED). This situation is also present in German, which uses *pfeffer* for 'black pepper' and, in the case of the 'Cayenne pepper,' for example, *Cayennepfeffer*. A similar solution exists in Portuguese, though the terms in question are based not on Latin *piper* but on *pimenta*, the plural form of *pimentum*: *pimenta* and *pimenta-caiena*. French, in contrast, employs derivatives of both Latin words: *poivre* for *Piper nigrum* and *piment* for most *Capsicum* varieties in general. Spanish has also employed terms derived from both of these etyma, at least historically.

The first use of the Latinate *pebre* in Spanish for *Piper nigrum* dates to 1240, but it was always a minority form compared to *pimienta* and by the early twentieth century the former word had effectively fallen into disuse (CORDE). Whereas *pimienta* had been used for ‘black pepper’ since the term’s adoption from around 1300, Spanish colonists dubbed the *Capsicum* plant *pimiento* following its discovery in America in 1492 (CORDE, Roberts 2001: 184).⁸⁹ Since this latter cultivar also consisted of fruit which needed to be named, it was perhaps only a matter of time before either the use of *pimiento* was extended to refer to the American peppers themselves – much as *maíz* is often used for both the stock and the kernels – or *pimienta* was employed in accordance with the typical word-gender binarism in which a plant or tree in Spanish typically bears the masculine name vis-à-vis the feminine counterpart employed to denote the fruit: *manzano* ‘apple tree’ vs. *manzana* ‘apple’; *olivo* ‘olive tree’ vs. *oliva* ‘olive’; *cerezo* ‘cherry tree’ vs. *cereza* ‘cherry.’ As it turns out, both phenomena obtained, though to considerably differing degrees. The use of *pimienta* for ‘chili pepper’ was only selected by survey participants in the Canary Islands, as a minority option. It is understandable that most speakers would shun the feminine term in this context in order to avoid conflict and confusion with its universal connotation in the language as *Piper nigrum*. It is for this reason that its minimal use in reference to a *Capsicum* pepper tends to be modified, as it is in English. In the Canary Islands, when this lexeme is employed in reference to a ‘chili pepper,’ it is often accompanied by the adjective *picona* ‘hot,’ the equivalent of *picante* and *picosa* in American Spanish. Indeed, one Canarian respondent selected the form *pimienta picona*. Much more common than *pimienta* for ‘chili pepper’ is *pimiento*, even in the Canary Islands, where it was chosen by eight contributors from a total of twenty-two, compared to only five cases of the feminine form. This masculine variant was also a leading response in mainland Spain and was a minority second choice in four Latin American nations north of the equator: Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela. A variant of *pimiento*, the name *pimentón*, tends to be reserved for the normally sweet ‘bell pepper,’ but two participants in Colombia selected it in response to a clear image of chili-type peppers. A recipe in the Colombian newspaper *El Nuevo Día* (2016) demonstrates how speakers in this country do indeed use *pimentón* with this meaning. It lists the ingredients for a tripe stew, which include such items as milk, vinegar, and “*pimentones picantes*.”

Although Spanish colonizers applied *pimiento* and other derivatives originally associated with *Piper nigrum* to the *Capsicum* species they discovered in the New World, they also reported and eventually adopted several names used by Native Americans themselves, beginning with the word *axi* encountered on

⁸⁹ The masculine *pimiento* was not recorded prior to its 1495 listing in Nebrija’s Spanish–Latin dictionary (DCECH).

Hispaniola, rendered *aji* in modern Spanish (Roberts 2001: 181). The first use of this word was attributed to Columbus in 1493, as reported by historian Bartolomé de las Casas (DCECH). Today *aji* is used in more countries than any other term, including Bolivia, the likely cradle of *Capsicum* cultivars, where the native Quechuan *uchu* has long since been replaced by its Caribbean counterpart (Roberts 2001: 184). Bolivian informants offered *aji* as the leading response, as did those in the rest of South America, Panama, and the Caribbean countries, in some nations exclusively.

The fact that Panamanian respondents were alone among Central Americans in selecting *aji* for ‘chili pepper’ is likely due to the influence of neighboring Colombia, of which South American country Panama was a province until its independence in 1903. The other Central American nations, in this and other instances, have rather looked north for lexical influence, particularly toward Mexico. This surely explains why survey respondents there, mirroring the 94 percent selection rate of *chile* among Mexican participants, chose this word exclusively. From Náhuatl *chilli*, this term is also the obvious source of English ‘chili (pepper).’ *Chile* is attested in Spanish from 1521, a logical date as it coincides with Cortés’ conquest of the Aztecs (DCECH). Owing to the dominance of the word *aji* in its native realm, Dominicans were the only Caribbean respondents to select *chile*, as a decidedly minority form. Though neither the DLE nor the DAMER contemplates its use in South America, *chile* was also selected by contributors in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Argentina, though it was strongly subordinate to *aji* in each instance. In the latter country, all three cases of *chile*, from a total of nineteen replies, came in Buenos Aires, where Mexican restaurants, once rare, now abound, perhaps leading to the use of this word (Gurissatti 2012). The final country in which participants selected *chile* was Spain. Three such responses were given, from a total of seventeen, along with three selections of *chili*, a largely unchanged etymological form of the Aztec etymon introduced early to Spain. Its first known mention there is listed in the CORDE from 1538.

The DLE lists a pepper in Peru known as the *rocoto*. Unlike most cultivars, which thrive in warm climates and in full sun, this highly spicy *Capsicum pubescens* species prefers cooler temperatures and a bit of shade. For this reason it is not found in the Central American tropics but does grow in more temperate zones, not only those of South America, but also of Mexico, where it is called *chile manzana* due to its rounded shape resembling that of an apple (Spurrier 2013). The name *rocoto* is from Quechua *rukutu* (Yáñez Cossío 2007: 278), though the flexibility of the word-initial liquid in the source language allows for *lukutu* (Durstin 2007: 189). The latter variant, apparently as a borrowing, is found in Aymara and has been adopted by Spanish speakers in Bolivia as *locoto* to denote both the *Capsicum pubescens* specifically and any “*tipo de aji*” generally (Carvajal Carvajal et al. 2001: 71). This word

constituted four of the twelve responses given by Bolivian survey participants for ‘chili pepper.’ While the DLE and the DCECH make no mention of *locoto*, the DAMER lists it as a synonym of *rocoto* in Bolivia and the CREA contains two instances of it in this country, one from 1977, which equates to *ají*, and another from 2002. The CORDE contains two cases of the modified *locote*, both from the same source in 1960, in Paraguay, the country also identified in connection to this word in the DLE. Similarly, two of the replies given in this South American nation corresponded to this variant, which was selected in no other country.

Finally, in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, arguably the most common term for ‘chili pepper’ is *guindilla* (DCECH). This word, unlike *ají*, *chile*, *locoto*, and *locote*, is not the product of a New World etymon but rather comes from the European realm, like the *pimienta* variants. It derives from the Spanish *guinda* ‘sour cherry,’ the same meaning expressed by Portuguese *ginja* (DLE, Collins 2020).⁹⁰ Cherries, genus *Prunus*, are not remotely related to American peppers, genus *Capsicum*. This does not imply, however, a total absence of similarities. Since the diminutive form *guindilla* was originally applied to a round variety of pepper (DLE), its shape is the obvious metaphorical link to a cherry. A similar situation exists in English. Owing to its generally spherical nature, the ‘pimiento’ (<Spanish *pimiento*), a typically sweet *C. annuum* variety used in pimiento cheese spread, pimiento loaf, and pimiento-stuffed green olives, is often referred to as the ‘cherry pepper.’ However, while the use of ‘pimiento’ is restricted in English to this variety, over time the once-specific use of *guindilla* expanded in Spanish to apply to chili peppers in general, most of which are elongated in shape. Among survey participants in mainland Spain, this term tied with *pimiento* as the leading choice, while in the Canary Islands it was the most selected name.

Tally of survey responses for ‘chili pepper’ by country (total of nine)

- Chile, Panama, Peru, Uruguay: *ají* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua: *chile* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *ají* (15), *chile* (3)
- Bolivia: *ají* (8), *locoto* (4)
- Canary Islands: *guindilla* (9), *pimiento* (8), *pimienta* (5)
- Colombia: *ají* (9), *pimentón* (2)
- Cuba: *ají* (6), *pimiento* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *ají* (16), *chile* (3)
- Ecuador: *ají* (9), *chile* (2)

⁹⁰ While the DLE and the DCECH trace *guinda* and other Romance cognates to Germanic **wiksina*, the OED deems this lineage unlikely.

- Mexico: *chile* (29), *pimiento* (2)
- Paraguay: *aji* (6), *locote* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *aji* (6), *pimiento* (3)
- Spain: *guindilla* (6), *pimiento* (6), *chile* (3), *chili* (3)
- Venezuela: *aji* (20), *pimiento* (3), *chile* (2)

Item 27: *Banana*

The most recent research, including sophisticated DNA analysis, points to the eastern portion of the Indo-Malaysian region as the banana's place of origin prior to 10,000 BC. All bananas are classified within the *Musa* genus of the *Musaceae* family, and the majority of edible modern varieties belong to *M. acuminata* and *M. balbisiana*. The former species appears to have emerged in the Philippines as a diploid plant, meaning it has two sets of chromosomes, before spreading to New Guinea, where it hybridized with *M. balbisiana* varieties to create starchy plantains, *M. × paradisiaca* cultivars, which are triploids. It was likely sometime later that a mutation in an uncrossed *M. acuminata* plant also yielded a triploid variety that is the progenitor of what have come to be the most commercialized sweet, or "dessert," bananas (Kennedy 2009: 197–199). This extra set of chromosomes brought about two results that together would lead to the propagation of these new strains far and wide. First, the fruit of these plants is seedless, making it more suitable for human consumption. Second, this lack of seeds renders them effectively sterile, though this is not to say they are incapable of reproduction. It merely means that any such propagation must be accomplished through vegetative or asexual means (Roberts 2001: 120). To do this, they send out shoots called suckers from their central corm, a bulb-like subterranean stem. These suckers can either grow where they emerge, next to the mother plant, or be transplanted manually, which is how current mass-cultivation of bananas is carried out. The new, tree-like plants, which, botanically speaking, are actually the largest herbs on earth, and whose fruit is technically a berry, can repeat this process over and over, creating generations of exact genetic clones (Koeppel 2008: xii, xv, 12).

Since the remains of seedless bananas quickly decompose, dating the different stages of domestication and spread beyond their native region is challenging. Much of what is known comes from the written record. Bananas were first mentioned in Indian literature from the sixth century BC. Later, Pliny the Elder wrote of the fruit in question in his first-century AD *Naturalis Historia*, though he did so only with second-hand knowledge, based perhaps on accounts from Alexander the Great's campaigns in India some 400 years before, since the banana plant is tropical and not traditionally grown north of the Sahara

(Roberts 2001: 120). A place where bananas did arrive and prosper was Africa. There is evidence of plantations in coastal Kenya by 1300, likely via corms transported across the Indian Ocean from Indonesia to Madagascar centuries earlier. Specimens then crossed the center of the continent and reached West Africa by the time European explorers arrived later in the fourteenth century and found Guinean natives who called this fruit *banema* or *banama* (121). The first recorded use of *banana* in Portuguese is from 1562 (DCECH), followed by its adoption from this language into English by 1579 (OED) and Spanish by 1748 in Peru (CORDE).⁹¹ This form and related variants also exist in many languages within and outside of Europe. Among survey respondents, *banana* was the exclusive choice in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. All three border Brazil, which the DCECH notes as a possible reason for the dominance of the term in these River Plate countries, as it is also the name still used in modern Portuguese. *Banana* was a secondary selection in Ecuador, El Salvador, and Panama, as well as the final of four options in Honduras. In this latter country, more popular than the feminine form was the masculine variant of the same word. First recorded in Spanish in 1789 (DCECH), *banano* was likely adopted as a term to denote the banana plant vis-à-vis the fruit itself, akin to *naranja* ‘orange’ vs. *naranjo* ‘orange tree.’ Over time, however, this distinction has been at least partially lost as both genders are applied to the fruit in and near Central America. The other country in which respondents chose both forms was El Salvador, though it was the feminine version that was preferred there. *Banano* was the leading or exclusive choice in Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Guatemala.

Even before *banana* entered Spanish, events transpired that moved cultivation of this plant closer to both the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas. The conquest of the Canary Islands, which commenced in 1402, allowed for banana plantations beginning sometime in the same fifteenth century on this archipelago approximately sixty miles west of Morocco (Roberts 2001: 121). The name that Spaniards eventually adopted for this plant was a preexisting term in the language applied to another item of flora. The DCECH lists the first known use of *plátano* from 1438. It is derived from Latin *platanus*, itself a loanword from Greek *πλάτανος* (*plátanos*). As the use of *plátano* originally referred to the ‘plane tree,’ it is uncertain why Spaniards associated it with the novel banana plant, to which this Hellenism began to be applied perhaps a century or more after its entrance into Spanish. The DCECH reports that the first known instance with this meaning was recorded in 1554. Even then, in order to ameliorate confusion, use of this name in relation to the new cultivar and its fruit was often modified by an adjective, a resulting term being *plátano guineo*

⁹¹ A source from Spain records *banana* by 1629, but specifically to note the Brazilian Portuguese word for Spanish *plátano* (CORDE).

(Roberts 2014a: 787). Not only did this binomial lexeme eventually yield two separate names in Spanish, but, as with *banana*, the word *guineo* is a product of Portuguese influence. In the fifteenth century, Portuguese explorers in West Africa had discovered Berber speakers who employed the term *aguinaw* for ‘black man’ and began to use the word on maps, altered to *Guinea*, to identify this region (Encyclopædia Britannica 2020). As it was known that the bananas grown in the Canary Islands had come from this area, the adoption of the adjective *guineo* was a logical one.

Even though mainland Spain lay closer to the Canary Islands than did its colonies in the Western Hemisphere, much of the latter territory was propitious for banana growing, while all but the extreme south of the Iberian Peninsula was too far removed from the tropics for such activity. For this reason, the next stop on the banana’s world tour was America, where Dominican friar Tomás de Berlanga introduced it to Santo Domingo in 1516, from where it spread to the rest of the Caribbean and the Spanish Main (Roberts 2001: 121). It appears that this Old World–New World agricultural bifurcation also portended a lexical split in the term *plátano guineo*. The adjective became a sole noun in the Dominican Republic, a situation reflected in the fact that survey participants in this country selected the term *guineo* unanimously, as did Puerto Ricans. This was also the leading response in El Salvador, Honduras, and Panama, as well as a minority selection in Guatemala, Ecuador, and Bolivia. By contrast, in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands it was the noun *plátano* which alone became the default word for ‘banana,’ and indeed it was the exclusive choice of informants in these two locales. *Plátano* also spread to the American regions most influenced by the mother country during the colonial period. Much of the shipping activity in the New World passed through Havana on its way to and from Spain’s two longstanding vicerealties. It is therefore unsurprising that *plátano* was also the word adopted there and was the unanimous selection of contributors in Cuba, Mexico, and Peru. This was also the case in Chile, Peru’s neighbor to the south.

At this point it becomes necessary to consider the flexibility, not to say ambiguity, of the word *plátano* in its modern usage, a discussion that is perhaps best begun by evaluating further the use of English ‘plantain,’ which itself has both popular and scientific definitions. As noted earlier, a plantain, botanically speaking, is a cross between *M. acuminata* and *M. balbisiana* varieties. Therefore, while all plantains are bananas, not all bananas are plantains. Furthermore, any attempt to rigidly define *M. acuminata* varieties as those only eaten in the form of ripe, sweet fruit, contrasted with *M. balbisiana* varieties or *M. acuminata* × *M. balbisiana* hybrids as strictly cooking bananas, is an overgeneralization. Certain *M. balbisiana* cultivars and crosses produce fruit that is sweet when allowed to fully ripen and is thus eaten raw, while some *M. acuminata* bananas are harvested unripe and cooked in savory form

(Kennedy 2009: 197–199). Moreover, throughout history, starchy cooking bananas have been the varieties most eaten by humans (Roberts 2001: 120; Australian Government 2008: 1). This was certainly the case in the Canary Islands and the Americas between the early sixteenth and late nineteenth centuries, meaning that during this period the word *plátano* – as well as *banana/o* and *guineo* – of necessity denoted a non-sweet variety. It was not until the latter part of the 1800s that the vehicle constituted by the French and British Empires brought dessert bananas from the Eastern to the Western World (De Langhe 2009: 171). Today, the most popular type of sweet banana, the Cavendish, exists alongside cooking varieties in the Spanish-speaking world. This causes no lexical problems in the River Plate countries, for instance, where the Cavendish is called *banana* and what English speakers refer to as ‘plantains’ are not part of the local diet. In other countries where cooked bananas are also not a customary part of the cuisine, such as Chile and Spain, but whose speakers do employ *plátano*, the term can be used for the raw sweet version exclusively and therefore without confusion. In nations where both types of bananas are routinely consumed, certain lexical solutions exist for semantic clarity.

In the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Colombia, as well as all six Central American nations, the sweet banana is referred to principally as *banana/o* or *guineo*, a situation reflected in the responses of survey participants in these locales. As the word *plátano* is not a synonym for these names in said countries, it can be used uniquely to denote cooking bananas, which are important staples in each of them. In the following countries, however, all of which feature cooked, non-sweet bananas in one form or another as a significant food source, informants offered *plátano* as a reply for dessert varieties: Cuba, Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Since this is also the only word available for plantain-like bananas consumed regularly in these countries, lexical strategies must be employed to eliminate, or at least reduce, the resulting ambiguity. Even though they were only shown an image of what is clearly a ripe yellow Cavendish banana and not asked to differentiate it from a cooking variety, insight into this type of linguistic negotiation was offered by many of the contributors. In Cuba, one individual gave the answer of “*plátano de frutas*,” an obvious reference to its sweetness compared to a more vegetable-like cooking banana. A Peruvian respondent made a similar distinction with the term “*plátano de seda*,” contrasting its smoother, more delicate flesh with the firmer, starchier meat of a plantain. In Mexico, one participant noted that the image offered was that of a “*plátano dulce*” or “*plátano regular*” and not a “*plátano macho*” or “*plátano verde*.”

Finally, survey participants in three countries offered names for the sweet banana that have not yet been mentioned and which in each case appear to exist chiefly if not exclusively in the nation in question. In Venezuela, all twenty-six

respondents selected the word *cambur* unanimously for ‘banana.’ The DCECH fails to mention this term in any way. The DAMER lists its usage in Venezuela, Ecuador, and Panama, with the possibility of *cambure* in rural areas of the latter nation. The DLE, without reference to dialectal distribution, defines it as banana-like cultivar: “*planta . . . parecida al plátano.*” This distinction is one that is found in multiple early cases of *cambur* as documented in the CORDE. Between 1745 and 1819, four instances of this word specifically compare it to what is deemed a larger *plátano*. However, another example from the early nineteenth century and three from the twentieth mention the *cambur* alone: one from 1953 and two from 1962. No non-Venezuelan cases are found in this database. Roberts (2014a), claiming that it is used in Colombia as well as Venezuela, states that the name is likely a Carib word (295).⁹² If this is the case, one can only imagine which portion of what native plant or other item previously bearing this name appeared so analogous in the mind of locals to the newly arrived *Musa* species that its influence has effectively excluded the use of *guineo*, *banano*, and other names employed regularly in nearby countries.

In Honduras, along with responses of *guineo*, *banano*, and *banana*, three survey participants selected the term *mínimo*, which the DLE confirms as a use for “*plátano guineo*” in the country without describing how the term came to be. A clue to the latter information is found in an edition of *The Purdue Agriculturist* from nearly a century ago, which states that while there are many varieties of banana in Honduras, “the two most important are the ‘mínimo’ and ‘plátano,’” the latter being “about twice as long and three times as heavy” as the former (Sandoval 1922: 43). As this comparison evidently excluded consideration of plantains, it seems that there was a well-favored petite variety of sweet banana in the country at the time, the name for which apparently later became generalized to denote larger varieties such as the Cavendish.⁹³

Bolivian participants selected *plátano* as the leading choice for this fruit, followed by equal offerings of *guineo* and a term not found in the DLE, the DAMER, the DCECH, the *Oxford Spanish Dictionary*, or any other reference source consulted: *gualele*. The evident pronunciation of this word in Bolivia, which one respondent offered as /ualéle/, akin to ‘Guayaquil’ /uajakíl/, explains why one individual also spelled this name *walele*. This orthographic discrepancy apparently exists writ large in the country. While a researcher at one university in the country prefers *gualele* (Toledo Caricari 2016: 77), counterparts at another opt for *walele* (Churqui Fuentes et al. 2014: 190). Unfortunately, neither party casts light on the mystery of this word’s

⁹² The influence of this word in Venezuela is demonstrated by the fact that in the north central state of Carabobo, north of the city of Valencia and near the coast, there is a town called El Cambur.

⁹³ The DAMER equates *mínimo* to “*guineo*” in both Honduras and Guatemala.

incorporation into Spanish, though the most logical explanation is that the term is a loanword from a local indigenous language, one that perhaps originally denoted another plant.

Tally of survey responses for ‘banana’ by country (total of seven)

- Canary Islands, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Spain: *plátano* (unanimous)
- Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay: *banana* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua: *banano* (unanimous)
- Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico: *guineo* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *plátano* (7), *guineo* (4), *gualele* (4)
- Ecuador: *plátano* (7), *banana* (3), *guineo* (3)
- El Salvador: *guineo* (12), *banana* (4), *banano* (2)
- Guatemala: *banano* (10), *guineo* (3)
- Honduras: *guineo* (7), *banano* (4), *minimo* (3), *banana* (2)
- Panama: *guineo* (12), *banana* (7)
- Venezuela: *cambur* (unanimous)

Variant of *gualele* used by one survey respondent: *walele*

Item 28: Refrigerator

For millennia the advantages of ice were typically available only to the upper classes, who often had underground pits to preserve it during warm weather, and its use was local in scope. This began to change in the early nineteenth century as ice was harvested in Norway and the United States and shipped under insulation to places such as Cuba, the United Kingdom, and India (Peavitt 2017: 15–18). It was during this same period, in 1802, that American inventor Thomas Moore received a patent for his ‘refrigerator’ (Bjornland 2015: 19). This word was first recorded in the English language in 1611, evidently derived from the slightly earlier noun ‘refrigeratory’ (1605), itself taken from the late-fifteenth-century Middle French *réfrigératoire*, a container of cold water through which the coiled piping of a still passed in order to condense vaporized spirits (OED). Moore’s invention, which he used to transport butter in warm weather, was a humble contraption consisting of a rectangular tin box placed inside an oval cedar tub lined with rabbit fur and cloth and which had enough space between the box and tub to place chunks of ice. He later created a larger model for home use (Friends’ Intelligencer Association 1912: 485). This and similar devices used during the rest of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century to keep food from spoiling were often referred to with the term ‘icebox,’ a word first documented in 1792 (OED). Important

strides were made in commercial refrigeration during the following decades, including the invention of an ice-making machine in 1851, portable compressors in the 1870s, and the processes of large-scale gas liquification in the 1890s. However, it was not until 1913 that the first electric refrigerator for home use was introduced (Bjornland 2015: 19).

The Spanish word *refrigerador*, first documented in Venezuela no later than 1935, followed by a case in Spain from as early as 1940 (CORDE), is a transparent loanword from the English name and is the most common term in Spanish. Though it was the unanimous response only among Chilean survey participants, it was selected in fourteen of the twenty-one countries and was the leading choice in nine: Mexico, Cuba, Peru, Bolivia, and five of the six Central American countries. In El Salvador, it was second to *refrigeradora*, a name again first documented in Venezuela, in 1938, and shortly afterwards in Spain, in 1940 (CORDE). This feminine iteration was the second-most selected word among informants, chosen in eight countries: Peru, Ecuador, and the remaining five Central American nations. Both *refrigerador* and *refrigeradora* were offered in eight countries. Akin to English usage, though likely not a direct result thereof, is the tendency in some nations to abbreviate the name of this appliance. In the same way many English speakers say ‘fridge,’ respondents in seven countries selected, normally as a minority form, the term *refri*. While only one participant, in Honduras, noted a preferred gender – the feminine *la refri* – it is only logical that *el refri* is also used. In Mexico, for example, twenty-nine individuals opted for the masculine *refrigerador*; there were no cases of *refrigeradora* in this country. It is therefore unlikely that the two Mexicans who selected *refri* would apply a feminine article to it. Substantiating this supposition is an article in Reynosa’s *La Tarde* (2017). The text of this piece uses the word *refrigerador* ten times. In the title, however, where space is a premium, it has been reduced to the abbreviated *el refri*.

The next most common survey response for ‘refrigerator’ was that of *nevera* (<Latin *nivaria* <*nivarius* ‘full of snow’). It was selected in seven nations, including unanimously in Colombia and Venezuela, by all participants in the Canary Islands, as a majority choice in mainland Spain, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, and as a popular secondary option in Panama. Ironically, answers of *refrigerador* and *refrigeradora* were not given in either Venezuela or Spain, the two countries in which these terms were originally documented. An explanation appears to lie in the existence of the word *nevera* in these countries beginning from an even earlier period. Its first known use in Spain in reference to a device found in the home dates from 1883, nearly sixty years before the appearance of both *refrigerador* and *refrigeradora*.

Similar to *nevera* is the name *heladera*, which, derived from *hielo* ‘ice,’ is essentially the equivalent of the antiquated English ‘icebox.’ *Heladera* was the unanimous selection of survey participants in the River Plate countries of

Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, as well as a secondary response in neighboring Bolivia.⁹⁴ Its first known use is from Uruguay in 1947 (CORDE). In Argentina, whose beef industry has historically been of vital importance to the country's economy, the average citizen is familiar with another term related to refrigeration: *frigorífico*, from the Latin *frigorificus* 'that which cools' (DLE). This word, however, is not used in the country to denote a domestic appliance, nor is it typically reserved solely for the cavernous cooling units employed to store slaughtered beef, but rather, by metaphorical extension, it refers to an entire 'packing house.' Across the Atlantic, in contrast, *frigorífico* does simply denote the household 'refrigerator,' though it is perhaps not the word most typically employed for this device. In mainland Spain, *frigorífico* was chosen by seven survey respondents, compared to eleven who chose *nevera*. It was less frequent in the Canary Islands, selected by only two of the twenty-five informants.

Finally, although the majority of Cuban respondents selected the term *refrigerador*, three of them chose *frigidaire*.⁹⁵ This usage, also seen at one time in English, appears to have resulted from the fact that the Frigidaire brand, launched in 1915, had a twelve-year start over General Electric in the manufacture of refrigerators, allowing the former brand's name to temporarily corner the market and thus become synonymous with the appliance itself (Bjornland 2015: 19; OED, Rechtin 2008).

Tally of survey responses for 'refrigerator' by country (total of seven)

- Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay: *heladera* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Venezuela: *nevera* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *refrigerador* (8), *heladera* (6)
- Canary Islands: *nevera* (25), *frigorífico* (2)
- Chile: *refrigerador* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica: *refrigerador* (9), *refrigeradora* (3), *refri* (2)
- Cuba: *refrigerador* (6), *frigidaire* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *nevera* (17), *refrigerador* (2)
- Ecuador: *refrigeradora* (8), *refrigerador* (3)

⁹⁴ The dominance of the word *heladera* in the River Plate countries appears to have influenced the default use of *geladeira* for this appliance in Brazilian Portuguese (if not vice versa). In Portugal, in contrast, the universal term is *frigorífico*, which mirrors its usage in neighboring Spain.

⁹⁵ One of these three Cuban respondents partially Hispanicized the word, spelling it *frigider*, indicating further that the /dʒ/ in the second syllable of the English pronunciation of 'Frigidaire' is realized /x/ in Spanish, which occurs in native words with a <gi> spelling combination. Both *frigider* and *frigidaire* were recorded in Spain between the 1940s and the 1970s (CORDE), though this popular use of the brand name for 'refrigerator' has been replaced there by *nevera* and *frigorífico*.

- El Salvador: *refrigeradora* (8), *refrigerador* (4), *refri* (3)
 - Guatemala: *refrigerador* (7), *refri* (5), *refrigeradora* (3)
 - Honduras: *refrigerador* (5), *refrigeradora* (5), *refri* (3)
 - Mexico: *refrigerador* (29), *refri* (2)
 - Nicaragua: *refrigerador* (7), *refrigeradora* (2), *refri* (2)
 - Panama: *refrigerador* (7), *refrigeradora* (5), *nevera* (5), *refri* (3)
 - Peru: *refrigerador* (7), *refrigeradora* (4)
 - Puerto Rico: *nevera* (10), *refrigerador* (2)
 - Spain: *nevera* (11), *frigorífico* (7)
- Variant of *frigidaire*: *frigider*

Item 29: Drinking Straw

The oldest known drinking straw, dating to more than 5,000 years ago, is a gold tube extracted from a tomb in southern Mesopotamia. An image on the seal of the same burial chamber depicts two men who appear to be drinking beer from a jar through straws (Thompson 2011). The English name of this item itself, however, reveals that most drinking devices of this nature have not historically been made of precious metals, but rather the hollow stems of cereal crops. Though Old English contained the Germanic-derived ‘stréaw,’ the first recorded use of the modern form ‘straw’ as a drinking implement is from 1851 (OED). By then it had become vogue to drink certain beverages, particularly those of an alcoholic nature, through rye stocks, though the grassy flavor that the residue of this straw lent to the libation was unpleasant to some. Such was the case with Marvin Stone as he sipped mint juleps at his Washington, DC, home in the 1880s; he therefore set out to make a better product. His first attempt consisted of winding paper around a pencil to create a tube and holding the layers together with glue. The two components of this straw were too easily rendered ineffective by liquid, however, so in a second effort he invented a machine to form paper tubes and coat them with paraffin wax, a product which he patented in 1888 (Thompson 2011). Stone’s invention went largely unchanged for three quarters of a century or more. It was then, in the 1960s, when plastic began to replace the long-used waxy paper (Kelly 2013).

English is not the only language to employ the same word to denote both the dry, hollow stock of a grain plant remaining after harvest and the modern tube through which beverages are drunk. The French term for both types of ‘straw’ is *paille*, from Latin *palea*, which meant both ‘chaff’ and ‘straw.’ This is also the case with the Spanish word *paja*, from the same Latin etymon, though its use to denote the drinking device is merely dialectal compared to its universal application to the agricultural counterpart. Chile was the only country in which

survey participants selected *paja* unaltered for ‘drinking straw,’ and even there it was a minority choice. The diminutive *pajita*, in contrast, was not only selected at a greater rate in Chile than *paja* but was a popular response in many countries. It was the exclusive choice in mainland Spain, as well as the leading option in the Canary Islands and the River Plate nations. Even more prominent was another diminutive form: *pajilla*. This word was the unanimous reply in all of the Central American nations except Panama. It was also a minority form in the Canary Islands, the only locale in which both *pajita* and *pajilla* were selected.

There are two additional terms in Spanish used for ‘drinking straw’ that feature diminutive *-illo/a* morphology. The first is *bombilla*, derived from *bomba*, a word with a convoluted and perhaps ultimately inconclusive origin and evolution. Roberts (2014a), however, cites **bamb-* as a possible Proto-Indo-European etymon. The Greek *bombos* was an onomatopoeic term whose meaning ranged from soft ‘humming’ or ‘buzzing’ to a ‘deep’ and even ‘booming sound.’ As Latin *bombus* carried these same connotations, certain Romance languages, focusing initially on the softer noises, borrowed this term with the meaning of ‘pump,’ the sound of water passing through such a device evoking the notion of these supple sounds (253). Spanish *bomba* in this sense was first documented in 1495 (DCECH).⁹⁶ Since the suction necessary to drink through a straw follows the same principles of a partial vacuum as a water pump, the employment of the diminutive *bombilla* (<*bomba*) was a logical development.⁹⁷ The first known use of this word to denote a ‘drinking straw’ dates to 1748 in Peru, where it was used with *mate*, an herbal tea.⁹⁸ This beverage and the metal straws used to drink it are today most associated with Argentina, where the term *bombilla* was first documented in 1853 (CORDE).⁹⁹ It is precisely because of this specialized use of the term in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay that only three of the nineteen survey participants in the first country, two of eleven in the second, and none in the last gave this response for ‘drinking straw’ in general. In contrast, contributors in Bolivia,

⁹⁶ At a later point, Italian, addressing the louder noises related to Latin *bombus*, appears to have adopted the military term *bomba* ‘bomb,’ which passed into Spanish with the same form and meaning, its first known use dating from 1569 (DCECH).

⁹⁷ The term *bombilla*, however, also means ‘light bulb’ in many of the countries in which it is not employed to denote a ‘drinking straw.’ This use of the word is unrelated to a ‘pump,’ but rather is the metaphorically diminutive form of *bomba* according to its definition as a ‘bomb,’ since both are often rounded in shape (Roberts 2014a: 254).

⁹⁸ While the CORDE contains instances of *bombilla* nearly 200 years earlier, beginning from 1566 in Spain, they refer to a tube used not to draw in liquid but to drain it off, in the form of a catheter employed to aid the urination of convalescing patients.

⁹⁹ The first known use of the word *bombilla* in Paraguay, also related to the drinking of *mate*, is 1790, earlier even than in Argentina (CORDE). Paraguayans often drink this concoction cold, calling it *tereré*.

where *mate* drinking is not as prevalent, selected *bombilla* unanimously, and those in Chile chose it as the majority option.

The third and final term for ‘drinking straw’ featuring an *-illo/a* diminutive suffix is *pitillo*. As with *bombilla*, the evolution of this word is complex and involves origins apparently based on onomatopoeia. The DLE states that the whistling sound *pit*, used to get someone’s attention, led to the term *pito* ‘whistle,’ an instrument that aids in the intensity of such a call. Another correlation drawn at some point was the metaphoric connection between a whistle and smoking paraphernalia owing to the placement of both sorts of devices in the mouth and air passing through them. The DCECH reports that *pito* has been used in Argentina as a ‘smoking pipe’ and in Spanish generally as a ‘cigarette,’ the latter normally referred to by the name *pitillo* in Spain. The use of the diminutive form in the Peninsula with this meaning dates to 1847 and remains common in modern usage (CORDE). Evidently, the aspect of a long, slender cigarette reminded certain speakers of a similar-looking drinking straw. This usage is not widespread, however. The DLE notes the usage of *pitillo* in Colombia and Venezuela alone for the ‘drinking straw,’ a dialectal designation matching the responses of survey participants in these nations, who chose this term exclusively. It was not selected in any other country.

While the Latin term for ‘straw’ is *palea*, Náhuatl contains a semantically similar *popotl*, a straw utilized in Mexico to make brooms and through which liquid was traditionally drunk (DLE). The Hispanicized *popote* was a survey response for ‘drinking straw’ only in Mexico, where participants selected it unanimously. Also chosen exclusively, in this case by Panamanian respondents, was the word *carrizo*. However, unlike *popote*, this name did not originate in an Amerindian language, making uncertain why it was chosen in Panama alone. *Carrizo* ‘common reed grass,’ rather, is derived from the Vulgar Latin **cariceum*, itself taken from Latin *caricis*, meaning ‘rush’ (Roberts 2014a: 324). In Spanish, another name for ‘reed’ or ‘cane’ is *caña* (<Latin *canna*) (306). As occurred with the *popote* and *carrizo*, the hollow-stemmed *caña* was evidently viewed as being similar to the modern drinking straw. The term *caña* and the variant *cañita* were selected by survey respondents only in Peru, the former as a minority option, the last of three, whereas the diminutive form was the majority choice.

While most of the Spanish terms for ‘drinking straw’ discussed to this point, including *popote*, *carrizo*, *paja*, *caña*, and any diminutive variants thereof, relate to the form of the device in question, others refer to its function, among them *sorbete*. The Spanish verb *sorber* means ‘to sip,’ which is what one does when drinking through a straw. The etymology and use of *sorbete*, however, are not so straightforward. When the word emerged in the seventeenth century, it was through Italian *sorbetto*, a combination of this language’s own verb for ‘to sip,’ *sorbire*, and Turkish *şerbét* (<Vulgar Arabic *šārbat* ‘glass of lemonade’)

(DCECH). For approximately two centuries *sorbetto* was used in Italian both for cold drinks still in their liquid state and more semi-solid beverages resembling Italian ices. In the nineteenth century, after the latter concoctions had acquired more milk and cream over time, they took on their own identity as *gelato* (Weiss 2011: 16; Krondl 2011: 159–160). While the most common term for ‘ice cream’ in Spanish is the cognate *helado*, this has not prevented *sorbete* from being used with this same meaning in various countries, including Mexico, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. In other dialects, however, evidently preserving the etymological portion of the word relating to unfrozen drinks capable of being sipped, *sorbete* also came to denote ‘drinking straw,’ a definition found in the *Spanish Oxford Dictionary* for Latin America generally and in the DAMER specifically in connection with Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, and Uruguay. Largely confirming this dialectal picture was the fact that *sorbete* was the exclusive choice of survey respondents in Ecuador, a majority selection in the Dominican Republic, and a secondary option in both Peru and Argentina.

Sorbeto, a variant of *sorbete*, was selected only in Puerto Rico, where it was the unanimous choice of all eleven participants. While it is tempting to assume that *sorbeto*, chosen only in Uruguay, where it constituted five of the seventeen replies, is also a variant of *sorbete*, it is just as likely that it is simply the diminutive form of *sorbo* ‘sip,’ or perhaps a combination of both influences. Etymologically and semantically related to *sorbete* is *absorbente*, the unanimous selection among survey respondents in Cuba for ‘drinking straw,’ a term chosen in no other country. While normally a transparent adjective, the use of *absorbente* as a noun with this specific meaning is corroborated as a Cuban term by the *Spanish Oxford Dictionary* and the DAMER, though it is not noted in either the DLE or the DCECH. The Latin verb *absorbere* is a compound of *ab-* ‘away from’ + *sorbere* ‘to sip’ or ‘suck’ (Roberts 2014a: 25). *Absorbente*, then, bears the same basic connotation in relation to drinking as *sorbete*; both words convey a notion of liquid being drawn off. It is the geographic nearness of Cuba to the Dominican Republic that has evidently led to a hybrid of *absorbente* and *sorbete* in the latter country, where two participants selected *sorbente*.

Finally, another popular selection for ‘drinking straw’ among informants in the Dominican Republic was *calimete*, a word whose etymology is the focus of two competing theories. Ueda (1995), in his doctoral dissertation on lexical variation, reports that Dominican author Mariano Lebrón Saviñón, in a personal communication, opined that this term is a compound of “*calar y meter*” (228). While the latter verb means ‘to insert,’ *calar* has myriad meanings. However, in relation to the topic at hand, it denotes the seeping of liquid into a permeable body (DLE), which in this instance would be the hollow straw after it has been inserted into the beverage. Deive (2006) reports the same origin of

calimete in his *Diccionario de dominicanismos* (48). However, a more convincing hypothesis regarding the origins of this word has been postulated by Patín Maceo (1947), who claims that it derived from the French word *chalumeau* (38). While the most common meaning of this latter word today is as the equivalent of English ‘blowtorch,’ it was also the name of a reeded, clarinet-like instrument in the eighteenth century (Hoeprich 2008: 45). More importantly, *chalumeau*, as is the case with Spanish *cálamo* ‘reed,’ ‘ancient flute’ (DLE), is derived from the Latin *calamus* ‘reed’ (OED), itself a loanword from Greek *kalamos* ‘reed,’ ‘straw’ (Roberts 2014b: 816). Furthermore, the parallel French term *calumet*, from the same ancient etymons, was a name used by early French explorers in Canada to denote plant stems suitable for fashioning smoking pipes, particularly those they shared with native tribes as a sign of peace. The first known use of ‘calumet’ in English, with the same meaning, dates to 1717 (OED). Kany (1960), implies that *calimete* could have developed within Spanish as a diminutive form of *cálamo*, or that it may be the result of the borrowing of either *chalumeau* or *calumet* (188). The feasibility of such a French loanword entering Dominican Spanish is enhanced by the fact that the western half of Hispaniola is occupied by Francophone Haiti. A final piece of evidence pointing to *calimete* as a Gallicism is the fact that there is a town of the same name in the Dominican Republic’s Elías Piña Province, which lies along the Haitian border. Ueda and Deive’s theory would be hard-pressed to explain this circumstance, which is unlikely to be the result of sheer coincidence.

Tally of survey responses for ‘drinking straw’ by country (total of fifteen)

- Colombia, Venezuela: *pitillo* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua: *pajilla* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *pajita* (15), *sorbete* (14), *bombilla* (3)
- Bolivia: *bombilla* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands: *pajita* (21), *pajilla* (5)
- Chile: *bombilla* (8), *pajita* (4), *paja* (2)
- Cuba: *absorbente* (unanimous)
- Dominican Republic: *sorbete* (12), *calimete* (7), *sorbente* (2)
- Ecuador: *sorbete* (unanimous)
- Mexico: *popote* (unanimous)
- Panama: *carrizo* (unanimous)
- Paraguay: *pajita* (11), *bombilla* (2)
- Peru: *cañita* (10), *sorbete* (9), *caña* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *sorbeto* (unanimous)
- Spain: *pajita* (unanimous)

- Uruguay: *pajita* (12), *sorbito* (5)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *sorbente*: *sorvente*
- *sorbete*: *sorvete*, *solvete** (Dominican Republic)
- *sorbeto*: *solveto*

*In and around the Caribbean, it is not uncommon to hear Spanish speakers engage in a non-word-initial /r/ > /l/ shift, which can impact orthography accordingly.

Questions

1. Discussed in the entry on the ‘potato’ is the infeasibility of the DLE’s contention that the term *patata* is a “*cruce de papa y batata*.” What is a Spanish word in the entry on the ‘drinking straw’ for which competing etymologies have been suggested? What are the possible implications of these two examples for potentially significant portions of the existing etymological record of the Spanish lexicon in general?
2. Why is *maní*, a word for ‘peanut’ traceable to the now-extinct Caribbean language Taíno, used almost exclusively with the same meaning in far-away Bolivia and Peru despite the fact that this area of South America is not only where this cultivar is thought to have originated but where local languages Quechua and Aymara have, at least historically, featured the names *inchic* and *chocapa*, respectively, to denote it? What other originally American food item from this chapter displays a nearly identical etymological history?
3. The term *camarón*, used nearly exclusively for ‘shrimp’ in American Spanish, was once also the default term on the eastern side of the Atlantic. What sociolinguistic factors have led this word to be largely replaced with *gamba* in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands?
4. Although *mantequilla* is the most common term for ‘butter’ in Spanish, why is the use of *manteca* in the River Plate countries not as unusual as speakers in other dialects often view it? What other meanings has *mantequilla* had historically, what other meaning does it have now in parts of Central America, and what semantic aspect do both it and *manteca* have in common?
5. What is ironic about the use of Spanish *ananá* for ‘pineapple’ in the River Plate countries, as well as the existence of one iteration or another of *anana(s)* in the languages of several European countries to denote this fruit?

6. In the majority of the Spanish-speaking world, 'pineapple' is referred to as *piña*. What are the origins of this word and what led the Spaniards to apply it to this fruit? How is this similar to the use of *millo* for 'corn' in the Canary Islands but dissimilar from the use of *cacahuete* for 'peanut,' *aji* for 'chili pepper,' and *papa* for 'potato' in many countries?
7. What is the likely reason that the Quechua words *palta* 'avocado,' *poroto* 'bean,' and *chaucha* 'green bean' are heavily employed in southern South America but not in Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela?
8. For a different reason from the one related to the previous question, what is the likely explanation for the dominant use of *frijol* and *frejol* rather than *poroto* in Peru?
9. In what country is the name *pomelo*, in reference to the 'grapefruit,' thought to have first emerged? Where else is the word also dominant and what are the apparent connections bearing on its usage in these nations, some of which are separated from each other by great distances?
10. What is a potential reason that the word *callampa* does not appear to be used for 'mushroom' outside of Chile? The answer may also explain why it is a minority term for this item even among Chileans.
11. The terms *marrano*, *puerco*, and *cochino* all predate the emergence of *cerdo* in Spain to denote a 'pig,' and yet the latter is the default name in Peninsular Spanish for this animal. What are the reasons for this? Why, in contrast, are the first three still used to one degree or another in various parts of Latin America?
12. What type of language trope exists in the use of *emparedado* for 'sandwich' in various American dialects of Spanish?
13. In what way is the term *bizcocho*, in reference to a 'cake,' an example of the semantic change that can occur in the history of a word? Are there other Spanish lexemes studied in this chapter that demonstrate similar developments?
14. What are the evident processes by which the English term 'dog' and the Spanish terms *perro* and *perrito* came to be associated with a frankfurter or wiener served on a bun?
15. What semantic challenge might be posed by the use of the dominant term for 'soft drink' in Chile? How is this challenge addressed in the everyday speech of this country?
16. What occurred historically to several of the words used for 'pea' in modern Spanish and what phenomenon is it illustrative of, not only in Spanish but other languages as well?

2 Clothing and Accessory Items

2.1 Introduction

Precisely as there are words for foods in Spanish that display virtually no dialectal variability, such as *manzana* ‘apple,’ *naranja* ‘orange,’ and *pan* ‘bread,’ there are terms for clothing that are equally universal in their application, including *camisa* ‘shirt,’ *zapato* ‘shoe,’ and *guante* ‘glove.’ In the majority of such cases, the items, as well as the words employed to depict them, are of ancient, Old World origin, both eventually being introduced to the New World beginning in the fifteenth century. Much of what is worn today in Europe and the Americas is comprised of more modern articles of clothing and underclothing, many of which will be discussed in this chapter. Even many of these newer garments originated outside of the Americas, and the names they bear tend to derive from Latin and other Indo-European languages rather than from Amerindian tongues due to the simple fact that over the centuries Native Americans – more so than similarly colonized peoples in Africa and India, for instance – have largely adopted Western dress (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 296). Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, Indigenous peoples dwelling in areas extending from the modern Southwestern United States through Mesoamerica to the Andes Mountains of South America wore unfitted clothing made from cotton and other local plant material, animal pelts, and the wool of llamas and related camelids. Men regularly wore loincloths, together with a poncho or other cloak in colder weather. Women’s apparel often consisted of an upper-body tunic combined with a wrap-around skirt or dress to cover the lower body (Encyclopædia Britannica 2020; Evans and Webster 2010: 157). The concept of tailoring garments by cutting, fitting, and sewing material was not introduced to the New World until the sixteenth century, when Europeans brought broad swaths of cloth – produced from Old World cotton, linen, and sheep’s wool – made possible by the treadle loom, as opposed to the backstrap loom of the Western Hemisphere, which was limited to yielding relatively narrow strips of fabric (Evans and Webster 2010: 152). The names utilized to denote several of the

resulting articles of clothing and other apparel and accessories worn in Spanish-speaking countries today often display considerable variability. To facilitate a discussion of such items, this chapter is based on the same three-category classification as the previous one concerning food-related items.

Category 1: minimal nomenclature variation (2–3 words per item)

Category 2: moderate nomenclature variation (4–6 words per item)

Category 3: extensive nomenclature variation (7+ words per item)

2.2 Clothing and Accessory Items with Minimal Nomenclature Variation

While none of the items on the survey yielded responses whose variation fell within this range, such objects nevertheless exist. The case of ‘ring,’ in the sense of an article of jewelry, is an apposite example. The most common name in Spanish for this personal ornament is *anillo* (via Latin *anellus*). The DLE, nevertheless, equates this term with the lesser-used *sortija* (<Latin *sorticula*). Furthermore, it states that in certain countries, if the specific case of an “*anillo de compromiso*” ‘engagement ring’ is being discussed, it is possible to use word *aro* (etymology uncertain). In most dialects this is a more general term, meaning ‘hoop,’ including the one on a basketball standard. The DLE’s list of nations where *aro* is employed with this more restricted meaning includes Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic.¹

2.3 Clothing and Accessory Items with Moderate Nomenclature Variation

Item 30: Bracelet

Some of the earliest known bracelets were flexible pieces made in Egypt as early as 3100 BC, crafted from soapstone beads that had been glazed either green or blue to imitate valuable stones, including turquoise (Tait 2008: 26). An excavated tomb from the ancient Sumerian city of Ur (modern Tell el-Muqayyar in Iraq) from c. 2100 BC revealed a pair of open bracelets also fashioned from gold (31). Bracelets have been discovered in northwest Europe, including Great Britain, which date to as early as 1400 BC, crafted of both gold and bronze (48). Silver was also employed for this purpose, as attested by Iranian bracelets made of this metal dating to c. 600 BC (55). In the

¹ In the Southern Cone, in contrast, *aro* is commonly employed to denote another item of jewelry, the ‘earring,’ as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Americas, gold bracelets made by the Nazca people between the third century BC and the seventh century AD have been found in Peru (83). From roughly the end of this era until approximately 1000 AD, the Mayans of southern Mexico and Central America were making bracelets and other jewelry out of jade (121–122).

The term ‘bracelet,’ which in English dates to 1438, is a borrowing from Old French *bracelet*, the diminutive of the synonymous *bracel*, itself from Latin *bra(c)chiāle* ‘bracelet,’ derived from *bra(c)chium* ‘arm’ (OED). This etymology is precisely the same as that of Spanish *brazalete*, first attested with this spelling from as early as 1519 (CORDE), though there are examples of *bracelete* as early as the mid-fifteenth century and of *bracilete* as late as the early seventeenth century (DCECH). Perhaps surprisingly to non-native Spanish speakers, due to its similarity to the English word, *brazalete* was not selected by survey respondents as the leading term for this item in any nation. It was, however, a secondary choice in fourteen countries located in every region of the Spanish-speaking world. The seven nations, all in Central and South America, where *brazalete* was not offered for the item of jewelry in question are the same ones in which informants instead selected exclusively the word *pulsera*: Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. This term was chosen as the leading response in twelve additional countries, including by all participants in mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, and Argentina, in all of which *brazalete* was the second option. Only in Bolivia and Cuba was it not offered. *Pulsera*, first attested from 1492 (CORDE), can also be used in reference to a watch band.² It is derived from *pulso* ‘pulse,’ (<Latin *pulsus*, past participle of *pellere* ‘to strike, beat’) (Roberts 2014b: 423). In Cuba, the leading reply was *pulso* itself, which was also a minority third option in Mexico, offered by two contributors in the south of the country, Yucatán and Chiapas. The DLE stipulates that in addition to ‘pulse,’ *pulso* refers to the part of the wrist where the rhythm of one’s heartbeat can be felt. The DAMER extends this meaning to an adornment worn on this part of the arm, the ‘bracelet,’ listing Cuba specifically in connection to this usage. Only in the Dominican Republic did four respondents, as a third option, choose the feminine *pulsa*.

The final term selected by contributors for ‘bracelet’ was *manilla*, the leading response in Bolivia and a minority third choice in Ecuador. While the DLE claims that this word is the diminutive of Spanish *mano* ‘hand,’ the DCECH notes its likelihood as a borrowing from Catalan from no later than the thirteenth century with the meaning of *manija* ‘handle.’ The first known use of *manilla* with the clear meaning of ‘bracelet’ dates to 1438 (CORDE).

² Portuguese speakers employ the cognate *pulseira* for ‘bracelet.’

Tally of survey responses for ‘bracelet’ by country (total of five)

- Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay: *pulsera* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *pulsera* (19), *brazalete* (2)
- Bolivia: *manilla* (11), *brazalete* (4)
- Canary Islands: *pulsera* (25), *brazalete* (2)
- Chile: *pulsera* (11), *brazalete* (4)
- Cuba: *pulso* (6), *brazalete* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *pulsera* (9), *brazalete* (8), *pulsa* (4)
- Ecuador: *pulsera* (7), *brazalete* (4), *manilla* (2)
- Honduras: *pulsera* (11), *brazalete* (2)
- Mexico: *pulsera* (29), *brazalete* (6), *pulso* (2)
- Panama: *pulsera* (12), *brazalete* (3)
- Peru: *pulsera* (11), *brazalete* (5)
- Puerto Rico: *pulsera* (8), *brazalete* (3)
- Spain: *pulsera* (17), *brazalete* (3)
- Venezuela: *pulsera* (24), *brazalete* (3)

Item 31: Belt

In 1991, a group of tourists on excursion in the Ötztal Alps near the border of Austria and Italy encountered the desiccated remains of a human male who until very recently had been preserved in the ice that entombed him shortly after his death in approximately 3200 BC. Given the nicknames Iceman and Ötzi, he was discovered wearing several articles of clothing that were also recoverable due to their icy preservation. These items included a calfskin belt. Since Ötzi wore unattached leggings, this belt was not used to hold up trousers, but to secure a loincloth that passed between his legs. Sewn to this same belt was a pouch holding tools of flint and bone (Baldia 2008: 10–11). In ancient Greece, if not earlier, belts were used as an accessory from which to hang weapons of war (Gunn 2012: 110). In the same society, however, as well as among the Romans, this item had less bellicose uses, as both males and females employed it to gather their robes more closely to their bodies, men at the waist and women often just below the breasts (111–113). When men in the Western world began regularly wearing long pants in the eighteenth century, the cut of these garments often lent itself more to suspenders, which emerged in the 1780s (Gunn 2012: 113). In the second half of the nineteenth century, pants worn without suspenders were often tightened about the waist with a tab and buckle, a type of built-in belt located on the back of the trousers, thus negating the need

for suspenders (Harvey 2008b: 57). It eventually became customary for men, and later women, to use the separate belts that are now common.

The English word ‘belt,’ used in early Old English (600–950), was inherited from Germanic, though its etymon is Classical Latin *balteus*, a term signifying a baldric used to hold a quiver or sword. While the ultimate origin of this word is unknown, ancient authors attributed it to the Etruscans (OED). One of the most common terms utilized to denote this item in Spanish, as well as one of the oldest, is *cinto*. When the first recorded use of this word was written at the turn of the thirteenth century, it was as the past participle of *ceñir* ‘to gird,’ in the same fashion that *cinctus* corresponded to the Latin verb of the same meaning: *cingere*. Later in the same century, however, it was also being employed as a noun (CORDE).³ *Cinto* was selected by survey participants in seven countries, including unanimously in Cuba and Paraguay. In the other nations – Spain, the Canary Islands, Mexico, Argentina, and Uruguay – it was chosen secondary to the more popular *cinturón*, this latter form, with its augmentative suffix, having first been recorded in 1611 (CORDE). *Cinturón* was offered by informants in nine other countries. It was the unanimous choice of Bolivians, the first option among Chileans, and a secondary selection in Guatemala, El Salvador, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic. In the last five of these countries, the leading selection was *correa*, the response given unanimously in Peru and Puerto Rico and as a secondary reply in Chile. From Latin *corrigia*, this word, which carried the same specific meaning of ‘belt’ as is does in modern Spanish, could also denote, as remains that case today, a more general ‘strap.’ Its first known usage has been dated to 1196, placing its emergence somewhat earlier than that of *cinto* (DCECH).

Just as Spanish has several terms for ‘belt,’ English has also during its history featured at least some variety in the vocabulary utilized for this accessory. First documented c. 1000, Old English ‘gyrdel’ (<‘gyrdan,’ or ‘to gird’), whose spelling by the sixteenth century had assumed the modern form ‘girdle,’ was for the better part of a millennium used interchangeably with ‘belt’ (OED, Gunn 2012: 113). In the 1920s, the word ‘girdle’ in the United States began to be applied to a type of women’s ‘corset’ (OED). While ‘girdle’ is no longer synonymous with ‘belt’ in English, Spanish features a word that in a handful of countries does continue to be used for both concepts: *faja*. First recorded in Spanish in c. 1230 (CORDE), this name derived from *fascia*, a general term used in Peninsular Latin to denote material wrapped around the body, particularly the torso, for use as a bandage, a girdle, or corset, or even a type of early ‘brassiere’ (DCECH). *Faja* was originally used only in Aragonese but eventually extended to all Spanish dialects (DLE). It was the unanimous selection for

³ The first known case of *cinto* for ‘belt’ dates to 1250, two years prior to the similar *çinto* (CORDE).

‘belt’ among informants in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Honduras. Apart from these three Central American nations, *faja* was chosen in Mexico alone, as a minority option. The relative sparseness of this term is likely due to its continued use in reference to a ‘girdle.’

The final word selected by informants for ‘belt,’ derived from Latin *cingulum*, was *cincho*, first recorded in the mid-fifteenth century (CORDE).⁴ It was chosen in three countries, all of which are contiguous. In both El Salvador and Guatemala, it was the dominant term selected, while in neighboring Mexico it was a decidedly minority response.

Tally of survey responses for ‘belt’ by country (total of five)

- Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua: *faja* (unanimous)
- Cuba, Paraguay: *cinto* (unanimous)
- Peru, Puerto Rico: *correa* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *cinturón* (11), *cinto* (10)
- Bolivia: *cinturón* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands: *cinturón* (14), *cinto* (12)
- Chile: *cinturón* (11), *correa* (3)
- Colombia: *correa* (7), *cinturón* (6)
- Dominican Republic: *correa* (18), *cinturón* (2)
- Ecuador: *correa* (9), *cinturón* (4)
- El Salvador: *cincho* (13), *cinturón* (2)
- Guatemala: *cincho* (12), *cinturón* (3)
- Mexico: *cinturón* (25), *cinto* (9), *cincho* (2), *faja* (2)
- Panama: *correa* (13), *cinturón* (4)
- Spain: *cinturón* (16), *cinto* (2)
- Uruguay: *cinturón* (12), *cinto* (2)
- Venezuela: *correa* (24), *cinturón* (2)

Item 32: Shorts

The obvious origin of the word ‘shorts’ is as a reference to shortened trousers or pants. The first general use of this term in English dates to 1826, while its employment to depict athletic apparel specifically was first recorded in the early twentieth century (OED). While the advent of shorts is relatively recent

⁴ The similarity of *cincho* to ‘cinch’ is not coincidental, the latter word having entered English in the second half of the nineteenth century as a borrowing from Spanish *cincha* (OED), itself a product of the plural *cingula* (DCECH). The *cincha*, used by Mexican cowboys during the era in question to secure a saddle around the belly of a mount, was made of braided horsehair (OED).

then, the road leading to the use of modern pants was a long one. For nearly 4,000 years, beginning with the earliest glimpses into the dawning of Western civilization offered by the pictorial and written record, humans wore remarkably similar clothing in numerous cultures. In 2500 BC, men and women alike in Mesopotamia commonly wore robe- or gown-like raiment (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 26). A thousand years later, while Egyptian men often wore wrap-around skirts and women dresses, both sexes also donned loose-fitting, body-length garb (34–38). Between the seventh and fourth centuries BC, Greeks, both male and female, wore a chiton, a slack garment not unlike Egyptian attire (62). Roman men and women, between approximately 500 BC and 400 AD, as well as Byzantines of both genders for another millennium, wore tunics (83–94, 110–113).

The fall of the Byzantine Empire not only roughly coincided with the end of the Middle Ages, but it also came a mere century or so after the emergence of a garment that over the next approximately 300 years would lead to the widespread use of pants in the Western world, initially among men. In about 1340, the doublet began to be worn by males in Europe, starting perhaps in France (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 151). This article of clothing was a civilian version of the gambeson, a padded garment worn by soldiers underneath their armor (Hulsbosch 2014: 39). As it was eventually tailored both with and without sleeves, it is considered to be the prototype of modern vests, jackets, and coats (OED). At the time, however, its growing popularity was a development that required other innovations in dress, as the doublet did not extend much below the waist, whereas the tunic, which it replaced, had covered the legs, which were now left bare. The solution lay in the use of stockings, or hose. Nearly a millennium earlier, while northern *barbari* ‘barbarians’ – the term used by the Romans for outsiders whom they viewed as uncivilized (Ball 2008: 128) – had employed tunics, they also wore clothing underneath to combat the effect on the legs of colder climes. These items included gartered hose, which were adopted by Romans and others and became important in medieval dress (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 116).

The use of a doublet attached to hose continued largely unchanged during much of the Renaissance, though in the sixteenth century garments used to cover the legs began to change. This was perhaps due to the fact that if men were in sitting position, or bowing to social superiors, it was still possible for others to see the intimate area between the hose and the doublet due to the generally short nature of the latter (Botkin 2008: 232). One remedy was the use of a longer doublet, including a version featuring a skirt-like garment that covered part of the hose over the thighs. Henry VIII was depicted wearing such an outfit in various paintings. Another solution was to alter the nature of hose, which in the latter half of the sixteenth century was divided into separate upper and lower sections, the upper portion becoming the ample, padded breech known as the trunk hose, which normally reached the mid-thigh (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 213). As the

trunk hose evolved into a trouser-like garment in the sixteenth century, it gradually extended to knee length and was tailored to fit the leg more snugly (Campagnol Fabretti 2008: 56). These trousers had descended the entire length of the leg by the eighteenth century (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 245). It was during this same approximate period that they acquired the name ‘pantaloon,’ which entered English from French, which in turn had borrowed it from Italian. The ultimate etymon of these related terms originally had nothing to do with clothing. St. Pantaleon was born in Nicomedia, an ancient Greek city in what is now Turkey, and according to legend he was martyred in the same locale early in the fourth century (Foley 2015: 188). The name ‘Pantaleon’ means ‘all lion’ in Greek: *panto* + *leon* (Roberts 2014b: 303). Given the fact that Venice’s battle cry is the similar sounding *Piante lion* ‘Plant the lion,’ this particular Catholic saint has long been revered among the city’s inhabitants, his name even inspiring that of an archetypal character of Italian comedy centuries later: Pantalone. This buffoonish protagonist routinely appeared in baggy Venetian trousers during the sixteenth century, and in time the name was adopted to denote the article of clothing itself (Foley 2015: 189). Italian *pantalone* was borrowed in French as *pantalon*, which inspired not only English ‘pantaloon’ as of 1661 (OED) but Spanish *pantalón* by 1797 (CORDE). In the nineteenth century, ‘trouser’ and ‘pantaloon’ were often used interchangeably in English (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 245), including when the latter name was abbreviated to ‘pant’ by 1832 (OED). Today, however, the use and meaning of these terms depends on one’s dialect. While ‘trousers’ is considered an old-fashioned word in the United States, it is the common term used in the United Kingdom, where ‘pants’ refers to ‘underwear’ or ‘briefs.’

While women continued to wear gowns, dresses, and skirts well into the twentieth century, it was once again men’s clothing, particularly articles worn from the waist down, that began to change in advance of any alteration to female dress. After the length of men’s trousers had increased to cover the entire leg in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and retained this form for over 100 years, the 1850s saw the beginning of a reverse trend in this regard. During this decade and the rest of the nineteenth century, knee-length knickerbockers were adopted by well-to-do gentlemen in the United States for use in sporting endeavors such as hunting and horseback riding (Harvey 2008b: 57). In the 1920s, the use of these knickers extended to more modern athletic activities such as golf. The skin of the leg, however, was as yet not exposed due to the use of long stockings. It was not until the 1930s that above-the-knee shorts themselves appeared, used by men for walking and other pursuits related to exercise (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 484–486). In 1932, professional tennis player Henry “Bunny” Austin wore shorts at the US men’s championships, a development so unusual for the time that the press derisively referred to them as “ventilated pants” (Nelson 2013: 1236). In 1934, female tennis star Eileen

Bennett followed suit, donning a pair shorts during her Centre Court match at Wimbledon (Kirkham 2014).

Spanish features at least a half dozen terms for ‘shorts.’⁵ The most common, selected by survey participants in twenty countries, all but Spain, was the borrowing of this same English word: *short*. It was the exclusive choice in four countries and the first option in another twelve. However, since the fricative [ʃ] in this word is rare in Spanish, typically limited to allophonic use for <ll> and <y> in Argentina and Uruguay, it has been replaced in several countries by the universally employed affricate phoneme /tʃ/, yielding *chort*. This was the leading form among Cuban respondents and was also selected as a minority option in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Colombia. In each of the countries where *chort* was given as a reply *short* was also chosen. In mainland Spain, the sole name offered was *pantalón corto*, a term selected in another thirteen countries, though it was the first option in only three of them: the Canary Islands, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.⁶ As *pantalón* is used for ‘pants’ by Spanish speakers of all dialects, it is unsurprising that *pantalón corto* was chosen by respondents not only on both sides of the Atlantic, but in North America (Mexico), the Caribbean, and Central and South America, though in the latter region it was conspicuously absent in the River Plate countries. Just as ‘shorts’ is derived from the term ‘short pants,’ the adjective in *pantalón corto* has become a standalone noun in at least one country; four of the twelve Bolivian contributors offered *corto*.

Informants in two South American as well as two Central American countries chose a form derived from *pantalón*, which, rather than relying on the adjective *corto* to convey shortness, employs the diminutive suffix *-eta*. The resulting *pantalóneta* was a leading selection only in Guatemala, where it tied with *short*. The final term chosen by respondents for this article of clothing also features this *-eta* ending. As a secondary reply, participants in El Salvador and Honduras selected *calzoneta* (<calzón <calza <Latin *calceus*).⁷

Tally of survey responses for ‘shorts’ by country (total of six)

- Argentina, Paraguay: Uruguay, Venezuela: *short* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *short* (10), *corto* (4), *pantalón corto* (2)

⁵ Long shorts in Spanish may be designated with the Anglicism *bermuda(s)*, a term not discussed in this entry concerned with shorter iterations.

⁶ In Spanish both *pantalón corto* and *pantalones cortos* are employed, a phenomenon that extends to several other Spanish words for this garment. For ease and clarity, during the remainder of the discussion on these articles the singular forms alone will be addressed.

⁷ As will be discussed later in regard to socks, shoes, and underwear, words derived from Latin *calceus* ‘shoe’ have been used throughout the history of the Spanish language to denote not just ‘shorts,’ but the range of garments worn between the feet and the waist.

- Canary Islands: *pantalón corto* (13), *short* (2)
- Chile: *short* (10), *pantalón corto* (5)
- Colombia: *short* (5), *pantaloneta* (3), *chort* (2)
- Costa Rica: *short* (6), *pantalón corto* (4), *pantaloneta* (2)
- Cuba: *chort* (5), *short* (3), *pantalón corto* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *pantalón corto* (12), *short* (4)
- Ecuador: *short*, *pantalón corto* (2), *pantaloneta* (2)
- El Salvador: *short* (11), *calzoneta* (2)
- Guatemala: *short* (5), *pantaloneta* (5), *pantalón corto* (2), *chort* (2)
- Honduras: *short* (9), *calzoneta* (3), *chort* (2), *pantalón corto* (2)
- Mexico: *short* (20), *chort* (4), *pantalón corto* (2)
- Nicaragua: *short* (8), *chort* (3)
- Panama: *short* (12), *pantalón corto* (8)
- Peru: *short* (12), *pantalón corto* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *pantalón corto* (9), *short* (2)
- Spain: *pantalón corto* (unanimous)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *chort*: *chor*, *chores*
- *pantalón corto*: *pantalones cortos*
- *pantaloneta*: *pantalonetas*
- *short*: *shorts*, *shores*

Item 33: Skirt

Male and female clothing in the Western world did not differ substantially until around the mid-fourteenth century, when European men began to abandon the tunic and adopt the doublet that led to the use of different types of hose and eventually pants (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 151). Women continued to wear full-length gowns and dresses for some 400 years, until, in the eighteenth century, the once interior petticoat became an exterior skirt that could be worn with a separate top (270–271). Even then, such lower-body garments would remain long for approximately 200 years more. In 1910, for example, dresses and skirts continued to extend to the ankle or even the floor. Their subsequent rise to as far as the knee during the Roaring Twenties was a first in the entire history of Western female dress (449). The loosened social mores of this garish decade were doubtless part of the reason for such changes in fashion, which also saw many dresses go sleeveless (Streissguth 2007: 43). The Great Depression had a back-to-basics effect on female apparel in the 1930s, as hemlines dropped once again, though never to return to the pre-1920s strictures

(Lowenstein Niven 2012: 14–16). In the 1940s, the common skirt length settled just below the knee, a style that remained the fashion through the 1950s and into the 1960s, when the restless spirit of the age, whose revolutionary turbulence would prove to be much more transformational and permanent than that of the 1920s, gave birth to the miniskirt (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 473, 519, 549).

Old English ‘scyrte’ was perhaps originally employed in reference to an ‘apron,’ the meaning of the modern Dutch term *schort*, though in time it came to denote a ‘shirt,’ largely replacing the French-borrowed ‘chemise’ (OED). While it would be easy to assume that this Anglo-Saxon term was also the etymon of ‘skirt,’ the truth is that this word derived from Old Norse. When the Danish and Norwegian Vikings who spoke this Germanic tongue – which was closely related to Old English – began invading England late in the eighth century, they brought similar versions of many words already used by Britons (McWhorter 2009: vii). In cases where this led to the existence of two words with the same meaning, one of them was likely either to disappear through leveling or undergo semantic change. The latter process eventually caused Old Norse *skyrta* to shift in meaning among the Anglo-Saxon speakers who borrowed it, from the largely upper-body notion of ‘shirt’ to the lower-body concept of ‘skirt’ (OED, McWhorter 2009: viii).⁸ However, as the modern version of a female ‘skirt’ had yet to develop, this word was originally applied to the lower portion of a robe or gown worn by either sex. The OED records the first known cases of the term with this meaning from the early fourteenth century. The first documented use of the word with the clear connotation of a separate garment worn by females from the waist down dates to a much later 1845.

In Spanish, the word most commonly used to denote a ‘skirt’ is *falda*, the term selected by survey participants in seventeen of the twenty-one countries on both sides of the Atlantic, including unanimously in sixteen. However, just as English ‘skirt’ originally applied to related but distinct apparel, *falda* was also initially employed to denote other articles of clothing, as well as features related to them. The DCECH theorizes that this word entered Spanish, via either Catalan or Occitan, as a borrowing from Frankish **falda* ‘pleat.’ Although it is not known when the term first began to be employed for a ‘skirt’ worn from the waist down, what is clearer is that by the sixteenth century it had increasingly come to be used in reference to women’s and not men’s apparel. Just as the Latin words *filus* and *ferrum* became *hilo* and *hierro* in Spanish, in the late fifteenth century some authors used *halda* exclusively, though others used both it and *falda*, a practice that continued in the sixteenth century. This ambivalence largely ended in the seventeenth century with the

⁸ The ultimate etymon of both Anglo-Saxon ‘scyrte’ and Old Norse *skyrta* is the likely Germanic **skurtjōn* (OED).

triumph of *falda*. As stated above, *falda* may well have entered Spanish via Catalan, a language that did not undergo the same general *f* > *h*-transformation, even with words of Latin origin, not to mention Germanic etymons (DCECH). To this day, *filus* and *ferrum* are *fil* and *ferro* in Catalan.

In the Southern Cone countries of Uruguay and Paraguay, *pollera* was the unanimous choice for ‘skirt’ among survey respondents. It was likewise the default option in Argentina, though *falda* was also selected as a minority term.⁹ The etymology of this word is particularly creative. Its roots lie in Latin *pullus*, a somewhat general term utilized in reference to the young of animals, though by the first documentation of Spanish *pollo* in the mid-thirteenth century this now more specific word depicted ‘chicks’ and the flesh of mature chickens (DCECH). A derivative of the Latin term was *pullaria*, which often referred to a chicken coop made of wicker (Roberts 2014b: 379). The first uses of Spanish *pollera* with this meaning, documented in and around Aragón, date to the mid-1300s. In later centuries, however, a similar-looking, bell-shaped device made of the same material and fastened to the waist of infants as a type of walker to aid them in taking and steadying their first steps was, by analogy, given the same name. Taking further semantic strides, *pollera* was being used for a flared interior petticoat by the seventeenth century and, at least in parts of the Southern Cone, as an exterior skirt by the eighteenth century (DCECH).¹⁰

Among Costa Rican respondents, the exclusive choice for ‘skirt’ was *enagüa*, a term not selected in any other country, despite the DLE’s claim that in Mexico alone an article of clothing with this name is worn as an exterior garment. When the Spaniards arrived in the Caribbean, they found Indigenous women in what is today the Dominican Republic wearing knee-length skirts made of cotton. The Taíno-speaking natives called this garment *naguas*, the form first recorded in Spanish in 1519, followed by *enaguas* in 1580 (DCECH). The added prefix can be attributed to the need to avoid potential confusion caused by phrases such as *estaba enaguas* ‘she was wearing a skirt,’ which, due to the conflation of the adjoining cases of /n/ in the second and third words could lead the hearer of such an utterance to perceive it as *estaba enaguas* ‘she was in water.’ By the seventeenth century, even as both forms were still being used, the loss of the word-final /-s/ had resulted in the documentation of *nagua/enagua*. While modern *enagua* has not traveled far from its place of origin, as the eastern edge of Costa Rica lies on the Caribbean Sea, it is a mystery why the word appears no longer to be used in the

⁹ It should be noted that the use of ‘pollera’ does not extend to the specific case of the ‘miniskirt,’ which even in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay is *minifalda*.

¹⁰ In Panama, where the modern skirt is universally termed a *falda*, the word *pollera* is reserved narrowly for the brightly colored, elaborately embroidered long skirts and dresses utilized by females in this Central American nation for traditional folk dances.

Dominican Republic or other countries in the region, all of which but one employ *falda* as the dominant, perhaps even exclusive form.

Just as *enagua* was selected in Costa Rica alone for ‘skirt,’ the final option proffered by survey participants for this item, the term *saya*, appears in modern usage to be the sole province of one country: Cuba. This was not always the case as the word once enjoyed much more extensive use both geographically and semantically. Its likely etymon is the Latin *sagum*, a type of cloak, often military in nature, utilized by Romans, Gauls, Spaniards, and Germans. This word appears to have begotten the derivative **sagea*, likely a name for the cloth with which the *sagum* was made, which in turn led to **sagia*, the lenition of whose medial consonant left *saia*.¹¹ The presence of the latter term in Spanish is nearly as old as the language itself, documented from 941 in the Leonese dialect (DCECH). The name was initially associated with a type of long tunic used by men (DLE). While this designation lasted for several centuries, Nebrija, in his 1495 Spanish–Latin dictionary, clearly noted this word now related to a feminine article of clothing: “*saia de muger: tunica muliebris*” (DCECH). The eighteenth-century *Diccionario de autoridades* (1729–1736) reveals that by this time the nature of the item itself had changed, as *saya* is described as a skirt in the modern sense of the word, an exterior garment worn from the waist down: “... *baxa desde la cintura à los pies*.” Nevertheless, at some point in Spain *saya* fell into disuse for ‘skirt,’ replaced by *falda*.¹² In other Spanish-speaking countries, either a similar decrease in the use of *saya* occurred or the term had never been widely used to begin with. It is likewise difficult to determine why, or exactly when, Cuba alone began to favor this word to the exclusion of others, but its first known written usage in this Caribbean country dates from 1829 (CORDE).

Tally of survey responses for ‘skirt’ by country (total of four)

- Paraguay, Uruguay: *pollera* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *pollera* (17), *falda* (3)
- Costa Rica: *enagua* (unanimous)
- Cuba: *saya* (unanimous)
- All other countries: *falda* (unanimous)

¹¹ While the DLE states that these forms, along with *sagum* itself, are of Celtic origin, the DCECH affirms that not only are they from Latin, but that the clearly related ancient Irish *sái* and Welsh and Breton *sae* were themselves Latinate borrowings resulting from the Roman presence in the British Isles.

¹² This lexical change does not occur in neighboring Portuguese and Galician, both of which to this day employ *saia* for ‘skirt.’

Item 34: Socks

As the Roman Empire expanded in the first and second centuries AD, it came into increased contact with outside groups that often led to the adoption of local customs and apparel. Such was the case with the use of hose, which were appropriated from northern “barbarian tribes” (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 116). Even after the collapse of the Roman Empire, the use of such leggings continued to be widespread during the Middle Ages. By the thirteenth century, erstwhile heelless and toeless hose, which had previously been kept from riding up the leg through the use of a stirrup-like strap that ran under the foot, were increasingly tailored to be fully footed, much like modern socks (137). This practice only grew more popular in the fourteenth century (Botkin 2008: 207). The first known case of ‘sock’ with its modern implication occurred in 1327. Instances of this lexeme with a different but related meaning date to as early as the eighth century, when Old English, in reference to a ‘light shoe,’ ‘slipper,’ or ‘pinson,’ also featured ‘socc,’ a term derived from Latin *soccus* in this same sense (OED).

The Romans used *calceus* for ‘shoe,’ a term that continued to be employed in early medieval Spanish, though it was eventually replaced by a foreign loanword, *zapato*. Before sliding into oblivion, however, the Latin word had populated Spanish with derivatives that exist in the language to this day. Of these terms, only *calzado* ‘footwear’ continues to be used in direct connection to the shoe itself. Particularly productive has been an apparent feminine derivative: **calcea* (<*calceus*). After hose were adopted from the “barbarian” tribes, the medieval form *calça*, first recorded at the beginning of the twelfth century, was employed to denote this item in Spanish (DCECH). The application of this word would be changed by the division of hose into two separate portions during the sixteenth century. The upper section, which extended from the waist to part way down the thigh and became what was known as a ‘breech’ in English, retained the name *calça* (Roberts 2014a: 293), now spelled *calza*. When breeches had completed the process of extending downward until covering the leg in its entirety, both English and Spanish adopted the Italian *pantalone*, calling this article of clothing ‘pantaloon’ (> ‘pants’) and *pantalón*, respectively, the first known use of the latter coming in the late eighteenth century (CORDE). As a result, *calza* is now a word seldom used in modern Spanish, though before falling into disuse it left its mark on modern Spanish through derivation, including with regard to the lower portion of the once unipiece hose. As this legging was only approximately half the length that it had been, the term *media calza* was introduced in the sixteenth century. This is akin to ‘half-hose,’ which for the same reason was adopted in English (OED). Neither term is used in either language today as the English concept can be expressed with ‘knee-length stockings/socks’ and in Spanish the noun was

dropped and the adjective became a standalone noun in its own right: *medias*. This abbreviated name was selected in thirteen nations by survey participants, more than any other term. It was the unanimous or leading option in Costa Rica, all three Caribbean island countries, and every South America nation except for Chile, where it was not offered by any informants.

Another term for 'socks' in Spanish that derived from the now essentially extinct *calza* is *calcetas*, itself relatively antiquated. This diminutive form was selected in only two countries, as a minority form in both. In Mexico, one of the six contributors who selected this word opined that it is mostly utilized for a sock worn by women, a sentiment shared by five of the six individuals who chose this term in Guatemala. Half of the survey participants in Mexico and all of those in Guatemala who selected *calcetas* also offered *calcetines* as the overwhelming option. The latter term, which appears to have only emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, constitutes a case in which a diminutive form gave way to another diminutive form: *calza* > *calceta* > *calcetín*. Furthermore, the uncommon feminine-to-masculine shift present in this transformation demonstrates the unpredictable nature of lexical derivation (Bills and Vigil 2008: 59). In addition to Mexico and Guatemala, *calcetines* was chosen as a leading option in ten additional nations, including mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, and four countries each in Central and South America. In Bolivia, two of the three respondents who selected *calcetines* stated that it referred specifically to a sock worn with a dress suit, as opposed to the more popular and general *medias*.

Finally, while all nineteen Argentines selected the term *medias*, two of them also opted for *soquetes*, which appears to be a relatively recent arrival in the Spanish language, its first known use with the unambiguous meaning of 'sock' dating to as recently as 1970 in Chile (CORDE). The DLE lists this word for use in the rest of the Southern Cone and cites it as a borrowing from French *socquette*.¹³ It appears, however, that *soquete* is not an absolute synonym of its Gallic cousin, which denotes what in English would be an 'ankle sock,' whereas the image shown to survey respondents was one of socks extending well up the leg.

Tally of survey responses for 'socks' by country (total of four)

- Canary Islands, Chile, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Spain: *calcetines* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Venezuela: *medias* (unanimous)

¹³ French *socque* 'clog,' most likely a borrowing from English 'socce,' evolved into this diminutive form.

- Argentina: *medias* (19), *soquetes* (2)
- Bolivia: *medias* (11), *calcetines* (3)
- Ecuador: *medias* (8), *calcetines* (2)
- Guatemala: *calcetines* (12), *calcetas* (6)
- Mexico: *calcetines* (28), *calcetas* (6)
- Panama: *medias* (13), *calcetines* (2)
- Peru: *medias* (14), *calcetines* (2)

Variant of *soquetes*: *zoquetes*

2.4 Clothing and Accessory Items with Extensive Nomenclature Variation

Item 35: Pantyhose

Although hose were incorporated into Western apparel in the medieval period, it was nearly exclusively men who used them initially, wearing them in tandem with the waist-length doublet adopted in the fourteenth century (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 151). While the separation of upper and lower sections of hose in the sixteenth century eventually led to the emergence of stockings, or long socks, which both sexes have worn for hundreds of years, the concept of transparent hose worn by women is of rather modern tradition. It was not until the 1920s that women's skirts were first elevated above the ankle, reaching quickly to at least the knee (449). As a result, women began wearing stockings made of silk and, more affordably, rayon, a newly developed synthetic fiber (474). In 1938, a material similar to but more snugly fitting than rayon became available when the chemical conglomerate DuPont introduced nylon (Hymowitz 2008: 131).

The terms 'stockings' and the often synonymous 'pantyhose' call for certain etymological elucidation. In medieval Europe, and later in America, criminals found guilty of relatively minor offenses were at times subjected to a punishment in which their head and hands were confined by being placed in metal hoops attached to a wooden post or through holes carved out of the framework of the post itself. The name of this device is the 'pillory,' though it is often mistakenly referred to as the 'stocks.' This latter term, however, refers to an instrument of punishment in which only the feet were trapped while the sufferer sat on the ground. The first known uses of the verb 'to stock' and the noun 'stocks' in relation to this form of sanction date to 1338 and 1571. By the late sixteenth century, the act of 'stocking' led to the metaphorical use of this term with the meaning of long 'sock' (OED). In the seventeenth century, such items, worn by men as well as women under shoes or boots, continued to be called

'stockings,' or 'hose,' though eventually both have come to refer nearly categorically to feminine versions of these articles, particularly those made from substances like silk and nylon (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 247).

The word 'pants' is the abbreviated form of 'pantaloons,' which entered English from French *pantalon* in the seventeenth century, which in turn was adopted from the sixteenth-century Italian term *pantalone*. By the first half of the nineteenth century, the word 'panty,' along with the more commonly employed plural 'panties,' had emerged in American English, though originally not with the meaning of women's underpants that it carries today. Beginning in the nineteenth century, this term – as well as 'knickers' – was principally used to refer to knee-length outer pants worn by men and boys. For a time in the early twentieth century these male-dominated connotations overlapped with the increasing use of 'panties' in reference to female undergarments, the latter eventually becoming the only sense of the word (OED). Much older in English than 'panty' is the second half of the term 'pantyhose.' As ancient 'hose' were originally adopted into Western apparel from the dress of "barbarians," it should come as little surprise that the name of the garment itself is of Germanic origin (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 116). The Old English word 'hosa,' equivalent in form to Old High German *hosa*, likely derived from Old Germanic **hosôn-* (OED). In the late 1950s, the separate concepts of women's stockings and underwear were combined in the invention of what the OED reveals was first styled 'Panti Hose' (1959), then 'panti-hose' (1963), and finally 'pantyhose' (1975).¹⁴

The most common response of survey participants to denote female hose was *medias*, a term chosen in twelve of the twenty-one countries representing all regions of the Spanish-speaking world on both sides of the Atlantic. Concerning terms in the prior entry, informants in a majority of these countries offered *calcetines* rather than *medias* as a reply for 'socks,' leaving the latter word available to refer to women's hose, thus avoiding confusion between these different items of hosiery.¹⁵ Uruguay is the only country in which survey participants selected *medias* in unqualified fashion as the leading term for both gender-neutral 'socks' and feminine 'nylons.' While no solution was offered in this nation to this potentially confusing situation, several respondents in another country where *medias* was also selected heavily for both items did demonstrate how they could be differentiated. Four Panamanians referred to the female hose as *medias de mujer* 'women's stockings.' Several other terms among the various nationalities were noted that likewise serve to make this

¹⁴ The use of 'Pantyhose' is largely restricted to American English, whereas Britons favor the term 'tights,' a designation originally referring to their snug fit on the lower limbs of dancers beginning no later than the 1830s (OED).

¹⁵ As *medias* is an abbreviated form of sixteenth-century *medias calzas*, its use for 'pantyhose' is a misnomer as the extension of this garment goes well beyond the 'halfway point' of the leg.

distinction. Paraguayans, alluding to the diaphanous nature of this female article of clothing, unanimously chose *medias finas*, a response not proffered in any other country. Another dialect-unique option, selected by Colombians alone, and as a majority reply, was *medias veladas*. The adoption of this term appears linked to the fact that the fabric used in women's hose is akin to the material employed in the semi-transparent *velo* 'veil' traditionally worn by brides over their faces. In reference to the length of such garments, and in a surely unwitting contradiction of the literal, etymological significance of *medio/a* 'half,' certain Cubans and Puerto Ricans offered *medias largas* 'long stockings.' Another way in which *medias* in the sense of female hose are distinguished from 'socks' is by adding a description of the fabric used in their production. Since silk was the original material utilized to make these garments, respondents in various countries selected the term *medias de seda*. Pre- and post-World War II inventions of synthetic substitutes for silk, and the borrowing of their names in Spanish, have led to the related designations of *medias de nilón* (or *nailon*) and *medias de lycra*, the latter word a reference to what in English is termed 'spandex.' The selection of one or more of these names occurred in several South American nations, as well as in Puerto Rico.

Another solution aimed at avoiding ambiguity in the use of *medias* as 'pantyhose' entails the addition of a second noun, resulting effectively in a set of compound words. In Colombia and Ecuador, the secondary choice for women's hose among survey respondents was the term *medias pantalón*, its clear allusion to a garment running the length of the leg eliminating any confusion. A similar phenomenon occurs with the word *medias calzón*, a minority option for nylons in Bolivia alone. As will be seen in a later entry, *calzón* is a word used in several countries to refer to women's 'panties.' The term *medias calzón*, then, could be considered the inverse semantic equivalent of combining 'panty' and 'hose' to form 'pantyhose.' Even closer to the English iteration via the borrowing of half its name is the term *medias pantis*, a leading or secondary solution among informants ranging from the Caribbean to Central and South America. In nine countries within these same general regions, with the addition of Mexico, the two components of this term were reversed by respondents and combined into the true compound *pantimedias*. Furthermore, displaying how loanwords are prone to semantic shift, *pantis* in isolation eventually came to denote feminine hose in certain dialects. This was the case to differing degrees of frequency among the survey responses in mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Bolivia, and Chile.

A final compound term chosen was *medias cancán*, which tied as the leading reply among Uruguayan informants and was a minority selection in Argentina. It is a clear allusion to the stockings worn by can-can dancers engaging in this style of entertainment adopted from France. The first known case of *cancán* in

Spanish, in relation to the dance, dates to 1847 (DCECH). Among Argentine respondents, more popular than *medias cancán* was simply *cancanes*, a term not selected by Uruguayans. Also chosen in Argentina alone, as the minority option of three individuals, was the word *bucaneras*. While also adopted from French – *boucanier* (DLE) – it is unclear how this word, referring originally to a ‘pirate,’ became a name used for women’s hose.

Among Mexico’s thirty-one survey respondents, the dominant form selected for ‘nylons’ was *medias*, followed by *pantimedias* and, in a distant third place, *mallas*, this last reply given by only two individuals, though both were from the north of the country, namely the states of Chihuahua and Coahuila. Its direct etymon is *maille* (DLE), though this French term was derived earlier from post-Classical Latin *maela*, itself from Classical Latin *macula* (OED). After William the Conqueror brought Great Britain to heel in the eleventh century, the identical Anglo-Norman *maille* gave English ‘mail’ in the sense of a garment of interwoven metal links used as armor in medieval Europe. This same meaning exists for the Spanish *malla*, though it is not limited to this definition, having taken on other senses, surely through metaphoric extension. For instance, a ‘net’ that hangs from a basketball hoop can be called both a *red* and a *malla*. Similarly, the fabric used in silk and nylon stockings is made by weaving strands of these materials on a minute scale. The CORDE records a reference from approximately 1396 to “*calças de malla*”, indicating hose made from a material of this nature.¹⁶

Finally, while some of the terms above reveal English influence, such as *pantimedias*, *medias pantis*, and *pantis*, *pantyhose* itself was the word most commonly selected by respondents in Puerto Rico and Panama. This is surely the result of Puerto Ricans’ status as US citizens who can visit the mainland without restriction, and of the substantial historical presence of Americans residing in Panama due the Canal and the various military bases once controlled there by the United States. This direct English borrowing was also a minority selection in Guatemala.

Tally of survey responses for ‘pantyhose’ by country (total of sixteen)

- El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua: *medias* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *medias de ...* * (7), *cancanes* (5), *medias cancán* (4), *pantimedias* (4), *bucaneras* (3)
- Bolivia: *pantis* (4), *medias pantis* (3), *pantimedias* (2), *medias de ...* (2), *medias calzón* (2)

¹⁶ It should also be noted that the term *malla*, based on the French word *maille* ‘mesh,’ has come to be used not only for ‘pantyhose’ in Mexico, but for a one-piece female ‘swimsuit’ in Southern Cone countries such as Argentina and Uruguay (DLE).

- Canary Islands: *medias* (25), *pantis* (2)
- Chile: *pantis* (8), *medias* (5)
- Colombia: *medias veladas* (8), *medias pantalón* (5), *pantimedias* (2)
- Costa Rica: *pantis* (7), *medias pantis* (2)
- Cuba: *medias pantis* (3), *pantimedias* (2), *medias largas* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *medias pantis* (13), *pantimedias* (2), *medias* (2)
- Ecuador: *medias de ...* (5), *medias pantalón* (3), *pantimedias* (2)
- Guatemala: *medias* (7), *pantis* (3), *pantimedias* (2), *pantyhose* (2)
- Mexico: *medias* (24), *pantimedias* (7), *mallas* (2)
- Panama: *pantyhose* (7), *pantimedias* (6), *medias de mujer* (4), *medias* (3)
- Paraguay: *medias finas* (unanimous)
- Peru: *pantis* (10), *medias de ...* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *pantyhose* (4), *medias largas* (3), *medias de ...* (2), *medias* (2)
- Spain: *medias* (15), *pantis* (5)
- Uruguay: *medias* (5), *medias cancán* (5), *medias de ...* (3)
- Venezuela: *medias pantis* (23), *medias de ...* (3)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *cancanes*: *can can*
- *medias cancán*: *medias can can*, *medias can can*
- *medias finas*: *media fina*
- *medias pantis*: *medias panties/pantys/panti/panty*
- *medias veladas*: *media velada*
- *pantimedias*: *panty medias*, *pantimedia*
- *pantis*: *pantys*, *panti*
- *pantyhose*: *pantijáus*

* For purposes of clarity and space, in each country where survey participants chose to indicate that women's hose are not simply *medias* but *medias* made of a certain material, *medias de ...* was listed rather than providing each type of fabric repeatedly. Additional information on these materials has been discussed in the main entry above. Of the seventeen nations in which either *medias* and *medias de ...* were offered, both were selected in only two: Puerto Rico and Uruguay.

Item 36: Men's Briefs

During the Roman Empire, men and women both wore a type of loincloth beneath their tunics. Clear in the name of the male version, *subligar*, was the concept of an undergarment bound around the wearer. The derivative *subligaria* denoted the female variant (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 88). After the fall

of the Roman Empire in the west, however, little to nothing is known of the underclothing that may have been used in Europe during the early Middle Ages. By the tenth and eleventh centuries, the historical record reveals that men were wearing undershirts termed ‘chemises’ and underpants called ‘breeches’ or ‘braies’ beneath the tunics that in general had comprised their outer clothing for centuries if not millennia (Botkin 2008: 205). The word ‘breech’ derives from Middle English ‘brech’ via Old English ‘brēc,’ the plural of ‘bróc,’ whose etymon has been postulated as Old Germanic **brōk* (OED). For its part, ‘braies’ is of Saxon origin, and both it and ‘breech’ were used interchangeably through much of the medieval period (Willett and Cunnington 1991[1951]: 25).

While the term ‘braies’ eventually fell into disuse, its one-time synonym, ‘breeches,’ remained but underwent semantic change, transitioning from an inner to an outer garment. In the late sixteenth century, the need for a new word to reference men’s underpants led to the term ‘drawers,’ first documented in 1567. Taken from the verb ‘to draw’ in the sense of ‘to pull,’ it appears that it developed as a noun to denote this article of clothing, which is a garment that ‘one draws on.’ While most native English speakers still understand this use of ‘drawers,’ which in time has also been applied to the female equivalent, it is now considered an old-fashioned word and is often used jocularly. In modern British English, the item of underclothing in question as worn by men is termed ‘pants,’ first recorded in 1880 as an abbreviated form of ‘pantaloon’ (OED). Americans, meanwhile, use a name for male underpants that was once exclusively employed for the feminine counterpart. In the 1930s, when women increasingly donned ‘panties’ that were shorter and more form-fitting than traditional, baggier ‘drawers’ or ‘bloomers,’ these garments began to be referred to in US English as ‘panty briefs,’ which was then shorted to ‘briefs’ (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 462, 469). By the 1950s, this term was being employed to denote men’s underpants as well (509), though its connection to female apparel of this type continued until at least the late 1960s (OED).

The variation that exists in English for the item in question – ‘briefs,’ ‘underwear,’ ‘underpants,’ ‘pants’ – is relatively moderate in comparison to the names used throughout the Spanish-speaking world, which number no fewer than eight. The most logical term to launch a discussion of this variation is that of *calzón*, which, while employed much more commonly for female ‘panties,’ as will be demonstrated in the following entry, is directly linked to the word most often used for the male counterpart. *Calzón* is an augmentative form derived from *calza*, which, during the Middle Ages, when it was spelled *calça*, referred to men’s long, one-piece hose. When these stockings became divided into upper and lower sections, *calza* came to denote the initially thigh-length ‘breeches’ that in time evolved into modern trousers. The adoption of *pantalón* for this new garment left *calza* largely antiquated, though not before it begat *calzón* by no later than the mid-sixteenth century (CORDE). This term was selected by survey participants for men’s ‘underwear’ in two countries. In

Mexico, nearly one-third of respondents chose this word, all of whom were from Mexico City or the northern part of the country. In Argentina, it was a decidedly minority choice, offered by two of the nineteen individuals, both from Buenos Aires.

While *calzón* was chosen in only two nations, its diminutive form, *calzoncillo*, documented from early in the seventeenth century (CORDE), was much more popular.¹⁷ It was selected in each of the twenty-one countries, including unanimously in thirteen, ranging from Bolivia to Spain, passing through Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia in South America, all six Central American nations, and two of the three Caribbean island nations. Another name for the item in question that features the diminutive *-illo* ending is *pantaloncillo* (<*pantalón*), the preferred option for respondents in the Dominican Republic, as well as a secondary selection among those in Puerto Rico. This word, whose first known use dates to 1860 in Spain, and which appears to have denoted underwear from the start, was first recorded in Puerto Rico nearly a century later, in 1951 (CORDE). The CREA cites its use in the Dominican Republic in 1980. As noted earlier, the English word ‘briefs’ was applied to the male underpants by the 1950s (OED). This garment is at times colloquially named ‘tighty whities’ due to its figure-hugging design and most common color. Employed similarly in Paraguayan Spanish, though as a formal rather than a slang word, is *anatómico*, given the article’s anatomically snug adherence to the waist and groin area. A majority of respondents in this nationality selected this term, whereas a minority chose *calzoncillo*. Another Spanish term for men’s underpants that appears to relate to the relatively small size of this item is *trusa*, chosen by most contributors in Mexico but not selected in any other country. The DCECH lists this term as a loanword from Old French *trousse*, derived from the verb *trousser*, meaning ‘to roll up (a sleeve)’ or to otherwise shorten the length of a garment.¹⁸ This dictionary further traces the likely origin of these words to the Late Latin *torsus*, the past participle or *torquere*, ‘to twist’ or ‘to fold.’

While *calzoncillo*, *pantaloncillo*, *anatómico*, and even *trusa* are words that evidently emerged due to their semantic connection to the compact, tight-fitting nature of men’s briefs, the term *interior*, in contrast, chosen by all twenty-six contributors in Venezuela but in no other country, refers to the location of this article of clothing when in use. Its connotation of a garment worn ‘inside’ of outer clothes is akin to English’s ‘underwear.’ Other words used to denote this

¹⁷ Bills and Vigil (2008), addressing the derivational process of *calza* > *calzón* > *calzoncillo*, note the unusual ‘evolutionary twist’ in which an augmentative form later yields a diminutive one (59).

¹⁸ Though some linguists have attempted to link the sixteenth-century English term ‘trouse’ and the lengthened seventeenth-century ‘trousers’ to French *trousse*, the OED claims that the similarities are purely coincidental. It traces ‘trouse’ to Irish and Scottish Gaelic *triubhas*.

article feature less of an inherent connection with it, a situation caused both by borrowing and subsequent semantic shifts. The first of these is the term *slip*, which was selected as a minority option by both Canarians and Uruguayans. While ‘slip’ in English is a common term whose meaning is well understood, comprehending how it came to be used as a Spanish word in the current context requires a review of both apparel and its corresponding nomenclature in more than one language. Between the ninth and sixteenth centuries, the only underwear worn by European women was a type of interior gown often termed a ‘shift’ (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 118, 215). While females on the Continent adopted drawers in the seventeenth century, followed by those in England a century later, they all continued to wear some type of longer undergarment between these and their outer clothing (254, 315). Until the 1920s, a full-length version of this article was called a ‘chemise,’ while a shorter variety, worn as an underskirt from the waist down, was referred to as a ‘petticoat’ (462). The names of both garments were changed at this time to ‘slip’ (full slip and half slip, respectively) (462).¹⁹ Prior to the twentieth century, this term, first documented from 1761, had at times been employed to denote an outer gown. At some point during its use in reference to underclothing, it was adopted into French (DLE), in which language *slip* continues to be used to describe *sous-vêtement* ‘underwear,’ not generally, but rather in terms of ‘briefs’ and ‘panties’ specifically (Collins 2020). This semantic shift passed into Spanish when it borrowed this Gallicism, favoring the male iteration of such a garment in particular. The DLE describes a *slip* as a “*calzoncillo ajustado que cubre el cuerpo desde debajo de la cintura hasta las ingles.*” The first documentation of *slip* with this meaning is from 1955 (CORDE). As might be expected from a language that has no native words that begin with an <s> followed by another consonant, the term in question also underwent phonetic change. One respondent from Tenerife with obvious linguistic training noted that he and his compatriots pronounce this word /eslib/.

The final word selected for men’s underpants was *bóxer*, chosen by two males in Argentina, one from Buenos Aires and one from Misiones. While it is true that the term ‘boxers’ or ‘boxer shorts’ is employed in English for male underwear, it is done so in reference to loose-fitting garments that fall to the wearer’s mid-thigh, much like the trunks worn by boxers in the ring that inspired the name. Since the image displayed in the survey was clearly that of a pair of snugly fitting briefs, and since respondents in all countries were shown the same image, it appears that among at least some Argentines there has been a slight semantic shift since the time of its adoption into this dialect of

¹⁹ The etymon of this noun is the Middle Low German verb *slippen* ‘to slip.’ Its name may allude to the straight cut and loose fit of this garment, which allows one to slip it on and off with minimal effort (OED).

Spanish. Exactly when this borrowing occurred is unclear. The term as utilized for undergarments is relatively new even in English, with the first documented case dating to 1944 (OED). In Spanish, the CREA has captured two examples of this word as an article of clothing, both spelled *boxer*, with no accent. The first, from 1977, in Colombia, describes underpants that are looser-fitting and longer than snug briefs. The second, from 2004, in Colombia, relates to swimming trunks.

Tally of survey responses for ‘men’s briefs’ by country (total of eight)

- Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Spain: *calzoncillo* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *calzoncillo* (17), *slip* (3), *calzón* (2), *bóxer* (2)
- Canary Islands: *calzoncillo* (25), *slip* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *pantaloncillo* (15), *calzoncillo* (6)
- Mexico: *trusa* (21), *calzón* (10), *calzoncillo* (2)
- Paraguay: *anatómico* (8), *calzoncillo* (3)
- Puerto Rico: *calzoncillo* (9), *pantaloncillo* (2)
- Uruguay: *calzoncillo* (13), *slip* (2)
- Venezuela: *interior* (26), *calzoncillo* (2)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *calzón*: *calzones*
- *calzoncillo*: *calzoncillos*
- *interior*: *interiores*
- *pantaloncillo*: *pantaloncillos*
- *trusa*: *trusas*

Item 37: Women’s Panties

While European men were wearing underpants beneath their customary tunics by the tenth century, feminine equivalents did not appear on the Continent until the seventeenth century, and not in England until the latter part of the eighteenth century (Botkin 2008: 205; Tortora and Eubank 2010: 254). In the nineteenth century, the name ‘knickers’ emerged to denote this article, at least among British speakers of English. In the 1920s, in the American dialect, the term ‘panty briefs’ and eventually ‘panties’ alone was adopted for the female iteration (OED). The terms used in Spanish for the undergarment in question are much more varied than a simple, binary divergence between European and American lexemes. The combined survey responses from the twenty-one countries revealed fourteen different terms, eleven of them in the dialects of

the Western Hemisphere. The most common was *calzón*, offered in eleven countries, in ten of which it was the leading option, including Mexico, all of Central America except Panama, and most of non-River Plate South America. It was not chosen by any respondents in mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, or any of the three Caribbean countries. The term itself comes from the Vulgar Latin **calcea*, the feminine derivative of the classical *calceus* 'shoe.' The medieval form *calça*, first documented in the twelfth century, was applied to the concept of 'hose' as adopted from the "barbarians." When this garment split into upper and lower segments in the sixteenth century, the resulting breech of the top portion retained this designation. After this article extended the length of the leg over time and assumed the name *pantalón*, the term *calza* became mostly obsolete, though not before yielding derivative forms such as the augmentative *calzón*. Along with the four Ecuadorian respondents who chose the word *calzón* for women's underpants, an equal number of their compatriots selected the variant *calzonario*, a term not offered in any other country, though the DLE claims its usage in Colombia.

While *calzón* is often employed in singular form, also common is the plural *calzones*, a modified version of which constituted the minority reply of two survey participants in Mexico: *chones*. It is clear that this term is the result of an abbreviation removing *cal-* from *-zones*. The conversion of the now word-initial /s/ to /ʃ/ follows an established phonological pattern found in other terms shortened through the same morphological process, including the nicknames *Chus* and *Chela* from *Jesús* and *Marcela*. Such informal variants can come to be seen as formal over time. One need look no further than names to denote the garment in question, including English 'panties' (<'pants' <'pantaloon') and Spanish *panti*, chosen by informants in five nations. The DLE lists it as a shortened form of 'pantyhose,' even as it provides two definitions. The first corresponds to that of women's stockings themselves, for which, as discussed in the previous entry, respondents from six countries did indeed select the term *panti(s)*. The second definition corresponds to women's underpants. As might be expected, in order to avoid confusion, contributors who identified *panti(s)* with female hosiery did not also provide this word as pertaining to underwear, opting instead for *calzón* and other terms discussed in the present section. The nations in which informants gave a dominant response of *panti* for female underpants include the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Puerto Rico. In both Mexico and Colombia it was given as a minority reply.

The term *pantaleta* was selected in Mexico, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Colombia, and Venezuela, though only as a dominant term in the latter nation. This word appears to be a borrowing from English 'pantalette.' Beginning in approximately 1810, European and American women for a short time engaged in the fashion of using calf-length white drawers

trimmed with lace that, while worn under their dresses, were designed to be seen protruding from beneath them to an extent. While this trend soon fell out of vogue among adult women, young girls continued to use these garments until about 1870 (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 315, 372). The first known documentation of such a ‘pantalette’ dates to 1834 (OED). *Pantaleta* is first attested from 1918, in Venezuela (CORDE). In similar fashion, while traveling in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, American suffragette Elizabeth Smith Miller had seen women in health spas wearing dresses with shortened skirts under which they donned pantalette-like Turkish trousers, baggy, full-length pants gathered at the ankle. Viewing the exclusively male use of trousers as another form of female repression, Miller adopted the attire upon her return to the United States and introduced it to other feminist figures in New York in 1851, including Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Amelia Jenks Bloomer (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 358–359). While several names were suggested in the press for this dress-trouser combination, including the “freedom dress,” the one that had staying power was the “Bloomer costume” (Fischer 2001: 80, 87). The ensemble, however, garnered substantial ridicule from newspapers and from society at large, leading some women’s rights leaders to deem its continued use as counterproductive. By 1854 the outfit had been abandoned (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 302, 359).

Before ‘bloomers’ became an antiquated term in English, it entered Spanish and in certain countries remains current for modern female underpants. The CORDE contains only three cases of this word in Spanish, all pertaining to Cuba. The first, following English spelling minus the final <s> – *bloomer* – dates to 1938, after which another case with the same form is recorded from 1966. By 1964, the Hispanicized instance of *blúmer* was documented. Survey participants offered this loanword as a first or second choice in Cuba, Costa Rica, and El Salvador, and as a minority selection in Venezuela, Honduras, and Guatemala. While this list agrees substantially with that of the DLE entry on *blúmer*, the exception lies in the Caribbean. Not only does the dictionary not list Cuba in connection with this word, but it names the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, where, as revealed earlier, contributors chose *panti* overwhelmingly, proffering no cases of *blúmer*.

In mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, the vast majority of informants selected *bragas* for women’s ‘panties,’ followed by the diminutive *braguitas* as a minority option. No other word was offered for this garment in either locale. On the other side of the Atlantic, Ecuador was the only country in which respondents chose *bragas*, cited by only two of eleven individuals as a fifth and final reply. *Braga* is derived from Latin *braca*, which in turn was borrowed from Gaulish *bracca*, words which in both tongues denoted a type of trousers worn by Celtic males (Roberts 2014a: 261). In Spanish, where it was first documented in 1191

(DCECH), it underwent a two-fold semantic shift to describe an interior, female garment. Worthy of note is the fact that *brega* appears to be related to the English word ‘breech,’ which was used for men’s underpants during the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance (Willett and Cunnington 1991[1951]: 25), eventually coming to describe outer trunk hose in the late sixteenth century and in time long trousers (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 213). ‘Breech’ is derived from Middle English ‘brech’ and Old English ‘brēc’ via a likely Old Germanic **brōk*. Both this latter word and Gaulish *bracca* have been plausibly traced to the Proto-Indo-European root **bhrag-* (OED).

In River Plate Spanish, the nearly exclusive word for ‘women’s panties’ is *bombacha*, which survey participants in Paraguay and Uruguay selected unanimously. In Argentina, it was chosen by all nineteen contributors, only two of whom offered a second option. In a fourth and final country, Bolivia, two of twelve individuals offered this term. The origins of this noun are found in the adjective *bombacho*, which initially denoted a baggy garment whose rounded shape was analogous to that of a *bomba* ‘bomb,’ the etymon from which it is derived (Roberts 2014a: 253). The first known use of a variant of this word – “*pantalones bombachos*” – dates to c. 1793, in Spain (CORDE). The DLE lists a similarly historical “*calzón bombacho*” in connection with Andalucía. The feminine version of this adjective has also been used with the term *calza*, employed originally to depict men’s hose and later to denote trunk hose or breeches. While the first documented case of “*calza bombacha*” is from Spain in 1886, the adjectival form had already found usage as a standalone noun as early as forty years prior in Argentina (CORDE). In fact, to this day, the ample trousers utilized in costumes to commemorate the dress of traditional local cowboys who roamed the Pampas of this South American nation are called *bombacha de gaucho*. And, just as the terms ‘panties’ and ‘knickers,’ both of which were originally used to denote loose-fitting, knee-length outer trousers worn by males, came to be employed in American and British English, respectively, for the much smaller female underpants that emerged in the first half of the twentieth century, *bombacha* was adopted into the Spanish of Argentina and neighboring countries for this same feminine article of clothing. The first unambiguous example of its usage with this meaning dates to 1961 (CORDE).

In two countries widely separated by geography, the term *tanga*, which can take both the feminine article *la* and, perhaps even more frequently, the masculine *el*, was chosen by survey participants as a minority option for women’s ‘panties’ in two countries, Argentina and El Salvador. The sparse use of this word in the present context is likely due to the fact that while the image displayed in the survey clearly shows women’s underpants designed to cover the buttocks, the word *tanga* as it is typically employed in Spanish refers to a garment that in

English is termed a ‘G-string’ or a ‘thong.’²⁰ There is not a total consensus on the etymology of this word. The DLE, which defines *tanga* as a sort of loincloth, lists it as a loanword from Tupí, a now extinct Indigenous tongue that was spoken in Brazil at the time of the European conquest. Other sources, however, report that this word entered Spanish through Portuguese, which in turn had borrowed it from Kimbundu, a Bantu tongue spoken in Angola, which the Portuguese began to colonize in the late fifteenth century (Allied Chambers 2007: 1241; Jurado 2013: 108; OED). Examples of this word in the CREA are documented from 1980, beginning in Spain; the majority of these cases clearly refer to bikini bottoms. In contrast to the unsettled etymology of *tanga*, the term *ropa interior*, chosen as a minority option in Ecuador and Panama, presents a much more straightforward case. The word *ropa* existed in medieval Spanish as *raupa*, a borrowing from Germanic **raupa*, which denoted clothing that victors of a battle were entitled to take with them as spoils (Roberts 2014b: 502). *Interior* descended unchanged in form and meaning from the Latin. The combination of *ropa* and *interior* features the same semantic value as ‘underclothing.’ Two Ecuadorians also selected *interior* alone as a masculine noun.

It will be recalled from the previous entry on ‘men’s briefs’ that the majority of Mexican survey participants selected the word *trusa*, a borrowing from Old French *trousse*, itself derived from the verb *trousser* ‘to roll up’ (DCECH). While this term went unselected for male underpants in all other countries, the DLE states that its use in Peru can denote both this and a female iteration of the garment. Corroborating this claim is the fact that four of the fourteen respondents in Peru chose this word for women’s ‘panties.’ Though this option was not selected in any other nation, the DLE also notes its usage in both Argentina and Uruguay, while it is listed in Cuba and the Dominican Republic in reference to a ‘swimsuit.’ Also selected in only one nation was the final word in this entry: *cucos*. Though not found in the DLE, this term is listed in the DAMER, which, while offering no etymological information, specifies its use in Ecuador and Colombia as an informal name. While only respondents from the latter country chose this word, they did so in considerable numbers, indicating a higher level of formality.

Prior to listing the tally by country of the words in this entry, a brief note is in order regarding pluralization. While the plural *pantalones* can surely be heard in reference to a sole pair of pants, the default usage is singular *pantalón*. Similarly, words that were chosen by survey participants in both singular and plural form are listed as being singular, as are those that were selected in this fashion universally, the latter including *bombacha*, *calzonario*, and *trusa*. The

²⁰ While ‘thong’ is phonologically similar to *tanga*, this is evidently due to sheer coincidence. ‘Thong’ descends from Old English ‘þwang,’ which referred to a narrow leather strip used as a lace or cord, the first documented sample dating to c. 950.

four words that are listed in plural form are those that were selected as such invariably: *bragas*, *braguitas*, *chones*, *cucos*.

Tally of survey responses for ‘women’s panties’ by country (total of fourteen)

- Chile, Nicaragua: *calzón* (unanimous)
- Paraguay, Uruguay: *bombacha* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *bombacha* (19), *tanga* (2)
- Bolivia: *calzón* (9), *bombacha* (2)
- Canary Islands: *bragas* (24), *braguitas* (2)
- Colombia: *calzón* (7), *cucos* (5), *panti* (3), *pantaleta* (2)
- Costa Rica: *blúmer* (10), *calzón* (3)
- Cuba: *blúmer* (unanimous)
- Dominican Republic: *panti* (unanimous)
- Ecuador: *calzón* (4), *calzonario* (4), *ropa interior* (2), *interior* (2), *bragas* (2)
- El Salvador: *calzón* (11), *blúmer* (9), *tanga* (4)
- Guatemala: *calzón* (12), *pantaleta* (2), *blúmer* (2)
- Honduras: *calzón* (12), *blúmer* (3)
- Mexico: *calzón* (20), *pantaleta* (9), *panti* (3), *chones* (2)
- Panama: *panti* (13), *ropa interior* (2)
- Peru: *calzón* (12), *trusa* (4)
- Puerto Rico: *panti* (10), *pantaleta* (2)
- Spain: *bragas* (15), *braguitas* (3)
- Venezuela: *pantaleta* (25), *blúmer* (2)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *blúmer*: *blúmers*, *bloomer*, *bloomers*
- *calzón*: *calzones*
- *pantaleta*: *pantaletas*
- *panti*: *pantis*, *panties*, *pantys*
- *tanga*: *tangas*

Item 38: Bra

The historical record indicates that both Greek and Roman women wore straps of cloth around their upper torsos, though it is not known if the aim of this practice was to support and accentuate the bustline or to bind and minimize it (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 64; Bonfante and Chi 2008: 113). What is certain is that at some point, perhaps coinciding with the disintegration of the Roman Empire, the use of this sort of garment in Western dress ceased, not to be recommenced for centuries. The gradual march to the adoption of the modern

bra can arguably be traced to the sixteenth century, which saw increased interest in designing women's wardrobes with an eye to enhancing the outline of their bodies. This included both outer- and under-bodices, the latter type often called 'stays' (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 214–215). These garments, which as of the nineteenth century were more often termed as 'corset,' tended to be lined with whalebone for rigidity and were initially tightened with laces in the back, though after 1850 fasteners located in front became the norm (Willett and Cunnington 1991[1951]: 13). These snug-fitting devices, which extended from the hip to partway up the bustline, continued to be used into the very early twentieth century, when their discontinuance, or perhaps more accurately their significant shortening downward, resulting in what became known as a 'girdle,' left women in need of a new garment to support their bosom (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 255, 279). This void was soon filled when, in 1904, the Charles R. DeBevoise Company, of New Jersey, began to market its first 'brassiere,' an item that a decade later, by the outset of World War I, was widely available to women on both sides of the Atlantic, though early models resembled camisoles more than present-day versions of the article (425–426, 434). In much of the 1920s, when flapper culture emphasized a boyish look in much of women's fashion, brassieres were employed to bind breasts, resulting in the iconic flat-chested look that accompanied the use of tubular dresses. By the 1930s, in contrast, they were being utilized to accentuate the female bustline, and for the first time underwires were added for support (Sheumaker 2018: 138). By the mid-1930s the abbreviated name of 'bra' was also being utilized in connection with these more modern styles (OED).

Farrell-Beck and Gau (2002) explain that the direct etymon of the English term for the item of apparel in question is French *brassière*, used to denote a woman's bodice (18). Utilizing the Académie française's (2020) *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* to further trace the word's history reveals its original, thirteenth-century form: *bracières*. Evident in the root of this term is a reference to the human 'arm,' which in French, *bras*, like its Spanish counterpart, *brazo*, is derived from Latin *brachium*. This is due to the fact that in the Middle Ages *bracières* described an inner lining used in suits of armor to protect the upper limbs. Its adoption in English, then, required significant semantic shift, regarding not only the specific area of the body involved but also the sex of the wearer. This is further illustrated by the fact that the item termed a 'brassiere' in English was given an entirely different, and somewhat perplexing, name in standard French: *soutien-gorge*.²¹ While France has long been considered a permissive country, it was still largely a product of its times at the turn of the twentieth century, meaning that its language employed terms that can seem prudish by today's

²¹ Perhaps resulting from contact with English, French speakers in bilingual Canada often employ the word *brassière* instead of *soutien-gorge* for 'bra.'

standards. The first part of the French word for ‘bra,’ *soutien*, means ‘support,’ while the latter portion, *gorge*, is the term not for ‘breast’ but for ‘throat.’ The farcical concept of a ‘throat support,’ therefore, can only be seen as a glaring euphemism based on a nearby but less sexually charged body part than the one in question in order to avoid adopting what would have been the much more accurate and direct but evidently sordid ‘breast support’ (*soutien-sein*).

The two French words addressed above, *brassière* and *soutien-gorge*, have both had a significant impact on the Spanish terminology employed to denote the ‘bra,’ directly as well as indirectly. With regard to indirect influence, while *brasier* was one of the most common terms selected by survey participants in the twenty-one countries, it did not enter Spanish directly from French *brassière*, which is not generally used to denote the item in question, but rather from English ‘brassiere,’ making the Spanish term a borrowing of a borrowing (DLE). The first and only case of *brasier* in the CORDE dates to 1951, in Puerto Rico, a fitting result since each respondent from this Caribbean island selected the word exclusively. It was also a popular response in the Dominican Republic, Mexico, all six Central American nations, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Only in Venezuela was it a minority offering. Likely owing to its status as a direct neighbor of the United States, only in Mexico was the abbreviated *bra* selected, though by a mere two of thirty-one informants.

The French term *soutien-gorge* has led to at least three related variants in Spanish, all of which focus on the notion of this garment as a ‘support,’ omitting in each case the second half of this etymonic compound word. Only respondents in Uruguay selected the abbreviated Gallicism *soutien* largely unaltered. All thirteen individuals in this Southern Cone nation offered either this form or the orthographically Hispanicized *sutién*, which, as one contributor noted, reflects the pronunciation of the word in the country regardless of spelling. Two Uruguayans also chose the direct Spanish translation of this term: *sostén*. In this regard they were not alone; as with *brasier*, *sostén* is one of the most common names for this feminine garment among Spanish speakers. It was the primary or secondary selection in all the South American countries minus those in the River Plate region, in each of the six Central America nations, in Mexico, and in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands. In the same manner in which the term *sostén* alludes to the utilitarian function of the ‘bra,’ the name most commonly selected by informants for this garment on the eastern side of the Atlantic – though by none in the Americas – indicates its practical application. Among the seventeen survey respondents in mainland Spain, all but one selected *sujetador*. Beyond its specific use regarding the item of apparel in question, it is a general word, meaning ‘fastener,’ which is used for various items which one finds in a hardware or office supply store, including nuts and bolts, rivets, flanges, clasps, clips, staples, etc. This pragmatic term was also chosen by all but one of the twenty-five contributors in the Canary Islands.

Another Spanish word for a women's brassiere that describes its purpose is *ajustador*, the term selected unanimously by survey participants in Cuba, the sole Caribbean nation in which *brasier* was not chosen. The first mention in the CORDE of *ajustador* bearing the relevant significance comes, appropriately, from Cuba, in 1964. While the verb from which the term is derived, *ajustar*, means, as does its English cognate, 'to adjust,' in Spanish it also expresses the notion 'to tighten.' The latter sense is perhaps the more appropriate one in this instance, as this article of clothing serves to hold a woman's breasts 'tight' more so than to adjust them, though the implication of an upward resituation of the bosom is also logical. While this word was not selected in any other country, Ávila (2012) notes that before the rise of *brasier* in Colombia in the past few decades, *ajustador* was a common term there.

A final word used for 'bra' that relates to the garment's functionality is *portasenos*, literally a 'breast holder.' This descriptive name, however, was only selected by survey respondents in a single country, Paraguay, and as a minority option. In contrast, the majority reply in this nation was *corpiño*, a word even more popular in Argentina, where all nineteen respondents selected it unanimously. It was chosen as a minority offering in a third and final country: Bolivia. According to the DLE, the term *corpiño* is a diminutive form of *cuerpo*, itself derived from Latin *corpus*. The DCECH, however, traces it to the Galician-Portuguese *corpinho*, from which it had emerged as a loanword by 1580. This new term could subsequently be used in Spanish with the equivalent direct meaning of *cuerpecito* 'little body,' or, more figuratively, as an article of clothing worn close to the body. The first specific item to bear this name was evidently that which in English was known as the 'doublet,' the fourteenth-century civilian iteration of the gambeson, a padded garment worn beneath soldiers' armor (Hulsbosch 2014: 39). It was at this same general time that the Spanish term *jubón* was applied to this garment (CORDE). However, just as English 'doublet' had its synonyms, including the Gallicisms 'gipon' and 'pourpoint,' the loanword *corpiño* began to be used in Spanish with the same meaning as *jubón* in the late sixteenth century (DLE). In time, *corpiño* was applied to the female garment that by the seventeenth century was known in English as the 'bodice' (OED). Fittingly, this latter term is a variant of 'body,' just as its Spanish counterpart ultimately derives from the Latin word of the same meaning. Since *corpiño* has been used for both male and female garments, and since the feminine version has been worn as underclothing as well as outer garb, it is difficult to ascertain from CORDE examples the exact era in which this term was first utilized with the meaning of 'bra.' By the 1960s, however, this database features examples from Argentina that clearly convey this sense of the word.

A pair of contributors in Costa Rica gave as a minority response the final term to be considered in this entry on the 'bra': *tallador*. Not only is this name decidedly less common than *brasier* in this country, but one participant

indicated that it is nearly outdated, used now by “*gente muy mayor del campo*.” Furthermore, the scarcity of its use appears to be matched by the relative obscurity of its etymology. The DCECH cites the use of an orthographically identical *tallador* in ancient Catalan, derived from the Vulgar Latin verb *taleare*, which in modern Spanish has yielded the doublets *tallar* ‘to carve’ and *tajar* ‘to slice.’ Any connection to the female garment in question is unclear.

Tally of survey responses for ‘bra’ by country (total of nine)

- Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Puerto Rico: *brasier* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *corpiño* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *sostén* (11), *corpiño* (2)
- Canary Islands: *sujetador* (24), *sostén* (9)
- Chile: *sostén* (unanimous)
- Colombia: *brasier* (13), *sostén* (2)
- Costa Rica: *brasier* (11), *sostén* (2), *tallador* (2)
- Cuba: *ajustador* (unanimous)
- Ecuador: *sostén* (8), *brasier* (6)
- El Salvador: *brasier* (13), *sostén* (3)
- Honduras: *brasier* (10), *sostén* (4)
- Mexico: *brasier* (28), *sostén* (11), *bra* (2)
- Nicaragua: *brasier* (12), *sostén* (4)
- Panama: *brasier* (13), *sostén* (3)
- Paraguay: *corpiño* (9), *portasenos* (3), *sostén* (2)
- Peru: *sostén* (11), *brasier* (9)
- Spain: *sujetador* (16), *sostén* (4)
- Uruguay: *soutien* (13), *sostén* (2)
- Venezuela: *sostén* (26), *brasier* (4)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *ajustador*: *ajustadores*
- *brasier*: *brassiere*, *brasiel*
- *sostén*: *sostenes*
- *soutien*: *sutién*

Item 39: T-Shirt

While the knowledge of the underwear that existed during the Middle Ages is limited, it is known that adults of both sexes wore a loose shirt beneath their tunics, the female version tending to be longer than that of males (Tortora and

Eubank 2010: 118). When the Normans invaded England in the eleventh century, they introduced to Great Britain their word for the garment of this nature worn by men: *chemise*. Women, who until that time had referred to the item in question with the Anglo-Saxon term ‘smoc,’ also adopted ‘chemise’ (Willett and Cunnington 1991[1951]: 31). In fact, while the use of this Gallicism in relation to men’s apparel can be encountered as late as the nineteenth century, it gradually came to denote female articles exclusively, expanding in scope to include dresses by the eighteenth century and lingerie by the twentieth. The solution to the resulting need for a new term in connection with the male garment lay in the Old English word ‘scuryte’ (>‘shirt’), whose precise original meaning, prior to the Norman Conquest, is uncertain but perhaps denoted a type of ‘apron,’ just as Dutch *schort* does today (OED).

When men began to use doublets in the fourteenth century, they also wore an undershirt below it. By the seventeenth century, the once-snug doublet was worn more loosely and was often partially unbuttoned to reveal part of the linen shirt, still considered an undergarment (Harvey 2008a: 127). While the doublet had passed out of use by the end of the seventeenth century, it was replaced with more modern dress coats, which men continued to wear well into the twentieth century, and even to the present day on more formal occasions. In more casual settings, men’s leisure attire began to feature shirts as an outergarment between approximately 1900 and the beginning of World War I (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 439). This increase in casualness led not only to the shortening of sleeves, but eventually to the elimination in some designs of buttons down the front. The most common result is what has come to be called the ‘T-shirt,’ a name inspired by the shape of this article of clothing when laid out whose first documented use is attributed to F. Scott Fitzgerald in 1920 (OED). Nevertheless, the T-shirt itself was initially an undershirt, a situation that continued through World War II, when this garment was issued to GIs (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 480). In addition to utilizing them under their uniforms, they often wore them alone while working in warm weather. These men continued to employ T-shirts in this manner as civilians after the war, which led to their general use as informal sportswear, though this trend was not widespread until the 1960s and 1970s (566, 571). Women were also able to take advantage of this fashion innovation as its timing coincided with a shift in the prevailing societal mores that until then had largely confined them to wearing dresses or skirts with blouses.

Similar to the use of Anglo-Norman *chemise* for a man’s undershirt, Italians and Spaniards in the Middle Ages employed the terms *camicia* and *camisa*, respectively (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 187). These Romance forms were rooted in *camisia*, whose adoption into Late Latin in approximately the fourth century AD is believed to have proceeded from a Celtic tongue. The first known use of *camisa* dates to 899 (DCECH). Although this term typically denotes any

outer 'shirt' generally, it was selected by survey participants in six of the twenty-one countries as a second or third response in reaction to an image clearly depicting a T-shirt. While it is possible that some respondents may have simply considered it to be a query on shirts in general, this explains neither the lack of *camisa* as an answer in the other fifteen countries nor the prevalence it attained in certain nations where it was chosen. While in the Canary Islands, Mexico, and Venezuela, all of which had more than twenty-five contributors, it was clearly a minority selection, with only two cases in each, it was more prevalent in the other three nations in question. Four of the eleven Puerto Ricans and four of the thirteen Hondurans offered *camisa*, while nearly half, six of fourteen, did so in El Salvador. In all of these countries, a more common response was the diminutive *camiseta*, which has been documented from 1513 (DCECH).

The name *camiseta* enjoys a wide distribution for the article of clothing in question. It was selected as a first or second choice by informants in mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, all six Central American nations, Venezuela, and Uruguay. In the several countries where contributors avoided this word, it was surely due to the fact that it denotes similar but distinct garments. In some dialects, for instance, *camiseta* is used in reference to a female camisole. In perhaps all nations it is employed in connection with sports jerseys, particularly those worn by soccer players. It is in fact the world of sports and leisure that has inspired several of the other names for 'T-shirt.' Perhaps the most prominent is *remera*, selected exclusively by informants in Argentina and Paraguay and as the majority choice in Uruguay. Latin contained the word *remus* to denote what Spanish speakers refer to as a *remo* 'oar,' first recorded in 1330. The same word is used for the sport of 'rowing' itself. By no later than 1492 it had assumed verb form: *remar* 'to row.' Documented the following year was the noun and adjective *remero*, relating to 'one who rows' (DCECH). It was the adjectival form that would eventually attach to the concept of 'T-shirt' in the area of the River Plate, or *río de la Plata*. It was on this body of water, which separates Argentina from Uruguay, that the first known rowing contest in the region was held in 1870, the participants in which were young Englishmen, whose native tongue explains the name of the Buenos Aires Rowing Club that was established shortly thereafter. In time the sport became popular among the local population and in the early twentieth century the Asociación Argentina de Remeros Aficionados was founded (Beccar Varela 2011). A sport requiring so much active use of the hands and arms called for a short-sleeved shirt, which initially was likely termed a *camiseta remera*, shortened at some point to *remera*. While this word does not appear in the CORDE, the CREA features 101 cases between 1977 and 2004, eighty-one of which are of Argentine origin, the balance largely pertaining to Paraguay and Uruguay.

Another sport inspired a different name for the ‘T-shirt’ across the Andes in Chile, where respondents selected *polera* exclusively for this article of clothing, a result also obtained in neighboring Bolivia. The creation of this name, *polo* + *-era*, followed the same derivational path as *remera*: *remo* + *-era*. It is also likely that this noun was taken as an abbreviation from the adjectival form of the longer *camiseta polera* ‘polo jersey.’ At roughly the same time that the British were introducing rowing to the Argentines, they were sharing the sport of polo with the Chileans.²² In 1870, the Club Hípico de Santiago was established, followed by the Valparaíso Sporting Club in 1882. While the focus of both clubs was horse racing, the fields inside their tracks were used for other equestrian activities, including polo by the 1890s (Marín 2007: 17–18). While neither the DCECH nor the CORDE documents *polera*, it was surely first employed in connection with the jersey used in the early years of the sport among the Chilean upper class.²³ Much later, as the T-shirt became more popular among all strata of society in the post-World War II years and required a name, the short sleeves and leisurely application of both garments facilitated the dual usage of the term in question.²⁴ The same use of *polera* in Bolivia can only be explained by the fact that it borders Chile. While Bolivians have long enjoyed playing sports such as soccer, basketball, and volleyball, polo has only been practiced in the country since the mid-1990s (El Día 2010).

Peru is another country in which polo has a long history, owing again to British expatriates, a group of whom founded the Lima Polo & Hunt Club in 1898 (Lima Polo Club 2018). English speakers playing the sport in this South American country and elsewhere appear to have shortened the name of the ‘polo shirt’ to merely ‘polo,’ a common usage in the language to this day for said garment and similar shirts inspired by this pastime. As Peruvian locals began to take up the sport, they evidently adopted, unaltered, the use of the term *polo* into Spanish, not only for the activity but for the jersey donned by the riders engaged in it. In time, the use of this name broadened semantically to include the concept of the common ‘T-shirt.’ As a result, Peruvian survey participants selected this term unanimously. Though *polo* alone was not chosen in any other country, it is the root of a name offered in one additional nation, the

²² Polo originated in the Kashmir region of the Himalayas, from where it reached British India in the mid-nineteenth century. It was adopted in Britain in the early 1870s and from there spread to other Western nations (DCECH). The name of this sport in most languages was also borrowed from English, though the ultimate etymon is *pholo*, a dialectal Tibetan word meaning ‘ball’ (DLE).

²³ The first case of *polera* found in the CREA dates to 1978, in Chile. Between that year and 2004, there are forty-four instances of this word, twenty-seven in Chile and seventeen in Bolivia.

²⁴ The fact that polo shirts, unlike T-shirts, tend to have collars is reflected in the fact that the term *polera* is used to denote a collared garment in Argentina and Uruguay (DLE), countries in which the most common word for the collarless version is *remera*, a situation that allows for the preservation of these contrasting styles.

Dominican Republic, where more than half of informants gave a reply of *poloché* or a comparable form.²⁵ While the DLE lists no variant of this word, the DAMER features an entry on “*poloche*,” which, although it correctly identifies the Dominican dialect, is problematic in three fundamental ways. First, while a T-shirt is devoid of both collar and buttons, the only definition given for this garment relates to a traditional polo shirt: “*Prenda de punto que llega hasta la cintura, con cuello, y abotonada por delante en la parte superior.*” Second, it states that the term in question is derived from English ‘polo,’ an incomplete picture that misses a crucial element. The fact that several Dominican contributors offered the variant of *polocher* makes it clear that *poloché* was taken not from ‘polo’ alone but from the longer ‘polo shirt.’ Further evidence of this can be seen in the responses of three individuals in this country, two of whom answered with the full Anglicism itself, *polo shirt*, and one with the creative spelling of *polo shier*. Just as ‘shorts’ is often rendered *chort* or *chor* in various nations in or bordering the Caribbean, the word-initial pronunciation of ‘shirt’ has been altered from [ʃ] to [ʃj], and the /t/, which is not found at the end of native Spanish words, is often dropped. While the language does feature word-final /-t/, including in all infinitive verbs, it is not uncommon, in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere, for Spanish speakers to aspirate and even elide this phone, particularly in rapid speech among the lower classes, such as in the phrase *Quiero comer* /kiéro komé/. These processes of derivation leading from ‘polo shirt’ to *poloché*, however, all depend on the proper placement of the accent, an essential detail that constitutes the third problem presented by the form “*poloche*” given in the DAMER. Such a word thus represented would necessarily be produced as /polóʃe/, with stress on the second-to-the-last syllable, a pronunciation that would only make sense if the English word were articulated ‘po-LO shirt,’ rather than ‘PO-lo shirt’ or the also permissible ‘po-lo SHIRT.’ Confirmation of *poloché* /polóʃé/, with its stress on the final syllable, can be seen in various local sources. Jiménez (2016) clarifies that his use of “*poloché*,” refers to a “*polo shirt, franela*” (319). The first synonym is not an English translation; it is another local Spanish-language form of this Anglicism. The second, *franela*, will be addressed later in this entry. Just as a pair of survey participants from the Dominican Republic selected the unchanged *polo shirt* from English, five individuals in this nation offered a response of *T-shirt*. This also occurred with five of the eleven contributors in Puerto Rico. Such a result in the latter locale is not surprising given the island’s status as a US protectorate, many of whose inhabitants travel to and from the mainland frequently and often exhibit high levels of bilingualism.

²⁵ Polo has been played in the Dominican Republic since the beginning of twentieth century (Listín Diario 2016).

In reference to the garment in question, the majority of Cuban informants selected *pulóver*, a transparent lexical borrowing of English ‘pullover,’ an article which became popular sometime after 1915 (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 435), and which the OED first documents in 1930 in relation to a knitted sweater with a rounded neck that is pulled over the head. This is the general definition given by the DLE for the Spanish borrowing. Nevertheless, as Cuba does not experience the low temperatures to which several Spanish-speaking countries are subjected at certain times of the year, and since a T-shirt is pulled on in much the same way as a sweater, this subtle but significant semantic shift in the use of *pulóver* to denote the former garment is understandable.²⁶ Similarly, while *suéter* is the default term in Spanish to refer to the warmer of the two garments, normally made of wool or similar substantial fabrics, in Panama, which like Cuba enjoys warm temperatures all the year round, it also denotes the cooler, short-sleeved article made from a lighter material such as cotton. This Anglicism was selected by Panamanian respondents in numbers equal to the also popular *camiseta*. While the fact that a ‘T-shirt’ is expressly worn in order *not* to sweat causes the use of *suéter* as a name for it to seem illogical, logic can become essentially irrelevant in the borrowing process. Since the concept of ‘to sweat’ is expressed by the unrelated Spanish verb *sudar*, applying the name *suéter* to a ‘T-shirt’ does not strike the average Panamanian as inconsistent.

Another name selected by informants for ‘T-shirt’ which strikes English speakers as contradictory is *franela*, given as a dominant response in Venezuela and a minority reply in the Dominican Republic.²⁷ The first known instance of this word is found in the Real Academia Espanola’s dictionary of 1817 (DCECH), while the earliest case in authentic usage dates to 1822 (CORDE). The DLE traces the etymology of *franela* to French, which, while correct, is an incomplete accounting. Although the OED lists the ultimate origin of this term as unknown, it states that the oldest known use of a form of this word in any language is from English, as *fflanell*, in 1503. Other languages later adopted this Anglicism, including French (*flanelle*), Italian (*flanella*), and German (*flanell*).²⁸ As wool is the traditional material utilized to make flannel cloth – already a renowned product in Wales by the sixteenth century – and since this fiber is referred to as *gwlân*, and ‘flannel’ as *gwlanen*, in Welsh, it has been theorized that the English iteration used to denote the fabric is a corruption of

²⁶ The first known use of *pulóver* as ‘T-shirt’ in Cuba dates to 2004 (CREA).

²⁷ The DAMER adds Panama and Colombia to the list of countries in which *franela* can denote a ‘T-shirt.’

²⁸ It appears that Spanish is the only language with a cognate of this word to have undergone the /l/ > [r] liquid shift present in the *flanella* > *franela* process, the former reported by the OED to have been an early variant of the latter. Even Portuguese features *flanella* today.

the latter term.²⁹ This is bolstered by the fact that between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the English term alternated with similar forms, including ‘flan(n)en’ (OED). When the word *franela* entered Spanish, it did so in reference to the material; the ‘T-shirt’ would not be invented for another century. Furthermore, even when the word came to denote a garment made of this fabric, it surely did so in connection with a heavy, long-sleeved shirt. However, since Venezuela and the Dominican Republic rarely experience cold weather, even in the mountainous regions, the name *franela* in reference to a shirt made for warmth eventually came to designate one that helps its wearer keep cool.

The final word for ‘T-shirt’ is *playera*, which alludes to one of the physical spaces where it is worn: *la playa* ‘the beach.’ While the DLE names Mexico alone, and the DAMER Mexico and Nicaragua, as the countries in which *playera* refers to this garment, among survey respondents it was selected only in Mexico and Guatemala, though as a dominant option in both. This term is likely the abbreviated form of *camiseta playera*.

Tally of survey responses for ‘T-shirt’ by country (total of eleven)

- Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Spain: *camiseta* (unanimous)
- Argentina, Paraguay: *remera* (unanimous)
- Bolivia, Chile: *polera* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands: *camiseta* (24), *camisa* (2)
- Cuba: *pulóver* (6), *camiseta* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *poloché* (11), *T-shirt* (5), *camiseta* (5), *franela* (3)
- El Salvador: *camiseta* (9), *camisa* (6)
- Guatemala: *playera* (8), *camiseta* (4)
- Honduras: *camiseta* (9), *camisa* (4)
- Mexico: *playera* (21), *camiseta* (9), *camisa* (2)
- Panama: *camiseta* (7), *suéter* (7)
- Peru: *polo* (unanimous)
- Puerto Rico: *camiseta* (6), *T-shirt* (5), *camisa* (4)
- Uruguay: *remera* (9), *camiseta* (6)
- Venezuela: *franela* (24), *camiseta* (2), *camisa* (2)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *poloché*: *polocher*, *polo shirt*, *polo shier*
- *suéter*: *sweater*
- *T-shirt*: *tisher*

²⁹ The DCECH notes that Welsh *gwlân* and Spanish (<Latin) *lana* ‘wool’ derive from a common Indo-European root, which Roberts (2014b) identifies as **welā-* (940).

Item 40: Jacket

Although the word ‘coat’ and variants thereof in English predate the use of ‘jacket,’ the latter has been employed for a longer period to denote garments similar to those found in modern apparel, while the former was initially a broader term utilized to designate items no longer in common usage. The immediate etymon of ‘coat’ is Old French *cote* (OED), which in turn was borrowed from Frankish *kotta*, a coarse woolen cloth (DLE). The first known use of the word in English, from approximately 1300, is ‘kote,’ followed by fifteenth- through seventeenth-century iterations that include ‘cote,’ ‘coot,’ and ‘coate,’ after which ‘coat’ is the habitual form (OED). Nevertheless, for several hundred years these terms did not refer to an article of clothing akin to those bearing this title today. In the late medieval period, for instance, the ‘cote’ was not even an outer garment, worn instead between a chemise, or shirt, and a tunic or other outer article, including a robe-like item often reaching to the knee or lower, typically sleeveless, whose name included a root of the word in question: ‘surcote,’ from French *surcot*, the prefix *sur* meaning ‘over’ (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 134).³⁰ Another use of the term was in connection with the haubergeon, a shirt of defensive armor comprised of interlinking rings of metal, part of a warrior’s coat of mail, first recorded as ‘cote of mayle’ in 1490 (OED).³¹ Over this protective garb a surcote was often donned. It was not until the seventeenth century that ‘coat’ itself was applied to an outer garment with sleeves which, as today, was used either for warmth or to complete a formal suit, worn over a vest and shirt (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 246). In contrast, the word ‘jacket,’ whose first recorded use is from 1451 (OED), has always been associated with a garment largely analogous to its modern counterparts (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 160).³² From the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, it constituted the outermost upper-body garment, with the exception of capes and cloaks used to combat especially cold weather (160). It is most likely that the derivational process responsible for this word was one internal to English: ‘jack’ + ‘-et.’ However, both the diminutive suffix and the root in question originated in French. The term ‘jack,’ first noted in English c. 1380, entered English from either Middle French *jaque* or an Anglo-Norman iteration such as *jacke* or *jakke* (OED). It referred to a padded item of clothing worn on the upper body of soldiers which, being tailored both with and without

³⁰ When the surcote eventually went out of style among the general population, it was retained in academic circles and became the gown worn by students and academics as part of the graduation regalia (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 169).

³¹ The term for such a ‘coat of mail’ in Spanish is *cota de malla*, the initial word taken from the same French etymon *cote* as the English equivalent (DLE).

³² Just as ‘coat’ has historically had several orthographic variants, the ‘term’ jacket has been spelled in a variety of ways throughout the centuries, including ‘iacket,’ ‘gakket,’ ‘jackette,’ ‘jackut,’ ‘jakat,’ ‘jakkit,’ and ‘jaket’ (OED).

sleeves, was apparently equivalent to a gambeson (Giles 1887: 25).³³ The need to differentiate this substantial military item from the lighter, sleeker versions used increasingly by civilians seems to have motivated the production of the term ‘jacket.’

French also developed a diminutive form, *jaquette* (<*jaque*), which was initially borrowed by Spanish as *jaqueta*, whose first known use dates to 1406. By no later than the end of the sixteenth century, the word-initial <j> had become a palatalized <ch> (CORDE). *Chaqueta* is the most common term employed for this garment today, a situation reflected in its dominant selection among survey participants. It was offered exclusively by respondents in the South American nations of Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela, as well as in Nicaragua. It was also the leading selection in five Central American and Caribbean countries and the Canary Islands, and the secondary choice in seven South and Central American nations and mainland Spain. Of the twenty-one countries in question, *chaqueta* was absent only among respondents in Puerto Rico and Paraguay. Of eleven Puerto Rican contributors, US citizens by definition, seven chose the Anglicism *jacket*, a phenomenon repeated in other nearby nations, many of whom have sustained historic ties with the United States or are otherwise relatively proximate to it geographically. For instance, in Panama, long the recipient of American influence, *jacket* was the majority form, as was the case in neighboring Costa Rica. This term was also the secondary and tertiary response in the Dominican Republic and Cuba, respectively. Meanwhile, three contributors in both Puerto Rico and Cuba selected *abrigo* as a minority form. This latter term was not offered for ‘jacket’ in any other nation due to the fact that it is typically reserved for the heavier ‘coat.’ Nevertheless, since the year-round warm temperatures in both of these Caribbean islands tend to preclude the use of both jackets and coats, and since words to denote such garments may have been received from outside dialects, such a conflation of the nomenclature is understandable.

In Paraguay, a pair of respondents selected *saco* as a minority word for ‘jacket.’ As this name is typically limited to what in English is a ‘sports jacket,’ ‘sports coat,’ or ‘suit coat,’ it was not chosen in any other country. The majority term for ‘jacket’ among Paraguayans was *campera*. It was also selected by twelve of the thirteen Uruguayan survey participants and all nineteen in Argentina. In these latter two countries, the secondary response was *chaqueta*, a minority term for the casual leather jacket depicted in the survey image since this word is normally reserved in these nations for a jacket of more elegant

³³ Spanish also borrowed *jaque* – with variants of *jaco* and *jaca* – for this article of clothing by the mid-1300s (OED). Another name for the ‘gambeson’ in Spanish, first recorded in the same fourteenth century, is *jubón* (CORDE).

tailoring and formal usage. As the DLE explains that the adjective *campero/a* is employed in reference to matters relative to the *campo* ‘countryside,’ and that the noun *campera* denotes a “*chaqueta de uso informal o deportivo*,” it follows that *chaqueta campera* must have originated as a term to describe a less formal, sporting jacket initially worn in rural areas of the Southern Cone. While the CORDE does not contain examples of these two words used in conjunction, the first instance in this database of the feminine adjectival form turned one-word noun – *campera* – dates to 1949, in Argentina.

Another term for ‘jacket’ restricted in its geographical reach is *casaca*, selected by survey participants as the dominant response for this item in Peru though in no other country. First attested in 1541 (CORDE), it was likely adopted into Spanish from French *casaque*, which in turn was possibly borrowed from Italian *casacca*, this latter word traceable to Persian *kazhagand*, the *-and* portion having been considered a suffix and dropped (Roberts 2014a: 326–327).³⁴ In contrast, while the term *chamarra* was selected for ‘jacket’ by respondents in only four nations, they are located in vastly disparate regions of the Spanish-speaking world. It was the leading option among both Mexican and Bolivian contributors. In El Salvador and the Canary Islands it was a minority choice. *Chamarra* was not selected in mainland Spain, despite the fact that this location, in particular the north-central region of the Iberian Peninsula, was the site of its genesis in Spanish. In the Middle Ages, the Basque word for a garment made of wool or sheepskin was *zamar* (DCECH). In this ancient isolate language, the definite article, which does not change for gender, is *-a*, placed as a suffix at the end of nouns (Larrañaga and Guijarro-Fuentes 2012: 581). Therefore, in the same fashion in which ‘man’ and ‘the man’ in Basque are expressed *gizon* and *gizona*, and ‘woman’ and ‘the woman’ are rendered *emakume* and *emakumea*, the term *zamar* assumed the form *zamarra* when accompanied by the article (DCECH).³⁵ The earliest known documentation of such a Basque loanword in Spanish to denote a jacket-like garment dates to the end of the thirteenth century: *çamarra* /*tsamářa*/. Following word-initial palatalization, the modern *chamarra* was recorded in 1526 (CORDE).³⁶ Although these and myriad other instances of this word were captured historically in the Iberian Peninsula, they were eventually supplanted by others, likely beginning with the French-derived *jaqueta*, later *chaqueta*, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (CORDE).³⁷ Among survey

³⁴ Such is the case with English ‘cassock,’ which was also taken from the French equivalent to designate a long coat, the first known documentation of which dates to the mid-sixteenth century (OED). This makes it more or less contemporary with the Spanish cognate.

³⁵ The <rr> in *zamarra* is likely due to the fact that in Basque, a word-final /-r/ can, depending on the dialect, be trilled before a pause (Artiagoitia 1993: 280).

³⁶ The word *zamarra* itself, first documented in 1330 (CORDE), is used to denote sheepskin or a jacket made from such material or from the wool alone (DLE).

³⁷ Ironically, the modern word for ‘jacket’ in Basque itself appears also to have derived from French: *jaka*.

participants in mainland Spain, three individuals selected *chaqueta* for ‘jacket.’ The same number of respondents chose *chupa*, while the most popular word in the country (despite being the newest), offered by eight contributors, was *cazadora*. The DLE indeed treats these latter two words as synonyms.

Chupa most likely entered Spanish from French *jupe*, itself taken from Arabic *ġubba*, a type of sleeved overcoat. Its first known case in writing dates to 1723 (DCECH).³⁸ Although this word was not selected by respondents outside of Spain, the similar *chumpa*, whose etymology will be addressed in the following entry on the ‘coat,’ was chosen as a secondary term for ‘jacket’ in both Guatemala and Honduras.³⁹ With regard to the *cazadora*, it is logical to surmise that the compound term *chaqueta cazadora* yielded a shorter name comprised solely of the second word, employed originally as an adjectival form referring to open-air sporting events such as hunting. Indeed, the DLE gives the following as a definition of the noun *cazadora*: “Especie de chaqueta usada por lo general para la caza y el deporte.” The CORDE traces the first known case of this word with the meaning in question to the year 1884.

Of the ten words in Spanish for ‘jacket’ addressed above in this entry and tallied below, eight of them were also selected by contributors in reference to ‘coat’ and will therefore be revisited in the following section on the latter article. Only *cazadora* and *chupa*, both from Spain, were chosen exclusively for the lighter of the two garments in question.

Tally of survey responses for ‘jacket’ by country (total of ten)

- Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Venezuela: *chaqueta* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *campera* (17), *chaqueta* (4)
- Bolivia: *chamarra* (7), *chaqueta* (4)
- Canary Islands: *chaqueta* (22), *cazadora* (3), *chamarra* (2)
- Costa Rica: *jacket* (8), *chaqueta* (3)
- Cuba: *chaqueta* (6), *abrigo* (3), *jacket* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *chaqueta* (14), *jacket* (6)
- El Salvador: *chaqueta* (11), *chamarra* (3)
- Guatemala: *chaqueta* (8), *chumpa* (6)
- Honduras: *chaqueta* (6), *chumpa* (3)
- Mexico: *chamarra* (25), *chaqueta* (9)
- Panama: *jacket* (11), *chaqueta* (4)
- Paraguay: *campera* (8), *saco* (2)
- Peru: *casaca* (11), *chaqueta* (3)

³⁸ In modern French *jupe* means ‘skirt.’

³⁹ The DLE lists El Salvador and Nicaragua as countries where *chumpa* is also used to denote a ‘jacket.’

- Puerto Rico: *jacket* (7), *abrigo* (3)
- Spain: *cazadora* (8), *chaqueta* (3), *chupa* (3)
- Uruguay: *campera* (12), *chaqueta* (6)

Variants of *jacket* used by survey respondents included: *jáket*, *jake*

Item 41: Coat

As discussed in the previous entry on the ‘jacket,’ the term ‘coat’ and its variants, while present in English since at least the beginning of the fourteenth century, did not denote any item resembling modern garments of that name until the seventeenth century, signifying in the meantime such attire as an inner tunic, a surcote, or a haubergeon, the latter a shirt of chainmail. This stands in contrast to the use of ‘jacket,’ which, since its appearance in the mid-fifteenth century, has consistently been applied to articles of clothing more or less akin to present-day counterparts. During its first three centuries or so of use, the jacket was typically the outermost fitted garment of the upper-body, an exception being that loose-fitting capes and cloaks were worn over it in cold weather (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 160). It must be recognized, however, that despite these historical distinctions, in current English usage the words ‘coat’ and ‘jacket’ may be employed in reference to similar items, or even to the self-same object in some instances. A case in point is the use of both ‘sports coat’ and ‘sports jacket’ for the same garment. In the second half of the nineteenth century, this article was often referred to as a ‘sack jacket’ (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 370), though even then the lexical variation in question was at play. Under the same definition, the OED records both ‘sack-coat’ (1883) and ‘saque jacket’ (1896). The spelling of ‘saque,’ pseudo-Gallic in nature, indicates that it may be related to French *sac* ‘bag,’ though it is just as likely to have simply evolved from Old English *sacc*, itself a borrowing of Latin *saccus*, which signified either a ‘sack’ or the ‘sack-cloth’ material from which one was made.⁴⁰ While the semantic shift required to apply the name of a cloth receptacle, or the fabric of which it is made, to an article of clothing may at first seem considerable, precedence exists for such a development. In the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, there are several mentions of individuals putting on ‘sackcloth and ashes,’ a sign of profound mourning or penitence.⁴¹ Additionally, a certain amount of metaphor may have been involved

⁴⁰ The word *saccus* entered Latin from Greek *sakkos*, which in turn had derived from Hebrew *saq* (Roberts 2014b: 512).

⁴¹ Not only is this wording employed in the King James Version (1611), but in its predecessor, the Tyndale Bible of 1526, in which it is presented as ‘sack cloth and ashes.’ An even older, secular usage of the phrase, listed as ‘sekk-clathe,’ dates to approximately the beginning of the fifteenth century (OED).

in the name of coats and jackets bearing the name ‘sack/saque’ that in the 1800s were tailored for comfort, featuring a cut that allowed them to hang loosely, ungathered at the waist, the way a gunny-sack-turned-article-of-clothing might fit. The DLE casts further light on such a possible evolution of this type of garment and the words used to describe it with the definitions given for the related term *saco*, also from Latin *saccus*. One of the two pertinent meanings given is the following: “*Especie de gabán grande y, en general, vestidura holgada que no se ajusta al cuerpo*” (‘Type of large coat and, in general, baggy clothing not closely fitted to the body’). The second is perhaps even more telling, suggesting humble beginnings born of necessity: “*Vestidura tosca y áspera de paño burdo o sayal*” (‘Crude, rough garment made of coarse fabric or sackcloth’). In any event, wide usage of *saco* in Spanish for this upper portion of leisure outfits, and even more formal suits, largely sidesteps the need present among English speakers to decide between the terms ‘jacket’ and ‘coat.’ Such lexical clarity in Spanish, however, does not extend beyond this specific item to other outer garments worn for warmth.

As noted in the previous entry, two Paraguayan survey participants selected the term *saco* to denote a ‘jacket,’ specifically of a type similar to the one depicted in the photographic image to which contributors were asked to respond, a leather jacket worn open by a man over a T-shirt to reflect its use in cool but not excessively cold weather. While no individual in Paraguay later chose *saco* in reference to ‘coat,’ two people did so in both Colombia and Argentina. Furthermore, despite the fact that the image of the ‘coat’ in the survey distinctly shows a bulky, down-filled, parka-like garment clearly intended for use in weather for which a mere ‘jacket’ would be insufficient, all Paraguayan and Argentine respondents, as well as their neighboring Uruguayan counterparts, gave *campera* as the majority reply for both of the items in question.⁴² This occurred with another seven of the fifteen words explored in this section, including *abrigo*, which, while chosen as a minority term for ‘jacket’ in Puerto Rico and Cuba, was the option most selected for ‘coat,’ offered by respondents in seventeen countries, representing all of the major regions of the Spanish-speaking world. Only in the South American nations of Colombia, Peru, Argentina, and Uruguay did survey participants not select *abrigo*. Despite the popularity and broad extension of this word, it is a relative newcomer in Spanish, at least in its meaning as a ‘coat.’ It is derived from the verb *abrigar* ‘to shelter, cover, wrap up,’ itself from Latin *apricare* ‘to warm in the sun.’ In the thirteenth century, when the first known cases of *abrigo* were recorded, the term was employed as both noun and adjective, the latter of

⁴² If clarification is needed, a light or leather ‘jacket’ may be referred to with a qualifying term such as *campera liviana* or *campera de cuero*, whereas a winter ‘coat’ like the down-filled one portrayed in the survey might be called a *campera de plumas*.

which is expressed today as *abrigado* (DCECH). For more than half a millennium, the nominal form was used not as a garment but as the equivalent of English ‘shelter’ or ‘protection.’ The first obvious documentation in the CORDE of *abrigo* in reference to a ‘coat’ dates to 1855, in Spain.

The most popular word for ‘coat’ following *abrigo* was *chaqueta*. The latter name, a borrowing from French, is clearly a semantically broader lexeme. It was chosen for ‘jacket’ by informants in nineteen of the twenty-one nations, whereas *abrigo* was selected as a minority option in only two. It is logical to assume that less importance is placed on the distinction between a lighter and heavier outer garment in nations whose largely tropical climates often preclude the use of either. Such countries include Honduras, Venezuela, and Colombia, in all of which *chaqueta* was the leading reply not only for ‘jacket,’ but also ‘coat.’⁴³ *Chaqueta* was also selected to differing degrees in the Canary Islands, Mexico, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Chile. Also given as minority response in mainland Spain and the Canary Islanders was *chaquetón*, whose augmentative form conveys a more substantial garment than a mere ‘jacket.’ The DLE defines the term thus: “*Prenda exterior de más abrigo y algo más larga que la chaqueta.*”

Chamarra was selected as the dominant term for ‘coat’ by informants in both Mexico and Bolivia and as a minority option in El Salvador. It will be recalled from the previous entry, which traces the etymology of this word to Basque, that it was chosen for ‘jacket’ in these same three countries, as well as in a fourth, the Canary Islands. Another name given for ‘coat’ in three countries was *chumpa*. It was the leading option in El Salvador and Guatemala and was a minority choice in Honduras. A similar *chompa* was selected as the dominant term in Ecuador and a minority one in Colombia, chosen by only two individuals, both from Bogotá. It was offered in no other country. While the available work on the intermediate etymology of these two words is somewhat muddled, their ultimate origin, as well as that of *chupa*, appears more certain. As discussed earlier, *chupa*, a loanword from French *jupe*, was chosen by respondents in mainland Spain alone as a minority name for ‘jacket.’ One solution that immediately presents itself is for *chupa* to have yielded *chumpa* through the formation of a /p/ > /mp/ consonant cluster by way of epenthesis, a rather plausible phonological development as both /p/ and /m/ are bilabial. The DCECH notes the possibility of *chompa* having evolved from *chupa* via the influence of Mapuche speakers in Chile.⁴⁴ An alternative theory is that one or

⁴³ While it is true that Bogotá, with an altitude of over 8,000 feet, has a temperate climate, five of the ten survey participants who gave *chaqueta* as a response for ‘coat’ were from lowland areas with tropical climates, such as Cali and Medellín.

⁴⁴ The term *chompa* is listed by the DCECH as being used in the Chiloé Archipelago, while the similar *chomba* is given as the form in mainland Chile. The DAMER confirms the use of the latter word in this Southern Cone country.

both of the variants featuring <m> came from English ‘jumper,’ whose first known uses in the mid-nineteenth century denoted a frock-like garment (OED). Both the DLE and the DAMER espouse this premise, though in contradictory fashion. The DLE proffers ‘jumper’ as the etymon of *chompa*, while failing to posit a source for *chumpa*. In contrast, the DAMER lists *chumpa* as being linked to ‘jumper,’ while failing to suggest a provenance for *chompa*. All of this means, of course, that both of the terms in question could be English loanwords, that perhaps neither is, or that only one might be. The latter scenario may be the most likely. The use of *chompa* seemingly in South America alone – as identified by the DCECH in Chile; by the CORDE in Chile, Peru, and Paraguay, beginning in 1941; and by survey participants in Ecuador and Colombia – and the selection of *chumpa* by respondents only in Central America, indicates that these lexemes entered Spanish through differing paths.⁴⁵ The relative proximity of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador to the United States makes it more likely that *chumpa* is the form that derived as a borrowing of ‘jumper,’ preserving the orthographic <u>. Again, however, even if both *chumpa* and *chompa* entered Spanish from the English cognate, it is probable that the ultimate etymon of all three is the same as that of *chupa*. ‘Jumper’ likely developed from ‘jump,’ a short coat used by men in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whose name was perhaps a corrupted form of French *juppe*, itself a variant of *jupe* (OED), this later Gallic version having derived from Arabic *ġubba* (DCECH).⁴⁶

It was noted in the previous entry that *casaca*, like English ‘cassock,’ was likely borrowed in the mid-sixteenth century from French *casaque*, which may have come from Italian *casacca*, an intervening term ultimately traceable to Persian *kazhagand* (Roberts 2014a: 326–327). Selected by a majority of Peruvian survey participants to denote a ‘jacket,’ it was chosen by these same contributors and the remainder of their compatriots as the exclusive word for ‘coat.’ Among respondents in neighboring Chile, *casaca* was a minority offering, the last of four options. The dominant term in this latter nation, though selected in no other, was *parka*, which the DLE identifies as a borrowing of the same form in Russian, itself taken from a Samoyedic word referring to a coat of skins. The OED, in its entry for ‘parka,’ which also entered English from Russian, traces its etymology more precisely to Nenets, a language in the Samoyedic branch of the Uralic family, spoken in Russia’s northern Arctic region. Its first known use in English dates to 1625. Its emergence in Spanish appears to have occurred much later; the CORDE features only one source containing *parka*, from approximately 1936 in

⁴⁵ The term *chumpa* is not found in either the CORDE or the DCECH.

⁴⁶ The English verb ‘to jump’ in the sense of ‘to hop’ or ‘to bound,’ as well as its corresponding noun, appear unrelated to the word ‘jump’ or ‘jumper’ in reference to a garment. ‘To jump,’ first documented c. 1500, is most likely of onomatopoeic creation.

Venezuela. The example provided employs it as a masculine form, though the DLE lists it as feminine.

While *abrigo* was the majority term selected by informants for ‘coat’ in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, multiple terms were offered in both locales. Among Canary Islanders, *anorak* was a strong secondary response. It was chosen by a smaller portion of Spanish contributors on the Peninsula and was not offered in any other country.⁴⁷ Like *parka*, this lexeme originated among Indigenous peoples of the northern hemisphere’s polar climes and is also found in English. The first known use of ‘anorak’ in said language dates to 1924, a loanword apparently taken directly from Greenlandish Inuit (OED). The DLE, for its part, states that it entered Spanish via French *anorak*, a borrowing of “*origen esquimal*.” The earliest known record of this word in Spanish dates to 1951, in Spain (CORDE). Another strictly regional word for ‘coat,’ selected as a minority option in mainland Spain alone, was *plumífero*. This term transparently describes the type of hefty, down-filled garment depicted in the survey image for this item through its compounding of *pluma* ‘feather’ + *-fero* ‘bearing.’ The CORDE contains approximately twenty cases of *plumífero* with this meaning between 1951 and 1963.

Finally, two Anglicisms were chosen as minority options for the article in question. In Puerto Rico, two of eleven respondents selected the word *coat* itself. The DAMER limits this term to US Spanish, a claim technically not negated by the results of the survey as Puerto Ricans are American citizens whether they live in a mainland city like New York or reside on the island itself. In instances where the influence of English is less direct, terms derived from it may undergo alterations in meaning. Under this scenario, among both Hondurans and Salvadorans, *suéter* was selected as a minority option. While ‘coat’ and ‘sweater’ are rather distinct in English, both are meant to keep a wearer warm. Therefore, this lexical shift is less dramatic than one seen earlier in which roughly half of Panamanian informants selected *suéter* for a garment designed to keep one cool: the ‘T-shirt.’

Tally of survey responses for ‘coat’ by country (total of fifteen)

- Cuba, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama: *abrigo* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *campera* (18), *saco* (2)
- Bolivia: *chamarra* (10), *abrigo* (2)
- Canary Islands: *abrigo* (13), *anorak* (6), *chaqueta* (3), *chaquetón* (2)
- Chile: *parka* (6), *chaqueta* (5), *abrigo* (2), *casaca* (2)
- Colombia: *chaqueta* (10), *saco* (2), *chompa* (2)

⁴⁷ It should be noted that while the DLE describes the *anorak* as having a hood, the picture to which survey participants were responding did not include such a feature.

- Costa Rica: *abrigo* (8), *chaqueta* (2), *jacket* (2)
- Ecuador: *chompa* (9), *abrigo* (2)
- El Salvador: *chumpa* (7), *abrigo* (6), *chamarra* (3), *suéter* (2), *chaqueta* (2)
- Guatemala: *chumpa* (6), *abrigo* (2)
- Honduras: *chaqueta* (4), *abrigo* (3), *chumpa* (3), *suéter* (2)
- Mexico: *chamarra* (22), *abrigo* (10), *chaqueta* (4)
- Paraguay: *campera* (7), *abrigo* (6)
- Peru: *casaca* (unanimous)
- Puerto Rico: *abrigo* (8), *coat* (2)
- Spain: *abrigo* (11), *chaquetón* (3), *plumífero* (3), *anorak* (2)
- Uruguay: *campera* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *chaqueta* (20), *abrigo* (6)

Item 42: Tennis Shoes

In 2008, a single right shoe, made of cow hide and complete with laces, was discovered in a cave in Armenia near its border with Iran and Turkey. It is thought to be approximately 5,500 years of age (Wuyt 2010). Over the ensuing centuries after its construction, the substances available for footwear varied little. Both uppers and soles could be made of either vegetable matter, such as grass, tree bark, and hemp, or the hides of various animals. When Europeans arrived in the Americas, they found diverse groups of native peoples wearing leather moccasins (Buchanan 2008: 174–175). In the Old World, for all its technological advances, the selection of materials was much the same. This would not begin to change until the nineteenth century, when tons of rubber products, including overshoes, were imported to America from countries such as Brazil. These products ultimately performed poorly, however, as they grew brittle in the winter and soft to the point of gooeyness in the summer (Smith 2018: 7–9). One day in 1839, while searching for a way to stabilize this substance, American Charles Goodyear, after combining rubber with sulfur and white lead, accidentally dropped some of the mixture onto the surface of a hot stove. Instead of melting, the rubber hardened and maintained its shape. Once he realized the importance of heat, Goodyear was able to focus his experiments more narrowly, finally reaching the point at which he could consistently replicate this result, which, at the suggestion of a friend, he termed ‘vulcanization,’ in reference to the Roman god of fire, Vulcan (14–15). The 1860s saw the production of what could be considered the world’s first athletic shoes, made of a canvas upper and a rubber sole (19). Initially worn for croquet, they were also utilized for tennis in the 1870s and basketball in the 1890s (26–30). In the ensuing century, the Converse Rubber Shoe Company was founded

in 1915, followed by Keds in 1916, Adidas and Puma in the late 1940s, and Nike in 1971. In 1974, the latter company introduced the Waffle Trainer to enormous success (Smith 2018: 36–38, 55, 86, 110–111).⁴⁸ While this and similar footwear was manufactured principally for running, someone either not cognizant of this fact or speaking of such low-top athletic shoes generally and collectively might well refer to them either as ‘tennis shoes’ or ‘sneakers.’ Such imprecision has long been the case. By the 1870s, the ability of those wearing rubber-soled gym shoes to walk silently in them duly led to the name ‘sneaks,’ lengthened to ‘sneakers’ by the 1890s, by which time they were also being called ‘tennis shoes.’

The game of ‘tennis’ is reported to have been introduced to Florence by French knights in the early 1300s, the same century in which variations of the modern word began to appear in Italian, as *tenes*, and English, *c.* 1400 and *c.* 1440 as ‘tenetz’ and ‘teneys,’ respectively. A clue regarding this term’s etymology is found in Old French *tenez* and Anglo-Norman *tenetz* (both akin to Spanish *tened*), the second-person plural imperative form of *tenir*, ‘to hold, take what is offered,’ a possible signal called out by servers of the ball to their opponents in the opposite court. Early iterations of the game were played on an enclosed, even roofed court. By 1874, three years before the inaugural Wimbledon tournament, the adaptation of the sport to an outdoor game played on grass was denoted by the term ‘lawn-tennis,’ which as of 1878 had been shortened to ‘tennis’ with the same meaning, perhaps due to the emergence of different court surfaces, which eventually included clay, cement, and asphalt. The term ‘shoe’ descends from Common Germanic, a fact reflected in its similarity with familial cognates, including German *schuh*, Dutch *schoen*, and Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish *sko*. Its first known case in English dates to *c.* 950, the plural ‘scoes.’ Between then and its first documented use with the modern spelling, in 1697, the following forms were recorded: ‘schoh’ (*c.* 1050), ‘sho’ (*c.* 1250), ‘sso’ (1340), ‘schoo’ (*c.* 1440), ‘scho’ (*c.* 1449), and ‘shoo’ (*c.* 1535). The compound ‘tennis shoe’ is attested from 1887 (OED).

In Spanish, the Anglicism *tenis* can be employed in reference to the sport as well as the shoes used to play it: *el tenis* and *los tenis* (DLE). The first known mention of the game in the language dates to 1899, in the form of the borrowing *lawn-tennis*. Abbreviated *tennis*, still with a <nn>, is attested from 1908, followed by Hispanicized *tenis* in 1914. This orthographic

⁴⁸ Other important players in the sports shoe industry include New Balance, which was founded in Boston in 1906 as the New Balance Arch Support Company and whose orthopedic products did not give way to athletic shoes until 1960 (Smith 2018: 110), and Reebok, a British company founded in 1959 by two of the grandsons of Joseph William Foster, who started making running spikes in the 1890s and by the 1920s was, as a family concern, outfitting Olympians with J. W. Foster and Sons shoes (188–189). In 2005, Reebok was acquired by its now parent company, Adidas.

variation, which to some degree still exists today, can also be seen in the first uses of the word to denote the shoe: *zapatos de tennis* in Cuba (1938), *zapatos tennis* in Honduras (1952), and *tenis* in Mexico (1958) (CORDE). The Romans used *calceus* for ‘shoe,’ a term that continued to be employed in early medieval Spanish, though it was eventually replaced by a foreign loanword. The DLE states that the etymology of this successor, *zapato*, can be traced to Turkish *zabata*. In contrast, the DCECH, which gives the latter word as *čabata*, expresses doubt in this and other proposed connections, including possible links to Slavic and even Persian etymons. While this latter dictionary opines that the ultimate origin of *zapato*, though unknown, is clearly not Peninsular, it recognizes its relation to modern cognates among neighboring tongues in the region, listing Portuguese *sapato*, Catalan *sabata*, Basque *zapata*, and Vulgar Arabic *sabbât*. The first known use of the Spanish cognate *zapato* – written as *çapato* – is found in a fourteenth-century manuscript of *El Cantar de Mio Cid*, the oldest known copy of what is believed to have originally been put to paper near the beginning of the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century, this term, originally utilized in the Castilian dialect, began to be generalized throughout the Spanish language, and by the end of the fifteenth century, when it was still spelled with the cedilla, it had completely supplanted the Latinate form.

Survey respondents selected *tenis* for ‘tennis shoe’ in fourteen nations, including all those outside of South America. In this latter region, informants offered this term only in Colombia and Bolivia, exclusively in the first and as the dominant choice in the second. The neologism *zapatos tennis*, an inverted calque of English ‘tennis shoes,’ was a minority reply in both Guatemala and Nicaragua, in each case less popular than *tenis* alone. In the aforementioned DLE entry stipulating that *tenis* can denote both the sport and the shoes employed to play it, the latter are equated to *zapatillas de deporte*, also expressed simply as *zapatillas*.⁴⁹ This word is derived from *zapata* (<*zapato*), which anciently referred to a shoe that extended halfway up the leg. Its diminutive form is both relevant and potentially problematic. While a ‘tennis shoe’ is smaller and lighter than the footwear traditionally denoted by both *zapato* and *zapata*, slighter still is a ‘slipper,’ which in many dialects is also called a *zapatilla* (thus the clarifying *de deporte*). A common solution in such potentially confusing cases is for a ‘slipper’ to be referred to with a word distinct from that employed to denote a ‘tennis shoe.’ In Argentina, for example, the lightweight house shoe in question is called a *pantufla*, whereas a ‘sneaker’ is universally

⁴⁹ While the first known case of *zapatilla* dates to 1528, its initially documented use to denote a sporting shoe is from 1914 (Spain), in the form of the very term proposed by the DLE: *zapatillas de deporte* (CORDE).

termed a *zapatilla*.⁵⁰ The latter was the exclusive reply for this sporting footwear among informants not only in Argentina but also in neighboring Chile and nearby Peru. Though not selected in the Canary Islands, *zapatillas* was the leading response in mainland Spain, as well as a secondary choice in both Cuba and Bolivia. Similar to *zapatillas de deporte* is the term *zapatos deportivos*, which the DLE treats as synonyms. Chosen unanimously among contributors in Ecuador, it was also selected as a leading reply in Venezuela, as a second or third option in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. It is attested from 1985 in Venezuela (CREA). In mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, a minority response was *deportivas*, found from 1974 in Spain (CORDE). While the DLE once again equates this name with *zapatillas de deporte* in Peninsular Spanish, it offers no explanation regarding the development of the word, evidently a feminine adjective turned noun. Since *zapatos* is masculine, the likeliest source is *zapatillas deportivas*, a term attested from 1981, also in Spain (CREA).

Two relatively minor responses in Venezuela for ‘tennis shoes,’ not given by informants in any other country, were *zapatos de goma* and the related *gomas*.⁵¹ An example of the former term, documented from 1842, three short years after Charles Goodyear’s vulcanization breakthrough, obviously refers to footwear made entirely of rubber, perhaps overshoes or galoshes, not a gym shoe made of canvas or leather uppers with a rubber sole. In contrast, a case recorded in 1970 addresses this ambiguity directly, with a mention of “*zapatos de goma o, por lo menos, con suela de goma*” (CORDE). This name, shortened to the standalone *gomas*, is listed as a “*zapato de deporte*” in the DAMER, which further notes its usage as being restricted to western Venezuela. This is affirmed by the fact that of the five respondents who offered this word, four were from Maracaibo and one from Mérida, to its south, both cities on the west side of the nation. In contrast, the six individuals who chose *zapatos de goma* were from various parts of the country.

In the Canary Islands, the dominant term selected by survey respondents for ‘tennis shoes’ was *playeras*. While this word refers transparently to the ‘beach’ (*playa*), the reference is surely historical in nature. In the early nineteenth century, before the advent of vulcanized rubber, beachgoers in both Europe and America could purchase a precursor of yet-to-be-invented sneakers: economically priced ‘sand shoes,’ which could be used at the seaside instead of cumbersome footwear such as boots. The soles of these canvas shoes, meant to

⁵⁰ *Pantufla*, derived from French *pantoufle*, is attested, along with the synonymous *pantuflo*, from the early sixteenth century (CORDE). The first known case of ‘pantofle’ in English, meaning, as does its Gallic etymon, ‘loose shoe, indoor shoe, slipper,’ dates to 1494 (OED).

⁵¹ The word *goma* ‘rubber’ can be traced to the Vulgar Latin *gumma*, from Classical Latin *gummi* or *cummi*, itself derived from Greek *κόμμη* (*kómμη*).

be worn on the dry beach and not the water itself, tended to be constructed of either cork or rope (Smith 2018: 11). As rubber-soled shoes became available, one natural use would have been as a replacement of this earlier beachwear, though the new footwear would not be restricted to the sandy shore. Apropos of this development, the CREA features cases of *zapatillas playeras* from Spain in 1989 and 1990 that clearly have no connection to the beach. Furthermore, a 1993 example from this country mentions three synonyms in this regard: “*zapatillas, playeras o deportivos*” (the latter evidently an abbreviation of *zapatos deportivos* just as *deportivas* is likely a shortened version of *zapatillas deportivas*).

While tennis is a popular sport in many nations, its notoriety is eclipsed worldwide by the appeal of football (soccer), including in Europe. When footwear specially designed for this sport began to emerge in the region in the 1880s, it resembled little more than boots with spikes, a reason for which these shoes, called ‘cleats’ in America, are still often referred to as ‘boots’ in England (Smith 2018: 27). In European Spanish, *botas* is employed in the same sense (DLE). These cognates are both borrowings of Old French *bote*, itself from medieval Latin *botta* or *bota*, the further etymology of which is unknown (OED). While in the Americas, particularly in the Southern Cone, *botín* can also refer to a ‘football cleat,’ such is not the case in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, allowing this diminutive form of *bota* to be employed in reference to an athletic though non-football shoe such as a ‘sneaker’ or ‘tennis shoe’ (DAMER, DLE). As a result, in both mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, *botines* was offered as a minority response for the latter type of shoes, a response wholly absent among American respondents.

The final two responses in this entry are Anglicisms, offered in neighboring South American countries. Uruguayan survey participants, in unanimous fashion, selected the term *championnes*, a Hispanicized iteration of ‘champions’ featuring the default *-es* ending of plural Spanish nouns whose singular forms terminate in a consonant, including the native cognate *campeón* > *campeones*. This word is almost certainly linked to that of the first sneaker produced by Keds the same year as the company’s founding in 1916: the Champion (Smith 2018: 37). It appears that when this shoe reached Uruguay, it enjoyed such popularity that the brand name became a generalized, lower-case term applied to athletic footwear generally. This can be seen on the website of the Stadium shoe distributing company (2020), which, founded in Montevideo in 1977, now boasts some thirty locations countrywide. Not only do sets of general drop-down links for both men’s and women’s shoes labeled “*championnes*” or “*championnes para correr*” lead to sports shoes from several manufacturers, but more specific connections demonstrate the total divorce that this name has undergone from the Keds brand in Uruguay. These links include “*championnes*

Puma,” “*championess Pony*,” and “*championess Adidas de mujer*.” The impact of this usage is also felt in nearby Paraguay, where five of eleven respondents likewise selected *championess* for ‘tennis shoes.’ Even more popular in this country, chosen by six individuals, was *sports*, which, while obviously derived from an English-language source as well, has proven particularly resistant to tracing due to the term’s broad usage in reference to athletics generally, combined with the likelihood of its inclusion in numerous brand name iterations over the years. Nevertheless, the forces that led to its adoption were sufficient to overcome not only the influence of the terms used commonly in neighboring countries, such as *zapatillas* and *tenis* in Argentina and Bolivia, but also the word’s non-native morphology and phonology from beginning to end. Not only do autochthonous Spanish lexemes not conclude in <t> when singular or <ts> when plural, but they only begin with an <s> if the following letter is a vowel. The name in question would therefore be pronounced /espórts/ by native speakers.

Tally of survey responses for ‘tennis shoes’ by country (total of eleven)

- Argentina, Chile, Peru: *zapatillas* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Puerto Rico: *tenis* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *tenis* (9), *zapatillas* (2)
- Canary Islands: *playeras* (16), *tenis* (7), *deportivas* (2), *botines* (2)
- Cuba: *tenis* (7), *zapatillas* (3)
- Ecuador: *zapatoss deportivos* (unanimous)
- El Salvador: *tenis* (8), *zapatoss deportivos* (2)
- Guatemala: *tenis* (10), *zapatoss tenis* (2), *zapatoss deportivos* (2)
- Nicaragua: *tenis* (8), *zapatoss tenis* (2), *zapatoss deportivos* (2)
- Paraguay: *sports* (6), *championess* (5)
- Spain: *zapatillas* (9), *deportivas* (4), *tenis* (3), *playeras* (2), *botines* (2)
- Uruguay: *championess* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *zapatoss deportivos* (13), *zapatoss de goma* (6), *gomas* (5)

Variant of *tenis*: *tennis*

Item 43: Flip-flops

As mentioned in the previous entry, the oldest known shoe dates to approximately 3500 BC (Wuyt 2010). While shoes have been worn ever since this remote period, and logically from even earlier, they are not humanity’s oldest form of footwear. In 1938, several sandal specimens made of sagebrush bark

were discovered in Oregon's Fort Rock Cave that have been dated to the late twelfth millennium BC (Connolly et al. 2017: 559). Since then, sandals have been worn, particularly in warmer climes, throughout the world, by ancient Egyptians, by Greeks and Romans, by Asian and African civilizations, and by other groups in the Americas. Much more recently, they served as the inspiration for a specific type of modern sandal, the flip-flop, which Knowles (2014) identifies as the most worn item of footwear on the planet (xi). The mass production of flip-flops dates to the 1930s, when a short supply of rubber boots employed on Hawaiian plantations led to a substitute drawn from a preexisting article – sandals made of bamboo and rush. Worn by Japanese migrants who had brought the design with them from their homeland in the nineteenth century, the concept of the footwear itself was a full millennium older. The popularity of flip-flops spread from Hawaii to other points in the Pacific during the 1940s as US seamen wore them on their shipbound journeys throughout the region during World War II. In the 1950s, as part of the continuing influence of these GIs, they became part of beach and surf culture in California, eventually moving south to Mexico and Central and South America (2).

Crucial in the developments that led to the spread of flip-flops was the creation of new products without which the story of this footwear would surely be different, perhaps non-existent. While the vulcanization of natural rubber in the first half of the nineteenth century permitted the manufacture of shoes whose soles were made of this durable substance, the emergence of synthetic materials in the ensuing century, particularly petroleum-based plastics, greatly altered the everyday goods available to consumers, including in the realm of footwear. The plastic often used for the V-shaped toe straps on flip-flops was made possible by the materials of this nature that began to be produced in the first decade of the twentieth century. In the 1930s and the 1950s, the DuPont chemical company filed patents for synthetic rubber and ethylene-vinyl acetate, respectively. The latter, whose initials are EVA, is a plastic product commonly known as 'foam rubber,' of which flip-flop soles are constructed (Knowles 2014: 2–3). The word 'flip-flop,' attested from 1958, is a reduplication with a varied vowel, a clear onomatopoeic allusion to the sound made as a wearer walks along the ground and the sole strikes the bottom of the heel repeatedly. An outdated name for this footwear is 'thong,' descended from Old English 'þwang,' which referred to a narrow leather strip used as a lace or cord, the first documented sample dating to *c.* 950. Its use in American and Australian English to denote a type of sandal in which a strap or 'thong' passes between the first and second toes to secure it to the foot is documented from 1967, though by the end of the 1990s it had fallen almost entirely into disuse (OED). This is due to the invention in Brazil of an article of clothing in the mid-1970s that was also given the name 'thong' in English, and which since has

been used as the lower portion of women's swimwear and underwear (Cohen Elorza 2008: 79).

In Spanish, a common name for 'flip-flops' is *chanclas*, derived from Late Latin *zanca* or *tzanga*, 'Persian shoe,' likely from Old Persian *zanga* 'leg.'⁵² Whereas the modern form with <l> came later, *chancas* is attested from c. 1510 (DCECH). This word still exists in the language, denoting both a 'flip-flop' and, in parts of Spain, as a semantic remnant from past centuries, 'wooden clog' (DLE). This latter meaning is also the one given in the 1729 edition of the *Diccionario de autoridades* for both *chancla* and *chanclo*, which it treats as synonyms within the same entry.⁵³ Among survey participants, *chanclas* was chosen for 'flip-flops' in nine nations, including mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, Mexico, Puerto Rico, half of Central America, Colombia, and Ecuador. The term *chancletas*, attested near the beginning of the seventeenth century, first developed to denote a 'heelless shoe' (DCECH), a meaning it retains along with the modern sense of 'flip-flop.' This diminutive form of *chanclas* was even more popular among respondents than its immediate etymon, selected in sixteen countries ranging from mainland Spain to all of the Caribbean and Central America to two-thirds of the South America nations. The use of *chanclas* and *chancletas* in the same country is often not mutually exclusive; both were selected by participants in seven of the twenty-one countries.

While 'flip-flops' are generally considered a specific form of 'sandals,' these two English terms are not generally employed interchangeably, the latter term tending to denote footwear attached to the feet not only at the toes but also the heel and perhaps even the bridge. Among the Spanish-speaking survey participants, however, the normally hypernymous *sandalias* was selected with the more specific, hyponymous meaning of 'flip-flops' in fifteen countries, nearly as many as *chancletas*. These nations spanned all of the major geographic regions on both sides of the Atlantic, with the exception of the Canary Islands. *Sandalia*, as well as its English cognate 'sandal,' can be traced to Latin *sandalium* and its plural form *sandalia*, derived from Greek *σανδάλιον* (*sandálion*) (DLE, OED). While the English word is attested from the late 1300s (OED), the Spanish counterpart emerged more than a century earlier (CORDE). Another Spanish term that refers to more than one item of footwear is *zapatilla* (<*zapata* 'mid-calf shoe' <*zapato* 'shoe'), which most often denotes either a 'tennis shoe' or a 'slipper,' though in

⁵² This is also the etymology of *zanca*, which denotes the longest portion of a bird's leg, from the toes to the first joint above them. Derived from it is the masculine *zanco*, 'stilt,' pairs of which were originally used to walk through water or mud, whereas now they are employed in acrobatics (DLE).

⁵³ In Spanish today, *chanclo* refers either to a type of wooden sandal worn under the shoe to which it is lashed in order to walk through a wet, muddy area (footwear called a 'patten' in English), or to a rubber overshoe (DLE).

some dialects it can also refer to a ‘flip-flop.’ The DAMER equates *chancas* to “*zapatillas abiertas de plástico para la playa*.” Accordingly, respondents in three nations selected *zapatillas* with this meaning, as a leading response in Paraguay and as a minority option in both Ecuador and the Canary Islands.

A name for ‘flip-flops’ that was selected by contributors in Latin America alone was *chinelas*, chosen as the most popular term in Bolivia and Nicaragua and offered as a minority option in Argentina and Uruguay. Attested from 1490, it is an adaptation of the older *chanela*, likely derived from *cianella*, a dialectal form in Genoa of Italian *pianella* (<*piano*, cognate with Spanish *plano* ‘flat’), all of these variations bearing the same meaning of a ‘heelless shoe’ (DCECH). Also selected only in Latin America, and the River Plate region more narrowly, was the term *ojotas*, the dominant choice in Argentina and a secondary reply in Uruguay and Paraguay. This name is a borrowing from Quechua *ushuta*, which denoted a ‘sandal’ made of leather or vegetable matter worn by Indigenous peoples in both Chile and Peru (DLE). In the latter country, this word is still employed to denote the sandals made from used vehicle tires that are the standard footwear of local campesinos. Initially attested in 1527 as *oxotas*, the first known case of the modern *ojotas* dates to a slightly later 1549 (CORDE).

In both El Salvador and Guatemala, survey participants gave *ginas* as a middling response to denote ‘flip-flops,’ a meaning supported by the DAMER for the latter country. Both this dictionary and the DLE also feature, in this same sense, the similar *yinas*, chosen as a minority option in El Salvador. Neither these nor any other known source provides a possible etymology for these terms, and no examples are found in the CORDE or CREA. This is also largely the case with another term for the item in question: *cholas*, the dominant response in both the Canary Islands and Venezuela, recognized in the DAMER regarding the latter country. Roberts (2014a) does note that the adjective *cholo/a*, typically employed in reference to a mestizo with mixed Spanish and Indigenous blood, is a loanword from an undetermined Amerindian language (476). It is unknown, however, precisely how or when this word, likely an abbreviation of *sandalia chola*, came to denote this type of simple footwear in both a New and Old World country.

Similar in form to *cholas*, though evidently owing to sheer coincidence, is *chalas*, selected as the leading reply by contributors in Chile alone. The DLE names Quechua as the source language and lists as a synonym *chalala* ‘sandal made of rawhide.’ This dictionary also provides, though indirectly, a possible link between *chala* and its meaning as a ‘flip-flop’ when it gives a second definition for the word: ‘corn husk.’ This material has been recorded as the main component of sandals worn by Indigenous peoples in other areas of the Americas. When Europeans made contact with the Mojave people living in the desert of the same name in present-day US states of California and Arizona,

they found them wearing corn husk sandals (Gray-Kanatiiosh 2004: 12). This was also the case among members of the Iroquois Nation, whose descendants still dwell in a region of northeastern North America that includes both Canada and the United States (Parker 1916: 494).

As mentioned earlier in this section, the mass production of flip-flops beginning in the 1930s was inspired by the rush- and bamboo-constructed sandals worn by plantation workers of Japanese descent in Hawaii (Knowles 2014: 2). These ancient sandals, known as *zori*, which originally featured soles fashioned from rice straw, were introduced by migrants to other parts of the globe as well. In the late nineteenth century, the Japanese government signed a treaty with its Peruvian counterpart that allowed the immigration to this South American nation of more than 18,000 Japanese workers between the turn of the twentieth century and the early 1920s, most of them destined for coastal sugar plantations (El Comercio 2019). As a result, Peru has one of the highest concentrations of Japanese ethnicity outside of the island nation itself. Japanese influence on Peruvian society can be felt in cuisine, politics, and surely fashion.⁵⁴ While *sandalias* was the leading response among survey participants in Peru for ‘flip-flops,’ a strong secondary reply was *sayonaras*, a usage attested in the CREA from 2004. Despite a lack of direct evidence regarding the selection of this name for use in this context, it is reasonable to presume that Spanish speakers associated this footwear with those of Japanese birth or ancestry living in their country and applied to it one of the words most recognizable as Japanese by those who speak other languages: *sayonara* (さようなら) ‘goodbye.’ While the DAMER only notes the use of this name in Peru, it was also offered as a minority option in Mexico.

Another word in Spanish for ‘flip-flops’ that reflects perhaps more than any other their true global reach is one that was chosen by respondents in one country, Chile, as the Hispanicized generalization of a name trademarked in a second, Brazil, which in turn was inspired by the island destination of a third, the United States, and is ultimately traceable, according to information heretofore related, to ancient footwear in a fourth, Japan. The term in question, a secondary response in Chile, was *hawaianas*, selected by four of the twelve informants there and offered in no other country. When the author of this book traveled to Brazil some years ago, he was given, as a gift upon his arrival, a pair of Havaianas, locally made flip-flops patterned after the Hawaiian iterations which themselves were based on the ancient Japanese variety. This footwear is manufactured by the Brazilian company Alpargatas, which produces more than 210 million pairs per annum (Seco 2015). In Portuguese, the name ‘Hawaii’ is

⁵⁴ The president of Peru between 1990 and 2000 was Alberto Fujimori, whose parents and older brother (and some suspect Alberto himself, which would have left him ineligible for the presidency) were born in Japan before emigrating to South America.

O Havai, ‘Hawaiian Islands’ is *Ilhas havaianas*, and, therefore, ‘Hawaiian sandals’ would be *sandalias havaianas*. In all the Spanish equivalents of these terms, the <v> is replaced by the etymological <w>, the process through which the Brazilian brand name evidently led to use of *hawaianas* for this footwear in Chile.⁵⁵

As occurred with *yinas*, *chalas*, and *hawaianas*, the final six responses given by survey respondents for ‘flip-flops’ were offered in a single country, often as a minority option. The first pertains to Uruguay. When people think of sandals in a historical context, images of fashionable leather models strapped to the feet of Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans are likely to come to mind. In Spanish, ‘Roman sandals’ would be expressed as *sandalias romanas*, an abbreviated diminutive form of which would be *romanitas*, precisely the name for ‘flip-flops’ offered as a minority response among Uruguayan contributors. None of the many sources consulted contained this word, much less an alternative to its speculative etymology. Equally obscure was a minority reply given by Canarian participants for this footwear: *esclavas*. When this word is employed in reference to a bracelet (DLE), the perhaps playful allusion to ‘enslaving’ shackles is evident. However, an explanation for the term’s extension to light, loosely worn sandals is more elusive. Even more bereft of indications regarding possible origins and derivations is the second response given by Cubans: *cutarras*. While the DCECH mentions the historical existence of at least three different iterations of the word, namely *cotara*, *cutara*, and *cutarra* – of which the CORDE also contains examples, attested, respectively, from as early as 1527 (Spain), 1576 (Mexico), and 1775 (Costa Rica) – this dictionary proffers no etymological insights. For its part, the DLE merely lists it as a “*voz indígena*.” One of the two Cubans who gave this response noted that it is mainly heard on the eastern side of the island. Although this point is also made by the DAMER, it comes in relation to the spelling *cutara*, not the *cutarra* offered by both respondents.⁵⁶ The latter iteration, featuring the trilled <rr>, also occupies an entry in this work of reference, described as an old, worn-out shoe in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, as well as a leather sandal in Panama used by peasants and as part of the typical dress worn in cultural performances. Either *cutarra* or *cutara* was also involved in the creation of a synonym that in the Spanish of Venezuela, as selected by contributors in this country as a minority option, is used to denote ‘flip-flops’: *cotizas*. This word,

⁵⁵ Somewhat ironically, Brazilians themselves evidently do not typically generalize the trademarked name *Havaianas* in reference to ‘flip-flops,’ instead calling them *sandalias de dedo* or *chinelos de dedo*.

⁵⁶ When the author of this book subsequently mentioned to a Cuban friend this selection of *cutarras* by two of his compatriots, the friend corrected the trilled pronunciation, stating that the word “*sólo tiene una erre, no doble erre*,” further exemplifying this by deliberately enunciating “*cutaras*” [kutáras].

first attested in the latter part of the nineteenth century, is a cross between *cutar(r)a* and *coriza* (DCECH), the latter a ‘sandal’ whose name is derived from the very material used to construct it: *cuero* (<Latin *corium*) ‘leather’ (DLE).

The majority of Mexican respondents selected either *chancas* or *sandalias* to denote the footwear in question. A minority response given in this same country, however, was *patas de gallo*, which various internet sources reveal to be a popular abbreviation of either *sandalias patas de gallo* or *chancas patas de gallo*. An example of the latter case is found in an article from 2018 in *El Sur de Campeche*, a newspaper published in this city on the Gulf coast of the Yucatán Peninsula. One of the informants who chose this term was from Mérida, a city also on the Peninsula, northeast of Campeche. The other, however, was from Querétaro, northwest of Mexico City, in the center of the country, indicating that the word is not a mere regionalism. It is likely that *patas de gallo*, literally ‘rooster feet,’ alludes to the form assumed by the Y-shaped set of traps that hold flip-flops in place, despite the fact that an additional prong, or ‘toe,’ would be required to complete the symbolic image fully.

The final selection made by survey participants for ‘flip-flops,’ the only fully masculine noun of the eighteen responses addressed in this entry, was *calipso*s, the leading option among Dominican Republic contributors. The DAMER, also noting its Dominican usage, offers the following apt description: “*Chancas, zapatillas abiertas de plástico para la playa.*” The DLE does not contain a reference to footwear, stating only the following: “*Canción y danza propias de las Antillas Menores.*” The OED’s treatment of the word ‘calypso,’ attested from 1934, is less geographically constraining, defining it as a song or ballad which, based on African rhythm, is performed in the West Indies, an area that includes not only the Lesser but the Greater Antilles, of which the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Puerto Rico are a part. The etymology of the word itself is listed as “unknown.” While the oldest documented case of *calipso* available in Spanish, from 1960, also provides no insight in to the origin of the name, its use does extend beyond music and dance to the apparel employed in this context, with reference to “*un grupo de bailarines vestidos estilo calipso*” (CORDE). Just as *cutarras* are a part of the traditional Panamanian dress worn for cultural productions, it is likely that a type of sandal used by those engaging in *calipso* performances in the Dominican Republic acquired this name, one that later was used to denote the more casual, everyday ‘flip-flop.’

Tally of survey responses for ‘flip-flops’ by country (total of eighteen)

- Argentina: *ojotas* (17), *chancletas* (2), *chinelas* (2)
- Bolivia: *chinelas* (7), *sandalias* (4)
- Canary Islands: *cholas* (20), *chancas* (7), *esclavas* (4), *zapatillas* (3)

- Chile: *chalias* (6), *hawaiianas* (4), *sandalias* (2)
- Colombia: *chanclas* (10), *sandalias* (3), *chancletas* (2)
- Costa Rica: *sandalias* (10), *chancletas* (5), *chanclas* (2)
- Cuba: *chancletas* (8), *cutarras* (2), *sandalias* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *calipsos* (10), *chancletas* (9), *sandalias* (5)
- Ecuador: *sandalias* (7), *chanclas* (2), *chancletas* (2), *zapatillas* (2)
- El Salvador: *chanclas* (7), *chancletas* (5), *sandalias* (4), *ginas* (4), *yinas* (3)
- Guatemala: *chanclas* (5), *chancletas* (5), *sandalias* (4), *ginas* (3)
- Honduras: *chancletas* (11), *sandalias* (4)
- Mexico: *chanclas* (22), *sandalias* (13), *sayonaras* (2), *patas de gallo* (2)
- Nicaragua: *chinelas* (10), *chancletas* (2), *sandalias* (2)
- Panama: *chancletas* (unanimous)
- Paraguay: *zapatillas* (9), *ojotas* (3)
- Peru: *sandalias* (10), *sayonaras* (6), *chancletas* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *chancletas* (9), *chanclas* (4)
- Spain: *chanclas* (12), *chancletas* (5), *sandalias* (2)
- Uruguay: *chancletas* (9), *ojotas* (6), *chinelas* (2), *romanitas* (2)
- Venezuela: *cholas* (14), *chancletas* (8), *sandalias* (5), *cotizas* (4)

Item 44: Earring

In the 1920s and 1930s, several tombs belonging to ancient royalty were discovered in the historical Mesopotamian city of Ur of the Chaldees, now Tell el-Muqayyar in modern Iraq. Among these caches were numerous pieces of gold jewelry, including some of the earliest known earrings, which date to approximately 2500 BC (Tait 2008: 12). In present-day Yorkshire, England, a pair of gold earrings was found that has been dated to the early Bronze Age (2100–1800 BC) (38–40). These cases are representative of the importance and popularity that have surrounded these items of adornment over millennia and throughout most if not all cultures. The term ‘earring’ is a rather transparent compound, one inherited from Common Germanic, meaning that both it and its constituent parts are as old as the English language itself. Not surprisingly, then, other Germanic tongues feature cognates for this item, including German (*ohrring*) and Dutch (*oorring*). The oldest known case of this term in Old English is ‘earhinga’ (OED). In Spanish, there are no fewer than eight words employed for the ‘earring.’ It would seem that this considerable variety owes, at least in part, to the fact that none of these synonyms, unlike their sole English counterpart, creates a lexico-semantic association between the accessory in question and the body part involved in its wearing: *oreja* ‘ear.’ Several of the terms, however, do refer to the item indicated by the second half of the English

compound word: 'ring.' In Paraguay, for example, the name selected exclusively by survey participants was *aro*, which was also chosen by each of the Chilean respondents, all but one contributor in Argentina, and by a third of Bolivian informants as a secondary option. This term, whose origins are unknown, can denote a 'hoop' or 'ring' for uses general and specific. Two diminutive forms of *aro* also exist in relation to an 'earring.' The first is *arito*, chosen by participants in Honduras and El Salvador as the leading term and in Argentina as a minority option. Much more common is the second such form, *arete*, the single most popular word for 'earring' in the Spanish-speaking world, first clearly attested with this meaning from 1816 in Mexico (CORDE). It was selected in a total of fourteen countries, including as the exclusive option in half of them, nations that range from Mexico through the Caribbean and Central America to the northern two-thirds of South America.

The next most common word for 'earring' among informants, selected in five countries, was *pendiente*. It was the dominant response in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, and a minority second option in Peru, Chile, and Uruguay. The term is ultimately derived from the Latin verb *pendēre* 'to hang,' which, via Anglo-Norman *pendaunt* in approximately the fourteenth century, is also the etymon of the English adjective 'pendent,' meaning 'hanging,' as well as the noun 'pendant.' The latter word is attested c. 1400 in the sense of a piece of jewelry hung from a necklace (OED). In Spanish, *pendiente*, from the verb *pende*r, is also employed in these two distinct grammatical categories. The adjectival form, meaning 'hanging' or 'pending,' dates to 1244, whereas its use as a noun is documented from a much later 1789 (CORDE). In this latter part of speech it denotes both a hanging jewel generally and, more specifically, an 'earring,' even a simple one fastened close to the ear and from which, contradictorily, no additional adornment is dangling (DLE).

The term *zarcillo* was proffered by survey participants for 'earring' in three countries. It was chosen by all contributors in Venezuela, three of whom, including two from Maracaibo, in the west, also offered *arete*, the exclusive reply in nearby Colombia.⁵⁷ It was likewise selected by a majority of Canarian respondents, whereas in Panama it was a minority choice. The word *zarcillo* derives from Latin *circēllus* 'small circle,' the diminutive of *circūlus* 'circle' (DCECH), itself a diminutive form of the synonymous *circus* (DLE). Since the short /i/ of Vulgar Latin in time merged with /e/, and as short /ē/ diverged from long /ē/ to become /ε/ and subsequently diphthongized as /ie/ in Castilian in tonic position, it should come as no surprise that the earliest known Spanish

⁵⁷ One respondent, from Yaracuy State, near the country's northwestern coast, spelled *zarcillo* as *salcillo*, reflecting not only the neutralization of <z> and <s> as /s/ in American Spanish but also revealing the medial /c/ > /l/ liquid shift commonly encountered in Caribbean dialects, though it is more common on the Antillean islands themselves.

iteration of the term in question appeared as *cerciello* in approximately 1300. Other early forms included *cercillo*, *çarçillos*, *çarciellos*, and *çarcillo* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (DCECH). The first known case of modern *zarcillo* dates to c. 1445 (CORDE). The variations with <a> in the first syllable likely emerged under the influence of a word with similarities both phonological and semantic: *zarzo* ‘wattle’ (DCECH). This lightweight but sturdy substance, made by weaving reeds, rushes, or cane horizontally between vertical stakes, has historically been used to make partitions, particularly fences. A cross-section cut of any of these materials reveals a round, hollow shape not unlike a hoop earring.

The three final terms identified for ‘earring’ by survey participants were selected in one distinct country each. The first, chosen exclusively by informants for this accessory in Puerto Rico, is *pantalla*, which may have been borrowed from Catalan with the meaning of ‘lampshade’ (DLE). This word, which dates to the early seventeenth century at the latest (DCECH), can also denote other types of screens, which can either serve to hide items or receive images projected upon them. As they can be large or small, it would appear that at some point a dangling earring in the form of a similar laminate reminded individuals beholding it of one of the more compact versions of such an object. Now, however, *pantalla*, as is the case with *pendiente*, refers to both an earring that hangs down and one worn close to the lobe, like a stud (DAMER). In similar fashion, *chapa* was given as a minority response in Nicaragua. This word, whose origins are unknown, is most likely onomatopoeic, perhaps related to English ‘clap’ (DCECH, Roberts 2014a: 467). Its first known use in Spanish dates to as early as the late fourteenth century, in reference to gold plating on the scabbard of a sword (CORDE). In modern Spanish, *chapa* is also employed in reference to a ‘license plate’ in the Southern Cone and to a ‘bottle cap’ or round ‘button pin’ in Spain, and in all countries the phrase *techo de chapa* means a ‘tin roof.’ The obvious connection between all these items is the concept of a thin metallic sheet, which may have evoked in Nicaraguan speakers thoughts of an object similar to those listed above. Indeed, jewelry pieces made of sheet metal, including bracelets and earrings, have been discovered in various parts of the world dating from ancient times (Tait 2008: 37–40).

Finally, *caravana* was a unanimous selection for ‘earring’ in Uruguay.⁵⁸ This word, first attested in Spanish from approximately 1350, entered the language via French *caravane*, itself derived from Persian *kārawān* ‘train of horses’

⁵⁸ Of these thirteen contributors, two of them also selected *pendiente*. However, this was evidently in response to the fact that this item featured two images in the survey, one of a woman wearing a dangling earring and one of a man donning a diamond stud. The two participants who selected *pendiente* specifically stated that it referred to a piece of this jewelry used by women. The obvious implication, then, is that the use of *caravana* is unisex in its application.

during the Crusades. The term has been used historically in reference to both land and sea convoys. Regarding the latter usage, it is known that aspirant young knights were required to harass Muslim naval caravans as a form of initiation for entry into the military orders of Malta and Saint John. As a result, *caravana*, in time, while retaining its original sense, also assumed an air of the ceremonial trappings and urbanity legendarily connected to chivalry (DCECH). Such notions of courtesy have led to the use of this word in Mexico and parts of Central America to describe a ‘bow of respect’ (DAMER). Moreover, through further metaphorical extension, *caravanas*, at least in parts of southern South America, came to refer to ‘earrings of ceremony and luxury’ (DCECH). Today, the term in question refers to these adornments more broadly, including simple pairs of earrings that are less grandiose in their design and usage. The status of the word and the implements it can denote have been altered to the point that *caravana* is also used in Uruguay and Argentina in reference to plastic ear tags placed on livestock for purposes of identification (DAMER).

Tally of survey responses for ‘earring’ by country (total of eight)

- Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico: *arete* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *aro* (18), *arito* (2)
- Bolivia: *arete* (11), *aro* (4)
- Canary Islands: *pendiente* (22), *zarcillo* (16)
- Chile: *aro* (11), *pendiente* (2)
- El Salvador: *arito* (11), *arete* (8)
- Honduras: *arito* (12), *arete* (3)
- Nicaragua: *arete* (9), *chapa* (4)
- Panama: *arete* (13), *zarcillo* (2)
- Paraguay: *aro* (unanimous)
- Peru: *arete* (14), *pendiente* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *pantalla* (unanimous)
- Spain: *pendiente* (unanimous)
- Uruguay: *caravana* (13), *pendiente* (2)
- Venezuela: *zarcillo* (25), *arete* (3)

Questions

1. What are at least two items in this chapter that are denoted by various words in Spanish which are etymologically linked to the human body or to parts or functions thereof?

2. What were the many historical developments, both linguistic and cultural, that led to the emergence of the term *pantaloneta*, a word used for ‘shorts’ in parts of Central and South America?
3. Whereas English tends to be an isolating or analytic language, Spanish morphosyntax is more inflected or synthetic, availing itself of both diminutive and augmentative suffixes to create new, often multiple lexemes based on a single root word. What are examples from this chapter in which such derivation has given rise to terminology with meaning that is, or at least can be, different from one etymologically related word to another? Conversely, what are examples in which such groups of words can simply be employed as synonyms? What is the evidence for this? Finally, what are examples of words in this chapter that display not one but two suffixes, and which of them feature both diminutive and augmentative characteristics, for instance, versus those which contain pairs of only one type?
4. What might explain why *falda* in Spanish did not (permanently) assume a word-initial *h*–, such as the one seen in *hilo* and *hierro*, which were initially *filus* and *ferrum*?
5. How are the terms *medias* and *calcetines*, both used for ‘socks’ and therefore semantically related, also linked etymologically?
6. What are some of the salient features of the Spanish word *slip* as used to denote ‘men’s briefs,’ particularly in terms of etymology, phonetics, and semantics?
7. While use of the Anglicism *panti* in reference to ‘women’s panties’ does occur in Spanish, its frequency and geographical distribution are rather limited. What is the likely reason for this?
8. While the most common response given by survey participants for ‘bra’ in Mexico was *brasier*, the shorter *bra* was also offered by a smaller number of informants in the same nation and in no other. What is a likely explanation for this?
9. What are some of the semantic, grammatical, and morphosyntactic similarities that can be identified in the emergence of the terms *remera* and *polera*, both employed dialectally to denote a ‘T-shirt’?
10. Of the other names for ‘T-shirt’ in the various Spanish-speaking countries, which two are the most semantically incongruent? How do the geographical realities in play mitigate the possible confusion caused by their usage?
11. The vast majority of the terms identified in this chapter in connection to articles of clothing and related accessories are traceable to Latin and other Indo-European languages. Why is this the case, what are at least two Amerindian borrowings that buck this trend, and what conditions allowed this to occur?

3 Motor Vehicle-Related Items

3.1 Introduction

The food-related vocabulary discussed in the first chapter features numerous lexemes in Spanish derived from Amerindian languages, a phenomenon that is due to the fact that many of the items that these terms denote are themselves of New World origin. Examples include *papa*, *maíz*, *chile*, *ananá*, and *aguacate*. In contrast, the items addressed in the second chapter, relating to clothing and accessories, as well as the words employed in connection with them, largely originated in the Old World. Representative samples are *calcetín*, *sostén*, *braga*, *chaqueta*, and *abrigo*. The items examined in this the third chapter, as well as the vocabulary utilized to depict them, follow significantly the pattern of those associated with apparel. Much of the technology related to motor vehicles was not in existence at the time of the European conquest and has generally been developed in countries dominated by Indo-European languages and introduced to both the Old and the New World at roughly the same time. As a result, the existence of Amerindian words to denote such objects is effectively null. Ironically, however, even counterintuitively, Spanish displays considerably greater lexical variation in the naming of vehicles and related items than English, a language intimately connected to the automobile industry almost since its inception.

As with the previous chapters on food and clothing, the items discussed in the present chapter are organized according to the following three-category system:

Category 1: minimal nomenclature variation (2–3 words per item)

Category 2: moderate nomenclature variation (4–6 words per item)

Category 3: extensive nomenclature variation (7+ words per item)

3.2 Motor Vehicle-Related Items with Minimal Nomenclature Variation

Item 45: Car

The automobile was an innovation several millennia in the making. The first piece of the puzzle to fall into place was the wheel, which is thought to have

been invented in Mesopotamia around 3500 bc. Its initial application was likely as a potter's wheel, only being fitted to chariots some 300 years later. For the better part of 5,000 years thereafter, the sole means of locomotion available to vehicles equipped with this device were draft animals. The first step to altering this situation came in the eighteenth century, when Denis Papin, a French-born physicist living in Germany, built the world's first piston steam engine in 1704. While he only used it to propel small watercraft, over a half a century later another Frenchman, Nicolas Cugnot, employed similar technology to power his three-wheeled *fardier à vapeur*, a vehicle inspired by the *fardier*, a two-wheeled, horse-drawn cart (Parissien 2013: 3–4). In 1859, Belgian Étienne Lenoir patented the first gasoline-driven internal combustion engine. In 1885, the German Karl Benz, working in his Mannheim shop, installed a one-cylinder, two-stroke version of his own into what has widely come to be recognized as the world's first motorized car, the three-wheeled Benz Patent-Motorwagen. During the remainder of the 1880s, the following decade, and into the early twentieth century, Benz, his fellow German Gottlieb Daimler, and other Europeans, including Frenchman Louis Renault, continued to refine the designs both of cars and the engines that propelled them (5–11). It was in the final years of the nineteenth century that American Henry Ford began to produce his own automobiles (16). With the arrival of other automakers on the American scene, such as General Motors and Chrysler, the United States was soon producing more motorized vehicles than any country on earth, a dominance it maintained throughout most of the twentieth century (318).

Early combustion engine vehicles went by several different names in English. 'Automobile,' a French borrowing, dates to 1876, nearly a decade before the emergence of Benz's invention. It was therefore first used as an adjective referring transparently to any self-propelled means of transportation, including those that relied on electric or steam power. By 1881 the word was being employed as a noun for a 'tramcar.' It was not until 1895 that the first known use of 'automobile' in reference to a gasoline-driven vehicle was recorded, abbreviated to 'auto' by 1899. 'Horseless carriage' is also attested from 1895 (OED). The most common term in English today for a gasoline-driven passenger vehicle is 'car,' which is first documented in English from about the early fifteenth century with the meaning of a wheeled contrivance, normally drawn by a horse, such as a 'wagon' or 'cart.' This borrowing, from Anglo-Norman *carr*, is itself from Middle French *car*, a variant of Middle and Old French *char* (OED). The source of all these variants is Classical Latin *carrus*, which Roberts (2014a) traces to Gaulish **karros* and, beyond that, the likely Proto-Indo-European (PIE) root **kers-* (325). By the early 1800s, 'car' was employed in connection with railroad carriages, whereas by the midpoint of the same century it had also come to designate the ascending and descending

compartment of an elevator. The term ‘motor car’ is attested from 1895, followed by the unqualified ‘car’ in this same sense the next year (OED). Spanish *carro*, which traditionally related to a ‘cart,’ ‘chariot,’ or similar animal-drawn means of transport, is the language’s most common word for a motorized passenger vehicle (DLE).¹ This term was selected by survey participants in fifteen countries, as the exclusive or leading choice in thirteen, including Mexico, all three Caribbean nations, the entirety of Central America, and Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Also given as a response in many of these countries was *auto*, the abbreviation of *automóvil* whose first known case in this sense dates to 1905 in Spain (CORDE). In Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay, *auto* was either the singular or dominant offering. In Peru, *carro* and *auto* were selected in equal numbers.

The third and final word selected for ‘car’ was *coche*, chosen by participants in four countries. It was the exclusive response in both mainland Spain and the Canary Islands. Across the Atlantic, however, this word is seldom used. Slightly over a third of Mexican contributors gave this reply, while a mere two out of eleven did so in Paraguay. Whereas the majority of Spanish words are derived from Latin, Greek, Arabic, Amerindian tongues, English, and fellow Romance languages, *coche* was certainly borrowed from a less common source, though its exact provenance is somewhat muddled. The DLE, the OED, and Roberts (2014a: 374) all assert that this term derives from Hungarian *kocsi* /kóʃi/ ‘carriage,’ a possibility also mentioned in the DCECH, which explains that a village in northwest Hungary called Kocs once served as a way station on the Vienna–Budapest coach route.²

Tally of survey responses for ‘car’ by country (total of three)

- Argentina, Chile, Uruguay: *auto* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands, Spain: *coche* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Venezuela: *carro* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *auto* (8), *carro* (4)
- Cuba: *carro* (9), *auto* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *carro* (18), *auto* (2)
- Ecuador: *carro* (8), *auto* (2)
- Mexico: *carro* (22), *auto* (11), *coche* (11)

¹ While the first recorded use of *carro* in Spanish dates to approximately 1040 (DCECH), it is difficult to determine when precisely in the nineteenth or twentieth century this word came to denote an automobile, as it was still employed at that time for horse-drawn wagons, carriages, and coaches. The same challenge exists with the word *coche* for identical reasons.

² The OED cites the first known use of ‘coach’ in English from 1606, a borrowing from French *coche*.

- Panama: *carro* (13), *auto* (5)
- Paraguay: *auto* (10), *coche* (2)
- Peru: *carro* (7), *auto* (7)

Item 46: Car Lane

Given Detroit's long-standing influence in the automobile industry, it should come as no surprise that several transportation firsts have occurred in the vicinity of the largest city in Michigan. In 1911, the first center line was painted to ensure the safe flow of traffic on River Road, near Trenton, a city south of Detroit (Michigan Department of Transportation 2020). Modern streets and roads, in particular highways and freeways, are often divided with such markings not just down the middle, but into multiple lanes in order both to accommodate and guide growing numbers of vehicles and ameliorate traffic jams during peak driving hours.

The English word 'lane' comes from Anglo-Saxon, in the same form. First attested in 971, nearly a millennium before the advent of automobiles, it was originally employed in reference to a narrow path between hedges, houses, or walls. It is often used in the naming of roadways in residential areas in lieu of other designations, including 'street,' 'road,' 'way,' and 'drive.' By the early twentieth century, when the number of cars and the speeds at which they traveled were still modest, 'lane' was being used to denote the partitioned sections of athletic venues, such as those found on running tracks and in swimming pools. The first known use of this term in relation to the systematic divisions of a paved thoroughfare is from 1926 (OED). In Spanish, *carretera* refers to a 'highway,' or to a 'roadway' generally. It is derived from the term historically utilized to denote the vehicles that transited such a driving surface: *carreta* 'cart, wagon,' a diminutive form of *carro* (DLE). As noted in the previous entry, *carro* (<Latin *carrus*) has been used in Spanish in reference to a 'cart,' a 'chariot,' and, more recently, a motorized 'car' (DLE). *Carrus* is also the source of Vulgar Latin **carrilis* 'related to a carriage,' the immediate etymon of *carril*, traditionally meaning both a 'rut' caused by carriages and the 'road' or 'lane' on which they caused such impressions through repeated travel (Roberts 2014a: 324).³ First attested in approximately 1400, early usages of *carril* were both nominal and adjectival in nature (DCECH). An example of the latter grammatical category is seen in the 1520 example of *camino carril* 'carriage road' or 'cart path' (CORDE). Employed as a noun only in the modern language, and with the advent of motorized vehicles, *carril* has come to signify each 'lane' into which roadways

³ Two synonyms for *carril* only in the sense of a 'rut' caused by vehicle wheels are *carrilera* and *carrilada* (DLE).

are divided. It is the default though not sole term used for this driving space in the Spanish-speaking world. It was chosen by survey respondents in all twenty-one countries, exclusively so in all but two, Panama and Venezuela.

In Panama, while ten of thirteen contributors selected *carril* for lane, six also chose *pañó*. Derived from Latin *pannus* ‘piece of cloth,’ the meaning of the Spanish term expanded to mean an entire ‘cloth’ or ‘rag,’ particularly those used to wash and dry dishes. Metaphorically, *pañó* came to denote a strip of other items, including land, a usage which, if now obsolete in Spain, continues to be used in certain American dialects (DCECH). The first known case of *pañó* related to woven material dates to the early thirteenth century, whereas its use in relation to a portion of terrain is attested from 1845, in Chile, a meaning specifically linked to that country by the DAMER. This dictionary also notes, through further metaphorical extension, the use of *pañó* in Panama in the sense covered in the present entry of this book: “*En una vía pública, banda longitudinal destinada al tránsito de una sola fila de vehículos.*”

In Venezuela and other countries, the image on the survey of a multi-lane highway utilized to elicit words used in Spanish for ‘lane’ was often misinterpreted by participants, despite the following parenthetical note: “*División de la carretera: aquí tres en cada dirección.*” Many contributors either left this item blank or gave an answer equivalent to ‘highway,’ ‘traffic,’ ‘median,’ etc. As a result, only ten of the twenty-six Venezuelan respondents gave a usable answer, three of whom chose *carril* versus seven who selected *canal*. This latter word, first attested in 1107 (DCECH), is derived from Latin *canalis*, which means both ‘channel’ and ‘canal,’ with the attendant allusion to a flowing action within a relatively fixed course, making evident the symbolism of Venezuelan use of this term in connection with a ‘lane’ on a roadway.

Tally of survey responses for ‘car lane’ by country (total of three)

- Panama: *carril* (10), *pañó* (6)
- Venezuela: *canal* (7), *carril* (3)
- All other countries: *carril* (unanimous)

3.3 Motor Vehicle-Related Items with Moderate Nomenclature Variation

Item 47: Tire

Just as the invention of the wheel was essential for the eventual creation of the automobile, pneumatic tires were indispensable for the smooth, rapid ride that

in time would help propel the industry to new heights. The wooden, at times metal-hooped wheels that had been used on conveyances for millennia were more effective at facilitating forward motion than at providing a comfortable riding experience. Rubber was a substance with potential to fill this void, but only after 1839, when the American Charles Goodyear developed the process of vulcanization (Lay 1992: 145). In 1845, the Englishman Robert Thompson patented the first pneumatic tire in London, which he then fitted to the wheels of a brougham. However, he was unable to find a manufacturer capable of making the tubes truly airtight and his patent lapsed with little immediate effect on travel. While the bumpy ride experienced by those traveling on “boneshaker” bicycles was first ameliorated with the use of solid India rubber tires in the 1860s, it was not until 1888 that Scotsman John Dunlop developed the first functional pneumatic tire for his son’s bicycle, increasing not only its comfort but its speed (146). Early motorcycles were similarly equipped with this innovation, beginning in the 1880s with the Michelin brothers, who at a later date were also the first to place pneumatic tires on a Peugeot automobile (147–148). It was not until 1954 that a set of tubeless tires was affixed to a Packard car (Schultz 1985a: 62–63).

Despite being a noun, the word ‘tire’ – spelled ‘tyre’ in British English – can be traced to the verb ‘to attire,’ from Old French *atirier* ‘to arrange, equip, array, dress.’ Attested from the thirteenth century with the meaning of ‘to equip,’ the verbal form soon inspired the nominal usage, first documented in 1250 as ‘atyr,’ a term used in reference to the ‘equipment’ of a horse or a man preparing for war. By approximately 1330 the shortened ‘tire’ was being employed for the same concept, and later in the fourteenth century it came to denote ‘apparel,’ the semantic value now also held by the still existing ‘attire.’ Between the late fourteenth century and extending well into the seventeenth century, while the spelling of ‘tire’ continued, also common were ‘tyr’ and ‘tyre.’ By the late fifteenth century, this word had begun to be applied to the overlapping iron plating with which wooden carriage wheels were shod to enhance their functionality and aid in their longevity. Beginning 300 years later, in the 1780s, and for the next century, it was used to denote a rim of iron or steel encompassing a wheel as a single solid hoop.⁴ By the late 1870s, the term in question was applied to the rubber tires then being affixed to bicycles and which, over the next decades, would also be placed on the wheels of motorized vehicles.

The most common term for ‘tire’ in Spanish is *llanta*, attested from the early seventeenth century (CORDE). It was selected in fifteen of the nineteen

⁴ The word ‘rim’ itself with this meaning, dating to 1440, is attested from Old English, inherited from Germanic, with the earlier, more general meaning of the ‘edge’ or ‘border’ of an object (OED).

Table 3.1 *Names of ‘wheel’ and related components by language/dialect*

Language/dialect	Wheel	Pre-tire rim	Modern rim	Pneumatic tire
English	‘wheel’	‘rim, tire’	‘rim’	‘tire, tyre’
French	<i>roue</i>	<i>jante</i>	<i>jante</i>	<i>pneu</i>
Peninsular/ Canarian Spanish	<i>rueda</i>	<i>llanta</i>	<i>llanta</i>	<i>neumático, rueda, goma</i>
American Spanish	<i>rueda</i>	<i>llanta</i>	<i>rin*</i>	<i>llanta, neumático, rueda, goma, caucho, cubierta</i>

* Since in American Spanish the meaning of *llanta* has largely been transferred to ‘tire’ from ‘rim’ (DLE), the latter item is widely denoted via the English loanword *rin* (DAMER). The word-final modification to <-n> of this Anglicism is due to the fact that in Spanish lexemes rarely if ever end in <-m>.

American countries, ranging from Mexico and the Caribbean to Central and South America. Its most conspicuous absence is in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands. The DLE traces *llanta* to French *jante*. The latter word is defined by the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* (Académie française 2020) as an originally twelfth-century lexeme (<Gaulish *cambo* ‘curve’) referring to a ‘piece of wood or metal that forms the circumference of a wheel.’ In other words, it is what English speakers call the ‘rim,’ the outer edge of a wheel. In fact, the entry offers an example sentence in modern usage that describes a pneumatic tire being fitted to the “*jante*” of a bicycle or automobile. The historical problem with this concept is that before the advent of such tires, the rim was the outermost portion of the wheel and was in direct contact with the road, whereas it is now encircled with an inflated rubber covering and therefore no longer touches the driving surface. Compounding the lexico-semantic difficulty of this evolving situation is the fact that it has been dealt with in distinct manners by different languages, and even dialects, as demonstrated in Table 3.1, which will also facilitate discussion of the six Spanish words selected for ‘tire’ by contributors.

While ‘tire’ was employed in the 1700s and 1800s in reference to the outer rim of a carriage wheel in English, with the invention of both rubber tires and motorized vehicles in the second half of the nineteenth century, it came to denote the pneumatic tire placed over the now covered rim. In French, in contrast, *jante* has been used consistently in connection with the concept of a rim in the sense of the outer edge of the wheel, whether or not it comes into contact with the roadway. The modern tire therefore called for a new word in this language: *pneu*, a noun that debuted in French in the nineteenth century as the abbreviated form of adjective *pneumatique*, itself attested in the language

from the sixteenth century (Académie française 2020).⁵ The case of Peninsular and Canarian Spanish is largely parallel to that of French; *llanta* refers to both early and modern rims, whereas the more recent *neumático*, whose first known use in this sense dates to 1899 (CORDE), is applied to the rubber tire (DLE). This word was the leading selection among contributors in mainland Spain and a popular second choice in the Canary Islands. On the other side of the Atlantic, while not the leading response in any country, *neumático* was a secondary or tertiary option in nine, five in South America, two in Central America, one in the Caribbean, and Mexico.

A significant difference between French and Old World Spanish is that in the latter case *rueda*, a cognate of *roue*, is employed not only in reference to the wheel but also to denote the modern tire.⁶ This is the evident result of the fact that the outer edges of tireless wheels and those of pneumatic tires both touch the road, blurring the distinction between them. Accordingly, *rueda* was selected as the leading choice among Canarian participants and as the second response in mainland Spain. There exist three pieces of evidence which substantiate the prominence of the word in question with this significance in these two dialects, as opposed to potential confusion on the part of survey participants. First, respondents in all countries viewed the same image for this item. Second, the tire shown was unmounted; there was no wheel pictured that might have caused uncertainty or prejudice. Third, instead of references to a *goma pinchada* or a *llanta ponchada*, common terms for a ‘flat tire’ in American dialects, one can read in the Spanish or Canarian press mention of a *rueda pinchada*. An example is the following: “*Dos hombres de nacionalidad paraguaya han muerto esta madrugada tras ser atropellados por un camión mientras cambiaban una rueda pinchada de su furgoneta . . .*” (*El País* 2017). In the Americas, in contrast, where *rueda* carries the default meaning of ‘wheel,’ it was not the preferred name for ‘tire’ in any nation, though it was a minority final selection in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic.

In the Canary Islands, roughly a third of respondents chose a word which, rather than entailing its function or placement in the overall configuration of the wheel, relates to the material of which it is made: *goma* ‘rubber.’ Whereas tires today are made of synthetic material based on petroleum, prior to the early twentieth century the process required the vulcanization of the milky,

⁵ Sixteenth-century French *pneumatique* and the cognate English and Spanish ‘pneumatic’ (seventeenth century) and *neumático* (eighteenth century), respectively, derive from Latin *pneumaticus*, an adjective relating to air and air pressure that itself is a borrowing of Greek πνευματικός (*pneumatikós*) (OED, DLE, CORDE). The Greek word in turn derived from πνεῦμα (*pneuma*) ‘breath, wind’ (Roberts 2014b: 250).

⁶ Spanish *rueda*, whose default meaning is ‘wheel,’ comes from the synonymous Latin *rota*, which begat *rotare* ‘to roll,’ the Latin etymon of the Spanish verb with the same meaning: *rodar* (DLE). French *roue*, noted in Table 3.1, is also from Latin *rota* (Académie française 2020).

liquid latex harvested from rubber trees, which are found naturally in both the Old and New World. Spanish *goma* is derived from Vulgar Latin *gumma*, a variety of Classical Latin *gummi* or *cummi*, from Greek *κόμμη* (*kómmei*) (DLE). Besides its selection in the Canary Islands, this term was also given as a popular response in four American nations: Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Argentina. In this latter country and other nations, a tire repair shop is called a *gomería*. Quechua also has a word for ‘rubber’: *kawchu*. Hispanicized as *caucho*, this word is used for the substance in question as frequently as, or perhaps more so, than *goma*, even in Spain. This is likely due to the fact that the latter name can also denote ‘gum’ from the gum tree, ‘chewing gum,’ or ‘glue’ (Robert 2014a: 709).⁷ *Caucho* is also employed in reference to the ‘rubber tree’ itself in countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru. Only in Venezuela, however, does it convey the meaning of ‘tire’ (DLE).⁸ All but one of the twenty-six survey respondents in this country selected this word.

Finally, the leading reply for ‘tire’ in Argentina and Paraguay, as well as a minority option in neighboring Uruguay, was *cubierta*. This term, which in another specific usage can denote a ‘bedspread,’ refers in more general terms to a ‘cover.’ This feminine noun is a modified form of *cubierto*, the past participle of *cubir* ‘to cover,’ a reflection of Latin *coopertus* in this same part of speech as derived from the verb *coopere* (DLE).

Tally of survey responses for ‘tire’ by country (total of six)

- Bolivia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru: *llanta* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *cubierta* (8), *goma* (7), *neumático* (6), *rueda* (4)
- Canary Islands: *rueda* (11), *neumático* (9), *goma* (8)
- Chile: *llanta* (5), *neumático* (5), *rueda* (3)
- Colombia: *llanta* (12), *neumático* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *goma* (18), *llanta* (2), *rueda* (2)
- El Salvador: *llanta* (13), *neumático* (3)
- Mexico: *llanta* (30), *neumático* (4)
- Panama: *llanta* (13), *neumático* (2)
- Paraguay: *cubierta* (7), *neumático* (4)
- Puerto Rico: *goma* (11), *neumático* (2)
- Spain: *neumático* (10), *rueda* (6)

⁷ While *goma de mascar* can be used for ‘chewing gum,’ the more common term is *chicle*, derived from the word for ‘gum resin’ in Náhuatl: *tziktli* (Robert 2014a: 471).

⁸ This dominant use of *caucho* in Venezuela for ‘tire’ has left *goma* available for other specific uses there. As seen in the section on the ‘tennis shoe,’ this footwear, due to its rubber soles, is often referred to as *zapatos de goma* or simply *gomas* in Venezuela.

- Uruguay: *goma* (5), *neumático* (4), *llanta* (3), *cubierta* (2), *rueda* (2)
- Venezuela: *caucho* (25), *rueda* (2)

Item 48: Car Horn

The word ‘horn’ is a Common Germanic term attested in English from c. 1000, from which approximate time it has been employed to denote not only the bone and keratin formations on the heads of certain mammals but the wind instruments crafted from their hollowed-out remains once removed from these beasts, a concept extended metaphorically over time to metallic instruments. The first known instance of this word in English to describe a warning system attached to an automobile dates to 1901 (OED). These early car horns, mounted where sideview mirrors are placed on motor vehicles today, resembled a bugle, though instead blowing into a mouthpiece drivers squeezed a rubber bulb that forced air through the instrument, resulting in the desired honking noise. Then, in 1908, Miller Hutchison, an inventor who would later become the chief engineer in Thomas Edison’s New Jersey laboratory, patented the Klaxon.⁹ This battery-operated innovation, often associated with the Ford Model T to which it was so commonly attached, was comprised of a rotating wheel whose teeth struck a diaphragm when activated, making the iconic “ahooga” sound. In the 1930s, the ‘klaxon horn,’ as it was also called, began to give way to the modern electric versions that remain largely unchanged to this day (Kurczewski 2018). The name was adopted into Spanish as *claxon*, the first known case of which dates to 1929 (DCECH). Survey participants in Mexico and Peru selected this term as the leading response. It was also a popular option in Spain and Cuba, and was a minority choice in El Salvador and Panama.

The most common word in Spanish for ‘car horn’ is *bocina*, derived from Latin *bucina*, which the DCECH describes as a *cuerno de boyero* ‘oxherd’s horn.’ While this source ascribes the <u> to <o> transition as a “contaminación” stemming from *boca* ‘mouth,’ the DLE claims the influence of *voz* ‘voice.’ A combination of the two might explain why the earliest form of this word, c. 1200, featured both the word initial and the interior <z>: *bozina*. The first known use of *bocina* with the clear meaning of the vehicle accessory in question dates to 1914 (CORDE). It was chosen by survey participants in sixteen countries, the exclusive choice in the four Southern Cone nations, Bolivia, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Costa Rica. It was also selected in the remaining

⁹ The Klaxon was produced by the Lowell-McConnell Manufacturing Company, of Newark, New Jersey, whose founder, F. W. Lowell, not only bought the rights from Hutchison, but gave the device its name, inspired by the Greek verb *klaxo* ‘shriek’ (Schultz 1985b: 58). This horn was eventually also used as a warning device on trains and ships (Casselman 2016: 263).

Central American countries, Peru, mainland Spain, and the Canary Islands. Also popular, offered by informants in eleven countries, was *pito* – an onomatopoeic form based on *pit*, not unlike English *beep* – attested from the fifteenth century (DCECH). Throughout its existence this word has been used to mimic the chirping of birds and imitate the sound of whistles and horns. The CORDE contains examples of *pito* in reference to train and boat whistles, beginning in 1916 and 1923, respectively, though it features no instance that clearly involves the horn of a motor vehicle. The CREA, in contrast, does include a modest number of examples, the first from Spain in 1991. *Pito* was given as a primary or secondary response in eleven countries, from mainland Spain to Mexico to Cuba to all Central America nations except Guatemala to three countries in northern South America. While Canarians, unlike those in mainland Spain, did not select *pito*, all but two of these twenty-five individuals did offer *pita*, a variant which, although not chosen in any other nation, dates to the same fifteenth century as its masculine counterpart with the original meaning of a whistling instrument or the sound it produced (CORDE, DCECH).

The final term selected to denote ‘car horn’ was *corneta*, chosen in Venezuela alone, by twenty-one of the twenty-six respondents there. This word is a variant of *cuerno* (<Latin *cornu*), the direct equivalent of English ‘horn’ in the sense of the protruding outgrowth found on the heads of animals.¹⁰ However, its formation appears not to be derived from the simple diminutization of *cuerno/corno* via the addition of the suffix *-eta*. Rather it is likely the more complex result of a cross between *trompeta* ‘trumpet’ and the feminine *cuerna*, which the DCECH refers to as a “*bocina de cuerno*.” A direct translation of this term into English would be the seemingly redundant ‘horn horn,’ though semantically *cuerno* would denote the animal growth and *bocina* an instrument made from it. The oldest known case of *corneta* in Spanish dates to 1236 (DCECH), though the first unambiguous use of the term in reference to a ‘car horn’ in Venezuela dates to 1991 (CREA).

Tally of survey responses for ‘car horn’ by country (total of five)

- Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Uruguay: *bocina* (unanimous)
- Colombia, Ecuador: *pito* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands: *pita* (23), *bocina* (7)
- Costa Rica: *pito* (10), *bocina* (2)
- Cuba: *pito* (7), *claxon* (4)

¹⁰ More than mere semantic equivalents, ‘horn’ and *cuerno* are etymological cognates. Germanic **horno-* and Latin *cornu* are linked via Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **ker-* (OEC, Roberts 2014b: 808). English ‘cornet,’ used for the brass instrument but not a car horn, entered the language from French *cornet* (OED).

- El Salvador: *pito* (13), *bocina* (2), *claxon* (2)
- Honduras: *pito* (11), *bocina* (2)
- Mexico: *claxon* (26), *pito* (8)
- Nicaragua: *pito* (10), *bocina* (2)
- Panama: *pito* (13), *bocina* (5), *claxon* (2)
- Peru: *claxon* (10), *bocina* (5)
- Spain: *pito* (11), *claxon* (8), *bocina* (3)
- Venezuela: *corneta* (21), *pito* (5)

Item 49: Speaker

In 1886, the year after Karl Benz invented the first automobile, fellow German Heinrich Hertz verified the existence of the radio-enabling electromagnetic waves about which Scottish scientist James Maxwell, by then seven years deceased, had theorized two decades earlier. Radio technology greatly expanded during the remainder of the next decade and a half and by the early twentieth century it was well on its way to becoming an important means of communication and entertainment (Riley 2003: 190). Home-based radios had been in use for approximately a decade by the time Paul Galvin, of the Galvin Manufacturing Corporation, installed one of the company's inexpensive units into a Studebaker and drove 800 miles to Atlantic City to attend the 1930 Radio Manufacturers Convention. His revolutionary idea garnered enough orders at this annual gathering to help the firm survive the lean years of the early Depression. Galvin decided to give the car radio a name with which he would later rebrand the entire company: Motorola (Shaffer 2010: 43). Of course none of the success experienced by this enterprise would have been possible had it not been for another invention intimately linked to the radio and other sound-based inventions: the loudspeaker, often simply rendered 'speaker.'

While the connection between the 'speaker' and the 'car horn' discussed earlier may initially appear limited to their common classification as automobile accessories, the nexus between them is also conceptual. Early car horns resembled bugles. In similar fashion, phonographs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries featured amplifying horns that concentrated the vibration-produced sound and then directed it toward listeners. While this operation was purely mechanical, some of these very horns were later repurposed, incorporated into early electricity-driven speaker systems (Eargle and Gander 2004: 12–13). While direct-radiating speakers are the standard today, horn-complemented arrangements are still utilized in theaters or other specialized venues where specific pattern control and high-level bass reproduction are desired (415–416).

This lasting historical connection between sound-producing horns and loudspeakers has led to lexical crossover between the words used for these items in certain Spanish dialects. As described in the previous entry, both *corneta* and *bocina* are employed to denote a 'car horn,' the former chosen by a large majority of respondents in Venezuela but in no other country. Venezuelan informants also selected *corneta* for 'speaker,' in this instance unanimously. In similar fashion, *bocina* was offered for both items in six countries: Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama. While this may cause occasional confusion, the context surrounding references to one or the other item is typically sufficient for understanding.

Even more popular than *bocina* for the device at hand is *parlante*, a word that can also signify a human 'speaker' in a specific scenario. Whereas the most common term for 'Spanish speaker' or 'Spanish-speaking' is *hispanohablante*, an alternative form is *hispanoparlante*. While *hablar* 'to speak' derives from Latin *fabulari*, the more derogatory *parlar*, referring to a habit of speaking unnecessarily or inappropriately, entered Spanish from the Occitan verb of the same form, itself, like French *parler*, from Late Latin *parabolare* (<*parabola* 'proverb, parable,' also the etymon of Spanish *palabra* 'word') (DLE). First attested in the early eighteenth century, *parlante* has most often been employed as an adjective, including in references to 'talking' movies (1929), though several noun uses are also documented, among them mentions of human 'speakers' (1941), and, in time, of 'loudspeakers' (1969) (CORDE). Survey participants chose this word with the latter meaning in thirteen American nations, constituted by all but one in both Central and South America, the exceptions being Panama and Venezuela.

Another Spanish term whose direct translation is roughly equal to the English name for the item in question is *altavoz* 'high voice,' which connotes the same basic idea as 'loudspeaker.' Despite the fact that the noun *voz* is feminine and the adjective *alta* also bears this gender, this compound is treated as masculine: *el altavoz*. The term, not commonly used in American Spanish, was selected exclusively by respondents in mainland Spain and by all individuals in the Canary Islands. In the latter locale, two of the twenty-five contributors also offered *columna*, a reply not given in any other country. Since many speakers used at concerts, as well as in traditional home stereo setups, have tended to be taller than their width, these devices, some in cabinet form, are often referred to in English as 'column speakers,' the equivalent of which in Spanish can be expressed as *parlante/bocina/altavoz (de) columna*, or shortened, in the Canarian dialect, to simply *columna*. As this was the type of equipment depicted in the image viewed by survey respondents, it stands to reason that *columna* is specific to this type of apparatus and would not be employed to denote other, differently shaped speakers, including those found in automobiles.

The final word chosen for ‘speaker,’ which also likely applies only to certain iterations of this equipment, is *baffle* (/báfle/), an Anglicism given as a secondary response in both Colombia and Argentina. The use of this word constitutes a case in which the designation of part of an object is extended to the whole, a perhaps unwitting instance of synecdoche. In English, the word ‘baffle’ refers to the front section of an enclosed column or cabinet in which the foremost portion of the speakers themselves sit more or less flush with this surface. Made of heavy cloth, cardboard, wood, or other suitable materials, the baffle serves as a barrier between the sound projected toward the listeners and that emanating from the back of the speaker so that the two sets of waves do not interfere with each other.

Tally of survey responses for ‘speaker’ by country (total of six)

- Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay: *parlante* (unanimous)
- Cuba, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Panama, Puerto Rico: *bocina* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *parlante* (19), *baffle* (2)
- Canary Islands: *altavoz* (25), *columna* (2)
- Colombia: *parlante* (8), *baffle* (6)
- Ecuador: *parlante* (10), *bocina* (3)
- El Salvador: *parlante* (8), *bocina* (5)
- Guatemala: *bocina* (12), *parlante* (2)
- Nicaragua: *parlante* (10), *bocina* (2)
- Spain: *altavoz* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *corneta* (unanimous)

3.4 Motor Vehicle-Related Items with Extensive Nomenclature Variation

Item 50: Semi-Trailer Truck

Eleven years after Karl Benz introduced his combustion engine automobile, fellow German Gottlieb Daimler, working in Stuttgart, built the world’s first commercially produced truck in 1896 (Newquist 2017: 76). Founded in 1897 in Cleveland, Ohio, the Winton Motor Carriage Company manufactured both commercial trucks and a range of passenger cars, to one of which a trailer was hitched in order to deliver newly produced vehicles, an innovation cited as the genesis of the semi-trailer (Morganelli 2007: 8; Webber 2017). In 1914, August Fruehauf, a Detroit-area blacksmith who also made carriages, was asked by a lumber dealer to build a trailer capable of hauling his boat.

Pleased with the result, the merchant commissioned Fruehauf to manufacture similar trailers for his timber business. In 1918, the Fruehauf Trailer Company was founded and for several decades thereafter built what its owner called the ‘semi-trailer’ (Encyclopædia Britannica 2020). Since the adjectival prefix ‘semi-’ can imply that an object is incomplete (‘semicircle’) or of diminished size or worth (‘semiprecious’), the term ‘semi-trailer truck’ may at first seem confusing or contradictory given the fact that these rigs are the largest vehicles on modern highways. The use of this term is clarified by a study of early offerings in commercial trailers. Also in 1918, the Federal Motor Truck Company, also based in Detroit, introduced two types of enclosed trailer, a “four-wheel” model, which could stand on its own, and a two-wheeled “semi-trailer” (Mroz 2010: 119). The second of the two became the standard. Owing to the power needed to tow such a heavy load, the trucks coupled to these trailers feature high-torque engines matched with low-g geared transmissions, much like a farm tractor. As a result, they were given the name ‘truck tractor,’ sometimes inverted as ‘tractor truck,’ and, when the entire configuration is considered, the term ‘tractor-trailer’ is a common synonym of ‘semi-trailer truck.’ Owing to the rather unwieldy length of this latter name, and despite the seeming illogicality of removing either the word ‘truck’ or ‘trailer’ from it, ‘semi-trailer,’ ‘semi-truck,’ and ‘semi’ alone are perhaps the most common terms for this vehicle in the United States. In British English it is often referred to as an ‘articulated lorry.’¹¹

The most common name in English for the driver of one of the big rigs discussed in this entry is ‘truck driver’ or ‘trucker.’ The Spanish equivalent is *camionero*, resulting from the fact that the language’s default word for a large ‘truck,’ including those that pull semi-trailers, is *camión*. This was the term selected in all but four of the twenty-one countries, though the significant variety in the lexemes used to denote this vehicle is reflected in the fact that *camión* was chosen exclusively in only two nations: Chile and Paraguay. Contributors in the first country also demonstrated no inclination to attach any qualifying information after this noun. Among Paraguayan participants, however, as well as those in Argentina, where *camión* was a leading response, it was often followed by adjectives or prepositional phrases such as *grande*, *con acoplado*, *de carga*, *de gran porte*, *de transporte*. *Camión* was also the primary or secondary response in mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, Mexico, all three Caribbean nations, four Central American countries, and four additional nations in South America. It entered Spanish from French *camion* (DLE), a

¹¹ The origin of ‘lorry’ is unknown, whereas ‘truck’ appears to derive from Latin *trochus*. When the first known use of the word ‘trucke’ was recorded in 1611, it referred to the wheels under sleds on which a ship’s guns were mounted. By 1774 it was being employed to denote a small wheelbarrow or similar cart used to move heavy objects. It was first attested in connection to a motorized vehicle during World War I, in 1916 (OED).

word attested in this latter language from the fourteenth century whose etymology beyond that point is unknown (Académie française 2020). Just as this French name and English ‘truck’ were long used to denote a ‘cart’ or larger ‘wagon’ before Daimler’s motorized version in 1896, the first use of Spanish *camión* as a horse-drawn vehicle dates to 1863 (DCECH). It was not until approximately the turn of the twentieth century that *camión* began to be applied to gasoline-powered models (CORDE). The second-most popular term among survey participants for ‘semi-trailer truck,’ chosen in fourteen nations, was a borrowing comprised of a portion of the English name: *tráiler*. While the CORDE contains various cases of (unaccented) *trailer*, beginning in 1950, all refer to cinematic previews. The CREA features numerous examples of *trailer* as well as *tráiler* in the sense of both a ‘mobile home,’ beginning in the 1970s, and, by the 1980s, ‘tractor-trailer.’ This Anglicism, like *camión*, was offered by informants in all major regions of the Spanish-speaking world, exclusively so in Bolivia and Ecuador.

Survey participants in five countries selected *furgón* for the large transport vehicle in question. It was the leading response in Nicaragua and Costa Rica and a minority reply in El Salvador, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic. The name, like *camión*, is a borrowing from French, in this instance *fourgon*, a word of uncertain origin dating to the seventeenth century. It denoted a long wagon, drawn by two horses, employed to convey goods as well as humans, including prisoners and wounded as a type of ambulance (Académie française 2020). The first known use of *furgón* in Spanish, with this same general meaning, dates to 1832. Even in 1918, more than twenty years after the first motorized truck emerged, this word was recorded in Spain with the meaning of a horse-drawn vehicle. It was not until 1923, also in Spain, that the term “*furgón automóvil*” was documented (CORDE).

Two of the thirteen Honduran contributors chose *rastro*, from Latin *rastrum*. The latter term initially denoted a ‘rake,’ but later it came to mean the impression left by this tool, finally designating more generally a ‘trail,’ ‘track,’ or ‘sign’ that may be followed. It was with this sense that *rastro* entered Spanish in the late twelfth century, first attested in *El cantar de mio Cid*.¹² The concept of such marks having been made by an object being pulled over the ground is evidenced by the early formation of the verb *rastrar* ‘to drag,’ which, while it still exists in the modern language, competes with the derivative synonym *arrastrar*, existent by the fifteenth century and the dominant of the two since the sixteenth (DCECH). While no source consulted defines *rastro* as a vehicle or a trailer pulled behind it, the DLE depicts *rastra* (<*rastro*) as an object that in English would be termed a ‘harrow,’ a farm implement dragged over plowed land to smooth out the surface.

¹² Since *rastro* did not signify ‘rake,’ as its Latinate etymon had once done, the derivative *rastrillo* emerged to serve the purpose (DCECH).

More to the point, the DAMER describes it variably as what would be rendered a ‘truck tractor’ only, a ‘semi-trailer’ alone, or a combined ‘tractor-trailer’ in parts of Central America and the Caribbean. True to this, *rastra* was selected by three contributors in Honduras, in competition with *rastro*, and it was even more popular in Cuba, where it was the leading reply. Neither *rastra* nor *rastro* was offered in any other country. Semantically related to these terms linked to the action of dragging or pulling is *semirremolque*, selected by three of the thirteen Uruguayan contributors. *Remolque* is derived from *remolcar*, a borrowing from Latin *remulcare*, itself from Greek *ῥυμολκεῖν* (*rymoulkeîn*), a compound verb based on the nouns *ῥῆμα* (*rýma*) ‘rope’ and *ὀλκός* (*holkós*) ‘traction.’ In Argentina alone, which borders Uruguay, the shortened *semi* was given as a minority response. Both *semirremolque* and *semi* were obviously inspired by English, the language in which ‘semi-trailer’ was coined no later than 1918 (Mroz 2010: 119). The earliest known use of *semirremolque*, in contrast, dates to 1940 (DCECH). This influence also extends to the French term *semi-remorque* (Académie française 2020).

The most common name for this vehicle in Colombia is a compound that directly cites both the tractor and the trailer, though the second portion of the word is anachronistic: *tractomula*. *Tracto-* is from Spanish *tractor*, a borrowing of English ‘tractor,’ itself derived from *tractus*, the past participle of the Latin verb *trahĕre* ‘to drag, pull, draw’ (DLE).¹³ The concept of this modern vehicle is paired with *mula* (<Latin *mula*) ‘mule,’ a cross between a male donkey and a mare. This creature, while still reared today, is in general no longer viewed as the crucial beast of burden once relied upon to transport heavy loads, especially in mountainous regions such as those in Colombia. While in time the animal in question was largely replaced by cargo-bearing trailers pulled by powerful motorized vehicles, Colombian speakers opted to memorialize the importance of its equine predecessor in the form of *tractomula*, the leading response among survey participants in this country.¹⁴ The DAMER lists *mula* as an abbreviated form with the same meaning in Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama. Only in the latter country did individuals select this shortened form, though they did so at a rate of over 50 percent.

A large majority of Venezuelan respondents offered another unique term for ‘semi-trailer truck’: *gandola*.¹⁵ At first sight many people unfamiliar with this word, including Spanish speakers outside of Venezuela, either read it as *góndola* or perceive it as a misspelling of the latter term. This reaction appears not to be

¹³ With a slightly difference nuance, the Spanish verb *traer* ‘to bring’ also derives from *trahĕre*.

¹⁴ There are sixteen unique examples of this term in the CREA between 1989 and 2004, fifteen from Colombia and one from neighboring Ecuador.

¹⁵ *Gandola* is used not only for large rigs carrying dry goods in box-like linear trailers, but also to denote a ‘tanker truck’ in whose rounded trailers liquids are transported, including petroleum, an important product in Venezuela, the only non-Arab OPEC nation.

without merit. From Italian *gondola*, the first known use of Spanish *góndola* was recorded in 1578 (CORDE), shortly after the appearance of English ‘gondola,’ attested from 1549 (OED). This borrowing in both languages, true to the Italian etymon, initially referred to the iconic flat-bottomed skiffs employed to navigate the canals of Venice. While both have retained this original meaning of the word, each has expanded its semantic scope. In English, ‘gondola’ is also utilized as a synonym for an ‘cable car,’ an enclosed cabin that transports skiers or sightseers to the top of a mountain. This conveyance is also called a *góndola* at times in Spanish, though *teleférico* is a more common name. While the connection is unclear, both ‘gondola’ and *góndola* also denote a rack of shelves upon which merchandise is displayed in supermarkets and other sales venues. Retaining the notion of a mode of transportation, albeit upon land and with wheels rather than gliding across the surface of the water, Spanish *góndola* eventually also assumed the meaning of a horse-drawn carriage with a capacity for several riders (DLE). Later, in the motorized era, the term, according to the DAMER, came to denote, in Venezuela alone, what English speakers would call a ‘tractor-trailer’ or similar name. This dictionary of American usage, providing a nearly identical description, also lists the word *gandola*, again only in Venezuelan usage. The change of the initial vowel from <o> to <a>, as well as the shift of the stress from the first to the second syllable, were evidently an effort, whether completely conscious or not, to avoid the confusion inherent in the multiple meanings of the original word.

In Guatemala, two survey participants selected *cabezal* for ‘semi-trailer truck,’ the only such response in any country. Derived from *cabeza* ‘head,’ this word, first attested in the late twelfth century, most commonly denotes not a literal head, but a metaphorical one in the form of the superior piece of certain objects, such as the head of an electric razor or the headboard of a bed, which is also referred to with the terms *cabecero* and *cabecera* (DLE). In similar fashion, as a tractor truck is the symbolic head of a tractor-trailer combination, in time it came to be called a *cabezal* in certain dialects. While not recognized with this vehicular meaning in the DLE, the DAMER lists its use in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Ecuador, though not Guatemala. Nevertheless, survey respondents in the latter country demonstrated not only that the term is employed there, but that it has evidently come to denote the entire hauling rig, just as the term *camión* in many countries signifies both the truck and the trailer it pulls.

The leading response for this vehicle in the Dominican Republic, one not found in any other country, was *patana*, a word not listed in the DLE or the DCECH. The DAMER, in contrast, while offering no etymological information, describes it as a small boat used to ply Cuban waters delivering loads of firewood and coal, a usage confirmed by the CORDE in a 1949 case from this country. The DAMER also notes that *patana* is employed in the neighboring Dominican Republic as a “*camión de gran tamaño*.” Perhaps land-based

tractor-trailers hauling cargo similar to that of the Cuban boats were given this same name as a result.

The final two terms for ‘semi-trailer truck,’ both Anglicisms, were selected only by respondents in Puerto Rico, an island whose status as a US protectorate has led to heavy English-language influence. The first, selected by three of eleven individuals, was *truck*. The second, offered by two individuals, was *sea land*, taken from the name of the company SeaLand, founded by Malcolm McLean. This American businessman realized in the 1950s that instead of transferring goods between ships, trucks, and trains at ports and other points of interchange, all three could haul uniform-sized containers, thus saving time and handling expense (Pearson 2001). As San Juan is one of the ports where SeaLand operates, the pair of respondents who chose the name of this company as a synonym for the terms *camión* and *truck* are representative of Puerto Ricans who have seen this corporate name on the side of semi-trailers and relate it to the conveyance itself. This situation is perhaps analogous in English to the railway carriages made by the Pullman Company during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the popularity of which caused the cars themselves to be referred to simply as ‘Pullmans.’

Tally of survey responses for ‘semi-trailer truck’ by country (total of fourteen)

- Bolivia, Ecuador: *tráiler* (unanimous)
- Chile, Paraguay: *camión* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *camión* (18), *semi* (2)
- Canary Islands: *camión* (16), *tráiler* (11)
- Colombia: *tractomula* (7), *camión* (2), *tráiler* (2)
- Costa Rica: *tráiler* (10), *furgón* (2)
- Cuba: *rastra* (7), *camión* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *patana* (7), *tráiler* (4), *camión* (4), *furgón* (3)
- El Salvador: *tráiler* (12), *furgón* (3)
- Guatemala: *tráiler* (8), *camión* (2), *cabezal* (2)
- Honduras: *tráiler* (5), *furgón* (3), *rastra* (3), *rastro* (camión) (2)
- Mexico: *tráiler* (30), *camión* (2)
- Nicaragua: *furgón* (5), *tráiler* (3), *camión* (2)
- Panama: *camión* (7), *mula* (7), *tráiler* (5)
- Peru: *tráiler* (11), *camión* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *camión* (5), *truck* (3), *sea land* (2)
- Spain: *camión* (11), *tráiler* (9)
- Uruguay: *camión* (9), *semirremolque* (3)
- Venezuela: *gandola* (19), *camión* (6)

Variant of *truck*: tro

Item 51: Pickup Truck

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the reality of a gasoline-powered truck was a mere half-decade or so old, following its invention and production by German innovator Gottlieb Daimler in 1896 (Newquist 2017: 76). During these early years of production, including during and following World War I, the market was dominated by large commercial or military models, typically able to carry a ton or more, meaning they were inaccessible to most farmers and small businesses. As a result, the pickup truck originated around the platform of the more affordable passenger car, the most popular of which was the Ford Model T. Such initial versions of these lightweight trucks were made post-production by adding a bed to a car chassis and cab. In 1925 the same Ford Motor Company began mass-producing the Model T Runabout with a Pick-up Body in its factories (Lukach 1998: 8).¹⁶ It was not until the 1940s that the company began producing a separate pickup chassis (18). This class of vehicle is popular the world over, and its influence extends to the lexical realm. The Anglicism *pickup* was selected as a first or second option in nine countries representing all the major regions of the Spanish-speaking world on both sides of the Atlantic. Its first known use dates to 1946 (DCECH). The orthography of this word can vary. In English it was originally hyphenated as ‘pick-up,’ a spelling also attested in Spanish, as well as that of *picup*. Other possible forms were suggested by contributors, including *picop* in Puerto Rico and *picab* in Spain. Another modified Anglicism, *troca*, was a minority selection for ‘pickup’ among informants in three nations: Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador. As these vehicles are often viewed as having all-wheel drive, the variations of *4×4*, *4 por 4*, and *cuatro por cuatro*, again perhaps under English influence, were given as minority responses by contributors in Uruguay and Argentina.

The most common name in Spanish for the vehicle in question is *camioneta*, selected in seventeen nations from mainland Spain and the Canary Islands to the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central and South America. This term is a Gallicism borrowed from twentieth-century *camionnette*, the diminutive form of fourteenth-century *camion*. The principal meaning of the former word in French is that of a work or delivery van, though it can also denote a ‘pickup,’ particularly in Canada.¹⁷ As seen in later entries, Spanish *camioneta* refers to multiple additional motor vehicles, including vans and buses both large and small. It was likely in reaction to this very ambiguity that contributors in three countries, Venezuela, Peru, and Uruguay, offered the hybrid compound *camioneta pickup* as a secondary or tertiary selection. Similarly, in Nicaragua, in addition to the eight participants who gave the response of *camioneta* alone,

¹⁶ It was Henry Ford himself who popularized the term ‘pickup’ (Lukach 1998: 8).

¹⁷ The default term for ‘pickup’ in Parisian French is the Anglicism *pick-up*.

two others qualified the name as *camioneta de tina*. The word *tina* denotes a 'bathtub' in countries where this item is not called a *bañera* or *bañadera*. In Nicaragua, however, it is also used metaphorically, as is English 'bed,' in reference to the box attached to the pickup truck to haul cargo. In Honduras, this part of the vehicle is termed a *paila*, from Latin *patella* 'metal skillet' (DLE, DAMER). In this case, however, the full name is *carro de paila*, selected by five Honduran respondents. Another compound term is *guagua pickup*, selected by a pair of Puerto Rican contributors, two others of whom gave the single-word response of *guagua*. Similar to *camioneta*, the term *guagua* is applied to several vehicles, mainly in the Caribbean.

The final three responses for 'pickup' were all selected in only one country each by a limited number of individuals. In Argentina, three contributors chose *chata*, a word that generally refers to a railway 'flatcar' in the Southern Cone (Collins 2020).¹⁸ The DAMER gives the following definition for Argentina as well as Chile: "*Vehículo de transporte, más pequeño que un camión y con caja descubierta, que se emplea para cargas de poco volumen.*" Four Canarian respondents selected *furgoneta*, a borrowing from French *fourgonnette* (DLE), a word denoting a small utility vehicle that in the twentieth-century derived from seventeenth-century *fourgon*, which applied to a long wagon of diverse uses (Académie française 2020). Finally, two participants, also in the Canary Islands, chose *ranchera*, a term whose rural quality evokes a sense of the rugged work these vehicles were designed to perform.

Tally of survey responses for 'pickup truck' by country (total of twelve)

- Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, Paraguay: *camioneta* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *camioneta* (17), *pickup* (3), *chata* (3), *4×4* (2)
- Canary Islands: *camioneta* (11), *pickup* (4), *furgoneta* (4), *ranchera* (2)
- Costa Rica: *pickup* (unanimous)
- El Salvador: *pickup* (11), *troca* (4)
- Guatemala: *pickup* (9), *troca* (2)
- Honduras: *carro de paila* (5), *camioneta* (4)
- Mexico: *camioneta* (26), *pickup* (7), *troca* (3)
- Nicaragua: *camioneta* (8), *camioneta de tina* (2)
- Peru: *camioneta* (8), *camioneta pickup* (5)
- Puerto Rico: *pickup* (5), *guagua* (2), *guagua pickup* (2)
- Spain: *camioneta* (7), *pickup* (6)
- Uruguay: *camioneta* (6), *camioneta pickup* (2), *4×4* (3)
- Venezuela: *camioneta* (10), *pickup* (9), *camioneta pickup* (6)

¹⁸ The noun *chata* is doubtless derived from the adjectival form *chato/a* 'flat.'

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *4×4: 4 por 4, cuatro por cuatro*
- *pickup: picab, picop*

Item 52: Large Van

A year before German Gottlieb Daimler built the first commercially available truck in 1896, the French company Peugeot Frères offered a motorized delivery wagon whose construction qualifies it as the world's first gasoline-propelled van. Built on a similar if not identical chassis, the main contrast between trucks and vans during the early years of their existence was that while the former had an open bed for transporting bulky loads of often raw materials, the cargo area of delivery vans was enclosed to protect packages and other sensitive goods from the elements (Robertson 2011: 298). The term 'van' is a shortened version of 'caravan.' While there is general agreement that the oldest known etymon of the full word is Persian, there are slight discrepancies regarding the ancient form depending on the source consulted: *kārvān* (DLE), *kārwān* (OED), *kārawān* (DCECH). In any event, the English iteration did not appear until the sixteenth century, recorded between the 1590s and the 1760s as 'carauan,' 'carouan,' 'caruan,' and 'karrawan' before consistently assuming its modern form. The meaning of this term, identical to that in Persian itself, was of a contingent traveling together for commercial or religious purposes, particularly through desert regions of the Middle East and North Africa, a concept later extended to include American convoys of wagon trains. In seventeenth-century England, the significance of the word 'caravan' had expanded to denote covered carts or carriages themselves, specifically those which carried riders from one stop to another, not unlike a stagecoach. In time, the abbreviated 'van' came to be applied both to these passenger vehicles and to those which chiefly conveyed goods.¹⁹ The first known example of this usage, linked to a horse-drawn conveyance, dates to 1829. Nearly seven decades later, in 1898, this term was employed in reference to a motorized vehicle (OED). Spanish has borrowed *van* from English, generally in reference to a 'large van' used to transport both passengers and cargo. While not attested in the CORDE or recognized by the DLE, the DAMER lists this usage among speakers in all

¹⁹ The unabbreviated 'caravan' in connection to vehicles has not ceased to be functional. In British English it denotes what in American English would be referred to as either a 'mobile home' or, in the recreation industry, a 'camper' or 'camping trailer' (OED).

regions of the Spanish-speaking Americas.²⁰ Indeed, the term was selected as a leading or secondary response by informants in all nations but Argentina, mainland Spain, and the Canary Islands.

The term *camioneta* was selected by informants in sixteen nations representing all of the major regions on both sides of the Atlantic. As discussed in the entry on the ‘pickup,’ this term is a Gallicism borrowed from *camionnette*, which French speakers employ in reference to such a small truck as well as a work or delivery van. Even smaller, but used for similar utilitarian purposes is the *fourgonnette*, the etymon of Spanish *furgoneta*, which a handful of contributors in the Canary Islands selected for ‘pickup’ and which a majority both there and in mainland Spain chose in reference to a ‘large van.’ *Furgoneta* was likewise the leading reply in this sense in Ecuador, as well as a minority option in Argentina. In Chile and the Canary Islands, the non-diminutive *furgón* (<French *fourgon*) was given as a minority response, one which contributors in five nations also related to the ‘semi-trailer truck.’

The historical differences between a sizable van and a small bus can be minimal, leading to a situation in which not only *bus* itself, but four other terms containing this root word, were selected by survey respondents for ‘large van.’ *Bus*, whose etymology will be given in the entry on the ‘city bus,’ was selected for ‘large van’ in Panama alone, by two of the country’s thirteen contributors. An equal number of their compatriots chose the diminutive *busito*, a term also offered by nearly a third of Hondurans. An alternative diminutive name, *buseta*, was a leading reply in both Cuba and Costa Rica, as well as a minority choice in Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. In both El Salvador and Nicaragua, the most popular response was *microbús*, a term not selected in any other country for the vehicle in question. Similar to this word was *minibús*, selected only in Bolivia. Informants from this country also offered yet another diminutive term: *vagoneta* (<*vagón* <English ‘wagon’), first attested in 1878 regarding train cars in Spain (CORDE). An additional word that may have derived from ‘wagon,’ though ultimately its etymology is viewed as uncertain, is *guagua* (DCECH, DLE). Survey participants in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic chose this word as a leading response.

Vans have long been used for hauling both passengers and cargo, a dual purpose which led to use of the name *combi*, selected as the most popular reply in Argentina and a minority choice in Peru. Its English etymon, ‘combi,’ is short for ‘combination’ (DLE), attested as an adjective related to vehicles in the early 1960s and as a noun beginning in the mid-1970s. The Volkswagen Type 2 minibus was also at times called the Kombi (OED). The earliest known case of *combi* in Spanish dates to 1987, in Mexico, and the second

²⁰ The DAMER states further that only in Cuba can both *el van* and *la van* be used, whereas elsewhere this noun is invariably treated according to its etymologically feminine gender.

to 1991, in Argentina (CREA). According to the DAMER, the first probably designated a 'pickup,' while the second is likely to have denoted a 'van' used in public transportation to convey a small number of occupants along a short, fixed route.

The final three responses among participants for 'large van' were all given in one country each as a minority form. In the Canary Islands, three of the twenty-five individuals selected a term normally associated with a longer, lower-profile, more luxurious vehicle: *limusina*. In Argentina, three of the nineteen informants gave an answer of *traffic*. This is due to the fact that a specific commercial van, the Renault Trafic, was for years produced, among other locales, in Argentina. It is a feminine noun, *la traffic*, whose French spelling is pronounced /trafik/ in Spanish. Finally, reflective of the tendency among speakers of this latter language to employ various words in connection to more than one type of motor vehicle, two of the fourteen respondents in El Salvador, in reference to a 'large van,' selected the name typically reserved for a sedan, including in this country: *carro*.

Tally of survey responses for 'large van' by country (total of fifteen)

- Argentina: *combi* (7), *camioneta* (6), *furgoneta* (2), *traffic* (2)
- Bolivia: *van* (3), *minibús* (3), *vagoneta* (3)
- Canary Islands: *furgoneta* (18), *furgón* (4), *limusina* (3)
- Chile: *van* (6), *furgón* (3), *camioneta* (3)
- Colombia: *camioneta* (7), *van* (2), *buseta* (2)
- Costa Rica: *van* (4), *buseta* (4), *camioneta* (3)
- Cuba: *van* (4), *buseta* (4), *camioneta* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *van* (8), *guagua* (8), *camioneta* (2)
- Ecuador: *furgoneta* (5), *van* (2), *buseta* (2)
- El Salvador: *microbús* (7), *van* (3), *camioneta* (2), *carro* (2)
- Guatemala: *camioneta* (8), *van* (3)
- Honduras: *van* (6), *busito* (4)
- Mexico: *camioneta* (16), *van* (11)
- Nicaragua: *microbús* (4), *van* (3), *camioneta* (2)
- Panama: *van* (8), *camioneta* (3), *bus* (2), *busito* (2)
- Paraguay: *van* (4), *camioneta* (2)
- Peru: *camioneta* (5), *van* (4), *combi* (3)
- Puerto Rico: *guagua* (8), *van* (2)
- Spain: *furgoneta* (15), *camioneta* (2)
- Uruguay: *camioneta* (13), *van* (3)
- Venezuela: *camioneta* (12), *van* (7), *buseta* (4)

Item 53: Minivan

While large motorized vans, first created as delivery vehicles and later adapted to transport passengers as well, have existed since the last decade of the nineteenth century, the minivan is a more recent invention. This is especially true if one considers widely recognized, mass-produced models, although, as catalogued by the Historic Vehicle Association (2018), several more obscure designs by automakers large and small have quietly emerged and then disappeared beginning as early as the 1930s. An exception is the iconic Volkswagen Type 2, produced by the millions between 1950 and 2013. Some of the colloquial names given to the Type 2 – the VW ‘Microbus,’ ‘Minibus,’ or simply ‘Bus’ – perhaps constitute the main reason that this vehicle is often not thought of as belonging to the minivan family. In the 1960s and 1970s, the focus regarding family-oriented automobiles was on the station wagon, though perceived shortcomings in this class, particularly regarding interior roominess, eventually provided a market opening for a new minivan. In 1983, the Plymouth Voyager and the Dodge Caravan, two minivans under the Chrysler umbrella, were launched to such acclaim that not only was the former produced for twenty years, but updated models of the latter continue to be manufactured to this day.

The word ‘minivan’ is attested from 1959, in Jamaica. In British English, the term ‘minivan’ is at times replaced by other names, such as ‘people carrier,’ attested from 1970 (OED). This Atlantic divide in English exists to a degree in Spanish. Whereas the Anglicism *miniván*, first attested in Puerto Rican Spanish in 1997 (CREA), was not chosen by any survey participants in mainland Spain and was selected by only two of twenty-five individuals in the Canary Islands, among American contributors it was the most popular reply, offered in seventeen of the nineteen countries, all but Uruguay and El Salvador. The term *van* was likewise selected only in the Americas, in seven countries: Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Venezuela, and Chile. In contrast, *monovolumen*, not selected in any American country, was the leading option in the Canary Islands. This word, attested in the CREA as of 1994, was tied as a secondary offering in mainland Spain, where the most popular reply was the general term *coche*, selected by six individuals.²¹ Akin to French *monospace*, Spanish *monovolumen* refers to the fact that, unlike other passenger vehicles, such as sedans and pickup trucks, which have one area for riders and a separate one for cargo in the form of a trunk or bed, the minivan features both spaces in a single compartment. The other secondary option in mainland Spain, also the runner-up in the Canary Islands, was *furgoneta*, which again was not offered by any American informants in connection with the ‘minivan,’ though it was

²¹ Two of these six Spaniards qualified the word *coche* with the adjective *familiar*, just as various respondents in Argentina and Paraguay selected *auto familiar*.

chosen in Argentina and Ecuador for 'large van.' *Ranchera*, selected by a pair of contributors for 'pickup' in the Canary Islands, was the response of two mainland Spaniards for 'minivan.' This name has also been used historically in Spain to denote a 'station wagon' (Collins 2020).

In addition to *furgoneta*, two other responses for 'minivan' containing the diminutive *-eta* suffix, in this case in the Americas, were *vagoneta* and *camioneta*. The first of these terms was selected only in Bolivia, as a second option, and was also chosen in said country alone for 'large van.' *Camioneta*, on the other hand, was a very popular answer, one applied to several vehicles. Offered by survey respondents in sixteen countries for 'large van' and seventeen for 'pickup,' it was only slightly less popular in relation to the 'minivan,' chosen in twelve nations. While not given as a response on the eastern side of the Atlantic or in the Caribbean, *camioneta* was selected overwhelmingly in Mexico and to one degree or another in a majority of nations in Central and South America. In one of these countries, Guatemala, its root served as the basis for two related terms: *camionetilla* and *minicamioneta*.²² The prefix of the latter term was also present in *minibús* and *miniblasér*, selected in Honduras and Ecuador, respectively.²³ This second word is derived from English 'Blazer,' an SUV produced by Chevrolet from the late 1960s to the early 1990s.

Another term employed for a variety of conveyances is *guagua*, offered by a majority of Puerto Ricans in reference to the 'minivan.' The popularity of this word was experienced by the author of this book on a visit to the island. After hearing it applied to pickup trucks and various iterations of vans and buses, he was surprised to hear a local also employ *guagua* in reference to her modestly sized SUV crossover. When queried, she replied that the term in Puerto Rico routinely applies to all passenger vehicles larger than a sedan, which is universally called a *carro*. The equivalent in Argentina of such a 'car' is *auto*, a word that, with the qualifying adjective *familiar* was selected as a minority response for 'miniván' in this country, as well as in Paraguay. Even less frequently offered in Argentina, and in no other country, was *rural*.

The final term in this entry is from the Dominican Republic, where two of nineteen informants offered the word *yipeta*, pronounced /dʒipéta/. Taken from 'Jeep,' this diminutive form of the transliterated Anglicism is most often used in reference to an SUV crossover.²⁴ Attested from 1996 (CREA), it typically designates an all-wheel-drive model used to traverse rough terrain (DAMER).

²² Whereas *minicamioneta* is not found in either the CORDE or the CREA, *camionetilla* is attested in the latter source from 1976, in Guatemala.

²³ *Minibús* is found in both the CORDE (1974) and the CREA (1987), while *miniblasér* is not listed in either database.

²⁴ The spelling *jeepeta* is also used, as expressed by one survey respondent and attested in the CREA from 2004. The English word 'Jeep' derives from G.P., initials standing for a 'general purpose' military vehicle. Its first known use dates to 1941 (OED).

Tally of survey responses for ‘minivan’ by country (total of sixteen)

- Costa Rica, Cuba: *miniván* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *camioneta* (9), *miniván* (3), *auto familiar* (3), *rural* (2)
- Bolivia: *miniván* (6), *vagoneta* (4)
- Canary Islands: *monovolumen* (10), *furgoneta* (5), *miniván* (2)
- Chile: *miniván* (6), *van* (5)
- Colombia: *camioneta* (8), *miniván* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *miniván* (13), *yipeta* (2)
- Ecuador: *miniván* (2), *miniblaser* (2)
- El Salvador: *camioneta* (9), *van* (2)
- Guatemala: *miniván* (4), *camioneta* (3), *camionetilla* (3), *minicamioneta* (2), *van* (2)
- Honduras: *miniván* (6), *camioneta* (3), *minibús* (2)
- Mexico: *camioneta* (17), *miniván* (11), *van* (4)
- Nicaragua: *miniván* (5), *van* (2), *camioneta* (2)
- Panama: *miniván* (6), *camioneta* (4), *van* (3)
- Paraguay: *miniván* (7), *camioneta* (3), *auto familiar* (2)
- Peru: *miniván* (8), *camioneta* (4)
- Puerto Rico: *guagua* (6), *miniván* (5)
- Spain: *coche* (6), *monovolumen* (3), *furgoneta* (3), *ranchera* (2)
- Uruguay: *camioneta* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *miniván* (10), *camioneta* (8), *van* (3)

Variant of *yipeta* used by one survey respondent: *jeepeta*

Item 54: City Bus

The world’s first bus, invented more than two centuries before the advent of internal combustion engine transport, was a long horse-drawn carriage with room for eight passengers that ran between different sections of Paris beginning in 1662. After this conveyance ceased operations some twenty years later, nearly a century and a half would pass before the French capital or any city would again feature a bus service. In 1819, Parisian businessman Jacques Laffite launched a transportation company whose fleet was comprised of buses with a capacity for up to eighteen people (Robertson 2011: 93). In 1825, a route was inaugurated in Upper Brittany to transport riders between the city of Nantes and a nearby site popular with bathers. These vehicles were reportedly the first to be given the name *omnibus*, from the same Latin word, which is the dative plural of *omnis* ‘all.’ Whereas the seventeenth-century buses were rather exclusive, the more recent iteration was intended for travelers of all classes (OED). Shortly thereafter, in the United States in 1827,

Abraham Bower commissioned what was essentially an elongated stage-coach whose two riding compartments accommodated twelve passengers riding up and down Broadway in New York City. In the 1830s, twelve-seat omnibuses, a similar design to those operating in London by then, commenced service in Washington, DC (Robertson 2011: 93–94). It was during this same decade that the first known use of the shortened ‘buss’ was recorded (OED). The first motorized bus, built by German Karl Benz in 1895, was used to cover the Siegen-Netphen-Duez route, in what is now the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. The first bus with a body resembling those seen today made its debut in 1898 and transited the Nantes-to-Vetheuil route in France. The initial double-decker buses in London, twenty-six-seat forebears of the iconic models still seen today, first took to the city’s streets in 1899. The first motorized city route in the United States, along New York’s Fifth Avenue beginning in 1905, was also served by double-decker buses with space for twenty-four passengers.²⁵ The first US inter-city route had been launched six years earlier, in 1899, connecting various points of suburban New York on Long Island.

The Anglicism *bus*, while not selected in all countries, was the most common response of informants for both photo images shown in the survey for this class of vehicle, one depicting a workaday urban-route bus and the other a larger, sleeker motorcoach clearly designed for inter-city travel. As it is the ‘city bus’ that individuals in these nations most commonly use on a daily basis, the responses given for this conveyance will be discussed here, whereas those selected for a ‘long-distance bus’ will be addressed in the ensuing entry. *Bus* was the unanimous choice of contributors in Ecuador, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Honduras, and it was given as a primary or secondary response by informants in six additional Central and South American countries. Whereas English ‘bus’ was shortened from ‘omnibus’ (<French *omnibus*) to ‘buss’ in the 1830s and ‘bus’ by the 1850s (OED), Spanish *bus*, first attested in 1943, in Panama (CORDE), is, instead, an abbreviation of *autobús*, a borrowing of French *autobus* (<*auto* + *bus* from *omnibus*) (DLE). The first known case of *autobús* dates to 1914, in Spain (CORDE), where survey participants selected this term exclusively. It was also offered in Venezuela, Guatemala, El Salvador, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic.

Informants chose three additional terms for the vehicle in question containing the root *bus*. The oldest, *ómnibus*, a Gallicism attested from 1842 with the meaning of a vehicle (CORDE), was selected unanimously in Uruguay, and was a first and second option in Peru and Paraguay, respectively. The word

²⁵ Similar urban routes in other American countries were established in Montreal in 1925 (Latouche 2011: 473), and San José, Costa Rica, in 1936 (Creedman 1991: 226). Before these dates both cities were served by streetcar lines.

microbús was even more popular, given as a first response in Chile and Bolivia and also offered in Argentina, Peru, and Mexico. The first known use of this word dates to a recent 1968, slightly earlier than the evidently newer *buseta*, documented as of 1975 (CREA). The latter term was only selected in one nation, Colombia, as a minority alternative to the leading *bus*.

The dominant name for ‘city bus’ in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean is *guagua*, selected not only as the leading response in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, but as the exclusive choice in Puerto Rico. It was also the unanimous option in the Canary Islands. This word originated in Cuba in reference to a ‘bus,’ though at a time when such conveyances were still drawn by horses. The first recorded use of *guagua* in this sense dates to 1895, the same year that Daimler invented the first motorized version in faraway Germany. An example of a gasoline-powered version is attested from 1938, also in Cuba (CORDE). While the etymology of this name is uncertain, it may be an adaptation of English ‘wagon’ (DCEDH).²⁶

The communal nature of a ‘city bus’ is expressed in the name *colectivo*, which was selected by each of the Argentine respondents, all of those in Paraguay but one, and a mere two of thirty-one in Mexico. Since this word as a noun typically describes a group of people who have come together for a common purpose, it would be logical to assume that its use in connection with this vehicle began as an adjective, and this indeed appears to be the case. Sosa (2018) explains that while in 1928 Buenos Aires had both a subway and a trolley car system, a bus service had yet to become a reality in the city. It was then that a contingent of cab drivers, concerned about the low number of clients, decided to advertise rides in their *taxis colectivos*, along a fixed route, for one-fifth of the price of the normal fare. The service soon became so profitable that dozens of companies sprang up, increasing the number of routes throughout the neighborhoods of the capital and gradually increasing the size of the vehicles until they had come to constitute the buses that by then were also servicing other urban areas in various parts of the world. Also altered was the name of these conveyances, as *colectivo* became a standalone noun, the first known case of which dates to 1935, in Buenos Aires itself (CORDE).

The second-leading response for ‘city bus’ among Argentine contributors was *bondi*, a term which, while attested in the country from 1931 (CORDE), has international roots dating from considerably earlier. Marquinez (2012) reports that when the American-owned Botanical Garden Railroad Company opened its trolley service in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1876, it financed the

²⁶ This name for a vehicle is not to be confused, either in meaning or pronunciation, with the term *guagua* used for ‘baby, small child’ in the Andes, a term derived from Quechua *wáwa* (DLE), first recorded as *huahua* in Peru in 1609, followed by *guagua* in a much later 1908 (CORDE). Despite its modern spelling, the South American iteration is not a homophone of its Caribbean counterpart, the former pronounced /uáua/ and the latter /guâgua/.

project through the sale of ‘bonds,’ this English word inspiring the name *bondes* (singular *bonde*), applied by local Portuguese speakers to the individual tram cars. Spanish speakers in Buenos Aires later adopted the term, modifying it to *bondi*.²⁷ While it was initially also employed in reference to trolleys, it eventually came to designate motorized urban buses. Of the six survey participants who offered this response, two noted that its use may be considered somewhat informal. It is included among the results, however, due to the fact that it was chosen by nearly a third of contributors in Argentina and has been in continual use for the better part of a century, a good indication that it has not been regarded as slang.

The final two responses for ‘city bus’ are related terms also used in connection with other motor vehicles. *Camión* was offered only in Mexico, as the dominant option, while its diminutive counterpart, *camioneta*, was selected in Guatemala alone, also as the leading response.

Tally of survey responses for ‘city bus’ by country (total of ten)

- Canary Islands, Cuba, Puerto Rico: *guagua* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama: *bus* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *colectivo* (19), *bondi* (6), *microbús* (2)
- Bolivia: *microbús* (9), *bus* (6)
- Chile: *microbús* (11), *bus* (2)
- Colombia: *bus* (12), *buseta* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *guagua* (15), *autobús* (5)
- El Salvador: *bus* (12), *autobús* (3)
- Guatemala: *camioneta* (9), *bus* (6), *autobús* (2)
- Mexico: *camión* (15), *autobús* (13), *microbús* (2), *colectivo* (2)
- Paraguay: *colectivo* (10), *ómnibus* (3)
- Peru: *ómnibus* (6), *bus* (6), *microbús* (5)
- Spain: *autobús* (unanimous)
- Uruguay: *ómnibus* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *autobús* (17), *bus* (7)

Item 55: Long-Distance Bus

In some countries there is little if any variation in the terms employed to denote a ‘city bus’ and a ‘long-distance bus.’ Survey participants selected the Anglicism *bus* exclusively for both vehicles in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama, and

²⁷ The use of the word-final /-i/ in Spanish is due to the fact that *bonde* in Brazilian Portuguese would have been pronounced /bóndʒi/.

Ecuador. Likewise, contributors in Uruguay chose the longer *ómnibus* as the only name for both conveyances, while those in Cuba and Puerto Rico did the same with the term *guagua*. In Venezuela, the names *autobús* and *bus* were selected, in this order, to denote both of these closely related modes of transportation. However, in an effort to express relevant conceptual differences between these vehicles, or the routes they transit, some participants who selected these and other terms qualified their replies with additional information. For example, one Ecuadorian contributor offered *bus urbano* for ‘city bus’ and *bus interprovincial* for ‘long-distance bus.’ Other expansions of the first type were *de ciudad* and *de ruta*, whereas those of the second, which were greater in number, included *grande*, *ejecutivo*, *intermunicipal*, *interdepartamental*, *de larga distancia*, *de largo trayecto*, *de lujo*, and *de turismo*.

With regard to the remaining thirteen countries, in which responses for ‘city bus’ and ‘long-distance bus’ were largely similar but not identical, the principal distinctions entailed terms being selected by contributors for one vehicle but not the other or the same words being offered but in a different order of emphasis. In mainland Spain, whereas *autobús* was the sole option to designate a ‘city bus,’ this name was, as a leading reply for ‘long-distance bus,’ also accompanied by *autocar* and *bus*, both as minority forms. Canarian participants, having chosen *guagua* exclusively for the urban model, maintained this word as the primary reply for the inter-city version while also adding *autocar* as a second option and *autobús* as a third. *Autocar* is a loanword from French (DLE), which in turn had borrowed it from the English word of the same spelling, though in the latter language it was used from its inception to denote a ‘car,’ not a large-capacity touring ‘bus’ as in French and Spanish (Académie française 2020). The first known use of ‘autocar’ in English dates to 1895 (OED), compared to 1930 in the case of the loanword in Spanish (CORDE).

In Colombia, whereas *bus* was the leading option for both ‘city bus’ and ‘long-distance bus,’ the diminutive *buseta*, the secondary reply for the smaller local type, was replaced in reference to the larger interurban variety by *flota*. This latter word, first attested in approximately 1260, entered Spanish from French *flotte*, itself borrowed from Old Norse *floti* ‘squadron, fleet’ (<*fljóta* ‘to float’) (DCECH).²⁸ In time, both English ‘fleet’ and Spanish *flota*, in addition to their connection to aquatic vessels, came to denote groups of land-based conveyances. The DLE states that in the Colombian dialect, *flota* can also be employed not only in reference to a collection of buses, but, through further metaphorical extension, to the individual vehicles in such a fleet, a designation

²⁸ A fleet of small ships was called a *flotilla* in Spanish, adopted into English with the same spelling (though pronounced /floˈtɪlə/) as a synonym for ‘fleet’ in the early eighteenth century (OED).

that the dictionary also applies to Bolivia (DLE). Indeed, *flota* was also chosen by Bolivian respondents, as the most popular name for ‘long-distance bus,’ replacing *microbús* for ‘city bus.’ The more neutral *bus* was the second option in Bolivia in both instances. In Honduras, survey participants chose *bus* alone for ‘city bus’ but both *bus* and *autobús* in reference to ‘long-distance bus.’ The opposite occurred in El Salvador, where contributors selected *bus* and *autobús* for the first conveyance but omitted the latter in relation to the second. Rather than list the minutiae of several similar instances involving vehicle names already addressed, readers can compare the tallied survey results in both entries for these and other comparisons by country as desired. One additional case merits individual consideration, however, as it involves a pair of lexemes not yet discussed.

In the Dominican Republic, while survey respondents selected *guagua* and *autobús* for both vehicles in question, two other names, not offered elsewhere, were chosen by informants for ‘long-distance bus’ alone, both as minority options. The first was *metro*, short for *metrobús*, first attested from 1996, in the Dominican Republic itself (CREA). It is slightly puzzling that this term was not selected instead for ‘city bus,’ as its typical use in the Caribbean is reportedly in connection with such an urban vehicle of transport, whose routes, after all, are in and not between metropolitan areas (DAMER). More apposite was the choice of *expreso*, as it suggests the swift, at times even non-stop travel associated with a ‘long-distance bus.’ As *expreso* is normally an adjective, it is logical to assume that it stems from a longer name. Indeed, such a usage can be found in an article in the most popular Dominican newspaper, *Listín Diario*, one that fittingly mentions a journey between two distant cities: “*Trasladarse de Barahona a Santo Domingo desde mañana en un autobús expreso costará RD\$280.00*” (Rodríguez 2016).

Tally of survey responses for ‘long-distance bus’ by country (total of twelve)

- Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama: *bus* (unanimous)
- Cuba, Puerto Rico: *guagua* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *colectivo* (11), *microbús* (10), *ómnibus* (3)
- Bolivia: *flota* (8), *bus* (4)
- Canary Islands: *guagua* (22), *autocar* (2), *autobús* (2)
- Colombia: *bus* (11), *flota* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *autobús* (10), *guagua* (6), *metro* (2), *expreso* (2)
- Guatemala: *bus* (6), *camioneta* (3)
- Honduras: *bus* (11), *autobús* (2)
- Mexico: *autobús* (22), *camión* (9)
- Paraguay: *colectivo* (7), *ómnibus* (4), *microbús* (2)

- Peru: *bus* (9), *ómnibus* (5)
- Spain: *autobús* (15), *autocar* (2), *bus* (2)
- Uruguay: *ómnibus* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *autobús* (15), *bus* (6)

Item 56: Traffic Jam

The first known traffic jam involving motorized vehicles occurred in March of 1913 along New York City's Broadway, precipitated by the popular lectures of famous French philosopher Henri Bergson at Columbia University (Kroker 2007: 138). The verb 'to jam,' meaning to squeeze or press an object between two other objects, is an apparently onomatopoeic English word first attested in 1719. By 1805 it was documented as a noun to denote the act of jamming, or the state of a person or item packed into a tightly confined area. Its first known use as part of the term 'traffic jam,' initially employed in American English, dates to 1917 (OED). In Spanish, the most common word for a 'traffic jam' is *embotellamiento* (<*embotellar* 'to bottle' <*botella* 'bottle'), which carries a connotation similar to the metaphorical use of the English term 'bottleneck.' This response was given in exclusive fashion by survey participants in six countries, three in the Southern Cone, two in Central America, and Mexico. In addition, it was a second option in Panama. Whereas *embotellamiento* refers to the inside of a bottle, there is another term for 'traffic jam' which relates to the implement utilized to seal this and other containers: *tapón* 'lid' (<French *tapon* <Frankish **tappo*) (DLE). This was the unanimous reply of survey participants in both Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.²⁹

A term for roadway gridlock selected by contributors in two countries was *atasco*, chosen exclusively in the Canary Islands and as the overwhelmingly favorite option in mainland Spain. This word, which in general refers to an 'obstruction,' such as one that forms in a plumbing system, or, metaphorically, a setback in a plan or operation, derives from the verb *atascar* 'to obstruct' (DLE).³⁰ Such clear semantic connections to a 'traffic jam' are more difficult to deduce when the etymology of this term is traced further into the past. *Atascar* is based on *tascar*, which refers to the process of beating flax to remove the fibers woven to make linen from the woody waste parts of the stem. This latter verb likely comes from Celtic *taskos* 'peg, stake, club' (Roberts 2014b: 598).

²⁹ While *tapón* in the literal sense is attested from 1396 (CORDE), its first known use in connection with a 'traffic jam' dates to 1993, in Puerto Rico (CREA).

³⁰ Whereas the first known case of *atasco* dates to the late eighteenth century, its use to denote a 'traffic jam' is attested from 1951, in Spain (CORDE).

Another verb productive in the creation of vocabulary relating to a ‘traffic jam’ is *trancar*, which also means ‘to obstruct,’ but in the specific sense of ‘to bar the door,’ at least traditionally in Spain (DLE). In time, this verb in Latin America came to refer to the process by which traffic flows are impeded (DAMER). *Trancar*, first attested in approximately 1540, was formed from *tranca* (c1330), which is the solid length of wood used to secure a doorway from the inside (DCECH). This noun was likely borrowed from Celtic **trancā* ‘iron bar,’ derived in turn from **tarancā*, denoting a ‘spit’ used for roasting meat over a fire (Roberts 2014b: 635). Survey participants selected four terms with the root *tranc(qu)-*. In Cuba, the unanimous choice for severe vehicular congestion was *tranque*, also the leading option in Panama. The DAMER agrees with the use of this word in both countries, which is attested in the CREA from 1996, in Cuba. The same dictionary and database verify the existence in Venezuela of *tranca*, also documented from 1996 and chosen exclusively by respondents there. The third word, chosen in unanimous fashion by participants in Colombia, was one created via an augmentative suffix: *trancón*. Usage of this term is linked to the country in question by the DLE and is attested from 1994 in the CREA. The fourth variant, the exclusive choice of Bolivian contributors, was *trancadera*, noted in the DLE in relation to this country.

An additional term employed in relation to a ‘traffic jam’ that features an augmentative suffix is *trabazón*, selected exclusively by informants in El Salvador, where the DAMER verifies the use of this word. It is derived from *trabar*, which can mean ‘to hobble,’ the verb itself having developed from *traba* ‘hobble’ (<medieval Spanish *trabe* <Latin *trabem*, the accusative form of *trabs*, ‘beam’ of wood, one of whose uses was to hobble animals) (Roberts 2014b: 631–632). While horses and other creatures are rarely used for transportation today, the metaphor of a motor vehicle and its driver being hobbled by stopped traffic is an apt one.

It is surely strange for Spanish speakers outside of Chile, especially in countries where stuffed corn and flour tortillas are regularly consumed, as in Mexico and Central America, to learn that in this South American nation *taco* refers to, among other things, a ‘traffic jam.’ This lexeme entered Spanish from Old French *tache*, meaning a ‘nail’ or ‘bolt,’ the latter shot from crossbows (<Middle Low German *zacke* ‘sharp point’). As gunpowder became more reliable and muzzle-loading weapons increased in use, *taco* came to denote both the paper or cloth ‘wad’ that separated the powder from the ball or shot, as well as the ‘ramrod’ with which all these elements were forced down the barrel (Roberts 2014b: 588). It was only later, through metaphor, that a tortilla, rolled into a cylindrical shape to retain the food stuffed inside it, acquired this name. In time, *taco* was also figuratively applied in Chile to a stopped-up pipe and, eventually, to a large accumulation

of halted traffic (DAMER). Its first known usage in the latter sense dates to 1998 (CREA).³¹ Another exclusive response for ‘traffic jam’ offered by survey participants in a single nation, in this case Costa Rica, was *presa*. The symbolism of the word in this context is unmistakable. Derived from Latin *prensa*, the past participle of *prendere* ‘to grasp, seize,’ this term in Spanish denotes a ‘dam,’ behind which water is backed up in a fashion similar to automobiles stymied in their forward progress by an obstacle in the roadway.³² The first known use of the word with this meaning dates to 1993 (CREA).

Finally, in mainland Spain, secondary to the more popular *atasco*, three of the seventeen informants chose *caravana*. This term, attested in Spanish from the mid-fourteenth century, is derived from French *caravane*, itself from Persian *kārawān* ‘train of horses’ (DCECH). While the concept of both ancient and modern caravans entails a group of travelers moving forward in their communal journey, which is the opposite of a ‘traffic jam,’ pre-motorized iterations of such conveys were unavoidably slow and surely came to a standstill on numerous occasions as man and beast labored haltingly to advance in the face of uncertain elements and difficult terrain. Consequently, the DLE recognizes the usage of this word as intended by the Spanish contributors in question: “*Hilera o conjunto de hileras de vehículos que, por dificultades en la carretera, avanzan lentamente y a veces con frecuentes retenciones.*” Notwithstanding the challenge of divining this meaning in myriad corpora examples, most of which clearly convey the traditional definition of the term, a clear instance of *caravana* in the sense of a ‘traffic jam’ is attested from 1986, in Madrid (CREA).

Tally of survey responses for ‘traffic jam’ by country (total of eleven)

- Argentina, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay: *embotellamiento* (unanimous)
- Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico: *tapón* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *trancadera* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands: *atasco* (unanimous)
- Chile: *taco* (unanimous)
- Colombia: *trancón* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica: *presa* (unanimous)
- Cuba: *tranque* (unanimous)

³¹ The word *taco* also refers to a ‘billiard cue’ and, in several countries, the slender, high heel of women’s dress shoes, a feature also often termed a *tacón*.

³² *Presa* also means ‘prey,’ which is apt to be seized by a predator. The word *represa* is likewise often used in Spanish to denote a ‘dam.’

- Ecuador: none*
- El Salvador: *trabazón* (unanimous)
- Panama: *tranque* (11), *embotellamiento* (3)
- Peru: none*
- Spain: *atasco* (13), *caravana* (3)
- Venezuela: *tranca* (unanimous)

* None of the survey participants in Ecuador or Peru offered a unique term for ‘traffic jam.’ Several opted for *tráfico*, which is too general and does not necessarily denote a line of halted vehicles. Others gave a response of *hora pico* or *hora punta* ‘rush hour,’ but while such periods of the day are indeed most likely to see the heaviest congestion, a ‘traffic jam’ can be caused by an accident, weather events, and other phenomena outside of normal morning and evening commute times. In similar fashion, *congestión* and *congestionamiento* were discarded, since a roadway can experience congested albeit still-flowing traffic.

Questions

1. Either in jest or out of ignorance, English speakers often remark that Spanish terms are formed by simply placing an <o> at the end of cognates that these languages share. What is a word in this chapter that falls into this category but demonstrates the general fallacy of this contention? What are other –o final terms from the overall Spanish lexicon – including both nouns and adjectives – that fit this description and what is their etymology compared to that of the English counterpart?
2. What are the semantic explanations for the use of *paño* in Panama to denote a ‘car lane’?
3. What is the likely reason that *llanta* is used for the ‘rim’ of a wheel and not a ‘tire’ in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands?
4. While the English terms ‘car horn’ and ‘speaker’ do not overlap semantically, this is not the case with *bocina* in several Spanish-speaking countries. How did this situation come to exist and what conditions ameliorate confusion surrounding the dual usage of this word in these nations?
5. What are the implications of both *rastra* and *rastro* being utilized in reference to a ‘semi-trailer truck’ in Honduras in terms of greater lexical variation in this language vis-à-vis that of English? How does this differ from the normal perception of gender usage in Spanish?

6. What is the likely reason for the heightened use in Spanish of Anglicisms in connection to various automobiles, including the terms *tráiler*, *pickup*, *van*, and *miniván*?
7. Considering the four terms for ‘traffic jam’ in Spanish that contain the root *tranc(qu)*-, what advantages does the morphological structure of this language enjoy over English regarding a capacity for internal word creation?

4 Miscellaneous Items

4.1 Introduction

The miscellaneous items contained in this chapter are, by definition, of the sort that do not fall neatly into the types of categories that have been explored to this point. Their inclusion is the result of the somewhat random ruminations of the author, who, upon living and traveling in different parts of the Spanish-speaking world, has taken a keen interest in the diatopic lexical variation attached to such items from one destination to the next. Reminiscent of the vocabulary for clothing- and vehicle-related articles detailed in the second and third chapters, a majority of the words examined in this fourth chapter can be traced to Indo-European and other Old World languages. This situation is due to the fact that the terms in question tend to designate objects that either existed on the east side of the Atlantic prior to European colonization of the Americas, or are modern innovations whose emergence in the more developed countries of North America and Europe has generally precluded the adoption of large quantities of Amerindian vocabulary to describe them. As will be seen, however, this condition is by no means absolute.

As with the prior chapters on food-, clothing-, and vehicle-related vocabulary, the discussion of items in the present chapter is organized according to the same three-category system as previously noted.

Category 1: minimal nomenclature variation (2–3 words per item)

Category 2: moderate nomenclature variation (4–6 words per item)

Category 3: extensive nomenclature variation (7+ words per item)

4.2 Miscellaneous Items with Minimal Nomenclature Variation

Item 57: Computer

As human civilizations grew more complex, so did the use of numbers. Ancient Egyptians employed mathematical formulas to measure the annual flooding of

the Nile and determine land areas. The Babylonians created tables to solve various complex equations. Mathematicians in India invented the zero and negative numbers and practiced trigonometry. Greek civilization gave the world Euclidean geometry. Scholars in Islamic countries developed algebra, the very name of which comes from the Arabic word *al jabr* (O'Regan 2008: 21–25). While these forms of mathematics have existed for centuries if not millennia, calculus would come much later. This latter branch began in rudimentary fashion, including the use of pebbles (Williams 1997: 54). Indeed, it is the Latin word *calculus* 'pebble, stone' that provided English not only with the term for its namesake mathematical discipline, but also with the noun 'calculator' (*calculātor* <*calculāre* 'to calculate' <*calculus*).¹ When one hears the term 'calculator' today, an electronic iteration typically comes to mind. However, when the word first came into use in fourteenth-century English, it referred to a human who performed calculations.² The late sixteenth century saw the emergence of the term 'computator' (*computātor* <*computāt-* past participle stem of verb *computāre*). The Classical Latin name referred to a human and was synonymous with 'calculator' or 'accountant.' In post-Classical Latin it also conveyed the meaning of a counting board, essentially denoting a type of abacus. By the seventeenth century, the truncated forms of 'computer' and 'comput' were being used in reference to human calculators (OED). One of the essential steps in the journey toward the modern computer as machine was the invention of mechanized calculating devices, meaning that human intervention in the obtaining of mathematical results was reduced even if not eliminated. In the 1670s, German scientist Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz developed a machine capable of performing all four basic mathematical operations automatically (Goldstine 1980: 6–7).

It was not until the post-Industrial Revolution era that advances in business and commerce created a need for mechanical calculators big enough for manufacturers to make them a priority. By the late 1800s, many such devices were accessible in the United States and Europe. Nevertheless, as power and speed are two of the most crucial elements required to carry out increasingly complex calculations, it was their very mechanical nature that would never allow them to execute fully the functions performed by a 'computer' as the word is understood today. One of the main fuels of modern computers is electricity, which, while existent in reliable though limited form toward the end of the nineteenth century, was not a widely accessible commodity even in Western countries until well into the twentieth century. Also crucial for the operation of computers are memory and programming, functions originally

¹ In Spanish, the term *cálculo* has three distinct meanings: (1) 'calculus,' (2) 'calculation,' and (3) 'kidney stone.'

² The first recorded use of the term 'calculator' in reference to a machine rather than a human dates to 1784 (OED).

made available in a calculating machine through American inventor Herman Hollerith's 1890 development of a system to store information on perforated cards. While this device was originally powered by electromagnetic motors, it was eventually adapted to run on electricity, a modification that significantly increased its speed and its ability to perform increasingly intricate computations. This, together with its punch-card programming and storage capabilities, arguably made this machine the first true computer (Ceruzzi 2012: 5–8). Subsequent developments that led to modern devices are too numerous to mention here, but one vital step was the substitution of certain mechanical parts with vacuum tubes in the 1930s. This transition from 'analogue' (mechanical) computers to those considered 'digital' (electronic) meant that their potential velocity was in theory now only restrained by the limits of the speed of light (20–21). Other advances include the invention of the silicon chip and the integrated circuit in the early 1960s, the beginnings of the Internet with the first linking of separate computers into a network in 1969, the release of personal computers in the 1970s and 1980s, the introduction in 1991 of the World Wide Web, the release of Netscape's web browser in 1994, and the debut of Microsoft's Internet Explorer the following year as part of its Windows 95 suite. Twenty-first-century smart phones have literally put all of this computing technology into the palm of users' hands.

While the word 'computer' was initially employed in reference to human reckoners in the 1600s, its first known use to denote a machine dates to 1869 (OED). The synonymous 'calculator' predates 'computer' in both connotations, a phenomenon that also occurred in Spanish. The first known case of *calculador* in reference to a human is from 1529, whereas *máquina calculadora* dates to 1901. The adjectival portion of this term had become nominalized no later than 1930 as simply *calculadora*, a name that could be utilized with regard both to newly emerging computers and other data-processing devices. To this day it is used in reference to a 'calculator' that performs mathematical functions. It was not until 1963 that the differentiating *computadora* was recorded, an evident borrowing from English (CORDE). This feminine noun is the overwhelming form used by Spanish speakers. It was the unanimous selection of survey respondents in seventeen of the twenty-one countries. In Colombia it was a secondary choice, while the majority of participants opted for *computador*, first recorded in 1966 (CORDE). This masculine form was the only reply given by Chilean informants.³

Among respondents in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, no cases of either *computadora* or *computador* were offered, only *ordenador*. While the DLE lists the latter word as traceable to Latin *ordinātor* (<*ordināre* 'to put in order'), this etymology appears unlikely, at least in terms of direction adoption.

³ In Portuguese, only the masculine *computador* is used.

The intermediate language was surely French, which first employed *ordinateur* in the fifteenth century in relation to “one who institutes something,” while it was only in the twentieth century that it came to be applied to a mechanical device, the modern ‘computer’ itself (Académie française 2020). This sequence of events provides further indications that French is the immediate etymon of Spanish *ordenador*, attested from 1967 (CORDE). Another significance of the relatively late date of this borrowing from nearby France is that it evidently prevented the term from being borrowed by any of the American dialects across the Atlantic.

Tally of survey responses for ‘computer’ by country (total of three)

- Canary Islands, Spain: *ordenador* (unanimous)
- Chile: *computador* (unanimous)
- Colombia: *computador* (10), *computadora* (3)
- All other countries: *computadora* (unanimous)

Item 58: Swimming Pool

History reveals that swimming was a popular athletic pursuit among ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, the latter of whom are credited with building the world’s first swimming pools. During the Middle Ages, swimming declined in popularity due to fears that linked water to diseases like the plague and owing to Christian teachings that increasingly emphasized modesty, as swimming had traditionally been done in the nude. In the early modern era, however, the practice began to make a comeback. In 1587, for instance, Englishman Everard Digby wrote a book in Latin entitled *De arte natandi* (*The Art of Swimming*). From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, swimming continued to grow in popularity throughout the world, which led to aquatic events being held at the first modern Olympic Games. It was during this same period that pools began to be built, some of the first appearing in San Francisco, California (Hardman 2012: 14–18). The oldest mention of a ‘swimming pool’ in the OED dates to 1899, and the initial use of ‘pool’ alone with the same meaning is documented as of 1906. Both ‘swimming’ and ‘pool’ can be traced to Old English, the former derived from the verb ‘to swim,’ whose Anglo-Saxon form was ‘swimman’ (OED). The three terms selected by survey respondents for this item in Spanish are also of ancient usage and have undergone numerous semantic shifts. The most common of these is *piscina*, selected in all twenty-one countries, unanimously in seventeen and as a secondary option in four. This is the same form that was used in Latin to denote Roman swimming pools

(plural *piscinae*). It is derived from *piscis*; as a result, it also carries the significance of ‘fishpond’ (Roberts 2014b: 363). Furthermore, the DLE lists this word in reference to a receptacle to hold baptismal water. In fact, for the first 700 years after its appearance in the thirteenth century, the many recorded uses of *piscina* convey either this religious meaning or that of ponds or tanks containing fish. It is not until 1929, in Guatemala, that a use of this word in clear relation to a ‘swimming pool’ is attested.

The second-most common choice for the item in question is *pileta*, the leading option in the River Plate countries. It is the diminutive form of *pila*, which in Latin meant a mortar used for grinding and which in Spanish denotes a variety of vessels used to hold water, often with religious significance (DCECH). It also has more secular meanings, including ‘wash basin’ and ‘water trough’ (DLE). The first recorded use of *pileta* in the CORDE dates to 1490, though the earliest usage referring to a recreational pool is from 1940, in Argentina. This word is a good example of how diminutive forms, while perhaps originally applying to objects smaller than their immediate etymons, at times come to denote much larger items.

The final word for ‘swimming pool’ is *alberca* (<Hispano-Arabic *albirka* <Classical Arabic *birkah*) (DLE). While this Arabism meant ‘pond’ in its language of origin, in the Spanish of the Iberian Peninsula, where its first known use is from 1253, it came to refer to a manmade water tank, often made with walls of brick and used for irrigation (DCECH). At some point this concept, as well as the word for it, arrived in America. It has been attested in Colombia with the same meaning from 1589. Although in Mexico this term was employed in the same sense by the seventeenth century, people not only watered their crops with these tanks but also bathed in them. Therefore, when swimming began to grow in popularity in this country, *alberca* was applied to the pools built for the purpose; it is attested in Mexican sources from the 1950s (CORDE).

Tally of survey responses for ‘swimming pool’ by country (total of three)

- Argentina: *pileta* (18), *piscina* (4)
- Mexico: *alberca* (26), *piscina* (11)
- Paraguay: *pileta* (10), *piscina* (6)
- Uruguay: *pileta* (13), *piscina* (3)
- All other countries: *piscina* (unanimous)

Item 59: Basketball

Although the late nineteenth-century invention of basketball occurred in the US state of Massachusetts, its mastermind, James Naismith, was born in the

Canadian province of Ontario in 1861 and remained north of the border during his formative years (Webb 1973: 36). At the age of twenty-nine, enticed by the superintendent of the International YMCA Training School in Springfield, Massachusetts, he moved to New England to enroll in a two-year program at the institute in September of 1890 with the idea of one day directing a YMCA facility of his own (43–45). The following autumn, Naismith was invited to join the growing YMCA faculty (Webb 1973: 51). While most of his students were boys, two of his colleagues had been given an indoor gym class consisting mostly of mature men, men who quickly became bored with the usual activities of the day in such a course, including calisthenics and gymnastics. When his fellow instructors begged off due to the growing frustration of the students, the superintendent assigned a reluctant Naismith the challenge of creating a new indoor game that would satisfy such a group during the cold months. While the soccer ball was initially selected for this sport, it was advanced and launched by hand instead of kicked, and the goals, instead of being large, angular, vertical, and at ground level, were to be small, round, horizontal, and placed above the players heads. These originally took the form of two peach baskets. Naismith nailed them to the bottom rail of the balcony on either side of the gymnasium, an arrangement that left them hanging approximately ten feet above the floor, the regulation height of the metal hoops employed in the sport today. It appears that only one basket was scored during the chaotic but historic inaugural game, which was played on or about December 21, 1891. One of the students suggested the sport be called “basket ball,” which was adopted (50–66).

Since early 1892, Naismith’s creation has gone by only one name in English, though with slight variation in its orthographic structure. Fox (1974) has noted that the two-word ‘basket ball’ and the hyphenated ‘basket-ball’ in time yielded to the modern compound ‘basketball’ (9). In Spanish, the popular Anglicism *básquetbol* has also yielded the abbreviated *básquet*. Both words were selected by survey respondents in eighteen of the twenty-one countries. *Baloncesto*, an inverted calque of the English word (*balón* ‘ball’ + *cesto* ‘basket’), is also a common name for this sport, offered by informants in sixteen nations, exclusively so in both mainland Spain and Puerto Rico. The five nations where it was not chosen are all in southern South America.

Tally of survey responses for ‘basketball’ by country (total of three)

- Spain, Puerto Rico: *baloncesto* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *básquet* (17), *básquetbol* (4)
- Bolivia: *básquet* (7), *básquetbol* (3), *baloncesto* (2)
- Canary Islands: *baloncesto* (25), *básquet* (3)
- Chile: *básquetbol* (7), *básquet* (4)

- Colombia: *baloncesto* (7), *básquetbol* (7), *básquet* (2)
- Costa Rica: *básquet* (5), *básquetbol* (4), *baloncesto* (4)
- Cuba: *baloncesto* (4), *básquet* (4), *básquetbol* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *baloncesto* (12), *básquetbol* (7), *básquet* (2)
- Ecuador: *básquet* (7), *básquetbol* (2), *baloncesto* (2)
- El Salvador: *básquetbol* (11), *baloncesto* (4), *básquet* (2)
- Guatemala: *básquetbol* (8), *baloncesto* (4), *básquet* (2)
- Honduras: *básquetbol* (9), *básquet* (3), *baloncesto* (3)
- Mexico: *básquetbol* (20), *baloncesto* (6), *básquet* (4)
- Nicaragua: *básquetbol* (8), *básquet* (2), *baloncesto* (2)
- Panama: *básquetbol* (9), *baloncesto* (8), *básquet* (3)
- Paraguay: *básquetbol* (8), *básquet* (3)
- Peru: *básquet* (9), *básquetbol* (4)
- Uruguay: *básquetbol* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *básquet* (11), *básquetbol* (10), *baloncesto* (2)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *básquet*: *basquet*, *basque*, *básket*, *basket*, *baske*
- *básquetbol*: *basquetbol*, *basketball*, *basketboll*, *basketbol*

4.3 Miscellaneous Items with Moderate Nomenclature Variation

Item 60: Soccer Goalie

Sports involving the kicking of a ball have existed in various parts of the world for thousands of years, including Australia, China, Japan, and pre-Columbian America (Goldblatt 2006: 8–13). The birthplace of football, however, was Europe, in particular those areas inhabited by Celtic-speaking clans in what today are Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (16). While Anglo-Saxon influence eventually came to permeate nearly all facets of life in much of this realm, it was these early versions of football that, in opposite fashion, were adopted by the English.⁴ By no later than the twelfth century, the sport was a regular occurrence in both rural and urban areas throughout the British Isles (Hunt 2006: 11). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Industrial Revolution and the continued expansion of the British Empire set the stage for football to extend not only to the rest of Europe but throughout vast swaths of the globe (Goldblatt 2006: 18). The year 1863 saw the formation of the Football Association (FA), which to this day

⁴ The word ‘foteballe’ is attested from 1409 (OED). The Anglicism *football* is attested from 1890 in Sevilla (Diario de Huelva 2017). The first recorded use of Hispanicized *fútbol* dates to 1919, in Spain. The word can also be pronounced with the stress on the final syllable, rendered as *futbol*, particularly in Mexico, where such usage was first documented in 1945 (CORDE).

is England's governing body of association football (29–31, 68). Six years later, across the Atlantic, a football game was played in New Brunswick, New Jersey, between Rutgers College (now Rutgers University) and the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). While this contest, which occurred on November 6, 1869, is often seen as the first of what have become ubiquitous games of American football each autumn, it was played after a manner that little resembles its present form, essentially conducted under association football rules. Only later did it evolve into its modern form, due in part to the influence of another sport that has borne the name 'football': rugby (Murray 1998: 1). The fact that both 'soccer' and '(American) football' have by now long been played in English-speaking North America reveals the utility of having these two different terms with which to distinguish them.⁵

'Goalie' derives from 'goal,' a word of uncertain origin attested from c. 1350, though its application to football is documented later in 1577. First denoting the physical apparatus through which the ball passed to allow a point, by 1640 it was used to signify the act of scoring itself. The term 'goalkeeper' was documented as of 1789, and the abbreviated 'goalie' was recorded in 1894 (OED). The English borrowing *gol* is recorded from 1937, in Spain, though the Anglicism *goal* is documented earlier, c. 1908, in Peru (CORDE). While *golero* for 'goalie' exists in Spanish, its usage is rare. The DLE mentions Uruguay as the only country in which this word is utilized with this meaning, a claim supported by Uruguayan informants, eight of whom chose *golero*, compared to six who opted for *arquero*. The main reasons that the former term was not selected in any other nation is due to the fact that it conveys nearly the opposite meaning of 'goalie' in other dialects. The DAMER states that in countries such as Paraguay and Ecuador, *golero* means *goleador*, a player who, rather than stopping the other team from scoring, is himself adept at frustrating the other side's goalie through repeatedly finding the back of the net.⁶

At the opposite end of the frequency spectrum from *golero* is *portero*, which, as is the case of the word 'porter' in English, can be traced to Late Latin *portarius*, a term that denoted a 'gatekeeper' or 'doorman.' *Portero* dates to the eleventh century (OED), after which it begat the term *portería*, which,

⁵ The word 'soccer' is derived from the term 'association football.' While the second part of the name was omitted entirely, the interior 'soc(c)-' of the first word was retained and compounded with the '-er' ending. This suffix, long productive in the creation of nouns from verbs in English – 'run' > 'runner,' 'build' > 'builder,' 'kill' > 'killer' – has more recently, perhaps beginning in the nineteenth century, been employed to fashion popular nouns from other, abbreviated nominal forms in the (often colloquial) speech of the British upper class. Another example of this derivational process, noted by the OED beginning in 1942, is the use of 'preggers' for 'pregnant.'

⁶ The use of *golero* in Uruguay may have also been influenced by the fact that the word in Brazilian Portuguese for the player protecting the goal is *goleiro*. In contrast, the term used in relation to this position in Portugal is *guarda-redes* (literally 'net keeper').

emerging no later than the early sixteenth century (CORDE), originally referred to a sheltered work station for a doorman, to sleeping quarters for such an employee, and even to the profession itself. It was eventually adopted to signify a sports goal tended by a *portero* (DLE). This latter word, first attested with this meaning from 1944 (CORDE), was the most selected term among informants for ‘soccer goalie,’ offered in sixteen of the twenty-one countries. The five nations where *portero* was not given as a response were all in southern South America: Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru. In the latter four, the exclusive reply was the also popular *arquero*, which was chosen to differing degrees in ten additional countries, representing all major American regions. While this name, originally denoting a ‘bowman,’ has been documented from c. 1200, its first known application to a goalkeeper dates to 1962, in Peru (CORDE). The term – as well as ‘archer,’ which entered English from Anglo-Norman – ultimately derives from the Latin etymon *arcus* ‘bow’ (weapon) or ‘arch’ (OED). The connotation of a curved line inherent in these words makes its use perhaps somewhat unexpected as a name for a soccer ‘goal.’

The final of the four terms chosen by survey participants for ‘goalie’ was *guardameta*, an evident calque of either English ‘goalkeeper’ (*guarda* ‘he guards/keeps’ + *meta* ‘goal’) or French *gardien de but* (‘keeper of the goal’). Its first known use dates to 1919, contained in the same document from Spain featuring the oldest known case of *fútbol* (CORDE). While not as common as *portero* or *arquero*, the compound *guardameta* is used over a rather geographically diverse range of the Spanish-speaking world, albeit as a decidedly minority lexeme in all instances. It was selected by a modest two contributors in each of five countries: mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, Ecuador, Panama, and Guatemala.⁷

Tally of survey responses for ‘soccer goalie’ by country (total of four)

- Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru: *arquero* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico: *portero* (unanimous)
- Canary Islands: *portero* (22), *guardameta* (2)
- Chile: *arquero* (9), *portero* (2)
- Colombia: *arquero* (7), *portero* (7)
- Cuba: *portero* (3), *arquero* (3)
- Ecuador: *arquero* (8), *guardameta* (2)
- El Salvador: *portero* (11), *arquero* (2)

⁷ Guatemala and Panama were the only countries in which respondents selected three words for ‘goalie,’ in the same order in both cases: *portero*, *arquero*, *guardameta*.

- Guatemala: *portero* (8), *arquero* (4), *guardameta* (2)
- Mexico: *portero* (21), *arquero* (2)
- Panama: *portero* (11), *arquero* (2), *guardameta* (2)
- Spain: *portero* (16), *guardameta* (2)
- Uruguay: *golero* (8), *arquero* (6)
- Venezuela: *arquero* (7), *portero* (6)

Item 61: Eyeglasses

Mesopotamia was likely the cradle of systematic glassmaking. Artifacts of green and blue glass have been discovered in what is now Iraq from as early as 2600 BC, the same general era in which glass beads unearthed in Egypt were produced. Myriad glass items made by the Greeks and Romans are traceable to between the sixth and first centuries BC. While these processes spread through both the East and the West over the coming centuries, Italy was the focal point of glass production for hundreds of years, a significant state of affairs in terms of the eventual emergence of eyeglasses (Rosenthal 1996: 17–21). Evidence points to a glassmaker living in or near Pisa as the likely inventor of these vision aids, in approximately 1286 (Ilardi 2007: 4–5). By the early 1300s, their manufacture had spread to glassmakers in many Italian cities (51–54). During the remainder of the fourteenth-century, craftsmen plied this expanding trade in other European countries, including France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Croatia, and England (64–70). The ensuing centuries saw the use of eyeglasses spread across the entire globe.

The oldest English word for eyeglasses – ‘spectacles’ – was first employed in the singular to denote a ‘spyglass,’ and that the plural form likely referred originally to a pair of such observation aids in the form of predecessors to modern binoculars (Segrave 2014: 7). The earliest known example of ‘spectacles’ with its modern meaning dates to *c.* 1430. The first documented case of ‘eye glasses’ is from more than a century and a half later: 1593. By no later than 1660, the abbreviated ‘glasses’ was being employed in this sense, as it most often is today. In an apparent attempt to address the fact that references to this term without context would be ambiguous – as by this time ‘glasses’ could be utilized in relation to several drinking vessels – the author of this first recorded seventeenth-century use for eyewear clarified that he was describing a man with “glasses before his eyes” (OED). While English speakers today would not use this specific phraseology, it is strikingly similar to one of the various words employed in modern Spanish for ‘eyeglasses’: *anteojos*, a compound of *ante* ‘before’ + *ojos* ‘eyes.’ This form was originally the slightly shorter *antojos*, found from 1495 with the clear meaning of ‘eyeglasses’

(CORDE). However, since *antojo*, of the same derivation, also means ‘craving,’ by no later than 1563 *anteojos* was being employed to avoid confusion (CORDE), the insertion of the once-omitted <e> from *ante* constituting what the DLE calls a “*recomposición etimológica*.” This word was selected as the leading or secondary option by informants in sixteen of the twenty-one countries, including Mexico, the Dominican Republic, all of Central America, and each of the South American nations except for Uruguay.

Also chosen in sixteen nations was *lentes*, the exclusive selection in Uruguay and the leading response in all other South American countries except Argentina and Colombia, as well as in Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Panama. The term *lente*, which in the singular means ‘lens,’ is from Latin *lentis* ‘lentil,’ the round, convex legume whose shape inspired the optical item in question. In reality *lentis* is the singular genitive (possessive) form of the nominative (subjective) *lens*, the immediate source of English ‘lens,’ first attested from 1693 (OED). The first known case of Spanish *lente*, in reference to a telescope ‘lens,’ is from the same general time, 1690, accompanied by the feminine article *la*, which alternates to this day with the masculine *el*. The oldest recorded plural form in the clear sense of ‘eyeglasses’ dates to 1772 in Mexico: *los lentes*, whose masculine article reflects that of modern usage as well (CORDE).

Only in four nations, all of them outside of continental America, did survey participants fail to select either *anteojos* or *lentes*. Two of these were mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, where contributors chose *gafas* exclusively. This term was also the leading option among Colombian respondents, whereas it was a minority reply in Panama and the Dominican Republic. *Gafa* first entered Spanish from the identical Catalan, which earlier had derived from *agafar* ‘to grasp.’ The first known use of *gafa* in Spanish, which dates to 1511 (CORDE), carried the same meaning as in Catalan: a device used to cock medieval crossbows called a ‘goat’s foot lever’ in English, first attested from the same period: *c.* 1515 (DCECH, OED). Following an apparent metaphorical extension from this tool used to pull a bow’s string closer to the firing mechanism to a pair of lenses employed to make objects appear closer or clearer to the wearer, the plural *gafas* began to denote ‘eyeglasses’ by no later than the early seventeenth century (DCECH).

Two other countries in which contributors chose neither *anteojos* nor *lentes* for ‘eyeglasses’ were Cuba and Puerto Rico. In both of these Caribbean nations the exclusive response of survey participants was *espejuelos*, a term selected in no other country. As this word is the obvious diminutive form of *espejo* (<Latin *specŭlum*) ‘mirror,’ one might wonder at the exact connection, apart from the fact that eyeglasses and looking glasses are made of the same primary material and are used to create or enhance an image. The historical relationship between the two, however, likely runs deeper than this. It is thought that centuries before the invention of eyeglasses, those with vision problems used concave mirrors to read if literate, or, if not, to do delicate handwork requiring clear sight.

Depending on their distance from the objects being viewed, these devices, made of metals like copper prior to their production with crystal or glass, create either large, upright images or reversed and inverted ones, thus allowing for beneficial manipulation in the display of articles under observation (Ilardi 2007: 41). Similarly, metallic mirrors of this nature – historically designated by the transparent English learned word ‘speculum’ – were long used in reflective telescopes (*Oxford Dictionary of English* 2010: 1714).⁸ As a practical matter, since *espejo* already existed for ‘mirror,’ *espejuelo* was created to denote the newer invention of ‘eyeglasses.’

Tally of survey responses for ‘eyeglasses’ by country (total of four)

- Canary Islands, Spain: *gafas* (unanimous)
- Cuba, Puerto Rico: *espejuelos* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *anteojos* (18), *lentes* (4)
- Bolivia: *lentes* (11), *anteojos* (2)
- Chile: *lentes* (12), *anteojos* (3)
- Colombia: *gafas* (13), *anteojos* (2)
- Costa Rica: *anteojos* (9), *lentes* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *lentes* (16), *anteojos* (2), *gafas* (2)
- Ecuador: *lentes* (8), *anteojos* (5)
- El Salvador: *lentes* (13), *anteojos* (6)
- Guatemala: *lentes* (11), *anteojos* (5)
- Honduras: *anteojos* (11), *lentes* (5)
- Mexico: *lentes* (30), *anteojos* (6)
- Nicaragua: *anteojos* (8), *lentes* (6)
- Panama: *lentes* (11), *anteojos* (6), *gafas* (2)
- Paraguay: *lentes* (8), *anteojos* (5)
- Peru: *lentes* (12), *anteojos* (6)
- Uruguay: *lentes* (unanimous)
- Venezuela: *lentes* (26), *anteojos* (3)

Item 62: Bathroom

The first known public baths, which also had facilities to answer the call of nature, were those built in the Roman Empire. Pompeii’s Forum had communal toilets that seated more than twenty people at once (Poynter 2015: 9–10). The remains of ancient public baths can still be seen throughout what was the sphere of the empire

⁸ The term ‘speculum’ today most often refers to a medical instrument employed to dilate bodily orifices (*Oxford Dictionary of English* 2010: 1713–1714).

in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. This legacy is perhaps most emblematically represented by the British city that bears the name of these constructions: Bath (<thirteenth century ‘Bape,’ ‘Bathe’ <Anglo-Saxon ‘baðon,’ ‘baðun,’ ‘baðum,’ ‘at the baths’ <‘bæð,’ ‘bath’ <Old Germanic **batho*-(*m*)) (OED). Early Christians, however, considering bathhouses to be lewd venues of immoral behavior and viewing the body as a sinful vessel unworthy of undue attention, rarely bathed, a circumstance that prevailed throughout the Middle Ages.

The same mores of decency and modesty that led to the centuries-long abandonment of regular bathing also dictated that bodily functions be carried out in private. This in fact led to the use of a new term for such an installation: the ‘privy’ (Perdew 2015: 30). This noun, first documented with this sense *c.* 1225, entered English by way of the Anglo-Norman adjective *prevé*, itself originally from Classical Latin *privātus* ‘private.’ Of course no privy could be quite as private as one located in the home itself, perhaps even in one’s bedroom. Such was the case with the ‘commode,’ which, like *cómoda* in Spanish, was an eighteenth-century borrowing from French *commode*, referring to a chest of drawers, though in English by the early nineteenth century it had come to denote, euphemistically, a type of closed stool, a piece of furniture that concealed a chamber pot within. This practice of having a sitting toilet in or just off the bedroom continued with the increased use of ‘water closet,’ a term first documented in 1736 and now chiefly retained in the language as WC (OED). By 1875, British law mandated that all newly constructed homes should include a WC (Perdew 2015: 25).⁹ This eventually led to the preeminence of the modern bathroom, a space apart from the rest of the house containing both toilet and bathtub. The term ‘bathroom’ as employed today is often a misnomer, though only as a result of gradual semantic shift over the centuries. When the term was first documented in 1685, it denoted a room in a public establishment with bathing facilities. Over time it was applied to a room providing such conveniences in private homes and typically, though not necessarily, the concept included a toilet and washbasin. By as early as the late 1800s, though more regularly in the twentieth century, and particularly in the United States, the opposite situation obtained: ‘bathroom’ first and foremost came to refer to a facility with one or more toilets, though not always a bathtub or even a shower. This is especially the case with public conveniences that Canadians tend to call a ‘washroom’ and Britons a ‘lavatory’ or, colloquially, the ‘loo’ (OED).¹⁰

⁹ Flush toilets became popular in Europe before they were in the United States, where outhouses were the norm with single-dwelling homes until as late as the mid-twentieth century (Perdew 2015: 44).

¹⁰ Another name for a public bathroom in the United States is ‘restroom.’ Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, this term, hyphenated as ‘rest-room,’ was the literal designation of a room that certain public buildings or workplaces provided for the express purpose of rest and relaxation. At some point, however, likely post-World War II, it acquired its current, euphemistic meaning as a public facility equipped with toilets (OED).

In Spanish, the most common term for ‘bathroom’ is *baño*, the word chosen as the leading response by survey participants in all twenty-one countries, exclusively in fifteen of them. It is derived from *baneum*, the Vulgar Latin iteration of the Classical *balneum* (<Greek *balaneion* ‘bath’). The plural *balnea* referred to small public baths in the Roman Empire, while the larger, more luxurious ones were called *thermae*, akin to Spanish *termas* ‘hot baths or springs’ (Roberts 2014b: 609). As is the case with English ‘bathroom,’ *baño* originally denoted a place where bathing was done, with the later possibility of the facility also containing a toilet, whereas in modern usage it can be used in reference to a public convenience devoid of a bathtub or shower. In fact, external and internal images of such a public bathroom were shown to the participants in order to capture this very nuance.

The second-most common term for ‘bathroom’ – selected as a secondary option by contributors in mainland Spain, the Canary Islands, El Salvador, and Panama – was *servicio*, a word whose use approximates that of ‘the facilities’ in English. The more specific *servicio higiénico* was also chosen as a secondary response in two nations: Nicaragua and Ecuador. Likewise, in both mainland Spain and the Canary Islands, but in no other country, *aseo* was offered as a minority option. The noun derives from the verb *asear* (<Latin **assediāre* ‘to put things in their place’) (Roberts 2015a: 177). In Latin America, *aseo* denotes ‘cleaning’ or ‘cleanliness.’ The term *aseo personal* translates as ‘personal hygiene.’ While the first known use of *aseo* in general terms dates to as early as 1240, and to 1903 in relation to a specific space, such as a dressing room, the first unambiguous case of this word to denote a ‘bathroom’ is from 1959, in Spain (CORDE).

Finally, and only in mainland Spain, three respondents selected the term *lavabo*. In Mexico and other countries, this term is reserved for a bathroom ‘sink’ or ‘washbasin.’ In Psalm 26:6 we read the following words of King David: “I will wash mine hands in innocence: so will I compass thine altar, O Lord.” The Spanish version is rendered thus: “*Lavaré en inocencia mis manos, y andaré alrededor de tu altar, oh Jehová.*”¹¹ In Latin, the first-person singular future of *lavāre* ‘to wash’ is *lavabo*. Therefore, based on this Old Testament verse, priests pronounced the following words in Latin while ceremonially washing their hands before the congregation: *Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas* ‘I will wash my hands among the innocent.’ Over time, the basin itself utilized for this ritual came to be called a *lavabo*. Later, the word began to be employed in reference to a bathroom sink and, finally, at least in Spain, to the entire bathroom (DLE).

¹¹ The verses quoted here are from the King James Version of the Holy Bible (2003[1611]) and the Reina-Valera 1960 edition of the *Santa Biblia* (1964[1602]).

Tally of survey responses for ‘bathroom’ by country (total of five)

- Canary Islands: *baño* (24), *servicio* (7), *aseo* (5)
- Ecuador: *baño* (10), *servicio higiénico* (2)
- El Salvador: *baño* (14), *servicio* (2)
- Nicaragua: *baño* (7), *servicio higiénico* (2)
- Panama: *baño* (12), *servicio* (2)
- Spain: *baño* (11), *servicio* (7), *aseo* (3), *lavabo* (3)
- All other countries: *baño* (unanimous)

4.4 Miscellaneous Items with Extensive Nomenclature Variation*Item 63: Toilet*

The toilet is an ancient implement often tied to the rise of cities in the Greater Middle East. One of the world’s oldest known specimens, featuring a limestone seat, was discovered in the home of an important official, located among the ruins at Tell el-Amarna, Egypt. Similar artifacts have been found in tombs of pharaohs and other wealthy Egyptians (Poynter 2015: 6–7). Of similar age are stone toilets found at Skara Brae, a late Neolithic period site located in Orkney, Scotland (Perdew 2015: 19–20). Later, frequently in connection with public bathhouses, the Romans constructed toilets whose seats, at times made of marble, had a horseshoe shape similar to that of their present-day counterparts (23). The modern receptacle is typically bowl-shaped in the West, while in the East floor-level squat versions are common. The word ‘toilet’ in English can also refer more generally to a lavatory where such a facility is found. French speakers likewise employ *toilette(s)* with these separate but related meanings. The OED traces this semantic commonality back nearly half a millennium, when *toilette*, with a meaning very different from its present one, entered the English lexicon via Middle French in the early sixteenth century. At that time, the Gallicism in question denoted a piece of cloth that served as a covering or wrapper with which to protect clothing. Over the ensuing centuries, as semantic changes occurred in connection with the French variants of the word, considerable ongoing influence was brought to bear on their English cognates. By the end of the sixteenth century, French *toilette* referred to a case or bag in which to store nightclothes, a sense also conveyed by English ‘toylet’ no later than 1656. By 1664, the initial case of this word had been documented with the meaning of a shawl placed over one’s head or shoulders during hairdressing or shaving. In rather rapid succession, the use of this word, expressed often as ‘toilette’ and ‘toilet,’ extended both to the covering draped over a dressing table (1665) and to the table itself (1667). By the 1680s, the term was being employed as a mass

noun to describe the set of articles used in grooming, such as those used to apply make-up, or combs and brushes for the hair. It subsequently came to be used to express the action taken by individuals using the aforementioned implements to wash, arrange their hair, or dress. This usage often involved references based on the phrase ‘to make one’s toilet.’ In the mid-eighteenth century, the word began to be used in connection to what a person was wearing or to a style of dress. By 1790, the room in which people made their toilet or dressed began itself to be called a ‘toilet.’ The year 1800 saw the use of the name ‘toilette-room’ in this same sense. As such rooms often later became equipped with facilities for the relief of bodily functions and for washing afterwards, lavatories unrelated to dressing or other grooming activities also came to be called by the name ‘toilet’ by the 1880s. And, finally, by the 1890s, the term had been extended to the toilet bowl itself.

Just as in modern French and English the words *toilette* and ‘toilet’ can, respectively, refer both to a commode and to a room that houses one, there are at least four Spanish terms that can denote both phenomena: *baño*, *servicio*, *servicio higiénico*, and *retrete*. *Baño* was chosen for ‘toilet’ in six countries, from Spain to Mexico to Central and South America, but always as a minority response. Contributors in four nations selected *servicio* as a first or second option for this implement: Costa Rica, Panama, El Salvador, and Honduras. *Servicio higiénico* was offered as a secondary solution in Ecuador. While the meaning of many of the terms mentioned here are rather transparent, somewhat more obscure is *retrete*, the first definition for which in the DLE relates to a ‘bathroom’ (“*Aposento dotado de las instalaciones necesarias para orinar y evacuar el vientre*”), though no informants in any country applied it to this meaning. Contributors in three countries, however, selected it in reference to the ‘toilet’ itself, the second DLE definition (“*inodoro*,” a lexeme analyzed below). *Retrete* was the second-leading option in Spain and the third choice in the Canary Islands. In Costa Rica, the country displaying the most variety in the names used for ‘toilet,’ *retrete* was the final of seven terms offered, chosen by two individuals. This word is a borrowing from Catalan’s *retret*, itself taken from the Old French word of the same form (Roberts 2014b: 489). This Gallicism, meaning an ‘act of withdrawing’ – which someone does when desiring to use the toilet in private – also led to the Anglo-Norman word *retreit*, the immediate etymon of the noun *retreat*, which entered English in the fourteenth century (OED).

The most common term for ‘toilet’ in Spanish is *inodoro*, whose literal meaning is ‘odorless,’ initially an adjectival form based on Latin *inodōrus*. The first case of this word in the CORDE, from 1807, is indeed an adjective. The first known instance of *inodoro* in this same database as a noun denoting a commode dates to 1881, in Spain. This term was chosen exclusively by informants in Argentina, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic. In all it

was selected in nineteen of the twenty-one countries, all but Cuba and Venezuela.

The next most common word for 'toilet' as selected by survey respondents was *taza*. While in modern Spanish this term is employed universally for 'cup,' such as one used to drink coffee or tea, its etymology reveals a certain semantic shift (<Hispano-Arabic *tássa* <Classical Arabic *tast* <Persian *tašt* 'bowl') (DLE).¹² The meaning of its ultimate etymon in relation to the use of *taza* in certain dialects today is reminiscent of the term '(toilet) bowl' in English. In both cases the concept of a relatively small dish used at the dining table has been metaphorically imposed on a larger receptacle, featuring the same basic shape and material, but out of which no one would contemplate eating or drinking. If this situation leads to potential confusion, the term *taza de baño* can be employed, as one Cuban participant offered, while others simply responded with *taza*, the unanimous choice in this country. This term was selected as the clear favorite in Mexico, while in Guatemala, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile it was a secondary option. Finally, it was given as a minority reply in El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Colombia. In the latter country, of thirteen contributors five were from Bogotá, two of whom selected *taza*, a term not chosen outside of the capital, including in locales such as Cali and Medellín.

While *taza* in Spanish, and 'bowl' in English, are words that, when not used in relation to a toilet, denote rather specific items of crockery, *vasija* is a more general term meaning a small 'vessel' or 'recipient' used to serve food or drink. This has not left it any more resistant to being applied analogically to the toilet, though it appears to be the case in only one dialect. Nearly half of the Canarian respondents, twelve out of twenty-five, selected *vasija* with this meaning, an occurrence not repeated in any other nation. In similar fashion, the word *bacín* was chosen in Mexico alone, as a minority reply offered by only three of thirty-one informants, all of them in the south of the country (two in the state of Yucatán and one in Chiapas). This word derives from Late Latin *bachīnus*, the same etymon that led to the modern English word 'basin' via Old French *bacin* (OED). The first known use of *bacín* in Spanish dates to the thirteenth century (DCECH). During its history it has been used both generally as a 'basin' and specifically as a 'chamber pot' (Roberts 2014a: 208), the latter meaning rather seamlessly lending itself to that of a modern 'toilet.' Another word whose usage is linked to advances in this area is *interior*, chosen as a minority form in Costa Rica. The meaning of this rather transparent term contrasts with that of an old-fashioned outhouse. The DAMER definition of this adjective-turned-noun

¹² The word *taza* is found in a Mozarabic text dating to 1157, while its first use in Spanish (Sevilla) is from 1272. During the same time period other Romance languages adopted cognates that to this day continue to mean either 'cup' (French: *tasse*) or both 'cup' and 'bowl' (Portuguese: *taça*, Catalán: *tassa*, Italian: *tazza*) (DCECH). In Spanish, 'bowl' can be denoted with the augmentative *tazón*.

in relation to Costa Rica is: “*Pieza o cuarto de una vivienda donde están el inodoro y el lavabo.*” However, the term has evidently undergone a semantic narrowing in this context until it now only denotes a ‘toilet’ in this country. As was noted in the entry on the ‘bathroom,’ all eleven Costa Rican respondents chose *baño* unanimously.

Sometimes the original inspiration for a word comes not from a manmade item but from a natural phenomenon. Such is the case of the term selected by all but two of the twenty-six respondents in Venezuela but not chosen in any other country: *poceta*. The ultimate etymon of this word is Latin *puteus* ‘well’ (of water), which by no later than the early tenth century had evolved, with the same meaning, into Spanish *pozo*, a term that can also refer to the deepest point of a river’s channel. The somewhat more recent feminine *poza* also conveys this latter concept, along with that of a puddle or other depression containing standing water (DCECH, DLE). In Cuban Spanish, *poceta*, the diminutive form of *poza*, extended this meaning to a natural concavity along the ocean coast that fills and empties with the rise and fall of the tide. Evidently seeing a resemblance between this natural formation and receptacles used around the house, other Caribbean dialects adopted the term, including Colombians for a ‘basin’ used in washing clothes and Venezuelans for the ‘toilet’ (DAMER). The first known cases of *poceta* with these meanings date from the early to mid-twentieth century (DCECH).

Also in Venezuela, two informants gave a minority response of *sanitario*. Both were from the northwestern city of Maracaibo, near Colombia, where this term was a popular secondary option. This word was also selected in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras. While in this usage *sanitario* is a noun – allowed by the DLE for a bathroom installation – it is more commonly employed in an adjectival sense, as in the term *servicio sanitario*, offered as a minority solution for ‘toilet’ in Costa Rica alone. Yet another name for this item that began as an adjective but was abbreviated to a standalone noun is *escusado*, from *cuarto escusado*. The original adjective derived from the past participle of *escusar* (<**ascuse*: preterite form of Vulgar Latin *abscōnsī* <Latin *abscondere* ‘to hide’) (Roberts 2014a: 653). A *cuarto escusado*, then, was originally a ‘hidden room,’ a place out of the way to store articles not in use. With the advent of indoor plumbing, such a room could also be one in which modern bathroom facilities were installed, including a ‘toilet,’ to which the shortened *escusado* was applied, a usage traced to 1881 in Spain (CORDE). This word is at times spelled *excusado* and pronounced accordingly, though such variation is due to phonological similarities alone and not to any supposed semantic connection between *escusar* and *excusar* (<Latin *excūsāre*), the latter of which means ‘to excuse’ or ‘to exempt’ (DCECH). Of the twenty-one countries, informants in only two offered *escusado*: Mexico and Panama.

As discussed in the entry on the ‘public bathroom,’ the term ‘water closet’ was first documented in the eighteenth century, though the name is now more

commonly reduced to WC (OED). These initials have also come to be used in other languages, including *el WC* in Spanish.¹³ Furthermore, as is the case in English, they can denote either a bathroom with a toilet or the toilet itself. Two contributors in both Mexico and Chile selected *WC* for 'toilet.' In the latter nation, as well as in Spain, another abbreviated form of the originally English 'water closet' was chosen as the leading reply: *váter* /báter/.¹⁴ This word was also a secondary option in the Canary Islands, Peru, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The initial letter in this borrowing appears to be due to the fact that no native Spanish words begin with <w>, while those employing <v> are commonplace. Also owing to the influence of English, the final word selected to denote the implement in question was *toilet* itself. Not surprisingly, this occurred among Puerto Rican contributors, though as a minority response.

Tally of survey responses for 'toilet' by country (total of sixteen)

- Argentina, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua: *inodoro* (unanimous)
- Bolivia: *inodoro* (7), *taza* (6)
- Canary Islands: *vasija* (12), *váter* (10), *retrete* (9), *inodoro* (4)
- Chile: *váter* (5), *taza* (4), *inodoro* (2), *WC* (2), *baño* (2)
- Colombia: *inodoro* (8), *sanitario* (5), *baño* (2), *taza* (2)
- Costa Rica: *servicio* (4), *sanitario* (4), *inodoro* (3), *servicio sanitario* (2), *interior* (2), *taza* (2), *retrete* (2)
- Cuba: *taza* (unanimous)
- Ecuador: *inodoro* (3), *taza* (3), *baño* (3), *servicio higiénico* (2)
- El Salvador: *inodoro* (7), *servicio* (4), *taza* (2), *baño* (2)
- Guatemala: *inodoro* (9), *taza* (5), *sanitario* (2)
- Honduras: *servicio* (6), *inodoro* (5), *sanitario* (2)
- Mexico: *taza* (19), *escusado* (8), *bacín* (3), *inodoro* (3), *baño* (3), *WC* (2)
- Panama: *servicio* (8), *inodoro* (7), *escusado* (2)
- Paraguay: *inodoro* (10), *váter* (4)
- Peru: *inodoro* (9), *váter* (8)
- Puerto Rico: *inodoro* (10), *toilet* (3)
- Spain: *váter* (10), *retrete* (5), *baño* (3), *inodoro* (2)
- Uruguay: *inodoro* (4), *váter* (12)
- Venezuela: *poceta* (24), *sanitario* (2)

Variants of *váter* used by survey respondents included: *vater*, *wáter*, *water*, *guater*

¹³ *WC* is pronounced /dóble be se/.

¹⁴ While both <v> and are pronounced as /b/ nearly universally in Spanish, Chile is the one dialect where this bilabial phoneme is often replaced with an allophonic [v] in connection with both letters. In consequence of this, 'váter' is likely rendered as [váter] in the speech of many Chileans.

Item 64: Kite

While determining the precise origin of an invention can prove difficult, available historical information points to China as the likely birthplace of the kite, which, after its appearance in approximately 1000 BC, spread to Japan, Korea, other parts of Asia, the Pacific Islands, and beyond (Crouch 2004: 24). Since the kite was invented to imitate soaring creatures in both form and function, it should come as no surprise that its very name in more than one language derives from that of a particular species of bird or other winged beings. The source of English ‘kite’ is the eponymous hawk-like bird of prey renowned for gliding on thermal updrafts in the air. The first documented mention of this feathered member of the *Accipitridae* family is from c. 725, as ‘cyta,’ an Old English word with no cognates in other Germanic tongues. Between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, the orthographic variants ‘kete,’ ‘kyte,’ and ‘kuyte’ are attested. The oldest known case of ‘kite’ in relation to the inanimate object addressed in this entry dates to 1664 (OED). Although they are not the most common names in the language, there likewise exist in Spanish at least four terms for this object inspired by a flying creature. The most common of these is *papalote*, a leading or otherwise popular choice among survey participants in Mexico, Honduras, Cuba, and Costa Rica, and as a minority response in Nicaragua. This name is derived from the Náhuatl word for ‘butterfly’: *papalotl* (DLE). This first known use of the Hispanicized term, which dates to mid-nineteenth century Cuba, appears to be employed only with the meaning of the manmade flying implement, not the insect (CORDE).

In Venezuela, the term chosen for ‘kite’ by an overwhelming majority of informants was *papagayo*, which was also offered as a minority selection in Mexico but in no other country. In most Spanish-speaking nations where this word is utilized it refers to a ‘parrot,’ which is also denoted by the word *loro*. *Papagayo*, first used in reference to the bird as early as the year 1251, most likely entered Spanish from Catalan *papagay*, which in turn had been borrowed from Occitan *papagai* and Old French *papegai* (DCECH). The ultimate etymon of all of these terms is Arabic *babbagā*, likely borrowed during the Crusades, perhaps by way of medieval Greek *παπαγάς* (OED). While *papalote* and *papagayo* both begin with the same four letters, this can only be purely coincidental. Not only is the former derived from a New World language and the latter from an Old World tongue, but the Arabism *papagayo* likely resulted from the onomatopoeic imitation of a parrot’s call (DCECH), whereas the butterfly at the root of the Amerindian *papalote* makes no audible sound. Also selected by Venezuelan contributors for ‘kite,’ though only as a minority third option, was *zamura*, the feminine form of *zamuro* ‘black vulture,’ a word likely taken from an indigenous language of the country in question (DCECH). No examples of *zamura* are found in the CORDE, though the masculine iteration is

first attested from a Venezuelan source dated 1648 (CORDE). The DAMER lists the feminine *zamura* specifically, with the meaning of ‘kite’ in Venezuela.

The fourth and final term for ‘kite’ inspired by a flying creature is that of *lechuza*, the default meaning of which is ‘owl.’ This response was given in Nicaragua alone, as a minority offering. The convoluted etymology of this word begins with Latin *noctua* ‘nocturnal bird,’ which began to transform under the influence of the Spanish word *leche* ‘milk’ owing to an ancient superstition that this species of owl was wont to light upon nursing children as if to suckle them. As Latin did not have palatals, the likely initial transition was from medial /kt/ to /tʃ/, resulting in **nochua*, followed by the derogatory derivative *nochua*. As the effects of *leche* on this lexeme continued, *nechuza* and finally *lechuza* emerged, both forms attested, along with *nochua*, in the thirteenth century (DCECH). Much more difficult to ascertain is when Nicaraguan speakers first applied this name to the ‘kite.’

While no other words for ‘kite’ in Spanish were taken directly from the name of a winged creature, two of them were inspired by their in-air actions. There are two principal adjectives in this language that derive from *volar* ‘to fly’ in order to signify ‘flying’: *volante* and *volador*. A diminutive form of the first word is *volantín*, which, in addition to remaining an adjective with the same meaning, can also assume the quality of a noun to denote the manmade flying object in question. The DLE claims this usage in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Argentina, and Chile. However, only in the last country did informants select this word, doing so unanimously. It was also chosen, as the majority term, in one other nation, neighboring Bolivia. In this country, a second adjective-turned-noun, *volador*, was a minority reply, one not offered in any other country.

The most universal term in Spanish for ‘kite’ is *cometa*, selected by survey participants in eighteen of the twenty-one countries, the exclusive choice in Spain, the Canary Islands, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, and the leading option in half of Central America. Only in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guatemala was it not offered. *Cometa*, as well as English ‘comet,’ can be traced to Greek *κόμη* (*kómē*) ‘hair’ or, figuratively, ‘tail of a comet,’ which yielded *κομήτης* (*komētēs*), whose Latin equivalent, *comēta* or *comētēs*, likewise denoted an “*astro cabelludo*,” a ‘hairy heavenly body’ (DCECH, DLE, OED). The first known use of *cometa* dates to 1254, and for almost two centuries after its adoption it was accompanied by the feminine article *la*. However, beginning no later than the 1530s, as the Renaissance spread to the Iberian Peninsula and local scholars realized that *-ēta* Latinisms taken from Greek words ending in *-ētēs* were etymologically masculine, the corresponding article *el* began to be used, just as documented cases of *la planeta*, also dating from the mid-1200s, became *el planeta* by the early sixteenth century (CORDE). Therefore, when *cometa* acquired the additional meaning of ‘kite’ no later than the 1840s, the

previously discarded feminine article came into use once again to avoid confusion: *el cometa* ‘comet’; *la cometa* ‘kite’ (DCECH).

A somewhat less common name for ‘kite’ is *barrilete*, selected by contributors in four countries. Much about this word is perplexing, beginning with its geographical distribution. In Guatemala it was chosen by all twelve respondents, while the only other country in which it was the leading choice was faraway Argentina. It was a minority second option in Paraguay, which does border Argentina, but this was also the case in Nicaragua, which, while in Central America, is separated from Guatemala by Honduras and El Salvador. Equally puzzling is how the word in question came to acquire this significance. The first known use of *barril* dates to 1284, in relation to a ‘barril of wine,’ while the diminutive *barrilete* is attested from 1490, with an apparent link to a ‘cruse of oil’ (CORDE).¹⁵ Nothing in the etymological development of the latter word suggests how such a lexeme, denoting a heavy round container, also came to define a flat object light enough to float on delicate updrafts of air. Nor is *barrilete* the only Spanish term whose application to the ‘kite’ does not have a readily apparent basis. Survey participants in several countries – though in no more than one or two nations each – selected five other terms that fall into this category.

One of these words was selected by seventeen of the nineteen contributors in the Dominican Republic and nowhere else: *chichigua*, from Náhuatl *chichihua* ‘wet nurse’ (<*chichi* ‘to suck,’ in terms of a breastfeeding child).¹⁶ The Spanish iteration is employed with this same meaning in rural areas of Mexico and northern Central America. This includes El Salvador, where *chichigua* also means *chichicuá* ‘serpent, snake’ (<Náhuatl *chichic* ‘bitter’ and *coatí* ‘snake’) (DAMER). This is surely through confusion owing to the similar pronunciation of these words. While this situation might explain a metaphorical use of *chichigua* to denote a ‘kite,’ with its serpentine movement on the wind, El Salvador, unlike the other Central American countries, does not lie on the Caribbean, making a semantic transfer of this nature to speakers on the island of Hispaniola challenging.

The term *chiringa* was selected for ‘kite’ unanimously by Puerto Rican respondents and as a minority option in nearby Cuba. Its phonetic likeness with Dominican *chichigua* is apparently coincidental; the DLE states only that *chiringa* is an Amerindian word. In adjective form, *chiringo/a* means ‘small’ in reference to how clothing fits an individual. In Honduras, the masculine noun *chiringo* denotes a piece of cloth, generally one taken from a worn garment

¹⁵ While the OED states that the earliest known forms of the earlier word are from ninth-century medieval Latin (*baurilis*, *barrillus*, *barile*), the DCECH claims that the oldest documented case is Latin *barriclo*, also from the ninth century. Both sources do agree that its etymology has not been successfully traced to an earlier date.

¹⁶ The use of *chichigua* in the Dominican Republic to denote a ‘kite’ dates to 2003 (CREA).

(DAMER). Perhaps homemade kites fashioned from this type of material, or the fact that such a craft may appear similar to an article of clothing floating in the breeze, caused those flying them to give them the name *chiringa*. This word is first attested in Puerto Rico from 1993 (CREA).

The term *pandorga* was selected by all eleven Paraguayan survey participants as the Spanish equivalent of ‘kite.’ In Uruguay, which is near Paraguay but does not border it due to the intervening Argentine province of Corrientes, all thirteen respondents chose *cometa*, though two also offered *pandorga*, noting that its use is common in northwestern cities such as Salto, the hometown of one of them. The DAMER also claims usage of the word in this region of Uruguay, as well as northeastern Argentina, though at least three Argentine contributors from this area selected only *barrilete*. The ultimate etymon of *pandorga* is Greek *πανδοῦρα* (*pandoura*), which entered Latin as the similar *pandūra*, a ‘three-stringed lute.’ In Late Latin, the derivative synonym *pandurica* emerged, which in time became Spanish *pandorga*, a word that referred to the same type of instrument during the entire seventeenth century, evidently falling into disuse in this sense by the eighteenth (CORDE). It eventually acquired the metaphorical significance of an ‘obese woman,’ the deeply rounded back of a lute being viewed symbolically as a distended female abdomen (Roberts 2014b: 301; DLE). While this connotation is attested from 1993 (CREA), its use to denote a ‘kite’ dates to a much earlier 1851 in Argentina (CORDE). It is not clear, however, how a stringed instrument inspired kite flyers to employ this word in reference to their implement of amusement. Perhaps the inverted shape of the former reminded them of the figure cut in the sky by the latter. In Panama, two of the thirteen informants offered *pandero*, one stipulating that it is used for a particularly large ‘kite.’ The origins of this name, as with *pandorga*, are found in Greek *pandoura* and Latin *pandūra* (Roberts 2014b: 301). Nevertheless, as the DCECH makes clear, these terms were applied to musical instruments beyond the lute. As an apparent result, besides engendering *pandurica*, *pandūra* also begat Late Latin *pandorium*, the immediate source of Spanish *pandero*, ‘tambourine,’ a percussion instrument whose intended use and round shape give no more indication than its doublet *pandorga* regarding how it came to be associated with the ‘kite,’ which has traditionally assumed a quadrilateral shape.

The final term chosen by survey participants for ‘kite’ was *piscucha*, the most obscure of all the lexemes employed to denote this item. No mention or example of this word is found in the CORDE, the CREA, the DCECH, or the DLE. The DAMER alone accounts for its existence, and then only in the most spartan of manners, making no mention of its possible origins, stating simply that it means “*cometa*” in El Salvador. It was indeed in this Central American nation that a majority of informants selected *piscucha*. This term was also given as a minority response in Guatemala.

Tally of survey responses for ‘kite’ by country (total of thirteen)

- Canary Islands, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Spain: *cometa* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *barrilete* (17), *cometa* (2)
- Bolivia: *volantín* (7), *volador* (4), *cometa* (4)
- Chile: *volantín* (12), *cometa* (2)
- Costa Rica: *cometa* (10), *papalote* (7)
- Cuba: *papalote* (7), *chiringa* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *chichigua* (17), *cometa* (6)
- El Salvador: *piscucha* (12), *cometa* (4)
- Guatemala: *barrilete* (12), *piscucha* (2)
- Honduras: *papalote* (10), *cometa* (3)
- Mexico: *papalote* (26), *cometa* (6), *papagayo* (4)
- Nicaragua: *cometa* (5), *barrilete* (3), *papalote* (3), *lechuza* (3)
- Panama: *cometa* (13), *pandero* (2)
- Paraguay: *pandorga* (11), *barrilete* (3), *cometa* (2)
- Puerto Rico: *chiringa* (unanimous)
- Uruguay: *cometa* (13), *pandorga* (2)
- Venezuela: *papagayo* (21), *cometa* (3), *zamura* (2)

Item 65: Grass

The different types of grass found nearly ubiquitously over much of the earth’s surface belong to the *Poaceae* or *Gramineae* family, which contains no fewer than 11,506 species within 768 genera (Soreng et al. 2017: 259). Rather than depending on natural growth alone, humans have cultivated various types of grass throughout history for their use and that of their domesticated animals. Other varieties have been bred with recreational and ornamental ends in mind, including sports fields and private lawns. The word ‘grass’ is an inheritance from Germanic stock whose first documented case, in Old English, is in the form of ‘*græs*.’ Not only is the plant in question green when it grows, but the very words ‘green’ and ‘grow’ are themselves related genealogically to ‘grass,’ these triplets having all descended from Germanic *grô* (OED). Perhaps the most common term in Spanish for ‘grass’ is *pasto*, first documented in Spanish toward the end of the twelfth century (CORDE). It is a borrowing from Latin *pastus*, originally the past participle of the verb *pascere* ‘to graze’ (DCECH). Both the Latinate and Spanish nouns initially referred to a ‘pasture,’ though in the latter language it eventually came to denote the ‘grass’ contained within such an area, which in turn was referred to as a *pastura*, a loanword from the Late Latin *pastūra* of the same meaning (DLE). When pasture

grass began to be used for other purposes, including sporting surfaces and lawns around homes, the word *pasto* was readily available for use in this context. In the modern language it is found in dialects spanning the length and width of the Americas. Among survey participants, this word was selected as the leading reply in seven of the nine South American countries. Only in Venezuela was it not selected. *Pasto* was also the most popular choice of Mexican respondents, whereas in Costa Rica and Puerto Rico it was a secondary selection. Showing the considerable variety of lexemes employed for grass in Spanish, not just from one nation or region to the next, but in some instances within the same country, participants in both Guatemala and El Salvador offered five separate words for ‘grass,’ including *pasto*.

Also frequent in Spanish is the term *césped*, which, unlike *pasto*, can be used both narrowly for ‘grass’ and more broadly for ‘lawn.’ *Césped* was the leading reply among informants in the Canary Islands and Ecuador, and was a second or third option in twelve other nations, including mainland Spain, Cuba, Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and seven South American nations. The etymon of the term in question, meaning literally ‘dirt clod covered with grass,’ in the sense of ‘turf,’ is Latin *caespes*, and more particularly the singular genitive (possessive) *caespitis*. Following the reduction of the /ae/ diphthong to /e/, the loss of the word-final /s/, the transition of both /i/ vowels to /e/, and the voicing of /t/ to /d/, the Hispanicized *céspedes* began to be used in the Iberian Peninsula by the end of the eleventh century at the latest, the first known use of this form dating to 1076 (DCECH). The modern *césped*, without the final /e/ as a result of apocope, is attested from 1356 (CORDE).¹⁷

An additional term of considerable frequency for ‘grass,’ at least in American Spanish, is *grama*, derived from Latin *gramina*, the plural form of *gramen*. The DCECH notes that, as occurred with Latin *homine* on its evolutionary path to Spanish *hombre*, the medial vowel in *gramina* was lost to syncope. However, in the resulting **gramna* the type of nasal dissimilation seen in *omne* > *omre* was prevented in consequence of the already present initial /r/. Instead, a process of assimilation occurred, followed by the simplification of geminates via lenition, from which the modern lexeme emerged: *gramna* > *gramma* > *grama*. This is also the word employed in Brazilian Portuguese.¹⁸ The first known case of *grama* dates to 1250 (CORDE). Survey participants selected this word in nine countries, in eight of which it was the primary or secondary reply: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama,

¹⁷ The forms *çespedes* and *çéspedes* date to an earlier 1218–c. 1250 and approximately 1284, respectively (CORDE).

¹⁸ In Portugal, in contrast, ‘grass’ is called *relva*.

Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela. Bolivia, where *grama* was the final of three options, was the only nation outside of Central America and the Caribbean where it was offered as a response.

Another common Spanish term for 'grass' is *hierba*, which also carries the meaning present in the English cognate 'herb,' both words derived from Latin *herba*. The earliest documented case of the Hispanicized version is *ierba*, found in the Glosas Emilianenses and Silenses (DCECH). The first known instances of this term in Spanish-only sources are both from 1246: *yervas* and *yervas* (CORDE). Survey respondents in mainland Spain selected *hierba* as their leading preference, as did those in Panama, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic, the latter countries having experienced significant contacts with Spain during the colonial period. This term was a secondary choice in the Canary Islands and Ecuador. No Mexican informants offered *hierba* to denote 'grass,' opting instead, in the order given, for *pasto*, *zacate*, and *césped*, the first and third names having already been discussed. The selection of these alternatives is seemingly due to the fact that in Mexico *hierba* has long been used to denote weeds and other noxious plants. In contrast, *zacate*, from Náhuatl *çácatl*, originally referred to species cultivated for animal fodder (DCECH). The CORDE features *çacate* as the first documented use of this term, from 1552, though the modern version, spelled with <z>, was recorded soon after, in 1560. In addition to Mexico, *zacate* was selected to one degree or another by informants in all the Central American countries except for the one farthest from Mexico, Panama. It was the most popular term in Costa Rica and Honduras. Also present throughout Central America, selected in all countries except Panama and Costa Rica, is *monte*. In each case it was a minority offering, as also occurred in Venezuela. The apparent absence of this term in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world may be owed to the fact that *monte* (<Latin *montis*) typically denotes either a 'mountain' or 'hill,' akin to English 'mount,' or a landscape described by the English term 'wilderness.'

In Colombia, two of the thirteen informants selected *manga* for 'grass.' Not offered in any other country, this term normally refers to a 'sleeve' (<Latin *manica*). It can also denote a large species of 'mango,' as well as the tree that bears it (<Portuguese *manga* 'mango') (DLE). In the DAMER, the closest connection to 'grass' is a definition given for the use of *manga* in Ecuador, which neighbors Colombia: "*Camino abierto entre la maleza de la selva.*" Whereas a path through the jungle by definition has been cleared of surrounding vegetation, perhaps on its edges, or when partially overgrown due to disuse, enough grass can be present to have inspired a semantic shift in this word. Finally, also selected in only one country was the transparent English borrowing *gras*, chosen by nearly half of the respondents in Peru.

Tally of survey responses for ‘grass’ by country (total of eight)

- Argentina: *pasto* (18), *césped* (4)
- Bolivia: *pasto* (11), *césped* (3), *grama* (2)
- Canary Islands: *césped* (19), *hierba* (12)
- Chile: *pasto* (11), *césped* (3)
- Colombia: *pasto* (9), *manga* (2), *césped* (2)
- Costa Rica: *zacate* (10), *pasto* (3)
- Cuba: *hierba* (7), *césped* (3)
- Dominican Republic: *hierba* (10), *grama* (11)
- Ecuador: *césped* (6), *hierba* (3), *pasto* (2)
- El Salvador: *grama* (10), *césped* (3), *zacate* (3), *monte* (3), *pasto* (2)
- Guatemala: *grama* (10), *césped* (4), *monte* (3), *pasto* (2), *zacate* (2)
- Honduras: *zacate* (6), *grama* (5), *monte* (2)
- Mexico: *pasto* (26), *zacate* (9), *césped* (5)
- Nicaragua: *grama* (6), *zacate* (4), *monte* (2)
- Panama: *hierba* (10), *grama* (4)
- Paraguay: *pasto* (11), *césped* (2)
- Peru: *pasto* (9), *gras* (6), *césped* (3)
- Puerto Rico: *grama* (8), *pasto* (3)
- Spain: *hierba* (14), *césped* (5)
- Uruguay: *pasto* (13), *césped* (2)
- Venezuela: *grama* (23), *monte* (4)

Variant of *hierba*: *yerba*

Item 66: Blanket

Humans have undoubtedly used some type of covering for sleep during essentially their entire existence, particularly during cold weather. The English word for this item, ‘blanket,’ is attested in the OED from *c.* 1300, when it passed from Old French *blankete* to Middle English. This Gallicism, also spelled *blankette*, is a diminutive form of *blanc*, French for ‘white.’ Accordingly, initial uses of ‘blanket’ are listed as applying to white – or at least undyed – woolen fabric used to make clothing. By the mid-fourteenth century it had also come to denote a long sheet of such cloth, the principal use of which was as a covering for a bed. In Spanish, there are at least three words used to denote the bed cover in question that, as occurred with its name in English, have also at some point in their trajectory referred to a garment unrelated to sleep. The first of these is *manta*, the term most selected for ‘blanket’ among survey participants, one that spans every region of the Spanish-speaking world. Among the thirteen nations where it was offered, it was the exclusive choice in mainland Spain and the

Canary Islands, as well as a leading selection in Bolivia and Peru. The word *manta* derives from *manto* (<late Latin *mantum* <Latin *mantellum*), a short cloak or shawl that was worn by both women and men at the time in which this masculine form was initially attested, in the early tenth century (DCECH). The feminine *manta*, whose first known use is from later in the same century, referred to a type of headscarf, at least initially, though by no later than the late thirteenth century it was being employed to denote ‘blanket’ (“*manta de cama*”) (DCECH).

The second Spanish term that can refer to both clothing and a bed covering is *cobija*. In this case, however, in opposite fashion to *manta*, the word was first associated with ‘blanket’ and only later came to denote certain garments. Before either, however, the Latin etymon *cubilia* (<singular *cubile* ‘lodging’) referred to a ‘bed,’ particularly that of a poor person. The semantic shift from a ‘bed’ to the covers placed over it was but a short one; the oldest known use of the noun *cobija*, which conveys the meaning of ‘blanket,’ dates to 1554. A short time later, during the same sixteenth century, the meaning of this word also extended beyond the covering of a bed to an item that covered a person, in the sense of an article of clothing (DCECH). *Cobija* was offered by informants in nearly as many nations as *manta*, eleven in all. It was the unanimous reply in Colombia and was the leading choice in Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela, and Ecuador.

The third and final term selected for ‘blanket’ that is also traceable to apparel is *chamarra*, derived from Basque *zamar*, which during the Middle Ages depicted a wool or sheepskin garment (DCECH). Chosen by survey participants as either ‘coat’ or ‘jacket’ or both in the Canary Islands, Mexico, El Salvador, and Bolivia, *chamarra* was only offered in reference to a ‘blanket’ in Guatemala, where, along with Nicaragua, the DAMER claims the use of this word to denote a “*manta gruesa de lana*.”

A more common name for this item is *colcha*, which entered Spanish no later than the mid-thirteenth century, a borrowing from Old French *colche*, which bore the same meaning as the more modern *couche* ‘rustic bed’ (<*couchier* ‘to lie down’ <*collocāre* ‘to place’ or ‘to situate’), also the etymon for English ‘couch.’ Its initial meaning in Spanish was that of a type of ‘mattress,’ though one that was used on the ground (DCECH). Over the next century, perhaps as mattresses were stuffed with additional material for increased thickness, and particularly as they began to be placed on framed beds off the floor, the augmentative *colchón* came into use for these items, a form documented by 1356 (CORDE). This development allowed the word *colcha* to be applied to the thinner ‘blanket,’ which is precisely what eventually occurred in no fewer than eleven American nations, representing all major dialect zones except for Mexico. In Argentina, where only two of nineteen contributors selected this word, the related *acolchado* was offered by five individuals. The first listings of

this word in the CORDE, between the 1820s and 1850s, are adjectives used in reference to articles of clothing that are ‘padded.’¹⁹ Its first known use as a noun, denoting ‘padding,’ dates to 1870. The earliest recorded case of this word in connection to bedding is from 1929 in Mexico: *cobertor acolchado* ‘padded bedspread,’ ‘filled blanket,’ or simply ‘quilt.’ The first documented usage of the nominal form *acolchado* alone with reference to a ‘blanket’ dates to 1963 in Argentina (CORDE). While both the DLE and the DAMER link this term to Uruguay and Argentina and limit its use to a stuffed ‘comforter,’ it is evident that over the decades a subtle semantic shift has occurred in the latter country, at least among some speakers. The image seen by survey respondents is of a relatively thin flannel blanket, not a padded quilt or comforter.

A popular name for ‘blanket’ largely limited to southern South America is *frazada*. It was the leading selection in all four Spanish-speaking nations of the Southern Cone, whereas in neighboring Bolivia and Peru it was subordinate to *manta* and *colcha*. The only geographical outlier was Panama, where *frazada* was a decidedly minority response.²⁰ This term entered Spanish from Catalan *flassada*, before which its origin is uncertain (DCECH). Its first known use dates to 1462 with the spelling *fraçada* (CORDE). While it was still being employed in the Iberian Peninsula as late as the 1690s, it eventually fell into disuse there, displaced by the older lexeme *manta*, but not before it became established in certain American nations (DCECH). A word whose etymology has been erroneously linked to that of *frazada* is *frisa* (DCECH), a term selected for ‘blanket’ by informants in two nations, as the leading reply in Puerto Rican and a minority response in the Dominican Republic. It is probable that the true origin of this lexeme lies in the historic wool trade between the Belgian region of Flanders and countries farther to the west, including France, England, and Spain. Woolen goods from this area were often transported in ships setting out from farther to the east, including Frisia, a coastal region of the Netherlands and northern Germany. As a result, such material was referred to in Spanish as *tela frisia* ‘Frisian cloth.’ It appears that a variant of the adjectival

¹⁹ It seems clear that the verb *acolchar* ‘to pad’ or ‘to quilt’ derived from the adjective *acolchado*, as the latter dates to the early nineteenth century while the former is not attested until 1951 (CORDE).

²⁰ This is despite the fact that the CREA contains a small number of examples of *frazada* for ‘blanket’ in Cuba from recent years (between 1980 and 2002). However, the likely reason that *colcha* was the dominant form among survey respondents in this Caribbean nation, and that none opted for *frazada*, is because the latter at some point came to denote another household item as well. In an opinion article published in Cuba’s *Juventud Rebelde*, Rodríguez (2012) describes a recent shortage of *frazadas (de piso)* ‘mop cloths’ in local stores in the country and the subsequent rise in their price on the black market. While at first sight such a cleaning article seems wholly unrelated to bedding, a connection between the two likely involves usage in the past of old, worn-out blankets, cut into smaller sections, as cloths employed to mop floors. At some point such items evidently became popular enough to merit the specific production of mop cloths, thus obviating the need to depend on used bed coverings.

portion of this name was *frisa*, which is first attested as a noun in Spanish in the thirteenth century, used initially to denote ‘common wool fabric’ (DCECH). It is difficult to determine when this term came to denote more specifically an item of bedding in the Caribbean made from such a material. The only case of *frisa* with this meaning in the CORDE linked to one of these countries, Puerto Rico, dates to 1951. Another word for the item in question selected by contributors in only two countries was *cobertor*, a minority response in both Mexico and Venezuela. A derivative of *cubrir* (<Latin *cooperire* <*operire* ‘to cover’), the first known use of this word with the clear meaning of ‘blanket’ dates to 1275 (DCECH).

The final word chosen by contributors for ‘blanket’ is one that, had it been selected by only a few participants in one or two nations, might be attributable to a misperception of the image depicted on the survey in connection with this item. The term in question is *sábana* (<Latin *sabana*, plural form of *sabanum* <Greek *σάβανον* ‘bath towel’). The first uses of this word in Spanish appeared as early as the year 908, but carried varied connotations for centuries, including references to altar coverings, cloaks, veils, shawls, and even burial wrappings (DCECH).²¹ By the late thirteenth century there are clear examples of *sábanas* that denote ‘bed sheets.’ And, while this is the default meaning of the term today, the fact that a more substantial blanket is shown on the survey, and that respondents in nearly half of the countries identified it as a *sábana*, demonstrates that for these individuals in these locales a modest but significant semantic shift has occurred in the use of this word. An analysis of the ten nations where this occurred strongly suggests a common factor. Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, and Venezuela, the countries in question, constitute the entirety of the Spanish-speaking nations either in or on the Caribbean Sea, with the sole exception of Colombia. As a result, an element common to all of them is that the weather in much, if not all, of their territories remains relatively warm the year round. Heavy blankets are often not needed and thinner iterations, if used at all, are closer in substance to the sheets used underneath. While the use of the word *sábana* to denote both a ‘sheet’ and a ‘blanket’ in these countries could potentially cause confusion, this situation can be ameliorated by an accompanying adjective to describe the latter item. For example, if speakers want to make clear that they are referring to a ‘blanket,’ they can say *sábana gruesa* ‘thick sheet.’ Indeed, an internet search for uses of this compound form, employed contrastingly

²¹ The shroud in which Jesus was placed in the sepulcher is referred to as the *sábana santa* in Spanish (DLE).

with *sábana* alone, reveals many cases of this precise distinction in web-sites ranging from hotel reviews to those that sell bedding products.

Tally of survey responses for ‘blanket’ by country (total of nine)

- Canary Islands, Spain: *manta* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *frazada* (11), *manta* (7), *acolchado* (5), *colcha* (2)
- Bolivia: *manta* (4), *colcha* (3), *cobija* (2), *frazada* (2)
- Chile: *frazada* (8), *manta* (3)
- Colombia: *cobija* (unanimous)
- Costa Rica: *cobija* (10), *sábana* (2)
- Cuba: *colcha* (5), *sábana* (2)
- Dominican Republic: *sábana* (6), *manta* (3), *colcha* (3), *frisa* (3)
- Ecuador: *cobija* (9), *colcha* (2)
- El Salvador: *cobija* (11), *colcha* (3), *manta* (2)
- Guatemala: *colcha* (5), *chamarra* (4), *cobija* (3), *sábana* (3)
- Honduras: *cobija* (9), *colcha* (2), *sábana* (2)
- Mexico: *cobija* (20), *cobertor* (6), *manta* (4), *sábana* (3)
- Nicaragua: *colcha* (3), *cobija* (3), *manta* (2), *sábana* (2)
- Panama: *cobija* (5), *sábana* (5), *manta* (3), *frazada* (3)
- Paraguay: *frazada* (7), *manta* (3), *colcha* (2)
- Peru: *manta* (5), *colcha* (5), *frazada* (4)
- Puerto Rico: *frisa* (6), *sábana* (3)
- Uruguay: *frazada* (10), *manta* (8)
- Venezuela: *cobija* (21), *sábana* (4), *cobertor* (2)

Item 67: Ballpoint Pen

After the quill pen had dominated Western writing for well over a millennium, the fountain pen was patented in the nineteenth century (Hensher 2013: 4). This implement held many advantages over its predecessors. While reeds and quills had to be dipped at regular intervals in an ink well, required frequent sharpening, and wore out after relatively short periods of use, fountain pens featured an internal ink reservoir that fed a durable metal nib capable of distributing a well-defined flow of ink. Ironically, however, it was this very flow that also constituted one of this writing instrument’s weak points: it was prone to leaking. Indeed, care had to be taken in this regard even when it was functioning correctly and used properly, as a fountain pen starts to disperse ink as soon as it touches the paper. In contrast, a ballpoint pen must be pressed more or less firmly against the page and moved along the surface before it begins to write.

Nevertheless, it would take decades of trial and error and numerous intervening twists of historical and geopolitical fate for this modern writing utensil to come to complete fruition.

One of the most crucial events linked to the successful creation of the ballpoint pen occurred in Central Europe in 1899, when László Bíró was born in Budapest. His ultimate feat was not the original conception of the pen itself, but the long years of sacrifice, effort, and slight but essential technical modifications necessary to finally achieve its successful commercialization and mass production (Moldova 2012: 20). After attempting to work with a German manufacturer prior to the outbreak of World War II, Bíró, increasingly persecuted for his Jewish heritage, emigrated to France in 1939.²² Following attempts at production in Paris, the approaching German forces induced him and future partner György János Meyne, a fellow Hungarian, to leave for Argentina via Spain in the summer of 1940. Realizing that one of the flaws in earlier ballpoint pen designs was that the ink not only tended to be too thin, causing leakage, but that it also contained acid that eventually ate away at the ball and socket at the writing tip, Bíró's solution was not to use traditional ink at all but rather a dye-infused paste whose formula he worked on for years in order to perfect both its consistency and viscosity (33–98). By 1943, Bíró and Mayne were turning out the first nearly flawless units (111–123). They gave their creation the official name 'Stratopen' (Lambert 2014: 127). In France the rights to manufacture and sell the ballpoint pen were acquired by Marcel Bich, who, after years of producing costly models made of metal components, in 1950 launched the inexpensive, mostly plastic Bic Cristal still sold in large quantities today (Giesbrecht 2015).

The term 'ballpoint pen' is attested from 1943 (OED). This utensil has become so ubiquitous over the intervening decades that use of the second word by itself typically implies the instrument in question. In contrast, if a speaker intends to denote a different type of 'pen,' it generally becomes necessary to qualify the utterance with 'fountain,' 'felt tip,' etc. The first known use of the word 'pen' dates to *c.* 1325. It entered English from Old French *pennne*, a term used to describe both a 'writing tool' and, in obviously connected fashion, the 'long wing-feather of a bird' used to make quill pens. The ultimate etymon is the Classical Latin *penna* 'feather,' the name used in modern Italian for 'pen.' Less common but also used for 'feather' and 'quill pen' in English is 'plume' (<Classical Latin *plūma*), whose use can be traced with the former meaning to Anglo-Saxon and with the latter to late fourteenth-century Middle English (OED). The word *pluma* in Spanish likewise denotes

²² Even though Bíró, born into a Jewish family, had converted to Lutheranism, he was still viewed as a non-Aryan and therefore was not exempt from the anti-Semitic laws existent not only in Germany but increasingly being promulgated in his native Hungary (Moldova 2012: 60).

both ‘feather’ and ‘pen,’ though, unlike the situation in English, the latter meaning is no longer restricted to a quill-based writing instrument in many countries. While *pluma* was not selected unanimously by informants in any nation as the equivalent of ‘ballpoint pen,’ it was the leading response in Cuba, Mexico, Honduras, and Panama, while in in Puerto Rico, Guatemala, and Venezuela it was a minority option. This means, however, that *pluma* was not offered in fourteen of the twenty-one countries. In contrast, the most common term among contributors overall was *bolígrafo*, a term selected in thirteen nations. This compound word is a rough semantic equivalent of ‘ballpoint pen’: *bola* ‘ball’ + *-grafo* ‘that writes’ (DLE). Respondents in both mainland Spain and the Canary Islands chose unanimously either *bolígrafo* or, in relatively few numbers, *boli*, whereas participants in the American countries where this term was selected opted exclusively for the fuller iteration. *Bolígrafo* was the leading selection in Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Bolivia, and was also offered with differing frequencies in eight other countries, ranging from the Caribbean to southern South America.

There is an additional Spanish term for the writing instrument in question which also contains the root *graf*, this time in adjectival form. When Bíró and Meyne began selling their ballpoint pen in Argentina in the mid-1940s, they used two names other than the trademark ‘Stratopen’ in promotional materials, one of which was: “*esferográfica*” (*esfera* ‘sphere’ + *-gráfico/a* ‘relative to writing’) (Angulo 2018).²³ This form, as well as the alternative *esferográfico*, are listed as words used for *bolígrafo* in Colombia and Ecuador in both the DLE and the DAMER, the latter clarifying that the feminine variant is indeed the original one. The masculine iteration appears to be the more common of the two today, though only one individual in Ecuador offered this full name, compared to eight who gave, as the leading reply in the country, the shortened *esfero*, recognized by the DAMER but not the DLE. This abbreviation, also a popular second choice in Colombia, was not selected in any other country. The second name used to advertise Bíró and Meyne’s new pen was eponymous in nature. Having determined to combine their surnames to create a catchy moniker, they first considered *Biromeyne*. Meyne, however, found it too long and felt that the use of his entire last name did not give sufficient credit to his partner, who had worked on the project much longer, so the pair settled on the shorter *Birome* (Angulo 2018; Moldova 2012: 119). In time, this word was written in lower-case and came to be used as a general rather than a proper noun in the River Plate countries (CORDE).²⁴ In Argentina, twelve of the nineteen survey participants selected *birome* for ‘ballpoint pen,’ a number just shy of the thirteen

²³ It is likely that this word is an adjective turned noun through the shortening of the term *pluma esferográfica*. Another example of such a two-word name is *pluma estilográfica* ‘fountain pen.’

²⁴ This is very similar to the case of English ‘biro,’ originally ‘Biro,’ a British trademark of the 1940s that was eventually acquired by the French company Bic (Manser 1988: 16; OED).

who chose *lapicera* as the leading response. In Uruguay *birome* was also second to *lapicera* as the most popular choice, while in Paraguay it was the most selected term.

The choice of *lapicera* in Argentina and Uruguay for this writing utensil was nearly unique among respondents from all countries. Only in Bolivia was it also claimed, though as a minority form. More common among Bolivian contributors was the masculine variant *lapicero*.²⁵ Although the number of participants available to gauge the *lapicera/lapicero* dichotomy is modest, it appears sufficient to suggest a geographical split that begins in Bolivian territory but then extends beyond the country's borders. While this nation is the only one in which both terms were offered for 'ballpoint pen,' the location of respondents for each did not overlap. The two individuals who chose *lapicera* were from the southern cities of Sucre and Tarija, closest to the only two countries, even farther south, where this word was also selected: Argentina and Uruguay. In contrast, the four Bolivian informants who offered *lapicero* were from Santa Cruz and Cochabamba in the center of the country and the department of Beni in the north, the cardinal direction which, when followed, reveals the use of this masculine variant, to the absolute exclusion of its feminine counterpart, throughout nine other countries in the Americas. *Lapicero* was also the exclusive or leading reply in Peru, Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic, as well as a popular option in Venezuela and Mexico. It should be noted that in Cuba, Ecuador, and (southern) Bolivia *lapicero* is reserved not to denote a 'ballpoint pen' but a 'mechanical pencil' (DAMER).²⁶

In most dialects of English any confusion or overlap between the words employed to denote the related but distinctly separate concepts of 'pen' and 'pencil' is practically unthinkable. An exception is the 'pen pencil' of Indian English. This term equates to what in the American and British dialects are the 'mechanical' and the 'propelling' pencil, respectively. This situation surely arose from the fact that the early ballpoint pens manufactured by the likes of László Bíró were retractable, or click, pens, just as mechanical pencils still are, of necessity. It was not until the emergence of the Bic Cristal that pens began to feature the innovation of a removable cap over a fixed writing point.

²⁵ *Lapicera* is the most recent member of this lexical pair, attested from 1881, nearly a century later than *lapicero* (1791), from which it derived. Both have as their etymon *lápiz* 'pencil,' whose first known use in this sense dates to 1626 as *lapiz*, whereas the orthographically accented modern form can be seen from 1675. In at least four recorded instances, from 1563, 1611, 1629, and 1676, *lapis* was also employed to denote the writing utensil in question (CORDE). This latter spelling reflects its etymological roots in Latin *lapis*, a synonym of *petra* 'stone.'

²⁶ In Argentina, the term *lapicero* is used only in reference to a pen and pencil holder. The name employed in this and other countries for a mechanical pencil is *portaminas* (the word *minas* denoting the miniscule-sized graphite leads fed through this writing instrument as they wear down from use).

This could well explain not only the use of *lapicero* in Spanish for both of these writing instruments, but also two other dialectal options for the ‘ballpoint pen’ that utilize the word that when employed alone refers to the ‘pencil’ in all countries: *lápiz*. Both responses were given by informants in only one country each. In Nicaragua, while eight contributors selected *lapicero*, two offered the minority *lápiz de tinta*, with a literal meaning of ‘ink pencil.’ Among Chilean respondents, in contrast, *lápiz pasta* was not merely the leading but the exclusive reply. The word *pasta* in Spanish refers not only to the noodles inherent in the English cognate but also ‘paste,’ a mush of moist ingredients used for various purposes. While paste is not typically associated with writing, its incorporation into the ballpoint pen was one of the crucial elements of the work done by László Bíró and his associates as it eventually solved the problems presented by traditional ink, which was prone to leaking and whose acid over time corroded the ball and socket (Moldova 2012: 33). While Chileans do not use *birome*, the term inspired by the accomplishments of these inventors in neighboring Argentina, knowledge of their efforts in this regard may well have crossed the border and led to the adoption of *lápiz pasta* ‘paste pen.’

Tally of survey responses for ‘ballpoint pen’ by country (total of nine)

- Costa Rica, El Salvador, Peru: *lapicero* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *lapicera* (13), *birome* (12)
- Bolivia: *bolígrafo* (8), *lapicero* (4), *lapicera* (2)
- Canary Islands: *bolígrafo* (22), *boli* (6)
- Chile: *lápiz pasta* (unanimous)
- Colombia: *lapicero* (9), *esfero* (6)
- Cuba: *pluma* (7), *bolígrafo* (5)
- Dominican Republic: *lapicero* (17), *bolígrafo* (4)
- Ecuador: *esfero* (8), *bolígrafo* (2)
- Guatemala: *lapicero* (11), *pluma* (2), *bolígrafo* (2)
- Honduras: *pluma* (10), *bolígrafo* (2)
- Mexico: *pluma* (24), *lapicero* (8), *bolígrafo* (5)
- Nicaragua: *lapicero* (8), *lápiz de tinta* (2)
- Panama: *pluma* (12), *bolígrafo* (5)
- Paraguay: *birome* (8), *bolígrafo* (7)
- Puerto Rico: *bolígrafo* (9), *pluma* (2)
- Spain: *bolígrafo* (17), *boli* (2)
- Uruguay: *lapicera* (10), *birome* (5)
- Venezuela: *bolígrafo* (18), *lapicero* (9), *pluma* (2)

Item 68: Hummingbird

There are 338 known species of hummingbird, belonging to 105 different genera, all exclusively constituting the *Trochilidae* family, the tiniest members of which are the world's smallest birds. Found only in the Western Hemisphere in the wild, the majority of these creatures make their home in the American tropics (Fogden et al. 2014: 9). Colombia alone boasts 147 hummingbird species, nearly half of the world's total (Otis 2016). The term 'hummingbird,' whose first known use dates to 1637 (OED), is a transparently onomatopoeic form inspired by the sound emanating from the rapidly moving wings of this diminutive aviator. As the verb for 'to hum' in Spanish in this sense is *zumar*, the literal translation of the English name of the bird in question would be *pájaro zumbador*, and indeed, the second half of this compound word exists in certain dialects. The DLE lists this usage of *zumbador* in both Mexico and the Dominican Republic, though it is evidently much more common in the latter nation. Four of the nineteen Dominican survey respondents selected this term, while none of those in Mexico or any other country did so. Similarly, five of the ten Cuban informants chose the word *zunzún*, another clear result of onomatopoeia. Not only was this word offered in no other county, but it was the only instance of a leading selection in any nation that was neither *colibrí* nor *picaflor*.

The DLE states that *colibrí* can be traced to Carib, spoken in the greater Caribbean region of northern South America. The DCECH, with a slightly more northern focus, claims that it originated in the French Antilles, though the precise source language is unknown. As evidence, it cites the fact that *colibry* was present in French from as early as 1640, whereas contemporary historians of the Spanish West Indies mention no such word. Its first known use in Spanish – *calibre*, dated 1769 – is listed as a borrowing from French, which today continues to employ the term *colibri*. The DCECH also offers the form *colibre*, while the CORDE contains the modern *colibrí* no later than 1805 in Spain. In time, the use of this loanword extended beyond the Caribbean, constituting today the most common word in Spanish for the bird in question; it was the leading answer among survey participants in twelve of the twenty-one nations. Nevertheless, its distribution and intensity of usage are still very much linked to geographic considerations. Of the four Central American countries where respondents selected *colibrí* exclusively, three of them – Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras – feature Caribbean coast, and the fourth, El Salvador, is nearby. In the remaining Central American countries, Panama and Guatemala, as well as Mexico in North America and the first two nations in northern South America, Venezuela and Colombia, all of which

touch Caribbean waters, it was chosen as the leading though not unanimous form. The only other New World country in which contributors offered *colibrí* as the leading option was Ecuador. Across the Atlantic, the exclusive selection of this term by informants comes with a caveat. Owing to the fact that there are no hummingbirds in mainland Spain or the Canary Islands, when there is occasion for the name of this bird to be employed there, it is, according to one Canarian respondent, a “*cultismo*,” a learned word that may have been acquired as a direct borrowing from neighboring France, as appears to have occurred in several other Peninsular and broader European languages that feature cognates identical or similar in form to *colibrí* (Portuguese, Catalan, Italian, Welsh, German, Dutch, Danish, Polish, Czech).

Despite general agreement that the name *colibrí* emerged in or near the Caribbean, it was not the leading word selected for ‘hummingbird’ in any of the region’s island nations. In Cuba it was secondary to *zunzún* and in both the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico it tied with *picaflor*. The latter term is, of course, the combination of *pica*, the third person singular conjugation of *picar* ‘to prick’ + *flor* ‘flower.’ This descriptive compound, whose first known use dates to 1748 in Peru (CORDE), is the dominant term utilized in most of South America, including not only Peru but also Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Paraguay, where respondents chose it as a majority form vis-à-vis the less frequent *colibrí*. Only in Argentina were both terms selected equally. In northern South America, *picaflor* was a minority selection in Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela, a circumstance that also held true for Panama, Guatemala, and Mexico. Contributors selected three names for ‘hummingbird’ that are variations on the theme of *picaflor*. Two of the thirteen individuals in Colombia, both from Bogotá, gave an answer of *chupaflor* (literally ‘sucks flowers’), as did two of the thirty-one in Mexico.²⁷ In the latter nation, six individuals chose *chuparrosa* (‘sucks roses’), a term offered in no other country. Also unique to a single nation was the word *visitaflor* (‘visits flowers’), selected by two of the thirteen informants in Panama.

The final response given for the diminutive bird in question was *quinde*, borrowed from Quechuan *quindi* (DLE). As Cuzco had been the capital of the Incan Empire, it is only fitting that the first known case of this autochthonous name listed in the CORDE, dated 1748, be from Peru. However, the only two other instances of this word in said database are found in a common 1879 document from Ecuador. Accordingly, two of the eleven respondents in this country chose *quinde*.

²⁷ This is similar to the Portuguese name *beija-flor* (‘kisses flowers’).

Tally of survey responses for ‘hummingbird’ by country (total of eight)

- Canary Islands, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Spain: *colibrí* (unanimous)
- Argentina: *picaflor* (13), *colibrí* (13)
- Bolivia: *picaflor* (9), *colibrí* (3)
- Chile: *picaflor* (7), *colibrí* (5)
- Colombia: *colibrí* (8), *picaflor* (4), *chupaflor* (2)
- Cuba: *zunzún* (5), *colibrí* (4)
- Dominican Republic: *colibrí* (8), *picaflor* (8), *zumbador* (4)
- Ecuador: *colibrí* (8), *picaflor* (4), *quinde* (2)
- Guatemala: *colibrí* (10), *picaflor* (2)
- Mexico: *colibrí* (26), *chuparroza* (6), *picaflor* (3), *chupaflor* (2)
- Panama: *colibrí* (9), *picaflor* (5), *visitaflor* (2)
- Paraguay: *picaflor* (11), *colibrí* (3)
- Peru: *picaflor* (9), *colibrí* (3)
- Puerto Rico: *colibrí* (4), *picaflor* (4)
- Uruguay: *picaflor* (11), *colibrí* (7)
- Venezuela: *colibrí* (13), *picaflor* (6)

Variants of forms offered by survey respondents included:

- *quinde*: *kinde*
- *zunzún*: *zun zun*

Questions

1. The most common term for a ‘computer’ in American Spanish is *computadora*, compared to *ordenador* in mainland Spain and the Canary Islands. What elements likely account for these dialectal differences?
2. Considering the etymology of the word *alberca*, which has existed in Spanish for perhaps as many as 800 years, what makes its usage in Mexico alone for ‘swimming pool’ a reality that would have been both difficult to predict before it occurred and yet feasibly explained afterwards?
3. Nearly half of the responses of *guardameta* for ‘soccer goalie’ were offered by survey respondents on the eastern side of the Atlantic? What is a plausible explanation for this fact?
4. What irony exists in the use of *váter* to donate a ‘toilet’ but not a ‘bathroom’ in several dialects of Spanish? How did this situation come to be?
5. What common semantic characteristic exists between the use of the words *taza*, *vasija*, and *poceta* to denote a ‘toilet’?

6. What linguistic feature is involved in the different meanings of the word *aseo* in Spain and the Canary Islands and in Latin America?
7. What commonality exists between a majority of the Spanish words used in reference to a 'kite'? Is this similar or dissimilar to the case in English?
8. Although *sábana* is the default term for a 'bed sheet,' what is arguably logical about its use for 'blanket' in several dialects of Spanish?
9. What morphosyntactic feature do four of the eight Spanish words employed for 'hummingbird' have in common? What are possible ramifications of the semantic similarities shared by these terms as regards lexical variation in the language?

5 Discussion and Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

The unmistakable reality revealed in the previous four chapters is that of the immense variation in the vocabulary employed in Spanish to denote the items discussed therein, most of which are common articles of everyday usage. As this book is written in English, speakers of this language who read it will naturally wonder at this diatopic variety vis-à-vis the existence of fewer words in their own tongue for the same concepts. The main point of discussion in this chapter, then, centers on the potential reasons for this discrepancy. This requires a brief examination of certain aspects regarding the historical development of these two languages and their eventual geographical distribution. This chapter also explores the abundance of paths by which manifold lexemes have entered Spanish in particular.

5.2 Lexical Variation in Spanish and English

The number of Spanish words offered by contributors in the twenty-one countries for the sixty-eight items on the survey totals an astonishing 519, an average of 7.6 per item. Table 5.1 demonstrates, in contrast, that English speakers in the Anglosphere (defined below) employ synonyms in less than one-third, or twenty-one, of these cases. Furthermore, a majority of them yield only one or two alternatives; none features more than five, unlike the multiple double-digit instances in Spanish. The forty-six synonyms listed in the table (which, like their Spanish counterparts, do not include slang terms), added to those deemed to be the most common names employed for the sixty-eight items in US English, bring the total to 114 words, or an average of only 1.7 per item. The incidence of the Spanish terms, then, is greater than that of their English equivalents by a factor of 4.5.

It must be remembered that the 114 total English terms identified in relation to the sixty-eight items are those used in the aggregate throughout the Anglosphere,

Table 5.1 *US terms and Anglosphere synonyms for twenty-one of sixty-eight items*

Items (US terms)	Synonyms (some dialectal only)
'shrimp'	'prawn' (more common in UK)
'pig'	'hog'
'soft drink'	'soda pop,' 'soda,' 'pop,' 'carbonated drink,' 'Coke' (US)
'corn'	'maize' (UK)
'green bean'	'string bean,' 'snap bean'
'chili pepper'	'hot pepper'
'refrigerator'	'fridge,' 'icebox' (US; dated)
'pantyhose'	'hose,' 'nylons,' 'stockings,' 'tights' (UK)
'men's briefs'	'underwear,' 'underpants,' 'pants' (UK)
'women's panties'	'underwear,' 'underpants,' 'knickers' (UK)
'coat'	'parka'
'tennis shoes'	'sneakers'
'flip-flops'	'sandals,' 'thongs' (US, Australia; dated)
'pickup truck'	'pickup'
'semi-trailer truck'	'semi-trailer,' 'tractor-trailer,' 'semi-truck,' 'semi,' '(articulated) lorry' (UK)
'minivan'	'people carrier,' 'people mover,' 'multi-purpose vehicle' (MPV) (all UK)
'(soccer) goalie'	'goalkeeper'
'eyeglasses'	'glasses,' 'spectacles' (UK)
'public bathroom'	'restroom' (US), 'washroom' (Canada), 'lavatory' (UK), 'WC' (UK), 'toilet' (UK, Australia)
'toilet'	'commode'
'ballpoint pen'	'biro' (UK, Australia)
Original US terms	68*
All synonyms	46
Total combined	114
Total US terms	99

* As English synonyms were identified in relation to only twenty-one of the sixty-eight survey items, the common names of the other forty-seven are not listed in this table. They are, of course, listed in their respective entries in the previous chapters, as well as in alphabetical order in the index.

not in one country alone, just as the 519 selected by survey respondents correspond in their totality to the twenty-one predominantly Spanish-speaking countries. The United States, the largest of these English-speaking nations, accounts for only ninety-nine of the English words in question, or 1.5 per item. In contrast, survey respondents from Mexico, the most populous Spanish-dominant nation, selected a total of 149 terms, for an average of 2.2 per item, or an approximately

50-percent increase. This pronounced difference in synonym use to denote the same items requires in-depth exploration as the causes are clearly multiple in nature, some essentially geographical, others intrinsically linguistic, and all necessarily historical. None of this is to claim that such levels of variety in Spanish compared to English exist for all possible items or concepts throughout their entire respective lexical repertoires. Doubtless there are several cases in which multiple English words are employed to denote an object that is described universally in Spanish by a single term. Furthermore, it is true that the items selected for inclusion in this book were chosen principally because of the variety of Spanish words that they exhibit across dialects. Therefore, the comparisons between the two languages addressed here are, to a certain extent, limited to the items analyzed in the previous chapters. Nevertheless, it is highly improbable that even a deliberate search of the entire known English lexicon would yield situations of word counts for individual items as elevated as many of those identified in this book alone in relation to Spanish. Of the sixty-eight items, four of them were assigned ten words by informants; five came in with tallies of eleven; two each were identified with twelve, thirteen, and fourteen terms; three each drew a total of fifteen and sixteen words; and one was linked to no fewer than eighteen. Similar levels of variety in English are not believed to exist for individual items either common or obscure, perhaps not even if the types of slang words disregarded in this book are taken into account. The difference between this and what occurs in Spanish regarding many items must therefore be reckoned with.

It is also important to clarify, early in this discussion, that Spanish does not feature a multiplicity of words for items such as those covered in this book because it boasts a lexical inventory appreciably larger than that of other Indo-European languages. In fact, in relation to English, the opposite is almost indisputably the case. While admittedly imperfect, the most readily available method to compare the size of these two languages is to consider the number of entries in their respective dictionaries. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) contains 600,000 words, though some of them have fallen into disuse. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (Merriam-Webster 2008) features more than 476,000 entries, all for terms deemed to be current. These nearly half a million words greatly outnumber those of the Royal Spanish Academy's *Diccionario de la lengua española* (DLE), whose twenty-third edition (2014) contains 93,000 entries, less than one-fifth of the total in *Webster's*. While it is true that both of the English dictionaries mentioned here contain a significant number of slang terms, this alone is not enough to explain such a large gap in the languages' respective word counts, not to mention the fact that the DLE itself is not devoid of colloquialisms. The more essential factor is that Spanish is a Romance language whose word inventory is based largely on that of its forebear, Latin. In contrast, although

English is historically and structurally Germanic and still features many core lexemes from this ancestor, it has acquired vast quantities of words from other languages, including numerous Latin-based terms.

Many Latinate words were borrowed directly by English as a result of the Renaissance, some of them denoting new concepts and others essentially constituting equivalents of already existing Germanic terms. Even before then, other Latin-derived vocabulary had entered English through less direct routes, including via Anglo-Norman (AN) and Old French (OF) as a result of the Norman conquest of England in the eleventh century. Furthermore, rather than becoming obsolete through lexical leveling, many Old English (OE) words survived into Middle English (ME) and beyond as synonyms to these new borrowings, as opposed to the often sole Latinate version in Spanish. In English, for instance, ‘weapon’ (OE) coexists with ‘arm’ (AN), the latter derived from the Latin term whose original form is equal to that in modern Spanish: *arma*. Similarly, ‘to forgive’ (OE) is largely synonymous with ‘to pardon’ (AN), the origins of which, like Spanish’s *perdonar*, can be traced to Late Latin *perdonare*. In English, one may speak of either a ‘drink’ (OE) or a ‘beverage’ (OF), while the Spanish equivalent is *bebida* alone. Additional cases are as follows: ‘ghost’ (OE) and ‘phantom’ (OF) versus *fantasma*; ‘foe’ (OE) and ‘enemy’ (OF) versus *enemigo*; ‘freedom’ (OE) and ‘liberty’ (Latin) versus *libertad*; ‘late’ (OE) and ‘tardy’ (Latin) versus *tarde*; and ‘fall’ (ME) and ‘autumn’ (OF) versus *otoño* (<*autumnus*).¹ Furthermore, as the British Empire spread in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the point that eventually the sun never set upon it, English, in addition to Latinate terms, adopted myriad words from languages the world over.

While it is evident, then, that English has a significantly larger lexicon than Spanish, this means that the latter language, paradoxically, often makes greater use of its relatively modest vocabulary. What remains, then, is to explain why this is the case. In relation to the present study on the use of multiple nouns for common items, there are at least three reasons for this phenomenon: (1) the number of Spanish-speaking nations vis-à-vis those of the Anglosphere; (2) the array of important native cultivars in the New World regions now dominated by the Spanish tongue; and (3) the historical differences in the oral and written traditions of the two languages in question.

5.2.1 *Lexical Diversity in the Spanish-Speaking World Versus the Anglosphere*

For the purposes of this book, as explained in the introduction, the Canary Islands and Puerto Rico are treated as countries, though officially the former is

¹ The etymologies noted in this paragraph are from the OED for English and the DLE for Spanish.

part of Spain and the latter is a US protectorate. They have populations of more than 2 million and 3 million, respectively. There are some 4 million inhabitants in Panama, nearly 5 million in Costa Rica, 6 million or so in both El Salvador and Nicaragua, and approximately 9 million in Honduras. The other fourteen nations in question each feature populations in excess of 10 million. With well over 100 million people, Mexico is the most populous. In contrast, the number of English-speaking countries with comparably sized populations is considerably smaller. Only four have more than 10 million inhabitants: the United States (330 million), the United Kingdom (65 million), Canada (35 million), and Australia (25 million).² These nations, along with New Zealand (5 million), constitute what is often considered the Anglosphere, comprised of the largest and most influential English-speaking countries historically linked to the British Empire. The total number of these nations, therefore, equals only roughly a third of the quantity of those in the same general population category within the Spanish-speaking realm. The import of this lies in the fact that speakers in individual nations, or small groups of them, often utilize words that are not employed in others despite sharing a common language. As noted in Table 5.1, the facility denoted by the US term ‘restroom’ tends to be called a ‘washroom’ in Canada and a ‘lavatory’ or ‘WC’ in the United Kingdom. The word ‘toilet’ in this sense is heard in both UK and Australian English, but this does not tend to be the case in the Canadian or US dialects. In the three River Plate countries, there exist many terms not found in any other dialect, including, as discussed in this book, *chaucha* ‘green bean,’ *bife* ‘beefsteak,’ *pollera* ‘skirt,’ *bombacha* ‘women’s panties,’ *campera* ‘coat/jacket,’ and *birome* ‘ballpoint pen.’ In like fashion, *guineo* ‘banana’ and *grama* ‘grass’ are restricted to parts of the Caribbean, Central America, and northern South America, and *ejote* ‘corn’ and *cincho* ‘belt’ are confined to Mexico and certain Central American nations. Some terms are shared between two countries, such as *pitillo* ‘drinking straw’ in Colombia and Venezuela, *polera* ‘T-shirt’ in Chile and Bolivia, *tapón* ‘traffic jam’ in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, and *espejuelos* ‘eyeglasses’ in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Nevertheless, it is the considerable number of Spanish words found in only one country each that truly demonstrates the impact that a large quantity of independently existing nations can bring to bear on a language’s overall useful vocabulary.

While reasons for country-specific vocabulary can perhaps never be fully ascertained, the causes surely include aspects of national sentiment, isolation after the colonial period but prior to modern transport and communication, media and educational systems based largely in the individual capital cities,

² The United Kingdom is treated as a country for present purposes, though it is technically a union of four nations: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

and the influence of local native languages. Among these unique words are the following examples: *vainica* ‘green bean’ in Costa Rica, *mantecado* ‘ice cream’ in Puerto Rico, *caraota* ‘bean’ in Venezuela, *carrizo* ‘drinking straw’ in Panama, *saya* ‘skirt’ in Cuba, *championnes* ‘tennis shoes’ in Uruguay, and *alberca* ‘swimming pool’ in Mexico. If the independence and subsequent partition of Spain’s colonial territories had occurred differently, resulting in fewer Spanish-speaking nations, just as there is a considerably smaller number of countries in the Anglosphere, several of these words would likely not be present in the language, along with many others not addressed in this book.

5.2.2 *The Importance of Geography and Climate on Lexical Diversity*

A second reason that the Spanish language features more words than English to denote a majority of the items analyzed in this volume – in particular those related to food plants – extends from the number of nations where the former is spoken to their specific geographical distribution. The Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn are located, respectively, at approximately 23.5 degrees of latitude north and south of the Equator. Of the five main Anglosphere nations, only the northern third of Australia lies within this Torrid Zone. In contrast, while mainland Spain and the Canary Islands are also excluded, Uruguay is the only Spanish-speaking nation in the Americas not at least partially inside this wide band, which in the north encompasses the southern half of Mexico, all of Central America, the entirety of the Hispanic Caribbean, and northern South America, whereas in the south it incorporates nearly all of the Andean region and extends to the northern reaches of Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay. The importance of this situation lies in the fact that, while only 36 percent of the planet’s landmass is in this tropical domain (Schneider 2011: 130), perhaps as many as 90 percent of all plant species on earth are found there (Breton 1998: 42). This means that when the British began to explore and colonize in the Western Hemisphere, approximately a century after the Spaniards, their largely temperate zone incursions placed them in contact with flora and fauna considerably different from their counterparts farther south. Even some of the exceptions had originated outside of North America. Indigenous groups encountered by English Pilgrims, just as those in what is now the Spanish-speaking world, cultivated the “alimentary trinity” or “Three Sisters”: corn, squash, and beans. While the last of these three foods were of the New World genus *Phaseolus*, which likely first emerged in the Andean region of South America, these Europeans would have also known the only true bean from the Old World, the fava, genus *Vicia*. As a result, there was no need for these English speakers to adopt or invent a new word for this legume. The term ‘bean’ is of Common Germanic stock, having existed in Old English as ‘béan’ (OED). In contrast to this sole English word, Spanish features no fewer than eleven words for ‘bean,’ the two most common being *frijol*, from Latin *faseolus*, and *poroto*, from

Quechuan *purútu*. The Old World fava (<Latin *faba*), known today as the *haba*, was referred to by Spaniards of the time as the *hava* (DCECH). Corn (*Z. mays*) most likely originated in Mesoamerica before spreading both north and south. The word ‘corn’ entered English from Germanic **korno-* (<**kurnóm* <Latin *granum* <Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **gr̥hnom*). The first known application of ‘corn’ to the American staple dates to 1608 (OED). Spanish contains at least seven words for ‘corn,’ the most common of which are *maíz*, from the now-extinct Taíno language, and *choclo*, from Quechua. Squash is also likely to be of Mesoamerican origin. However, unlike the names ‘corn’ and ‘bean,’ the English colonizers did not arrive in the Western Hemisphere equipped with a readymade word to describe these solid-fleshed species of the *Cucurbita* genus, family *Cucurbitaceae*. They therefore did what the Spanish had done repeatedly upon finding such a novelty among the New World flora; they adopted – and in this case adapted, through abbreviation – the indigenous name employed locally: *asquutasquash*, from the Narragansett tongue, an Algonquian language once spoken in parts of New England that has since become extinct (OED).³

In contrast to corn, squash, and beans, there were many New World cultivars that had not reached what now constitutes the eastern seaboard of the United States of America, particularly from the central coast northward, by the time the British began to arrive in the early seventeenth century. The introduction of these foods to English speakers, then, both culinarily and linguistically, would be the result of somewhat later contact with other Europeans, including Spanish speakers, who had already incorporated these foods into their way of life. The avocado, for instance, thought to have first been cultivated in what is now Mexico, grows best in a climate ranging from tropical to moderately temperate. Even today this fruit is not grown in the eastern United States north of Florida, let alone in New England, which has frigid temperatures during several months of the year. Avocados are, however, grown in Spain, which is where the name *abuacado* (<Náhuatl *ahuacatl*) was used for a time in the sixteenth century, inspiring the English term ‘avocado’ before later being supplanted with the modern Spanish name closer to its etymological roots: *aguacate*. Whereas English never adopted another term for this food, Spanish speakers in many countries of southern South America assumed the word *palta* due to contact with the Quechua speakers who had also been growing the avocado under this name prior to the conquest.

Another cultivated food item that prefers warm temperatures is the chili pepper, at times also called a ‘hot pepper’ in English due to its spicy qualities. Likely originating in the area of modern Bolivia, where Quechua speakers called it *uchu*, this food plant had reached the Caribbean and southern North

³ The most common word for ‘squash’ in Spanish is *calabaza* (origin unknown), though in the Southern Cone is often referred to as *zapallo*, from Quecha *sapallu* (DLE).

America by the time the Spaniards arrived there. The indigenous peoples in the West Indies used the Taíno name *ají*, which the European conquerors took with them as they traveled south. In what is now Mexico, Náhuatl speakers employed the name *chilli*, borrowed by the Spanish soon after their arrival on this mainland, as well as by English speakers, first attested in the latter tongue as ‘chille,’ in the second half of the seventeenth century (OED).⁴ While *ají* and *chile* are the two most popular terms in Spanish, each selected by survey respondents in more than half the countries, speakers of this language also use seven additional words, several of which are only encountered in one nation each. Two of these are *locoto* and *locote*, ultimately derived from Quechua. Such conditions never existed for a similar level of lexical additions in English, spoken in a smaller, more northern area of the hemisphere. A similar case is presented by what English speakers call the ‘peanut,’ also thought to have first been domesticated in what is now Bolivia. Spanish contains no fewer than five terms to denote this same item, all stemming from Amerindian sources, though they are derived from two original etymons, one from Taíno *maní* (>*maní* > *manías*, *manises*) and the other from Náhuatl *cacáhuatl* (>*cacahuate* > *cacahuete*).

5.2.3 Lexical Diversity in Spanish beyond Geographical Considerations

While words borrowed from indigenous American tongues have significantly increased the Spanish lexicon, the language is also fully capable of taking on numerous words for an item even when both it and the terminology in question are of Old World stock. This can occur with both food and non-food items. Figuring in the first category is the case of the podded legume that all English speakers call the ‘pea’ (<post-Classical Latin *pisa*). Spanish, in contrast, features at least seven terms for this cultivar, one likely from Telugu (*gandul*), one from French (*petit pois*), and the rest ultimately traceable to Latin, some of them variations of one another (*arveja*, *alverja*, *arvejita*, *chícharo*, and *guisante*). A non-food item that demonstrates the same essential phenomenon is what all English speakers call a ‘belt,’ a Germanic word dating to early Old English (prior to 950). The first known use of a Spanish term for this accessory, attested from the late twelfth century, was that of *correa*, which is traceable to Latin, as are the other four terms employed for the article: *cinto*, *cinturón*, *cincho*, and *faja*.

Furthermore, while it may seem logical to suppose that the various synonyms used in Spanish to denote certain items were accumulated over long periods of time, this is often not the case. The final five, non-food-related, articles discussed below will serve to demonstrate that not only can relatively

⁴ The second half of the term ‘chili pepper’ is from Latin *pipper*.

new objects acquire an array of lexemes, but that, indeed, some of these recent inventions have done so to the most extreme degrees in this language versus English. The first, 'T-shirt,' which is denoted by this term alone in English, is referred to by no fewer than eleven words in Spanish. The English term 'pickup truck' is likewise rivaled by at least twelve options in Spanish. 'Drinking straw' is no match for the fifteen lexemes identified in Spanish for this item. While the vehicle termed a 'minivan' in American English is also called a 'people carrier,' 'people mover,' and 'multi-purpose vehicle' in Britain, this quartet of names forms a modest group in contrast to the no fewer than sixteen employed among the dialects of Spanish. And finally, the nomenclature related to 'flip-flops' pales in comparison to the remarkable eighteen names offered by informants for this footwear throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Such an abundance of vocabulary associated with these articles strongly indicates the existence of a third reason why Spanish has acquired a multiplicity of terms to refer to these same items while English largely has not. If this situation can only be partially elucidated by the number of Spanish-speaking nations that exist relative to those in the Anglosphere, or by the fact that their respective geographic positioning and subsequent climates dictated that many more important cultivars originated and thrived in the former countries than the latter, another, more profound, more structurally linguistic explanation must be sought, one that indeed is based on foundations older than either of these two languages. English descended from Germanic, while Spanish evolved from Latin. It was within these progenitors of the modern tongues in question that the seeds of their lexical development, composition, and present-day practices began to take root. Whereas the Germanic tradition was almost completely oral, the Latin tradition was one that relied on a system of communication both written and spoken, a heritage significantly grounded in that of another culture, Hellenism, together with its rhetorical underpinnings.

5.2.4 *The Impact of Rhetoric on Lexical Diversity in Spanish*

The art of rhetoric is ascribed to the ancient Greeks, whose word for the technique, *rētorikē*, can be traced to the fifth century BC (Kennedy 1994: 3). Its first practitioner may have been a man by the name of Corax, who in 467 BC was living in Syracuse, on the island of Sicily. The city, then a Greek colony, was trending toward democracy after the death of the tyrannical leader Hiero. This political shift allowed those whose land had been seized by the late despot to argue their claims in judicial proceedings, an endeavor in which Corax offered training. By the second half of the fifth century, his methods of teaching this type of persuasive oratory had been adopted by Sophists, who introduced them to other Greek city-states, including Athens, which itself was undergoing a transformation from aristocratic to democratic rule (Herrick 2005: 32).

Beyond the courts, the opportunity, indeed the necessity, of engaging in public speaking increased as growing numbers of citizens – defined at the time as free men – entered the political arena (33). Among the initial rhetoricians in Athens available to teach them the art of persuasive speaking were Protagoras and Gorgias, both of whom, like a majority of the early Sophists, were born in other areas of Greece. These men were contemporaries of Socrates, who is generally considered a non-Sophist philosopher. It is probable, however, that Isocrates, an Athenian-born rhetorician of the new generation, studied under not only Socrates but also Gorgias. Plato, who likewise studied under Socrates, was not only not a rhetorician, but he criticized harshly those who were, accusing them of using specious arguments and flattery instead of solid philosophical reasoning. He was not alone in his negative assessment of these Sophists, who also garnered opprobrium by charging for their teaching, a practice widely viewed at the time as dishonorable. Nevertheless, it was the proponents of rhetoric who in the long run decisively won the debate, as it were (38–45). This victory occurred despite the decline in the Athenian Empire's political fortunes, which included defeat by the Spartans in 404 BC; subjugation as of 338 BC under Macedonia, led by Philip II and later his son, Alexander the Great; and, finally, the conquest of all Greece by the Roman Republic following the Battle of Corinth in 146 BC. Importantly, however, both the Macedonians and the Romans, far from seeking to extinguish Greek culture, adopted much of it as their own, spreading significant aspects of Hellenism to the far reaches of the greater Mediterranean region. Indeed, Horace is quoted as having observed in the first century BC that “captive Greece took captive her rude conqueror and brought the arts to Latium,” which by implication meant to much of the civilized world (Boyd and King 1995: 43–45). One of the elements present in the resulting Greco-Romanism was the art of rhetoric.

Ironically, Roman interest in rhetoric arguably surpassed that of its Greek inventors. Perhaps as early as half a century before the conquest of Greece, or approximately 200 BC, Hellenic-style rhetorical oratory was already established in Rome. First conveyed in Greek itself, Roman rhetoric began to be taught in Latin by 100 BC (Bowen 1972: 175–176). In time, it rose to such popularity that it supplanted other educational disciplines. Varro wrote at approximately this same time about the liberal arts that the Romans had inherited from the Greeks, including the subjects of music, architecture, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. Soon, however, the last of these endeavors came to surpass all others as the perceived importance of persuasive oratory relegated the former encyclopedic curriculum to relative obscurity, at least in formal instruction.⁵ In the first

⁵ If students desired to acquire more knowledge about other disciplines, including physics, biology, and economics, they were forced to do so outside of school (Janson 2004: 62–63).

century BC, Cicero, the most famous of Roman orators, who had studied for a time in Athens, wrote at least three treatises on rhetoric. In the first century AD, Quintilian, the preeminent teacher of the technique, penned *Institutio Oratoria* (*The Education of an Orator*), a manual considered to be a complete exposé on the essential components of the Roman system of education at the time (Boyd and King 1995: 69–70). The writing of both men demonstrated the systematic method, consisting of five main points, which over time had developed to teach classical rhetoric: (1) “invention,” referring to the selection of a topic and the related probative arguments to be addressed; (2) “arrangement,” relating to the division and order of the main parts of the speech; (3) “expression” or “style,” involving the choice of words and the manner in which they are employed to cast sentences; (4) “memory,” regarding the need to first write down the speech according to the three previous points in order then to learn it by heart, a feat achieved through the application of mnemonic devices and other memorization techniques; and (5) “delivery,” signifying the use of varying pitch and volume of the voice as well as appropriate and well-timed gesticulation (Kennedy 1994: 4–6). The third and fourth points are the most relevant for the purposes of the present book, as will be discussed shortly.

As the Roman Empire spread in both territory and cultural influence, so did schools of grammar and rhetoric. Such centers of instruction had been established in Gaul by the first century AD in numerous towns and cities, including Marseilles, Toulouse, and Lyon. During the same period, after the pacification of Britain, Agricola ensured that the sons of local chieftains were instructed in the rhetorical arts. Similar efforts to expand the discipline continued until at least the end of the fourth century, despite the increasing threat of the ever-encroaching northern “barbarian” tribes, particularly the unconquered Germanic clans (Boyd and King 1995: 75). The sacking of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 AD was an important milestone on the road to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, which some seventy years later had been completed. As Roman influence in the former provinces ebbed, so did the system of education, though at different paces depending on external influences. The most immediate consequences were felt in Britain, where, beginning in about 450 AD, Latin, the very language of instruction, was swiftly replaced by the Anglo-Saxon tongue of invaders from what today is northern Germany. In the cases of Hispania and Gaul, in contrast, the Visigoths, Franks, and other conquering tribes had been sufficiently Romanized by contact with the populations over which they now ruled that not only did they already tend to be bilingual but within a few generations they had ceased to speak their Germanic tongues altogether in favor of Latin. As a result, these invasions at first did not cause great societal upheaval. Roman-style schools, for instance, appear to have continued operating as late as the sixth century. In time,

however, the lack of normative influence from Rome, combined with the nearly universal illiteracy of the Germanic conquerors, whose historical tradition was largely oral, brought a virtual end to formal instruction, including in the art of rhetoric.⁶ This decline eventually impacted Rome itself and the surrounding Italian Peninsula. There were two notable exceptions to this situation. First, schools in some towns within Italy continued to function. Second, in this and other former imperial territories of Europe the Catholic Church established a system of education that permitted clergy members to keep alive not only the disciplines of reading and writing generally, but of rhetoric specifically (Janson 2004: 87–88). During the Middle Ages, the Church turned the use of rhetorical methods to its own purposes, as priests often employed these techniques in the preparation of persuasive sermons (122).

The tenuous preservation of the art of rhetoric for the better part of a millennium by means both secular and religious likely aided in its revival during the Renaissance, beginning with the extensive writings on the matter of fifteenth-century Italian humanist and Catholic Priest Lorenzo Valla (Herrick 2005: 151–152). His work was emulated by other important Renaissance figures across Europe, including Valla's contemporary and compatriot, philosopher Pico della Mirandola, sixteenth-century Spanish scholar Juan Luis Vives, and seventeenth-century French writer Madeleine de Scudéry (161–165). This continued during the Enlightenment, even among those who did not write in Latin or speak one of the Romance languages that it begat. Scotsman Adam Smith, most recognized as an economist famous for his 1776 book *The Wealth of Nations*, began lecturing on rhetoric in English during the 1740s precisely because this language was then in the process of displacing Latin in academia and he considered its methods an important vehicle for examining the English tongue and its uses (179–180). It is vital to note, however, that despite such efforts by these and other standard-bearers to further the cause of rhetoric, fundamental distinctions exist between the marginal importance of these relatively modern undertakings and the immense significance that this discipline held for its original practitioners. Even after the advent of the Renaissance, the vast majority of Europeans, who earned their bread through physical labor, were illiterate and would remain so until perhaps the nineteenth century. In contrast, a majority of ancient Greek and Roman citizens were not only literate but relied on the rhetorical skills they had learned through study and practice to argue their own court cases, promote legislation, and address myriad other aspects of their lives that required a refined capacity for communication. Compared to their situation, the use of rhetoric by the relative few who have

⁶ Looijenga (2003) stresses this generally unlettered state of the Germanic tribes by noting that even the runic inscriptions discovered from this period, evidently created by a select few individuals, are limited to “short texts, mostly names,” and that there is no evidence that such writing was a common, everyday occurrence (110).

practiced it from the Middle Ages through today has been more on the level of curious experimentation with a plaything. This is not to say, however, that the impact of rhetoric's status and prevalence in antiquity does not reverberate in crucial ways today.

It will be recalled from the discussion earlier in this section on the writings of Cicero and Quintilian that the art of classical rhetoric encompasses five principal components, of which the third is "expression" or "style," concerning the selection of words and how they are employed in the formation of sentences, and the fourth is "memory," relating to the necessity of putting a speech down on paper so that it can be memorized prior to delivery. Regarding the choice of words, of paramount importance was an orator's ability to utilize appropriate synonyms in order to repeat a theme without needlessly recycling the same words in relation to it. In the early sixteenth century, Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus wrote a manual for the teaching of rhetoric based on the work of several ancient authors, Cicero and Quintilian chief among them. In this Latin work, available in English translation (2007), Erasmus detailed the use of synonymia in giving a rhetorical speech, noting that in addition to making orators sound eloquent, it reveals that they are well read, since such a rich vocabulary can only be gotten from the best books by the greatest authors (19–20).⁷ This strategic use of varied vocabulary likely became so ingrained in the speech and thought patterns of the many individuals who engaged in it formally that the practice led to similar lexical diversity even in more mundane conversations. The importance of such a scenario is two-fold. First, after the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the eventual disintegration of the educational system throughout its former territories, this spoken variation doubtless continued among the Latin-speaking population even in the absence of formal instruction. Second, as this language gradually splintered into separate dialects, which in time became so distinct that they came to constitute the array of modern Romance languages, these tongues, in uninterrupted fashion, continued to provide a vehicle for the perpetuation of this heightened use of synonyms.

This state of affairs only stood to be bolstered by the fact that the production and study of literature and rhetoric, mainly through the auspices of the Catholic Church, did not, as mentioned earlier, altogether disappear during the Middle Ages. Although the return of literacy among significant portions of the European populace took centuries, even after the Renaissance, universities, at first predominantly religious and then increasingly secular, continued to emerge and flourish for those fortunate enough to attend them, as did the

⁷ The original title of this manual, *De utraque verborum ac rerum copia*, has been rendered by the translators as *On Copia of Words and Ideas*. They address their decision not to translate the Latin term *copia* by explaining that it is the equivalent of several distinct English words, including 'variation,' 'abundance,' 'richness,' and 'eloquence' (9).

printing of books and newspapers written by the educated classes following the invention of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century. These publications meant that, once again, the portion of rhetoric concerned with lexical variation could proliferate in written form, further preserving it for the day when large majorities of people in the Western World would be able not only to read such information but, increasingly, to try their own hand at producing it. Conspicuous results of these developments include both the extreme “elegant variation” in Spanish-language newspapers of the type analyzed by Sorenson (2018), which will be addressed below, and the multiplicity of terms employed in this tongue to denote the sixty-eight items addressed in this book.

5.2.5 *Elegant Variation in Spanish as a Legacy of Latin Rhetoric*

The history of rhetoric, education, and language use and development in Europe as laid out above also helps to answer the question of why Germanic languages such as English do not in many instances display the same levels of diatopic lexical variation as their Romance counterparts. The speakers of Anglo-Saxon, who eradicated the use of Latin as an everyday language in the British Isles, as well as those of other Germanic tongues who did not have extensive contact with the Roman Empire and therefore maintained the varieties that became Dutch, German, Swedish, and so forth, were thus kept at a sufficient distance for a sufficient length of time from the art of rhetoric that the extensive use of synonymia never became an entrenched feature in these languages or in the minds of their speakers. In contrast, the Romance tongues evolved from Vulgar Latin in the medieval era and therefore inherited many of the idiosyncrasies of their progenitor.

None of the above is meant to imply that English speakers eschew all forms of lexical variation. Adjectives are perhaps the class of words most likely to be subjected to synonymia among proficient writers of the English language. Noun usage in general may also receive this treatment in formal writing. The more concrete or specific the subject, however, the less likely this is to occur, in opposition to Spanish. In his study on elegant variation in the English- and Spanish-language press, Sorenson (2018) focuses on the treatment of the terms ‘president’ and *presidente* in numerous articles published between 2013 and 2016 by two daily newspapers each in the United States and Mexico. He demonstrates the vast difference in the terms utilized for the then leaders of these two nations following an initial mention of their names and titles. In the case of the US leader, more than 89 percent of subsequent references were to either ‘Obama’ or ‘Mr. Obama,’ followed by ‘the president’ in approximately 10 percent of cases, and ‘President Obama’ in less than 1 percent. In contrast to these mere four terms in the US papers, the Mexican dailies employed twenty-three alternatives, led by *Peña Nieto* (21 percent), *el mandatario* (17 percent),

el presidente (14 percent), *el presidente Enrique Peña Nieto* (9 percent), *el primer mandatario* (6 percent), *el ejecutivo federal* (5 percent), and *el titular del ejecutivo federal* (5 percent) (515). He then transitions to an analysis of verbs from these same articles, specifically those used after a quote to denote that a certain individual had ‘said’ or ‘told’ someone something. These two verbs accounted for over 99 percent of those counted in such scenarios in English, followed by less than 1 percent of ‘declared.’ The difference in the Mexican press was again stark. In addition to *dijo* (34 percent), which is the most literal equivalent of ‘said/told,’ another twenty-four Spanish verbs were used as synonyms, the most frequent of which were *aseguró* (8 percent), *señaló* (7 percent), *destacó* (7 percent), *afirmó* (5 percent), *indicó* (5 percent), and *expresó* (4 percent) (516).

Further evidence that the historical influence of Latin rhetoric is a crucial element in the use of synonymia lies in the fact that these occurrences of elegant variation are not limited to Spanish; they can also be widely found in newspaper articles published in other Romance languages, including French, Portuguese, Italian, and Romanian. Foreign language instructors in predominantly English-speaking schools who use such press pieces for reading exercises in grammar and literature classes, or as texts in translation courses, soon notice that their students, apparently as a result of their Germanic-based linguistic heritage, typically lack an inherent feel for the intricacies of this type of device in another tongue. In articles that discuss a political figure, for instance, the variety of ways in which the same person is treated, in contravention to the rule of repetition in English, often leads these students to suppose that multiple individuals are being discussed. While such readers may have attained a high level of semantic understanding in the second language, their pragmatic comprehension is stymied by this unfamiliar practice. Native readers of Romance languages, in contrast, almost instinctively realize that this use of synonymous terms is merely a stylistic element prevalent in their native tongue and they are generally able to navigate a text of this nature without difficulty. Similarly, when asked to render into English a text from a Romance language featuring elegant variation, one that, for example, contains several quotes followed by a mention of the person who *aseguró*, *señaló*, *afirmó*, or *indicó* what is being cited, the instinct of students new to the discipline is to translate each verb directly – ‘assured,’ ‘pointed out,’ ‘affirmed,’ ‘indicated’ – while those with more experience may realize that all of these verbs simply refer to the concept of *dijo* ‘said.’ Furthermore, if these novices were themselves to produce such an article, in wholly original language, it would scarcely occur to them to employ such a range of alternative verbs in their native English. In fact, when writers of this language engage in the practice of elegant variation to a point that may be deemed excessive, they may either do so in jest, or, if more earnestly, at

the risk of incurring ridicule in response to what some have viewed as an overreaching attempt to appear refined. On this point, Lebovits (2010) has stated: “Be aware of inelegant variation, in which a writer uses different words to mean the same thing. Inelegant variation confuses, whereas repetition has power” (60). This injunction, however, does not hold for Romance languages. Ben-Ari (1998) turns the tables on Lebovits, defining a *lack* of synonymia in French as “inelegant repetitions” (3). Mott (2011) likewise opines that “it is not actually an error of style to use the same word more than once in an English text as it is Spanish, a language that requires so-called *elegant variation* to achieve good style” (35).

Nevertheless, the one point on which even the more globally aware observers, including those addressed above, are all silent is that of the ultimate source of the Romance languages’ proclivity for extensive variety in lexical usage vis-à-vis the more common repetition found in Germanic tongues. The influence of Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition on this practice may have even been lost to a degree on Erasmus (2007), despite being a prolific writer and even speaker of Latin. Although he extolled the virtues of the rhetorical arts, he warned that if not done well, in writing as well as speaking, there would result a “futile and amorphous loquacity” due to words employed “without discrimination,” a situation which might “obscure the subject” itself (11). While there is an undeniable level of truth to this critique regardless of a rhetorician’s background, it seems, however, to feature at least a touch of lingocentrism à la Lebovits, though with the perception in this instance engendered by Erasmus’ native Dutch rather than its sister language English. In like fashion, Janson (2004), whose native tongue is another member of the immediate family, Swedish, has stated that while Cicero’s speeches surely appeared “rich and varied” to those who heard them in person, to modern readers they can “seem wordy and even boring” (33). Janson, however, appears unthinkingly to discount the possibility that a native speaker of Spanish, French, or another Romance language trained to read Classical Latin, or with access to a lexically faithful translation, might find quite natural Cicero’s choice of words, words that someone whose language has continued to perpetuate certain rhetorical traditions may well still perceive as “rich” and appropriately “varied,” not merely “wordy” or “boring.”

5.2.6 *The Impact of Rhetoric and Elegant Variation on the Broadening of Spanish Vocabulary*

The importance of elegant variation as a legacy inherited by Spanish from Latin rhetoric is the proposed link between this custom of utilizing a diversity of already existing terms in oratorical and literary endeavors and the adoption or

creation of additional, often multiple lexemes to denote a variety of items both old and new. A salient example found in this book is that of the collection of Spanish names used to denote what in English is called a ‘pig’ or ‘hog.’ In contrast to these two words, Spanish employs no fewer than nine. In El Salvador alone – a country with a mere 6 million inhabitants – the following six are heard: *cerdo*, *puerco*, *marrano*, *chancho*, *cuche*, *tunco*. The latter two terms were not selected by respondents in any other nation. A similar instance is seen with what English speakers call ‘tennis shoes’ or ‘sneakers.’ Informants identified eleven names in Spanish for this footwear, including the following five in Spain: *zapatillas*, *deportivas*, *tenis*, *playeras*, *botines*. There are many such cases in which English was arguably in a position to be every bit as innovative as Spanish but failed to do so, evidently lacking such a traditional mindset of lexical expansion when not viewed as necessary.

It must be recognized that certain structural elements of Spanish facilitate, via internal production, this tendency for increased lexical variety. One such element is the fact that nouns in this language, unlike in English, are not only assigned genders but are also much more likely to conclude in vowels than consonants. The most common word-final vowels are <e>, <o>, and <a>. While nouns of the first category pertain to both genders in nearly equal proportions (*el puente*, *la gente*), the vast majority of the second and third are either masculine or feminine, respectively. This not only allows for the existence of mutually exclusive lexical pairs with a mere change of the final vowel – *tío* ‘uncle’ versus *tía* ‘aunt,’ or *gato* ‘male cat’ versus *gata* ‘female cat’ – but it also enables, particularly in relation to inanimate objects for which gender classification is essentially random, the creation of synonyms to denote a single object. Featured in this book alone are the following cases: *lapicero/lapicera* ‘pen,’ *pulso/pulsa* ‘bracelet,’ *pito/pita* ‘car horn,’ and *banano/banana* ‘banana.’ A similar situation can obtain with masculine words ending in certain consonants vis-à-vis feminine counterparts terminating in *-a*. An especially productive set of endings for both nouns and adjectives is *-dor/-dora*; the current study features the pairings of *refrigerador/refrigeradora* and *computador/computadora*.

Another important difference between English and Spanish morphosyntax is that while the former tends to be an isolating or analytic language, the latter is decidedly on the inflected or synthetic end of the spectrum. As a result, it makes heavy use of suffixes which, while they often create new words with different meanings, such as *cama* ‘bed’ versus *camilla* ‘stretcher,’ in other cases they produce words that are synonyms to one another, at least in certain dialects. In the present book there are no fewer than ten such cases of either pairs or triplets, some featuring suffixes that are diminutive and others that are augmentative: *manteca* and *mantequilla* ‘butter’; *perro caliente* and *perrito caliente* ‘hot dog’; *cinto* and *cinturón* ‘belt’; *calceta* and *calcetín* ‘sock’; *calzón* and *calzoncillo*

‘men’s underwear’; *camión* and *camioneta* ‘city bus’; *vaina*, *vainica*, and *vainica* ‘green bean’; *paja*, *pajita*, and *pajilla* ‘drinking straw’; *aro*, *arito*, and *arete* ‘earring’; *bus*, *busito*, and *buseta* ‘large van.’ Therefore, even if English theoretically had a penchant similar to that of Spanish for creating and employing additional words for these types of common items, its grammatical typology would present certain practical challenges to developing such vocabulary.

5.2.7 *A Representative Sampling of Etymological Categories Pertaining to Words in this Book*

The processes by which the relative handful of words discussed in the previous section entered Spanish constitute a mere subset of the myriad avenues that led the more than 500 terms analyzed in this book to form a part of the language. Pharies (2007) states that the origin of this and all Spanish vocabulary can be placed broadly within the three categories of (1) popular words inherited from Vulgar Latin, (2) neologisms created within the language itself via derivation, and (3) loanwords from other languages (including learned words borrowed from Classical Latin) (167). While true, it is important to realize that these last two groupings in particular contain theoretically limitless subcategories of specific lexeme creation. Table 5.2, therefore, more amply captures a systematic sampling of the etymologies involved in the accumulation of these words. As no examples outside the scope of this study are included; and since the etymological developments of certain words are of such complexity that they can only be explored in the full entries on these items; and because, finally, once a specific type or process of adoption has been identified other words that followed essentially the same path into the language are not given, the list is unavoidably incomplete. Nevertheless, the inventory of the sixty-six terms provided in the table is sufficiently extensive and detailed to begin to appreciate the vast number of means by which Spanish has acquired vocabulary over the more than millennium of its existence. The English equivalents of these words are not given here but may be accessed in the Spanish-English appendix.

5.2.8 *Spanish Homonyms and Other Multiuse Words Among Survey Responses*

It will be recalled from the entry on the ‘peanut’ that the term employed for this legume in Guatemala is *manía* (<Taíno *maní*), a situation that causes both surprise and humor among Spanish speakers not from this Central American country in light of the fact that the Greek-derived homonym *manía* denotes the crazed obsession known as ‘mania’ in English. In similar fashion, those outside of Puerto Rico are often intrigued to find that on the island *pantalla* not only means ‘screen’ or ‘lamp shade’ but also ‘earring.’ This case, however, is not an

Table 5.2 *Examples of etymological processes by word*

Word	Etymological process
<i>aji</i>	Borrowing of Taíno <i>axi</i>
<i>alubia</i>	Borrowing of Arabic <i>al-lubiya</i> (<Persian <i>lubeya</i>)
<i>ananá</i>	Borrowing of Guaraní <i>naná</i>
<i>anorak</i>	Borrowing from Greenlandish Inuit
<i>arete</i>	Diminutive of <i>aro</i> (etymology uncertain)
<i>arito</i>	Alternative diminutive of <i>aro</i>
<i>banana</i>	Borrowing of Guinean <i>banama</i> or <i>banema</i>
<i>banano</i>	Masculinization of <i>banana</i>
<i>básquet</i>	Abbreviation of Anglicism <i>básquetbol</i>
<i>birome</i>	Compounding of surnames Bíró and Meyne (inventors of ballpoint pen)
<i>bizchocho</i>	Noun from Latin adjective <i>bis coctus</i>
<i>cacahuate</i>	Borrowing of Náhuatl <i>cacáhuatl</i>
<i>cacahuete</i>	Modification of <i>cacahuate</i>
<i>calceta</i>	Diminutive of <i>calza</i> (<Latin <i>*calcea</i> < <i>calceus</i>)
<i>calcetín</i>	Diminutive of <i>calceta</i>
<i>calzón</i>	Augmentative of <i>calza</i>
<i>calzonario</i>	Derivative of <i>calzón</i>
<i>calzoncillo</i>	Diminutive of <i>calzón</i>
<i>calzoneta</i>	Alternative diminutive of <i>calzón</i>
<i>chones</i>	Abbreviation of <i>calzones</i> with palatalization of word-initial phoneme
<i>caraota</i>	Possible borrowing from Carib
<i>chicharo</i>	Borrowing of Mozarabic <i>čičar(o)</i> (<Latin <i>cicer</i>)
<i>claxon</i>	Borrowing of English brand name 'Klaxon' (<Greek <i>klaxo</i>)
<i>coca</i>	Abbreviation (first half) of English brand name 'Coca-Cola'
<i>cola</i>	Abbreviation (second half) of English brand name 'Coca-Cola'
<i>cochino</i>	Diminutive of onomatopoeic <i>cocho</i> (< <i>¡coch!</i> , a multilingual hog call)
<i>crema</i>	Borrowing of French <i>crème</i>
<i>durazno</i>	Popular word from Latin <i>duracinus</i> (compound of <i>durus</i> and <i>acinus</i>)
<i>melocotón</i>	Compounding within Spanish of Latin <i>malum</i> and <i>cotonium</i>
<i>frazada</i>	Borrowing from Catalan <i>flassada</i>
<i>frijol</i>	Modification of <i>frijol</i> (<Latin <i>faseolus</i> < <i>phaselus</i>)
<i>frijol</i>	Modification of <i>frijol</i> (shift of prosodic accent to initial syllable)
<i>frigidaire</i>	Borrowing of English brand name <i>Frigidaire</i>
<i>gandul</i>	Borrowing of Telugu <i>kandulu</i>
<i>guagua pickup</i>	Mixed Spanish-English compound (if <i>guagua</i> from 'wagon')
<i>guineo</i>	Noun from adjective in <i>plátano guineo</i> (<i>plátano</i> <Greek <i>plátanos</i>)
<i>habichuela</i>	Diminutive of Latin <i>faba</i> , possibly via Mozarabic <i>*fabicella</i>
<i>helado</i>	Past participle of <i>helar</i> (<Latin <i>gelāre</i>)
<i>locoto</i>	Borrowing of Aymara <i>lukutu</i> (<Quechua <i>rukutu</i>)
<i>locote</i>	Modification of <i>locoto</i>
<i>manías</i>	Modification of <i>manies</i> (plural of Taíno <i>maní</i>)
<i>manises</i>	Modification of <i>manís</i> (variant of <i>manies</i>)
<i>mantecado</i>	Noun from adjective of same form (< <i>manteca</i>)
<i>mantequilla</i>	Diminutive of <i>manteca</i> (etymology uncertain)
<i>menestra</i>	Borrowing of Italian <i>minestra</i> (< <i>ministrare</i> <Latin <i>ministrare</i>)

Table 5.2 (*cont.*)

Word	Etymological process
<i>millo</i>	Borrowing of Portuguese <i>milho</i> (<Latin <i>milium</i>)
<i>minicamioneta</i>	Diminutive, via prefix, of <i>camioneta</i> (<French <i>camionette</i>)
<i>pancho</i>	Portmanteau of <i>pan</i> and <i>chorizo</i>
<i>perro caliente</i>	Calque of English ‘hot dog’
<i>papa</i>	Borrowing of Quechua <i>papa</i>
<i>parka</i>	Borrowing from Russian (<Nenets)
<i>piña</i>	Metaphorical repurposing of existing Spanish word (<Latin <i>pineā</i>)
<i>pomelo</i>	Borrowing of English ‘pom[m]elo’ (<Dutch <i>pompelmous</i>)
<i>ponqué</i>	Hispanicized borrowing of English ‘pound cake’
<i>portasenos</i>	Compounding of Spanish verb <i>portar</i> and noun <i>senos</i>
<i>puerco</i>	Popular word from Latin <i>porcus</i> (<Proto-Indo-European * <i>porko-</i>)
<i>sayonaras</i>	Borrowing from Japanese
<i>tanga</i>	Borrowing from Tupi
<i>toronja</i>	Borrowing of Arabic <i>turunġa</i>
<i>tractomula</i>	Compounding of Spanish nouns <i>tractor</i> and <i>mula</i>
<i>trusa</i>	Borrowing from Old French <i>trousse</i>
<i>vainica</i>	Diminutive of <i>vaina</i> (<Latin <i>vagina</i>)
<i>váter</i>	Hispanicization of ‘water’ (<‘water closet’: <w-> not native in Spanish)
<i>WC</i>	Borrowing of English initials (<‘water closet’)
<i>zumo</i>	Borrowing of Greek <i>zōmos</i> with probable influence of Peninsular Latin
<i>zunzún</i>	Onomatopoeitic reference to the sound of ‘hummingbird’ wings

instance of true homonymia but rather entails a sole lexeme with a single etymology – perhaps from Catalan – which bears more than one semantic load. Within the relatively modest inventory of the 519 words featured in this book, the existence of homonyms and other multiuse terms akin to *manía* and *pantalla* has given rise to forty-three groups of competing words capable of causing varying degrees of confusion between speakers of different dialects, a circumstance that logically is magnified considerably in the language at large. Some of the non-homonym terms among this vocabulary share the type of obvious semantic similarity or overlap that can also occur in English. For instance, different speakers might call the same warm article of clothing either a ‘jacket’ or a ‘coat,’ reminiscent of how *abrigo*, *campera*, *chaqueta*, and other words can be used in this fashion. Likewise, the term ‘toilet,’ in certain varieties of English, can refer to both a ‘bathroom’ and a ‘commode,’ as can *baño*, *servicio*, and additional words in regional Spanish. In other cases, however, the difference in meaning is great enough that English requires distinct names, regardless of where speakers reside. Spanish, for example, depending on the dialect in question, features *zapatillas* for both ‘tennis shoes’ and ‘flip-flops’ (not to mention ‘slippers’), whereas a single word in no English-speaking country would suffice to

describe these items, despite the fact that both are articles of footwear. This is also the case with the use of *manteca* in reference to both ‘butter’ and ‘lard,’ food items that are both fatty but whose culinary uses are considerably dissimilar. Another example, from the category of motorized vehicles, is the use of *buseta* in Spanish for the equivalent of both a ‘large van’ and a ‘city bus,’ two significantly distinct conveyances.

In a fashion distinct from the types of related words discussed above, informants provided four pairs of multiuse terms featuring no readily apparent semantic link. In El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Mexico, for instance, *sorbete* is used in connection with ‘ice cream,’ whereas in the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Peru, and Argentina it can refer to a ‘drinking straw.’ Not surprisingly, these differing meanings occur in regions that do not overlap. If, however, an Ecuadorian moved to El Salvador and retained one sense of *sorbete* while also acquiring the other, such a person might state the following, if only in jest, about a malt whose ice cream is thinned enough to drink through a straw: “*Voy a tomar mi sorbete con un sorbete.*” In both Mexico and Guatemala, the dominant term for ‘T-shirt’ is *playera*. This word is also the first choice for ‘tennis shoe’ among Canarians and is heard with this meaning in mainland Spain as well, though to a lesser degree. A Mexican vacationing on the island of Gran Canaria might therefore inquire about where one would be able to purchase T-shirts and be surprised upon arrival at the indicated locale to find only footwear for sale, whereas a Canarian on holiday in the Yucatán could very well experience this scenario in reverse. Furthermore, a Venezuelan might hope to be directed to the same Canarian shoe store that the Mexican did not intend to visit by asking for the nearest shop that sells *gomas*, only to be sent to a tire vendor, something that could also occur in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Argentina, and Uruguay. Finally, an ‘earring’ is often called a *caravana* in Uruguay, in contrast to its possible use in Spain to refer to a ‘traffic jam.’ One can imagine a conversation in which a Uruguayan visiting a Spanish friend reaches up to touch her new earrings and says, “*Creo que no me gustan estas caravanas,*” at which point her friend, wondering why her interlocutor feels it necessary to point out such an obvious notion as distaste for rush-hour gridlock, responds, “*Pues, a nadie le gustan,*” thus likely giving unintended offense. Meanwhile, another friend in the back seat from a third Spanish-speaking country is confused about what undesirable convoy of travelers is being referenced by the other two.

5.3 Conclusions

As each of the sixty-eight entries in the previous chapters constitutes a type of individual lexical research project, and as numerous elements common among them have already been discussed in the current chapter, any attempt to offer a long set of additional conclusions here is neither necessary nor appropriate.

However, a few closing remarks are perhaps in order to bring the topic at hand full circle to what is discussed in the Preface regarding the intended purpose and utility of this book. While it is understandable that instructors who teach courses on Spanish dialectology are generally wary of presenting to their students long lists of words in what can amount to a challenging effort to teach about diatopic lexical variety in the language, avoidance of the topic in order to concentrate solely on phonological and morphosyntactic elements is somewhat paradoxical, given the fact that the sounds and structures of a language are finite, as opposed to the essentially limitless nature of word use and creation. This book serves not only as a resource to make the study of regionally based terminology in Spanish more interesting and effective, but as a reminder that languages, to varying degrees, are capable of considerable internal variation in the use of their respective vocabularies. Although the whims of history have determined that English be allocated an overall repertoire of lexemes considerably larger than that of Spanish, they have also dictated that speakers of the latter language be prone, owing to a variety of factors, to making greater use of the words available to them. These include the number of countries in which Spanish is spoken, the geographical distribution of the nations where it is dominant, its morphosyntactic structures, and the history of both written and oral communication inherent in the rhetorical practices of its Latin forebear. Therefore, while it is true that a speaker of US English will hear novel terms for various objects while visiting the United Kingdom – ‘flat’ instead of ‘apartment’; ‘nappy’ instead of ‘diaper’; ‘lift’ instead of ‘elevator’; ‘chips’ instead of ‘French fries’ – a Mexican traveling in Spain is apt to encounter an even greater number of new words, particularly for items that fall under the categories addressed in this book, including food, clothing, and vehicles. Whereas this situation can merely seem odd or a bit humorous to some, or perhaps even annoying to others, those who love language in general, and Spanish in particular, find such discrepancies fascinating and yearn to know how and why such a situation came to be. The present book is a case study on this phenomenon, one whose content is modest enough in scope to be manageable but sufficiently large and targeted to give an ample representative overview of the myriad paths, at times decidedly convoluted, along which the words of this language have traveled to reach their destination.

Appendix: Maps

The following thirteen maps, which are exemplary of the broader assortment of items explored in this book, serve to illustrate more vividly the types of lexical isoglosses described in the main text. They are arranged according to the number of terms featured, from lowest to highest, or, in cases with the same number of words, according to the increasing levels of diatopic variety present. Only the leading response of survey participants in each country is included. The maps, therefore, cannot replace the more detailed narratives and tally lists in each entry regarding lesser-chosen synonyms.



Map 1 Potato



Map 2 Shrimp



Map 3 Grapefruit



Map 4 Strawberry



Map 5 Socks



Map 6 Butter



Map 7 Soccer goalie



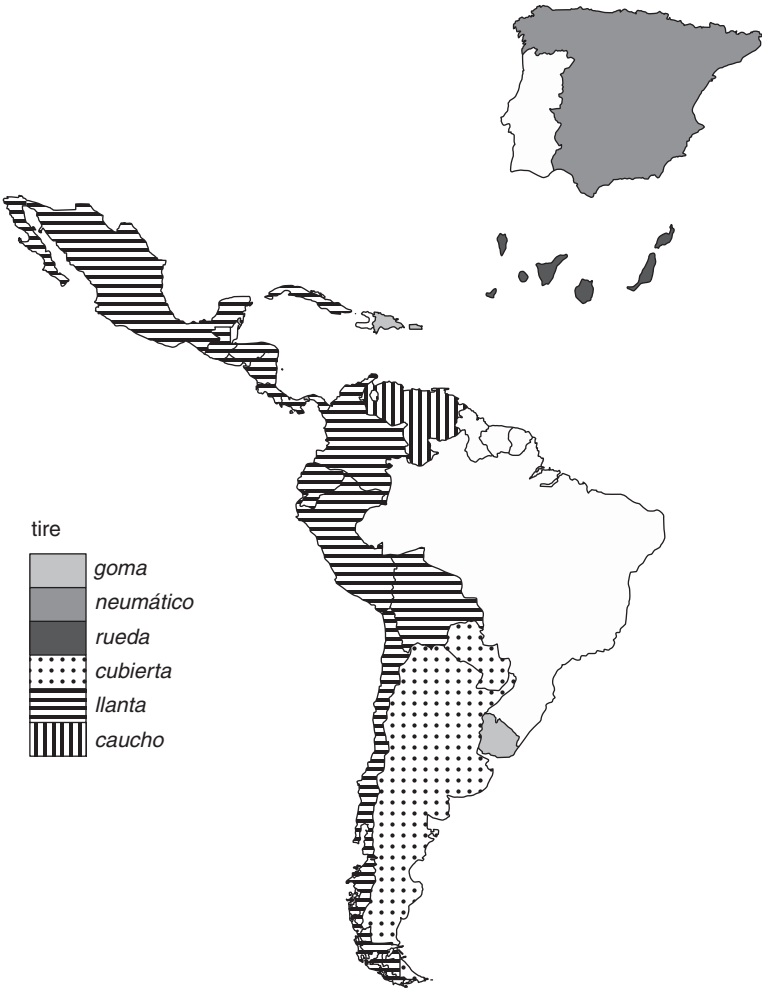
Map 8 Swimming pool



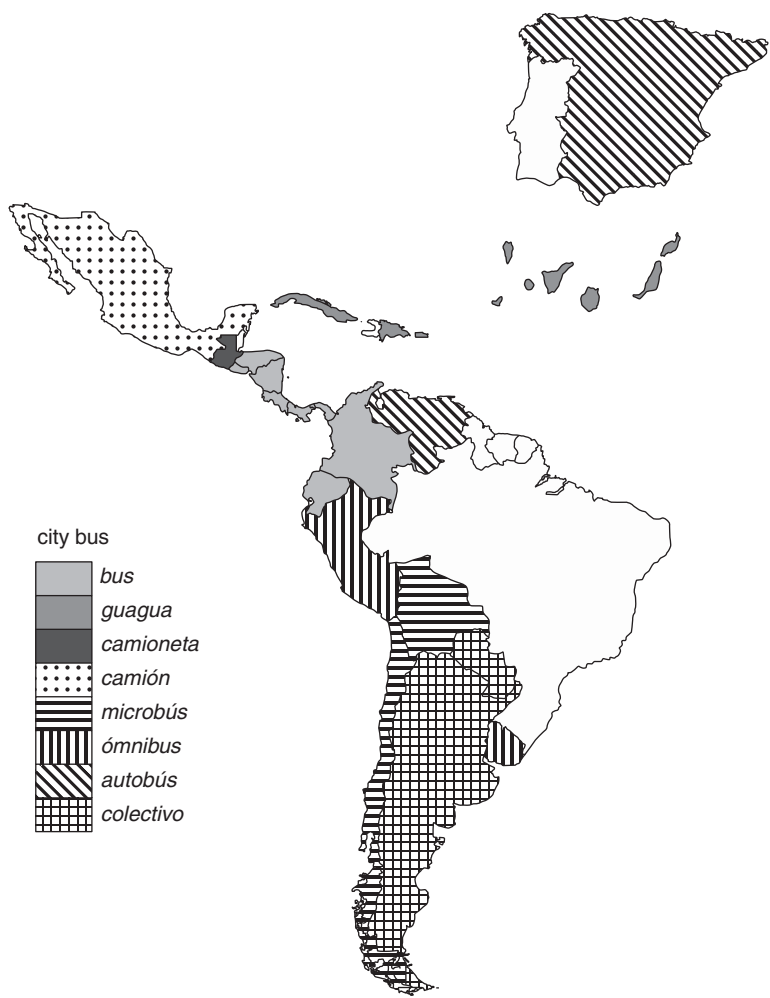
Map 9 Skirt



Map 10 Peanut



Map 11 Tire



Map 12 City bus



Map 13 Drinking straw

Glossary of Technical Terms Used in the Text

Affricate: a consonant phone whose mode of articulation combines both plosive and fricative characteristics.

Agglutination: a process by which multiple morphemes merge into a single unit while maintaining their essential forms.

Allophone: a variant of a phoneme whose distinction is not great enough to cause meaning change via minimal pairs.

Alveo-palatal: a consonant phone produced by placing the tongue against the area of the mouth where the alveolar ridge transitions into the hard palate.

Analytic (language): one that employs separate words to express grammatical or semantic elements, such as *he comido* 'I have eaten.' The opposite of synthetic.

Anglicism: a lexeme borrowed from English.

Apocope: the loss of a word-final phone.

Aspiration: the transformation of a phone – typically /s/ in Spanish – into [h].

Assimilation: a process through which one phone acquires characteristics of another, typically neighboring one. The opposite of dissimilation.

Augmentative (affix): in Spanish typically a suffix conveying the notion of increased size or other amplified meaning, at times with figurative rather than literal connotation. The opposite of diminutive.

Autochthonous: adjective meaning indigenous.

Calque: a loan translation bearing the meaning but not form of a foreign term.

Ceceo the pronunciation of <s>, <c(e)(i)>, and <z> as /θ/ without distinction. Most common in Andalusia. The opposite of *seseo*.

Colloquialism: an informal word or phrase utilized in familiar conversation or writing.

Confluence: the merger of two phonemes, one of which is eliminated.

Derivation: the creation of a new word based on a preexisting one. This process can span the different parts of speech. An example is *floral* (<*flor*>). The opposite of inflection.

Devoicing: the process through which a consonant phone loses its voiced property, meaning that when it is pronounced the speaker's vocal cords no longer vibrate. The opposite of voicing.

Diachrony: the study of linguistic change over time. The opposite of synchrony.

Diminutive (affix): in Spanish typically a suffix conveying the notion of decreased size or other minimized meaning, at times with figurative rather than literal connotation. The opposite of augmentative.

Dissimilation: a process through which one phone loses one or more characteristics formerly shared with another, typically neighboring one. The opposite of assimilation.

Distinción the pronunciation of <s> as /s/, as distinct from <c(e)(i)> and <z> as /θ/. This situation, the norm in north-central Spain, can be exemplified by the very name of this phenomenon: /distinθión/.

Doublets: two words in the same language which, while distinct, come from a single etymon. Examples in English are 'cleric' and 'clerk' (<Latin *clēricus*>). Spanish features instances such as *delicado* and *delgado* (<Latin *delicātus*>).

Elegant variation: the use in writing of synonyms in lieu of repetition. This lexical variation, at times rather pronounced, is more common in Romance languages such as Spanish or French than it is in Germanic languages like English.

Elision: the omission of one or more phones in a word.

Epenthesis: the addition of a phone to the interior of a word.

Eponymous: an adjective referring to an eponym, a noun relating to the person after which a place or item is named, or, conversely, the place or item itself.

Etymology: the study of the origin of words, or the origin of a word itself.

Etymon: an original word from which a later word is derived.

Fricative: a consonant phone whose production involves friction between articulators, resulting in a restricted but continuous flow of air.

Galicism: a lexeme borrowed from French.

Geminate: a duplicate phoneme, such as that in Latin *bucca* (>Spanish *boca*).

Hellenism: a lexeme borrowed from Greek.

Hypernym: a broad word at the head of a category of more specific words. 'Animal' is a hypernym of 'horse.' The opposite of hyponym.

Hyponym: one of a series of specific words that form a category headed by a broader word. 'Blue' is a hyponym of 'color.' The opposite of hypernym.

Imperative: a verb mood also called a 'command' in English and a *mandato* in Spanish.

Inflection: a change in the structure of a word, particularly the ending of verbs, nouns, and adjectives, to reflect a grammatical characteristic, including person, tense, mood, number, and gender. The opposite of derivation.

Intervocalic: an adjective referring to an interior consonant phone located between two vowels.

Isogloss: a line (or imaginary boundary) on a map marking the distinction between competing linguistic features.

Lateral: a consonant whose mode of articulation causes the air to flow around the sides of the tongue. The only phoneme in this category shared by Spanish and English is /l/.

Learned (word): a word borrowed from a classical source and introduced into a language with as little change as possible. In Spanish this is called a *palabra culta* or *cultismo*, the opposite of a *palabra patrimonial* (popular word).

Lenition: a process by which the pronunciation of consonant phones (particularly plosives in intervocalic position) is weakened through a decrease in the articulatory energy expended.

Leveling: the process by which variation in a linguistic feature is reduced.

Lexeme: a basic linguistic unit of meaning equivalent to a 'word,' especially as found in a dictionary entry.

Lexicon: a language's repertoire of words. Essentially a synonym for 'vocabulary.'

Lusism: a lexeme borrowed from Portuguese.

Metathesis: the transposition of one or more phones in a word. An example is the change of position between the <l> and the <r> in the word *peligro* relative to their place in the Latin etymon *pericŭlum*.

Minimal pair: two words of distinct meaning which differ from each other by only one phoneme. Examples in Spanish and English are, respectively, *peso* vs. *beso* and ‘town’ vs. ‘down.’

Morpheme: the minimal unit of a word with independent meaning.

Morphology: the study of morphemes, or the grammatical and semantic structure of a word itself.

Morphosyntax: study of the interplay between morphology and syntax.

Mozarabic: the variety or varieties of Romance spoken by Mozarabs, the Christian inhabitants of Moorish Spain.

Nasal: a consonant phone whose production involves an exclusive (/m/) or partial (/n/) flow of air through the nose.

Neologism: a new word within a language, via borrowing or internal processes, particularly one that may not yet enjoy general acceptance.

Onomatopoeia: the process by which a word is formed based on a sound associated with the item being named. The imprecise and language-dependent nature of this phenomenon can be seen in the different words employed in English and Spanish for the call of a rooster: ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’ vs. *quiquiriquí*.

Palatal: a consonant phone produced by the friction created between the top of the tongue and the hard palate.

Palatalization: the process by which a non-palatal phone becomes palatal.

Paragoge: the addition of a phone to the end of a word.

Phoneme: a minimal unit of enunciation with distinction from others sufficient to produce minimal pairs.

Phonemics: the study of phonemes.

Phonetics: the study of all phones in a language, including those that are distinctive (phonemes) and those featuring non-distinctive variants of the former (allophones).

Phonology: the combined, comprehensive study of both phonemics and phonetics.

Plosive (also occlusive or stop): a consonant phone whose production involves a complete stoppage of air in the mouth before being released in a burst.

Popular (word): a word traceable to the known origins of a language and which normally has gradually changed over time (phonetically, morphosyntactically, and/or semantically), at times substantially, en route to its modern form. In

Spanish this is called a *palabra patrimonial*, the opposite of a *palabra culta* or *cultismo* (learned word).

Pragmatics: the study of utterances and the effect of context on their meaning (often far from literal).

Rhetoric: the art of persuasive oratory or writing, inherited from the ancient Greeks and Romans.

Schwa: represented by /ə/, it is a mid-central vowel, typically unstressed, which is absent in natively spoken Spanish but common in English. An example is the pronunciation of the <a> in the word ‘ago’: /ə ‘go/.

Semantics: the study of the meaning of words and phrases.

Seseo the pronunciation of <s>, <c(e)i>, and <z> as /s/ without distinction. Common in Andalusia and the Canary Islands and the default situation throughout Spanish-speaking America. The opposite of *ceceo*.

Sibilant: fricative or affricate phones that produce a hissing sound. The two universal sibilants in Spanish are the phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/, whereas /θ/ is typically limited to north-central Spain. Common in Argentina and Uruguay are [ʒ] and [ʝ], the sibilant allophones of /j/.

Synchrony: the study of linguistic elements at a single point in time. The opposite of diachrony.

Syncope: the loss of a phone, in particular a vowel, from the middle of a word.

Syntax: sentence structure, or a study of the same.

Synthetic (language): one that employs inflection within a given word to express grammatical or semantic elements, such as *comí* ‘I ate.’ The opposite of analytic.

Yeísmo the use of the voiceless allophone [j] in Argentina and Uruguay in replacement of the phoneme /j/ for <ll> and <y>.

Tuteo the use of the second-person singular pronoun *tú* and its corresponding verb forms.

Velar: a consonant phone produced by contact between the back of the tongue and the velum (hard palate).

Velarization: the process by which a non-velar phone becomes velar.

Vibrant: one of two consonant phonemes in Spanish produced by rapid contact between the apex of the tongue and the alveolar ridge. The simple vibrant, or flap, occurs in the word *caro* /káro/, while the multiple, or trilled, iteration is heard in *carro* /káro/.

Voicing: the process through which a consonant phone acquires voiced characteristics, meaning that when it is pronounced the speaker's vocal cords vibrate. The opposite of devoicing.

Voseo the use of the second-person singular pronoun *vos* and its corresponding verb forms.

Zeísmo the use of the voiced allophone [ʒ] in Argentina and Uruguay in replacement of the phoneme /j/ for <ll> and <y>.

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CREA *Corpus de referencia del español actual*
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DAMER *Diccionario de americanismos*
DLE *Diccionario de la lengua española* (often cited as DRAE)
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Word Index (English-Spanish)

As is to be supposed in a book on lexical dialectology, the equivalence between the matched words in this index does not apply universally. The pages noted after each Spanish lexeme will allow the reader to reexamine in the various entries the countries in which the term is used.

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Word Index (Spanish-English)

As is to be supposed in a book on lexical dialectology, the equivalence between the matched words in this index does not apply universally. The pages noted after each English lexeme will allow the reader to reexamine in the various entries the countries where it is used to denote the Spanish term with which it is paired.

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