

Synchronic vitality of Catalanisms in American Spanish*

Vitalidad Sincrónica de los Catalanismos en el Español de América

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ABSTRACT

Words of Catalan origin introduced into the Castilian Spanish language in different centuries are recorded here in a project collating Americanised vocabulary using texts from different periods. These words are recorded as Catalanisms in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (RAE, 2023) and appear in the *Diccionario de Americanismos* (RAE & ASALE, 2010) with different degrees of vitality. They demonstrate adoption processes, the creation of new lexical units and meanings in their diachronic development of transmission. These lexies are preferentially analysed using a quantitative methodology, according to usage trends in the Spanish Golden Age, their American meaning, lexical field and distribution in American linguistic areas. The results show that these words were already integrated into Castilian Spanish before its expansion to American, and their trend of vitality coincides with other contributions from patrimonial words Hispanicised in America.

Keywords:
Catalanisms,
synchronic-vitality,
American Spanish,
Diccionario de la Lengua Española,
Diccionario de Americanismos.

RESUMEN

En este artículo se recogen palabras de origen catalán introducidas en el castellano en diferentes siglos, como parte de un proyecto de estudio del vocabulario americanizado a partir de textos de distintas épocas. Estas palabras están registradas como catalanismos en el *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (RAE,

Palabras clave:
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2023) y aparecen en el *Diccionario de Americanismos* (RAE & ASALE, 2010) con diferentes grados de vitalidad. Estas palabras muestran procesos de adopción, creación de nuevas unidades léxicas y significados, en su desarrollo diacrónico de transmisión. Estas lexías se analizan preferentemente con una metodología cuantitativa, según las tendencias de uso en el Siglo de Oro español, su significado americano, su campo léxico y su distribución en áreas lingüísticas americanas. Los resultados muestran que estas palabras ya estaban integradas en el castellano antes de su expansión a América, y su tendencia de vitalidad coincide con otras aportaciones de palabras patrimoniales hispanizadas en el mismo territorio.

*Lengua Española,
Diccionario de
Americanismos.*

Introduction

The centuries-long coexistence of Catalan and Castilian Spanish speakers is evidenced in the mutual linguistic contributions of these two Romance varieties (Prat Sabater, 2005; Lleal, 2016). Notwithstanding this coexistence, there are still many aspects of the lexicon of Catalan origin introduced into the Castilian Spanish language to be studied, above all, before 1500 and during the Spanish Golden Age, because the exorbitant spread of the incipient Spanish from the 16th century onwards adds a new dimension when analysing the possible Americanisation of Catalanisms (Frago Gracia, 1980, 1990).

For this reason, this article aims to use synchronic data to understand two issues related to the history of American Spanish: whether there is a distinctive trend in the degree of vitality in vocabulary of Catalan origin associated with particular trades or specific languages in the American languages, or whether, on the contrary, there is a vitality common to other Hispanic words which were Americanised (Colón i Doménech, 1976, 1989, 2002).

This study considers a *Catalanism* to be any word which appears with this geographical marker in the *Diccionario de la lengua Española* [DLE] (RAE, 2023). This decision is based on the assertion that any qualitative or quantitative assessment of the impact of loanwords on the evolution of the Spanish lexicon must rest on a firm etymological basis (Dworkin, 2012). In this research we present that the information of the geographic brand with which a word is registered in DLE can be an indicator that these loans are integrated in the system and in the research.

DLE registers 671 words associated with the etymon of Catalanisms, demonstrating different levels of vitality. In addition to showing geographical spread, the concept of ‘vitality’ is understood to mean a word’s potential to create different meanings and to create morphological variants or to materialise through a syntagm or colloquial expression (Sala, Munteanu, Neagu & Olteanu, 1982). Currently, research has been carried out on the incorporation of the lexicon of Eastern origin in the first four editions of the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* of the Real Academia Española (1780-1803). Prat Sabater’s (2022) conclusions help to understand the inclusion of these words in the academic dictionaries.

A preliminary analysis of terms of Catalan origin, such as *aguaitar*, *andarivel* or *barraca* in the DLE, shows that these words have developed part of their current vitality in American Spanish. Understanding this linguistic phenomenon, which until now has not been analysed in detail, can begin with the conclusions which stem from consulting the *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* [DCECH] (Corominas & Pascual, 2012 [1980-1991]) and the corpus of the current *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española* [DHLE] (RAE, 2013) about the lexicon of the Eastern peninsular. These general conclusions show that Catalan vocabulary has been preferentially incorporated into Castilian Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries (Prat Sabater, 2005), a formative period for American Spanish.

This first impression is strengthened upon determining that, in the *Diccionario de Americanismos* [DAmer] (RAE y ASALE, 2010), words which appear in the DLE as being of Catalan origin have high levels of geographic vitality, because they are registered in different countries with the same or different meanings. The diatopical information of dialectal localism in the American linguistic areas is an indicator of a term's degree of vitality in a specific community of Spanish speakers (Sala et al. 1982; Alvar, 2000; Fajardo Aguirre, 2011). This incorporation does not always appear in general lexicographical works, as testified by Clavería and Hernández (2021), who examine the 1869, 1884 and 1899 editions of the *Diccionario Académico* with respect to the inclusion of Americanisms.

Their conclusions report that in these editions they begin to appear with the etymological incorporation and the American diatopic marking of the voices proper to America. At the same time, in order to understand the vitality of current American lexicon, it is necessary to diachronically examine texts from the centuries when this vocabulary was introduced (Frago Gracia, 1990). Through this analysis, data is consistently provided about whether the American vitality is a consequence of a direct or indirect transmission from Catalan to Castilian Spanish, and who supposedly transmitted it to American Spanish.

In light of the above, this article proposes to analyse the words considered Catalanisms by the DLE which are recorded in the DAmer as characteristic words of America. This synchronic review is complemented by a search for the date of inclusion in Castilian Spanish, and

with the documentary support of American texts from the 16th and 17th centuries. It seems that it was authors from these centuries who used the greatest number of Catalanisms, as shown by the analysis of peninsular documents (DHLE, DCECH). This is also the period where a large number of texts were written in America in order to report on the new reality. Bravo-García and Cáceres-Lorenzo (2013) state that, thanks to the discovery and colonisation of America, people with very different levels of training and background became authors, which opened up the possibility of peninsular regionalisms.

Based on this, the following research questions are proposed: how many of the words considered to be Catalanisms by the DLE are recorded as Americanisms in the DAmér? What lexical field is the most represented in American Spanish? Are these words already recorded as Americanisms in the 16th and 17th centuries in texts about America (only for examples prior to or contemporary to this period)? And, finally, is it feasible to distinguish greater use of these lexies in a specific American region or lexical field?

It is hoped that the answers to these questions contribute to recognising the possible trend of American vocabulary of Catalan origins regarding its synchronic vitality were introduced into American texts.

Theoretical framework

The evolution of the Spanish lexicon cannot be conceived outside the Romanesque framework, both its formation and its subsequent evolution share many phenomena with the languages of the rest of the Romanian languages, despite the fact that it is also possible to identify individual peculiarities (Harris-Northall, 1992; Dworkin, 2012). Spanish has been incorporating loanwords from other languages as a result of various linguistic contacts, both direct and indirect, both through orality and supported by cultural dependency and texts.

The lexical loans that a language accumulates throughout its history are the result of the different contacts that it establishes with other communities and with their languages, so they are usually a good reflection of the vicissitudes of its external history (Lleal, 2016). The route of transmission of this type of words is complex: in some cases, they are the result of direct contact, while, in another, the contacts occur

indirectly through another linguistic community whose language acts as a transmitter.

Meanwhile, Kany (1976) explains that, when America was discovered, what we call the Spanish language was still in an unstable situation and its fluctuating forms were still battling with one another in order to survive and prevail. The regional linguistic varieties found themselves in new territory. In this context, it is possible to justify rural words becoming urban and phrases considered dialectal in the peninsular Spanish becoming common vocabulary in America.

The vocabulary of the first colonisers who came from the peninsular geographical areas shaped the local forms in America which were preserved or altered by the natural evolution of speaker preference. To date, the regional linguistic contribution to the formation of American Spanish vocabulary has not been explored in depth. The different varieties have been dealt with very differently, above all regarding the degree of thoroughness to which the vocabulary has been analysed. Priority is often given to the southern influence on the formation and definition of American Spanish. This assertion is confirmed in multiple examples, but more research is required (even if it is minority), because the Andalusian vocabulary was not always different from northern Castilian Spanish when the American expansion occurred, as discussed by Buesa Oliver (1990).

For specific American territory, the influence of lexical Occidentalisms has also been examined, according to the conclusions of Granda (1968), who justifies this vocabulary by the influx of the Portuguese during the colonial period (sometimes through the Canary Islands), the arrival of African slaves who spoke a Creole variety based on Portuguese, the presence of many colonisers from Castile and León, including Zamora, León, Asturias and the part of Extremadura close to Portugal, and, lastly, people from Andalusia and the Canary Islands who used Occidentalisms in their regional varieties.

On this point, Enguita Utrilla (2004) explains that the American texts give an account of the early presence of some Occidentalisms on American soil, a situation where western Andalusia could also act as a transmitting area. Similarly, Frago (1990) has drawn attention to the possibility that many Leonese, Galician and Portuguese words, used in

western Andalusia due to geographical proximity, went with the Andalusians to the Indies during the first 150 years of Spanish domination, given that they could already have been fully settled in western Andalusia by the time of the discovery, as some old documents demonstrate.

In the same line, the monograph by Sala et al. (1982) explains the synchronic vitality of the Portuguese element on American Spanish with data from the Real Academy's dictionary. These authors found few examples from the eastern peninsular, but, despite this, scarcity concluded it is necessary to take the role played by all the Romance languages in shaping the American lexicon into account. The contribution of other Spanish regions, especially the northern ones (particularly those in the east), is characterised by being more limited than the aforementioned influences.

Cuervo (1955) mentions less than a dozen Aragonese and Catalan words in Colombia. Also, Bastardín Candón (2011), with the review of the *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* by friar Bernardino de Sahagún (from León, the western peninsular), presents data on the use of occidentalisms, words from the mid and northern peninsula and confirms that there is no data on words from the eastern peninsula. All these contributions coincide with that set out by Colón i Doménech (1989), who explained that objective observation of the history of Romance languages provides data on Catalan, French and Occitan belonging to a different romance diasystem from that formed by the vocabulary of Castilian Spanish and Portuguese.

It should also be considered feasible that other peninsular residents with other origins could also be witnesses to the long co-existence of Castilian Spanish and Catalan in the peninsula. This lexical co-existence began as of the 13th century, but the period of greatest influence is found in words included in the Spanish Golden Age in the 14th and 15th centuries. In this period, the economic and political peak of the Catalan-Aragonese crown is evident. This maritime and commercial monopoly is reflected in speakers' preference for certain words. In later centuries, words of this origin continued to be used in other lexical fields, preferentially in trades and jobs (commerce, goldsmiths, textiles, etc.). It is true that Catalan-speaking areas have been in constant geographical, cultural and political contact with Castile and loans go in both directions (Colón i Doménech, 1976).

The contribution from the eastern peninsular is detected in general Spanish, but also in Spanish varieties contiguous to the linguistic scope of Catalan, i. e. Aragonese and Murcian. Colón i Doménech (1976) explains that dialectal words have been very numerous since historical contact, when they were Romance varieties of Latin, until the analysis of the latest collections (Muñoz Garrigós, 2008). The importance of Castilian Spanish translations of Latin classics which stemmed from the earlier Catalan versions and the major influence of Renaissance Italy on the literature of this region is also shown. Both processes result in certain Catalan lexicon arriving into Castilian Spanish through these writings.

For its part, the Castilian romance presents an evident lexical insufficiency since it needs new terms to express new concepts contained in new themes. Given this, as Lleal (2016) explains, oriental romances play a very active role in the introduction of pre-Renaissance neologisms. According to Corriente (2003) and Dworkin (2012), it was the progressive Europeanization of certain professions that led to the displacement the rise of Arabisms than those of they signed (*alphagema*, *alfayate*) for their corresponding Romance terms (*médico*, *sastre*).

These key ideas about the presence of Catalanisms in modern Spanish and their diachronic entries may be complemented by other basic ideas about the formation of Spanish on American lands and their appearance in the DAmér. This refers to the fact that, in America, a large number of linguistic features convene with their corresponding vocabulary in the different linguistic varieties which coexist in the peninsula. Investigation seems to point to the majority subcodes coming from Andalusia, the Canary Islands, and the eastern and western peninsula, which created a shared vocabulary making their identification very difficult.

Research by Frago (1990) and Alvar (2000) explains what happens with sailors' sayings from the Mediterranean, which include many Catalanisms, and which become nautical words with inland meanings. Even if they came from Spanish regions with no contact with the sea, teaching settlers to read and write was carried out in the marked maritime atmosphere which would appear in the specific lexicon of the workers it co-existed with, before arriving at their destination anywhere in America (Enguita Utrilla, 2004). Once this initial stage had been overcome and Creole society had been created, the vocabulary from the many guilds was popularised until it became the lexicon

which even nowadays maintains the same meaning as in the 16th and 17th century (archaisms) or changed its meaning and formal structure until becoming an American creation (DAMr, 2010: xxxii). To this is added the degree of geographical spread of each word, which may be general or restrictive.

The information provided by the lexicon of this origin contributes to understanding Hispanic vocabulary through the evidence. Buesa (1990) states that not many linguistic similarities have been found between the New World and the north-eastern areas of Spain. Meanwhile, Enguita Utrilla (2004) clarified that words in the American vocabulary from the eastern peninsula do not reach America directly through communities of speakers from the eastern peninsula but may instead also be part of a common background of words. This research is aligned with the ideas proposed by these authors, in order to obtain as clear an image as possible about the vitality of Spanish in America.

Methodology

The procedure followed in order to respond to the questions raised began by collecting words which met two conditions: that they appear in the DLE with this description and that they are also included in the DAmr. Despite the fact that archaisms and words of Spanish origin are part of the DAmr, this dictionary does not specify the information for the possible etymon in the case of the Catalanisms investigated in this article.

The method chosen excludes from the analysis two groups of terms which could be considered Catalanisms: those with this origin which have not changed their meaning in American Spanish, for example, *sardinel* 'masonry work', which are, therefore, not mentioned in the DAmr; and terms which were able to pass directly from Catalan to American Spanish and which are not referred to in the DLE, or shown to be of Catalan origin in the DAmr, since this dictionary does not use this geographical marker.

The first of these groups is not part of this research. In theory, all the words which appear in the DLE are used in the majority of the Spanish-speaking regions, which is why it must be assumed that more than 600 words shown as Catalan origin in the academic dictionary could also be

used in American countries. However, we also know that this is not necessarily the case, which is why, lacking a lexicographical source offering more specific information, these words have been excluded from our study.

Anyway, considering that they are all used in America, this would indicate that their roots and vitality are identical to that they would have in any Spanish-speaking area, which is why we believe that not studying them has no influence on the aims of this article. The existence of the second group, potential Catalanisms not included in the DLE, but included in the DAmér, has not been properly recorded. Thus, although the list of abbreviations used in the prologue to this dictionary includes *cat.* to indicate words of this origin, no term was found with this geographical category, or which was considered a Catalan word. After these specifications, we believe that the group of terms chosen will serve to achieve the proposed aims.

The following information has been collected for each term analysed: the variants which appear as entries in the DAmér, along with their meaning; the colloquial sentences which have been created from these words; the geographical location of their use shown in the DAmér; the lexical field they belong to, and the century of their incorporation into Spanish, as indicated in the bibliography.

For this territorial study, the countries shown in the DAmér have been organised into three American regions: 1) Caribbean, which includes the Antilles and the continental area of Colombia and Venezuela; 2) Mesoamerica, from Mexico to Panama, and 3) South America, referring to the rest of the South American territory. This involves some limitations, because the DAmér does not always specify precise geographic areas, and each country has been taken as a single geographical marker. Lara (1987) have already warned of the need to overcome the limitation of geographical markers. This could subtract information for analysing internal originality, which could be completed in future research.

To assign the different lexical fields to each term, the list designed by Quirós García and Ramírez Luengo (2015) was used: actions, food, physical appearance, life cycle, trade, behaviour and emotion, civil construction, clothing, instruments, tools and machines, sailors' sayings, matter and its properties, means of communication, trades and jobs, civil organisation, fish and plants. The corpus of the current *Dic-*

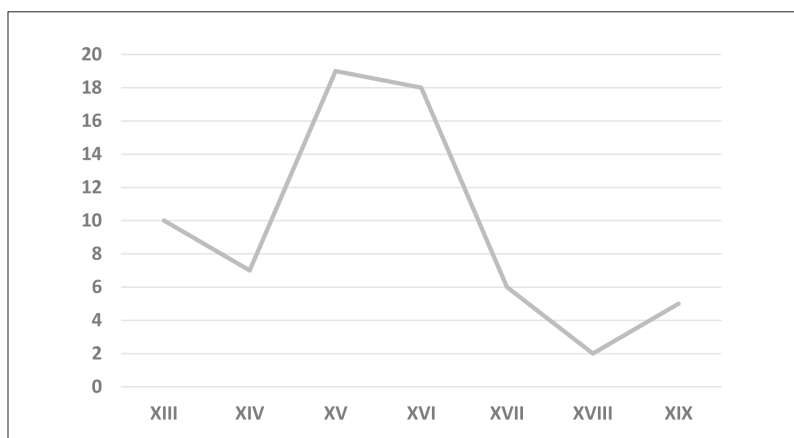
cionario histórico de la lengua española [DHLE] and the *Diccionario de Autoridades* [DA] (RAE, 1726-1739) were also used in order to collect paragraphs which evidence use of Catalanisms by writers before 1700.

Results

The results obtained, shown in tables 1, 2, 3 and 4, reveal that 197 entries joined in 67 words were collected according to the proposed methodology. This means less than 10 % of the words compiled in the DLE. Of these entries, 176 are variants, whether in meaning or derivatives, and 22 are sentences.

This offers us an average of 2.5 variants per term, although this is not a homogeneous group since the standard deviation is very high at 2.42, which indicates that there is significant discrepancy between the different terms in their number of variants. Thus, of the 67 analysed, 10 have more than 5 variants, and 30 have a single meaning. Figure 1 shows the number of Catalanisms included in Castilian Spanish in different chronological periods.

Figure 1
Evolution of inclusion of the 67 Catalanisms



Source: Produced by the author.

It is determined that lexicon with vitality in America corresponds to the Spanish Golden Age, when the American vocabulary was created. This research seems to confirm the conclusions of Colón i Doménech

(1976, 1989, 2002), who explained that the influence was sensitive from the beginning of the 15th century and continued for another century but then declined.

Examples of the first centuries

The terms with the greatest diversity are *cohete*, with 13 variants and 9 originated sentences; *borracha*, with 9 variants, and *carretón*, with 9 variants and a single sentence. The analysis of words which according to DHLE and DCECH were included in Castilian Spanish in the 13th and 14th century appear in Table 1.

Table 1
Catalanisms incorporated into the Castilian language between the 13th and 14th century

Lexie (century incorporated into peninsular Spanish) LF: lexical field	Variants in DAmér	C.	M.	S.
<i>aguaitar</i> 'to lurk' (14th c.) LF: actions	<i>aguaitar</i> 'to watch'	x	x	x
	<i>aguaitada</i> 'vigilance'			x
	<i>aguaitado</i> 'silly'		x	
	<i>al aguaitate</i> 'on the prowl'	x	x	x
<i>boj</i> 'bush' (13th c.) LF: plant	<i>boj</i> 'tree'	x		
	<i>boj</i> 'drink'		x	
<i>convite</i> 'to invite' (14th c.) LF: actions	<i>convite</i> 'agreement'	x		
	<i>convite</i> 'workers' meeting'	x		
	<i>convite</i> 'public holiday'		x	
<i>cordel</i> 'thin rope' (14th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>cordellate</i> 'type of cloth'			x
	<i>cordel</i> 'agricultural measure'	x		
	<i>cordel</i> 'keyring'		x	
	<i>cordel</i> 'spinning top string'		x	
	<i>cordel</i> 'trawl line'	x		
<i>detal</i> 'kind of sale' (13th c.) LF: trade	<i>cordel</i> 'clothesline'	x		x
	<i>detal</i> 'establishment'	x		
<i>doncel</i> 'a youth' (13th c.) LF: life cycle	<i>al detal</i> 'in small amounts'	x	x	
	<i>doncel</i> 'tree'	x		

<i>feble</i> 'weak' (13th c.) LF: physical appearance	<i>feble</i> 'coins'			x
<i>lisa</i> 'river fish' (14th c.) LF: fish	<i>lisa</i> 'fish'	x	x	x
	<i>lisa</i> 'plant'			x
	<i>lisa</i> 'scarf, hanky'		x	
	<i>lisa de playa</i> 'fish'		x	
	<i>lisa macho</i> 'fish'	x		
	<i>lisa madre</i> 'fish'		x	
<i>manjar</i> 'delicious food' (13th century) LF: food	<i>manjar</i> 'sweet, purée'		x	x
<i>mercader</i> 'person who trades' (13th c.) LF: trades and jobs	<i>mercader</i> 'vulgar person'		x	
	<i>mercader</i> 'unscrupulous trader'		x	
<i>nao</i> 'boat' (13th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>nao</i> 'plant'			x
<i>pincel</i> 'utensil' (13th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>pincel</i> 'plant'		x	
	<i>pincel</i> 'foot'		x	
	<i>a pincel</i> 'on foot'		x	
<i>salvaje</i> 'civilised' (13th c.) LF: behaviour and emotion	<i>salvaje</i> 'extraordinary'	x		x
	<i>salvaje</i> 'large and intense'		x	
	<i>salvaje</i> 'wild'			x
	<i>salvaje</i> 'timid'			x
<i>sastre</i> 'trade' (14th c.) LF: trades and jobs	<i>sastre</i> 'bird'		x	
	<i>sastre</i> 'part of a game'		x	
<i>semblante</i> 'similar' (13th c.) LF: behaviour and emotion	<i>semblanteo</i> 'to figure out someone's mood'	x		x
<i>trébol</i> (14th c.) LF: plant	<i>trébol rosado</i> 'plant'			x
<i>viaje</i> 'to move' (14th c.) LF: actions	<i>viaje</i> 'blow'	x		
	<i>viaje</i> 'many things'		x	
	<i>viaje</i> 'extraordinary thing'			x

Source: Produced by the author. *Note.* C: Insular and continental Caribbean (Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Venezuela); M: Mesoamerica and Central America (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama); S: South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay).

These 19 terms do not show the American meanings in the 16th and 17th centuries, with the exception of cordellate (from cordel) and lisa.

The first appears with some frequency in testaments and other administrative documents, where this kind of cloth is described. Cordellate is found in texts written by authors from the peninsular, as shown by this extract about Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa in *Los viajes al estrecho de Magallanes* (1580-1590):

Y llegado a la dicha Bahía, el gobernador y factor, conforme a lo que Pedro Sarmiento le había escrito, proveyó de algunos cordellates y cariseas de poco precio, conforme a la tierra, y de la brea. (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

*And having arrived at this Bay, the governor and factor, in agreement with what Pedro Sarmiento had written to him, provided some inexpensive **cordellates** and cariseas, in accordance with the land, and tar.* (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

It is accompanied by *carisea* in this example, which also refers to a type of cloth. In its current version, the DLE records the origin of this word as uncertain, but that it may come from an English word (cfr. Eng. *kersey*) or accepts what appears in the DA: ‘a certain type of thin cloth such as cheesecloth. It is thus named because of the string the fabric is made of. Latin. Pannus quidam laneus catenatis funiculis intertextus’

But, perhaps, stronger evidence for the American use of cordellate is found in the *Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los incas* (written around 1613), where friar Martín de Murúa uses it as a known word when writing for Creole society, since it is not accompanied by an explanation. *Frazada* also appears, incorporated in the 16th century according to the DHLE and DCECH:

*Reciden aquí muchos caualleros encomenderos muy ricos y hazendados en estancias, chácaras y crías de ganado. Házense en los obrajes de su distrito sayales, **cordellates**, frazados y paños más finos y delgados y de más valor que los que se traen de la Nueva España, y aun rajadas de colores; y esto es causa de que entre mucho dinero en aquella çiudad, en la qual corre oro, por sacarse en los minerales deste metal en las prouinçias sujetas a ella, espeçial en las riquísimas minas de Çaruma.* (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

*Many very rich gentlemen owners of residences, mansions and livestock breeders live here. In the textile plant in their district, sayales, **cordellates**, frazados and cloths which are very thin and fine and*

more valuable than those brought from New Spain, and even coloured strips are made; and this is the reason why a lot of money enters into this town, where gold flows, due to extracting this metal from the ore in the provinces subject to it, especially in the very rich mines of Çaruma. (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

The first record for *lisa* is found in the *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1535-1557) by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo:

[...] *Lenguados muchos, é algunos de dos palmos ó dos ó medio é tres de luengo muy singulares: acedías muchas; **liças** é muy grandes é buenas, é otros muchos pescados de los que por acá hay, [...]* (cfr. DHLE, II, XXXVII, III, 631; emphasis added)

[...] *Many sole, and some very singular soles of two or two and a half or three spans: many wedge sole; very large, good **liças**, and many other fish that there are around here, [...]* (cfr. DHLE, II, XXXVII, III, 631; emphasis added)

It also appears in the *Lexicón o Vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú* (1560) by friar Tomás de Santo Domingo. A few years later, information from *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1653), by Bernabé Cobo, shows that he considers it necessary to explain *lisa* by using the Andalusian word *albur*:

*Las **Lizas** son las que llaman **Albures** en España; críanse muchas así en la mar como en muchos ríos, particularmente en las provincias del Paraguay y Tucumán, y en la Nueva España en el río de Tehuantepec; es del pescado más sabroso que se come en las Indias, pero no el más sano. Hay **Lizas** grandes y pequeñas; las más crecidas tienen á dos palmos de largo.* (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

***Lizas** are what are called **Albures** in Spain; many grow in the sea and many rivers, particularly in the provinces of Paraguay and Tucumán, and in New Spain in the Tehuantepec river. It is the tastiest fish eaten in the Indies but not the healthiest. There are large and small **Lizas**; the largest are two spans long.* (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

In this period, loans between Romance languages are the result of linguistic contacts between interacting Neo-Latin-speaking communities. Among the Catalanisms it is necessary to note those that belong to the maritime sphere, or the terms related to trade, etc.

15th century Catalanisms

The fifteenth century represents the transition from medieval Spanish to pre-Renaissance. In this century the vocabulary evolves parallel to a cultured trend (Harris-Northall, 1992). The Romance languages continue their unstoppable march in the colloquial speech and in literature.

Table 2 shows words introduced into Castilian Spanish in the 15th century:

Table 2
Vocabulary considered to be Catalanisms which were introduced in the 16th century

Lexie (century incorporated into peninsular Spanish) LF: lexical field	Variants in DAmér	C.	M.	S.
<i>anchoa</i> 'anchovy' (15th c.) LF: fish	<i>anchoqueta</i> 'fish' <i>anchoquetero</i> 'related to anchovy'		x	x
<i>bergantín</i> 'type of boat' (15th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>bergantín</i> 'bruise'	x		
<i>borracha</i> (15th c.) LF: physical appearance	<i>borracha</i> 'red reed' <i>borrachaco</i> 'alcoholic' <i>borrachales</i> 'drunk' <i>borrachería</i> 'tavern' <i>borrachero</i> 'plant' <i>borrachito</i> 'bread' <i>borracho</i> 'fish' <i>borracho</i> 'cake' <i>borrachón</i> 'drunk' <i>borrachoso</i> 'alcoholic'	x		x
<i>borraja</i> 'type of plant' (15th c.) LF: plant	<i>borraja</i> 'mess'	x		
<i>brocato</i> 'type of cloth' (15th c.) LF: clothing	<i>brocato</i> 'brocade'		x	x
<i>cairel</i> 'type of ornament' (15th c.) LF: physical appearance	<i>cairel</i> 'curl'		x	
<i>clavellina</i> 'type of carnation' (15th c.) LF: plant	<i>clavellina</i> 'plant' <i>clavellino</i> 'flamboyant'	x	x	

<i>carretón</i> 'frame' (15th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>carretón</i> 'plant'	x	
	<i>carretón</i> 'cart'	x	x
	<i>carretón</i> 'cylinder'		x
	<i>carretón</i> 'bone joint'		x
	<i>carretón</i> 'person with a large appetite'		x
	<i>carretón</i> 'weak-willed person'		x
	<i>carretonero</i> 'vulgar person'	x	x
	<i>como un carretón</i> 'a lot'		x
	<i>carretones</i> 'vertebra'		x
	<i>carretudo</i> 'liar'	x	
<i>cimbra</i> 'position of a plank on a ship' (15th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>cimbra</i> 'timber'	x	x
	<i>cimbra</i> 'door'		x
	<i>cimbra</i> 'mortar'		x
	<i>cimbra</i> 'tall person'		x
	<i>cimbradero</i> 'post'		x
	<i>cimbrarse</i> 'vibrate'		x
	<i>cimbrazo</i> 'blow'	x	
<i>cohete</i> 'artefact' (15th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>cohete</i> 'pistol'		x
	<i>cohete</i> 'drunkenness'		x
	<i>cohete</i> 'tangle'		x
	<i>cohete</i> 'flatulence'	x	x
	<i>cohete</i> 'cigarette'		x
	<i>cohete</i> 'prostitute'	x	x
	<i>cohete</i> 'penis'		x
	<i>cohete</i> 'money'	x	
	<i>cohete de vara</i> 'firework'		x
	<i>al cohete</i> 'in vain'		x
	<i>al cohete</i> 'very tight garment'		x
	<i>cohete explotado</i> 'old prostitute'	x	
	<i>cohete quemado</i> 'lacking prestige'		x
	<i>cohete tirado</i> 'worthless'	x	
	<i>como cohete</i> 'at speed'		x
	<i>como cohete</i> 'very well'	x	
	<i>de cohete</i> 'quickly'		x
	<i>cohetearse</i> 'to induce'	x	
	<i>cohetearse</i> 'to shoot'		x
	<i>cohetillo</i> 'firecracker'		x
<i>cohetillo</i> 'naughty child'		x	
<i>cohetillo</i> 'cigarette'		x	

<i>correo</i> 'person who takes a message' (15th c.) LF: means of communication	<i>correo</i> 'gossiping'	x	x
	<i>correo</i> 'paper disc'	x	x
	<i>correo recomendado</i> 'certified'	x	x
	<i>correo de las brujas</i> 'inaccurate information'		x x
<i>dátil</i> 'fruit of the palm tree' (15th c.) LF: plant	<i>dátil</i> 'grass'	x	x
	<i>dátil</i> 'fruit'	x	x
	<i>datilero</i> 'tree'		x
<i>fustete</i> 'type of bush' (15th c.) LF: plant	<i>fustete</i> 'plant'	x	
gambeto 'type of coat' (15th c.) LF: clothing	<i>gambeto</i> 'animal with a physical flaw'		x
	<i>gambeto</i> 'elegant person'		x
	<i>gambeto</i> 'friendly person'		x
<i>molde</i> 'instrument' (15th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>molde</i> 'mortar'		x
	<i>molde</i> 'piece which gives shape'		x
	<i>molde</i> 'panela unit of measurement'		x
<i>neto</i> 'clean, pure, clear and well-defined' (15th c.) LF: matter and its properties	<i>neto</i> 'game'	x	
	<i>neto</i> 'sincerely'		x
<i>plantaje</i> 'plantain' (15th c.) LF: plant	<i>plantaje</i> 'physical appearance'	x	x
<i>Pote</i> 'vessel' (15th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>pote</i> 'container'	x	x x
	<i>pote</i> 'prison'	x	
	<i>pote</i> 'stocky'	x	
	<i>pote</i> 'old car'	x	
	<i>pote</i> 'money which is bet'	x	

Source: Produced by the author. *Note.* C: Insular and continental Caribbean (Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Venezuela); M: Mesoamerica and Central America (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama); S: South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay).

Data of the golden period

Words from the 16th, 17th centuries, from Tables 3 and 4, do not directly appear in the texts. By way of exception, the ichthyonym *bagre* was found, appearing in *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana* (1555-1571) by Alonso de Molina; in *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales* (1629), by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa; in *Relación del descubrimiento del río Apure hasta su ingreso en el Orinoco* (1648),

by Jacinto de Carvajal, and in *Historia general de las conquistas del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (1676), by Lucas Fernández Piedrahita. The proof of their vitality is found in the diminutive form *bagrecito*:

[...] *ay peces que llaman donzellas, barbudos, **bagrecillos** blancos, y pequeños, otros muy grandes; ay dorados, picudas, getudos, y bocachicos, desde donde entra Nichî en Cauca, boluiendo este rio ázia el Poniente, se junta con el de la Madalena, nueue leguas mas abaxo de la villa de Mompox, entran en el rios nauegables, vno dellos es el de san Iorge, de que se dirá despues.* (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

[...] there are fish called *donzellas, barbudos*, white ***bagrecillos***; some are small, others very large. There are *dorados, picudas, getudos* and *bocachicos* from where Nichî enters in Cauca, this river flowing towards the west, it joins with the Madalene, nine leagues below the town of Mompox, and they join the navigable rivers, one of which is Saint Jorge, which will be discussed later. (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

Another example is the word *barraca* ‘grounds,’ which is found in *Relación de un viaje por América* (1599-1605) by Diego de Ocaña, and in the *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* (1690), by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. The presence of these words without any kind of explanation tells us about the use of this word and readers’ understanding of it. Coba’s testimony is found again in the same work, to observe the use of the Americanism *cimbra*:

*Sirven estas cañas en muchos usos; [...] y por la misma razón de ser tan recias, sirven en los edificios, porque dellas se hacen las **cimbrias** para los arcos y egida; con su cogollo cubrían los indios sus casas en lugar de tejas, y aun agora en algunas partes los usan los españoles; y finalmente, son leña fuerte para calentar los hornos.* (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

*These canes have many uses; [...] and due to being so strong, they serve in buildings, because **cimbrias** are made from them for arches and protection; the Indians cover their houses with their sugar-cane tops instead of tiles, and they are used even now in some parts by the Spanish; and finally, they are strong firewood for heating the ovens.* (cfr. DHLE; emphasis added)

Table 3
Catalanisms from the 16th and 17th centuries

Lexie (century incorporated into peninsular Spanish) LF: lexical field	Variants in DAmér	C.	M.	S.
<i>andarivel</i> 'rope' (16th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>andarivel</i> 'sports field'		x	x
	<i>andarivel</i> 'junk, trinkets'	x		x
	<i>andarivel</i> 'boat'	x		
	<i>andarivel</i> 'machine'		x	
	<i>andarivel</i> 'football field line'		x	
	<i>andarivel</i> 'walker'		x	
	<i>andarivel</i> 'cables'			
<i>bagre</i> 'teleost fish' (16th c.) LF: fish	<i>bagre</i> 'fish'	x	x	x
	<i>bagre</i> 'ugly person'	x	x	x
	<i>bagre</i> 'vulgar person or thing'			x
	<i>bagrecillo</i> 'fish'			x
	<i>bagrerío</i> 'ugly women'			x
	<i>bagrero</i> 'hook'			x
	<i>bagrero</i> 'a taste for the ugly'			x
<i>balso</i> 'rope for sailors' work' (16th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>balso</i> 'raft, wood'		x	
	<i>balso</i> 'light'		x	
<i>barraca</i> 'cabin' (16th c.) LF: civil construction	<i>barraca</i> 'warehouse'	x	x	x
	<i>barraca</i> 'military building'		x	x
	<i>barraca</i> 'refuge'	x		
<i>clavel</i> 'plant from the Caryophyllaceae family' (16th c.) LF: plant	<i>clavel</i> 'flower'	x		
	<i>clavelina</i> 'flower'		x	
	<i>clavelito</i> 'plant'			x
<i>escarola</i> 'plant of the Compositae family' (16th c.) LF: plant	<i>escarola</i> 'dress ruffle'		x	
	<i>escaroleada</i> 'register'		x	
	<i>escarolear</i> 'to rummage'		x	
<i>esmeril</i> 'sharpening stone' (16th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>esmeril</i> 'tool'			x
	<i>esmeril</i> 'novice'	x		
<i>estoperol</i> 'nail' (16th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>estoperol</i> 'tack'	x	x	
	<i>estoperol</i> 'obstacle on public road'	x		
	<i>estoperol</i> 'cone-shaped part'			x

<i>faena</i> 'work' (16th c.) LF: trades and jobs	<i>faena</i> 'extra work in the fields' <i>faenar</i> 'to kill animals'	x		
<i>frazada</i> 'blanket' (16th c.) LF: clothing	<i>frezada</i> 'blanket'	x		
<i>manigueta</i> 'type of sleeve (16th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>manigueta</i> 'handle, crank handle'	x		
<i>mero</i> 'fish' (17th c.) LF: fish	<i>mero</i> 'fish'	x	x	
<i>moscatel</i> 'type of vine' (16th c.) LF: plant	<i>moscatel</i> 'attentive person'	x		
<i>mosqueta</i> 'rose bush' (17th c.) LF: plant	<i>mosqueta</i> 'plant'	x		
	<i>mosqueta</i> 'money'			x
	<i>mosqueta</i> 'bird'			x
	<i>mosqueta</i> 'jewel'	x		
	<i>mosqueta chorreada</i> 'bird'			x
<i>noque</i> 'mill part, tank' (16th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>noque</i> 'container'			x
	<i>noque</i> 'pond'			x
<i>pantalla</i> 'protective surface' (17th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>pantalla</i> 'appearance'	x	x	x
	<i>pantalla</i> 'fan'			x
	<i>pantalla</i> 'earring'	x		
	<i>pantalla</i> 'billboard'	x		
	<i>pantalla</i> 'big ears'			x
	<i>pantalla</i> 'football tactics'			x
	<i>pantalla</i> 'person who defends'			x
<i>pantalla chica</i> 'television'	x	x	x	
<i>pebete</i> 'container for burning' (16th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>pebete</i> 'bread'			x
<i>perchel</i> 'fishing gear' (16th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>perchel</i> 'attic'		x	x

<i>perol</i> 'vessel' (17th c.) LF: instruments, tools and machines	<i>perol</i> 'forgotten object'	x	
	<i>perol</i> 'old vehicle'		x
	<i>perol</i> 'stew'		x
	<i>perol</i> 'domestic'		x
	<i>perol</i> 'woman's rear'		x
	<i>¡adiós peroles!</i> 'expresses surprise'	x	
<i>piñonate</i> 'pasta with pine nuts' (17th c.) LF: food	<i>piñonate</i> 'sweet'	x	x
<i>placer</i> 'sandbank' (16th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>placer</i> 'terrain'	x	x
<i>plantel</i> 'establishment' (17th c.) LF: organisation	<i>plantel</i> 'school building'		x x
	<i>plantel</i> 'livestock'		x
	<i>plantel</i> 'building, esplanada'		x
<i>ringle</i> 'row' (16th c.) LF: organisation	<i>ringle</i> 'large amount'	x	
<i>sosa</i> 'type of plant' (16th c.) LF: plant	<i>sosa</i> 'plant'		x

Source: Produced by the author. *Note.* C: Insular and continental Caribbean (Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Venezuela); M: Mesoamerica and Central America (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama); S: South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay).

Enlightenment examples

The last group consists of 7 words of Catalan origin from the 18th and 19th century, which soon appeared in texts on America. Significantly, according to the DAmér, they are preferentially recorded in the Caribbean. It is possible that, in the period illustrated in the Caribbean, and later in other Latin American countries, settlers who came from different areas of the peninsular and the Canary Islands, some of them had, and still have, their own diatopical markers (Frago Gracia, 1990). This circumstance favoured the contact of geographical forms of Spanish, and gave rise to processes of linguistic levelling, where varieties from Andalusia, the Canary Islands and southern Spain in general (including Murcia and other areas which border the Catalanian peninsular) played a key role.

Table 4
Catalanisms from the 18th and 19th century

Lexie (century incorporated into peninsular Spanish) LF: lexical field	Variants	C.	M.	S.
<i>atiparse</i> 'to gorge oneself' (19th c.) LF: actions	<i>atiparse</i> 'to eat food'		x	
<i>butifarra</i> 'sausage' (19th c.) LF: food	<i>butifarra</i> 'bread for a sandwich'	x		x
<i>esqueje</i> 'part of a plant' (19th c.) LF: plant	<i>esqueje</i> 'to take cuttings'	x		
<i>formaleta</i> 'frame' (18th c.) LF: civil construction	<i>formaleta</i> 'frame' <i>formaletear</i> 'to shape'	x	x	
<i>gandaya</i> (19th c.) LF: behaviour and emotion	<i>gandalla</i> 'person who takes advantage'		x	
<i>palangre</i> 'type of rope' (18th c.) LF: sailors' saying	<i>palangre</i> 'business'	x		
<i>sardinel</i> 'type of building' (19th c.) LF: civil construction	<i>sardinel</i> 'step, bench'	x		

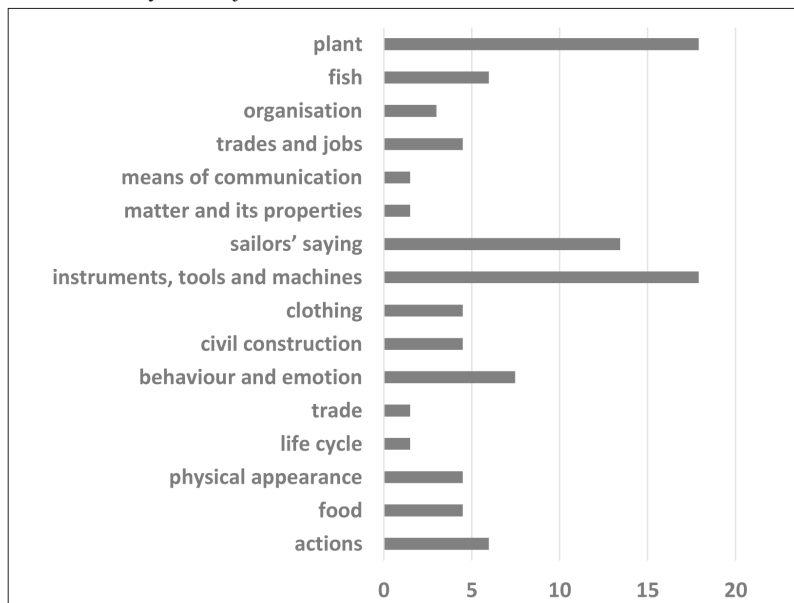
Source: Produced by the author. *Note.* C: Insular and continental Caribbean (Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Venezuela); M: Mesoamerica and Central America (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama); S: South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay).

Once the four tables had been quantitatively analysed, the following results were obtained, regarding the regions where the different words which were analysed appear: 17 in the 3 differentiated areas, 21 in 2 regions and 29 in a single country. This data would vary greatly if the data for each entry rather than each word were to be analysed. In this case, of 198 recorded, the great majority, 155 cases (78.3 %) were only represented in one of the regions analysed, 34 (17.2 %) in two, and only 9 (4.5 %) in all three. The area with most examples is Mesoamerica, with 93 of the 198 entries collected (47 %), closely followed by South America, with 82 entries (41 %), and the Caribbean in third place (38 %).

Lexical fields

The 67 terms analysed can be grouped into 16 lexical fields. The importance of each of these fields in the American Catalanisms analysed is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Distribution by lexical field



Source: Produced by the author.

As Figure 2 illustrates, only three of the lexical fields show a sizeable number of terms, and more than 50 % of terms are in four lexical fields: behaviour and emotion, instruments, tools and machines, sailors' sayings and plants. This seems to agree in part with that described by other authors, such as Colón i Doménech (1989), who remarked that Catalan vocabulary is best represented in maritime and commercial terminology.

Discussion

For data about variability (i. e. the number of words and entries found), it is realistic to conclude that there is no overall trend in the Catalanisms analysed. While a few words appear to have great vitality, seen in the significant number of variants and phrases created with them, a sizeable number of entries show a single meaning different to that registered in the DLE. It could be said that the high variability of some terms of Catalan origin does not depend on this origin, but rather on other qualities of each term in American Spanish, as described by Sala et al. (1982).

Regarding the geographical distribution of these terms, the majority are limited to a single region, with Mesoamerica registering the highest number of entries. It is observed that, even in words with greater diversity, such as *cohete*, there is no variant or sentence found in all of the American regions analysed. The most widely spread meanings are those which also have references in the Spanish of the Iberian Peninsula, even if they are included in the DAmér: *aguardar* 'to watch', *bagre* 'fish' and 'ugly person', *lisa* 'fish', *pote* 'container', *pantalla* 'appearance', etc.

The lexical fields with a large number of examples are also those which appear in Catalanisms in general Spanish, being related to trades and jobs, especially those related to the sea as explained by Alvar (1976), Buesa Oliver and Enguita Utrilla (1992), and Frago Gracia (1990). Thus, if we add together sailors' sayings and ichthyonymic terms, this reaches almost 20 % of the terms analysed, and instruments, trades and behaviour together provide another 30 %. It was observed that, among the most diverse terms which are, therefore, those with a greater vitality, the presence of these lexical fields is significantly higher than in the total of the terms analysed. Among the 10 terms with the most variants, 5 are the names of instruments, tools or machines; 2 are sailors' sayings; 2 are ichthyonyms, and only 1, *borracha*, is different from that previously noted.

Analysing the inclusion dates into Castilian Spanish for the words studied shows that the majority of them, 54 (80.5 %), were included before the European colonisation of America (13th, 14th and 15th centuries). From this data, it can be said that Catalanisms were probably already incorporated into Spanish or in the process of doing so when they reached America, but this integration process almost always seems to have Spanish as an intermediary.

Conclusions, implications and future research

This research has been designed with the decision to select as research material the vocabulary with the Catalan mark from the DLE dictionary. This can be a limitation, because certain security has been left out of some term. This limitation can be overcome in future research, in which it is decided to analyze those words of Catalan origin that are not in the DLE, for example. This research is a case study that is part of a larger project.

The method employed has its limitations, which undoubtedly conditions the analysis and contrast. Not all the American lexicon is in the DLE, nor does the *Diccionario de Americanismos* include all of it. On the other hand, in a broader examination, the corpus could be compared with other dialectal areas of Spanish, such as the cases of Andalusian and Canarian, with which there are coincidences of results. This would show that there is a much broader common base and the Catalan affiliation of some of these voices would be part of the complexity of dialectal research.

Everything seems to show that Catalanisms from the American Spanish do not have a unique vitality due to their origins. Like other groups of regional terms, some have greater vitality and others less so, but this does not seem to have any relationship with their origins. The features of these words do not seem to be different from those shown by Catalanisms in the Panhispanic Spanish of the DLE: many belong to the same lexical fields, and variants have an occasional territorial appearance. The most common words are also the most used in the Spanish of the Iberian Peninsula.

According to the results obtained from analysing the centuries of incorporation of Catalanisms into American use, the majority were already present in Castilian Spanish when it spread across the New Continent. The centuries with the most examples among the terms analysed are the 15th and 16th, and those with more variants mostly belong to the former. It is not possible to demonstrate whether the American meanings appear in texts of this period.

The terms of Catalan origin used in America do not seem to behave differently from other words of Iberian origin, but this shows us a new field of study. It could be said that the lack of distinctiveness in these terms is due to the lack of a significant demographic or cultural relationship between these two geographical areas, or to the possibly minor importance, numerically, of Catalan speakers in the colonisation of the New World. Furthermore, this could be due to the levelling process and speaker preference, characteristics of American Spanish.

The Spanish which reaches America is not a monolithic, uniform block, which is why it is noteworthy that other population groups with their own language, such as people from Galicia or the Basque country, who over the centuries have had a significant relationship with Amer-

ica, have not left their mark on the American lexicon, since there are no terms in the Damer classified as derived from Galician or Basque terms. Is this a general trend of Hispanic-American speakers with regard to languages of the Iberian Peninsula other than Spanish? This would be strange if we take into account the permeability which Hispanic-American language seems to have to contributions from other languages, such as English, French, Italian or Portuguese.

Perhaps this is also about a lack of an appropriate lexical treatment for the terms included in the existing lexicographical works. Normally, words included in this kind of dictionaries are only given a geographical marker if they are used by non-Spanish speakers, ignoring the rich language of the Peninsula, where not only different languages but also different varieties co-exist, some of them of great importance, such as the varieties from Andalusia and the Canary Islands.

Lastly, it is important to remember that Buesa Oliver and Enguita Utrilla (1992) stated that, in the creation of lexical traits with synchronic vitality in American Spanish, three kinds of determinants have unequal influence on productivity as of quantitative approaches: linguistic contacts, the adaptation of the colonising language to the American language and the preferences of speakers who activate or do not activate the resources which the Pan-Hispanic Spanish language has available in order to create.

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