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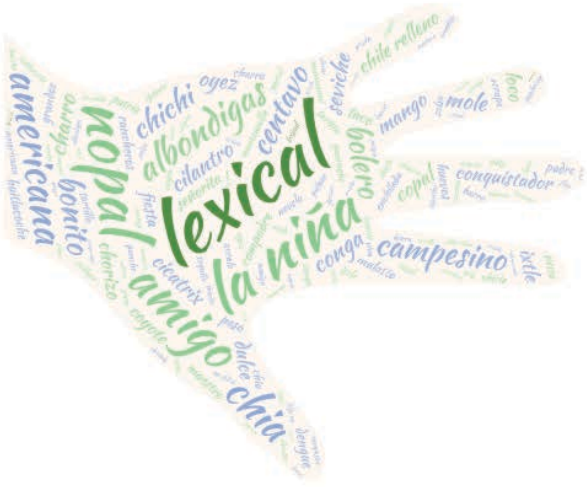
Lexical Borrowing in Sandra Cisneros's *Caramelo*



This study explores the linguistic phenomenon of lexical borrowing in the Chicano novel *Caramelo* by Sandra Cisneros published in 2002. The motivation comes from the common lexical insertions, generally marked in italics, that Chicano literature authors tend to employ in order to embrace the roots of these writings. The principle objectives are to identify the lexical borrowings used by Cisneros, inspect their Mexicanity and trace their linguistic evolution. Firstly, lexical borrowings are identified by being those Spanish language insertions, marked in italics through *Caramelo*, which are found in the New Oxford American Dictionary (NOAD) series (2001, 2005, 2010). This dictionary strategy has its basis in Callahan (2004). Afterwards, the Mexicanity and evolution are studied by interpreting the borrowings through the different printed editions of the dictionary, which falls to a historical method. In total, there are 121 lexical borrowings in *Caramelo* within the italic content. These borrowings in particular reflect that Spanish language italics carry significantly more than Mexican culture, and that lexical borrowings go through linguistic changes at different levels, such as the phonetic, phonological, semantic, and orthographic ones, which helps visualize that borrowing goes beyond the picking up of items because of frequency.

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ÍNDICE

INTRODUCTION

The inclusion of Spanish language through italics within Chicano literature is a highly employed strategy that authors opt for with the intention of creating empathy towards Chicano roots or drawing attention to them. Sandra Cisneros is one of the authors that has evidently made strong use of these segments in her writings, as in The House on Mango Street (1984), Woman Hollering Creek (1991), Caramelo (2002), and A House of My Own: Stories from My Life (2015). Her Spanish language insertions range from short lexical units to complete paragraphs or vignettes, where she intends to paint a bigger picture of commonly related Mexican scenarios. It then becomes interesting to explore which of these Spanish words are borrowings and how they have progressed in the American context in the adoption-adaptation process.

To get a complete understanding of lexical borrowing in Chicano literature, we first look at the definition of literature and then touch down in the Chicano context. Since literature is quite an abstract term to define despite the categorizations that it has had through time, the term is approached through a descriptive mode where we intend to match the common grounds in its definitions and consider the importance of leaving the term open to interpretation. This is key because Chicano culture is composed by many other subordinate cultures; hence, Chicano literature is one area that has its arms open to other groups' beliefs and challenges. We then come to the understanding that this form of expression does fit the objective standards of literature, but at the same time writers express their beliefs merely by pen and paper, and not by the systematic paradigms of traditional writers.

Once discussing the position and definitions of Chicano literature, we talk about the particularities of it from a historical scope. We go over the periods in Chicano literature according to Leal (1973/2007) under two mindsets: to observe the different sociopolitical directions it has taken and to tackle the lit-

erary genres that have stood out. Poetry and the Chicano novel, which has a particular section for the pioneer publisher *Quinto Sol,* are the genres which are predominant in this sense. When talking about these genres, we address the literary themes that have generated a solid connection among the writers of Chicano literature and its readers, and we come to see that, family, migration, conservatism, feminism, discrimination, are some topics that reign. We experience that these themes constantly reflect a debate between "good" and "evil," where characters defy their roots and their future. In this phase, we also take a look at Chicana literature, a group of writers that have taken the torch when it comes to speaking up.

Afterwards, we turn to Chicano language, being one of the main, if not the main, tool in the composition of Chicano literature. We see that this dialect mostly carries a fusion of Mexican, Latino and American cultures. The Mexican side obviously brings in Spanish, but it does not leave Indigenous roots aside, for example Nahuatl. The Latino culture brings in the pieces of other minority groups in the United States, such as Puerto Ricans, Colombians, Salvadorians, while American culture brings in the standard side of English and the high influence of African American English. These groups, linguistically speaking, situate themselves in an outer space to that of their place of origin and where they reside. This third space is generally referred to as Spanglish, but we see that it can have presence by other representations such as Chicano English, Chicano Spanish, Pachuco, Texmex. In addition, the third space can come in an invisible manner to say, since it may not be represented through sounds but through morphemic or syntactic units that can barely mark a difference between English and Spanish. With variations like these, Chicano language serves as a tool for writers to reach their own public better, or to send a message across to an outer public. We then see that it is a mean for unification, distinction, or both.

Following the immersion in Chicano language, we specifically direct attention to different definitions of lexical borrowing and its integration process. The definition of lexical borrowing is quite debatable since it is referred to as transfer, transference, copying, among other common labels. After revising different approaches to the term, we discuss the process of integration that lexical borrowing goes through. Here we cover the different scales at which it occurs, such as the phraseological, lexical, morphological, phonological, orthographic, semantic and pragmatic levels. Then comes the question of how to identify a lexical borrowing, and we fall to the acceptance that new elements brought to a language achieve a standard use because of the frequency and adaptation determined by society. In this segment we learn that borrowing goes beyond lexemes and at the same time can be broken down to morphemes. We agree that

lexical borrowing is no different to literature, Chicano literature and Chicano language in its subjective reach and must surpass its usual interpretation.

Subsequent to the theoretical input on Chicano culture, literature and language, we encounter the study itself by reviewing the methodology and then facing the corpus analysis. We begin with the summary of the book *Caramelo* and the reasons why this particular piece has been selected to carry out this investigation along with the matter that is to be analyzed. The findings sought here are the Mexicanity of lexical borrowings in *Caramelo,* the sociolinguistic adaptation of Mexican Spanish data to American English, the exploration of origins in Spanish language lexical borrowings, and the comparison of this linguistic phenomenon through the New Oxford American Dictionary series.

We are then fully exposed to the methodology of the research. In general terms, all of the segments that are presented in italics throughout the novel were extracted and then searched as entries to the dictionary series mentioned. Then the information given in the dictionaries for each lexeme was studied from a linguistic and sociolinguistic viewpoint to get to a categorization of origins of the lexis extracted (Spanish and Mexican Spanish are the focal point) and to come to the comparison of lexemes among the series. Like this, we visualize the adaptation of lexical borrowings from Mexican Spanish to American English through different tables, which break down a general table of lexemes.

This book invites us to see lexical borrowing beyond the objective boundaries of language and literature. The call to enter the Chicano world through literature does have its focus on linguistic matter mostly, but it also intends to awaken the third eye on the sociopolitical force that a mere word can carry and what it can mean to a culture. Artists of Chicano production have found several forms of expression like muralism, film and music, but language has always been the empowerment of this culture. Its language has fused with "subcultures" to represent native products, customs and beliefs on a global scale. It is Chicano literature the one genre that has been of great success in this sense and it is key to go back to its books, novels, plots, paragraphs, sentences and words.

CHAPTER I

Literature

An approach to the term of literature, its types and perceptions

This first chapter focuses on the understanding of literature. It covers the following questions: What is literature? What are known to be its properties? Who or what has defined literature? What has been the general perception of literature? What has been the impact of literature through times and spaces? What has been the role of education in literature? The approach to this area is to simply summarize the phenomena before getting into this literary study.

When defining literature, the general answer to this inquiry is that it is a text composed by special characteristics which make it stand out among others. This distinction tends to come through unimaginable scenarios or through a harmonic language that seduces the reader. These techniques that writers employ have fallen into a connotation of beauty or purity through the years, where only few are the ones who can find the words to express a feeling or reality.

The notion of beauty in literature has evolved over time as Todorov, Moss & Braunrot (1973) point out, here *beauty* has been replaced by *form* and this one has been replaced by *structure*. All three making reference to the formal qualities of language used to captivate the readers' attention and to express ideas in a unique manner. Formalists, such as Shklovsky, Jakobson, Brik, Tynyanov, Eichenbaum and Tomashevsky would say "literature is a 'special' kind of language, in contrast to the 'ordinary' language we commonly use," according to Eagleton (1983). To reach this peculiarity, or essence of literature, formalists would seek certain aspects of writing, such as: "sound, imagery, rhythm, syntax, metre, rhyme, narrative techniques, in fact the whole stock of formal literary elements" (Eagleton, 1983).

The formal elements of literature led to the categorization of different literary genres such as, tale, fable, novel, poetry, and others. Each of these classifica-

tions possess its own characteristics. For instance, in poetry texts are constructed with stanzas, rhymes, symbolism, meter, metaphors, imagery, etc. This could be seen as an attempt to meet the "whole stock" of elements in literature. In this case, a text is classified successfully, or is simply left out because it does not possess a special touch in its composition. But where is the checklist to reach formality? What happens with the not so beautiful texts? What happens with texts that "bring pain"? What are they? Why do they lack imagination? Why do they lack linguistic properties?

These questions then encourage one to explore another meaning or sense of literature. One that does not leave out but includes all texts. One that appreciates the effort, art (its personal interpretation), and essence behind each project. This means that one seeks a literature which is subjective, and inclusive. Terry Eagleton comes to the conclusion that literature is not to be defined by the standards commonly set by groups of "specialists" who believe in purity behind texts, but by the reader. He then leaves the definition of literature up to "how somebody decides to *read,* not to the nature of what is written" (Eagleton, 1983). In this sense, literature comes down to personal taste and is universal. He brings the following example:

> We have still not discovered the secret, then, of why Lamb, Macaulay and Mill are literature but not, generally speaking, Bentham, Marx and Darwin. Perhaps the simple answer is that the first three are examples of 'fine writing', whereas the last three are not. (Eagleton, 1983)

This remarks the idea that no text lacks linguistic properties or imagination, and the determination of literature is to be free. On the counter part, formality requirements limit texts, through an interpretative and exclusive scope. Then the work of many people in the scientific field, generally speaking, has been seen as merely as scientific contribution, but has not been appreciated in its artistic form.

In its objective approach, literature has been created by purist and for purist. For the ones that have the "skill" to understand these unique creations. Trent gives the example that in past times literature is believed to belong to people "whose tastes are catholic and properly trained by education and by private study and reflection" (1898). This idea still predominates after more than a hundred years, where reading and literature is conquered by the marketing of purists. In other words, one must be socially capable and accepted to be part of the context of literature. In a way, this idea leaves out the ones who are not successful in the literary or academic world.

It can then be questioned that if the people who do not attend school cannot be part of literature. If literature is considered in its objective sense, people in this situation are left out. But if literature is approached in its subjective sense, then people under these circumstances are given the opportunity to be part of it, since it will not necessarily come through an educational setting. The truth is that there are various scenarios where people without an education do not produce but receive and practice literature in an unconscious manner. For example, through oral stories, prayers, songs, sayings, among others. It is then unfair to say that literature will belong to the ones that can read, "understand," and produce text beauty.

More so, there are ones who do not live under the "regular" conditions of life and have a particular need and are still limited to literature. For example, the deaf and blind community also want and can be part of literature, but unfortunately the majority of the attention is directed to visual written production of texts. There are opportunities for them to receive a workpiece through braille, sign language, audiobooks, yet texts are limited to the objective or formalist nature of literature. It is evident that literature has been chosen for the chosen ones.

Language has been the worst enemy of literature, generally speaking, but it can also be its main force. Language is not present to graphically represent a text, but to establish a connection across boundaries from a cultural standpoint. In other words, it is here to connect ideas, beliefs, minds and souls. This a universal mean that serves to communicate the challenges that societies are facing from a political, scientific and educational position, to say. "Ojalá podamos crear un lenguaje entrador y más hermoso que el que los escritores conformistas emplean para saludar al crepúsculo" (Galeano, 1977).

Literature is then a form of expression with open doors to any individual or group of individuals. "Literature is the expression of thought in language; ...whereby 'thought' I mean the ideas, feelings, views, reasonings, and other operations of the human mind" (Newman; Kent,1895). Everyone has something to say, being it "right" or "wrong" to the perception of others. Despite this, many of us fear to express whatever is inside our beings because we have been imposed the idea that our texts are to be proper, or that they must fit the ideal aspects of literature. But are we not trying to be right by attempting a definition of *literature*? Are we not considering something wrong by proposing something right? Where is the subjectivity in *literature* under such attempt?

To say that there is *literature* is to say that there is "nonliterature" as Todorov, Moss & Braunrot point out: "[...] to ask such questions about the notion of literature is to assume the existence of another coherent notion, that of 'nonliterature' " (1973: 14). Then, what could be done if *literature* cannot be defined?

> We simply cannot say that literature is in essence any particular thing because its subject-matter, which is its essence, may be everything. But we may, perhaps, find it possible to get a working description of literature that will suffice for all our purposes if we will frankly say that we believe that there is such thing as an art of literature which expresses itself by means of words, much as music does by means of sounds, painting by means of an arrangement of colors on some material, etc. (Trent, 1898)

As several things in life, it is a complex task to define literature, and as a consequence Trent proposes a description of it, making it lighter to approach the term. The description of literature may take a social paradigm or a personal one. Within the social paradigm, there is a consideration of the predominant standards in literature in the community where the interaction is to take place. Here then, the "whole stock" of elements and literary genres for instance, may be considered. If the description is seen from the personal paradigm, there are no standards other than the ones set by the consumer of the literature. In this sense, the consumer answers the question, "how do I like texts?"

Furthermore, Trent approaches literature by what *literature is* and by what *literature does*. When he addresses it as what it is, Trent makes reference to the intellectual aspect of *literature*. In other words, its form or structure. On the other hand, when he refers to what *literature* does the attention is directed to the emotive aspect, to what literature causes. Here, he writes:

> The teaching as well as the criticism of pure literature will be greatly improved from the moment teachers and critics pay more attention to the emotive than to the intellectual qualities of literature, from the moment they begin to ask what literature does rather than what it is. (Trent, 1898)

For Trent the worthy side of literature will be the meaning and the impact that it brings to its consumer. Then, it is key that critics and educators encourage learners to take this turn, instead of focusing merely on the formal aspects of writings. With no question, the relationship between education and literature is a significant one, since this is where we have our first interactions with reading, and through these we start picking up our beliefs towards texts. Tuner (1971) as well addresses generational values through education and literature:

> These individuals will determine whether the next generation sees the values of an unfamiliar group [...] or becomes sufficiently perceptive to understand that

> no group, no region, no class, no nation is ever defined fully by the actions or the words of a single human being. (1971: 585-586)

Aside from the relevance of values through literature, Turner also encourages one to think about the reach that literature has. He makes it clear that literature does not belong to anybody, and that an author cannot determine something specific about a group of people or an idea. Further in his writing, he invites teachers to go beyond texts with students, and to study the background of the author and the facts involved in the piece of writing other than just focusing on structure. Todorov & Lyons state that purism in literature falls in the chain reaction of education. Over time literature continues to be taught under a formalist outset:

> The reductive conception of literature appears not only in lycée classrooms and university courses; it is abundantly represented among newspaper book reviewers and even among authors themselves. Is this surprising? They all went to school and many studied literature in the university, where they learned that literature is self-referential and that the only way to appreciate it is to show the way its constituent parts interact. (2007)

To this date, the belief that *literature* should be understood prevails. One could agree that anyone is free to fall into this idea or not, but it is very true that our reading, more specifically our beliefs in reading, have an impact on our writing. We consciously or unconsciously reflect styles of what we have read, especially in writing beginnings. Yet, before imitating styles, some of us feel that fear of meeting expectations, expectations which are sometimes not even part of a rubric, but part of our mental rubric. It is here that some feel the need to find these colorful words to captivate a reader, to reflect writing mastery.

This imposition of correctness within writing and reading, does not stop here but is carried into behaviors. A successful author is to wear a long beard, have a crazy hairstyle, use glasses, he or she must be unique, or be part of the elites when it comes to writing. Authors should reflect that they are the "lords" of the letters, the "lords" of the words, the "lords" of composition, and several other "lords." Hence students tend to believe that there is a pinnacle in writing, when they should be part of the conversation, state opinions, and give life to their feelings and ideas in a free artistic manner.

All this sense of *literature* being valued because of its beauty is centered on what is known as "success." Because several beings in this planet wish to dominate or feel superior, they set a limit that a person must reach to be at their level.

A person must write in a certain manner to be admitted in a genre of *literature*, or any categorization in writing. This idea has become unchangeable and false realities are spread in many forms of success: "se vende ilusiones de riqueza a los pobres y de la libertad a los oprimidos, sueños de triunfo para los vencidos y de poder para los débiles" (Galeano, 1977).

A good number of authors feel relief when a lifetime work is finally accepted and published, when standards are met. This means that they have placed a stamp in literature. Authors must then scratch their heads to find the finest of ideas or what is relevant to others. It can become a matter of finding something to talk about instead of expressing what is really inside a human being. Here then literature could fall into business interests. This aspect of literature will hardly look to help others, but to only increase earnings, while the lower class is left out, or abused. For instance there are authors who write about poverty and "aim" their texts towards the "lower class," when they have not personally witnessed such scenario, or, as Galeano (1977) points out, when the lower class does not even know how to read or cannot even afford books.

So, why write something that is meaningful for society and meaningless to the author? Why try to please the elite club of writers? What is wrong by using the simple language? Or simply own words to express something that we have chosen to write. There is a need to break this barrier and create a bridge between what we feel and believe to how and what we write. Literature is a communication mean of ideas, beliefs, or knowledge to freely touch others, but to gratify oneself among anything or anybody.

CHAPTER II

Chicano literature

A definition of Chicano literature

Luis Leal has states that "the simplest but also the narrowest way of defining Chicano literature is to say that it is the literature written by Chicanos" (1979/2007). Leal identifies two problems with this definition: there is a problem when recognizing an author as a Chicano and there is a problem when there is more attention focused on the origin of the writer than the piece of literature. So then, who is a Chicano? Manuel M. Martín-Rodríguez defines Chicano in the following words:

> "Chicano" hace referencia a las personas de origen mexicano cuya experiencia vital está marcada de forma sustancial por su pertinencia, en cualquier nivel, a la realidad estadounidense. El chicano, pues, se diferencia del mexicano por su experiencia estadounidense y se diferencia de otros estadounidenses por su origen étnico mexicano. (1995)

Then, the existence of cultural hybridity has been a significant characteristic of the Chicano community; Mexican, Indigenous Mexican, American, and Latino cultures in general form part of the ethnicity of such individual. The Chicano community picks up traits from these cultures to compose their own. Some of the traits that the Chicano integrates in this formation are language, mythical beliefs, ideology, religion, gastronomy, music, among others. In this fusion, the two cultures that are seen as the roots of Chicano culture are Mexican and Mexican Indigenous. Though Chicanos interact in American settings, where they experience other Latino cultures, they always seem to go back to their strong tie to Mexico.

Up to the year of 1995, the distinction of Chicano and Mexican is made by birthplace according to Martín-Rodríguez. People of Mexican descent born in

the United States of America are considered Chicanos, while people of Mexican birth living in the U.S. are Mexican. This distinction still prevails, though this differentiation leaves out several people of Mexican birth of Chicano culture, mostly immigrants, who have lived in the U.S. for a long period of time. There are cases in which Mexicans have moved to the United States and have lived there for more than thirty years. By this time, they have lost a frequent contact with their Mexican context and have adjusted to an American lifestyle pretty much like the vast majority of Chicanos. Here, what they mostly do is remember and try to relive their Mexican roots.

In the case of Chicano Literature, distinguishing Mexicans from Chicanos by birthplace would put in question the work of several writers from different origins that have contributed to Chicano Literature. Some authors with different origins are: Aristeo Brito (Mexican), Bruce-Novoa (Costa Rica), and Silvio Villavicencio (Mexican). Then, why are the works of these authors seen as a contribution to Chicano Literature? The case of Sivlio Villavicencio is curious since he had never been to the United States (up to 1979 – first publication of one of his articles). In addition, two of his poems made it into the recognized Chicano anthology *El Espejo* (The Mirror), according to Leal (1979). This is then the second problem that Leal (1979) identifies when defining Chicano literature, the origin of the author. The three authors mentioned have a deep knowledge of Chicano culture, and as consequence their works have been accepted under such radar despite the fact that they are not Chicanos by birthplace. This helps one see that it may not be the origin of the writer what situates a text as belonging or non-belonging to this literature.

On the contrary to the three authors mentioned, there may be others who are from what is considered a Chicano scenario by origin, and because of lacking cultural knowledge, their texts face complications in being accepted by the Chicano community. For instance, in a second language learning process, a learner studies vocabulary and grammatical forms of a target language. It is very probable that the second language learner knows more about the language than a person who has such language as mother tongue. There are cases in which several language learners have not had the opportunity to interact in the target language scenario, yet they still demonstrate a better knowledge of the language (form) than people who use such language as their first. This example proves that one does not have to belong to certain territory or context to have a solid knowledge and employ it.

Leal's approach to Chicano Literature is a reflective, more specifically, a subjective one, where he puts into question the barriers that the Chicano Literature consumer may fall into by considering borders or origins. In contrast to this view

of literature, Gustavo Segade makes an objective definition of Chicano Literature in a concise and concrete form in the following words:

> Chicano literature, then, refers to the historical, cultural, and mythic dialectic of the Chicano People. In its historical and cultural sense, Chicano literature is specific and unique; in its mythic sense, it is general and universal. (1973)

Segade views Chicano Literature from two standpoints: a regional one and a universal one. The regional side of Chicano literature embraces themes that are specific to the Chicano community and challenging to an audience who has little knowledge of such culture. In consequence, the consumer of Chicano Literature is required to have certain background in order to comprehend it. On the other hand, the consumer of universal Chicano literature is not required to have much knowledge or background of the Chicano context and easily relate to what is being addressed.

In Chicano literature with a universal objective, the author's occupation is to make Chicano art, or literature in general, to get itself to diverse contexts or sections of the world with different techniques. A technique that authors in different genres of literature employ is to have fictitious scenes in the text. For instance, an author may decide to include a dinosaur in one of his texts. Globally, the existence of dinosaurs is known. To make a better link to different sections of the world, the author may write about a dinosaur who faces a specific situation which may occur in different societies. Maybe the author could say that the dinosaur faces a lot of discrimination in society by a "dominant" group (probably extraterrestrial creatures, or another type of dinosaur). In this situation, different communities which are being discriminated in society by social classes who believe that are more dominant may relate to the text and respond to it in an effective manner. Gustavo Segade provides more to "regional" and "universal" Chicano Literature in the following quote:

> Chicano art is, like any art of the twentieth century, surreal and superreal. That is, it is consciously and unconsciously aimed and perceived. Chicano literature, like any literature, helps make us aware of participants in the dialectics of reality. The artistic process only begins with the artist. The reader and the critic help to complete the process, to carry it on to the infinite number of times that the work of art can begin the process of creating mythic timespace. (1973)

From the previous quote it may be noticed that despite the universal or regional sense of literature, Chicano literature seeks to bring a voice of reality.

Whether such literature is written in a fictitious manner or not, the aim of it should be to stay alive through time and space thanks to writers, readers, and critics.

So far in this chapter, the reader has been exposed to different approaches to defining Chicano Literature. Two perspectives have been addressed: a subjective and objective one. The subjective version of Leal (1979) where it is complex task to refer to Chicano Literature without facing two problems: Who a Chicano is and paying more attention to the origin of the author rather than the text itself. The objective approach to Chicano Literature is provided by Segade (1973) where Chicano Literature makes reference to the history and culture of Chicanos. Under this objective view two ways to see literature are marked: universal and regional. Universal being general Chicano Literature which any reader may consume, and regional where there is a specific group of readers targeted.

Historical periods

Luis Leal (1973 / 2007) identifies five periods within Chicano Literature: The Hispanic Period (to 1821), Mexican Period (1821-1848), the Transition Period (1848- 1910), the Interaction Period (1910-1942), and the Chicano Period (1943-Present). In brief, and paraphrasing Leal (1973/2007), the Hispanic Period (to 1821) involves the first texts produced in the Mexican region where nowadays part of the Chicano community resides. This land is now part of the United States after Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty. Among significant writings one may find the texts that the first explorers left in the region, text from: Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Fray Marcos de Niza, Fray Francisco de Palou, Juan Bautista de Anza, Miguel Costansó, Fray Juan Crespí, Fray Tomás de la Peña, to mention some. Within this period of Chicano literature, Luis Leal highlights "el corrido" and "la leyenda."

The Mexican Period (1821-1848) begins when the Mexican nation obtains its independence from Spain and finalizes when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is established. It is by the end of this period when the Chicano community that resides in the Northern part of Mexico, which became part of the U.S. with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, has to decide if they will live in Mexico or if they will become part of the U.S. It is important to mention that this land that was once Mexican and is now Anglo is called Aztlán by most Chicanos.

The Transition Period (1848-1910) begins with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and has its end with the Mexican Revolution in 1910. This is the period of a national decision between a Chicano or Mexican world. The population that opts to stay in lands of the US is not that well respected by Mexicans, since they

give their back to their place of origin. This decision marks a period where the hybridism among communities and cultures begins, a life in an American world, but with Mexican roots. Within the literary context, as expected, in this period Chicano literature is highly influenced by Mexican literature.

The Interaction Period (1910-1942) is marked by immigration. In 1910 the immigration from Mexico to the United States is untied. Mexicans leave to the U.S. in search of better opportunities because of the effect that the Mexican Revolution has had in the country. For this precise reason this period is called the Interaction Period. The population that arrives from Mexico brings a cultural strength to all the brotherhood in the United States of America. "El corrido" continues to be a strong form of expression from the Chicano community with social protest in mind. In this same period the first Chicano novels are published. In addition, the first Chicano newspapers start, for instance "El Paso del Norte." This period finishes with World War II.

The Chicano Period (1943-Present), begins in June of 1943 with the confrontation of the well-known zoot suit riots against the Anglo community. From the time of this incident, the Chicano community starts to raise their hands in a sign of defense among society. This manifestation of the Chicano community takes place in a more organized form by the end of the 1960s with the Chicano Movement. In the year of 1967, a poem which represents much to the Chicano people is published: *I Am Joaquín* by "Corky" Gonzales. From here several Chicano texts surge with the intention of representing la raza and the identity of the in-between.

Predominant literary genres

In Chicano Literature there are two genres that have predominated in the Period of 1943 to the present: the poem and the novel. One of the poems that is quite significant in Chicano culture is *I Am Joaquín*. This poem is an impulse for Chicanos to protest and to project their identity. Besides Corky Gonzales, other poets that have had an impact in Chicano literature are: Abelardo Delgado, Alurista, Tino Villanueva, Miguel Mendez, Ana Castillo, Lucha Corpi, to mention some. These also talk about the social acceptance that the Chicano population has in the United States of America and in Mexico. The following poem by Abelardo Delgado brings this essence that builds a Chicano which is also projected in Gonzales' poem:

El inmigrante

golondrinas cortando betabel,
Americanos de papel,
este Mexico-Americano
o nomás mejicano
que migra con to y familia
a los campos de colorado,
Illinois, califa, y michigan
se me hace que no es más que puro gitano.
salmones en el desaije
con un ojo a las colonias
a las cuales muy pronto volverán,
no les voy
a decir porqué lo hacen
porque la verdad ni ellos saben,
quizá el cariño a la tierra
mamado de una chichi prieta,
quizá el corazón libre
que dicta la jornada,
aunque el carro esté muy viejo
y la gasolina cara.
turistas sin un centavo
de vacaciones en nebraska.
aun alabama
es un descanso de tejas.
bumerangas que la mano de dios
por este mundo tiró,
gente buena,
gente honesta,
gente víctima de su necesidad de migrar,
la lechuga o la justicia es lo que van a sembrar.
(Delgado; Martín-Rodríguez, 1995: 111)

Several poems like the previous one, provide readers an idea of what Chicanos have gone through over generations in order to reside in the U.S. The poem brings this feeling in the sense that the land in which the character is "the immigrant" was once his, and he is now breaking his back to survive in it. Like this several other poets claim something that what once theirs is now a struggle. The

manifestation of authors comes either in an indirect or direct manner through Chicano poetry; Novoa writes: "No falta el tono personal en la poesía chicana, aunque aún entonces, en los ejemplos más notables, hay una afirmación a veces explícita, a veces implícita, de compromiso social" (1983).

Poetry has exposed the testimonies of many Chicanos in a brief sense of writing, but Chicano literature authors have spoken through novels in a deeper sense. In these texts, Chicano writers have mostly brought autobiographies to the reader. Here writers mostly express their experiences as a minority group in an American context. One is able to witness the acculturation that the Chicano community has gone through over the years. For instance, authors tend to reflect on how much they are tied to or know about Mexican Mestizo culture or Indigenous culture. In other words, they bring their historical roots to the text. Chicanos reflect on their identity, the construction of their ideologies, and the social factors that they are to overcome. In the following passage of the novel *Caramelo* by Sandra Cisneros, the reader is able to observe a Chicano character coping with social factors:

> The old proverb was true. Spanish was the language to speak to God and English the language to talk to dogs. But Father worked for the dogs, and if they barked he had to know how to bark back. Father sent away for the Inglés Sin Stress home course in English. He practiced, when speaking to his boss, -*Gud mórning, ser.* Or meeting a woman, -*Jáu du iú du?* If asked how he was coming along with his English lessons, -*Veri uel, zanc iú.* (Cisneros, 2012: 208)

As the poem, and other genres within Chicano literature, the novel brings a social manifestation. This can be either directly, or indirectly as we have seen. Though, there are some authors who decide to employ both strategies and give either a smoother or rougher attitude towards the dominant population (Americans). In the following extract from *Caramelo as well,* the reader is also able to observe the inconformity of one of the characters:

> The INS officers simply shrug and mumble, -Sorry. But sometimes it's too late for I'm sorry. Father is shaking. Instead of –No problema, my friend-which is Father's usual reply to anyone who apologizes, Father runs after them as they're getting in their van and spits, -You... *changos.* For you I serving this country. For what, eh? Son of a mother! (Cisneros, 2012: 377)

There are several significant novels in the transition of Chicano Literature, but there are three that were, and to this day are, highly recognized: ...*y no se lo*

tragó la tierra (1970) by Tomás Rivera, *Bless Me, Última* (1971) by Rudolfo Anaya, and *Estampas del Valle y otras obras* (1972) by Rolando Hinojosa. These novels won the Quinto Sol award as it is seen in the following section of this chapter. This prize has brought much recognition to these literary pieces. They are seen as key in the development of the Chicano novel as a genre. Although there was a fourth and last winner of the Quinto Sol award for best Chicano novel, Estela Portillo Trambley, the three novels mentioned have received much more attention. Other names that standout in the Chicano novel are Gloria Anzaldúa, Alejandro Morales, Aristeo Brito, Nash Candelaria, Margarita Cota-Cardenas, Denise Chavez, Miguel Mendez, among others.

Quinto Sol

When talking about the development of Chicano Literature, it is inevitable not to mention Quinto Sol. Quinto Sol was the first Chicano publisher in the United States of America which gave voice to the art of Chicano authors. This publisher existed in the late 60s and early 70s. According to Olivia Arrieta (1994), the publisher was founded in 1967, though Leal (1998) identifies this as happening in 1969. Imelda Martín Junquera (2005) and Francisco Lomelí (1993) both indicate that the publisher disappeared in 1974. This short lapse that Quinto Sol had was very significant for Chicano Literature, especially for the Chicano novel as Martín-Rodríguez mentions: "Quinto Sol pugnó por favorecer la novela sobre otros géneros, considerándola el género más capaz de atraer la atención y el respeto en círculos literarios de alcance nacional e internacional" (1995).

Moreover, within the publisher, according to Gurpegui (2003), Octavio Romano and Herminio Ríos, owners of the newspaper *El Grito,* founded an annual award named "Premio Quinto Sol." This award was given to the best Chicano novel of the time. Bruce Novoa (1983) mentions the winners of the *Premio Quinto Sol* in the following order: Tomás Rivera with *... y no se lo tragó la tierra* in 1970, Rufolfo Anaya with *Bless Me, Última* in 1971, Rolando Hinojosa with *Estampas del Valle y otras obras* in 1972, and in this same year Estela Portillo-Trambley with *Rain of Scorpions and Other Writings*. Although, Imelda Martín Junquera (2005) mentions that Estela Portillo- Trambley won the Quinto Sol award in 1974. The winners of the Quinto Sol prize were awarded a thousand dollars according to Francisco Arturo Rosales (1996) along with the publication of their novel. Francisco Lomelí (1993) agrees with the order that Bruce Novoa provides of the winners and adds the year in which each one's novel was published: *... y no se lo tragó la tierra* was published in 1971, *Bless Me, Última* was published in 1972, *Estampas*

del Valle y otras obras was published in 1973 and *Rain of Scorpions and Other Writings* was published in 1975.

As already mentioned right above, Imelda Martín Junquera (2005) and Francisco Lomelí (1993) state that *Quinto Sol Publications* disappeared in 1974. Therefore, Portillo- Trambley's *Rain of Scorpions and Other Stories* was not published by Quinto Sol. It was published by Tonatiuh International, another Chicano publisher, in 1975. Consequently, Estela Portillo-Trambley was only a winner of the Quinto Sol award, but not a published author. In addition, Lomelí (1993) mentions that Estela Portillo-Trambley and Rolando Hinojosa shared the award in 1972, and if the dates that Bruce-Novoa mentions are taken into account, the same fact may be true.

In addition to The Quinto Sol award, Gurpegui (2003) states that some critics consider it as "la piedra angular" or the future of Chicano Literature. Quinto Sol publications brought a wave of authors that has been of considerable importance for Chicano Literature named "La Generación Quinto Sol." This generation may be considered from two standpoints: the authors that won the Quinto Sol award, and the writers whose art was published by Quinto Sol Publications through its short lapse.

Among the contributions that Quinto Sol brought to the Chicano community, it promoted the creation of a Chicano identity by breaking the stereotypes generated within society. Martín-Rodríguez writes: "La labor literaria del grupo Quinto Sol fue trascendental en la promoción de una nueva imagen de los chicanos; una imagen que se apartara de los estereotipos vigentes en los medios de comunicación y que reflejara el sentir y el punto de vista chicano" (Martín-Rodríguez, 1995: 63). In order to reflect these feelings and Chicano perspectives, authors made a fusion of cultures (Mexican, Indigenous Mexican, and American) and their historical backgrounds.

Several Quinto Sol writers reflected their ethnical origins by writing in Spanish, or by alternating Spanish-English. Only few were the authors who opted for English in their works, for instance: Rudolfo Anaya in *Bless Me, Última*. Other than language, in the description of Chicano identity, Quinto Sol authors brought up traditional paradigms from Mexican and Indigenous cultures especially. In the fusion of the aforementioned cultures, Quinto Sol authors mostly challenged traditional behaviors. For instance, they tested faith within religion. Consequently, Chicanos who believe in "good" versus "evil" binary extremes may not have full identification with this literary production. With this style of writing, the authors of the Chicano period have encouraged the reader to be more critical inside and outside of the text in order to grow ideologically.

Common literary themes

The Chicano community has employed literature since the first writings to talk about the fusion of Mexican American cultures and to manifest social protest in the United States. The "epic" poem, as Rodolfo Acuña (1976) describes it, *I Am Joaquín* (1967) by "Corky" Gonzales was able to perform this magic. Through this poem the various elements that would make up Chicano identity came together for one of the first times under the name "Chicano" (Hartley, 2003). For instance, on the historical end, Gonzales addresses the civilizations that give birth to Joaquín as it may be clearly observed in this part of the poem:

> I am Cuauhtémoc,
> proud and noble,
> leader of men,
> king of an empire
> civilized beyond the dreams
> of the Guachupín Cortés,
> who also is the blood,
> the image of myself.
> I am Netzahualcóyotl
> great leader of the Chichimecas.
> I am the sword and flame of Cortés
> the despot
> And
> I am the eagle and the serpent of the Aztec civilization.
> (Hartley, 2003: 244)

For Hartley it is interesting to see how Joaquín is both the "conqueror" and the "conquered" as it may be projected with the presence of Hernán Cortés and Cuauhtémoc. Despite falling to the hands of the Spaniards, through Joaquín, Gonzales brings his roots as a Mexican before being a Chicano. Then, this part of the poem projects the inclusion of historical and cultural aspects within Chicano writing. In the first of the following lines, one is able to witness the utilization of Chicano texts for social protest:

> I am Joaquín,
> lost in a world of confusion, caught up in the whirl of a
> gringo society,
> confused by the rules,

scorned by attitudes,
suppressed by manipulation,
and destroyed by modern society.
(Hartley, 2003: 243)

In this case Joaquín clearly describes an uncomfortable state in the American society in which he resides, "Gringos," "the rules," and "the manipulation" are some terms that Gonzales employs to reflect what the Chicano feels in American society.

On the use of Chicano Literature for social protest Rodríguez writes: "He aquí pues el postulado básico de toda la literatura chicana: testimoniar la vida particular y, por consiguiente, universal del chicano para asegurarle su sitio correspondiente en la familia de la raza humana, sitio que le pertenece por derecho propio, no divino, ni diabólico" (1973: 8). For Rodríguez, Chicano literature is a vehicle that demands nothing else but the right to be human and to be treated as such.

Among the themes that Chicano Literature has dealt with for social manifestation are the struggle of the working class, equality among genders, traditionalism (religion, family roles), acculturation, education, among others. On the other hand, some themes that have been used in Chicano Literature to embrace the cultural and historical sense are historical characters (leaders as in *I Am Joaquín*, family, acculturation, trips (within Mexico / Mexico – United States), and gastronomy, to mention some. Then, the Chicano literature consumer is invited to reflect on the manifestations, culture and history of such community.

The encounter of good and evil

In the construction of their identity and ideology Chicanos commonly address Mexican Mestizo and Indigenous culture as their origins. One particular manner in which these cultures influence the Chicano literature and ideology is in the belief of good and evil. Thomas Bauder summarizes these two extremes in Nahua culture in the following words:

The Nahuatl universe consists first of the sky, ruled by the powerful god of the sun. Below the sky is the earth, which has a center, protected by the sun, where the Nahua live. At the periphery is the forest, which the sun does not always penetrate. Here devils from below the earth attempt to steal souls through temptation and the practice of black magic. White magic must be practiced to counter the powers of the devil. Health, knowledge, religion, and the performance of

everyday tasks all rely upon magic. To be effective, practitioners must follow intricate rituals which have evolved over the centuries. (1986)

It is through the existence of a Lord and devils in which these two sides exist in the Chicano community. Additionally, to this way of thinking, Spanish culture may also be taken into account with the imposition of Catholicism upon the conquest of Mexican lands. As mentioned before, one of the themes of Chicano Literature is religion. There are authors who favor the trends and symbols of religion, while there are others who do the opposite. Novoa writes: "Con la sociedad en desorden, bien cabría esperar que los chicanos buscaran refugio en sus tradicionales creencias religiosas, pero las novelas desafían seriamente esa supuesta fe" (1983). An example of a novel that challenges the good and evil ideologies in Chicano culture, is that of *Borderlands: The New Mestiza* by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987). In this text the author discusses the integration of the New Chicana based on a traditional ideology and invites her to be more critical and not to fall into the culture that society imposes, primarily through a masculine domination.

Moreover, Leal sees this existence of good and evil as a "trap" for the Chicano author when it comes to presenting his work, "The danger here is that, in order to avoid a negative presentation of the Chicano, the writer falls into the trap of Manichaeism and the lack of ambiguity" (1979 / 2007). The existence of good and evil is then a barrier for the Chicano writer. The Chicano author is closed in a corner where he could be letting go of the possibilities of interconnection with the rest of the world. On the counter part, if the Chicano writer decides to encourage this interconnection, he may reach it through a universal literature. In this type of literature, the Chicano intends to leave aside the parts of his culture which may be complex for other nations to relate to. A strategy that the Chicano author has used to reach this universal trend is the use of magic in literature, known as "magical realism." Imelda Martín Junquera describes the narration of "magical realism" as follows:

El realismo mágico efectivamente postula un tipo de lector que se involucre en el texto, un lector implícito que actualice la obra con su lectura y la acerque al terreno de la realidad en la que se mueve. Las claves de esta realidad las posee, por tanto, el lector que las interpreta de acuerdo con "las experiencias propias o las propias realidades del mundo" (Warning, 137), del mundo que conoce y en el que vive. La narración, por tanto, en gran medida, se califica de mágico realista en tanto en cuanto, el lector que la actualice traiga a la obra una perspectiva determinada, igual o bien, diferente de aquella bajo la cual se creó, es decir, el

lector debe poseer una cierta competencia literaria para decodificar el texto. (Martín Junquera, 2005)

In this type of literature, the reader is captured by the writer in a world of unrealities where he can find his realities. Therefore, the interpretation of the reader carries a very significant role in Magical Realism. But also, the writer has to find a smart way to get to the reader. This goal may be achieved when the author describes a mythical environment in his literature. For instance, when the author gives humane qualities to animals, plants, or even places. The reader has the opportunity to put these under "real terms" according to his context. By creating this opportunity for the reader, literature surpasses borders. But the fact that it has a universal potential and it surpasses borders does not make Chicano Literature relevant for every sector on Earth.

The audiences who share similarities with the Chicano community are the ones who have better chances of relating to this literature. For instance, sectors on the planet who face migration circumstances or are overpowered by another culture in a territory which once was theirs could relate to this literature. Therefore "regional" social protests are a limitation if the author desires to touch different sectors in the world. Leal (1979 / 2007) writes: "Why should the Chicano experience be limited to the campesino struggle, the description of life in the barrio, or social confrontation with the majority culture? Why can it go beyond to include the universal nature of man?" (1979 / 2007).

In addition to the universalism of literature, Segade (1973) states: "Some of us are turning that kind of experience (universal meaning) into literature, and in that way we are in communication and communion with Russians, Native Americans, Englishmen, Asians, Africans, and all the other *batos* and *rucas* around this flimsy planet" (1973). A universal manifestation is unquestionably the best piece of art for humanity because of its humanism. The fact is that these pieces of work are not constantly reproduced. Generating texts that reflect realities and cross boundaries is a complicated goal. "It is not just a way of imitating reality, it is a way of creating it" (Segade,1973).

Chicana literature

According to Theresa Delgadillo (2004) some of the first pieces of work from Chicanas are the narrations of Maria Cristina Mena in the 1910s, Josephina Niggli's *Mexican Village* in 1945, *We Fed them Cactus* from Fabiola Cabeza de Baca in 1953, and the novels of Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton *Who Would Have Thought It?* from 1872 and *The Squatter and the Don* from 1885. These last two novels

were published in a silent voice: "[...] la primera anónima y la segunda bajo el seudónimo C. Loyal y por lo tanto hasta hace poco desconocidas [...]" (Leal, 1998). Here then, one is able to observe the oppression of women by society in general.

Though, the first Chicano authors, mainly in the genre of poetry, wrote in pseudonyms. Some authors switched their names while others simply opted to sign their art with initials. Raymund Paredes (1978) makes reference to the anonym verses in New Mexico and mentions that due to the high reproduction of these in Spanish language newspapers, the editor of *La Aurora* in Santa Fe published an item named "Remedios para la Versonomía" (Remedies for Versemania) in 1884. Within the genre of novel, Arturo Flores (1997) shares that research in look for the first Chicano novel falls upon *Deudas Pagadas* written by an anonymous author in 1875 and published by Revista Católica in Las Vegas, New México. If the Chicano community faced oppression as a whole, imagine the oppression that the Chicana women dealt with by being seen as less in their culture and in the dominant one. Like this case of writing texts and publishing them anonymously or pseudonymously in women, several people published poems in the first Chicano newspapers. Then, one is able to see the chain reaction of power among the dominant class, inferior classes, men, and women in the end.

Furthermore, on Chicana Literature, Raymund Paredes describes Maria Mena's objective in the following words: "She aimed to portray Mexican culture in a positive light, but with great decorum; as a consequence, her stories seem trivial and condescending" (1978). He adds:

> She tried to depict her characters within the boundaries of conventional American attitudes about Mexico. She knew what Americans liked to read about Mexico so she gave it to them: quaint and humble inditos, passionate señoritas with eyes that "were wonderful, even in a land of wonderful eyes," a dashing caballero or two "with music in their fingers." All these characters in a country Mena described as "the land of resignation." (Paredes, 1978)

It may be inferred that Mena is possibly obstructed by a social commitment to American society and deletes social political issues from her literature. Differently said, Chicano culture and social protest are distant relatives rather than siblings. In this same text under the heading of The Evolution of Chicano Literature, Paredes describes Niggli's intentions in *Mexican Village* in the following manner: "[...] Niggli was pointing to the Mexican-American as a distinctive type, as someone apart from both the *mexicano* and the *yanqui* who could build his own identity on the foundation of two cultures" (Paredes, 1978). Paredes adds:

> [...] Mexican Village also pointed forward to an emerging school of realism, confronting such issues as racism, the oppression of women and the failure of the Mexican Revolution. Before Niggli, no writer of fiction in the United States, with the possible exception of Katherine Anne Porter, had so vividly depicted the fundamental tensions in Mexican life: the sometimes volatile interaction of Spanish and Indian cultures, the profound sense of history and traditionalism pulling against the fascination with that which is modern and voguish. (1978)

Then, in difference to Mena, Niggli brings hybridity among cultures from an argumentative position. In the first place, Niggli invites the reader to reflect upon Chicano identity. The Chicano is built with the mixture of Mexican and American ideologies. Secondly, she confronts society and speaks for the least heard. She does such by writing against the traditionalist origins found in Mexican Mestizo and Indigenous cultures that promote oppressive behavior towards women. Moreover, Niggli generates social reflection on the treatment of the Chicano in America. Thirdly, Niggli embraces historical issues concerning Chicano culture by dealing with the Mexican Revolution.

There are critics who mention that the Chicano Movement serves Chicana Literature as an impulse. Among these, Theresa Delgadillo writes: "Con el surgimiento del movimiento chicano -artístico, literario y político- de los años sesenta y setenta, más mujeres chicanas lograron publicar generalmente en pequeñas imprentas regionales" (2004: 65). Even though the Chicano movement generated an increase in the production of Chicana literature, this does not mean that it supported feminist production to its totality, Norma Alarcón states:

> La generación vigente de escritoras surgió a la sombra del movimiento sociopolítico chicano y a la del movimiento feminista angloamericano.El primero se caracteriza por una voz y perspectiva cultural sumamente masculina, y el segundo por la voz feminista de la mujer blanca de clase media. (López, Malagamba, Urrutia; 1990)

Alarcón provides a different feminist vision of the Chicano Movement by marking the powerless situation from which Chicanas took the force to speak for their group, and for others. In addition to this feminist perception of the Chicano movement Angie Chabram- Dernersesian adds:

> With this gender objectivation, the silenced Other, Chicanas/ hembras, are thus removed from full-scale participation in the Chicano movement as fully embod-

ied, fully empowered U.S. Mexican female subjects. They are not only engendered under malinchismo but their gender is disfigured at the symbolic level under malinchismo, an ideological construct signifying betrayal which draws inspiration from the generic Malinche. (Chabram Dernersesian, 1991: 83; Arango Keeth, 1993: 109)

Chabram-Dernersesian brings up a significant term for the Chicana in her manifestation within the Chicano Movement, "Malinche." The Chicana is considered a "Malinche" because she has "betrayed" her culture. She has "betrayed" Chicano culture in the sense that Chicanos are confronting the Anglo culture, and instead of supporting their ideals, which mainly rely on "macho" tendencies, she challenges theirs at the same time she does to the Anglo one. The Chicana joins minorities in the U.S. in their search for equality among rights and humanity. Arango-Keeth supports this in the following quote: "El movimiento chicano recibe esta participación como una traición a la 'raza' y como prueba de una transculturación; sanciona a la mujer/chicana acusándola de alienada debido a su relación con otros grupos marginalizados de la sociedad norteamericana" (1993: 110). Briefly and "traditionally" said, the role of the Chicana is to walk in the footprints of the male in order not to be an "alienada," as Arango Keeth notes.

The oppression of Chicana women dates back to their cultural origins; Yabro-Bejarano states: "the power, the permission, the authority to tell stories about herself and other chicanas comes from her cultural, racial/ethnic and linguistic community" (1988; Ibarrarán, 2001). The ethical origins of the Chicana are from Mexican Mestizo and Indigenous culture, two cultures which are tied to the beliefs of "good" and "evil," and are much influenced by religion. In these two poles the human being must always seek all that relates to being "good." A good Mexican woman, in the words of Octavio Paz, fits the following description among society:

La mujer mexicana, como todas las otras es un símbolo que representa la estabilidad y continuidad de la raza. A su significación cósmica se alía la social: en la vida diaria su función consiste en hacer imperar la ley y el orden, la piedad y la dulzura. (1986; Arango-Keeth, 1993)

It is believed that by following this "law," women and their sweetness maintains cultures alive, "beneficial cultures." Additionally, culture brings "harmony" to humanity; therefore, its preservation must be encouraged among everything. This beautifulness of culture is visualized by Gloria Anzaldúa in the following form:

> Culture forms our beliefs. We perceive the version of reality that it communicates. Dominant paradigms, predefined concepts that exist as unquestionable, unchallengeable, are transmitted to us through culture. Culture is made by those in power – men. (1987)

This power relationship puts the Chicana in a double battle. On the one side, the Chicana is facing her ethnical origins, and on the other hand, she is confronting the American outcomes. Firstly, in her encounter with Mexican Mestizo and Indigenous culture, the Chicana defies "sexuality and homosexuality" as Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) mentions. This reflects one of the aims of Chicana Literature by involving other "minority" groups such as male/female gay. Secondly, in her encounter with American culture, the Chicana faces discrimination more than anything. Within this category she bumps into racism which is linked to opportunities.

Chicana women are discriminated against for having an "Indian" appearance in the land of the attractive "Latina" or in the land of the good-looking "güera." Because of looking "india," and other reasons such as educational background, the oppressed Chicana woman does not have many opportunities when it comes to progression. A great number of Chicanas work as maids and are treated as servants. Outward appearance surpasses the importance of Chicanas' souls. Ibarrarán writes: "El alma de la mujer chicana, su espíritu, su verdadero 'yo', ha sido mantenido siempre en silencio, obligándole a dar a conocer una imagen falsa y exterior de su verdadera personalidad" (1999). Not only is the Chicana oppressed to meet the expectations concerning physical appearance, but also to speak in the tone of femininity in a male dominant world.

In this war that the Chicana has with the Anglo and ethnic cultures, Gloria Anzaldúa believes that the triumph of the Chicana is in the process of mestizaje:

> The new mestiza copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity. She learns to be an Indian in Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an Anglo point of view. She learns to juggle cultures. (Anzaldúa, 1987: 101)

This means that the Chicana takes what is of her convenience from the cultures that influence her ideology (Mexican Mestizo, Indigenous, and American). The mestiza builds a humane identity and seeks for the progression of the soul by breaking nonexistent barriers in life. These barriers are the creations of the "ones in power," but even though these creations "exist," soul survival must dominate. "Survival may signify that 'you must live sin las fronteras (without borders)' and 'be a crossroads' but to do so requires activism and not simply being

born and racialized, gendered mestiza in the borderlands" (Saldívar-Hull, 1991; Anzaldúa, 1987).

Chicana Literature intends to expose "the borders" that the American and ethnic cultures set through her path. Also, she expects to generate an activist attitude in the reader to fight for human rights in a world that was given and not sold to us. The Chicana may represent her groups with either a peaceful voice or a violent voice in literature. She may reach her audience in a peaceful voice through the creation of characters that manifest their unconformities in an indirect manner. These types of characters may require more critical thinking from the reader in the deduction of the message through the text. For instance, Chicana authors may accomplish this through magical realism where animals, objects, or places have human qualities, and, therefore, peacefully give voice to human manifestations, specifically to the feminine voice. Another important example of the calm voice of Chicana manifestations is the matrilineal representation. Pharafrasing Naomi Ruth Lowinsky (1992), Arango-Keeth writes: "define la representación matrilineal con la metáfora del 'viaje' que realiza cada mujer para explorar sus lazos de parentesco en la raíz femenina de su identidad" (1993: 110). Arango-Keeth continoues:

> Sostiene además que esta ilación de la práctica femenina se instala en tres figuras de la estructura matrilineal de parentesco: la abuela, la madre y la hija. Los tres roles corresponden a la figurativización de la antigua y sagrada trinidad femenina que temporalmente genera la conexión entre el presente, el pasado y el futuro, "maiden, mother, and crone" (xvii). (1993)

The character of the grandmother in Chicano Literature is then powerful enough to make the reader aware of the development that women have had in the family. She promotes a visualization of three different generations. The grandmother (the past) is attached to the traditional beliefs of cultural origins. The mother (the present) is commonly under a role where she is destroying what has been considered a good mother in the past years. And the daughter (the future) is the new mestiza which is influenced by her cultural origins (brought by the grandmother) and the contemporary ones (brought by the mother).

On the violent atmosphere that Chicana Literature may bring, there are authors who opt for a direct form of expressing their unconformities in the dominating culture. In their rights to be heard, various Chicana writers confront the ruling culture explicitly. For instance, in response to the disrespectful tradi-

tional male tendency of seeing women as objects, Evangelina Vigil responds to certain men in the following manner with her poem "Para los que piensan con la verga (with due apologies to those who don't)":

lost cause
ya no queda energía mental
y ni siquiera señas
del sincero deseo
de tratar de alivianarle la mente
al hombre bien perdido
en el mundo de nalgas y calzones

se trata de viejos repulsivos
tapados con cobijas de asqueroso sexismo
agarrándose los huevos
a las escondidas
with brain cells
displaced / replaced
by sperm cells
concentrating:
pumping away
ya no queda energía mental
(Vigil; Ramírez, 1990; López, Malagamba, Urrutia: 1990: 289 - 290)

"En su ataque abierto al machismo, Vigil ha tenido que reflejar y captar esa realidad burda y obscena, y por esa razón le ha sido necesario emplear palabrotas. La realidad obsena del machismo se tiene que confrontar directamente con sus mismas palabras" (Ramírez 1990; López, Malagamba, Urrutia: 1990: 291).

On the side of homosexuality, lesbians have also had a challenging battle with American and Mexican culture. Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) mentions that the Chicana lesbian has to overcome three barriers if she wishes to speak up. The first barrier that the Chicana woman has to overcome is being a woman. In the breaking of this barrier she deals with the oppression of men in her community. The Chicana in general seeks equality in this sense by breaking "macho" tendencies. The second barrier concerns being homosexual. In this barrier Chicana lesbians confront the controversial righteous culture within society, a righteousness promoted by "culture," by men, as Anzaldúa says. In the breaking of both of these barriers not only does the Chicana lesbian confront "macho" ideology

by men, she also has a battle with women who provide more power to this type of behavior. Anzaldúa writes:

> Males make the rules and laws; women transmit them. How many times have I heard mothers and mothers-in-law tell their son to beat their wives for not obeying them, for being hociconas (big mouths), for being callejeras (going to visits and gossip with neighbours), for expecting their husbands to help with the rearing of children and the housework, for wanting to be someone other than housewives? (Anzaldúa, 1987; Ibarrarán, 1999)

The Chicana lesbian is perceived as an "alien" in the sense since she is not following the paths that women "should" follow. She detaches the ideal of forming a family in order to conserve traditional ideals and decides to reach her own power. The third barrier concerns the battle with the American culture. The battle that the best of Chicanos aim to win.

Call her "malinche, mestiza, alienada, mala, rebelde, lesbiana" the Chicana woman has opened her eyes, her mind, her heart, her soul, not for her, for humanity. For the ones who are treated as less or are seen as inferior. She has fought the mirror of society, not society itself. She has shown us that there is something better than being good, being "borderless." Singing like canaries or howling like wolves, the voice of the unheard can and will cross the dessert with no problem, at least this is what a good number of Chicana writers have shown.

CHAPTER III

Chicano language

A description of Chicano language

Chicano language is unquestionably criticized by language purists because of the mixing of languages that tends to occur in it. For instance, in the United States it is often seen as an inferior language because according to the "social standards" only pure English language should be employed. But standpoints like this one could be considered dehumanizing since race integrity is marginalized by imperialist languages. On the other hand, linguists with humanistic tendencies favor language variations such as "English Plus" (Sollors, 1998; Martin, 2005) and "Weird English" (Chi'en, 2004; Taitano, 2007).

On "English Plus," Sollors writes: "Would not a focus on 'English plus other languages' mean a further strengthening of English as the public language and a clearer understanding of language rights of minorities (and thus be likely to reduce social conflicts), bringing about a higher degree of literacy in English as well as more bilingual and multilingual fluency for everybody...?" (1998: 3; Martin, 2005: 414). This "English Plus" that Sollors encourages, is therefore opposite to the conservative standpoint of language "English Only" (Sollors, 1998: 3; Martin, 2005: 414), which does not favor the alternation of languages. Evelyn Chi'en's "Weird English" shares similar roots with "English Plus:" "While she studies a disparate group of writers, she argues that the new Englishes they produce destabilize the established standard language and permit other languages to share the status enjoyed by English; these writers also unapologetically break the rules of English" (Torres, 2007). Therefore, "Weird English," she mentions, "wants to do more with English than communicate *what* the subject is; it also wants to show *who* the speaker is and *how* the speaker can appropriate the language" (Taitano, 2007).

Paraphrasing Torres (2007) on Chi'en's "Weird English," Chi'en notices that some authors she studied intend to create a "third world" that speaks for the

limited communities in the English language setting. In this "third world" that Chi'en identifies, the bicultural individual finds an interface where he takes from the cultures that influence him, at least two, and integrates what is satisfying for him in a third phase. An illustration of this "third space" is the "interlingualism" that Bruce-Novoa suggests: "*Bilingualism* [emphasis added] implies moving from one language code to another; *interlingualism* [emphasis added] implies the constant tension of the two at once" (Bruce-Novoa, 1982; Martin, 2005).

In her book *Borderlands: The New Mestiza* (1987) Gloria Anzaldúa mentions eight different linguistic varieties that the Chicano communities may employ to communicate: Standard English, Working class and Slang English, Standard Spanish, Standard Mexican Spanish, North Mexican Spanish dialect, Chicano Spanish (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California have regional variations), Tex-Mex, and Pachuco (called caló). She adds that there are several varieties employed because the Chicano population is a "complex heterogeneous people" (1987). Another Chicano language variety independent from Anzaldúa is that of Chicano English studied by Carmen Fought (2003). Here the Chicano community speaks English, but it speaks its own English, right or wrong. One more linguistic variety that the Chicano community and other Latinos employ English is Spanglish (Stavans, 2003). In this variety there is a high degree of mixing between Spanish and English. For example, in the following passage of the translation that Stavans does of *Don Quijote de la Mancha* to Spanglish we can see this mixture:

> In un placete de La Mancha of which nombre no quiero remembrearme, vivía, not so long ago, uno de esos gentlemen who always tienen una lanza in the rack, una buckler antigua, a skinny caballo y un grayhound para el chase. (Stavans, 2003: 253)

Independently of the variety of the language used by Chicanos, mixing is constantly present. Mixing represents a lot to the Chicano community and to other minorities. Cantero and Stewart describe codeswitching as follows:

> Se establece como una vía para crear una 'nuevo' yo, una conciencia de dos herencias, de dos lenguas. El cambio de código funciona como un esfuerzo consciente para juntar las potencialmente dicótomas caras del ser. (Cantero and Stewart, 2002: 206)

As it may be observed, Cantero and Stewart make reference to a phase that emerges from the two cultures that influence the switcher called *nuevo yo*. This

phase may be associated to Chi'en's "third world" (2004) and Bruce Novoa's "interlingualism" (1983) concerning space. This phase has a linguistic motivation and a political one. The linguistic side is characterized by the alternation that the Chicano uses. On the other hand, the political side is characterized by the presence that the Chicano community is demanding in society.

A political, cultural and humane approach

As it has just been pointed out, Chicano language may be studied in three different perspectives in language alternation: a political, cultural, and a humane one. In the cultural perspective, Chicano language intends to give the reader insight of the ideological and historical origins. Mixing in this cultural sense is commonly done on the lexical level. Language alternation serves as a vehicle to spread culture: "As we shall see, even with a language that is not widely known in the US, the use of the author's heritage language in a work strengthens the tie between the author's work and the heritage culture, making that culture more accessible to the reader" (Martin, 2005: 411). But how is culture present with language alternation in Chicano Literature? Where is it used?

One of the forms in which Chicano authors motivate culture through language switching is by utilizing poetry and songs in their work. This is mainly done in novels. The most common path to establish cultural presence in this context is with the insertion of lexical items. When authors insert lexical units, these carry a strong cultural meaning the majority of the time. The words that authors usually insert are quite frequent in Anglo culture. Because of this frequency, these words become borrowings. Martín-Rodriguez mentions the following areas in which borrowings take place: "Los préstamos del español al inglés, más abundante de lo que en principio se suele reconocer, son numerosos en varios campos léxicos, sobre todo el de la ganadería, agricultura, minería y gastronomía" (1995: 29). Out of these categories, the one that has provided more Spanish origin words to English has been the area of gastronomy.

The political perspective of language alternation deals with the position that the Chicano demands for the Latino society with Spanish language. For instance, some authors include Spanish in their works to claim a space just as words do in a physical world (the text). Of course, the amount and style of inserting Spanish language varies among writers. For instance, in the following lines Pérez-Torres marks the importance that the insertion of Spanish language carries through mere words:

> [...] the Chicana[/o] transforms the positions of power implicit in the choice of linguistic expression. language becomes a marker of displacement and reclamation, a marker of self-identity and self-empowerment. It is also a way of manifesting history with every word. The presence of Spanish is a presence through history of discrimination and exploitation. Every Spanish word represents a refusal to capitulate to English ethnocentricity. (Pérez-Torres, 1995: 227; Martin, 2005: 414)

This ethnocentricity that English has had is projected in the accessibility that the monolingual reader has to Latino culture and language. How accessible is Spanish language in Chicano Literature?

Furthermore, the humane perspective of language alternation in Chicano Literature concerns the breaking of barriers. Firstly, correctness among language is neglected. Language alternation is a way of communicating that contains the exact same value as any other language. What the author seeks by utilizing language alternation is to give voice to the marginalized community. In this sense, the writer wishes to demonstrate that social barriers are undone with unity and understanding.

In addition, cultural knowledge is transcendent and contagious. Examples of this are the Mexican words that have indigenous roots and touch other cultures. For instance, "tamal" is borrowed from Nahuatl to Mexican Spanish. Then, "tamal" reaches other Spanish varieties. Afterwards, and as it may be noted in English (tamale), "tamal" has reached other languages. Because of this, authors in the humane perspective desire a global culture. In this optimistic standpoint there is no room for an affirmative sentence or a negative one. There is only room for questions. And these are to be solved by the individual that is next to the other which embraces the cultural origin of the question.

The accessibility of Spanish in Chicano literature

Lourdes Torres in *In the Contact Zone: Code-switching Strategies by Latino/a Writers* mentions four strategies in which the Latino writer makes Spanish accessible to the monolingual and bilingual reader: "the use of easily accessible Spanish, translation, untranslated Spanish, and word or phrasal calques" (2007). When saying "the use of easily accessible Spanish" Torres is referencing the Spanish that the monolingual English Speaker can identify with ease. She provides the following examples: "... food (mango, taco, tortilla, etc.), places (casa, rancho, playa, etc.), familiar common nouns (mamá, hermano, hijo, etc.)." (2007). When Torres refers to "easily accessible Spanish," she is not only referring to

Spanish words that are not part of English, but also to borrowed words that have a Mexican or Latino origin. In this first strategy the author tends to mark the inserted language. For example, some authors italicize language or use glossaries: "The *tamales* I mean to buy are *exquisitos*. And as for the *nata*, you shall have it for your breakfast, God willing" (Cisneros, 2002).

By the use of the translation strategy, the author intends to provide a sort of semantic equivalence that follows words or phrases in Spanish. As a consequence, some kind of repetition is produced. For example, in the following passage from *Caramelo* one may observe this semantic repetition:

> [...] because by now there were a lot of curious people about, neighbors and those walking down the street to see what they could see, *metiches*, busybodies, *mirones*, oglers, and *mitoteros*, liars/ gossips/ storytellers/ troublemakers all rolled into one. (Cisneros, 2002)

The third strategy by Torres is totally opposite to the second one: untranslated Spanish. In this strategy the reader must be linked to the culture inserted in order to understand cultural meaning to its full. Torres specifies that "...terms are not italicized or marked as foreign in any way" (Torres, 2007). Therefore, when the monolingual runs into the inserted Spanish language, there is a linguistic and sociolinguistic challenge. This may be observed in a section of the novel *Bless Me, Última* (1972) where Anaya does not mark the use of Spanish in any form. For example, in the following passage from the novel itself this strategy may be seen:

> My father had been a vaquero all his life, a calling as ancient as the coming of the Spaniard to Nuevo Méjico. Even after the big rancheros and the tejanos came and fenced the beautiful llano, he and those like him continued to work there [...] (Anaya, 1972: 14-15)

The last strategy, word or phrasal calques, is the most challenging one when it comes to the non-Spanish speaking reader. The presence of Spanish language is opaque. There are no clear words or phrases introduced. The language being introduced may be reflected through syntax and inflection. Torres (2007) provides the example "Aunty White-Skin" which refers to "Titi Blanca" taken from *Caramelo* (Cisneros 2002). Another example of this strategy is: "I needed to talk to someone about, and there I was living my hard times, but like the saying goes, God squeezes but he doesn't choke" (Cisneros, 2002).

Paraphrasing Torres, the first two strategies (accessible Spanish and translation) favor the monolingual reader since not much effort to the understanding of Mexican culture is needed. On the other side, the last two strategies (non-translation and calques) favor the bilingual reader. Although, the bilingual reader needs a bicultural knowledge in order to understand the indirect presence of Spanish language. This means the last two strategies generate a high challenge to the monolingual reader because the unknown culture environment will impede a fluent understanding of the text. To illustrate the political importance of the four strategies that Torres notices, Junot Díaz is quoted on the use of Spanish in his work:

> For me allowing the Spanish to exist in my text without the benefit of italics or quotations marks a very important political move. Spanish is not a minority language. Not in this hemisphere, not in the United States, not in the world inside my head. So why treat it like one? Why "other" it? Why de-normalize it? By keeping Spanish as normative in a predominantly English text, I wanted to remind readers of the mutability of languages. And to mark how steadily English is transforming Spanish and Spanish is transforming English. (Ch'ien, 2004: 204; Torres, 2007: 83)

By observing Diaz's quote and relating it to the four strategies that Torres discusses, it may be clearly observed how he is totally against accessible Spanish (through italics) and translation, and on the contrary, favors non translation and calques since he defends Spanish language as not being a minority one. Then, some authors consider that inserting Spanish language in Chicano Literature with at least lexical items give it presence. But other authors consider this to be an act of inferiority, since Spanish language covers little space in the text and is being flexible to a dominant culture. As a consequence, the authors who are not comfortable with the marking of Spanish in the text believe that it has more presence when the monolingual readers run into it in an unexpected manner.

In summary, the more accessible Spanish language is to the monolingual culture, the more Chicano culture falls to the dominant one. This is reflected in the marketing of Chicano Literature since a great number of writers wish to sell numerous copies of their work and intend to satisfy the dominant culture. On the other hand, the less accessible Spanish language is, the more political it may be in a protester scenario.

CHAPTER IV

Lexical borrowing

A definition of lexical borrowing

One of the first researchers, and most significant ones, to study the phenomenon of borrowing is Einar Haugen in his work *The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing* (1950). To start off, Haugen reflects certain unconformities with calling this linguistic issue borrowing, as can be observed in the following quote:

> The metaphor implied is certainly absurd, since borrowing takes place without the lender's consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan. One might as well call it stealing, were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods. (Haugen, 1950: 211)

In the first statement of the quote one can directly observe the unconformity from Haugen since he describes the metaphor of borrowing as being "absurd." Despite the unconformity, Haugen mentions that there does not seem to be an "apt" manner to address the phenomenon up to publication of the article, and he decides to stay with it for his work, but he intends to give it the most "precise" interpretation. He describes borrowing as follows: "The heart of our definition of borrowing is then THE ATTEMPTED REPRODUCTION IN ONE LANGUAGE OF PATTERNS PREVIOUSLY FOUND IN ANOTHER" (Haugen, 1950). Then, it may be implied that borrowing is a type of imitation that a language user does based on certain particles that he wishes to incorporate to his language.

Another way of visualizing borrowing other than imitation is from the perspective of adoption. Hock and Joseph (1996) do this in their definition of the phenomenon: "the adoption of individual words or even of large sets of vocabulary items from another language or dialect" (Hock & Joseph, 1996). In both of the approaches to the term borrowing, it may be seen how both authors do not limit such to single words. Einar Haugen does not mention that borrowing

takes place in a larger scale, but he does not provide the opposite. He leaves it open to the reader by referring to "patterns." On the other side, Hock & Joseph (1996) are more direct in their definition among scale. They mention that this linguistic phenomenon does not only include the insertion of single words, but it also includes expressions, or more than one word.

Returning to the way of addressing this linguistic phenomenon, while Einar Haugen does not propose something different regardless of his unconformity with the term, and attempts to give the best understanding of this linguistic circumstance, other authors believe that instead of borrowing this phenomenon could be referred to differently because of its false metaphor (borrow/steal). For instance, Martin Haspelmath (2009: 37) quotes Clyne (2004) and Johanson (2002), suggesting different names for this phenomenon other than borrowing:

> Of course, the term borrowing is based on a strange metaphor (after all, the donor language does not expect to receive its words back), so a term like *transfer* or *transference* (e.g. Clyne 2004) would be preferable. Even better is Johanson's (2002) term *copying*, because the transfer metaphor still suggests that the donor language loses the element in question. (Haspelmath, 2009)

Then, of the three different possibilities provided to make reference to such phenomenon (transfer, transference, and copying), Martin Haspelmath seems to prefer copying since in transference the language that "lends" loses the linguistic particle. If one goes back to the way in which Haugen addresses borrowing (THE ATTEMPTED REPRODUCTION IN ONE LANGUAGE OF PATTERNS PREVIOUSLY FOUND IN ANOTHER), the "reproduction" of a previous language implies imitation, repetition, or copying as Johanson (2002) calls it.

The integration and identification of lexical borrowings

In the process of imitation from one language to another the borrower intends to do the best imitation of the patterns being borrowed. One of the first linguistic aspects that a borrower may intend to imitate is the phonological representation of the language being borrowed. Though, this process contains noticeable complications since sounds will vary in languages as Hock & Joseph observe: "The major difficulty with borrowing from a foreign language is that languages may diverge considerably in their phonology" (1996). Here then, as much as the borrower intends to do the best imitation of sounds, the native sounds that the borrower employs are reflected. For example, if American English borrows a Mexican Spanish word that contains an orthographic "rr" or phonetically iden-

tified as an intense retroflex, let's say "barrio," the reproduction of the item has certain phonological modifications since this strong retroflex from Mexican Spanish is not frequent in American English.

Although there exist language users (bilinguals majorly) who may pronounce a pattern as in the language from which it comes from, they would sound awkward at a social level, and some people who employ the standard pronunciation of the borrowed particle may not understand what this language user is saying, or even make "corrections." In other words, it does not matter how similar a person pronounces a borrowing according to its origin to be "correct" because at the end the society in which this person interacts sets the standard. In the following example, it may be observed how this social standard predominates as a person with a Chicano background talks to a monolingual English American about a location:

— What part of Texas are you from?
— Amarillo.
— Amarelo, you mean.
— I suppose.
(Alarcón, 1981; Callahan, 2004: 6)

But still, because a sound is complex to reproduce for the language borrowers, as it has been demonstrated with the retroflex this does not imply that a new sound may be brought to the borrowing language as Hock and Joseph point out with vocabulary: "Vocabulary may also introduce new SOUNDS, or new contexts for old sounds" (1996). As it may be observed, not only may new sounds be introduced, but old sounds acquire new interpretations.

Another aspect that may be modified in the process of borrowing is orthography. Sometimes because of the tie to the phonological reproduction, or simply because a borrowed pattern seems weird, it is modified with characteristics that make it more productive in the borrowing language. An example of a borrowed language particle from Mexican origin that goes through modifications in American English is *sarape* (in Mexican Spanish), which is adjusted to *serape* (in American English). Another example in which a borrowing goes through more modification is *vamos* (in Spanish), which is modified to *vamoose*. In the case of *serape,* it may be observed that the modification of the borrowed particle is through substitution, letter "e" for letter "a" (serape for sarape). On the other side, in *vamoose* one is able to see an addition of letters, letters "o" and "e" (vamoose for vamos). If addition and substitution of letters are present, it would not be surprising to see borrowers omit letters in the modification process. This

omission may be observed in the lexical item *caramelo* from Spanish to American English *caramel* where the final "o" is eliminated in American English.

Besides the phonological and orthographic characteristics of integration, borrowings may also reflect adjustments in grammatical functions. Hock and Joseph mention that lexical borrowings, in this case, may bring new syntactic patterns to the language that borrows (1996). Then, the part of speech that a lexical item contains may require that the language that is borrowing (a lexical unit in this case) do some modifications for it to have the same use, which is the purpose. Furthermore, and in this context of lexical borrowings, they may expand morphological knowledge as Hock and Joseph observe: "[...] through vocabulary borrowing other linguistic elements may be acquired. For instance, extensive vocabulary borrowing can introduce new morphology" (1996). In contrast to syntactic modification because of a borrowing, it is less probable for a language user to observe the new morphology that a borrowing may bring.

So far, it has been seen that a borrowing may go through a phonological, orthographic, syntactic, or morphemic modification in its integration to the language which borrows. But behind all of these features, a borrowing has a more concrete function with its integration to a language: it brings more knowledge to a group of individuals from a foreign outcome, or it enriches its semantics. Juan Gómez Capuz signals the following levels in which borrowing (transference for him) occurs: "phonological," "orthographic," "morphological," "semantic," "lexical," "phraseological" (mentioned by Humbley and Meney), and "pragmatic" (suggested by Clyne "Intercultural Communication" and *Perspectives on Language Contact* (1997). With expressions or with individual words, a borrowing brings more history or culture to a group of people. Like this, a borrowing serves as a unifier among nations or regions.

Up to this point the reader has been exposed to the description of borrowing, but still the question remains: how does a language user know when a lexical item is part of his recipient language? Haugen believes that a borrowing forms part of history and history functions as the identifier: "[...] borrowing is a historical process and therefore to be identified only by historical methods" (1950). In this context, books have served humanity to store history, and to bring it back. Concerning language, a reader may consult a book written in his or her language and may see that there are noticeable changes when he or she goes deeper into history. For instance, an English language user may read *Leaves of Grass* by Walt Whitman (1855) and observe the change of American English up to the moment. These time-lapse spaces may generate some complications to the understanding of the text.

The example just mentioned addresses language in a literary context, but there are particular books to store language, more specifically words: dictionaries. In her analysis of thirty Chicano texts, Laura Callahan (2004) employed standard monolingual dictionaries to identify lexical borrowings: "If a word of Spanish or English origin appeared in standard monolingual English or Spanish dictionary, it was encountered as a borrowing" (Callahan 2004). Callahan's strategy to identify borrowings not only functions for her, but it matches to Haugen's idea of employing historical methods to identify borrowings. In this case, Callahan relies on dictionaries as a tool to consult history. In addition, not only does this technique serve to identify borrowings, but it serves to observe the transition. Maybe one thinks a borrowing has a Spanish origin, in the case of the Chicano texts addressed by Callahan, but the dictionary proves something different, or that it has another tie.

Another author who provides a technique for the identification of borrowings is Carol Myers-Scotton (1993). She mentions this strategy to differentiate between borrowing and codeswitching. Callahan writes:

> [...] I suggest an admittedly arbitrary frequency metric to separate CS and borrowed forms. A type must occur in fewer than three different conversations to qualify as a CS form; otherwise, it is considered a borrowed form. (Myers- Scotton, 1993; Callahan, 2004)

By codeswitching, Myers-Scotton refers to foreign language particles which are inserted to a Matrix language. To have an idea of codeswitching it is necessary to identify a Matrix language and an Embedded language. Paraphrasing Myers-Scotton (1993), a Matrix language is the dominant language in a situation. On the other hand, an Embedded language is the language which has less words in a text or linguistic scenario. For instance, in the novel of *Caramelo* the Matrix language is American English since the text is mostly written in this language, and the insertions that Sandra Cisneros does in Spanish are the Embedded language since this language plays a lesser role.

Returning to the differentiation of borrowing and codeswitching it may be observed that Myers-Scotton (1993) employs a frequency metric. Here if a language particle which has a foreign origin to the Matrix language, is employed in less than three different conversations it is considered codeswitching, or somehow still foreign. In contrast, if the language particle which has a foreign origin is used in more than three conversations, it is considered to be a borrowing, and part of the Matrix language. Myers-Scotton's (1993) frequency metric is then similar to Callahan's (2002) dictionary strategy to identify borrowings in

frequency. A word has to be very employed in a community in order to enter the dictionary of such community, or to stay in it. Though these two strategies are alike, Callahan's approaches towards borrowings seems more practical because it is more comfortable to study borrowings or words in a book (dictionary in this case) than to analyze different conversations where language speakers mix languages.

In the process of identifying borrowings, it is of importance not to limit borrowings to the lexical units. In this section, attention has been directed to mere words, but let's not forget that these may be present at a larger scale. For instance, in the New Oxford American Dictionary (2010), one finds "café con leche" which has Spanish as its origin. Here, it may be noticed that such lexeme is formed by three orthographic words (café-con-leche), or words marked by spaces. Moreover, as one can find words stored in dictionaries, so can phrases be found within them or in other books. For example, in the *The Oficial Spanglish Dictionary* (1998), published in the United States, there are several phrases in English that have Spanish syntax, and why not, these could be considered borrowings.

Further, besides lexical borrowing, Michael Clyne identifies another seven types of borrowing: "phonological borrowing, prosodic borrowing, graphemic borrowing, morphemic borrowing (transference of bound morphemes), morphological borrowing (transference of morphological patterns), semantic borrowing (transference of sememes), lexical borrowing (transference of lexemes) and syntactic borrowing (transference of syntactic rules)" (Gómez Capúz, 1997). The point is that by saying that borrowings only take place on the lexical level is even subjective, since a further discussion on what a word is could awake. The point is that there is no limitation, lexical or, otherwise when languages are in contact. If there does not exist a type of borrowing, a type will surge by human nature.

CHAPTER V

Methodology

The identification of lexical borrowing in *Caramelo*

To study the linguistic phenomenon of lexical borrowing in *Caramelo* (Cisneros, 2002) it is necessary to begin with the identification of these words. As mentioned earlier, several Chicano literature authors insert Spanish particles in their texts. These go from orthographic words or even morphemes, to sentences and complete paragraphs. When authors do such in their works, the most common form to find these insertions is with the use of italics in texts that are mostly written in English. Sandra Cisneros inserts from the smallest linguistic unit to the most complete one, and in her work, she tends to follow the well-known technique of italics to mark foreign, mostly Spanish insertions, in the text. In the following passage from *Caramelo* this strategy is observable:

> Breakfast: a basket of *pan dulce*, Mexican sweet bread; hotcakes with honey; or steak; *frijoles* with fresh *cilantro*; *molletes*; or scrambled eggs with *chorizo*; eggs *a la Mexicana* with tomato, onion, and *chile*; or *huevos rancheros.* (Cisneros, 2002)

In Chicano literature, these insertions are in Spanish in the vast majority of contexts. Because of what is being referred to, or in the manner in which it is done, Mexican culture is what the authors in this type of literature tend to address, as it may be observed in the previous example with Mexican food. Because of the scenario of *Caramelo* it may be said that the insertions in Spanish reference Mexican culture.

Then, the first step for the analysis of the lexical borrowings in *Caramelo* is to extract all of the insertions marked with italics in the entire novel. Once this is done, each orthographic word is searched for in the three editions (2001, 2005, and 2010) of the New Oxford American Dictionary (NOAD) in order to see if

it has been incorporated to American lexis according to the dictionary series. This means that the insertion of Spanish in paragraphs and sentences is broken down word by word to be searched for in the dictionary series. The fact that a lexical item is found in the dictionary means that it is a lexical borrowing. This strategy is implemented from Callahan (2002), where she differentiates lexical borrowings and lexical codeswitches in thirty Chicano texts. In the following list, one may observe foreign lexical units marked with italics by Sandra Cisneros:

lárgate! (11)
me das asco (11)
cochino (11)
me mato (11)
me maaaaatooooooooo (11)
ya (11)
Ya pasó (11)
payaso (11)
payaso (11)
el calzón de una puta (11)
tortillas (12)
telenovelas (14)
qué intentas ocultar, Juan Sebastián? qué intentas ocultar? (14) tápame (14)
poncho (15)
hocicos (16)
saltillo (17)
caquita (17)
la jerga (17)
flan (17)
jícama (17)
chile (17)
pirulís (17)
tejocotes (17)
pesos (18)
(Cisneros, 2002)

Each lexical unit is listed with the page number on which it can be found indicated in parenthesis to the right. These insertions were taken from all of the sections of the novel: headings, footnotes, notes, epigraphs, among others. Here, there are cases where a lexical unit is followed by another, or there is a complete sentence or even paragraph. These are not separated when listed,

but at the moment that they are searched for in the dictionary series, they are searched for separately, lexeme by lexeme. In the previous insertions, this may be observed on page 14 of the novel (*qué intentas ocultar, Juan Sebastián? qué intentas ocultar?*). This is also done with certain language particles in which emphasis is added as in page 11 of the novel with "me maaaaatooooooooo." Each lexical unit is consulted as a lexeme preferably, but to make the research more effective, different variations are considered. This was decided because there are cases in which the plural form, or other forms, of the lexical unit appears in the dictionary. For instance, in the case of "nopales" and "grandee." Here too, orthographic variation is taken into account. Furthermore, from the list of insertions provided previously, the lexemes found in the NOAD are "puta, tortilla, telenovela, poncho, caca, flan, jicama, chile, and peso." This is a part of the novel that provides a fair amount of lexical borrowings to the general list.

All of the lexemes listed come as single orthographic words, but there are cases in which the Spanish insertion is searched for and it is found as a compound word. This is the case for "huevos rancheros." It could be expected to find this Mexican dish in two separate orthographic words: "huevos" separated from "rancheros," but this is not the case. Sandra Cisneros employs the expression as it is found in the dictionary series: "huevos rancheros." On the other hand, there are cases when one looks for only one lexeme and not the other (or others that make it a compound word). This is the case of "café." Sandra Cisneros employs "café" in the novel, when one searches for the lexeme in the dictionary it is found as "café" and "café con leche." Both of these entrances are considered in the study because they both refer to the same thing. These cases are considered through the study.

But why is the New Oxford American Dictionary used in this study? Firstly, this dictionary is selected because *Caramelo* embraces an American Context. The author is Chicana, and she is influenced by American and Mexican cultures, but she lives in the U.S. In addition, passages in the novel take place in American scenarios, such as Chicago and San Antonio. Another reason for selecting this dictionary series is the closeness that the first edition (2001) of the dictionary shares with the publication of the novel (2002). As Sandra Cisneros spent a long period of time working on *Caramelo*, so did the dictionary editors. This means that very similar years of vocabulary were shared before the publication of both. In addition, the other two editions of the dictionary (2005 and 2010) provide the possibility to study the Spanish insertions within the novel in almost a decade of time. And the final reason for selecting this dictionary series is because of the extensiveness, since it could increase the chances of finding lexical borrowings.

Once, all of the lexical borrowings in the novel are identified, these are integrated in a general table which includes the lexical borrowings identified in the three editions of the NOAD. Then these borrowings are treated in two sections, but here they only follow the third edition of the dictionary series, which is the most recent one. In the first section, the objective is to trace the origins of the lexical borrowings in the novel and to compare the lexical borrowings that have a Spanish language origin to their adaptation in American English. Though, a little more attention is given to Mexican Spanish (as well as Nahuatl) since it is believed that its culture influences Chicano culture quite significantly. Then, this section begins with the separation of borrowings that have a Spanish language origin and the ones that do not have a Spanish language origin.

Afterwards, these Spanish language lexical borrowings go from general Spanish to Nahuatl origin in order to break down how Mexican the insertions and borrowings that Sandra Cisneros uses in *Caramelo* are. Once the Spanish origins of the lexical borrowings are traced, they are compared to American English on two levels: orthographic and syllabic. In this section, the lexical borrowings involved are taken from the most recent edition of the NOAD (2010). In the second section, the lexical borrowings are studied from an American viewpoint. Here there is a contrast among the three editions of the NOAD in order to observe incorporation and the omission of Spanish language origin lexical units in the past nine years.

In addition, the orthographic transition that the lexical borrowings have had in American English through the dictionary series is analyzed. This part of the study does not only reflect an increase of lexical borrowings over almost a decade, but the social integration that these have had over such time. Then, by approaching the Spanish origin lexical borrowings with a comparison among Spanish itself and a comparison between Spanish and English (American), the reader is encouraged to observe the "Mexicanity and Latinness" in *Caramelo*.

CHAPTER VI

Analysis

The origins of lexical borrowings in *Caramelo*

The objective of the data analysis is to comprehend or break down the general table of borrowings presented here. This is done by observing the evolution of lexical borrowings in a Latino (mostly Mexican) and an American context. Table 0 Totality of Lexical Borrowings provides all of the borrowings that are marked (with italics) and employed by Sandra Cisneros within *Caramelo* according to the NOAD series. The borrowings listed, have origins from several languages. Therefore, there is no specific focus on a language community in this table. The borrowings listed are viewed from a general angle. Throughout the progression of the analysis, different specific tables appear depending on the quality of the borrowings to be observed.

Table 0

Totality of Lexical Borrowings

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin									
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information
1	abrazo			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									
2	albondigas	plural noun		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓								Arabic	South American, Mexican, Spanish
3	americana	plural noun		✓	✓	✓	✓															United States, America
4	amigo	amigos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish speaking areas
5	armadillo	armadillos			✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				Central & South America
6	arroz			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									
7	barrio	barrios		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓								Arabic	Spain, Spanish speaking countries
8	basilica		fem. of basilikos	✓	✓	✓	✓											✓			Greek	Rome
9	bolero	boleros		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish
10	bonito	bonitos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									
11	bravo	bravos		✓	✓	✓					✓						✓		✓			
12	burro	burros		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin									
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information
13	caca			✓	✓	✓	✓											✓				
14	café (cafe)			✓	✓	✓	✓										✓					European
15	café con leche			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									
16	campesino	campesinos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish speaking regions
17	cantina			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓						✓			Southwestern US, Spanish speaking countries, Italy
18	caramel			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓				✓					
19	centavo	centavos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓		ü		Mexico, Brazil, Portugal
20	ceviche (seviche)			✓	✓	✓	✓								✓							South American
21	charro	charros		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓	✓								Mexican
22	chia			✓	✓	✓	✓															California, Great Basin
23	chicharron	chicharrones		✓	✓	✓	✓														American Spanish	Mexican
24	chichi			✓	✓	✓	✓														Japanese	

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin									
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information
25	chicle			✓	✓	✓	✓									✓					Latin American Spanish	
26	chile relleno	chiles rellenos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Mexican
27	chili (chile)	chiles, chilies or Brit. chillies		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓			✓						
28	chocolate			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓			✓	✓					
29	chorizo	chorizos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish
30	churro	churros		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Latin American
31	cicatrix	cicatrices		✓	✓	✓	✓										✓	✓			Middle English	
32	cilantro			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				
33	compadre	compadres		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									
34	concha	conchae		✓	✓	✓	✓											✓				
35	conga		fem. of congo	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓					✓			Latin American Spanish	Latin American, African

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin										
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information	
36	conquistador	conquistadores or conquistadors		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓										
37	copal			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓			✓							
38	coyote	same or coyotes		✓	✓	✓	✓							✓		✓						North America	
39	cumbia			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓								Colombian Spanish	Colombian	
40	curandero	curanderos	fem. of curandera	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				Latin America, Spain	
41	dèjá vu			✓	✓	✓	✓										✓						
42	dengue			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓								West Indian Spanish, Kiswahili		
43	dulce			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓					✓					

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin										
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information
44	enchilada		participle of enchilar	✓	✓	✓	✓														Latin American Spanish	
45	familia	familiae		✓	✓	✓	✓											✓				
46	federal			✓	✓	✓		✓										✓				
47	fiesta			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				Spanish speaking regions
48	finito			✓	✓	✓		✓											✓			
49	flan			✓	✓	✓	✓										✓	✓				West Germanic
50	frijol	frijoles		✓	✓	✓	✓															Mexican
51	frijoles	plural noun pl. of frijol		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Mexican
52	grandee			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish, Portuguese
53	gringo	gringos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish speaking regions, Latin America
54	hombre			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				
55	horchata			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spain, Latin American countries

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin										
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information	
56	huarache (guarache)			✓	✓	✓	✓							✓								Mexican	
57	huevos rancheros			✓	✓	✓	✓																
58	huitlacoche			✓	✓	✓	✓															Mexico	
59	iguana			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓								Arawak	American	
60	ixtle (istle)			✓	✓	✓	✓									✓					American Spanish	Central America, Mexico	
61	jalisco			✓	✓	✓																Mexico	
62	jicama			✓	✓	✓	✓							✓		✓						Central American, Mexican	
63	la niña (niña)			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓										
64	loco			✓	✓	✓		✓					✓										
65	lunar			✓	✓	✓		✓										✓			Middle English		
66	machete			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Central America, Caribbean	

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin										
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information	
67	macramé			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									✓				Turkish, Arabic		
68	maestro	maestri or maestros		✓	✓	✓	✓											✓	✓				
69	maguey			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓								Taino		
70	mango	mangoes or mangos		✓	✓	✓	✓													ü	Dravidian language		
71	manzanilla			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish	
72	mariachi	mariachis		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									
73	marimba			✓	✓	✓	✓													ü	Kimbundu	US, African	
74	matrimonial			✓	✓	✓		✓									✓	✓			Middle English		
75	mesquite			✓	✓	✓	✓								✓							Southwestern US, Mexico	
76	mestizo	mestizos	fem. of mestizo	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				Latin America	
77	mestiza			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				Latin America	
78	mexicano	mexicanos		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓									
79	mole			✓	✓	✓	✓							✓		✓						Mexican	

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin										
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information
80	mulatto	mulattoes or mulattos		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓								Arabic	
81	negrito	negritos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Africa South of the Sahara
82	negro	negroes		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓					✓		ü		
83	nopal	nopales		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓			✓	✓					Mexican
84	nopales				✓	✓	✓															Mexican
85	oyez			✓	✓	✓					✓						✓	✓			Middle English	
86	padre			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓	✓	ü		
87	palapa			✓	✓	✓	✓							✓								Mexican
88	papaya			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓							ü		America
89	patria			✓	✓	✓	✓											✓				
90	peso	pesos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				Mexico, Latin American countries, Philippine, Uruguay
91	piñata			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish speaking communities

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin										
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information	
92	plaza			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓										
93	poblano	poblanos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓										
94	poncho	ponchos		✓	✓	✓	✓								✓						Araucanian	South America	
95	portal			✓	✓	✓	✓										✓	✓			Middle English		
96	pulque			✓	✓	✓	✓									✓					American Spanish	Mexican	
97	puta			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Spanish speaking regions	
98	quesadilla			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓										
99	rebozo	rebozos		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓										
100	rumba (rhumba)			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓								Latin American Spanish	African, Cuba, Spanish	
101	salsa			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓								American Spanish	Latin American	
102	señor	señores or señors		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓					

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin										
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information
103	señora		fem. of señor	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				
104	señorita			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									
105	serape (sarape)			✓	✓	✓	✓							✓								Latin American
106	siesta			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓					✓				
107	solo	solos or soli		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								✓	✓			
108	sombrero	sombreros		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Southwestern US, Mexico
109	taco	tacos		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓	✓								Mexican
110	tamale	tamales		✓	✓	✓	✓							✓		✓						Mexican
111	tamarind			✓	✓	✓	✓											✓			Middle English, Arabic	Asian, African
112	taqueria			✓	✓	✓	✓							✓								Mexican
113	tele			✓	✓	✓						✓									Greek	
114	telenovela (novela)			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Latin America
115	tequila			✓	✓	✓	✓							✓								Mexican

#	Lexeme	Plural	Gender	Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary			Parts of speech						Origin										
				1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb	Exclamation	Abbreviation	Spanish	Mexican Spanish	South American Spanish	Nahuatl	French	Latin	Italian	Portuguese	Other	Complementary Information	
116	tortilla			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Mexican, Spanish	
117	turista			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓										
118	vamoose			✓	✓	✓			✓				✓										
119	viva			✓	✓	✓					✓		✓						✓				
120	yerba buena			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Western US	
121	zocalo			✓	✓	✓	✓						✓									Mexico	

This table is composed with borrowings identified in the first (2001), second (2005), and third (2010) editions of the NOAD. In general, the part of speech, plural, gender, entrance to the NOAD, and origin of each borrowing (lexeme) is presented. The majority of the borrowings are in the three editions of the dictionary series. Moreover, most of the lexemes are nouns, followed in frequency by adjectives. The parts of speech with less frequency in the list are verbs, exclamations, and abbreviations. Concerning origin, it may be observed that these are very diverse, though the origin that clearly predominates is Spanish. This could be because of the background of the author Sandra Cisneros. In the case of gender, it is seen that masculine nouns are clearly more frequent than their feminine counterparts. And regarding singular versus plural nouns, the table projects how the majority of borrowings lack this information by the NOAD. Furthermore, one thing that is important to mention is that all lexical items in this table are in lowercase letters even though there are certain lexemes that originally begin with capital letters in the NOAD. A special section in the present study deals with this issue further on.

Though this analysis brings a diversity of origins in borrowings, it is mostly centered in Mexican Spanish, but still, there are other Latino varieties involved. In order to comprehend the previous table, this analysis is divided in three parts. The first and second section of the analysis intend to project the transition of borrowings from Spanish to American English. These sections of the study are based on one table composed with borrowings extracted from the third edition (2010) of the New Oxford American Dictionary, the most recent one. Here the reader finds 120 lexical borrowings of all origins. On the other hand, in the general table the reader may find 121 lexical borrowings with the three editions of the NOAD ("dulce" is the extra one). Then, there is no contrast with other editions of the dictionary series in this part of the study.

The third part of the analysis studies the borrowings extracted from the novel in a contrastive manner among the editions of the NOAD. This section intends to visualize the chronological progression of the borrowings in a nine-year lapse. In addition, this part focuses on general Spanish. There are two things contrasted in this part: the integration of Spanish borrowings and the orthographic transition of borrowings in the three editions of the dictionary series (mainly the transition of capital letters). In consequence, this part is a brief one. The contrastive effort is controlled with tables that compare the first (2001), the second (2005), and the third (2010) editions of the dictionary series selected with the intention of observing the adjustments that the borrowings have reached. Then, in this part of the analysis there is no contrast between Mexican Spanish and American English as in part one; this section embraces American English only.

In Table 1 Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings**,** out of the list of borrowings provided in Table 0. Totality of Lexical Borrowings, lexical items with Spanish language background are extracted or separated. This table is the core of the present study because of the closeness that the Chicano community has with the Spanish language. It is well known that the Chicano community is associated to Mexican communities, but it is important not to omit the significant tie that the Chicano community in the United States of America has with other Spanish speaking groups for instance, with Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Salvadorians, among others. In this interaction, the Chicano shares a sociolinguistic and linguistic outcome with other Latino groups in the United States. This closeness leaves the possibility for the exchange of language particles. Table 1 intends to demonstrate how much the borrowings extracted from the novel are linked to the Spanish language. This is done to reflect the very probable Hispanic flavor that Sandra Cisneros brings into her writing with the insertion of these borrowings. In other words, to project the "real" background that the insertions of Cisneros have towards Spanish language. Besides the Hispanic separation of borrowings, Table 1 goes into depth on the Spanish etymological sense of each borrowing to highlight other Latino communities that influence the Chicano one.

Table 1
Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings

#	Lexeme	Origin					
						Other	Complementary Information
		Spanish	Mexican Spanish	Latin	Nahuatl		
1	abrazo	✓					
2	albondigas	✓				Arabic	South American, Mexican, Spanish
3	amigo	✓					Spanish speaking areas
4	armadillo	✓		✓			South Central US, Central & South America
5	arroz						Spanish
6	barrio	✓				Arabic	Spain, Spanish speaking countries, US
7	bolero	✓					Spanish
8	bonito	✓					
9	burro	✓					
10	café con leche	✓					
11	campesino	✓					Spanish speaking regions

#	Lexeme	Origin					
						Other	Complementary Information
		Spanish	Mexican Spanish	Latin	Nahuatl		
12	cantina	✓				Italian	Southwestern US, Spanish speaking countries, Italy
13	caramel	✓				French	
14	centavo	✓		✓		Portuguese	Mexico, Brazil, Portugal
15	ceviche (seviche)					South American Spanish	South American
16	charro	✓	✓				Mexican
17	chicharron					American Spanish	Mexican
18	chicle					Latin	
					✓	American Spanish	
19	chile relleno	✓					Mexican
20	chili (chile)	✓			✓		
21	chocolate	✓			✓	French	
22	chorizo	✓					Spanish
23	churro	✓					Latin American
24	cilantro	✓		✓			
25	compadre	✓					
26	conga					Latin	Latin American, African
		✓				American Spanish	
27	conquistador	✓					Mexico, Peru, Spanish
28	copal	✓			✓		
29	coyote		✓		✓		North America, Latin American, US
30	cumbia	✓				Colombian Spanish	Colombian
31	curandero	✓		✓			Latin America, Spain
32	dengue					West Indian	
		✓				Spanish, Kiswahili	

#	Lexeme	Origin					
						Other	Complementary Information
		Spanish	Mexican Spanish	Latin	Nahuatl		
33	enchilada					Latin American Spanish	
34	fiesta	✓		✓			Spanish speaking regions
35	frijol						Mexican
36	frijoles	✓					Mexican
37	grandee	✓				Portuguese	Spanish, Portuguese
38	gringo	✓					Spanish speaking regions, Latin America
39	hombre	✓		✓			
40	horchata	✓					Spain, Latin American countries
41	huarache (guarache)		✓				Mexican
42	huevos rancheros						
43	huitlacoche						Mexico
44	iguana	✓				Arawak	American
45	ixtle (istle)				✓	American Spanish	Central America, Mexico
46	jalisco						Western Central Mexico, Pacific coast
47	jicama		✓		✓		Central American, Mexican
48	la niña (niña)	✓					
49	loco	✓					
50	machete	✓					Central America, Caribbean
51	maguey	✓				Taino	
52	manzanilla	✓					Spanish
53	mariachi		✓				Mexican
54	mesquite		✓				Southwestern US, Mexico
55	mestiza	✓					Latin America
56	mestizo	✓		✓			Latin America
57	mexicano	✓					Mexican
58	mole		✓		✓		Mexican
59	mulatto	✓				Arabic	
60	negrito	✓					Austronesian region
61	negro	✓		✓		Portuguese	Africa South of the Sahara

#	Lexeme	Origin					
						Other	Complementary Information
		Spanish	Mexican Spanish	Latin	Nahuatl		
62	nopal	✓			✓	French	Mexican
63	nopales						Mexican
64	padre	✓		✓		Italian, Portuguese	
65	palapa		✓				Mexican
66	papaya	✓				Portuguese	America
67	peso	✓		✓			Mexico, Latin American countries, Philippines, Uruguay
68	piñata	✓					Spanish-speaking communities
69	plaza	✓					
70	poblano	✓					
71	poncho					South American Spanish, Araucanian	South America
72	pulque				✓	American Spanish	Mexican
73	puta	✓					Spanish speaking regions
74	quesadilla	✓					
75	rebozo	✓					Spanish American
76	rumba (rhumba)					Latin American Spanish	African, Cuba, Spanish
77	salsa	✓				American Spanish	Latin American
78	señor	✓		✓			
79	señora	✓					
80	señorita	✓					
81	serape (sarape)		✓				Latin America
82	siesta	✓		✓			
83	sombrero	✓					Southwestern US, Mexico
84	taco	✓	✓				Mexican
85	tamale		✓		✓		Mexican
86	taqueria		✓				Mexican

#	Lexeme	Origin					
						Other	Complementary Information
		Spanish	Mexican Spanish	Latin	Nahuatl		
87	telenovela (novela)	✓					Latin America
88	tequila		✓				Mexican
89	tortilla	✓					Mexican, Spanish
90	turista	✓					
91	vamoose	✓					
92	viva	✓				Italian	
93	yerba buena	✓					Western US
94	zocalo	✓					Mexico

On the left side on this table are the 94 borrowings in the novel of *Caramelo* that share a Spanish etymology according to the third edition of the NOAD. All of the borrowings have a Spanish origin either in a first, second or third string. Among the borrowings are a few that contain an orthographic variation in parenthesis: ceviche (seviche), chili (chile), huarache (guarache), ixtle (istle), la niña (niña), rumba (rhumba), serape (sarape), telenovela (novela). These borrowings may be found in both forms in the NOAD, though the dictionary redirects the consultant to the variation that has the definition of the lexeme. It could be said that the variation that has the definition, and not the redirection of the lexeme is the most standard one. In this case, the mostly standard variations of the previous borrowings mentioned in American English are: ceviche, chili, huarache, ixtle, la niña, rumba, serape and telenovela, those not in parentheses.

Next to each lexeme are the most common origins of each borrowing. These are Spanish, Mexican Spanish, South American Spanish, Nahuatl, and Latin. In this order, Spanish is the most frequent one and Latin is the least frequent origin of this categorization. 69 borrowings have Spanish as their origin, 13 have a Mexican Spanish origin, 11 have a Nahuatl origin, and 12 a Latin one. Still to the right of this four-origin categorization is another section under the heading of "others." Here are the origins with less "frequency of occurrence" for these borrowings according to the NOAD (Third Edition). The several other origins under this heading are provided in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1
Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings with Lower Origins

Origin	Frequency
Portuguese	5
American Spanish	4
Latin American Spanish	4
Arabic	3
French	3
Italian	3
South American Spanish	2
Colombian Spanish	1
West Indian Spanish	1
Arawak	1
Taino	1
Araucanian	1
Kiswahili	1

In this sub categorization, it may be observed that Portuguese is the origin that predominates. It is followed by American Spanish, Latin American Spanish, Arabic, French, and Italian. The origins with less frequency in accordance to the NOAD are equal with one appearance (Colombian Spanish, West Indian Spanish, Arawak, Taino and, Araucanian). The origins provided in this table and the four dominant ones that may be observed in Table 1. Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings with Lower Origins are origins directly marked by the NOAD. More specifically, these origins come up after the word "origin" itself, which is marked in capital letters in the best majority of the definitions of the borrowings as in the following examples:

bar·ri·o /ˈbärēˌō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **barrios**) a district of a town in Spain and Spanish-speaking countries. ■ (in the US) the Spanish-speaking quarter of a town or city, esp. one with a high poverty level.
-O R I G I N Spanish, perhaps from Arabic. (135)
cen·ta·vo /senˈtävō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **centavos**) a monetary unit of Mexico, Brazil, and certain other countries (including Portugal until the introduction of the euro), equal to one hundredth of the basic unit.
-O R I G I N Spanish and Portuguese, from Latin *centum* 'a hundred.' (281)
(New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

Besides the origin that the NOAD provides, it offers other complementary information that concerns aspects such as where the word is used and by whom. For instance, in the case of the borrowing "barrio," besides mentioning that the lexeme has a Spanish and probably Arabic origin, it is mentioned that the word is used in Spanish speaking countries and in Spain. In the case of "centavo," it may be observed that the complementary information indicates where the monetary unit is employed: Mexico, Brazil, and Portugal to some period of time.

There are a few cases where there is no origin literally provided or provided at all by the NOAD. These cases may be observed in following lexemes:

> **ar·roz** /ä'rōs/ ▸**n**. Spanish word for **RICE**, used in the names of various dishes. (89)
> **fri·jol** /'frēhōl, frē'hōl/ ▸**n.** (pl. **frijoles** /-hōlz, 'hōlāz, -lēz/) a bean, esp. a red kidney bean or cowpea, used as a staple in Mexican cooking. (695)
> **hue·vos ran·che·ros** /'wāvōs ran'CHerōs; rän-/ ▸**n**. a dish of fried or poached eggs served on a tortilla with spicy tomato sauce. (847)
> **huit·la·co·che** /ˌwētlə›kōCHā/ ▸**n.** a fungus that grows on corn, considered a delicacy in Mexico where cooks use it to flavor food. (847)
> **Ja·lis·co** /hä'lēskō/ a state in western central Mexico, on the Pacific coast, capital, Guadalajara. (929)
> **no·pa·les** /nō'päles/ ▸**n.** the fleshy leaves of a prickly pear cactus, used as an ingredient in Mexican cuisine. (1196)
> (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

These cases are deduced Spanish language borrowings. To do such, the complementary information provided by the NOAD was consulted. In this case, details related to Spanish were taken into account. In "arroz," it may be observed that even though the origin of the lexeme is not marked as Spanish belonging, its Spanish origin is quite evident when one reads "Spanish word for." With the borrowing "frijol," the link to Mexican cooking leads to the Spanish origin categorization. Besides, its plural "frijoles" does have a Spanish origin specified through its definition. In the case of "huevos rancheros," it may be observed that its definition does not reflect Spanish in a demographical nor linguistic sense, but the term "tortilla" (which is a Spanish – Mexican Spanish origin borrowing) is employed and involved in the preparation of the dish. As consequence, "huevos rancheros" is considered to have a Spanish origin. In "huitlacoche," the Spanish origin may be projected by its location, as well as "Jalisco," a state. The Spanish origin in "nopales" is reflected through its gastronomical background. Then, 6.38% of the borrowings on Table 1. Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings are identified as deduced cases towards Spanish language origin.

In the complete Table 1, it can be seen that several borrowings are only marked as having a Spanish language origin. In other words, there is only a check mark on the Spanish column, which is the most dominant origin label. This means that there is no complementary information, in regard to origin, for these lexemes. These cases are represented in the following table:

Table 1.2
Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings Directly Marked by the NOAD

#	Lexeme	#	Lexeme
1	abrazo	8	plaza
2	bonito	9	poblano
3	burro	10	quesadilla
4	café con leche	11	señora
5	compadre	12	señorita
6	la niña (niña)	13	turista
7	loco	14	vamoose

It could be said that the borrowings under these circumstances could have reached a level of standardization that now may make it strongly difficult to derive their origin. Or, these loanwords are highly employed so many places that their origin has become difficult to trace.

Other qualities that can be noted in Table 1. Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings Directly Marked by the NOAD are those of plural-singular, gender, diminutive, and conjugation. In several dictionaries, it is very common to find the singular form of a word, or to find the singular form first and then the plural, but not both separately. Here, the case of "nopal" and "nopales" illustrating as the NOAD provides each its own entry. In the 22nd edition of the dictionary of the Real Academia Española (2001) the consultant may find the lexeme "nopal" as an entry and not "nopales," and still there is no specification of its plural. In the case of gender, the RAE (Real Academia Española) places "mestizo" and "mestiza" in one entry, where its suffix is separated by a dash: mestizo / za (Real Academia Española, 2001). The NOAD, as in the case of "nopales" and "nopal," provides two entries for this case concerning gender: "mesztizo" and "mestiza." Another section in which the NOAD provides double entries is with "negro" and "negrito." At least in Mexican dictionaries, it is not common to find the diminutive of a word. In the NOAD, this sense is very clear with negrito:

Ne·gri·to /nə'grētō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **Negritos**) a member of a black people of short stature native to the Austronesian region.
-O R I G I N Spanish, diminutive of *negro* 'black' (see **NEGRO**); compare with **NEGRILLO**. (1173)
(New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

Not only does the NOAD considers the diminutive "negrito," but it exposes the consultant to another diminutive variety such as "negrillo." With both entries, the NOAD makes reference to people of dark complexion. Both "negro" and "negrito" may be found as entries in the Real Academia Española dictionary, but not both of them refer to people of dark skin color. According to the Real Academia Española dictionary, "negrito" refers to:

negrito,ta. (Del dim. de negro).
adj. coloq. El Salv. Muy empeñado o entusiasmado por conseguir algo que desea.
m. Pájaro de la isla de Cuba de color negro intenso, con algunas plumas blancas en las alas, y a veces encima de los ojos. Su canto es melodioso.
f. **letra negrilla**.
(Real Academia Española, 2001)

Then, it may be observed that according to the RAE dictionary the lexeme "negrito" makes reference to a hardworking person, a bird, and a type of letter, but never to a dark skin person as the NOAD. In this brief comparison between the Real Academia Española (2001) dictionary and the New Oxford American Dictionary (2010) it may be observed that when a word is borrowed or it is incorporated to a dictionary, linguistic qualities are adjusted to how the lexical item is employed by the borrowers, and not to the form of the word in the language that it is borrowed, or from its registered origin. Also, in this table the reader is able to witness the globalization that the Spanish language borrowings of Sandra Cisneros bring to the reader. This projects how the Chicano community is not only between the Mexican and American context, but its Latino essence touches several regions of the world.

So far, the Spanish lexical borrowings found in *Caramelo* have been studied. Briefly in the following section, the lexical borrowings that do not have a Spanish language origin (first, second, or third string) are reviewed. Before moving on to the next topic of discussion, attention is directed to the Table 1.3 Non-Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings.

Table 1.3
Non-Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings

#	Lexeme	Origin														Complementary Information
		Latin	Middle English	French	Old French	Italian	Arabic	Portuguese	Dravidian Language	Dutch	Greek	Japanese	Kimbundu	Turkish	West Germanic	
1	americana															United States, America
2	basilica	✓									✓					Rome
3	bravo			✓		✓										
4	caca	✓														
5	café (café)			✓												European
6	chia															California, Great Basin
7	chichi											✓				
8	cicatrix	✓	✓		✓											
9	concha	✓														
10	dèjá vu			✓												
11	familia	✓														
12	federal	✓														US
13	finito					✓										
14	flan	✓		✓	✓					✓					✓	
15	lunar	✓	✓													
16	macramé			✓			✓							✓		
17	maestro	✓				✓										
18	mango							✓	✓							American
19	marimba							✓					✓			US, African
20	matrimonial	✓	✓		✓											
21	oyez	✓	✓		✓											
22	patria	✓														
23	portal	✓	✓		✓											
24	solo	✓				✓										
25	tamarind	✓	✓				✓									Asian, African
26	tele															Greek

At first glance, in Table 1.3, as expected, one may observe the global origins that these borrowings have. The origins marked by the NOAD are French, Latin, Italian, Old French, Middle English, Portuguese, Arabic, Japanese, Dutch,

Turkish, Dravidian language, Kimbundu, Greek, and West Germanic. Here, the one that predominates is Latin with a frequency of 15 as observed in the following table:

Table 1.3.1
Origins of Non-Spanish Language Lexical Borrowings

Origin	Frequency
Latin	15
Middle English	6
French	5
Old French	5
Italian	4
Portuguese	2
Arabic	2
Japanese	1
Dutch	1
Turkish	1
Dravidian language	1
Kimbundu	1
Greek	1
West Germanic	1

With its global origins, the table invites one to reflect when predicting the origin of words. Sometimes a user might expect a word to have certain origin because a community frequently employs it. For instance, a Spanish language speaker from Mexico might expect the word "mango" to have a Mexican origin, but as it may be noted it is not like that. The origins of the borrowing "mango" are Dravidian and Portuguese according to the NOAD.

Besides predicting the origin of a word because of its frequent use by a community, the origin of a word may also be predicted by its form. In other words, one might expect a word to belong to certain language because of its orthographic composition. "Lunar" may be taken within this type of prediction. This word orthographically exists in American English and Mexican Spanish for instance. With "lunar" Cisneros refers to a mole, while the NOAD embraces the moon and scientific knowledge. Here, "mango" may also be taken as an example. Though, in this case, the meaning is the same in Spanish and in English. In the case of "lunar," the meaning differs between these two languages.

There are countless reasons for a person to consider a borrowing from a particular origin, but with the examples identified it has been intended to mark two linguistic levels: orthographic and semantic. One such reason might be social. For instance, one may believe that "mango" has a Mexican Spanish origin, or at least that is involved in the term reaching the United States because this fruit is quite exported from Mexico to the United States, and because Mexico is rich concerning fruits. In this commerce tie, another fruit may be identified, or expected to be tied to a Mexican context; "tamarind." As it may be observed in the table, "tamarind" does not even show a Spanish tie in its origin. According to the NOAD, "tamarind" has Latin, Middle English, Arabic, Asian and African origins, but it is strange since this fruit is, at least, very grown in Mexico. Nonetheless, the case of "tamarind" having several origins is very interesting because one is able to see how a borrowing can cross borders and unify humanity over time through language alternation. This is evidence that loanwords may trespass the mirrors of society.

As in the case of Spanish origin borrowings, there are deduced cases. Here, in Table 1.3.2 Non-Spanish Language Implied Lexical Borrowings the NOAD does not provide an origin to the following words:

Table 1.3.2
Non-Spanish Language Implied Lexical Borrowings

#	Lexeme	Complementary Information
1	americana	United States, America
2	chia	California, Great Basin
3	tele	Greek

By observing the complementary information of the previous words, "americana" and "chia" could be considered to have an American tie or origin. In the case of "tele," it may be implied that the word has a Greek origin.

This section of the study focuses on the borrowings from Mexican Spanish to American English according to the NOAD. This specific topic is presented because of the high influence that Mexican Spanish has on the Chicano community. Therefore, both nations may be seen as relatives through history. Through the following tables it is intended to project the closeness that *Caramelo* has to Mexico through lexical borrowing.

Table 2
Mexican Spanish Lexical Borrowings

#	Lexeme	Origin					
		Spanish	Mexican Spanish	Latin	Nahuatl	Other	Complementary Information
1	albondigas	✓				Arabic	South American, Mexican, Spanish
2	centavo	✓		✓		Portuguese	Mexico, Brazil, Portugal
3	charro	✓	✓				Mexican
4	chicharron					American Spanish	Mexican
5	chicle				✓	Latin American Spanish	
6	chile relleno	✓					Mexican
7	chili (chile)	✓			✓		
8	chocolate	✓			✓	French	
9	conquistador	✓					Mexico, Peru, Spanish
10	copal	✓			✓		
11	coyote		✓		✓		North America, Latin American, US
12	frijol						Mexican
13	frijoles	✓					Mexican
14	huarache (guarache)		✓				Mexican
15	huitlacoche						Mexico
16	ixtle (istle)				✓	American Spanish	Central America, Mexico
17	jalisco						Western Central Mexico, Pacific coast
18	jicama		✓		✓		Central American, Mexican
19	mariachi		✓				Mexican
20	mesquite		✓				Southwestern US, Mexico
21	mexicano	✓					Mexican
22	mole		✓		✓		Mexican
23	nopal	✓			✓	French	Mexican
24	nopales						Mexican
25	palapa		✓				Mexican
26	peso	✓		✓			Mexico, Latin American countries, Philippines, Uruguay
27	pulque				✓	American Spanish	Mexican
28	serape (sarape)		✓				Latin America
29	sombrero	✓					Southwestern US, Mexico

#	Lexeme	Origin					
		Spanish	Mexican Spanish	Latin	Nahuatl	Other	Complementary Information
30	taco	✓	✓				Mexican
31	tamale		✓		✓		Mexican
32	taqueria		✓				Mexican
33	tequila		✓				Mexican
34	tortilla	✓					Mexican, Spanish
35	zocalo	✓					Mexico

Table 2 is composed under three criteria. First, all of the borrowings that directly have Mexican Spanish origin marked by the NOAD have been incorporated to this table. By direct origin, it is referred to the cases were Mexican Spanish comes after the word origin itself in this case, as it has been mentioned and it is seen in the following examples:

> **hua·ra·che** /wəˈräCHē/ (also **guarache**) ▸**n.** a leather-thonged sandal, originally worn by Mexican Indians.
> -O R I G I N late 19th cent.: Mexican Spanish. (846)
> **ma·ri·a·chi** /ˌmärēˈäCHē/ ▸**n.** (pl. **mariachis**) [as modifier] denoting a type of traditional Mexican folk music, typically performed by a small group of strolling musicians dressed in native costume. ■ a musician in such a group.
> -O R I G I N from Mexican Spanish *mariache, mariachi* 'street singer.' (1069)
> (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

The following Table 2.1. Mexican Spanish Lexical Borrowings Directly Marked by the NOAD presents the total amount of borrowings that contain a directly Mexican Spanish origin according to the NOAD:

Table 2.1
Mexican Spanish Lexical Borrowings Directly Marked by the NOAD

#	Mexican Spanish Lexeme	Origin (NOAD)
1	charro	- O R I G I N early 20th cent.: Mexican Spanish, from Spanish, literally 'rustic.'
2	huarache (guarache)	- O R I G I N late 19th cent.: Mexican Spanish.
3	mariachi	- O R I G I N from Mexican Spanish mariache, mariachi 'street singer.'
4	mesquite	- O R I G I N 18th cent.: from Mexican Spanish mezquite.

#	Mexican Spanish Lexeme	Origin (NOAD)
5	palapa	- O R I G I N Mexican Spanish, denoting the palm Orbignya cohune.
6	serape (sarape)	- O R I G I N Mexican Spanish
7	taco	- O R I G I N Mexican Spanish, from Spanish literally 'plug, wad.'
8	taqueria	- O R I G I N Mexican Spanish
9	tequila	- O R I G I N Mexican Spanish, named after the town of Tequila in Mexico, where the drink was first produced.

Here, one may appreciate how the vast majority of the borrowings listed contain Mexican Spanish as their direct origin. There are borrowings that have another direct origin besides Mexican Spanish. There are two cases in this table: "charro" and "taco." In both of these borrowings the direct origins are "Spanish" and "Mexican Spanish." They have been incorporated to this table because of the Mexican presence. These cases are identified as **multi-origin** cases, but as it has been decided, they may be taken as direct origin cases because of the presence of another language, in this case Mexican Spanish. Multi-origin cases do not become direct origin cases or stay as multi-origin when the information of the NOAD is not within or is too general regarding the Mexican context. These cases have been also addressed as deduced cases. They are the third criterion but have been mentioned with anticipation because of their tie to direct origins. This criterion is addressed right after the second criterion.

The second criterion contains the borrowings that have a bi-origin (bi-Mexican Spanish origin in this case). More specifically, it considers borrowings that have Mexican Spanish and Nahuatl as their origin. These cases are presented in Table 2.2. Bi-Mexican Lexical Borrowings

Table 2.2
Bi-Mexican Lexical Borrowings

#	Bi-Mexican Spanish Lexeme	Origin (NOAD)
1	coyote	- O R I G I N mid 18th cent.: from Mexican Spanish, from Nahuatl *coyotl*.
2	jicama	- O R I G I N early 17th cent.: from Mexican Spanish *jícama*, from Nahuatl *xicama*.
3	mole	- O R I G I N Mexican Spanish, from Nahuatl *molli* 'sauce, stew.'
4	tamale	- O R I G I N from Mexican Spanish *tamal*, plural *tamales*, from Nahuatl *tamalli*.

Nahuatl is taken into account in this Mexican Spanish section of the study because it is spoken in Mexico. It is almost impossible that these two languages do not interact given that they are within the same geographic area and their speakers have significant contact with each other. The borrowings which have a direct Nahuatl origin are presented in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3
Nahuatl Lexical Borrowings Directly Marked by the NOAD

#	Nahuatl Origin Lexeme
1	chicle
2	chili (chile)
3	chocolate
4	copal
5	ixtle (istle)
6	nopal
7	pulque

The third criterion is that of multi-origin. In this criterion the borrowings listed do not have a Mexican Spanish or Nahuatl origin right after the word origin itself in the NOAD. Even though the words under this criterion have non-Mexican origins, it is our intention to find a tie to Mexico. To do such, the complementary information of the borrowings has been taken into account. By complementary information we are referring to the information of the lexemes in which the origin is not addressed. Here, in the explanation of the lexeme, information such as the context in which the word is employed or placed leads to the link of the particular lexeme and Mexican culture. The multi-origin linked to Mexico are presented in the following table:

Table 2.4
Multi-Origin Lexical Borrowings

#	Multi-origin Lexeme	Complementary Information
1	albondigas	/älbôˈdēgäs/ ▸**plural n.** small meatballs, prepared in the Mexican, Spanish, or South American way.
2	centavo	/senˈtävō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **centavos**) a monetary unit of Mexico, Brazil, and certain other countries (including Portugal until the introduction of the euro), equal to one hundredth of the basic unit.
3	chicharron	/ˌCHēCHəˈrōn/ ▸**n.** (pl. **chicharrones** /-ˈrōnēz/) (in Mexican cooking) a piece of fried pork crackling.
4	chile relleno	/rə(l)ˈyānō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **chiles rellenos**) (in Mexican cuisine) a stuffed chili pepper, typically battered and deep-fried.

#	Multi-origin Lexeme	Complementary Information
5	conquistador	/kôNG' kēstəˌdôr; kän'k(w)istə-; kən-/ ▸**n.** (pl. **conquistadores** /-ˌkēstə'dôrēz; -ās; -ˌk(w)istə-/ or **conquistadors**) a conqueror, esp. one of the Spanish conquerors of Mexico and Peru in the 16th century.
6	frijol	/'frēhōl, frē'hōl/ ▸**n.** (pl. **frijoles** /-hōlz, 'hōlāz, -lēz/) a bean, esp. a red kidney bean or cowpea, used as a staple in Mexican cooking.
7	frijoles	/frē'hōlēz/ ▸**plural n.** (in Mexican cooking) beans.
8	huitlacoche	/ˌwētlə'kōCHā/ ▸**n.** a fungus that grows on corn, considered a delicacy in Mexico where cooks use it to flavor food.
9	Jalisco	/hä'lēskō/ a state in western central Mexico, on the Pacific coast, capital, Guadalajara.
10	mexicano	/meksi'känō; ˌmāhē-/ ▸**n. & adj.** (pl. **Mexicanos**) informal Mexican or a Mexican.
11	nopales	/nō'päles/ ▸**n.** the fleshy leaves of a prickly pear cactus, used as an ingredient in Mexican cuisine.
12	peso	/'pāsō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **pesos**) the basic monetary unit of Mexico, several other Latin American countries, and the Philippines, equal to 100 centésimos in Uruguay and 100 centavos elsewhere.
13	sombrero	/säm'bre(ə)rō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **sombreros**) a broad-brimmed felt or straw hat, typically worn in Mexico and the southwestern US.
14	tortilla	/tôr'tē(y)ə/ ▸**n.** (in Mexican cooking) a thin, flat pancake of cornmeal or flour, eaten hot or cold, typically with a savory filling. ■ (in Spanish cooking) a thick omelet containing potato and other vegetables, typically served cut into wedges.
15	zocalo	/'sōkəˌlō; sô'käˌlō/ ▸**n.** (in Mexico) a public square or plaza.

As it may be observed in the complementary information of the previous Table 2.4, the word Mexican or Mexico is in each of the borrowings listed. Therefore, it is inevitable to pass their Mexican tie as unperceived. Also, in the complementary information, one may observe the context in which the borrowing is employed in its cultural origin according to the NOAD. All of the borrowings are associated to Mexican culture despite their origin. For instance, it may be observed that the borrowing "tortilla" relates to a gastronomical context in the Mexican scenario. "Sombrero" is employed in a Mexican context to refer to a hat.

The semantic, orthographic and phonetic adaptation of lexical borrowings in *Caramelo*

Each borrowing in the previous four tables (Direct Mexican Spanish origin, Bi-Mexican Spanish Direct origin, Direct Nahuatl origin and Multi-origin) belongs to a particular scenario. In Table 2.5 Semantic Classification of Lexical Borrowings Tied to Chicano Origins that follows the previous four tables, a contextual categorization has been made:

Table 2.5
Semantic Classification of Lexical Borrowings Tied to Chicano Origins

Contextual Categorization	Lexeme
Gastronomy	albondigas, chicharron, chili (chile), chile relleno, chocolate, frijol, frijoles, huitlacoche, jicama, mole, nopal, nopales, pulque, taco, tamale, tequila, tortilla.
Objects	centavo, huarache (guarache), palapa, peso, serape (sarape), sombrero.
Florae	chicle, chili (chile), copal, frijol, frijoles, ixtle (istle), jicama, mesquite, nopal, nopales.
People	charro, conquistador, coyote, mariachi, mexicano.
Locations	jalisco, taqueria, zocalo.
Faunae	coyote.
Fungi	huitlacoche.

As it can be seen in Table 2.5, there are seven categories for the Mexican Spanish borrowings listed. "Gastronomy" concerns all of the borrowings that relate to the alimentation of human beings with a frequency of 17. "Objects" highlights all of the objects from Mexican culture with a frequency of six. "Florae" includes a frequency of ten borrowings that relate to plants. The category of "people" has a frequency of five borrowings which are associated to human description. "Locations" contains a frequency of three borrowings which are connected to places in general. "Faunae," referring to animals, and "fungi" have only one borrowing each. Their categories are presented in order from more to less. It may be seen that the majority of Mexican Spanish borrowings comes through gastronomy, while "faunae" and "fungi" provide the least borrowings. Then, it could be said that food is the best unifying factor in language. Two other strong categories which may bring Mexican Spanish borrowings to American English are "objects" and "florae." In addition, it may be seen how some borrowings occur in two different categories. For instance, "coyote" makes reference to a "brush wolf," and to people who provide a service to Mexican immigrants to cross the Mexican- American border according to the NOAD. These double

categorization borrowings are "chili (chile), frijol, frijoles, huitlacoche, jicama, nopal, nopales, and coyote."

In general, in this section the three criteria to identify Mexican Spanish borrowings have been identified. First the criterion of "direct origin" which makes references to the origins provided by the NOAD after the word ORIGIN. The second criterion is bi-origin or bi-Mexican Spanish. Here a borrowing has two direct origins: Mexican and Nahuatl. And the third criterion is that of multi-origin. In this criterion, the direct origin is neither Mexican nor Nahuatl. Then the Mexican link has to be deduced from the explanation of the borrowing. These criteria may be employed with or adjusted to other languages, especially the ones in contact.

The objective of this section is to visualize the orthographic transition that the borrowed lexical items have had through time from general Spanish to American English. A borrowing loses or incorporates peculiarities of the language that lends. A borrowing tends to be as similar as possible to the languages from which it originates. However, in the process of assimilation of the language that receives a borrowing, this lexical unit may lose or incorporate letters from its original form. An example of this is "tamale" in American English, borrowed from Mexican Spanish "tamal," which borrows the lexical item from Nahuatl "tamlli." In this lexeme one may clearly observe the orthographic transition in a three-language cycle. The following table embraces more borrowings from Mexican Spanish to American English which contain a Nahuatl origin:

Table 3
Orthographic Transition of Lexical Borrowings through Nahuatl, Mexican Spanish and American English

#	English Lexeme	Spanish Lexeme	Nahuatl Lexeme
1	chicle	chicle	tzictli
2	chili (chile)	chile	chilli
3	chocolate	chocolate	chocolatl
4	copal	copal	copalli
5	coyote	coyote	coyotl
6	ixtle (istle)	ixtle	ixtli
7	jicama	jicama	xicama
8	mole	mole	molli
9	nopal	nopal	nopalli
10	pulque	pulque	puliúhki
11	tamale	tamal	tamalli

In the description of the previous representations of borrowings by the NOAD, one may observe that the orthographic transition from Nahuatl to both Spanish and English is noticeable. When the word is borrowed from Mexican Spanish to English, it may be observed that there is no drastic transition to English. Only three borrowings have an orthographic adaptation from Mexican Spanish to English: tamale and the variations istle and chili. In these three cases, there is only adjustment of one letter as it may be observed in the table. In "tamale," American English ads an "e" to the end of its original form in Mexican Spanish tamal. With "chili (chile)" and "ixtle (istle)" it may be observed that there is a degree of awareness from the NOAD to the original form of the word in Mexican Spanish because of the two orthographic representations of the word. In the representation that varies, the letters switched from Mexican Spanish are "x" (ixtle/istle) and "e" (chile/chili). It may be inferred, that in the three cases a letter is changed because of phonological issues. In other words, with the change of a letter the user in American English may have a better approximation to the way in which the word is said in Mexican Spanish. For instance, in "ixtle" the American English speaker may have difficulties with the sounds "x" and "tl," but with the switch of letter "x" to "s" the pronunciation of the words is facilitated, although the challenging consonant cluster "tl" persists.

With these minor orthographic changes in these three words, one may observe the flexibility of the English language since there are no serious orthographic modifications to the lexeme that is borrowed. In addition, it could be said that the majority of the lexemes do not have major adaptations in orthography because of the high influence of Mexicans in American territory. Ever since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexican culture has always made its presence in American culture, where the birth of Chicano culture surges in this fusion. With such influence, it would be complicated for at least 50% of borrowings in the previous table to go through serious orthographic modifications.

On the counter part, when the borrowings are contrasted between Mexican Spanish and Nahuatl, one may observe that the adaptations from Nahuatl to Spanish are quite strong. All of the words in the table are modified in their orthographic form. Without being experts in Nahuatl language, it may be observed that the "li" ending (e.g., in the words tzictli, chilli, copalli, ixtli, molli, nopalli and tamalli) is substituted by the termination "al" (copal, nopal and tamal) and "le" (chicle, chile, ixtle, mole). Another adjustment from Nahuatl to Mexican Spanish is substitution of "j" for "x" as in the word "xicama" which is "jicama" in today's Mexican Spanish as the NOAD identifies it.

So far, the reader has been exposed to orthographic transition from borrowings with Nahuatl origins to Mexican Spanish and to American English, but it has

been decided to consider the transition of General Spanish to American English in this section. The reason why General Spanish is taken into account, and not only Mexican Spanish, is because all of the words in this table are employed in Mexican Spanish. Then, these words are treated from a standard perspective. Language may be more standardized through written discourse in contrast to spoken discourse. For instance, in a further section where the syllabification of certain borrowings is discussed, the section is specifically attached to Mexican Spanish since phonological information is a challenging task to embrace with words that are quite global. The lexemes that are considered besides Mexican Nahuatl roots are presented in the following table:

Table 3.1
Orthographic Transition of Lexical Borrowings from Spanish to American English

#	English Lexeme	Spanish Lexeme	#	English Lexeme	Spanish Lexeme
1	albondigas	albóndigas	10	mesquite	mezquite
2	caramel	caramelo	11	mulatto	mulato
3	ceviche (seviche)	ceviche	12	rumba (rhumba)	rumba
4	chicharron	chicharrón	13	serape (sarape)	sarape
5	chili (chile)	chile	14	tamale	tamal
6	grandee	grande	15	taqueria	taquería
7	huarache (guarache)	guarache	16	vamoose	vamos
8	ixtle (istle)	ixtle	17	yerba buena	yerbabuena/ hierbabuena
9	jicama	jícama	18	zocalo	zócalo

In Table 3.1, in contrast to the previous tables presented, some lexemes contain accents. The reason for this is because accents were considered as part of orthography. There are two cases in which the NOAD mentions that in the original language of the borrowed item the word is written with an accent. This may be observed in the following examples:

> **chi·cha·rron** /ˌCHēCHəˈrōn/ ▸**n.** (pl. **chicharrones** /-ˈrōnēz/) (in Mexican cooking) a piece of fried pork crackling.
> -O R I G I N from American Spanish *chicharrón.* (300)
> **ji·ca·ma** /ˈhikəmə; ˈhē-/ ▸**n.** the crisp, white-fleshed, edible tuber of a Central American climbing plant of the pea family (*Pachyrhizus erosus,* family Leguminosae), cultivated since pre-Columbian times and used esp. in Mexican cooking.
> -O R I G I N early 17th cent.: from Mexican Spanish *jícama*, from Nahuatl *xicama.* (935)
> (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

Though the NOAD is aware of the accent on these two words, it is not incorporated to the entry of the dictionary; it is only included in the explanation of the word. There are two more cases where the borrowed item has an accent in Mexican Spanish: "albóndigas" and "taquería." In these two cases, the NOAD does not reflect any awareness since there is not a description of its form in Mexican Spanish as in the previous two borrowings. This may be reflected in the definition of the terms:

> **al·bon·di·gas** /älbôʼdēgäs/ ˈ**plural n.** small meatballs, prepared in the Mexican, Spanish, or South American way.
> -O R I G I N Spanish, from Arabic *al-bunduq* 'hazel nut.' (37)
> **ta·que·ri·a** /ˌtäkəʼrēə; ˌtak-/ ˈ**n.** a Mexican restaurant specializing in tacos. -O R I G I N Mexican Spanish. (1775)
> (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

It is understandable that these four lexemes that contain accents do not carry it to American English as this language does not typically write words with accents. But why are there cases in American English where borrowings keep their accent as in the language from which they have been borrowed? For instance, if a term like "café" keeps its accent from French why is not possible for "chicharrón," to say so, to keep its accent from Mexican Spanish? Some may argue that because of frequency of occurrence or use by the community, but it is fair to say that "chicharrón" has quite a good range of frequency to enter a foreign dictionary.

In the vast majority of cases in this table, it may be observed that several of the lexemes have minimal adaptations. There are only changes of one of the letters, except for the case of "vamoose." For instance, in the borrowing "mezquite," American English substitutes "s" for "z," having "mesquite." In this case of "caramelo" from Spanish, American English omits letter "o." "Mulato" from Spanish changes to "mulatto" in American English, where another "t" is added. Then, there are three manners in which a borrowing may be adjusted: with substitution, omission, or adding of letters.

The adjustment of a borrowing is done to facilitate the word to the rest of the community which receives it. The orthographic form that a borrowing reach is tied to its phonological qualities or perceptions. With the slightest change (a letter for instance), the community who receives a borrowing may employ it easier. As much as orthography and phonology in borrowings are intended to be viewed separately, it is almost impossible for such to occur. When a language user is first exposed to a foreign lexical item, he or she naturally thinks about

how to produce or reproduce the item. In this process the user reflects on the loanword at a semantic level and a phonological one. In other words, the language user thinks about what it means and how it is pronounced.

An example of this is when a person is reading a local (familiar) text and foreign (uncommon) lexis pops up, the reader usually stops because of a different assimilation. At first glance, what may be unfamiliar to the reader is the orthographic form of the word. From here, the reader may start speculating about the pronunciation of the word in order to continue reading and reproduce it. The readers create the most similar reproduction of the word to continue reading if they do not decide to skip the word. Of course, there may be cases in which a reader, under this context, does not need to reflect much when running into foreign (uncommon) lexis because it may be quite compatible with his language. This case of compatibility may also reflect that when big changes in a borrowing are not needed because languages are familiar. The other way around, regulations are needed. This example of a reader and uncommon lexis is proof that pronunciation and orthography are tied even if spoken discourse is not being dealt with.

This section studies the syllabic transition of the borrowings from Mexican Spanish to American English. As a consequence, only the borrowings that are of Nahuatl origin and Mexican Spanish origin are integrated in this part. Here, the reader finds a contrast between American English and Mexican Spanish (including words borrowed from Nahuatl) in order to observe the adaptation in the pronunciation of the borrowings.

Because the Mexican pronunciation of the borrowings is the one we know, borrowings of Nahuatl origin are only presented in their Mexican Spanish pronunciation. For us, it is a challenging task to get to the syllabification of the borrowings from Nahuatl since we do not have knowledge of the language. This could be presented in further research. Mexican Spanish is the variety of Spanish considered here because of the Mexican context in which this research takes place; by taking other Spanish varieties, linguistic aspects could be lost because of the proximity of this study. As it has been pointed out, when studying oral discourse, it is a challenging task to get to a standard criterion. Here, the objective is to analyze borrowings from Mexican Spanish because we are aware of the oral reproduction of these words. Then, borrowings from other Spanish varieties are not studied here since we are not aware of the oral reproduction that these have where they come from. The following table presents the borrowings studied in this section:

Table 4

Phonetic Transition of Lexical Borrowings from Mexican Spanish to American English

#	Mexican Spanish Origin Lexeme	American English Syllabification	Mexican Spanish Syllabification
1	albondigas	al•bon•di•gas	al•bón•di•gas
2	centavo	cen•ta•vo	cen•ta•vo
3	charro	char•ro	cha•rro
4	chicharron	chi•cha•rron	chi•cha•rrón
5	chicle	chic•le	chi•cle
6	chili (chile)	chil•i / chil•e	chi•le
7	chile relleno	chil•e re•lle•no	chi•le re•lle•no
8	chocolate	choc•o•la•te	cho•co•la•te
9	conquistador	con•quis•ta•dor	con•quis•ta•dor
10	copal	co•pal	co•pal
11	coyote	coy•o•te	co•yo•te
12	frijol	fri•jol	fri•jol
13	frijoles	fri•jo•les	fri•jo•les
14	huarache (guarache)	hua•ra•che / gua•ra•che	hua•ra•che / gua•ra•che
15	huitlacoche	huit•la•co•che	hui•tla•co•che
16	ixtle (istle)	ix•tle / is•tle	ix•tle
17	jalisco	ja•lis•co	ja•lis•co
18	jicama	ji•ca•ma	jí•ca•ma
19	mariachi	ma•ri•a•chi	ma•ri•a•chi
20	mesquite	mes•quite	mez•qui•te
21	mexicano	mex•i•ca•no	me•xi•ca•no
22	mole	mo•le	mo•le
23	nopal	no•pal	no•pal
24	nopales	no•pa•les	no•pa•les
25	palapa	pa•la•pa	pa•la•pa
26	peso	pe•so	pe•so
27	pulque	pul•que	pul•que
28	serape (sarape)	se•ra•pe / sa•ra•pe	sa•ra•pe
29	sombrero	som•bre•ro	som•bre•ro
30	taco	ta•co	ta•co
31	tamale	ta•ma•le	ta•mal
32	taqueria	ta•que•ri•a	ta•que•ría
33	tequila	te•qui•la	te•qui•la
34	tortilla	tor•til•la	tor•ti•lla
35	zocalo	zo•ca•lo	zó•ca•lo

This table contains three columns. The first one, from left to right presents the borrowings which share a Mexican origin (a origin, bi-origin, or multi-origin link). The ones highlighted in yellow, are the borrowings which have a Nahuatl origin. The middle column contains the American English syllabification of each borrowing provided by the NOAD. The dictionary series marks each syllable with a point, as it may be observed in the following definitions:

> **char·ro** /'CHärō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **charros**) a Mexican horseman or cowboy, typically one in elaborate traditional dress.
> -O R I G I N early 20th cent.: Mexican Spanish, from Spanish, literally 'rustic.' (293)
> **fri·jo·les** /frē'hōlēz/ ▸**plural n.** (in Mexican cooking) beans. -O R I G I N Spanish, plural of *frijol* 'bean.' (695)
> (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

In the previous examples one may observe that the word "charro" is composed of two syllables (*char* and *ro*), and "frijoles" contains three syllables (*fri*, *jo* and *les*). On the third column, the table contains the Mexican Spanish syllabic form of the borrowings. These are not provided by the NOAD. Since I am a Mexican Spanish language user, I have marked the syllabification of each of the borrowings in the previous table with a point as the NOAD does. For instance, "pe·so, mo·le and ta·mal."

In Table 4, it may be seen how 11 borrowings have been marked in blue. These are the borrowings which reflect a different syllabification in Mexican Spanish and American English. In other words, they are adjusted to American English. These 11 borrowing are "charro, chicle, chile, chile relleno, chocolate, coyote, huitlacoche, mesquite, mexicano, tamale and tortilla."

There are sounds which may present more difficulties to the American English speaker to reproduce from Mexican Spanish. Or, there are cases where an American English user may imitate a Mexican Spanish sound with no problem, but when these are combined with other sounds, it is quite challenging for an American English user to keep the original rhythm. In situations like this one, the NOAD projects a reduction (syllabically speaking) to the original sounds from Mexican Spanish with the intention of making the reproduction of the item simpler. In these types of sounds, the phoneme /I/ after /t/ and /k/ may be placed. This is reflected in the borrowings "huitlacoche" and "chicle." In Mexican Spanish, both sounds /tl/ and /kl/ are placed in the same syllable: chi•cle and hui•tla•co•che. On the other side, in American English, these two sounds (/tl/ and /kl/) are placed in separate syllables: chic•le and huit•la•co•che.

Because of the complexity that these two sounds (/tl/ and /kl/) may bring to the English speaker, they are separated to facilitate and to make the most similar pronunciation of these borrowings from Mexican Spanish.

In a similar situation to the two borrowings addressed, "charro" may be situated as well. In this case the sound that presents a challenge to the American English speaker is /r/. Orthographically "rr" in Mexican Spanish, gives /r/ a stronger oral reproduction. It could be said that the sound /r/ is doubled in such orthographic representation. As it may be observed in the table, orthographically "rr" is not separated in the syllabification of Mexican Spanish: cha•rro. On the counter part, in American English, the strong /r/ is separated within two syllables: char•ro. In this same situation of double "rr" is "ll" in "tortilla." Here "ll" is separated among syllables too in American English (tor•til•la), in contrast to Mexican Spanish (tor•ti•lla). Orthographic forms that may complicate the pronunciation of Mexican borrowings for Americans when reading them are "rr, ll, ch, ñ."

The evolution of lexical borrowings in *caramelo* through the noad series

The third part of this study consists of a contrast among the three editions of the dictionary series (2001, 2005, and 2010). This comparison is done with the intention of observing the modifications that the NOAD has done with respect to the borrowings over a period of nine years. This part primarily focuses on Spanish language in general, and not particularly Mexican Spanish. Table 5 shows Spanish language borrowings incorporated and deleted through the editions. This table has been structured in order to observe the progression of borrowings in a nine-year lapse: what borrowings have been incorporated through the three editions of the NOAD? Which have been deleted? The following table shows what Spanish borrowings each edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary includes, incorporates, and omits.

Table 5

Incorporated and Omitted Lexical Borrowings through the Editions of the NOAD Series

#	Lexeme	NOAD			Origin		
		1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Spanish	Other	Complementary Information
1	abrazo	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2	albondigas		✓	✓	✓	Arabic	Mexican, Spanish, South American
3	amigo	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish speaking areas
4	armadillo	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	Central and South America, southern US
5	arroz	✓	✓	✓			Spanish
6	barrio	✓	✓	✓	✓	Arabic	Spain, Spanish speaking countries, US
7	bolero	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish
8	bonito	✓	✓	✓	✓		
9	burro	✓	✓	✓	✓		
10	café con leche	✓	✓	✓	✓		
11	campesino	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish-speaking regions
12	cantina	✓	✓	✓	✓	Italian	Spanish speaking country, southwestern
13	caramel	✓	✓	✓	✓	French	
14	centavo	✓	✓	✓	✓	Portuguese, Latin	Mexico, Brazil, Portugal
15	ceviche (seviche)	✓	✓	✓		South American Spanish	South American
16	charro	✓	✓	✓	✓	Mexican Spanish	Mexican
17	chicharron	✓	✓	✓		American Spanish	Mexican
18	chicle	✓	✓	✓		Latin American Spanish, Nahuatl	
19	chile relleno	✓	✓	✓	✓		Mexican
20	chili (chile)	✓	✓	✓	✓	Nahuatl	
21	chocolate	✓	✓	✓	✓	French, Nahuatl	
22	chorizo	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish
23	churro		✓	✓	✓		Latin American
24	cilantro	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	
25	compadre	✓	✓	✓	✓		
26	conga	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin American Spanish	
27	conquistador	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish, Mexico, Peru
28	copal	✓	✓	✓	✓	Nahuatl	

#	Lexeme	NOAD			Origin		
		1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Spanish	Other	Complementary Information
29	coyote	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish, Nahuatl	North America, Latin Americans, US
30	cumbia	✓	✓	✓	✓	Colombian Spanish	Colombian
31	curandero	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	Spain, Latin America
32	dengue	✓	✓	✓	✓	West Indian Spanish, Kiswahili	
33	dulce	✓	✓		✓	Latin	
34	enchilada	✓	✓	✓		Latin American Spanish	
35	fiesta	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	Spanish-speaking regions
36	frijol	✓	✓	✓			Mexican
37	frijoles	✓	✓	✓	✓		Mexican
38	grandee	✓	✓	✓	✓	Portuguese	Spanish, Portuguese
39	gringo	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish-speaking regions, Latin American
40	hombre	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	
41	horchata	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spain, Latin American countries
42	huarache (guarache)	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish	Mexican
43	huevos rancheros	✓	✓	✓			
44	huitlacoche		✓	✓			Mexico
45	iguana	✓	✓	✓	✓	Arawak	American
46	ixtle (istle)	✓	✓	✓		American Spanish, Nahuatl	Mexico, Central America
47	jalisco	✓	✓	✓			Western Central Mexico, Pacific coast
48	jicama	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish, Nahuatl	Central American, Mexican
49	la niña (niña)		✓	✓	✓		
50	loco	✓	✓	✓	✓		
51	machete	✓	✓	✓	✓		Central America, Caribbean
52	maguey	✓	✓	✓	✓	Taino	
53	manzanilla	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish
54	mariachi	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish	Mexican
55	mesquite	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish	Southwestern US, Mexico

#	Lexeme	NOAD			Origin		
		1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Spanish	Other	Complementary Information
56	mestiza	✓	✓	✓	✓		Latin America
57	mestizo	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	Latin America
58	mexicano	✓	✓	✓	✓		Mexican, Nahuatl
59	mole	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish, Nahuatl	Mexican
60	mulatto	✓	✓	✓	✓	Arabic	
61	negrito	✓	✓	✓	✓		Austronesian region
62	negro	✓	✓	✓	✓	Portuguese, Latin	Africa south of the Sahara
63	nopal	✓	✓	✓	✓	French, Nahuatl	Mexican
64	nopales		✓	✓			
65	padre	✓	✓	✓	✓	Italian, Portuguese, Latin	
66	palapa	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish	
67	papaya	✓	✓	✓	✓	Portuguese	America
68	peso	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	Mexico, Latin American countries
69	piñata	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish-speaking communities
70	plaza	✓	✓	✓	✓		
71	poblano	✓	✓	✓	✓		
72	poncho	✓	✓	✓		South American Spanish	South America
73	pulque	✓	✓	✓		American Spanish, Nahuatl	Mexican
74	puta	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish-speaking regions
75	quesadilla	✓	✓	✓	✓		
76	rebozo	✓	✓	✓	✓		Spanish-American
77	rumba (rhumba)	✓	✓	✓		Latin American Spanish	Spanish, African, Cuba
78	salsa	✓	✓	✓	✓	American Spanish	Latin American
79	señor	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	
80	señora	✓	✓	✓	✓		
81	señorita	✓	✓	✓	✓		
82	serape (sarape)	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish	Latin America
83	siesta	✓	✓	✓	✓	Latin	
84	sombrero	✓	✓	✓	✓		Mexico, southwestern US
85	taco	✓	✓	✓	✓	Mexican Spanish	Mexican

#	Lexeme	NOAD			Origin		
		1st (2001)	2nd (2005)	3rd (2010)	Spanish	Other	Complementary Information
86	tamale	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish, Nahuatl	Mexican
87	taqueria	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish	Mexican
88	telenovela (novela)	✓	✓	✓	✓		Latin America
89	tequila	✓	✓	✓		Mexican Spanish	Mexican
90	tortilla	✓	✓	✓	✓		Mexican, Spanish
91	turista	✓	✓	✓	✓		
92	vamoose	✓	✓	✓	✓		
93	viva	✓	✓	✓	✓	Italian	
94	yerba buena	✓	✓	✓	✓	Western US	
95	zocalo	✓	✓	✓	✓		Mexico

In the first column, from left to right, is the number of each one of the borrowings. In the second column are all of the borrowings that have a general Spanish tie. The way they make it to this table is describe in the last three columns from left to right in the table. In the very last column, the reader may observe the complementary information of each one of the borrowings. This information was, and has been employed, to deduce the Spanish origin of certain terms. There are four deduced cases in the table: "arroz, frijol, huitlacoche, and Jalisco." This means that in none of the three editions of the NOAD these borrowings contain a direct origin and it is derived from the complementary information within the definition of the borrowing. There is an extreme case in this table, "huevos rancheros," which does not contain any information marked by the NOAD that determines its origin. But this borrowing has been included because there is an ingredient that is needed for the preparation of this dish, "tortilla," which has a Mexican origin. Also, common knowledge tells us that this dish is popular in Mexico, and it would not be surprising for it to have a Mexican origin. In its definition one is able to observe how no origin is specified, but "tortilla" is mentioned:

> **hue·vos ran·che·ros** /ˈwāvōs ranˈCHerōs; rän-/ ▸**n.** a dish of fried or poached eggs served on a tortilla with spicy tomato sauce. (847)
> (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

There are other borrowings in this table that do not have a general Spanish origin marked and have a specific Spanish speaking origin assigned by the

dictionary series. There are 19 borrowings in this situation. The other Spanish origin that predominates in this case is Mexican Spanish, as can be observed in the following table:

Table 5.1
Dominant Spanish Origins

#	Lexeme	Origin	
		Specific Varieties of Spanish	Complementary Information
1	ceviche (seviche)	South American Spanish	South American
2	chicharron	American Spanish	Mexican
3	chicle	Latin American Spanish, Nahuatl	
4	coyote	Mexican Spanish, Nahuatl	North America, Latin Americans, US
5	enchilada	Latin American Spanish	
6	huarache (guarache)	Mexican Spanish	Mexican
7	ixtle (istle)	American Spanish, Nahuatl	Mexico, Central America
8	jicama	Mexican Spanish, Nahuatl	Central American, Mexican
9	mariachi	Mexican Spanish	Mexican
10	mesquite	Mexican Spanish	Southwestern US, Mexico
11	mole	Mexican Spanish, Nahuatl	Mexican
12	palapa	Mexican Spanish	
13	poncho	South American Spanish, Araucanian	South America
14	pulque	American Spanish, Nahuatl	Mexican
15	rumba (rhumba)	Latin American Spanish	Spanish, African, Cuba
16	serape (sarape)	Mexican Spanish	Latin America
17	tamale	Mexican Spanish, Nahuatl	Mexican
18	taqueria	Mexican Spanish	Mexican
19	tequila	Mexican Spanish	Mexican

In the third column, from to right, in Table 5. the reader is able to find a checkmark on the borrowings that share a general Spanish origin. All of these borrowings contain a Spanish direct origin in the three editions of the NOAD. except for: “churro, piñata,” and “zocalo.” These borrowings contain a general Spanish origin until the third edition.

Columns three, four, and five, respectively, indicate the edition in which each of the borrowings appears in the New Oxford American Dictionary series: 2001, 2005, and 2010. The borrowings contain a check mark in the edition in which it appears. Almost all of the borrowings appear in the three editions of the dictionary series. The terms that are not in the first edition of the NOAD and later

incorporated are: “albondigas, churro, huitlacoche, la niña (niña)” and “nopales.” All of these make their appearance in the second and third editions of the NOAD. Therefore, according to the dictionary series these borrowings form part of American English since the year 2005. It could be inferred that the use of these borrowings incremented in a lapse from four to five years among the American community in order to form part of the second and third editions of the NOAD. On the other hand, there is one case in which the dictionary series has deleted a borrowing after incorporating it to its register: “dulce.” In the table one may observe how “dulce” appears in the first two editions of the NOAD, but in the third edition of the series it does not appear. It could be that the term has been employed with less frequency and it has been excluded.

In this brief section of the study we wish to observe the orthographic transition of general Spanish borrowings within the three editions of the NOAD (2001, 2005, and 2010). Like in the orthographic study in the previous part, General Spanish is studied and not a specific variety because of the better standardization language may reach through written discourse. Of course, this does not mean that the borrowings in this section belong to Spanish only. They are linked to it in one way or another. There are borrowings in this part that have more than one origin, but within these is, Spanish.

This is the only section where the reader finds the original orthographic form of each borrowing as the NOAD. determines it, though the changes are minor. In other tables, more importantly in the orthographic one in the previous part, all of the borrowings have been incorporated with lowercase letters. It will be observed that some borrowings begin with capital letters and others with lowercase letters, unlike in the other tables.

Only three words of the entire corpus of General Spanish origin have a change in their form. These are presented in Table 6:

Table 6

Spanish Lexical Borrowings with Capital Letters and Lowercase Letters Changes

#	1st Edition (2001)	2nd Edition (2005)	3rd Edition (2010)
1	señor	señor	Señor
2	señora	señora	Señora
3	señorita	señorita	Señorita

It may be observed that the three lexemes in the Table 6 do not contain a capital letter in the first and second editions of the NOAD. In the third edition of the NOAD, these lexemes have been modified: they now begin with a capital

letter. In American English and other languages, it is very common to address people with capital letters. According to the University of Sussex, through a website, a capital letter is employed under fifteen situations:

(a) The first word of a sentence, or of a fragment, begins with a capital letter.
(b) The names of the days of the week, and of the months of the year, are written with a capital letter.
(c) The names of languages are always written with a capital letter.
(d) Words that express a connection with a particular place must be capitalized when they have their literal meanings.
(e) In the same vein, words that identify nationalities or ethnic groups must be capitalized.
(f) Formerly, the words *black* and *white*, when applied to human beings, were never capitalized.
(g) Proper names are always capitalized. A proper name is a name or a title that refers to an individual person, an individual place, an individual institution or an individual event.
(h) The names of distinctive historical periods are capitalized.
(i) The names of festivals and holy days are capitalized.
(j) Many religious terms are capitalized, including the names of religions and of their followers, the names or titles of divine beings, the titles of certain important figures, the names of important events and the names of sacred books.
(k) In the title or name of a book, a play, a poem, a film, a magazine, a newspaper or a piece of music, a capital letter is used for the first word and for every significant word (that is, a little word like *the, of, and* or *in* is not capitalized unless it is the first word).
(l) The first word of a direct quotation, repeating someone else's exact words, is always capitalized if the quotation is a complete sentence.
(m) The brand names of manufacturers and their products are capitalized. (n) Roman numerals are usually capitalized.
(o) The pronoun *I* is always capitalized.

(University of Sussex, 1997)

The case of "Señor, Señora, Señorita" may be situated in the capital letter criteria of "g" (proper names). These labels (Señor, Señora, and Señorita) may be translated as Mr. or Sir, Mrs. or Madam, and Miss, beginning with a capital letter in English. As a consequence, this could have influenced the adjustment of lowercase letters in the beginning of these Spanish origin borrowings. The translation of these three titles are marked in the definition of the lexemes:

Se·ñor /sān'yôr; sen-/ ▸**n.** (pl. **Señores** /sān'yôrāz**;** sen'yôres/ or **Señors**) a title or form of address used of or to a Spanish-speaking man, corresponding to *Mr.* or *sir: he is certain his information is correct, señor.*
-O R I G I N Spanish, from Latin *senior* (see **SENIOR**). (1590)
Se·ño·ra /sān'yôrə; sen-/ ▸**n.** a title or form of address used of or to a Spanish-speaking woman, corresponding to *Mrs.* or *madam: Señora Dolores.*
-O R I G I N Spanish, feminine of **SEÑOR**. (1590)
Se·ño·ri·ta /ˌsānyə'rētə; ˌsen-/ ▸**n.** a title or form of address used of or to a Spanish-speaking unmarried woman, corresponding to *Miss: a beautiful señorita.*
-O R I G I N Spanish, diminutive of **SEÑORA**. (1590)
(New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

There are another five cases in which General Spanish borrowings have a capital letter. These are presented in the following Table 6.1:

Table 6.1
Spanish Lexical Borrowings with Capital Letters Marked by the NOAD

#	1st Edition (2001)	2nd Edition (2005)	3rd Edition (2010)
1	Jalisco	Jalisco	Jalisco
2		La Niña (Niña)	La Niña (Niña)
3	Mexicano	Mexicano	Mexicano
4	Negrito	Negrito	Negrito
5	Negro	Negro	Negro

Besides these five borrowings and the ones in the previous table, there are no other borrowings that contain a capital letter in borrowings from General Spanish. Following the capitalization criteria mentioned previously, Jalisco contains a capital letter because it is the name of a place (proper noun). In the NOAD (Third Edition), "Niña" makes reference to:

La Ni·ña /lä 'nēnyə/ ▸**n.** a cooling of the water in the equatorial Pacific that occurs at irregular intervals and is associated with widespread changes in weather patterns complementary to those of El Niño, but less extensive and damaging in their effects.
-O R I G I N Spanish, literally 'the girl child,' after *El Niño.* (982)
(New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

La Niña also fits the criteria of a proper noun according to the capitalization criteria. This may be considered "an individual event," natural in this case. This could be reason why the lexeme (la niña) from Spanish makes the first letter capital. This may be also seen in the case of "El Niño," through the definition of the NOAD (2010). The borrowing "Mexicano" fits into the capital letter criterion of "words that identify nationalities or ethnic groups." In fact, the dictionary series (Third Edition) marks its reference to nationality:

> **Mex·i·ca·no** /meksi'känō; ˌmāhē-/ ▸**n. & adj.** (pl. **Mexicanos**) informal Mexican or a Mexican.
> -O R I G I N Spanish. (1102)
> (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

The borrowings of "Negro" and "Negrito" match criterion "f" (the words *black* and *white*, when applied to human beings). To support such argument the definitions of these two borrowings are provided as follows according to the NOAD (2010):

> **Ne·gri·to** /nə'grētō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **Negritos**) a member of a black people of short stature native to the Austronesian region.
> -O R I G I N Spanish, diminutive of *negro* 'black' (see **NEGRO**); compare with **NEGRILLO**. (1173)
> **Ne·gro** /'nēgrō/ dated, often offensive ▸**n.** (pl. **Negroes**) a member of a dark-skinned group of peoples originally native to Africa south of the Sahara.
> ▸**adj.** of or relating to such people.
> -O R I G I N via Spanish and Portuguese from Latin *niger, nigr-* 'black.'
> (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

But are these the only borrowings that make reference to a nationality, ethnic group, or characteristic of a group? No. As it may be observed in Table 6, there are another three social labels that involve race or ethnic groups: "mestiza, mestizo, and mulatto." This is seen in the definitions of the terms:

> **mes·ti·za** /mə'stēzə/ ▸**n.** (in Latin America) a woman of mixed race, esp. the offspring of a Spaniard and an American Indian.
> -O R I G I N Spanish, feminine of *mestizo* (see **MESTIZO**). (1098)
> **mes·ti·zo** /me'stēzō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **mestizos**) (in Latin America) a man of mixed race, esp. the offspring of a Spaniard and an American Indian.
> -O R I G I N Spanish, 'mixed,' based on Latin *mixtus*. (1099)

mu·lat·to /m(y)o͝o'lätō; -'latō/ dated ▸**n.** (pl. **mulattoes** or **mulattos**) a person of mixed white and black ancestry, esp. a person with one white and one black parent.

-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Spanish *mulato*, from Arabic *muwallad* 'person of mixed race.' (1148)

(New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010)

If other racial labels such as "Mexicano, Negro, and Negrito" are written with a capital letter or are given this respect, why are not "mulatto, mestiza and mestizo" given the same? Why is the fusion of *white* and *black*, as in the case of "mulatto," not given this respect in the NOAD? Why are these labels somehow inferior in such a multicultural context as the American one? Why is the borrowing "Mexicano" considered informal in the definition of the term? Not only does the informal "Mexicano" help the American build its "empire" through working, but it feeds the American identity through the "Mexicano" language, or what is *dominantly* known as Nahuatl.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

In this final section we attempt to answer the major inquiries of this research to show the results. We also discuss how this study reaches the principle objective, which is to identify the lexical borrowings used by Cisneros, inspect their Mexicanity and trace their linguistic evolution. Here too, we address other findings which may catch the readers interests.

The first inquiry is the one which relates the most to the objective (How "Mexican" are the lexical borrowings in *Caramelo*?). This is basically answered in the first part of the analysis where the origins of the lexical borrowings found in the novel are specified. This means that the criterion to get to the Mexican roots of the lexical borrowings identified is the New Oxford American Dictionary. In the first separation of the lexical borrowings, which is based on the third edition of the NOAD, these are considered as Spanish and Non-Spanish language belonging. Of the 120 lexical borrowings identified with the third edition of the NOAD, 26 have origins which are not Spanish. Therefore, 94 lexical units have a Spanish origin.

With these results, it could be said that 26 lexical borrowings could be wrongly expected to have a Spanish origin. The reason for this is because of the orthographic form of the lexical units, which is the same or almost the same in Spanish. Then, one may make predictions of borrowings because of their orthographic form in written discourse, but these predictions cannot be limited to this presentation of language. They may also be made through spoken discourse. In this case the language user may hear a lexical item and consider it to have a certain origin because of the similar (or identical) pronunciation of the word. What is curious in this erroneous speculation is that lexical borrowings categorized as Non-Spanish have quite global origins. This reflects that unification may be reached in humanity through language history.

Since it is believed that Mexican culture has a significant impact on Chicano culture and literature, the lexical borrowings with Mexican origin are extracted. Out of the 94 lexical borrowings from Spanish language origin, 35 lexical borrowings have a Mexican origin tie specifically marked in the dictionary series. In this manner, the numbers deduced from the origins provided in the NOAD answer the first question and tell us that within the Spanish lexical borrowings, 37.23% are Mexican lexical borrowings. If Mexican Spanish is compared to the total number of lexical borrowings (120) from the third edition of the NOAD, it covers 29.16%.

With these results, it may be concluded that the lexical borrowings that Sandra Cisneros utilizes in *Caramelo* are slightly Mexican. The point is not to mark the importance of Mexican Spanish in Cisneros lexical borrowings, but to highlight how this novel, and probably other works in Chicano Literature, are influenced by language varieties other than Mexican Spanish. In other words, to demonstrate how Chicano Literature and language do not rely on Mexican culture; their composition is more global.

The second question addresses the comparison that the Spanish lexical borrowings go through when adapted to American English (How much have the lexical borrowings [extracted from *Caramelo*] of Mexican Spanish origin been changed when adapted to American English?). In this investigation, the Spanish lexical borrowings have been contrasted on two levels: orthographic and phonological. This last one has been limited to syllabification.

In the orthographic scenario, it may be concluded that the modifications that a lexical item goes through from one language to another is not drastic. The changes in the lexical borrowing are minimal. Here some letters are added, others are omitted, and some are substituted. But it may be pointed out that in the three-language cycle of lexical borrowings, Nahuatl to Mexican Spanish to American English, the possibilities of observing orthographic changes is higher. Of course, this will vary depending on the language that a lexical borrowing comes from. This three-language cycle mentioned also helps to observe the closeness that a lexical borrowing has to the language from which it has been taken. In this second research question, it may be also concluded that because of the pronunciation in the language that borrows, or because of its sound system, lexical borrowings are required to have some orthographic changes, for instance in the variation of "istle."

In terms of phonology, specifically concerning syllabification, it is concluded that because of the sounds produced in the region to which a lexical borrowing is incorporated, there are changes in the syllabic form. There may be sounds that are too complex for the language user of the borrowing region to produce

and these are modified. For instance, the reduction of the extensive retroflex used in Mexican Spanish. This is demonstrated in "cha-rro," which is broken down to "char-ro" in American English, and in the sounds /tl/ and /kl/.

Besides the sound system of languages having a reason to modify the syllabic form of lexical borrowings, the set of letters "rr, ll, ch, ñ" may also encourage a change, as noticed in the case of "tortilla" in American English. These orthographic forms get to function as a physical representation of complex sounds in a foreign language to a certain extent. Indeed, the International Phonetic Alphabet describes sounds, but because of the complexity when listening to a foreign sound, it is possible for the user (borrower) to rely on a simpler form, which is the alphabet. It is clear that letters and phonemes are two different cases, but the borrower utilizes letters as a resource. Then, in either way, graphic form plays an important role in the syllabic form of lexical borrowings.

The third question tests the origins that Sandra Cisneros brings with the insertions she does throughout the novel which apparently reference Spanish (What origins do the "Spanish" insertions that Sandra Cisneros utilizes in *Caramelo* have?). As mentioned, of the 120 borrowings identified with the third edition of the dictionary series, 94 have a Spanish origin. This means that 78.33% of the borrowings extracted from novel share a Spanish origin. Therefore, 21.67% of all the lexical borrowings identified through the novel have another origin, which is not Spanish.

Here, the origins that standout the most are: Latin, Middle English, French, Old French, Italian, Portuguese, and Arabic. This demonstrates the global reach that lexical borrowings may have despite time and space barriers, and that Chicano Literature is indirectly being influenced by other cultures which are hardly ever given credit. Of the 78.33% of lexical borrowings with a Spanish origin, 37.23% have a Mexican Spanish origin. As a consequence, 49.17% of the 120 identified have another Spanish origin that is not Mexican, or at least Mexican Spanish is not part of their historical description. This 49.17% is not specified at a national level (concerning origin), but rather it is stated by regions. Then, the other Spanish origins or regionalization that standout are: Latin American Spanish, South American Spanish, and American Spanish. From here one is able to observe the importance that Mexican Spanish is given by the dictionary series in contrast to other varieties of Spanish that have an impact in Chicano culture.

The fourth question addresses quantity in order to study the integration or omission of Spanish lexical borrowings over nine years (Is there the same amount of Spanish lexical borrowings, extracted from *Caramelo*, in the first, second and third edition of the NOAD?) There are little variations through the

NOAD in this sense. Concerning the deletion of lexemes, "dulce" is the only unit which is eliminated from the dictionary series, occurring in the third edition. Regarding incorporation, there are a few lexemes added. In the second edition of the series, "albondigas, churro, huitlacoche, la niña (niña)," and "nopales" are integrated into the NOAD. There are no additions in the third edition. Therefore, it might be concluded that the integration of lexical borrowings takes more than four years since there are no integrations in the third edition of the NOAD.

Besides the incorporation and deletion of borrowings throughout the three editions of the dictionary series, there was an orthographic comparison between them. Here, the changes or adaptations are minor but quite interesting. A case which catches attention is that of capital and lowercase letters. There are lexemes that in earlier editions start with lowercases letters, and in more recent ones they start with capital letters. This is the case of "Señor, Señora, Señorita," which start with a lowercase "s" in the first two editions of the NOAD and are modified in the third edition. This adaptation may be more probable for lexemes which refer to people.

There is another case, which I find very interesting. As seen before in the analysis, the lexical borrowing "Negrito" (which makes reference to black people) starts with a capital "N." But the cases of "mulatto, mestizo, mestiza," which also refer to race, are not given the same attention. In this orthographic scenario, it may be concluded that there is a social marginalization at least to these to racial groups. Since the NOAD has its basis in an American context, there is a preference to "Negrito" since that racial discrimination among blacks and whites that has been a delicate case in American culture, but this is not a justification.

Apart from answering the inquiries, as mentioned, there are other findings in this study. These findings could serve for as future research topics. One of them is the areas in which lexical borrowings take place from Mexican Spanish: gastronomy, objects, flora, people, locations, faunae, and fungi. The frequency of items in each category is in this order (from most to least). What is of interest here is the influence that Nahuatl language has in the area where most of the borrowing occurs: gastronomy. Here, Nahuatl is not given much credit in the best of occasions. Is this classification similar to other Chicano novels? Like Nahuatl, are there other "minorities" in language which are not given credit in lexical borrowing?

Another case which catches attention is that of gender where through the NOAD there is a clear male dominance. There are only a few cases in which female gender is recognized in the Spanish lexical borrowings identified through

the dictionary series (mestiza, curandera, señora are some examples). This is an indication that the NOAD could widen its entries in the future. Will American society and the NOAD be more equal with genders in future editions?

An additional issue that is interesting is that of orthographic variations in the language that borrows. For instance, "ixtle" from Nahuatl has two orthographic forms in American English: "istle" and "ixtle." Will one of these forms standout and become dominate in the future? One more study that is possible in the future with *Caramelo* is the accessibility of Spanish that Sandra Cisneros brings in her work with the four strategies that Torres (2007) identifies. These are topics which standout, but there may be more cases.

Then, in this study the reader has been taken through an objective path through the study of lexical borrowings with dictionaries. There is the search of this yes/no answer within them. Either a lexical unit is in the dictionary or not, or either it is a borrowed term or not. But this objective perspective of lexical borrowing has the intention of bringing a subjective reflection. It demonstrates that Mexican culture may not be as key as some people imagine in Chicano culture. There are many more influences in Chicano culture. Like the subjectivity that literature can take, so can the Chicano community. There is something more than what exists.

APPENDIX

Note: In the following pages, the definitions of the third edition of the *NOAD* are provided. It has been decided to include the most recent definitions.

Definitions of the Third Edition of the New Oxford American Dictionary (2010).

a·bra·zo /əˈbräsō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **abrazos**) an embrace.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(5)

al·bon·di·gas /älbôˈdēgäs/ ▸**plural n.** small meatballs, prepared in the Mexican, Spanish, or South American way.
-O R I G I N Spanish, from Arabic *al-bunduq* 'hazel nut.'
(37)

A·mer·i·ca·na /əˌmeriˈkänə; -ˈkanə/ ▸**plural n.** things associated with the culture and history of America, esp. the United States.
(50)

a·mi·go /əˈmēgō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **amigos**) informal used to address or refer to a friend, chiefly in Spanish-speaking areas: *I will think about it, amigo.*
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: Spanish.
(51)

ar·ma·dil·lo /ˌärməˈdilō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **armadillos**) a nocturnal omnivorous mammal that has large claws for digging and a body covered in bony plates. Armadillos are native to Central and South America. ● Family Dasypodidae, order Xenarthra (or Edentata): several genera and species, including the **nine-banded armadillo** (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), which has spread into the southern US.
-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Spanish, diminutive of *armado* 'armed man,' from Latin *armatus,* past participle of *armare* 'to arm.'
(86)

ar·roz /ä'rōs/ ▸**n.** Spanish word for **RICE**, used in the names of various dishes.
(89)
bar·ri·o /'bärē͵ō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **barrios**) a district of a town in Spain and Spanish-speaking countries. ■ (in the US) the Spanish-speaking quarter of a town or city, esp. one with a high poverty level.
-O R I G I N Spanish, perhaps from Arabic.
(135)
ba·sil·i·ca /bə'silikə/ ▸**n.** a large oblong hall or building with double colonnades and a semicircular apse, used in ancient Rome as a court of law or for public assemblies. ■ a similar building used as a Christian church. ■ the name given to certain churches granted special privileges by the pope.
-D E R I V A T I V E S **ba·sil·i·can adj.**
-O R I G I N mid 16th cent.: from Latin, literally 'royal place,' from Greek *basilikē*, feminine of *basilikos* 'royal,' from *basileus* 'king.'
(137)
bo·le·ro /bə'le(ə)rō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **boleros**) **1** a Spanish dance in simple triple time. ■ a piece of music for this dance. **2** (also **bolero jacket**) a woman's short open jacket.
-O R I G I N late 18th cent.: from Spanish.
(193)
bo·ni·to /bə'nētō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **bonitos**) a smaller relative of the tunas, with dark oblique stripes on the back and important as a food and game fish.
● *Sarda* and related genera, family Scombridae: several species. ■ (also **ocean bonito**) another term for **SKIPJACK** (sense 1).
-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Spanish.
(195)
bra·vo[1] /'brävō/ ▸**exclam.** used to express approval when a performer or other person has done something well: *people kept on clapping and shouting "bravo!"*
▸**n.** (pl. **bravos**) **1** a cry of bravo: *bravos rang out.*
2 a code word representing the letter B, used in radio communication.
-O R I G I N mid 18th cent.: from French, from Italian, literally 'bold' (see **BRAVE**).
(211)
bur·ro /'bərō; 'boo͝rō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **burros**) a small donkey used as a pack animal.
-O R I G I N early 19th cent.: from Spanish.
(235)
ca·ca /'käkə/ ▸**n.** informal excrement.
-O R I G I N late 19th cent.: from *cack* 'excrement,' or directly from Latin *cacare* 'defecate.'
(243)

ca·fe /ka'fā; kə-/ (also **café**) ▸**n. 1** a small restaurant selling light meals and drinks.
2 a bar or nightclub.
3 (**café**) a serving of coffee, esp. prepared European-style: [in combination] *an assortment of cappuccinos and café mochas.*
-O R I G I N early 19th cent.: French, 'coffee or coffeehouse.'
(245)

ca·fé con le·che /'kafā kän 'leCHā; ka'fā-; kə'fā-/ ▸**n.** coffee with milk.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(245)

cam·pe·si·no /ˌkampə'sēnō; ˌkäm-/ ▸**n.** (pl. **campesinos**) (in Spanish-speaking regions) a peasant farmer.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(252)

can·ti·na /kan'tēnə/ ▸**n.** (esp. in a Spanish-speaking country or the southwestern US) a bar. ■ (in Italy) a wine shop.
-O R I G I N late 19th cent.: from Spanish and Italian.
(256)

car·a·mel /'karəməl; -ˌmel; 'kärməl/ ▸**n.** sugar or syrup heated until it turns brown, used as a flavoring or coloring for food or drink: *an apple dipped in caramel.* | [as modifier] *caramel ice cream.*
■ the light brown color of this substance. *the liquid turns a pale caramel.* | [as modifier] *a caramel sweater.*
■ a soft candy made with sugar and butter that have been melted and further heated.
-O R I G I N early 18th cent.: from French, from Spanish *caramelo.*
(260)

cen·ta·vo /sen'tävō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **centavos**) a monetary unit of Mexico, Brazil, and certain other countries (including Portugal until the introduction of the euro), equal to one hundredth of the basic unit.
-O R I G I N Spanish and Portuguese, from Latin *centum* 'a hundred.'
(281)

ce·vi·che /sə'vēCHā; -CHē/ (also **seviche**) ▸**n.** a South American dish of marinated raw fish or seafood, typically garnished and served as an appetizer.
-O R I G I N South American Spanish.
(285)

char·ro /'CHärō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **charros**) a Mexican horseman or cowboy, typically one in elaborate traditional dress.
-O R I G I N early 20th cent.: Mexican Spanish, from Spanish, literally 'rustic.'
(293)

chi·a /'CHēə/ ▸**n.** a plant of the mint family with clusters of small two-lipped purple flowers. Chia is common throughtout California and the Great Basin.
● *Salvia columbariae,* family Labiatae.
(299)
chi·cha·rron /ˌCHēCHə'rōn/ ▸**n.** (pl. **chicharrones** /-'rōnēz/) (in Mexican cooking) a piece of fried pork crackling.
-O R I G I N from American Spanish *chicharrón.*
(300)
chi·chi[2] /'CHēˌCHē/ ▸**n.** informal a woman's breast.
-O R I G I N late 20th cent.: military slang, of Japanese origin.
(300)
chic·le /'CHikəl; 'CHiklē/ ▸**n.** the milky latex of the sapodilla tree, used to make chewing gum.
■ another term for **SAPODILLA**.
-O R I G I N via Latin American Spanish, from Nahuatl *tzictli.*
(300)
chil·e[1] /'CHilē/ ▸**n.** a variant spelling of **CHILI**.
(301)
chil·e re·lle·no /rə(l)'yānō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **chiles rellenos**) (in Mexican cuisine) a stuffed chili pepper, typically battered and deep-fried.
-O R I G I N early 20th cent.: Spanish, literally 'stuffed chili.
(301)
chil·i /'CHilē/ (also **chili pepper** or **chile** or Brit. **chilli**) ▸**n.** (pl. **chilies** or **chiles** or Brit. **chillies**) a small hot-tasting pod of a variety of capsicum, used chopped (and often dried) in sauces, relishes, and spice powders. There are various forms with pods of different size, color, and strength of flavor, such as cascabels and jalapeños. ● *Capsicum annuum* var. *annuum,* 'longum' group (or var. *longum*). ■ short for **CHILI POWDER**. ■ short for **CHILI CON CARNE.**
-O R I G I N early 17th cent.: from Spanish *chile,* from Nahuatl *chilli.*
(301)
choc·o·la·te /'CHäk(ə)lit; 'CHôk-/ ▸**n.** a food preparation in the form of a paste or solid block made from roasted and ground cacao seeds, typically sweetened: *a bar of chocolate* | [as modifier] *a chocolate cookie.* ■ a candy made of or covered with this: *a box of chocolates.* ■ a drink made by mixing milk with chocolate: *sipping on* ***hot chocolate.*** ■ a deep brown color: [as modifier] *huge spiders, yellow and* ***chocolate brown.***
-D E R I V A T I V E S **choc·o·lat·y** (also **chocolatey**) **adj.**
-O R I G I N early 17th cent.: (in the sense 'a drink made with chocolate'): from French *chocolat* or Spanish *chocolate,* from Nahuatl *chocolatl* 'food made from cacao seeds,' influenced by unrelated *cacaua-atl* 'drink made from cacao.'
(306)

cho·ri·zo /CHə'rēzō; -sō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **chorizos**) a spicy Spanish pork sausage.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(308)
chur·ro /'CHo͝orō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **churros**) a Latin American snack consisting of a strip of fried dough, very similar to funnel cake.
-O R I G I N Spanish, of uncertain origin; perhaps related to *churro* 'coarse, rough.'
(312)
cic·a·trix /'sikəˌtriks/ (also **cicatrice** /-ˌtris/) ▸**n.** (pl. **cicatrices** /ˌsikə›trīsēz; s ə›kātrəˌsēz/) the scar of a healed wound.
■ a scar on the bark of a tree. ■ Botany a mark on a stem left after a leaf or other part has become detached.
-D E R I V A T I V E S **cic·a·tri·cial** /ˌsikə'triSHəl/ **adj.**
-O R I G I N late Middle English (as *cicatrice*): from Latin *cicatrix* or Old French *cicatrice.*
(312)
ci·lan·tro /si'lanˌtrō; -'län-/ ▸**n.** other term for **CORIANDER** (esp. the leaves)
-O R I G I N 1920s: from Spanish, from Latin *coliandrum* 'coriander.'
(313)
com·pa·dre /kəm'pädrā/ ▸**n.** (pl. **compadres**)) informal a way of addressing or referring to a friend or companion.
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: Spanish, literally 'godfather,' hence 'benefactor, friend.' Compare with **COMPÉRE** and **GOSSIP**.
(352)
con·cha /'käNGkə/ ▸**n.** (pl. **conchae** /-kē; -ˌkī/) **1** Anatomy & Zoology a body part that resembles a spiral shell, in particular: ■ the depression in the external ear leading to its central opening. ■ (also **nasal concha**) any of several thin, scroll-like (turbinate) bones in the sides of the nasal cavity.
2 a round or oval hammered metal disk used as a decoration on jewelry, belts, harnesses, etc.
-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Latin (see **CONCH**).
(360)
con·ga /'käNGgə/ ▸**n. 1** a Latin American dance of African origin, usually with several people in a single line, one behind the other.
2 (also **conga drum**) a tall, narrow, low-toned drum beaten with the hands.
▸**v.** (**congas**, **congaing** /-gə-iNG/, **congaed** /-gəd/ or **conga'd**) [no obj.] dance the conga.
-O R I G I N 1930s: from Latin American Spanish, from Spanish, feminine of *congo* 'Congolese'
(366)

con·quis·ta·dor /kôNG' kēstəˌdôr; kän'k(w)istə-; kən-/ ▸**n.** (pl. **conquistadores** /-ˌkēstə'dôrēz; -ās; -ˌk(w)istə-/ or **conquistadors**) a conqueror, esp. one of the Spanish conquerors of Mexico and Peru in the 16th century.
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: Spanish.
(369)

co·pal /'kōpəl/ ▸**n.** resin from any of a number of tropical trees, used to make varnish. ● The resin is obtained from trees in the families Leguminosae (genera *Guibourtia, Copaifera* and *Trachylobium*) and Araucariaceae (genus *Agathis*).
-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: via Spanish from Nahuatl *copalli* "incense.'
(383)

coy·o·te /'kīˌōt; kī'ōtē/ ▸**n. 1** (pl. **same** or **coyotes**) a wolflike wild dog native to North America. Also called **BRUSH WOLF** or **PRAIRIE WOLF**. ● *Canis latrans,* family Canidae.
2 informal a person who smuggles Latin Americans across the US border, typically for a high fee: *at the bus station, there were coyotes offering to drive us to Los Angeles.*
-O R I G I N mid 18th cent.: from Mexican Spanish, from Nahuatl *coyotl.*
(401)

cum·bi·a /'koo͝mbēə/ ▸**n.** a kind of dance music of Colombian origin, similar to salsa. ■ a dance performed to this music.
-O R I G I N 1940s: from Colombian Spanish, perhaps from Spanish *cumbé.*
(422)

cu·ran·de·ro /ˌkyoo͝rən'derō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **curanderos**) (fem. **curandera** /-'derə/) (in Spain and Latin America) a healer who uses folk remedies.
-O R I G I N Spanish, from *curar* 'to cure,' from Latin *curare.*
(423)

dé·jà vu /ˌdāZHā 'voo͞/ ▸**n.** a feeling of having already experienced the present situation. ■ tedious familiarity: *to list the opponents of his policies is to invite boredom and a sense of dé·jà vu.*
-O R I G I N early 20th cent.: French, literally 'already seen.'
(458)

den·gue /'deNGgē; -gā/ (also **dengue fever**) ▸**n.** a debilitating viral disease of the tropics, transmitted by mosquitoes and causing sudden fever and acute pains in the joints.
-O R I G I N early 19th cent.: from West Indian Spanish, from Kiswahili *dinga* (in full *kidingapopo*), influenced by Spanish *dengue* 'fastidiousness' (with reference to the dislike of movement by affected patients).
(464)

en·chi·la·da /ˌenCHə'lädə/ ▸**n.** a rolled tortilla with a filling typically of meat and served with a chili sauce.
-P H R A S E S **the big enchilada** informal a person or thing of great importance. **the whole enchilada** informal the whole situation; everything.
-O R I G I N Latin American Spanish, feminine past participle of *enchilar* 'season with chili.'
(570-571)
fa·mil·ia /fə'milyə; -'milēə/ ▸**n.** (pl. **familiae** /-'millēˌē; -ēˌī/) historical a household or religious community under one head, regarded as a unit.
-O R I G I N early 18th cen.: Latin, literally 'family, household.'
(624)
fed·er·al /'fed(ə)rəl/ ▸**adj.** having or relating to a system of government in which several states form a unity but remain independent in internal affairs: *Russia's federation treaty shares powers Russia's among federal and local governments.*
■ of, relating to, or denoting the central government as distinguished from the separate units constituting a federation: *the federal agency that provides legal services to the poor.* ■ of, relating to, or denoting the central government of the US. ■ (**Federal**) historical of the northern states in the Civil War: *a loud Federal cheer was heard, proving Stonewall to be hard pressed.*
-D E R I V A T I V E S **fed·er·al·i·za·tion** /'fed(ə)rəli'zāSHən/ **n., fed·er·al·ize** /-ˌlīz/ **v., fed·er·al·ly adv.**
-O R I G I N mid 17th cent.: from Latin *foedus, foeder-* 'league, covenant' + **-AL**.
(633)
fi·es·ta /fē'estə/ ▸**n.** (in Spanish-speaking regions) a religious festival: *the yearly fiesta of San Juan.* ■ an event marked by festivities or celebration: *a balloon fiesta.*
-O R I G I N Spanish, from Latin *festum*, (plural) *festa.* (see **FEAST**).
(643)
fi·ni·to /fə'nētō/ ▸**adj.** [predic.] informal finished: *it's all done—finite.*
-O R I G I N Italian.
(649)
flan /flan/ ▸**n. 1** a baked dish consisting of an open-topped pastry case with savory or sweet filing. ■ a sponge base with a sweet topping.
2 a disk of metal such as one from which a coin is made.
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: from French (originally denoting a round cake) from Old French *flaon,* from medieval Latin *flado, fladon-*, of West Germanic origin; related to Dutch *vlade* 'custard.'
(657)
fri·jol /'frēhōl, frē'hōl/ ▸**n.** (pl. **frijoles** /-hōlz, 'hōlāz, -lēz/) a bean, esp. a red kidney bean or cowpea, used as a staple in Mexican cooking.
(695)

fri·jo·les /frē'hōlēz/ ▸**plural n.** (in Mexican cooking) beans.
-O R I G I N Spanish, plural of *frijol* 'bean.'
(695)

gran·dee /gran'dē/ ▸**n.** a Spanish or Portuguese nobleman of the highest rank. ■ a person of high rank or eminence: *several city grandees and eminent lawyers.*
-O R I G I N late 16th.: from Spanish and Portuguese *grande* 'grand,' used as a noun. The change of ending was due association with **–EE.**
(754)

grin·go /'griNGgō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **gringos**) informal, often offensive a white person from an English-speaking country (used in Spanish-speaking regions, chiefly Latin America).
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: Spanish, literally 'foreign, foreigner, or gibberish,' perhaps an alteration of *griego* 'Greek.'
(765)

gua·ra·che ▸**n.** variant spelling of **HUARACHE.**
(771)

hom·bre /'ämbrā; -brē/ ▸**n.** informal a man, esp. one of a particular type: *the Raiders quarterback is one tough hombre.*
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: (originally denoting a man of Spanish descent): Spanish, 'man,' from Latin *homo, homin-.*
(831)

hor·cha·ta /ôr'CHätə/ ▸**n.** (in Spain and Latin American countries) a milky drink made from ground almonds, tiger nuts, or rice.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(838)

hua·ra·che /wə'räCHē/ (also **guarache**) ▸**n.** a leather-thonged sandal, originally worn by Mexican Indians.
-O R I G I N late 19th cent.: Mexican Spanish.
(846)

hue·vos ran·che·ros /'wāvōs ran'CHerōs; rän-/ ▸**n.** a dish of fried or poached eggs served on a tortilla with spicy tomato sauce.
(847)

huit·la·co·che /ˌwētlə'kōCHā/ ▸**n.** a fungus that grows on corn, considered a delicacy in Mexico where cooks use it to flavor food.
(847)

i·gua·na /i'gwänə/ ▸**n.** a large, arboreal, tropical American lizard with a spiny crest along the back and greenish coloration, occasionally kept as a pet. ● Genus *Iguana,* family Iguanidae: two species, in particular the common **green iguana** (*I. iguana*). ■ any iguanid lizard.

-O R I G I N mid 16th cent.: from Spanish, from Arawak *iwana.*

(866)

is·tle /'is(t)ē/ ▸**n.** variant spelling of **IXTLE.**

(923)

ix·tle /'ikstl-ē; 'is(t)-/ (also **istle**) ▸**n.** (in Mexico and Central America) a plant fiber used for cordage, nets, and carpets. ● This fiber is obtained chiefly from *Agave* species (family Agavaceae), in particular *A. funkiana* and *A. lecheguilla.*

-O R I G I N late 19th cent.: via American Spanish from Nahuatl *ixtli.*

(924)

Ja·lis·co /hä'lēskō/ a state in western central Mexico, on the Pacific coast, capital, Guadalajara.

(929)

ji·ca·ma /'hikəmə; 'hē-/ ▸**n.** the crisp, white-fleshed, edible tuber of a Central American climbing plant of the pea family (*Pachyrhizus erosus,* family Leguminosae), cultivated since pre-Columbian times and used esp. in Mexican cooking.

-O R I G I N early 17th cent.: from Mexican Spanish *jícama,* from Nahuatl *xicama.*

(935)

La Ni·ña /lä 'nēnyə/ ▸**n.** a cooling of the water in the equatorial Pacific that occurs at irregular intervals and is associated with widespread changes in weather patterns complementary to those of El Niño, but less extensive and damaging in their effects.

-O R I G I N Spanish, literally 'the girl child,' after *El Niño.*

(982)

lo·co /'lōcō/ ▸**adj.** informal crazy.

-O R I G I N late 19th cent.: from Spanish, 'insane.'

(1026)

lu·nar /'loo͞nər/ ▸**adj.** of, or determined by, relating to, or resembling the moon: *a lunar landscape.*

-O R I G I N late Middle English: from Latin *lunaris,* from *luna* 'moon.'

(1040)

ma·chet·e /mə'SHe̱tē/ ▸**n.** a broad, heavy knife used as an implement or weapon, originating in Central America and the Caribbean.

-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Spanish, from *macho* 'hammer.'

(1047)

mac·ra·mé /ˈmakrəˌmā/ ▸**n.** the art of knotting cord or string in patterns to make decorative articles.
■ [usu. as modifier] fabric or articles made in this way.
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: French, from Turkish *makrama* 'tablecloth or towel,' from Arabic *miḳrama* 'bedspread.'
(1049)

maes·tro /ˈmīstrō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **maestri** /ˈmīstrē/ or **maestros**) a distinguished musician, esp. a conductor of classical music. ■ a great or distinguished figure in any sphere: *a movie maestro.*
-O R I G I N early 18th cent.: Italian, 'master,' from Latin *magister.*
(1050)

mag·uey /məˈgā/ ▸**n.** an agave plant, esp. one yielding pulque.
-O R I G I N mid 16th cent.: via Spanish from Taino.
(1053)

man·go /ˈmaNGgō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **mangoes** or **mangos**) **1** a fleshy yellowish-red tropical fruit that is eaten ripe or used green for pickles or chuntneys.
2 (also **mango tree**) the evergreen Indian tree of the cashew family that bears this fruit, widely cultivated in the tropics. ■ *Mangifera indica,* family Anacardiaceae; many local varieties.
3 a tropical American hummingbird that typically has green plumage with purple feathers on the wings, tail, or head. ● Genus *Anthracothorax*, family Trochilidae: several species, e.g., the **Jamaican mango** (*A. mango*), which has a dark bronze-green back, purple head, and black underside.
-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Portuguese *manga*, from a Dravidian language.
(1063)

man·za·nil·la /ˌmanzəˈnē(y)ə/ ▸**n.** a pale, very dry Spanish sherry.
-O R I G I N Spanish, literally 'chamomile' (because the flavor is said to be reminiscent of that of chamomile).
(1067)

ma·ri·a·chi /ˌmärēˈäCHē/ ▸**n.** (pl. **mariachis**) [as modifier] denoting a type of traditional Mexican folk music, typically performed by a small group of strolling musicians dressed in native costume. ■ a musician in such a group.
-O R I G I N from Mexican Spanish *mariache, mariachi* 'street singer.'
(1069)

ma·rim·ba /məˈrimbə/ ▸**n.** a deep-toned xylophone of African origin. The modern form was developed in the US *c.* 1910.
-O R I G I N early 18th cent.: from Kimbundu, perhaps via Portuguese.
(1070)

mat·ri·mo·ni·al /matrə'mōnēəl/ ▸**adj.** of or relating to marriage or married people: *matrimonial bonds.*

-D E R I V A T I V E S **mat·ri·mo·ni·al·ly adv.**

-O R I G I N late Middle English: via Old French from Latin *matrimonialis,* from *matrimonium* (see **MATRIMONY**).

(1080)

mes·quite /me'skēt/ ▸**n.** a spiny tree or shrub of the pea family, native to arid regions of southwestern US and Mexico. It yields useful timber, tanbark, medicinal products, and edible pods. The timber is used for fencing and flooring, and burned in barbecues as flavoring. ● Genus *Prosopis,* family Leguminosae: several species, in particular *P. glandulosa.*

-O R I G I N 18th cent.: from Mexican Spanish *mezquite.*

(1098)

mes·ti·za /mə'stēzə/ ▸**n.** (in Latin America) a woman of mixed race, esp. the offspring of a Spaniard and an American Indian.

-O R I G I N Spanish, feminine of *mestizo* (see **MESTIZO**).

(1098)

mes·ti·zo /me'stēzō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **mestizos**) (in Latin America) a man of mixed race, esp. the offspring of a Spaniard and an American Indian.

-O R I G I N Spanish, 'mixed,' based on Latin *mixtus.*

(1099)

Mex·i·ca·no /meksi'känō; ˌmāhē-/ ▸**n. & adj.** (pl. **Mexicanos**) informal Mexican or a Mexican.

-O R I G I N Spanish.

(1102)

mo·le[6] /'mōlā/ ▸**n.** a highly spiced Mexican sauce made chiefly from chili peppers and chocolate, served with meat.

-O R I G I N Mexican Spanish, from Nahuatl *molli* 'sauce, stew.'

(1126)

mu·lat·to /m(y)o͞o'lätō; -'latō/ dated ▸**n.** (pl. **mulattoes** or **mulattos**) a person of mixed white and black ancestry, esp. a person with one white and one black parent.

-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Spanish *mulato,* from Arabic *muwallad* 'person of mixed race.'

(1148)

Ne·gri·to /nə'grētō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **Negritos**) a member of a black people of short stature native to the Austronesian region.

-O R I G I N Spanish, diminutive of *negro* 'black' (see **NEGRO**); compare with **NEGRILLO**.

(1173)

Ne·gro /ˈnēgrō/ dated, often offensive ▸**n.** (pl. **Negroes**) a member of a dark-skinned group of peoples originally native to Africa south of the Sahara.
▸**adj.** of or relating to such people.
-O R I G I N via Spanish and Portuguese from Latin *niger, nigr-* 'black.'

USAGE: The word **Negro** was adopted from Spanish and Portuguese and first recorded from the mid 16th century. It remained the standard term throughout the 17th-19th centuries and was used by such prominent black American campaigners as W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington in the early 20th century. Since the Black Power movement of the 1960s, however, when the term **black** was favored as the term to express racial pride, **Negro** has dropped out of favor and now seems out of date or even offensive in both US and British English. The 2010 US Census questionnaire was criticized when it retained the racial designation **Negro** as an option (along with **Black** and **African Am.**). The Census Bureau defended its decision, citing the 2000 Census forms, on which more than 56,000 individuals handwrote "Negro" (even though it was already on the form). Apparently, **Negro** continues to be the identity strongly preferred by some Americans. See also usage at **BLACK**.

(1174)
Ni·ña, La ▸**n.** see **LA NIÑA.**
(1187)
no·pal /ˈnōpəl; nōˈpäl/ ▸**n.** a cactus that is a major food plant of the bugs from which cochineal is obtained. ● Genus *Nopalea*, family Cactaceae: several species, in particular *N. cochinellifera.* ■ (**nopales**) the edible fleshy pads of this cactus, used as a staple in Mexican cuisine. ■ the prickly pear cactus, when used in food supplements and herbal preparations.
-O R I G I N mid 18th cent.: via French and Spanish from Nahuatl *nopalli* 'cactus.'
(1196)
no·pa·les /nōˈpäles/ ▸**n.** the fleshy leaves of a prickly pear cactus, used as an ingredient in Mexican cuisine.
(1196)
no·ve·la /nōvelə/ ▸**n.** another term for **TELENOVELA.**
(1201)

o·yez /ʼōʼyā; ‘ōʼyez/ (also **oyes**) ▸**exclam.** a call given by a court officer, or formerly by public criers, typically repeated two or three times to command silence and attention, as before court is in session.

-O R I G I N late Middle English: from Old French *oiez!, oyez!* ‘hear!,’ imperative plural of *oir,* from Latin *audire* ‘hear.’

(1255)

pa·dre /ʼpädrā/ ▸**n.** a title of a priest or chaplain in some religions. ■ informal a chaplain (typically a Roman Catholic chaplain) in any of the armed services.

-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, literally ‘father, priest,’ from Latin *pater, patr-* ‘father.’

(1258)

pa·la·pa /pəʼläpə/ ▸**n.** a traditional Mexican shelter roofed with palm leaves or branches. ■ a structure, esp. on a beach, of a similar kind.

-O R I G I N Mexican Spanish, denoting the palm *Orbignya cohune.*

(1260)

pa·pa·ya /pəʼpīə/ ▸**n. 1** a tropical fruit shaped like an elongated melon, with edible orange flesh and small black seeds. Also called **PAPAW** or **PAWPAW**. **2** (also **papaya tree**) the fast-growing tree that bears this fruit, native to warm regions of America. It is widely cultivated for its fruit, both for eating and for papain production. ■ *Carica papaya,* family Caricaceae.

-O R I G I N late 16th cent.: from Spanish and Portuguese (see **PAWPAW**).

(1268)

pa·tri·a /ʼpātrēə; ‘pa-; ‘pä-/ ▸**n.** one’s native country or homeland: *they remained faithful to their patria, Spain.* ■ archaic heaven, regarded as the true home from which the soul is exiled while on earth.

-O R I G I N Latin.

(1285)

pe·so /ʼpāsō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **pesos**) the basic monetary unit of Mexico, several other Latin American countries, and the Philippines, equal to 100 centésimos in Uruguay and 100 centavos elsewhere.

-O R I G I N Spanish, literally ‘weight,’ from Latin *pensum* ‘something weighed,’ from the verb *pendere* ‘weigh.’

(1310)

pi·ña·ta /pēnʼyätə/ ▸**n.** (esp. in Spanish-speaking communities) a decorated figure of an animal containing toys and candy that is suspended from a height and broken open by blindfolded children as part of a celebration.

-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: Spanish, literally ‘pot.’

(1328)

pla·za /'plazə; 'pläzə/ ▸**n. 1** a public square, marketplace, or similar open space in a built-up area.
2 a shopping center. ■ a service area on a highway, typically with a gas station and restaurants.
-O R I G I N late 17th cent.: from Spanish, literally 'place.'
(1342)
po·bla·no /pō'blänō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **poblanos**) a large dark green chili pepper of a mild-flavored variety.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(1348)
pon·cho /'pänCHō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **ponchos**) a garment of a type originally worn in South America, made of a thick piece of woolen cloth with a slit in the middle for the head. ■ a waterproof garment in this style worn as a raincoat.
-O R I G I N early 18th cent.: from South American Spanish, from Araucanian.
(1358)
por·tal[1] /'pôrtl/ ▸**n. 1** a doorway, gate, or other entrance, esp. a large and elaborate one.
2 Computing an Internet site providing access or links to other sites.
-O R I G I N late Middle English: from Old French, from medieval Latin *portale,* neuter (used as a noun) of *portalis* 'like a gate,' from Latin *porta* 'door, gate.'
(1362)
pul·que /'poo͝lˌkā; -kē/ ▸**n.** a Mexican alcoholic drink made by fermenting sap from the maguey.
-O R I G I N via American Spanish from Nahuatl *puliúhki* 'decomposed.'
(1414)
pu·ta /'poo͞ˌtä/ ▸**n.** informal (in Spanish-speaking regions) a prostitute or slut.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(1421)
que·sa·dil·la /ˌkāsə'dēyə/ ▸**n.** a tortilla filled with cheese and heated.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(1431)
re·bo·zo /ri'bōzō; -sō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **rebozos**) a long scarf covering the head and shoulders, traditionally worn by Spanish-American women.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(1455)
rhum·ba ▸**n.** variant spelling of **RUMBA.**
(1498)

rum·ba /ˈrəmbə; ˈro͝om-; ˈro͞om-/ (also **rhumba**) ▸**n.** a rhythmic dance with Spanish and African elements, originating in Cuba. ■ a piece of music for this dance or in a similar style. ■ a ballroom dance imitative of this dance.
▸**v.** (**rumbas, rumbaing, rumbaed** /-bəd/) [no obj.] dance the rumba.
-O R I G I N 1920s: from Latin American Spanish.
(1528)
sal·sa /ˈsälsə/ ▸**n. 1** a type of Latin American dance music incorporating elements of jazz and rock. ■ a dance performed to this music.
2 (esp. in Latin American cooking) a spicy tomato sauce.
-O R I G I N Spanish, literally 'sauce,' extended in American Spanish to denote the dance.
(1543)
sa·ra·pe ▸**n.** variant spelling of **SERAPE.**
(1550)
Se·ñor /sānˈyôr; sen-/ ▸**n.** (pl. **Señores** /sānˈyôrāz**;** senˈyôres/ or **Señors**) a title or form of address used of or to a Spanish-speaking man, corresponding to *Mr.* or *sir: he is certain his information is correct, señor.*
-O R I G I N Spanish, from Latin *senior* (see **SENIOR**).
(1590)
Se·ño·ra /sānˈyôrə; sen-/ ▸**n.** a title or form of address used of or to a Spanish-speaking woman, corresponding to *Mrs.* or *madam: Señora Dolores.*
-O R I G I N Spanish, feminine of **SEÑOR**.
(1590)
Se·ño·ri·ta /ˌsānyəˈrētə; ˌsen-/ ▸**n.** a title or form of address used of or to a Spanish-speaking unmarried woman, corresponding to *Miss: a beautiful señorita.*
-O R I G I N Spanish, diminutive of **SEÑORA**.
(1590)
se·ra·pe /səˈräpē/ (also **sarape**) ▸**n.** a shawl or blanket worn as a cloak in Latin America.
-O R I G I N Mexican Spanish.
(1593)
se·vi·che ▸**n.** a variant spelling of **CEVICHE.**
(1600)
si·es·ta /sēˈestə/ ▸**n.** an afternoon rest or nap, esp. one taken during the hottest hours of the day in a hot climate.
-O R I G I N mid 17th cent.: Spanish, from Latin *sexta (hora)* 'sixth hour.'
(1625)

so·lo /ˈsōlō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **solos**) **1** a thing done by one person unaccompanied, in particular. ■ (pl. **solos** or **soli** /ˈsōlē/) a piece of vocal or instrumental music or a dance, or a part or passage in one, for one performer. ■ an unaccompanied flight by a pilot in an aircraft.

2 a card game in which one player plays against the others in an attempt to win a specified number of tricks.

▸**adj. & adv.** for or done by one person alone; unaccompanied: [as adj.] *a solo album* | [as adv.] *she'd spent most of her life flying solo.*

▸**v.** (**soloes, soloing, soloed**) [no obj.] perform something unaccompanied, in particular: ■ perform an unaccompanied piece of music or a part or passage in one. ■ fly an aircraft unaccompanied. ■ undertake solo climbing.

-O R I G I N late 17th cent. (as a musical term): from Italian, from Latin *solus* 'alone.'

(1663)

som·bre·ro /säm'bre(ə)rō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **sombreros**) a broad-brimmed felt or straw hat, typically worn in Mexico and the southwestern US.

-O R I G I N Spanish, from *sombra* 'shade' (see **SOMBER**).

(1664)

ta·co /'täkō/ ▸**n.** (pl. **tacos**) a Mexican dish consisting of a fried tortilla, typically folded, filled with various mixtures, such as seasoned meat, beans, lettuce, and tomatoes.

-O R I G I N Mexican Spanish, from Spanish, literally 'plug, wad.'

(1767)

ta·ma·le /tə'mälē/ ▸**n.** a Mexican dish of seasoned meat wrapped in cornmeal dough and steamed or baked in corn husks.

-O R I G I N from Mexican Spanish *tamal,* plural *tamales,* from Nahuatl *tamalli.*

(1772)

tam·a·rind /'tamə¸rind/ ▸**n. 1** a sticky brown acidic pulp from the pod of a tree of the pea family, widely used as a flavoring in Asian cooking. ■ the pod from which this pulp is extracted.

2 the tropical African tree that yields these pods, cultivated throughout the tropics and also grown as an ornamental and shade tree. ● *Tamarindus indica,* family Leguminosae.

-O R I G I N late Middle English: from medieval Latin *tamarindus*, from Arabic *tamar hindi* 'Indian date.'

(1772)

ta·que·ri·a /¸täkə'rēə; ¸tak-/ ▸**n.** a Mexican restaurant specializing in tacos.

-O R I G I N Mexican Spanish.

(1775)

tele- ▸**comb. form 1** to or at a distance: *telekinesis.*
■ used in names of instruments for operating over long distances: *telemeter.* [from Greek *tēle-* 'far off.']
2 relating to television: *telecine.* [abbreviation.]
3 done by means of the telephone: *telemarketing.* [abbreviation.]
(1783)

tel·e·no·vel·a /ˌteləˈnōvelə/ ▸**n.** (in Latin America) a television soap opera. Also called **NOVELA**.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(1784)

te·qui·la /təˈkēlə/ ▸**n.** a Mexican liquor made from an agave.
-O R I G I N Mexican Spanish, named after the town of *Tequila* in Mexico, where the drink was first produced.
(1789)

tor·til·la /tôrˈtē(y)ə/ ▸**n.** (in Mexican cooking) a thin, flat pancake of cornmeal or flour, eaten hot or cold, typically with a savory filling. ■ (in Spanish cooking) a thick omelet containing potato and other vegetables, typically served cut into wedges.
-O R I G I N Spanish, diminutive of *torta* 'cake.' Compare with **TORTE**.
(1829)

tu·ris·ta /to͝oˈrēstə/ ▸**n.** informal diarrhea as suffered by travelers when visiting certain foreign countries.
-O R I G I N Spanish, literally 'tourist.'
(1864)

va·moose /vaˈmo͞os; və-/ ▸**v.** [no obj.] informal depart hurriedly: *we'd better vamoose before we're caught.*
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: from Spanish *vamos* 'let us go.'
(1913)

vi·va /ˈvēvə/ ▸**exclam.** long live! (used to express acclaim or support for a specified person or thing): *"Viva Mexico!"*
▸**n.** a cry of this as a salute or cheer.
-O R I G I N Italian and Spanish.
(1935)

yer·ba bue·na /ˈbwānə/ ▸**n.** a trailing aromatic herb with whitish or lilac flowers, related to savory. Native to the western US, it has been used medicinally and as a local tea. ● *Satureja douglasii,* family Labiatae.
-O R I G I N mid 19th cent.: from Spanish, literally 'good herb.'
(2005)

zo·ca·lo /ˈsōkəˌlō; sôˈkäˌlō/ ▸**n.** (in Mexico) a public square or plaza.
-O R I G I N Spanish.
(2013)

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