



UNIVERSIDAD DE LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA

**Doctorado en Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios en sus Contextos
Socioculturales (DELLCOS)**

**Lexical Borrowings in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall
Nauigations* (1589): A Focus on Spanish and Amerindian Influences**

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*Sing me a song of a lad that is gone,
Say, could that lad be I?
Merry of soul he sailed on a day
Over the sea to Skye.
Billow and breeze, islands and seas,
Mountains of rain and sun,
All that was good, all that was fair,
All that was me is gone.*

—Robert Louis Stevenson, in *Songs of Travels* (1896)

*Allá muevan feroz guerra
Ciegos Reyes
Por un palmo más de tierra,
Que yo aquí tengo por mío
Cuanto abarca el mar bravío,
A quien nadie impuso leyes.*

—José de Espronceda, *La Canción del Pirata* (1835)

ABSTRACT

This doctoral thesis explores the presence of Spanish, Amerindian and nautical lexical borrowings in the third volume of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589). Framed within a period marked by sociocultural and political change, the expansion of vocabulary that characterises Early Modern English emerges as a result of the elevation of the vernacular as a language of prestige and the consequent need to resort to lexical borrowing in order to fill conceptual gaps.

In this context, expeditions to the American territories for the purposes of exploration and colonisation provided fertile ground for the incorporation of loanwords. Accordingly, nautical terminology was acquired in the process of learning the art of navigation from naval powers of the Age of Discovery, such as Spain. Once in the New World, a range of Amerindian and Spanish words entered English to name unfamiliar realities, e.g. *cannibal* and *hurricane*, or *alcalde* and *mosquito*.

Travel literature and, in particular, Hakluyt's compilation, played a crucial role in the introduction and dissemination of these lexical borrowings. Therefore, *The Principall Nauigations* was not only the first major collection of travel texts written in English, but also a highly valuable source for lexical study, due to the faithful reproductions of first-hand narratives it contains.

With the aim of conducting this study, six objectives have been established: (i) to identify and compile the Spanish and Amerindian terms present in the corpus; (ii) to determine which types of Spanish and Amerindian terms were most likely to be introduced; (iii) to analyse the strategies used by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of the Amerindian and Spanish words to the readers; (iv) to study the similarities between the strategies employed by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of Amerindian words and those used by lexicographers from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries; (v) to determine if the boom of borrowed nautical terms that took place during the Early Modern English period is clearly reflected in *The Principall Nauigations* (1589); and (vi) to evaluate the role of Spanish in the transmission of Spanish and Amerindian nautical terms into English, as reflected in Hakluyt's work.

The results are presented through three academic publications. The first one focuses on Hispanicisms, identifying 90 terms grouped by lexical fields and describing six strategies employed by the English navigators to render the meaning of these new

lexical items. The second article examines the 25 Amerindian loanwords found in the corpus, outlining five explanatory strategies, some of which overlap with those used by lexicographers. The third publication presents 79 lexical borrowings, mainly of French and Spanish origin, and highlights the significant contribution of Spanish naval terminology within the context of Anglo-Spanish maritime interaction. Finally, two detailed glossaries of Spanish and Amerindian terms identified in the corpus are included in the appendices.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	Adjective
adv.	Adverb
<i>ASALE</i>	<i>Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española</i>
<i>c.</i>	<i>Circa</i>
<i>DA</i>	<i>Diccionario de Americanismos</i>
<i>DEL</i>	<i>Diccionario de la Lengua Española</i>
<i>EEBO</i>	<i>Early English Books Online</i>
<i>e.g.</i>	<i>Exempli gratia</i>
et al.	Et alia
<i>HTOED</i>	<i>Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary</i>
Ibid.	Ibidem
<i>LEME</i>	<i>Lexicons of Early Modern English</i>
n.	Noun
No.	Number
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary Online</i>
p(p).	Page(s)
<i>RAE</i>	<i>Real Academia Española</i>
<i>TPN</i>	<i>The Principall Nauigations</i>
tr.	Translated
vb.	Verb
Vol.	Volume

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1. FRAMING THE THESIS

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. Contextualisation

For centuries, Latin functioned as the language of culture and prestige in England, owing to its eloquence, which was considered essential for expressing advanced areas of knowledge such as poetry, philosophy, and medicine. It also held the status of a *lingua franca*, facilitating communication among educated individuals across Europe (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 190; Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 185; Durkin, 2014: 307). In contrast, English—like other vernacular languages at the onset of the Early Modern period—was regarded as lacking grammatical codification and lexicographical resources, and therefore considered inadequate for articulating complex philosophical or scientific concepts (Barber, 1976: 76; Nevalainen, 1999: 358; Baugh & Cable, 2002: 190).

During the Early Modern English period, though, this situation underwent a significant transformation due to several factors that enabled English to eclipse Latin as the preferred language for writing across all disciplines (Nevalainen, 1999: 332; Durkin, 2014: 306). Jones (1953: 211) refers to “the suddenness with which writers began to recognize the eloquent nature of the mother tongue”, dating the turning point between 1575 and 1580. Conversely, other scholars argue that the shift was more gradual, and that Latin continued to be used extensively for a considerable time (Durkin, 2014: 306; Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 185). These perspectives are not necessarily incompatible, especially if we consider that, while English was gaining prominence among poets and literary figures (Jones, 1953: 211), it continued to coexist with Latin across various domains for many years. In this regard, Barber, Beal and Shaw (2009: 186) note that the decision to write in Latin or English was often determined by the target audience. In any case, this linguistic transition was driven by several factors, which are outlined below.

One of the primary factors contributing to the rise of English as a literary language was the religious Reformation and the ensuing conflicts between Protestants and Catholics. As Barber, Beal and Shaw observe, “people engaged in controversy wanted to be read by as large a public as possible. Many of the people attracted by Protestantism were of humble origins, and lacked a classical education; this meant that controversial books and pamphlets tended to be written in English” (2009: 185). As a result, a substantial number of theological works were produced in English (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 192). Thus, the vernacular—once considered unsuitable for serious discourse—became the language of religious expression, and by extension, the language of divine

communication. This transformation is evidenced by the gradual replacement of Latin with English in religious services and by the translation of the Bible into English during the sixteenth century (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 186).

The translation of the Bible, along with the widespread distribution of religious books and pamphlets, was facilitated by the introduction of the printing press in England by William Caxton in the previous century. According to Baugh and Cable (2002: 187), apart from being a powerful instrument for influencing the course of thought, the printing press permitted “to reproduce a book in a thousand copies or a hundred thousand”, which made books affordable to a wider range of people. This fact, together with an increase in literacy resulting from the improvements in education (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 187), led to the growth of the reading audience (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 187).

The new readers, who usually belonged to the working class, were not instructed in Latin. As a result, there was a growing demand for books written in English, whether for entertainment or for instruction in “practical subjects such as navigational instruments, geometry, and warfare—topics that were “written in English for the plain man, and sometimes by him” (Barber, Beal, & Shaw, 2009: 186-187). Consequently, writing in the vernacular enabled authors to reach a broader audience (Durkin, 2014: 306) and, in doing so, to increase book sales (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 192).

Regarding the attitude of the English speakers of the period, Baugh and Cable (2002: 188) have established self-consciousness about language as an important factor that conditioned the development of English:

This [self-consciousness about language] has two aspects, one individual, one public. At the individual level [...] as people lift themselves into a different economic or intellectual or social level, they are likely to make an effort to adopt the standards of grammar and pronunciation of the people with whom they have identified [...]. At the public level a similar self-consciousness has driven issues of language policy [...]. The beginnings of this public discussion are evident in the sixteenth-century defense of English and debates about orthography and the enrichment of the vocabulary.

These attitudes towards the use of the vernacular reflect a new concern for the English tongue, which had been largely disregarded. As Baugh and Cable (2002: 193) note, English also started to gain recognition partly due to the rise of a patriotic feeling among those who had grown weary of the prevailing notion that English was a crude or unsophisticated language. Indeed, Jones (1953: 212) acknowledges that “there was a nationalistic element in this linguistic pride”, while Barber, Beal and Shaw mention how the growing national feeling in England “accompanied the rise of the modern nation-state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries” (2009: 186).

It cannot be ignored that patriotism in Early Modern England was closely tied to overseas exploration and expansion, and consequently, to the rise of British naval power. In this context, the final factor contributing to the ascendancy of English over Latin is closely linked to “the way in which the different parts of the world have been brought together through commerce, transportation, and the rapid means of communication we have developed” (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 188). As will be discussed further below, this global interconnectedness created a context in which ordinary individuals traveling abroad shared their experiences and knowledge through texts written in the vernacular, thereby providing valuable information for commercial and practical purposes.

In addition to elevating the status of English over Latin, the aforementioned factors also contributed significantly to the lexical expansion that characterises Early Modern English, an increase that has been addressed by scholars like Serjeantson (1935), Nevalainen (1999) or Durkin (2014). This expansion of vocabulary was, indeed, one of the key developments that enabled English to acquire the eloquence and prestige it had previously lacked. A proper understanding of how this lexical expansion occurred requires acknowledging that, once English began to displace Latin, the limitations that had initially contributed to its perception as an ineloquent language became more apparent. In Baugh and Cable’s words, the “monopoly of Latin throughout the Middle Ages had left the vernaculars undeveloped along certain lines. Now that this monopoly was being broken, the deficiencies of English were at the same time revealed” (2002: 201).

Thus, it became imperative to enrich the English vocabulary in order to compensate for this deficiency (Nevalainen, 1999: 358).

This stage of the English language is generally regarded as one of the most *innovative* in the history of English. British people at home were hungry for new terms in an attempt to make English a fully recognized language, capable of expressing any simple or complicated matter. It was a linguistic race in favor of English as a literary and scientific language, mainly against Latin, but also against French. Thus many English writers at that period of time embarked on an adventure for coining, translating from ancient sources, or even making up new terms. (Belda-Medina, 2002: 33)

As noted by Belda-Medina, several mechanisms emerged to expand the English lexicon. However, this need was primarily addressed through two principal means: word-formation processes such as affixation and compounding, and lexical borrowing (Barber, 1976: 184-194; Nevalainen, 1999: 332; Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 192-203). The latter—lexical borrowing, which is the focus of this study—was the most frequently employed strategy, as Nevalainen (1999: 358) observes:

Lexicographical sources suggest that borrowing was the single most common way of augmenting the Early Modern English word stock. In the latter half of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth, it was more frequent than the various word-formation processes put together.

According to Haspelmath (2009: 36) a lexical borrowing or loanword is “a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing (or transfer, or copying)”.

The translation of texts on specific domains into English was particularly instrumental in revealing the vernacular’s lack of specialised vocabulary necessary to convey certain concepts (Nevalainen, 1999: 358; Baugh & Cable, 2002: 201). An example of this can be found in the comments of the first English translators of navigational treatises who faced the challenge of rendering specialized terminology (De Schepper, 2013: 202-203). Translations, which “virtually poured from the press in the course of the sixteenth century” (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 191), introduced many foreign words into English as a manner of supplying those fields “where English was notably weak” (2002: 201). Latin is probably the best example to illustrate this, since translators borrowed a considerable number of Latin terms (Barber, 1976: 79; Baugh & Cable, 2002: 201; Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 188). Indeed, Latin became the principal source of loanwords during the Early Modern English period (Nevalainen, 1999: 364; Baugh & Cable, 2002: 201; Durkin, 2014: 299). Consequently, controversy regarding the use of loanwords arose, mainly against those individuals that were thought to use Latin borrowings merely as a sign of social status (Nevalainen, 1999: 359; Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 189-190). Although many of the borrowings filled lexical needs, they were derided with the derogatory label “inkhorn terms” and became the subject of debate among those who defended the incorporation of loanwords into English, the Neologisers, and those who preferred using terms already present in the vernacular to expand the vocabulary through word formation and resignification¹, the Purists (Barber, 1976: 78; Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 188).

While Latin primarily contributed learned vocabulary (Nevalainen, 1999: 364; Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 189), French—the second most significant source of borrowings (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 191; Durkin, 2014: 299)—provided a diverse range of terms, encompassing scientific and military vocabulary as well as everyday language (Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2002: 191). Being a living language, French was not restricted to written and academic contexts, unlike Latin. Thence, vocabulary resulting

¹ For further information on disputes on vocabulary expansion, see Barber (1976: 78-100).

directly from the Anglo-French cultural and political relations of the period was also acquired (Nevalainen, 1999: 368). On the other hand, Durkin (2014: 352) explains that French played an intermediary role that was crucial in the introduction of borrowings from other tongues into English, particularly regarding the earlier loanwords of the period. As it will be seen in this study, this pattern would be repeated with other European languages that introduced overseas loanwords into English.

Although the borrowing of words expanded considerably during the Early Modern period, the practice itself was not new to English speakers, who had long been inclined to incorporate loanwords due to the various foreign invasions experienced in preceding centuries (Serjeantson, 1935: 1; Barber, Beal & Shaw, 2009: 187). From another point of view, it is important to mention that not all the borrowed words that entered English during this period were retained, since “new words may quite easily be rejected or ignored by the speech community” (Nevalainen, 1999: 340). Baugh and Cable (2002: 211) consider that this rejection occurred in cases when the loanwords were unnecessary and that “we must look upon the borrowings of this period as often experimental”. This idea is relevant to what has been presented here: although different factors favoured the massive acquisition of new foreign words during the period, it must not be forgotten that the act of borrowing was not indiscriminate; it emerged mainly from a need to compensate for the lack of vocabulary to name things for which English had no terms.

Notwithstanding, this was not the only cause of lexical borrowing. In this sense, Durkin (2014: 302) also highlights the influence of a foreign culture within a specific field as another important element in the borrowing process. Similarly, Carriazo and Giménez Eguibar (2010: 29) argue that the sociocultural prestige of certain languages in particular fields plays a crucial role in determining their function as donor languages. Along the same lines, Moody (1996: 405) notes that the semantic field of a borrowed word reflects the nature of the cultural exchange through which it was adopted. Accordingly, Latin contributed scientific and religious terms like *speculum* or *pontificalia*, while French, the most prestigious among the vernacular languages (Durkin, 2014: 306), introduced a wide range of vocabulary. These included terms from scientific fields, such as *cartilage* or *cephalic*; military vocabulary, particularly related to weaponry, such as *grenade*, *arquebus* or *musket*; legal terminology, including *tort* and *damnify*; philosophical terms like *dialectician* or *paralogism*; as well as everyday words such as *perfume* or *terrace*. In the same way, countries renowned for their maritime expertise,

such as Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, contributed nautical terms to English through lexical borrowing.

The nautical domain was, in fact, one of the primary sources of lexical expansion through borrowing during the Early Modern English period. This was largely due to the increasing complexity of maritime travel, driven by significant nautical advancements that demanded new terminology to describe emerging innovations (Sayers, 2011: 50). These developments in navigation were closely connected to the broader context of the Age of Discovery, particularly the recent arrival of Europeans in the Americas—an event that played a pivotal role in the incorporation of loanwords. On the one hand, overseas exploration led to contact with previously unknown cultures and languages, introducing English speakers to unfamiliar concepts and objects that required new linguistic representations (Serjeantson, 1935: 9; Nevalainen, 1999: 32). On the other hand, these newly encountered realities were often characterised by exotic elements with commercial potential. The resulting processes of colonisation and trade facilitated the adoption of vocabulary necessary to name and describe these foreign commodities (Serjeantson, 1935: 250; Dohan, 1974: 75; Durkin, 2014: 306–307).

The potential benefits of trading exotic goods undoubtedly fostered the advancement of navigation and shipbuilding (García-Macho, 2007: 109), which in turn facilitated the discovery of new lands. In essence, nautical innovations and the expansion and colonization of new territories are two sides of the same coin, both playing a crucial role in the enrichment of the lexicon during the Early Modern English period. This lexical expansion is most notably reflected in two types of texts: navigational treatises and travel literature.

Regarding navigational treatises, it is important to acknowledge that, prior to establishing itself as the dominant naval power of the modern era, England lacked the maritime knowledge and instructional infrastructure that other European nations had already developed (Nash, 2023: 19). As Waters (1985: 243) notes, by the mid-sixteenth century, English progress in navigational education remained slow and disorganised. In contrast, at the beginning of the Early Modern period, Portugal and Spain enjoyed naval supremacy (Waters, 1971: 3; Ortega y Medina, 1985: 329; García-Macho, 2007: 110), supported by the expertise and resources that enabled them to thrive through maritime exploration and trade (Waters, 1985: 239). It is therefore unsurprising that many nations sought to emulate their success—not only out of a desire for comparable prosperity, but also because, as Dohan (1974: 74) observes, “Spain’s enormous wealth from Aztec and

Inca mines was shaking the economy of Europe.” Emulating these rivals, however, required first learning from them.

As a result, Spanish treatises on the art of navigation began to be translated into English, such as Pedro Medina’s *Arte de navegar* (1545) and *Regimiento de navegación* (1552), Rodrigo Zamorano’s *Compendio de la arte de navegación* (1581), or Diego García de Palacio’s *Instrucción náutica* (1587), which was the first nautical treatise published in the New World (Ortega y Medina, 1985: 329). De Schepper (2013: 197) asserts that “one very common and unsurprising reason given for translating these navigation manuals and related works was to benefit mariners, pilots, seamen, travellers and merchants”, which makes reference not only to the instruction of professional seamen, but also to the economic interests that lay behind this training. That is to say, merchants and commercial companies sought to develop English seamen’s nautical knowledge in order to promote overseas trade. An example of this is the commission assigned to Richard Eden by the Muscovy Trading Company to translate Martín Cortés’ *Breue compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de nauegar* (1551), published in England as *The Arte of Navigation* (1561) (De Schepper, 2013: 196; González Lemus, 2023: 20).

Eden’s *The Arte of Navigation* was the first treatise on scientific navigation published in England (Waters, 1985: 242; De Schepper, 2013: 196; González Lemus, 2023: 20), and soon proved to be highly influential, eventually becoming a fundamental manual for navigators (Waters, 1971: 15; González Lemus, 2023: 20). In his works, Waters describes the significance of this translation:

It was, in my view, probably the most formative, the most influential book after the Bible in the English language. (1971: 15)

[...] it must have been to many English seamen quite revolutionary. It was no publisher’s gamble, it was published with the deliberate aim of educating English seamen in new methods of navigation in order to extend English commerce overseas. And how it succeeded! *The Art of Navigation* is one of the great formative books of the English nation. [...] Indeed, for over ten years, until 1572, when a second edition came out, the 1561 issue of Eden’s translation of Cortés’ *Art of Navigation* was the only navigational manual printed in English. (1985: 242-243)

As can be consulted in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED* hereafter), this translation is responsible for the transmission into English of loanwords like *corposant*², *St. Elmo*³

² ‘The ball of light which is sometimes seen on a ship (*esp.* about the masts or yardarms) during a storm; also called ‘St. Elmo’s Fire’.’ Its etymology is partly Portuguese and partly Spanish (*OED*).

³ ‘[...] the luminous appearance of a naturally occurring corona discharge about a ship’s mast or the like, usually in bad weather.’ The etymology offered by the *OED* mentions that this term originally comes from a proper name but does not mention the language of transmission. However, the first source quoted by the *OED*, Eden’s translation of Cortés, uses the Spanish form *santelmo*. (*OED*).

(referring to *St. Elmo's fire*) and *rutter*⁴. The publication of this navigational manual led to a boom of sixteen similar translations between 1575 and 1590, half of which were based on Spanish texts, thus “reaffirming that the Spaniards had the best available knowledge of the time” (De Schepper, 2013: 187-188).

England's reliance on Spanish navigational knowledge began to diminish after 1594, with the publication of *The Seaman's Secrets* by John Davis—the first original English treatise on navigation (Ortega y Medina, 1985: 329). Another contributing factor was the gradual shift, beginning in the late sixteenth century, from the translation of Spanish manuals to those of Dutch origin. Dutch treatises gained increasing prominence during the early seventeenth century and remained influential until the decline of nautical translations around 1620 (De Schepper, 2013: 188). Dutch would provide English with nautical borrowings like *jagger*⁵, *scaffmaster*⁶ and *yacht*⁷.

Regarding Portugal, another main influence on English navigators, it should be noted that few manuals and treatises were translated. However, their deeds at sea gained widespread recognition, and their sailors were highly respected, as evidenced in the role that Portuguese pilots like António Pinteado and Francisco Rodrigues played in initiating the English “into the secrets of the wind system which controlled the success or failure of voyages to the coast of Guinea” (Waters, 1971: 14). Even if during this period Portuguese borrowings were considerably less common than those derived from Spanish (Durkin, 2014: 368), nautical loanwords like the obsolete terms *gallivat*⁸ and *quiell*⁹ can still be found. Notwithstanding, the role of Portuguese during the sixteenth century is more notable in the introduction of borrowings “related to the Portuguese settlements and colonies in Africa, India, the Far East and America” (Nevalainen: 1999: 374). These settlements enriched English vocabulary with Portuguese loanwords that originally came

⁴ ‘A set of instructions for finding a course at sea or, rarely, on land; a marine guide to routes, tides, etc.’. It is a French borrowing (*OED*).

⁵ ‘A sailing-vessel which followed a fishing fleet in order to bring the fish from the busses and to supply these with stores and provisions’ (*OED*).

⁶ ‘A steward’ (*OED*).

⁷ ‘A light fast-sailing ship, in early use esp. for the conveyance of royal or other important persons; later, a vessel, usually light and comparatively small, propelled by motive power other than oars, and used for pleasure excursions, cruising, etc., and now esp. one built and rigged for racing.’ (*OED*).

⁸ ‘A large boat used in the Eastern seas, having a triangular sail as well as oars’ (*OED*).

⁹ ‘The lowest longitudinal timber of a ship or boat, on which the framework of the whole is built up; in boats and small vessels forming a prominent central ridge on the under surface; in iron vessels, a combination of iron plates taking the place and serving the purpose of the keel of a wooden vessel’ (*OED*).

from non-European languages; examples of this are *jangada*¹⁰, *mango*¹¹, *prahu*¹² and *talapoin*¹³. The American context, particularly, led to the acquisition of borrowings from the languages spoken by the Amerindian natives such as *jaguar*¹⁴ and *maraca*¹⁵.

Amerindian loanwords entered English during the sixteenth century via other European languages, mainly Spanish and Portuguese (Serjeantson, 1935: 250; Dohan, 1974: 75; Durkin, 2014: 353) due to their role as the tongues of the first explorers and colonisers of the New World. Consequently, it is not strange that early Amerindian loanwords derive from native languages spoken in territories occupied by the Portuguese and the Spanish like Tupi, Guarani, Nahuatl, Arawak or Quechua, among others. We have already seen examples of Amerindian borrowings transmitted through Portuguese; as for Spanish, it also had a profound influence on this process, as shown in studies by Watson (1938), Schlauch (1960), Nevalainen (1999), Cutler (1994), Algeo (1996), Carney (1997), Belda-Medina (2002), Arbelo Galván and Rodríguez Álvarez (2002-2003), and Rodríguez-Álvarez (2010), among others. According to Algeo (1996: 20-21), who categorizes Amerindian words transmitted through Spanish as Spanish borrowings, “a number of sixteenth-century Spanish loanwords resulted from Spanish exploration of the New World and the transmission through Spain of a knowledge of America and of terms for New World phenomena”. Vocabulary from the New World consisted primarily in names of commodities and elements of the natural environment such as the flora and fauna (Serjeantson, 1935: 253; Carney, 1997: 191), as well as everyday aspects like food or farming (Belda-Medina, 2002: 34).

Generally, these terms were acquired as a result of their inclusion in travel texts (Serjeantson, 1935: 254; Watson, 1938: 108). As explained in Rodríguez-Álvarez (2010: 286), travel literature is a genre that includes different types of texts “such as letters,

¹⁰ ‘A float or raft consisting of four or five logs fastened together, and furnished with a seat and lateen sail, so as to form a rude fishing-boat: used in the northern parts of Brazil and Peru’. Originally from Malayalam and Tulu (*OED*).

¹¹ ‘The fruit of the mango tree [...], a sweet orange-fleshed drupe which is much eaten as dessert, especially in the tropics, and is used in its unripe state to make chutney and jam’. Originally from Malayalam (*OED*).

¹² ‘In Malaysia and Indonesia: a type of undecked sailing boat, usually with a large triangular sail and a canoe-like outrigger. In Southern India: a small sailing boat or catamaran’. Originally from Malay (*OED*).

¹³ ‘A Buddhist monk or priest, properly of Pegu; extended by Europeans to those of Siam (Thailand), Burma (Myanmar), and other Buddhist countries’. Originally from Talaing (*OED*).

¹⁴ ‘A large carnivorous quadruped of the cat kind (*Felis onca*), inhabiting wooded parts of America from Texas to Paraguay. It is yellowish-brown in colour, and is marked with ocellated spots’. Originally from Tupi-Guarani (*OED*).

¹⁵ ‘A Latin American percussion instrument made from a hollow gourd or gourd-shaped container filled with dried beans, etc., and played, usually in pairs, by being shaken’. Originally from Tupi (*OED*).

diaries, narratives, reports, itineraries or instructions”. According to the author, these texts are characterised by their descriptions of the new environments and elements found by the explorers (2010: 300), which necessary implied naming this new reality. As was the case with navigation treatises, travel texts about America were translated from Portuguese and Spanish sources in order to obtain first-hand information about journeys to the New World and, thus, replicate their success (Waters, 1985: 241; Arbelo Galván & Rodríguez Álvarez, 2002-2003: 44; Rodríguez-Álvarez, 2010: 286). The Amerindian vocabulary incorporated into the originals was reproduced in these translations and, consequently, transferred into English (Serjeantson, 1935: 253; Cutler, 1994: 44). For instance, John Frampton’s translation of Nicolás Monardes, *loyfull nevves out of the newe founde worlde* (1577), included the Amerindian borrowings *copal*¹⁶ and *cayman*¹⁷, while Thomas Nicholas’ translations of Francisco López de Gómara and Agustín de Zárate—*The pleasant historie of the conquest of the Weast India* (1578) and *The discoverie and conquest of the prouinces of Peru* (1581), respectively—introduced *aji*¹⁸, *nopal*¹⁹, *molle*²⁰ and *chicha*²¹. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning Richard Eden’s translation of a Latin book on the Spanish ventures in America by Peter Martyr d’Anghiera, *The Decades of the newe worlde* (1555), which introduced a great number of Amerindian words like

¹⁶ ‘A hard translucent odoriferous resin obtained from various tropical trees, and from which a fine transparent varnish is prepared’ (*OED*).

¹⁷ ‘A name applied to some large saurians of the crocodile family’ (*OED*).

¹⁸ ‘A South American chilli pepper’ (*OED*).

¹⁹ ‘Any prickly pear cactus of the genus *Opuntia* (including the former genus *Nopalea*); esp. *O. cochinellifera*, formerly cultivated as a food plant of the cochineal insect’ (*OED*).

²⁰ ‘The Peruvian mastic or pepper tree, *Schinus molle*.’ (*OED*).

²¹ ‘A type of beer brewed by various Indigenous peoples of South and Central America and typically made from maize’ (*OED*).

*cacao*²², *cacique*²³, *Carib*²⁴, *guava*²⁵, *hammock*²⁶, *hurricane*²⁷, *iguana*²⁸, *maguey*²⁹ and *tuna*³⁰.

Soon, English explorers began writing travel reports based on their own experiences, using these new words to describe the reality they observed, and acquiring more, either through direct contact with natives or via interaction with the Europeans who had already settled in America. Apart from providing Amerindian loanwords, contact with Spaniards in the New World also led to a significant number of Spanish borrowings (Dohan, 1974: 76; Arbelo Galván & Rodríguez Álvarez, 2002-2003: 45; Rodríguez-Álvarez, 2010: 300). The accomplishments in America contributed to the expansion of Spain's political and cultural influence in Early Modern Europe and, although Spanish borrowings were not as numerous as those from French or Latin, “the words adopted from one language into another show new patterns of cultural exchange” (Díaz Vera, 2001: 66). As a result of Spanish influence, the frequency of Spanish loanwords in English increased notably during the sixteenth century compared to earlier periods (Durkin, 2014: 365). Algeo (1996: 19) reports a significant rise, estimating approximately 260 borrowings, while Montague (1982: 284) attributes nearly 24 percent of the sixteenth-century Spanish loanwords to the Indian venture. However, it is important to note that both studies classify Amerindian terms transmitted through Spanish as Spanish borrowings.

Apart from being influenced by Spanish treatises and travelogues, it was not uncommon for English seamen of the period to spend some time in Spain learning the language before travelling to America, as illustrated by different examples provided in López de Mariscal's work (2003). After all, as Rodríguez-Álvarez (2010: 287) remarks, “Spanish became instrumental in the establishment of social and economic relationships

²² ‘As mass noun: the seed of a tree native to tropical America, *Theobroma cacao* (family Sterculiaceae), from which cocoa and chocolate are prepared; cocoa beans’ (OED).

²³ ‘A local leader of any of various Indigenous peoples in parts of the Americas colonized by Spain (esp. the Spanish Caribbean and Mexico), esp. one whose status was recognized by the Spanish during the colonial and post-colonial periods’ (OED).

²⁴ ‘Originally: a member of an Indigenous Central and South American people inhabiting the Lesser Antilles and neighbouring mainland coastal regions at the time of the arrival of Columbus’ (OED).

²⁵ ‘A tree of the myrtaceous genus *Psidium* of tropical America, esp. *P. Guayava* [...], which yields a fruit of an acid flavour’ (OED).

²⁶ ‘A hanging bed, consisting of a large piece of canvas, netting, etc. suspended by cords at both ends’ (OED).

²⁷ ‘A name given primarily to the violent wind-storms of the West Indies’ (OED).

²⁸ ‘A large arboreal lizard of the West Indies and South America, *Iguana tuberculata*, which attains to a length of five feet or more’ (OED).

²⁹ ‘Any of several giant, fleshy-leaved agaves of Mexico and the south-western United States; esp. the American aloe, *Agave americana*’ (OED).

³⁰ ‘Indian fig [...], a tall-growing species found in Central America and the West Indies’ (OED).

with the locals”, so finding reports of English navigators who spoke Spanish is not rare. Such was the case of Walter Raleigh, who introduced in his *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (1596) several Spanish loanwords like *adelantado*, *calabash* or *inhumane*, as studied by Arbelo Galván and Rodríguez Álvarez (2002-2003: 49-50). According to these authors, the use of foreign vocabulary in travel texts served to enhance the authenticity of the narratives and represented a defining characteristic of travelogues about the New World (2002-2003: 53).

In her work, Serjeantson (1935: 197) classifies Spanish sixteenth-century loanwords into six categories according to the semantic fields they belong to: *Spanish trade and products*, *Words denoting persons, and titles of rank*, *Games and Dancing*, *Naval and Military*, *Miscellaneous* and *Words from America*. Due to this, it can be inferred that Spanish borrowings introduced by travel books on the Americas were also of different kinds, and, accordingly, the English of travel literature registered varied terms like *alcalde*³¹, *don*³², *encomienda*³³, *frijoles*³⁴, *ingenio*³⁵, *machete*³⁶, *mosquito*³⁷, *peso*³⁸, *picaroon*³⁹ and *platano*⁴⁰.

The information presented in this section has highlighted how overseas navigation and exploration brought about a profound transformation not only in history but also in language, particularly in the context of the exploration and colonisation of the New World. Navigational treatises and travel literature played a pivotal role in laying the foundations for the development of the Elizabethan naval force. In this regard, acquiring and disseminating available knowledge, as well as fostering maritime expeditions, were considered acts of patriotism (Arbelo Galván & Rodríguez Álvarez, 2002-2003: 44).

³¹ ‘Originally: (in Spain and Portugal) a magistrate or mayor of a town’ (*OED*).

³² ‘As a respectful title prefixed to the first name of a man from Spain or another Spanish-speaking country or area. Also without a name, as a respectful form of address’ (*OED*).

³³ ‘An estate granted to a Spaniard in America, with powers to exact taxation and corvée from the Indigenous inhabitants; such authority; a system derived from such authority’ (*OED*).

³⁴ ‘A kind of kidney bean grown and much used in Mexico’ (*OED*).

³⁵ ‘A sugar-mill, sugar-factory, or sugar-works (in the West Indies)’ (*OED*).

³⁶ ‘A broad, heavy knife or cutlass used as an implement or as a weapon, originating in Central America and the Caribbean’ (*OED*).

³⁷ ‘Any of various slender, long-legged dipteran flies with aquatic larvae, of the family Culicidae (suborder Nematocera), esp. of the genera *Culex*, *Anopheles*, and *Aedes*, whose females have a long proboscis with which they puncture the skin of animals (including humans) and suck their blood’ (*OED*).

³⁸ ‘Originally (now *historical*): any of various coins, either gold (peso de oro) or silver (peso de plata), current in Spanish territories from the 16th to the 19th centuries; (in later use) a banknote of the value of such a coin’ (*OED*).

³⁹ ‘A pirate or privateer’ (*OED*).

⁴⁰ ‘A banana or plantain tree, esp. *Musa paradisiaca*; the fruit of such a tree; a banana, a plantain’ (*OED*).

This contextualization has outlined the period preceding the rise of the British Empire, when a significant portion of the population had access to information about their compatriots' expanding ventures through travelogues published in the vernacular. Among these, the most influential collection was Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* (1589, 1599-1600). Furthermore, this discussion has examined the initial stage of a process of lexical expansion that addressed perceived deficiencies in the English language, which had long been regarded as lacking eloquence. By the end of the Early Modern English period, however, English had attained both prestige and wider recognition.

1.1.2. Richard Hakluyt and *The Principall Nauigations* (1589)

One of the most visible aspects of the rise of nationalism during the Elizabethan period was England's urge to expand beyond its borders in order to compete with its European counterparts. Travel literature was both a cause and a consequence of this aspiration. On the one hand, seamen and explorers were encouraged to record the details of their journeys (Sherman, 2002: 17); on the other hand, geographers and intellectuals on firm land eagerly awaited these accounts with the purpose of compiling and disseminating them, thereby contributing to the country's expansionist interests (González Lemus, 2023: XI). Probably, the most recognised among these geographers and intellectuals was Richard Hakluyt.

In addition to being a clergyman, Richard Hakluyt (c. 1552-1616) was a renowned geographer whose nationalist spirit led him to advocate for England's territorial expansion. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to *The Principall Nauigations* (1589), which is addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham, he explains how his prominent career—which ultimately became his life's purpose—was initially determined by his cousin and namesake, Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple (c. 1530-1591):

[...] M. *Richard Hakluyt* my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord certaine books of Cosmographie, with an vniuersall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the diuision of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of each part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if euer I were preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time, and more

conuenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by God's assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me. (Hakluyt, 1589: *2r)

He was so passionate about understanding—and sharing—the features of the outside world that he devoted himself to studying travel books that described those places. In this process, he revised and translated several travel texts, for which his command of foreign languages was very useful (Parks, 1961: 62; Rogers, 1974: 37). An example of this is the undated translation of Hugo Grotius' *Mare liberum* (1609), titled in English as *The Free Sea* (Payne, 2021: 26). It should be noted, however, that Hakluyt's commitment "to the rule of publishing only the writings of observers and participants" led him to exclude from consideration relevant works such as *Décadas da Ásia* (1552-1563) by João de Barros (Lach, 1974: 217).

From another perspective, Hakluyt's nationalistic purposes fuelled his interest in providing his nation with information about the New World's commercial and colonial potential. As a result, his first compilation, *Diuers Voyages touching the Discouerie of America* (1582), was published. It included texts like the discoveries of the Zeno brothers, Verrazano's 1524 exploration of the American coast and Ribaut's 1562 French colony in Florida, as well as a list of "certaine commodities growing in part of America [...] gathered out of the discourses, of Verarzanus, Thorne, Cartier, Ribalt, Theuet, and best, which haue bin personally in those Countreys, and haue seene these things amongst many others" (Hakluyt, 1582: K4r). However, as Parks points out, "[t]his was far from being a complete collection of American voyages, but it seems to be as complete as was permitted either by Hakluyt's knowledge—for there was much hidden away in manuscript—or by official censorship [...]" (1961: 72). In any case, this work enabled Hakluyt to establish himself as an independent and distinguished professional (Parks, 1961: 68).

In addition to stimulating his interest in geography, the elder Hakluyt had provided his cousin with influential contacts that would be crucial to develop his activities (Parks, 1961: 66). Thus, being well-connected, the younger Hakluyt was able to spend some time in France at the expense of Sir Edward Stafford. Ironically, this was the farthest he ever travelled, despite being one of the most well-versed figures in global geography of his time. This experience gave him access to many foreign travel books that contained the information he sought, but also made him realise that, when it came to the colonial race, England stood out negatively in comparison to other nations (MacCrossan, 2009: 101). In Hakluyt's own words:

[...] I passed at length the narrow seas into France with Sir *Edward Stafford*, her Maiesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my fūe yeeres aboard with him in his dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes seruice, I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoueries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned [...]. Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie herein: and further, not seeing any man to haue care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull trauels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter returned from France [...], determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to vndertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in seuerall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receiue my originals [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: *2r-v)

As evidenced in this excerpt, Hakluyt committed himself to recovering accounts of English overseas ventures and presenting them to the world in order to elevate England's prestige. Markham (1896: 6) explains that Hakluyt was aware of the risk that his compatriots' voyages might be forgotten, either due to the loss of existing reports or the failure to document the expeditions. Gathering all the travel accounts that had been made by Englishmen up to that moment was, therefore, the solution he proposed (Markham, 1896: 7-8; Imes, 2012: 121). He also kept a close watch on the publication of new travel accounts; moreover, he personally commissioned reports from English explorers, which he collected himself upon their return (Parks, 1961: 127), thus assuring to receive first-hand information about overseas explorations. In this regard, Lach (1974: 218) concludes that "he was determined to limit his collection to first-hand literary accounts of the sort that he conceived of as being most directly beneficial to English navigation and trade", while MacCrossan (2009: 105) describes Hakluyt as a "non-interventionist editor" who faithfully preserved the original texts. These narratives proved to be highly valuable, not just to navigators and merchants eager to undertake ventures beyond the borders of England, but also to a wide range of readers. In this sense, Hakluyt contributed to popularising travel literature among the general public (Sherman, 2004: 205).

Certainly, Hakluyt's greatest achievement was *The Principal Navigations*, a travel compilation which included not only the accounts he had gathered, but also other relevant materials such as itineraries and patents. These materials are organised in three volumes, each of them focusing on a different geographical area. This publication catapulted him to fame, becoming a key book in travel literature, even today. Notwithstanding, when referring to this work, it is important to distinguish between the first and second editions.

The first edition, titled *The Principall Nauigations, Voiages and Discoueries of the English Nation* (1589) and with a length of about seven hundred thousand words, was “answer enough to the disparagement of foreigners” (Parks, 1961: 124). Published one year after the Armada, at the height of the Anglo-Spanish war, this book served a nationalistic purpose by highlighting England’s historical presence overseas and positioning the country as a formidable rival to its enemy (Borge, 2003: 5; Hadfield, 2007: 130; Carey, 2013: 18). It was the first great travel compilation written in English, which, as indicated in the title page, gathers the navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation “made by Sea or ouer Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres” (Hakluyt, 1589). On the contents of this edition, Parks (1961: 130) explains:

The *Voyages* contained 200,000 words of reprint alone, not from one book, but from a score; and of that number one-tenth was translated from a foreign original. The remaining half-million words of the volume were printed from manuscripts. Of these words 17,000 had again been translated, making a total of some 40,000 words of translation alone, in itself enough for a small volume. Of the manuscripts in English, it is not possible to say whether Hakluyt had to have them all copied for the printer; but at the best, supposing him able to send the originals to the compositor, the labor of supervision bulked enormous.

The second edition, which has traditionally received more attention from scholars, is titled *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discouers of the English Nation* (1599-1600). It is an expanded version of the previous edition that notably enlarged the amount of contents. According to Parks, “the new edition contained more than twice as much material as the earlier one”; to illustrate this point, the word count of the third volume increased from 280,000 words in the 1589 edition to 819,350 in the 1600 edition (1961: 175).

The aforementioned third volume constitutes the corpus of this study. Specifically, the third volume of the 1589 edition, the first of *The Principal Navigations* (TPN hereafter), which is devoted to “the westerne Nauigations, and trauailes of ours” (Hakluyt, 1589: 4*r) or, in other words, to the American territories:

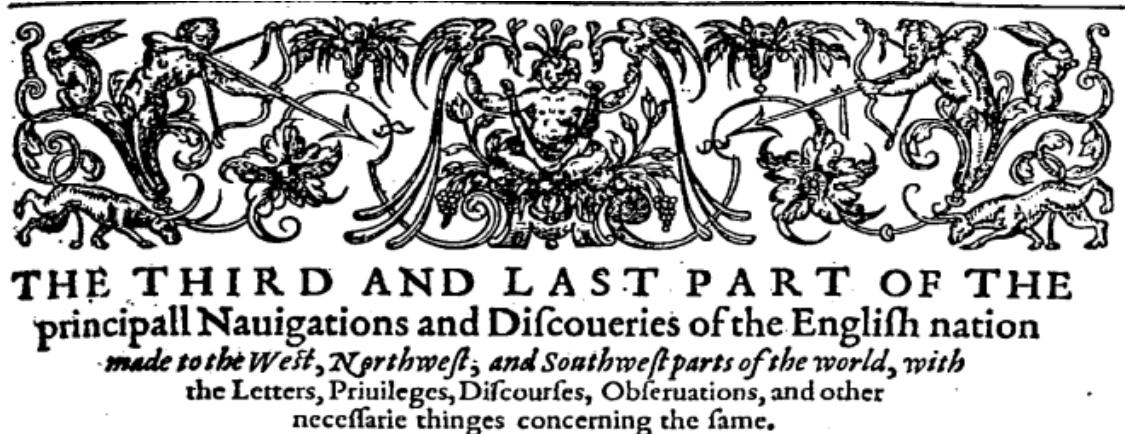


Illustration 1. Caption from the third part of *TPN* (Hakluyt, 1589: 506).

The reason for this choice lies in the interest of studying the early reception of lexical borrowings, for which the first version of the work is better suited. The second edition, while still faithful to the original reports, underwent corrections, which can be observed through the comparison with the first edition. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the 1600 version includes new texts that are also worth being analysed in future research. On the other hand, the decision to focus on the third volume rather than the entire book is based on the fact that it contains travel accounts of the American territories, which provide an ideal context for analysing Spanish and Amerindian loanwords, as well as nautical borrowings due to the role that the American voyages played in the development of navigation.

Being the first edition of Hakluyt's compilation, *TPN* presents some inaccuracies, especially in terms of content structuring. Thus, the table of contents provided in the first pages of the work does not exactly align with the final contents found in the volume. Consequently, determining whether a section represents a new text or a subsection of the preceding one is not always easy. Additionally, it is noteworthy that an unnumbered twelve-page account was included between pages 643 and 644: *The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth. Begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577*. As explained by Quinn (1974: 374), this relation was incorporated into the book at the last moment, being printed "after completion of the rest of the book". Moreover, the volume concludes with two texts that are not related to the geographical areas covered in the third volume: *The most solemne, and magnificent coronation of Pheodore Iuanowiche, Emperor of Rusia &c. the 10. of Iune, in the yeere 1584 [...]* (Hakluyt, 1589: 819-823) and *Pheodor Iuanowich the newe Emperous gracious Letter of priuiledge to the English Marchants word for word [...]* (Hakluyt, 1589: 823-

825). Due to these inaccuracies, working with the corpus of texts was particularly challenging, so a clear classification of the contents to be examined was required. Because of that, this study draws on Quinn's classification, which was published by the Hakluyt Society in the second volume of *The Hakluyt Handbook* (1974: 341-377). Accordingly, the corpus of study consists of 33 travel accounts and 44 miscellaneous texts which include itineraries, letters and patents.

1.1.3. Objectives and methodology

Having established the background in the previous section, the next step is to define the research questions that will guide this study. Accordingly, six research questions have been formulated:

- a) How many words of Spanish and Amerindian origin were included in the corpus?
- b) Which types of words were they?
- c) Did the authors of the corpus use any strategies to explain the meaning of these new terms to the English readers?
- d) If so, are there any similarities between the way English travellers described Amerindian concepts and the definitions that lexicographers employed once these terms were included in dictionaries?
- e) Being the most significant travel compilation of its time, does *TPN* reflect the rise in nautical borrowings that occurred during the Early Modern English period?
- f) As represented in *TPN*, what was the role of Spanish and Amerindian words in the expansion of nautical vocabulary?

1.1.3.1. Objectives

Aiming to answer the research questions that constitute the starting point of this study, the following sequence of six objectives has been defined:

- (i) To identify and compile the Spanish and Amerindian terms present in the corpus.
- (ii) To determine which types of Spanish and Amerindian terms were most likely to be introduced.
- (iii) To analyse the strategies used by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of the Amerindian and Spanish words to the readers.

- (iv) To study the similarities between the strategies employed by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of Amerindian words and those used by lexicographers from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.
- (v) To determine if the boom of borrowed nautical terms that took place during the Early Modern English period is clearly reflected in *TPN*.
- (vi) To evaluate the role of Spanish in the transmission of Spanish and Amerindian nautical terms into English, as reflected in Hakluyt's work.

These six objectives have been addressed across the three publications that comprise this doctoral thesis. Consequently, the methodology employed to achieve them has been described as part of the corresponding article. However, since the development of the three works is grounded in the identification and compilation of Spanish, Amerindian and nautical borrowings, respectively, I consider it pertinent to assemble in one section the methodology used for this purpose, the challenges encountered during the process and the results obtained.

1.1.3.2. Methodology

The identification of Spanish, Amerindian and nautical borrowings in *TPN* involved a thorough reading and review of the corpus. Not being included in the Text Creation Partnership yet, the 1589 edition of *TPN* had to be examined manually since “it was only possible to consult the digitized images [...], which do not allow for searches” (Rodríguez-Álvarez & von der Fecht-Fernández, 2024: 309).

In the case of Spanish and Amerindian lemmas, the visual identity of the words explained in von der Fecht-Fernández (2024: 169) was helpful to perform this task, yet not infallible due to the lack of consistency in its use. In addition, the irregular—and often mistaken—spelling of the terms (see Rodríguez-Álvarez & von der Fecht-Fernández, 2024: 310; von der Fecht-Fernández & Rodríguez-Álvarez, 2024: 130) hindered the process of identification. These problems are, however, characteristic of sixteenth-century spelling, since spelling regulations had not been developed yet (Nevalainen, 1999: 334; Baugh & Cable, 2002: 193), especially when it came to foreign words with alien sounds, which often had to be adapted to the English phonological system (Serjeantson, 1935: 7-8; Belda-Medina, 2002: 67). Consequently, English travel writers' attempts to reproduce the sounds they heard resulted in inaccurate transcriptions of the words, often reproducing the spelling conventions of other foreign languages with which they were more familiar.

Examples of this are *cochinilla*, spelt as *cutchanelio* (Hakluyt, 1589: 588, 590) or *magey*, spelt as *nege* (Hakluyt, 1589: 594). Apart from the context in which they appeared, many of these words could be deciphered using resources such as the *OED*, the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (*DLE* hereafter) of the *Real Academia Española* (*RAE* hereafter) or the *Diccionario de Americanismos* (*DA* hereafter) of the *Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* (*ASALE* hereafter), as well as through the comparison with the texts in the second edition of *TPN*, which underwent spelling corrections, and other contemporary travel reports. Nevertheless, some terms like *euats* (Hakluyt, 1589: 527), *soua mama* (Hakluyt, 1589: 541) or *cowa* (Hakluyt, 1589: 549) remain unresolved and had to be dismissed since neither their meaning nor their origin could be identified.

On the other hand, the compilation of Spanish and Amerindian loanwords required the delimitation of the types of words to be gathered. According to this, they had to be relevant in terms of enriching the vocabulary through new concepts; for this reason, proper nouns referring to people, places and tribes were excluded, as their function is not to introduce new concepts, but to identify specific individuals or locations. In this regard, Cutler's work limits the inclusion of place names, "on which so much work was already being done by others" (1994: xiv). Furthermore, in this study phrases and sentences written in Spanish that were found in the corpus have also been omitted; notwithstanding, should the reader be interested in them, they may be consulted in Appendix 1.

As for the Amerindian borrowings, only words from the Spanish and Portuguese American territories have been considered, thus excluding terms from languages spoken in the North American zones that would later be colonised by the English. In this line, Serjeantson (1935: 250) already established a distinction between these groups, arguing that the process of acquisition was different in each case: the first group began introducing Amerindian loanwords from the sixteenth century mainly via other European languages, while the second did so directly and is "subsequent to the re-establishment of the colony of Virginia in 1607". In spite of this, there is already presence of North Amerindian vocabulary in *TPN*, although it is scant and limited to functional words or expressions compiled in a short glossary in Master John Davis' travel account (Hakluyt, 1589: 783):

Threplane
guage.

Kefinyoh, Eat some.
Madlycoyte, Puslike.
Aginyoh, Gofetch.
Yliaoute, I meane no harme.
Ponameg, A boat.
Paaotyck, An oare.
Afanock, A dart.
Sawygmege, A knife.
Vderah, A nose.
Aoh, Iron.
Blete, An eye.
Vnuicke, Giue it.
Tuckloak, A flagge or ellan.
Panygmah, A needle.
Aob, The sea.
Mysacoah, Mash it.
Lethickfaneg, A scale skinne.
Canyglow, Kisse me.
Vgnera, Dy sonne.
Acu, Shot.

Conah, Leape.
Maatuke, Fish.
Sambah, Below.
Maconmeg, Will you haue this
Cocah, Go to him.
Aba, Fallen downe.
Icune, Come hither.
Awennye, Powder.
Nugo, No.
Tucktodo, A fogge.
Lechikfah, A skinne.
Maccoah, A dart.
Sugnacoon, A coat.
Gounah, Come downe.
Safobneg, A bracelet.
Vgnake, A tongue.
Ataneg, A scale.
Macuah, A beard.
Pignagogah, A breed.
Quoylah, Giue it to me.

Illustration 2. Caption from *The second voyage attempted by Master Iohn Davis with others, for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, in anno 1586* (Hakluyt, 1589: 783).

Regarding nautical borrowings, delimitation was also necessary due to the broad nature of the concept “nautical”. In view of this, the scope was restricted to those words specifically related to the art of navigation (see von der Fecht-Fernández, 2025). Described as “an unsurpassed guide to the meaning, history, and usage of 500,000 words and phrases past and present, from across the English-speaking world” (*OED*), the *OED* served as the main resource used for this purpose⁴¹, as verifying the term’s meaning and usage was essential for determining its suitability for selection.

For Spanish and Amerindian words, the *OED* was crucial to check their origin, as the *OED* entries are provided with an etymology section in which the origin of the lemma is specified. However, certain decisions made during the development of this work have led to discrepancies between the information provided by the *OED* and the results presented here. As a first consideration, there were terms which were not registered in the *OED*. As a result, the origin of words like *ministrador*, *nocheztli* or *tlaxcal* had to be defined through the information provided by the *DLE* and the *DA*. Additionally, antedatings were found in the corpus. Regarding antedatings, Serjeantson (1935: 10) explains:

[...] it must be emphasized that the ‘first recorded use’ of a word, especially in the earlier periods, does not necessarily imply ‘first use’, (a) because a word may be in current use for some time before it appears in any written document and (b) because obviously many words may have been recorded for the first time in documents no longer extant.

⁴¹ It is important to note that the *OED* is continuously updated, meaning that some of the results presented in this work may have changed by the time the reader consults it.

The same idea is discussed in Belda-Medina (2002: 68), while, more specifically, Rodríguez-Álvarez (2010: 301) already highlighted the abundance of antedatings in travel texts.

Another aspect that must be clarified is that the *OED* frequently categorises Amerindian words as Spanish or Portuguese, given that they were the donor languages that transmitted most of these terms into English. However, this study aims to analyse the presence of both Spanish and Amerindian lemmas in the corpus, for which they were classified separately. Additionally, some entries in the *OED* recognised that the searched word may come either from Spanish or from other European languages. On this matter, Algeo (1996: 14) and Durkin (2014: 372) addressed the difficulty of distinguishing the etymology of early modern loanwords from Romance languages. In this thesis, this issue was addressed by dividing the Spanish compilation of words into two lists: one for those that entered solely through Spanish and another for those with Spanish as one of the possible origins.

From a different perspective, there were specific occasions on which the word origin adopted in this study was different to the one specified by the *OED*. For instance, while the *OED* includes the French forms *calenture* and *frigate*, it does not recognise their Spanish equivalents, *calentura* and *fragata*, which are the ones used in the corpus. As a result, words in the corpus that replicate a Spanish form have been classified as Spanish, even if the *OED* only records a foreign variant. Oppositely, some terms in *TPN* exhibited French or Italian spellings, yet the context indicated that they were, in fact, reproductions of Spanish words. These are the cases of *real* and *señor*, which in spite of referring to the Spanish currency and to a Spanish character, respectively, are spelt as *roiall* or *royal* and *signior*. The same applies to *shallop*, a Spanish word, *chalupa*, that went initially unnoticed because of its French spelling and, thus, was not included in the list of 90 words presented in Publication 1. The oversight of *shallop* and three other words, *desembarcar*, *desembocar* and *esquife* (spelt as *disembark*, *disembogue* and *skiff*, respectively), was rectified in Publication 3 through their inclusion in the field of Spanish nautical borrowings.

Therefore, these corrections are incorporated into the glossaries located in the appendices of this thesis, which also include the list of Amerindian words presented in the book chapter by Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernández (2024) and later used in Publication 2. The purpose of these glossaries is to present the word lists used in the different publications into a single section, as well as to compile other useful

information gathered from *TPN*, such as the various spellings of the loanwords and where to find them, and the number of occurrences.

1.2. Justification of the thesis and thematic consistency of the publications

1.2.1. Justification

1.2.1.1. Literature review and contribution of the thesis

Over the years, the presence of Spanish and Amerindian loanwords in English has been explored from several perspectives. Key works on lexical borrowings include Serjeantson (1935) and Durkin (2014), which analyse foreign influences on the English language throughout history. Both studies examine different donor languages across various periods and are based on data by the *OED*, including detailed lists of vocabulary. However, there are notable differences in the presentation of influence of Spanish and Amerindian tongues in Early Modern English. While Serjeantson devotes two full chapters to this topic – one dedicated to the Spanish element (Chapter VIII) and another to words from America (Chapter XIII) –, Durkin covers the information in a subsection on Spanish and Portuguese borrowings within a chapter focused on loanwords from other languages (Chapter 15). Regarding Amerindian vocabulary, Durkin addresses it as part of the influence of the European languages that served as intermediaries.

Similarly, studies on Spanish borrowings like Montague (1982), Algeo (1996) and Díaz Vera (2001) tend to consider Amerindian vocabulary as Spanish borrowings. No criticism is intended in this regard, since this approach is both logical and correct, given that Spanish was the immediate source of transmission. Nevertheless, this study seeks to establish a distinction between Spanish words and those that were ultimately Amerindian. This distinction is based on two main arguments.

First, although grouping both types of words together may seem logical from a contemporary perspective, this classification does not accurately reflect the historical context in which lexical items from the West Indies first entered English. Specifically, some Amerindian terms that had not yet been fully integrated into Spanish are nonetheless categorized as Spanish borrowings. While certain words, such as *canoa*, were incorporated into Spanish soon after the discovery of the Americas (Alvar, 1976: 41), this was not the case for all Amerindian terms recorded by Spanish explorers during this period. It is reasonable to assume that many of these words, although introduced into

English through contact with Spanish texts and settlers, would not have been considered Spanish by sixteenth-century Spaniards due to their relatively recent adoption.

Supporting this view, it is worth noting that many Amerindian terms found in *TPN* were still unfamiliar to the Spanish public. Evidence of this can be seen in Spanish accounts of the New World published after Hakluyt's work, which continued to employ explanatory strategies to clarify the meaning of these terms⁴². This suggests that such words remained as unfamiliar to Spanish audiences as they were to English readers, as demonstrated in the following excerpts from Spanish texts on the Americas:

El arbol de las marauillas es el **Maguey**, de que los nuevos o Chapetones (como en Indias los llaman) suelen escreuir milagros, de que da agua y vino, y azeyte, y vinagre, y miel, y arrope, y hilo, y aguja, y otras cien cosas. (Acosta, 1590: 253)

Para *noster*, el vocablo que ellos tienen mas su pariente, es *nochtli*, que es el nombre de la que acá llaman tuna de los españoles, y en España la llaman higo de las Indias, fruta cubierta con una cáscara verde y por defuera llena de espinillas, bien penosas para quien coge la fruta. (Mendieta, 1604: 246)

[...] el pueblo de San Cristoual está en vn alto a vista de la ciudad donde ay todas las frutas referidas, muchos **Capulíes**, que son como Guindas de España, higos, durasnos, mançanas, todas en abundancia, y a la vista assi en el valle, como por los altos de aquellas sierras, y en las faldas del volcan, otros muchos pueblos con la misma amenidad. (Vázquez de Espinosa, 1629: 205)

Dese tiempo, para que el recién llegado cobre experiencia desde su ocupacion proporcionada, y desde ella, vaya reconociendo, lo primero, como le ira con el **Cazaue**; ó Mandioca, que es *pan* insulso, de raíces, y, con una gran falta de casi un todo. (Gumilla, 1739: 15)

In contrast, Spanish words transmitted into English had long been established in the vocabulary of Spaniards before arriving in the New World, although some were later adapted to the American context.

The second argument is that I aim to examine the influence of each group of words separately. In this sense, the Spanish influence on Early Modern English is often downplayed due to the focus placed on the amount of Amerindian words it transmitted. As a result, distinguishing Spanish borrowings from those ultimately Amerindian serves to emphasise the contribution of Spanish to the expansion of sixteenth-century English lexicon beyond its role as an intermediary.

⁴² This study examines these strategies in the context of English explorers rendering the meaning of Spanish and Amerindian words to their audience. However, these strategies were not exclusive to English travel reports, but rather the natural result of the attempts to describe what is unfamiliar. Due to this, mechanisms like giving an explanation or pairing the foreign word with an English equivalent had already been used for Latin loanwords (Barber, 1976: 79; Baugh & Cable, 2002: 215). Regarding the American context, Vaquero de Ramírez (1991: 15) relies on Alvar's work (1976) to conclude that Columbus' reports on the New World already employed mechanisms for presenting unknown elements: the features of the object are described using familiar concepts, an equivalent is provided alongside the foreign word and, once the reader is familiar with the new term, the loanword appears on its own. On the other hand, similar mechanisms have been analysed by Cáceres-Lorenzo (2014) to assess the degree of incorporation of indigenous loanwords in the Spanish American lexicon.

Regarding the aforementioned studies on Spanish loanwords by Montague (1982), Algeo (1996) and Díaz Vera (2001), they examine a broad span of time: Montague cites borrowings that date up to the nineteenth century, Algeo explores Spanish loanwords before 1900 and Díaz Vera covers the range between 1500 and 1700. In addition, all three are based on information provided by dictionaries, as was the case with Serjeantson and Durkin. In the same way, works on Amerindian borrowings such as Watson (1938), Cutler (1994), Carney (1997) and Belda-Medina (2002) do not extract data directly from relevant works of the period. Consequently, most of them are limited to the enumeration or listing of loanwords, which, at most, provide additional information such as their registration date, etymology and, on rare occasions, a general semantic field.

This study, which focuses primarily on the sixteenth century, shifts the perspective and centres on the most significant compilation of travel texts of the time, gathering data from first-hand accounts and documenting the use of loanwords within their historical context: 90 Spanish, 25 Amerindian and 79 nautical terms of various origins, with Spanish playing a predominant role. Published at the end of the sixteenth century, and considering that it encompassed all English texts about travels to America produced up to that point, *TPN* represents a crucial resource for the study of Spanish and Amerindian loanwords, as well as for those nautical borrowings that entered English as a result of the process of reaching America. However, no studies have been made with this purpose. The only case that bears some resemblance is Rodríguez-Álvarez's "Spanish Borrowings in Early Modern English Travelogues and Dictionaries, or How to Make the New Reality in the Spanish Colonies Intelligible to English Readers" (2010), which includes eight texts from Hakluyt's compilation along with other travel accounts. Nevertheless, it draws on specific narratives by prominent English navigators such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake, but does not analyse the entire chapter on American voyages in *TPN*. Likewise, Arbelo Galván and Rodríguez Álvarez (2002-2003) examine a 1596 travel account by Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. However, they do not deal exclusively with borrowings but also explore other forms of lexical expansion like derivation, compounding and conversion.

As corroborated by Boisson (1988), the use of primary sources reveals discrepancies regarding the data offered by dictionaries like the *OED*, particularly concerning the registration dates. This author examines a sample consisting of 76 Amerindian loanwords, for which he offers new dates based on texts like Purchas' *His Pilgrimes* (1625) and Edward Grimstone's translation of José de Acosta's *Historia*

Natural y Moral de las Indias (1590, tr. 1604). In this line, the publications that make part of this thesis have provided evidence for 27 Spanish loanwords and 20 nautical borrowings whose registration date in the *OED* is later than 1589.

1.2.1.2. The *AMERLEX-DATABASE* research project

This thesis has been developed within the framework of the research project *Americanismos léxicos en las lenguas española e inglesa documentados en textos sobre América anteriores a 1700: AMERLEX-DATABASE* (PID2019-104199GB-I00). Currently in its second phase, now titled *Americanismos léxicos en las lenguas española e inglesa documentados en textos sobre América (1650-1740): desarrollo de la base de datos AMERLEX* (PID2022-1388001NB-I00), the project focuses on the development of a database that compiles lexical Americanisms recorded in a selection of Spanish and English texts from the Early Modern period concerning the newly explored American territories. Additionally, it includes Spanish terms found in English sources, thus providing insight into the influence of Spanish on the English lexicon during this time⁴³.

The analysis of Spanish and Amerindian loanwords, a fundamental component of this thesis, has contributed to the development of the *AMERLEX-DATABASE* project by documenting these terms and providing essential data, including their spellings, the texts in which they appear within the compilation, their frequency of occurrence, and excerpts from the original narratives in which they are used. This information enables researchers to examine the words in their original context.

Conversely, the *AMERLEX-DATABASE* has proven to be an invaluable resource for this thesis. It has played a crucial role in data comparison by facilitating the retrieval of information about specific lemmas, thereby supporting the analysis of their usage across various English and Spanish texts of the period.

1.2.2. Introduction of the published academic papers: alignment with the objectives and thematic consistency of the works

The proposed objectives are accomplished in the three academic articles that constitute this thesis by compendium of publications. All of them meet the requirements specified in the *Artículo 24. Tesis por compendio de publicaciones* included in the *Reglamento*

⁴³ For more details on the *AMERLEX-DATABASE* project, see <https://amerlex.iatext.ulpgc.es/descripcion>.

1/2023, de Estudios de Doctorado de la Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. In this section, I will present each publication, explaining its suitability for this study by establishing a relationship between them and the aforesaid objectives, as well as justifying their thematic consistency. Subsequently, a copy of the works will be offered in Section 2.

1.2.2.1. Publication 1: The Role of Richard Hakluyt's The Principall Nauigations (1589) in the Introduction and Dissemination of Spanish Loanwords in the English Language

The first academic article that is part of this study has accomplished the first aim proposed in objective (i) *To identify and compile the Spanish and Amerindian terms present in the corpus*. According to this, 90 Spanish loanwords have been identified, which are presented in two groups: Terms that passed English through Spanish (65 words) and terms that have Spanish as one of the possible donor languages (25 words). Then, the frequency of use of the Spanish loanwords has been analysed from two perspectives, individually (per text) and globally (across the entire corpus). The results show a highest frequency of use in those Spanish loanwords related with the necessity of engaging in a Spanish-speaking environment, as well as the new American environment and the commodities that could be obtained from it. These realities also prevail when classifying the lemmas in lexical fields, thus reaching objective (ii) *To determine which types of Spanish and Amerindian terms were most likely to be introduced*. Objective (iii) *To analyse the strategies used by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of the Amerindian and Spanish words to the readers*, has been also addressed, identifying and classifying six strategies used by the authors of the corpus to render the meaning of the new terms.

1.2.2.2. Publication 2: Defining Amerindian terms in Richard Hakluyt's The Principall Nauigations (1589) or when the explorers became lexicographers

The second academic article is a continuation of the book chapter by Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernández (2024). This chapter identified 25 Amerindian words in *TPN*, studying their frequency of use and their inclusion in Early Modern English dictionaries. Publication 2 revisits the list of Amerindian loanwords and explores relevant aspects for the identification of these lemmas, such as the editorial practices carried out

by Hakluyt to highlight them or the references to the Amerindian origin of the words in passages from the text, thereby meeting objective (i) *To identify and compile the Spanish and Amerindian terms present in the corpus*. If Publication 1 reached objective (ii) *To determine which types of Spanish and Amerindian terms were most likely to be introduced* by classifying the Spanish loanwords into lexical fields, Publication 2 accomplishes the same goal with Amerindian loanwords, coinciding in the predominance of terms related to the American natural world. Objective (iii) *To analyse the strategies used by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of the Amerindian and Spanish words to the readers* has been achieved through the description and classification of 5 strategies, revealing that many of them coincide with those listed in Publication 1. Therefore, we can infer that these mechanisms are not exclusive to describing elements from a particular language, but rather are of general use when describing an unknown reality. Finally, objective (iv) *To study the similarities between the strategies employed by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of Amerindian words and those used by lexicographers from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries* has been fulfilled after comparing the strategies identified in objective (iii) with those employed by lexicographers of the period.

1.2.2.3. *Publication 3: Nautical borrowings in Early Modern English: The Case Study of Richard Hakluyt's The Principall Navigations (1589)*

While the previous articles dealt with loanwords of all kinds acquired from the experiences of English travellers in the New World, Publication 3 narrows its scope to nautical borrowings that entered English through the adventure of voyaging to America. In this way, 79 nautical borrowings of various origins that entered the English language from 1500 onwards were extracted from the corpus, and an analysis of their dating revealed that 1589, the publication year of *TPN*, represented the peak of borrowing activity. Moreover, according to the *OED* data, many of these nautical terms were introduced into English through Hakluyt's work, yet the amount of antedatings found suggests that the total of nautical borrowings introduced in *TPN* may be even higher. In this way, objective (v) *To determine if the boom of borrowed nautical terms that took place during the Early Modern English period is clearly reflected in TPN* has been attained. This article focuses on transmission languages, so that the only Amerindian loanword detected, *canoa*, has been included as part of those nautical words donated by Spanish. This represents a difference compared with Publication 1 and Publication 2,

where Amerindian lemmas were distinguished from those of Spanish origin; however, it was necessary to align with the requirements of the research. As a result, Publication 3 has addressed objective (vi) *To evaluate the role of Spanish in the transmission of Spanish and Amerindian nautical terms into English, as reflected in Hakluyt's work*, revealing that Spanish was the second language contributing the most nautical borrowings.

2. PUBLISHED WORKS

2.1. Publication 1: The Role of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) in the Introduction and Dissemination of Spanish Loanwords in the English Language

Full reference:

von der Fecht-Fernández, Sara and Alicia Rodríguez-Álvarez. 2024 (2023 online) The role of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) in the introduction and dissemination of Spanish loanwords in the English language. *Neophilologus* 108: 123-146. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11061-023-09791-8>

The first article is published in the specialized journal *Neophilologus*. This journal is indexed in the Web of Science: Arts and Humanities Citation Index (Clarivate) and has two citations (Source: Web of Science). It is also indexed in Scopus (Elsevier) with a citescore of 0.6 and evaluated in SJR in Quartile 2 in Linguistics and Language. Also, according to the UPGC's *accedaCRIS* platform, as of December, 14, 2024, it has 107 visits and has been downloaded 56 times.

This publication corresponds with the following proposed objectives:

- (i) To identify and compile the Spanish and Amerindian terms present in the corpus.
- (ii) To determine which types of Spanish and Amerindian terms were most likely to be introduced.
- (iii) To analyse the strategies used by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of the Amerindian and Spanish words to the readers.



The Role of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) in the Introduction and Dissemination of Spanish Loanwords in the English Language

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Abstract

Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Nauigations* (1589) was a landmark in the history of English travel literature which compiled and glorified the naval deeds and expeditions undertaken by the English throughout the world. This article focuses on the third volume of Hakluyt's compilation devoted to America which gathers first-hand accounts describing the way of life and the natural environment of the new territories conquered and populated by the Spaniards. The incorporation in these texts of almost 100 borrowings from Spanish to designate elements related to sea voyages and experiences in the Spanish colonies has raised the following research questions: What kind of terms were most likely to be introduced? And, given that these Spanish terms were unfamiliar to English readers, did the authors resort to any kind of strategy to explain the meaning of the new words? This article will address these questions by setting the following objectives. (i) to compile an inventory of the Spanish terms that have been incorporated into the English texts; (ii) to classify these terms according to the lexical fields they refer to; (iii) to analyse how the meaning of these new words is explained to English readers.

Keywords Spanish loanwords · Richard Hakluyt · *Principal Navigations* · Early Modern English lexicology · Travel literature

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Introduction

The discovery of America led to the rise of travel literature in Europe, as these types of narratives not only left a record of the main powers' overseas expeditions, but responded to the interest of readers eager to know what the world beyond its borders was like. England would embark on this undertaking during the reign of Elizabeth I, laying the foundations of the future British Empire in the face of growing religious, political and commercial rivalry with Spain under Philip II.

Thus, English readers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw all kinds of texts on explorations flourish, whether written in their own language or through translations of important texts like the *Historia de la conquista de Mexico* (1552) by Francisco López de Gómara, translated in 1578 by Thomas Nichols as *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India*; and the *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo* (1516–1530) by Peter Martyr d' Anghiera, translated in part by Richard Eden in 1555 (Bouza, 2007: 57, 70). During this period, travel literature re-emerged in England “as a conscious literary genre”¹ (Cabello Pizarro & Stewart Stokes, 1999: 184), although, at first, translations of texts by foreign explorers far surpassed the narratives of their compatriots (Arbelo-Galván and Rodríguez-Álvarez, 2002–2003: 44).

These documents were particularly useful for those interested in new travel routes and in the commercial potential of the raw materials available in exotic lands, to the point that the merchant companies themselves went so far as to commission translations in order to draw on the knowledge of foreign navigators (Arbelo-Galván and Rodríguez-Álvarez, 2002–2003: 44), while also taking part in the financing of expeditions. Translations were, in fact, crucial to England's process of expansion (Valdeón, 2019: 202) because, through them, the immensity of the world “and the dream of mastery over it” was placed before readers (Sherman, 2004: 207).

The link between travel and commerce was particularly reinforced by the commercial potential offered by the New World, in such a way that the literature on the Americas in the English publishing market fulfilled a dual purpose: firstly, it satisfied the public's curiosity about unknown and exotic realities; and, secondly, it promoted new exploration and colonization campaigns in order to emulate the success of the Spaniards and better position England on the European scene. Along these lines, Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (1596) is a good example of how, in addition to describing his travels in American lands, the author includes “material that would spur his compatriots to venture into the exploration and colonization of new territories” (Arbelo-Galván and Rodríguez-Álvarez, 2002–2003: 46).

The English transatlantic expeditions provided material and arguments to document their own voyages. Following in the footsteps of their foreign counterparts, English navigators “[were] instructed to keep careful records of their movements, to direct the travelers who would follow in their footsteps and fill in the gaps of geographical knowledge” (Sherman, 2002: 17). According to Cole (1972: 63), during this period “[t]he most extensive collection and editing of travel books was done in England,“ an activity in which Richard Hakluyt was the major figure.

¹ Quotations have been translated into English.

Richard Hakluyt (c. 1552–1616) was a clergyman and geographer, already recognized in his time, who advised and collaborated with sailors and merchant companies (Parks, 1961; Mancall, 2007; Payne, 2012). It was his editorial work in the field of travel literature, however, for which he went down in history; for his reviewing, translating and financing of translations; and for his promotion of publications on expeditions. Especially notable were the travel compilations he produced (Parks, 1961: 186; Rogers, 1974: 37). So important was he that in 1846 the *Hakluyt Society* was founded in his honour, honouring his legacy by focusing on “the publication of scholarly editions of primary records of voyages and travels” (The Hakluyt Society).

A passionate defender of his homeland, Hakluyt supported territorial expansion beyond its borders. Precisely for the purpose of promoting the exploration and colonization of Virginia, he wrote *The Discourse of Western Planting*, a text he submitted to the Queen in 1584 (Parks, 1961: 87). Hakluyt soon detected two problems that were hampering England's conquest of overseas territories: “the first was caused by the ignorance of our seamen as regards the scientific branch of their profession. The second was the absence of records, and the way in which important voyages and travels were allowed to fall into oblivion” (Markham, 1896: 6). To remedy this, he himself would give lessons on the use of navigation tools, while proposing the compilation of all the accounts and testimonies about his nation's travels and discoveries (Markham, 1896: 6–9).

To achieve this last goal, Hakluyt turned to the original sources (or, failing this, the oldest ones available), recording the journeys of his countrymen over the course of history, at the same time conducting interviews with contemporary sailors, becoming one of the pioneers when it came to publishing accounts of the journeys completed to date by the English. He was also very much involved in the translation of travel books into English, taking this type of literature to the general public and helping to make it one of the most popular genres of the time (Sherman, 2004: 205). On his *modus operandi*, Parks (1961: 113) notes:

Did a significant new work appear abroad, he had it. He brought it to the attention of those whom it might concern, like Raleigh, and translated it or had it translated with a view to final printing. Occasionally the translation, or notes from it, went from the recipient to the archives, where it stayed. Usually it was published, sometimes separately, sometimes with the other documents which Hakluyt was soon to collect for printing in the *Voyages*. In such fashion Hakluyt made himself a mouthpiece of knowledge, to be held first to the official then to public, ear.

In terms of travel, Hakluyt's opinion was, therefore, highly respected, even though he has often been described as an armchair traveller. Regarding this allegation, although he made several attempts to embark for the New World (Borge, 2003: 3–4), the furthest he ever got from his native country was France, where he spent five years with Ambassador Sir Edward Stafford. This experience abroad would reinforce his view that England did not enjoy the international respect other traveling powers did (MacCrossan, 2009: 101), while also proving very fruitful for future publications. Accord-

ing to Parks (1961: 87), “Hakluyt’s mission to France kept him as close to colonial Enterprise as if he had gone to America instead,” since in this country he had access to new documents from Spanish, French and Portuguese travellers.

Thus, a mastery of foreign languages in order to access the information contained in the work from other countries was a requirement that Hakluyt met and where he excelled, achieving success on the professional path that he had chosen:

[...] he [Hakluyt] was to follow his cousin’s model by attending to applied geography. Applied geography, meaning mainly economic geography, was still to be studied empirically; and the most useful key to the study was linguistic. Hence Hakluyt learned, as his story naïvely recites, all the essential European tongues, for in the narratives and reports of explorers lay buried the facts he was to assemble. (Parks, 1961: 62)

It is hardly surprising, then, that, as Rogers explained (1974: 37) “he was superbly equipped because of his ability to read both printed and manuscript works in Greek, Latin, Spanish, ‘Portugall’, and French,” even introducing some of his own translations into his compilations. This author argues that, although Hakluyt did not travel to the places described in his works, “he was thoroughly acquainted with the vocabulary of those who did” (1974: 44). Following this idea, Osselton (1974: 25–26) emphasizes the use of foreign words and Hakluyt’s ability to recognize “the possibilities for renewal and extension of the vocabulary of his time,” as we can find “passages where Hakluyt’s use of learned words antedates the first recorded instance in the O.E.D.,” a statement corroborated by the results of our study.

The materials collected by Hakluyt would be published mainly in his most relevant works: *Diuers Voyages touching the Discouerie of America* (1582), *The Principall Nauigations, Voiages and Discoueries of the English Nation* (1589) and *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation* (1599–1600). While the publication of *Diuers Voyages* would mark the end of his training as an apprentice (Parks, 1961: 68), *The Principall Nauigations* launched him to fame, as this work would achieve great renown, constituting a key work of travel literature today. Moreover, the information contained in this compilation represents a contribution beyond this genre, as it is of interest to people with different profiles:

For historians, these documents would illuminate, and still do, a significant turning point in the history of England. For geographers, they would document the new English experience of the world. For the man on the street, uninterested in Russian trade routes and the export of woollen goods, they would constitute an entertaining account of adventurers and their adventures. For all three, the *Voyages* would be a monument to national glory. (Parks, 1961: 129–130)

To the words of this author, we could add that, as in our case, *The Principall Navigations* is, for linguists, a very valuable object of study as evidence of the lexical contributions of other languages to English during the dawn of the British Empire. Therefore, we are dealing here with a fundamental work to investigate the processes of lexical borrowing in a period in the history of English known for the enormous lexical expansion of the language: the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

The abundance of foreign terms in Hakluyt's publications is the starting point of this study, it being impossible to ignore the interest aroused both by the introduction of words from other languages and the way their meaning is explained to readers:

He [Hakluyt] was particularly fond on retaining an original technical term and supplying a rough equivalent at first occurrence ('mays' – 'maiz, or corne', or again 'ho alcaide mor' – 'the chiefe alcaide or justice'). And, like all translators, he retained the original when he could think of no equivalent term: 'cacique'. It is just such a foreign word which the O.E.D., with copious references, admits into the English language as English. (Rogers, 1974: 46)

In particular, our study focuses on the incorporation of Hispanicisms into the texts on the Americas included in *The Principall Navigations* (1589, *TPN* hereinafter), understanding a Hispanicism as a term or locution proceeding from Continental Spanish, that is, the Spanish (or Spanish varieties) used in the Spanish mainland. This includes all the words that conform the lexical repertoire used by a sixteenth-century Spanish speaker, no matter their ultimate etymological origin. Thus words such as *alcalde* or *arroba* (Spanish loanwords of Arabic origin), *bacalao* (a Spanish loanword of Basque origin), *barrica* (a Spanish loanword of Gasconian origin) or *fragata* (a Spanish loanword of Italian origin), are considered Spanish words, as they are part of the sixteenth-century Spanish lexicon transferred to America by Spanish navigators and used by Spanish chroniclers. All these words and locutions will be indifferently referred to as Hispanicisms, Spanish words or Spanish terms throughout this study. Consequently, those Amerindian words and phrases that penetrated the English language through Spanish once the Spaniards discovered the American territories have not been considered in this study. It is also important to clarify that the use of place names was not taken into consideration either.

As indicated by Serjeantson (1961: 195), Algeo (1996: 19) and Durkin (2014: 365), the introduction of Spanish loanwords surged as of 1550 as a result of the influential Spanish Golden Age, as well as "the wider European impact of Spanish discoveries and conquests in the New World" (Durkin, 2014: 365), a statement confirmed by data provided by Muñoz-Basols and Salazar (2016: 85). Indeed, Serjeantson notes that many of these loanwords "appear for the first time in the tales of voyagers collected and published by Hakluyt" (1961: 196). However, until now there had been no study of the impact of Hakluyt's compilation on the introduction and dissemination of Hispanicisms in the English language. This

study, thus, aims to address the use of Hispanicisms in the narratives collected by Hakluyt, adopting the following objectives:

1. To identify and inventory the Spanish terms present in the corpus.
2. To classify the vocabulary of the inventory based on the lexical fields to which they belong.
3. To analyse how these Hispanicisms were integrated into the texts of the corpus and how their meaning was explained to English readers.

Corpus and Methodology

The Principall Nauigations (1589)

The corpus of texts analysed in this work is found in the first edition of *TPN*, published in 1589 in London. This book, which would become Richard Hakluyt's *magnum opus*, is, in essence, a compilation of all the writings produced by English travellers up to that time. To create it the author not only turned to the accounts of the navigators, but also included all those documents that were necessary for the preparation of the crossings, such as maps, letters, instructions from the admiralty, patents and commissions from ambassadors, etc. (Parks, 1961: 126; Borge, 2003: 6). Hakluyt asserted the importance of using the primary sources of writings (Cabello Pizarro & Stewart Stokes, 1999: 185) and was recognized for faithfully replicating the texts he published (MacCrossan, 2009: 105), despite some criticisms that questioned his objectivity due to his work's ideological bias (Borge, 2003: 7; Rodríguez Cachón & Valverde, 2019: 908; Schleck, 2012: 129).

Consequently, we have first-hand narratives that describe, vividly and in detail, the geography, nature and people English navigators encountered on their travels, which is an advantage when analysing the writers' vocabulary. These accounts are more realistic and convincing because they feature and are enhanced by the use of words from the languages of local inhabitants. At this point, it is important to emphasize the difference between these writers, who were mainly merchants, pirates or sailors that landed in these territories fortuitously (López de Mariscal, 2003: 3), and Hakluyt, whose role was not to write, but to collect, edit and publish (Fuller, 2008: 4). Hence, many of the reports on the expeditions were commissioned by Hakluyt himself, and even recorded by him, via dictation, by those who had been on the voyages (Parks, 1961: 127).

As for its origins, *TPN* was inspired by *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, the well-known work by the Venetian geographer Giovanni Battista Ramusio (Borge, 2003: 5). Though both authors shared the intention of sharing with the world the experiences of those who had undertaken expeditions to foreign lands, Hakluyt pursued nationalist and imperialist objectives as well (Small, 2012: 45). This approach was an innovation with respect to previous travel literature (MacCrossan, 2009: 101). Thus, *TPN* sought, firstly, to spotlight the presence of the English beyond their borders throughout history; and, secondly, to promote new expeditions and

the colonization of overseas territories in order to establish England as a worthy rival of the main European naval powers (Borge, 2003: 5; Hadfield, 2007: 130).

It is no coincidence, then, that this work was published a year after the defeat of what we know today as the Invincible Armada (Parks, 1961: 131), as Spain represented the main threat during the era. Its pages not only appeal to their readers' nationalist sentiments, but at times they also serve as anti-Spanish propaganda (Rodríguez García, 1998: 194; Rodríguez Cachón & Valverde, 2019: 908), serving to paint a picture of the main colonizers of the new continent, as well as those whom they colonized, that would impact how the natives were treated by future English colonists (Cave, 1985: 4).

As for its structure, this large compilation, containing some 700,000 words (Borge, 2003: 5), is divided into three volumes, each dedicated to a different geographical area of the world. Our corpus of study corresponds to the third: the one on the New World. The classification of texts established by Quinn (1974: 366–377) is also adopted, which indicates that this volume contains 33 travel stories and 44 texts of different kinds, such as letters, patents, itineraries, etc.

Since one of the aims of this study is to analyse the early reception of Hispanicisms through the first travel books on the Americas originally written in English, it focuses on the first edition of *TPN*. However, it is important to note that, between 1598 and 1600, volumes of a much more extensive second edition, *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, were published, in which translations of foreign texts stand out. The inclusion of these new writings was due to the fact that Hakluyt never stopped collecting travel texts. Such was his commitment that he continued to collect materials for a never-completed third edition (Parks, 1961: 214–215) right up until his death. Hakluyt's efforts would not be fruitless, however, as those texts would be retrieved and published posthumously by the Reverend Samuel Purchas in his *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), a revised and enlarged edition of the first version published in 1613, *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, which incorporated material facilitated by different English explorers who appreciated the magnitude of Purchas's work. Although initially designed as a comparative history of religions (Taylor, 1930: 536), Purchas, a Protestant Divine, added geographical and historical information drawn from a vast array of classical and contemporary authorities. The clearer organisation of the work, unlike Hakluyt's messy collection (Pennington, 1966: 9), facilitated its reading from cover to cover. The first edition of Purchas's work gained him immediate popularity and, above all, the favour of explorers and merchants who provided him with new material for subsequent editions. Among them was Hakluyt who, impressed by his *Pilgrimage*, gave him access to his archives (Taylor, 1930: 538). Purchas even mentions in the introduction to his *Pilgrimes* that Hakluyt promised him the legacy of his collection, but "Purchas ended up having to purchase Hakluyt's literary remains" after some legal difficulties (Helfers, 1997: 164). Purchas's enthusiastic praise for Hakluyt is publicly declared and, as Parks (1961: 223) states, "[t]his book is Hakluyt's literary legacy. [...] it continued Hakluyt's career in the catch title of *Hakluytus Posthumus*".

Methodology

This work's methodology is based on its stated objectives, which we revisit below:

- a) To identify, collect and inventory the Spanish terms present in the corpus.

For different reasons, the identification of Spanish words and phrases in these texts was not always an easy task.

Sometimes we find spellings that hamper easy identification of the word, probably because the authors, whose trades were related to commerce, navigation and exploration, were more familiar with spoken than written Spanish. Thus, for example, the word *botijo* is recorded as *buttizio* (1589: Mmm. 6.r), *buttisio* (1589: 794) or *botisios* (1589: 810), the word *estancia* is recorded as *stantias* (1589: 570), *fanega* as *hannege* (1589: 588, 593), and *mosquito* as *musketa* (1589: 568).

In other cases, the difficulty stems from the fact that Spanish words appear with spellings more typical of other Romance languages, such as French, Italian, or even Portuguese, languages with which the English were more familiar. Thus, although it is evident that the authors intended to write the Spanish term *señor*, the difficulty of reproducing the letter <ñ>, non-existent in the English alphabet, leads them to adopt the Italian-inspired spellings *signior* (1589: 524) or *segnior* (1589: Mmm. 7. V). Its replacement by *sennor* in the second edition of *TPN*, and the fact that it is followed by Spanish surnames or first names, leaves little doubt as to the intention to record the Spanish word. Similarly, the nominal Spanish phrase *piloto mayor*, which they use to refer to the position granted to Sebastian Cabot in Spain, appears in the Italian form *piloto maggiore* (1589: 512), a spelling that is corrected in the second edition of *TPN*, which uses *Piloto Mayor* in the same passage. Something similar happens when the Spanish currency *real* is mentioned (usually with the locution *real de plata*), although it takes Frenchified forms like *roiall* (1589: 551), *roials* (1589: 588) and *royals* (1589: Mmm. 7. v). The expression *manteca de puerco* is reproduced with a spelling that resembles the Portuguese: *montego de porco* (1589: 810).

In this phase of the work the information collected in the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*, hereinafter) was fundamental to (i) identify the Spanish words, as it contains a wide variety of spellings of Spanish words in English texts; (ii) confirm Spanish as the donor language (or one of the possible donor languages); and (iii) establish the date of the term's first recording in a published English work. It is important to clarify that the *OED*, in some cases, indicates Spanish as the *only* donor language, and in others cites it as one of the *possible* ones. For the purposes of our work we have considered *Hispanisms all* the words that have Spanish as their donor language, or their possible one.

- b) To classify the vocabulary of the inventory according to the lexical fields to which they belong.

Once the Hispanicisms used in the texts of the corpus were identified, we proceeded to classify them according to their lexical fields. In this, we followed the taxonomical classification established by the *Historical Thesaurus* in the *OED*, which is based on three major lexical fields: “the external world”, “the mind” and “society.” Each entry in the *Historical Thesaurus* offers a series of interconnected lexical fields, beginning with a general category that is divided into specific subcategories. The level of specificity is sometimes so great that offering a classification of an extensive corpus of words reaching those levels of detail was impractical and unworkable. Therefore, when carrying out the classification, we chose to ignore the three large lexical areas constituting the first level of classification, and to use only three categories. Level 2 is the starting point in order to avoid the ambiguity that might result from the generality of the first category, and is complemented by the third and fourth subcategory. For example, the term *anchoa* is classified into two categories: within the category “animals” it is in the subcategory “fish,” and within the “food and drink” category it is in the “animals for food” subcategory.

Based on this classification, the terms in the corpus² have been organized into the following general lexical fields (Table 1), indicating the subcategories:

This classification allowed us to ascertain which lexical fields are the most frequent.

- c) To analyse how these Hispanicisms are integrated into the texts of the corpus and how their meaning is explained to English readers.

In order to assess the level of integration of these words and locutions into the English texts of the corpus, and, by extension, into the English language, the excerpts where they are found were extracted from the corpus and the treatment given to these terms transferred through Spanish by the different authors was analysed. Examining the way in which these Spanish terms are integrated into English texts (either in isolation, or accompanied by explanatory glosses, translations, etc.) may be indicative of a widespread use of these terms by readers; or, on the contrary, of a presumption of unfamiliarity on the part of authors, who considered it necessary to make use of different mechanisms to explain the meaning of these terms. This type of analysis permitted us to identify common patterns in the different passages, allowing us to clarify the strategies used by the authors to transmit the meaning of the Hispanicisms to readers who did know Spanish.

Analysis of Hispanicisms in *TPN* (1589)

The identification and counting of the Hispanicisms appearing in the different texts of the corpus under study yielded a total of 90 terms that entered English through Spanish. Taking the *OED* as a reference, we should note that, of the 90

² Some terms are not recorded in the *Historical Thesaurus*, e.g. *obraje*, but following the classification of similar terms, we have included them in the corresponding categories and subcategories.

Table 1 Lexical categories of the corpus according to the classification in the *Historical Thesaurus*

LEVEL 2 CATEGORIES	LEVELS 3 OR 4 SUBCATEGORIES
action or operation	good behaviour
animals	birds / fish / freshwater birds / group Ungulata / invertebrates / reptiles
armed hostility	attack
attention and judgment	types of ornamentation
authority	holder of office / punishment
communication	information / matter of book
emotion	boasting or boastfulness
faith	heresy / lay garments / member of the clergy
food and drink	additive / animals for food / animal husbandry / dairy produce / dishes and prepared food / fishing / food manufacture and preparation / fruit and vegetables / intoxicating liquor
health and disease	a disease
inhabiting and dwelling	district in relation to human occupation / dwelling place or abode
law	lawyer/one who administers justice
leisure	music
matter	named colours / naturally occurring light
occupation and work	derived or manufactured material / receptacle or container
people	ethnicities / native or inhabitant of the Americas / native or inhabitant of Europe
plants	cultivated or valued plants / trees and shrubs
relative properties	measurement by weighing / measurement
society and the community	nobility
space	arrangement or fact of being arranged / condition of being external
textiles and clothing	textile fabric or an article of textile fabric
the earth	landscape / mineral sources / weather
trade and finance	fees and taxes / money
travel	one who travels by water or sea/transportation by water / vessel, ship, or boat

words analysed, 65 are considered to have passed through Spanish, while the remaining 25 words have Spanish as one of the possible donor languages, such that we can distinguish the following groups of words, in alphabetical order:

- a) Terms /phrases that entered English through Spanish³: *alcalde, anchoa, arroba, atabal, aviso, bacalao, balsa, barrica, bonito, botijo, cabrita, calabaza, calentura, canario (bird), canario (wine), cantera, cañafistula, capítulo, carga, cargazón, castellano, cochinilla, corcho, cordobán, don, empalizada/palizada, encamisada, encomendero, estancia, fanega, fragata, garbanzo, índigo, ingenio, lagarto, manteca de puerco, marqués, mexicano (noun), mexicano (adjective), ministrador, mosquito, obraje, palmito, patata⁴, peso, piloto mayor, piña, plátano, presidente, quinto, ranchería, real, rosca, salina,*

³ Loanwords appear in their current Spanish spelling, as recorded in the *Diccionario de la lengua Española (DLE)* de la Real Academia Española.

⁴ Although there is a widespread belief that this was an indigenous word, the truth is that it is a Spanish formation out of two Amerindian words: *papa* and *batata* (potato and sweet potato).

sambenito, sasafrás, sayal, señor, tabaco, tomín, tronada, vara, venta, vizcaíno, zarzaparrilla.

- b) Words / phrases that have Spanish as one of the possible donor languages: *alcatraz, añil, armada, auto de fe, brasil, bravata, capelán/capelin, china, coco, corpo santo, fiscal, flamenco, galeón, higo, manilla, melaza, mestizo, negro, padre, pargo, pico, pintado, proveedor, serón, volcán.*

We will examine these loanwords jointly in the following analysis, which seeks to answer the following questions: (i) How often are these Spanish loanwords used in the corpus?; (ii) into which lexical areas do these Hispanicisms fall?; and (iii) taking into account the work's publication date, and the dates when these terms were recorded in the *OED*, what role did the authors of the corpus play as agents of the dissemination and introduction of Spanish terms in English at the end of the sixteenth century?

Frequency of Use and Dissemination of Hispanicisms in the Texts of the Corpus

Verification of the frequency of use of the different Hispanicisms may shed light on their relevance and possible roots in the English language. A word that is used once in the whole corpus, and whose presence is, therefore, almost anecdotal, will not have the same importance as a word that appears often, which may indicate that the element designated acquired some relevance, or aroused interest in English authors. Likewise, the same importance cannot be assigned to a word that appears in just a single text (regardless of how many times) as a word found in several texts by different authors.

Hence, when measuring the frequency with which the terms appear, a distinction was made: first, the count is global, accounting for the Hispanicisms that appear most often in the corpus; and, second, the calculation was done taking into account the number of different works in which each term appears. The latter information will allow us to confirm which terms were used by a greater number of authors, which we consider more useful to determine the dissemination of a term among authors aware of the reality in the Americas and, therefore, the possibility of their rooting in the English language.

In order to define which Hispanicisms appear most frequently in the texts of the corpus, a minimum number of 10 occurrences was established. Applying this criterion, the words most repeated in the corpus are the following: *negro* (123 times), *don* (29), *galeón* (25), *peso* (22), *real* (18), *cochinilla* (16), *bonito* (11), *palmito* (11), *capítulo* (10) and *tronada* (10).

Except for *don* and *capítulo*, the rest of these terms are related to the maritime context and commercial intent that characterize the work. Therefore, it is not surprising that the word *negro* dominates the list in a context in which the trafficking of African slaves would provide the main labour force to the new colonies founded on the other side of the Atlantic. Likewise, elements from the flora and the fauna, like *palmito* and *bonito*, were relevant, for being a means of subsistence for travellers, and for their exoticism and potential to become marketable raw materials, as was the case with *cochinilla*. Along the same lines, the currency

terms *real* and *peso* highlight the economic purposes of these expeditions, while the word *galeón* refers to an important means of transport at the time, of both goods and people. *Tronada*, meanwhile, denotes a meteorological phenomenon to which these sailors were routinely exposed. Finally, the frequent use of *don* gives us an idea of the multicultural environment to which English travellers who visited the Spanish colonies were exposed. The case of the word *capítulo* is noteworthy, as it appears in a single text as a heading of the different parts that comprise it, perhaps seeking to imitate the organization of some other Spanish work.

As for the words that appear the most across the different texts, the following are those terms that are recorded in at least five of the texts in the corpus. According to this criterion, the words found most frequently throughout the texts are: *negro* (16 texts), *don* (10), *cochinilla* (8), *patata* (6), *real* (6), *peso* (5), *tabaco* (5) and *vizcaíno* (5).

Although the results are similar to those of the previous classification, some exceptions should be noted. This time *galeón*, *bonito*, *palmito*, *capítulo* and *tronada* do not appear, but new trade goods do, like *patata* and *tabaco*. In addition, the presence of *vizcaíno* again evidences the multicultural and naval context in which the writings were created, since the Basques of that time were recognized both for their seamanship and their vessels (Caro Baroja, 1971: 195; Serna Valledo, 2010).

In short, both the terms appearing most frequently in the corpus, and those found in a greater number of the different works comprising the corpus, reveal an interest in the Americas' new natural elements, new relationships with the Spaniards, and the new goods that could profit English trading companies. In the following section we will give a more detailed account of the lexical areas to which the Hispanicisms identified in the corpus correspond.

Classification by Lexical Field

The classification of Hispanicisms by lexical areas also provides information on those objects, products, institutions and other elements of the new Spanish reality in the Americas that were designated by English navigators using Spanish terms. Thus, in this section we present those lexical areas grouping the Hispanicisms in the corpus, taking as a reference the classification established by the *OED's Historical Thesaurus*, as indicated in Sect. 2.2. The grouping is presented in Table 2⁵.

The data extracted from this classification show that the greatest number of Hispanicisms are found in the fields “animals,” “food and drink,” “plants,” “people,” and “travel”. If we look at the subcategories included in these fields, the most common are the following:

- “Animals”: 5 terms in the “fish” subcategory” (*anchoa*, *bacalao*, *bonito*, *capelán*, *pargo*).

⁵ Occasionally, terms may be classified under different lexical fields. This is the case of three terms of the corpus.

Table 2 Classification of the terms in the corpus by lexical field

Lexical field	No. of words	Lexical field	No. of words
Action or operation	1	Leisure	1
Animal	12	Matter	4
Armed hostility	1	Occupation and work	3
Attention and judgment	1	People	6
Authority	3	Plants	11
Communication	2	Relative properties	4
Emotion	1	Society and the community	3
Faith	4	Space	2
Food and drink	12	Textiles and clothing	2
Health and disease	1	The Earth	4
Inhabiting and dwelling	2	Trade and finances	4
Law	2	Travel	7

- “Food and drink”: 3 terms in the “fruits and vegetables” subcategory (*calabaza, higo, patata*).
- “Plants”: 10 terms in the “cultivated or valued plants” subcategory (*brasil, cañafigitula, china, coco, garbanzo, piña, plátano, sasafrás, tabaco, zarzaparrilla*).
- “People”: 2 terms in each of the subcategories (“ethnicities”, “native or inhabitant of America”, “native or inhabitant of Europe”) (*castellano, mestizo, mexicano* – as both an adjective and noun –, *negro, vizcaíno*).
- “Travel”: 5 terms in the subcategory “vessel, ship or boat” (*armada, balsa, cantera, fragata, galeón*).

In general, this classification accords with the conclusions reached in the previous section after the identification of the most frequent and widespread terms in the corpus. Thus, the predominance of these lexical fields, in particular, reflects the English explorers’ interest in making known the flora and fauna of the New World, which gave them food, and wealth, through trade.

It is, precisely, the issue of trade that infuses and forms the backbone of the other lexical groupings, not as numerous as the previous ones, but equally revealing; we are referring to the terms classified within the category of “relative properties: measurement” (*arroba, carga, fanega* and *vara*) and the category of “trade and finance” (which includes the terms *peso, quinto, real* and *tomín*). These terms are framed in texts that shed light on the commercial relationships between Spaniards and Englishmen. For example, in the excerpt in (1), the narrator stresses the advantageous price of the goods traded in Mexico City, doing so using the Spanish terms *tomín* (*tomines* in the text) and *real* (written as *roials*):

- (1) As as for victuals in the said Citie, [...] all are very good cheape: to say, the whole quarter of an Oxe, as much as a slaue can carry, away from the Butchers, for 5. **Tomynes**, that is, 5. **Roials** of plate, which is iust 2. Shillings and

6. Pence, and a fat Sheepe at the Butchers, for 3. **Roials**, which is 18. Pence, and no more. (Hakluyt, 1589: 587)⁶

The relationship with the maritime world, the main means by which they moved between the American territories, is also suggested by the terms in the “travel” field. Finally, descriptions of the new social and ethnic reality in the Spanish colonies in the texts of the corpus feature Hispanicisms such as *mestizo*, *negro* and *mexicano*, all of them grouped under the category “people.”

The Authors of the Corpus as Agents Involved in the Introduction and Dissemination of Hispanicisms

In order to clarify the role that the authors of the corpus played in the introduction and dissemination of lexical novelties from Spanish into the English language, the first record that the *OED* establishes for published works has been taken as a reference for each Hispanicism in the corpus. This will allow us to take the dates and sources that the dictionary indicates for each entry, and compare them with the data obtained in the corpus.

Except for five terms that are not included in the *OED* (*capítulo*, *marqués*, *obraje*, *quinto* and *sayal*), the rest of the Spanish terms feature an entry in this dictionary, so the analysis was limited to 85 terms, of which 47 have a registration date prior to the publication of *TPN* (1589); 11 were included in the same year and 27 were dated subsequent to Hakluyt’s work.

Considering that most of the words that the *OED* dates back to before 1589 belong to the sixteenth century, we can state that the authors of the corpus made use of terms that were relatively recent to the English language and, therefore, contributed to spreading them and popularizing them among the English readers. Thus, of the 47 terms, 42 are included in a range equal to or less than 50 years prior to 1589, while 11 of them are dated in the same decade: *alcalde* and *añil* (1581); *anchoa*, *cochinilla*, *melaza* and *palmito* (1582); *padre* (1584); *cañafistula* and *fragata* (1585); *armada* (1586) and *arroba* (1588).

Regarding the terms first recorded in the same year that the *TPN* was published, 1589, the *OED* indicates the third volume of *TPN* (that studied in this work) as the first source in which five of them are recorded: *flamenco*, *higo*, *Mexican* (adjective), *rosca* and *tomín*. However, these are not the only mentions of Hakluyt’s compilation that we analysed, since the *OED* also considered Hakluyt to be the first source of five more words (*bravado*, *cargazón*, *manilla*, *pargo* and *tronada*), although it is true that in this case they were not included in the third volume, but rather in one of the previous ones. As for the last Hispanicism, *palizada/empalizada*: although it was introduced in 1589, the *OED* does not mention *TPN* among its references.

Finally, in 27 cases the *OED* records the first instances of Spanish words subsequent to 1589; we are dealing then, with cases of antedatings, although 7 of them

⁶ The spellings and italics in the examples appear as in the original. The bolding indicating Hispanicisms are ours.

(*aviso, calabaza, calentura, cordobán, lagarto, mestizo y ranchería*) date from the sixteenth century, which means that their sources are just some 10 years away from Hakluyt's publication. As for the rest of the antedatings, the *OED* dates the inclusion of 13 from the seventeenth century (*atabal, barrica, botijo, cabrita, capelán/capelín, carga, ingenio, manteca de puerco, pintado, salina, señor, venta* and *vizcaíno*), 5 from the eighteenth century (*balsa, cantera, castellano, estancia y garbanzo*) and, finally, records, three centuries later, in the nineteenth century, the first uses of two other terms from Spanish (*encomendero* and *presidente*).

As for the dissemination of these terms, being a compilation, *TPN* includes texts from different writers of the period such as David Ingram, Francis Drake, Henry Hawkes, Humphrey Gilbert, John Chilton, John Sarra coll, John Whithall, Luke Ward, Miles Phillips, Robert Tomson, Roger Bodenham or Thomas Cavenish, among others. Thus, having in mind the wide list of authors whose works compose *TPN*, the consultation in the *OED* of the Hispanicisms in the corpus reveals the fundamental role played by these texts, not only in the introduction of Hispanicisms not used before, but in the dissemination of terms that had been introduced into the English language very recently.

Nevertheless, apart from the information contained in the *OED*, we considered it a good idea to expand our search to other texts similar in nature to those written by the authors collected in Hakluyt's *TPN*. Therefore, we resorted to the *AMERLEX* database⁷ so as to check whether our Hispanicisms were also used in other travel texts from the period or not. Among the English works registered in this database, 15 include Hispanicisms of our list. Of these 15 texts, 7 were originally written in English, while the remaining 8 are translations from Spanish or Latin. Table 3 lists the travel books that include the Hispanicisms in the corpus with an indication of the number of words they contain:

According to the data registered to date in *AMERLEX*, the text originally drafted in English that includes the largest number of Spanish words from the corpus is Walter Raleigh's *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empyre of Guiana* (1596). It contains 14 words: *calabaza, calentura, castellano, don, lagarto, palmito, patata, peso, piña, real, tabaco, brasil, bravata, and negro*. On the other hand, the translated work in which we can find more Hispanicisms is Nicolás Monardes' *Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde* (translated by John Frampton, 1577), which gathers 8 words: *cañafistula, piña, sasafrás, tabaco, zarzaparrilla, añil, china* and *negro*.

Regarding the words from our corpus, 34 of them were registered in *AMERLEX*, of which 25 belong to the group of terms and phrases that entered English through Spanish (Figs. 1) and 9 to the group of terms and phrases that have Spanish as one of the possible donor languages (Fig. 2); groups (a) and (b) in Sect. 3.

As shown in Figs. 1 and 2, the Hispanicisms in group (a) with a higher number of occurrences are *castellano* (2 English texts + 4 translations) and *tabaco* (5

⁷ *AMERLEX* is a database, currently under construction, to which we had access in a test format. This application aims to gather "the lexical Americanisms (Amerindian terms and Spanish words whose meaning changed in American territories) present in a selection of Spanish and English texts on America published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". In the case of English texts, Hispanicisms are also registered. (<https://iatext.ulpgc.es/es/aplicaciones>).

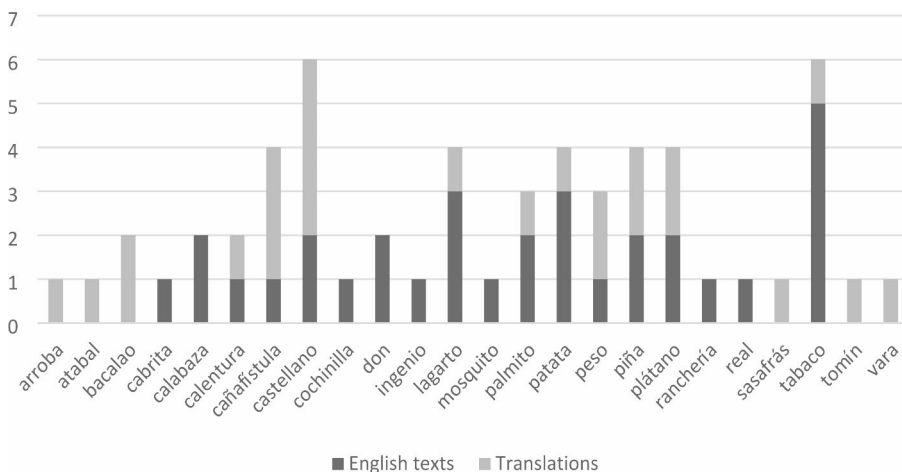
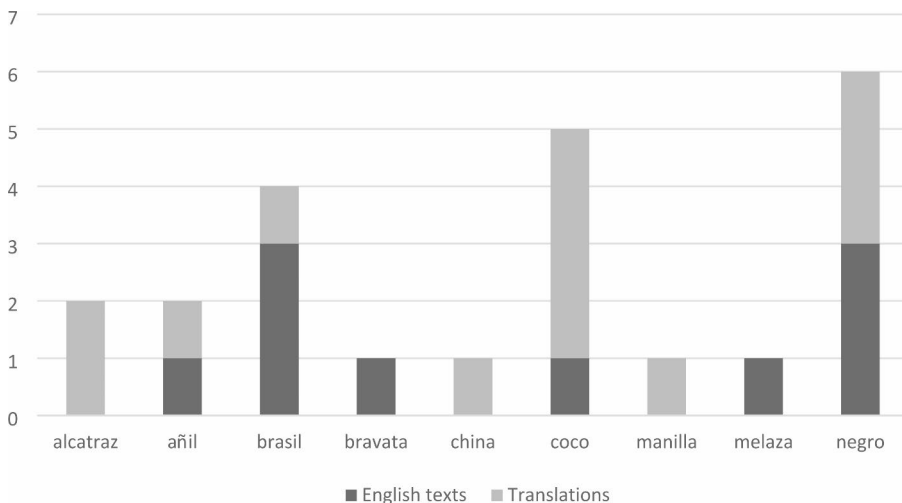
Table 3 Sixteenth-century English travel books that include the Hispanicisms of the corpus (data extracted from AMERLEX)

English works	Hispanicisms
<i>A true declaration of the troublesome voyage of M. John Haukins to the parties of Guynea and the west Indies, in the yeares of our Lord 1567 and 1568</i> , John Hawkins (1569)	1
<i>The rare travailes of Job Hortop, an Englishman, who was not heard of in three and twentie yeeres space. Wherein is declared the dangers he escaped in his voiage to Gynnie, where after hee was set on shoare in a wildernes neere to Mexico, hee endured much slaverie and bondage in the Spanish galley</i> , Job Hortop (1591)	2
<i>A relation of the second voyage to Guiana. Perfourmed and written in the yeare 1596. By Lawrence Kemys, Gent</i> , Lawrence Kemys (1596)	6
<i>The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empyre of Guiana with a relation of the great and golden citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) and the provinces of Emeria, Arroimaia, Amapaia, and other countries, with their rivers, adjoyning</i> , Walter Raleigh (1596)	14
<i>A relation of a voyage to Guiana. Describing the climat, scituation, fertilitie, prouisions and commodities of that country, containing seuen prouinces, and other signiories within that territory: together, with the manners, customes, behaiours, and dispositions of the people. Performed by Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt Esquire. The pattent for the plantation of which country, his Maiestie hath granted to the said Robert Harcourt vnder the Great Seale.</i> , Robert Harcourt (1613)	8
<i>A geographicall and anthological description of all the empires and kingdomes, both of continent and ilands in this terrestriall globe. Relating their scituations, manners, customes, prouinces, and gouernments</i> , Robert Stafford (1618)	2
<i>The American physitian; or, A treatise of the roots, plants, trees, shrubs, fruit, herbs, &c. growing in the English plantations in America. Describing the place, time, names, kindes, temperature, vertues and uses of them, either for diet, physick, &c. Whereunto is added a discourse of the cacao-nut-tree, and the use of its fruit; with all the ways of making of chocolate. The like never extant before. By W. Hughes</i> , William Hughes (1672)	9
Translated works	Hispanicisms
<i>Other notable thynges as touchynge the Indies</i> , Francisco López de Gómara (translated by Richard Eden, 1555)	2
<i>Summarie or abbrigement of the generall hystorie of the west Indies</i> , Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (translated by de Richard Eden, 1555)	7
<i>The decades of the newe worlde or west India conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne</i> , Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (translated by Richard Eden, 1555)	7
<i>Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde wherein is declared the rare and singuler vertues of diverse and sundrie hearbes, trees, oyles, plantes, and stones, with their aplications, aswell for phisicke as chirurgerie, the saied beyng well applied bryngeth suche present remedie for all deseases</i> , Nicolás Bautista Monardes (translated by John Frampton, 1577)	8
<i>A brieve description of the portes, creekes, bayes, and havens, of the Weast India: translated out of the Castlin tongue by I.F. The originall whereof was directed to the mightie Prince Don Charles, King of Castile, &c</i> , Martín Fernández de Enciso (translated by John Frampton, 1578)	2
<i>The pleasant historie of the conquest of the VVeast India, now called new Spayne, atchieued by the vvorthy Prince Hernando Cortes, marques of the Valley of Huaxacac, most delectable to reade</i> , Francisco López de Gómara (translated by Thomas Nicholas, 1578).	6

Table 3 (continued)

The discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru, and the navigation in the South Sea, along that coast. And also of the ritche mines of Potosi, Agustín de Zárate (translated by Thomas Nicholas, 1581) 3

A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frances Drakes VVest Indian voyage wherein were taken, the townes of Saint Jago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena & Saint Augustine. VVest Indian voyage, Walter Bigges (anonymously translated, 1589) 4

**Fig. 1** Distribution of terms / phrases that entered English through Spanish in sixteenth-century travel texts on the New World**Fig. 2** Distribution of words and phrases that have Spanish as one of the possible donor languages in sixteenth-century travel texts on the New World

English texts + 1 translation), while in group (b) we find *negro* (3 English texts + 3 translations) and *coco* (1 English text + 4 translations).

The data recorded in the *OED* and the examples extracted from *AMERLEX* prove that the Spanish words used in the different texts compiled in *TPN* are not rare cases, but words that are deployed in other coetaneous (travel) texts originally written in English or translated from other languages into English. It is important to note that the authors collected in *TPN* not only made use of words that had entered the language during the sixteenth century, thus contributing to their dissemination, but also introduced 32 words that became part of the English lexicon, 27 of which have been identified as antedatings.

Strategies to Render the Meaning of Spanish Words

This data inevitably leads us to ask the following questions: given the novelty of these Spanish borrowings, how did the authors of these texts facilitate understanding of the new terms deployed in their narratives? Or, to put it in another way, what mechanisms or strategies did the authors use to help readers understand the meanings of the Spanish loanwords?

In order to discover these strategies, we have analysed all the Hispanicisms used in the corpus, paying special attention to the context, as it will provide us with the elements on which the authors relied to convey the meaning of the new words.

The different strategies have been classified into the following categories, ordered according to their prevalence in the texts of the corpus, from greatest to least.

Explanation or Definition

The most common strategy to render the meaning of the loanwords inserted in the texts was to explain or define the new term, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (2) I haue seene cloth made in the Citie of Mexico, which hath bene sold for ten **pezos** a vare, which is almost 4. pounds English, and the **vare** is lesse then our yard. (Hakluyt, 1589: 550)
- (3) [...] they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse then 12. pence the vare. It is called **Sayall**. (Hakluyt, 1589: 550)
- (4) The Gouvernour of this Citie, is a *Spaniard*, called among them, the **Alcalde Maior**, who administreth chiefest causes of iustice, both vnto the Christians, and Indians, referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkennes, and such like, to the iudgement, and discretion of such of the *Indians*, as are chosen euery yeere to rule amongst them, called by the name of **Alcaldes**. (Hakluyt, 1589: 588)

In (2) the value of the Spanish currency is explained, as English readers are informed that *ten pezos* (Spanish word *peso*) are equivalent to 4 English pounds, an example similar to (1) above. Readers are also told that a *vara*, a Spanish unit of measurement, is slightly less than a yard, the unit of measurement used in England. *Sayall* (Spanish *saya*) is defined in (3) as a coarse cloth, whereas in (4), we find both a definition for the word *alcalde*, “the governour of this citie,” and an extended explanation of the functions exercised by the “governour”: “who administreth chiefeest causes of iustice...”.

Long explanations, detailed descriptions and even encyclopaedic information are quite common when the Spanish term refers to a natural element. This is the case of (5), where readers are told that a *flamingo* (Spanish *flamenco*, *flemengo* in the text) is a type of “foule of the fresh rivers,” and then provided with a detailed description of these birds, allowing them to visualize the animal: “having all redde fethers ...”. Likewise, the text in (6) illustrates the definition of *tabacco* (Spanish *tabaco*), “a kinde of herbe dried,” as well as a lengthy account of its qualities.

- (5) But for the foule of the fresh rivers, these two I noted to bee the chiefe, whereof the **Flemengo** is one, hauing all redde fethers, and long redde legges like a Herne, a necke according to the bill redde, whereof the vpper nebbe hangeth an inche ouer the nether. (Hakluyt, 1589: 542)
- (6) [gloss in the margin] **Tabacco**, & the great virtue thereof. [text] The *Floridians* when they trauell haue a kinde of herbe dried, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, do sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or fiue dayes without meat or drinke [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 541)

In most of these cases, the status of a term as a borrowing from another language, and, therefore, alien to English, is signalled by means of phrases such as “it is called”, “called among them” or “called by the name of”, highlighting the otherness of the term.

Context

In other instances, the meanings of the loanwords can be easily inferred from the context. Thus, in (7), the meaning of the word *buttizio*, a rendering of the Spanish *botijo*, can be easily understood as it collocates with a word designating a liquid, *wine*, such that the reader may assume it is a vessel or container:

- (7) [...] and three Negroes, who thinking vs. to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed vs. with a drumme, and made ready a **Buttizio** of wine of Chile to drinke to vs. [...] (Hakluyt, 1589: M m m. 6. r).

In (8), the reference to a sickness suggests that *callentura* (Spanish *calentura*) is a word related to disease, and in (9) the narrative itself helps English readers to

understand that the only way to cross the river is to build a wooden boat, called by the Spanish word *balsa*, which is used by the Spaniards, while the Indians swim. The Spanish word is also translated in the margin as *drafte*:

- (8) After dinner came the General, [...] and divers others, to visite Master *Walker*, who sickened the Friday before of a **Callentura**. (Hakluyt, 1589: 657)
- (9) [...] going still along by this riuer the space of 3. daies seeking passage to passe ouer, & finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a **Balsa**, which when we had made we sate on it, & the Indians swimming in ye water [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 592)

No Explanation or Contextual Aid

In the corpus, we find a large number of borrowings that are integrated into the text without any explanation or contextual cues. In some cases, it seems obvious that the word was well known at the time, like *armada* (*armado* in the text) (10) and *negro* (11). The defeat of the famous Spanish or Invincible Armada had made this word popular just the year before the publication of Hakluyt's compilation, and African slaves had been transported from across the Atlantic Ocean to America since the early sixteenth century (Dowlah, 2020: 81). Other terms, such as *cargazón* in (12), were related to the field of navigation and may have formed part of the usual jargon of these authors, most of whom were navigators.

- (10) Our captaine replied, that hee was in an **Armado** of the Queenes maiesties of England, and sent about other her affaires [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 534)
- (11) And being amongst other particulers assured, that **Negroes** were very good marchandise in *Hispaniola*, and that store of **Negroes** might easily be had vpon the coast of Guinea [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 521)
- (12) This sorowful accident caused them with such pepper and teeth, as they could then finde, speedely to returne to the shippe, as by the **Cargason** will appeare [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 818)

The Use of an English Equivalent

A fourth strategy used by the authors to convey the meaning of new words was through direct translation; that is, to replace the words in the source language, Spanish, with their equivalents in English. The English equivalent terms are usually introduced with the coordinating conjunction “or”, thus creating a pairing of the Spanish and English words: “Crocodile or Alligato” (13) (Spanish *lagarto*), “Manilios or Bracelets” (14) (Spanish *manilla*), “quinto or costume” (15) (Spanish *quinto*), “bread or ruske” (16) (Spanish *rosca*).

- (13) [...] wee sawe in the water among us a Crocodile or **Alligato**, which we assaulted [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 650)
- (14) All the people generally do weare **Manilios** or Bracelets, as big as a mans finger, vpon each of their armes [...] (Hakluyt, 1589: 557–558).

- (15) But nowe they [the Indians] must be well paied, and much entreated to have them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the Mynes and to the Kings **quinto** or custome. (Hakluyt, 1589: 549)
- (16) Nowe having [...] put aboorde our provision, which was wines, bread or **ruske**, fishe wette and drie, sweete oyles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 690)

The Use of a Generic term

On other occasions, the use of a generic or superordinate term referring to a broad category that includes the loanword contributes to a general understanding of the meaning of the new word integrated into the English text.

In example (17) the author uses the generic term “fruit” to explain the meaning of the word *figo* (one of the spellings of the word *higo* in sixteenth-century Spanish).

- (17) Wee had of them store of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call **Figo**, with store of cloves. (Hakluyt, 1589: Mmm. 9. v)

The use of the broad term *shippe* in (18) indicates that the word *vizcaíno*, spelled *Biskaine* in the text, is a type of vessel:

- (18) The 17. wee met a shippe at Sea, and as farre as wee could iudge it was a **Biskaine**: wee thought she went a fishing for Whales, for in 52. degrees or thereabout, we saw very many. (Hakluyt, 1589: 792)

Inclusion in an Enumeration or List

Inclusion of the loanword on a list, together with other terms with similar meanings, also helped readers to understand it. Lists which include new loanwords are sometimes introduced by a generic term or expression; therefore, the meaning of new words can be inferred (a) because it is included on a list with similar terms, and (b) because there is a reference to a generic term.

In (19), for example, the mere reference to the word *fruites* makes clear to the English reader that *plantanos* (Spanish *plátano*), “whereof wee haue none,” is the name of a fruit. The coexistence of the word *plantanos* with other words known by the reader in the same enumeration (i.e., *black cherries*) indicates that they are all semantically related.

- (19) Also there are many goodly fruites in that Countrey, whereof wee have none such, as **Plantanos**, Guyaues, Sapotes, Tunes, and in the wilderness great store of black cherries, & other wholsome fruites. (Hakluyt, 1589: 587).

Similarly, the superordinate term *fish* that introduces the words on the list in (20) indicates that the words on it belong to this category, including the Spanish word *bonito*, while the reference to other fish on the same list reinforces this meaning.

- (20) There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the ***Bonito***, lobsters, turbut, with others infinite not sought after [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 689).

Conclusions

This study has shown the relevance of Richard Hakluyt's *TPN* in the context of the lexical expansion that characterized the Early Modern English period, as it played a fundamental role in the introduction and dissemination of loanwords from Spanish.

After an exhaustive study of the corpus, we identified 90 Hispanicisms whose frequency of overall use and distribution across the different texts reveal a preference for words related to the maritime and commercial contexts. Likewise, the classification of Hispanicisms by lexical field, following the categories established by the *Historical Thesaurus*, yields results confirming the most frequent words and those with the widest distribution, thus demonstrating the impact that contact with the Spanish colonies in the Americas had on the language of English travellers.

Analysis of the texts in which the Hispanicisms of the corpus appear allows us to identify six strategies used by the authors to transmit the meaning of these words to English readers: (i) the Hispanicisms are accompanied by an explanation or definition, (ii) the context helps the readers to understand the meaning of the Spanish words, (iii) sometimes there is no explanatory gloss or contextual help, but this usually occurs with words familiar to the readers, (iv) the Spanish loanword is accompanied by an English synonym through a coordination, (v) the use of a generic term helps the readers to understand the meaning of the Spanish word, and (vi) the inclusion of the Spanish term on a list, together with other similar words, helps the reader to understand it. Moreover, these lists are usually preceded by an introductory generic term. The use of these explanatory strategies indicates that these were terms with which English readers were not familiar, precisely because of their recent incorporation into the language. This last point has been corroborated by the comparison carried out with the registration dates in the *OED*, which reveal to us that 11 terms in our inventory were contemporaneous with the publication of *TPN*, this work being among the first sources in 10 cases. The fact that 42 of the terms are dated close to the publication of Hakluyt's popular compilation confirms the important role played by this work in disseminating Spanish borrowings among readers. Finally, we find 27 antedatings, which point to *TPN* as a pioneering work in the introduction of these words in the English language.

The analysis of *TPN* has demonstrated the necessity of resorting to original texts to validate and complement the data recorded in the *OED* and corroborate the use and introduction of Spanish words in the Golden Age of the Spanish Empire. Travel literature, and *TPN* in particular, has proved a valuable source of information for the study of loanwords from Spanish, however, many texts on exploration remain to be studied. It is the aim of these authors to continue this line of research by analysing other travel books on America

and discovering the lexical heritage that other languages have bequeathed to the English language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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2.2. Publication 2: Defining Amerindian terms in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) or when the explorers became lexicographers

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This publication addresses the following proposed objectives:

- (i) To identify and compile the Spanish and Amerindian terms present in the corpus.
- (ii) To determine which types of Spanish and Amerindian terms were most likely to be introduced.
- (iii) To analyse the strategies used by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of the Amerindian and Spanish words to the readers.
- (iv) To study the similarities between the strategies employed by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of Amerindian words and those used by lexicographers from the 16th-18th centuries.



Defining Amerindian
words in Richard
Hakluyt's *The Principall
Nauigations* (1589); or,
when explorers became
lexicographers

SARA VON DER FECHT-FERNÁNDEZ

Abstract This article deals with the incorporation of Amerindian loanwords into Early Modern English through travel literature, a genre that made essential contributions during the Age of Discovery. Specifically, it focuses on those texts included in the third volume of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589), the first great travel compilation written in English, which contains reports of New World expeditions and, thus, descriptions of a faraway, unknown environment rife with unknown elements whose indigenous names were adopted and reproduced in the adventurers' narratives. This collection of texts constitutes the corpus of study.

The article is a follow-up to Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernández's study (2024) on the integration of the Amerindian loanwords introduced by the authors compiled in *The Principall Nauigations* into the first English dictionaries, which yielded 25 Amerindian loanwords, like *cacao*, *maguey* and *sapota*. But, what kind of words were they? And, how were they explained to English readers? In order to find answers, this work classifies the Amerindian terms in question according to the lexical fields into which they fall. In addition, these borrowings are analysed in their contexts to determine the strategies used by English travellers to explain their meanings to readers unfamiliar with the new words. Finally, the study compares these strategies and the definitions for the same words recorded in 16th-, 17th- and 18th-century dictionaries.

Keywords Amerindian loanwords, Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, travel literature, Early Modern English lexicography

1. Introduction¹

The expansionist adventure fostered by Elizabeth I in the 16th century following the success of Spain's advances in the New World not only led to

¹ This publication is part of the PID2019-104199GB-I00 research grant, funded by MICIU/AEI/ 10.13039/501100011033 ("Americanismos léxicos en las lenguas española e inglesa documentados en textos sobre América anteriores a 1700: AMERLEX-DATABASE" / "Lexical Americanisms in the Spanish and English languages documented in texts on the Americas prior to 1700: AMERLEX-DATABASE"). It was also co-financed by the Canary Islands' Agency for Research, Innovation and the Society of Information, under the Ministry of Economy, Knowledge and Employment; and by the European Social Fund (ESF), Integrated Operational Program of the Canary Islands 2014–2020, Axis 3, Priority Topic 74 (85%).

the discovery of new territories, but also raised scientific interest in “the new realities contained in the treatises that described and designated them”(Nieto Jiménez & Alvar Ezquerro 2003: 85 [transl.]²). Smith (2023: 133) notes that the adoption of foreign words partly “resulted from the encounter between Europeans and the peoples they met during the trading and imperial expansions of the period” (see also Nevalainen 1999: 36). Indeed, contact with the different Amerindian languages brought about the introduction of new words to name elements of the new American³ reality, particularly in travel books. In England, the texts by English adventurers and the translations of Spanish travel books into English exhibited a “tendency to use a number of words, sentences, and idioms taken from the languages spoken in each area” (González Cruz & González de la Rosa 2006: 204). As Nevalainen (1999: 332) indicates, “borrowed lexis supplies new names for new concepts”, and the new borrowed Amerindian words contributed to the expansion of the English lexicon during a time span known for its lexical effervescence: the Early Modern English period, covering the 16th and the 17th centuries. This period presents “the fastest vocabulary growth in the history of English in proportion to the vocabulary size of the time” (Nevalainen 1999: 336).

According to Fajardo Aguirre (2023: 6), the lexical explanations provided by the travellers in their chronicles “are of great interest for the history of the lexicon and, as a documentary basis, for historical lexicography” [transl.]⁴. In addition, the use of these terms served propaganda purposes, as they lent the story an air of truthfulness which was considered necessary to impress and persuade the potential funders of new expeditions (Campbell 2018: 230):

In general, travel writers combined external and internal forms of authentication, offering a double foundation for accepting what they had to say. On its own terms, the ‘internal’ dimension needed to establish a sense of having ‘been there’. Language competence, as

2 Original quote: “nuevas realidades reflejadas en los tratados que las describen y que, por lo mismo, las nombran”.

3 In this article *America* and *American* are used in their historic sense, referring to what was, during the era in question, the continent of America (the New World, North and South America).

4 Original quote: “son de gran interés para la historia del léxico y como base documental para la lexicografía histórica”.

we have seen, constituted one highly effective method for doing so, partly on the supposition that such skill depended on a stay of some duration. (Carey 2019: 534)

Quite frequently, those terms coming from occupied territories were introduced indirectly through the language of their colonisers (Smith 2023: 133-134); this is the case of Amerindian terms in English, which were mostly introduced through Spanish (Serjeantson 1935: 195-196; Schlauch 1960: 97; Algeo 1996: 13; Nevalainen 1999: 372-373; Belda Medina 2002: 26; Durkin 2014: 353; Moreno Moreno 2014: 142).

In this work the expression “Amerindian loanwords” describes those terms of indigenous origin used in the Spanish American territories that were transferred into English. Thus, we are referring to the first group in Serjeantson’s classification (1935: 250), which contains the words from American languages spoken in “South and Central America, Mexico, and the West Indies”.⁵ Amerindian loanwords entered the English language especially through translations into English of Spanish texts about expeditions to America, such as Monardes’ *Ioyfull Newes Out of the Newe Founde Worlde* (1577), López de Gómara’s *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India* (1578), and Acosta’s *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604).

But travel accounts written by English navigators soon followed, and figures such as Walter Raleigh, John Hawkins or Francis Drake presented to the English public their expeditions to American territories occupied by Spaniards in texts peppered with indigenous words designating exotic elements. As Serjeantson (1935: 196) states, many of these new Amerindian loanwords appeared for the first time in Richard Hakluyt’s masterpiece, *The Principall Nauigations* (1589; *TPN* henceforth).

TPN is a key work when it comes to English travel literature, as it is considered the first great compilation of travel texts originally written in English. It did not just preserve the information contained in many old records that otherwise might have been forgotten, but also exposed the contemporaneous discoveries of the English nation to the public, thus

5 In order to avoid repetition, we will also use the phrase “American indigenous term” or “indigenous term”.

promoting new expeditions, and helping to lay the foundations of the emerging British Empire. As Markham indicates (1896: 9), thanks to the publication of *TPN* Hakluyt “saved numerous journals and narratives from destruction, and the deeds they record from oblivion. His work gave a stimulus to colonial and to maritime enterprise, and it inspired our literature”.

From a philological perspective, *TPN* represents a valuable source for the study of the influence of foreign languages on the development of the Early Modern English lexis. (von der Fecht-Fernández & Rodríguez-Álvarez 2023: 127). Moreover, Hakluyt adhered to Ramusio's⁶ humanist approach by maintaining the original texts instead of incorporating them into his own narrative, thus avoiding significant editorial interventions (Carey 2012: 17-18). This “remarkable fidelity” with which Hakluyt reproduced the original material (MacCrossan 2009: 105), as well as his commitment to use primary sources (Cabello Pizarro & Stewart Stokes 1999: 185), entails a trustworthy reproduction of the language used in the original first-hand accounts that deserves to be studied and analysed.

In addition to being a reputable geographer and consultant known for his fervent patriotism and his efforts to promote English colonial expansion, Richard Hakluyt was a polyglot who, despite his own limited experience abroad, possessed extensive knowledge of the languages used by travellers (Rogers 1974: 44). It is not rare, then, to find in the pages of his work foreign words that are explained by “supplying a rough equivalent at first occurrence (‘mays’ – ‘maiz, or corne’ [...])” or maintained “when he could think of no equivalent term: ‘cacique””, consequently introducing them in the English language (Rogers 1974: 46).

But, what kind of Amerindian loanwords were introduced in these travel accounts? How did the authors of these travel narratives deal with the challenge of explaining the meaning of new words for hitherto-unseen elements at a time when the first English monolingual dictionaries had not even been published? And, above all, did the defining strategies used by travel writers anticipate the definitions for the same words in the early hard-word dictionaries of the 16th and the 17th centuries, and in those “universal

⁶ Giovanni Battista Ramusio was a recognised Venetian geographer and editor of travel texts, mainly known for his compilation *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550-1559) (Romanini 2007).

dictionaries” of the 18th century, when English lexicography started to become consolidated (Starnes & Noyes 1991; Osselton 2009)? In order to address these questions, we have established the following aims: (i) to classify the Amerindian terms according to the lexical fields they fall into for the purpose of establishing what kind of Amerindian terms were most likely to be introduced; (ii) to analyse how the meanings of these new words were explained to English readers, unfamiliar with indigenous languages; and (iii) to study the similarities between the defining practices of the authors compiled in *TPN* and the definitions of early English lexicographers up to the 18th century.

To follow this introduction, Section 2 presents the textual and lexicographical corpora used for the study, as well as the methodology adopted; Section 3 will focus, first, on the lexical fields affected by the introduction of Amerindian loanwords and, second, on the visual and textual markers that point to the American origin of the words; Section 4 contains the analysis of the defining strategies used to render the meaning of the Amerindian loanwords included in the third volume of *TPN*, dedicated to the expeditions to America, and compares them with the strategies used in 16th- to 18th-century English monolingual and bilingual dictionaries to explain the same terms. The analysis aims to ascertain whether the strategies used in *TPN* somehow anticipate the definitions that were later compiled in the first dictionaries published at the end of the 16th century, throughout the 17th, and especially in the 18th, when language codification was a main concern for dictionary compilers (Yong & Peng 2022: 82-83). Finally, the conclusions drawn from this study will be presented.

2. Corpus and methodology

2.1 *The Principall Nauigations* (1589)

TPN is a compilation of all the writings on British overseas expeditions undertaken “within the compass of these 1500 yeeres” (Hakluyt 1589: title page). With this work Hakluyt sought, on the one hand, to exalt England’s role in the history of maritime exploration, and, on the other hand, to urge his country to play a more active role in the colonial race, in order to put it on

a par with the main European naval powers of the time: Spain and Portugal (Borge 2003: 5; Hadfield 2007: 130; Carey 2012: 18).

TPN consists of three volumes, each one compiling the narratives that describe the English voyages around a different geographical area. But, apart from these narratives, we can also find other related documents such as patents, commissions, instructions, itineraries, maps and letters (Parks 1961: 126; Borge 2003: 6). The texts were not written by Hakluyt himself, but rather by those merchants, privateers or adventurers that were involved in the expeditions. Thence, Hakluyt collected, edited and published their writings (Fuller 2008: 4), and sometimes even commissioned or transcribed them from oral testimonies (Parks 1961: 127).

The present study focuses on the third and last volume, which is devoted to the Americas. According to Quinn's classification (1974: 341-377), it contains 33 travel narratives and 44 miscellaneous texts, such as the aforesaid letters, patents and itineraries. This collection of texts played a significant role in the dissemination of Latin American indigenous words in the English language. In fact, out of the 22 Amerindian loanwords in *TPN* registered in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED* henceforth; see Rodríguez-Álvarez & von der Fecht-Fernández 2024; see also Section 3 below), ten mention Hakluyt as their main source, with six of these directly alluding to the volume under consideration here.

2.2. 16th-, 17th- and 18th-century dictionaries

As one of the aims this article is to analyse the defining practices of the authors of the corpus and to compare them with the definitions provided by contemporary and subsequent dictionaries, a chronological list of the dictionaries consulted is included in Table 1. The selection includes both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, English-Spanish in particular, although Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) has also been included due to, first, its great influence on the composition of later English dictionaries, whether bilingual or monolingual (Starnes 1937: 1012; Steiner 1970: 39; Hayashi 1978: 55; Domínguez-Rodríguez 2016: 154), and, second, its coverage of Amerindian terms that entered English through Spanish.

It is important to note that the *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (*LEME* henceforth) was used for the first lexicographical searches. However, as

reported in Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernández's analysis of the applications and limitations of digital tools for the study of Amerindian words (2024: 316-322), the powerful *LEME* database has not been useful, as it omits a great number of dictionaries in which the Amerindian words in question are actually recorded. Various reasons account for this lack of data. Firstly, the contents of some dictionaries have not been uploaded to *LEME* to date (e.g. Perceval 1591, Cockeram 1623, Cocker 1704, Stevens 1706, Anon. 1707, among others), which implied that out of the 35 dictionaries in Table 1, we could only consult 13 in *LEME*. In addition, the automated searches are based on present-day English spellings, or on the different spellings recorded by the lexicographers included in the database, which do not necessarily coincide with the spellings of the Amerindian words in the travel books.

As for the headwords contained in bilingual dictionaries, they are rarely explained; instead, they offer a translation or an equivalent of the term (Hernández 1988: 160; Lancashire 1996: 6; Lancashire 2003: 4), a feature that will be mentioned further on, in Section 4.2. Regarding the approach to Amerindian words in English-Spanish bilingual lexicography, Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro (2003: 83-84 [transl.]⁷) note some interesting facts:

It is true that in the Spanish-English lexicography the small vocabulary of John Thorius and the slightly larger one of Richard Stepney do not contain any reference to America in the description of their voices, and that in the work of Richard Percivale they are not excessively abundant [...] but in that of John Minsheu, an extension of the latter's, they are numerous [...], although we should note that some references to the Indies are to the East and not to the West [...]. It is interesting to note that references to the American world

7 Original quote: “Es cierto que en la lexicografía hispano-inglesa el pequeño vocabulario de John Thorius y el poco más amplio de Richard Stepney no contienen ninguna referencia a América en la descripción de sus voces, y que en la obra Richard Percivale no son excesivamente abundantes [...] pero en la de John Minsheu, ampliación de la de este último, sí son numerosas [...], si bien deberíamos advertir que algunas referencias a las Indias lo son a las orientales y no a las occidentales [...] Es interesante resaltar cómo las referencias al mundo Americano son bastante más pobres en los repertorios españoles que en los bilingües, especialmente en los ingleses, dándose la paradoja de que no pocas de las primeras documentaciones lexicográficas de americanismos se producen en esos repertorios”.

are rather poorer in Spanish repertoires than in bilingual ones, especially in English ones, and the paradox is that many of the first lexicographical documentations of Americanisms are produced in these repertoires.

English monolingual dictionaries were conceived as a solution to the enormous expansion of the English lexicon during the 16th and 17th centuries (Lancashire 2003: 5; Sterkenburg 2003: 11-12). In this regard, Peters (1968: 29) highlights:

The first English dictionary was Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall*, published in London in 1604. The 130-page work of 2,521 entries was the first vocabulary work in England devoted entirely to an alphabetical listing of "hard" English words explained by other English words instead of words from some other language, such as Latin.

These early English monolingual dictionaries replicate the structure of the previous bilingual dictionaries (Nagy 1999: 447; Lancashire 2003: 5), but with a more complex method of definition, one entailing use of the English language both for the headword and the description (Lancashire 1996: 7; Sterkenburg 2003: 3). In addition, they denote an attempt to "elevate the English language and to educate the vulgar reader" (Nagy 1999: 447), a function that goes beyond the mere rendering of meaning. The different defining practices of bilingual and monolingual dictionaries will serve as a counterpoint to analyse the defining practices in *TPN*.

It is important to mention here that reproducing definitions from previous dictionaries was a widespread practice among early lexicographers. Therefore, many of the definitions of Amerindian terms present similar wordings in many dictionaries (Starnes & Noyes 1991: 183; Landau 2001: 143; Rodríguez-Álvarez & Rodríguez-Gil 2006).

The study involved searching for Amerindian vocabulary in both English monolingual and English-Spanish bilingual dictionaries published over the two centuries following the publication of Hakluyt's compilation. For this purpose, we consulted 35 dictionaries in total, 10 bilingual and 25 monolingual, listed chronologically in Table 1.

Table 1. List of dictionaries consulted, in chronological order.⁸

AUTHOR	TITLE
Del Corro & Thorius	<i>The Spanish Grammer [The Spanish Dictionarie] (1590)</i>
Perceval	<i>Bibliotheca Hispanica (1591)</i>
Stepney	<i>The Spanish Schoole-master (1591)</i>
Florio	<i>A Worlde of Words (1598)</i>
Perceval & Minsheu	<i>A Dictionarie in Spanish and English (1599)</i>
Cawdrey	<i>A Table Alphabetical (1604)</i>
Bullokar	<i>An English Exhibitor (1616)</i>
Cockeram	<i>The English Dictionarie (1623)</i>
Blount	<i>Glossographia (1656)</i>
Phillips	<i>The New World of English Words (1658)</i>
Coles	<i>An English Dictionary (1676)</i>
Hogarth	<i>Gazophylacium Anglicanum (1689)</i>
Kersey	<i>A New English Dictionary (1702)</i>
Cocker	<i>Cocker's English Dictionary (1704)</i>
Kersey & Phillips	<i>The New World of English Words (1706)</i>
Stevens	<i>A New Spanish and English Dictionary (1706)</i>
Anon.	<i>Glossographia Anglicana Nova (1707)</i>
Kersey	<i>Dictionariun Anglo-Britannicum (1708)</i>
Bailey	<i>An Universal Etymological English Dictionary (1721)</i>
Bailey	<i>The Universal Etymological English Dictionary, vol. II (1727)</i>
Bailey	<i>Dictionarium Britannicum (1730)</i>
Dyche & Pardon	<i>A New General English Dictionary (1735)</i>
Defoe	<i>A New English Dictionary (1735)</i>
Pineda	<i>Nuevo Dicionario, Español e Ingles e Ingles y Español (1740)</i>
Martin	<i>Lingua Britannica Reformata (1749)</i>
Anon.	<i>A Pocket Dictionary or Complete English Expositor (1753)</i>

⁸ Bilingual dictionaries have been shaded.

Wesley	<i>The Complete English Dictionary</i> (1753)
Scott & Bailey	<i>A New Universal Etymological English Dictionary</i> (1755)
Johnson	<i>A Dictionary of the English Language</i> (1755)
Giral del Pino	<i>A Dictionary Spanish and English, and English and Spanish</i> (1763)
Kenrick	<i>A New Dictionary of the English Language</i> (1773)
Barclay	<i>A Complete and Universal English Dictionary on a New Plan</i> (1774)
Ash	<i>The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language</i> (1775)
Baretti	<i>A Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish</i> (1778)
Connelly & Higgins	<i>Diccionario Nuevo de las Dos Lenguas Española ê Inglesa</i> (1797-1798)

As can be observed in Table 1, the 16th century presents five bilingual dictionaries; the 17th century, seven monolingual dictionaries; and the 18th century, 23 dictionaries, of which five are bilingual and 18 are monolingual.

2.3. Methodology

The methodology adopted in this article responds to the different stages of the work, which, in turn, correspond to the objectives described below in more detail.

(i) To classify the Amerindian terms into lexical fields

The classification of Amerindian terms into semantic fields and the number of entries in each of them help to detect the areas of interest of British explorers in these early expeditions to America. Thus, the scarcity or non-existence of terms related to, for example, religious rites or indigenous traditions, may suggest that these were issues that did not stir great interest.

In order to establish a semantic classification of the Amerindian terms already identified in Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernández (2024), the taxonomy established in the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED henceforth) was followed. It is important to highlight that lexical categories in this thesaurus are divided into more specific subcategories which may feature a complex semantic organisation. Therefore, the method adopted in von der Fecht-Fernández and Rodríguez-Álvarez's article on Spanish loanwords in *TPN* (2023: 9) was adopted in this study:

[...] we followed the taxonomical classification established by the *Historical Thesaurus* in the *OED*, which is based on three major lexical fields: “the external world”, “the mind” and “society”. Each entry in the *Historical Thesaurus* offers a series of interconnected lexical fields, beginning with a general category that is divided into specific subcategories. The level of specificity is sometimes so great that offering a classification of an extensive corpus of words reaching those levels of detail was impractical and unworkable. Therefore, when carrying out the classification, we chose to ignore the three large lexical areas constituting the first level of classification, and to use only three categories. Level 2 is the starting point in order to avoid the ambiguity that might result from the generality of the first category, and is complemented by the third and fourth subcategory.

In accordance with this method, the Amerindian loanwords were classified into the following lexical fields in order to determine which category contains the greater proportion of words, as can be seen in Table 2:

Table 2. Lexical fields of the corpus, according to HTOED.

LEVEL 2 CATEGORIES	LEVEL 3 / 4 CATEGORIES
animals	birds / fish / invertebrates
authority	rule or government of family or people
food and drink	corn, cereals or grain / fruit and vegetables / intoxicating liquor
people	ethnicities
plants	cultivated or valued plants / plants and herbs / trees and shrubs
the earth	weather
travel	vessel, ship or boat

(II) To analyse how the meanings of these new words were explained to English readers, unfamiliar with these languages

In order to accomplish this objective, the excerpts with American indigenous terms were examined to identify the different strategies used by the authors to render the meaning of these loanwords. Then, these strategies were classified

separately, providing illustrative examples that facilitate comparison with the definitions in the dictionaries. The articles by Rodríguez-Álvarez (2010) and von der Fecht-Fernández and Rodríguez-Álvarez (2023) were taken into account in this analysis, as they also discuss different mechanisms to render the meaning of Spanish and Amerindian words in English travel books about America, although the former is a preliminary study on a variety of authors, and the latter focuses just on the Spanish terms in Hakluyt.

(III) To study the similarities between the defining practices of the authors compiled in *TPN* and those used by early English lexicographers up to the 18th century

After searching the Amerindian loanwords in the corpus of dictionaries, the defining practices used in the dictionaries were analysed in order to detect possible similarities with the strategies used in *TPN*. Those defining mechanisms that were used in both corpora were then compared.

3. Amerindian words in *The Principall Navigations* (1589) and in the dictionaries from the 16th to the 18th century

A former study by Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernández (2024) revealed the presence of 25 Amerindian terms in the third volume of *TPN*, of which 22 are recorded in the *OED*. The list below includes these loanwords as registered in the *OED*; those that are not included in the *OED* (marked with an asterisk) are spelt as in the *Diccionario de Americanismos* of the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (ASALE):

aguacate, cacao, cacique, Campeachy wood, cannibal, canoe, capulin, Carib, cassava, guano, guava, guaiacum, hurricane, maguey, maize, mammee, mesquite, nocheztlí, potato,⁹ pulque, tecuán*, tiburón,¹⁰ tlaxcal*, tuna and sapota.*

⁹ Although the term *potato* is actually a compound of Spanish formation which combines the Amerindian words *papa* and *batata* (see the entry for *patata* in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*), it has been added to this list because most of the studies on Amerindian loanwords include it.

¹⁰ Although in the etymology of *tiburón* the *OED* points to an “origin uncertain”, it also states the following: “probably taken into Spanish or Portuguese from some West

Out of these 25 Amerindian loanwords, Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernández (2024) indicate that “13 were listed in dictionaries from the sixteenth century, nine in dictionaries from the seventeenth century, and 22 in dictionaries from the eighteenth century”. The data obtained in this study show that the only words that were not recorded in any of the dictionaries coincide with those that are not included in the *OED*.

However, Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernández (2024) did not provide a semantic classification of these borrowings, which could have shown the kind of new elements discovered by the English explorers for which they could not find a familiar name. The classification is presented in Table 3, which also contains the loanwords that were not registered in the *OED*. American indigenous terms have been classified according to their lexical fields taking the taxonomy in the *HTOED* as a reference.

Table 3. Classification of the Amerindian terms into lexical fields.

Lexical field	No. of Amerindian terms	Amerindian terms
animals	3	<i>guano, tecuán*, tiburón</i>
authority	1	<i>cacique</i>
food and drink	13	<i>aguacate, cacao, capulín, cassava, guava, maize, mamee, nocheztli*, potato, pulque, tlaxcal*, tuna, sapota</i>
people	2	<i>cannibal, Carib</i>
plants	4	<i>Campeachy wood, guaiacum, maguey, mesquite</i>
the earth	1	<i>hurricane</i>
travel	1	<i>canoe</i>

Most of the lexical areas are related to the natural world encountered by the English explorers. Thus, the field with the highest number of Amerindian borrowings is “food and drink”, which designates elements useful for subsistence in a hostile and alien environment. Other categories, like “animals” and “plants”, not only named exoticisms but also commodities and potentially marketable goods that could constitute sources of wealth.

Indian or East Indian language” ([oed.com](https://www.oed.com)). Besides, considering that it first appeared in texts on American territories, it has been included on the list of Amerindian terms.

3.1. Visual identity of the Amerindian words in *TPN* (1589)

The identification of the Amerindian terms in the text was a challenging task due to inconsistencies in their spelling. However, a number of editorial practices that rely on graphic marks, such as the use of a different font, capital letters, and marginal notes, has facilitated the task, even though they are not used systematically. The very act of marking these words visually is worth noting because it suggests Hakluyt's linguistic awareness as an editor.

The most frequent practice among the aforementioned is the use of a different font, which in this article will be indicated by the use of italics, as in (1).¹¹ This practice, also applied to place names and demonyms, is likewise found in many dictionaries, as illustrated in (2).

1. In a certaine prouince which is called *Guatimala*, and *Sacanosco*, there is growing great store of **Cacao**; which is a berrie like vnto an Almond: It is the best Marchandise that is in all the *Indies*. The *Indians* make drinke of it, and in like maner meate to eate. It goeth currently for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese or other things. (Hakluyt 1589: 547)¹²
2. **Guáno**, s. m. so the *Indians* of *Peru* call the Dung of certain Sea Fowl, whereof they fetch vast Quantities from little Islands near the Coast, to manure their Ground [...]. (Pineda 1740)

As we can see in (1), the change of font is often combined with capitalisation, although lower case without any font change may also be found (3). Furthermore, a capitalised indigenous word can appear without a change of font, but this is less frequently the case (4):

3. [...] they redeemed their husbands with fruites, as plantans, **mameias**, pineapples, oranges, and limons [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 811)

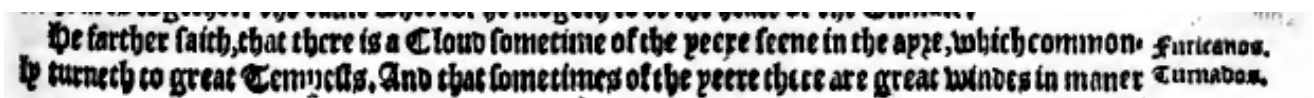
¹¹ The use of italics or a different font to signal foreign words in a text is not new. In this regard, see McConchie (2011), Skaffari (2018), Rubright (2016: 487) among others.

¹² Boldface in the examples from *TPN* and dictionary entries are mine.

4. These *Indians* from 14. Yeeres olde vpwards, pay vnto the King for their yeerely tribute, one ounce of siluer, and an hannege of **Maiz** [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 588)

Finally, there are cases in which the Amerindian term is placed as a side note to highlight the element that is described in the text; thus, for example, “furicanos” (*hurricane*) is provided as a marginal note for the excerpt in (5), as shown in the caption:¹³

5. He farther saith, that there is a Cloud sometime of the yeere seene in the ayre, which commonly turneth to great Tempests. (Hakluyt 1589: 560)



3.2. Indication of the Amerindian origin of the words

The American origin of the Amerindian words is rarely specified in *TPN*, but it is possible to find some references to the “Indian tongue” as the donor language; the text in (6), about Miles Phillips’ experiences in Mexico, illustrates this practice:

6. [...] they vnderstanding by our captaine how long we had beene without meate, imparted betweene two and two a loafe of bread made of that country wheate, which the Spanyardes call *Mayse*, of the bignesse of one of our halpennie loaues, which bread **is named in the Indian tongue *Clashacally***. (Hakluyt 1589: 569)

Still, it is more common to infer the Amerindian origin of the loanwords from the context. For instance, metalinguistic comments of the kind found in (7), “which they call”, point to the indigenous origin of the terms. In other cases,

¹³ Caption from the copy of Hakluyt’s copyright-free volume in <https://archive.org/>.

phrases conveying spatial deixis make reference to the American location of the objects mentioned, implying that they (the objects and their names) are also American, as in (8). In addition, Amerindian objects are occasionally associated with their indigenous users and, implicitly, their designations can be assumed by the readers as American terms, as in (9), while other excerpts identify Spanish as the language of entry for Amerindian terms, as in (10).

7. This Citie standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth through all or the most part of the streetes, and there come small boates, **which they call** Canoas [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 546)

There is much honie both of bees, and also of a kind of tree **which they cal** Maguez. (Hakluyt 1589: 547)

Another tree **which they call** a *Miskito*: it beareth a fruite like vnto a peasecod marueilous sweete, which the wilde people gather and keepe it all the yeere, and eate it in steede of bread. (Hakluyt 1589: 547)

8. The *Cannybals* **of that Island**, and also others adiacent, are the moste desperate warriors that are in the Indias, by the *Spaniards* report, who are neuer able to conquer them [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 529)

There are many kinde of fruites **of the Countrey** which are very good, as *Plantans*, *Sapotes*, *Guiaues*, *Pinas*, *Aluacatas*, *Tunas*, *Mamios* [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 547)

9. [...] **we found a canoa and an Indian in it** which was fishing, and had caught a very large Tony [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 810)
10. Coscushaw, some of our Company tooke to be that kinde of root **which the Spanyards in the West Indies call** Cassauy, whereupon also many called it by that name [...] (Hakluyt 1589: 755)

In the case of dictionaries, references to the etymological origins of Amerindian words are included from the 17th century onwards (Osselton 1990: 1948), although this practice is not systematic. Indications of the source languages are usually embedded between parentheses or square brackets after the lemmas (11), and sometimes reveal a certain degree of uncertainty as to the origin of the word, as in (12).

11. AVOCA ' DO [**Sp. *persica*, Lat.**] a tree that grows in great plenty in the Spanish West-Indies, as also in Jamaica, and hath been transplaned into the English settlements in America, upon account of its fruit, [...]. (Scott & Bailey 1755)

POTA'TO, S. [**Span.**] an esculent root. (Barclay 1774)

12. *Haracana* or *Hero-cane* (**perhaps from the Spa. *Arancar***) to weed up or pull up by the roots, an impetuous kind of tempest or Whirlwind, happening in the Indies, and those far Countries, [...] (Blount 1656)

The identification of the source languages, however, is not always correct, and Amerindian languages are rarely mentioned, as these words entered English through Spanish. In a few entries, though, the lexicographer suggests that the term may come from an American language (13), although there is never a distinction between the various indigenous languages – Arawak, Taino, Nahuatl, etc. – and the general tags *American* or *Indian* are used instead.

13. *Cacáo*, [...] **The Name is *Indian***. [...]. (Stevens 1706)

POTA'TO. n. s. [**I suppose an American word.**]. [...]. (Johnson 1755)

MAGUEY. S. m. [...] Maguey, **an American name** for the species of aloe, the juice of which, is the common drink of the natives; called *polque* (Connelly & Higgins 1798)

We can also find structures like those used by Hakluyt in (7) in some definitions by Stevens (1706), as shown in (14), which would be reproduced later by Pineda (1740), Giral del Pino (1763) and Baretti (1778):

14. *Cacique*, so **the Indians call** their petty Princes. (Stevens 1706)

In any case, references to the Amerindian origin of these words are normally implicit, both in *TPN* and in the dictionaries studied. This is what Moreno Moreno calls “geolinguistic specification” (2011: 145 [transl.]¹⁴) in his study of Spanish dictionaries of the same period, and what Nieto Jiménez and Alvar Ezquerro (2003: 84 [transl.]¹⁵) identified in Stevens’ dictionary:

To begin with, we must state that Stevens’ mentions of the American world are of a very diverse nature, for while some words are very precisely localised (for example, *acuizehuaria*, a plant from the province of Michoacán), in other cases the references are more general (for example, *anona* or *guanabana*, a fruit that grows on the American continent), or with specifications of various places or areas of greater or lesser extension (for example, *vicuña*, an animal from Peru and Chile).

In other words, tags such as “Indian”, “in India”, “of/among the Indians” are indirect references to the fact that the object, and consequently the name with which it is designated, is also “Indian”. This practice can be found in *TPN* (15) and in dictionaries as early as the 16th century (16). The use of such expressions would continue during the following centuries, together with “of/in the (Spanish) West Indies”, “made/used by the Indians” (17) or,

¹⁴ Original quote: “especificación geolingüística”.

¹⁵ Original quote: “De entrada, hemos de afirmar que las menciones que hace Stevens del mundo americano son de carácter muy diverso, pues mientras algunas voces aparecen localizadas de una manera muy precisa (por ejemplo, *acuizehuaria*, planta de la provincia de Michoacán), en otros casos las referencias son más generales (por ejemplo, *anona* o *guanábana*, fruto que crece en el continente Americano), o con especificaciones de varios lugares o zonas de mayor o menor extensión (por ejemplo, *vicuña*, animal de Perú y Chile)”.

particularly in the 18th century, with expressions alluding to specific areas of the American geography (18). Therefore, the information on the American origin refers to the object defined rather than to the word designating it.

15. [...] and presently one of the Spanyards tooke an **Indian boate** called a Canoa, and so came ouer, being rowed by two Indians [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 568)

[...] we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the **Indian fruite**, called *Nochole*, which fruite is long and small, much like in fashion to a little Cowcumber. Our greedie feeding caused vs to fall sicke of hote burning agues. (Hakluyt 1589: 570)

16. *Cacique*, a **prince of the Indians**. (Perceval 1591)

Potatoes, a sort of **Indian fruit**, whose root is of great virtue. (Phillips 1658)

17. CANOO' (S.) A Boat **made by the Indians** out of the Trunk of a large Tree, by hollowing it with Fire, &c. (Dyche & Pardon 1735)
 GUAYÁBA. s. f. [...] *The guava, or guaiava fruit of the West Indies*. (Connelly & Higgings 1798)

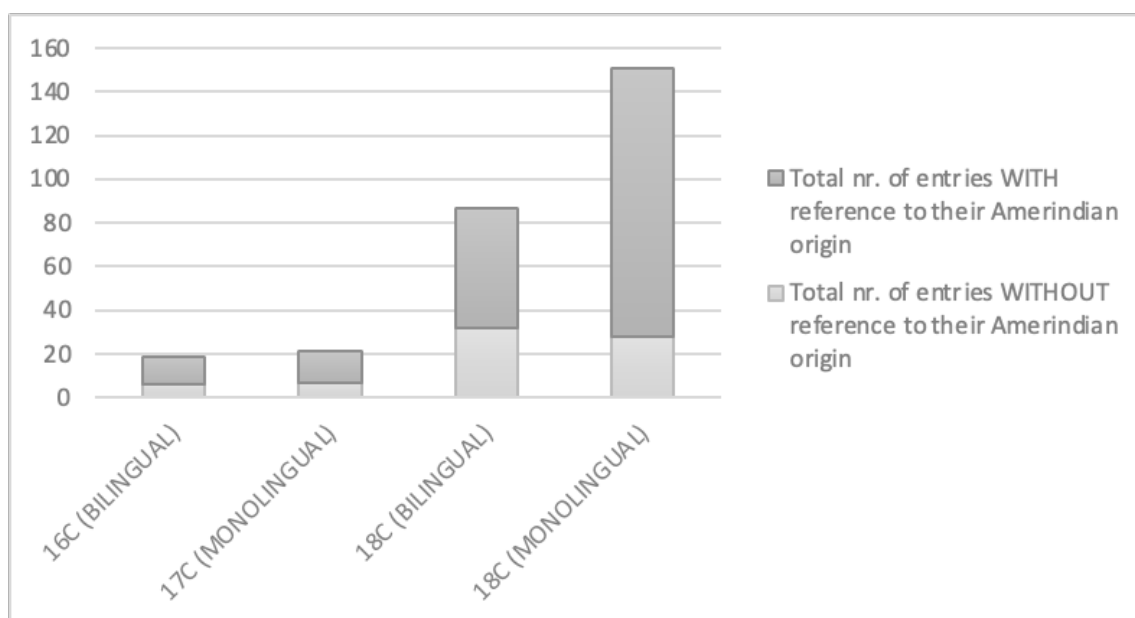
18. *Log-wood* or *Block-wood*, a sort of Wood, otherwise called *Campechio*, from the Name of the Place whence it is brought, viz. a **Town of Yucatan, a Province of New Spain, in Northern America**. It is much us'd by *Dyers*, for making a sad or dark Colour. (Kersey & Phillips 1706)

HU'RRICANES (S.) Violent Storms of Wind, raging chiefly **among the Caribbee Islands**, which blow with such Violence as to drive Ships out of the Harbour upon the Beach, beat down Houses, tear up Trees by the Roots, &c. [...] (Dyche & Pardon 1735)

CAZABE. S. m. [...] Bread made **at the Havana** and elsewhere of the cassava root, yucca, or cassada. V. (Connelly & Higgins 1798)

In general terms, the use of these mechanisms in the dictionaries to indicate the Amerindian origin of the entries was a practice that increased over time. Figure 1 shows the number of definitions in the 16th-, 17th- and 18th-century monolingual and bilingual dictionaries that contain some information from which the American origin of the object can be inferred:¹⁶

Figure 1. Information on the American origin of the defined object or the designating word in dictionaries.



4. Strategies to define amerindian words

After exploring how the indigenous origin of the Amerindian loanwords is signalled, a new question is addressed: how the meanings of the new words are explained to the readers. In this section I will classify the different strategies used by the writers of the chapters in *TPN* to render the meaning of the Amerindian terms. Furthermore, such strategies will be compared with the defining practices of dictionaries from the 16th to the 18th centuries. It is important to note, however, that these mechanisms are rarely found in isolation, as most often two or more are combined to define the new terms.

16 Entries that only mention the Amerindian context in the title of the works used by lexicographers as sources for their definitions have not been considered.

The different strategies identified, both in the corpus and in the dictionaries, are summarised below, and, whenever possible, for each case I will present one example from both *TPN* and the dictionaries of the corpus by way of illustration.

4.1. Generic terms

A generic term is a superordinate word or phrase that represents the lexical field or category in which the word is included. As Sterkenburg (2003: 8) explains, “much of what a definition in a dictionary says, particularly where concrete nouns are concerned, refers to a referent. We cannot define a name without knowledge of the category to which it refers”. Thus, as we can see in (19) and (20), the presence of a generic term (in bold in the examples) enables the reader and dictionary user to infer that *campeachy* and *potato* are a type of wood and a type of root, respectively.

19. The chieftest marchandize which they lade there in smal Frigats is a certaine **wood** called *Campege* [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 593)

Campechio, a kind of *Indian Wood*. (Kersey & Phillips 1706)

20. These Potatoes be the most delicate **rootes** that may be eaten. (Hakluyt 1589: 530)

Potatoes, **Roots** that grow in *America*, a peasant kind of food. (Cocker 1704)

It is common for generic terms, as well as for equivalent words (see Section 4.2.), to be accompanied by structures such as *a sort of* or *a kind of*, as in examples (19), (20) and (21). The inclusion of these expressions implies that the definition provided is a conceptual approximation to the original Amerindian word rather than an accurate definition. The mechanisms to indicate the indigenous origin, described in Section 3.2. (e.g. *Indian*, *in the Indies*, *American*), are also present so that the generic term or equivalent (an English word) is transported to the American reality: “a kind of *Indian Wood*”.

The excerpt in (21) is remarkable since the generic term “flie” is used to explain not only the Amerindian loanword but also a Spanish loanword which had also been recently introduced into English in texts about America (von der Fecht-Fernández & Rodríguez-Álvarez 2023).

21. Wee were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kinde of flie, which **in the Indian tongue is called *Tequani*, and the Spaniards called them *Musketas***. (Hakluyt 1589: 568)

4.2. Equivalent words

Employing an equivalent word means using a concept familiar to the English public that is similar to the one represented by the indigenous term. In this way readers can establish a relationship between the designation of the new Amerindian loanword and an element from their own environment. This strategy is used in both the texts of the *TPN* and in dictionary entries. In fact, early English lexicography is characterised by short and concise explanations, like the “predominantly brief” definitions in Cawdrey (Siemens 1996: 8) or the entries explained “by a synonym or brief comment” in Florio (Rosier 1963: 417).

Quite often this connection is expressed through the disjunctive conjunction *or*. Thus, an equivalent can be a word – like *wheat* for *maize* in (22), or *boat* for *canoe* in (23) –, or an expression – like *man-eater* for *cannibal* in (24), or *dangerous storms* and *violent storm of wind* for *hurricane* in (25).

22. [...] they gaue vs some of the Countrey **wheat**, called *Mayse*, sodden which they feed theyr Hogges withall. (Hakluyt 1589: 569)

Maiz, a kind of **graine or wheat** whereof they make bread in India. (Florio 1598)

23. And *Richard Browne* one of his companions, found one of these great pearles in one of their *Canoes or boats* [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 557)
Canoa, the **boats** of the Indians. (Perceval 1591)

24. The people in those Countreys are professed enemies to the *Canibals* **or men eaters** [...] (Hakluyt 1589: 558)

CA'NIBAL, (S.) A **man-eater**. (Anon. 1753)

25. [...] our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the auoiding of certaine **dangerous stormes** called the *Huricanos*, which accustomed to beginne there about that time of the yeere, and so the 24. of July 1568. wee departed from thence directing our couse North [...]. (Hakluyt, 1589: 563)

HURRICANE, a **violent Storm of Wind**. (Defoe 1735)

4.3. Contextual aids

Due to the different text-types of the works studied (*TPN* being a compilation of narratives, and dictionaries a compilation of headwords and their definitions), there are some strategies to render the meaning of the Amerindian terms that are peculiar to each type of text. Thus, the narrative nature of *TPN* favours the inclusion of Amerindian terms in enumerations and in excerpts where contextual information facilitates the inference of meaning.

When reading the enumerations in (26) and (27), for example, we can deduce that the indigenous terms *cacao* and *potatos* name edible goods or, at least, commodities, since they are found next to other similar objects. Likewise, in (28) the context reveals that the Caribs spotted in their canoes near the coast are probably native inhabitants of the land that the captain sees from his ship, whereas the context in (29) helps the reader to suppose that *maiz* is a kind of grain, since it is measured in bushels (*hanege* in the text, from the Spanish *fanega*); and in (30) the references to the verb *imbark* and *swim* make clear that *canoas* refer to a type of boat.

26. [...] and there is no Port to receiue shipping, vnlesse they be Frigats, which they carry from thence to the Port of S. Iohn *de Vllua* waxe, **Cacao**, hony, & also mantels of cotten wooll [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 593).

27. [...] for there we had at our commandement Spanish wheate, **potatos**, hogs, hens, dried dogfish, and diuers other good things, to our contentment. (Hakluyt 1589: 810)
28. [...] and sailed along the coast vntill the first of Aprill, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Iesus pinnace to discerne the coast, & saw many **Caribes** a shore, and some also in their Canowas [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 530)
29. The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanegge of **Maiz**, which is woorth 4. shillings more, vnto the King euery yeere. (Hakluyt 1589: 550)
30. [...] and imbarking themselues in the **Canoas**, they led their horses by the reines swimming ouer after them [...] Hakluyt 1589: 568)

4.4. Descriptions / explanations

The strategies presented so far do not provide any information on the specificities of the objects that distinguish them from their European counterpart(s). Indeed, making use of adjectives and phrases like “Indian” or “in the West Indies” is just a way to indicate that we are dealing with an element that belongs to the American reality; and defining through a generic term or equivalent only hints at the similarity of the Amerindian and English elements. However, there is a more informative strategy to explain the meaning of the Amerindian loanwords: the use of length-varying definitions that offer more complete information about the object designated. For instance, in (31), the author not only points out that *pulque* is a type of wine (generic term), but also provides detailed information on the ingredients contained in this specific wine; and in (32), beyond the reference to the generic term *corne*, readers are informed of the size and aspect of maize; and the text in (33) presents an elaborate description of a canoe.

31. The people of the Countrey, are of a good stature, tawnie coloured, broad faced, flat nosed. And giuen much to drinke both wine of

Spaine, & also **a certain kind of wine, which they make with hony of *Maguez*, and rootes, and other things which they vse to put into the same. They call the same wine *Pulco*.** (Hakluyt 1589: 548)

32. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came downe to vs, presenting milk & cakes of bread, which they had made of **a kind of corne called *Maise*, in bignes of a pease, the eare where of is much like to a teasel, but a span in length, hauing thereon a number of grains.** (Hakluyt 1589: 530)
33. In this Island of *Sambula*, we found about 50. **boates, called *Amadyes*, or *Canoas*, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out, like, a trough, but yet of a good proportion, being about 8. yardes long, and one in bredth, hanging a beake head, and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out side artificially carued, and painted red, and blewe.** (Hakluyt 1589: 526)

This kind of definition also appears in the dictionaries. For example, in (34), apart from mentioning that *canoe* is a kind of boat (generic term), the definition in Barclay specifies that it is built on a single trunk, a feature which is also mentioned in the previous excerpt from Hakluyt (33).

34. CANO'A, or CANO'E, [pron. *canóo*] S. **an Indian vessel or boat, made of the trunk of a tree, dug hollow; pieces of bark sewed together; or of the small sticks of a pliant wood, covered with seal skins.** (Barclay 1774)

Furthermore, definitions of American indigenous terms may include other Amerindian terms, either to expand the information or to take as a reference another loanword that may be more familiar to English audiences. This is the case of *maguey* in a text of *TPN*, as well as in various dictionary entries (35), which is used to explain the word *pulque*, or the other way around, with *pulque* being used to define *maguey*:

35. [...] & also a certain kind of wine, **which they make with hony of Maguez**, and rootes, and other things which they vse to put into the same. **They call the same wine Pulco**. (Hakluyt 1589: 548)

PULQUE, s. m. the juice of a tree called *maguey*, in New Spain, mixed with other ingredients. (Baretti 1778)

MAGUEY. s. m. *Maguey*, an American name for the species of *aloe*, the juice of which, is the common drink of the natives; called *polque*. (Connelly & Higgins 1798)

In the same way that zoological descriptions of the period include information about the therapeutic, numismatic or heraldic use of the new American animals they refer to (Capanna 2009: 57), the definitions of Amerindian terms designating animals and plants tended to include extra information on the potential and commercial uses of the elements described in both the texts of *TPN* and dictionaries. The dissemination of this knowledge was clearly driven by the commercial perspectives the American expansion offered to English merchants (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2010: 297-298). Examples of this type of information are the excerpts given in (36) and (37), which present similar definitions of *cassava* and *maguey* (written as *nege* in Hakluyt's example) in both *TPN* and the dictionaries by Kersey and by Stevens, respectively. In the *TPN* texts, as well as in the lexicographical entries, information is introduced on how to prepare and treat products unknown in Europe in order to make the best use of them.

36. They doe also **make bread of the roote called Cassaua, which they doe drie**, and beate it as small as they can, and temper it with water, and so bake it in cakes on a stone. (Hakluyt 1589: 560)

Cassave, an American Root, the Juice of which is rank Poison, but **the dry Substance is the general Bread of that Country**. (Kersey 1708)

37. About *Mexico*, and other places in *Noua Hispania*, there groweth a certaine plant called *Nege*, which **yeeldeth Wine, vinegar, Hony**,

and black Sugar, and of the leaues of it dried, they make hempe, ropes, shooes which they vse, and tyles for their houses: and at the ende of euery leafe, there groweth a sharpe point like an awle, wherewith they vse to bore or pearce through any thing. (Hakluyt 1589: 594)

Maguey, is the Tree of Wonders, for **it yields Water, Wine, Oyl, Vinegar, honey, a sort of Must like that of New Wine boyl'd, Thread and Needles, besides many other things.** [...] (Stevens 1706)

Another frequent type of definition includes additional or encyclopaedic information that is not essential to define the term. Although this type of definition is more common in *TPN*, it is also abundant in dictionaries, especially from the 17th century onwards, and mainly in the encyclopaedic 18th-century dictionaries as, “at the dawn of the 18th century, two important principles are established in lexicography: the general inclusion and the encyclopaedic principles”, so much so that dictionary entries extended beyond basic definitions and included additional information (Lonati 2011: 11). This practice justifies the lengthy and detailed descriptions of new objects of American origin introduced in the texts, disquisitions that are also found in dictionary entries. In (38), for example, apart from indicating that *tequanies* are “other kinde of flies”, the author includes a warning about mosquito bites.

38. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these ***Tequanies*** be: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarce so bigge as a gnat: they will sucke one blood maruellously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venemous that the place will swell extremely, euen as one that is stoong ith a waspe or bee: but if you let them sucke theyr fill, and do goe away of themselues, then they doe you no other hurt, but leaue behinde them a redde spotte somewhat bigger then a fleabiting. At the first we were terriblie troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and resistance we could make none against them, being naked [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 568)

Additional information is also found in dictionary entries after the mid-17th century, and, particularly, after the 18th century, because many lexicographers derived their definitions from information extracted from specialists (naturalists, physicians, botanists, zoologists, etc.) whose concern was not to define but rather to describe the elements and their uses in detail (Lancashire 2005: 164). This is the case of the text in (39) in Stevens' dictionary, which not only describes the maize plant, but also explains how it is grown, the different types of maize, its use for animals and humans, how it is prepared for consumption in different parts of the Americas, and its possible effects when prepared as a brew. All this encyclopaedic information goes beyond what is expected in a lexicographical entry, but is in keeping with the encyclopaedic tastes of 18th-century lexicographers. In this case, Stevens drew information from Acosta's *Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604):

39. *Mayz, Indian Wheat*, to make Bread of, is the only sort of Grain found in the *West Indies*; it grows on a strong Reed, with large Grains, and sometimes two Ears on a Reed, on one of which 700 Grains of Wheat have been told. They sow it Grain by Grain, and not scattering, as we do our Wheat, and it requires a hot and moist Soil. There are two sorts of it, one large and substantial, the other small and dry, which they call *Moroche*. The Leaves of it and the Reed are very good Food for Cattle, green; and dry it serves as well as a Straw. The Grain is better for Beasts than Barley, but they must drink before they eat it, for if they drink after; it swells and gives them the Gripes. The *Indians* eat it hot boil'd, and call it *Mote*, and sometimes toasted. There is a sort of it large and round, which the *Spaniards* eat toasted; they also grind it and make Cakes, which they eat hot; and these, in some places, they call *Arepas*; they also make Bread to keep and sweet Cakes of it. The *Indians* make Drink of it, as we do of Barley, this they call in *Peru*, *Açúa*, and in most other Parts, *Chicha*, which is very strong, and makes them drunk, for which reason is prohibited. They have also a way of extracting an Oil from it, which is good, and serves in stead of Butter, or Oil of Olives. *Jos. da Acost. Nat. Hist. of the West Indies. Lib. 4. Cap. 16. P. 236.* (Stevens 1706)

Other definitions include the location of the elements defined (40), or their nutritional and medicinal properties in the case of plants and herbs, as in (41) and (42).

40. **Hurricane**, a violent Storm of Wind, **which often happens in Jamaica and other Parts of the West-Indies**, in the Months of *September* and *October*; making very great havock and overthrow of Trees, houses, and all that comes in its way. (Kersey & Phillips 1706)

41. GUAIA ' CUM, the wood of a tree in the West Indies, very much used in physic, called also *lignum sanctum*. See *LIGNUM Vitæ*. Guaiacum is attenuant and aperient, and promotes discharges by sweat and urine. It is an excellent medicine in many chronic cases, and was once famous for curing the venereal disease, which it still does singly in warmer climates, but with us we find it insufficient. We have a resin of it improperly called gum guaiacum. Hill. (Scott & Bailey 1755)

42. **Tabacco**, & the great virtue thereof: The *Floridians* when they trauell haue a kinde of herbe dried, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, do sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or fieve dayes without meat or drinke [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 541)

The heavy reliance on travel and science books for the composition of dictionary entries – as the final reference to Hill, author of a volume on *materia medica*, in (41) – accounts for the highly scientific and detailed nature of some of the definitions of the American indigenous terms in the corpus. As Lancashire (2005: 164) notes, the definitions compiled in dictionaries from the 17th century onwards are highly based on extracts from other works that are commonly acknowledged, whether by quoting the author's words to see the term in context or by providing the title of the volume from which the information was taken, as in (43).

43. *Haracana* or *Hero-cane* (perhaps from the Spa. *Arancar*) to weed up or pull up by the roots, an impetuous kind of tempest or Whirlewind, happening in the Indies, and those far Countries, it comes with such violence that it overturns trees by the roots, blows down houses, &c. and continues sometimes thirty dayes; Marriners and Seamen stand in great fear of it at Sea; for it infallibly wrecks their ships. **Mr. How:** **sayes**, The Devil appears often to the Pagans in these Harancanes. **Mr. Herb. saies** it happens in some Countries but once in nine years. (Blount 1656)

Maméy, a sort of Fruit in the West-*Indies*, bigger than a large Peach, with one, or two Stones in it, and the Pulp, harder than that of a Peach, some are sweet, others somewhat tart, the Rind is hard they are pleasant to eat, and make a good Preserve, which looks like Quince; they grow in the Islands; the Tree is large, handsome, and bears a good head. **Acost. Hist. W. Ind. p. 256.** (Stevens 1706)

GUA'VA. n.s. The flowers consist of five leaves, produced in a circular order, having many stamina or threads surrounding the ovary: the ovary is of a long tubulous figure, which becomes a fleshy fruit, crowned on the top, and containing many small hard seeds. The fruit, **says Sir Hans Sloane**, is extremely delicious and wholesome. They have only this inconvenience, that, being very astringent, they stop up the belly, if taken in great quantities. **Miller.** (Johnson 1755)

MAIZE, a kind of Indian wheat, which bears an ear a foot, sometimes a foot and a half long, upon a stalk of six or eight feet high. The whole maize plant has the appearance of a reed: The male flowers are produced at remote distances from the fruit on the same plant, growing generally in a spike, upon the top of the stalk: The female flowers are produced from the wings of the leaves, and are surrounded by three or four leaves, which closely adhere to the fruit until it is ripe. This plant is propagated in England only as a curiosity, but in America it is the principal support of the inhabitants, and consequently propagated with great care. **Miller.** (Scott & Bailey 1755)

Table 4 lists the authors and works as quoted in the dictionary entries for the Amerindian words used in the corpus, accompanied by the complete reference. They are arranged in descending order according to the number of headwords that include them, and in those cases in which the number of entries coincides, alphabetical order is followed. It should be noted, though, that due to the lack of information in some definitions, it was not always possible to identify the work quoted. Fortunately, the *Johnson's Dictionary Online* site provided some information on this aspect. In addition, the search engines of digitised collections such as *EEBO* (*Early English Books Online*) and *ECCO* (*Eighteenth Century Collections Online*) have yielded titles of unidentified works. The data obtained include names such as Gay, Granville, Herbert, Hill, Miller, Ray, Thomson, Swift and Waller.

Table 4. List of sources used in the dictionary entries of the Amerindian loanwords of the corpus.

Source	No. of entries including the source	Entries(s) that include this source
<i>F. Jos. Acos. Nat. Hist. Ind. Lib. 4. Chap. 22. Pag. 250. / Acost. Nat. Hist. W. Ind. P. 286. / F. Jos. Acost. Nat. Hist. W. Ind. Lib. 4. Chap. 24. pag. 256. / Acosta in his Nat. Hist. W. Ind. P. 266. / F. Jos. Acos. Nat. Hist. W. Ind. Lib. 4. Chap. 23. Pag. 254. / Jos. Da Acost. Nat. Hist. of the West Indies. Lib. 4. Cap. 16. P. 236. / Acost. Hist. W. Ind. P. 256. / H. Jos. Acost. Nat. Hist. W. Ind. Lib. 4. Chap. 23. Pag. 254.</i> [The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West (1604), José de Acosta]	20	Stevens (1706): cacao [cacáo]¹⁷, guano [guáno], guava [pacâyas, or guâbas/ guayávo], guaiacum [guayacón, or pálo santo, or palo de Indias], maguey [maguey], maize [mayz], mamme [mamey] tuna [tuna y tunal] Pineda (1740): cacao [cacáo], guano [guáno], guava [pacâyas, or guâbas/ guayávo], guaiacum [guayacón, or pále santo, or pálo de Indias], maguey, [maguey] mamme [mamèy], tuna [tuna y tunal] Giral del Pino (1763): cacao [caca'o], guava [paca'yas, or gua'bas], maguey [mague'y], mamme [mame'y], tuna [tuna' y tu'nal]

17 The original entries in the dictionaries are specified in square brackets.

Miller/ Millar [<i>The Second Volume of The Gardeners Dictionary</i> (1739), Philip Miller]	11	Johnson (1755): aguacate [avoca'do], cacao [cocoa], cassava [ca'ssada], guava [gua'va], maize [maize], mamme [mamme'e tree], potato [pota'to] Scott & Bailey (1755): aguacate [avoca'do], cassava [ca'ssavi, or ca'ssada], maize [maize], mamme [mamme'e tree]
Hill's History of the Mat. Medica [<i>A History of the Materia Medica</i> (1751), John Hill]	4	Johnson (1755): cacao [cocoa], guaiacum [guaia'cum] Scott & Bailey (1755): campeachy [campe'chio], guaiacum [guaia'cum]
Gemelli. Vol. 6. Lib.a.cap.10. / Gemelli. Vol. VI. Lib.a.cap.10. [<i>A Voyage Round the World</i> (1704), Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri]	3	Stevens (1706): aguacate [aguacâte] Pineda (1740): aguacate [aguacâte] Giral del Pino (1763): aguacate [aguacate]
Ray [<i>Historia Plantarum Generalis</i> (1693), John Ray]	3	Stevens (1706): guava [pacáyas, or guábas/ guayávo] Pineda (1740): guava [pacáyas, or guábas/ guayávo] Giral del Pino (1763): guava [paca'yas, or gua'bas]
Arbuthnot on Coins / Arbuthnot [<i>Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights and Measures</i> (1727), John Arbuthnot]	2	Johnson (1755): canoe [ca'noe] Scott & Bailey (1755): canoe [cano'a, or cano'e]
Burnet's Theory [<i>The Sacred Theory of the Earth</i> (1719), Thomas Burnet]	2	Johnson (1755): hurricane [hu'rricano] Scott & Bailey (1755): hurricane [hu'rricane, or hu'rricano]
Raleigh / Raleigh's Essays [<i>Judicious and Select Essayes and Observations</i> (1650), Walter Raleigh]	2	Johnson (1755): canoe [ca'noe] Scott & Bailey (1755): canoe [cano'a, or cano'e]
Ray in his Hist. Plant. P. 1685. [<i>Historia Plantarum</i> (1688), John Ray]	2	Stevens (1706): guaiacum [guayacón, or pálo santo, or palo de Indias], Pineda (1740): guaiacum [guayacòn, or pále santo, or pálo de Indias]
Shakespeare / Shakesp. Othello [<i>The Tragædy of Othello, the Moore of Venice</i> (1622), William Shakespeare]	2	Johnson (1755): cannibal [ca'nnibal] Scott & Bailey (1755): cannibal [ca'nnabal]
Addison [<i>Cato. A Tragedy.</i> (1713), Joseph Addison]	1	Johnson (1755): hurricane [hu'rricano]

Arbuthnot on Aliments [An Essay Concerning the Nature of Aliments (1731), John Arbuthnot]	1	Johnson (1755): maize [maize]
Bacon's Nat. Hist. [Sylva Sylvarvm (1628), Francis Bacon]	1	Johnson (1755): cannibal [ca'nnibal]
Bentley [Eight Sermons Preach'd at the Honourable Robert Boyle's Lecture, in the First Year, MDCXCII (1724), Richard Bentley]	1	Johnson (1755): cannibal [ca'nnibal]
Davies on Ireland [A Discoerie of the True Causes Why Ireland was Neuer Entirely Subdued (1612), Sir John Davies]	1	Johnson (1755): cannibal [ca'nnibal]
Dryden [De Arte Graphica The Art of Painting by C.A. Du Fresnoy ; with Remarks ; Translated into English (1695), John Dryden, translator]	1	Johnson (1755): hurricane [hu'rricano]
Gay [The Shepherd's Week (1728), John Gay]	1	Johnson (1755): potato [pota'to]
Granville [The Poetical Works (1779), George Granville]	1	Johnson (1755): cannibal [ca'nnibal]
Mr. Herb [A Relation of some Yeares Trauaile Begunne Anno 1626. Into Afrique and the Greater Asia (1634), Thomas Herbert]	1	Blount (1656): hurricane [haracana or hero- cane]
Mr. How [Lexicon Tetraglotton, an English-French- Italian-Spanish Dictionary (1660)? James Howell] ¹⁸	1	Blount (1656): hurricane [haracana or hero- cane]
Shakesp. [M. William Shak-speare: His True Chronicle Historie of the Life and Death of King Lear and his Three Daughters (1608), William Shakespeare]	1	Johnson (1755): hurricane [hu'rricano]

18 James Howell's *Lexicon Tetraglotton* cannot be the source, as it was published after Blount's dictionary, but the wording is similar, so we may assume that this information may have been mentioned in a previous work by Howell which we have not been able to identify.

Thomson [<i>The Seasons</i> (1730), James Thomson]	1	Johnson (1755): cacao [cocoa]
Swift [<i>A Short View of the State of Ireland</i> (1727-1728), Jonathan Swift]	1	Johnson (1755): potato [pota'to]
Waller [<i>Poems, &c. Written upon Several Occasions, and to Several Persons</i> (1705), Edmund Waller]	1	Johnson (1755): potato [pota'to]

Table 4 shows that more than one reference work can be used to define a headword. These reference works that provide the illustrative examples included in the dictionaries are diverse in nature, ranging from medical to botanical, religious, political and literary; the latter is especially found in Johnson. In addition, due to the common practice of resorting to previous dictionaries to compile a new one (Starnes & Noyes 1991: 183; Landau 2001: 143), the same sources are used for the same headwords by different lexicographers. But it is not only the sources that are the same, as the definitions are also identical. For instance, Pineda and Giral del Pino tend to reproduce the information in Stevens (44) in the same way that Scott & Bailey include the information in Johnson (45).

44. *Maméy*, a sort of Fruit in the *West-Indies*, bigger than a large Peach, with one, or two Stones in it, and the Pulp, harder than that of a Peach, some are sweet, others somewhat tart, the Rind is hard they are pleasant to eat, and make a good Preserve, which looks like Quince; they grow in the Islands; the Tree is large, handsome, and bears a good head. *Acost. Hist. W. Ind. p. 256*. (Stevens 1706)

Mamèy, a sort of Fruit in the *West-Indies*, bigger than a large Peach, with one, or two Stones in it, and the Pulp harder than that of a Peach; some are sweet, others somewhat tart; the Rind is hard; they are pleasant to eat, and make a good Preserve; which looks like Quince; they grow in the Islands; the Tree is large, handsome, and bears a good Head. *Acost. Hist. W. Ind. p. 256*. (Pineda 1740)

MAME'Y, s. m. a sort of fruit in the West-Indies, bigger than a large peach, with one, or two stones in it, and the pulp harder than that of a peach; some are sweet, others somewhat tart, the rind is hard, they are pleasant to eat, and make a good preserve, which looks like quince; they grow in the islands; the tree is large, handsome, and bears a good head. *Acosta, Nat. Hist. West Ind. Pag. 256.* (Giral del Pino 1763)

45. MAMME'E *tree*. n. s. The *mammee tree* hath a rosaceous flower, which consists of several leaves placed in a circular order, from whose cup arises the pointal, which afterwards becomes an almost spherical fleshy fruit, containing two or three seeds inclosed in hard rough shells. *Miller.* (Johnson 1755)

MAMMEE' *Tree, subst.* The *mammee tree* hath a rosaceous flower which consists of several leaves placed in a circular order, from whose cup arises the pointal, which afterwards becomes an almost spherical fleshy fruit, containing two or three seeds, inclosed in hard rough shells. *Miller.* (Scott & Bailey 1755)

Moreover, the analysis of the sources has revealed that, among the quoted works identified, those written in English or translated from Latin are more frequently referred to in English monolingual dictionaries, whereas bilingual dictionaries tend to draw on sources originally written in Spanish or Italian.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, although not as a source, Monardes is mentioned in Stevens' and Pineda's works as a recommendation for the reader to obtain more information on the properties of the *guaiacum*, a recommendation which is also found in *TPN*, as shown in (46).

46. *Sassafras*. Called by the inhabitants *Winauk*, a kinde of wood of most pleasant and sweete smell, and of most rare vertues in phisike for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to bee farre better and of more vses then the Wood which is called ***Guaiacum***, or ***Lignum vitae***. For the description, the maner of vsing, and

the manifold vertues thereof, I referre you to the Booke of Monardus, translated and entituled in English, *The ioyfull newes from the West Indies*. (Hakluyt 1589: 751)

Guayacón, or *Pálo Santo*, or *Palo de Indias*; so Acosta in his *Nat. Hist. W. Ind.* p. 266. Calls it, and only adds, that it grows abundantly in the Islands, and is as heavy as Lead, and sinks in the Water. Ray in his *Hist. Plant.* p. 1685. Says it is a tree about the bigness of the Walnut, of an Ash colour with green Spots without, reddish within, not very thick, but extraordinary hard, much used in the Cure of the French pox. **In England it is generally call'd *Guayacum*. The Curious may see more of it in those authors, and in *Monárdes*, Fol. 12.** (Stevens 1706)

This fact is not surprising if we consider the importance of Monardes' work in making American products,¹⁹ especially plants, and their therapeutic properties known throughout Europe, and his influence on the introduction of Amerindian terms (Cáceres-Lorenzo 2022), since his work includes around seventy-one Amerindian plant names identifying simple, unmanufactured medicines (Moreno Moreno 2014: 126).

4.5. No defining strategies

Occasionally, no explanatory gloss accompanies the American indigenous term in *TPN*; this is mainly the case with those indigenous loanwords that were introduced in various texts on America before the publication of Hakluyt's compilation. A case in point is the word *cacique*, which often appears without a gloss, as in (47).

19 Nicolás Monardes (c. 1493-1588) was a physician and botanist born in Seville who wrote on the therapeutic properties of the products imported from the West Indies. His books circulated widely in Europe and his natural history, titled *Primera y Segunda y Tercera Partes de la Historia Medicinal de las Cosas que se traen de Nuestras Indias Occidentales* (1574), was so popular that it was soon translated into Latin and other European languages (Barrera-Osorio 2013: 321). The English translation by John Frampton, *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde* was published in 1577 (Beecher 2015).

47. [...] for the **Casique** caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 592)

[...] and marueiling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it: she told me that the **Casique** brought it from *Shallapa*, a great towne distant 30. leagues from this place on the hilles whereas dwelt certaine Christians, and certaine Fryers, of the order of S. Augustine, which this **Casique** with his people on a night slewe, & burning the Fryers Monasterie, among other things reserued this glasse [...]. (Hakluyt 1589: 592)

According to the data provided by *AMERLEX*,²⁰ this word was already used in 1555 in the translation of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's *Decades* and in Fernández de Oviedo's translation *Summarie or Abbrigement of the General Hystorie of the West Indies*, as well as in 1577 in Monardes' translation *Ioyfull Newes Out of the Newe Founde Worlde*. It also appeared in 1578 in the translation of Fernández de Enciso's work entitled *A Briefe Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Hauens*, and in López de Gómara's translation *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India, now Called New Spayne*. The word was then included in 1581 in the translation of Zárate's *The Discouerie and Conquest of the Prouinces of Peru*, and continued to be used in 1583 in the translation of Bartolomé de las Casas' volume *The Spanish Colonie*, and in 1587 in the translation of Antonio de Espejo's *New Mexico. Otherwise, the Voiage of Anthony of Espeio*. It was, therefore, a very common term in texts on America before 1589, the year of *TPN*'s publication. Thus, including an equivalent term or a gloss explaining its meaning does not seem to have been necessary for readers familiar with this type of work.

20 The *AMERLEX* database, which is currently under development, aims to gather “the lexical Americanisms (Amerindian and from Spain) present in a selection of Spanish and English texts on America published during the 16th and 17th centuries” (<https://iatext.ulpgc.es/aplicaciones>).

5. Conclusions

The analysis of the Amerindian terms introduced in the third part of *TPN*, dedicated to voyages to the New World, has reflected the effort by the editor and authors to indicate their Amerindian origin. First of all, I have described the use of editorial practices to highlight these terms and make them recognisable to the reader. Thus, these words are graphically distinguished either by the use of a different font, the use of capital letters, or their placement in the margin of the page. Our analysis of the corpus has also revealed the use of other mechanisms to indicate the Amerindian origin of the terms, such as references to American locations, to the Indians, to the Indian tongues, or to the etymological origins of the words. Such mechanisms can be found in both the texts of *TPN* and the dictionaries studied.

The classification into lexical fields following the taxonomy established in the *HTOED* has proved that most of the Amerindian loanwords introduced in *TPN* belong to the category “food and drink”, which, together with others like “animals” and “plants”, coincide with the new reality encountered by English explorers. Although previous studies have already pointed out that the Amerindian terms that entered English through Spanish are related to these lexical fields (Serjeantson 1935: 253; Cutler 1994: 48, 50; Algeo 1996: 19-22; Durkin 2014: 366, among others), the novelty of this article lies in the fact that it provides quantitative information and concrete data from primary sources, as opposed to other works on Amerindian borrowings which are based on dictionary data (Algeo 1996; Cutler 1994).

The strategies used by the authors in *TPN* to render the meanings of the new terms are very similar to the ones found in dictionary entries: (a) the use of generic terms, (b) the use of equivalent words and (c) descriptions. However, *TPN* presents other strategies inherent to a narrative text not found in a lexicographical entry. They represent contextual aids used to infer the meaning of the new indigenous terms, such as their inclusion in enumerations together with other words of a similar nature, usually introduced by a generic term that facilitates the interpretation of their meaning. The inclusion of lengthy and detailed descriptions of the new elements is not only a characteristic of *TPN*, but also of dictionaries. The latter show a progression in the amount of information they provide, going from synonyms and brief

explanations to extensive encyclopaedic descriptions based on information drawn from authoritative sources.

Finally, textual and lexicographic evidence shows that the defining practices of early English dictionaries did not differ much from the practices of the explorers who presented these terms to their readers. This article has demonstrated the importance of using both textual and lexicographical sources when undertaking studies of the lexicon. [N](#)

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This publication fulfils the following objectives:

- (v) To determine if the boom of borrowed nautical terms that took place during the Early Modern English period is clearly reflected in *TPN*.
- (vi) To evaluate the role of Spanish in the transmission of Spanish and Amerindian nautical terms into English, as reflected in Hakluyt's work.

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Nautical Borrowings in Early Modern English: The Case Study of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589)

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ABSTRACT

The development of the British naval power during the Elizabethan period was rooted in the navigational knowledge acquired from overseas nations, which led to the transmission of foreign nautical words into the English language. This study evaluates the incorporation of nautical lexical borrowings in Early Modern English by analysing their inclusion in the most relevant travel collection at the time, Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589). To accomplish this, the nautical borrowings present in Hakluyt's work have been identified and classified taking into account word classes and lexical fields affected by their entrance. Additionally, this study aimed to determine the donor languages that contributed to this borrowing process. The results reveal a total of 79 nautical borrowings, distributed into 4 grammatical categories and 21 lexical fields, which were transmitted through 8 donor languages, among which French and Spanish stand out.

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Introduction

Throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, the French language was the source of a large number of borrowings related to warfare and navigation.¹ However, France was not the protagonist of the most important historical event of the Early Modern period: the discovery of America. Countries such as Spain and, to a lesser extent, Portugal pioneered navigation techniques and carried out the main expeditions to the new territories. Thus, the routes and instruments used in their voyages were described in their languages in texts consulted by English navigators,² while pirates and sailors brought back to England new nautical terms learned from their Spanish enemies.³ In this context, it is plausible to assume that, while keeping its role of main donor language, French gave way to other languages in the field of nautical vocabulary at the time of the greatest lexical expansion in the history of the English language: The Early Modern English period.

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Original quotes have been translated into English.

¹Nevalainen, "Early Modern English Lexis and Semantics", 370; Smith, *Words and Idioms*, 14.

²Markham, *Richard Hakluyt: His Life and Work*, 339.

³Smith, *Words and Idioms*, 6.

In order to test the hypothesis that languages such as Spanish contributed borrowings that enriched the nautical vocabulary of English, this article aims to analyse the nautical borrowings used in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589), the most important travel collection of the period. To this end, the nautical loanwords found in the corpus will be identified, taking into account their donor languages and their date of entry into English. This will make it possible to assess the role of this work in documenting the emergence of nautical borrowings at the time.

Contextualisation

The arrival of the Spaniards in America in 1492 marked a new era in history defined by significant nautical advancements that arose in response to the emerging needs of European navigators. In fact, sailors had progressed from coast sailing to navigating in open waters, which required the development of new knowledge, techniques and tools. These enabled them, on the one hand, to manoeuvre ships in the middle of the ocean and, on the other hand, to build vessels capable of undertaking such long journeys.⁴

Portuguese and Spanish seamen had cultivated expertise in all areas related to navigation, positioning them at the top of European maritime powers in the sixteenth century.⁵ Therefore, institutions such as the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville were established in order to address "the collection of geographic information, the professional supervision of pilots, and the improvement of navigation procedures".⁶ At this institution, renowned navigators offered instruction to aspiring pilots, thereby serving as a school of navigation.⁷

As a result, it would not take long before navigation became a scientific discipline.⁸ However, as Pérez-Mallaina Bueno explains, it was not yet regarded as such in the sixteenth century:⁹

those who knew the secrets of guiding a ship to its destination were considered experts in the "art of navigation". During those years, navigation was moving beyond being a simple occupation, yet it had not fully developed into a science. It occupied an intermediate position: "an art" that required some theoretical knowledge but could not, by any means, dispense with the wealth of expertise amassed through generations of sailors and transmitted through the practice of nautical duties.

The art of navigation "dealt, then, with what we might nowadays describe as technical knowledge or practice".¹⁰

Tudor England, for its part, had not yet attained the naval dominance that would characterise it in later centuries. Because of that, desirous to imitate the economic success that the Portuguese and the Spanish had achieved in the New World, it became necessary to learn from these rivals. Consequently, from the middle of the sixteenth century, English translations of Spanish and Portuguese travel narratives began

⁴Waters, "Iberian Basis of the English Art of Navigation", 3; García-Macho, "Vocabulario marítimo", 109.

⁵Waters, "Iberian Basis of the English Art of Navigation", 3; García-Macho, "Vocabulario marítimo", 110.

⁶Sellés, "El arte de la navegación en la Península Ibérica", 181.

⁷García-Macho, "Vocabulario marítimo", 110; Sellés, "El arte de la navegación en la Península Ibérica", 182; Pérez-Mallaina Bueno, "Viejos y nuevos libros para pilotos", 35.

⁸García-Macho, "Vocabulario marítimo", 110.

⁹Pérez-Mallaina Bueno, "Viejos y nuevos libros para pilotos", 33.

¹⁰Sellés, "El arte de la navegación en la Península Ibérica", 168.

to be published; these texts emphasised all the benefits that the rival nations had obtained as a result of their nautical knowledge, which meant a source of motivation to pursue education and training in this field.¹¹ In addition to these material ambitions, the ongoing Anglo-Spanish war urged the need to prioritise naval development in order to confront the Spanish fleet.¹²

The existence of the *Casa de Contratación* in Spain and its Portuguese counterpart¹³ fostered the writing of navigation treatises aimed to the transmission of the latest advances in the art of navigation.¹⁴ In this sense, the earliest known printed works on navigation are the Portuguese texts *Regimento do astrolábio e do quadrante*, also known as *Regimento de Munich* (1509), and *Regimento de Évora* (1517),¹⁵ and the Spanish *Suma de geografía* (1519), by Martín Fernández de Enciso.¹⁶ The latter was translated into English by John Frampton in 1578 as *A Briefe Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Hauens, of the Weast India*, becoming "the first printed English sailing directions overseas".¹⁷ By the mid-century, the publication of navigation texts would culminate in the production of the treatises by Pedro de Medina, *Arte de Navegar* (1545), and by Marín Cortés, *Breve compendio de la sphaera y de la arte de navegar* (1551).¹⁸

It is noteworthy the admiration that the *Casa de Contratación* inspired in Stephen Borough, Chief Pilot of the English Muscovy Company,¹⁹ during his visit to Seville in 1558.²⁰ This appreciation for the Spanish institution prompted him to commission Richard Eden for the English translation of Cortés's work.²¹ The translation, which was published in 1561 as *The Arte of Navigation*, established itself as both the first scientific navigation manual and an essential study resource for English navigators of the time.²² As De Schepper indicates, "that this text filled a gap is evident by the amount of interest it sparked among English navigators, resulting in a further nine reprints and updated editions over the next seventy years",²³ since, up to that moment, there had only been "a tentative start in translating navigational works" with Robert Copland's translation, called *The rutter of the see* (1528)—originally, Pierre Garcie's *Routier de la mer* (s.d.)—.²⁴ On the other side, Pedro de Medina's book had two English editions in 1581 and 1595, serving as another standard textbook for navigation studies.²⁵

Eden's *The Arte of Navigation* paved the way for the translation of other 16 texts between 1575 and 1590, most of them being originally written in Spanish (see footnote

¹¹Waters, "English Navigational Books, Charts and Globes", 241.

¹²Ibid.; Nash, "Elizabethan Propaganda", 19.

¹³According to Sellés, "the surviving Portuguese documentation is not very precise, but there is evidence that, by the mid-16th century, the Chief Cosmographer—who was Pedro Nunes at the time—was teaching pilots, cartographers, and instrument makers in Lisbon". "El arte de la navegación en la Península Ibérica", 181.

¹⁴García-Macho, "Vocabulario marítimo", 110; Sellés, "El arte de la navegación en la Península Ibérica", 181–82.

¹⁵Carvalho, "As fonts de Duarte Pacheco Pereira", 351–52.

¹⁶Sellés, "El arte de la navegación en la Península Ibérica", 182.

¹⁷Waters, "Iberian Basis of the English Art of Navigation", 13–14.

¹⁸Sellés, "El arte de la navegación en la Península Ibérica", 182–83.

¹⁹As González Lemus explains, The Muscovy Company was "the first public company formed in England in 1555 to conduct trade". *Piratería inglesa en las Islas Canarias*, 20.

²⁰Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 19; Waters, "Iberian Basis of the English Art of Navigation", 15.

²¹Ibid.; De Schepper, "Common Good and National Interest", 196; González Lemus, *Piratería inglesa en las Islas Canarias*, 20.

²²Waters, "Iberian Basis of the English Art of Navigation", 15; Waters, "English Navigational Books, Charts and Globes", 242; González Lemus, *Piratería inglesa en las Islas Canarias*, 20.

²³De Schepper, "Common Good and National Interest", 187.

²⁴Waters, "English Navigational Books, Charts and Globes", 241; De Schepper, "Common Good and National Interest", 187.

²⁵Waters, "Iberian Basis of the English Art of Navigation", 14; Sellés, "El arte de la navegación en la Península Ibérica", 183.

23). In this line, Ortega y Medina highlights the dependence of English seamen on Spanish nautical texts until the conclusion of the sixteenth century.²⁶ Notwithstanding, from that moment onwards, the focus progressively shifted towards Dutch treatises on navigation, “reflecting the rise of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie on the one hand and the competing East India Company on the other”.²⁷ English translations of prominent Dutch texts of the time include Lucas Waghenaeer’s *The Mariners Mirrour*, translated by Anthony Ashley in 1588, and Cornelis Anthonisz’s *The Safeguard of Sailers* (1584), translated by Robert Norman.²⁸ In addition, there were significant technical contributions to the nautical field made by notable Dutch figures such as Gemma Frisius (1508–1555), Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594), Petrus Plancius (1552–1622) or Simon Stevin (1548–1620).²⁹

In this manner, the English nation benefited from the expertise and navigation tools provided by foreign countries while also receiving training from their professionals. Due to this, Sebastian Cabot, a former Pilot-Major of the *Casa de Contratación*, was invited to England in the 1540s to “initiate Englishmen in the technique of successful oceanic exploration and commerce”,³⁰ as were the Portuguese pilots António Pinteado and Francisco Rodrigues.³¹ Ortega y Medina notes the crucial role of the Iberian pilots’ proficiency for the future accomplishments of prominent English figures like Francis Drake (see footnote 26).³²

Thanks to this process of learning and also to the experience gained over the following years, English seamen became progressively less dependent on their foreign counterparts, ultimately leading to the publication of the first original English navigation treatise in 1594, John Davis’s *The Seaman’s Secrets*.³³ Consequently, the number of translations declined significantly until they ceased around 1620. It is precisely around this decade that Sir Henry Mainwaring began compiling the first English nautical dictionary, eventually published in 1644.³⁴

Before Mainwaring’s dictionary, it was difficult to translate technical nautical terms found in navigation works,³⁵ which led to the borrowing of nautical terms from original texts. Furthermore, the impact of foreign nautical treatises and instructors on English training reinforced the presence of lexical borrowings related to navigation in Early Modern English travel texts, a fact which responds to a general process of borrowing at the time, as observed by Durkin:³⁶

In the Early Modern period, English gradually becomes receptive to loans from a wider range of other European languages ... it begins to receive loanwords from a huge variety of languages from many different corners of the globe. ... New words continue to be borrowed as new things or concepts are encountered, or as a result of the particular prestige

²⁶Ortega y Medina, review of *El arte de navegar*, 329.

²⁷De Schepper, “Common Good and National Interest”, 188.

²⁸Waters, “English Navigational Books, Charts and Globes”, 254.

²⁹Koeman, “Flemish and Dutch Contributions”, 493.

³⁰Waters, “English Navigational Books, Charts and Globes”, 239.

³¹Waters, “Iberian Basis of the English Art of Navigation”, 14.

³²As Waters explains, Francis Drake’s circumnavigation (1577–80) was irrefutable evidence of the “managing of English navigational practice”. “English Navigational Books, Charts and Globes”, 247.

³³Waters, “Iberian Basis of the English Art of Navigation”, 256; Ortega y Medina, review of *El arte de navegar*, 329.

³⁴Falconer, *Glossary of Shakespeare’s Sea*, VII.

³⁵De Schepper, “Common Good and National Interest”, 202.

³⁶Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, 301–2.

of a certain foreign-language culture in a particular sphere; if a new thing or concept becomes central to daily life, a borrowed word may also become commonplace.

Indeed, the process of borrowing was especially evident in English sea-terms, which, according to Smith “prove on examination to be a set of borrowed names of polyglot mixture”.³⁷ After all, the texts used by the English were produced in countries well-known for their expertise in the art of navigation but, which, in turn, were also developing—and naming—new advancements that would also be adopted by the English; eventually, these new words would form part of the daily speech of English seamen.

Furthermore, the lexical expansion of the Early Modern English period is in great measure defined by the emergence of England as a maritime nation eager to explore and colonise overseas territories.³⁸ Under the reign of Elizabeth I, the rise of patriotism would propel the country to seek maritime expansion aimed at the broadening of its borders and the spreading of its faith.³⁹ Thus, the foundations of the future British Empire were established during this period, driven by the enterprises of relevant figures like Francis Drake, Walter Raleigh and Humphrey Gilbert.⁴⁰ These seamen, pirates and privateers, whose expeditions were recorded in travel literature, shaped the British Empire.⁴¹

Accordingly, the travel writings resulting from these voyages were not solely intended to document the experiences of the adventurers, but also served a nationalistic purpose. In this task, the role of compilers devoted to the gathering of these texts must be highlighted:

the collections of testimonies from those who returned from their expeditions safe and sound were gathered by a handful of geographers and intellectuals, sometimes at their own request, playing a decisive role in transforming how Europeans of the time perceived and understood the world. Their writings are solid, well-documented through texts related to the journey, but also through testimonial accounts from those who experienced it. However, the discourse of the three English geographers and intellectuals, Richard Eden, Richard Hakluyt, and Samuel Purchas, is ideological, and their intention, in many respects, has a distinctly favourable bias towards the interests of Elizabethan imperialism.⁴²

Among the authors mentioned above, Richard Hakluyt stands out as a particular prominent figure. He was a priest and a geographer who also edited, translated and commissioned the creation of travel texts with the aim of influencing his countrymen to promote the English exploration and colonisation of the New World⁴³ in order to prevent his nation from being “left behind in the colonial race”.⁴⁴ His pioneering role as a promoter of the English expansion made him a main referent of travel literature,⁴⁵ as the creation of the *Hakluyt Society*⁴⁶ in 1846 proves.

³⁷Smith, *Words and Idioms*, 1–2.

³⁸Alibec and Barbu, “Sea of Words”, 267; Tichý, “Lexical Obsolescence and Loss”, 83.

³⁹De Schepper, “Common Good and National Interest”, 199.

⁴⁰Borge, “Richard Hakluyt, Promoter of the New World”, 1–2.

⁴¹González Lemus, *Piratería inglesa en las Islas Canarias*, XI.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 18–19.

⁴³Nash, “Elizabethan Propaganda”, 12.

⁴⁴Borge, “Richard Hakluyt, Promoter of the New World”, 3.

⁴⁵González Lemus, *Piratería inglesa en las Islas Canarias*, 24.

⁴⁶Since its foundation until nowadays, the *Hakluyt Society* has been “concerned with the publication of scholarly editions of primary records of voyages and travels”. *The Hakluyt Society*, last accessed Autumn 2024.

This role was consolidated in 1589 with the publication of his recognised *The Principall Nauigations, Voiages and Discoueries of the English Nation* (hereafter, *TPN*),⁴⁷ which, apart from being “one of the foundational texts of travel literature”,⁴⁸ was the first great travel compilation written in the English language. To create it, he gathered all the travel texts produced by English travellers up to that moment –whether printed, handwritten or directly transcribed from oral testimonies– thanks to the material provided by his “connections with leading mariners, merchants, and government officials”.⁴⁹ As Hakluyt himself states in the dedicatory epistle that opens *TPN*: “In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chieftest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation”.⁵⁰ After the dedicatory epistle, the author presents an introductory letter to the reader, in which he outlines his method of compilation:

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoever testimonie I haue found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I haue recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I haue first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoever els, and thereunto in the next roome haue annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall trauellers might reape that good opinion and iust commendation which they haue deserued, and further, that euery man might answere for himselfe, iustifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same ... Moreouer, I meddle in this worke with the Nauigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done, yet are they none but such as either faythfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the trauels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I haue receiued more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians could afford me in this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.⁵¹

Apart from the aforementioned relevance, *TPN* contributed to Hakluyt’s nationalistic objectives by “increasing national pride and national identity” during the Age of Discovery.⁵²

More than anything, with this work Hakluyt wanted to provide a pedigree of glory to English navigational skills, to show the antiquity of English commercial and navigational origins, to shut the mouths of those who had ridiculed England for not venturing in overseas enterprises.⁵³

Being a pivotal book in the documentation of the maritime enterprises up to the latter half of the sixteenth century, *TPN* has been selected as the case study for this research. Specifically, this paper will examine the third volume of *TPN*, which will serve as the corpus for analysis due to its coverage of the expeditions to the New World, which

⁴⁷Borge, “Richard Hakluyt, Promoter of the New World”, 5.

⁴⁸González Lemus, *Piratería inglesa en las Islas Canarias*, 20.

⁴⁹Imes, “Travel Compilations”, 121.

⁵⁰Hakluyt, *The Principall Nauigations*: “Epistle Dedicatorie to the right honorable Sir Francis Walsingham Knight”.

⁵¹Hakluyt, *The Principall Nauigations*: “Richard Hakluyt to the fauourable Reader”.

⁵²Nash, “Elizabethan Propaganda”, 8.

⁵³Borge, “Richard Hakluyt, Promoter of the New World”, 6.

meant a driving force for naval development. This corpus consists of 33 travel narratives and 44 additional texts of diverse nature (itineraries, patents and letters), according to the classification made by Quinn.⁵⁴

As noted above, previous literature on loanwords in the English language has identified the Early Modern period as the interval of time with the highest occurrence of lexical borrowings;⁵⁵ besides, in the specific lexical field of terms of navigation, a series of works has explored different languages as sources of these terms,⁵⁶ however, not much has been said about the proportional relevance of donor languages in Early Modern English nautical terminology.

This case study not only aims to shed light on this issue but also addresses the following research questions: (a) Is the process of borrowing nautical terms clearly reflected in the most prominent travel book of the moment? (b) Which types of nautical borrowings, in terms of grammatical categories and semantic fields, entered English? and (c) Which donor languages were more relevant in this process of borrowing? The aims and working methodology adopted to answer these questions will be explained in the following section.

Aims and Methodology

For the development of this study, the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (*OED* henceforth) has played a pivotal role due to its standing as historical dictionary. Being “widely regarded as the accepted authority on the English language”,⁵⁷ the *OED* contains valuable information such as the date of the earliest known use of the words, their etymology or the first sources in which they are recorded. In light of this, the *OED* has been essential for the achievement of the following objectives, which are designed to address the aforementioned research questions:

- (i) To identify and compile the nautical lexical borrowings present in the corpus.

In order to delimit the scope of the study and, prior to the identification of nautical loanwords in *TPN*, it seems mandatory to explain what is meant by this expression in this work. “Nautical borrowings”, “nautical loanwords” or “nautical terms” are used to refer to those aspects purely related with the art of navigation; this includes the equipment and the different parts of a vessel, types of boats, navigation tools, naval ranks, nautical jargon used by sailors or specific verbs that describe the manoeuvres of the ship. Consequently, words designating external phenomena like meteorological phenomena or geographical features have not been incorporated despite their habitual inclusion in classifications of nautical vocabulary.⁵⁸

⁵⁴See Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 341–77.

⁵⁵Serjeantson, *History of Foreign Words in English*, 9; Nevalainen, “Early Modern English Lexis and Semantics”, 336; Durkin, *Borrowed Words*, 301–3; Tichý, “Lexical Obsolescence and Loss”, 83.

⁵⁶See Koeman, “Flemish and Dutch Contributions”; Sayers, “Norse Nautical Terminology” and “English Sailing Terms with Norse Antecedents”; De Rijke, “Freebooters, Yachts, and Pickle-Herrings”; or Erlendsdóttir, “Términos náuticos de origen nórdico”, among others.

⁵⁷*OED*, “About the *OED*”, <https://www.oed.com/information/about-the-oed> (accessed Summer 2024).

⁵⁸See Young, *Nautical dictionary*; Smyth, *Sailor's Word-Book*; Falconer, *Glossary of Shakespeare's Sea*; Pontillo, “Nautical Terms”; or García-Macho, “Vocabulario marítimo”.

As *TPN* may contain nautical terms that have been established in the English language for centuries, it was necessary to determine a date of reference in order to assess their degree of novelty, and, consequently, to decide their inclusion on the list of Early Modern English nautical loanwords drawn from the text. Taking into account the date of publication of Hakluyt's work, 1589, the list of nautical loanwords includes those terms which entered the language during the sixteenth century. Another criterion that has been followed in order to make the present compilation is the exclusion of those words that are tagged by the *OED* as "variation or alteration of another lexical item", "formed within English, by conversion" or "English compound". According to this, terms like *rode* (the rope attached to the anchor), *general* (ship), *boatswain* (ship's officer) or *pilot-major* (ship's officer) are not on the list.⁵⁹

- (ii) To reveal predominant grammatical categories and semantic fields of nautical borrowings.

The classification of the words into the grammatical categories *noun*, *verb*, *adjective* and *adverb* has followed the information provided by the *OED*.

Concerning the classification into semantic fields, this study initially aimed to take the categories established by the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (*HTOED* henceforth) as reference. However, the *HTOED* classification presented certain limitations that made it inappropriate for the purposes of this article. Therefore, while the lexical fields *Berthing*, *mooring*, or *anchoring*, *Directing or managing a ship*, *Fit out or equip a ship*, *Naval officers*, *Punishment*, *Sailors involved in specific duties or activities* and *Shipwreck* are directly taken from the *HTOED*, the other 15 categories have been either adapted from those in the *HTOED* or specifically created to meet the requirements of this study.

- (iii) To date the nautical borrowings to ascertain whether there is a correlation with the alleged expansion of naval vocabulary during the Early Modern English period.

Considering that Hakluyt's travel compilation is the largest of its time, it is reasonable to anticipate that *TPN* can serve as a good example of the increase in nautical borrowings that occurred during this period. In order to confirm this hypothesis, the dates provided by the *OED* for the words on the list will be analysed.

- (iv) To analyse the proportion of donor languages and determine the degree of influence of each one.

The *etymology* section in the *OED* includes information about the languages that transmitted into English the nautical borrowings contained on the list. This information has been considered for the identification of the most recurrent donor languages and the subsequent discussion about their impact in the nautical language of the period.

⁵⁹*OED*, "rode, n.¹", https://www.oed.com/dictionary/rode_n1?tab=etymology#25174854; "general ship, n.", https://www.oed.com/dictionary/general-ship_n?tab=etymology#132736018100; "boatswain, n.", https://www.oed.com/dictionary/boatswain_n?tab=etymology#17214066; "pilot-major, n.", https://www.oed.com/dictionary/pilot-major_n?tab=etymology#12789174 (accessed Summer 2024).

Nautical Borrowings in *TPN*

Identification and Compilation of Nautical Borrowings

The identification of nautical borrowings in *TPN* has resulted in a list of 79 words that can be found in the appendix. In order to prepare this list, the *OED* has been taken as a reference both for the spelling of the words and for their definitions. Firstly, given that *TPN* records different spelling of the same word, the form contained on the list follows the lemma in the *OED*. For instance, the *OED* lemma *canoe* has been used instead of the various spellings found in *TPN*, such as *canoa*, *canow*, *canowa* or *canowes*. However, for those cases in which the form used in *TPN* clearly tried to imitate a foreign word, the word form in Hakluyt's compilation was prioritised. This is the case of *Biscaine*, often written as *Biskaine* in Hakluyt's work, whose definition would correspond to *OED*'s seventeenth century *Biscayner*, a later spelling that seems to have adopted an English suffix.⁶⁰

Secondly, considering that many of the borrowings can be used in contexts other than nautical, it was necessary to provide them with a proper description. In this sense, there were terms for which the *OED* offered a variety of entries with different grammar categories and senses; therefore, this compilation of borrowings reproduces the entry number (if there was more than one), the grammatical category and the sense number indicated in the *OED* for each word to guide those readers interested in consulting the original source to obtain further information. The aforementioned entry numbers, which originally appear superscripted in the *OED*, here have been placed into square brackets in order to avoid confusion with the superscript numbers that refer to footnotes. On the other hand, when an entry word was repeated on the list to introduce a different sense, superscript letters *a* and *b* have been added to ensure clarity. Examples of this are *carry*^a and *carry*^b, which correspond, respectively, to the wind propelling a vessel and to a crew sailing with a particular disposition of sails.

The definitions presented on this list have been adapted from the *OED* with the aim of rendering the precise meaning with which the loanwords are used. Accordingly, it must be clarified that some senses were found after the main entry redirected the search to a different one; such are the cases of *admiral ship*, *ship's company* and *mizzen-mast*, which are marked with an asterisk below the main entries *admiral*, *company*^a and *mizzen*, respectively.

Classification of the Nautical Borrowings

The second objective of this study consists in classifying the elements of the list of nautical borrowings into both grammatical categories and lexical fields; the latter classification will illuminate about the areas that have received the greatest influence from foreign languages.

⁶⁰The form *Biscaine* is not recorded in the *OED*, since it is probably an early spelling that attempted to reproduce the Spanish word *Vizcaíno*. Nevertheless, the entry for *Biscayan*, "Belonging to, or characteristic of, the province of Biscay; also as n., an inhabitant or native of Biscay", includes a 1769 quote in which "Biskaine ships" are mentioned. *OED*, "Biscayan, adj.", https://www.oed.com/dictionary/biscayan_adj?tab=meaning_and_use#19656033, (accessed Summer 2024).

Grammatical Categories

In their work about borrowability, van Hout and Muysken mention a number of studies on borrowings that established a hierarchical order in the grammatical categories which, despite their differences, coincide in placing the nouns in the first place.⁶¹ These authors state that "since reference is established primarily through nouns, these are the elements borrowed most easily".⁶² From a more general point of view, van Hout and Muysken affirm that, because of their proximity to cultural content, content words, like nouns, verbs or adjectives, are more likely to be borrowed than function words, like conjunctions, articles or pronouns (see footnote 62).

In line with van Hout's and Muysken's conclusions, most of the nautical borrowings recorded on the list are nouns (55) such as *cask*, *cooper*, *gondola* or *piracy*, and the second category with more loanwords includes verbs (21) like *disembark*, *furnish*, *rig* or *shiver*, as represented in Figure 1. In fact, Haspelmath mentions "the claim that verbs are more difficult to borrow than nouns because they need more grammatical adaptation than nouns" as an example of how the grammatical factor is responsible for the preference of certain types of words over others in the process of borrowing.⁶³

Finally, the two remaining categories on the list comprise two adjectives, *navigable* and *portable*, and one adverb, *thwart of*. However, these categories are incidental and, thus, not suitable for further analysis.

Lexical Fields

The information obtained in the process of compilation of nautical borrowings has led to the gathering of the 79 loanwords into 21 lexical fields which are described in Table 1 in alphabetical order:

Based on the information given in Table 1, it can be concluded that *Types of ships* (with 20 words) is the lexical field most influenced by foreign languages, followed by *Directing or managing a ship* (with 10 words). The rest of the areas count less than 10 borrowings each. It must be noticed how these data reflect the results obtained in the grammatical category analysis, since all the words contained in *Types of ships* are nouns, while those in *Directing or managing a ship* are verbs.

It is not difficult to fathom the relationship between these results and the historical moment in which *TPN* was published. In other words, the fact that most of the new words adopted are used to name a variety of foreign ships and to describe the actions necessary to their operation is closely related to a context in which the English sailors tried to assimilate the nautical improvements of other nations that were in the lead of maritime exploration.

TPN as a Witness to the Rise of Nautical Borrowings in Early Modern English

In this section the objectives (iii) and (iv) of this study will be explored. Accordingly, the dating of the nautical borrowings will be presented and discussed with the aim of

⁶¹Van Hout and Muysken, "Modeling Lexical Borrowability", 41.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 42.

⁶³Haspelmath, "Lexical Borrowing", 35.

Grammatical categories

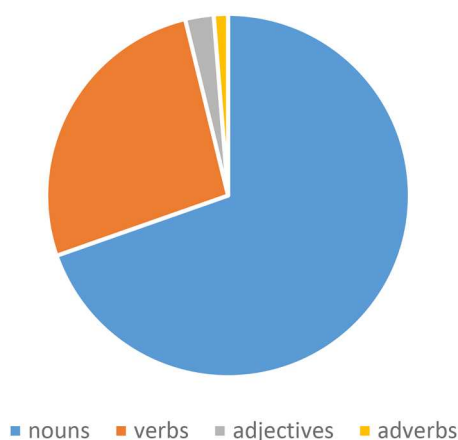


Figure 1. Classification into grammatical categories.

determining the peaks of borrowing activity, which will be an important contribution for evaluating if the data provided by *TPN* correspond with the lexical boom alleged by Serjeantson, Nevalainen, Durkin or Tichý (see footnote 55). Besides, this will help determine the role of *TPN* in the introduction and dissemination of these new terms. On the other hand, the proportion of donor languages will be established in order to evaluate the degree of influence of each foreign language.

Table 1. Classification into lexical fields.

Lexical field	Nautical borrowings
<i>Berthing, mooring, or anchoring</i>	<i>drag, slip</i>
<i>Criminality at sea</i>	<i>piracy</i>
<i>Directing or managing a ship</i>	<i>cape, carry^a, carry^b, disembogue, double, manure, range, shiver, spoon, traverse</i>
<i>Equipment of the ship</i>	<i>barrico, cargo, cask, furniture, saker</i>
<i>Fit out or equip a ship</i>	<i>furnish, rig, trim</i>
<i>Fleets</i>	<i>armada, company^b</i>
<i>Food consumed on board</i>	<i>rusk</i>
<i>Indicating position</i>	<i>thwart of</i>
<i>Landing and parting</i>	<i>departure, disembark, embark^a, embark^b, firm</i>
<i>Legal requirements for travelling</i>	<i>passport, passage</i>
<i>Measurement</i>	<i>carga, sound</i>
<i>Naval officers</i>	<i>captain, general, lieutenant, vice-admiral^a</i>
<i>Navigation tools/aids</i>	<i>card, chart, compass, map</i>
<i>Parts of a ship</i>	<i>bow, deck, prow, stanchion, cordage, mizzen</i>
<i>Protocol at sea</i>	<i>salute</i>
<i>Punishment</i>	<i>bilbo, garter</i>
<i>Sailors involved in specific duties or activities</i>	<i>company^a, cooper</i>
<i>Sea travelers</i>	<i>navigant, passenger</i>
<i>Travelling by water</i>	<i>navigate, navigation</i>
<i>Types of ships</i>	<i>admiral, aviso, almadia, balsa, bastard, Biscaine, brigantine, bonaventure, canoe, canter, fly-boat, frigate, galleon, galliass/galleass, gondola, jangada, pinnace, shallop, skiff, vice-admiral^b</i>
<i>Water conditions</i>	<i>navigable, portable</i>

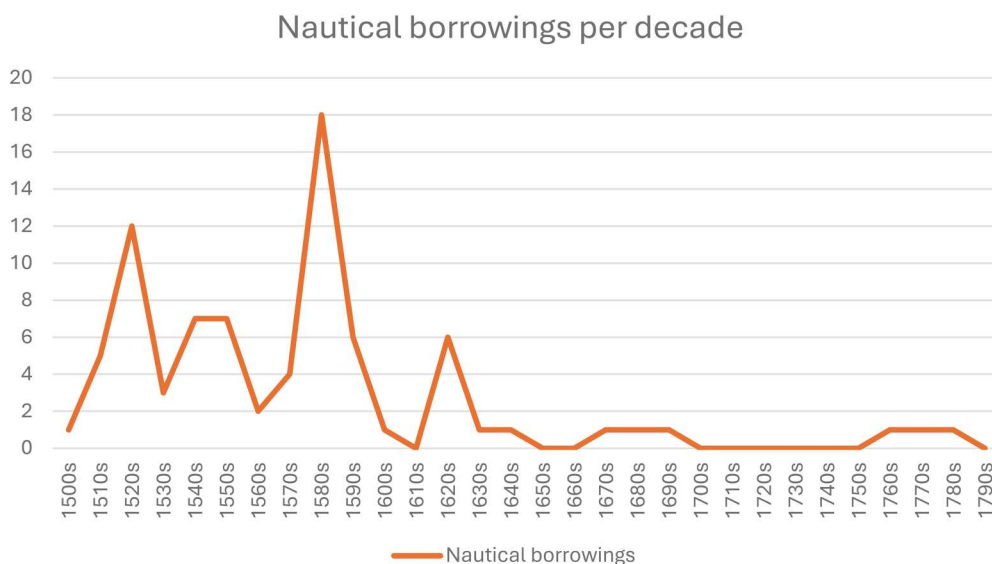


Figure 2. Nautical borrowings per decade (from 1500), based on the *OED*'s first attestation date.

Dating the Nautical Borrowings

According to the data provided by the *OED*, the 79 nautical borrowings from the corpus date from the beginning of the sixteenth century to 1780. It should be noted that *TPN* contains antedatings for some of these terms, with earlier dates than those found in the *OED*. With the purpose of showing the evolution of the borrowing activity during this lapse of time, the loanwords have been grouped per decade in Figure 2.

As shown in Figure 2, the decades presenting the most significant increase in nautical borrowings are the 1580s (18) and the 1520s (12). Furthermore, a closer examination of the 1580s indicates 1589 as the peak of borrowing activity; that is, a total of 7 borrowings entered English in one single year.

The words borrowed in 1589 are *Biscaine*, *jangada*, *mizzen*, *passage*, *range*, *rusk* and *thwart of* and, except for *Biscaine*⁶⁴ and *range*, all of them are first recorded in *TPN*, according to the *OED*. This fact suggests that *TPN* was responsible for the introduction of nearly all the terms on the list that entered the English language in 1589.

Apart from the introduction of these new terms, Hakluyt's compilation also contributed to the diffusion of other ones that, despite presenting an earlier dating in the *OED*, have *TPN* as their first published source. Such are the cases of *admiral* (1557), *cargason* (1583) or *bilbo* (1584), which appeared in travel texts that were written (but not

⁶⁴The form *Biskaine* (as written in *TPN*), which does not appear in the *OED*, has been searched in the *Early English Books Online* corpus, revealing that *TPN* is among the earliest sources that contain it to designate a type of ship. Accordingly, a previous source that uses *Biscaine* with the same sense is *The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza* (1588). The combination *Biskaine ship*, on the other hand, is most frequently found in other contemporary texts, for instance, *The second part of the booke of batailles, fought in our age taken out of the best authors and writers in sundrie languages* (1587), and *The practice, proceedings, and lawes of armes described out of the doings of most valiant and expert capitaines* (1593). *EEBO*, "Biskaine", <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/results/90C595B931534934PQ/1?accountid=14705>; "Biscaine", <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/results/CEFFBA2A57A24F20PQ/1?accountid=14705> (accessed April 2024).

published) before 1589, but were later incorporated and published as part of *TPN*. Besides, according to the *OED*, the words *card* (1532), *map* (1527), *navigable* (1527), *navigant* (1527) and *navigation* (1527) had also been introduced into English by Hakluyt, not in *TPN*, but in his former compilation *Divers Voyages* (1582).

From a different perspective, it is noteworthy to note the presence of antedatings in the corpus. As Falconer points out:

The traditional language of the sea came down orally, and centuries passed before it found its way into manuscripts or, later, into printed books. The manuscript sources of the fifteenth, sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries ... show that many sea and naval terms are to be assigned to an earlier date than that recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.⁶⁵

In his work, Falconer talks about manuscripts such as *A treatise concerning the navie of England* (1570), by John Montgomery, or *A Breefe and a true Discourse* (c. 1596), by Roger Marbeck. Nevertheless, the case of the *TPN* is not different, since Hakluyt's use of manuscripts and oral testimonies from English seamen corroborates Falconer's words.

Out of the 79 nautical borrowings compiled from *TPN* (1589), 20 precede the *OED* entry date: *shallop* (1590), *company*^a (1591), *bonaventure* (1592), *disembogue* (1595), *vice-admiral*^b (1595), *cordage* (1598), *glass* (1599), *barrico* (1607), *carga* (1622), *advise* (1624), *bow* (1626), *cooper* (1626), *lieutenant* (1626), *stanchion* (1626), *drag* (1633), *canter* (1642), *slip* (1681), *chart* (1696), *shiver* (1769), *balsa* (1777), *garter* (1780) and *sweep* (1799). Among these loanwords, 6 come from sources that were published in the decade following *TPN*, 11 belong to the seventeenth century and 3 to the eighteenth century. The existence of antedatings suggests that the inclusion of nautical borrowings in *TPN* was more substantial than initially observed and, consequently, so was the influence of Hakluyt's work in the expansion of nautical language during the period.

The extensive adoption of nautical vocabulary in the sixteenth century underwent a considerable decrease from the middle of the seventeenth century. An explanation for this phenomenon can be found in the borrowing preferences that characterise every period. Thus, while the exploration of overseas territories during the sixteenth century involved a demand for nautical terminology, arts and culture attracted all the attention by the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.⁶⁶ Indeed, once the art of navigation had been mastered by the English, the necessity for acquiring vocabulary from foreign experts in maritime affairs would likely diminish.

Donor Languages

After discussing the dating of the nautical borrowings, one unresolved question remains: what languages transferred all these words into English? The *OED* provides information about this matter in the section devoted to the etymology of the entry, which has been used as the main reference for this part of the study. However, there are some exceptions that must be indicated.

There are occasions on which it was necessary to differ from the information given by the *OED* due to the specific context in which the loanword appeared in *TPN*. According

⁶⁵Falconer, *Glossary of Shakespeare's Sea*, VIII.

⁶⁶Tichý, "Lexical Obsolescence and Loss", 82.

to this, although *frigate* and *shallop* are claimed to be words of French origin in the *OED*, in Hakluyt's compilation are described as Spanish, as it is shown in the following extracts:

Fiue leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua is a faire riuer: it lieth Northwest from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the *Spaniards* called *Vera Cruz*, and with small vessels or barks, which they call ***Fragates***, they carry all their merchandise which commeth out of *Spaine*, to the said towne: and in like manner bring all the golde, siluer, *Cochonelio*, hides, and all other things that the shippes carry into *Spaine* vnto them.⁶⁷

Their boates are made all of Seale skins, with a keele of wood within the skinne: the proportion of them is like a Spanish ***shallop***, saue only they be flat in the bottome, and sharpe at both endes.⁶⁸

Thus, the sentence "small vessels or barks, which they [the Spaniards] call *Fragates*" is a specific reference to the fact that the narrator took the word from Spanish speakers. Something similar happens with "a Spanish shallop", since it indicates that the author of the text identifies the vessel within a Spanish context. In addition, having recognised *shallop* as an antedating reinforces the idea of its transmission through Spanish in *TPN*.

The case of *galleon* is different because the disagreement does not originate in *TPN*, but in the clarifications offered by the *OED* itself, which attributes a French origin to the term while relating the word *galleon* to a ship typically used by the Spanish in *sense a* of the entry:

A kind of vessel, shorter but higher than the galley; a ship of war, esp. Spanish; also, the large vessels used by the Spanish in carrying on trade with their American possessions (in modern usage chiefly in this connection).⁶⁹

In *TPN*, *galleon* normally refers to Spanish vessels too. In addition, Serjeantson, while providing the same date and source found in the *OED*, classifies *galleon* as a Spanish loanword.⁷⁰

Another clarification needed before proceeding with the analysis of the donor languages is the fact that, according to the information provided by the *OED*, there are some loanwords which are not limited to a single language of transmission. This has been shown in Table 2, where these borrowings, highlighted in bold, have been incorporated into the word groups of their different donor languages.

The information compiled in Table 2 describes a total of 9 donor languages and one category for those of unknown or uncertain origin. If the repetition of those loanwords included in more than one group is considered, it is possible to count 94 elements in the column dedicated to the list of borrowings. Based on this, the results are compiled in Figure 3:

As represented in Figure 3, while the presence of Early Scandinavian, Middle-Low German and Low German nautical borrowings remains incidental (1%), the language that has transferred a greater amount of nautical borrowings into English is French (49%), followed by Spanish (17%) and Latin (13%).

⁶⁷Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations*, 545 (I have highlighted in bold the nautical borrowings in the passage).

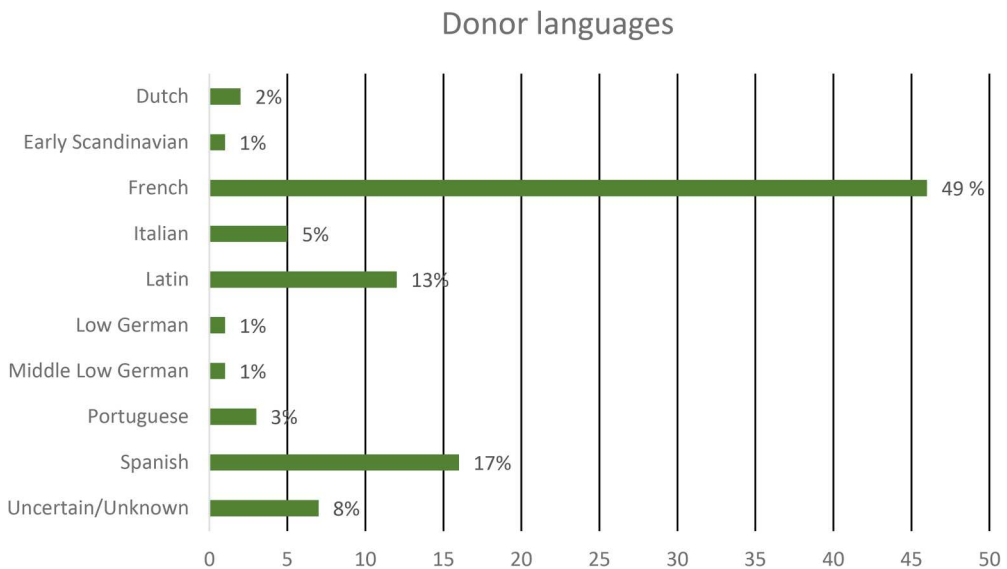
⁶⁸Ibid., 621.

⁶⁹*OED*, "galleon, n.", https://www.oed.com/dictionary/galleon_n?tab=meaning_and_use#3406201 (accessed Summer 2024).

⁷⁰Serjeantson, *History of Foreign Words in English*, 198.

Table 2. Table of donor languages.

Language	No. of borrowings	List of borrowings
Dutch	2	<i>deck, fly-boat</i>
Early Scandinavian	1	<i>thwart (of)</i>
French	46	<i>admiral, almadia, bastard, brigantine, cape, captain, card, carry^a, carry^b, cask, chart, company^a, company^b, compass, cordage, departure, disembark, double, embark^a, embark^b, firm, furnish, furniture, galliass/galleass, garter, general, lieutenant, manure, navigable, navigant, navigation, passage, passenger, passport, pinnace, piracy, portable, prow, range, saker, skiff, sound, stanchion, traverse, vice-admiral^a, vice-admiral^b</i>
Italian	5	<i>armada, bonaventure, disembark, gondola, mizzen</i>
Latin	12	<i>admiral, carry^a, carry^b, general, map, navigable, navigant, navigate, navigation, piracy, portable, salute</i>
Low German	1	<i>cooper</i>
Middle Low German	1	<i>slip</i>
Portuguese	3	<i>almadia, jangada, skiff</i>
Spanish	16	<i>adviso, armada, balsa, barrico, Biscaine, canoe, canter, carga, cargason, disembark, disemboque, frigate, galleon, rusk, shallop, skiff</i>
Uncertain/Unknown	7	<i>bilbo, bow, drag, rig, shiver, spoon, trim</i>

**Figure 3.** Proportion of donor languages.

Smith explains that most of those English words related to the nautical environment come ultimately from languages like Latin, Spanish, Italian and Dutch.⁷¹ It is well established that French and Latin are the main contributors to the expansion of English vocabulary in every area, particularly after the Norman invasion of the eleventh century, which "somewhat forced to absorb the borrowings both from Latin and

⁷¹Smith, *Words and Idioms*, 2.

French".⁷² As Serjeantson states, most of the French borrowings acquired in the sixteenth century are military and naval,⁷³ which coincides with the large number of French nautical loanwords on the list. The case of Latin borrowings is different, since many of the words had already been adopted during the previous centuries. However, their naval sense and, thus, their classification as naval borrowings, occurred during the sixteenth century. An example to illustrate this is the word *admiral*, which entered English around 1275 with the meaning of "[i]n Arabic and some other non-European countries: a ruler, military commander, or prince",⁷⁴ but whose sense as a kind of ship was introduced in the sixteenth century.

On the other hand, the remarkable contribution of Spanish is, as it can be inferred from the introduction of this study, determined by the historical and geographical context: a period in which the Spaniards' navigation skills stood out, positioning them as one of the main maritime powers, while their control over the newly discovered American territories was nearly monopolistic. According to this, Spanish nautical loanwords are both a consequence of the use of Spanish books and of the direct interaction between English sailors and their Spanish counterparts during their ventures to the New World.

In this line, Serjeantson argues that "[i]t is after the middle of the sixteenth century that Spanish words begin to be borrowed with some freedom, though they are never adopted in such numbers as Italian words".⁷⁵ Notwithstanding, as shown in Figure 3, Italian nautical borrowings constitute only a 5% of the nautical loanwords from the list. A reason for this might be found in the limited Italian presence in America during that historical period, but this idea raises another concern: Portugal had presence in the American territories and, moreover, it was one of the main naval powers at the time, but the number of borrowings does not exceed 3%, probably because Portuguese works were neither translated into English nor disseminated as extensively as Spanish works were.⁷⁶

Another unexpected result is the 2% of Dutch borrowings. In his thesis, De Rijke explains that "[t]he half decade just before the 17th-century Golden Age introduced 17 Dutch nautical loans into English";⁷⁷ however only one of them, *fly-boat*, appears in the corpus, while the other term, *deck*, belongs to the first half of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, as presented in the introduction of this work, Dutch naval treatises did not attract significant attention until the end of the sixteenth century. This perspective is consistent with the fact that the borrowing of Dutch nautical terms was limited before the fifteenth century and gradually increased until reaching its peak during the seventeenth century.⁷⁸ Given this scenario, 1589 may have been an early date for a substantial number of these borrowings to come into use among English sailors.

⁷²Barbu and Sirbu, "Cross-Distribution of Maritime English Words", 148.

⁷³Serjeantson, *History of Foreign Words in English*, 160.

⁷⁴OED, "admiral, n.", https://www.oed.com/dictionary/admiral_n?tab=meaning_and_use#11281521 (accessed Summer 2024).

⁷⁵Serjeantson, *History of Foreign Words in English*, 195.

⁷⁶Vila-Santa, *Knowledge Exchanges*, 15.

⁷⁷De Rijke, "Freebooters, Yachts, and Pickle-Herrings", 61.

⁷⁸Ibid., 60.

Conclusions

The foundations of the British Empire are rooted in the development of its naval power during the Elizabethan period. In order to achieve this, the English seamen had to learn the art of navigation from foreign powers that were well-versed in this discipline, acquiring lexical borrowings in the process. These new words became part of the daily vocabulary used by English sailors, as evidenced in the travel literature they wrote during their expeditions overseas.

A notable figure in this genre was Richard Hakluyt, author of *The Principall Navigations*, which is not just one of the foundational texts of travel literature and the first English-written travel compilation, but also the most relevant travel collection at the time. Considering the importance of Hakluyt's work, the main purpose of this study was to evaluate if the claimed growth of nautical borrowings during the Early Modern English period is represented in *TPN*.

The analysis of the text produced a list of 79 nautical terms dated in the sixteenth century; besides, the data obtained from the *OED* revealed that the 1580s decade was the peak of borrowing activity, the same decade in which *TPN* was published. Furthermore, the publication year of *TPN*, 1589, was particularly active, since it coincides with the highest occurrence of nautical borrowings throughout a span of six centuries. In addition, most of the words dated in 1589 were introduced by Hakluyt's work, which, together with the fact that 20 borrowings out of the 79 on the list are antedatings, attests to *TPN*'s irrefutable influence when it comes to the inclusion and diffusion of nautical borrowings into the English language.

On the other hand, this article aimed to define the nature of the nautical borrowings from the corpus through their classification in grammatical categories and lexical fields. The results show a noteworthy alignment with previous studies that state that, in borrowing, nouns are preferred over verbs. Thus, most of the nautical borrowings on the list are nouns, followed by verbs. Likewise, the lexical field with the highest number of occurrences is *Types of ships*, followed by *Directing or managing a ship*, containing nouns and verbs, respectively.

Finally, this article sought to identify the donor languages that transmitted the nautical borrowings of the list into English and determine which of them were the most influential. The results reveal that most of the terms come from French and Spanish. Given that French has played a leading role in the enrichment of English vocabulary in all disciplines, the Spanish contribution stands out as a result of the contact between Spanish and English sailors, both through on-site interaction in the American context or through the navigational knowledge captured in ink and paper.

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Appendix

- (1) *admiral*, noun. Sense 3. = *admiral ship**

**admiral ship*, noun [1]. "A ship commanded by or carrying an admiral; also the leading or principal ship of any fleet."

- (2) *advizo*, noun. Sense 4. "A dispatch boat."
 (3) *almadia*, noun. "Any of various types of canoe, esp. as used in parts of Africa and Asia; (also) a type of long swift riverboat."
 (4) *armada*, noun. Sense 1.a. "A (large) fleet of warships, esp. one engaging in or en route to a military encounter."
 (5) *balsa*, noun. Sense 1. "A raft, or fishing-float, used chiefly on the Pacific coasts of South America."
 (6) *barrico*, noun. "A keg, a small cask or barrel."
 (7) *bastard*, noun. Sense II.6. "A kind of warship or galley."
 (8) *bilbo*, noun [2]. "A long iron bar, furnished with sliding shackles to confine the ankles of prisoners, and a lock by which to fix one end of the bar to the floor or ground."⁷⁹
 (9) *Biscaine*, noun. "A Biscayan ship."⁸⁰
 (10) *brigantine*, noun. Sense 1. "A small vessel equipped both for sailing and rowing, swifter and more easily manoeuvred than larger ships, and hence employed for purposes of piracy, espionage, reconnoitring, etc., and as an attendant upon larger ships for protection, landing purposes, etc. Used by the seafaring nations of the Mediterranean."
 (11) *bonaventure*, noun. Sense 1. "A kind of boat or ship."
 (12) *bow*, noun [3]. 1.a. "'The fore-end of a ship or boat; being the rounding part of a vessel forward, beginning on both sides where the planks arch inwards, and terminating where they close, at the rabbet of the stem or prow, being larboard or starboard from that division'. Smyth *Sailor's Word-bk*."
 (13) *canoe*, noun. Sense 1. "Originally: a long, narrow, keelless boat hollowed from the trunk of a single tree and used by the Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean. Later: any of various kinds of simple, typically keelless, boats of varying sizes usually propelled with a paddle or paddles, and used for hunting or transportation, esp. such boats as used by Canadian fur traders, Indigenous peoples of the Americas, or Pacific islanders."
 (14) *canter*, noun [4]. "A kind of Spanish fishing-boat."
 (15) *cape*, intransitive vb [1]. "To head, keep a course, bear up; to drift. Said of sailors and of ship."
 (16) *captain*, noun. Sense II.6.a. "The officer who commands a man-of-war. In the British navy, the title of an officer who ranks between a rear-admiral or a commodore and a commander. The title is also often given by courtesy to a commander."
 (17) *card*, noun [2]. Sense II.4. "A map or chart; spec. a nautical chart. In early use also frequently in card of the sea."
 (18) *carga*, noun [1]. "A 'load' as a measure of weight."
 (19) *cargason*, noun. Sense 1.a. "'The cargo or freight of a ship."
 (20) *carry*^a, transitive vb. Sense I.i.6. "Of wind: to propel or drive (a vessel and its passengers) across a body of water."
 (21) *carry*^b, transitive vb. Sense II.ii.32. "Of a vessel or crew: to sail with (a certain amount of sail, or a particular disposition of sails)."
 (22) *cask*, noun. Sense 1.a. "The general term for a wooden vessel of a cylindrical form, usually bulging in the middle, and of greater length than breadth, formed of curved staves bound together by hoops, with flat ends or 'heads'; a barrel."

⁷⁹As mentioned in Morse Earle, *Curious Punishments*, 4, this kind of punishment was commonly inflicted on sailors.

⁸⁰This definition corresponds to OED's entry "Biscayner, n.", https://www.oed.com/dictionary/biscayner_n?tab=meaning_and_use#19656154100 (accessed Summer 2024).

- (23) *chart*, noun. Sense I.1.b. "spec. (short for sea-chart): A map for the use of navigators; a delineation of a portion of the sea, indicating the outline of the coasts, the position of rocks, sandbanks, channels, anchorages, etc."
- (24) *company*^a, noun. Sense 4.d. "The entire crew of a ship; = *ship's company*"* **ship's company*, noun. "The crew of a ship."
- (25) *company*^b, noun. Sense 7.b. "A fleet of ships, esp. merchant vessels."
- (26) *compass*, noun [1]. Sense VI.12.a. "An instrument for determining the magnetic meridian, or one's direction or position with respect to it, consisting of a magnetized needle turning freely on a pivot; notably employed in the guidance of a ship's course at sea (the Mariner's or Seaman's compass)."
- (27) *cooper*, noun [1]. Sense 1.b. "On board ship: One who looks to the repair of casks and other vessels."
- (28) *cordage*, noun. Sense 1.a. "Cords or ropes collectively or in the mass, esp. the ropes in the rigging of a ship."
- (29) *deck*, noun [1]. Sense I.2.a. "A platform extending from side to side of a ship or part of a ship, covering in the space below, and also itself serving as a floor; formed of planks."
- (30) *departure*, noun. Sense 4. "The action of setting out or starting on a journey."
- (31) *disembark*, transitive vb. Sense 1.a. "To put ashore from a ship; to land."
- (32) *disembogue*, intransitive vb. Sense 1.a. "To come out of the mouth of a river, strait, etc. into the open sea."
- (33) *double*, transitive vb. Sense 9.a. "To sail or pass round or to the other side of (a cape or point), so that the ship's course is, as it were, doubled or bent upon itself."
- (34) *drag*, transitive vb. Sense I.1.d.i. "Of a ship: to trail (an anchor which has lost its hold) along the sea bed, allowing the ship to drift."
- (35) *embark*^a, transitive vb. Sense I.1.a. "To put on board ship, make to go on board."
- (36) *embark*^b, intransitive vb. Sense II.3. "To go on board ship; to take ship."
- (37) *firm*, noun (although included in the adjective entry). Sense 8. *Firm land*, noun (also *firm-land*) "Dry land, solid earth; the mainland (as opposed to an island), a 'continent'."
- (38) *fly-boat*, noun. Sense 1. "A fast-sailing vessel used chiefly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."
- (39) *frigate*, noun. Sense 1. "A light and swift vessel, originally built for rowing, afterwards for sailing."
- (40) *furnish*, vb. Sense 6. "To prepare for work or active service; ... fit out a ship."
- (41) *furniture*, noun. Sense 5.a. "Material: Implements, tools, utensils; rigging, stores, and tackle of a ship."
- (42) *galleon*, noun. Sense a. "A kind of vessel, shorter but higher than the galley; a ship of war, esp. Spanish; also, the large vessels used by the Spanish in carrying on trade with their American possession."
- (43) *gallias/galleass*, noun. "A heavy, low-built vessel, larger than a galley, impelled both by sail and oars, chiefly employed in war."
- (44) *garter*, noun. Sense 1.c. "Nautical slang. Fetters, irons."
- (45) *general*, noun. Sense II.8. "Nautical. A commander of naval forces; an admiral."
- (46) *gondola*, noun. Sense 1.a. "A light flat-bottomed boat or skiff in use on the Venetian canals, having a cabin amidships and rising to a sharp point at either end; it is usually propelled by one man at the stern with a single oar."
- (47) *jangada*, noun. Sense a. "A float or raft consisting of four or five logs fastened together, and furnished with a seat and lateen sail, so as to form a rude fishing-boat: used in the northern parts of Brazil and Peru."
- (48) *lieutenant*, noun. Sense 2.b. "In the navy: The officer next in rank and power below the commander."
- (49) *manure*, transitive vb. Sense 4. "To manoeuvre (a ship)."
- (50) *map*, noun [1]. Sense I.1.a. "A drawing or other representation of the earth's surface or a part of it made on a flat surface, showing the distribution of physical or geographical features, ... with each point in the representation corresponding to an actual geographical position"

according to a fixed scale or projection; a similar representation of the positions of stars in the sky, the surface of a planet, or the like."

- (51) *mizzen*, noun. Sense 2. "Short for *mizzen-mast*."*

**mizzen-mast*, noun. "Nautical. On a ship with two or more masts: the mast aft of the mainmast. On a three-masted vessel the mainmast is nearer to the mizzen-mast than it is to the foremast. The mizzen-mast is the mast from which a rear admiral's flag is usually flown."

- (52) *navigable*, adj. Sense 1. "Able to be navigated; allowing the passage of ships or boats."
 (53) *navigant*, noun. "A navigator; a seafarer, a voyager."
 (54) *navigate*, intransitive vb. Sense 1.a. "To go from one place to another in a vessel; to sail. Also: to steer, control, or direct the course of a vessel; to sail a vessel."
 (55) *navigation*, noun. Sense 1.a. "A voyage; an expedition or journey by sea or water."
 (56) *passage*, noun. Sense I.2.c. "The right or permission to travel as a passenger, esp. by sea; accommodation as a passenger."
 (57) *passenger*, noun. Sense 4. "A person in or on a conveyance other than its driver, pilot, or crew."
 (58) *passport*, noun [1]. Sense I.2. "Authorization to leave a port or to enter, leave, or pass through a country."
 (59) *pinnace*, noun. Sense I. "A small sailing vessel"
 (60) *piracy*, noun. Sense 1.a. "The action of committing robbery, kidnap, or violence at sea or from the sea without lawful authority, esp. by one vessel against another."
 (61) *portable*, adj. Sense 3. "Of a river, lake, etc.: capable of carrying ships or boats; navigable."
 (62) *prow*, noun [2]. Sense 1.a. "The pointed front part of a boat or ship, immediately about the stem; the bow."
 (63) *range*, transitive vb [1]. Sense I.1.d. "Nautical. To sail along or about (a coast or an area)."
 (64) *rig*, transitive vb [2]. I.1.a. "To prepare a sailing ship or boat for going to sea; spec. to set up the sails and rigging of (a sailing vessel)."
 (65) *rusk*, noun [2]. Sense 1.a. "Originally: bread or cake broken into small pieces and hardened by rebaking, esp. for use as ship's stores."
 (66) *saker*, noun [2]. Sense a. "An old form of cannon smaller than a demi-culverin, formerly much employed in sieges and on ships."
 (67) *salute*, vb. Sense 2.c. "*spec.* in Military and Navy use ... Of a ship, a body of troops, a commander: To honour or ceremoniously recognize in the customary manner, by a discharge of artillery or small arms, by lowering of flags, or the like."
 (68) *shallop*, noun. Sense 2. "A boat, propelled by oars or by a sail, for use in shallow waters or as a means of effecting communication between, or landings from, vessels of a large size, a dinghy."
 (69) *shiver*, transitive vb [2]. Sense 3.b. "To cause (a sail) to flutter or shake in the wind, to bring a sail edge-on to the wind."
 (70) *skiff*, noun [1]. Sense 1. "A small seagoing boat, adapted for rowing and sailing; esp. one attached to a ship and used for purposes of communication, transport, towing, etc. Hence, a small light boat of any kind."
 (71) *slip*, transitive vb [1]. Sense II.iv.28.a. "Nautical. To allow (an anchor-cable, etc.) to run out, frequently with a buoy attached, when quitting an anchorage in haste; to drop or disengage an anchor in this way."
 (72) *sound*, transitive vb [2]. Sense 4. a. "To investigate (water, etc.) by the use of the line and lead or other means, in order to ascertain the depth or the quality of the bottom; to measure or examine in some way resembling this."
 (73) *spoon*, intransitive vb [1]. Sense 1. "In sailing, to run before the wind or sea; to scud."
 (74) *stanchion*, noun. Sense 1. "An upright bar, stay, prop or support." I.c. "Shipbuilding"
 (75) *thwart (of)*, adv. Sense 3.a. "Nautical. Opposite to, over against (a place on the coast)."
 (76) *traverse*, noun. Sense III.16.a. "An act of sailing short distances in different directions successively, typically when tacking in order to reach a point to windward; each of the short runs

made by a boat or ship sailing in this way. Also: the irregular or zigzag course taken by a vessel sailing in this manner."

- (77) *trim*, vb. Sense II.3. "To fit out (a ship, etc.) for sea." Also "to caulk, clean, and dress a ship's bottom."
- (78) *vice-admiral*^a, noun. Sense 1.a. "A naval officer ranking next to an admiral."
- (79) *vice-admiral*^b, noun. Sense 2. "A vessel commanded by a vice-admiral."

3. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH LINES

The Early Modern English period was marked by profound religious, political, and cultural changes that ultimately influenced the development of the language. On the one hand, the establishment of English as a prestigious language for writing, overtaking Latin, was favoured by various internal factors such as the religious Reformation, the introduction of the printing press, increased literacy among the working classes and a growing sense of patriotism. However, this dominance also exposed certain weaknesses of the vernacular, particularly the lack of standardisation and an insufficient lexicon to express complex ideas. On the other hand, the Age of Discovery, in which Europe was deeply engaged at the time, brought to light England's disadvantage in comparison to naval powers such as Spain and Portugal, which were securing control over newly discovered territories in the Americas. Both situations contributed to an unprecedented expansion of English vocabulary, mainly through lexical borrowing, which addressed the language's need for terms to name new elements and concepts. From another perspective, the influence of foreign nations in specialised fields such as navigation further shaped English vocabulary through the introduction of technical terminology from these disciplines.

The American context was particularly relevant for the acquisition of borrowings. Accordingly, acquiring naval knowledge from rivals was essential to avoid falling behind in the imperial competition. In the process of learning and applying this foreign knowledge, nautical borrowings were incorporated into the English language. Moreover, English travellers also read and studied Spanish texts about America as part of their preparation before their journeys, thereby familiarising themselves with both Spanish and Amerindian terms. Once in America, contact with the Spanish settlers further facilitated the adoption of Hispanicisms, while the exoticism of the New World provided Amerindian loanwords to name the new reality. This process was often documented in travel literature produced by English explorers, thus introducing and disseminating lexical borrowings among the English readers. In this sense, the most prominent travel collection of the period was undoubtedly Richard Hakluyt's *TPN* (1589), the third volume of which is devoted to the American travels.

Taking the aforementioned third volume as the corpus of study, this thesis has established six objectives, which have been achieved through the publication of three articles in indexed academic journals. Consequently, objectives (i) *To identify and compile the Spanish and Amerindian terms present in the corpus*, (ii) *To determine which types of Spanish and Amerindian terms were most likely to be introduced* and (iii) *To*

analyse the strategies used by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of the Amerindian and Spanish words to the readers are met in Publication 1, “The Role of Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) in the Introduction and Dissemination of Spanish Loanwords in the English Language”, and Publication 2, “Defining Amerindian terms in Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) or when the explorers became lexicographers”, which deal with Spanish and Amerindian loanwords, respectively. The latter also fulfils objective (iv) *To study the similarities between the strategies employed by the authors of the corpus to explain the meaning of Amerindian words and those used by lexicographers from the 16th-18th centuries*, which has been only carried out with indigenous loanwords. Given this, a similar comparison regarding Spanish loanwords is not contained in this thesis, which is why it will be addressed in future research. Finally, Publication 3, “Nautical borrowings in Early Modern English: The Case Study of Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principall Nauigations* (1589)”, deals with nautical borrowings, thus reaching objectives (v) *To determine if the boom of borrowed nautical terms that took place during the Early Modern English period is clearly reflected in TPN* and (vi) *To evaluate the role of Spanish in the transmission of Spanish and Amerindian nautical terms into English, as reflected in Hakluyt’s work*.

The results of these publications reveal that *TPN* includes 90 Hispanicisms and 25 Amerindian loanwords. For both of them, the most prominent lexical field is *food and drink* and, in the case of Spanish borrowings, also *animals* and *plants*. These are related not just to the necessity of surviving in an alien environment, but also to the portrayal of a reality full of strange elements that would reach their countrymen on the other side of the ocean and would represent potential commodities for the enrichment of their nation. As for the strategies used to render the meaning of these new terms to the English public, they can be summarised as follows in both cases: The use of an English equivalent; the use of a generic term that indicates the lexical field to which the word belongs to; the inclusion of a description of the object; the presence of contextual aids such as enumerations, and the presence of other elements in the narrative that contributed to infer the meaning; besides, the absence of any strategy may indicate that the writer was already familiar with the word and, thus, rendering the meaning was not necessary. In addition, Publication 2 has demonstrated that, when it comes to the definition of Amerindian loanwords, strategies such as the use of an English equivalent, the use of a generic term and the description of the object are shared by dictionaries from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In other words, the only strategies not employed by

lexicographers are the one related to contextual hints, which is not possible in a non-narrative work, and the one involving not rendering the meaning of the word, which is inconceivable in a dictionary.

Concerning nautical borrowings, Publication 3 gathers a list of 79 terms of different origins dated from 1500 onwards, of which 16 were transmitted through Spanish. As a result, Spanish represents one of the main donor languages of terms related to navigation, only surpassed by French. Additionally, Publication 3 explores the role of *TPN* as evidence of the increase in nautical loanwords that took place during the Early Modern English period, confirming that this boom is reflected in the text. In fact, the publication date of *TPN*, 1589, stands out as the peak of borrowing activity for these terms, according to the *OED* data. Furthermore, most of the loanwords dating from 1589 were introduced into the English language through Hakluyt's compilation, which, along with the presence of other 20 borrowings that predate the *OED* entry date, proves *TPN*'s impact on the incorporation of nautical borrowings. Antedatings are also present among the Hispanicisms in Publication 1, where 27 of them are found, which reinforces the role of *TPN* as an important source of borrowings during the period. On top of that, the third volume of *TPN* has proven to be an exceptionally suitable corpus for this study, as it includes several first-hand records from different authors that found themselves in a context that favoured the acquisition of nautical borrowings, Hispanicisms and Amerindian loanwords.

Indeed, analysing primary texts for the study of these borrowings is less common than focusing on the information provided in dictionaries, as is the case in most research on these types of words. Besides, previous literature is often restricted to the enumeration or listing of words, whereas this thesis broadens the scope by considering other aspects such as the different spellings, the number of occurrences or the presence of antedatings regarding the *OED* registration date. From a different point of view, the data obtained for this work has also contributed to the development of the *AMERLEX-DATABASE* project.

Finally, the studies carried out as part of this thesis set the stage for further investigation, which contemplates the analysis of the second edition of Hakluyt's compilation, *The Principal Navigations* (1599-1600). Being larger, the second edition includes new texts that may reveal the presence of additional borrowings, and, at the same time, could serve as an indicator of possible changes in borrowing activity compared to the 1589 version. Furthermore, for the advancement of research on Amerindian loanwords in the English language, it would be advisable to continue studying primary

texts authored by prominent figures of the time. For instance, William Dampier's *A New Voyage round the World. Describing particularly, the Isthmus of America* (1697) or Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699)—written nearly a century later—may provide valuable insight into the evolution of the initial borrowings recorded in *TPN*, allowing for an assessment of their continued usage and the mechanisms by which their meanings were conveyed. Additionally, given the prolonged presence of the first British colonies in the Caribbean, a corresponding increase in the adoption of indigenous terms can be reasonably anticipated. Moreover, the identification of Amerindian words in *TPN* originating from North American languages has suggested another potential line of research, leading me to explore other regions of the Americas where Spanish did not serve as an intermediary, as well as more distant territories that also contributed to enriching the English lexicon during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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5. APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Spanish phrases and sentences in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) Vol. III

1. "Abaxo, Perro":

[...] and three Negroes, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their Friends, welcommed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Buttizio of wine of *Chile* to drinke to vs: but as soone as we were entered, one of our company called *Thomas Moone* began to lay about him, and stroke one of the Spaniards, and sayd vnto him, **Abaxo Perro**, that is in English, goe downe dog (Hakluyt, 1589: M m m. 6. r).

2. "Basta ser Ingles...":

The talke was perceaued to be preiudiciall to the Romish doctrine, & therfore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, & al remained vnthought vpon, had it not bene for a villanous *Portingal* that was in the company, who said, **Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas**: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of *Mexico*, and his Prouisor, [...] (Hakluyt, 1589: 585).

3. "Entra, entra":

[...] and so giuing a mightie shoote, came all aboord together, crying **entra, entra**, but our men receaued them so hotly, with small shots and pikes, that they killed them like Dogges (Hakluyt, 1589: 800).

4. "Gente triste":

[...] they are called by the Spanyards **Gente triste**, that is to say, Bad people, meaning therby, that they are not men of capacity (Hakluyt, 1589: 539).

5. "Marches, marches Engleses perros...":

Marches, marches Engleses perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios: which is as much to say in English: March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God (Hakluyt, 1589: 570).

6. "Tampeco, Christiano":

Tampeco, tampeco Christiano, tampeco Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, Go that way, and you shall finde the Christians (Hakluyt, 1589: 567).

7. "Tanto como tierra":

[...] they redeemed their husbands with fruites, as plantans, mameias, pineaples, oranges, and limons, of all which is great abundance, as the Spaniarde sayd, **tanto como tierra** as great plenty as there is of earth (Hakluyt, 1589: 811).

8. "Todo esta cacadoo en Terra"

[...] and I amongst the rest, being desirous to knowe of one of them, what the newes was at the Towne, he answered me with great laughter. **Todo esta cacadoo en Terra** (Hakluyt, 1589: 800).

Appendix 2. Glossary of Spanish loanwords in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations* (1589) Vol. III

<i>Word (Spanish/English)</i>	<i>Spellings in TPN⁴⁴</i>	<i>No. of texts including the word</i>	<i>Total occurrences (corpus)</i>	<i>OED dating</i>	<i>OED origin</i>
<i>alcalde/alcalde (n.)</i>	<i>alcalde</i> (p. 529) <i>alcalde maior</i> (p. 588) <i>alcaldes</i> (p. 588)	2	3	1581	Spanish
<i>alcatraz/alcatras (n.)</i>	<i>alcatrarses</i> (p. 525) <i>alcatrarzi</i> (p. 601)	2	2	1555	Italian, Portuguese, Spanish
<i>anchou/anchovy (n.)</i>	<i>anchouas</i> (p. 675)	1	1	1582 [first register of a 1578 text, published in <i>TPN</i> (1589)]	Spanish
<i>añil/anil (n.)</i>	<i>anneile</i> (p. 590) <i>annele</i> (p. 590) <i>annyle</i> (p. 593)	1	3	1581	French, Portuguese, Spanish
<i>armada/armada (n.)</i>	<i>armado</i> (p. 534) <i>armadoes</i> (p. 603) <i>armados</i> (p. 531)	2	3	1586	Italian, Spanish
<i>arroba/rove (n.)</i>	<i>roue</i> (pp. 550, 638, 641) <i>roues</i> (p. 638)	3	5	1588	Spanish
<i>atabal/atabal (n.)</i>	<i>attabalies</i> (p. 573)	1	1	1672⁴⁵	Spanish
<i>auto de fe/auto (n.)</i>	<i>auto</i> (p. 583)	1	1	1563	Portuguese, Spanish

⁴⁴ Given that one of the greatest challenges when identifying loanwords in historical travelogues is the inconsistency of spellings, and, occasionally, their lack of similarity to the original word, compiling the different spellings of the loanwords found in *TPN* may be useful for researchers working on travel texts from the same period.

⁴⁵ Antedatings have been bolded.

<i>aviso/adviso (n.)</i>	<i>adviso</i> (p. 811)	1	2	1591	Spanish
<i>bacalao/bacalao (n.)</i>	<i>baccalaos</i> (pp. 511, 514)	2	2	1555	Spanish
<i>balsa/balsa (n.)</i>	<i>balsa</i> (p. 592)	1	1	1777	Spanish
<i>barrica/barrico (n.)</i>	<i>barrecos</i> (p. 669) <i>barricoes</i> (p. 649) <i>barricos</i> (p. 669)	1	7	1607	Spanish
<i>bonito/bonito (n.)</i>	<i>bonitas</i> (Mmm. 5. v) <i>bonito</i> (pp. 542, 689) <i>bonitoes</i> (p. 542)	3	11	1541	Spanish
<i>botijo/botijo (n.)</i>	<i>botisios</i> (p. 810) <i>buttisio</i> (p. 794) <i>buttizio</i> (Mmm. 6. r)	3	3	1600	Spanish
<i>brasil/brazil⁴⁶ (n.)</i>	<i>brasill</i> (p. 550)	1	2	1545	Italian, Portuguese, Spanish
<i>bravata/bravado (n.)</i>	<i>brauado</i> (p. 800)	1	1	1589	French, Spanish
<i>cabrita/cabrit (n.)</i>	<i>cabaritas</i> (Mmm. 4. r, Mmm. 5. v)	1	3	1624	Spanish
<i>calabaza/calabaza (n.)</i>	<i>calabasses</i> (p. 547)	1	1	1596	Spanish
<i>calenture/calenture (n.)</i>	<i>calentura</i> (pp. 657, 795) <i>callentura</i> (pp. 657)	2	3	1593	French ⁴⁷
<i>canario/Canary bird (n.)</i>	<i>Canary birds</i> (p. 689)	1	1	1562	Spanish
<i>canario/Canary (adj.)</i>	<i>Canary wines</i> (p. 578)	1	1	1576	Spanish
<i>cantera/canter (n.)</i>	<i>canter</i> (Mmm. 5. r) <i>canterers</i> (Mmm. 4. r)	1	5	before 1642	Spanish
<i>cañafistula/cassia (n.)</i>	<i>cana fistula</i> (pp. 550, 552, 579, 582, 587) <i>cassia fistula</i> (p. 552)	3	6	1585	Latin ⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The *OED* entry that dated *brazil* in 1545 and classified it as Italian, Portuguese or Spanish has been updated and changed. Currently, *brazil* presents three dates prior to 1545, all of them from manuscripts published in works from the nineteenth and the twentieth century, and its origin is tagged as French.

⁴⁷ The *OED* does not have an entry for Spanish the form *calentura*, which is the one reproduced in the corpus. In addition, the *OED* recognises the French form *calenture* to derive from Spanish *calentura*.

⁴⁸ From the *OED* entry *cassia*. As indicated in sense 4.a., the form *cassia fistula* was used to refer to a botanical species cultivated in the West Indies.

<i>capelán/capelin (n.)</i>	<i>caplin</i> (pp. 781, 783, 784, 790)	2	4	1620	French, Spanish ⁴⁹
<i>capítulo/chapter (n.)</i>	<i>capitulo</i> (p. 597)	1	10	Not in <i>OED</i>	Not in <i>OED</i>
<i>carga/carga (n.)</i>	<i>cargas</i> (p. 589) <i>carge</i> (p. 589)	1	3	1622	Spanish
<i>cargazón/cargason (n.)</i>	<i>cargason</i> (p. 818)	1	1	1583 [text published in <i>TPN</i> (1589)]	Spanish
<i>castellano/Castilian (adj.)</i>	<i>Castilian tongue</i> (p. 580)	1	1	1779	Spanish
<i>chalupa/shallop (n.)</i>	<i>shallop</i> (p. 621)	1	1	1590	French ⁵⁰
<i>china/china (n.)</i>	<i>chyna</i> (p. 744)	1	1	1577	From a proper name ⁵¹
<i>cochinilla/cochineal (n.)</i>	<i>cochenelio</i> (p. 579) <i>cochenello</i> (p. 712) <i>cochenile</i> (pp. 637, 756) <i>cochinele</i> (p. 756) <i>cochinelio</i> (p. 587) <i>cochinelle</i> (p. 587) <i>cochonelio</i> (pp. 545, 589) <i>cochonilio</i> (p. 546) <i>couchenelio</i> (p. 523) <i>cuchionelio</i> (p. 576) <i>cutchanelio</i> (pp. 588, 590)	8	16	1582	French ⁵²

⁴⁹ The *OED* entry *capelin/caplin* has been updated. Currently, it considers this word to be solely of French origin.

⁵⁰ Despite using the French form *shallop*, the passage in *TPN* describes it as a Spanish kind of boat: “Their boates [...] the proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop [...]” (Hakluyt, 1589: 621).

⁵¹ Although the *OED* specifies that this word comes from the proper name of the country China, the large number of occurrences in Spanish texts of the period suggests that it may have been transferred through Spanish.

⁵² The *OED* only includes an entry for the French form *cochineal*. However, the fact that in the second edition of *TPN* (1599-1600), which underwent spelling corrections, appears the form *cochinilla* in the same passages reveals the intention of reproducing the Spanish form of the word.

<i>coco/coco (n.)</i>	<i>Cocos</i> (pp. Mmm. 5. v, 812) <i>Coquos</i> (pp. Mmm. 8. r, Mmm. 10. v, 813)	3	6	1555	Dutch, Italian, Latin, Portuguese, Spanish
<i>corcho/cork (n.)</i>	<i>corke</i> (p. 654)	1	1	1496	Spanish
<i>cordobán/cordovan (n.)</i>	<i>cordouan</i> (pp. 639, Mmm. 9. r, 810)	3	3	1591	Spanish
<i>corpo santo/corposant (n.)</i>	<i>corpos sancto</i> (p. 582)	1	1	1561	Portuguese, Spanish
<i>desembarcar/disenbark (vb.)</i>	<i>disimbarke</i> (p. 591)	1	1	1582	French, Italian, Spanish
<i>desembocar/disenbogue (vb.)</i>	<i>disimboked</i> (p. 522)	1	1	c. 1595	Spanish
<i>don/Don (n.)</i>	<i>Don</i> (pp. 507, 509, 512, 522, 564, 566, 571, 572, 576, 579, 586, 592, 612, 615, Mmm. 7. v, 660, 661)	10	29	1505	Spanish
<i>empalizada/palisade (n.)</i>	<i>pallisado</i> (p. 739)	1	1	1589	Spanish
<i>encamisada/camisado (n.)</i>	<i>canuisado</i> (p. 745)	1	1	1548	Spanish
<i>encomendero/encomendero (n.)</i>	<i>incommenderos</i> (p. 593)	1	2	1818	Spanish
<i>esquife/skiff (n.)</i>	<i>skiffe</i> (pp. 642, 649, 650, 651, 652, 659, 660, 661, 662, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669) <i>skiffes</i> (p. 665)	2	50	1578	French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish
<i>estancia/estancia (n.)</i>	<i>stantias</i> (p. 570) <i>stantiaes</i> (p. 576)	1	2	1648 ⁵³	Spanish
<i>fanega/fanega(n.)</i>	<i>hanege</i> (p. 550) <i>hannege</i> (pp. 588, 593) <i>hanneges</i> (p. 588)	2	5	c. 1503	Spanish
<i>fiscal/fiscal (n.)</i>	<i>fischall</i> (p. 572)	1	1	1539	French, Italian, Spanish
<i>flamenco/flamingo (n.)</i>	<i>Flamingo</i> (p. 560) <i>Flemengo</i> (p. 542)	2	3	1589	Occitan, Portuguese, Spanish

⁵³ The date has been adjusted in accordance with the *OED* update, compared to that used in Publication 1 (1704).

<i>fragata/frigate (n.)</i>	<i>Flemingo</i> (p. 542)	1	1	1585	French ⁵⁴
<i>galeón/galleon (n.)</i>	<i>fragates</i> (p. 545)	2	25	1529	French, Italian, Spanish ⁵⁵
	<i>gallion</i> (pp. 644, 647, 648, 650, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 664, 666, 667, 668)				
	<i>gallions</i> (660, 667)				
<i>garbanzo/garbanzo (n.)</i>	<i>garuansaes</i> (p. 810)	1	1	1712	Spanish
<i>higo/figo (n.)</i>	<i>figo</i> (Mmm. 9. v)	1	2	1589	Portuguese, Spanish
	<i>figu</i> (Mmm. 10. v)				
<i>indigo/indigo (n.)</i>	<i>indico</i> (p. 587)	1	2	1555	Latin, Italian, Dutch ⁵⁶
					Spanish
<i>ingenio/ingenio (n.)</i>	<i>ingenios</i> (pp. 641, 800), <i>ingenio</i> (pp. 638, 801), <i>ingenios</i> (p. 801)	3	7	1600	
<i>lagarto/alligator (n.)</i>	<i>alligato</i> (p. 650)	1	2	1591	Spanish
<i>manilla/manilla (n.)</i>	<i>manilos</i> (p. 557)	1	1	1589	Portuguese, Spanish
<i>manteca de puerco/manteca⁵⁷ (n.)</i>	<i>montego de porco</i> (p. 810)	1	1	1622	Spanish
<i>marqués/marquis (n.)</i>	<i>marques</i> (pp. 587, 589)	2	3	Not in <i>OED</i> ⁵⁸	Not in <i>OED</i>
<i>melaza/molasses (n.)</i>	<i>molassos</i> (p. 810)	1	1	1582	Portuguese, Spanish ⁵⁹
<i>mestizo/mestizo (n.)</i>	<i>mestisa</i> (p. 575)	1	2	1598	Portuguese, Spanish

⁵⁴ The *OED* only registers the form *frigate*, of French origin. However, in this case we are recording the Spanish form *fragata* used in *TPN*.

⁵⁵ The *OED* entry that classified *galleon* as French, Italian and Spanish has been updated. Now, it considers it to be only of French origin. However, the two senses offered in the entry make reference to the Spanish origin of the ships: “A kind of vessel, shorter but higher than the galley; a ship of war, esp. Spanish; also, the large vessels used by the Spanish in carrying on trade with their American possessions”, in *sense a*; “A great prize or catch, referring to the capture of Spanish galleons by English privateers”, in *sense b*. (*OED*).

⁵⁶ The etymology section of the *OED* specifies that there are two forms, *indigo* and *indico*. For the latter, it says “from Spanish, was the usual form in 16–17th cent” (*OED*).

⁵⁷ The first source text in the *OED* entry *manteca* reproduces the phrase *manteca de puerco*.

⁵⁸ The form *marqués* is not registered in the *OED*. Nevertheless, the feminine form *marquesa*, dated in 1832, can be found. The form *marquis*, of French origin and dated in the fourteenth century, is also included in the *OED*.

⁵⁹ The *OED* entry *molasses* has been updated. Initially, it tags the words solely as “probably” Portuguese. However, the expanded explanation considers Italian and Spanish as possible origins.

<i>mestizoes</i> (p. 576)	1	1	1578	Spanish
<i>Mexicans</i> (p. 569)	1	2	1589	Spanish
<i>Mexican</i> (p. 574)	1			
<i>Mexicane</i> (p. 578)	1	5	Not in <i>OED</i>	Not in <i>OED</i>
<i>ministrador</i> (pp. 642, 643)	4	6	1572	Spanish
<i>musketa</i> (p. 785)				
<i>musketas</i> (p. 568)				
<i>muskito</i> (p. 545)				
<i>muskitoes</i> (p. 734)				
<i>musquito</i> (p. 545)				
<i>negro</i> (pp. 553, 562, 563, 575, 577, 650, 653, 654, 655, 796, 801)	16	123	1555	Portuguese, Spanish
<i>negroe</i> (pp. 528, 529, 535)				
<i>Negroes</i> (pp. 520, 521, 522, 525, 527, 528, 529, 531, 532, 533, 536, 539, 553, 554, 563, 569, 572, 575, 586, 588, 589, 590, 594, 595, 596, Mmm. 6. r, Mmm. 7. r, 650, 651, 655, 734, 794, 795, 809, 818)				
<i>obraches</i> (p. 571)	1	1	Not in <i>OED</i>	Not in <i>OED</i>
<i>padrez</i> (p. 642)	1	1	1584	Italian, Portuguese, Spanish
<i>palmito</i> (pp. 526, 527, 539, 642, 649, 650)	3	11	1582	Spanish
<i>pargoes</i> (p. 525)	1	1	1589	Portuguese, Spanish
<i>potato</i> (p. 712)	6	8	1565	Spanish
<i>potatoes</i> (pp. 530, Mmm. 6. r)				

⁶⁰ No English equivalent has been found for this word, which refers to “certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill people” (Hakluyt, 1589: 571).

<i>potatos</i> (pp. 637, 666, 810, 812)						
peso/peso (n.)		5	22	1555		Spanish
<i>peso</i> (p. 585)						
<i>pesoes</i> (p. 578)						
<i>pesos</i> (p. 585)						
<i>pezoos</i> (pp. 569, 572, 575, 577, 579, Mmm. 7. v, 716)						
<i>pezos</i> (p. 550)						
pico/pike (n.)		2	6	1555		Portuguese, Spanish
<i>piloto maggiore</i> (p. 512)		1	1	1562		Spanish
piloto mayor/pilot-major (n.)						
<i>pintado</i> (p. Mmm. 10. r)		1	1	1606 [before 1575 in a manuscript]		Portuguese, Spanish
pintado/pintado (n.)						
piña/pina (n.)		3	5	1572		Spanish
<i>pinas</i> (pp. 547, 765)						
<i>pines</i> (p. 530)						
<i>pynes</i> (p. 765)						
plátano/platano (n.)		6	10	1555		Spanish
<i>plantanos</i> (p. 587)						
<i>plantans</i> (pp. 547, 650, 652, 809, 811, 812)						
<i>plantine</i> (p. 813)						
<i>plantyns</i> (p. 765)						
<i>platonos</i> (p. 765)						
presidente/presidente (n.)		1	1	1851		Spanish
<i>presidentes</i> (p. 557)						
proveedor/provedore (n.)		1	3	1571		Portuguese, Spanish
<i>provedor</i> (pp. 638, 640)						
quinto/fifth part (n.)		2	3	Not in <i>OED</i>		Not in <i>OED</i>
<i>quintas</i> (p. 593)						
<i>quinto</i> (pp. 549, 593)						
ranchería/rancheria (n.)		1	1	1594		Spanish
<i>rancharia</i> (p. 533)						
real/real (n.)		6	18	1558		Spanish
<i>reis</i> (p. 638) ⁶¹						
<i>rials</i> (p. 796)						

⁶¹ Some terms in *TPN* exhibit French spelling, yet the context indicates that they are, in fact, reproductions of Spanish words. This is the case of *real*, which is spelt as *roiall* despite referring to the Spanish currency.

	<i>roiall</i> (p. 551) <i>roials</i> (pp. 587, 588, 589, Mmm. 7. v) <i>royalles</i> (p. 593) <i>royals</i> (pp. 593, Mmm. 7. v, Mmm. 7. r)	1	2	1589	Spanish
<i>rosca/rusk (n.)</i>	<i>ruske</i> (pp. 687, 690)	1	2	1589	Spanish
<i>salina/salina (n.)</i>	<i>salines</i> (pp. 568, 569)	1	2	1697	Spanish
<i>sambenito/sanbenito (n.)</i>	<i>S. Benito</i> (pp. 574, 577, 584) <i>S. Benitoes</i> (p. 584) <i>S. Benitos</i> (p. 573)	2	9	1568	Spanish
<i>sasafrás/sassafras (n.)</i>	<i>sasafras</i> (p. 712) <i>sassafras</i> (pp. 738, 740, 741, 742, 751, 758)	4	9	1577	Spanish
<i>sayal/say (n.)</i>	<i>sayall</i> (p. 550)	1	1	Not in <i>OED</i> ⁶²	Not in <i>OED</i>
<i>señor/Señor (n.)</i>	<i>Segnior</i> (Mmm. 7. v) <i>Senior</i> (p. 668) <i>Signior</i> (p. 524)	3	3	1622	Spanish
<i>serón/seron (n.)</i>	<i>serons</i> (p. 818)	1	1	1545	French, Spanish
<i>tabaco/tobacco (n.)</i>	<i>tabacco</i> (pp. 541, Mmm. 8. v, 735, 768) <i>tobacco</i> (p. 754)	5	6	1577	Spanish
<i>tomín/tomin (n.)</i>	<i>tomynes</i> (p. 587)	1	1	1589	Spanish
<i>tronada/tornado (n.)</i>	<i>ternado</i> (pp. 651, 652, 655, 656) <i>ternados</i> (p. 529) <i>tr[?]nados</i> (p. 560)	3	10	1589	Spanish
<i>vara/vare (n.)</i>	<i>vare</i> (p. 550)	1	3	1545	Spanish

⁶² The *OED* only includes the French cognate *say*.

<i>venta/venta (n.)</i>	<i>ventz</i> (p. 588)	1	1	1610	Spanish
<i>vizcaíno/Biscayner (n.)</i>	<i>Biscaine</i> (pp. 609, 610) <i>Biscayes</i> (p. 690) <i>Biskaine</i> (pp. 589, 792, 809) <i>Byskaine</i> (p. 589)	5	7	1664	From a proper name ⁶³
<i>volcán/volcan (n.)</i>	<i>vulcan</i> (p. 588)	1	2	1577	French, Spanish
<i>zarzaparrilla/sarsaparilla (n.)</i>	<i>salsa perilla</i> (pp. 552, 587, 590) <i>salsa perillia</i> (pp. 552, 582)	3	5	1577	Spanish

⁶³ While the form used in *TPN*, *Biscaine*, may be an early attempt to reproduce the Spanish word *vizcaíno*, the form *Biscayner* is a later spelling with an English suffix.

Appendix 3. Glossary of Amerindian loanwords in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations* (1589) Vol. III

<i>Word (Spanish/English)</i>	<i>Spellings in TPN</i>	<i>No. of texts including the word</i>	<i>Total occurrences (corpus)</i>	<i>OED dating</i>	<i>OED origin</i> ⁶⁴	<i>Amerindian language</i> ⁶⁵	<i>Amerindian form</i> ⁶⁶
<i>aguacate/aguacate (n.) cacao/cacao (n.)</i>	<i>aluacatas</i> (p. 547)	1	1	1633	Spanish	Nahuatl	<i>ahuacatl</i>
	<i>cacao</i> (pp. 547, 589, 590, 593)	3	10	1555	Spanish	Nahuatl	<i>cacahua</i>
	<i>cacaos</i> (p. 811)						
<i>cacique/cacique (n.)</i>	<i>casique</i> (pp. 552, 592)	2	4	1555	French, Spanish	Caribe	Not specified
<i>campeche/Campeachy wood (n.)</i>	<i>campege</i> (p. 593) ⁶⁷	1	1	1652	From a proper name	Nahuatl	From the proper name <i>Campeche</i>
<i>canibal/cannibal (n.)</i>	<i>canibals</i> (pp. 538, 558, 566, 714, 786) <i>cannibals</i> (p. 706) <i>cannybals</i> (pp. 529, 552)	6	16	1553	Latin, Spanish	Caribe	<i>carib</i>
<i>canoa/canoe (n.)</i>	<i>canoa</i> (pp. 547, 549, 568, 592, 603, 614, Mmm. 6. r, Mmm. 8. r,	20	84	1555 [1541 in a manuscript]	Spanish	Taino	Not specified

⁶⁴ Transmission language.

⁶⁵ According to the information provided by *AMERLEX*.

⁶⁶ According to the information provided by *DA* and the *DLE*.

⁶⁷ In the corpus, mistakenly numbered as 559.

Mmm. 9. v, 666, 667, 668, 738, 745, 777, 778, 780, 796, 798, 801, 810) <i>canoas</i> (p. 541) <i>canoas</i> (pp. 526, 528, 546, 568, 569, 571, 587, 588, 595, 596, 642, Mmm 6. r, Mmm. 8. r, Mmm. 9. V, 715, 745, 778, 781, 782, 783, 785, 812) <i>canoes</i> (pp. 557, 561, 758) <i>canow</i> (pp. 649, 650, 661, 665, 674) <i>canowas</i> (p. 530, 533) <i>canowes</i> (p. 665) <i>canows</i> (p. 665)	1	1	Not specified ⁶⁸	Mexican Spanish	Nahuatl	<i>capolli</i>
<i>capule</i> (p. 567)	1	1	1555	Spanish	Caribe	<i>carib</i>
<i>Caribes</i> (pp. 530, 531, 533)	1	5	1555	Taino	Arawak	<i>cazabi</i>
<i>casada</i> (p. 744) <i>casaua</i> (p. 540)	5	7	1555			

capuli/capulin (n.)

caribe/Carib (n.)

cazabe/cassava (n.)

⁶⁸ The etymology section of the *OED* entry *capulin* mentions that this word may be dated in 1571 or earlier.

<i>guanay/guano (n.)</i> <i>guayaba/guava (n.)</i>	<i>cassada</i> (pp. 560, 744)	1	1	1697	Spanish	Quechua	Not specified
	<i>cassaua</i> (p. 560)	2	3	1555	Spanish	Arawak	Not specified
	<i>cassauia</i> (p. 581)						
	<i>cassay</i> (p. 755)						
<i>guayacán/guaiacum (n.)</i>	<i>guanos</i> (p. 811)	1	1				
	<i>guiaues</i> (pp. 545, 547)	2					
	<i>guyaues</i> (p. 587)	2	2	1533	Latin	Taino	<i>waiacan</i>
	<i>guaiacum</i> (p. 751)						
<i>huracán/hurricane (n.)</i>	<i>guaiacum</i> (p. 764)						
	<i>furicanos</i> (pp. 554, 560)	3	4	1555	Spanish	Taino	Not specified
<i>maguay/maguey (n.)</i>	<i>huricanos</i> (p. 563)						
	<i>maguez</i> (pp. 547, 548)	2	4	1555	Spanish	Antillean	Not specified
	<i>nege</i> (p. 594)						
	<i>maise</i> (p. 530)	6	23	1555 [1541 in a manuscript]	Spanish	Taino	<i>mahis</i>
<i>maíz/maize (n.)</i>	<i>maiz</i> (pp. 550, 588)						
	<i>maize</i> (p. 712)						
	<i>mayis</i> (pp. 539, 540, 541, 593)						
	<i>mayse</i> (p. 569)						
<i>mamey/mam mee (n.)</i>	<i>mayze</i> (p. 753)						
	<i>mameas</i> (p. 765)	3	3	1555	Spanish	Taino	Not specified
	<i>mameias</i> (p. 811)						
	<i>mamios</i> (p. 547)						
<i>mezquite/mesquite (n.)</i> <i>nocheztli⁶⁹ (n.)</i>	<i>miskito</i> (p. 547)	1	1	1589	Spanish	Nahuatl	<i>mizquitl</i>
	<i>nochole</i> (p. 570)	1	1	Not in <i>OED</i>	Not in <i>OED</i>	Nahuatl	<i>nochtli</i> and <i>eztli</i>

⁶⁹ No English equivalent has been found.

pulque/pulque (n.)	<i>pulco</i> (548)	1	1	1589	Spanish	Nahuatl	<i>polihuiqui-octli</i>
tecuan⁷⁰ (n.)	<i>tequani</i> (p. 568) <i>tequanies</i> (p. 568)	1	2	Not in <i>OED</i>	Not in <i>OED</i>	Nahuatl	<i>tecuan</i>
tiburón/tiburón (n.)	<i>tubérons</i> (p. 528)	1	1	1555	Uncertain ⁷¹	Uncertain	Not specified
tlaxcal⁷² (n.)	<i>Clashacally</i> (p. 569)	1	1	Not in <i>OED</i>	Not in <i>OED</i>	Nahuatl	<i>tlaxcalli</i>
tuna/tuna (n.)	<i>tunas</i> (p. 547) <i>tunes</i> (p. 587)	2	2	1555	Spanish	Antillean	Not specified
zapote/sapota (n.)	<i>sapotes</i> (pp. 547, 587)	2	2	1589	Latin, Portuguese, Spanish	Nahuatl	<i>tzapotl</i>

⁷⁰ No English equivalent has been found.

⁷¹ According to the etymology section of the *OED* entry *tiburón*, “probably taken into Spanish or Portuguese from some West Indian or East Indian language” (*OED*).

⁷² No English equivalent has been found.

RESUMEN EN ESPAÑOL

Esta tesis doctoral aborda la presencia de préstamos léxicos en el tercer volumen de la obra insignia del geógrafo inglés Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Nauigations* (1589, *TPN* de aquí en adelante). Concretamente, analiza los hispanismos, indigenismos y términos náuticos presentes en dicho corpus. Este planteamiento parte de la expansión léxica que experimentó el inglés moderno temprano (*Early Modern English*) como resultado de los cambios socioculturales y políticos que tuvieron lugar a lo largo del siglo XVI, así como del hito que supuso la publicación de *TPN*.

A lo largo de la historia, el latín se había considerado la lengua de prestigio por excelencia, encargada de transmitir la sabiduría por escrito, mientras que el inglés era percibido como una lengua limitada y carente de los recursos necesarios para comunicar ideas complejas (Barber, 1976: 76; Nevalainen, 1999: 358; Baugh & Cable, 2002: 190). Sin embargo, en el siglo XVI se dieron varios factores que impulsaron la consolidación del inglés como lengua de prestigio, en detrimento del latín (Nevalainen, 1999: 332; Durkin, 2014: 306). Entre dichos factores se encuentran la Reforma Protestante, que promovía el uso del inglés en contextos religiosos; el aumento de la alfabetización entre las clases trabajadoras, que desconocían el latín; la introducción de la imprenta, que facilitaba la difusión de textos entre la población y abarataba los costes; y el auge del patriotismo, que revalorizaba la lengua vernácula.

No obstante, al favorecerse el uso del inglés como lengua del conocimiento, se hicieron evidentes las carencias que tradicionalmente se le habían atribuido (Baugh & Cable, 2002: 201), entre las cuales destacaba la falta de vocabulario para nombrar conceptos nuevos o pertenecientes a campos específicos del saber. Para suplir estas deficiencias, surgieron diversos mecanismos de formación de palabras que dieron lugar a una expansión léxica sin precedentes, estudiada por autores como Serjeantson (1935), Nevalainen (1999) o Durkin (2014). El mecanismo de formación de palabras más utilizado fue, sin duda, el préstamo léxico (Nevalainen, 1999: 358). En este sentido, son varios los motivos que explican la adopción de préstamos léxicos.

Uno de los factores determinantes fue la influencia de culturas extranjeras en áreas específicas del conocimiento (Carriazo & Giménez Eguibar, 2010: 29; Durkin, 2014: 302). Así, el ámbito naval destacó como una de las principales fuentes de préstamos

léxicos durante este periodo. En plena Era de los Descubrimientos, numerosos avances estaban revolucionando el arte de navegar y, en consecuencia, surgía la necesidad de incorporar nuevas palabras para nombrar dichos progresos (Sayers, 2011: 50). El prestigio con el que contaban los españoles en este ámbito llevó a la traducción de diversos tratados como *Arte de Navegar* (1545) de Pedro Medina o *Compendio de la arte de navegación* (1582) de Rodrigo Zamorano. Esto, unido al contacto directo con marineros españoles en alta mar, favoreció la adquisición de un número considerable de préstamos náuticos de origen español, entre los que se encuentran términos como *armada*, *cargason* o *disembark*.

Otro motivo que propició el empleo de préstamos léxicos fue la necesidad de nombrar conceptos foráneos para los que el inglés carecía de términos propios. Los exploradores europeos estaban constantemente expuestos a realidades colmadas de elementos exóticos, cuyos nombres conocían a través del contacto con los habitantes de la zona, ya fueran nativos o colonizadores que previamente habían adquirido ese vocabulario de primera mano. El ejemplo más representativo de este fenómeno se encuentra en el recién descubierto continente americano, que enriqueció el inglés con voces de origen amerindio como *canoe*, *cannibal* o *hurricane*, principalmente a través del estudio y la traducción de crónicas de viaje españolas, aunque también mediante el trato con los españoles que se habían afincado en el Nuevo Mundo. En el proceso, los ingleses también adquirieron hispanismos como *alcalde*, *ingenio* o *mosquito*, que, junto a los vocablos amerindios, quedaron plasmados en sus propios textos de viajes.

La literatura de viajes representa, por tanto, un objeto de estudio particularmente valioso para el análisis de los préstamos léxicos. En su empeño por servir a los intereses de una Inglaterra que temía quedar rezagada en la carrera expansionista, este género literario aspiraba a recoger los relatos de exploradores y marineros con el fin de difundir información útil para futuras expediciones, motivadas tanto por el potencial comercial de las materias primas procedentes de regiones exóticas como por la posibilidad de explorar y conquistar nuevos territorios. A ello se sumaba, además, el deseo de satisfacer la curiosidad del público general acerca del mundo más allá de sus fronteras. De este modo, también se buscaba producir una literatura de viajes propia, por un lado, animando a los navegantes ingleses a reportar cada detalle de sus travesías (Sherman, 2002: 17), y por otro, alentando a los geógrafos e intelectuales que aguardaban en tierra firme a recopilar y publicar dichos textos (González Lemus, 2023: XI).

Entre los geógrafos e intelectuales mencionados, destacaba Richard Hakluyt (c. 1552-1616), defensor entusiasta de la causa imperial inglesa y promotor de su expansión ultramarina. Siendo consciente de la desventaja de Inglaterra frente a otras naciones que ya se habían consolidado como potencias navales (MacCrossan, 2009: 101), Hakluyt se propuso, en primer lugar, reunir los textos de viajes producidos por sus compatriotas hasta ese momento (Markham, 1896: 7-8; Imes, 2012: 121), evitando así que cayeran en el olvido (Markham, 1896: 6); en segundo lugar, recopiló los nuevos reportes que llegaban de las últimas expediciones (Parks, 1961: 127), garantizando con ello la obtención de materiales originales. En consonancia con esta labor, destaca su determinación de seleccionar únicamente relatos de primera mano (Lach, 1974: 217), convirtiéndose en un editor “no intervencionista” que procuraba preservar los textos en su forma original (MacCrossan, 2009: 105).

Estos aspectos se evidencian en *TPN* (1589), la primera gran compilación de relatos de viajes escrita en lengua inglesa, obra que consolidó a Hakluyt como una figura clave en la historia de la literatura de viajes. Publicada durante el transcurso del conflicto anglo-español, *TPN* ponía el foco en las hazañas de los ingleses en el mar a lo largo de la historia, situándolos como rivales a la altura de una de las mayores potencias navales del momento (Borge, 2003: 5; Hadfield, 2007: 130; Carey, 2013: 18).

Esta compilación se encuentra dividida en tres volúmenes, cada uno centrado en una región geográfica distinta. El tercero, dedicado al continente americano, constituye el corpus de esta tesis. La elección de este volumen se sustenta en el marco idóneo que representa el Nuevo Mundo para el estudio de hispanismos e indigenismos, así como de préstamos léxicos náuticos, dada la importancia que tuvieron los viajes a América en el desarrollo de la navegación. En consecuencia, se han examinado los distintos textos que componen el volumen: un total de 33 narrativas de viajes y 44 textos de distinta índole, como itinerarios, cartas y patentes (Quinn, 1974: 341-377). Con el fin de analizar los préstamos léxicos mencionados, se han establecido seis objetivos:

- (i) Identificar y compilar los hispanismos e indigenismos presentes en el corpus.
- (ii) Determinar qué categorías de hispanismos e indigenismos tendían a ser introducidas con mayor frecuencia.
- (iii) Analizar las estrategias utilizadas por los autores del corpus para explicar el significado de los hispanismos e indigenismos a los lectores.

- (iv) Estudiar las similitudes entre las estrategias empleadas por los autores del corpus para explicar el significado de los indigenismos y aquellas utilizadas por los lexicógrafos de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII.
- (v) Verificar si el auge de préstamos léxicos náuticos que tuvo lugar durante el periodo se refleja claramente en *TPN*.
- (vi) Evaluar el papel del español en la transmisión de términos náuticos de origen español y amerindio en el inglés, según se evidencia en la obra de Hakluyt.

Estos objetivos se abordan a lo largo de tres artículos académicos publicados en revistas indexadas.

La primera publicación, “The Role of Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) in the introduction and Dissemination of Spanish Loanwords in the English Language”, se publicó en *Neophilologus* y cumple los objetivos (i), (ii) y (iii). Así, se ha identificado un total de 90 hispanismos —recogidos a continuación con grafía española—, organizados en dos grupos: 65 de ellos se incorporaron al inglés a través del español (a), mientras que los 25 restantes tienen al español como una de las posibles lenguas donantes (b).

- a) *alcalde, anchoa, arroba, atabal, aviso, bacalao, balsa, barrica, bonito, botijo, cabrita, calabaza, calentura, canario (pájaro), canario (vino), cantera, cañafistula, capítulo, carga, cargazón, castellano, cochinilla, corcho, cordobán, don, empalizada/ palizada, encamisada, encomendero, estancia, fanega, fragata, garbanzo, índigo, ingenio, lagarto, manteca de puerco, marqués, mexicano (sustantivo), mexicano (adjetivo), ministrador, mosquito, obraje, palmito, patata, peso, piloto mayor, piña, plátano, presidente, quinto, ranchería, real, rosca, salina, sambenito, sasafrás, sayal, señor, tabaco, tomín, tronada, vara, venta, vizcaíno, zarzaparrilla.*
- b) *alcatraz, añil, armada, auto de fe, brasil, bravata, capelán/capelín, china, coco, corpo santo, fiscal, flamenco, galeón, higo, manilla, melaza, mestizo, negro, padre, pargo, pico, pintado, proveedor, serón, volcán.*

En segundo lugar, los hispanismos se han clasificado según su campo léxico, observándose una mayor concentración en las categorías “animales”, “comida y bebida”, “plantas”, “gente” y “viaje”. Esta tendencia coincide en gran medida con los datos obtenidos del análisis de frecuencia de uso, el cual revela que entre los términos más repetidos en los textos del corpus figuran palabras como *cochinilla, patata, tabaco, negro* y *vizcaíno* (tipo de barco).

En tercer lugar, se han examinado los textos en los que aparecen los hispanismos con el fin de identificar posibles patrones en la explicación de su significado al lector, lo que ha permitido distinguir seis estrategias diferentes:

1. El hispanismo aparece junto a un equivalente en inglés.
2. El hispanismo se encuentra acompañado por una definición o descripción.
3. Se utiliza un término genérico que anticipa el significado del hispanismo.
4. Se incluye el hispanismo en una enumeración, facilitando su comprensión mediante la asociación con otros términos familiares para el lector.
5. El significado puede deducirse a partir del contexto.
6. No se emplea ninguna estrategia, lo cual suele indicar que el término ya era conocido por el lector.

De la misma manera que el punto 6 sugiere que el término probablemente ya era conocido por el lector y, en consecuencia, no requería explicación, el uso de las demás estrategias indica la necesidad de describir conceptos aun desconocidos para el lector, debido a su reciente incorporación en la lengua. En relación con esto, las fechas de registro proporcionadas por el *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (*OED* de aquí en adelante) revelan que 11 palabras de la lista fueron documentadas por primera vez el mismo año de la publicación de *TPN*, de las cuales 10 incluyen esta obra entre sus primeras fuentes. Por otra parte, 42 de los hispanismos están datados en fechas próximas a 1589, mientras que 27 se adelantan a la primera aparición registrada. Estos datos ponen de manifiesto el papel de *TPN* en la introducción y difusión de hispanismos en el inglés moderno temprano.

La segunda publicación, “Defining Amerindian terms in Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principall Nauigations* (1589) or when the explorers became lexicographers”, se publicó en *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* y se corresponde con los objetivos (i), (ii), (iii) y (iv). En cuanto a los tres primeros objetivos, si la publicación anterior los abordaba centrándose en los hispanismos, la presente lo hace poniendo el foco en los vocablos amerindios. Así, en este artículo se retoma la lista de 25 indigenismos —recogidos aquí tal y como se registran en el *OED*— (c) previamente publicada en Rodríguez-Álvarez y von der Fecht-Fernández (2024) y se analizan aspectos clave para su identificación, como las distintas prácticas editoriales empleadas por Hakluyt para resaltarlos en el texto —ya fuera mediante el uso de una fuente distinta, el empleo de mayúsculas o su inclusión en los márgenes—, así como las referencias explícitas a su origen amerindio.

- c) *aguacate, cacao, cacique, Campeachy wood, cannibal, canoe, capulin, Carib, cassava, guano, guava, guaiacum, hurricane, maguey, maize, mammee, mesquite, nocheztlí, potato, pulque, tecuán, tiburón, tlaxcal, tuna y sapota.*

En lo que concierne al objetivo (ii), el campo léxico predominante es, con diferencia, “comida y bebida”, lo cual coincide con uno de los ámbitos más frecuentes en el estudio de hispanismos. Este resultado era previsible, dado que se trata de elementos no solo esenciales para la subsistencia de los exploradores, sino también susceptibles de convertirse en bienes comerciables.

El análisis de las estrategias empleadas para explicar el significado de los indigenismos a los lectores ha llevado a la descripción de cinco estrategias:

1. El indigenismo aparece junto a un equivalente en inglés.
2. El indigenismo se encuentra acompañado por una definición o descripción.
3. Se utiliza un término genérico que anticipa el significado del indigenismo.
4. El significado puede deducirse a partir del contexto; en esta publicación, las enumeraciones se incluyen entre los elementos contextuales que facilitan la comprensión del término.
5. No se emplea ninguna estrategia, lo cual suele indicar que el término ya era conocido por el lector.

Como puede apreciarse, las estrategias coinciden con las señaladas en el estudio anterior, lo que sugiere que estos mecanismos no responden únicamente a una lengua determinada, sino que forman parte de un repertorio común utilizado para nombrar elementos ajenos o novedosos en cualquier contexto lingüístico.

En cuanto al objetivo (iv), se ha determinado que las estrategias descritas en los puntos 1, 2 y 3 también se utilizan en diccionarios bilingües y monolingües de los siglos XVI al XVIII. Los mecanismos correspondientes a los puntos 4 y 5, sin embargo, no fueron empleados por los lexicógrafos debido a su naturaleza contextual. Estos hallazgos indican que las prácticas usadas por los viajeros en sus relatos para definir los indigenismos no difieren sustancialmente de las aplicadas por los lexicógrafos en sus diccionarios.

Mientras que la primera y segunda publicación se enfocan en los préstamos léxicos de origen español y amerindio que los viajeros ingleses adquirieron principalmente durante su estancia en el Nuevo Mundo, el tercer artículo, publicado en *English Studies* con el título “Nautical Borrowings in Early Modern English: The Case Study of Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principall Navigations* (1589)”, se centra en la travesía

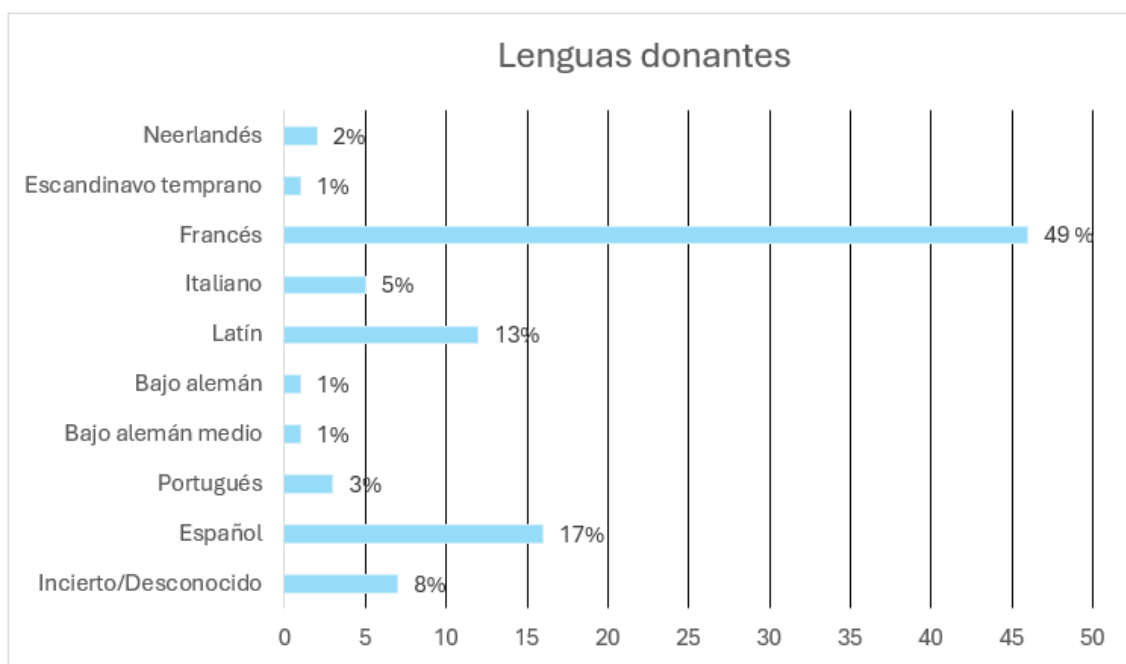
hacia América y analiza los préstamos léxicos náuticos incorporados en dicho contexto. Por lo tanto, en él se abordan los objetivos (v) y (vi).

En este trabajo se compila una lista de 79 términos náuticos (d) registrados a partir del siglo XVI y recogidos aquí con su grafía inglesa, tal y como aparecen en el *OED*. Gracias a la información proporcionada por el *OED* se ha podido determinar que la década de 1580 concentra la mayor cantidad de préstamos náuticos; en particular, 1589 —año de publicación de *TPN*— registra el mayor número de incorporaciones léxicas, siendo esta obra la primera fuente documentada para la mayoría de ellas. Además, 20 de los términos recopilados presentan una datación anterior a la recogida por el *OED*, lo que pone de manifiesto la influencia decisiva de *TPN* en la incorporación y difusión de préstamos náuticos en el inglés moderno temprano y confirma que el auge de este tipo de préstamos, característico del periodo, se ve reflejado en la compilación de viajes más influyente de la época.

d) *admiral, adviso, almadia, armada, balsa, barrico, bastard, bilbo, Biscaine, brigantine, bonaventure, bow, canoe, canter, cape, captain, card, carga, cargason, carry* (referido al viento), *carry* (referido a un barco), *cask, chart, company* (tripulación), *company* (flota), *compass, cooper, cordage, deck, departure, disembark, disemboque, double, drag, embark* (vb. transitivo), *embark* (vb. intransitivo), *firm, fly-boat, frigate, furnish, furniture, galleon, galleass/galleass, garter, general, gondola, jangada, lieutenant, manure, map, mizzen, navigable, navigant, navigate, navigation, passage, passenger, passport, pinnace, piracy, portable, prow, range, rig, rusk, saker, salute, shallop, shiver, skiff, slip, sound, spoon, stanchion, thwart (of), traverse, trim, vice-admiral* (oficial de la marina), *vice-admiral* (navío).

Si nos centramos en el tipo de préstamos recopilados, la categoría gramatical predominante es la de los sustantivos, seguida por la de los verbos; esta distribución coincide con los campos léxicos más recurrentes, siendo “tipos de barcos” el primero y “dirección o gestión de una embarcación” el segundo.

La consecución del objetivo (iv) se ilustra en el siguiente gráfico, el cual detalla las lenguas donantes responsables de la transmisión de los préstamos léxicos náuticos al inglés y cuantifica la contribución de cada una:



Como se puede observar, la mayoría de los términos proceden del francés y del español. Si bien el francés mantuvo un papel dominante como fuente principal de vocabulario en diversas disciplinas durante este periodo, la contribución del español en el ámbito naval resulta especialmente significativa, ya que supera la registrada en cualquier época anterior. Esta mayor presencia del español responde al contacto entre navegantes españoles e ingleses, que tuvo lugar tanto de manera directa en el contexto americano como de forma indirecta mediante la transferencia de conocimientos náuticos recogidos en tratados de navegación. Cabe resaltar que en este estudio se considera al español como lengua transmisora, incluyendo por tanto los vocablos amerindios transmitidos a través de esta; no obstante, únicamente se ha identificado un préstamo léxico naval de origen amerindio, *canoe*, siendo los restantes hispanismos.

Aparte de las tres publicaciones descritas, la presente tesis incluye un anexo con materiales complementarios de interés derivados del trabajo de investigación. En primer lugar, el apéndice 1 recopila las 8 frases y oraciones completas en español encontradas en *TPN*, presentadas dentro del pasaje que las contiene junto con la indicación de la página correspondiente en la obra. Los apéndices 2 y 3, por su parte, incluyen un glosario de los préstamos léxicos de origen español y amerindio, respectivamente. Dichos glosarios contienen, además de una lista de las palabras en español y en inglés junto a su categoría gramatical, las distintas grafías con las que se recogen en el texto y las páginas en las que aparece cada una. Asimismo, se indica el número de textos dentro de la compilación en los que figura la palabra, el número total de ocurrencias en el conjunto del corpus y la

fecha de registro proporcionada por el *OED*. Finalmente, se señalan las lenguas de origen atribuidas por el *OED* en el caso de los hispanismos, y por la base de datos *AMERLEX* en el caso de los indigenismos; para estos últimos se ofrece, además, la forma original de la palabra amerindia según la información proporcionada por el *Diccionario de americanismos* y el *Diccionario de la lengua española*.

A partir de estos datos, se ha desarrollado una aportación original, dado que no existen investigaciones previas que aborden el análisis de hispanismos e indigenismos presentes en la obra de Hakluyt. Del mismo modo, tampoco se han llevado a cabo estudios sobre los préstamos léxicos náuticos en el corpus. Igualmente, este estudio proporciona una perspectiva diferente a la habitual al establecer una distinción entre hispanismos e indigenismos americanos, distanciándose así de enfoques anteriores como los de Montague (1982), Algeo (1996) y Díaz Vera (2001), que consideran estos últimos como hispanismos al haber sido transmitidos al inglés a través del español.

La adopción de dicha perspectiva se fundamenta, principalmente, en dos argumentos. Por un lado, las estrategias empleadas en crónicas españolas contemporáneas a *TPN* y posteriores para explicar el significado de indigenismos como *maguey* o *cazabe* sugieren que muchos términos amerindios que tradicionalmente se han categorizado como hispanismos aun eran percibidos como voces extranjeras por los españoles de la época. Por otro lado, la decisión de estudiar ambos grupos por separado responde al propósito de poner en valor la contribución del español al vocabulario del inglés moderno temprano más allá de su función como lengua intermediaria.

Considerando otro ángulo, las publicaciones mencionadas, junto con otros trabajos de referencia como los de Serjeantson (1935) y Durkin (2014), se basan en información extraída de diccionarios, limitándose a ofrecer enumeraciones y listados de palabras. Los datos proporcionados en esta tesis, en cambio, provienen del estudio de relatos de viajes originales, documentando su uso dentro del contexto histórico y reafirmando la relevancia de las fuentes narrativas para el estudio del léxico. En esta línea, Boisson (1988) confirma que el uso de fuentes primarias en este tipo de investigaciones a menudo revela discrepancias en relación con los datos ofrecidos por diccionarios como el *OED*, especialmente en lo que respecta a la datación, tal y como se ha evidenciado en las publicaciones que integran esta tesis.

Otro aporte significativo de la presente tesis es su contribución al proyecto *AMERLEX*, una base de datos en abierto que recopila los americanismos léxicos presentes en textos españoles e ingleses sobre América escritos en la Edad Moderna. Además,

incluye hispanismos encontrados en textos ingleses, brindando así una perspectiva amplia sobre la influencia del español en el léxico del inglés moderno temprano. De este modo, la tesis ha contribuido a nutrir *AMERLEX* mediante el registro detallado de los hispanismos e indigenismos analizados. El aporte ha sido recíproco, ya que *AMERLEX* se ha convertido en una herramienta fundamental para el desarrollo de esta investigación, facilitando considerablemente la comparación del uso de los términos en *TPN* con otros textos ingleses y españoles de la época.

En cuanto a futuras líneas de investigación, se plantea el análisis de la segunda edición de la compilación de Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* (1599-1600), en la que se incorporaron nuevos textos que podrían contener otros préstamos léxicos susceptibles de estudio. Asimismo, se contempla el estudio de otras fuentes primarias relevantes del periodo, como *A New Voyage round the World. Describing particularly, the Isthmus of America* (1697), de William Dampier, o *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), de Lionel Wafer. Estas obras, publicadas aproximadamente un siglo después de *TPN*, permitirían examinar tanto la vitalidad de los préstamos léxicos detectados en el corpus analizado en esta tesis como la pervivencia de las estrategias empleadas para explicar su significado. Por lo tanto, estas líneas de investigación ampliarían el conocimiento sobre el uso y la evolución de estos préstamos léxicos en periodos posteriores a la publicación de la compilación de viajes más influyente de la época.

