

# Language and Travel: Spanish Vocabulary in British Travel Books

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The aim of this paper is to offer an interdisciplinary approach to the study of travel writing.<sup>1</sup> In particular, what we attempt to do is to apply a sociolinguistic point of view to a number of travel texts, which, undoubtedly, situate the traveller—and, consequently, the reader—in the fascinating context of intercultural exchange. As Henríquez (1995, p. 33) notes, in their work travel writers ‘try to re-shape the cultural exchange between . . . races and traditions’. Since culture and language are so closely intertwined, travel accounts could be used as a source to examine the cultural and linguistic influences experienced by writers as a result of their daily contact with the members of the communities they visit.

## Language in Literature

When dealing with the signification of representing language or dialect in writing,<sup>2</sup> Toolan (1992, p. 31) underlines the fact that there is ‘a deep division of opinion in literary studies between . . . the realist and symbolist viewpoints’. The former considers literature to be ‘related to the rest of life and discourse’; and the latter, sees it ‘as more metaphorically related’, or at any rate, as a sort of non-serious discourse, ‘governed by aesthetic considerations’ which must take the literary text ‘as being far from a faithful record of actual speech’. However, we agree with Fowler when he says:

Literature is language to be theorized just like any other discourse; it makes no sense to degrade the language to a mere medium, since the meanings, themes, larger structures of a text, literary or not, are uniquely constructed by the text in its interrelation with social and other contexts. (1988, p. 83)

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An additional fact that supports our assumption is found in Percy Adams's study of the connection between travel writing and language. According to Adams (1983, p. 242), there is a long tradition that is 'closely related to the language and the style of both the travel book and the novel'. First in that tradition is 'the fact that travellers returned either with a real knowledge of one or more foreign languages or with a smattering of some one language' (Adams 1983, p. 260). What Adams so effectively reminds us here is both the fact that 'countless important travel writers—unlike so many twentieth-century tourists—were linguists of ability, a fact that aided them both in understanding what went on around them and in reporting facts about language' together with the idea that 'the Grand Tour was designed to teach foreign speech as well as foreign manners'. Last, but not least, Adams (1983, p. 260) also notes that 'the travellers often included glossaries of foreign words and sometimes wrote comments ... about the language they encountered'.

On the other hand, language has been described as 'anything but neutral'. Thus, Burton highlights Bakhtin's belief that words and forms have 'the "taste" of the "contexts" in which [they have] lived'. As Burton writes, quoting Bakhtin:

discourses lie 'on the borderline between oneself and the other'. To make words 'one's own' requires traversing that border—not always an easy task. For 'language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated—overpopulated—with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process. (Burton 2001, p. 231)

With this in mind, we have studied eight works written by seven British authors who visited various Spanish-speaking areas in Spain and South America at different times throughout the twentieth century. These eight works are travel books following the pattern that has usually characterized this literary genre: first-person narrator; detailed description of the landscapes and atmosphere of the places visited; a good account of the customs, cultural aspects, and behaviour of the native dwellers; a parallel exploration of the inner self, and the urge to escape from the unbearable society ties in search of exotic adventure, of an open-air life. In our view, it is possible to add a new item to this list of features: the tendency to use a number of words, sentences, and idioms taken from the languages spoken in each area, something that happens to most of the travellers whose books we analyse here. Two of them belong to the long bibliography dealing with the Canary Islands in the first decades of the last century. They are the following: *Canary Islands*, written by Florence Du Cane, and published in 1911; and *Two Years in the Canaries*, by Charles Barker, published in 1917. The rest of the works are *A Rose for Winter* (1955) and *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning* (1969), which report Laurie Lee's two journeys to Spain at different times in his life, though the latter was written 20 years earlier; *Voices of the Old Sea*, by Norman Lewis, published in 1984; *Spanish Pilgrimage: A Canter to St James*, written by Robin Hanbury-Tenison in 1992; *No Guns, Big Smile: South America by Horse*, published by James Greenwood in 1992, and, finally, a work by Bettina Selby entitled *Pilgrim's Road: A Journey to Santiago de Compostela* (1994).

To a great extent it seems that most of these authors tend to adopt a number of foreign, in this case Spanish, elements in their English discourse. The various interpretations that this assimilation of Spanish vocabulary may be given will be the main question for discussion here. In fact, as we have stated elsewhere (González Cruz & González de la Rosa 1998, pp. 57–58) the incorporation of Spanish words and expressions into the English discourse may be explained in several ways. First, as an indicator of the author's awareness of cultural differences. It is widely acknowledged that references to culturally specific elements, or to the people's customs, character, and behaviour, together with the relatively frequent occurrence of the vocabulary of the language, tend to be used by the travellers to highlight the cultural identity of the community that is being visited.

It is also possible to interpret this as an attempt at authenticity; in fact, the literary representation of other languages is not new: it dates back to the early days of English literature, when writers switched from English to French and Latin for decorative or comic purposes, or simply in order to show linguistic virtuosity, as Traugott and Pratt (1980, p. 376) explain:

On the whole, writers before the nineteenth century had a kind of 'poetic licence' to overlook the reality of language differences, and to more or less pretend that the whole world spoke English. Literary values and conventions changed, however, and with the advent of realism in the nineteenth century, an interest in linguistic realism also began to appear . . . . This does not mean that writers began actually to use other languages extensively alongside English . . . . Literature itself imposes limits on linguistic realism, in the sense that the more languages one uses in a work, the more one limits the audience that will have access to the work. (Traugott & Pratt 1980, pp. 376–377)

These same authors have also noted that switching from one language to another can be used to express attitudes, and this is precisely our contention here, that is to say, that the use of Spanish forms serves mainly an attitudinal purpose. The implication of this statement is that as the traveller becomes conversant with the language and customs, and gains intimacy with the inhabitants of the country, he tends to react favourably to all of them, which may lead to the adoption of a number of foreign terms. In short, it seems that the deeper the travellers involve themselves in the social affairs of the communities they visit, the more Hispanic terms they use in their writing. This seems to be but the logical result of the situation of cultural and linguistic contact the travellers live in.

### **Approaching Language Contact**

Let us start off by examining language contact, which has been considered as one aspect of cultural contact, though as Weinreich (1979, p. 5) has stated, 'the relation between the two fields has not been properly defined'. We assume that cultures and languages tend to come into contact whenever 'people move from one country to another and overnight are confronted with the task of surviving in what seems to be a

very different world' (Grosjean 1982, p. 158). This is precisely the case of the travel writers who embark upon the challenge of adventure to which they feel committed. In Lehiste's (1988, p. 1) words, '[l]anguage contact takes place between speakers of different languages in contact situations', though as Milroy (1992, p. 199) explains, 'strictly speaking, it is not really language contact at all, but speaker contact'. Lehiste (1988, p. 1) adds: 'In order for communication to take place, speakers must arrive at a certain degree of comprehension of the other language and must acquire a degree of facility in producing utterances that will be comprehensible.' Undoubtedly, these authors' usage of hispanisms in their literary discourse in English indicates either that the writers already had a certain command of the Spanish language, or that they may have acquired it as a result of their daily contact with the Spanish communities they are involved in.

It could be argued that using Spanish vocabulary is a mere technique consciously employed by the authors with the simple purposes of enriching the narrative and strengthening its realism, thus adding some local colour. In this respect, Silva-Corvalán (1989, p. 174) points out that certain words may be transferred as a result of their being more expressive, hence, more useful for the writer's communicative aim. However, we believe the alternative use of both codes (English and Spanish) in writing is a reflection of the linguistic contact that has been going on in the writer's mind as a result of his interaction with Spanish speakers in a Spanish-speaking environment.

We are dealing here with a frequent phenomenon which, for various reasons, seems to be inevitable, and which has already been studied by linguists. The fact that the linguistic influences that can be observed in all these works are mostly lexical is nothing but natural, since vocabulary is the level of language that most frequently and easily is affected by the changes or experiences speakers go through in life. After all, vocabulary is the field that connects language with reality, and words always refer to and reflect the real world around us.

By and large, lexical borrowing is the main result of language contact since it satisfies the need to designate all sorts of new things and concepts. As Romaine (1989, p. 55) puts it, 'when moving to a new setting, speakers will encounter a variety of things which are specific to the new environment or culture and will adopt readily available words from the local language to describe them'. On the other hand, Weinreich (1979, p. 57) holds that lexical borrowing is a consequence of the fact that 'using ready-made designations is more economical than describing things afresh'. Indeed, in the travel accounts analysed here, the use of part of that foreign vocabulary is simply inevitable, since there is no other way of making references to certain Spanish cultural elements that do not have a suitable equivalent in English: to cite just some examples *flamenco*, *sevillana*, *corrida*, *matador*, *gaucho*, *saeta*, *paso*. However, the author's choice of words like *fiesta*, *feria*, *conquistador*, *alcalde*, *siesta*, *monte*, *plaza*, *camino*, *pueblo*, *finca*, *patio*, *campesino*, etc., cannot be explained by this theory since they all have a corresponding word in English, that is, they are not culture-specific.

Following this line of thought, Grosjean (1982, p. 312) refers to Haugen's distinction between 'necessary loanwords that fill lexical gaps and "unnecessary" loanwords,

which are condemned by purists as reflecting laziness and the law of least effort'. Some of those unnecessary Spanish terms appear only sporadically in the books studied but the higher frequency of many others seems to indicate a greater degree of assimilation in the writer's lexical repertoire. Besides, several hispanisms (*alcalde, estancia, flamenco, finca, pueblo*, etc.) occur in most of the books, which makes us believe that they might be in the process of being adopted as borrowings. After all, '[l]anguage borrowing is the legacy of those who live with two languages' (Grosjean 1982, p. 341) and that is what actually happens with our travel writers during their journeys through various Spanish-speaking areas. No matter how well they know the other's language, because 'lexical borrowing requires only very restricted bilingualism . . . . The only requirement is that the borrowing speaker must understand, or believe he understands, the meaning of the items he is learning' (MacMahon 1994, p. 204). It is also evident that the Spanish vocabulary used by each English author would be closely connected with the circumstances and with the variety of Spanish spoken in the different communities, either countries or geographical areas.

At this point, a distinction has to be made between the concepts of interference and borrowing or loanword. The former has been defined by Mackey (Hoffman 1991, p. 95) as 'the use of features belonging to one language while speaking or writing another'. It occurs accidentally and individually, i.e. interference is an instance of *parole*, not of *langue*, and depends on 'a number of psychological, situational and discourse factors' (Hoffman 1991, p. 95). Only when these individual phenomena become collective and systematic, that is, when they are 'adopted by some community of speakers, however small the community may be' (Milroy 1992, p. 221), will they turn into borrowings, after a process of adaptation and integration from the source language into the target language (see Grosjean 1982; MacMahon 1994).

Interestingly, the studies carried out by Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (Romaine 1989, pp. 65–66) reveal that the number of borrowings or loanwords that can be 'ascribed to lexical need were negligible', and that 'propensity to borrow is acquired through socialization in a particular community and [is] not a function of lexical need'. This means that, despite the multiplicity of factors involved, social aspects seem to play an important role in language contact and borrowing; in fact, it has been proved that prestige—defined by Anttila (1989, p. 155) as 'the driving force in social interaction and linguistic change'—is the factor that ultimately determines which words are borrowed (Arlotto 1972; Hock 1991).

From what we have said so far, it emerges that the functions performed by the context and by all the extralinguistic factors involved in the speakers' contact situation are essential for the linguistic exchange. According to Gal (1979, p. 15), there is evidence that 'the nature of the relationship between speakers, the social identity of the contacts and the purpose of the interaction are at least as important as frequency of contact in influencing speech'. Furthermore, word borrowing can be seen as 'a reflection of the immigrant's wish to acculturate into the majority group' (Grosjean 1982, p. 313); in this sense we can argue that, somehow, the traveller is a sort of temporary immigrant, with personal differences in motivation and attitudes.

Therefore, whenever our travellers use Spanish words instead of their equivalents in English, they seem to convey—either consciously or unconsciously—the extent to which they are involved in their Spanish social and cultural environment. That is, the writer expresses a positive attitude towards the Spanish culture by using the Spanish terms. We can easily corroborate this in our books, where we observe how the greater the author's involvement with the place is, the larger the number and the scope of the interferences in his discourse become. The motivations of the travellers and the special circumstances of their journeys seem to be closely connected with the amount and nature of the interferences we find in their writings. This is the conclusion we can draw from our study of the texts, and the specific examples provided in the following section.

### Case Studies

Let us now focus our attention on how this sociolinguistic approach operates in respect of a number of specific travel texts. As explained earlier, the quantity and lexical scope of the hispanicisms used by our travellers seems to be linked with their attitude and degree of active involvement, though they are also connected with the local culture and the authors' purpose of travel. In this way, Barker's visit to the Canaries had a very special aim: he was trying to evangelize the islanders—who were then very traditional and fanatical followers of the Roman Catholic Church—by preaching and persuading them to buy a Protestant Bible. For this aim he needed to integrate himself into the native society, and assimilate the islanders' language (a local variety of Spanish) and culture. Apparently, he succeeded since the number of lexical interferences from the local speech that he includes is very substantial. His account abounds with Spanish words and sentences, including dialogues with the islanders, as shown in [1a] below:

- [1a] The food of the **campo** people appears to be chiefly **gofio** (p. 26)  
 The **señora** at the **fonda** went with me to the **Cura's** house (p. 26)  
 I found the **Alcalde** in the **Cura's** house (p. 37)  
 ... and the **señor medico** [*sic*] escorted us to our **fonda** (p. 35)  
 ... then, with **muchísimas** [*sic*] **gracias** we part from our conductor (p. 67)  
 On Thursday and Friday of **la Semana Santa** all vehicular traffic is stopped  
 (pp. 57–58)  
 They have the **censura** of the **iglesia** (p. 123)  
 After breakfasting at the **fonda**, I visited a **barrio** of San Mateo (p. 24)  
 ... for the purpose of building a new **carcel** [*sic*] (pp. 66–67)  
 I found this gentleman, the **Cura**, and he said the books were **Protestante**  
 (p. 19)  
 Don Roberto, **dueño** of the **fonda**, remarked to me: 'To be with one's family  
 and country is **la gloria**, here is **purgatorio**, and the parts you have just  
 returned from **son el infierno**' (p. 153)  
 Oh! **Iglesia Apostólica Romana** you can be cruel, you can be false, so can  
 Protestants, yet I almost feel I would gladly enter your communion on  
 condition that you would allow me to continue the work of circulating **las**

**Sagradas Escrituras** among people (p. 62)

... the **señora** seeming anxious to do her best for 'el hombre tan fino' as I heard her describe me to her husband (p. 61)

Interestingly enough, Barker sometimes translates into English some of those hispanicisms, probably to facilitate the reading as seen in [1b]:

- [1b] ... one of the stewards ... remarked to another, '**Eso no es marea**' [*sic*] (that is not sea-sickness) (p. 8)  
A good supper was provided, consisting of eggs, **bizcocho** (dried bread), coffee ... (p. 63)  
'**Dios es muy grande y puroso**' (God is very great and pure) were his words (p. 9)  
It was written by a **persona mala** (bad person) (p. 17)  
... the **señora** said '**El pobre no ha dormido [en] toda la noche pero las pulgas son de el** [*sic*] **porque las sábanas** [*sic*] **son limpias**' (the poor man has not slept all night, but the fleas are his own, for the sheets were clean) (p. 61)

In Lee's works readers can observe the changes in the number and quality of the Spanish interferences depending on the writer's apparent liking for or dislike of the atmosphere in the various regions of Spain. Thus, in *As I Walked Out One Midsummer Morning*, he does not get equally involved in Galicia, Castile, and Andalusia; his enthusiasm for the latter is evident not only in the feelings he expresses towards this lively southern region, but also in the larger number of Spanish words that are included in the chapters devoted to this part of the country. In section [2] below we include some examples, where terms like *señoritos*, *migas*, *mantillas*, *matador*, *pasodoble*, *patio*, are reminiscent of popular aspects of Andalusian culture:

- [2] ... the young '**señoritos**' sat waiting in the **paseo** (p. 164)  
The mother served up a pot of **migas** stew (p. 156)  
... beauties in black lace **mantillas** (p. 103)  
... and saw a white-faced **matador** being carried (p. 95)  
... **pasodobles** and **tangos** for dancing (p. 145)  
'Look at the **rubio** who's come today' (p. 60)  
Besides, he was ... always whinning for **vino** (p. 123)  
I stood for a while in the **plaza**, resting my knapsack (p. 75)  
... a bare little **patio** roofed by a trellis of vines (p. 120)  
And the most excellent tariff due to the said most excellent **Ayuntamiento** (p. 79)  
Mornings in the **posada** were the best time of the day (p. 101)  
I saw that the **casino** had been sacked and burnt (p. 171)  
He was always a **bestia**, a **sinveguenza** [*sic*] (p. 169)  
It was a city of traditional **alegría** [*sic*] (p. 126)  
... the poorest tin shack seemed to produce its immaculate **debutante** (p. 67)  
The **Borracho** lay on the floor, phlegm bubbling in his throat (p. 86)  
Paco's no value. He's a **mala lengua** (p. 100)  
... how well the Saint had looked today—so comely, so **linda**, such an excellent colour (p. 71)  
I will smash his **cojones** against his teeth! (p. 85)

... craggy oysters, crabs, **calamares** heaped in golden rings (p. 98)  
 Maria, **cuño**, [sic], do not molest the Frenchman! (p. 138)

Lee's wanderlust took him to Spain, but not as a mere tourist: he left home at the age of 19 with the purpose of getting to know the world and earn his living by playing the violin anywhere. He decided to go to Spain just because he remembered a Spanish sentence he had learnt as a child: 'Will you please give me a glass of water?' The fact that he had to survive in a foreign milieu, together with the attraction he felt towards the exotic elements in Spanish culture, contributed to his necessary and apparently easy integration into the local communities. He usually had to arrange official licences from the local Councils in order to be allowed to play his violin in the streets. He was witness to the opening stages of the Spanish civil war, and this experience captivated him to such an extent that when leaving the country, at the end of the book, he stated that he would come back and fight for the Republican side. However, it took him 20 years to return, and this second visit to Spain gave him the impetus to write *A Rose for Winter*, in which he relives the old joys and memories of his previous stay, and where his deep fascination for Andalusia is preserved. The narration here focuses on the analysis of the author's inner transformation, parallel to the changes suffered by the places that were being revisited. But this second contact with Andalusian Spain differs in some way from his earlier trip to Spain: now the author is travelling for pleasure rather than facing a personal challenge, therefore his involvement in the social context is not as profound as in the first book. Accordingly, although he keeps using a great deal of hispanicisms in his writing, these have to do mostly with the many terms connected with Andalusian culture, as seen in [3], where words like *flamenco*, *coplas*, *fandango*, *fandanguillos*, *saetas*, *zapateado*, *azulejo*, *torero*, *matador*, *sevillana*, *solera*, *banderilleros* (wrongly spelt as *bandilleros*), clearly evoke the Andalusian atmosphere.

- [3] 'Watch **La Mora**' they said. She is very **flamenca** and most diverting (p. 76)  
 Ah, **contrabando**. Sweet fruit of Algeciras (p. 17)  
 ... an old fisherman handed me some **coplas** which he had composed (p. 123)  
 We entered to the cry of a fisherman singing an ecstatic **fandango** (p. 19)  
 ... returned to the caves singing a **flamenco** which fell frail (p. 84)  
 ... wrote out in my notebook some of the words of his **fandanguillos** (p. 90)  
 He sang, too, a **saetas** [sic] I shall never forget (p. 20)  
 But the **señores** were not to fear (p. 32)  
 One heard the silences of the **Sierras**, the cracking of sun-burnt rocks (p. 121)  
 ... began to execute a fine-toed **zapateado** (p. 66)  
 ... watched the moon flashing on the **azulejo** towers (p. 52)  
 ... you spend your money like a **torero** (p. 84)  
 ... a famous **matador**, in his young and starving days (p. 73)  
 ... young girls all dressed in the handsome robes of **fiesta** (p. 45)  
 ... if the **campesinos** have money, then we hold a **corrida** (p. 57)  
 The nieces did the **sevillana** (p. 59)  
 —**Solera buena**. You're right (p. 37)  
 —Approve this, then. **Oloroso**. Very rich (p. 37)  
 ... when the barbs of the **bandilleros** [sic] had torn his shoulders (p. 71)



- And the French—worse, much worse—**feisima** [*sic*] (p. 42)  
They also are **preciosa** (p. 56)  
... its charm and professional **alegria** [*sic*] (p. 33)  
... we never met without exchanging **pensamientos** (p. 18)  
All was ready for the evening **paseo** (p. 79)

Norman Lewis's visit to Spain after demobilization from the Army is about his 'search for vanished times' (1984, Foreword, w.p.). The book reveals itself as his withdrawal from British urban life in search of remote places. He narrates his three journeys to Spain, and gives an account of the cultural and traditional customs in Farol, a village in today's Costa Brava, when its identity was still unaffected by any foreign influence. In the chapters dealing with his first two journeys, we perceive Farol's genuine atmosphere, as he establishes a close relationship with its people. He becomes a part-time fisherman, gets involved in the village's lifestyle and comes to terms with its people and Spain. Lewis's integration into the local community manifests itself in his recurrent usage of hispanicisms. The numerous Spanish terms he uses here are related to his interest in the preservation of nature, the habits among fisherfolk, and local traditions. Hence, the semantic scope of the hispanicisms he includes is mostly cultural, referring to local elements (customs, fishing, food, drinks, etc.), though he also incorporates Spanish terms, despite their having an English equivalent.

However, in the third part of the book, during his stay at Farol, his perceptions of the threat from invasive modern society are confirmed. He encourages the villagers' fight 'against the enticements of an inexorable tourist development' (Lewis 1984, back cover), but a sense of disillusionment begins to creep up on Lewis, as he realizes how easily the place gets contaminated by outside influence and loses its primitive way of life and charms. Similarly, we can observe how the number of hispanicisms in his discourse decreases noticeably. Examples of his usage of these terms are the following:

- [4] ... plus a bagful of **bogas** brought along for that purpose (p. 36)  
... and thrust on us thick **bocadillos** dripping with onion (p. 137)  
... the better-looking fish, **dorados**, brill and bream (p. 166)  
Sebastian had a few **calamares** on ice (p. 146)  
... an occasional **servia**—a large pelagic fish (p. 14)  
... dogfish with sauce in the restaurant and call it **merluza** (p. 179)  
The **sonsos**, carried in canvas bags to the boats (p. 34)  
... when called upon in winter to drag in the big **sonsera** nets (p. 46)  
... Juan was fishing with the **palangres** (p. 84)  
... Muga added a sixth meal, the **resupón** [*sic*], an informal dip (p. 87)  
... I picked out the wavering track of **grebias**—these tasted of mud and weed (p. 91)  
On our first visit to this spot I had seen huge **meros** with great goggling (p. 91)  
... fish speared by the **fitora**—the illegal trident in clandestine use (p. 93)  
... poisonous spines including rays or **arañas** (p. 46)  
The fish he caught, such as **pollas** and **mollas**—there is no name for them in English—were notable (p. 166)  
... and drank a **palo** between them (p. 161)  
The **encerrada**, an ancient and now illegal custom (p. 124)

- ... a traditional **verbena de San Juan** (p. 142)
- ... began to sing **cante flamenco** (p. 55)
- Then the **Romería**—the short sea pilgrimage—would begin (p. 61)
- ... she left him and the old woman to their **siestas** (p. 103)
- ... since the **curandero** was so successful in healing breaches (p. 118)
- The **sardana** was recognised as the national dance of Catalonia (p. 158)
- ... let us keep them in a cage in their **vivéro** [*sic*] (p. 123)
- ... offering the local **alpargatas** to the seven shoe-wearers (p. 65)
- ... in Spanish the sea can be equally **el mar**, or **la mar** (p. 14)

Like James Greenwood, Hanbury-Tenison also travelled on horseback, to take one of the traditional routes to the cathedral of St James at Santiago de Compostela (Spain). In his journey he tried to verify the spiritual and cultural motivations of medieval folk travellers. In the company of his wife and four-year-old son he ‘shared the air, the stones and the sights of ... Northern Spain’s countryside, with centuries of history and legend’ (Hanbury-Tenison 1992, back cover). They learnt a lot about the people and the country, while they enjoyed nature and life in the open air. But the religious aim of the medieval pilgrims is turned into a search for a new theology of ecology. Thanks to the pilgrimage, Hanbury-Tenison realized that the green revolution appeared to have developed an irrevocable momentum. In connection with this, we notice how a majority of the hispanicisms have to do with religious life and with his worry for the natural environment. Section [5] illustrates these points:

- [5] ... the pilgrimage route, known in Spain as the **Camino Francés** (p. 35)
- ... they are likely to lose the traces of the old **camino** (p. 69)
  - ... following the old, original and almost forgotten **Camino Real** (p. 121)
  - ... we paused to water the horse at a stone trough beside the **fronton** [*sic*] (p. 33)
  - The invaluable **Guía del Peregrino** written by the late Don Elías (p. 43)
  - Opposite was the perfect Gothic doorway to **Santo Sepulcro** (p. 44)
  - ... it was the **Capilla de San Marcos** (p. 145)
  - Hidden behind it lies the **Pórtico de la Gloria**, the 12th-century masterpiece (p. 146)
  - ... on special occasions the giant **botafumeiro** is swung (p. 149)
  - The **sacristan** [*sic*] could not be found (p. 154)
  - The **padre**, who was talkative, friendly and eager to help (p. 22)
  - The priest was ... in Santiago, we were told by his housekeeper, to see **El Papa** (p. 73)
  - Another hermitage, the **Virgen de Rio**, [*sic*] greeted us (p. 86)
  - ... the annual influx of tourists to the **costas** of Spain today (p. 18)
  - These endless high plains, the **Meseta** (p. 84)
  - ... the existence of those **fincas** (p. 50)
  - I went into the **parador** and asked the manager his advice (p. 60)
  - They were spotless, as were the **servicios** downstairs, next to the bar (p. 111)
  - ... an attractive **patio** with a balcony and tables (p. 112)
  - ... it seemed as though ... the open **plaza** [were itself] a wide nave (p. 152)
  - The water there is pure enough to drink, as you will be above the **cloacas** (p. 22)
  - ... we had crossed the **autopista** which surpasses Burgos (p. 74)

The correlation between the traveller's attitude and the number of lexical interferences is also corroborated in Greenwood's account of his journey through South America. He tells us about the fulfilment of one of his main ambitions in life: a trip on horseback from Buenos Aires to Peru, emulating Tschiffely's solitary expedition carried out in the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> Greenwood socialized more with the Argentines than with the people in other countries like Bolivia or Peru. This is clearly indicated by the larger quantity of Spanish words and idioms that he incorporates to the narration in those chapters dedicated to Argentina. He integrated easily into a community that treated him well, in spite of the official hostilities provoked by the recent military conflict between the British and the Argentinian governments over the Falkland Islands. He expresses his feelings of admiration for the beauty of the landscapes in the Andes and the way of life of the inhabitants of this South American country. Interestingly enough, this positive attitude involves not only a higher number of Spanish terms, but also a broader scope in the semantic fields they cover, that is, culture-specific terminology is no longer the only reason why the author falls back on Spanish: rather, he gives up many available English words and prefers the local Spanish term as shown in [6] below:

- [6] The **fincas** from which the old **estancias** had been managed (p. 154)  
Each **campesino** had his plot of land (p. 154)  
The **sembrada** (planting) is, of course, a great excuse (p. 148)  
I slept in a small **hospedaje** for the night (p. 123)  
... went back to my **alojamiento** [*sic*] for a slap-up meal (p. 171)  
We talked about **la violencia** (p. 174)  
Sometimes I took a **siesta** (p. 48)  
It was a local **comisaria** [*sic*] (p. 72)  
The **plaza** was packed with people dancing (p. 173)  
I was looked at more closely and told I was a **pirata** (pp. 150–151)  
... the '**doble paso**' horse that is trained (p. 123)  
... although I was trying to be as calm and as **macho** as possible (p. 187)  
'**Cuidado** [take care], **señor**,' he said, '**cuidado**' (p. 123)  
Lunch every day was an **asado** (p. 48)

However, this does not happen in the chapters dealing with Bolivia and Peru, where Greenwood never felt at ease. Here hispanicisms are scarce and limited to the cultural level, in parallel with the writer's increasing difficulty in coping with the unpleasant circumstances of those countries, which were made insecure by frequent acts of terrorism. On these pages we merely find cultural interferences, that is, words that refer to typical elements in that society (food, drinks, or plants, such as *finca*, *altiplano*, *chicha*, *tragos*, *chagas*, *bondiola*, *charla*, *Mojo* stew).

Our last observation involves the first and the last titles in our list, Du Cane's and Selby's books. These two works are very different in a number of fundamental ways. They were written and published at different times, namely 1911 and 1994. The authors' purpose of travel and the places visited are also quite divergent. Whereas botanist Florence Du Cane tours the Canary Islands with her sister Ella, who paints beautiful watercolours that are inserted in the book, Selby travels alone and by bicycle

to one of the most traditional places of Catholic pilgrimage, Santiago de Compostela in Northern Spain, including several photographs of the trip.

However, despite all these dissimilarities, Du Cane's and Selby's travel books share a couple of features that are worth noticing. Both are written by women travellers and both include many fewer Spanish words in their writing than the rest of our sample works, written by male travellers. This seems to support a sociolinguistic theory regarding women's language use. According to many sociolinguists (Trudgill 1983; Holmes 1992; Wardhaugh 1993; Fasold 1994; Romaine 1994, among others) women tend to use the standard forms of the language and are less prone to innovation than men. This comes as no surprise since gender differences can be found in almost every aspect of human life. In the particular case of travel studies, Sandra Hybels has explored how gender can actually make a difference in the way men and women travel. In her own words, 'a strong case can be made that in most cases, men and women travel differently' (Hybels 1998, p. 99). It seems that 'men seek information while women look for relationships with other people. In their travels, then, they are playing out their culture's role expectations' (Hybels 1998, p. 107). In addition, she contends that when women 'are living in a place with a language different from their own, they will usually attempt to learn it. Instead of the male emphasis on *Who am I?*, the female traveller asks of the guest culture *Who are they?*' (Hybels 1998, p. 108); yet, this does not appear to be true in all instances. In fact, while the importance of all these issues cannot be denied, both claims—Hybels's and ours, regarding women travellers—would, admittedly, need some further research, as they seem to be rather contradictory. All in all, we believe we are dealing here with tendencies in men's and women's behaviour rather than with two clear-cut patterns of behaviour.

An analysis of Du Cane's and Selby's accounts of what happened during their trips reveals that the only terms they adopt in their travel diaries have to do with the peculiarities of the natives' local culture or with their specific purpose of travel. Thus, Du Cane uses *burgado* (p. 123), *calado* (p. 40), *canario* (p. 107), *costumbre* (p. 123), *mantillas* (p. 123), *gofio* (p. 50), *barranco* (p. 115), *cumbres* (p. 129), *mangos* (p. 121), *cardon* [sic] (p. 62), *harimaguedas* [sic] (p. 113), *malpays* [sic] (p. 52), *medianero* (p. 72), *pintaderas* (p. 113), *retama* (p. 22), etc. For her part, Selby, whose journey is more of a religious search, mostly includes terms related to the pilgrimage such as *Camino* (p. 86), *Casa Peregrino* (p. 150), *certificación de paso* (p. 96), *credencial del peregrino* (p. 71), *sello* (p. 131), *seminario* (p. 101), *portico* [sic] (p. 203), *refugio* (p. 72), or words that have to do with the local culture such as *tortilla* (p. 131), *tapas* (p. 178), *fonda* (p. 133), *Guardia Civil* (p. 122), *hórreos* (p. 190), *matador* (p. 87), etc.

By way of conclusion, we should focus on the implications that the occurrence of all these frequent interferences from Spanish may have for the readers, and, ultimately, for the English language. We suggest that many hispanisms—at least those that occur more often—may easily filter through to the rising number of readers of travel literature. Hoffman (1991, p. 102) explains that the process of adaptation and integration of a borrowing depends on its 'frequency of use, how quickly it enters the general lexicon displacing a native word, at least partially, and how easy it is to

integrate it phonologically and grammatically'. But on the whole, there are so many intra- and extralinguistic factors that play a role in the process of diffusion of linguistic innovations that their future is very difficult to predict (Silva-Corvalán 1989). We are aware of the subtle complexities of the various factors that help interferences become adopted as borrowings and acquire dictionary status. This is something that has already happened to Spanish words such as *patio*, *negro*, *fiesta*, *plaza*, *siesta*, *matador*, *gratis*, *embargo*, *aroma*, *pedestal*, *guerrilla*, *macho*, *tornado*, etc. As Cooper puts it:

... we know little about the social circumstances which promote or retard the spread of linguistic innovations, although linguists have hypothesised that such changes spread as a function of degree of verbal interaction and the relative prestige which one speaker has for another. (1982, p. 28)

What is evident from our discussion is that the travel accounts we have dealt with here stand for a direct cultural and linguistic contact between the writers and the Hispanic communities they visit. This contact is mostly reflected through the usage of a variable number of Spanish lexical items, which clearly depends on the extent of the traveller's involvement in the journey. In turn, they constitute an indirect way for readers of these travel books to be exposed to Spanish culture and language, since, as Fussell paraphrasing Butor remarks, 'in reading ... a travel book, the reader becomes doubly a traveller, moving from beginning to end of the book while touring along with the literary traveller' (Fussell 1980, p. 211). Hence, travel writing might be considered as one of the possible channels for many Spanish words to enter the English language. Obviously, there are three essential factors or requirements underlying this last process: first, the writers' positive attitude towards the other culture; second, their subsequent social and linguistic interaction with the natives, which is indicated in their written discourse, as we have seen above; and finally, the increasing popularity of this literary genre, which might contribute to the expansion of the number of readers, and, consequently, facilitate the diffusion of those hispanicisms.<sup>4</sup>

## Notes

- [1] It should be noted that we deal with non-fictional travel writing only. See Galván (1991, p. 193).
- [2] Traugott and Pratt (1980, p. 351) complain that '[l]anguage varieties in literature have not been studied extensively from a linguistic point of view', and they state that: 'it is possible to render a wealth of detail about language varieties in writing; careful evaluation of the language varieties used in a text can be useful to the literary critic. A recognition of the presence and function of variability is a valuable tool in assessing what an author is attempting to do, while knowledge of the variety in question makes it possible to assess how successful and accurate an author is in representing speech.... Written representations of different language varieties [in literature] often overlook both these sorts of variability, and simply select a few markers of a particular variety, using them consistently without real attention to the details of the variety in question. This is the kind of representation we speak of as stereotypic' (1980, p. 339).
- [3] In 1925 Aimé Félix Tschiffely, a Swiss schoolteacher, undertook one of the most challenging solo expeditions ever—10,000 miles from Buenos Aires to Washington, DC, covering 11 countries en route—on horseback. Inspired by Tschiffely's classic book *Tschiffely's Ride* (1933), 24-year-old

James Greenwood left a promising career in the City of London to re-create nearly 4000 miles of that journey, from Argentina to Peru.

- [4] We would like to dedicate this paper to the beloved memory of Claudia María Mejía Giraldo, a very close and dear friend who died unexpectedly in very sad circumstances while we were engaged in the final revision of this work.

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