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Corpora and Language Change in Late Modern English

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Amerindian Loanwords in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations* (1589) and Their Inclusion in Early and Late Modern English Dictionaries: Applications and Limitations of Digital Corpora, Databases and Tools in Lexicographical Research[1]

1. Introduction

One of the key topics in lexicographic studies is the use of primary sources in the compilation of dictionaries (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 45–96; Hawke 2016; Stamper 2020: 11–3). An example of this is the numerous debates that have arisen regarding the use of the sources that serve as documentary support for the headwords of the nomenclature of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth *OED*). Among

other issues, some scholars point to the scant female presence among sources (Brewer 2009), the over-reliance on canonical literary authors (Brewer 2005; Brewer 2010), and even the limited number of citations of secondary sources, such as dictionaries (Osselton 1995: 137–47), while others point to the changes introduced in the *OED* thanks to the examination of new sources (Durkin 2002). In this work, we will focus on one of the top 1,000 sources used in the *OED* to illustrate the use of numerous headwords of Amerindian origin that entered the English language, mainly through Spanish: Richard Hakluyt[2] (c. 1552–1616); among whose works, the most cited by far is *The Principall Navigations* (1589, henceforth *TPN*), with excerpts in 722 entries. This work aims to examine the presence of a well-defined group of Amerindian loanwords used in *TPN* in the first dictionaries compiled at the end of the sixteenth century, tracing their presence over the course of the seventeenth century and into the dictionaries of the eighteenth. To carry out this work in the most efficient way, we turned to digitized corpora and lexical and lexicographical databases in order to automate as many tasks as possible, which allowed us to assess the possibilities and limitations of automated searches in historical lexicography.

When we speak of *Amerindian loanwords* in this work we are referring to those words of Amerindian origin that were used in the territories of the New World occupied by settlers from the Iberian Peninsula, and that, therefore, in most cases, were mainly transferred to English through Spanish; and, to a lesser extent, through Portuguese (Durkin 2014: 353; 365). In other words, we are referring to those terms that Cutler (1994) calls "West Indian words" or "Latin American words", as well as the first group of the classification established by Serjeantson (1935: 250), which covers the American languages spoken in "South and Central America, Mexico, and the West Indies".

These languages furnished English with over 1,500 words (Cutler 1994: 44) and, although many were incorporated as a result of the proximity of British colonies to Spanish-American territories, the transmission of Amerindian loanwords to English actually began before British colonization (Dohan 1974: 115), as Spanish initially functioned as an intermediary language between English and the West Indian languages

(Schlaugh 1960: 97; Algeo 1996: 13; Belda Medina 2002: 26). Thus, as Watson (1938: 108) indicates, the first loanwords from Nahuatl, dating back to the sixteenth century, penetrated English through Spanish. Spain's knowledge of the New World and its political and economic hegemony during the sixteenth century favoured an increase in loanwords from Spanish to English, including terms that were, in turn, of Amerindian origin (Algeo 1996: 20–1). This trend continued until the middle of the seventeenth century (Durkin 2014: 365), after which, according to Algeo (1996: 22), by the eighteenth century a significant decline in the spread of loanwords in general can be detected.

When the Spaniards arrived in the Americas they not only discovered new territories and natural elements, but also unfamiliar peoples who spoke a multitude of languages. It is not surprising, then, that the first explorers adopted Amerindian loanwords from these languages to designate the new phenomena they found in their expeditions (Zamora 2002: 197–8). Christopher Columbus was a pioneer in the inclusion of Amerindian loanwords in his writings on the New World (Cutler 1994: 44; Belda Medina 2002: 26), although he would soon be followed by the testimonies of successive Spanish and Portuguese expeditions. These texts would be translated into English for the benefit of British navigators, respecting, in many cases, the presence of their Amerindian loanwords, as in the case of Eden's translation of *The Decades of the New World* (1555), which introduced at least 17 "Latin American words" (Cutler 1994: 45–6).

But not all were translations of words related to Spanish and Portuguese exploration and travel in the New World. In fact, the first record of an Amerindian loanword in the English language dates back to T. Pyrell's translation of a medical treatise in Latin in 1553, which included the Latinized form *guaiacum* (Serjeantson 1935: 251; Cutler 1994: 44; Carney 1997: 190). In addition, the English sailors themselves, who for various reasons ended up landing in Spanish America (López de Mariscal 2003), would soon describe their experiences, incorporating the Amerindian names of those exotic elements constituting potential commercial goods:

> When the naval power of England began to grow, and Englishmen came into contact, even though this was hostile contact, with Spaniards upon the high seas, in the West Indies and on the coasts of Mexico and South America, they adopted from

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2   See "Top 1000 Sources in the *OED*", https://www.oed.com/sources.

them the names they used for the inhabitants, animals, plants, etc., some of them being really Spanish words [...], while others were taken over by the Spaniards themselves from the natives [...]. English sailors brought back such words to England, and many of them gained currency rapidly as stories and products of the New World spread in this country. Many of them appear from the first time in the tales of voyages collected and published by Hakluyt. (Serjeantson 1935: 195–6)

As Serjeantson points out, Hakluyt's work takes on special importance because, unlike Eden's translation, it was a compilation of texts originally written in English. With the intention of encouraging his country's expansion beyond its borders, and being able to compete with other colonizing powers of the time, Hakluyt undertook to compile all the records on the travels and discoveries of his countrymen over the course of history (Markham 1896: 7–8). Contemporary texts were added to the old ones, often commissioned by himself, thanks to the close relationships he maintained with sailors and merchant companies (Parks 1961). The fact that Hakluyt is recognized as a "non-interventionist editor" who republished the texts "with remarkable fidelity" to the original sources (MacCrossan 2009: 105) ensures a reliable study of the testimonies of the authors, as they are first-hand accounts.

The precedent set by Hakluyt's compilation was so important to later English travel literature that, even in the eighteenth century, when *TPN* no longer played such an important role in the nationalism of the day, publications continued to emerge that were indebted to Hakluyt's work. As Day wrote (2016: 85) "no eighteenth-century collection followed *The Principal Navigations* in every respect, but almost every anthology discloses some aspect of its nationalistic practice and discourse".

As indicated at the beginning of this section, this work will analyse the integration of the Amerindian loanwords introduced by the authors of *TPN* into the first English dictionaries, both monolingual and bilingual. The work will focus on the macrostructure of the dictionaries, such that the multiple spellings presented by the headwords in the corpus, as well as the definitions and other issues more related to the microstructure of these entries, fall outside the scope of this study.

The corpus of the study corresponds to the third volume of *TPN*, which is dedicated to England's "valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vast and new world of *America*" (Hakluyt 1589: cover), and is composed of 33 travel narratives by different authors, and 44

texts of other kinds, such as letters, patents and itineraries, according to Quinn's classification (1974: 341–77).

The two research questions that this work seeks to answer are: (i) given the popularity that *TPN* achieved, can we assume that the Amerindian loanwords employed by the authors featured in it were included in the hard-word dictionaries that began to be compiled around the same time that *TPN* was published? and (ii) if so, did they continue to form part of the nomenclature of the more general dictionaries of the eighteenth century? To answer these questions, in this paper we intend firstly to identify the Amerindian loanwords present in the corpus and analyse the frequency of their usage, then to seek occurrences of these Amerindian loanwords in other contemporary travel narratives that might have led to their inclusion in dictionaries, and finally to study the incorporation of Amerindian loanwords in the bilingual and monolingual English dictionaries of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

2. Amerindian Loanwords in *TPN*: Identification and Frequency of Use

In order to extract the list of Amerindian loanwords used in *TPN* forming the basis of our study, we proceeded to read the corpus and identify the terms potentially of indigenous origin. This phase of the work had to be carried out *manually* by examining the digitized text of *TPN*, obtained through *Early English Books Online* (henceforth *EEBO*), since the 1589 text is not yet part of the Text Creation Partnership, which "has produced thousands of accurate, searchable, full-text transcriptions of early print books" (https://textcreationpartnership.org/). Therefore, it was only possible to consult the digitized images of the 1589 volume, which do not allow for searches. Moreover, when dealing with terms featuring highly dynamic spellings, we do not have stable and reliable search terms.

The task of identifying Amerindian loanwords involved certain difficulties resulting from English narrators' exposure to completely

unknown indigenous languages. With regards to this phenomenon, Belda Medina (2002: 66–7) argues that the settlers in the New World found the Amerindian loanwords unpronounceable, such that, in the process of adapting them to their phonological systems, their spellings constantly changed. Although this author argues that when the loanword was transmitted to English through another European language much of the adaptation process had already been carried out in the intermediate language, we have found cases in which this does not seem to have happened. This is because, at times, the English navigators who were authors of the corpus did not know these terms through Spanish, but rather through oral contact with the inhabitants. Hence, when they registered a word unknown to them, they did so through a personal interpretation of the sounds that made it up. As an example of this, we find the spellings *aluacatas* (1589: 547)[3] for *aguacate* "avocado"; *nege* (1589: 594) for *maguey* "agave, aloe"; *miskito* (1589: 547) for *mesquite* "a type of tree"; *nochole* (1589: 570) for *nocheztli* "*cochineal*", and *clashacally* (1589: 569) for *tlaxcal* "*corn bread*".

In these cases, the context was decisive to discern the meaning, as were consultations of the extensive register of spelling variations found in the *OED*. This dictionary also provided us with other data necessary to carry out this study, such as the source language of the headword, and the date and name of the first English-language sources that included it.

Reading and analysis of the corpus revealed the use of a total of 25 Amerindian terms by English chroniclers, of which 22 are recorded in the *OED* (those that are not are marked with * in Table 1 and presented with the spelling found in the *Diccionario de americanismos*). Most date from 1555, prior to the publication of *TPN* (the dates of entry into the English language are also indicated in Table 1). Once the Amerindian loanwords were identified, we counted the appearances of these terms, based on two factors: (a) the number of times a given Amerindian loanword appears in the corpus, and (b) the number of different texts containing a given Amerindian loanword. We believe that our analysis of the frequency of use of the Amerindian loanwords (that is, our study of the number of times that the same word is used in all

the texts, and evaluation of its greater or lesser distribution among the different authors) can shed light on what may have been an important factor determining the inclusion of these terms in the dictionaries of the time.

Regarding the frequency of use of these items in total terms, Table 1 presents the headwords identified in *TPN* together with the number of times they are found in the corpus, regardless of the number of different works in which they appear:

Table 1: Amerindian loanwords in *TPN*: Frequency of use and *OED* entry date

aguacate (*OED* 1633)	1	canoe (*OED* 1555 [1541])	84	guava (*OED* 1555)	3	mammee (*OED* 1555)	3	tecuán *	2
cacao (*OED* 1555)	10	capulin (*OED* n.d.)	1	guaiacum (*OED* 1533)	2	mesquite (*OED* 1589)	1	tiburon[4] (*OED* 1555)	1
cacique (*OED* 1555)	4	Carib (*OED* 1555)	5	hurricane (*OED* 1555)	4	nocheztli *	1	tlaxcal *	1
Campeachy wood (*OED* 1652)	1	cassava (*OED* 1555)	7	maguey (*OED* 1555)	4	potato[5] (*OED* 1565)	8	tuna (*OED* 1555)	2
cannibal (1553)	16	guano (*OED* 1697)	1	maize (*OED* 1555 [1544])	23	pulque (*OED* 1589)	1	sapota (*OED* 1589)	2

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[4]   Although the *OED* lists this headword as *origin uncertain*, it also states the following: "probably taken into Spanish or Portuguese from some West Indian or East Indian language" (oed.com). Taking into account that this word first appeared in texts on American territories, we decided to include it on our list. Although some authors theorise that the English word "*shark*" could come from the Yucatecan word *xoc* (Jones: 1985), this is not an accepted fact, so *shark* will not be part of our inventory.

[5]   Although we opted to follow the trend in the various studies that deal with this word as an indigenous one, it is important to clarify that it is actually a Spanish creation, a combination of two Amerindian headwords: *papa* and *batata* (see the entry for *patata* in the *DLE*).

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[3]   To avoid unnecessary repetition, all citations of *TPN* will indicate the publication date and the corresponding page number (s).

Based on these total numbers, the words appearing 10 or more times are, in descending order, *canoe* (84), *maize* (23), *cannibal* (16) and *cacao* (10).

It is not surprising that *canoe* appears far more frequently than the other Amerindian loanwords. First of all, it was a means of transport widely used by the natives, so it would not have gone unnoticed by English sailors; secondly, as many of the accounts indicate, in the New World the conveyance of goods using this type of boat was frequent. As for its incorporation into the English language, we find that it was one of the first Amerindian loanwords transferred to English, dating back to Eden's translation of *The Decades*, in 1555 (Carney 1997: 190), so it is possible that English navigators of the time may have already been familiar with it. Moreover, taking into account that Spanish was the mediating language when transferring *canoe* into English, it is important to consider the information provided by Zamora (1970: 98):

> Usually words from the languages learned first were preferred. *Canoa* is the Antillean Indian word for boat, but for the Spaniards it became the name for any Indian boat, even in places so far removed from the Caribbean as Peru.

In this way, like the Spanish settlers, the English travellers called any boat of the indigenous people a *canoe,* regardless of the area, thus increasing the number of times this word appears, with it even being used in some reports on other territories. For example, in North American territories far from the Spanish-speaking colonies, English explorers also used the word *canoe* to refer to the small boats of local peoples, as seen in the following fragments of stories compiled in *TPN,* the first of which belongs to *The voyage of Iohn Dauis, for the discouerie of the Northwest passage,* 1585; and the second *An accompt of the particularities of the imployment of the English men left in Virginia vnder the charge and gouerment of Ralfe Lane, written by himself:*

> At length there came 10 **Canoas** from the other Ilands, and two of them came so neere the shoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a pretie way off. (1589: 778; our emphasis)

> Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a **canoa** by his Riuer of *Choanoke*, and descending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to passe ouer land Northeast to a certaine Kings countrey [...]. (1589: 738; our emphasis)

In addition, *maize, cannibal* and *cacao* correspond to the description of the new American reality. In the case of *maize* and *cacao*, we are not only talking about potentially lucrative goods for the English, but they also played an important role in the lives of Native Americans beyond food, for example functioning as tribute. As for *cannibals*, the fear inspired by those man-eating tribes was evident in accounts of the navigators' adventures, whether when comparing other groups of natives to them, in confrontations with them, or due to the need to avoid them. We must also bear in mind that the *OED* records the entry of these indigenous loanwords into the English language at an early date (*cacao* in 1555, *cannibal* in 1553, and *maize* in 1555, although it already appeared in a manuscript of 1544), indicating that they were probably familiar to English explorers.

The second factor that we took into account when evaluating the use of these Amerindian loanwords was their distribution in different texts. Certainly, the repetition of a headword in the compilation is not necessarily a faithful indicator of its spread, since it could have been used many times, but just by one author. Therefore, in order to expand on the information presented and reach a more accurate conclusion regarding its use, we carried out a second count, this time classifying the terms according to the number of different texts in which they appear, which is included in Table 2.

Table 2: Number of texts in *TPN* in which Amerindian loanwords are used

aguacate	1	canoe	20	Guava	2	mammee	3	tecuán	1
cacao	3	capulin	1	Guaiacum	2	mesquite	1	Tiburon	1
cacique	2	Carib	1	Hurricane	3	Nocheztli	1	tlaxcal	1
Campeachy	1	cassava	5	maguey	2	potato	6	tuna	2
cannibal	6	guano	1	maize	6	pulque	1	sapota	2

If we select those Amerindian loanwords that appear in five or more texts, we observe that *canoe* (20 texts) continues to be the most common, followed by *cannibal* (16), *maize* (6), *potato* (6) and *cassava* (5). These results show little variation with respect to Table 1, such that they reinforce the ideas extracted from the overall count. The only word with more than 10 appearances in Table 1 that does not appear in more than five texts in Table 2 is *cacao*, although two new words are included that

also refer to food that were both a commercial good and a means of subsistence for natives and foreigners: *potato* and *cassava*.

Having extracted the data from Hakluyt's work, we proceeded to study the distribution of these Amerindian loanwords in other English travel books on the New World from the era, as we decided that this could be another factor favouring the inclusion of these indigenous loanwords in dictionaries. For this phase of the work we turned to *AMERLEX*, a database currently in the development phase, to which we had access in a test format. *AMERLEX* aims to compile lexical Americanisms[6] present in a selection of Spanish and English texts on the Americas published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (https://iatext.ulpgc.es/es/aplicaciones)[7]. Access to this tool allowed us to verify in which other sixteenth-century travel narratives the Amerindian loanwords being studied were used, and to elucidate whether the Amerindian loanwords used by the authors of the corpus were common in the narratives about the new American territories in the sixteenth century or, on the contrary, they were lexical rarities. The following graph expresses the distribution of the headwords between these documents, differentiating between foreign texts translated into English and those that were originally written in English:

Figure 1: The distribution of the corpus Amerindian loanwords in sixteenth-century travel texts on the New World.

Of the 25 headwords on our list, 16 were found in other texts registered in *AMERLEX*. By establishing the cut-off at at least five texts, we found that the word with the greatest dispersal between the English texts was *cassava* (five texts). If we look at translations, *maize* was the leader (seven texts), followed by *cacique* (six texts) and *canoe* (five texts). With the exception of *cacique*, the rest of the Amerindian loanwords mostly? used by authors who were contemporaries of Hakluyt coincide with those most repeated in *TPN*, suggesting the general predominance of these Amerindian loanwords in the different works of English travel literature of the time. As with the earlier Amerindian loanwords, *cacique* and *cassava* are examples of early registration in the English language (both in 1555).

From another point of view, the Amerindian loanwords under study usually appear more frequently in translations than in English texts. This phenomenon is not strange, since most of the translations took works in Spanish as their source material, a language that, as already indicated, acted as a conduit of Amerindian words into English. The English text that contains the most Amerindian loanwords is *The Discouerie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596), by Walter Raleigh (seven headwords); while the translation containing the most is *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (1555) by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, which was translated by Richard Eden (12 headwords).

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6   This term refers to both words from Amerindian languages and words from Spanish which acquired a new meaning in America.

7   At this time, the works that have been uploaded date from the sixteenth century.
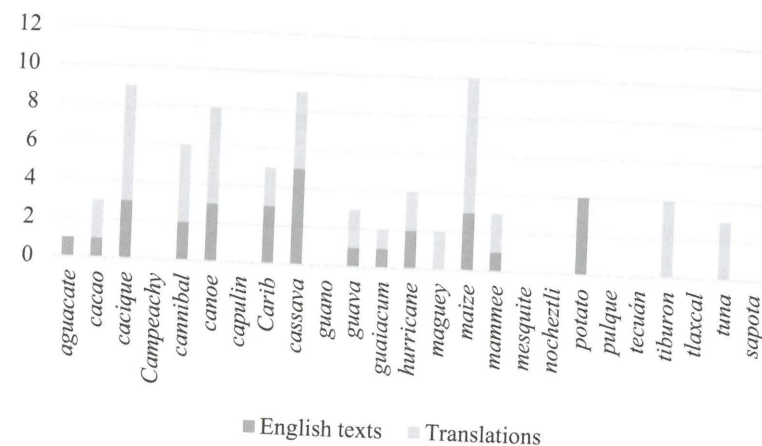
3. The Incorporation of Amerindian Loanwords in *TPN* into the English Lexicography of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: *LEME* as a Tool for AUTOMATED Searches

To study the incorporation of the Amerindian loanwords extracted from *TPN* into the English lexicography of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, we compiled a list of the English monolingual and bilingual English-Spanish dictionaries released after the publication of Hakluyt's work and during the following two centuries (Table 3). In addition, in the case of bilingual dictionaries, John Florio's English-Italian dictionary *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) was also included, due to the enormous influence it exerted on the compilation of subsequent bilingual and monolingual English dictionaries (Starnes 1937: 1012; Steiner 1970: 39; Hayashi 1978: 55; Domínguez-Rodríguez 2016: 154).

Table 3: List of dictionaries consulted for this study

	YEAR	AUTHOR	TITLE
Sixteenth century	1590	Del Corro/Thorius	*The Spanish Grammer [The Spanish Dictionarie]*
	1591	Perceval	*Bibliotheca Hispanica*
	1591	Stepney	*The Spanish Schoole-master*
	1598	Florio	*A Worlde of Words*
	1599	Perceval/Minsheu	*A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*
Seventeenth century	1604	Cawdrey	*A Table Alphabetical*
	1616	Bullokar	*An English Exhibitor*
	1623	Cockeram	*The English Dictionarie*
	1656	Blount	*Glossographia*
	1658	Phillips	*The New World of English Words*
	1676	Coles	*An English Dictionary*
	1689	Hogarth	*Gazophylacium Anglicanum*
Eighteenth century	1702	Kersey	*A New English Dictionary*
	1704	Cocker	*Cocker's English Dictionary*
	1706	Kersey/Phillips	*The New World of English Words*
	1706	Stevens	*A New Spanish and English Dictionary*
	1707	Anon	*Glossographia Anglicana Nova*
	1708	Kersey	*Dictionariun Anglo-Britannicum*
	1721	Bailey	*An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*

Table 3: *Continued*

YEAR	AUTHOR	TITLE
1727	Bailey	*The Universal Etymological English Dictionary, vol. II*
1730	Bailey	*Dictionarium Britannicum*
1735	Dyche and Pardon	*A New General English Dictionary*
1735	Defoe	*A New English Dictionary*
1740	Pineda	*Nuevo Dicionario, Español e Ingles e Ingles y Español*
1749	Martin	*Lingua Britannica Reformata*
1753	Anon	*A Pocket Dictionary or Complete English Expositor*
1753	[Wesley]	*The Complete English Dictionary*
1755	Scott / Bailey	*A New Universal Etymological English Dictionary*
1755	Johnson	*A Dictionary of the English Language*
1763	Giral del Pino	*A Dictionary Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*
1773	Kenrick	*A New Dictionary of the English Language*
1774	Barclay	*A Complete and Universal English Dictionary on a New Plan*
1775	Ash	*The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language*
1778	Baretti	*A Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*
1797–1798	Connelly and Higgins	*Diccionario Nuevo de las Dos Lenguas Española ê Inglesa*

Term queries were run for the first editions of these 35 dictionaries, of which 10 are bilingual and 25 monolingual. Chronologically, the 35 dictionaries are distributed as follows: five of them, all bilingual, belong to the sixteenth century; seven monolingual ones correspond to the seventeenth century; and, finally, of the 23 dictionaries from the eighteenth century, five are bilingual and 18 are monolingual.

The digital tool that was clearly able to facilitate the time-consuming task of searching, one by one, the corpus of Amerindian loanwords in the different dictionaries was *Lexicons of Early Modern English (LEME)*, "a historical database of monolingual, bilingual, and polyglot dictionaries, lexical encyclopaedias, hard-word glossaries, spelling lists, and

lexically-valuable treatises surviving in print or manuscript from about 1475 to 1755" (leme.library.utoronto.ca). *LEME* seemed to be the most suitable tool for this type of study, since it allows for the optimization of time and resources. However, there are many dictionaries whose bibliographic data have been recorded, but whose contents have not been uploaded; and other dictionaries that have not even been registered. In the first group are the dictionaries of Perceval (1591), Cockeram (1623), Cocker (1704), Stevens (1706), Anon. (1707), Kersey (1708), Bailey (1721), and (1730), Pineda (1740), Martin (1749) and Anon. (1753). Dictionaries that were not included in *LEME* as of the writing of this work include Coles (1676)[8], Kersey and Phillips (1706), Bayley (1727), Dyche and Pardon (1735), Wesley (1753), Giral del Pino (1763), Kenrick (1773), Barclay (1774), Ash (1775), Baretti (1778) and Connelly and Higgins (1797–1798). The fact that the nomenclatures of these dictionaries are not included in *LEME* meant that out of the 35 dictionaries that constitute the lexicographical corpus for this work's consultations, we could only use 13. What implications would this have for our study? It might be best to illustrate this with some examples that show the data obtained through searches in *LEME*.

This tool allows searches to be conducted in different ways. For example, a search can be run by placing the current headword in the Modern-English Headwords Search tab, which allows one to ascertain which dictionaries contain, for example, the word that today we identify as *guava* (following the spelling in the *OED*, which *LEME* uses), regardless of its form in the different dictionaries. This search carried out in *LEME* revealed that this term is only found in Bullokar's dictionary (1616), in which it appears with the spelling *guaiauas* (Figure 2):

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8   The *LEME* records the 1677 edition, whose text is meta-searchable.
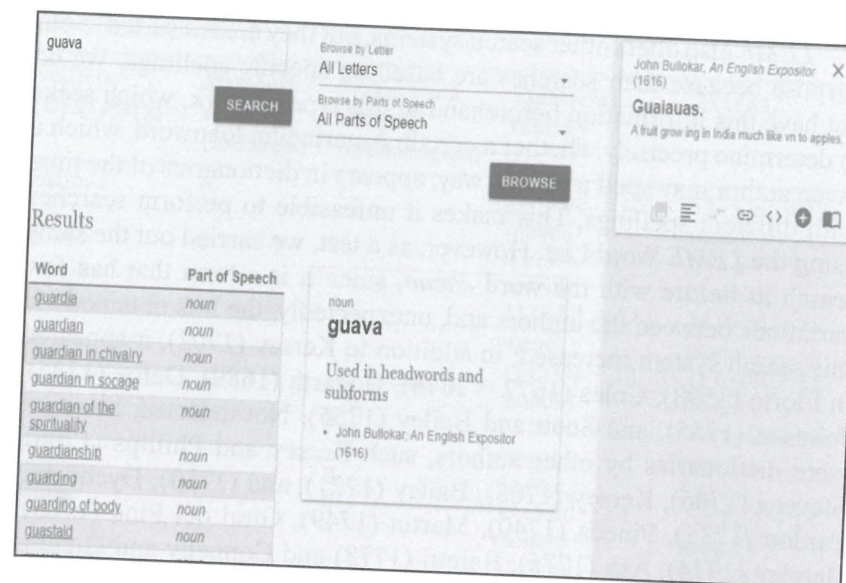
Figure 2: Caption of *LEME* "Modern-English Headwords Search": *guava*.

However, "manual" consultation of this same term in the reference dictionaries selected expands the number of dictionaries to 14: one from the sixteenth century (*guyávas*, in Perceval 1599), two from the seventeenth (*guaiauas*, in Bullokar 1616 and Coles 1676), and 11 from the eighteenth (*guajavas*, in Cocker 1704; *guábas*, in Stevens 1706 and Pineda 1740; *guaiavas*, in Kersey 1708 and Bailey 1721; *guai'avas*, in Bailey 1730; *gua'iava. gua'va*, in Johnson 1755; *gua'bas*, in Giral del Pino 1763 and Baretti 1778; *guaia'vas*, in Ash 1775; *guayába*, in Connelly and Higgins 1798).

The same problem is found with *cacao*. If we use *LEME's* Modern-English Headwords Search tab, only Kersey's dictionary (1702) is indicated, while a manual search reveals the inclusion of this word in 20 dictionaries, as shown in Table 4. In addition to these problems there is the fact that many words included in the *OED* are not found through the Modern-English Headwords Search; this is the case of *aguacate*, *cacique*, *Campeachy*, *Carib*, *guano*, *maguey*, *mammee*, *pulque*, *tiburon*, *tuna* and *sapota*.

LEME also offers other search systems, but they are not suited to our purpose because their searches are based on specific spellings. We do not have this information beforehand in this type of work, which seeks to determine precisely whether a certain Amerindian loanword, which a given author may spell a certain way, appears in dictionaries of the time with different spellings. This makes it unfeasible to perform searches using the *LEME* Word List. However, as a test, we carried out the same search as before with the word *cacao*, since it is a term that has few variations between the authors and, unexpectedly, the hits obtained via this search system increased; in addition to Kersey (1702), it appeared in Florio (1598), Coles (1677 = 1676), Hogarth (1689), Defoe (1735), Johnson (1755), and Scott and Bailey (1755). Not detected, however, were dictionaries by other authors, such Kersey and Phillips (1706), Stevens (1706), Kersey (1708), Bailey (1721), and (1730), Dyche and Pardon (1735), Pineda (1740), Martin (1749), Giral del Pino (1763), Barclay (1774), Ash (1775), Baretti (1778) and Connelly and Higgins (1798), which do register entries for this headword. A simple search for the word *cacao* in *LEME* yielded the same results.

Table 4: Number of dictionaries that include the Amerindian loanwords in *TPN*

WORD (OED entry)	Sixteenth century (bilingual)	Seventeenth century (monolingual)	Eighteenth century	TOTAL
aguacate	0	0	7 (5 bil. + 2 monol.)	7 (5 bil. + 2 monol.)
cacao	1	1	18 (5 bil. + 13 monol.)	20 (6 bil. + 14 monol.)
cacique	2	2	10 (5 bil. + 5 monol.)	14 (7 bil. + 7 monol.)
Campeachy wood	1	0	13 (4 bil. + 9 monol.)	14 (5 bil. + 9 monol.)
cannibal	1	4	14 (14 monol.)	19 (1 bil. + 18 monol.)
canoe	3	3	20 (5 bil. +15 monol.)	26 (8 bil. + 18 monol.)
capulí	0	0	1 (1 bil.)	1 (1 bil.)
Carib	1	0	10 (3 bil. + 7 monol.)	11 (4 bil. + 7 monol.)

Table 4: *Continued*

WORD (OED entry)	Sixteenth century (bilingual)	Seventeenth century (monolingual)	Eighteenth century	TOTAL
cassava	0	2	13 (3 bil. + 10 monol.)	15 (3 bil. + 12 monol.)
guano	0	0	5 (4 bil. + 1 monol.)	5 (4 bil. + 1 monol.)
guava	1	2	11 (5 bil. + 6 monol.)	14 (6 bil. + 8 monol.)
guaiacum	1	3	17 (5 bil. + 12 monol.)	21 (6 bil. + 15 monol.)
hurricane	0	4	21 (5 bil. + 16 monol.)	25 (5 bil. + 20 monol.)
maguey	1	0	4 (4 bil.)	5 (5 bil.)
maize	2	0	19 (5 bil. + 14 monol.)	21 (7 bil. + 14 monol.)
mammee	1	0	11 (4 bil. + 7 monol.)	12 (5 bil. + 7 monol.)
mesquite	0	0	1 (1 bil.)	1 (1 bil.)
nocheztli	0	0	0	0
potato	2	3	20 (5 bil. +15 monol.)	25 (7 bil. + 18 monol.)
pulque	0	0	3 (3 bil.)	3 (3 bil.)
tecuán	0	0	0	0
tiburon	2	0	5 (5 bil.)	7 (7 bil.)
tlaxcal	0	0	0	0
tuna	0	0	11 (5 bil. + 6 monol.)	11 (11 bil. + 6 monol.)
sapota	0	0	6 (5 bil. + 1 monol.)	6 (bil. + 1 monol.)

These problems are aggravated if it is a headword featuring several spellings in the different dictionaries, such as *canoe*. Using the Modern-English Headwords Search, we discovered its inclusion in Phillips (1658, *canow*), Hogarth (1689, *canow*), Kersey (1702, *canoo*) and Defoe (1735, *canoo*); besides, when we explored in the *LEME* Word List the same spellings recorded in *TPN* (*canoe, canowa, canoe* and *canow*) we discovered that, in addition to the previous dictionaries, it is also recorded in Coles (1677, *canow* = 1676) and Johnson (1755,

canoes). Inexplicably, however, the tool did not report its inclusion in a set of dictionaries in which it appears, sometimes even with the same spellings: Perceval (1591, *canoa*), Florio (1598, *canóa*), Perceval and Minsheu (1599, *canóa*), Kersey and Phillips (1706, *canoo* or *canow*), Stevens (1706, *canóa*), Kersey (1708, *canoo* or *canow*), Bailey (1721, *canoo, canow*), Bailey (1730, *cano'e*), Dyche and Parcon (1735, *canoo*), Pineda (1740, *canóa*), Martin (1749, *cano'o, cano'w*), Anon. (1753, *cano'o*), Wesley (1753, *cano'o*), Scott and Bailey (1755, *cano'a, or cano'e*), Giral del Pino (1763, *cano'a*), Kenrick (1773, *cano'e*), Barclay (1774, *cano'a, or cano'e*), Ash (1775, *cano'a, cano'e*), Baretti (1778, *cano'a*) and Connelly and Higgins (1798, *canóa*), which seems to indicate that *LEME* does not detect words bearing punctuation marks, such as apostrophes or accents, something that poses a great problem when searching for many of the corpus headwords.

Thus, the powerful *LEME* database has not been useful for this particular work because it omits a great number of dictionaries in which the Amerindian loanwords in question do actually appear. Limiting ourselves, therefore, to the use of *LEME* would distort the results of the work, not only due to the omission of quantitative information, but also qualitative information, such as the definitions themselves, which we would not be able to consult. Faced with these drawbacks, we opted for manual searches of the headwords in the digitized works available through *EEBO, ECCO* (*Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*), and Google Books. The results obtained are presented in Table 4, which shows that, of our inventory of 25 Amerindian loanwords, 13 were listed in dictionaries from the sixteenth century, nine in dictionaries from the seventeenth century, and 22 in dictionaries from the eighteenth century. There were only three words that were not found in any of the dictionaries indicated: *nocheztli, tecuán* and *tlaxcal*.

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the results presented in Table 4. First of all, the correlation between this lexicographic data and the data on these same terms' frequency of use and diffusion in the primary sources – in our case *TPN* and other texts on voyages to the Americas in the sixteenth century (Tables 1, and 2 and Figure 1) – indicates that the frequency of use of headwords and their dispersal do seem to have been a key factor determining the inclusion of the word in the first dictionaries. The most-listed word in the sixteenth-century

dictionaries, *canoe* (three of the five consulted) is, precisely, one of the words most frequently found in *TPN* (84 appearances, Table 1), and the one that appears in the greatest number of *TPN* narratives (20 texts, Table 2). *Canoe* is one of the words most frequently found among the texts in English on expeditions to the Americas (Figure 1). Continuing with the sixteenth century, the dictionaries published on dates close to the publication of *TPN* also list entries coinciding with words often found in that text; especially, *maize*, with 23 appearances in *TPN*, and present in six texts of the compilation, and in seven other works on voyages in the Americas.

We must bear in mind, however, that the sixteenth-century dictionaries were bilingual, Spanish-English (except Florio 1589), such that a greater tendency to include in these works words more related to New World territories colonized by the Spaniards is to be expected. With this in mind, it is interesting to observe the evolution of these entries in monolingual hard-word dictionaries from the seventeenth century. Some of the most important Amerindian loanwords in the sixteenth-century texts, such as *canoe*, recur in seventeenth-century dictionaries. However, it is striking to see how the term *maize*, with a high frequency of use and considerable dispersal throughout the sixteenth century, was not included in seventeenth-century dictionaries. Meanwhile, words like *hurricane* and *cassava* make their entry, the latter with great diffusion in texts on the Americas of the sixteenth century, both in translations into English and texts originally written in this language (Figure 1).

The great explosion of Amerindian loanwords in English lexicography, both bilingual and monolingual, undoubtedly took place in the eighteenth century, which saw a huge increase in the number of dictionaries listing terms like *hurricane, potato* and *canoe*, for example. Several reasons may account for this dramatic increase. Firstly, in the eighteenth century commercial interests in goods from the Caribbean spawned the publication of numerous volumes providing information on trade routes and products. In fact, one of the first documents published in this regard at the beginning of said century was Captain Stevens' translation of Joseph Veitia Linage's text, which included the commercial legislation governing trade with the Americas, *The Spanish Rule of Trade to the West-Indies: Containing an Account of the Casa de Contratación, or India-House* (1702), which includes, at the end, a list

of the goods that could be exported to the colonies and the names of the products that were imported from there, many of them Amerindian loanwords. A little later, we find texts such as Herman Moll's *A View of the Coasts, Countries and Islands within the Limits of the South-Sea-Company* (1711), which clearly states that it will deal with "the Product, People, Manufactures, Trade and Riches of the several Places". And the document that best embodies the institutional desire to boost trade with the New World is the text issued by the British Parliament entitled *Act for the Encouragement of the Trade to America* (Great Britain 1708), which specifically mentions those American products that are of special interest to British importers, along the same lines as the text *The Considerable Advantages of a South Sea Trade to Our English Nation* (1711), aimed at promoting trade relations with the New World.

In addition to this boom in the publications of volumes on the Americas, which led to the entry of numerous Amerindian loanwords into the English language, there was a surge in the publication of dictionaries throughout the eighteenth century. During this era, more dictionaries were published than during the previous centuries, which resulted in a greater number of volumes that, at least in theory, were able to include these terms. As a consequence of this increase, and taking into account the standard practice among lexicographers of taking previous dictionaries as starting points for the compilation of their own, it is logical to expect that the authors would repeat the entries found in previous dictionaries (not to mention the definitions, which will be the object of a future study). Thus, Captain Stevens, the translator of the text on commercial legislation that we have just mentioned, was also the author of the bilingual dictionary that inaugurated the eighteenth century with a great number of Amerindian loanwords (see the Appendix at the end of this paper), which made their way into the bilingual dictionaries that followed, with slight variations in number. Similarly, the monolingual dictionary by Kersey and Phillips, published in the same year as Stevens' (1706), listed a number of Amerindian loanwords that had never been published before and that were taken up by many subsequent lexicographers, only slightly surpassed by Ash (1775).
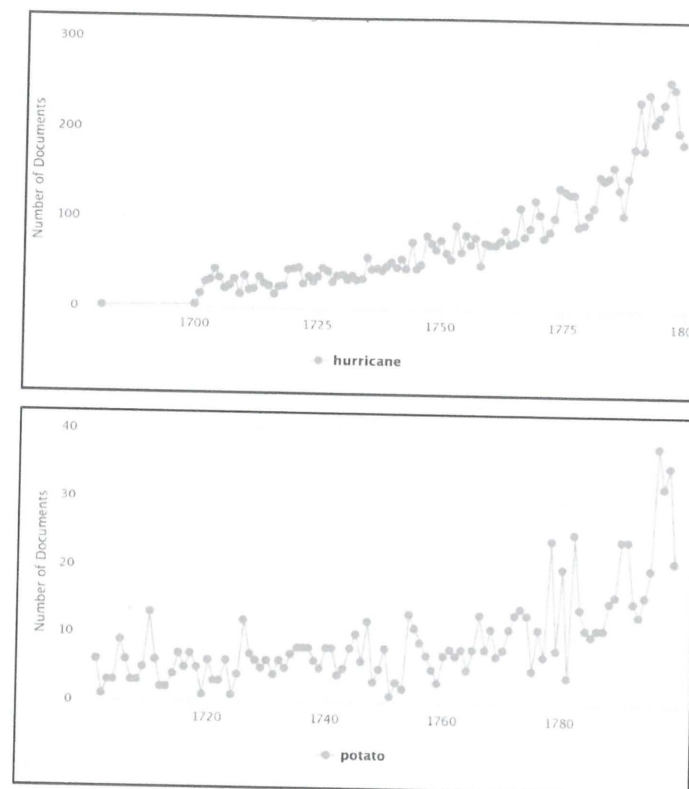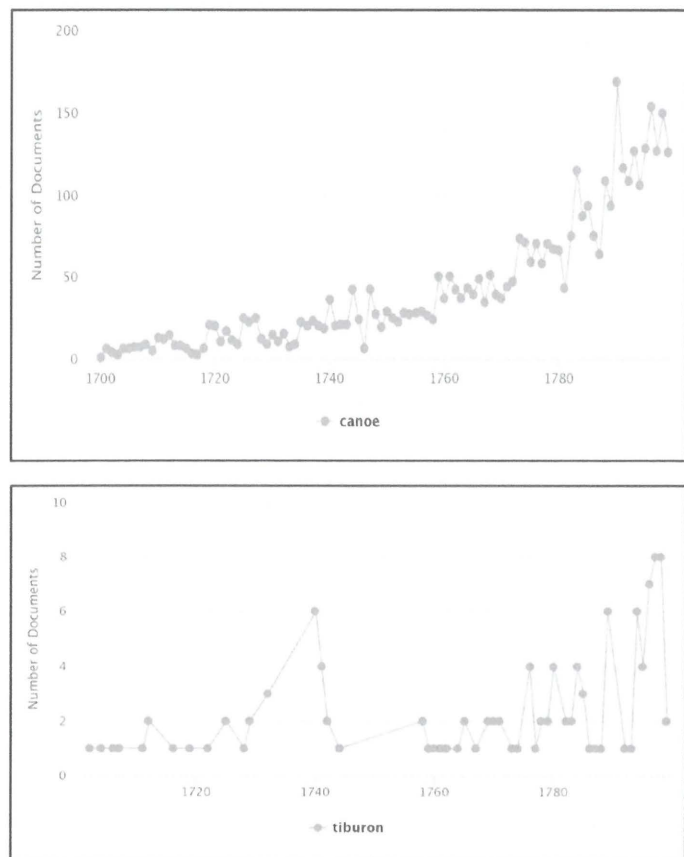
Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6: Number of texts per year (eighteenth century) including the words *hurricane*, *potato*, *canoe* and *tiburon* (source: *ECCO* search results for "Term frequency").

Did Hakluyt's compilation and its inclusion and preservation of the Amerindian loanwords appearing in its texts have an impact on the dictionaries compiled in the eighteenth century? We cannot answer this question with complete certainty, but automated searches of meta-searchable corpuses, such as the *ECCO*, reveal that Hakluyt and his work were regular references in up to 270 travel chronicles, naval histories, geographical descriptions, histories of the Americas, trade documents and other texts. Undoubtedly, these authors' exposure to the

Amerindian loanwords found in *TPN* favoured their usage and their consequent inclusion in English dictionaries. A search of the most listed words in the dictionaries of the eighteenth century in the digitized corpus of the *ECCO* reveals that *hurricane*, *potato* and *canoe* were widespread terms in eighteenth-century texts, with this explaining their inclusion in a large number of dictionaries of the time, while the scant use of the term *tiburón* "shark" in texts of the same era explains why it was included in few dictionaries.

4. Conclusions

This study on the reception of the Amerindian loanwords used in *TPN* in the dictionaries of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has shown that lexicological and lexicographic research can benefit from the use of digital tools that yield reliable and verified results. However, the excellent digital corpora, meta-searchable collections and databases available do not always allow for automated searches to streamline some very laborious tasks.

The problems we encountered were varied, and we had to find *ad hoc* solutions for each phase of the study. First of all, the Text Creation Partnership project has not yet undertaken a meta-searchable transcription of the text of *TPN* (1589), which forced us to read and run manual searches of the Amerindian loanwords. These searches revealed the use of 25 Amerindian loanwords, the most frequent being *canoe* (84 appearances), *maize* (23), *cannibal* (16) and *cacao* (10). Of these, *canoe*, *cannibal* and *maize* were also among those found in the largest number of texts: 20, 16 and 6, respectively. The task of searching for appearances of these words was carried out manually because, even if we had had meta-searchable texts, it would have been difficult to find all the Amerindian loanwords since they were recently incorporated terms featuring a range of different spellings.

As for the study of these terms in other texts of exploration, we discarded searches using the *EEBO* and *ECCO* because their advanced searches were not concrete enough. Thus, we opted to use a database

currently under development that specifically contains Amerindian loanwords and Spanish words that took on new meanings in the New World colonies: the *AMERLEX*-database. At this time this database features Americanisms from sixteenth-century Spanish and English works on New World expeditions, geographical relationships, natural histories, administrative documents, etc. Its staff is currently working on the inclusion of seventeenth-century works, and is expected to go on to include eighteenth-century ones as well. Searches of *AMERLEX* confirmed that the words found most frequently and widely in *TPN* were also the most widespread in similar sixteenth-century works.

After identifying the Amerindian loanwords in *TPN* and establishing which ones were the most frequent and widespread in the primary sources, we proceeded to study the secondary ones. For this phase of the project, we had access to a very valuable tool that has facilitated many lexicographical studies: *LEME*. It features a search system that, *a priori*, we thought could greatly facilitate the work: the Modern-English Headwords Search, which allows a search for a certain headword to be conducted regardless of its spelling in the dictionaries. However, this search system, and others that we used, failed to detect many of the dictionaries that listed Amerindian loanwords found in *TPN*, such that, again, we had to carry out manual scanning of the dictionaries. In this phase of the work we reached valuable conclusions: (i) the sixteenth-century bilingual dictionaries list words often used in texts from that century on New World expeditions, their lexicographers echoing recent words whose use was increasingly widespread; (ii) the monolingual dictionaries of the seventeenth century did not undergo great changes with respect to the inclusion of Amerindian loanwords, adding very few words absent from sixteenth-century dictionaries; (iii) in contrast, eighteenth-century bilingual and monolingual dictionaries included much greater numbers of Amerindian loanwords. This increase was not by chance, but owing to clear historical reasons: commercial interest in South America and the Caribbean in eighteenth-century England gave rise to the publication of a great number of texts on these regions. The statistics on frequency of use that we were able to establish using *ECCO* clearly show that both the Amerindian loanwords most often found in eighteenth-century dictionaries and those that were less widespread have a similar diffusion in the primary sources.

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Appendix: Distribution of Amerindian Loanwords in Early and Late Modern English Dictionaries

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Late Modern English has traditionally been considered a period of linguistic stability in terms of language standardization. However, a careful examination of crucial aspects of its internal and external history reveals that this period still deserves scholarly attention. This book aims to offer valuable tools for the study of Late Modern English, along with a selection of studies that approach linguistic variation from various perspectives.

In the first part, the book provides an account of some available corpora for the study of Late Modern English, representing different text types such as medical English or private correspondence, among others. Additionally, these corpora cover various dialects and early new varieties of English.

In the second part, several corpus-based studies assess Late Modern English at different levels shedding light on the language of the period.

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