SPANISH LOANWORDS IN LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

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1. Introduction. Twenty Spanish words have yielded loans found in two or more of nineteen languages of the Southeastern (SE) United States. Distributional evidence indicates that for the most part these were not borrowed directly from Spanish, but rather diffused from one SE language to another, often in a strikingly unidirectional manner. While some aspects of this finding have been briefly explored by both Sturtevant (1962:50–54) and Martin (1994:17–18), it is here exhaustively investigated and fully described for the first time. This entails a detailed consideration of the role of Amerindian-language-based lingua francas in the spread of Spanish terms (cf. Brown 1996a; 1996b) and discussion of documented contacts facilitating diffusion. In addition, all known Spanish loanwords recorded for SE languages (save those reported for Apalachee and Timucua) are assembled (Appendix A). Diffused French loanwords are discussed as well (Appendix B). (Appendix C provides lexical sources.)

Sturtevant (1962:50–54) identifies sixteen of the twenty diffused Spanish loanwords. However, for the most part, his analysis focuses on the transfer of these items between only two of the nineteen languages, Creek and Hitchiti, both of which belong to the Muskogean genetic grouping. Three other Muskogeann languages, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Apalachee, and non-Muskogean Cherokee and Timucua are also briefly noted as recipients of Spanish loans (Sturtevant 1962:54, 66–67). Martin (1994:17, 24) recognizes fewer (ten) of the twenty loanwords but charts their spread across more SE languages, noting the important role of linguistic diffusion.

1 I am grateful for support provided for this research by the Center for Latino and Latin American Studies, the Department of Anthropology, and the Graduate School of Northern Illinois University and by the National Science Foundation through grants BNS-9020699 and SBR-9222311. I am a newcomer to research on languages of the Southeastern United States so I was particularly gratified by the number of scholars of the area who responded to a request for comments on earlier drafts of this paper. These include W. L. Ballard, George Aaron Broadwell, Wallace Chafe, Emanuel J. Drechsel, John H. Hann, Heather Hardy, Clark S. Larsen, Jack Martin, Blair A. Rudes, Janine Scancarelli, William C. Sturtevant, and three anonymous reviewers—all of whom I am pleased to thank here. I would also like to thank Heather Hardy for supplying unpublished materials otherwise not available to me, and Pamela Brown and Jenny Tomkins for editorial comments.

2 Shipley (1962) describes a similar finding for languages of Central California.
languages. The latter include eight of the nineteen languages, all of which are Muskogean: Creek, Seminole, Mikasuki, Koasati, Alabama, Apalachee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw. Neither of these partial treatments mentions non-Muskogean languages, other than Cherokee and Timucua, which have participated in Spanish loanword diffusion (these include Biloxi, Quapaw, Shawnee, Caddo, Chitimacha, Tunica, and Yuchi). Nor do these studies discuss the role of native-language lingua francas, such as Mobilian Jargon, in the diffusional process.

Crawford (1975:1) describes the SE as a “cultural province” geographically encompassing the area “from the Potomac and Ohio rivers to the Atlantic Ocean and Gulf of Mexico and westward beyond the Mississippi River for some two hundred miles or more.” He (1975:5–6) lists twenty-nine recorded languages (about which more than merely a name is known today) spoken in the region at least as late as 1700 A.D. Twenty-two of these are associated with five different language families, six are language isolates, and one is a native-language-based pidgin. These languages and their genetic affiliations are given in table 1 and, with the exception of the pidgin, are located on the accompanying map in figure 1 according to where they are believed to have been spoken roughly between 1700 and 1800. Other languages of the area, perhaps many, became extinct during the postcontact era leaving little, if any, trace of their existence (Crawford 1975:1–2).

Table 1 also identifies from among the twenty-nine languages (through use of *) all those languages, nineteen in number, which show at least one Spanish loanword also found in at least one other language of the area. (Abbreviations used for these nineteen languages and five others are keyed in table 1.) There are, then, ten recorded languages for which such loans have not been found. Sources for these ten, with the major exception of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1</th>
<th>RECORDED LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES (AFTER CRAWFORD 1975)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PIDGIN LANGUAGE:</strong></td>
<td>*Mobilian Jargon (Mbj)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MUSKOGEGAN FAMILY:</strong></td>
<td>*Alabama (Alb), *Apalachee (Apl), *Chickasaw (Chs), *Choctaw (Cht), *Creek (Crk), *Hitchiti (Hch), *Koasati (Kst), *Mikasuki (Mks), *Seminole (Sml)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SIOUAN FAMILY:</strong></td>
<td>*Biloxi (Blx), Catawba (Ctb), Ofo (Ofo), *Quapaw (Qpw), Tutelo, Woccon</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>IROQUOIAN FAMILY:</strong></td>
<td>*Cherokee (Chr), Nottoway, Tuscarora (Tsc)</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>ALGONQUIAN FAMILY:</strong></td>
<td>Pamlico, Powhatan, *Shawnee (Shw)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>CADDOAN FAMILY:</strong></td>
<td>*Caddo (Cdd)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>LANGUAGE ISOLATES:</strong></td>
<td>Atakapa (Atk), *Chitimacha (Chm), Natchez (Ntz), *Timucua (Tmc), *Tunica (Tnc), *Yuchi (Ych)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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*Language shows at least one Spanish loanword found in at least one other language of the area.
that for Tuscarora (Rudes 1987), are typically highly incomplete and fragmentary, possibly explaining in part why loanwords of interest are not forthcoming for them. In some instances, sources for the remaining nineteen languages are also inadequate, especially those for Apalachee, Caddo, Chitimacha, Hitchiti, and Quapaw and, somewhat less so, those for Mikasuki, Seminole, Shawnee, Timucua, and Yuchi—which should be kept in mind when evaluating data (or lack thereof) from these languages.

2. The data. The twenty Spanish words, each of which has unambiguously yielded loans found in two or more SE languages, are listed in figure 2. Languages in which loans are found are also identified.\(^3\) The loan-

\(^3\) Some European language loans in SE languages of possible Spanish origin may just as likely be from other European languages such as English or French. These ambiguous items
words themselves are presented in Appendix A and discussed there when appropriate.

While the Spanish loans indicated in figure 2 are not exhaustive of those occurring in SE languages, they constitute the only clear-cut loans from Spanish found in most of these languages. Spanish loans in addition to those derived from the twenty words of figure 2 are relatively common only in two SE languages, Timucua (Tmc), showing fifty such items, and Apalachee (Apl), with seven (see Sturtevant 1962:66–67 for respective lists). Sources for other SE languages only very occasionally attest to lexical items that are true or possible additional Spanish loanwords. The latter are also presented and evaluated in Appendix A.

are not included among Spanish loans in figure 2. However, they are presented and discussed in Appendix A.
3. Analysis. Among the nineteen SE languages having Spanish loanwords indicated in figure 2, Creek (Crk) shows the largest number with sixteen, followed by Mikasuki (Mks) with fifteen, Koasati (Kst) and Seminole (Sml) with ten each, Alabama (Alb) and Chickasaw (Chs) with eight each, Choctaw (Cht) and Caddo (Cdd) with five each, Cherokee (Chr) with four, Mobilian Jargon (Mbjs), Hitchiti (Hch), and Timucua (TMC) with three each, Biloxi (Blx) and Yuchi (Ych) with two each, and Chitimacha (Chm), Tunica (Tnc), Shawnee (Shw), Quapaw (Qpw), and Apalachee (Apl) with one each (see figure 2). A rough correlation between number of Spanish loans and language location is apparent: number of loans generally decreasing with a shift from southeastern languages of the region (e.g., Creek and Mikasuki) to western languages (e.g., Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Biloxi) and northern languages (e.g., Cherokee and Shawnee).

Spanish loanwords (hereafter referring just to those of figure 2 unless otherwise indicated) in ten SE languages constitute perfect subsets of the sixteen found in Creek. Thus, for example, all ten of Koasati's loans also occur among the sixteen pertaining to Creek, all eight of Alabama also occur among those of Creek, as do all three of Mobilian Jargon. Another six languages show near-perfect subsets of Creek loanwords wherein only one member of each respective set is not also found in Creek. Only one language, Caddo, shows a set of Spanish loans from among the twenty that is neither a perfect nor near-perfect subset of those in Creek.

Since it is extremely unlikely that individual SE languages would have independently borrowed the same words from Spanish, the observed distribution for the greatest part must be due to diffusion of loanwords across SE languages (cf. Brown 1998). Thus, these languages have only rarely borrowed terms directly from Spanish (cf. Sturtevant 1962:51–52 and Martin 1994:17–18). Indeed, Spanish loanwords in the vast majority of instances appear to have diffused from Creek (directly or indirectly) to most other languages of the region.

There is distributional evidence of an impressively long diffusional chain involving Spanish loans. Figure 2 shows all loans in Koasati to be included among those in Creek, all loans in Alabama to be included among those in Koasati, all but one loan in Choctaw to be included among those in Alabama, all loans in Mobilian Jargon included among Choctaw loans, all Biloxi loans included among Mobilian Jargon loans, and the singleton loan in Tunica to be included among Biloxi loans. Distributional data, then, suggest that Creek donated Spanish loans to Koasati, Koasati donated loans to Alabama, Alabama donated loans to Choctaw, Choctaw to Mobilian Jargon, Mobilian Jargon to Biloxi, and Biloxi to Tunica.\(^4\) In addition, data suggest other (shorter) paths of diffusion not quite as apparent in figure 2 as

\(^4\) See Martin (1994:17–18) for a similar, but less detailed, observation.
that just described. Spanish loans in Seminole constitute a perfect subset of
loans in Mikasuki, whose loans in turn constitute a near-perfect subset of
loans in Creek, suggesting that Creek donated loans to Mikasuki, which in
turn donated them to Seminole. Choctaw shows five Spanish loanwords,
all of which are found among the eight loans in Chickasaw, its sister dia-
lect, perhaps suggesting Chickasaw contributions to Choctaw.

4. **Historical context.** Spanish exploration of the SE is thought to have
begun with Juan Ponce de Leon's voyage along the east Florida coast in 1513.
From then until around 1565, when St. Augustine (Florida) was founded,
there were various Spanish expeditions into the SE interior, but none of these
had any lasting effects on native peoples (Sturtevant 1962:46–47). In 1573
Spanish missions were established in northern Florida among the Timucua
and along the Georgia coast among the Indians of Guale. Missioning was
extended westward to the Apalachee (in northern Florida) around 1633
(Sturtevant 1971:98). From this time onward, for about seventy years or so,
speakers of Timucua and Apalachee and the Guale Indians were more or
less continuously in contact with the Spanish; this accounts for most known
Spanish loans in Timucua and Apalachee.

To the best of our knowledge, the Spanish never succeeded in establishing
viable missions among other SE groups east of the Mississippi River. Per-
haps with this in mind, Martin (1994:17) proposes that Spanish loanwords
spread from languages of the missionized groups to those of hinterland
peoples, specifically first to speakers of Creek and Mikasuki (and later to oth-
ers). With reference to speakers of Apalachee, John H. Hann (personal com-
communication) cites Apalachee migrations to the Creek and Hitchiti country in
the 1680s and in 1704 and 1715 which could have facilitated diffusion of
Spanish loanwords to Creek speakers. With reference to the Guale, Sturte-
vant (1962:53) speculates, on the basis of admittedly skimpy evidence, that at
the end of the mission period (ca. 1700) Guale Indians moved west and joined
the Creek Confederacy; this would explain Spanish loanwords in Creek.

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5 Seminole is a dialect of Creek whose speakers migrated to Florida in historic times.
6 A possible way of investigating these proposals, not pursued here, is to flesh out diffu-
sional paths taken by native loanwords across SE languages in proto-historic times. Presum-
ably, in many instances, these should parallel those taken by Spanish loanwords. For a start in
this research direction, see Martin (1994:15–18), Ballard (1983), and Brown (1996a).
7 John H. Hann (personal communication) also mentions the Apalachee who migrated to
Mobile in 1704 and who could have donated Spanish words to native groups living there. Other
such donations could have occurred when the Apalachee moved on to the Red River in 1765.
8 Both Gatschet (1884) and Swanton (1922) considered the language of the Guale Indians
to be a member of the Muskogean grouping on the basis of extremely limited evidence.
Broadwell (1991) recently revived this proposal with a little more evidence. Sturtevant (1994)
argues that the most evidence shows is that Guale Indians used Creek as a lingua franca, thus
leaving the question of the genetic affiliation of their language unresolved.
Sturtevant (1962:50) discusses another possibility involving a considerably earlier date. In 1566, an exploration of the Georgia–Alabama interior was undertaken by Captain Juan Pardo and a Sergeant Boyano and a force of 125 soldiers. A group led by Boyano found its way to the Creek town of Chiaha where he and his men settled in for at least a few months, building a fort and “planting wheat and barley there and spent much time visiting the Indians in the neighborhood and contracting alliances with them” (Swanton 1946:65).\(^9\) Many of the loanwords in question could have entered Creek at that time. (Interestingly, the Spanish word for ‘wheat’, trigo, is included among the items in figure 2.) As Sturtevant (1962:53) further notes, if direct borrowing by Creek speakers from Spanish occurred in the interior, then it must have taken place before around 1675, since after that date Creek contact with Europeans primarily involved English speakers.

Although how and when Spanish loans entered Creek remains to be resolved, scholars tend to agree that these spread from Creek to other languages of the SE interior (e.g., Kimball 1994, Martin 1994, and Sturtevant 1962).\(^10\) The source of Creek’s influence may relate to its wide use as a lingua franca by members of the Creek Confederacy who spoke a number of different SE tongues as first languages.\(^11\) These languages included, from among those in figure 2, Hitchiti, Mikasuki, Apalachee, Alabama, Koasati, Choctaw, and Chickasaw (all Muskogean), Yuchi (an isolate), and Shaw-

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\(^9\) Booker, Hudson, and Rankin (1992), based on analysis of place-name data, believe that sixteenth-century inhabitants of Chiaha primarily spoke Koasati rather than Creek. In any case, their general analysis allows for multilingualism in the community.

\(^10\) Sturtevant (1962:52) presents some possible phonological evidence for the movement of Spanish loans from Creek to other SE languages. The Spanish word for ‘goat’, chivato, is found in Creek, Seminole, Alabama, Koasati, and Mikasuki (see Appendix A). In all of the latter, save Seminole, the vowel of the initial syllable is o, e.g., Crk cowa:ta. Sturtevant proposes that the Creek word is likely the product of a blend of the Spanish term with Crk ico ‘deer’. (Note the formation of the Creek term for ‘horse’, i(\textit{colakko}, literally, ‘deer big’.) He argues further that since the Mikasuki term for ‘deer’ is different, i.e., \textit{i:ci-i}, its ‘goat’ word, i.e., \\textit{cowa:ti-i}, came from Creek rather than directly from Spanish. However, by this argument the loans in question may just as well have come from Alabama or Koasati since these languages show the same term for ‘deer’ found in Creek.

In a personal communication, John H. Hann, a historian, notes that Hitchiti (of which Mikasuki is a dialect) may have been a more likely vehicle than Creek for the transmission of Spanish loanwords. He writes, “There were Tama-Yamasee resident in Apalachee and in Guale and the Hitchiti-speaking towns on the Chattahoochee were more friendly toward the Spaniards and the Apalachee than were the Coweta or Kashihta, who were the two Muskogee-speaking towns.”

\(^11\) It has been generally assumed that Creek Proper or Muskogee (i.e., Creek) was adopted whole cloth as the lingua franca of the Creek Confederacy. Drechsel (1983) provides arguments, but no direct evidence, that lingua franca Creek, while based on Creek, was a true pidgin which differed from Creek in aspects of its lexicon, grammar, functions, etc.
nee (Algonquian) (Crawford 1975:37, Derrick-Mescua 1980:13, and Drechsel 1979:45–56; 1983:392). In later historic times, speakers of Seminole (Muskogean) in Florida probably also used Creek as an auxiliary language (Drechsel 1979:47). Speakers of some of these languages are also known to have been in close proximity to Creek groups. Swanton (1946:145) reports that at least before 1686 part of the Koasati “had moved into the Creek country . . . and most of the tribe soon gathered there.” Some of the Chickasaw in the eighteenth century moved eastward and settled for a while among the Creeks (Swanton 1946:117). Several Shawnee settlements were located in Creek territory in the second half of the eighteenth century and some Yuchi are known to have joined them there (Swanton 1946:184, 213).

Creek was not used as a lingua franca by speakers of some SE languages to which Spanish loanwords nonetheless eventually diffused. These included, among the languages in figure 2, two isolates (Chitimacha and Tunica), two Siouan languages (Biloxi and Quapaw), an Iroquoian language (Cherokee), and a Caddoan language (Caddo). However, speakers of all of these languages except Cherokee and Quapaw are known to have also spoken Mobilian Jargon (Mb), a now-extinct pidgin language (Drechsel 1979:129–30). At its peak period in the eighteenth century Mobilian Jargon was spoken in the lower Mississippi Valley from southern or central Illinois south to the delta region, west into eastern Texas, and east to the vicinity of the Alabama/Georgia border, including the northwestern Gulf coast of Florida (Drechsel 1979:131). Other users of Mobilian Jargon included speakers of five languages who also employed Creek as a lingua franca. These were groups who spoke Apalachee, Alabama, Koasati, Chickasaw, and Chickasaw as first languages (Drechsel 1979:129–30). Mobilian Jargon was almost certainly a vehicle through which Spanish loanwords diffused to languages whose speakers did not also speak Creek as a lingua franca (cf. Drechsel 1979:76, 169). These loans probably entered Mobilian Jargon (indirectly) from Creek, a transfer plausibly facilitated by people who used both Mobilian Jargon and Creek as auxiliary languages, most likely speakers of Choctaw and/or Chickasaw.

12 Emanuel Drechsel (1983 and personal communication) proposes—again without benefit of direct evidence—that lingua franca Creek may have been no more than an Eastern Muskogean-based variety of Mobilian Jargon.

13 According to Drechsel (1979:65), Choctaw and/or its sister dialect Chickasaw is the predominant source of Mobilian Jargon’s vocabulary, with minor contributions coming from Alabama, Koasati, some Algonquian languages, and Spanish, French, and English. More recently, Munro (1984) has presented evidence suggesting that Chickasaw was not the major contributor to Mobilian Jargon, that Choctaw (or at least a language more similar to Choctaw than to Chickasaw) stands alone as the primary source of the pidgin’s lexicon—although Drechsel (1987) raises some important objections to this argument.
Speakers of Biloxi and Tunica, both now extinct (Crawford 1975), used Mobilian Jargon as a lingua franca, consistent with the finding that Spanish loans in these languages are subsets of those found in the pidgin (see figure 2). Distributional evidence (see figure 2) suggests that Biloxi may have contributed a loan (modeled on Spanish *Español*) directly to Tunica. This transfer accords with what is known from historical accounts of contacts involving speakers of these languages. Haas (1968:81) reports that as late as the beginning of this century speakers of Biloxi and Tunica lived together in the vicinity of Marksville, Louisiana. Speakers of Tunica settled in the Marksville area some time between 1784 and 1803 (Swanton 1946:198) and speakers of Biloxi may have arrived there around the same time (Swanton 1946:97). Of course, Tunica, whose speakers used Mobilian Jargon, could have incorporated the loan directly from the pidgin.

While Caddo, whose speakers used Mobilian Jargon, shows five loans from Spanish (see figure 2), these do not constitute a perfect or even neareperfect subset of loans found in Mobilian Jargon, Creek, or in any other SE language. Some or all of these items may have been borrowed directly from Spanish. The historical context dovetails with such a possibility. During the early years of the eighteenth century, Spaniards from posts in New Spain established missions in Caddo country in eastern Texas (Crawford 1975:16). While these were largely unsuccessful ventures, at least one, founded among the Nacogdoches, endured until around 1772 (Swanton 1946:75, 156).

Phonological evidence is also suggestive. The Spanish loan for ‘cow’ in Caddo (*wa:kas*) differs from reflexes of Spanish *vaca* in other SE languages (see Appendix A) since it alone is modeled on the plural realization of the Spanish word (*vacas*) (Wallace Chafe, personal communication). This suggests an origin for the Caddo term independent of reflexes in other languages of the SE. In addition, the two ‘cat’ terms in Caddo are probably both based on Spanish *miz(o/a)* and, thus, differ from most ‘cat’ words in other SE languages which are derived from Spanish *gato* or English *cat* (see Appendix A). In fact, of the five Spanish loans in Caddo, only one, that based on *Español*, possibly was acquired directly from another SE language (but see discussion in Appendix A). If it were, Mobilian Jargon was the probable contributing agent.

Cherokee shares with Caddo, and only with Caddo among SE languages, a ‘cat’ term probably based on Spanish *miz(o/a)*. Given the considerable geographic removal of the two languages from one another, it is unlikely that one of these donated the word to the other. Both languages may have acquired their terms independently and directly from Spanish. Sturtevant (1962:54), citing a conversation with R. D. Fogelson, writes that a Cherokee group at Chickamauga in Tennessee had trade contacts with the Spanish at New Orleans and Pensacola in the late eighteenth century, this
possibly explaining the provenience of the loan in question. Another possible (but not probable) Spanish loan in Cherokee, a term conceivably based on *ganado* (see Appendix A), may have been acquired through such contacts. The other three Spanish loans in Cherokee (see figure 2) were probably directly donated to the language by Creek since the three items constitute a near-perfect subset of loans found in Creek.

Finally, an explanation of the reported correlation between number of Spanish loans and language location should now be reasonably apparent. Spanish loans generally decrease in number with a shift from southeastern languages to western and northern ones due to geographic removal of languages from the fount of Spanish influence in the southeastern part of the region, i.e., in Florida and immediately adjacent areas. There was, of course, a Spanish presence in the western part of the SE. The area known today as French Louisiana was under Spanish dominion between 1763 and 1800. However, if Spanish loanwords are any indication, Spanish control of Louisiana had little enduring impact on the languages of native peoples of the region.  

5. **A note on French loanwords.** For much of the eighteenth century, the French were the dominant Europeans in the western part of the SE. Consequently, some SE languages show French loanwords—for example, Haas (1947) discusses several of these in Tunica. French loans are not numerous in SE languages. Indeed, I have detected only eight French words used as models for loans found in two or more of the region's languages. These include (1) *escalín* 'sixpenny piece', yielding loans in Mobilian Jargon, Choctaw, Alabama, Koasati, Tunica, Atakapa, Quapaw, and Ofo; (2) *picailion* 'small coin', yielding loans in Mobilian Jargon, Choctaw, Alabama, Koasati, Tunica, Biloxi, and Quapaw; (3) *aleçonand*, an archaic term that probably referred to a type of garment worn by females, yielding loans in Mobilian Jargon, Choctaw, and Chickasaw; (4) *chaussure* 'footwear', yielding loans in Mobilian Jargon, Choctaw, and Chickasaw; (5) *chapeau* 'hat', yielding loans in Mobilian Jargon and Choctaw; (6) *bonjour* 'hello', yielding loans in Alabama, Koasati, and Biloxi; (7) *bonne année* 'Happy New Year', yielding loans in Alabama and Koasati, and (8) *samedi* 'Saturday', yielding loans in Tunica and Atakapa (see Appendix B for a listing of these loanwords).

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14 Spain pursued a relatively vigorous policy of colonization in Louisiana, for example, by bringing Spanish peasants from the Canary Islands to colonize Lower Louisiana between 1778 and 1783 (West 1986:4). Nevertheless, the most important group to settle in the area during the Spanish period was actually French-speaking, i.e., Acadian refugees (West 1986:4). During the nearly forty years of Spanish rule, the area remained almost entirely French in custom and language (West 1986:8). According to Swanton (1946:75), cession of Louisiana to Spain had “little immediate effect upon the Indians.”
While Spanish loans spread from east to west, through many languages of the region, French loans, in contrast, were limited to western SE languages and their immediate neighbors to the east. Those loans from French that became reasonably widespread (see preceding paragraph) probably did so because they found their way into Mobilian Jargon, some possibly by diffusing first to Choctaw, the probable primary source of Mobilian Jargon lexical items. (The Choctaw were of considerable importance to the French as a bulwark between them and the English to the east and north [Swanton 1946:121].) Plausibly, French loans did not diffuse to eastern languages such as Creek, Seminole, Mikasuki, Hitchiti, and Yuchi, in part because speakers of these did not employ Mobilian Jargon as a lingua franca. Thus, it may be that Spanish loans diffused to most SE languages because they managed to be incorporated into both major lingua francas of the region, i.e., Mobilian Jargon and Creek, while French loans were restricted to western languages since they found their way only into one of the two, Mobilian Jargon.

6. Conclusion. For the most part, the historical context accords with inferences about the provenience of Spanish loanwords in SE languages based on distributional evidence. This evidence also suggests some developments for which I have been unable to flesh out concurring—or, for that matter, contradictory—historical circumstances. It will be interesting to see if these suggestions hold up as research continues into the history and languages of the region’s native peoples.

APPENDIX A

LISTING AND DISCUSSION OF SPANISH LOANWORDS IN SE LANGUAGES

A normalized phonemic transcription is used here (and throughout this paper). If, in a lexical source, there is some ambiguity with regard to the phonetic value of a loanword, the original transcription is given in brackets.

Loans derived from the twenty Spanish words in figure 2. In the following listing, Spanish (Spn) words precede loanwords derived from them:

(1993) propose English Spanish as the model used by Alabama, there seems little
doubt that the item in question is from Spanish (cf. Munro 1992 and Sturtevant
1962:51). A possible further member of this set is Atk [Tsáyón] 'Mexican, Spaniard
(?). The Atakapa word and above-cited loans from two other western SE languages,
Caddo and Quapaw, are similar to one another and somewhat phonologically distinct
from other loans of this set. This perhaps indicates diffusion of the loan across these
three languages influenced by Spanish intrusion from areas west of the SE region.

Spn vaca ‘cow’. All designate ‘cow’: Mbj wak(a), Crk wa:ka, Sml wa:ka, Cht
wa:k, Chs wa:ka?, Alb wa:ka, Kst wa:ka, Mks wa:k-i, Blx wa:ka, Chr wah\2ga, Cdd
wa:kas (see the text for discussion of the Caddo loan).

alo:so ‘rice’, Cht onos ‘wheat, rye, oats, English grain, small grain, corn’, Chs onos
alo:s-i ‘rice’. The second form in Chickasaw is probably a reborrowing that entered
the language after its original Spanish loan shifted in meaning from ‘rice’ to related
referepts.

Spn capitán ‘captain’. Crk kapitani ‘captain, centurion’, Cht kapitani ‘captain, centurion’,
kapitane ‘captain’ (this form is from Wagner 1931). Sylestine et al. (1993) suggest
that the Alabama term could be either Spanish or English (captain) in origin. How-
ever, there is little doubt that the form in question is a Spanish loan (cf. Munro

Spn chivato ‘kid (goat)’. All designate ‘goat’: Crk cowa:ta, Sml cowa:ta, Alb
cowa:ta, cowwata, Kst cowa:ta, Mks cowa:t-i. (For discussion of this item, see n. 10.)
Most of these loans appear to be based on the feminine form of the Spanish term, i.e.,
*chivata, which may have been a feature of a Spanish dialect used in the region.

Spn naranja ‘orange (fruit)’. All designate ‘orange’: Crk yola:ha, yala:ha, Sml
yila:ha, Alb yala:ha, Kst yilaha, yalaha, Mks yila:h-i.

Spn toctino ‘bacon’. All designate ‘bacon’: Crk toscina, Sml tosi:na, Alb tosi:na,
Kst tosi:na, Mks tosi:n-i. Most of these loans appear to be modeled on the feminine
form of the Spanish term, i.e., *tocina, which may be a feature of a Spanish
dialect used in the region.

Chocotaw dictionary, lists [tiliko, tiliko] followed by the gloss, ‘wheat (a Chickasaw
word)’. I assume that Byington is simply informing dictionary users of an interesting
word in Chickasaw, a sister dialect of Chocotaw, and is not, therefore, indicating
that the item pertains to Chocotaw per se (cf. Sturtevant 1962:54; see a parallel
discussion below entailing loans based on Spn azúcar ‘sugar’). No other sources for
Chocotaw with which I am familiar (e.g., Nicklas 1974, Watkins 1892, and Wright
1880) give a Chocotaw word for ‘wheat’ derived from trigo. An unambiguous word
for ‘wheat’ in Chocotaw is onos (from Spanish arroz ‘rice’; see above). Janine Scan-
carelli (personal communication) notes that DeBrahm’s vocabulary, an eighteenth-
century source, attests to the Cherokee form’s original reference to ‘wheat’. The latter
gives [kat\ü deliko] for ‘European bread’, the word [kat\ü] being the usual Cherokee
term for ‘bread’. 

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Spn soldado ‘soldier’. All designate ‘soldier’: Crk solita:wa, Kst solita:wa, Mks solita:w-i, Apl [soldadoh], Tmc [soldado]. A possible further member of this set is Cdd sunda ‘soldier’. However, the latter may be based on English soldier.

Spn azúcar ‘sugar’. All designate ‘sugar’: Crk aso:kola, Sml aso:kola, Chs šo:kola?, Mks aso:kol-i, Hch [aso’kuli]. Byington (1915), in his Choctaw dictionary, gives [shokula] followed by the gloss, ‘sugar, a Chickasaw word...’. Similar to the case of a ‘wheat’ term discussed above, I assume that Byington is merely informing dictionary users of an interesting word in Chickasaw, a sister dialect of Choctaw, and is not indicating that the item is found in Choctaw per se (an assumption apparently also held by Munro 1992). No other sources for Choctaw with which I am familiar (e.g., Nicklas 1974, Watkins 1892, and Wright 1880) give a Choctaw word for ‘sugar’ derived from azúcar. Choctaw has a well-attested native term for ‘sugar’.


Spn plátano ‘banana’. All designate ‘banana’: Crk wilantana, Sml wilantalo, Mks wilintan-i.

Spn caballo ‘horse’. All designate ‘horse’: Mks kawa:y-i, Hch [kawa’yi], Tmc [caballo], Cdd kawa:yuh.

Spn chinché ‘bedbug’. All designate ‘bedbug’: Cht chíchis (from Mississippi Choctaw, George Aaron Broadwell, personal communication), Chs chinchis.

Spn miz, mizo, miza ‘cat’. All designate ‘cat’. Chr we22’sa, Cdd míst’uh and ch’á:mis. This Spanish item has been widely incorporated into Latin American Indian languages (Landar 1959, Bright 1960, and Kiddle 1964). However, it is not a common term for ‘cat’ in languages of the SE. For more frequently occurring SE ‘cat’ words, see below. (Also consult discussion in the text.)

Spn Mexicano ‘Mexican’. Cdd ka’nush ‘Frenchman’, Chm [ka’nush] ‘Frenchman’ or ‘French Creole’. Chafe (1983) notes that this truncated version of the Spanish term was lent by Tonkawa to Caddo, in which it apparently was first used in reference to Europeans of various kinds, eventually becoming restricted in application to just those Europeans of French origin. Another, less likely, etymology proposed by Gatschet (1883:156) is linkage of the term to the geographic origin of French colonists of Louisiana, i.e., the Canadian lakes, the countries inhabited by “Kanucks.”

Additional and possible additional Spanish loanwords in SE languages. For listings of Spanish loanwords (including additional ones beyond those in figure 2)

While some or all of the following forms designating ‘coffee’ may derive from Spanish café, in some instances English coffee and French café may be equally plausible, if not more likely, sources: Mbj kafi, Crk ka:fi, Cht kafi, Chs ka:fi?, Alb kafi, Kst kafi, Mks kaf:i, Blx kafi, kuxi, Tnc kafi, Atk [kapit], Chr kafi, Tsc kāh-wih, Ych kaf)i, Ntz ka:Wih, Chm ka:hpi, Cdd kapi. ‘Coffee’ terms in Koasati, Biloxi, Tunica, and Mobilian Jargon are identified as French by Kimball (1994), Haas (1968), Haas (1953), and Crawford (1978), respectively, and forms in Choctaw and Alabama are identified as English by Byington (1915) and Sylestine et al. (1993). Drechsels (1979) allows the possibility that the Mbj ‘coffee’ term is either French or Spanish in origin.

While some or all of the following forms designating ‘cat’ may derive from Spanish gato, in some instances English cat may be an equally plausible, if not more likely, source: Mbj kati, kato, Crk kati, Cht kato, katos, Alb kati, Kst kati, Blx katu, Tnc [gato]. Sylestine et al. (1993) suggest that the Alabama form is from English and Munro (1992) entertains this possibility for all Muskogean manifestations, proposing, in addition, English ‘kitty’ as an alternative model while recognizing that these items could be from Spanish as well.

While the following two forms may derive from Spanish kapote ‘cloak with sleeves’, French capote ‘large cloak with a hood’ is an equally plausible model: Alb kapo:ta ‘coat’, Kst kapo:ta ‘coat’. Wallace Chafe (personal communication) states that Cdd kaput ‘coat, jacket’ is based on the Spanish word.

While some or all of the following forms designating ‘tomato’ may derive from Snp tomate, in some instances English tomato may be an equally plausible, if not more likely, source: Crk toma:ta, Sml toma:ti, Kst tomi:to, Mks toma:ti, Chr ta2ma?hli, [dumatlī], Tsc thumé-tuhs.

A set of loans possibly based on Spanish altar ‘altar’ is: Cht alta, Chs a:lt?e, Crk alta, and Tnc [altar] or [altari], all denoting ‘altar’. English loans for religious items and concepts are relatively numerous in the first three languages so that these terms are probably derived from English altar rather than from the Spanish word.

Another religious concept, “baptism,” shows similar terms in SE languages, all or some of which may be modeled on Spanish bautismo ‘baptism’: Crk [paptismem, paptēsm] ‘baptism’, Cht bautismo ‘baptism’, Chs bautismo ‘baptism’, Kst baptin ‘be baptized’, Tnc [bapismo] ‘baptism’. This is a plausible Spanish set since, as Sturtevant (personal communication) notes, bautismo is listed as an orthographic alternative to bautismo in at least one eighteenth-century Spanish language dictionary known to him. However, this set is problematic with regard to the Spanish origin of some terms since European language loans for religious items and concepts in Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw are nearly always English (or at least non-Spanish) in origin. Perhaps, for these reasons, Munro (1992) writes that these terms are “[u]ltimately from French or English,” not mentioning Spanish as a possible source. It is possible that neither French, English, or Spanish is the source of some terms in question. Wright (1880:60) proposes that the Choctaw word is directly traced to Greek baptizo ‘to baptize’ (Greek baptism ‘baptism’). It was not an unusual practice for missionaries to coin names for religious concepts lacking labels in native languages through use of words from Greek, Hebrew, or Latin (Brown 1981:98).
Kst *botoya* ‘buttons’ may be a loan from Spanish (*botón* ‘button’), but English *button* is just as likely a model.

A possible Spanish import into Alabama is *kama:*ya ‘bell’ which conceivably is based on Spn *campana* ‘bell’. However, lack of a bilabial stop [p/b] in the Alabama form casts some doubt on this interpretation (Heather Hardy, personal communication).

A word for ‘money’ in Mobilian Jargon and Alabama, respectively, *sonak/asonak* and *sonok*, is described by Crawford (1978) as a possible indirect Spanish loan through Algonquian, with several possible Spanish models including *sol* ‘silver coin’. However, as Munro (1992) notes, the Mobilian Jargon and Alabama forms may be closer to Cht *asonak* ‘brass kettle, a vessel made of brass or tin’ and Chs *asonnak/asonak* ‘tin’ than to the Spanish word and, thus, may be Muskogean in origin. Possibly related words are Cdd *sunah* ‘silver, money’ and Ctb *[সনুকে]* ‘money’. For further discussions of this item, see Drechsel (1985; 1993).

Chr *ge2*na’hla3?i ‘livestock’ could be based on Spanish *ganado* ‘livestock, cattle’. However, the prefix *ga-* is a common third-person singular agent marker on nouns in the language and, thus, the form in question may actually be an internally derived construction.

Haas (1953) identifies three Tunica words (in addition to Tunica terms for ‘coffee’ and ‘Spaniard’ noted above) that she believes could be Spanish in origin. One is a word for ‘five’, *sinku*, which is possibly modeled on Spn *cinco* ‘five’. However, she (1953:257) notes a problem with this interpretation since Tunica numerals for ‘one’, ‘three’, ‘four’, ‘seven’, and ‘eight’ also end in an element -*hku* or -*ku*. Haas (1953:220) identifies the *huraka* ‘hurricane’ as being from Spanish (*huracán* ‘hurricane’). Nonetheless, words for ‘hurricane’ in either French (*ouragan*) or English (*hurricane*) could have served as a model for the Tunica term. In addition, a Tunica word for ‘(the wind) to blow’, *húri*, conceivably could have been used as a native base for the derivation of the item. The third Spanish loan into Tunica proposed by Haas is *tningrasa* ‘Englishman, Irishman, American’, which presumably is based on Spn *inglés, inglesa* ‘English’. Again, European language models other than Spanish seem plausible, e.g., French *Anglais* ‘English’.

There is only one Spanish donation to Mobilian Jargon not found in other SE languages: *plata* ‘silver, silver (money)’, based on Spn *plata* ‘silver’ (Drechsel 1979:320).

According to Sturtevant (1962:51), Creek shows two loans from Spanish not found in other SE languages: *moti:sa* ‘jug’ and *layapa:la* ‘devil’, derived from Spanish *botija* ‘short-necked jar’ and *diablo* ‘devil’. Another Creek item, *mala:ta* ‘Creole, mulatto’, is probably ultimately Spanish (*mulato*) in origin, but nonetheless could have entered the language directly from English (*mulatto*) rather than directly from Spanish. This calls attention to Cdd *minat* ‘mulatto’ which Chafe (1983) says is based on French *mulâtre*.

Martin (1994:24) reports *ali:na* ‘flour’ for Seminole which is based on Spn *hara* ‘flour’.

Mks *manti:i* ‘flag’ is Spanish in origin, based on either *mantilla* ‘mantilla, saddlecloth, baby clothes’ or on *bandera* ‘flag’ (cf. Sturtevant 1962:51).

An anonymous reviewer of this paper suggests Crk *tottolo:si* ‘chicken’ to be a loan from Nahuatl (Mexico) through Spanish, subsequently passed on to Koasati
where it is realized as *koló:si* ‘chicken’. The Nahuatl term in question is *totolin* ‘hen’ which before contact probably denoted ‘turkey’. Creek also shows *tolo:si* ‘prairie chicken’, a possible precontact word from which its word for the introduced chicken may have been derived. If so, the resemblance between Creek and Nahuatl terms is coincidental.

**APPENDIX B**

**LISTING OF FRENCH LOANWORDS IN TWO OR MORE SE LANGUAGES**

In the following listing, French (Frn) words precede loanwords derived from them:

Frn *escalin* ‘sixpenny piece’. Mbj *skali kono* (?) ‘dime’, *skali tokolo* ‘quarter (coin)’. Cht *iskali* ‘a dime, a ninepence, a bit, a 12.5-cent piece of money, a drachma, a penny’, Alb *iskali* ‘bit (money), a unit of money equal to 12.5 cents, any silver coin, metal’, Kst *skali* ‘bit, 12.5 cents’, Tnc *teskalakhi* ‘a bit, i.e., 12.5 cents’, Atk [*skalé*] ‘a bit, 12.5 cents, an escalin’, Ofo [*skálo*] ‘an escalin, a bit, 12.5 cents’, Qpw *skádi* (precise referent not known). The source of this term in SE languages may in fact be Spanish. Read (1931:140) notes that Spanish borrowed *escalin* from French. While the term occurs in Louisiana French, this may be ascribed to Spanish influence since it is absent in Canadian French.


Frn *alconand* (an archaic term that probably referred to a type of garment worn by females). Mbj [*alcouna*] ‘woman’s clothes’, Cht *alhkon* ‘a gown, a dress for a lady’, Chs *alhkon* ‘skirt’. Consult Read (1931:80) for further information.

Frn *chaussure* ‘footwear, footgear’. Mbj *šološ* ‘shoe’, Cht *šološ* ‘moccasin, sandal, shoe’, *šiloš* ‘shoe’, Chs *šološ* ‘shoe’. The Choctaw word was brought to my attention by George Aaron Broadwell (personal communication) who notes that the form may have undergone metathesis of the second and third consonants.

Frn *chapeau* ‘hat’. Mbj *šapo* ‘hat’, Cht *šapo* ‘a hat, a bonnet, a cap’.

Frn *bonjour* ‘hello’. Alb *bosó* ‘shake hands!, hello, how are you?’, Kst *bosó* ‘hello’, Blx *bəšu* ‘howdy’ (said when shaking hands).

Frn *bonne année* ‘Happy New Year’. Alb *bonolee* ‘Happy New Year’, Kst *bonałé* ‘Happy New Year’!

Frn *samedi* ‘Saturday’. Tnc *samdi* ‘Saturday’, Atk [*Sa’medi*] ‘Saturday’.

Other possible loans from French into SE languages are mentioned ad passim in Appendix A.

**APPENDIX C**

**LEXICAL SOURCES**

These include mainly dictionaries, vocabularies, word lists, and glossaries. Munro (1992) served as a source for Muskogean languages in general. Sources for individual SE languages are as follows. Alabama: Sylestine et al. (1993); Apalachee:
Kimball (1988); Atakapa: Gatschet and Swanton (1932); Biloxi: Haas (1968), Dorsey and Swanton (1912); Caddo: Chafe (1983 and personal communication), Gallatin (1836), Parsons (1941); Catawba: Shea (1984); Chitimacha: Gatschet (1883), Haas (1947), Swanton (1919); Cherokee: Alexander (1971), Feeling (1975), Holmes and Smith (1976); Chickasaw: Humes and Humes (1973), Munro and Willmond (1994); Choctaw: George Aaron Broadwell (personal communication), Byington (1915), Nicklas (1974), Watkins (1892), Wright (1880); Creek: Sturtevant (1962), Haas (n.d.), Hardy (1988), Loughbridge and Hodge (1890); Hitchiti: Sturtevant (1962), Williams (1992); Koasati: Kimball (1994); Mikasuki: Boynton (1982), Derrick-Mescua (1980), Jack Martin (personal communication), Sturtevant (1962 and personal communication); Mobilian Jargon: Crawford (1978), Drechsle (1979; 1996); Natchez: Haas (1947), Van Tuyl (1979); Ofo: Dorsey and Swanton (1912); Quapaw: Rankin (1988); Shawnee: Voegelin (1938a; 1938b; 1939; 1940a; 1940b); Seminole: Nathan (1977), William C. Sturtevant (personal communication); Timucua: Cranberry (1993); Tunicas: Haas (1953); Tuscarora: Rudes (personal communication), Wagner (1931; 1933–38).

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