



10.2478/topling-2022-0012

Studying the vocabulary of reggaeton song lyrics

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Abstract

This paper studies the lyrics of reggaeton songs. Reggaeton is a popular genre nowadays, especially among young people. Its songs contain a very rich and sometimes surprising vocabulary. That was the reason for choosing this topic: to understand this genre of songs and their lyrics. Thus the purpose of this paper is to discover the meaning of the words used in the songs of this genre, to clarify the main vocabulary characteristics and to point out to the differences between the Spanish spoken in Latin America and Spain. In the analysis, specialized dictionaries were used to reveal the meaning of particular expressions. Attention was paid to expressions which are different from European Spanish as well as to English borrowings (anglicisms). Fifteen reggaeton songs from three countries (Puerto Rico, Cuba and Colombia) were chosen. Our findings showed that in each group (Puerto Rican, Cuban and Colombian), words typical of each of these countries were used in the songs. Anglicisms were also present, although to a different extent in each group.

Key words

vocabulary, reggaeton, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Colombia

List of abbreviations: adj. (adjective); adv. (adverb); n. (noun); v. (verb); Arg (Argentina); Bol (Bolivia); Col (Colombia); Cu (Cuba); DR (Dominican Republic); Ecu (Ecuador); Gua (Guatemala); Chi (Chile); Mex (Mexico); Nic (Nicaragua); Pan (Panama); Per (Peru); PR (Puerto Rico); US (United States); Ven (Venezuela)

1. Introduction

Reggaeton is a musical genre which is very popular nowadays. Its lyrics are sometimes very unexpected and contain a rich variety of words.

Reggaeton has its origins in hip-hop and reggae, but other genres influenced its development as well, e.g., la salsa or la bomba. It was very popular mostly in Caribbean countries, such as Panama and Puerto Rico, then it spread to other countries, among others to Cuba, Colombia and the Dominican Republic. Today it can be heard even in the United States (New York or Miami) in areas where many Hispanic people assemble (“¿Qué es el Reggaeton?”, 2019).

The genre first developed in Panama in the 1980s and Puerto Rico at the beginning of the 1990s. Initially, not so many people knew about reggaeton, so it spread secretly among young Puerto Ricans (“Información sobre el reggaeton”, 2019). In the beginning, it was known as underground. It was aimed at the urban youth from the poorest social classes. Due to its sexual explicitness, it came to the attention of the middle classes, who tried to stop it. Recordings were confiscated and reggaeton lyrics were proclaimed to be obscene and promoting crime and drug use. The music became forbidden. Later, the situation changed and reggaeton could be sung again (Rivera and Muntaner, 2009).

In various magazines and newspapers, different spellings of the word “reggaeton” may be found: *raggaetón*, *reggeatón* or even *regaeatón* (forms derived from the Jamaican *reggae*). A not so commonly used form was *reguetón*. This was changed in 2006 when the Puerto Rican Academy of the Spanish

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Language proposed to include the word *reguetón* in the Dictionary of the Spanish Language with completely Spanish spelling (García, 2019).

Songs of this genre are mostly sung in Spanish, but some are performed in Portuguese or English, and it is quite common to find reggaeton songs sung by French singers. The multilingualism of this genre is therefore obvious. Songs are bilingual; singers often include two (or even more) languages in one song. In the future, there is a high probability that other languages (apart from those mentioned) will be used in this genre as well (Mykhalonok, 2019). According to Rivera, Marshall and Hernandez (2010), reggaeton is a mix of reggae, hip-hop and various Hispanic-Caribbean styles and it is a genre that is not limited by geographical, national or language boundaries.

Reggaeton songs are distinguished by rhymes which are based especially on rap. Even the lyrics are similar to those of hip-hop. Regarding the lyrics, at first, they were used to critique society, but nowadays they normally talk about women and intimate relations (“Características del reggaetón”, 2019). As may be deduced, the lyrics do not pretend to be high-brow, as the genre is more oriented towards young people. It is generally known that its lyrics are sexist: they refer to sex, violation, and gender inequalities (women acting in a submissive role and men in an active and dominant role) (Martínez Noriega, 2014). That is exactly the reason why reggaeton is criticized by various institutions: because of its supposed low musical and lyrical quality; its commercial component; vulgar, violent, egocentric and sexist lyrics; its repetitive and alienating sonority; and therefore due to its corrupting effect on the minds of young people (Luci Pereira and Soares, 2019). The representative of the opposite view is the academic Gervasio García, who defends reggaeton. He has claimed that this urban genre is a “voice of protest” and “when you protest, by being vulgar people will pay more attention to you”. He has therefore suggested that when compared to reggae, reggaeton is more aggressive regarding its themes (Escamilla, 2019).

The way of dancing to reggaeton is called *perreo*. This kind of dancing generates controversy because of its sexual suggestiveness. It has been seen as misogynist and morally deplorable as it degrades women to the role of sexual objects. However, during the last few years, there has been a tendency to see *perreo* as a more complex phenomenon that can be understood as a form of female power. A new subgenre of reggaeton has emerged: *neoperreo* (Arias Salvado, 2019). *Neoperreo* is described as a synthesis of all the new sounds and consumers of reggaeton (including also minorities) where all those people are unified in their delight in dancing (Del Real in Arias Salvado, 2019).

As mentioned, this stage has been dominated by men for a long time and criticized as misogynist. Nowadays, more and more women are becoming involved in reggaeton as female singers with different messages. The story of reggaeton women probably started in 2003 with Ivy Queen’s song *Quiero bailar* (‘I want to dance’) which has become an anthem of feminine power. Through the songs, they try to express their independence and power (Sandoval Vela, 2019).

An interesting division of reggaeton into several types has been proposed by Gallucci (2008). She has recognized the following: Christian (sung in churches); romantic (about love and women as objects of desire); *sandungueo* (related to liberty and having fun at discotheques) and the so-called *malianteo tiraera* (this type talks about the competition among singers and DJs).

1.1 Research objective

This paper aims to explore the main characteristics of reggaeton song lyrics and analyse their vocabulary. This musical genre is discussed, together with Latin American Spanish and its most common attributes, followed by Latin American vocabulary in the next section.

The reason to study the vocabulary of these songs is to clarify the meanings of words used and therefore understand better what is sung in this genre. The intention of this work is to increase awareness of this musical genre and lead to a better understanding of the lyrics used in its songs, as well as to point out the distinctions between Latin American and European Spanish.

2. American Spanish and its origins

Spanish is an official language not only in Spain, but also in a huge part of Latin America. Before looking at the specific vocabulary employed in reggaeton songs, American Spanish and its lexis should be discussed.

It has already been mentioned that reggaeton is famous mostly in Latin American countries. It is sung in Spanish, but it should be taken into account that there are differences between the European (or Peninsular) Spanish spoken in Spain and the American Spanish spoken in Latin America. Fontanella de Weinberg (1992) has explained that American Spanish is a group of Spanish language dialects spoken in the American continent. It is a group defined by history and geography.

When talking about the origins of Latin American Spanish, the period between the years 1492–1600 is mostly referred to. During this time, the influence of the Iberian Peninsula was at its most strong. José Cuervo was the first to define the characteristics of Hispanic Americans' speech –he confirmed that it was distinguished by vulgarisms, the presence of dialectical words from the Iberian Peninsula and an archaizing tendency. This made it different from European Spanish (Garrido Domínguez, 1992). José Cuervo described American Spanish at three different levels:

1. Vocalic phonemes. Various phenomena are included here and many of them are common both for European as well as for the American Spanish. These are:
 - contractions: *alcol* (instead of *alcohol*)
 - aspiration of /s/ especially at the end of words: *pesetah* (instead of *pesetas*)
 - changing one consonant for another: *cuelpo* (instead of *cuervo*), etc.
2. Morphology and syntax. American Spanish adopted changes that have an impact on the number, gender and verb forms, i.e., verbs which end in *-ear* (*balear*) change to *-iar*: *baliar* ('to shoot'), or fusion of words (e.g., two synonyms which mean 'to start': *comenzar* + *empezar* = *compezar*).
3. Vocabulary. Vocabulary represents the greatest development of the language. Metaphors and metonyms have experienced major changes, e.g., *chapa* ('a lock') instead of *cerradura* (Garrido Domínguez, 1992).

Latin American Spanish was influenced by the home regions of the Spanish conquerors. The Spanish spread by them was the same as that spoken in Spain at that time. As a result, there are many words (from Catalan or Portuguese) which have a dialectical character (e.g., *zurumbático* 'astounded').

The "vulgar" aspect of Latin American Spanish is due to the fact that ordinary people participated significantly in the conquest, so this aspect is related to the social background of those who came to the American continent from Spain. This is mostly evident in vocabulary and in the field of phonology (the aspiration of /f/: *huego* instead of *fuego* ('fire') or there may be a preference for using certain words over others (e.g., the use of *candela* for 'fire' instead of *fuego*, and for *dinero* ('money') the word *plata* is used). However, various chronicles discovered that there were many intellectuals or clerics among the Americans who led to the vocabulary (as well as life in America) becoming more refined (Garrido Domínguez, 1992).

Regarding the archaizing tendency, it should be kept in mind that this expression cannot be used to characterize Latin American Spanish in general. For example, the so called *voseo* (the use of the pronoun *vos* instead of *tú* ('you')) is considered an archaizing feature, but this phenomenon is related only to particular areas, is geographically restricted and does not affect American Spanish as a whole. The archaizing tendency can affect words, but also meanings (e.g., *bravo* ('angry') for the current expression *enfadado*). Nevertheless, it is important to remember that languages are constantly evolving and this also includes innovation (Garrido Domínguez, 1992).

Fontanella de Weinberg (1992) explains that the American variety of Spanish is an example of a language superimposed on the indigenous languages (Quechua, Nahuatl, etc.) spoken previously by the subjugated people. Rosenblat (in Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992) has pointed out that the indigenous languages brought various elements related to morphology, phonology and lexicology (suffixes, intonation and plant names) into this variety.

The author also claims that there are certain similarities between Latin American Spanish and the Andalusian dialect. This is due to that fact that after the discovery, 60% of the colonists in America were Andalusian. These similarities are mostly related to phonology (exchanging the /r/ consonant for an /l/ consonant) and also lexicology (some Andalusian words were brought to America). Various languages and cultures came into contact with each other due to colonization. The clearest evidence of this can be observed in vocabulary, as the morphosyntactic or phonological influence was not so remarkable.

Gracia and Figueroa (2001) have emphasized the fact that the Spanish and the Latin Americans speak the same language and use its different variations, therefore it is essential to talk about the homogeneity and unity of this language. Therefore, two different attitudes can be noted: the first one is presented by Zamora Vicente (in Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992) who claims that the American variant of Spanish is an entity which is homogeneous enough. When considering the extension of the territory, the distinctions among the regions are very small. However, Fontanella de Weinberg (1992) has provided arguments against this homogeneity. She has claimed that from all the characteristics of Latin American Spanish, only two (*seseo* and the interchangeable use of the pronouns *ustedes* and *vosotros*) are common to all the American variants.

There are certain phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features of American Spanish. One of the phonological ones is, as mentioned above, *seseo*, which means that, unlike in European Spanish, the sound /θ/ (orthographically represented by ⟨z⟩ and ⟨c⟩) is not present in the American variant and is instead pronounced as an /s/. Other phenomena which can be seen in some of the Latin American states are rhoticism (the pronunciation of /r/ instead of /l/), and lambdacism (the pronunciation of /l/ instead of /r/). Both of these can be detected in Puerto Rico.

When talking about morphosyntactic features, in the Caribbean and in Venezuela speakers sometimes put the subject of a sentence before the verb, e.g., *¿Qué tú quieres?* instead of the usual word order: *¿Tú qué quieres?*. For Latin American Spanish, *voseo* is also very typical: it is the use of a pronoun *vos* in place of *tú* ('you'). It is very frequent in Argentina, Paraguay or Guatemala (Gracia and Figueroa, 2001).

3. Latin American vocabulary

The American dialects differ significantly from each other in their vocabulary (Moreno de Alba, 1992). Fontanella de Weinberg (1992) agrees that the American vocabulary is very rich and represents American cultural diversity.

Certain factors contributed to the formation of different Latin American dialects. First, we should bear in mind that the Spanish brought to the American continent was varied. The navigation to America was long and sailors caused the vocabulary of the language to change. The lexis used in the various Spanish regions spread through the American continent together with the so-called afronegrisms which were brought to the language by the African people that were transported to the continent (words like *bongo* 'bongos' or *ñangotarse* 'to squat down'). Another factor has to do with the discovery of America. The Spanish people settled on the island called La Española where the language acquired certain elements which later spread through the continent (sailor's vocabulary, the vocabulary of the indigenous nations, etc.) (Oliver and Utrilla, 1992). However, lexical modifications continue until now: Latin American Spanish is influenced by the indigenous languages in bilingual areas. The extension of the American territory is also a decisive element in the formation of dialects. Communication is therefore somehow restricted between certain areas, which could possibly be the reason for the preservation of archaisms in some regions. American Spanish is also distinct from European Spanish when we consider borrowings from other languages: English *gasfitero* ('gas fitter'), French *peticionar* ('to request') or Italian *bacán* ('a rich person') (Oliver and Utrilla, 1992).

3.1 Definition of Americanism

In the analysis, our intention is to discover the characteristics of the reggaeton songs which are usually sung in Latin American Spanish. For this reason, it is essential to explain the term *americanismo* ('Americanism').

Different authors understand this concept in a different way. Haensch (in Oliver and Utrilla, 1992) has claimed that *americanismos* are words which are used differently in Spain and in Latin America. Another author, Černý (2014), points out that, according to various experts, *americanismos* are only used in Latin America, not in European Spanish. Some consider *americanismos* as words which were formed in the American continent. Černý (2014) also emphasizes the fact that there are certain expressions which are used in Spain and their corresponding equivalents are used in a great part of Latin America (although not in each Latin American state). For example, *melocotón* ('peach'), *enfadarse* ('get angry'), *zumo* ('juice') are used by Spanish people and their counterparts *durazno*, *enojarse*, *jugo* are used by Latin American inhabitants.

To be more precise when defining this concept, Haensch and Werner (in Oliver and Utrilla, 1992) have proposed a distinction of *americanismos* based on the following characteristics:

1. The use of different terms in both continents to denote the same concept (e.g., for *tapas* ('tapas'), the expression *antojitos* is used in Mexico).
2. Words that do not exist in European Spanish, but are used in Latin American Spanish (therefore it is necessary to describe the concept in Spain (e.g., the Colombian word *peluquarse* ('to cut one's hair') needs to be expressed as for example *cortarse el cabello*).
3. Words with different meanings in both continents, e.g., *bocadillo* ('sandwich' in Spain; 'guava sweets' in Colombia).

For better visualization, the vocabulary of some Latin American capitals is compared below to see the lexical differences between these cities. Some expressions used in these capitals are introduced and compared with a first expression which prevails in Madrid:

- *Frigorífico* ('fridge'): in Havana or Mexico the word *refrigerador* is used; in Caracas and Bogotá people use the word *nevera* and in Montevideo they use *heladera*.
- *Mechero* ('lighter'): in the majority of the capitals, the expression *encendedor* is used, but in Havana people use *fosforera* and in the capital of Puerto Rico they use the English word *lighter*.
- *Pendientes* ('earrings'): in Bogotá and Panama the inhabitants use *aretes*, in Santo Domingo the expression *aritos* is preferred. Other words used to refer to earrings are *zarcillos* (Caracas) and *pantallas* (San Juan) (Moreno de Alba, 1992).

Based on the above-mentioned examples, it can be said there are many different terms in Spanish to refer to the same thing, depending on the country.

3.2 Indigenisms and borrowings from other languages

One of the principal sources of the Latin American vocabulary is the lexis of indigenous nations. In Spanish these words are called *indigenismos* ('indigenisms'). Indigenisms became essential because when the colonists arrived in the New World, they had to give names to new objects they found there. The Spanish language they brought with them didn't contain such words, so they had to use the vocabulary of indigenous people to name these objects. There are three major groups of indigenisms. The first group consists of words that originated in the Antilles and belonged to a linguistic family called Arhuaco. Examples of such indigenisms are *canoa* ('canoe'), *huracán* ('hurricane') or *mamey* ('type of tree'). The second group are Central American and Mexican words. The most important language in ancient Mexico was Nahuatl. Examples of the Nahuatl words are *chocolate* ('chocolate'), *chicle* ('chewing gum'), *tequila* ('tequila') and *aguacate* ('avocado'). In the third category, Quechua and Aymara words are included. Today, these languages are still used in Bolivia. Words belonging to this group are *ojota* ('sandal'), *soroche* ('mountain sickness') and *vicuña* ('llama vicuna') (Oliver and Utrilla, 1992).

Other languages influenced Latin American Spanish as well. These were, for example, African languages (to a small extent). Its vocabulary is normally related to music, dances or fruit: *samba* ('samba'), *banana* ('banana') and *bongó* ('bongos'). When talking about European languages, there are four which introduced a significant amount of vocabulary into Spanish: Portuguese (e.g., *bichoco* 'weak person'), French (e.g., *petit* 'small'), Italian (e.g., *capuchino* 'cappuccino', *al dente* 'way of cooking') and English (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992). We are going to talk about the English borrowings (anglicisms) in the following paragraphs.

3.2.1 Anglicisms in Spanish and their types

Medina López (2004) defines an anglicism as an English influence in other languages. In general, there are three types of attitude towards the use of anglicisms:

1. Purist attitude: it is essential to distinguish between necessary and redundant anglicisms (the redundant ones should be avoided).
2. Moderate attitude: the use of anglicisms in specific fields is permitted. The supporters of this attitude usually claim that anglicisms do not affect the language negatively; on the contrary, they enrich it with new words.
3. The supporters of the third attitude believe that anglicisms constitute the idea of "languages in contact". With this, the terms "interference" (negative deviation from rules) and "transference" (when a language borrows elements from the other) are related.

There are two basic types of anglicisms: lexical (at the word level) and syntactic (at the structural level). Regarding the lexical ones, the majority of them are related to the fields of sport, clothes and transport. Two kinds of English borrowings can be observed:

1. Those which have been completely integrated into the language: *closet* ('closet/wardrobe'), *adrenalina* ('adrenaline'), *estárter* ('starter'), *relax* ('relax'), *pijama* ('pyjamas'), etc.
2. Those which haven't undergone grammatical and phonological changes yet: *boom*, *camping*, *ranking*, *jacuzzi*, etc.

Syntactic anglicisms are another type and they are related to English syntactic structures. Not only syntactic but also morphological elements are included here (prepositions, verbs...). When considering prepositions, these are sometimes translated incorrectly since English and Spanish do not share the same

use of prepositions, e.g., *consist of/consistir en* (the incorrect translation and the wrong use of preposition, in this case, would be *consistir de*). Sometimes, prepositions are omitted: *jugar fútbol/jugar al fútbol* ('play football') (Medina López, 2004).

3.3 Puerto Rican, Cuban and Colombian variants of Spanish

In the analysis, the vocabulary of reggaeton songs from three different countries (Puerto Rico, Cuba and Colombia) are studied, so in the following lines, attention will be paid to these specific variants of Spanish.

Puerto Rico is a Caribbean island and the smallest Hispanic region, which Columbus called *Boriquén* (Lipski, 1996). Together with other Hispanic variants or dialects, Puerto Rican Spanish is a variant of modern Spanish that comprises Andalusian and Canarian speech as well as the Latin American Spanish (Vaquero, 2001).

The pronunciation of Puerto Rican Spanish is characterized by the following features:

1. Many different ways of pronouncing vowels and consonants with a huge articulatory release.
2. So-called *seseo* (replacement of the /θ/ sound with /s/, e.g., /poso/ instead of /poθo/ for 'pozo')
3. *Yeísmo* (replacement of the /k/ sound – orthographically represented by ⟨ll⟩ – with the /j/ sound, which is usually represented by ⟨y⟩, e.g., /jave/ instead of /lave/ for 'llave').

Almost all the phonological changes in Puerto Rican Spanish are present also in the other Hispanic areas.

Regarding morphosyntactic changes in this Spanish variant, certain phenomena can be observed mostly within the area of relations, such as gender discrepancy of some nouns (e.g., *ovejo* instead of the usual feminine form *oveja*). During the last few decades, *leísmo* has become extended in Puerto Rican Spanish, i.e., the use of the pronoun *le* as a direct object (e.g., *le saluda* instead of *la saluda* ('he greets her')). Also the use of the subjunctive is suppressed as a consequence of the influence of English (Vaquero, 2001).

Apart from standard Hispanic words, the Puerto Rican vocabulary consists of expressions created directly in the island, e.g., *aguaviva* ('special kind of insect'), *tembleque* ('kind of sweet pudding'). Many indigenous words (mostly from the Taíno language) are also part of this vocabulary together with the so called *afronegrismos* ('afronegrisms'), e.g., *bemba* ('thick mouth'), *bachata* 'type of dance', *ñangotarse* ('to squat down'), etc. (Vaquero, 2001).

English was used in Puerto Rican schools as a result of US administration after the Spanish-American War, and that is the reason why it penetrated Puerto Rican Spanish. The Puerto Ricans use anglicisms at three levels: as a common use (e.g., *ticket*, *show*), archaisms and dialectisms (*freezer* instead of the Spanish word 'congelador') and false anglicisms (*pyjama*) (Ramírez in Alvar, 1986). Typical Puerto Rican words are for instance *coquí* ('species of frog') or *escrachao* ('damaged') (Lipski, 1996).

In many aspects, Cuban Spanish is still a *terra incognita*. With regard to phonological features, *seseo*, *yeísmo* and the omission of /d/, /s/ and /r/ sounds can be observed. These are features which are frequent also within other Latin American variants. Moreover, it can be said that, although statistical analyses are lacking in this aspect, the Cuban dialectal norm seems to be distinguished by the tendency towards extreme articulatory distension and to the elimination of posterior fricative articulations.

As there is a lack of studies in the case of morphosyntax, we are going to take a look at lexical aspects of this variant (López Morales, 1970).

In the 19th century, half of the Cuban population was formed by black people (some of them were free, some of them were slaves). Their disproportionate distribution had linguistic consequences. Anglicisms penetrated also into the Cuban variety of Spanish as a result of Cuban-American trade. Also, the African presence is evident: their languages are reflected in *santería* (a type of Cuban religion) and their vocabulary is visible in the Cuban Spanish. Typical Cuban words are *guajiro* ('villager') and *jimaguas* ('twins') (Lipski, 1996)

Colombian Spanish is characterized by its great linguistic diversity. There are more than 70 indigenous languages, which are still spoken in peripheral areas of the country, some of which have a large number of speakers and others that are in the process of extinction (Espejo Olaya, 2007). Spanish used in the interior of Colombia is considered to be "the purest" Latin American variant. The Colombians basically distinguish two dialectic groups: *costeños* (people living near the coast) and *cachacos* (people living in the interior of the country) (Lipski, 1996).

In all the dialectal varieties of Colombia, especially in neglected registers and vulgar diaphasies, it is common in the pronunciation to close the unaccented vowel until a diphthong with the next vowel is formed: *quiere uno > quieriuno*, *dijoesto > dijusto*. When the unaccented vowel is /a/, it is frequently

elided. Likewise, the combinations (ea) within verbs and other words are diphthongized in the following way: *golpear*>*golpiar*, *teatro*>*tíatro*.

The use of *voseo* was widespread throughout the country during the early days of the colonial period. In Bogotá there are still traces of *voseo*: it can be heard in informal speech, however, in an unsystematic way (Espejo Olaya, 2007).

The vocabulary used in the area of the Atlantic Coast was influenced by the Africans, whereas the vocabulary used in the area of the Pacific Coast is different. The interior of the country is quite conservative and the lexis used in this part mostly comes from Spanish. On the other hand, the language spoken in capital has fairly high prestige and is admired by others. Typical Colombian words are *mamado* ('exhausted') or *amarrado* ('mean') (Lipski, 1996).

4. Methodology

In this section, the vocabulary of reggaeton songs is analysed – specifically Puerto Rican, Cuban and Colombian songs. The focus is on words which are different from European Spanish, words which are interesting from the lexical point of view, i.e., anglicisms (English borrowings) and Americanisms (i.e., words typical of a particular Latin American variant or words used both in European Spanish and Latin American Spanish, but in a different sense). Various word classes are analysed: nouns (only common nouns, not proper ones), adjectives, verbs, as well as adverbs.

The words were looked up in two dictionaries: *Diccionario de americanismos* (Dictionary of Americanisms of the Royal Spanish Academy, DA)¹ and *Diccionario de variantes del español* (Dictionary of Spanish Variants, DSV)². Both these dictionaries focus on Latin American vocabulary used in different countries. In case a word could not be found in one of these two dictionaries, a third dictionary was used: *Diccionario urbano* (Urban Dictionary, UD)³. This dictionary focuses on colloquial words and expressions ("Urban Dictionary", 2020). At the end, our results will be compared and the main features of the vocabulary used in this kind of songs will be discovered and what their main characteristics are.

As mentioned, songs which are written (and sung) by authors from three countries: Puerto Rico, Cuba and Colombia were chosen for the analysis. Fifteen songs in total were analysed, 5 from each group. Before studying the vocabulary of a particular song, the songwriter's country of origin was introduced. However, sometimes no information about them and their identity could be found.

For clarity, the studied vocabulary was put into a table containing the following information: word, word class (also with an English translation of a Peninsular Spanish term where possible to see the differences between the meaning used in Spain and the meanings used in Latin America; when there is no English translation, it simply means that a word is not used in Spain, just in Latin America),⁴ and then the definitions proposed by the dictionaries were introduced, and finally, whether or not these definitions coincide with the meaning used in the song. Only definitions used in the songwriter's country of origin were included in the tables. This does not mean they are used only in that country, but the focus was only on the songwriters' countries. The country where the expression is used is written in parentheses (if the country is not included, it means that the dictionary does not mention it, either). Several countries were put in parentheses when the author of the lyrics or his country of origin is unknown and the meaning proposed by the dictionary is acceptable in the context of a song.

Three symbols were used in the tables:

1. '-' means that the searched term could not be found in the dictionary or it was possible to find it there, but its meaning is not used in the country of origin of the author;
2. 'Ø' is related to the Urban Dictionary; it means that the term was not looked up in this dictionary because its meaning was found in the two main sources: in the Dictionary of Americanisms or Dictionary of Spanish Variants;
3. '?' means that the meaning used in the song is not clear from the context of the song.

Below the tables, problematic words, anglicisms and other lexical phenomena (e.g., diminutives) were explained.

¹ <https://www.rae.es/obras-academicas/diccionarios/diccionario-de-americanismos>

² <http://xn--diccionariovariantesespaol-4rc.org/>

³ <https://www.urbandictionary.com/>

⁴ To see whether a word is used in Spain, check <https://dle.rae.es/>.

Table 1. Vocabulary *Métele sazón*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>sandunga</i> (‘charm’), n.	party, bender (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>canchan- chanas</i> , n.	fellows (DR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>bellaqueo</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	sexual relationship (PR)	yes
<i>saranana</i> , n.	strong itch (DR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>cambumbo</i> , n.	willow basket (DR)	no	-	-	intelligent and handsome man (PR)	yes
<i>mascara- cachimba</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>mamao</i> (‘boozed up’), n.	fool (PR, DR)	yes	fool (PR)	yes	∅	∅
<i>sandungueo</i> , n.	participation in a noisy party (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>maicena</i> (‘corn flour’), n.	kind of meal (PR, DR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>brea</i> (‘resin’), n.	-	-	asphalt (PR)	yes	∅	∅
<i>morón</i> (‘hillock’), n.	not so intelligent person (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>saborioco</i> , adj.	good (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>mahuapa-choso</i> , adj.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>apambichao</i> , adj.	clinging to a partner (DR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>guillao</i> , adj.	secret, reserved (PR)	yes	insecure, frustrated (PR)	yes	∅	∅
<i>sandunguiao</i> , adj.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>vacilar</i> (‘to stagger’), v.	to dance (DR)	yes	to go to a party; to have fun (PR)	yes	∅	∅
<i>cogerpon</i> , v.	to travel by a means of transport without paying (PR)	yes	to make a commitment (PR)	no	∅	∅
<i>esmandarse</i> , v.	exceed the limit (PR)	yes	exceed the limit (PR)	yes	∅	∅
<i>abuchar</i> , v.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>roncar</i> (‘to snore’), v.	show authority (PR)	yes	postpone things (DR)	no	∅	∅
<i>afuego</i> , adv.	excellently (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅

5. Results

5.1 The Puerto Rican group

The following songs were analysed within this group: *Métele sazón* (by Tego Calderón), *Atrévete-te-te* (by Calle 13), *Pegao* (by Wisin and Yandel), *El ritmo no perdona* (By Daddy Yankee) and *No quiero amarte* (by J Quiles feat. Zion and Lennox)⁵.

5.1.1 *Métele sazón* ('Spice It Up') by Tego Calderón

This song was written by Tego Calderón (Puerto Rico) and Francisco Saldaña (Dominican Republic)⁶ (All Media Guide, 2020).

Brea is one of the problematic words. According to the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants*, its meaning is 'asphalt'. It makes sense in the context of the song and it can be imagined as 'a street'. The singer sings '*Vamo' pa' la brea*', which could mean 'Let's go to the street'.

The situation is different in the case of the word *apambichao*. The *Dictionary of Americanisms* tells us that *apampichado* means 'clinging to a partner' (in the Dominican Republic) and the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* confirms that the meaning of this word is the one mentioned, but it is used in Peru.

Regarding the word *sandunguiao*, this is not included in the dictionaries, but it is assumed that it is an adjective related to the word *sandungueo* ('participation in the party').

Another interesting word is *abuchao*. This participle should be derived from the verb *abuchar*, but only the reflexive verb form *abucharse* was found (in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*) with the meaning of 'making clothes puffy' (in the Dominican Republic). This meaning does not fit into the context of the song.

The verb *roncar* was mentioned in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. In Puerto Rico, this verb is used to say 'to show authority'. On the other hand, the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* claims that this word means 'to postpone things' in the Dominican Republic. Another meaning is also mentioned here: 'to order/to command'. This is in accordance with the context of the song, but it is used in Chile.

In the song, various anglicisms could be observed. One of them is *shorty*. This word does not appear in either of the two dictionaries, only in the *Urban Dictionary* which defines the word as 'a company of a woman', so it means something like 'babe'. This meaning fits into the context since the singer says *pa' to' aesas shorty's en los New Yores* ('for all the babes in New York'). Other anglicisms occurring in the song are *microphone* and *hamburgers*. There is also a whole sentence in English: '*What are you talking?*'

Apart from that, one vulgarism was noted: *hijueputa* ('bastard').

Based on the table presented above, it can be stated that in the song there are many typical Puerto Rican and Dominican expressions, i.e., countries which the songwriters come from. Most of the analysed terms were nouns, but there were also adjectives, verbs and an adverb.

5.1.2 *Atrévete-te-te* ('Dare You-You-You') by Calle 13

This song was written by two Puerto Ricans: Eduardo Cabra and René Pérez (both members of Calle 13 band) ('Atrévete-te-te: Calle 13', 2019).

Regarding the expression *triqui*, the *Dictionary of Americanisms* has defined it, but none of the suggested meanings is used in Puerto Rico: it says *triqui* is 'a type of game', but the word is used in Colombia and Ecuador. It is supposed that this is not what is meant in the song. Besides, it includes the term *triquis* in the sense of 'a drink' used in El Salvador, which could make sense in the song.

An interesting fact about the expression *kilate* is that the *Dictionary of Americanisms* states that it is used in the sense of 'kilogram' in Mexico and Chile (not in Puerto Rico) and in the sense of 'quality' in the Dominican Republic. Both possibilities could make sense here and it is not sure what the singer means.

⁵Search for full lyrics of all the analysed songs at:

<https://www.musica.com/>

<https://genius.com/>

⁶ See the information about the singers and songwriters of known nationalities at: <https://www.facebook.com/>

Table 2. Vocabulary *Atrévete-te-te*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>machina</i> (‘crane/derrick’),n.	merry-go- round (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>jalda</i> , n.	mountainside (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>triqui</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>mamey</i> (‘type of a tree’), n.	something easy to do (PR)	yes	type of a tree (PR)	no	∅	∅
<i>kilate</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>prenderse</i> , v.	to revive oneself (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅

As for the verb *prenderse*, apart from the definition presented in the table, there is one more meaning that is suitable for the context: ‘to start to do something’. This can be found in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*, but it says it is used in the Dominican Republic.

There is a great number of anglicisms in this song. The first one is *closet*. The *Dictionary of Americanisms* has confirmed that this word is an English one and is used in Puerto Rico (but also in other countries) and refers to ‘wardrobe’. It is also registered in the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants*. It shares this meaning and confirms that it is used to mean the same in many countries, but Puerto Rico is not included.

The next word is *hyper*. It is explained by the *Urban Dictionary* as ‘full of energy’.

Another one is *lighter* which is registered only in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. This dictionary has confirmed that the word is used in Puerto Rico.

The next expression is *wiper*. It could be found only in the *Dictionary of Americanisms* as an English word used on the island of Puerto Rico.

Another English word is *refill*, used a lot in Puerto Rico, according to the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. Its meaning is ‘filling’. In the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants*, there are no meanings related to this word.

The anglicism *hello* is defined by both dictionaries. It is used in Puerto Rico normally to answer a phone call, according to the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. The *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* shares this definition. It is possible that in the song the singer says *hello* just to greet someone.

As for the word *sipi*, it could not be found in any of the dictionaries; only the form *sip* is registered in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. There it says that it is an English word and its meaning is ‘a drink’. This seems to make sense when taking into account the context of the song.

The Anglicism *picky* is registered in the *Urban Dictionary* and refers to ‘a very demanding or capricious person’.

The last English expression is *one-way*. The *Dictionary of Americanisms* has confirmed that it is an English expression and its meaning is ‘a single direction’.

Nouns again dominated in this song. Especially in this particular one, there are many anglicisms, many more than in the previous song.

5.1.3 *Pegao* (‘Clinging’) by Wisin y Yandel

The lyrics of this song were written by Puerto Ricans Wisin, Yandel, Víctor Martínez and Ernesto Padilla (Universal Music Publishing Group, 2020).

Table 3. Vocabulary *Pegao*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>matatán</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	person respected by others	yes
<i>mahón</i> (‘strong cotton fabric’), n.	trousers made from a strong fabric (PR)	yes	trousers made from a strong fabric (PR)	yes	∅	∅
<i>frontúa</i> , n.	provocative and flirty person (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>maranta</i> , n.	long and messy hair (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>tany</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>cunani</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	man’s genitals	no
<i>tumbao</i> , n.	way of walking (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>bacalao</i> (‘codfish’), n.	very thin person with bad looks (PR)	yes	fried codfish; cargo (PR)	no	∅	∅
<i>guilla</i> , adj.	very close to a partner (PR)	yes	drugged, addicted (PR)	no	∅	∅
<i>rankiaos</i> (<i>rankeados</i> , <i>ranqueados</i>), adj.	very good person/thing with many qualities (PR)	yes	-	-	perfect, great (PR)	yes
<i>matar</i> (‘to kill’), v.	to swallow the ashes or cigarette butt during smoking marijuana (PR)	no	-	-	-	-
<i>frontear</i> , v.	to boast (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅

As far as the noun *matatán* is concerned, it is possible to find it in the *Dictionary of Americanisms* in the sense of ‘a person superior to others because he has many qualities’ but it is also stated that it is used in the Dominican Republic. The *Urban Dictionary* shares this definition but does not mention any country in which the expression is used.

The meaning of the word *cunani* is not mentioned in our dictionaries, but based on the context that says *con mi música ella mueve el cunani* (‘with my music she moves the *cunani*), it is assumed that its meaning is close to ‘body’ or ‘buttocks’.

As for the word *guilla*, the *Dictionary of Americanisms* states that *guillo/guilla* means ‘an imbecilic person’ (in Puerto Rico). Based on the context of the song, *guilla* would rather be a shortened form from the word *guillada*, and that, according to the aforementioned dictionary, is used in Puerto Rico and means ‘hugging your partner’. The *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* has said that *guillado* also means ‘drugged’ or ‘addicted’ (in Puerto Rico). Both these meanings could make sense in the song.

For the word *rankiaos* (*rankeados/ranqueados*), a suitable definition could be found in the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants*: it says that it means ‘famous’ (which does make sense in the song), but it is used in Peru.

Both dictionaries confirm that the verb *matar* means ‘to dominate’, ‘to triumph’ or ‘to conquer’. It fits the context, although the *Dictionary of Americanisms* says that it is used to mean that in Argentina, and the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* claims that it is used like that in Peru.

In the song there is only one English expression *one million* and an English sentence *move your body*. It was possible to find the expression *one million* in the *Urban Dictionary*, but the suggested meaning was not suitable for the context of the song.

In this song there are also two diminutives: *cerdito* (‘piggy’) and *lejito* (diminutive of ‘far away’).

5.1.4 *El ritmo no perdona* (‘The Rhythm Doesn’t Forgive’) by Daddy Yankee

This song was written by Daddy Yankee (Puerto Rico) (Genius Media Group Inc., 2020).

Table 4. Vocabulary *El ritmo no perdona*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>pique</i> (‘resentment’), n.	type of a hot pepper (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>mai</i> , n.	mother (PR)	no	mother, mum (PR)	no	very attractive girl	yes
<i>matatán</i> , n. ⁷	-	-	-	-	person respected by others	yes
<i>rumba</i> (‘type of dance’), n.	party (PR)	yes	slow Cuban dance (PR)	no	∅	∅
<i>chambonear</i> , v.	to dance reggaeton (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>guayar la hebilla</i> , v.	to dance very close to a partner (body to body) (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>perrear</i> , v.	to dance sensually (PR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>vacilar</i> (‘to stagger’), v.	-	-	to have a good time; to have fun (PR)	yes	∅	∅
<i>reportarse</i> , v.	to show up (PR)	yes	to show up (PR)	yes	∅	∅

⁷ See also: *Pegao* by Wisin and Yandel

Regarding the term *rumba*, both dictionaries mention this word in the sense of ‘a party’. The difference is only that the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* tells us that it is used only in Colombia, not in Puerto Rico. It also says that this word is used in all countries in the sense of ‘slow Cuban dance’.

The verb *vacilar* is explained in the two dictionaries. The *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* states that it is used in Puerto Rico in the sense of ‘having fun’ or ‘enjoying’. The *Dictionary of Americanisms* offers very similar meanings, but it does not mention Puerto Rico as a country where the expression is used.

In the song, there are only two anglicisms: *dembow* and *flow*. *Dembow* could be found in the *Dictionary of Americanisms* where it is defined as a ‘sensual dance’ and ‘rhythm’ (again in Puerto Rico), which are acceptable meanings. It has not been registered in the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants*. On the other hand, a definition of the word *flow* is proposed only by the *Urban Dictionary*: its meaning is ‘the ability of a rapper to create rhymes according to the beats of a song skilfully’, which perfectly makes sense in the song.

5.1.5 *No quiero amarte* (‘I Don’t Want To Love You’) by J Quiles feat. Zion and Lennox

This song was written by J Quiles, Zion, Lennox (Puerto Ricans), Joshua Javier Méndez, Simón Restrepo (unknown nationality) and Jorge Valdés (also known as Dimelo Flow) (Panama) (Universal Music Publishing Group, 2020).

Table 5. Vocabulary *No quiero amarte*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>mamacita</i> , n.	attractive girl (DR, Ven)	yes	nice girl (Nic, Mex)	yes	∅	∅
<i>mami</i> (‘mum’), n.	beautiful girl (PR, DR)	yes	nice girl (Ven)	yes	∅	∅
<i>serruchar</i> (‘to saw off’), v.	to divide (Col)	yes	to divide (DR)	yes	∅	∅
<i>perrear</i> , v.	to dance sensually and very close to a partner (PR)	yes	to dance sensually (DR, Ecu)	yes	∅	∅

Only one English word was observed here: *baby*. Its meaning is ‘little girl’, but it is also often used between people in love (according to the *Dictionary of Americanisms*). It is used on the island of Puerto Rico (but also in many other countries). The other dictionary does not define this word as such, it offers only some collocations which contain this word.

Some diminutives were present in the song: *mamacita* (‘attractive girl’, ‘bombshell’), *diablita* (‘little devil’), *princesita* (‘little princess’).

5.2 The Cuban group

For this group, the following songs were chosen: *Pa’ la cámara* by El Chacal, *Guachineo* by Chocolate, *Ponte linda* by Jacob Forever feat. Charanga Habanera, *El chulo* by Elvis Manuel y Jerry feat. Blad MC and, the last one, *Aquí están los cuatro* by Eddy-K.

5.2.1 *Pa’ la cámara* (‘To the Camera’) by El Chacal

The song was written by two Cubans: El Chacal and Osmani Ernesto Espinosa Morales (All Media Guide, 2020).

As for the word *vacilar*, no definition that would be used in Cuba is mentioned in the dictionaries, but based on the context it is believed that the definitions proposed by the two dictionaries are the most suitable ones. The *Dictionary of Americanisms* says that it means ‘to dance’ and the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* claims that its meaning is ‘to have fun’, although neither of them says that the expression is used in Cuba.

Table 6. Vocabulary *Pa' la cámara*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>mami</i> (‘mum’), n.	wife, girlfriend, little girl (Cu)	yes	mum (Cu)	no	∅	∅
<i>miki(s)</i> , n.	a young person who cares a lot about fashion (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>repartera</i> (also <i>repa</i>), n.	person interested in musical styles like rap or hip- hop who wears clothes in accordance with that style (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>dura</i> (‘hard’), adj.	attractive and nice person (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>vacilar</i> (‘to stagger’), v.	to look indecently at someone (Cu)	no	to look indecently at someone (Cu)	no	to look for a partner but no serious relationship	no
<i>frontear</i> , v.	-	-	-	-	-	-

The verb *frontear* is defined by the *Dictionary of Americanisms* and the *Urban Dictionary*. Both confirm that its meaning is ‘to boast’ (a meaning that fits in the song) and that it is a Puerto Rican word.

In the song, there is one English word and one English sentence. There are several definitions of *baby* in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*, but none used in Cuba. It means ‘little girl’, but it is supposed that the singer is rather using a term of affection used between people who love each other. The *Urban Dictionary* states the same: it confirms that it refers to a term of affection between a boyfriend and a girlfriend. The English sentence observed in the song is: *What you do?*

Several diminutives were registered, for example, *bailecito* (‘little dance’), *boquita* (‘small mouth’) or *carita* (‘little face’).

5.2.2 *Guachineo* by Chocolate

The songwriter in this case is the Cuban performer Chocolate (Genius Media Group Inc., 2020).

The term *guachineo* and its related verb *guachinear* are not registered in the dictionaries; however, the songwriter has used this concept to represent a party style or unbridled fun (Periódico Cubano, 2021).

In the dictionaries, there are several definitions of the word *china*. The *Dictionary of Americanisms* tells us that it is ‘an emotional way of treating someone’, which could make sense in the song. The *Urban Dictionary* explains that it refers to ‘an attractive and pretty girl’, which could also make sense, although it is not sure what the singer means.

Apart from this, two diminutives were found in the lyrics: *jevita* (diminutive from the aforementioned *jeva*) and *pegaita* (diminutive from *pegado*).

5.2.3 *Ponte linda* (‘Smarten Yourself Up’) by Jacob Forever feat. Charanga Habanera

The authors of the lyrics are in this case unknown.

Table 7. Vocabulary *Guachineo*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>guachineo</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>jeva</i> , n.	young girl, girlfriend (Cu)	yes	nice girl, girlfriend (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>bonche</i> , n.	meeting of people to celebrate various events (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>china</i> (‘pebble’), n.	emotional addressing of a person (Cu)	yes (?)	drawing pin (Cu)	no	nice and attractive girl	yes (?)
<i>guachinear</i> , v.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>rico</i> , adv.	perfectly (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅

Table 8. Vocabulary *Ponte linda*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>pitusa</i> , n.	blue trousers made of strong fabric worn usually by Northern Americans (Cu)	yes	jeans (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>chucho</i> (‘mutt’), n.	a place where sugarcane is loaded (Cu)	no	prison (Chi)	?	dog	no
<i>mamita</i> (‘mum’), n.	pretty girl (Cu)	yes	nice girl (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>gozadera</i> , n.	big party, fun (Cu)	yes	big party (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>riquera</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>jevita</i> (<i>jeva</i>), n.	young girl, girlfriend (Cu)	yes	nice girl, girlfriend (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>apretadera</i> , n.	respiration problem (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>trusa</i> (‘type of old garment’), n.	swimsuit (Cu)	yes	swimsuit (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>papi</i> (‘dad’), n.	boyfriend (Cu)	yes	darling (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>lingo</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>guara</i> , n.	human relationship (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>cuadrado</i> (‘squared’), adj.	guaranteed (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>rico</i> , adv.	perfectly (Cu)	yes	perfectly, amazingly (Col, Per, Bol)	yes	∅	∅

Three complicated words were observed in the song: *chucho*, *rique* and *lingo*. *Chucho* may be a place, but based on the definitions proposed by the dictionaries it cannot be said exactly what kind of place the singer is talking about.

Regarding the word *riquera*, no definitions were available in the dictionaries for this case. Taking into consideration the context of the song, it is possible that it could mean something like ‘fun’.

As for the expression *lingo*, the *Dictionary of Spanish Variants* contains only the term *lingotazo*, which means ‘big drink’. That might make sense in the song, so *lingo* may be a shortened form of this word.

The singers have also used three diminutives: *poquito*, *poquitico* (diminutives of ‘little’), or *lorito* (‘small parrot’).

An interesting expression could be heard in the song: *Yuma*. As both the dictionaries confirm, this word is used only in Cuba and refers to ‘the United States’, so *yuma* is also ‘an American citizen’.

5.2.4 *El chulo* (‘The Pimp’) by Elvis Manuel and Jerry feat. Blad MC

The authors of this Cuban song are not known, either.

Table 9. Vocabulary *El chulo*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>yuma</i> , n.	American (Cu)	yes	American (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>mami</i> (‘mum’), n.	girlfriend, little girl (Cu)	yes	mum (Cu)	no	∅	∅
<i>chamaquito</i> (<i>chamaco</i>), n.	boy (Cu)	yes	(little) boy (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>billete</i> (‘ticket’), n.	money (Cu)	yes	money (DR, Mex, Col)	yes	∅	∅
<i>piticlines</i> , n.	money (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>blinblineo</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	luxurious jewellery (PR)	yes
<i>palo</i> (‘stick’), n.	very good and successful thing (DR)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>coger la boca</i> , v.	to kiss on lips (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>bajar</i> (‘go down’), v.	to pay (Cu)	yes	to swallow (Cu)	no	∅	∅
<i>algarete</i> (‘at the mercy of circumstances, without any direction’), adv.	out of control (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅

The most interesting word of the song is *blinblineo*. As already observed in the table, it could be found in neither of the two dictionaries. Only the *Urban Dictionary* offers a meaning ‘luxurious jewels’ (used in Puerto Rico). The dictionary also explains that this expression is frequently used in reggaeton. However, the *Dictionary of Americanisms* registers a very similar word: *blinbineo*. Its meaning is the same as that of *blinblineo* and this dictionary also tells us that it is used in Puerto Rico.

There are two English words in the song: *surprise* and *alright*.

Among the diminutives used in this song are *chamaquito* (‘little boy’), *pobrecita* (diminutive of ‘poor’) and *muchachita* (‘little girl’).

5.2.5 *Aquí están los cuatro* ('All Four Are Here') by Eddy-K

Again, no information was available about those who wrote the lyrics of this song.

Table 10. Vocabulary *Aquí están los cuatro*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>commercial</i> ('sales representative'), n.	advertisement (Cu)	yes	advertisement (Col, Mex)	yes	∅	∅
<i>chamaco</i> , n.	little boy (Cu)	yes	boy (Cu)	yes	∅	∅
<i>facilista</i> , adj.	superficial (Cu)	yes	easy, superficial (Arg)	yes	∅	∅
<i>ripostar</i> , v.	to counter-attack (Cu)	yes	-	-	∅	∅

There is only one anglicism in the song: *flow*. It is not registered in any of the dictionaries, except for the *Urban Dictionary*. As already mentioned before, it is explained as 'the rapper's ability to create rhymes according to the beats of a song skilfully'.

Apart from that, there are no other lexical phenomena in the song.

5.3 The Colombian group

These songs were analysed within this group: *Tranquila* by J Balvin, *Reggaeton de barrio* by El Bloke 18, *En la playa* by Karol G, *Nadie como yo* by Kevin Roldán and *Apaga el celular* by Pipe Calderón.

5.3.1 *Tranquila* ('Stay Calm') by J Balvin

The lyrics of this song were written by J Balvin (Colombia) (All Media Guide, 2020).

Table 11. Vocabulary *Tranquila*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>killa</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	the best, number one	yes
<i>nave</i> ('ship'), n.	automobile (Col)	yes	car (Col)	yes	∅	∅
<i>sai</i> , n.	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>mais</i> ,?	-	-	-	-	-	-

In the song there are many English expressions: *the business*, *baby*, *gang*, *J to the B*, *nice*, *twice*, *ice*, *mode up*, *feeling the music*. The majority of them can be found in the *Urban Dictionary*.

The meanings of the words *sai* and *mais* are unclear, as no reasonable meanings are proposed by the dictionaries. According to the context of the song, *sai* might be a place, since the verse says: *Ella se me pega bailando en sai* ('she clings to me dancing in *sai*'). The situation is further complicated by the word *mais*: in this case, neither the verses helped us to decode the meaning of this expression, nor is its word class clear.

5.3.2 *Reggaeton de barrio* ('Reggaeton from the Neighbourhood') by El Bloke 18

The authors of these lyrics are unknown.

In the case of the term *goma*, its meaning is not so clear. The context does not help us very much; the definitions proposed by the dictionaries do not fit the context. Our impression is that it could mean something like 'boredom'.

The word *mamita* was mentioned also in the previous songs, generally in the sense of 'an attractive girl'. In this case, the definition proposed by the *Urban Dictionary* that describes it as 'grandmother' seems reasonable, since in the verses the singers sing: *a mi mamita siempre le gustó la lambada y a mi*

abuelo la salsa pesada ('my *mamita* always liked the lambada and my grandfather the boring salsa'), so it is assumed that *mamita* refers rather to 'grandmother'.

Table 12. Vocabulary *Reggaeton de barrio*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>goma</i> ('rubber'), n.	hobby, affection (Col, Ven); tumour that causes pain in horses (Ven)	no	-	-	opium (Mex), rubber	no
<i>garra</i> ('paw'), n.	old and skinny person (Col)	yes	bacon (Col)	no	∅	∅
<i>mamita</i> ('mum'), n.	beautiful woman (Col)	no	nice woman (Col)	no	grand- mother	yes
<i>mona</i> ('nice thing/person'), n.	blonde woman (Col)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>corrinche</i> , n.	fun (Pan)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>pinche</i> ('kitchen assistant'), n.	tiny thing (Col)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>niche</i> , n.	black person (Ven)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>parce</i> ('ritual prayer'), n.	friend (Col)	yes	friend (Col)	yes	∅	∅
<i>madrazo</i> , n.	insult (Col)	yes	swearword (Col)	yes	∅	∅
<i>mamacita</i> , n.	attractive girl (Col)	yes	beauty (Nic, Mex)	yes	∅	∅
<i>vaina</i> ('sheath'), n.	unknown thing (Col)	yes	issue, thing (Col)	yes	∅	∅
<i>rumba</i> ('slow Cuban dance'), n.	party (Col)	yes	party (Col)	yes	∅	∅
<i>duro</i> ('hard/ resistant'), adj.	skilful person (Col)	yes	powerful (Col)	yes	∅	∅
<i>parado</i> ('timid/ unemployed'), adj.	erect (Col)	yes	standing on feet (Col)	no	∅	∅
<i>tirar paso</i> , v.	to dance (Col)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>ahorita</i> , adv.	right now (Ven)	yes	right now (Ven)	yes	∅	∅

The dictionaries do not offer any definitions of the expression *corrinche* that would be used in Colombia, but the *Dictionary of Americanisms* suggests that it is a shortened form of *corrinchadera* used in Panama in the sense of 'fun'. This definition seems suitable for the song.

Regarding the word *pinche*, in the table it is stated that it refers to 'tiny thing' in Colombia. The singer says *a ella le gusta la danza y el corrinche, pero se tirasu pinche* ('she likes dancing and having fun, but she throws away her *pinche*'), so *pinche* seems to be a term that refers to something specific that the girl wears or has, but it is not clear what exactly it is.

Ahorita has been defined by the *Dictionary of Americanisms* as 'in a while', though used in Colombia. However, in the table it is explained that the interpretation used in Venezuela (as 'right now') seems more suitable for the song.

There is also an expression *compe* that is not registered in the dictionaries, but according to the context of the song it is possibly an abbreviation of *competencia* or *competición* ('competition').

Anglicisms are not present in this case, and there are four diminutives: *socito* ('little friend' or 'fellow'), *cinturita* ('small waist'), *solita* ('alone') and *abuelita* ('grandma').

5.3.3 *En la playa* ('On the Beach') by Karol G

The Colombian performer Karol G wrote the lyrics of this song (Genius Media Group Inc., 2020).

Table 13. Vocabulary *En la playa*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>sabrosura</i> , n.	excellence, delight (Col)	yes	-	-	∅	∅
<i>guayar</i> , v.	-	-	-	-	to dance	yes

There are also two English words in the song: *flow* and *swing*. The first one was mentioned several times, it means 'the rapper's ability to create rhymes according to the beats of a song skilfully', according to the *Urban Dictionary*.

The *Dictionary of Americanisms* has explained that *swing* is 'a way of moving oneself or speaking', used in different countries such as Cuba or Puerto Rico. Although it does not say that it is used in Colombia, it is believed that this is the meaning used in the song.

5.3.4 *Nadie como yo* ('Nobody Like Me') by Kevin Roldán

Kevin Roldán (Colombia), Dj Maff (Venezuela), Gotex (George Steward Forbes James) (Colombia) and Santiago Elias Mercado Gomez wrote the lyrics of this song (Genius Media Group Inc., 2020). However, no information could be found about the nationality of the final mentioned songwriter.

Table 14. Vocabulary *Nadie como yo*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>mami</i> (‘mum’), n.	girlfriend, girl (Col)	yes	nice girl (Ecu, Ven)	yes	∅	∅
<i>perreo</i> , n.	sensual way of dancing (PR, DR, Ecu)	yes	sensual way of dancing (PR, Gua, US)	yes	∅	∅
<i>guayar</i> , v.	-	-	-	-	to dance	yes
<i>rico</i> , adv.	phenomenally (Col)	yes	perfectly, amazingly (Col)	yes	∅	∅

As for the term *perreo*, the dictionaries define it as 'a sensual dace'. That is exactly what the singer refers to in the song. But, at the same time, none of the dictionaries says that the term is used in Colombia.

Two anglicisms were noted in the song: *baby* and *horny*. In this case, *baby* is used to address the girlfriend and *horny* is an adjective that refers to a person who is 'sexually aroused' (according to the *Urban Dictionary*).

5.3.5 *Apaga el celular* ('Switch Off Your Phone') by Pipe Calderón

The author of the lyrics is unknown.

In this song, there was only one English word, which could be found in the *Urban Dictionary*: *ringtone*.

Table 15. Vocabulary *Apaga el celular*

Word, word class	DA	Meaning in the song	DSV	Meaning in the song	UD	Meaning in the song
<i>celular</i> , n.	mobile phone (Col)	yes	mobile phone (Col)	yes	∅	∅
<i>mami</i> (‘mum’),n.	girlfriend, girl (Col)	yes	mum (Col)	no	∅	∅
<i>duro</i> (‘hard’), adv.	powerfully, with force (Col)	yes	with force, loudly (Col)	yes	∅	∅

6. Discussion

In total, 121 words were analysed (anglicisms and other lexical phenomena introduced below the tables excluded). The words were looked up in two principal sources: in the Dictionary of Americanisms and the Dictionary of Spanish Variants. In the first-mentioned, it was possible to find acceptable meanings (which also coincide with the country of origin of the authors, if these are known) for 74.3% of the words; that is, the majority of the words were registered there. The situation is different with the Dictionary of Spanish Variants: there, acceptable meanings for only 32.2% of terms were found and in the case of the word *chucho* the situation was rather complicated as its meaning is not clear, so it cannot be said whether the definition proposed by the dictionary is the right one. Nevertheless, it should be taken into account that this dictionary is constantly being updated and new words are being added to it every day, so it is constantly developing. Regarding the Urban Dictionary, 31 expressions were searched for in this one and suitable meanings for 12 of them were found (i.e., 38.7%). In some cases, it was not possible to find the meanings of certain words in any of the dictionaries (e.g., for words such as *cunani*, *sipi*, *lingo*). In spite of that, their meanings could be deduced from the context of the song.

It can be confirmed that 104 different Americanisms were found in the analysed songs (i.e., words that are used in some of the variants of American Spanish and not in Peninsular Spanish, or expressions used in both Spain and Latin America, but in a different sense). The majority of them are nouns (64.4%), then verbs follow (18.2%), adjectives (11.5%) and adverbs (only 4.8%). One word is of unknown word class. Certain Americanisms are frequently repeated in the songs, e.g., *mami*, *mamita*, *vacilar* or *rico*. These words are quite typically used in this genre, their occurrence is very frequent.

During the analysis, several interesting phenomena were noted. The first one was related to the word *duro* (meaning ‘hard’ in Spain). In the analysed songs, this word occurred 3 times in total, with a different meaning in each of the cases: in the Cuban song *Pa’ la cámara* this word was used as a feminine adjective *dura* meaning ‘an attractive girl’; in the Colombian song *Reggaeton de barrio* it was also used as an adjective, but in the sense of ‘a skilful person’; and lastly, the word appeared in the Colombian song *Apaga el celular*, but this time as an adverb meaning ‘loudly’.

Another remarkable example of the differences between European and Latin American Spanish was found in the Cuban songs *Ponte linda* and *El chulo*. It seems that the Cubans have their own way to address the Americans and to refer to the United States. Both mentioned songs used the word *Yuma/yuma* to refer to the ‘United States’/‘United States citizen’, whereas in Spain and in the rest of the Spanish-speaking countries the ‘neutral’ name *Estados Unidos/estadounidense* is used.

On one hand, words typical of specific Latin American variants that are not used in Spain were discovered in the songs (e.g., *yuma*, *jeva*, *parce*). Such words are defined as Americanisms by various experts (Černý, 2014). On the other hand, the lyrics also contained many expressions that are used both in European and Latin American Spanish, but in a different sense, e.g., *rumba*, which refers to ‘a type of dance/music’ in Spain, and ‘party’ in Latin American Spanish; or *vacilar*, meaning ‘to stagger’ in Spain, but ‘to have fun’ in Latin America. This corresponds with Haensch’s definition of Americanisms: he defines them as words which are used differently in the two continents (Oliver and Utrilla, 1992).

As for anglicisms, 29 different English expressions were detected (some of them are repeated in the songs, e.g., *baby*, *flow*). In the Dictionary of Americanisms, 12 of them are registered and in the Dictionary of Spanish Variants only two of them were recorded (*closet* and *hello*). In the Urban Dictionary, 17 anglicisms were searched for and the meanings for 13 of them were found (i.e., 76%). From the analysis and the tables introduced for each song, it can be noted that the Puerto Rican songs contain a greater number of anglicisms than the songs of the two other groups. To be more precise, in the Puerto Rican group, 16 anglicisms were present: *shorty*, *microphone*, *hamburgers*, *closet*, *hyper*, *lighter*, *wiper*, *refill*, *hello*, *sipi* (*sip*), *picky*, *one way*, *one million*, *dembow*, *flow* and *baby*. In the Cuban

group, only 4 English words were documented: *baby*, *surprise*, *alright* and *flow*; and in the Colombian group, 14 anglicisms were found: *the business*, *baby (2x)*, *gang*, *J to the B*, *nice*, *twice*, *ice*, *mode up*, *feeling the music*, *flow*, *swing*, *horny* and *ringtone*.

Apart from that, 20 diminutives were observed in the lyrics: 5 in the Puerto Rican group (*cerdito*, *lejito*, *mamacita*, *diablita*, *princesita*), 11 in the Cuban group (*bailecito*, *boquita*, *carita*, *jevita*, *pegaita*, *poquito*, *poquitico*, *lorito*, *chamaquito*, *pobrecita*, *muchachita*) and 4 in the Colombian group (*socito*, *cinturita*, *solita*, *abuelita*). When looking at these expressions, it can be noted that many of them were used to refer to girls or girlfriends and parts of their bodies: *mamacita*, *diablita*, *princesita*, *jevita*, *pobrecita*, *muchachita*, *boquita*, *carita* or *cinturita*. In one Puerto Rican song also one vulgarity occurred (*hijueputa*).

In all the songs, the vocabulary specific to the author's region was evident (in cases where it was possible to find out who wrote the song) or, at least, the vocabulary of their interpreters (artists, singers). In many cases, it was not possible to find any information about the songwriters. Despite that, it is believed that from the vocabulary used in the songs it is possible to discover their nationality. When looking at the song *Reggaeton de barrio* from the Colombian group, it was mentioned that its authors are unknown, but based on the vocabulary used it is assumed that they are from Colombia or Venezuela (or both countries) because apart from the expressions used in Colombia (*mona*, *parce*, *madrazo*), there are words which are frequently used in Venezuela (*niche*, *ahorita*).

To sum up, the dictionaries used for analysis are useful tools for this type of text. The Dictionary of Americanisms contains a rich variety of words and phrases used in different Latin American countries. The Dictionary of Spanish Variants contained a smaller number of expressions than the first one. If the meaning of a word was not included in one of these dictionaries, it was looked up in the Urban Dictionary where mostly anglicisms are registered.

A similar study on lexical issues related to reggaeton has been carried out by Ashley Elizabeth Wood from Georgia State University (2009). In her research, she analysed 20 words which are frequently used in Puerto Rican reggaeton songs. Her aim was to find out whether these words are part of the Puerto Rican vocabulary, or are exclusively used only in this musical genre. To perform this, she used 5 dictionaries in the analysis: *Diccionario de la RAE* (Royal Spanish Academy Dictionary (RSAD)), *Tesoro Lexicográfico del Español de Puerto Rico* (Lexicographic Treasure of Puerto Rican Spanish (LTPRS)), Urban Dictionary (UD), *Diccionario del reguetón en inglés* (Reggaeton Dictionary in English (RDE)) and *ABC del reguetón* (ABC of Reggaeton (ABC)). Moreover, she compared the dictionary definitions with the definitions collected from a questionnaire realized in 2008.

She analysed the following words: *a fuego* ('cool', 'very good'), *acicalar* ('to clean', 'to shine'), *al garete* ('crazily', 'without control'), *arrebatarse* ('to be under the drug influence'), *bellaquear* ('to become horny/sexually excited'), *caco* ('person who listens to reggaeton'), *cafre* ('someone without culture'), *cangri* ('leading person'), *corillo* ('group of friends'), *dembow* ('reggaeton's beat'), *fantasmeo* ('something confusing, not clear or even real'), *feca* ('a lie'), *guayar* ('to dance very close to each other'), *guillado* ('conceited', 'arrogant'), *janguear* ('to hang out with friends'), *pangola* ('low-quality marijuana'), *perreo/perrear* ('way of dancing reggaeton', 'to dance reggaeton'), *pichear* ('to ignore'), *rankear* ('to have good position'), and *va sin jockey* ('to go loose' or 'to go without a boyfriend') (in our research, some of these words were analysed as well, e.g., *a fuego*, *al garete*, *bellaquear*, *dembow*, *guayar*, *guillado* or *perrear*).

In her conclusions, the author confirmed that reggaeton is a representation of Puerto Rican vocabulary. Although there are some words which are exclusively limited to this genre, e.g., *perreo/perrear* or *va sin jockey*, in general it can be said that its lexis faithfully represents many linguistic elements of Puerto Rican speech. However, the majority of the expressions are part of the common vocabulary of younger Puerto Rican generations. The author also points out the fact that the analysed words are of different origins. Words such as *janguear* or *pichar* have English origin; *cafre* or *arrebatarse* have Arabic origin; the origin of *dembow* or *bellaqueo* is unknown; and some words are of European origin: *corrillo*, *guayar* or *caco* (Wood, 2009).

Our research demonstrated that the lyrics of the Puerto Rican reggaeton songs used Americanisms (i.e., words typically used in Puerto Rico or words used in the European Spanish, but in a different sense) most frequently (50 different Americanisms in total) when compared to the other two groups (the Cuban: 35 Americanisms; the Colombian: 27 Americanisms). However, this is rather understandable, as this genre developed in Puerto Rico and the island is its home country. Moreover, the majority of reggaeton singers come from Puerto Rico.

Another piece of research has been carried out by Rebecca Imboden (2016). The author explains that reggaeton singers (usually men of humble origin) identify themselves with marginal neighbourhoods

and life in the streets. They are characterized by their rebellious attitude and opposition to the established order. These singers want to present themselves and express their belonging or opposition to certain groups.

Imboden (2016) also analysed the lyrics of reggaeton songs from a linguistic point of view. Regarding their vocabulary, she agrees that the most frequent words used in these songs are *perreo/perrear*, *dembow* and *afuego*. She is convinced that the expressions present in the songs can be divided into two main groups: words related to drugs and delinquency (e.g., *pangola* ('low-quality marijuana'), *jíbaro* ('person who sells marijuana'), *tombo* ('police officer')) and words related to partying, women and luxury (e.g., *vacilar* ('to dance'), *gozar* ('to enjoy something'), *mamita* ('a nice woman') etc.).

In her research, Imboden talks about Puerto Rican and Cuban reggaeton. As for the attitude towards anglicisms, she points out the fact that anglicisms are used in both groups. Some of these English words are typical of reggaeton, e.g., the aforementioned *janguear* or *cangri*; these are integrated anglicisms which have adopted Spanish pronunciation. However, pure anglicisms are used almost only in Puerto Rican songs, in which they are used in a natural way as if they were Spanish words. This is due to a strong connection between the island of Puerto Rico and the United States, especially when talking about music. The majority of music companies that promote reggaeton are situated in Miami or New York and many Puerto Rican singers are continuously moving between Puerto Rico and the United States. On the other hand, in Cuban reggaeton only integrated anglicisms can be usually found. They prefer Spanish and avoid English (Imboden, 2016). This hypothesis was also confirmed by our research, as only 4 pure anglicisms were observed in the Cuban songs, whereas in the Puerto Rican songs, 16 anglicisms occurred.

Based on this, the vocabulary used in the analysed songs in our research could be divided into 3 main groups:

1. Words related to fun, partying and dance: *sandunga*, *vacilar*, *rumba*, *chambonear*, *guayar la hebilla*, *perrear*, *gozadera*, *tirar paso*, *guayar*, etc.
2. Words related to girls, women and relationships: *mami*, *mamita*, *canchanchanas*, *frontúa*, *jeva*, *dura*, *bellaqueo*, etc.
3. Words related to money and luxury: *billete*, *piticlines*, *blinblineo*, etc.

The results of our analysis can be perceived also in relation to diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic variations of language. Diatopic variation refers to dialects and regional speech. It arises due to geographical reasons because depending on where we are, a language can have different characteristics (Tabuenca, 2019). The word *cellular* identified within the Colombian group is an example of such a variation. In Spain, the word *móvil* is used instead. Another remarkable instance is the expression *yuma* meaning 'an American', as Cuba seems to be the only Spanish-speaking country to use this word. *Duro* can have distinct meanings depending on the country: it means 'hard' in Spain; in Cuba, the feminine adjective *dura* can be used to refer to 'an attractive girl'; in Colombia, this word can also mean 'loudly'. Based on these examples, it is evident that the lyrics of the reggaeton songs contain vocabulary which is different from the vocabulary used in Spain, even the lexis among the Latin American countries may vary and one word can mean different things in each of the countries.

Diastratic variation refers to levels of language. Depending on the knowledge of the speaker, they may use more or less cultivated language (Tabuenca, 2019). The vulgarism *hijueputa* discovered in the Puerto Rican song serves as an example of diastratic variation. In the other two groups vulgarisms were not present.

With regard to diaphasic variation, this occurs when a speaker chooses different languages modalities based on a communicative situation. In such cases, various registers are distinguished: colloquial, familiar, formal, etc. (Tabuenca, 2019). In the analysed songs, there were many expressions that are generally used in colloquial speech, e.g., the shortened words such as *pa'* (full form: *para*) or *parce* (full form *parcero*).

The Puerto Rican reggaeton songs are distinguished by linguistic features that are typical in Puerto Rico and the whole of Latin America (e.g., weakening of the /s/ sound at the end of a word). It also uses specific Puerto Rican vocabulary (e.g., *dembow*) as well as musical vocabulary of reggaeton (Marmer, 2012). This genre has developed its own lexicon and specific terms which refer to partying, dance or music. Such expressions are for example *abayarde* ('kind of insect'), *al garete* ('out of control'), *blinblineo* ('luxurious jewels') or *mozalbeta* ('gunman') (Red Bull México, 2019). Some typical reggaeton phrases were discovered also within our analysis, e.g., *bellaqueo*, *sandunguiao*, etc.

When talking about the Cuban songs, these also contain typical Cuban expressions (e.g., *yuma*, *jeva*, etc.). Apart from that, also characteristic reggaeton expressions could be detected, e.g., *blinblineo*, *al garete*, etc. The same goes for the Colombian group of songs: the lyrics included words which are

very common among the Colombians (e.g., *parce*, *tirar paso*) as well as typical reggaeton expressions such as *guayar*.

To conclude, the characteristics of Latin American Spanish proposed by José Cuervo (in Garrido Domínguez, 1992) were proven by the results of our analysis. From the point of view of phonology, an elision of the/d/ consonant was observed in the songs (mostly in the Puerto Rican ones), e.g., *apambichao* (instead of *apambichado*), *abuchao* (instead of *abuchado*), *rankiaos* (instead of *rankiados*), etc.

Apart from that, several contractions were found, for example *repa* (from *repartera*) and possibly also *lingo* (from *lingotazo*). Both these instances were observed in the Cuban group.

A morphosyntactic phenomenon or feature of Latin American Spanish suggested by José Cuervo (in Garrido Domínguez, 1992) was noted in the analysis as well: changing the verb form ending in *-ear* to *-iar*. This change *rankiaos*. As already mentioned, the elision of the/d/ consonant took place in this case and the full form of this word should be *rankiados*. *Rankiados*, on the other hand, is a past participle of the verb *rankiar*. However, the correct spelling according to Spanish grammatical rules in this case should be *ranquear*, with *ranqueados* as a corresponding past participle. To sum up, there were three phenomena covered within a single word *rankiaos*: the elision of the/d/ consonant, changing the verb form ending in *-ear* to *-iar* and replacing the letters (qu) with a simple (k).

7. Conclusion

In total, 15 reggaeton songs were analysed in terms of their lexis. Five Puerto Rican, five Cuban and five Colombian songs were chosen. Generally speaking, each group contained words typical of the author's or interpreter's country of origin, i.e., in the Puerto Rican group some typical Puerto Rican expressions were found (e.g., *mamey*, *frontúa*), in the Cuban group typical Cuban words were evident (e.g., *yuma*, *jeva*), and in the Colombian group typical Colombian words occurred (e.g., *parce*, *tirar paso*). Despite the fact that in many cases it was not possible to find any information about the songwriters, it is believed that from the vocabulary used in the songs it is possible to discover their nationality. For example, when looking at the song *Reggaeton de barrio* (within the Colombian group), the authors of this song are unknown, but based on the lexis used it can be assumed that they are from Colombia or Venezuela (or even both countries), as apart from the expressions used in Colombia (*mona*, *parce*), there are certain words which are used in Venezuela (*niche*, *ahorita*).

The analysed words were looked up in two main sources: in the Dictionary of Americanisms and the Dictionary of Spanish Variants. In the first-mentioned, it was possible to find the acceptable meanings for 74.3% of the words; in the Dictionary of Spanish Variants, the acceptable meanings for only 32.2% of terms were found. However, it should be taken into account that this dictionary is constantly developing and expanding its database. Apart from that, 31 expressions were searched for in the Urban Dictionary, which contained suitable meanings for 38.7% of the words. In certain cases, it was not possible to find the meanings of some words in any of the dictionaries (e.g., for words such as *cunani*, *sipi*, *lingo*). Their meanings, however, could be deduced from the context of the song.

From the total number of 121 words that were analysed, 104 different Americanisms were found in the songs. The majority of them are nouns (64.4%), then verbs follow (18.2%), adjectives (11.5%) and adverbs (4.8%). The word class of one word remains unknown. Americanisms such as *mamita*, *vacilar* and *rico* are frequently repeated in the songs. The word *duro* (meaning 'hard' in Spain) represented an interesting case: in the analysed songs, this word occurred 3 times with a different meaning and a different word class: once it was used as the feminine adjective *dura* meaning 'an attractive girl'; in the second case it was also used as an adjective, but in the sense of 'a skilful person'; and lastly, the word appeared as an adverb meaning 'loudly'.

Words typical of specific Latin American variants that are not used in Spain were discovered in the songs (e.g., *yuma*, *jeva*, *parce*). On the other hand, the lyrics also contained many expressions that are used both in European and Latin American Spanish, but in a different sense, e.g., *rumba*, which refers to 'a type of dance/music' in Spain, and 'party' in Latin American Spanish; or *vacilar*, meaning 'to stagger' in Spain, but 'to have fun' in Latin America. Apart from that, English expressions were present in all groups: the majority of them in the Puerto Rican group (16 anglicisms), then 14 anglicisms in the Colombian group and only 4 English words in the Cuban group.

The vocabulary used is usually related to women (e.g., *mamita*, *canchanchana*), dance (e.g., *chambonear*, *guayar la hebilla*, *perrear*) or money (e.g., *piticlines*, *blinblineo*).

Apart from that, 20 diminutives were observed in the lyrics: 5 in the Puerto Rican group, 11 in the Cuban group and 4 in the Colombian group. It can be noted that many of them were used to refer to

girls and parts of their bodies: *diablita, princesita, muchachita, boquita, carita*. In one Puerto Rican song also one vulgarism occurred (*hijueputa*).

To summarize, the dictionaries used for analysis are useful tools also for this type of text. The Dictionary of Americanisms contains a great variety of phrases and expressions used in the Latin American world. The Dictionary of Spanish Variants contained a smaller number of words than the first-mentioned. If a particular word was not included in one of these dictionaries, it was looked up in the Urban Dictionary where mostly anglicisms are registered.

Our research showed that the lyrics of the Puerto Rican reggaeton songs used Americanisms most frequently (50 different Americanisms) when compared to the other two groups (35 Americanisms in the Cuban group and 27 in the Colombian group). This is understandable, as Puerto Rico is a home country of this genre.

In all three groups of the analysed songs, the lyrics contained not only vocabulary specific to the songwriters' country of origin (Puerto Rican, Cuban, Colombian, or even other countries), but also expressions which are characteristic of this musical genre: *bellaqueo, blinblíneo, guayar*, etc. Therefore it can be concluded that reggaeton songs use lexis which is commonly used among native speakers as well as its own specific vocabulary.

Furthermore, within these songs it was possible to identify all three linguistic variations: diatopic (when we look at the distinctions between European and Latin American Spanish, e.g., *cellular* vs. *móvil*); diastratic (the use of less cultivated language and the use of a vulgarism *hijueputa*); and even diaphasic (the use of colloquial expressions *pa' or parce*).

It is obvious that there are certain differences between Latin American Spanish and the Spanish spoken in Spain. Such distinctions are evident at three levels: the phonological, morphosyntactic and, more significantly, lexical level. However, these differences do not prevent the people of the respective countries from understanding each other.

In the future, reggaeton song lyrics from other countries in which this genre is sung might be analysed (e.g., Venezuela or Mexico), to see whether the findings introduced in this paper can be applied to them as well.

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