

RACISM AND RELIGIOUS BIAS IN CASTILIAN SPANISH LANGUAGE

DICTIONARIES

A Thesis

by

LAUREN KELLI HOWARD

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

December 2010

Major Subject: Modern Languages

Racism and Religious Bias in Castilian Spanish Language Dictionaries

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ABSTRACT

Racism and Religious Bias in Castilian Spanish Language Dictionaries.

(December 2010)

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The present study examines the evolution of the definitions of 31 terms having to do with three prominent religions in Spain: Christianity, Judaism and Islam. The definitions are analyzed for racism and religious bias in reference to the cultural and ideological periods of Spanish society throughout history.

Each word is studied from the earliest date of appearance in a Spanish language dictionary. The database used is the *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española (NTLLE)*, published by the Real Academia Española (RAE) in 2001, which includes 70 dictionaries, 37 of which are written by authors not connected with the RAE. In an attempt to broaden the historical point of view, as many entries from dictionaries as possible are used in this analysis.

Racist definitions are defined as containing abusive or pejorative language that insinuates that one race, or religion, is superior to another. Biased definitions use language that inhibits neutrality in the descriptions.

It is shown that Christian terms are generally associated with positive concepts. Terms related to Judaism suffer much racism and religious bias through pejorative language and direct comparison to Christianity. Islamic terms reveal less racism in their entries and fall more often under neutral descriptions. That fewer biased entries exist for

Islamic terms may be related to their status as a majority in Spain during large periods of history, whereas Jews suffered more racism because they were consistently the minority. The role of the Spanish Inquisition in the persecution of Jews will be shown to have heavy influence in the entries for several Jewish terms. While the item *judío* suffers the most extensive use of pejorative language, *moro* is the only term for which negative language endures to the present.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study examines the evolution of the definitions of various terms pertaining to three religions present in the Iberian Peninsula: Christianity, Judaism and Islam with reference to the culture and ideologies of Spanish society throughout history in order to determine if racism and religious bias can be documented or influence the dictionaries that are written in the context of those periods.

Dictionaries play an important and varied role in many societies the world over. According to Lara (1992) dictionaries have three principal functions. The foremost is that they are commercial products printed and sold to make money. The linguistic function of a dictionary is that of a scientific work that documents lexical items and provides information about them. Often, the information included reflects the interest of the public. Dictionaries also play a cultural role in their societies. The words and information contained in them are a result of a collection of traditions and function as a connection between the present and the collective memory of the culture. They also demonstrate that the language they describe has reached a certain level of prestige as it is codified and defined for use. Lara notes that dictionaries are

‘un producto lingüístico, resultado de una infinidad de actos verbales que, en la experiencia social, se han desligado de sus actores para pasar

This thesis follows the style of *Language*.

a formar parte de lo que cada uno de los miembros de la sociedad puede llegar a comprender' (1992: 20).

A linguistic product, resulting from an infinity of verbal acts that, through social experience, have come from the speakers themselves to form part of something that each member of society can understand.

They demonstrate the public's interest in their own language.

Other scholars have argued that dictionaries serve as a view into the history of society and even of its present state of mind. Ariza Viguera notes that

'esta serie de datos encierran un mundo de ebullición del léxico, son datos que están ahí fríamente y que sin embargo, a través de ellos podemos reinterpretar la historia de las palabras como reflejo de la sociedad' (2004:36).

This series of data encloses a lexical world; the data are frozen there and through them we can reinterpret the history of words as a reflection of society.

In this view, dictionaries are a product of the culture and its traditions. There exists in the description of words an image of society from the culture's ideologies and viewpoint. Forgas Berdet suggests that in the codification of the language, the effects of the particular culture can be seen. She notes that

'los diccionarios tienen como fin fijar este código y delimitar su significado, operación imposible de realizar sin pasar por el tamiz de la ideología' (2007:2).

Dictionaries have the purpose of describing this code and its significance, an operation that is impossible to do without the influence of ideology

Review of Literature

In recent years dictionaries and their treatment of various terms have been popular material for linguistic studies. The Spanish language has received much attention. Martín Fernández (2003) studies various words having to do with Christianity, Judaism, Islam and social behavior as they appear in the various iterations of the *Diccionario de las Autoridades Españolas (DA)* and in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española (DRAE)*. However, this study does not take into account dictionaries published independently from the Real Academia Española (RAE) and places more emphasis on the treatment of the terms related to Christianity such as *bautizar* ‘to baptize’, *Jesucristo*, and other words such as *religión*, *secta* ‘sect’, an *infierno* ‘hell’. The Jewish and Islamic counterparts to each Christian word are often not mentioned and no comparison is made between categories of words as they appear in all three religions. The study finds that a great deal of the versions of the *DRAE* portray Christian, and more specifically Catholic, words with more favorable language than those related to other faiths.

El Hour examines the definitions of *islamismo*, *fundamentalismo* and *integrismo* in 15 different Spanish dictionaries. The author finds that the dictionaries define the terms *fundamentalismo* and *integrismo* similarly in that they tend to describe them using examples from the Islamic faith, though the words originate in the Catholic branch of Christianity. He speculates that because these words have come to be associated with

negative world events in recent years, they are defined using examples from an ideology other than Christianity (2005: 409). In reference to *islamismo*, the author notes that the dictionaries only relate the term to Islam as a religion and not as an ideology or political viewpoint, though it functions as all three things (2005: 411). The study emphasizes that whereas racism and religious bias exist in current Spanish dictionaries and they describe Christian and Catholic terminology with positive language in their definitions, Islamic words are defined in a pejorative light, though the works purport to be scientific.

Not only religious bias but also sexism has been the object of study. For example, Forgas Berdet studies several lexical items in the *DRAE* in order to determine if sexism against women exists in its entries; she finds that it is manifested in several different ways. By having two different entries for the male and female version of the word *negociante* ‘businessman’ vs. *negocianta* ‘businesswoman’, the dictionaries favor the masculine word by providing a longer and more specific definition. Often, the wording of definitions for feminine words also has a negative connotation. For example, the *intendente* ‘governor’ is the *jefe superior económico* ‘the superior economic chief’, while the *intendenta* is the *mujer del intendente; mujer que desempeña una intendencia* ‘the wife of the governor; the woman that maintains the city/town hall’ (2007: 5).

The English language has also been the subject of various dictionary studies. McArthur (1986) analyzes Charles Barber’s book *The Story of Language* (1964). He defines and analyzes Anglocentrism as a specific type of linguistic racism. He uses the book’s treatment of English and its history as the supreme example of the evolution of any language in order to demonstrate that words, languages and dictionaries reflect the

prejudices and racism that stem from cultural perspectives of society. He comments on the nature of languages and its close relationship with speakers in that the language will often reflect the ideology of the people who speak it.

Hooft (1997) also examines types of prejudice and bias in English dictionaries. In addition to sexism, the study focuses on 'ableism', which is defined as the supposition that there is a universal physical and mental norm. Also examined is 'ageism' which is discrimination based on age. Semantic inversion, the use of a phrase that appears to be a compliment but is actually an insult, is studied as a type of linguistic bias that occurs in usage examples provided by many dictionaries. The study takes phrases from nine English language dictionaries that include 'Dutch' (1997: 207) and finds that racism and pejorative language occur in phrases having to do with food, sexual relations and illness. For example, the 'Dutch doughnut' has no hole and is described as 'Dutch' because it is perceived as irregular or wrong. The study demonstrates that the prejudices that humans have against other groups of people are reflected in language and, in turn, in the dictionaries of that language.

A later study by Himma (2002) analyzes the entries of Merriam-Webster's English language dictionary and finds that sexism and racism occur with frequency. In the case of the word 'nigger' the definition appears as 'a black person' (2002: 515), implying that there does not exist a black person who is not a nigger. The dictionary does not comment on the social circumstances that surround the word. The author also asserts that in offering this definition, the dictionary supports and even spreads racism (2002: 512).

Hornscheidt (2008) discusses metalexigraphy, which is the social situation that is reflected in the words of a language. The study focuses specifically on Danish, German and Swedish dictionaries. Racism in the context of colonialism is examined in the definitions as well as in the prototypical usage examples that follow. For example, after the definition of ‘barbarian’ in one Danish dictionary, the concrete usage example that follows is ‘Barbarian in Baghdad [:Saddam Hussein] has used France as well as other great powers’ willingness and military help during his eight-year-long war against Iran...’ (2008: 120). Prototypical examples such as this function as metalinguistic commentary for lexicographical studies. The author notes the importance of understanding the type of dictionary from which a definition comes, as well as the importance of using all of the information provided, such as usage examples and etymology.

None of these studies investigates the evolution of the definition of specific religious terms using information from both the RAE and from dictionaries written and/or published by other authors. Although some studies do examine a few lexical items selected for this study, none of them compares the entries with their counterparts from other religions.

Religious and Cultural Relations in Spain

This section includes a brief overview of the history of religious relations in Spain in order to contextualize the study of religious terms in contrast to each other. Religious interactions in Spain between Christians, Jews and Muslims have always been

complicated and virulent. From the Muslim conquest in 711 through the *Reconquista* to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, these three cultures and religions lived alongside each other. The prolonged contact often leads to manifestations of violence and hatred in the Peninsula.

In the 4th century, Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire and Christian society began to exclude Jews from cultural and economic activities. One of the first official references to contact between Jews and Christians in Spain occurred during the Council of Elvira in 313 (Gampel 1992:12). The council passed a law that prohibited meals and marriages from taking place between the believers of the two faiths. This was probably to restrict Christians from participating in any rituals or ceremonies related to Judaism. Jews were considered heretics because of their refusal to recognize Jesus as the Son of God and savior of all mankind. Roman authorities felt the need to create boundaries between the religions, clearly distinguishing them as different. The canons of the council marked the beginning of official gubernatorial separation of the faiths in Spain, after which Christians began rioting and burning synagogues and Jewish books. During the next two centuries, several laws were written debasing the Jews, restricting their rights and requiring conversion to Catholicism. At the end of the 7th century, the Visigoth rulers claimed that Jews were conspiring with Islamic invaders to conquer the empire. Although these accusations have no documented historical evidence, it is likely that Jews were persecuted and abused in the empire and did want to rid themselves of their oppressors (Gampel 1992: 14). Under Islamic rule beginning in 711, although Jews and Christians alike were tolerated and protected from murder

because they followed a holy doctrine, they were treated as second-class citizens because that doctrine was not Muslim. Jews did obtain and enjoy positions in royal courts and governments, but the majority suffered from the anti-Semitism that ran deep in Islamic and Christian cultures. As Christians made their most significant conquests over Islamic rule in the 11-13th centuries, Jewish socio-economic status was again threatened in the region. Christians began to acquire the commercial talents previously monopolized by Jews and usurped their places in these markets (Gampel 1992: 26). After civil war broke out in 1369 as the reign of King Peter I was challenged and overthrown by Henry of Trastámara, religious riots erupted in Seville. In 1391, within the span of two weeks, a violent persecution ended with the massacre of nearly 10,000 Jews in Córdoba, Jaén, Ubeda, Baeza, Carmona, Seville and other communities throughout Andalusia (O'Callaghan 1975: 537). Many Jews were forced to convert to Catholicism to escape death. Spanish society had a strong hatred for Jews because of their relative wealth and the positions of political power they held. The Catholic Church, with the help of the archdeacon of Ecija Fernando Martínez had been promulgating anti-Jewish hatred for years, encouraging Christian society to act against Jewish communities for their alleged usury and abuse of power as tax collectors (O'Callaghan 1975: 536). In addition, the government, the traditional protectors of Jewish rights, had been weakened with the death of John I and the placement of a child-king on the throne in 1390. In 1405, Henry III limited commercial interaction between Jews and Christians and prohibited Jews from becoming bankers. In 1412, a law written in the name of the child king Juan II punished Jews for their faith, and tried to force them into Catholicism through

humiliation and poverty. Jews were relegated to living in specific neighborhoods called *juderías* and could not wear clothes made of fine material. They could not shave or cut their hair or associate with Christians in any manner. They could not practice medicine or law, or sell or process food that Christians might eat, which limited them to the professions that paid the least in society (Gampel 1992: 24ff.). Due to the constant debasement of the Jewish faith in religious and political environments, it is estimated that between 1391 and 1415, one-third to one-half of Jews in the Iberian Peninsula converted to Catholicism. It is also speculated that a good portion of this was due to loss of faith in Jewish ways as Jews lost their status in society (Gampel 1992: 29).

Jews that converted to Catholicism were referred to as *marranos*, *conversos* or *cristianos nuevos*. During the middle of the 15th century, Spanish popular hatred transferred to these new converts in addition to professed Jews. *Conversos* began to gain political power by marrying into Christian families and, thus, to reclaim some of their previous social, political and economic stature in society. Christians began to voice the suspicion that the *conversos* had converted only to regain their previous socio-economic status and were traitors to their new faith. As a result, violent riots and hate crimes against Jews and *conversos* alike increased in number and frequency in Toledo, Castile and Lisbon (Gampel 1992: 30). In 1469, the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel brought a wave of persecution supported by the government through the Spanish Inquisition. In order to help alleviate suspicions held against the *conversos*, beginning in 1478, the Inquisitorial Tribunal was established to promote and maintain Catholic orthodoxy in Spain, and to monitor the religious behavior of new converts. The idea of halting the

mix of Jewish blood with that of Christians, both figuratively and literally, was of utmost importance during the Inquisition. Bishops of Jewish blood were not allowed to have contact with the affairs of the tribunals as Isabella and Ferdinand, along with Pope Sixtus IV, felt that this would contaminate its holy purpose (Plaidy 1967: 126). In 1492, the Kings published the Edict of Granada that forced all Jews in the Iberian Peninsula to convert or flee the country. Any Jew remaining would be punished by death for maintaining Jewish presence in the region. The Kings meant to remove the faith completely to rid *nuevos cristianos* of the temptation to return to their old faith (Plaidy 1967: 111). However, during the Inquisition, the *conversos* were in large part wiped out because they were suspected of returning to their old faith.

It is estimated that after the Inquisition, of Spain's 8 million inhabitants, half a million *conversos* were of Jewish descent. This placed them under suspicion of practicing Cryptojudaism, especially if they had managed to gain social, political or economic power within the community (Messori 2004: 69). It was widely believed that Jewish blood held a moral virus that worked against Christianity and that the only way to stop the subversive substance was to isolate it in the bloodlines and let it die out. People who confessed or were discovered to have *converso* lineage were not allowed to hold public office in Christian society for fear of betrayal against Catholicism. The idea of *limpieza de sangre* coursed through Spain during much of the 17th and 18th centuries. The Inquisition put forth statutes for the *limpieza de sangre* requiring that any person aspiring to hold any sort of public office or a position of influence within the community had to prove the purity of their lineage (Messori 2004: 72).

In the mid-19th century, Jews began to reenter Spain and the synagogues were slowly permitted to reopen, but during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) they were again closed. Jews were also investigated and arrested by anti-Semitic police. The Edict of Granada was not officially revoked until December 16, 1968. Jews were once again allowed to practice their faith following Franco's death and the end of his regime in 1975 (Gerber 1994).

Let us now turn to Islam, the third religious group of this study. Islam also has a long and complicated history in the Iberian Peninsula. Muslims entered the region from North Africa in 711 and conquered almost the entire Iberian Peninsula, with the exception of the Christian Kingdom of Asturias in the North. By 756, it is estimated that some 70,000 Muslims had arrived in the Peninsula. Nearly all Spaniards were Catholic at this point. Therefore, there was a large population living under Islamic rule that would welcome rebellion against their new position in society (Lomax 1978: 12 ff.) Under the Covenant of Umar, Jews and Christians were tolerated in the Islamic Empire, but were not given equal rights under the law. Islam considered Jesus to be the greatest prophet but not divine, and accepted the Old Testament but not the New. Muslims considered their religion to be a correction to Christianity and Judaism, as it was a revelation from the God of Abraham (Lomax 1978: 10). Christians lost much of their influence and socio-economic status in the region, while Jews regained many of their previous privileges.

The eight-century-long Reconquest began in the Christian communities in the north of Spain that resisted constant attacks brought against them by the Muslims to the

south. Alfonso I united Cantabria and Asturias in 739. Following a civil war among Muslims that caused their retreat from the northern plains in 741, Alfonso seized the opportunity to drive any remaining Muslims southwards to Coria, and he captured Salamanca, Ávila and Segovia by 754. Knowing of the small probability of holding these lands, he disposed of all Muslim inhabitants, destroyed the towns and led the Christian citizens back north with him. In doing so, he left a large barrier of effectively depopulated land that served as protection for his newly expanded Christian kingdom (Lomax 1978: 27). From 866-910, King Alfonso III of Asturias claimed several victories against Muslim attacks and, thus, Christian morale began to strengthen.

Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, also known as the Cid Campeador of the epic poem, conquered and ruled Valencia in the 11th century and is recognized as one of the greatest examples of the success of Christians battling Muslims (Plaidy 1967: 84). After the establishment of the Christian alliance between Leon, Castile and Navarre throughout the 10th century, and with the interest and support of the Gregorian papacy and Alexander II between 1061 and 1073, the Christians gained their first major victory under Alfonso VI at Toledo in 1085. In 1212, Christians won the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa and in 1236 took Córdoba. Shortly thereafter, cities were liberated one by one beginning with Malaga and Seville in 1248 and Cadiz and Jerez in 1265 (Lapesa 1980: 192). After Valencia and Algeciras were recaptured in 1238, most major cities had been established as independent and free. Islamic resistance only remained in Granada. The unification of Castile and Aragon extended throughout all of Spain culminating in a ten-year-war to take Granada in 1492. Those Muslims that were forcibly converted to Catholicism,

called *moriscos*, were subjected to the Inquisition as many were suspected of reverting to their old faith in secret. Various laws were passed to limit or prohibit the practice of the Muslim culture and religion. At various points in time, Muslims were expelled from Spanish cities for rebelling against the government. In 1616, all moors were expelled from the country in order to remove their negative religious, social and economic influence in the region (Gampel 1992: 35). Muslims are currently allowed to practice their faith in Spain and enter the country in large numbers from Africa, the Middle East and South Asia in search of employment in the European Union.

Methodology

The lexical items examined in this study are related to religious terminology from the three main religions in Spain: Christianity, Judaism and Islam. The first category of words refers to the believers of the three faiths and includes the most common words as well as their synonyms. From Christianity: *cristiano*, *católico*, *creyente*, *devoto*, and *bautizado*; from Judaism, *judío*, *israelita* and *hebreo*; and from Islam, *moro*, *musulmán*, *mahometano* and *muslime*. The second category of words refers to the abstract concepts: *cristianismo*, *judaísmo*, *hebraísmo*, *islamismo* and *mahometismo*. The third refers to the holy texts: *Biblia*, *Tora*, *Alcorán*, *Corán* and *Korán*. The fourth category refers to the buildings of worship: *iglesia*, *catedral*, *templo*, *sinagoga*, *aljama* and *mezquita*. The fifth category includes terms for the God: *Dios*, *Jehová* and *Alá*.

Each word is studied from the earliest date of appearance in a Spanish-language dictionary, excluding dictionaries that are solely bilingual, etymological or historical. For the purpose of this study, new information and changes in definitions are identified based on changes in the language of the definition and the ideas presented. These changes occur in different dictionaries, and between editions of the same dictionary throughout the years.

The database used for analysis is the *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española (NTLLE)*, published by the Real Academia Española (RAE) in 2001 on CD-ROM. It includes 70 Castilian dictionaries published between 1495 and 1991. In addition to the 33 dictionaries published by the RAE, included are 37 others published by some 30 different authors. For definitions from the RAE that are published after 1992, the online database from the RAE website is utilized. As many dictionaries as possible independent of the RAE are used.

Two concepts play a definitive role in the context of the evaluation of definitions as they appear throughout the years. For the purposes of this study, racism is defined as the presence of abusive or pejorative language that leads the reader to believe that one race is superior to another. Religious bias or prejudice is defined as a point of view or opinion that inhibits neutrality or objectivity with specific reference to religion. The study specifically looks for words or phrases that assign a value to the terms. The study also analyzes the evolution of the definitions of the lexical items as a whole and examines if the tendency toward bias and racism in Spanish dictionaries still exists today.

Each lexical item is searched for in all dictionaries. Definitions that are pertinent to racism and religious bias are chosen for analysis. From the analysis of the terms and bias-oriented language found in the corpus there arose the following data-driven system of classification of the definitions based on their content. It should be noted that while all of these categories can include positive or negative connotations, implications and descriptions, the information held in the definitions is categorized and divided up accordingly for the purposes of analysis and readability.

Table 1: System of Classification of Results

CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTION
Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs	Overtly complimentary language or using the term as a compliment
Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs	Pejorative language; using a pejorative contrast; describing one religion as the “absence of” another; using the term as an insult
Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs	Does not assign value in any way
II. Association with ethnicity or denomination	Linked with certain group of people or religious denomination
IIIa. External characteristics	Physical traits, health and abilities
IIIb. Internal characteristics	Internal traits such as morality and personality
IV. Miscellaneous semantic content	Any semantic content such as functioning as a synonym or colloquial phrases that use the term

The results are classified in the order of the system in Table 1: System of Classification of Results. Those categories for which no information appears for the term appear with 'Not applicable'. In general, the dictionaries present much information in the entries that can be considered examples of racism and religious bias. The translations of the quotes taken from the dictionaries are the researcher's. All of the lexical items appear in a majority of the dictionaries frequently throughout history, providing a large and rich corpus for study.

In the following table, Table 2: Chronological List of Dictionaries, on page 17, all dictionaries used from the database *Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico de la Lengua Española* are listed in order to facilitate the understanding of the time frame and depth of information covered in the study. 39 dictionaries across four centuries are analyzed for the content of their entries for the terms under study.

Table 2: Chronological List of Dictionaries

1611	Covarrubias
1611	Rosal
1726-39	Diccionario de las Autoridades Españolas
1770-83	Diccionario de las Autoridades Españolas
1787	Terreros y Pando
1791	Diccionario de la Real Academia Española (DRAE)
1803	DRAE
1817	DRAE
1822	DRAE
1825	Núñez de Taboada
1832	DRAE
1837	DRAE
1843	DRAE
1846	Salvá
1852	DRAE
1852	Castro y Rossi
1853	Domínguez
1855	Gastro y Rossi
1869	DRAE
1884	DRAE
1895	Zerolo
1899	DRAE
1901	Toro y Gómez
1902-36	Pagés
1914	DRAE
1917	Aleman y Bolufer
1918	Rodríguez Navas
1925	DRAE
1927	Diccionario manual e ilustrado de la lengua española (DMI)
1936-39	DRAE
1947	DRAE
1950	DMI
1956	DRAE
1970	DRAE
1983-85	DMI
1984	DRAE
1989	DMI
1992	DRAE
2001	DRAE

CHAPTER II

WORDS RELATED TO CHRISTIANITY

This chapter discusses eleven terms that are related to Christianity. The majority of the terms appear with positive descriptions at some point throughout history. The terms included in this chapter are generally associated with good, holy and sacred concepts. As the descriptions of meaning evolve, they move to more neutrally-worded entries. Several of the terms are described as being directly related to Catholicism, to the exclusion of other Christian denominations.

Believers

A. *Cristiano*

The term *cristiano* appears in all of the dictionaries provided by the *NTLLE*, demonstrating its importance and presence in society for centuries. The entries provide several examples of racism and religious bias.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs

In most cases, the faith of the *cristiano* is described as a complete religious system with no comparison to other faiths. The entries also surround the religion with complimentary descriptors. For example, in Terreros y Pando (1787) the definition appears as

(1) ‘*el que, o la que, sigue la lei santa de Cristo*’.

He, or she, who follows the holy law of Christ.

By including *santa* the authors insinuate that this religion and its believers are holy, possibly more so than believers of other faiths.

Domínguez (1853) is more overtly positive in his definition. He notes that the term describes

- (2) ‘*el que profesa la religión de Jesucristo, única y verdadera sacrosanta, cuyo carácter regenerador le fue indeleblemente comunicado en el bautismo*’.

He who professes the religion of Jesus Christ, the one, true and sacrosanct, whose regenerative character was indelibly given to him during baptism.

The definition suggests that Christians are correct in their beliefs because they follow Christian doctrine. They are also portrayed in a complimentary and even saintly light.

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

II. Association with specific people

The next category of classification appears in the entries that manifest the popular hatred of Jews associated with the desire for *limpieza de sangre* that came to a head during the Inquisition. This concept appears in descriptions such as the *DRAE*'s (1803) definition of

- (3) *cristiano viejo*: ‘*el que desciende de cristianos sin mezcla conocida de moro, judío, ni pagano o gentil*’.

Old Christian: he who descends from Christians, without known mix of Moor, Jew, nor pagan or Gentile.

The language of the definition clearly demonstrates racism against a lineage of mixed religions or races.

Domínguez (1853) offers a more severely biased definition of the same term with

(4) *‘el que desciende de cristianos puros, limpios, sin mezcla conocida de moro, judío o gentil’.*

He who descends from clean, pure Christians, without known mix of Moor, Jew or Gentile.

He insinuates that having heritage originating in other races is impure and dirty, implying that these races are dirty as well. Racism and religious purism are apparent in these descriptions of meaning.

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Synonym of *español*

The next category present in descriptions of *cristiano* manifests itself in the use of the term as a synonym of a well-spoken person. Terreros y Pando (1787) offers the phrase

(5) *‘no hablar cristiano: hablar con obscuridad, o en lengua que no se entiende’.*

To not speak Christian: to speak obscurely, or in a language that is not understood.

The *DRAE* (1925-1992) presents the phrase

- (6) *‘hablar uno en cristiano. Expresarse en términos llanos, y fácilmente comprensibles, o en la lengua que todos entienden’.*

To speak Christian. To express oneself in simple, understandable terms, or in a language that everyone understands.

These two entries indicate a semantic extension to speaking properly and eloquently, implying that all Christians speak well because they are *cristiano*.

Zerolo (1895) presents the phrase:

- (7) *‘hablar el cristiano: Dícese del idioma español en contraposición al árabe u otra lengua extranjera’.*

To speak Christian: Said about the Spanish language in contrast to Arabic, or another foreign language.

Here the term *cristiano* is synonymous with the Castilian language.

The 20th edition of the *DRAE* (2001) offers the most recent change to the term.

The entry begins with the neutral definition

- (8) *‘que profesa la fe de Cristo’.*

One who professes the faith of Christ.

However, this edition also includes the terms

- (9) *cristiano nuevo: ‘Persona que se convierte a la religión cristiana y se bautiza siendo adulto’; cristiano viejo: ‘descendiente de cristianos, sin mezcla conocida de moro, judío o gentil’.*

New Christian: Person who converts to the Christian religion and is baptized as an adult; Old Christian: descendant of Christians, without known mix of Moor, Jew or Gentile.

The religious purism evident since the 18th and 19th centuries as part of the definition and semantic content surrounding *cristiano* has endured and the racism against mixed lineage has not been removed either. The entry also continues to include the phrases:

- (10) *decir en cristiano, hablar en cristiano: ‘expresarse en términos llanos y fácilmente comprensibles...hablar en castellano’.*

To say in Christian, to speak in Christian: to express oneself in simple and easily understandable terms...to speak Castillian.

Therefore, the bias that favors Christians as articulate speakers and equates Spanish speakers with Christians is still present in this modern definition.

B. *Católico*

The entries for this item provide a wealth of information in their definitions and usage examples. The first pertinent entries appear in the 16th century.

Ia. Positive description of system of beliefs

The descriptions of meaning for this lexical item often have biased wording that assigns a high value to the Catholic religion. For example, Covarrubias (1611b) describes *católico* as

- (11) ‘*el verdadero cristiano*’.

The true Christian

This implies that other denominations are false. The entries of many dictionaries also offer similar positive language for the term. For example, the *DRAE* (1780-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) write that the word means

- (12) ‘*verdadero, cierto, infallible, de fe divina...se dice de lo que está sano y perfecto*’.

True, infallible, of divine faith...it is used to refer to things that are healthy and perfect.

All of these descriptions demonstrate the positive connotations that society has toward this term.

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Other dictionaries are more neutral in their wording. The *DRAE* in the 18th century as well as Núñez de Taboada (1825) include more detail surrounding the religion, saying that when one uses *católico*, they refer to

- (13) ‘*la Iglesia que confiesa a Cristo por su cabeza invisible y al papa por la visible*’.

The church that confesses to Christ, the invisible leader, and to the Pope, the visible leader.

The *DRAE* (1780-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) write that the term refers to

(14) ‘*el que profesa la religión católica*’.

He who professes the Catholic religion.

Terreros y Pando (1787) notes that the word is a

(15) ‘*nombre que se da a la Relijion e Iglesia Catolica Romana, y a los que la siguen*’.

Name given to the religion and the Roman Catholic church, and to those who follow it.

Castro y Rossi (1852) offers the description that

(16) ‘*hoy se ha reducido este nombre a la iglesia romana y a los que siguen las doctrinas de ella*’.

Today this name refers to the Roman church and to those that follow its doctrines.

II. Association with specific people

The majority of entries that fall into this category relate *católico* to the Catholic Kings, Isabella and Ferdinand. Covarrubias (1611b) notes that

(17) ‘*este nombre de Catolica se da a los Reyes de Castilla y España*’.

This name is given to the Kings of Castille and Spain.

El *DRAE* (1780-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) comment that *católico* is

(18) ‘*renombre muy antiguo de los Reyes de España*’.

Very old name of the Kings of Spain.

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym of perfection and health.

Domínguez (1853) and Gaspar y Roig (1853) include a common phrase that also demonstrates the favorable bias:

(19) ‘*no estar alguno o algo muy católico: no estar bueno, no ser cosa perfecta*’.

To not be someone or something Catholic: to not be good, to not be a perfect thing.

Catholicism appears to be directly associated with perfection in everyday speech.

C. *Creyente*

This term appears in most of the dictionaries in the database and offers several differing entries.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs

The first dictionary to offer a positive entry for this item is the *DRAE* in 1729 with the phrase

(20) ‘*el que cree lo que oye o lee. Regularmente se toma por el que cree con firmeza los misterios de nuestra Santa Fe*’.

He who believes what he hears and reads. Regularly taken to mean he who firmly believes the mysteries of our Holy Faith.

Through the use of the first person plural possessive adjective, the writers of the dictionary take ownership of this religion thereby validating it. Terreros y Pando (1786) support the veracity of religion, by implication Catholicism, by writing that a *creyente* is

(21) ‘*el que cree las verdades de la Relijion*’.

He who believes the truths of the religion.

Ib. Negative definition of system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of system of beliefs

From 1780 until 1869, the *DRAE*, Núñez de Taboada (1825) and Salvá (1846) define the term simply as

(22) ‘*el que cree*’.

He who believes.

Domínguez (1853) and Gaspar y Roig (1853) offer the neutrally worded entry

(23) ‘*se aplica generalmente...hablando de los individuos de un sistema religioso o político*’.

Generally applied to the individuals of a religious or political system.

The *DRAE* (1884-1989), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1904) and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) shorten the definition to

(24) ‘*que cree*’.

One who believes.

The *DRAE* (1992-present) offers the definition

(25) ‘*que cree; especialmente el que profesa determinada fe religiosa*’.

One who believes; especially one who professes a certain religious faith.

No value is assigned and the word is not associated with any specific religion or denomination.

II. Association with ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

D. *Devoto*

This lexical item offers a variety of semantic content associated with it.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

Domínguez (1869) equates the term to an insult using it as an

(26) ‘*epiteto que se da a los ladrones que frecuentan las Iglesias con el objeto de hacer algun hurto*’.

Epithet given to thieves that frequent churches with the purpose of stealing.

The word is used ironically, in this instance.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

The *DRAE* (1732-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Gaspar y Roig (1853), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1904), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) offer the neutrally worded entry

(28) ‘*fervoroso y dedicado a obras de piedad y Religión*’.

Fervent and dedicated to works of piety and religion.

II. Association with denomination.

Terreros y Pando (1786) also neutrally describes the term as meaning

(29) ‘*la persona piadosa que asiste mucho a las iglesias y cosas de devoción*’.

The pious person that often goes to churches and things of worship.

Through the use of *iglesia*, the term is associated with Christianity and does not objectively refer to a devout person. By implication, a *devoto* is Christian, to the exclusion of those who do not worship in churches.

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Image or place

This term is not only associated with a person, but with several inanimate objects as well. The *DRAE* (1732-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Gaspar y Roig (1853), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1904), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) record the item as referring to

(30) ‘*se llama también la Imagen, Templo o lugar que mueve o excita la devoción*’.

Also refers to an Image, temple or place that moves one to worship.

E. *Bautizado*

In general, this lexical item does not present much pertinent information for this study; that is, the commentaries from the entries do not fall into any of the categories for classification. Rather than referring to a person, *bautizado* describes a baptism ceremony. In the *DRAE* (1726) the definition appears as

(31) ‘*el lanzar debaxo de agua*’.

The submerging below water.

In Domínguez (1853) the definition is

(32) ‘*se usa como sustantivo sinónimo de bautizo*’.

Used as a synonym of baptism.

The word is also described in the *DRAE* (1739-1989) and in Núñez de Taboada (1825) as

(33) ‘*p[articipio] p[asado] de bautizar*’

Past participle of to baptize.

It functions only as a derived word.

Abstract Concept

A. *Cristianismo*

This term appears in all the dictionaries of the database with only a single reference to Catholicism. The majority of the entries offer a neutral definition of the item.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

In 1786, Terreros y Pando defines the term as

(34) ‘*la doctrina de J.C., la relijón cristiana*’.

The doctrine of Jesus Christ, the Christian religion.

The *DRAE* (1803-1817) gives the meaning

(35) ‘*el gremio de los fieles cristianos*’.

The doctrine of faithful Christians.

The definition in the *DRAE* (1822-2001), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Zerolo (1895), Pagés (1904), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) appears succinctly as

(36) ‘*la religión cristiana*’.

The Christian religion.

No biased language appears in these entries.

II. Association with ethnicity/specific denomination

Covarrubias (1611b) defines the term as referring to

(37) ‘*la iglesia católica de todos los fieles*’.

The Catholic church of the faithful.

This directly relates Christianity to Catholicism, implying the term cannot describe another denomination.

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

Holy Text

A. *Biblia*

This lexical item appears in all of the dictionaries available in the database. All of the entries describe a system of beliefs in a neutral way.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs

Covarrubias (1611b) introduces the term as referring

(38) ‘*por excelecia al sagrado volumé en el que se contienen el viejo, y el Nuevo Testamento*’.

By excellence to the Holy volume in which is contained the old and new testaments.

Terreros y Pando (1787) defines the term as

(39) ‘*por excelencia son los Libros Santos...del Viejo y Nuevo Testamento*’.

By excellence it is the holy books of the old and new testaments.

Rosal (1611), the *DRAE* of 1726 and between 1899 and 1989, Domínguez (1853), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1902), and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) offer the similar description:

(40) ‘*la Sagrada Escritura de los Testamentos viejo y nuevo*’.

The sacred scripture of the old and new testaments.

Biblia is consistently defined with the epithets *sagrada* and *santo*, demonstrating the high regard the dictionary has for the book.

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Between the years 1770 and 1869, the *DRAE* changed its definition of *Biblia* to

(41) ‘*los libros canónicos del viejo y nuevo Testamento*’.

The canonized books of the old and new testaments.

Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846) and Castro y Rossi (1852) published the same description. During these one hundred years, the entries were neutral and without bias in their wording, omitting the descriptors *santo* and *sagrada*.

II. Association with ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

Building of Worship

A. *Iglesia*

The term *iglesia* appears in all of the dictionaries available in the *NTLLE* from 1495 until the present. There is much semantic content in the definitions and usage examples of the term.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs

Covarrubias (1611a) defines the term as

(42) ‘*la congregación de los fieles...llamados por Christo Redentor nuestro...y recibe virtud y vida de...Christo*’.

A congregation of the faithful...called by Christ our redeemer...and receives virtue and life from Christ.

Christ is assumed to be the savior of all men, implied through the use of the first person plural. The church also serves as a source of moral and good abstract concepts, such as life and virtue, for its believers. Domínguez (1853) and Gaspar y Roig (1855) note that *iglesia* refers to a

(43) ‘*sociedad de los adoradores del verdadero Dios*’.

Society of those that adore the true God.

A church is not a building, but a group of worshippers of true faith in Spanish society.

Rodríguez Navas (1918) writes a description that contrasts Christianity with Judaism in a negative manner. *Iglesia* refers to

(44) ‘*congregación, asamblea, reunión...de cristianos, en oposición a la sinagoga de los Judíos*’.

Congregation, assembly, meeting of Christians, in opposition to Jewish synagogues.

The Christian church is placed in direct contrast with Jewish synagogues, as if it is necessary to define Christianity as being overtly not Jewish.

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Rosal (1611) offers the neutrally worded description:

(45) ‘*congregación o ayuntamiento*’.

Congregation or gathering

The definition appears without reference to a specific religion or assigned value.

II. Association with a specific denomination

The *DRAE* (1734-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914) and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) define *iglesia* as

(46) ‘*la Congregación de los Fieles, regida por Christo y el Papa*’.

Congregation of the faithful, directed by Christ and the Pope.

By citing the Pope as the head of the church, the term is associated specifically with Catholicism, to the exclusion of Judaism and other Christian denominations not governed by the papacy.

The *DRAE* (1734-1970) included as one of its many definitions of *iglesia*:

(47) ‘*se llaman también, aunque impropiamente, cada una de las sectas de herejes-iglesia reformada, luterana*’.

Also refers to, however inappropriately, each one of the heretical sects of the reformed church, Lutheran church.

The heavy favor given to Catholicism in Spanish society under the Franco regime is clearly reflected in this language.

In 1984, the *DRAE* changed its definition to

(48) ‘*seguida de su denominación particular, cada una de las comunidades cristianas que se definen como iglesia-luterana, anglicana...*’

Following its own particular denomination, each one of the Christian communities that define themselves as a church-Lutheran, Anglican.

All racism and biased language is omitted and other denominations are now validated through the mention of their names in this new edition of the dictionary published under the newly established democracy in Spain.

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IVa. Miscellaneous semantic content: Edifice

The *DRAE* (1780-1783) notes that the term describes

(49) ‘*el templo y fábrica material donde se ofrecen a Dios sacrificios y oración*’.

The temple where sacrifices and prayers are offered to God.

The *DRAE* (1884-2001), Terreros y Pando (1787), Toro y Gómez (1901), Alemany y Bolufer (1917), Rodríguez Navas (1918) mention as one of their multiple entries for *iglesia* that the term refers to

(50) ‘*templo cristiano*’.

Christian temple.

No racism or bias appears.

IVb. Miscellaneous semantic content: church government

The term *iglesia* is also used to refer metonymically to the body of church officials. The *DRAE* (1734-1992), Domínguez (1853), Gaspar y Roig (1855), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) note that the term

(51) *‘se toma...por el conjunto de todos los Cabildos, personas eclesiásticas, Gobierno eclesiástico de algún Reino’.*

Is taken to mean the meeting of all of the ecclesiastic personnel, church government of any kingdom.

This description expands the semantic content of the word to include a large group of officials that oversee the church.

These same dictionaries offer as another description of the term:

(52) *‘el estado eclesiastico, que comprehende todos los que tienen Sacros ordenes y asi se dice, hombre de Iglesia’.*

Ecclesiastic state, that consists of all of those who have sacred orders and are therefore called, man of the church.

Here the term has a metonymic function of referring to monks, priests and other holy men of the church.

IVc. Miscellaneous semantic content: church jurisdiction

The *DRAE* (1734-1992), Domínguez (1853), Gaspar y Roig (1855), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) also include that *iglesia* refers to

(53) *‘la jurisdicción y dominio que los Eclesiasticos tienen sobre cosa temporal’.*

The jurisdiction and dominion that ecclesiastic members have over temporal things.

It describes the sphere of influence that the church has in the world, referring to the things that it owns or has rights to.

This lexical item demonstrates a wide and varied semantic content in the Spanish language. Although in many usage examples, racism and religious bias are not present, the term has been expanded to cover a broad range of meanings, possibly because it is used so commonly in everyday speech. The power and influence of the Catholic Church has effected significant change to the culture of the Spanish people and this power is reflected in the language.

B. *Catedral*

This term appears in all of the dictionaries of the database.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

None of the dictionaries in the database offers a biased definition of the term.

The *DRAE* (1780-1869), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846) and Castro y Rossi (1869) offer the description

(54) *'la iglesia principal en que se reside el Obispo, o Arzobispo con su cabildo'*.

Principle church in which reside the bishop, the archbishop and his officials

Terreros y Pando (1786) offers the similar entry:

(55) *'iglesia que es y se mira como silla de Obispo'*.

Church that is and is viewed as the seat of the Bishop.

Pagés (1904), Alemany y Bolufer (1917), Rodríguez Navas (1918) and the *DRAE* (1927-1950) alter the definition slightly noting that the term refers to

(56) ‘*iglesia principal de una diócesis*’.

Principle church of a diocese.

II. Association with ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym of *iglesia*

The *DRAE* (1899; 1914-1925; 1956-1992), and Pagés (1904) offer the definition of the term as

(57) ‘*iglesia catedral*’.

Cathedral church.

This demonstrates that it functions as a synonym of *iglesia*.

C. *Templo*

This term offers a variety of entries that fall under several of the classifications.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

The *DRAE* (1791-1817), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846) and Gaspar y Roig (1855) mention that in addition to a Christian house of worship, the term is also used to refer to

(58) ‘*qualquiera de los lugares dedicados a los falsos Dioses de la Gentilidad*’.

Any of the places dedicated to the false gods of Gentiles.

Domínguez (1853) adds that the term also describes

(59) ‘*cualquiera de los lugares dedicados a los ídolos del paganismo o los falsos dioses de la gentilidad*’.

Any of the places dedicated to pagan idols or false gods of Gentiles.

The item is defined using a contrast to Christianity, negating the value of other belief systems. The *DRAE* (1884-1925), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901) and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) offer the following definition, again stating that there are false faiths in contrast to the veracity of Christianity:

(60) ‘*edificio o lugar destinado pública y exclusivamente a un culto verdadero o falso*’.

Building or place that is public and exclusive to a cult, true or false.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Covarrubias (1611b) defines the lexical item as

(61) ‘*lugar cosagrado a Dios*’.

Place that is consecrated to God.

The *DRAE* (1739-1869) offers the definition

(62) ‘*edificio dedicado a Dios y en que se da culto a los Santos*’.

Building that is dedicated to God, in which the Saints are worshipped.

Rodríguez Navas (1918) offers the neutral entry

(63) ‘*edificio o local donde se ejerce un sacerdote y practica el culto de una religión cualquiera*’.

Building or place where a priest practices, as well as the worship practices of any religion.

Between 1925 and 2001, the *DRAE* and Pagés (1931) provide the description

(64) ‘*edificio o lugar destinado pública y exclusivamente a un culto*’.

Building or place that is designated as public and exclusively for a religion.

II. Association with ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: The soul

The term takes on a new metaphoric meaning in the *DRAE* (1791-1817) where it is defined as:

(65) ‘*el alma santa, porque Dios mora en ella por la gracia*’.

The blessed soul, because God lives in it by his grace.

The term describes the place in one’s body where God resides.

God

A. *Dios*

This lexical item appears in all of the dictionaries in the database with a large amount of information in many cases.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs

Covarrubias (1611b) gives a lengthy description of the meaning and etymology of the term. In addition to demonstrating the derivation of the word, he writes

(66) *‘de Dios tenemos el ser, y todo bien se deriva de Dios’.*

From God we receive our being, and all good comes from God.

The entry sounds as if it were taken from the Bible. The *DRAE* (1732-1783) describes the term with extremely positive language noting that the term refers to

(67) *‘nombre Sagrado del primer y supremo. Ente necesario, eterno e infinito...que es el que es principio y fin de todas las cosas; que crió el Universo por su poder, que le conserva por su Bondád, que le rige por su providencia, que todo pende de su voluntad y procede de su magnificencia infinita’.*

Sacred name of the first and supreme. Necessary entity, eternal and infinite. Who is that which is the beginning and end of all things; who created the universe through his power and conserves it by his kindness, rules it by his providence, everything depends on his will and comes from his infinite magnificence.

Once again, the entry is written in the style of a worship service or prayer. God is not a concept that Christians believe in, but is an entity with great powers. In 1786, Terreros y Pando shortens the definition to

(68) *‘el ser supremo, infinitamente perfecto, conservador y Criador de todas las cosas’.*

The supreme being, infinitely perfect, convserver and creator of all things
 The *DRAE* (1791-1984), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Zerolo (1895),
 Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1904) and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) include a similar
 definition:

(69) ‘*Nombre Sagrado del supremo ser, criador del universo que le conserva
 y rige por su providencia*’.

Sacred name of the supreme being, creator of the universe that he
 conserves and rules through his providence.

Although much more concise, the language clearly demonstrates the high value
 assigned to this term and what it represents. The repeated use of *supremo* and the idea
 that God keeps the universe in existence due to his infinite goodwill is almost prayer-like
 in the reverence shown the term.

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

The *DRAE* (1783-1884), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Zerolo (1895),
 Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1904) and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) write that the term
 can refer to

(70) ‘*se dió este nombre, aunque impropiamente, a qualquiera de las falsas
 Deidades que fingió la idolatría*’.

This name was given, however inappropriately, to whichever of the false
 gods that feigned idolatry.

The entry excludes the Jewish faith, debasing its beliefs as false and unworthy of
 use of the term *Dios*.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Rodríguez Navas (1918) provides a neutral entry for the term in a different style.

He writes that the item refers to

(71) ‘*vida universal; esencia pura; Ser absoluto, infinito y eterno; Espiritu puro, universal, como suma de todos los ideales de bien, belleza, verdad y justicia. Entre los indios, alma universal. Entre los gentiles, símbolo de energías*’.

Universal life; pure essence; absolute, infinite and eternal being; pure universal spirit, the sum of all ideals of good, beauty, truth and justice.

Among Indians, universal soul. Among Gentiles, symbol of energy.

The entry includes references to other faiths’ representations of the term with no bias or religious purism. It appears to be an attempt at a fair representation of the term from all sides. The *DRAE* in 1989 to the present no longer debases the Jewish faith as false and only notes that the term can also refer to

(72) ‘*cualquiera de las deidades veneradas en las distintas religiones*’.

Whichever of the venerated gods in any religion.

All religious bias has been removed from these most recent entries.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

CHAPTER III

WORDS RELATED TO JUDAISM

This chapter includes nine terms that are related to Judaism. The majority of these terms are described neutrally throughout history. However, those that are described in a negative light suffer a great deal of racism and religious bias in their entries. These terms are often described in contrast to Christianity, in an evangelical tone or are associated with illegal or superstitious activities.

Believers

A. *Judío*

This term appears in most Castilian Spanish language dictionaries as early as the 15th century. Its frequency and historical depth demonstrate its importance in Spanish society. The majority of the entries were found to contain bias and racism at some point.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

Many dictionaries present *judío* in contrast with Christianity or as someone that negates the true Christian faith. Covarrubias (1611a) comments on the historical side of the term, and gives the synonyms *israelita* and *hebreo*. Jewish faith is defined as the absence or defiance of Christianity in

(1) ‘*Oy día lo son los que no creyeron en la venida del Messías*

Salvador...Señor Nuestro y continúan el professar la ley de Moysén, que era sombra desta verdad’.

Today they are those who did not believe in the coming of the Savior Messiah...our lord and continue to profess to the laws of Moses, that were a shadow of the truth.

The word *continúan* gives the impression of an evangelical entry; as if the author believes that Jews will continue in their faith until Christians convert them, thereby saving them. With *sombra*, Judaism is presented as vaguely related to, but certainly not, Christianity. It also implies that Judaism is darkness and the absence of truth.

In Terreros y Pando (1787), different language is used to describe the term.

According to the authors, a Jew is

(2) ‘*el que todavía persevera en el Judaísmo*’.

He who still perseveres in Judaism.

The word *todavía* gives the biased impression that although the Jews know, or should know, that their religion is wrong, they follow their beliefs in defiance of Christian authorities.

Domínguez (1853) writes with open racism in his definition of the term. In this entry, a Jew is

(3) ‘*el que observa la ley antigua de Moisés, creyendo todavía en la venida del Mesias, contra lo que establece el cristianismo...cuyos descendientes...continúan en el ciego error de sus padres*’.

He who observes the ancient laws of Moses, still believing in the coming of the Messiah, against what has been established by Christianity...whose descendants continue in the blind error of their forefathers.

The word *todavía* appears again but with more prejudice against Jews, as does *continúan*. The entry pejoratively defines Jewish faith as a blind error. The language leads to the conclusion that Spanish Christian society viewed Judaism as false and heretical.

Judío is described as a pejorative term beginning in the 17th century dictionaries. It became a reference not to a believer of Judaism, but an insult used to offend both Jews and non-Jews alike. Rosal (1611) offered the definition:

(4) ‘*dice el vulgo en Castilla por denuesto a los descendientes de Judíos*’.

The common man uses this term in Castile as an insult to the descendents of Jews.

It is used as a very severe term to offend a Jew.

The *DRAE* (1734), presents the term as an insult noting that it is a

(5) ‘*voz de desprecio e injuriosa, que se usa en casos de enojo o ira*’.

A disdainful and insulting word that is used in cases of extreme anger.

The *DRAE* (1803) follows suit with the similar definition:

(6) ‘*voz injuriosa y de desprecio de que suele usarse en casos de cólera y enojo*’.

Insulting and disdainful word that tends to be used in cases of rage or anger.

Therefore, by the 19th century, the offensive nature of the word had lasted over 400 years since its first appearance in Covarrubias’ dictionary and is a common curse word.

Terreros y Pando (1787) adds popular phrases that demonstrate that this metaphoric meaning had been perpetuated. One such phrase is:

- (7) ‘*Al judío, dadle un palmo y tomará cuatro: contra los que en vez de agradecer el favor recibido, molestan al que se lo ha dispensado con nuevas importunaciones*’.

If you give a Jew an inch he will take four: used against those that instead of appreciating a favor they have received, they bother the one who helped them with new inconveniences.

This idea reappears in the *DRAE* between 1925 and as late as 199II. This reappearance demonstrates that the racist generalizations made about Jewish people were so common that popular sayings were integrated into the everyday speech of the Spanish people.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

In the 20th edition of the *DRAE* (2001), there is no prejudice or racism in the language of the definition. The entry reads

- (8) ‘*Perteneciente o relativo al que profesa la ley de Moisés*’.

Belonging or relative to one who professes the laws of the Moses.

The metaphoric meanings and popular sayings that were present just nine years earlier are notably absent.

II. Association with ethnicity

Many entries describe the history of the Jewish people with specific reference to the abuse they suffered at the hands of society and the Spanish government with the purpose of justifying it with racist and biased reasoning. Covarrubias (1611b) writes

(9) *‘permitiéndolo Nuestro Señor vinieron a ser los judíos gente muy apocada y abatida después de la muerte de Nuestro Redentor’.*

Our Lord allowed the Jews to become a very timid and dejected people after the death of Our Redeemer.

Because God allows it, the abuse is deemed acceptable.

In Covarrubias’ supplement (1611a), the author follows his entry with more detail, writing

(10) *‘Cosa notoria es quan grandes fueron las haçañas de este pueblo quando no se desviaba del servicio de Dios’.*

Something notable is how great the deeds of these people were when they did not stray from the service of God.

Jews and Christians alike study and follow the Old Testament and this likeness is deemed acceptable and worthy by Covarrubias. However, the entry implies that in not believing in the New Testament, the Jews stray from the righteous and true path, falling from the grace of God and therefore suffering the aforementioned mistreatment.

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics

Several entries describe personality characteristics of Jews as greedy and dishonest. For example, Rosal (1611) details a history of Jews in the world that includes

their geographic roots, as well as ancient rivalries with Arab peoples. The author notes that Jewish rites and customs

- (11) ‘*prevalecieron con abominable ruindad...y embolsaban los tributos diezmos y limosnas pías de donde vinieron a crecer las Haciendas de los Judíos*’.

Prevailed in abominable ruin and pocketed the 10% tributes and pious alms from which they grew Jewish estates.

The language clearly leads the reader to believe that the Jews are bad people that steal from churches for their own well-being. The entry continues by stating

- (12) ‘*entre si mismos guardaban mucha fidelidad y misericordia, pero contra los que no fuesen de su gente, cruel rancor y odio*’.

Among themselves, they held much fidelity and compassion, but against those who were not of their people, cruel grudges and hatred.

This further supports the idea that Jews are perceived by Spanish Christian society as bad people by indicating that they are insular, prejudiced and intolerant of those who are not like them. Rosal (1611) is the first publication in a Spanish dictionary of the stereotype that Jewish people are dishonest and miserly, but this perception has endured for centuries. The *DRAE* (1852-1992), Zerolo (1895) and Toro y Gómez (1901) contain the metaphoric meaning

- (13) ‘*avaro, usurero*’.

Greedy, usurer.

This notation of semantic content demonstrates that the meaning of the word had continued evolving and become broader and generalized as a synonym of greedy long after the expulsion of the Jews. *Judio* is no longer a religious term, but refers to something unsavory and unlikeable.

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

B. *Israelita*

This lexical item appears in early dictionaries but does not suffer racist treatment. It appears to be a more formal term used for scientific purposes.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

II. Association with specific people

Several dictionaries make references to the country of Israel in their definitions.

Covarrubias (1611b) defines the term simply and succinctly as

(14) ‘*el que era del pueblo de Israel*’.

He who was from the people of Israel.

It appears to be a derivative form of the proper noun ‘Israel’, referring to a person born in that region. The definitions of Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Gaspar (1855) and the *DRAE* (1803-1950) appear similarly, referring only to the term as an indicator of one’s birthplace as Israel.

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym for *hebreo*

The term appears as a synonym for *hebreo*, and consequently *judío*, in Toro y Gómez (1901) and Pagés (1914) where the definition is written as

(15) ‘*Hebreo. De Israel*’.

Hebrew. From Israel.

However, no biased language is used. From 1970 until the present, the *DRAE* defines the term principally as a synonym by writing

(16) ‘*hebreo, judío. Apl. a pers*’.

Hebrew, Jew. Applied to a person.

C. *Hebreo*

This term appears in dictionaries as early at 1607. Very little racism is associated with the term.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Terreros y Pando (1787) writes

(17) ‘*se toma por Judio, o que sigue el judaísmo*’.

Taken to mean Jew, or something that follows Judaism.

No value is assigned and no biased language appears.

II. Association with specific people

Covarrubias (1611b) defines the word by referring to a certain lineage of Biblical characters. *Hebreo* is the name of

(18) *‘hijo de Heber, hijo de Salen, descendiente de Sen, primogenito de Noe’.*

Son of Eber, son of Shelah, descendent of Shem, first born son of Noah.

The term refers only to a specific person that appears in the Bible. In the *DRAE* (1803-1869), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Gaspar y Roig (1855) and Toro y Gómez (1901) the word is defined as

(19) *‘nombre que se dió a Abraham, hijo de Heber, y a todos sus descendientes; El que profesa la ley de Moises’.*

Name that was given to Abraham, son of Eber, and to all of his descendents; he who professes the laws of Moses.

It still exists as a proper noun that refers to Abraham, but has now become a word used to refer to a Jew.

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym of *judío* and *israelita*

In the *DRAE* (1899-1914), Pagés (1914) and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) the definition retains only one religious reference. The term is defined as referring to

(20) *‘pueblo de Dios, llamado después israelita y judío’.*

People of God, later called Israelite and Jew.

In 1925 until the present, the definition in the *DRAE* changed to:

(21) *‘Aplicase al pueblo semítico que conquistó y habitó la Palestina, también llamado israelita y judío’.*

Applied to the Semitic people who conquered and inhabited Palestine, also called Israelite and Jew.

The description is neutral with no biased or racist language and is based on factual history.

Abstract Concept

A. *Judaísmo*

This item first appears in the 18th century with its own definition.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

In three separate iterations of the *DRAE* (1734, 1869, 1884) the definition of the term appears as

(22) ‘*se toma oy por la supersticiosa y terca observancia, que tienen los Judíos de los ritos y ceremonias de la Ley de Moises*’.

Today it is taken to mean the superstitious and stubborn observance, that the Jews have of the rites and ceremonies of the laws of Moses.

Domínguez (1853) offers the description

(23) ‘*doctrina herética de Leon Judá*’.

Heretical doctrine of Judah.

The *DRAE* (1734) offers the primary definition of the term

(24) ‘*la Religion de los antiguos Judios, y verdadera Ley de Moises, que es la misma que Christo perficionó con la Ley de gracia*’.

The religion of the ancient Jews, and true law of Moses, which is the same as that which Christ improved with the law of grace.

The entry explicitly states that Christianity is an improvement upon Judaism, because Christ brought the New Testament.

Although no mention is made of this religion in comparison to another, it is overtly defined in a negative manner.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Terreros y Pando (1787), the *DRAE* (1803-1852), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Gaspar y Roig (1855) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) define the term succinctly as

(25) *‘Religion de los judíos’.*

Religion of the Jews.

Zerolo (1895) offers the description

(26) *‘aplicase hoy a la observancia de los ritos y ceremonias de la ley de Moisés por los judíos dispersos en el mundo’.*

Today it is applied to the observance of the rites and ceremonias of the laws of Moses followed by Jews around the world.

The *DRAE* (1970-2001) defines the item as

(27) *‘profesión de la ley de Moisés’.*

Profession of the laws of Moses.

No religious bias appears in these definitions.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym of *hebraísmo*

The *DRAE* (1899-1950), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) define the term simply as ‘*hebraísmo*’. It has evolved to be a synonym instead of the primary word in use.

B. *Hebraísmo*

This lexical item appears in the database in the 16th century and its entries fall under several of the classifications.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

The *DRAE* (1783-2001), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Domínguez (1853), Gaspar y Roig (1855), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) define the term neutrally as

(28) ‘*se toma por la secta y profesión de los hebreos*’.

Meaning the sect and profession of Hebrews.

No value or bias appears in the entries.

II. Association with ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IVa. Miscellaneous semantic content: Borrowed Hebrew phrase

Covarrubias (1611b), the *DRAE* (1734-1791) and Terreros y Pando provide the definition for the term

(29) ‘*modo de hablar propio de la lengua hebrea*’.

Hebrew manner of speaking.

No bias is included in the entry and the meaning is described in a simple and succinct manner.

Similarly, the *DRAE* (1884-2001), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) provide a neutral description of the term by writing that *hebraísmo* means

(30) ‘*modo de hablar propio y privativo de la lengua hebrea*’.

Manner of speaking that is from the Hebrew language.

IVb. Miscellaneous semantic content: an uncommon action

Domínguez (1853) offers a different semantic connotation for the term, describing it as referring to a

(31) ‘*cosa que se hace contra costumbre, aludiendo a la escritura hebraica*’.

Something that is done against custom, alluding to Hebrew scripture.

This entry implies in a negative manner that Hebrew writings are uncommon and out of the ordinary.

Holy Text

A. *Tora*

This term appears during the 17th century and its entries include a variety of meanings.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of system of beliefs

Covarrubias (1611b) describes the term as

(32) ‘*nombre Hebreo, se interpreta Los cinco libros de la ley de Moysen*’.

Hebrew name, interpreted as the five books of the laws of Moses.

The *DRAE* (1739) offers the definition

(33) ‘*vale la Ley de Moyses escrita en sus cinco libros*’.

The laws of Moses written in his five books.

The *DRAE* (1803-1992), Salvá (1846), Gaspar y Roig (1855), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Alemany y Bolufer (1917), Rodríguez Navas (1918) and Pagés (1936) describe the term as

(34) ‘*El libro de la ley de los judíos*’.

The book of the laws of Jews.

The text is described with neutral and objective language that does not contain pejorative language or racism.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Family of Jews, monetary tribute

The term is often described as referring to something other than a holy text. *Tora* can mean '*familia de judíos*' as defined in the *DRAE* (1739) as well as between 1780 and 1783. The *DRAE* (1780-1791) does not mention the holy text at all, but rather defines it as a monetary tribute:

(35) '*también el tributo que pagaban por familias*'.

Also the tribute that they [Jews] paid for each family.

Building of Worship

A. *Sinagoga*

The entries for this term fall into a variety of the categories.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

Covarrubias (1611b) starts his entry with negative connotations associated with Jewish religious meetings. He notes that *sinagoga* refers to

(36) '*las congregaciones, el qual es tambien comun a los brutos quando se juntan...pero este nombre Iglesia sinifica congregación de hombres que están de razón*'.

Congregations, also common among the ignorant when they get together...but *iglesia* means congregation of intelligent men of reason.

The definition not only equates Jewish meetings with those of ignorant people, but also goes on to contrast their meetings with those of intelligent men, who congregate in churches. The racism is both overt and indirect in the description.

In the *DRAE* (1970-1989), a common phrase is included that demonstrates that *sinagoga* may have had a pejorative sense to it in everyday Spanish society. The phrase reads

(37) ‘*En sentido peyorativo, reunión para fines que se consideran ilícitos*’.

In a pejorative sense, meeting for illicit reasons.

The definition is explicitly negative in tone, indicating perhaps that the illegality of the Jewish faith in Spanish history has been transferred to a new semantic meaning of generally illicit activity.

Ic. Neutral definition of system of beliefs

Other dictionaries define the term neutrally and as a complete system on its own. The *DRAE* (1780-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Domínguez (1853), Gaspar y Roig (1855), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) describe *sinagoga* as

(38) ‘*congregación, o junta. Es nombre que dieron los Judíos a sus juntas de religión*’.

Congregation or meeting. Name given by Jews to their religious meetings.

Terreros y Pando (1787) provides the description

(39) ‘*asamblea o junta de judíos para los actos de su religión*’.

Assembly or meeting of Jews for religious purposes.

The term refers to a religious meeting upon which no judgment or value is placed.

II. Association with specific ethnicity

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Edifice

The term refers also to the building in which worship or religious meetings take place. The *DRAE* (1780-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Domínguez (1853), Gaspar y Roig (1855), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) describe *sinagoga* as

(40) ‘*la casa en que se juntan los Judios a orar y a oír la doctrina de su secta*’.

House in which Jews meet to pray and hear the doctrine of their sect.

B. *Aljama*

The descriptions of meaning for this lexical item contain references to a broad range of concepts throughout the centuries.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

In 1726, the *DRAE* defines the term as

(41) ‘*El sitio, o barrio donde vivían los Moriscos, y también los Judios en las Ciudades de España separados de los Christianos*’.

The place or neighborhood where Moors, and also Jews, lived in the cities of Spain, separate from Christians.

The term is defined in contrast to Christianity. Jews and Muslims were separated from Christians by law and the entry for this term contains this division in its wording.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Núñez de Taboada (1825), the *DRAE* (1832-1914), Salvá (1846), Domínguez (1853), Gaspar y Roig (1853), Toro y Gómez (1901) and Pagés (1904) define the term without bias writing

(42) ‘*sinagoga de judíos*’.

Jewish synagogue.

In Zerolo (1895) the term evolves to include the Muslim place of worship as well in the definition

(43) ‘*mezquita o templo de moros; sinagoga de judíos*’.

Muslim mosque or temple; Jewish synagogue.

Rodríguez Navas (1918) and the *DRAE* (1923-1989) offer the succinct definition ‘*mezquita; sinagoga*’. These two different religious buildings can now be referred to using the same word.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: group/meeting of Jews or Muslims

The *DRAE* (1770-1914), Terreros y Pando (1786), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Domínguez (1853), Gaspar y Roig (1853), Toro y Gómez (1901) and Pagés (1904) neutrally define the term as

(44) ‘*junta de moros o judíos*’.

Meeting of Moors or Jews.

This is the first and only term in the database that can be used to refer to both the believers and the houses of worship of Islam and Judaism. Interestingly, although it is an Arabic word, it is used to refer to Jewish concepts more often than, and sometimes to the exclusion of, Islamic concepts.

God

A. *Jehová*

This lexical item appears scarcely throughout the database, beginning in the late 18th century.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Terreros y Pando (1787), The *DRAE* (1869-2001), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) define the term as

(45) ‘*nombre propio de Dios en la lengua Hebrea*’.

Proper name of God in the Hebrew language.

No religious bias or racism appears in these relatively few entries.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

CHAPTER IV

WORDS RELATED TO ISLAM

This chapter discusses eleven terms related to the Islamic religion. These terms are presented with many fewer instances of racism and religious bias. In several cases, Islam is described as the absence of Christianity or as the persistence of an error in judgment. The religion is also described as false and absurd. In contrast to the treatment of terms that refer to followers of Judaism, those that refer to Muslims do not suffer racist treatment.

Believer

A. *Moro*

The term *moro* appears to be treated with less racism and prejudice than *judío*. The definitions reflect the cultural situation of Moors in Spain, as well as functioning as a reflection of the opinions of Spanish Christian society.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

In Alemany and Bolufer (1917) and in the *DRAE* (1925-1992) the definition of *moro* appears as

- (1) ‘*Aplicase al párvulo o adulto que no ha sido bautizado...Dícese del objeto que debiendo llevar bendición, no la ha recibido todavía’.*

Applied to person or adult who has not be baptized...said of an object that should have been blessed, but still has not been.

Here, rather than being a believer in the Islamic faith, the *moro* is one who lives in absence of something: specifically, a baptism into Christianity. The term is described relative to Christianity, rather than something that exists separate from it. The most recent version of the *DRAE* (2001) still defines the term as

(2) ‘*persona que no ha sido bautizada*’.

Person who has not been baptized.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics

Several entries refer to behavioral tendencies of *moros* in the common phrases they offer. In the *DRAE* (1936-1992) appears the phrase

(3) ‘*Como moros sin señor. Que se dice de toda reunion o junta de personas en que reina gran confusion y desorden*’.

Like moors without a lord. Said of any meeting or gathering or people in which reigns great confusion and disorder.

This points the reader to the pejorative stereotype that *moros* are typically unorganized, disorderly and in need of a strong hand to govern them.

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Common metaphorical phrase

From the movements of the Muslim population within Spain due to their repeated expulsion and reentry, the *DRAE* (1734-1992), includes the phrase

- (4) *‘Moros van moros vienen. Phrase con que se da a entender, que a alguno, aunque no está enteramente borracho, le falta poco’.*

Moors come and go. Phrase that means that although someone may not be entirely drunk, he is almost there.

At first, the entry does not seem to make sense, as most Moors would abstain from drinking. However, when taken into consideration with the entry from Domínguez (1853), a different metaphorical meaning is understood:

- (5) *‘se aplica a los movimientos oscilatorios de un borracho’.*

Applied to the oscillatory movements of a drunk.

The phrase may refer to the fact that the *moros* were constantly and frequently coming and going from Spanish cities as they were expelled and then permitted to return. Therefore, they oscillate in waves of migration to and from cities, just as a drunken person wavers while moving.

B. *Mahometano*

This lexical item first appears with biased language in its descriptions in the 18th century.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

In the *DRAE* (1734-1791) the definition appears as

- (6) *‘lo que pertenece a Mahoma y su detestable secta’.*

That which belongs to Mohammed and his detestable sect.

Detestable strongly indicates that Islam is highly disagreeable in the eyes of Spanish Christian society.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Many later dictionaries describe the term neutrally, with no comparison to other religions or biased language. In Terreros y Pando (1787), the term appears with the unbiased definition

(7) ‘*el que profesa el Mahometismo*’.

He who professes Islam.

In the *DRAE* (1803-1869), the definition changes to the neutral entry:

(8) ‘*el que profesa la secta de Mahoma*’.

He who professes the sect of Islam.

Mahometano is a person that believes in a religion with no value assigned. No religious bias or racism appears in the descriptions of this term from this point.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

C. *Musulmán*

This term is described only as a synonym of *mahometano*. It appears for the first time in 1721, more than a century after *moro*.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

II. Association with ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Synonym of *mahometano*

In Terreros y Pando (1787), *musulmán* is defined as

(9) *‘término de relaciones, título que se toman abusivamente, atribuyéndose a sí mismos el significado que es, verdadero creyente, ortodoxo’.*

Term of relation, title that is taken abusively, among themselves is taken to mean, true believer, orthodox.

The definition is impartial and scientific, noting that the term is a name that Muslims have for each other within their religion. The word exists in the *DRAE* (1803-1869) with the definition

(10) *‘nombre que se da a los mahometanos’.*

Name that is given to Muslims.

Domínguez (1853) shows the definition as

(11) *‘nombre que dan los Turcos...al mahometano’.*

Name given to Muslims by the Turks.

Gaspar y Roig (1855) provides a similar scientific definition with

(12) *‘nombre que se da a los Mahometanos, sin distinción de sectas’.*

Name that is given to Muslims, without distinction of denomination.

The term is treated as a simple indicator of a certain belief system and appears to be a universal name for all followers of the Islamic faith, regardless of their denomination.

In 1992, the *DRAE* changed its description to

(13) ‘*Que profesa la religión de Mahoma*’.

One who professes the religion of Mohammed.

The religion is not contrasted with another and the neutrality of the term continues to the present day in the *DRAE*.

D. *Muslime*

This term began purely as a synonym of *musulmán* with its first appearance in dictionaries in the 19th century. Throughout the years, the descriptions of the *muslime* become more detailed and specific.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

In the *DRAE* (1956-1989) the definition becomes a more formal term with its own meaning and appears as

(14) ‘*que se entrega a Dios, que profesa el islam, musulmán*’.

One who submits to God, who professes Islam, Muslim.

No racism or bias appears. It is a system of beliefs defined on its own, without mention of another. The *DRAE* (1992) changed the definition once more to

(15) ‘*el que practica la entrega a Dios que es el islam...musulmán*’.

One who practices submission to the God of Islam...Muslim.

Although the language changed, the treatment remains neutral. The term appears to have maintained its scientific status without suffering the acquisition of negative connotations.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym of *musulmán*

The earliest entries for *muslime* define the term as a synonym of *musulmán*. It appears in the *DRAE* (1884-1950), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914) and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) with the simple definition ‘*Musulmán*’.

Abstract Concept

A. *Mahometismo*

This term appears in the majority of the dictionaries in the database. Only one entry provides a negative entry for the term, while the rest remain neutrally worded.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

Terreros y Pando (1787) describes the term as referring to

(16) ‘*los sentimientos de doctrina falsa y absurda de Mahoma en orden a la Relijion*’.

The following of the false and absurd doctrine of Mohammed by way of religion.

The religion is negated and devalued by the overtly pejorative wording of the entry.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

The *DRAE* (1734-2001), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914) and Alemany y Bolufer (1917) provide the description of the term

(17) *‘la secta de Mahoma’*.

The sect of Mohammed.

Gaspar y Roig (1855), Salvá (1879), Domínguez (1853) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) describe the term as

(18) *‘Religion de Mahoma que admite un solo Dios y la misión de Profeta, prescribe la circuncision, la abstinencia del vino, de la sangre y de la carne de puerco y autoriza poligamia’*.

Religion of Mohammed that follows only one God and the mission of the Prophet, prescribes circumcision, abstinence from wine, the blood and meat of pigs and authorizes polygamy.

Although the definition describes parts of the religion’s laws, it does not overtly assign value to the faith, thereby making the entry neutral.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

B. *Islamismo*

This term first appears solely as a synonym for *mahometismo*. However, as it evolves it acquires its own definition in dictionaries beginning in the mid 19th century.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

The *DRAE* (1869) first defines the term as

(19) ‘*culto de la religión mahometana*’.

Worship of the religion of Mohammed.

However, the *DRAE* (1884-2001), Zerolo (1895), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) describe it as

(20) ‘*conjunto de dogmas y preceptos morales que constituyen la religión de Mahoma*’.

Collection of dogmas and moral precepts that constitute the religion of Mohammed.

Toro y Gómez (1901) describes simply as

(21) ‘*religión de Mahoma*’.

Religion of Mohammed.

No value is assigned the belief system in any way in these entries.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym of *mahometismo*

The lexical item is first defined only as a functioning synonym of *mahometismo* in Terreros y Pando (1787), Domínguez (1853) Gaspar y Roig (1855), and the *DRAE* (1843-1852).

Holy Text

A. *Alcorán*

The term *Alcorán* appears in the database for the first time in the 15th century.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

Covarrubias (1611b) begins with a neutrally worded definition that quickly changes to a more pejorative tone. He notes that the *Alcorán* is

(22) ‘*el libro de la ley de Mahoma*’.

The book of the laws of Mohammed.

He goes on to describe it as

(23) ‘*este maldito libro de tantos disparates compuso Mahoma...lo cuenta todas las historias...de la vida del perverso y malvado Mahoma*’.

This damned little book, composed by Mohammed, of so many foolish things...tells all of the stories of the life of the perverse and wicked Mohammed.

Not only does the book come under attack, its author is subjected to racist treatment as well. The *DRAE* (1726) notes that the *Alcorán*

(24) ‘*contiene los falsos ritos, y muchas ridículas leyes y ceremonias de la abominable secta de Mahóma*’.

Contains false rites and many ridiculous laws and ceremonies of the abominable sect of Mohammed.

The dictionaries contain heavily racist treatment of the information in the text.

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Not all of the entries appear with such subjective wording. For example, in the *DRAE* (1770-1992), Terreros y Pando (1787), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Castro y Rossi (1852), and Zerolo (1895) the definition is written as

(25) ‘*libro en que se contiene la ley de Mahoma*’.

Book that contains the laws of Mohammed.

Rodríguez Navas (1918) notes that it is a

(26) ‘*libro sagrado de los musulmanes*’.

Sacred book of Muslims.

No bias or racism is present in these descriptions, implying that the opinions on what the text represents may have shifted to a more neutral position.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Synonym of *Corán*

The most recent entries in the *DRAE* beginning in 1989 through the present describe the term as synonymous with *Corán*, only offering the definition: ‘*Corán (sinónimo)*’. This implies that in the last half of the 20th century, *Corán* is replacing *Alcorán* as the most commonly used word to refer to the Islamic holy text in Castilian.

B. *Corán*

This term appears in the mid-19th century, some 300 years after *Alcorán* was first documented.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Castro y Rossi (1852) notes that *Corán* refers to

(27) ‘*El libro sagrado de los musulmanes*’.

Sacred book of Muslims.

Domínguez (1853) offer a more detailed description with

(28) ‘*Libro en que los musulmanes conservan la ley de Mahoma, con sus ritos y ceremonias*’.

Book in which Muslims conserve the laws of Mohammed, with their rites and ceremonias.

Rodríguez Navas (1918) also notes that the term describes the

(29) ‘*libro que los musulmanes respetan y consideran como el código divino promulgado por Mahoma*’.

Book that Muslims respect and consider the divine prophecy put forth by Mohammed.

These descriptions of meaning do not compare the text or religion to another, and are unbiased in the neutrality of their wording. Gaspar y Roig (1853) offer a partially biased definition by adding that

(30) *‘la moral del Corán ha sido muy útil a la causa de la civilización y de la humanidad aboliendo muchas costumbres, bárbaras y supersticiosas de la Arabia’.*

The morality of the Qu’ran has been very useful in the cause of civilization and humanity by abolishing many customs, barbarities and superstitions of Arabia.

This implies that without the *Corán*, the believers of Arabic regions were pagans without a religion and therefore were inclined to uncivilized and heretical behavior. This definition, therefore, is neutral for the *Corán*, but negative for its followers.

The *DRAE* from 1992 through the present offers the neutrally phrased definition

(31) *‘Libro en que se contienen las revelaciones de Dios a Mahoma y que es fundamento de la religión musulmana’.*

Book that contains revelations from God to Mohammed that is fundamental to Muslim religion.

No bias or racism appears.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym of *Alcorán*

Because this term appeared much later in the Spanish language, it is often described as the synonym of *Alcorán*, but as mentioned is now more common. For example, Salvá (1846) and the *DRAE* (1869-1989) define the term succinctly as ‘*Alcorán*’.

C. *Korán*

This word appears in dictionaries for the first time in Domínguez (1853) and disappears from Castilian dictionaries after its publication in Rodríguez Navas’s dictionary in 1918.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: synonym of *Corán*

The term is presented only a synonym of *Corán* in Domínguez (1853), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918). It appears to be a spelling alternative that did not take on universal usage because of the lack of use of the letter ‘k’ in the Spanish language.

Building of Worship

A. *Mezquita*

This lexical item appears at an early date in dictionaries in 1495. It is only defined as the building of worship for Muslims.

- Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable
- Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable
- Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable
- II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable
- IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable
- IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable
- IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Edifice

Rosal (1611) describes the term succinctly as referring to a

(32) ‘*Templo de Moros*’.

Moorish temple.

The *DRAE* (1734-1992), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846), Domínguez (1853), Gaspar y Roig (1855), Zerolo (1895), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1914), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) define it as

(33) ‘*El lugar donde los Mahometanos hacen las ceremonias de su secta*’.

Place where Muslims perform the ceremonies of their sect.

In these entries, the term suffers no racist treatment. The use of the third person demonstrates that the authors of the dictionaries take no ownership of the Islamic faith.

Although not overtly negative, this contrasts with the treatment of certain Christian terms in which dictionaries use first person possessive adjectives in the entries.

God

A. *Alá*

This term appears in all of the dictionaries of the database.

Ia. Positive definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ib. Negative definition of the system of beliefs: Not applicable

Ic. Neutral definition of the system of beliefs

Rosal (1611) defines the term as

(34) '*llama el morisco o Moro a Dios*'.

Name by which Moors call God.

The *DRAE* (1770-1869), Núñez de Taboada (1825), Salvá (1846) and Castro y Rossi (1852) write that the item is

(35) '*voz tomada del Arabe allah, que significa Dios*'.

Word taken from the Arabic *allah*, that means God.

The *DRAE* (1884) and Zerolo (1895) include the description

(36) '*El dios de los mahometanos*'.

The god of Muslims.

The most detailed description of meaning occurs in the *DRAE* (1899-2001), Toro y Gómez (1901), Pagés (1902), Alemany y Bolufer (1917) and Rodríguez Navas (1918) as

(37) *‘Nombre que dan a Dios los Mahometanos y los cristianos orientales’.*

Name given to God by Muslims and Christians of the east.

None of these entries assigns value in either a positive or negative style. The term is treated objectively as an indicator of a religious belief.

II. Association with specific ethnicity: Not applicable

IIIa. External characteristics: Not applicable

IIIb. Internal characteristics: Not applicable

IV. Miscellaneous semantic content: Not applicable

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Racism is present in a large part of the entries through words and phrases that indicate that the authors, and consequently the dictionaries assign certain value or worth to different lexical items, rather than defining them neutrally. Table 3: Table of Results shows the evolution of each term throughout the database.

Table 3: Table of Results

	Positive-Neutral (4)	Negative-Neutral (6)	Maintain Neutrality (16)	Remain Positive (2)	Remain Negative (2)
Chris -tian	(4) creyente, cristiano, católico, templo		(4) devoto; cristianismo; catedral; Biblia	(2) iglesia; Dios	
Jew- ish		(3) judaismo; aljama; sinagoga	(5) israelita; hebreo; hebraísmo; Tora; Jehová		(1) judío
Islam -ic		(3) mahometismo, alcorán, mahometano	(7)muslime; musulmán; islamismo; mezquita; Corán; Korán; Alá		(1) moro

Christian terms are generally associated with good, holy and sacred concepts. No negative entries surrounding Catholicism appear. Negative language in Christian entries is used to describe Judaism, Islam or Protestant denominations of Christianity. Terms related to Judaism suffer a great deal of racism through pejorative language and direct comparison and contrast to Christianity as part of the essence of their meanings. Islamic terms suffer fewer instances of racist treatment, but at times no less severe than

Jewish items. There are notably fewer outright comparisons made to Christianity in the descriptions of Islamic terms than those of Jewish terms.

Four Christian and five Jewish terms maintain neutrality in their descriptions throughout the entire database. However, seven Islamic terms fall into this category. It appears that the believer, *judío*, carries a more pejorative description and connotation, whereas the abstract concept, *judaísmo*, is defined neutrally in large part. In the case of the Islamic terms, the reverse appears. More negative descriptions appear for the abstract concept, *mahometismo*, than for the believers themselves. In the description of *moro*, it is not the person that suffers the racist definition at all times, but the abstract concept which is described as a ‘*detestable secta*’. This may be due to the great deal of competition between Christians and Jews in Moorish Spain. Christians harbored a greater hatred for Jews because they competed with them for jobs and social status for centuries. Perhaps the fewer biased entries for Islamic terms are related to their status as a majority in Spain during a large part of Spanish history. Jews may have suffered more racism and bias because they were always the minority and as such, an easier, safer target for insult. Another contributing factor to this trend may be that throughout its history, the Spanish Inquisition focused the majority of its efforts on the elimination of the Jewish faith, and at times bloodlines. Therefore, the treatment of Jewish terms is more severe in reference to religious bias and purism.

All of the holy texts are included in the neutral category. This may be attributed to the respect that is shown for religious doctrines throughout history, stemming from the tolerance issued to Christians and Jews as “people of the book” under Islamic rule in

Spain. It should be noted, however, that Islam does suffer religious bias in the entries of other terms. The words that refer to the believers that remain neutral are those that function as synonyms for the main term in use. This neutral treatment leads the researcher to believe that fewer negative connotations linked to these words exist in the collective Spanish ideology. This may be due to a lower frequency of use in everyday Spanish speech. It may also be that most Spanish people thought of a Jew firstly as *judío*, whereas *israelita* and *hebreo* function as more scientific, less stigmatized terms. They, as well as *muslime* and *musulmán*, seem to hold a more formal status that does not carry heavily pejorative connotations, similar to the situation of ‘white’ versus ‘Caucasian’ or ‘Mexican’ versus ‘Hispanic’ in contemporary United States speech.

Of the 31 terms examined, three remain overtly positive throughout the entire database. The descriptions of *cristiano* maintain many of the colloquial phrases that indicate that the term’s positive connotation has endured until the present. Specific racism against *moros*, *judíos* and *gentiles* is present as well as the idea that to be Spanish is to be Christian, and specifically Catholic. The second word in this category is *católico*. Present-day descriptions of the term associate it metaphorically with perfection and health, in addition to a follower of the Catholic doctrine. The third term, *Dios*, is described in a prayer-like and even worshipful style throughout the database. Present-day descriptions are neutral and objective. However, the overtly positive language is maintained until 1992. The treatment of these words may be attributed to the socio-religious atmosphere during the Spanish Civil War as well as the Franco regime during most of the 20th century. Christianity was certainly the most favored religion during

these years and remains the present majority in Spain. Consequently, the idea that Spanish citizens identify themselves very closely with Catholicism is not surprising. Beginning during the Inquisition and carrying over into the following centuries during the counter-Reformation, Catholicism was considered the holiest and truest, if not the only, Christian faith in Spain. These religious movements contributed to the enhancement and durability of the connotations and descriptions of these terms.

The two terms that remain negative in the database are *judío* and *moro*. Although the item is primarily described as a believer of Islam, the descriptions maintain their religious bias into the present day, as *moro* is defined in the evangelical sense of one who still has not been baptized into the Christian faith. This definition goes hand in hand with the heavily Christian society that continues to thrive in Spain.

Only one term is defined positively at first and then evolves to a neutral description. During the 18th century, *creyente* is associated in a positive manner with Catholicism. However, in the late 18th century into the present, it is defined as referring to someone who believes in any religion. This is probably due to the nature of the word. *Creyente* may have evolved to take on an association with any person who believes in anything because of the large number of religion-specific terms that refer to believers of certain faiths. There was no need for yet another synonym for *cristiano* in the Castilian language.

Nine words fall into the category of evolving from negative to neutral descriptions. The three words of those related to Christianity that carry a negative definition at all are *iglesia*, *templo* and *Dios*. The negative aspects of these entries exist

to exclude Judaism, Islam and protestant denominations of Christianity. These belief systems are usually referred to as false beliefs until the 1970-80s. These dates correspond with the fall of the Franco regime when the religious atmosphere in Spain became more tolerant under the Spanish democracy.

Four words related to Judaism fall into this category. *Judaísmo* is periodically negative throughout the database, although the majority of its descriptions are neutral and maintain this neutrality permanently beginning in the mid 19th century. Both terms referring to the building of worship become to neutral as well. *Aljama* changes in the mid 19th century whereas *sinagoga* is negative until the late 20th century. This is perhaps because *aljama* functioned as a synonym of *sinagoga*, and it may have fallen out of use more quickly, thereby losing its negative connotation. *Sinagoga* maintains its metaphorical meaning of *ilícito* through the end of the Franco regime during which the synagogues were closed and all meetings of Jewish people were cause for arrest. Once the houses of worship were reopened in the late 1970s, this connotation eventually would have been lost.

The term *judío* is the last term of all those that begin with negative descriptions to shift to neutral definitions. Between 1611 and 1853, the term was defined in contrast to Christians and was used as an insult. This would have been during the aftermath of the Inquisition and the *limpieza de sangre*. Having Jewish blood would be an insult and a dangerous accusation of the highest level in Spanish society during this time period. The pejorative metaphorical meanings of *avaro* and *usurero* appear between 1853 and 1901. This goes along with the popular Spanish idea that Jews had converted to

Catholicism strictly to regain their socio-economic status. These connotations are maintained until 2001 in the most recent edition of the *DRAE*.

The three terms related to Islam that change from negative to neutral descriptions are *mahometismo*, *alcorán* and *mahometano*. All these terms shift in the mid-to-late 18th century. This may be attributed to the Enlightenment, which prompted the reevaluation of scientific, rational and cultural ideas and roles in society throughout Europe. Once again, the heavy focus of the Inquisition on eliminating the Jewish faith rather than that of Islam, the extreme hatred for Jews as opposed to Muslims in Spain, and the majority status that Muslims often held in the Peninsula throughout history more than likely contributed to the earlier shift to neutrality in Islamic terms when compared to Jewish items.

No terms undergo semantic pejoration. This may be attributed to Christian authors of dictionaries. It may also be an effect of the fear of the Inquisition. Nothing negative can be found about the Catholic faith throughout the entirety of the database. In addition to pejorative descriptions of Jewish and Islamic terms, protestant Christian faiths are debased in various entries. Because the Inquisition was so violently opposed to anything non-Catholic, the authors would not publish anything questionable for fear of their lives.

Once items begin to be described neutrally, they never significantly shift toward a positive or negative pole in the entries. Occasionally, a biased entry will appear in an isolated instance, but never over long periods of time. Once the religious bias and racism is removed from the descriptions, neutrality is maintained.

The terms examined in this study serve as a linguistic and historical view into the Spanish religious ideology. The documented racism and religious bias that was ever-present in Spanish society, stemming from religious relations as early as the 8th century, manifested in the language and was codified and normalized through dictionaries. Future research may branch out into more items related to other world religions. In addition, terms related to agnosticism or atheism may provide interesting entries to compare to these three major religions. Items more specifically related to race in the database may also shed light on racial relations in Spain. For example, words that refer to skin color, ethnicity and national origin may generate a new ethnographic approach to the study of dictionaries, descriptions of meaning and their reflections of society.

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