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

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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. Introduction[1]

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

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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 Ezquerra 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 American[3] 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 authentification, 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

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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".

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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

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

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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's[6] 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

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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).

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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

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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

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reported in Rodríguez-Álvarez and von der Fecht-Fernandez'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 Ezquerra (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

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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".

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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.

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

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

8   Bilingual dictionaries have been shaded.

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

(1) 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:

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[…] 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

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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, nocheztli*, potato,*[9] *pulque, tecuán*, tiburon,*[10] *tlaxcal*, tuna* and *sapota.*

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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 *tiburon* the OED points to an "origin uncertain", it also states the following: "probably taken into Spanish or Portuguese from some West

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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	*guano, tecuán*, tiburon*
authority	1	*cacique*
food and drink	13	*aguacate, cacao, capulin, cassava, guava, maize, mammee, nocheztli*, potato, pulque, tlaxcal*, tuna, sapota*
people	2	*cannibal, Carib*
plants	4	*Campeachy wood, guaiacum, maguey, mesquite*
the earth	1	*hurricane*
travel	1	*canoe*

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). Besides, considering that it first appeared in texts on American territories, it has been included on the list of Amerindian terms.

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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**, pineaples, oranges, and limons […]. (Hakluyt 1589: 811)

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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.

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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)
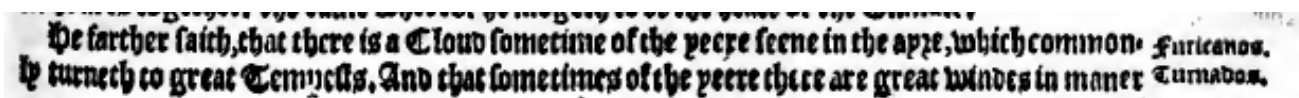
3.2. Indication of the Amerindian origin of the words

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,

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

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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 middest 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 warriers 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)

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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 Whirlewind, 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)

    MAGUEÝ. 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)

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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. *Cacíque*, 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 Ezquerra (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,

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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)".

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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)

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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.*
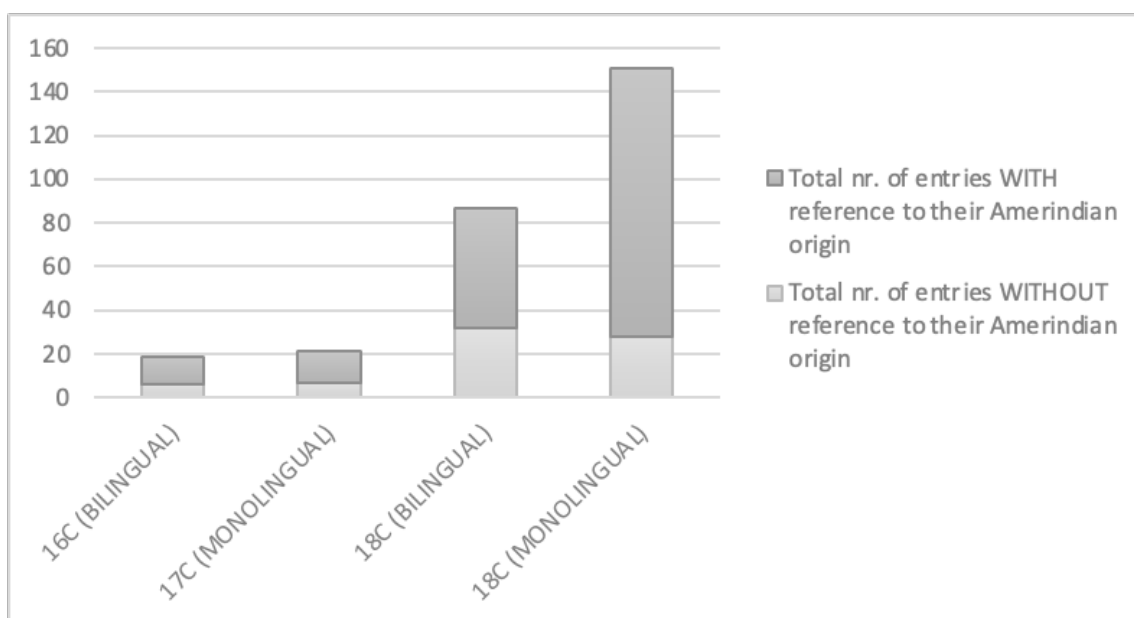
4. Strategies to define amerindian words

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.

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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.

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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 chiefest 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 that 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**".

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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)

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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).

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27. [...] for there we had at our commandement Spanish wheate, **potatos**, hogs, hens, dryed 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 hanege 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

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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*:

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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)

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

    MAGUEÝ. 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,**

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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 maruellouslly, 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 coulde make none against them, being naked […]. (Hakluyt 1589: 568)

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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 tosted. There is a sort of it large and round, which the *Spaniards* eat tosted; 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)

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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 dryed, 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)

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).

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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 wholsome.
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)

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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
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.* [*The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West* **(1604), José de Acosta**]	20	**Stevens (1706):** *cacao* [*cacáo*][17]*, guano* [*guáno*]*, guava* [*pacáyas,* **or** *guábas/ guayávo*]*, guaiacum* [*guayacón,* **or** *pálo sánto, or palo de Indias*]*, maguey* [*maguey*]*, maize* [*mayz*]*, mammee* [*mamey*] *tuna* [*tuna* **y** *tunal*] **Pineda (1740):** *cacao* [*cacáo*]*, guano* [*guáno*]*, guava* [*pacáyas, or guábas/ guayávo*]*, guaiacum* [*guayacòn,* **or** *pále sánto, or pálo de Indias*]*, maguey,* [*maguèy*] *mammee* [*mamèy*]*, tuna* [*tuna* **y** *tunal*] **Giral del Pino (1763):** *cacao* [*caca'o*]*, guava* [*paca'yas,* **or** *gua'bas*]*, maguey* [*mague'y*]*, mammee* [*mame'y*]*, tuna* [*tuna'* **y** *tu'nal*]

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

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Miller **/** *Millar* [*The Second Volume of The Gardeners Dictionary* **(1739), Philip Miller]**	**11**	**Johnson (1755):** *aguacate* [*avoca'do*], *cacao* [*cocoa*], *cassava* [*ca'ssada*], *guava* [*gua'va*], *maize* [*maize*], *mammee* [*mamme'e tree*], *potato* [*pota'to*] **Scott & Bailey (1755):** *aguacate* [*avoca'do*], *cassava* [*ca'ssavi,* **or** *ca'ssada*], *maize* [*maize*], *mammee* [*mamme'e tree*]
Hill's History of the Mat. Medica [*A History of the Materia Medica* **(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.* [*A Voyage Round the World* **(1704), Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri]**	**3**	**Stevens (1706):** *aguacate* [*aguacáte*] **Pineda (1740):** *aguacate* [*aguacáte*] **Giral del Pino (1763):** *aguacate* [*aguacate*]
Ray [*Historia Plantarum Generalis* **(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* [*Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights and Measures* **(1727), John Arbuthnot]**	**2**	**Johnson (1755):** *canoe* [*ca'noe*] **Scott & Bailey (1755):** *canoe* [*cano'a,* **or** *cano'e*]
Burnet's Theory [*The Sacred Theory of the Earth* **(1719), Thomas Burnet]**	**2**	**Johnson (1755):** *hurricane* [*hu'rricano*] **Scott & Bailey (1755):** *hurricane* [*hu'rricane,* **or** *hu'rricano*]
Raleigh **/** *Raleigh's Essays* [*Judicious and Select Essayes and Observations* **(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. [*Historia Plantarum* **(1688), John Ray]**	**2**	**Stevens (1706):** *guaiacum* [*guayacón,* **or** *pálo sánto,* **or** *palo de Indias*], **Pineda (1740):** *guaiacum* [*guayacòn,* **or** *pále sánto,* **or** *pálo de Indias*]
Shakespeare **/** *Shakesp. Othello* [*The Tragœdy of Othello, the Moore of Venice* **(1622), William Shakespeare]**	**2**	**Johnson (1755):** *cannibal* **[ca'nnibal]** **Scott & Bailey (1755):** *cannibal* [*ca'nnabal*]
Addison [*Cato. A Tragedy.* **(1713), Joseph Addison]**	**1**	**Johnson (1755):** *hurricane* [*hu'rricano*]

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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 Discouerie 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.

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

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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**

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

Guayacón, or *Pálo Sánto*, 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).

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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).

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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.

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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).

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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

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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. Ⓝ

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