

International Journal of English Studies



Anglicisms and calques in upper social class in pre-revolutionary Cuba (1930–1959): A sociolinguistic analysis

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Received: 3/10/2015. Accepted: 31/01/2016.

ABSTRACT

The geographical proximity and socioeconomic dependence on the United States brought about a deep-rooted anglicization of the Cuban Spanish lexis and social strata, especially throughout the Neocolonial period (1902–1959). This study is based on the revision of a renowned newspaper of that time, *Diario de la Marina*, and the corresponding elaboration of a corpus of English-induced loanwords. *Diario de la Marina* particularly targeted upper social class, and only *crónicas sociales* (society pages' columns) and print advertising were revised because of their fully descriptive texts, which encoded the ruling class ideology and consumerism. The findings show that there existed a high number of lexical and cultural anglicisms in the sociolect in question, and that the sociolinguistic anglicization was openly embraced by the upper socioeconomic stratum, entailing a differentiating sign of sophistication and social stratification. Likewise, a number of the anglicisms collected, particularly those related with social events, are unused in contemporary Cuban Spanish, which suggests a major semantic shifting in this sociolect after 1959.

KEYWORDS: anglicism, sociolinguistics, corpus analysis, high sociolect, historical linguistics, Cuban Spanish.

1. INTRODUCTION

The ascent of English as a "vital international lingua franca" (Cárdenas, 1999: 15) has been regarded at times as a threat, a convenience, or just an unquestionable intrusiveness. The anglicization of Spanish lexis and syntax has been tremendously fostered by a new global power: the United States of America, whose degree of influence has been particularly

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remarkable on neighboring countries such as Puerto Rico, Mexico, or Cuba (Alfaro, 1948; Fasla Fernández, 2007–2008; Lope Blanch, 1972; López Morales, 1971; Lorenzo, 1995–1996; Medina López, 2004; Valdés, 2007).

The aim of this empirical research article is: 1) to study the degree of both cultural and sociolinguistic influences on Cuban Spanish in the oft-quoted Neocolonial period (1902–1959) through the revision of periodicals, chiefly society pages' columns and advertising, from a specific historical period (1930–1959); 2) to provide a descriptive analysis of the English-induced units collected, and their semantic or morpho-syntactic changes, based on their etymology, semantic field, and typology; 3) to revise the occurrence of these Neocolonial anglicisms in contemporary Cuban Spanish, and their semantic or morphosyntactic variations, if any.

To have a better understanding of the sociolinguistic penetration of American English into Cuban Spanish, the present study is likewise intended to provide a brief account on the historical and sociological context in which Cuban society was more likely to embrace Americanized social traits.

2. SOCIOLINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK

2.1. American English in Neocolonial Cuba: a historical account

The intervention of the United States in the Cuban-Spanish war (1895–1898) represented a historical turning point as to the influence of the English language on Cuban Spanish. The progressive borrowing and calque processes would be irreversibly raised by the imposition of new extralinguistic features: the absolute economic and political dependence of Cuba on the United States; and the completion of 'invasive' American ways of living, only paralleled with the late-twentieth-century globalization process.

One of the first linguistic impositions carried out by the new American authorities on the island was to issue a decree to enact the learning process of English inasmuch teachers needed to be prepared to teach elementary English, according to the *Decreto de las escuelas primarias y superiores de Cuba*, published in *Gaceta de La Habana* on December 6, 1899 (Valdés, 2001: 136). Many Cuban teachers were off to Harvard University and schools in New York to become better acquainted with up-to-date educational methods (Fairford, 1926: 25).

The American political strategies were oriented to guarantee and favor the economic intervention, since annexation was regarded as a threat by many Americans, particularly with regard to competitiveness and price. Consequently, President W. Mckinley (1897–1901) took all the necessary steps to have Cuba be subject to the United States by establishing an 'independent' republic, and thus everyone was satisfied: those who wanted to strengthen

American economic dominance on the island, and those who rejected the annexation. By 1907, there were already in Cuba a total of 13,000 American settlers, whose possessions and investments were worth fifty million pesos.

An evident illustration of the Americanization of identity and language is observed on the Isle of Pines (*Isla de la Juventud*), in which an estimated 4,850 registered US property owners claimed to own more than half of the island. Even new communities were modeled in a physical and toponymic fashion after American towns: Columbia, McKinley, Palm Grove, Westport, San Francisco Heights, Santa Barbara Heights. "English became the dominant language and US currency the medium of exchange (...) Two weekly newspapers, the *Isle of Pines News* and the *Isle of Pines Appeal*, were published in English" (Pérez, 2008: 110).

The percentages of native English-speakers, chiefly Americans, throughout the first part of the last century were the following ones: 0.46 % in 1899, approximately 1.0 % in 1917, and 0.36 % in 1953. The number of American visitors was also remarkable during the period, reaching the record peak of 356,000 in 1957 (Valdés, 2001: 150). These figures show that American migration was not a meaningful factor in the Anglicization of Cuban Spanish before 1959. Extralinguistic elements were reasonably involved: economic and political reliance, lifestyles, consumerism, etc. These elements were especially copied by an everincreasing Cuban bourgeoisie, which is why the study of upper social class and English-induced loans is of great importance to comprehend the borrowing process more thoroughly.

2.2. Upper socioeconomic stratum in Neocolonial Cuba

Post-colonial social stratification was highly characterized by the assimilation of American living standards. Following the establishment of a new political and economic order, North-American social values and strata were adopted, entailing an assimilation of the English language and the embracing of progressive social conducts, throughout the unprecedented Republican era (1902–1959). In sum, the ever-increasing Cuban bourgeoisie was utterly lured by the "fetishes of American consumerism", which would have an impact on Cuban Spanish (López Segrera, 1989: 185).

The shaping of the oft-quoted *cubanía* suggested that English was playing an important role in the new social 'hotchpotch'. Cuban residents were becoming more familiar with the English language, and with what it implied: sophistication and *la jai* (high life). "English-language words entered Spanish as a function of social relationships, particularly unequal power relationships. Use of English words and phrases was to be taken as evidence of acceptance and adaptation, but it also served as proof of sophistication" (Pérez, 2008: 377).

Leading periodicals and dailies, such as *La Lucha*, *La Discusión* or *Diario de la Marina*, turned into a predictable showroom of loanwords and calques, through which a significant number of these lexical units were assimilated by Cuban Spanish. Thus, *party* was preferred over 'fiesta', *living room* over 'sala' (or 'salón') and *market* instead of 'mercado'

(see Appendix 1 for more examples). Newspapers, especially those aimed at middle and upper social class, necessarily complied with the new trend: English was regarded as the language of classiness and sophistication. Cuban Spanish word-stock was enriched by technological inventions, brands, and pastimes, and therefore, by a major assimilation of anglicisms.

Not surprisingly, English was the means to success. "English was the route to advantage and advancement" (Pérez, 2008: 150). Due to an increasing demand of English-speaking personnel, a great deal of language schools or 'academias' increased abruptly, as well as a growing number of 'English spoken here' all over large cities, implying the rising co-relation between speaking English fluently and finding a job. Consequently, education in English was progressively gaining importance in Neocolonial times due to work requirements and social standards.

2.3. Anglicisms: concepts and typology

In general, there is no consensus on the terminology of *anglicism*, and it is clearly used as an "umbrella label for any sign of interference" (Gottlieb, 2005: 163). Early and formal identifications of anglicisms have been provided; e.g. "a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology, or at least one of the three), but it is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language" (Görlach, 2003: 1). Other scholars have also offered similar definitions in which the identification of anglicism with solely words or idiomatic phraseology is palpable (López Morales, 1987; Stone, 1957).

Consequently, the need to resort to an all-inclusive definition is essential in the light of a study of anglicisms in a given variant of a language. Thus, Gottlieb identifies an anglicism as "any individual or systemic language feature adapted or adopted from English, or inspired or boosted by English models, used in intralingual communication in a language other than English" (2005: 163).

A number of classifications have been provided (Gómez Capuz, 1997; Pratt, 1980; Rodríguez González, 2002; Seco, 2000–2001), which have consistently attempted to analyze the process of lexical borrowing in an *artificially* legible way, and to abridge the theoretical frameworks collected. Nevertheless, Furiassi, Pulcini and Rodríguez González (2012) have expounded anglicisms through a state-of-the-art and unifying overview of the most relevant concepts regarding lexical borrowings and calques (Figure 1). Pragmatically, calques and borrowings are occasionally studied as different processes, but they can be equally motivated by graphemic or semantic transference. This feature is key to coin a global terminology encompassing other subcategories, which share similarities in the way linguistic assimilation and transference occur between two languages in contact.

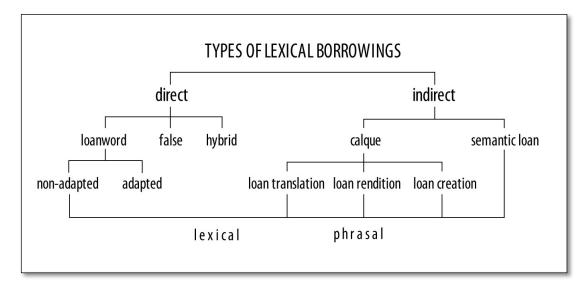


Figure 1. Types of lexical borrowing

The first distinction is made between *direct* and *indirect borrowings*. Direct borrowings from a source language (SL) to a recipient language (RL), or target language, have the tendency of showing evident elements of the SL, i.e. English. These elements are not obviously detected or conveyed in the same manner (loanwords, false loans, hybrid loans). Indirect borrowings (calques and semantic loans) are not as easy to spot as direct ones: SL models are reproduced by translation in the RL (calques), or by already-existing elements in RL which acquire new meanings (semantic loan).

In the case of loanwords, and based on the degree of integration of the units in the RL, anglicisms are divided into two types: *non-adapted* and *adapted*. A non-adapted loanword is a word or multi-word unit "without or with minor formal and semantic integration, so that it remains recognizably English in the RL" (Furiassi et al., 2012: 6). By and large, phonological integration takes place due to evident differences between the phonological systems of RL and SL (*bowling*, *brass*, *baby*). An adapted borrowing is a word or multi-word unit borrowed with orthographic, phonological and/or morphological integration into the systemic structures (accepted by the system of the language) of the RL. Semantically, RL and SL's meanings are related (*panqué* < pancake, *cloche* < clutch, *yersi* < jersey).

False or pseudo loans are not exclusively examples of the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign. They are SL-induced units, whose meanings differ fully with their English forms but they are clearly influenced by the English semantic structure: pulóver (< pullover) does not convey the meaning of a T-shirt in English, but there exists an undeniable transference of semantic traits from the SL into the RL (Cuban Spanish).

As to calques, there are three global forms that call for additional clarification: *loan translation, loan rendition*, and *loan creation*. A loan translation is a calque *par excellence*: it is a word or a multi-word unit which translates a SL unit into a RL one, i.e. from English to Spanish (*queso crema* < cheese cream). A loan rendition is a one-word unit or multi-word

unit which translates an English element only partially and provides a slightly equivalent item in the RL: árbol del pan < breadfruit tree, línea de foul < foul line. Finally, a loan creation is a new word or multi-word unit in the RL which freely renders the English pattern word in Spanish. It is, in short, "defined as a free loan translation that bears no formal and structural resemblance to the foreign model" (Gómez Capuz, 1997: 93): jardinero < fielder, lanzarse de barriga < to slide onto base. These forms are chiefly motivated by the referents they signify. Though equal in referential grounds, the signifiers or lexical structures differ in both languages, which is owing to intra-linguistic peculiarities. The examples provided above of loan rendition and loan creation are not in our corpus but they are widely used in Cuban Spanish.

A *semantic loan* mostly depends on the type of motivation induced by other linguistic levels. All semantic loans or loan shifts have in common the semantic extension (homonymy or polysemy) of already-existing units in the RL: *introducir* ('to make (someone) known to someone else by name' < to introduce). In Cuban Spanish, other examples of this type may be found, whose degree of morphological accommodation can vary from highly-camouflaged (*cana* 'prison' < can) to clearly-detectable (*aplicador* < applicator).

3. CORPUS-DRIVEN ANALYSIS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Decoding a sociolect through text-samples

The present study of sociolinguistic variations is based on English-induced lexical units, and American-centered cultural elements. Social strata are responsible for language variations in terms of English linguistic patterns and American cultural standards acquisition. Along with the sociolinguistic variation targeted, other categories are likely to partake: spatial variations, gender, sex, level of educational attainment, etc.

The existence of a system of "orderly heterogeneity" within a speech community's language (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog, 1968: 100) implies the non-random nature of such variations, constrained by multiple social factors. The ultimate challenge is to find quantitative mechanisms for tracking synchronic data sets, which "tell us much about how language change is embedded in social structures, i.e. the social mechanisms, motivations, and constraints on it" (Bayley & Lucas, 2007: 118). The empirical analysis of written texts, especially journalistic materials whose readership has been identified as high class members, stands out as a hands-on methodological approach: *Diario de la Marina* and *El Mundo*'s column headings for social news were known "for representing the social world of the Cuban middle class" (Pérez, 2008: 372). Particularly, *Diario de la Marina* was becoming a showroom of social events and parties, in which 'cronistas sociales' (society pages' writers) devoted long columns to publicize family names, restaurants, clothing shops, party

attendants, etc. (cf. Marrero, 2013). This material revision is therefore accompanied by the setting-up of a corpus, in which text-samples could be easily described and labeled.

Nevertheless, a number of sociolinguists have questioned the purely social stratification analysis of sociolects, and have proposed further theoretical bases such as "linguistic market" and "social reticulation" (Gimeno Menéndez, 1990: 57). The former attempts to convey the dynamics of society and history with reference to the importance such a sociolect has in their socioeconomic life, and the latter implies the characterization of the group members through a "normative consensus" (Gimeno Menéndez, 1990: 57). Others have described the phenomenon of language change as a bidirectional transition whereby changes from above, i.e. highest status social class, tend to represent loans from other high-prestige speech (Labov, 1994: 78). Milroy and Milroy (1992) have also attempted to study linguistic change by understanding the role of social class and network. According to their findings (1992:4), "the level of integration of any given group into the wider society is likely to be inversely related to the extent to which it maintains a distinctive vernacular", and all the shifts occurring "will be constrained by variations in political, economic, and social structures that are specific to these different localities".

This is perhaps what makes historical sociolinguistics' models less uniform and precise: they are based on the intentionality of text producers, readership, and socio-geographic backgrounds. Jakobson's communicative functions (1960) and Grice's communication maxims (1975) denote a direct link between addresser and addressee through a common metalinguistic function or code. Both participants in a given communicative situation share a mutual encoding and decoding process, which entails a relatively plausible means of spotting distinguishable lexical units of a specific sociolect in a synchronic manner. In other words, by studying the encoding system addressers (writers) resort to, the decoding system of addressees (readers) is exposed. And if addressees convey shared social features, not only are their linguistic traits revealed to us, but also the sociolinguistic shifting parameters (register, diastratic and/or diaphasic traits) of the sociolect in question. A number of studies have demonstrated "a strong and systematic association between status and newspaper readership" (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007: 1125).

Thus, one of the ultimate intentions of the present research paper is to describe English-induced loanwords, and the impact of the borrowing process on a specific sociolect. This is why the issue of motivation and functions of anglicisms should not be overlooked. In accordance with this premise, Rodríguez González (1996: 111) relates the interpersonal function, proposed by Halliday, of anglicisms to the foreign nature conveyed, which develops "an 'expressive' meaning, i.e. a meaning that expresses feelings or attitudes on the part of speaker: irony, contempt, snobbery or affection (prestige), etc.".

The analysis of linguistic variation, sociolects, or sociolinguistic prestige is most likely possible through a corpus of texts or text-samples. "In constructing a corpus, the researcher identifies, describes, and selects texts or text-samples and the people who produced them"

(Bayley & Lucas, 2007: 120). Thus, large amounts of data lead to more precision in our quantitative description and in our attempt to provide both an accurate depiction of the linguistic forms used and an appropriate identification of language users.

3.2. Revision and analysis of text-samples (1930–1959): methodology

As commented earlier, the ultimate intention of this article is to conduct a linguistic analysis of Neocolonial Cuban periodicals (1930–1959), which would indicate a joint communicative intentionality of both addresser and addressee, and serve as a lens reflecting society diachronically (Vázquez-Amador, 2015: 1). By identifying those English-induced lexical units in the dailies, we would be clearly collecting valuable corpus-driven data, which would not only provide us with quantitative evidence of the use of loanwords and calques, but also convey adopted cultural features.

The analytic stage consists of two main steps:

1. Extraction of anglicisms and calques produced in a specific historical period: 1930–1959. Relying on a 30-year span of the second half of this period seems timely adequate to ascertain how the lexical borrowing was perceived; besides, the choice of a thirty-year time-span is intended to avoid a single-style writer and publicist. As commented earlier, the newspaper selected is *Diario de la Marina*. Founded in 1844, it was known for its highly conservative articles, and condemned by Fidel Castro after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, leading to its imminent closure in 1960 (cf. Guerra, 2012). This newspaper is relevant to support our research for three reasons: 1) it was published non-stop during the period allotted (1930–1959); 2) its readership has consistently been identified as middle-upper socioeconomic class of a well-defined conservative stance (Guerra, 2012; Luis, 2001); 3) its availability online: it is the only pre-revolutionary Cuban newspaper in digital format.¹

Fourteen newspaper issues have been chosen in a random manner (see Appendix 2), and only publicity and 'crónicas sociales' (society pages) have been sampled as corpus-feeders. Even though print publicity and society pages have slightly different communicative functions, they share a common stereotype of readers: middle-upper social class, eager to both embrace consumerism and feel identified among the socialites described in the society columns. The linkage between newspaper readers and texts has been widely studied (Fairclough, 2005; Richardson, 2010), especially in terms of reciprocal influence and discourse analysis: "Texts generate their publics, publics generate their texts" (Blommaert, 1999: 5–6). These two text types are highly descriptive: print advertising publicizes products and establishments whereas social pages' columns publicize elite

- lifestyles and social events. By narrowing these text forms, readership typology is guaranteed, and thus the linguistic level could be assertively examined.
- 2. Analysis of the text samples and corpus annotations (typology of anglicism, spelling variations, etymology). The information gathered (see table in Appendix 1) has helped us draw a necessary comparison of the lexical units registered, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. This stage is primarily aimed to identify contextualized Neocolonial anglicisms and calques, and to describe them diasynchronically. The collection of these units is of vital importance to comprehend:

 1) the degree of anglicization this sociolect has been embedded with in such a historical period; 2) the etymology of contemporary systemic anglicisms, i.e. units compiled in dictionaries/glossaries; 3) the cultural and linguistic traits Cuban upper class was characterized by in accordance with Neocolonial social stratification. These measurable values could be outstanding to track down English-induced cultural traits and their significant impact on the language in future research.

4. RESULTS

A total of fourteen newspapers were examined, from the following years: 1930, 1947, 1948, 1952, 1954, 1955, and 1958 (see Appendix 2). Unfortunately, digital newspaper issues from 1931 to 1946 were not available, and as previously commented, not only was the choice of specific issues random, but it was also linked with the quality of the scanned documents, and understandably, the availability of the materials. The number of anglicisms/calques extracted totaled 174. Obviously, this number represents the full amount of the units identified, not the number of occasions they are used, i.e. lexical frequency. This variable might be of great interest in future studies of Cuban sociolects to examine the degree of linguistic variations these borrowings are more likely to undergo. Nevertheless, the present research only focuses on the extraction and description of upper sociolect loans, and their corresponding labeling in terms of semantic field, typology, and systemic variations in contemporary Cuban Spanish. Consequently, each of the units collected is accompanied with a brief context, encompassing relevant pragmatic information. Trademarks and proper names were not taken into consideration or registered, unless they were culturally pertinent (*Santa Claus, Queen Mary*).

One of the earliest results indicates a surprisingly high number of English loanwords in society columns and advertising, especially in the former, related with weddings, birthdays, and christenings (eighteen loanwords, over 10% of the total). Some of these lexical units were fresher cultural referents in Neocolonial Cuban Spanish (*flower girl*, *ring boy*), whilst others simply replaced already-existing units in the language (*baby* as in *bebé*, or *wedding cake* as in *tarta nupcial/de boda*). Most of the anglicisms extracted were expectedly found on

society pages (nearly 60%) since these text forms noticeably rely on a higher word count. This fact reveals that publicity, along with the English proper names and toponyms Cuban Spanish is fraught with (*Andy*, *Hershey*, *Sia* < Sears, *Tony*, *William*), has played a significant role in the anglicization process of the Cuban Spanish variant, chiefly throughout the Neocolonial period.

According to the aforementioned classification of lexical borrowings (Figure 1), most of the anglicisms extracted are direct borrowings (nearly 95%). Of this group, the number of non-adapted anglicisms is dramatically higher than the other categories (82.7 %): at home, baby, baby shower, barbecue, bill, birthday cake, book, boy-scout, bowling, brass, bride maid, bridge, broadcloth, buffet supper, bunch, business meeting, cake, cambric, camp fire, charcoal, chassis, chauffeur, clipper, clubman, club house, club room, clutch, cocktail party, cocoa, community college, corduroy, crash, crèche, crepe, dial, doily, dollar, dry cleaning, easter lilies, ferry, ferry boat, film, flower girl, fraternity, french poodle, fruit cake, galalith, grand dinner, hand-printed, heatherspun, high-ball, hit, impromptu, jack pot, jacket, jazzband, jersey, junior, junior bride maid, keno, kindergarten, kitchen shower, leader, linin, living room, long cloth, lunch, maid of honor, mayor, minimum, mink, money order, moss, movietone, Mr., Mrs., night, night club, nylon, orange, pantry, party, peach, penthouse, periwinkle, picnic, pique, polo-shirt, poplin, privet, pump, push-pull, Oueen Mary, reporter, resort, restaurant, revue, ring boy, river breeze, role, roof, roof garden, sandwich, Santa Claus, sharkskin, shorts, show, skating rink, sketch, slack, smocking, soda, soldier blue, splash party, spun, stadium, staff, staff meeting, steward, stewardess, stock, supermarket, sweet heart rose, sweet peas, team, teen-age, ticket, town hall, T-strap, twisttill, vinyl, wash and wear, wedding cake, young gentleman, zipper.

As per adapted loanwords, 18 cases were found: *chantung* < shantung, *dril* < drill, *elevador* < elevator, *galón* < gallon, *guarandol* < warandol, *guingham* < gingham, *jaibolear* < high-ball, *linolán* < linoleum, *miting* < meeting, *organdí* < organdy, *panqué* < pancake, *plomero* < plumber, *silka* < silk, *skiador* < skier, *suéter* < sweater, *velveta* < velvet, *yarda* < yard, *yersi* < jersey. Only 3 examples of false anglicisms were listed (*pig* < pigskin, *pulóver* < pullover, *sport* 'casual'). The second case, *pulóver*, is an adapted false loan, whereas *pig* results from a shortening process. Only one case of hybrid borrowing is provided: *babyto* 'little baby' < baby, whereby a non-adapted foreign base is attached to a native morpheme. This derivational process of combining the diminutive suffix *-ito(a)* has become particularly productive in Cuban Spanish with regard to clothing-related bases: *blumito* < bloomers, *blusita* < bloomers, *pulovito* < pullover, *shorcito* < shorts.

Indirect borrowings were significantly lower in number (6.3%). There were 7 cases of loan translation (calques *par excellence*) extracted: *cobre* 'coin' < copper, *nuevo plan* 'payment plan' < new plan, *pie* 'measurement unit' < foot, *pulgada* < inch, *queso crema* < cheese cream, *reservación* 'booking' < reservation, *venta* < sale; and 4 semantic loans: *arena*

'a sphere of interest, activity, or competition', *departamento* < department store, *introducir* 'to make (someone) known to someone else by name' < to introduce, *utilidades* < utilities.

The existence of cultural loans (Bloomfield, 2005; Gómez Capuz, 1997; Hoffer, 2002) is clearly observed: Santa Claus, Queen Mary and easter lillies (types of flowers), fraternity, soda (soft drink), boy-scouts. Cultural borrowings are not precisely an isolated category of borrowings. These are forms characterized by the introduction into a given linguistic group of "a previously unknown datum or phenomenon", which will "predictably entail devising an appropriate means of referring to it in the corresponding language, whether it be in the form of a new label, a series of labels, or a new pattern for producing such within the existing grammatical apparatus" (Fleischmann, 1976: 2). In other words, a number of anglicisms are potentially cultural loans in the sense that not only are these forms linguistically assimilated into the recipient language, but they also add cultural novelty and innovation. Whilst Santa Claus and boy-scouts (also non-adapted loanwords) denote transference of American cultural traits, miting and leader are merely linguistic borrowings, because their referents are known to Cuban speakers. The concept of cultural loan is most noticeable in necessarily paired collocates: bill, Mr. or Mrs. are solely seen in the corpus preceding English proper nouns as in la bill MacKinley, Mr. and Mrs. Noble Brandon Judah (see contexts in Appendix 1). This is utterly relevant when relating linguistic loans, syntax, and more importantly, pragmatic meaning of collocates.

The corpus also encompasses metric system units, which were widely assimilated, and occasionally calqued (*libra* < pound, *pie* < foot, *pulgada* < inch, *yarda* < yard). Curiously, they all became obsolete after 1959, except for *libra*, which still co-exists with *kilogramo*.

Since our study only involves society pages and print advertising, it is not unexpected to find a number of English-induced loanwords related to the semantic field of clothing and fabric types (37 loanwords identified, accounting for nearly 21% of the total number compiled). Most fabric names remain as technical terms within the clothing industry (broadcloth, galalith, guingham, heatherspun, etc.), whilst others have been thoroughly assimilated into the vernacular, which is somehow noticeable in spelling shifts (chantung < shantung, guarandol < warandol, linin < linen, linolán < linoleum, yersi < jersey). Clothing items have been more easily adapted into the Cuban variant: jacket (or yaqui), pullover, suéter < sweater.

Regarding the semantic field of fashion and clothing, the wide range of colors is likewise worth mentioning. The borrowing of English-induced colors both entails a detailed knowledge of the terminology and adds sophistication to the item or event described: *charcoal*, *cocoa*, *orange*, *periwinkle*, *river breeze*, *soldier blue*. These lexical units are all direct borrowing forms, thus consolidating the notion that non-adapted loanwords heighten semic traits of classiness and upper-stratum.

As expected, the coinage of technology-related loans is also perceived: *chassis*, *clipper*, *clutch*, *ferry*, *ferry boat*, *money order*, *movietone*, *pump*, *push-pull*. They are related to a

variety of fields: banking, transport, or film-making; and due to their novelty, they are clearly non-adapted loanwords. This trend has obviously changed with the passage of time, and some of them have been adapted graphemically and phonemically into Spanish: *chase* < chassis, *ferri* < ferry, *cloche* < clutch (Haensch & Werner, 2000).

The coexistence of paronymic duplets, belonging to different borrowing types but conveying a similar lexical meaning is also noticed: *fraternity/fraternidad*; *high-ball/jaibolear*; *jersey/yersi*. Due to the graphemic and phonemic adaptation of loanwords, both forms remain in the language, and eventually the adapted form logically prevails: *fraternidad*, *jaibolear*, *yersi* (Haensch & Werner, 2000). These duplets are highly productive in Cuban Spanish, especially in baseball jargon: *home-run/jonrón*, *dug-out/dogao*, *fielder/fildeador*, etc.

Once these English-induced units are attested, they are conveniently checked in present-day dictionaries and glossaries to revise their contemporary usage and form. Two Cuban Spanish dictionaries (Haensch & Werner, 2000; Sánchez-Boudy, 1999) and a linguistic corpus (González Mafud, 2010) have been used in this final analysis. The findings show that 35 anglicisms are currently compiled, and they can be grouped according to the variations undergone: 1) those keeping their original (Neocolonial) morphological and semantic structures (cake, crash, dial, doily, elevador, film, galón, hit, jacket, jaibolear, panqué, pantry, pulóver, queso crema, resort, restaurant, roof, sandwich, shorts, smoking, soda, sport, stock, suéter, yersi); 2) those with spelling changes (cloche < clutch, corduroi < corduroy, dólar < dollar, guarandol < warandol, líder < leader, living < living room, mítin < míting < meeting, nailon < nylon, panti < panty, reportero < reporter, vinil < vinyl, zíper < zipper); 3) those whose semantic structure is modified (creche 'a group of children', party 'an informal gathering'). Curiously, most loanwords related to social events are not compiled, and certainly, unused.

Another convenience of a corpus-driven analysis of this kind is that the units compiled could provide us with etymological data, in particular those units whose semantic structure has been modified. For instance, *bunch* was found in a number of contexts with the meaning of 'a group of'; this meaning is no longer in use. However, *bonche* (< bunch), which means 'a noisy gathering in which people have fun' (Haensch & Werner, 2000: 81), in contemporary Cuban Spanish denotes a clear-cut extension of meaning and negative connotation, as opposed to *bunch*.

As to gender shifts, it would be interesting to continue studying the rather arbitrary nature of gender assimilation. Most loanwords and calques, coexisting with their 'native' Spanish counterparts, compliantly adopt the gender of the Spanish word with which they are associated (<u>la barbecue</u>, <u>un bunch</u>, <u>el lounge</u>), or simply because Spanish suffixed word requires it (<u>la reservación</u>); but at times the rule does not apply (<u>un dinner</u>, <u>el jacket</u>). As expected, new lexical units in the system are arbitrarily assigned a phonological-induced gender: el *bridge*, el *corduroy*, el *keno*.

The transition of the non-adapted loanword *party* (see above) is of a curious nature. In pre-1959 times, the word adopted the masculine gender whereas it is currently used with a feminine gender. This gender shift goes hand in hand with a semantic clashing occurring after 1959, in which the latter was mostly used in lower class sociolect, depicting negative prestige. The Neocolonial loanword *party* (see Appendix 1) clearly conveys a meaning of refined gathering (positive prestige). *Party*, in sum, could be an accurate metaphor to describe the evolution of anglicisms in Cuban Spanish, and the tip of the iceberg of a significant semantic shifting occurring after 1959, pertaining to borrowing and calquing.

A number of Gallicisms were also found (*chassis*, *crèche*, *crepe*), which might impel lexicographers to do further research on the coexistence of these two borrowing processes throughout the varying period under study. The fact that some French-induced units, e.g. *fiancé(e)*, *paillet*, and *role*, were first used in English in the seventeenth century (*role*) or nineteenth century (*fiancé(e)*, *paillet*) implies that these words might have entered the Cuban variant of Spanish *indirectly* through American English, or directly from French by means of books and literature in general (Seco, 2000–2001: 254). Therefore, due to the lack of etymological data, most of these entries of French origin have been left out. Nevertheless, originally French words, e.g. *chassis*, *chauffeur*, *crèche*, *privet*, which are arguably thought to have been assimilated from American English during the Neocolonial period, are attested in our corpus. These forms were not found in nineteenth or early twentieth century dictionaries or glossaries (Dihigo, 1915; Marinello, 1996; Pichardo y Tapia, 1875) so they were seemingly borrowed from American English, given that the influx of French after 1902 was dramatically lower than the influx of American English (Valdés, 2001: 142).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The number of anglicisms compiled indicates a direct link between upper socioeconomic stratum and English-induced units as far as positive prestige is concerned, given that the texts analyzed are particularly aimed at this type of readership. The usage of these units in high-sociolect texts implies favorable conditions for the anglicization of lexis. Publicity, possibly due to the novelty of many of the products advertised, has proved to be an accurate means of borrowing and cultural assimilation.

What seems obvious is that social events (weddings, birthday parties, cocktails, christenings) underwent a transition: from 'Cuban conventionalism' into 'American sophistication'. Society pages' columns show that upper social class members did feel comfortable with the cultural shifting, and were more disposed to embrace it. Anglicized publicity indicates a 'pre-equipped' idiosyncrasy and linguistic attitude of the readership. Utterances such as "Oasis Hotel: Barbecues, Cine, splash parties, camp fires en la playa (...),

y bridge cocktail parties de luna de miel" (*Diario de la Marina*, 8 July, 1958) (see Appendices 1 and 2) implied a recognized predisposition and knowledge of the sociolect used.

As to the typology used (see Figure 1 above), the predominant category observed is non-adapted loanwords (82.7%), with a total of 145 units collected. The foremost semantic fields are, in this order, clothing, social events (weddings, birthdays, christenings), and technology. Of the total of 174 anglicisms compiled, 35 units have been found in contemporary Cuban Spanish dictionaries and/or glossaries, that is to say, over 20% of the listed elements. This figure solely specifies systemic loanwords, but the list is presumably higher if the vernacular or technical speeches are revised. None of the present-day anglicisms collected belongs to the semantic field of social events, which is necessarily linked to the newer socioeconomic and political context occurring after 1959. It is, in fact, a clear evidence of how extralinguistic features influence word-building and semantic structures of lexis.

The fact that a number of Gallicisms were also noticed, but not compiled, shows that both types of borrowing coexisted in the same sociolect (*corbeille*, *mademoiselle*, *monsieur*, *table*, *toilette*). This is a distinct indication of: 1) the socioeconomic position of addressees (readers), whose cultural level concurred with their exposure to these French-induced borrowings (cf. Bonne & Causse Cathcart, 2014); 2) the fact that *El Diario de la Marina* was a correct choice to approach this kind of sociolect due to its aforementioned highly conservative stance; 3) the sameness of both English-induced and French-induced loanwords pertaining to their sociolinguistic traits. This conclusion suggests that further research might be necessary to study present-day Cuban sociolects, and more importantly, their attitude towards anglicized language and culture.

NOTES

1 Sources: *Biblioteca Digital del Caribe* (University of Florida) and *Cuban Heritage Collection* (University of Miami).

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APPENDIX 1: LIST OF LOANWORDS AND THEIR CORRESPONDING CONTEXTS

The anglicisms in this Appendix (first column) are followed by a superscript number which refers to the newspapers consulted (see Appendix 2).

ANGLICISM	CONTEXT
arena ¹ (p. 10)	"La sección de recreo y Adorno de la Asociación de Dependientes vuelve a
	la <i>arena</i> donde tantos y tan resonantes triunfos ha sabido conquistar."
at home ¹² (p. 5)	"Elegante comida en el Yacht Club "at home" la señora de Menocal: esta
	comida () se desarrolló en el comedor del piso principal en un
	ambiente de alto refinamiento." "el éxito del festival hípico verificado
	el viernes último en el Stadium La Tropical." "Para tan agradable fiesta
	quedó engalanada la gran casa por los artistas de Casa Alonso, con
	gladiolos en el vestíbulo, claveles amarillos en el living room"
baby ¹ (p. 9)	"Alegrías de un hogar: Un <i>baby</i> en el que cifran todo su cariño ha venido a
	completar su cariño"
baby shower ¹⁰ (p. 13)	"Animado <i>Baby Shower</i> a la Sra. Siomara Martín de Etcheverry celebrado
	en el Vedado Tennis."
babyto ⁵ (p. 19)	"Anselmo Luis: El pasado domingo recibió las regeneradoras aguas del
	Jordán, en la quinta señorial de sus abuelos, el gracioso babyto."
barbecue ¹³ (p. 11)	"Oasis Hotel: Barbecues, Cine, splash parties, camp fires en la playa (),
	y bridge <i>cocktail parties</i> de luna de miel." (Hotel Ad)
bill ¹ (p. 12)	"Tampa y la Industria tabacalera: los efectos del bill MacKinley por un
	lado, y por otro los persistentes movimientos huelguísticos"
birthday cake ¹² (p. 38)	"Fiesta de quince años: junto al <i>birthday cake</i> aparece la festejada con sus

	padres."
book ¹ (p. 21)	"remita 50 centavos <i>money order</i> (no sellos) para enviarle mis caddies
4.)	books" (Classified Ad)
boy-scout ⁵ (p. 7)	"Excelsior Music Co.: Solicite nuestra lista de precios especiales de todos
(p. /)	los instrumentos para Bandas rítmicas, Bandas Escolares, Sociedades
	Deportivas y <i>Boy-Scouts</i> ." (Music Shop Ad)
bowling ¹⁴ (p. 22)	"Brunswick: cuando hay calor fuera, disfrute el bowling dentro." (Air
(p. 22)	Conditioner Ad)
brass ¹² (p. 9)	"Sánchez Mola: en el moderno acabado <i>brass</i> y en gran variedad de
(4.1)	diseños." "En cinco modelos diferentes, de línea estrecha y de línea
	ancha () en los lindos colores <i>charcoal</i> , verde olivo, carmelita,
	terracota y <i>periwinkle</i> ." (Department Store Ad)
bride maid ⁵ (p. 7)	"La boda de hoy: Igualmente llevará la etiqueta de este edén, el bouquet de
φ. (γ.	la novia, y los de la <i>bride maid</i> , la graciosa señorita Carmita Brando, y
	de la <i>flower girl</i> , la linda niña Edelmira Méndez, completándose la
	corte con el <i>ring boy</i> , el niño Juan José Fernández."
bridge ¹ (p. 11)	"Almanaque del mes: los eventos del mes, los cumplimientos, mah-jong,
- (r· · ·)	bridge, croniquilla gastronómica, código social"
broadcloth ⁹ (p.17)	"Premier: Waldorf de finísimo <i>broadcloth</i> cuello peco propias para traje
(r/)	blanco." (Shirt Shop Ad)
buffet supper ⁷ (p. 22)	"En el liceo: en horas de la tarde de mañana, la directiva del liceo ()
······································	ofrecerá un <i>buffet supper</i> a las directivas y asociados."
bunch (1) ⁴ (p. 2)	"Tendremos aquí a los esposos Ramírez de Olivella-Parodi, a Ernestina
(-) (-)	Trelles, a Berta Pina, y Humberto de Cárdenas, y a un gentilísimo
	bunch de mademoiselles. "
bunch (2) ⁹ (p. 9)	See privet
business meeting ¹⁰	"Del Lyceum: mañana, miércoles, a las 3 p.m. se celebrará el <i>Business</i>
(p. 15)	Meeting del English Book Club, seguido de merienda y tarde de
4 /	juego."
cake ² (p. 8)	"Panchito Camps: un gran cake al centro"
cambric ⁴ (p. 5)	See nuevo plan
camp fire ¹³ (p. 15)	See barbecue
chantung ² (p. 11)	
< shantung	"Ya tenemos el nuevo <i>chantung</i> en todos los colorescrepes mongol"
charcoal ¹² (p. 5)	"Ya tenemos el nuevo <i>chantung</i> en todos los colorescrepes mongol" (Clothing Shop Ad)
~ /	(Clothing Shop Ad)
chassis ⁴ (p. 25)	(Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i> ,
chassis ⁴ (p. 25)	(Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i> , verde, <i>orange</i> , turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i> " (Fabric Ad)
chassis ⁴ (p. 25)	(Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i> , verde, <i>orange</i> , turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i> " (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas,
	(Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i> , verde, <i>orange</i> , turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i> " (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras."
	(Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i> , verde, <i>orange</i> , turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i> " (Fabric Ad) " <i>Chassis</i> para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de
	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i>, verde, <i>orange</i>, turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i>" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como
chauffeur ³ (p. 1)	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i>, verde, <i>orange</i>, turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i>" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como autor material del asesinato del <i>chauffeur</i> Victoriano Pérez Aquino"
chauffeur ³ (p. 1) clipper ⁶ (p. 5)	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i>, verde, <i>orange</i>, turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i>" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como autor material del asesinato del <i>chauffeur</i> Victoriano Pérez Aquino" "Cubana de Aviación: Especial atención se dispensa a bordo de sus
chauffeur ³ (p. 1)	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i>, verde, <i>orange</i>, turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i>" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como autor material del asesinato del <i>chauffeur</i> Victoriano Pérez Aquino" "Cubana de Aviación: Especial atención se dispensa a bordo de sus modernos y veloces <i>clippers</i> a las damas, ancianos, y los niños."
chauffeur³ (p. 1) clipper⁴ (p. 5) clubman⁴ (p. 5)	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i>, verde, <i>orange</i>, turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i>" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como autor material del asesinato del <i>chauffeur</i> Victoriano Pérez Aquino" "Cubana de Aviación: Especial atención se dispensa a bordo de sus modernos y veloces <i>clippers</i> a las damas, ancianos, y los niños." (Airways Company Ad)
chauffeur ³ (p. 1) clipper ⁶ (p. 5)	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i>, verde, <i>orange</i>, turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i>" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como autor material del asesinato del <i>chauffeur</i> Victoriano Pérez Aquino" "Cubana de Aviación: Especial atención se dispensa a bordo de sus modernos y veloces <i>clippers</i> a las damas, ancianos, y los niños." (Airways Company Ad) "La festividad de hoy: El conde de casa Romero, Felipe Romero y Arango,
chauffeur³ (p. 1) clipper⁴ (p. 5) clubman⁴ (p. 5) club room⁴ (p. 6)	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i>, verde, <i>orange</i>, turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i>" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como autor material del asesinato del <i>chauffeur</i> Victoriano Pérez Aquino" "Cubana de Aviación: Especial atención se dispensa a bordo de sus modernos y veloces <i>clippers</i> a las damas, ancianos, y los niños." (Airways Company Ad) "La festividad de hoy: El conde de casa Romero, Felipe Romero y Arango, joven <i>clubman</i> que disfruta de muchos afectos en sociedad."
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chauffeur³ (p. 1) clipper⁴ (p. 5) clubman⁴ (p. 5) club room⁴ (p. 6) clutch⁵ (p. 5) cobre³ (p. 17)	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo charcoal, verde, orange, turquesa, royal, azul acero, soldier blue" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como autor material del asesinato del chauffeur Victoriano Pérez Aquino" "Cubana de Aviación: Especial atención se dispensa a bordo de sus modernos y veloces clippers a las damas, ancianos, y los niños." (Airways Company Ad) "La festividad de hoy: El conde de casa Romero, Felipe Romero y Arango, joven clubman que disfruta de muchos afectos en sociedad." "Montmartre: Mañana viernes () no habrá música ni show en Montmartre, solamente permanecerán abiertos el bar y el club room." "Hudson: el exclusivo Drive-Master que permite guiar sin clutch." (Car Ad) "por ahorrarme un cobre no voy a arriesgar nuestra salud." (Aspirin Ad)
chauffeur³ (p. 1) clipper⁶ (p. 5) clubman⁶ (p. 5) club room⁶ (p. 6) clutch⁶ (p. 5)	 (Clothing Shop Ad) "Fin de Siglo: Tiene un amplio colorido donde escoger: rojo <i>charcoal</i>, verde, <i>orange</i>, turquesa, royal, azul acero, <i>soldier blue</i>" (Fabric Ad) "Chassis para guagua: Marca Studebaker, de 128 pulgadas, gomas nuevas, dobles las traseras." "Procesado Ramón Rodríguez: Hoy ha sido procesado con exclusión de fianza por el Juez de Instrucción () el soldado Juan García, como autor material del asesinato del <i>chauffeur</i> Victoriano Pérez Aquino" "Cubana de Aviación: Especial atención se dispensa a bordo de sus modernos y veloces <i>clippers</i> a las damas, ancianos, y los niños." (Airways Company Ad) "La festividad de hoy: El conde de casa Romero, Felipe Romero y Arango, joven <i>clubman</i> que disfruta de muchos afectos en sociedad." "Montmartre: Mañana viernes () no habrá música ni show en Montmartre, solamente permanecerán abiertos el bar y el <i>club room</i>." "Hudson: el exclusivo Drive-Master que permite guiar sin <i>clutch</i>." (Car Ad)

	Amado Bianco y su esposa."
cocoa ¹⁴ (p. 21)	"La casa cofino: tonos jaspeados de gris, azul, <i>cocoa</i> , y Prusia." (Clothing
Сосоа (р. 21)	Shop Ad)
community college ⁷	"Crónicas Habaneras: aquí vemos a las señoritas Rusela Martínez Villena,
(p. 3 supplement)	Miriam Suárez, y Gladys Menéndez, que ejecutaron un interesante
(p. 3 supplement)	número musical durante la fiesta celebrada el sábado en el <i>community</i>
	house."
corduroy ⁶ (p. 7)	See jacket
$\frac{\text{cordingy (p. 7)}}{\text{crash}^5(\text{p. 14})}$	See doily
creche ² (p. 15)	"La <i>creche</i> "Berta Machado" cuenta ya con 42 niños, todos de la localidad:
crecile (p. 13)	() dicho <i>creche</i> tiene capacidad para cincuenta niños, y se
	encuentran ya 42, pertenecientes todos a esta localidad, que son
	atendidos admirablemente, y los de edad escolar son llevados al
	kindergarten."
crepe ¹² (p. 11)	See moss
departamento ⁴ (p. 16)	"El Encanto: cincuenta <i>departamentos</i> , donde se puede encontrar al precio
< department store	deseado, el artículo deseado para hacer un obsequio." (Department
\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	Store Ad)
dial ¹³ (p. 20)	"El Encanto: pesa para el baño, con mecanismo de gran precisión y <i>dial</i> de
	aumento que facilita la lectura." (Department Store Ad)
doily ⁵ (p. 14)	"El Encanto: Preciosos juegos de manteles y doilies." "Satín para
	sobrecamas y cortinas. Colores: verde, fresa, peach, oro, crema y
	blanco." "Gabardinas con modernas estampaciones (hand-printed)."
1	"Crash color entero en mate". (Department Store Ad)
dollar ¹ (p. 21)	"Perdido: alfiler de señora en forma de corazónLa persona que lo
4	encontrare al devolverlo se le entregarán cuatrocientos dollars."
dril ⁴ (p. 12)	"Linker: driles crudos desde \$4.50. Yacht Club desde \$2.50" (Shop Ad)
dry cleaning ⁷ (p. 20)	"Pantex Manufacturing Corporation: A los dueños de lavanderías, plantas
	de dry cleaning" (Classified Ad)
easter lilies ¹ (p. 11)	"Para el día de las Ofelias: entre las flores importadas, expondrá el
	aristocrático Milagros una colección admirable riquísima, de claveles
	rosados y rojos, tulipanes en los mismos colores, <i>easter lillies</i> , callas, etc."
elevador ³ (p. 5)	"elevador a todas horas; cocinero de primer orden."
< elevator	elevador a todas noras, coemicio de primer orden.
ferry ¹¹ (p. 7)	"Proyectan establecer servicio de <i>ferries</i> entre Cuba y México: el <i>ferryboat</i>
(p. 7)	que operaría entre Florida, Cuba y () y México, conducirá 50
	automóviles."
ferryboat ¹¹ (p. 7)	See ferry
film ⁴ (p. 12)	"Una interesante <i>film</i> educativa: después de la exhibición el profesor
(r· 1=)	doctor Pardo Castelló pronunciará una conferencia."
flower girl ⁵ (p. 5)	See bride maid
fraternity ⁵ (p. 11)	"También se recordará el primer Team Varsity () primera fraternity que
	se iniciara por elementos entusiastas."
french poodle ¹¹ (p. 5)	"Fin de Siglo: medias de fieltro rojo o blanco, adornadas con french
	poodles." (Department Store Ad)
fruit cake ¹² (p. 38)	"El 1005 de San Lázaro: <i>fruit cakes</i> , frutas abrillantadas." (Grocery Store
galalith ⁷ (p. 5)	Ad) "Fin de Siglo: bolsa de piel imitada, con cierre de metal dorado y detalles
Saidin (p. 3)	imitando galalith." "Bolsa modelo alargado en piel sintética imitando
	pig." "Pañuelo de <i>linolán</i> blanco." (Department Store Ad)
galón ⁵ (p. 21)	"C. Falcon y Cia: Recibimos calentadores de gas Standard () de 5 y 10
<pre>gaion (p. 21) < gallon</pre>	galones." (Water Heater Ad)
grand dinner ⁴ (p. 2)	"Grand Dinner: chez Bretos. Ofrecen el día tres la comida que
5 and diffici (p. 2)	Grand Dunier. Chez Dictos. Officeen of the fies la confide que

	annon diamon al manada atha da an canaidanasita al duale de las Camilias
	suspendieron el pasado sábado en consideración al duelo de las familias Luque y Echemendía."
guarandol ¹ (p. 11)	"Casa Life: Sábanas cameras, de <i>guarandol</i> muy fino, sin apresto, de 72 x
< warandol	90 pulgadas, a 1\$." (Bedding Shop Ad)
guingham ¹³ (p. 3)	See linin
hand-printed ⁵ (p. 14)	See doily
heatherspun ⁷ (p. 7)	See river breeze
high-ball ⁷ (p. 3)	"Dictador de Garvey: Para tomar solo o en highball."
hit ⁷ (p. 14)	See night club
impromptu ¹² (p. 5)	"En honor de Noel Coward: La hermosa sede de la embajada abrió sus
(p. c)	puertas para un buffet impromptu."
introducir ¹ (p. 12)	"El cónsul cubano Guillermo Espinosa: después de los saludos de cortesía,
< to introduce	se <i>introdujo</i> Espinosa en el brindis con estas palabras que fueron
	ovacionadas por los comensales"
jack pot ¹³ (p. 17)	"Los éxitos de Tropicana: a las nueve, se jugó el popular Bingo de la
jack pot (p. 17)	fortuna, con los importantes premios, entre los que se cuenta el <i>jack pot</i>
	de 10 mil pesos."
jacket ⁶ (p. 7)	"Almacenes Inclán: Ahora magníficos <i>jackets</i> muy rebajados." "Novísimo
jacket (p. 7)	jacket de corduroy" (Department Store Ad)
jaibolear ¹⁴ (p. 18)	"Balcón Habanero: por eso nos reunimos con nuestros amigos y nos
< highball	jaiboleamos bien con un whisky Ancestor o con un White Label ligado
Inghoun	con agua La Cotorra."
jazz-band ¹ (p. 10)	"Felipe Valdés, el mago del piano, Romeu, el <i>Jazz-Band</i> diplomático,"
jersey ³ (p. 8)	"Casa Harris: juegos de <i>jersey</i> (camisa y pantalón)" (Department Store Ad)
junior ² (p. 5)	"Ofelia André, linda esposa del doctor Enroque Anglada, <i>junior</i> , a cuyas
	amigas diré que no recibe"
junior bride maid ¹¹	"La boda Castroverde-López: Lydia Hortensia, como junior bride maid."
(p. 11)	
keno ⁴ (p. 2)	"Summer Casino: bacara, keno, y otros nuevos entretenimientos ()
	magnífico show () comida y baile en el roof todas las noches"
	(Casino Ad)
kindergarten ² (p. 15)	See creche
kitchen shower ⁶ (p. 11)	"Despedida de soltera: procedió a dicha merienda un kitchen shower."
leader ³ (p. 12)	"Recibo elegante: Lila Hidalgo de Conill, figura prominente de nuestra
	más encumbrada sociedad y una de sus leaders recibía con esa
12	sencillez y amabilidad que le es característica."
linin ¹³ (p. 3)	"La Época: piques, linins, y guinghams en calidades magníficas." "Silka en
7	bellísimos dibujos." (Department Store Ad)
linolán ⁷ (p. 5)	See galalith
< linoleum	
living room ¹² (p. 5)	See at home
longcloth ⁴ (p. 5)	See nuevo plan
lunch ⁷ (p. 14)	See night club
maid of honor ¹⁰ (p. 9)	See privet
mayor ¹ (p. 9)	"Los estudiantes de medicina se quejan al <i>mayor</i> : Expusieron los
	estudiantes al alcalde su disgusto por el desenlace fatal de su
	compañero señor Raúl Moreno"
mínimum ⁴ (p. 5)	See nuevo plan
mink ¹⁴ (p. 15)	"Luxor: estolas de zafiro mink" (Fur Shop Ad)
miting ⁶ (p. 10)	"Gran Miting: Siendo las ocho y media de la noche, toda la concurrencia se
< meeting	dirigió al parque local y frente a la casa rectoral se realizó el miting,
	que fue amenizado por la banda de Torrens."
money order ¹ (p. 21)	"remita 50 centavos <i>money order</i> (no sellos) para enviarle mis caddies

	books" (Classified Ad)
moss ¹² (p. 11)	"La Filosofía: moss crepe y foulard." "polo-shirt estilo italiano."
	(Department Store Ad)
movietone ¹ (p. 8) Mr. ³ (p. 5)	"una copia nueva sincronizada al movietone"
Mr. ³ (p. 5)	"Preparativos de viaje para regresar al norte. Vienen realizándolos después
d ,	de grata estancia en esta capital, Mr. y Mrs. Noble Brandon Judah."
Mrs. ³ (p. 5)	See Mr.
night ⁶ (p. 5)	"Los jueves del casino nacional: coincide con su gala <i>night</i> del día, la
<i>S</i> · (F · ·)	presentación del nuevo y magnífico show."
night club ⁷ (p. 14)	"Una bolera: () se han asociado al señor Guillermo Pedreira para dotar
8 (1 .)	de Matanzas de algo tan añorado como un <i>night club</i> , en nuestra playa,
	han comenzado también esos señores la edificación de una bolera,
	restaurant, café, bar y <i>lunch</i> ." "En próximas correspondencias
	ofreceremos interesantísimos detalles sobre el bohío Bellamar, el hit de
	esta temporada veraniega de 1947."
nuevo plan ⁴ (p. 5)	"Fin de Siglo: Todos estos precios del nuevo plan están fijados al
< new plan	mínimum." "Cambric inglés" "Longcloth" (Department Store Ad)
nylon ⁶ (p. 3)	"La época: bufandas de <i>nylon</i> . Pañuelos de sport" (Department Store Ad)
orange 12 (p. 5)	See charcoal
organdí ⁵ (p. 7)	"Almacenes Inclán: Bieses de <i>organdi</i> rematan y adornan la blusa."
	(Clothing Shop Ad)
panqué ⁴ (p. 11)	See restaurant
< pancake	
pantry ¹⁰ (p. 9)	"Plasticrom: juegos de comedor, <i>pantry</i> , terraza." (Furniture Shop Ad)
panty ⁸ (p. 7)	"El Encanto: fajas y <i>panties</i> de cutí y elástico." (Department Store Ad)
party ⁵ (p. 9)	"Jueves de Tropicana: Otra brillante fiesta de la espléndida temporada que
purity (p. >)	viene ofreciendo este teatro-restaurant." "En su poética terraza al aire
	libre un precioso marco de fiesta, se multiplicarán desde las nueve los
	parties elegantes."
peach ⁵ (p. 14)	See doily
penthouse ¹³ (p. 9)	"Con una alegre fiesta juvenil fue agasajada el domingo Lucy Sánchez y
	del Amo: tuvo lugar el sábado último en el penthouse del edificio de
	primera y B."
periwinkle ¹² (p. 9)	See brass
picnic ² (p. 5)	"Ofelia Bernal, una encantadora niña, que celebrará su santo con un pic-nic
1 4 7	en la finca el Kuco"
pie ⁶ (p. 26)	"Motores Diesel y Tractores: Concreteras de 4 a 13 pies." (Spare Parts Ad)
pig ⁷ (p. 5)	See galalith
< pigskin	
pique ⁸ (p. 11)	"La Casa Sánchez: Un amplísimo surtido en sobrecamas de pique, crash,
	enguatadas, mallas, tul, etc." (Bedding Shop Ad)
plomero ⁵ (p. 19)	"La Frecuencia: Precios especiales a arquitectos-contratistas y plomeros."
< plomber	(Plumbing Shop Ad)
polo-shirt ¹² (p. 11)	See moss
poplín ⁷ (p. 16)	"El Encanto: camisas de sport de manga corta, de excelente <i>poplin</i> blanco."
	"pulover de algodón, de listas horizontales." "shorts de sports, de
	excelente gabardina de algodón." (Department Store Ad)
privet ¹⁰ (p. 9)	"Una boda muy lúcida tuvo lugar el domingo en la capilla La Salle: los
	muros de <i>privet</i> , sobre los cuales se dispusieron de trecho en trecho
	unos finísimos bunches de gladiolos amarillos." "Procedíala en su
	camino en calidad de maid of honor la señorita Elsa Soro." "() en el
	reparto de Miramar, sirviéndose allí un espléndido buffet."
pulgada ² (p. 11)	"el mencionado vehículo tiene 133 pulgadas de distancia entre el centro de
< inch	sus ejes"

pulover (p. 16) < pullover	See poplin
pump ¹² (p. 6)	"Ultra: nuevo <i>pump</i> abierto en charol." "Nueva sandalia <i>T-strap</i> " (Department Store Ad)
push-pull ⁵ (p. 26)	"RCA Victor: Salida en <i>push-pull</i> de 3.7 vatios. Bocina de alta sensibilidad." (Radio Ad)
Queen Mary ⁶ (p. 5)	"Mario Almagro y Hernández: muy lindo el ramo, todo de rosas <i>Queen Mary</i> , tejido para ella en el favorito jardín Milagros entre Prado y Colón."
queso crema ⁹ (p. 9) < cheese cream	"Otero: cualquiera que sea el dulce, la combinación perfecta es con <i>queso crema</i> Otero." (Cream Cheese Ad)
reporter ² (p. 15)	"Un bautizo: eterna felicidad al cristianito y a sus padres desea el que suscribe, particularmente a su padre, <i>reporter</i> gráfico de Diario de la Marina."
reservación ⁶ (p. 7) < reservation	"Fiesta de carnaval en el Biltmore: Las <i>reservaciones</i> de mesas alcanzan ya un crecido número"
resort ⁷ (p. 14)	"Valiosos premios: el palacial balneario del licenciado Manuel Abril Ochoa () ha ofrecido para que se sorteen como premios () días de estancia en esos establecimientos de los dos más aristocráticos <i>resorts</i> de la República."
restaurant ⁴ (p. 11)	"Grandioso festival: Abierto todo el día el <i>restaurant</i> , se venderán a los precios corrientes, tamales, bocaditos, arroz con pollo, lechón tostado, sandwichs, dulces, helados, panqués, etc." "Con un <i>skating rink</i> , entre otros muchos alicientes, podrán contar los muchachos."
revue ¹ (p. 8)	"Hollywood Revue: Abril 5 al 14"
ring boy ⁵ (p. 7)	See bride maid
river breeze ⁷ (p. 7)	"Ultra: pantalones de tropical y <i>river breeze</i> verde." "Camisas de <i>sports</i> , de manga larga, en <i>heatherspun</i> a cuadros." (Department Store Ad)
role ² (p. 8)	"Sam Hardy, actor de impecable dicción, hace con eficacia y sobriedad, el <i>role</i> del empresario infortunado"
roof ³ (p. 9)	"en el <i>roof</i> del Hotel Inglaterra se efectuará el Baile de Primavera."
roof garden ² (p. 11)	"El baile de los cadetes: urge la construcción de un <i>roof garden</i> en la escuela de cadetes del Morro"
sándwich ⁴ (p. 11)	See restaurant
Santa Claus ¹¹ (p. 18)	"El Encanto: Entre los nuevos juguetes que Santa Claus nos ha traído." (Department Store Ad)
sharkskin ⁵ (p. 3)	"El Encanto: en <i>sharkskin</i> con botones finos de nácar." (Department Store Ad)
shorts ⁷ (p. 16)	See poplin
show ⁴ (p. 2)	"Summer Casino: bacara, keno, y otros nuevos entretenimientos () magnífico <i>show</i> () comida y baile en el <i>roof</i> todas las noches" (Casino Ad)
silka ¹³ (p. 3) < silk	See linin
skating rink ⁴ (p. 11)	See restaurant
sketch ² (p. 8)	"De la escena y de la pantalla: es el asalto de la lámpara de mercurio a la bombilla de bambú, de la dislocación pintoresca y alegre al argumento romántico y sentimental, de la síntesis agresiva del <i>sketch</i> al procedimiento ortodoxo de la exposición"
smoking ⁵ (p. 7)	"El acontecimiento de mañana: se agradecerá que las damas vayan con traje de noche y los caballeros con <i>smoking</i> ." "Y ahora nuevos nombres
soda ⁴ (p. 5)	de personas que han adquirido tickets." "Refrescos y bocaditos: El lugar más concurrido e ideal para merendar o refrescar, es la fuente de <i>soda</i> del gran almacén de víveres." (Shop Ad)

soldier blue ¹² (p. 5)	See charcoal
slack ⁶ (p. 13)	"El Encanto: una gran temporada de <i>slacks</i> ." "Slack de rayón gris o beige
stack (p. 13)	con <i>zipper</i> a un lado." (Department Store Ad)
splash party ¹³ (p. 15)	See barbecue
sport ² (p. 5)	
	"Vestidos de chiffon y georgette estampados, en estilos para <i>sport</i> y para calle"
spun ⁵ (p. 11)	"J. Valles: Para sentirse cómodo, fresco una de estas camisas en delicioso <i>spun</i> ." (Shirt Shop Ad)
squiador ¹³ (p. 27)	"Johnson V-50: es el motor que levanta al squiador." (Engine Ad)
< ski (skier)	
stadium ¹² (p. 5)	See at home
staff ¹¹ (p. 6)	"Aeropuerto: vendrá al mando el capitán-piloto William Cook, uno de los
	más antiguos staff de vuelo de la Cubana." "Viene un team de pilotos y
	mecánicos cubanos que recibieron un curso de familiarización con este
	tipo de aeronave."
staff meeting ⁸ (p. 16)	"Se celebrará un <i>staff meeting</i> en el hospital de la policía nacional."
steward(ess) ⁶ (p. 11)	"Pan American World Airways: El steward o stewardess están a bordo
· / · · /	para asegurar su comodidad y conveniencia." (Airways Company Ad)
stock ¹³ (p. 11)	See wedding cake
sueter ¹¹ (p. 3)	"La Época: los <i>sueters</i> más lindos." (Department Store Ad)
< sweater	
supermarket ⁹ (p. 8)	"Minimax Supermarket: bistecs, asados, carne molida." (Spermarket Ad)
sweet heart rose ⁸ (p. 11)	"Ante el ara: la monísima niña, Esperanza Silva y Pérez Cáceres, que hizo
sweet neart rose (p. 11)	de flower girl, portaba un delicado ramito colonial de <i>sweet heart</i> roses."
sweet peas ³ (p. 12)	"Recibo elegante: por los jardines se hallaban distribuidas pequeñas
sweet peas (p. 12)	
	mesitas donde se servían ponches y refrescos de toda clase." "Una caja
410 (de gladiolos y <i>sweet peas</i> de Marta y Carmen Miranda"
team ¹⁰ (p. 6)	See staff
teen-age ¹⁴ (p. 20)	"El Encanto: vestidos del salón joven y del departamento teen-age en
4:-145(5)	prácticos y elegantes estilos." (Department Store Ad)
ticket ⁵ (p. 5)	See smoking
town hall ⁹ (p. 6)	"Recital de Grace Costagnetta en el Town Hall"
T-strap ¹² (p. 6)	See pump
twist-till ¹⁴ (p. 9)	"Ultra: Super pantalón, en excelente twist-twill." (Depatment Store Ad)
utilidades ¹ (p. 10)	"The first National Bank of Boston: Capital, Reserva y Utilidades"
<ur><utilities< li=""></utilities<></ur>	
velveta ³ (p. 12)	"Para ellos y para ellas: la piel llamada actualmente <i>velveta</i> y que es una
< velvet	gamuza, en todos colores, pero sobre todo negra, es la última expresión
vonto ⁴ (n. 15)	de la moda." "El Collo: Esta gran yanta sa iniciará al día 2 da mayo continuando hasta.
venta ⁴ (p. 15)	"El Gallo: Esta gran <i>venta</i> se iniciará el día 2 de mayo continuando hasta
$\langle sale \rangle$	finalizar dicho mes." (Shop Ad)
$vinyl^{12}(p. 2)$	"Poly-Tex: la nueva pintura de latex de <i>vinyl</i> para exteriores." (Paint Ad)
wash and wear ¹⁴ (p. 15)	"J. Vallés: camisas de selecto <i>poplín</i> blanco con acabado <i>wash and wear</i> ." (Shirt Shop Ad)
wedding cake ¹³ (p. 11)	"Una doble ceremonia nupcial: El wedding cake, decorado con figuras de
	porcelana." "En su <i>stock</i> cuenta 'Milagros' orquídeas, gardenias, crisantemos,"
yarda ¹ (p. 7)	"la primera que empezó a vender por yardas"
< yard	
yersi ¹ (p. 7)	"La Casa de Granados: juegos de <i>yersi</i> a la mejor calidad" (Clothing
< jersey	Shop Ad)
young gentleman ⁷	"De viajeros: Hacen sus preparativos de viaje () el joven pintor
J = 0 0	

(p. 14)	Francisco Coro y el simpático young gentleman Carlos Miguel Pérez."
zipper ⁶ (p. 13)	See slack

APPENDIX 2: NEWSPAPERS CONSULTED

¹Diario de la Marina. 1 April, 1930.

²Diario de la Marina. 2 April, 1930.

³Diario de la Marina. 29 April, 1930.

⁴Diario de la Marina. 30 April, 1930.

⁵Diario de la Marina. 16 January, 1947.

⁶Diario de la Marina. 20 February, 1947.

⁷Diario de la Marina. 25 June, 1947.

⁸Diario de la Marina. 26 May, 1948.

⁹Diario de la Marina. 10 April, 1952.

¹⁰Diario de la Marina. 10 November, 1952.

¹¹Diario de la marina. 16 November, 1954.

¹²Diario de la Marina. 14 December, 1955.

¹³Diario de la Marina. 8 July, 1958.

¹⁴Diario de la Marina. 27 December, 1958.