

Introduction

The present publication is a result of the interdisciplinary project “Europe and America in contact: A multidisciplinary study of cross-cultural transfer in the New World across time” (Starting Grant of the European Research Council, 2012–2017, PI: Justyna Olko) that focused on linguistic and cultural contact between Nahuas and Spaniards¹. It is a contextual dictionary of loanwords, loan phrases, and blends in Nahuatl, embracing data from the 1540s to 2016. It relies on an extensive database that contains a large sample of colonial written sources, a modern written source, and unpublished interviews with speakers of several major variants of modern Nahuatl (including regions of the Huasteca in Veracruz and San Luis Potosí as well as Tlaxcala). The sample of written sources covers all the genres of older documentation in Nahuatl, such as annals, historical and ethnographic accounts, mundane documents (testaments, municipal proceedings, petitions, etc.), colonial dictionaries, theatrical pieces, songs, and Christian doctrinal texts. They provide a rich set of loans, mostly from Spanish, but also from Latin, used in various contexts and showing a varying degree of morphological and phonological adaptations to Nahuatl. A large part of the extensive data collection and analysis has been carried out by indigenous native-speaking students and collaborators who participated in the project. The database also contains contextual philological, ethnohistorical, and anthropological data, which allows for the mapping of linguistic developments within a wider social context. The sources have been screened for loanwords, loan phrases, and blends so that the dictionary may reflect the attestations of a given term or expression in the whole analyzed corpus.

The dictionary consists of over 1800 entries, the headwords for which are loanwords and loan phrases from Spanish and Latin. Latin headwords and phrases are labeled (e.g. **QUATUOR DOTES** *Latin*). All entries are written using standard Spanish or Latin spelling², and Spanish nouns are normally referenced in the singular, except when the plural is essential to the meaning (e.g. **ANDAS**

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2 Nahuatl lacks grammatical gender, and for this reason, the Spanish gender markers *-o* and *-a* are often switched in loan nouns. These changes appear in the example texts, but not in the standardized spelling of the entry and subentry headwords. For example, there are separate headwords for **SOBRINA** ‘niece’ and **SOBRINO** ‘nephew’, but *sobrino* appears in one of the example texts with the meaning of ‘niece’.

‘carrying platform, litter, bier’). Homonyms as well as different meanings of words are concentrated in a single entry. Backloans (e.g. **ELOTE** ‘ear of corn’, from the Nahuatl *elotl*) and words, which though borrowed directly from Spanish, originate in another language (e.g. **PICHILINGUE** ‘foreign pirate’, from *speak English*) are explained in a footnote. The entries are in alphabetical order and loan phrases are alphabetized as an entire phrase (e.g. **DE LÁMINA** is alphabetized beginning with the letter ‘d’).

Each entry contains one or more subentries (**CASTILLA**, for example has 128), arranged in alphabetical order. While the main entry headwords correspond to Spanish and Latin, subentry headwords should be considered part of the Nahuatl language: they show the actual usage of the loan in Nahuatl. Loans can appear in the subentries as stand-alone words or phrases, but in the case of the material from Spanish, they can also combine with Nahuatl words and morphemes to form derivations, compounds, incorporations, and reduplications. With only one exception, the part of a subentry headword that corresponds to loan material itself conserves its original Spanish spelling³; and the part of a complex subentry headword that is originally from Nahuatl, regardless of the attestation date or source, is spelled using the Andrews-Campbell-Karttunen orthography (e.g. **sillachiuhqui** ‘chairmaker’). Subentry headwords appear in their citation form; in other words, inflectional morphology, such as subject, object, and possessive prefixes, as well as affixes of number, possession and tense are avoided, except for denominal verbs and deverbal nouns that sometimes carry object prefixes over from their source form (e.g. **tecalzasilpiani**, ‘person who ties up the breeches of others’) and in cases where a plural absolutive affix achieves a specific meaning (e.g. **Ánimasmeh** ‘brotherhood of the Holy Souls of Purgatory’). Due to its high frequency, the diminutive-reverential root *-tzin* only appears when it is necessary to achieve a subentry headword’s meaning (e.g. **pantzin** ‘bread’). Due to its high frequency as a compound in the formation of words denoting tools and mechanisms, the combining form of *cuahuatl* ‘tree, wood’ is standardized to *cuauh-*, regardless of the actual form it may take in the source variant of the example sentences. Compounds (e.g. **caballosilla** ‘saddle’, **tzincalzón** ‘underwear’, **caballo-ohltli** ‘horse trail’, **alcaldeyotl** ‘judgeship’), incorporations (e.g. **vinoteca** ‘to serve wine’), and derivations (e.g. **gobernadorti** ‘to serve as governor’) involving loanwords are written solid. Although loan phrases, from the Nahua point of view, are fused into a single word, their Spanish spelling, complete with word breaks, is kept in the subentry headwords, and this complicates their representation in

³ The process of incorporation of the Spanish loan verb **RECHINAR** ‘to squeek’ into Nahuatl is unique. See the entry’s footnote.

compounds and derived forms; therefore, a) when a loan phrase is compounded with a native noun, both elements are written separately (e.g. **a la China acalli** ‘Asian boat(s)’); when a loan phrase is compounded with a relational word or a derivational suffix, the final word of the loan phrase and the native element are written solid (e.g. **Espíritu Santotica** ‘by means of the Holy Spirit’, **palos dahuia** ‘to beat someone’); and when a native noun is compounded with a loan phrase, the native root and the first element of the loan phrase are written solid (e.g. **maal revés** ‘left-handed’). Blend phrases, such as **castillatlaolli coztic** ‘buckwheat’ (literally, ‘yellow Castilian shelled corn’) are not included in the dictionary as subentries, but they do appear in the example sentences. Each subentry headword is followed by a definition in English and, in cases where the definition does not intuitively illustrate the headword’s structure, a literal translation is provided between parentheses. The definitions can be used to generate information on the complete semantic field of a given term as reflected in the analyzed corpus. This makes it possible to trace such phenomena as the modifications made by Nahuatl speakers in the semantic fields of Spanish words, as well as changes in meaning occurring over time as a result of alterations in peninsular or Mexican Spanish or independent developments in Nahuatl-speaking communities.

Following each subentry’s headword and definition is a list of all of the dictionary’s sources in which it is attested (see the list of sources below). The sources are grouped by genre: annals, bill of sale, cultural encyclopedia, dialogue, legal statement, municipal council records, oral account, petition, religious play, religious treatise, sermon, song, vocabulary, and will. A date range for the specified sources is also provided. The dating of specific sources can either be exact, which is often possible in the case of ‘mundane’ sources such as court documents, petitions, wills or municipal proceedings, or approximate, in which a short range of years or even a century is indicated. Sometimes it is necessary to indicate a range that takes into account both the date of an original document as well as its only available copy. In the case of annals, we cite the year of the specific record in which a loan is identified, except for records of events that actually took place much before the annals were created. Such records were probably copied from other, earlier annals, and we do not know what kinds of lexical modifications could have been introduced when the later copy was made. In such cases, the general date range for the existing copy is cited. All approximate dates are indicated by ‘ca.’, and when dating is uncertain or hypothetical, it is marked by ‘?’. Thus, the dictionary makes it possible to trace a specific loan through time and genres, and consequently, to ascertain whether it spread through time and space or if it was confined only to a particular document or a specific author and was therefore unlikely to attain wider and permanent use.

Finally, each subentry includes one or more selections of text or audio transcription from the dictionary's sources, in italics, that illustrate concrete uses of the headword in writing or speech, along with an English translation. All selections from older sources employ the orthography of the original text, as transcribed either by the author of the published text from which it is cited, or by one of the dictionary's editors or contributors, in the case of unpublished manuscripts. '[...]' indicates text in the original source that is illegible/broken, etc. All selections from modern sources are written using the Andrews-Campbell-Karttunen orthography. When a translation is taken verbatim from an English publication, it is presented in quotes, followed by the source citation. Textual selections taken from Spanish language publications or sources that do not include translations, such as unpublished manuscripts and modern materials, are followed by the source citation and then an English translation, without quotes, composed by the dictionary's authors.

Codes for textual sources used in the dictionary

AC	Anales de Cuauhtitlan (ca. 1570; present copy made after 1590). Bierhorst ed. 2011.
AHT	Chimalpahin's Annals of His Time (entries from 1577 to 1615). Chimalpahin 2006.
AJB	Anales de Juan Bautista (most entries between 1564 and 1569; present copy made in 1580s). Anales de Juan Bautista 2001.
ANV	Acusamos a nuestro vicario (1618). Sullivan 2003.
ANV 1	Petition by the alcalde, regidor and other officials of Jalostotitlan.
ANV 2	Petition by the alcalde, regidor, escribano and other witnesses of San Gaspar.
ANV 3	Petition by the officials of Santo Hospital de San Gaspar.
ANV 4	Petition by the alcalde, regidor and other persons of San Gaspar.
ANV 5	Statement by Pablo Jacobo, ex-alcalde of San Gaspar.
ANV 6	Statement by don Miguel, native of San Miguel.
ANV 7	Statement by Pedro Francisco, alcalde of San Miguel.
ANV 8	Statement by Pedro Francisco, alcalde of San Miguel (2).
ANV 9	Petition by the alcalde, regidor, mayordomo and elders of San Juan.
ANV 10	Petition by the alcalde, regidor, mayordomo and the elders of Mezquitic.
ANV 11	Statement by Juan Nuñez, ex-fiscal of Teocaltitlan.
ANV 12	Petition by the alcaldes of Mezquitic, San Juan Jalostotitlan, Teocaltitlan and San Gaspar.
ANV 13	Petition by the alcalde, regidor and other elders of Mitic.
ANV 14	Petition by the alcalde, regidor and elders of Mitic.
ANV 15	Petition by don Diego Vásquez, noble [principal] of Mitic.
ANV 16	Petition by the alcalde and regidor of San Gaspar.
ANV 17	Statement by Francisco Pedro, native of San Gaspar.
ANV 18	Petition by Alonso Miguel, resident of San Miguel.
ANV 19	Petition by Juan Mendoza, fiscal of Teocaltitlan.
ANV 20	Petition by María Christina, widow and resident of San Juan.
AP	Annals of Puebla (second half of the seventeenth century with copied earlier records). Townsend 2010.
AT	Annals of Tlaxcala (second half of the seventeenth century with copied earlier records). Townsend 2010.
BD	Bancroft Dialogues (second half of the seventeenth century, based on the original from the second half of the sixteenth century). Karttunen Lockhart eds. 1987.
CC	Camino del cielo (1611). Burkhart 2001: 38–40.
CH	Complaint of the indigenous people from Huamuxtitlan (1580). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscrit Mexicain 116.
CJT	Cohuatzincatl et Joachim Tecoloatl (Xochimilco; 1571). Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
CM	Crónica Mexicayotl (ca. 1609–1621). Anderson & Schroeder eds. 1997, I: 26–177.
CMJ	Complaint against Martín Jacobo by a delegation from Xaltepec (ca. 1570). Lockhart 1991: 94–95.
CNH	Complaint of notables of Huejotla to Mexico City officials (1634). Karttunen & Lockhart 1976, Document 7.
CSE	Confirmation of the status of fields belonging to Santa Elena (1720). Lockhart 1991: 102–104.

- DA Dialogue on the Apparition of the Virgin Saint Mary of Guadalupe (eighteenth century?). Sell, Burkhart & Poole eds. 2006: 54–105.
- DC Doctrina christiana (Dominican) (1548). Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.
- DCLM Doctrina christiana en lengua mexicana (1553). Burkhart 2001: 58.
- DCB Doctrina Xpiana breve y copediosa por via de dialogo entre un maestro y un discipulo (1565). Burkhart 2001: 59–60.
- EPM El portento mexicano (eighteenth century?). Sell, Burkhart & Poole eds. 2006.
- EQ Ejercicio Quotidiano (original from 1574, present copy from the early seventeenth century). Anderson & Schroeder eds. 1997, II: 130–183.
- FC Florentine Codex (FC 1 – FC 12; ca. 1578–1580). Sahagún 1950–82.
- FJ Final Judgement (seventeenth century?). Sell et al. eds. 2004.
- GA Don Gabriel de Ayala's Year Count (1593–1630 (?); original from 1560s). Anderson & Schroeder eds. 1997, vol. 1.
- GSM Grant of a house site, San Miguel Tocuillan (1583). Lockhart 1991: 70–74.
- HCC History or Chronicle with Its Calendar of the Mexica Years (1593–1630?). Anderson & Schroeder eds. 1997, vol. 1.
- HLE How to Live on Earth (seventeenth century?). Sell et al. eds. 2004.
- IDX Interrogation of Diego Xiuhnel (1563). Archivo Histórico del Estado de Tlaxcala, 16th c., Caja 2, Exp. 13.
- IMA Investigation regarding a murder, Aquetzalpan, Tlaxcala (1564). Archivo Histórico del Estado de Tlaxcala, 16th century, Caja 2, Exp. 19.
- IRI Instruction regarding idolatry, Tlaxcala (1543). Olko & Brylak 2018.
- JSA Juan de San Antonio's Letter (1564). Anderson & Schroeder eds. 1997, II: 206–239.
- LDS The Life of Don Sebastián (seventeenth century?). Sell et al. eds. 2004.
- LGC Land grant, Calimaya (1750). Lockhart 1991: 108–109.
- LJJ Lawsuit brought by Juan Jiménez, Ocotelolco, Tlaxcala, Mexico (1560). Archivo Histórico del Estado de Tlaxcala, 16th c., Caja 1, Exp. 26 and 22.
- LS Leyenda de los Soles (1558?). Bierhost ed. & trans. 2011.
- LSD1 Land sale document, Tlaxcala, Mexico (1607/1608). Archivo Histórico del Estado de Tlaxcala, 17th c., Caja 4, Exp. 7.
- LSD2 Land sale document, Tlaxcala, Mexico (1612). Archivo Histórico del Estado de Tlaxcala, 17th c., Caja 13, Exp. 3.
- M Memorias from Guatemala (M1-M10, 1572). Dakin ed. 1996.
- Mer The Merchant (seventeenth century?). Sell et al. eds. 2004.
- MS Miércoles Santo (ca. 1590). Burkhart 2001: 91–92.
- NI The Nahuas at Independence. Melton-Villanueva 2012.
- NI 1 Testament of Victoriana María, San Bartolomé, 1809.
- NI 2 Testament of Mariano Rafael, San Bartolomé, 1822.
- NI 3 Testament of Lugarda María, San Bartolomé, 1822.
- NI 6 Testament of Jacobo Santiago, Ocotitlan, 1810.
- NI 8 Testament of Margarita María, Yancuictlalpan, 1810.
- PC Petition by the people of Coatlan de Puertos Abaxo, Coatlan (1637). UCLA, McAfee (Byron) Papers. Collection 339.
- PCC Petition of members of the council of Cuernavaca to the Spanish regional administrator (ca. 1610). Karttunen & Lockhart 1976: 100–103.
- PJM Petition of don Jerónimo Márquez to the regional administrator, Cuernavaca (ca. 1610). Karttunen & Lockhart 1976: 103–104.

- PLM Petition of Leonor Magdalena to the governor of Coyoacan (1613). Karttunen & Lockhart 1976, Document 6.
- PM Primeros Memoriales (early 1560s). Sahagún 1997.
- PMQ Petition concerning cultivated land presented by María Quetzalcocoztli, Ocotelolco, Tlaxcala, Mexico (1563). Archivo Histórico del Estado de Tlaxcala, Caja 2, Exp. 17.
- PP Petition of a group of painters to the Spanish alcalde mayor for pay from the altepetl (1570). Lockhart 1991: 92–93.
- PT Petition to altepetl authorities, Tulancingo (ca. 1584). Lockhart 1992: 460–62.
- PX Psalmodia Christiana (1583). Burkhart 2001: 40–43.
- RMJ Rejoinder of don Martín Jacobo to the complaint against him (ca. 1570). Lockhart 1991: 96–97.
- S Primera parte del Sermonario del tiempo de todo el año, duplicado, en lengua Mexicana (1614). Burkhart 2001: 92–95.
- SA Sale of a house by Ana, widow of the lord of San Agustín Palpan, to don Juan, ruler of Coyoacan (1548). Karttunen & Lockhart 1976.
- SAS Sale of house and land by Agustín de Santiago to Juan Gómez Monteagudo, Spaniard, and wife (1645). Lockhart 1991: 98–101.
- SD Sermones de dominicas y de sanctos en lengua mexicana (1563). Burkhart 2001: 31–32.
- SI The Sacrifice of Isaac (seventeenth century?). Sell et al. eds. 2004.
- SJA Sermonario, fray Juan de la Anunciación (1577): Burkhart 2001: 14–15.
- SJB Sermonario en lengua mexicana, fray Juan Bautista with Agustín de la Fuente (1606): Burkhart 2001: 15–17).
- SJPF Song by Joseph Pérez de la Fuente (1719). Sell et al. eds. 2006.
- SLM Sermonario en lengua mexicana (1577). Burkhart 2001: 47–48.
- SP Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and Other Nahua Altepetl in Central Mexico (ca. 1593–1624). Anderson & Schroeder eds. 1997.
- STE Souls and Testamentary Executors (seventeenth century?). Sell et al. 2004.
- TA Tlaxcalan Actas (1545–1627). Lockhart, Berdan & Anderson eds. 1986.
- TAA Testament of Agustín de los Angeles, San Lucas Tepemaxalco (1736). Lockhart 1991: 138–140.
- TAC Texcoca Accounts of Conquest Episodes (ca. 1560s?). Anderson & Schroeder eds. 1997, II: 187–206.
- TC Testaments of Culhuacan (1572–ca. 1600). Cline and León-Portilla eds. 1984.
- TCV Tlahtolxitlahucayotl, Chicontepec, Veracruz. Sullivan et al 2016.
- TFA Testament of Francisca de los Ángeles, San Luis Obispo Chalco Tlalmanalco, México (1663/1743). Manuscripts/Collection 49/(1), Indian Language Series, Manuscripts Collection, Latin American Library, Tulane University.
- TFM Testament of Francisco Martín, San Lucas Tepemaxalco (1735). Lockhart 1991: 136–138.
- TFV Testament of don Francisco Verdugo Quetzalmamalictzin (1563). Rojas Rabiela et al. eds. 1999–2002, vol. 2.
- TJ Testimony of don Juan (1586). Lockhart 1991: 86–87.
- TK The Three Kings (seventeenth century?). Sell et al. 2004.
- TL Tribute List, San Pablo Tepemaxalco (1659). Karttunen & Lockhart 1976: 108–111.
- TLM Testament of Lucía María, San Lucas Tepemaxalco (1731). Lockhart 1991: 135–136.
- TM Testament of don Marcos de San Pedro Matlahualcaltzin (1546). Rojas Rabiela et al. 1999–2002, vol. 2.

TMT	Testament of María Toztecayatl, Tlaxcala, Mexico (1576/1600). Archivo Histórico del Estado de Tlaxcala, 17 th c., Caja 1, Exp. 7.
TT	Testaments of Toluca (1654–1783). Pizzigoni 2007.
VM1	Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana (1571). Molina 1992.
VM2	Vocabulario en lengua mexicana y castellana (1571). Molina 1992.
VT	Vocabulario trilingüe: Dictionarium ex bisniensi in latinum sermonem (ca. 1540?). Newberry Library in Chicago, Vault Ayer, MS 1478.
WBA	Will of Bárbara Agustina from Chiucnauhapan in the Coyoacan area (1608). Karttunen & Lockhart 1976: Document 3.
WCF	Will of Constantino Felipe from Xochimilco (1572). Karttunen & Lockhart 1976: Document 2.
WNS	Will of don Nicolás de Silva, San Francisco Centlalpan (1736). Lockhart 1991: 133–139.
WTF	Will of Tomás Feliciano, Omaxac Huehualco (1579). UCLA, McAfee (Byron) Papers. Collection 339.
ZM	Zapata y Mendoza annals (1650s–1670s with earlier records); Zapata y Mendoza 1995.

Codes for audio transcription sources used in the dictionary

1985-IxM	Chicomexochitl story, Jesús Bautista Hernández, Ixhuatlán de Madero, Veracruz
2010-Tep	Prohuentzin, Chicontepepec, Veracruz
2011-Lin	Animahtzin techpaxaloo, Chicontepepec, Veracruz
2012-Tep	Juan Catorce story, Chicontepepec, Veracruz
2013-SMX	Interview with Yonatan Gonzalez and Constantina Bautista Nava, San Miguel Xaltipan, Tlaxcala
2014-P	Xinachtli huan miyahuatl, Chicontepepec, Veracruz
2014-SMX	Presidente municipal, San Miguel Xaltipan, Tlaxcala
2014-Tep	Fulgencio Martínez Antonia, Chicontepepec, Veracruz
2014-X	Donaciano Lucas Hernández, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2015-HX1	Daniel Hernández Santiago, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2015-HX2	Ma. Agustina Hernández Linares, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2015-SAH	María Silveria Mateo Felix, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2015-TS	Ignacio González Hernández, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2015-X	Juan Carlos Felix Rodríguez, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2016-X1	Historia de Cuartillo Nuevo, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2016-X2	Historia de Otlaxhuayo, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2016-X3	Itzacapa, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí
2016-X4	Tlahtolli de tecuahquetl, Xilitla, San Luis Potosí

Codes used for interlineal glossing in the study

abs	absolutive
ag	agentive
antec	antecessive
ben	benefactive
caus	causative
distr	distributive
fut	future
habit	habitual
ind	inbound directional
inst	instrumentive
ints	intensification
ipfv	imperfective
lig	ligature
nact	non-active
neg	negation
nhum	non-human
npres	non-present
obj	object
opt	optative
patn	patientive
pl	plural
poss	possessive
refl	reflexive
rel	relational
rev	reverential
sg	singular
stat	stative
sr	subordinator
sup	suppletive
vr	verbing suffix