

HISPANISMS IN SOUTHWEST INDIAN LANGUAGES

1. Introduction. The American Indians of what is often considered a Southwest culture area—centered in Arizona and New Mexico—had their first exposure to the Spanish language when Cabeza de Vaca entered the region in the 1530s; that contact was followed by the expeditions of Marcos de Niza in 1539, of Coronado in 1540, and of several other *conquistadores*, until actual Spanish settlement was begun in the Rio Grande Valley in 1598. However, the resident Pueblo cultures proved famously resistant to Hispanization, and staged a successful revolt in 1680, forcing the Spanish to take refuge in El Paso del Norte. In 1692 the Spanish carried out a reconquest, but were never able to assimilate the peoples of the Southwest to Hispanic language and culture, or to the Catholic religion, to the same degree that they had done in most of Mexico. Other cultural groups among the native peoples had varying relationships with the Spanish. For the Apachean tribes—the Navajo in the remote north, and other Apache groups in mountainous areas—contact was minimal; the same was true for the Upland Yuman tribes of Arizona. By contrast, for the Lowland Yuman tribes and the O'odham (Pima/Papago) of southern Arizona, contact was relatively intense.

The linguistic results were as one might expect. Within this area, Navajo and the Upland Yuman languages show the fewest borrowings from Spanish; the Pueblos show an intermediate amount; and the lowland Yumans and O'odham show large numbers of loanwords. In the uplands and the Rio Grande Valley, where Spanish was once a second language for some Indians, it has now been supplanted by English. In southern Arizona, however, Spanish has a continuing presence, along with English, in Indian communities.

The nearby Yaqui Indians of Sonora—linguistically and culturally related to the O'odham—have had an unusual history, in that they were first converted by the Jesuits and a certain synthesis of the native and Hispanic cultures was achieved, but the religious order was then expelled by the Spanish government, and the Yaqui were left mostly to themselves for many decades.

In modern times, they have become part of Mexican society—except that large numbers have migrated to Arizona, where they form a trilingual community within the United States society. Some reports indicate that the incorporation of Spanish vocabulary into the Yaqui language is virtually open-ended. It is clear that the Yaqui deserve detailed attention in this survey, for both their similarities to and differences from the native tribes of Arizona and New Mexico; however, the materials currently available permit me to make only occasional reference to Yaqui data.

The study of Hispanisms in the Southwest, as a topic of interest in itself, received some early attention from Herzog 1941, on Pima, and from Johnson 1943 and Spicer 1943, both on Yaqui; however, these scholars were not primarily linguists, and they wrote in somewhat general terms about the openness of these languages to new vocabulary. More specific reports were provided on Hispanisms by Trager (1939, 1944) on Taos; by Spencer (1947) on the Keresan languages of New Mexico; and by Dockstader (1955) on Hopi. A turning point in this research came with the work of Dozier (1956), comparing Hispanisms in Santa Clara, a Tewa pueblo of New Mexico, with those in Yaqui in Sonora; here Dozier offered sociocultural explanations for the different linguistic outcomes. (Subsequently, a similar comparison among California Indian languages proved useful; cf. Bright 1960a.) Among subsequent studies of Hispanisms in Southwest languages, especially important work has been that of Miller (1959–1960) for Acoma; Kroskirty (1978) on Arizona Tewa; Crawford (1979) on Cocopa; Winter (1990) on Walapai; de Reuse (1996a) on Western Apache; and K. Hill (1998) on Hopi. Valuable work on Hispanisms in Yaqui and other languages of northwest Mexico was published by Miller (1990a,b).

An important feature of the work by Dozier is its emphasis on the tendency of the Pueblo languages to create new vocabulary by extensions of native lexical resources, and by coining new words from native materials, rather than by borrowing. In Santa Clara Tewa, Dozier counts only 59 Hispanisms (1956:154), excluding proper names. For the geographically more remote Arizona Tewa, Kroskirty (1993:68) gives even fewer—a total of only 17. However, work by other researchers has suggested larger numbers of Hispanisms in the vocabularies of Pueblo languages. Thus Henderson and Harrington (1914), reporting data from the New Mexico Tewa pueblos taken as a group, give 21 words borrowed from Spanish to name domestic animals (Dozier gives 12 in this category), and Robbins et al. (1916), reporting from the same pueblos, give 45 terms in the area of plant names (Dozier gives only 10). Similarly, Hill (1998), discussing Hispanisms used by the Hopi in Arizona, reports 49 Hispanisms (again excluding proper names). Perhaps it would be fair to say that the Pueblo languages do indeed prefer to use native lexical resources, and that the total number of Hispanisms found in them is not large compared to what we find in O'odham or Cocopa, but that, nevertheless,

a significant number of Hispanisms can be identified in the pueblos, perhaps by interviews with a variety of individual speakers.

2. Languages and sources. The data used here are from the general studies cited above, and from a variety of descriptive articles, dictionaries, dissertations, and personal communications. The sources, classified by language family, are given at the close of the article, keyed to the list of references.¹ I ask readers' indulgence for my normalization of transcriptions, which is intended to make them typographically simpler and more comparable across languages. Long vowels are everywhere transcribed "aa," etc.; letters in small caps ("A," etc.) stand for voiceless vowels. Consonantal contrasts of aspiration, like those generally written "g, k" in Apachean languages, are changed to "k, kh."² Initial glottal stop is omitted in languages where it is apparently non-contrastive (but retained in Yuman languages, where it is distinctive).

3. Special features. The following special characteristics of some Southwest Hispanisms should be noted:

3.1. Final vowels. In all areas where Hispanisms are found, it is common for them to show great variation in the final vowels of words borrowed from Spanish. This phenomenon is perhaps less common in the Southwest than in California; however, there are examples like CENTAVO 'cent', Navajo *sintáa*, O'odham *sintáawo*, but Acoma *sentáawa*, Zuni *sentaawa*. Within a single language, we have forms like CORBATA 'necktie', O'odham *kolwáada* or *kolwáado*. There seems no reason, however, to postulate a Spanish form like **centava* or **corbato*. Rather, since the alternation of final vowels, as in Spanish *burro*, *burra*, corresponds to grammatical categories which are foreign to many American Indian languages, it probably gave rise to a certain indeterminacy of final vowel quality in loanwords.

3.2. Plurals. Since many American Indian languages lack an obligatory category of plural in nouns, they have often not recognized the distinction in Spanish. Thus Spanish nouns frequently used in the plural are likely to be borrowed in that form by some languages, e.g., UVA(S) 'grape(s)' appears as Cocopa and Maricopa as 'uuvv. Other languages may show the singular form of the same word, e.g., Hopi *óova*, Zuni *uwa*. Many other examples can be seen in the list below.

3.3. Sibilants. As many writers have pointed out (discussed in Bright 1993), a number of Hispanisms found in Latin American Indian languages contain the sibilants [š] or [s] in words whose modern Spanish counterpart contain the voiceless velar fricative (*jota*, [χ]). This can be explained in terms

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2. Since the Keresan languages have no contrast of aspiration before final voiceless vowels, a sequence like [k^hI] is transcribed here simply as *kt*.

of the medieval Spanish pronunciation of such words with [š], which persisted in the early period of colonial America; thus Tetelcingo Nahuatl has *šapu* 'soap', not from modern Spanish JABÓN but from colonial Spanish XABÓN [šabón].³ Such pronunciations are also attested in northwestern Mexico, e.g., Yaqui *sabum* 'soap'—explainable either as a borrowing from the earlier period of Spanish, or perhaps more likely as a borrowing from Nahuatl, which served as a lingua franca during the colonial period.

By contrast, most Hispanisms found in languages of California and the Southwest contain [χ] or [h] corresponding to Spanish *jota*, as in Keres (Santa Ana) *habíuu*. Nevertheless, a few Hispanisms found in the Southwest (not in California) do show the sibilant, e.g., O'odham (Pima/Papago) *šáwōñ* 'soap'.⁴ There are two possible explanations for such forms. One is that they reflect early borrowings from colonial Spanish; this is chronologically possible, since Spanish settlement in the Southwest began in 1598, and the Spanish change from [š] to [χ] may still have been in progress during the 1600's (for slightly differing opinions, see Lloyd 1987: 342–344, Campbell 1991: 177–178, Parodi 1995: 89–90).⁵ It is more likely that the forms with sibilants were borrowed from a language of northwestern Mexico, such as Yaqui, or directly from Nahuatl in its use as a lingua franca (see 3.7 below). Other examples of Southwest sibilants corresponding to Spanish *jota*, occurring in the list below, are AJO(S), CAJA, JÁQUIMA, JUEVES, NARANJA, NAVAJA, OVEJA.

3.4. Liquids. A comparable phenomenon is the occurrence of Hispanisms with a liquid [l] or [r] corresponding to Spanish *ll*, currently pronounced [y] in most of Latin America. This correspondence can likewise be explained in terms of borrowing by Nahuatl from colonial Spanish at a time when it preserved the palatal lateral [ʎ], e.g., Spanish *silla* 'chair, saddle' appears in Isthmus Nahuatl as *šílah*, not from modern Mexican Spanish [síya], but from colonial [síʎa]; the palatal lateral, being foreign to Nahuatl, was replaced by the apical lateral. Examples like this are unknown in California, and only a few instances have been found in the Southwest, e.g., O'odham *siil* 'saddle'. As in the case of [š], the lateral may have come from a conservative variety of Spanish,⁶ or from languages of northwest Mexico (e.g., Nevome *sira*), or

3. In Using the term 'colonial Spanish', I do not mean to suggest uniformity; elements from Old Castile, Toledo, and Andalusia were undoubtedly involved (cf. Parodi 1995, chap. 2).
4. O'odham has [s] and [š] in surface contrast, but they are derivable from a single underlying sibilant (cf. Bright 1978).
5. Possible evidence for colonial Spanish [š] in the Southwest comes from borrowing in the opposite direction, from the Tewa language of New Mexico into Spanish, viz., in two place names: Jacona, with Spanish jota (also spelled *Xacona* in older records), borrowed from Tewa *sakónæ* 'at the tobacco barranca'; and Pojoaque, from Tewa *p'osuwæge* 'drink-water-place' (Harrington 1916:330, 336). If Tewa *s* were pronounced as [š] in colonial times, this might have been reinterpreted as Sp. [š] (as in the spelling of *Xacona*), which later became [χ].
6. Cf. Lloyd 1987:344–47; Campbell 1991:173; Parodi 1995:90–91. In this case I have found no relevant evidence from New Mexico place names.

directly from Nahuatl. The other examples known are ANILLO 'ring', CASTILLA 'Castile', CEBOLLA 'onion', MORCILLA 'blood sausage', ZARAGÜELLES 'breeches'. (For some unknown reason, the numerous recorded Hispanisms derived from *caballo* never show a liquid, e.g., O'odham *kawiyu*.)

3.5. Spanish vs. English. Some words occur in similar forms in Spanish, English, and Southwest Indian languages. Some such items are clearly of Spanish origin, e.g., ALFALFA, BURRO, CORRAL; some have entered both Spanish and English from international sources, e.g., BANCO, CAFÉ, GATO. Still others are English words which have been borrowed by the Spanish of the Southwest, e.g., TROQUE 'truck'. In some cases, phonological considerations can help us identify which European language has provided the model for an Indian language, e.g., Acoma *wankhu* and O'odham *wáanjo* 'bank' must come from Spanish, rather than English, because of the initial consonant. However, a form like Jicarilla Apache *tapáako* 'tobacco' could conceivably be from either Spanish or English.

3.6. Spanish vs. Nahuatl. Some words occur in similar forms in Spanish, Nahuatl, and Southwest Indian languages. In most cases these are well-known borrowings from Nahuatl, and are widely used in Mexican Spanish. They may simply be regarded as Hispanisms so far as the Southwest languages are concerned, e.g., ATOLE 'corn mush', CACAHUATE 'peanut', and CHILE 'chili pepper'. However, there are also cases where the Southwest languages may have acquired the words not through Spanish, but through other Indian languages, or directly from Nahuatl; see below.

3.7. Bypassing Spanish. It has been noted above that some apparent Hispanisms in the Southwest show phonological features that are best explained in terms of borrowing, not from Spanish itself, but from Indian languages—either from languages of northwest Mexico, or directly from the lingua franca Nahuatl. In addition, Southwest languages contain a few words of Nahuatl origin which are not reported for Mexican Spanish, or have only marginal use. Thus Nahuatl MISTON 'cat', found as a loan in many other Indian languages throughout Mesoamerica, occurs in the Southwest as O'odham *miston*; other examples listed below are TEOPAN 'church', TEQUIPANO 'work', TOTATZIN 'Catholic priest', and XAMITL 'adobe'.⁷ Of these, *totatzin* is especially notable: the three Southwest examples are Hopi *totá'tsi*, Acoma *thuta'tsi*, and Santa Ana *thúta'íI*, all with a medial glottal stop that suggests direct borrowing from the Nahuatl *to-ta'-tsin*. (Cognates are not attested from languages of northwest Mexico.) An especially problematic case is that of CHOCOLATE (q.v.)

4. The vocabulary. The following 224 etyma have been chosen from a longer list of 239; the omitted items are those attested only in O'odham or Cocopa—the languages of our sample which are currently the most open to

7. Such terms are then not Hispanisms in the strict sense of 'words borrowed from Spanish', but rather in the broader sense of 'words introduced as a result of Spanish impact'.

borrowings, and in which we find the largest number of apparently recent loanwords, with relatively unassimilated phonology (among them, O'odham *wáaldi*, Cocopa *vaalt* 'bucket' < BALDE). I have not attempted to record all possible forms of words that show dialectal or idiosyncratic variation; those given are simply a sample. It should be kept in mind that this list cannot possibly claim to include all the Hispanisms that exist in the languages of the Southwest; I can only report what is in the available sources, and many of these sources made no special point of documenting loanwords.

ACEITE 'oil': Apachean Jicarilla *aaséithi*; Keres Acoma *asáit'hi*; Numic Southern Ute *siiti*, O'odham *asáidi*; Tanoan Jemez *aséete*; Yuman Cocopa *'asiit*.

AGUJA 'needle': Apachean Chiricahua *ikóóxa* (Hoiyer 110); Yuman Havasupai *a'uuba*, Tolkapaya *'əwúuba*. The Yuman forms reflect non-standard Spanish *ájua*, *abúja* (cf. Bright 2000).

AJO(S) 'garlic': O'odham *áasos*; Yuman Maricopa *'aah* 'garlic'. The O'odham medial sibilant reflects Nahuatl *ašoš*, occurring, e.g., in the modern Huazalinguillo dialect (Kimball 1980), which in turn reflects colonial Spanish [ášos].

ALAZÁN 'sorrel' (horse): Hopi *alásani*; O'odham *álsañ*; Zuni *alasaanina*.

ALBARICOQUE(S) 'apricot': Apachean Mescalero *ilkúukis* (Breuninger 142); Keres Acoma *arawakú* (Miller 1959:152, 1960:41), Cochiti *aramikú* (Miller 41), Santa Ana *arabikúu*; O'odham *wilgóogi*; Tanoan Sandia *arbàrkúki*; Yuman Mojave *virkok*. Most California languages have derivatives of *albérbigo* (Bright 2000).

ALEMÁN 'German': O'odham *almáano*; Yuman Cocopa *limáan*, Maricopa *limaan*.

ALFALFA: Keres Santa Ana *párpha* (Davis p.c.); Tanoan Jemez *fáafa*, Tewa (New Mexico) *alphalpha* (Robbins et al. 113); Yuman Cocopa *alfálf*, *alfáals*, Havasupai *alf'alfa*. Borrowing from either English or Spanish is possible.

AMERICANO '(North) American; Anglo': Apachean Jicarilla *aminkaani*, *minkani*; Navajo *pilakáana* 'white man', Western *pitikáana*, *kotikáana* (de Reuse 1996a:163, 1996b); Keres Acoma *merikáana*, Santa Ana *merikáana*; Numic Southern Ute *miriká-čt*,⁸ O'odham *milgáan*, *milgan*; Tanoan Jemez *belegáanǰ*, Tewa (New Mexico) *merikanu*, *beliganu* (Miller 1960:43); Yuman Cocopa *mirikáan*, *mirkáan*, *rikáan*, Maricopa *merikyan*, Tolkapaya *maarkaan*; Zuni *melika* (Newman 1958 suggests this is from English *America*).

ANILLO 'ring': O'odham *áñilo*. The medial liquid apparently reflects a historical Spanish pronunciation [anílo], rather than contemporary Mexican

8. The hyphen marks grammatical boundaries; in many words from Numic languages and from Taos, it marks something comparable to a nominative-case suffix.

[aníyo]. The word has not been widely reported from Mexican Indian languages, but in western Mexico the liquid appears in Cora *eniira* (McMahon and McMahon 1959), Huichol *haníra* (Grimes 1981).

ARROZ 'rice': Apachean Jicarilla *alóos* (Landar 1976), Navajo *alóos*; Keres Acoma *arúusi*, Santa Ana *arúusa*; O'odham *alóos*, *şóos*; Tanoan Jemez *aró*; Yuman Cocopa *'aróos*, Maricopa *'aróos*, Walapai *'aruuθ* (Winter 1990:193).

AS 'ace': Apachean Navajo *áás*, Western *áás* (Greenfeld 1971; de Reuse 1996a:167); Yuman Cocopa *'aas*, Havasupai *aasa*, Walapai *'aas* (Winter 1990:193). It is notable that terms referring to card-playing in the Southwest have been reported frequently, but almost exclusively from the Apachean and Yuman languages; see below, BARAJA, BASTO(S), CABALLO, COPA(S), ESPADA(S), MAESTRADA, ORO(S), QUINCE, REY, SOTA, and the numerals DOS, TRES, SEIS, and SIETE.

ATOLE 'corn mush' (< Nahuatl *aatoollí*): Apachean Mescalero *atóoli*, Navajo *atóola*; Numic Southern Ute *atúri* 'corn flour'; O'odham *átol*. The term is often borrowed into Indian languages of California (cf. Bright 2000).

AVENA 'oats': Keres Acoma *awéena*; Tanoan Jemez *avéæenʒ*; Taos *obènu-ʹune* (Trager 1944:147), Tewa (New Mexico) *avéna*.

AZÚCAR 'sugar': Apachean Jicarilla *asookhara* (Landar 1976); O'odham *ásugal*, *asúuga*; Yuman Cocopa *'asúkr*, Maricopa *'arsuukr*.

BANCO 'bank': Keres Acoma *wánkhu*; O'odham *wáaŋgo*; Yuman Cocopa *vaajk*. The initial consonant indicates borrowing from Spanish rather than from English *bank*.

BANDEJA 'tray', Mexican 'basin, dishpan': Keres Santa Ana *bandée*; O'odham *wanníiha*, *wandíiha*. This Hispanism is reported from many languages of California (Bright 2000), but not from those of Mexico.

BARAJA 'deck of cards': Apachean Jicarilla *maláaha* (Vincenti), Mescalero *patáaxa* (Breuninger 107), Western *tákhaa'* (Greenfeld p.c.); O'odham *wálaho* 'to play cards'.

BARRIL 'barrel': Apachean Western *mažil* (de Reuse 1996a:166); Numic Chemehevi *varir(i)*; O'odham *wálin*; Yuman Cocopa *varil*, *variil*, *waril*, *wariil*.

BASTO(S) 'club(s)' (in cards): Apachean Western *páastos* (de Reuse 1996a:167), Navajo *páastos*; Yuman Cocopa *vaast*, Walapai *váasta* (Winter 195).

BATEA (Mexican) 'wooden vessel': O'odham *wáçího* 'wooden bowl'. The term is listed in Santamaría 1959 as a Mexicanism; it has been reported as a Hispanism in one instance from Oaxaca state, i.e., Huave *batey* (Stairs et al. 1981).

BAYO 'bay' (horse): Hopi *váayo*; O'odham *wáayo*.

BECERRO 'calf': O'odham *wísilo*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *besero*. For the occurrence of this term in northwest Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a.

BORRACHO 'drunk': Keres Acoma *waráaçu*, *waráaçuhi*; Numic Southern Ute *muráači*.

BOTA 'boot': Apachean Jicarilla *pootha*; O'odham *wóoda*; Tanoan Taos *búto-ná* (Trager 147).

BOTELLA 'bottle': Apachean Chiricahua *matéya* (Hoijer 110), Jicarilla *kothéya* 'glass', Mescalero *matíya* 'jar' (Breuninger 116); Numic Chemehevi *vutíya'av(i)* 'drinking glass'; Tanoan Jemez *vatáaye*, Taos *butéyo-ná* (Trager 147); Tewa (New Mexico) *bòhte'a*; Yuman Maricopa *mutee*. Words meaning 'bottle' are also borrowed in many languages from Spanish LIMETA 'flask', q.v.

BOTÓN 'button': Hopi *votóona* 'coin, money'; O'odham *wotoñ*; Tanoan Taos *bùtúne-na*, *mustún-ena*, *môtuné-na* (Trager 147, 149); Yuman Maricopa *'otoon*.

BUEY(ES) 'ox(en)': Keres Acoma *wée*, Santa Ana *búiyasi*; O'odham *wóiwis*; Taos *múoya-ána* (Trager 146), Tewa (New Mexico) *weye* (Henderson and Harrington 32). Jicarilla Apache has *boo* 'bull, cow, cattle', probably not from Spanish, but perhaps from English *bull*. For the distribution of the term in northwest Mexico, cf. Miller (1990a: 362, 1990b: 241). In Nahuatl, *wei* has been in use since colonial times (González Casanova 1934).

BURRO 'donkey': Hopi *móoro* (cf. *móola* 'mule'); Keres Acoma *húuru*; O'odham *wúulu*, *wúulo*; Tanoan Taos *mùldu-úna* (Trager 146), Tewa (Arizona) *muulu* (but cf. *muula* 'mule'), (New Mexico) *budu*; Yuman Cocopa *vuur*, *livúur*, Tolkapaya *'alvuura*, Walapai *haləvuro* (Winter 193), Yavapai *ya-Pvú-ra* (Shaterian 553). Note that all the Yuman languages seem to reflect the phrase EL BURRO. Cognates with *burro* from northwestern Mexico are cited by Miller (1990b: 242). Phonological and semantic confusion of BURRO and MULA are also found in California (cf. Bright 2000, s.v. MULA).

CABALLO 'horse'; 'queen' (in cards): Hopi *kawáyo*; Keres Acoma *khawáayu*, Santa Ana *kawáayu*; Numic Southern Paiute *qaváh* (Sapir 122), Southern Ute *kavá*; O'odham *káwiyu*; Tanoan Jemez *gíwáyi*, Taos *kówe-na* (Trager 149), Tewa (Arizona) *waayu*, (New Mexico) *kaváyuh* (also *kweǰjii*, which Dozier calls a native word); Yuman Cocopa *kaváay*, Havasupai *govaay*, Walapai *kaváya* (Winter 195). The Yuman terms are translated only as 'queen' (in cards). Cognates from northwestern Mexico have been reported by Miller (1990a: 362); see also Kiddle 1978.

CABRA(s) 'she-goat(s)': Hopi *kapiira*; Keres Acoma *kárawaši* (Miller 1959: 152), Santa Ana *káabra* (*skárawaši* is an "old word," according to a speaker), San Felipe *kárawaši*, Santo Domingo *kárawaši* (all these Keres forms in Miller 1960: 42); O'odham *káawul*; Tanoan Tewa (Arizona) *kwenu* (Kroskirty 1978: 68), (New Mexico) *kavra*. Cognates in languages of northwestern Mexico are given by Miller (1990a: 361, 1990b: 241). The corresponding word for 'male goat' in most languages of the Southwest reflects Spanish CHIVATO, q.v. (The term *cabrón*, because of its tabu associations, is everywhere avoided as a term for 'male goat'.)

CACAHUATE 'peanut' (< Nahuatl *tlaal-kakawatl* 'earth-cacao'): Keres Santa Ana *kakawáati*; O'odham *kakawádi*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *kakawate* (Robbins et al. 117); Yuman Cocopa *kawáat*.

CACIQUE ‘chief’: Keres Acoma *khasiikbi*, Santa Ana *kasiki* ‘king, high priest’.

CAFÉ ‘coffee’: Apachean Chiricahua *khàxéé* (Hoijer 111), Jicarilla *kae*, *kaγē*, *kolwééh*, Mescalero *kaxee*, *k’axee* (Breuninger 100), Navajo *abwééh*, *kolwééh*, *kolwéi*; Hopi *káphe*; Keres Acoma *khawé*, Santa Ana *kaphé*; Numic Chemeheuvi *kúupi(i)*, Southern Ute *kapi*; O’odham *kahwi*; Tanoan Jemez *gafé*, Taos *kophá-ne* (Trager 147), Tewa (Arizona) *khape*, (New Mexico) *kaphé* (Robbins et al. 117); Yuman Cocopa *kafii*, Havasupai *gomθ*, Maricopa *kafé*, Tolkapaya *kaaθvee*, Walapai *kaθve*, *kónθa*, *kómθa*, *koθ* (Winter 193–194). Many of these forms, especially those with a rounded vowel in the first syllable, probably reflect English *coffee*.

CAJA ‘box’: Apachean Mescalero *káaxa* (Breuninger 114); Keres Santa Ana *káaxu*. The Keres form with the sibilant corresponds to Yaqui *kasa* (Buelna 1890); both reflect Nahuatl *kaša*, in use since colonial times (González Casanova 1934).

CAJÓN ‘box’: Apachean Jicarilla *khahón*, Western *kahón*, *tshilhón*, *tsihón*, *tsihón*, *tsalhóón*, *sihón*, *sahóon* (with native *tsih* ‘wood’, de Reuse 1996b); Keres Acoma *khakúuna*, Santa Ana *kakúuna*; Numic Chemeheuvi *kahón(i)*, Southern Ute *kakúni*; O’odham *káhon*; Yuman Cocopa *kaxúun*. Cognates in languages of northwestern Mexico are given by Miller (1990a: 361).

CALLE ‘street’: O’odham *káaya*; Tanoan Taos *kàyi-’ína* (Trager 148); Yuman Cocopa *lakáay* ‘town’, Maricopa *lagyay*. Both the Yuman languages reflect Spanish *la calle*.

CAMELLO ‘camel’: O’odham *kamiyo*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *kameyu* (Henderson and Harrington 31); Yuman Cocopa *kamii*, *kaméy*, Maricopa *kamee*.

CAMPO ‘field’, U. S. Spanish ‘camp’ (< Eng.): Keres Acoma *kámphu*; O’odham *káampo*; Tanoan Taos *kòmpu-’ína* (Trager 150). Indian languages of California often contain this Hispanism in the meaning ‘camp’ (Bright 2000). But the term is also used in colonial Spanish for a military encampment, and so may be an archaism rather than an Anglicism (Jerry Craddock p.c.).

CANASTA ‘basket’: Keres Acoma *khanáastha*, Santa Ana *kanáasti*; O’odham *kanáasti*.

CAPITÁN ‘captain’: Apachean Western *khapisáána* (de Reuse 1996a: 167, cf. Spanish COMISARIO?); Keres Acoma *kaphitáana*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *kapitán*; Yuman Cocopa *kpitáan*, *pitáan*, Maricopa *kapitan*, Walapai *kapitan* (Winter 193).

CÁRCEL ‘jail’: Keres Santa Ana *kháasilu*; Numic Southern Ute *karúsi-gáni* ‘prison’ (*káni* ‘house’); O’odham *káalisa*.

CARNERO ‘sheep’: Hopi *kanéelo*; Keres Acoma *khanéeru*, Santa Ana *kanéeru*; Numic Southern Paiute *qaniíaru-ts* (Sapir 631), Southern Ute *kanyéeru-’i*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *ganeru* (Henderson 14); Yuman Havasupai *gneelo*, Walapai *kanelo* (Winter 193); Zuni *kaneelu*. Note that California languages use only *borrego*; OVEJA is not found in California or in the Southwest, and it is rare in Mesoamerica, where CARNERO is usual.

CARTUCHO 'cartridge': Keres Acoma *khatúuču*, *khatúúci*; O'odham *kaltúuji*.

CARRETA 'wagon': Hopi *karéeta*; Keres Acoma *kharéetha*; O'odham *kálit*; Yuman Cocopa *kariit*, Havasupai *gadeet*, Maricopa *karet*, Tolkapaya *kaareta*, *kreta*, Walapai *karet*, *katet* (Winter 193). This is a common Hispanism in California Indian languages (cf. Bright 2000).

CASTILLA 'Castile', borrowed via Nahuatl *kaštillan* 'Spain, Spanish', and used throughout Indian languages of Mesoamerica and the Southwest to mean 'Spanish-speaking person, Mexican, non-Indian': Hopi *kastiila*; Keres Acoma *khas'tšrá* (Miller 1959:153), Santa Ana *kastiira* (Miller 1960:43); Tanoan Jemez *k'haét'ila*; Yuman Havasupai *gástila* (Spier 19). New Mexican Spanish is said to have a term *cashira* 'Spaniard, Spanish-speaking person' (Cobos 1983). The term has not been reported for Yaqui, but it is attested in Cora *kast'iran* 'Spanish language' (Casad 1988:107). It is widespread elsewhere in Mesoamerica (cf. Bright 1993:29).

CEBOLLA 'onion': Apachean Jicarilla *sawóoya*, Mescalero *saryúnye* (Breuninger 101), Western *sawóoya* (de Reuse 1996a:165, 1996b); Numic Chemehuevi *sivúya'*(a); O'odham *síwol*; Numic Southern Ute *sivúya*; Yuman Cocopa *sivúy*, Tolkapaya *siivooya*. For the occurrence of this Hispanism in northwest Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a. The liquid consonant in the O'odham form corresponds to that in Yaqui *seborá*, reflecting the historical Spanish pronunciation [sebóla]; a parallel example in Chiapas state is Tzotzil *sevulya* (Laughlin 1975).

CENTAVO 'cent': Apachean Navajo *tshintáo*, *sintáo*; Keres Acoma *sentaáawa*; O'odham *sintááwo*; Yuman Cocopa *sintáaw*; Zuni *sentaawa* 'five-cent piece'. This is a common Hispanism in California Indian languages (cf. Bright 2000).

CEREZA/O 'cherry (tree)': Keres Santa Ana *seréesu*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *seréesa*.

CÍBOLO (New Mexican) 'buffalo' (cf. Cobos 1983): Yuman Maricopa *siwúł* (Spier 19); Zuni *siwolo* 'buffalo'. The Spanish term is an adaptation of *vaca de Cíbola*. The name *Cíbola* refers to a mythic land sought by Spanish explorers of the Southwest, derived from Zuni *šiwina*, the name of Zuni Pueblo. It is ironic that the term should have returned to Zuni in the meaning 'buffalo'.

CIEN(TO) 'hundred': Apachean Chiricahua *ñthòò*, *thòò* (Hoijer 110); O'odham *siant*; Tanoan Taos *šien*, *šienq* (Trager 146); Yuman Cocopa *šint*, Maricopa *šen*.

CIGARRO 'cigarette': Apachean Jicarilla *siyáála*, Navajo *siyáala* 'cigar'; O'odham *šigal*. The meaning of the Navajo term may reflect English rather than Spanish.

COCINA 'kitchen': Keres Acoma *khusiina*; O'odham *kósin*; Tanoan Jemez *gášenq*.

COCINERO 'cook': Keres Acoma *khusinéeru*; O'odham *kosúilo*.

COCHI (Mexican Spanish) 'pig': Apachean Chiricahua *khóóchi* (Hoijer 111), Mescalero *kúuči* (Breuninger 99), Western *kóchi* (de Reuse 1996a:

163); Numic Chemehevi *kúutsi'*(i); O'odham *kóoji*; Tanoan Sandia *kúçide*, Taos *kútsi-'ína* (Trager 147); Yuman Cocopa *kuuč*, Maricopa *kos*. Compare COCHINO.

COCHINO 'pig': Keres Acoma *khučúinu*; Numic Southern Ute *kučúina*. These two terms for 'pig' occur as Hispanisms in many languages of Mesoamerica and California, generally pre-empting other Spanish terms, among them, PUERCO or MARRANO; in California as in the Southwest, *cochi* is found more often than *cochino* (Bright 2000). Cf. also PITZOTE.

COL 'cabbage': Keres Santa Ana *kúuli*; Tanoan Jemez *khóole*, Taos *kúli-'ína* (Trager 147), Tewa (New Mexico) *kóole*.

COLCHÓN 'mattress': Apachean Navajo *kolčóón*; Keres Acoma *khučúuna*, Santa Ana *kunčúu*.

COLLAR 'collar': Keres Santa Ana *kuyáari* 'yoke, horse-collar'; O'odham *koyáal*.

COMADRE 'co-godmother': Keres Acoma *khumáari*; O'odham *kómal*; Tanoan Taos *kumáyli-'iną* (Trager 146), Tewa (New Mexico) *kumarè*.

COMPADRE 'co-godfather': Keres Acoma *khumpáari*; O'odham *kómpal*; Tanoan Taos *kumpáyli-'iną* (Trager 146). Cognates in northwestern Mexico are discussed by Miller (1990a:363).

CONFESAR 'to confess' : O'odham *kombiiş* (or perhaps from English?); Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *konfesáa* 'confession'.

COPA(s) 'cup'; 'heart(s)' (in cards): Apachean Mescalero *kúupas* (Breuninger 146), Navajo *kóopas*, *páapas* (cf. *páasthos* 'clubs'), Western *kóopas* (Greenfeld 1971; de Reuse 1996a:167); O'odham *kóoba* 'drinking glass'; Yuman Walapai *kópa* 'hearts' (Winter 195).

CORRAL 'fence, pen': Keres Acoma *khurá*, Santa Ana *kuráa*; Numic Chemehuevi *kurár*(i); O'odham *kólhái*. Some loans may be through Eng. *corral*.

CORREO 'mail (carrier)': Keres Acoma *kuréeyu*; Numic Southern Ute *kuriyu*; Tanoan Jemez *giréeyi*.

CORTE 'court' (cf. Eng.): Apachean Navajo *kóolti*; Zuni *kotta*.

CUCHARA 'spoon': Apachean Mescalero *kočáala*; Hopi *kotsáala*; Numic Chemehevi *kwitsára'a(a)*; O'odham *kúsál*; Tanoan Jemez *víjčúile* (cf. *víj* 'gourd'), Tewa (New Mexico) *kutsqadah*; Yuman Cocopa *kučáar*, Maricopa *kučáar*, *kwčáar*.

CUCHILLO 'knife': Tewa Arizona *tsiiyo*; Tewa New Mexico *tsiyóh* (cf. *tsii* 'flint?'); Zuni *ačiya*.

CULANTRO 'coriander': Hopi *koránro*, *kolánro*; Keres Acoma *khuránthu*; Tanoan Tewa Arizona *kulaanto*. Cf. CILANTRO.

CHALECO 'vest': Apachean Navajo *čhálélékko*, *čháléeko*; Hopi *tsaléeko*; O'odham *čalíigo*.

CHILE 'chili pepper': (< Nahuatl *čilli*): Apachean Chiricahua *čhíili* (Hojjer 111), Apachean Jicarilla *čhíili*, Mescalero *čhíile* (Breuninger 1992: 101), Western *čhíile* (Greenfeld p.c.); Hopi *tsíili*; Keres Acoma *čeri*, Cochiti *čeri* (Miller 1960:42), Santa Ana *číiri*; Numic Southern Ute *čiríi*, *čiríi*;

Tanoan Taos *tsìli-'ine* (Trager 148), Tewa (Arizona) *tsini*, (New Mexico) *tsídi*; Yuman Cocopa *čiił*, Havasupai *jiil*, Tolkapaya *čiila*, Walapai *čil* (Winter 193).

CHINO 'Chinese'; Mexican Spanish 'curly' (of hair), 'curly-haired' (of people): Hopi *tsíino*; Keres Acoma *čiiinu*, Santa Ana *čiina*; O'odham *čino*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *tsini* 'curly-haired dog' (Henderson and Harrington 28); Yuman Cocopa *čiin*, Maricopa *čiin*.

CHIVA/O 'goat': Apachean Jicarilla *čipa*, Mescalero *čiwa* (Breuninger 128); Yuman Cocopa *čiv*.

CHIVATO 'he-goat': Hopi *tsiváato*; Keres Acoma *čhiváathu*; Numic Southern Ute *siváatu-čí*; O'odham *síwat*; Tanoan Jemez *čiváatí*, Tewa (New Mexico) *tsivatu* (Henderson and Harrington 15); Yuman Cocopa *siiváč*, Maricopa *svaat*, Tolkapaya *hiivata*, Walapai *səvaato* (Winter 193), Yavapai *hivāta* (Shaterian 566); Zuni *čivaatu*. The term is used as a generic for 'goat' in several languages. Cognates in northwestern Mexico are listed by Miller (1990a:361), though he proposes *chivito* 'little goat' as the Spanish origin. Terms for 'goat' in some California languages apparently reflect CHIVATO, but most have CHIVO/A; none has CABRA (Bright 2000).

CHOCOLATE: O'odham *čukuláadi*; Taos *tsikulóti-'ina* (Trager 149); Yuman Cocopa *čokoláat*. The Spanish term is supposedly from Nahuatl *čokolaatl*, but this is only attested since the eighteenth century, and its earlier derivation is unclear. The front vowel in the first syllable of the Taos form has counterparts in several parts of Mexico: in the western state of Nayarit, we find Huichol *sikuráati* (McIntosh and Grimes 1954) and Cora *tsikuraa* (Casad 1988:84); in southern Veracruz, Sayula has *čikuláat* (Clark 1995); and in Oaxaca, we find Huave *čikolít* (Stairs et al. 1981), Jamiltepec Mixtec *sikula* (Pensinger 1974), Mitla Zapotec *čikulahd* (Stubblefield and Stubblefield 1991).

DIOS 'God': Apachean Chiricahua *yóos-ń* 'God' (Hojjer 110), Jicarilla *yuus*, Western *iyóosn* (Greenfeld p.c.); Keres Acoma *yúusi*; O'odham *jios* (cf. *ńos* 'Oh, my God!'); Tanoan Jemez *yóš*, Tewa (New Mexico) *jóosih*; Yuman Maricopa *yos*. For cognates in northwestern Mexico, see Miller 1990a:364, 1990b:243.

DOMINGO 'Sunday': Apachean Navajo *tamóq*, *timóq*, *tamíjko*; Hopi *domingo* (Seaman); Keres Acoma *thamíikhu*, Santa Ana *tumíiku*; Numic Southern Ute *tumíikux*; O'odham *dómig* 'Sunday, week'; Tanoan Jemez *tomigi*, Sandia *dumingu'ad*, Taos *tumíku* (Trager 1939:52); Tewa New Mexico *dumínguh*; Yuman Cocopa *tumíjnk*, Tolkapaya *tuumíńka*, Walapai *háltəmíń* (Winter 193), Yavapai *tumíńka* (Shaterian 634); Zuni *tuminku*. The meaning 'week' also applies in many of the above languages. For cognates in northwestern Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:364, 1990b:243.

DOS 'deuce' (in cards): Apachean Navajo *altóos* (< EL DOS), Western *tóos* (Greenfeld 1971; de Reuse 1996a:168); Yuman Havasupai *loos*, Walapai *dos*, *los* (Winter 196).

DULCE 'sweets, candy': Apachean Jicarilla *lóosi*; O'odham *líuusi*; Tanoan Jemez *díise*; Yuman Cocopa *duls*.

DURAZNO 'peach': Keres Acoma *maráasi*, Cochiti *nurási* (Miller 1960: 43), Santa Ana *nuráasi*, Santo Domingo *guráasi* (Miller 1960: 43); O'odham *núlas*, *júlasan*; Yuman Maricopa *lyuuraa*. For cognates in northwestern Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a: 363, 1990b: 242. This Hispanism is reported from various parts of Mesoamerica, but seldom from Nahuatl dialects. Many languages show a prototype **turas*, as in Tarascan *turásu* (W. B. field notes) and, in Guatemala, Quiché *turaas*; but the initial nasal in the Southwest languages is surprising.

ELEFANTE 'elephant': O'odham *alhwándi*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *elephantte* (Henderson and Harrington 32).

ERA 'threshing floor': O'odham *alhin* (?); Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *era* (Robbins et al. 108).

ESPADA 'sword; spade' (in cards): Apachean Navajo *aspáala*, *espáata*, Western *espáata* (Greenfeld 1971; de Reuse 1996a: 168); Keres Acoma *ispáari*, Santa Ana *ispáari*; O'odham *ispáayo*; Yuman Cocopa *spaað*, Havasupai *sbaaθ*, Walapai *spáða* (Winter 195).

ESTUFA 'stove' (cf. Eng.): Keres Santa Ana *istúupa*; O'odham *istúuhwa*; Yuman Cocopa *stoof* (cf. Eng.).

FIESTA 'festival': Apachean Mescalero *khéesta*; Keres Acoma *hyéestha* (Miller 152); O'odham *piast*; Tanoan Taos *phíasto-* (Trager 148).

FISCAL 'title of an official': Keres Acoma *phiskáari*, Santa Ana *piskáari*; Tewa New Mexico *pihkáa*. This Hispanism is widespread in Nahuatl dialects, e.g., Tlaxcala *piškal* 'leader of a *cofradía*' (Bright and Thiel 1965), and in other Mesoamerican languages.

FRANCÉS 'French': Taos *phonsáy-na* 'American, white man' (Trager 150; perhaps borrowed directly from French, as spoken by trappers who reached Taos from St. Louis); Yuman Maricopa *parenses*.

FRAZADA 'blanket' (non-standard *frezada*): Hopi *písáala*; Keres Acoma *phisáari*, San Felipe *pisáari* (Miller 1960: 44), Santa Ana *pisáari*, Santo Domingo *pisáari*; O'odham *pílsa*; Taos *pisólo-na* (Trager 150); Zuni *pisaali*. The meaning 'rug' is reported from several languages. Cognates occur in a few California languages (cf. Bright 2000). In Mexico the term is little reported from modern Indian languages, but colonial Nahuatl attests *frezada* 'manta de abrigo, guarnecida con fleco' (González Casanova 1934).

FRIJOL 'bean': Apachean Chiricahua *phixóóli* (Hoijer 110); O'odham *wíhol* 'pea'.

GALLETA 'cracker': Keres Santa Ana *gayéeta*; Yuman Cocopa *kayíit*, Maricopa *kaayet*, Tolkapaya *kaayeta*.

GALLO 'rooster': Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *gayù* (Henderson and Harrington 35); Taos *gòyu-úna* (Trager 147).

GARAÑÓN 'stallion': Keres Acoma *kharaníu*; O'odham *kálioñ*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *garañun* (Henderson and Harrington 30).

GATO 'cat': Apachean Jicarilla *katho*, *kathu*, Mescalero *káatu* (Breuninger 127), Western *katoh* (de Reuse 163); Numic Southern Paiute *qáatta-ts* (Sapir 633; from English?).

GRULLO 'gray horse': Apachean Western *kotiyo* (Greenfeld p.c.); O'odham *lúnya*.

GUACO 'species of bird': Hopi *kowáako* 'chicken'; Keres Acoma *ku'wáakhu* 'chicken'; Yuman Havasupai *kuáagoo* 'chicken' (Spier 114). Miller (1959:44) suggests that the term is New Mexican Spanish for 'prairie chicken', but it is not listed in the dictionary by Cobos 1983. Santamaría 1959 defines *guaco* as the *pájaro vaquero*, a bird of southern Mexico. According to Schoenhals (1988:420), *guaco* is applied to several bird species.

HACHA 'ax': Apachean Western *ícha*, *ácha* (de Reuse 1996a:166, 1996b); O'odham *háasa*. The O'odham form may reflect a non-standard Spanish pronunciation *jacha*. Such pronunciations (cf. HILO, HORNO) are also reflected in Hispanisms from Mesoamerica.

HILO 'thread': Apachean Jicarilla *ílu* (Mersol 222); Western *iloh* (de Reuse 1996a:166); Keres Acoma *íru*; O'odham *híilo*; Yuman Cocopa *'iil*, Havasupai *a'iila*, Tolkapaya *'ə'iila*, Yavapai *'ə'iila*. The O'odham form may reflect non-standard Spanish *jilo*.

HORA 'hour, time of day': Apachean Jicarilla *óola*, Navajo *óola*; Keres Acoma *úura*; O'odham *óola*; Tanoan Taos *úro-óna* (Trager 148); Tewa (New Mexico) *óorah*; Yuman Cocopa *ña-cu-úur*.

HORNO 'oven': Apachean Jicarilla *óotno* (Vincenti); Keres Santa Ana *húuruna*. The Keres form may reflect non-standard Spanish *jorno*.

HULE 'rubber' (< Nahuatl *olli*): O'odham *úuli*; Tanoan Taos *úli-nq* (Trager 148); Tewa (New Mexico) *ule* (Robbins et al. 117). Cognates in north-western Mexico are listed by Miller (1990a:360).

JABÓN 'soap': Apachean Chiricahua *haayón'* (Hoijer 111), Jicarilla *havón*, *hawún*; Keres Santa Ana *habúu*; O'odham *šawoñ*; Yuman Cocopa *xavóon*, Havasupai *avoona*, Maricopa *haavoon*, Tolkapaya *'aavoona*, Walapai *avon* (Barto 27). Cognates from northwest Mexico are given by Miller (1990a:361, 1990b:244), including Yaqui *sabum*. The initial sibilant in O'odham and Yaqui seems to reflect Nahuatl *šapoh*, from colonial Spanish *xabón* [šabón] (cf. Bright 1993:27).

JAMÓN 'ham': Keres Acoma *hamúuni* 'bacon'; O'odham *hamóon* 'bacon'; Taos *xomúne-nema* (Trager 148).

JALEA 'jelly': Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *haléa* (Robbins et al. 114), Yuman Cocopa *xalii*.

JÁQUIMA ‘hackamore’: O’odham *śáakim* ‘halter’. The initial sibilant, reflecting the colonial Spanish pronunciation [šákima], is also attested in Chiapas, by Tzotzil *śakima* (Laughlin 1975), and in Guatemala, by Quiché *śakima*.

JARRA/O ‘pitcher, jug, jar, pot’: Keres Acoma *háarú* ‘empty tin can’; O’odham *há’a* ‘jar’. Related forms from northwestern Mexico are given by Miller (1990a, 1990b:244). Forms derived from *jarra/o* are common in Indian languages of California (Bright 2000).

JUEVES ‘Thursday’: Keres Acoma *śúwewesi*, Santa Ana *húibisi*; O’odham *húiwis*; Tanoan Jemez *phéevé*, Taos *xwábasi* (Trager 1939:52), Tewa (New Mexico) *xwéevéh*. Northwest Mexican cognates are listed by Miller (1990a:363, 1990b:243). The initial sibilant of Acoma corresponds to that of Guarijío *sumé-či* (Miller 1993) and, in central Mexico, Matlatzinca *śwépeši* (Cazes 1967), reflecting that of colonial Spanish [šuébeš].

LANZA ‘lance, spear’: Hopi *lánsa*; O’odham *láañs*, *láansa*; Zuni *lansa*.

LECHUGA ‘lettuce’: O’odham *lijúuwa*; Tanoan Jemez *lečúukha*, Taos *letsúgo-’óne* (Trager 149), Tewa (New Mexico) *lečuga* (Robbins et al. 113); Yuman Cocopa *ričúu*.

LEVA (Mexican) ‘coat’: Hopi *leewa* ‘jacket’ (Seaman); Keres Santa Ana *léepa*, *réepa*; O’odham *líiwa*; Tanoan Jemez *léævo*; Zuni *leewa*. The Mexican Spanish term, listed by Santamaría (1959), is apparently a back-formation from LEVITA ‘frock-coat’; it also occurs in languages of Southern California (Bright 2000).

LIMA ‘file’: Hopi *líima*; O’odham *líima*.

LIMETA ‘flask’: Apachean Mescalero *lupéeti* ‘bottle’ (Breuninger 113, but perhaps by metathesis from BOTELLA); O’odham *limiida*, *miliida* ‘glass, bottle’. This Hispanism is widespread in modern Mexican Indian languages, e.g., Huazalinguillo Nahuatl *limeteh* (Kimball 1980), Huave *limet* (Stairs et al. 1981). Cf. also BOTELLA.

LIMÓN ‘lemon’: Hopi *lemoni* (Seaman); O’odham *limóon*; Tanoan Taos *limuné-na* (Trager 147), Tewa (Arizona) *limon*, (New Mexico) *limoŋ* (Robbins et al. 115); Yuman Cocopa *limúun*, *limóon*.

LISTÓN ‘ribbon’: Apachean Jicarilla *lastóon* (Vincenti), Mescalero *katun* (Breuninger 112— or rather from *cordón* ‘braid’ ?), Navajo *laštóon*, Western *kostóon* (de Reuse 1996a:166, 1996b); Hopi *lestóoni*; Keres Acoma *ristúuna*; Yuman Cocopa *listóon*.

LOCO ‘insane’: Apachean Chiricahua *lókhhò* (Hoijer 111), Western *looko* (de Reuse 1996a:168, 1996b); Keres Acoma *rúukhu*, Santa Ana *rúuku*; O’odham *lóogo* ‘crazy one’; Yuman Maricopa *look-k* ‘be crazy’.

LUNES ‘Monday’: Apachean Jicarilla *loones*; Keres Acoma *rúuniši* (Miller 1959:152, 1960:42), Santa Ana *rúuniši*; O’odham *líunas*; Tanoan Jemez *líní*, Taos *lúnasi* (Trager 1939:52), Tewa (New Mexico) *dúuneh*; Yuman Cocopa *nya-lúun*, Maricopa *luun*. For cognates in northwestern Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:363, 1990b:242.

LLANTA 'tire', (New Mexican Spanish) 'train' (cf. Cobos 1983): Keres Acoma *yántha* 'railroad tracks'; O'odham *yáanda* 'tire'.

LLAVE 'key': Apachean Mescalero *yáapi*, Jicarilla *yaavi*; O'odham *yáawi*.

MACHO 'male'; 'mule': Keres Acoma *máachhu* 'mule'; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *maču* 'mule' (Henderson and Harrington 31).

*MAESTRADA 'playing the *maestra*, the top card': Apachean Western *maasthááata*, *mastááata* 'a card game' (Greenfeld p.c.) This term has eluded me in Spanish dictionaries, but de Reuse (p.c.) supplies *maestra* 'top card', and notes a parallel from California: Wappo *méstoro* 'card turned up in the game of *conquían*' (Sawyer 1964:174–175).

MAESTRO 'teacher': Keres Acoma *méesthu*; Tanoan Jemez *máæto*, Taos *mè(s)tu-úna* 'teacher' (Trager 146).

MANTECA 'lard': Keres Acoma *mant'ékki*; O'odham *mánjiki*.

MANTEQUILLA 'butter': Apachean Jicarilla *mantakiya* (Mersol 222), Mescalero *mantakiya* (Breuninger 99), Navajo *mantakiya*; Keres Acoma *mant'íkiiya*; Yuman Cocopa *mantikii*, Maricopa *mantekii*.

MANZANA/O 'apple (tree)': Apachean Jicarilla *mansáana*, Mescalero *mansáana* (Breuninger 142), Navajo *pilasáana*, Western *ma(n)sáana* (de Reuse 1996a:165, 1996b); Hopi *mansáana*, *mansáala*, *malsáana*; Keres Acoma *manisáani* (Miller 152), Santa Ana *mansáana*, San Felipe *mansáana*, Santo Domingo *mansáana* (for all the Keres forms, cf. Miller 1960:41); Numic Southern Ute *masáana*; O'odham *mañsáana*, *malsáana*; Tanoan Taos *monsònu-úna* (Trager 147), Tewa (Arizona) *mansana*, (New Mexico) *mansgna* (Robbins et al. 1916:114); Yuman Cocopa *mansáan*, *maysáan*, Maricopa *mansaan*; Zuni *mansan*. For cognates in northwestern Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:363.

MÁQUINA 'machine; automobile': Keres Acoma *máakhina*; O'odham *máagina*; Tanoan Jemez *máqkhina*, Taos *máqino-úna* (Trager 147); Yuman Cocopa *maakina*; Zuni *maakina*.

MARTES 'Tuesday': Apachean Jicarilla *máattis* (Vincenti); Keres Acoma *máat'hisi*; O'odham *máaltis*; Tanoan Jemez *máqté*, Taos *móltəsi* (Trager 1939:52). For cognates in northwestern Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:363, 1990b:242.

MARTILLO 'hammer': Apachean Jicarilla *matthiiyo*; Tanoan Taos *moltiyu-úna* (Trager 146); Yuman Cocopa *martii*.

MASCADA 'silk (kerchief)': Apachean Western *maaškááata* (Greenfeld p.c.), *maskááko* (de Reuse 1996a:166); O'odham *máskal* (probably with this origin rather than *máscara* 'mask'); Yuman Cocopa *maskáad*, Maricopa *mskáad*. The term is found in California Indian languages (cf. Bright 2000).

MAYOR 'principal person': Keres Acoma *mayú* 'song leader'; Yuman Tolkapaya *maayoora* 'chief, Indian agent, boss, big shot', Yavapai *mayóora* (Shaterian 543).

MELAZA ‘molasses’: Hopi *malasi* (Seaman); Yuman Cocopa *miláas*, Havasupai *mlaas*, Tolkapaya *mlaasa*. Influence of Engl. *molasses* is possible.

MELÓN ‘melon, canteloupe’: Apachean Jicarilla *pilón*, Mescalero *malúune* (Breuninger 99), Western *pilón* (de Reuse 1996:165); Hopi *melóoni*; Keres Acoma *merúuni*; Numic Southern Ute *murúuna*; O’odham *miliñ*, *miloñ*; Tanoan Jemez *bælóng*, Tewa (Arizona) *meloni*, (New Mexico) *benyundi’e* (Robbins et al. 111); Yuman Havasupai *mluuna*.

MESA ‘table’: Keres Acoma *méesa*; O’odham *miisa*, *miis*; Tanoan Jemez *méææ* Taos *méso-na* (Trager 147); Yuman Cocopa *lamíis*, Maricopa *lames*. The Yuman forms are from Spanish LA MESA, also found in Californian Indian languages (Bright 2000).

MÉXICO: Yuman Havasupai *haygu’u* ‘Mexican’, Maricopa *hiko*, Mojave *hayiko*, Walapai *haygu* (Watahomigie et al. 552), Tolkapaya *hayko*, Yavapai *hàikō* (Shaterian 530). The suggestion that these terms are borrowings from México is due to Judith Crawford (p.c.). The meanings in the various Yuman languages include ‘Mexican, non-Indian, Anglo’; in California, cf. Diegueño *haaykuu* (Bright 2000). The Spanish word is from the Nahuatl place name *meešī’ko*.

MIÉRCOLES ‘Wednesday’: Keres Acoma *mérikbusi*, Santa Ana *mékuriši* (Miller 1960:43); O’odham *mialklos*; Tanoan Jemez *míjgile*, Taos *mialkulisi* (Trager 1939:52). For cognates in languages of northwestern Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:363, 1990b:242–243.

MIL ‘thousand’: Apachean Jicarilla *miil*, *miíl*, Navajo *miil*, *miil*; Keres Acoma *míiri*; Numic Southern Ute *mírí*; O’odham *miil*; Taos *milá* (Trager 147); Yuman Cocopa *miil*, Maricopa *miil* ‘million’; Zuni *mit*.

MILLA ‘mile’: Keres Acoma *míiyu*; O’odham *míya*; Taos *míyo-’óna* (Trager 147).

MISA ‘Mass’: Keres Acoma *miisa*; O’odham *miis* ‘a Protestant’ (!); Tanoan Jemez *méésá*, Sandia *mísathə*, Taos *mèso-’óna* ‘Mass, church’ (Trager 147); Yuman Cocopa *miis*.

MISTON ‘cat’, a Nahuatl word (not listed in Santamaría 1959) occurs in one Southwest language: O’odham *miistol*, *miitol*. The word was apparently coined during the colonial period, from *mis(-tli)* ‘mountain lion’ plus *-toon* ‘diminutive’. It is attested from northwestern Mexico, in Pima Bajo *misto* (Estrada 1994:235) and Guarijío *mihtóci* (Miller 1993); in many Nahuatl dialects, e.g., Isthmus *miston* (Law 1961:558); and in many other Mesoamerican languages, e.g., Sayula *mišton* (Clark 1995). Cf. MOZA.

MOCHO ‘polled’ (animal): Hopi *móotso*; O’odham *móojo* ‘lacking a limb’.

MORCILLA ‘a type of sausage’: Hopi *monsíila*; Zuni *mossiyya*.

MOZA ‘serving girl; cat’: All the borrowings mean ‘cat’. Apachean Jicarilla *mosa*, *moša*, *moosa*, *musa*, *muša*, Navajo *mósí*, *másí*, Western *masé* (de Reuse 1996a:169); Hopi *moosa*; Keres Acoma *múusa* (Miller 152), Santa Ana *múusa*, San Felipe *múusa*, Santo Domingo *múusa* (for all these Keres forms,

cf. Miller 1960:42); Numic Southern Ute *múusa-č̣i*; Tanoan Jemez *míjsá*, Taos *mysi-ʔína* (Trager 1944:150), Tewa (Arizona) *muusa*, (New Mexico) *múusa*; Yuman Havasupai *muuso*; Zuni *muusa*. Many terms for 'cat' found in Mesoamerican languages are based on Spanish *mis*, a syllable used to call a cat, or on Nahuatl *mis(-tli)* 'mountain lion'; the similarity of all these has occasioned considerable discussion (see Landar 1959; Bright 1960b; Landar 1961; Crowley 1962; Kiddle 1964; Bright 1993:24; and cf. MISTON).

MULA 'mule': Hopi *móola* (cf. *móoro* 'donkey'); Keres Acoma *múura*; Numic Chemehuevi *múuna*'(a), Southern Paiute *múuraa-ts* (Sapir 574), Southern Ute *múuraa-č̣i*; O'odham *múula*; Tanoan Taos *mùlo-ʔóna* (Trager 147), Tewa (Arizona) *muula* (cf. *muulu* 'donkey'); Yuman Cocopa *muul*, Havasupai *muulo*, Maricopa *muul*, Walapai *mulo* (Winter 193); Zuni *muula*.

NARANJA 'orange': O'odham *nálas*; Tanoan Jemez *narǎha*, Taos *rarǎxu-úna*; Tewa (New Mexico) *naragha* (Robbins et al. 115); Yuman Cocopa *narǎngk*, *larǎngk*, Maricopa *naragk*. For cognates in languages of northwest Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:361, 1990b:242. The final sibilant of O'odham corresponds to that of Yaqui *na'aso* (with the loss of medial liquid characteristic of Yaqui), and to other Mesoamerican forms such as Huasteca Nahuatl *lalaš* (Beller and Beller 1979) and Mitla Zapotec *naraaš* (Stubblefield and Stubblefield 1991), reflecting a colonial Spanish pronunciation [naránšas].

NAVAJA 'pocket knife': O'odham *náwas*; Yuman Cocopa *naváx*, *naváax*. For cognates in languages of northwest Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:361, 1990b:242. The O'odham sibilant corresponds to that of Yaqui *nabáasum* (Spicer 1943:421); comparable forms have not been noted in Nahuatl, but they occur in other Mesoamerican languages, e.g., Huichol *naváša* (Grimes 1981), Matlatzinca *nábašá* (Cazes 1967), Mitla Zapotec *nabaaš* (Stubblefield and Stubblefield 1991), and Tzotzil *navašaš* (Laughlin 1975), all reflecting a colonial Spanish pronunciation [nabáša].

ORO 'gold'; 'diamond' (in cards): Apachean Jicarilla *óoto*, Navajo *óola*; Western *óoto* (Greenfeld 1971; de Reuse 1996a:167-168); Keres Acoma *úura*; O'odham *óola*; Taos *úru-ʔína* (Trager 148); Yuman Cocopa *'uur*, Maricopa *oor*, Havasupai *a'ooda*, Tolkapaya *woora*, Walapai *ʔ'óra* 'diamonds' (in cards) (Winter 195).

OVEJA 'sheep': Apachean Western *oe-vay-ich-lěě* (quoted from older literature by de Reuse 1996:163); Keres Santo Domingo *úbeeʃU* (Davis p.c.); the sibilant may reflect colonial Spanish pronunciation. This term is rare in Indian languages of Mexico and California, being usually pre-empted by BORREGO or CARNERO; but cf. Itzmiquilpan Otomí *běšá* (Wallis 1956). In California, the Luiseño word *ixíiwut* 'sheep' is apparently not metathesized from OVEJA, but is a native word meaning 'a habitual couger', from *ixíi-* 'to cough'.

PALA 'shovel': Apachean Jicarilla *páala*; O'odham *páala*.

PALOMA 'dove, pigeon': O'odham *palóoma*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *paloma*.

PAN 'bread': Apachean Chiricahua *pán* (Hoijer 110), Jicarilla *pán*, Mescalero *bán* (Breuninger 99), Navajo *pááb*, Western *pán* (de Reuse 1996a: 165); Keres Santa Ana *paa*; Numic Southern Ute *páana*; O'odham *paan*; Tanoan Tewa (Arizona) *bán*, (New Mexico) *pán*; Yuman Cocopa *pan*, Maricopa *paan*.

PAÑITO 'little cloth', (Mexican) 'handkerchief' (cf. Santamaría 1959): O'odham *pañiido*; Yuman Maricopa *panyiit*. The term is in several California Indian languages (Bright 2000).

PAÑO 'cloth': Apachean Jicarilla *báayoo*, Mescalero *paayu* (Breuninger 111), Western *payu*, *páiyu* (de Reuse 1996:166); Keres Santa Ana *páani*; Tanoan Jemez *páayí*, Yuman Cocopa *paañ*, Tolkapaya *paañ* (Shaterian 568). The term means 'handkerchief' in most of these languages.

PAPA(S) 'potato(es)': Apachean Jicarilla *phápha* (Landar 1976), Mescalero *páapas* (Breuninger 101), Western *kápas*, *kopas*, *papas*, *khapas* (de Reuse 1996a:165, 1996); Numic Chemehevi *páapas(i)*, Southern Ute *páapas*; O'odham *báabas*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *pápá*; Yuman Cocopa *paap*, Havasupai *baab*, *mbaab*, Maricopa *paap*, Walapai *baab* (Watahomigie et al. 560), Yavapai *pá'pa* (Shaterian 599).

PAPEL 'paper': Numic Chemehevi *papíliv(i)*; O'odham *tápiál*; Yuman Cocopa *papíil*, Havasupai *babeel*, Maricopa *papel*, Tolkapaya *paapeela*, *kaapeela*, Walapai *papel* (Barto 26), Yavapai *papēla*, *kapēla* (Shaterian 595).

PASCUA 'Easter, holy day': Keres Santa Ana *páasku*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *pahkwáa*.

PASTEL 'pastry, pie': Apachean Jicarilla *masteela*, *masteet*; Navajo *pastéel*; Keres Acoma *pastryéera*; O'odham *pastiil*; Taos *pòstalé-na* (Trager 148); Yuman Cocopa *pastiil*, Maricopa *pastel*, Tolkapaya *paasteela*, Yavapai *pastēla* (Shaterian 596).

PEÓN 'workman; a gambling game': Keres Santa Ana *piuna* 'servant' (Davis p.c.); O'odham *pion* 'workman'; Yuman Cocopa *pyuun* 'a game'.

PERA(S) 'pear(s)': Apachean Jicarilla *péela* (Vincenti), Mescalero *péela*, *péeta* (Breuninger 101); Keres Acoma *péera*, Santa Ana *pēla*; O'odham *piilas*; Tanoan Jemez *péaela*, Taos *péro-óna* (Trager 149), Tewa (New Mexico) *péerah*; Yuman Cocopa *piirs* 'pears'. Some of these may be loans from English rather than Spanish.

PERICO 'parrot': Tewa New Mexico *perikù* (Henderson and Harrington 45); Yuman Cocopa *piriik*.

PESO 'dollar' is also the word for 'money' in many Southwest languages: Apachean Chiricahua *pésò* (Hoijer 110), Jicarilla *peso*, *peeso*, Navajo *péeso*, Western *pésob* (de Reuse 1996a:166, 1996b); Numic Chemehuevi *piisu'*(*u*); O'odham *piis*; Yuman Cocopa *piis*; Yuman Havasupai *bees*, *mbees*, Maricopa *pees*, *mpees*, Tolkapaya *pee* 'dollar', Walapai *'empes* (Winter 195). Since some

American Indian languages show a semantic relationship between 'money' and 'metal', one might guess that PESO also underlies Apachean Jicarilla *pés* 'metal, knife', Mescalero *pés*, Navajo *péés*, Western *pés*. However, this term is native to the Athabaskan language family; cf. the cognates in two languages of the Sub-Arctic, Slave *mbéh* and Chipewyan *bis* (Greenfeld 1973:100).

PINTO 'spotted': Hopi *pínto*; O'odham *pínto*; Zuni *pintu* 'be a spot'.

PISTOLA 'pistol': Keres Acoma *phistúura*; O'odham *pistóol*; Tewa New Mexico *pihtóo*; Yuman Cocopa *'ičim pistóol* 'pistol' (*'ičim* 'gun'), Maricopa *pastool* 'pistol'.

PITZOTE (Mexican Spanish) 'pig' (cf. Santamaría; < Nahuatl *pitsotl* 'coaticundi'): Apachean Navajo *pisóoti*; Hopi *pitsóoti*; Keres Acoma *phetsúur'bi*, San Felipe *bitsúudi*, Santa Ana *pitsúuti*, *bitsúudi* (Miller 1960:44), Santo Domingo *pitsúudi* (Keres forms from Davis p.c.); Tanoan Jemez *pésíte*, Tewa (New Mexico) *pe'cureh*; Zuni *pitsuuti*. This word is uncommon in modern Nahuatl or other Indian languages of Mexico, but cf. Itzmiquilpan Otomí *ts'idi* ~ *-pts'idi* (Wallis 1956).

PLATA 'silver': Apachean Mescalero *piláahta* (Breuninger 144); O'odham *pláada*; Zuni *laata*.

PLAZA 'town' (New Mexican Spanish; cf. Cobos 1983): Keres Santa Ana *pláasa*; Tanoan Taos *plóso-'óna* (Trager 148).

POSTE 'post': Apachean Jicarilla *póosti*; Numic Southern Ute *púusti* 'post' (or from English?).

POZOLE 'corn stew' (< Nahuatl *posolli*): O'odham *pósol*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *posoli* (Robbins et al. 93).

PRINCIPAL 'important person': Keres Acoma *phinsipáari*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *pinsipáa*.

PUENTE 'bridge': O'odham *puindi*; Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *pwentèh*.

PURO 'cigar': O'odham *púulo*; Tanoan Taos *púru-'úna* (Trager 148); Yuman Cocopa *'uup puur* (cf. *'uup* 'tobacco'), Maricopa *'uuppuur*.

QUESO 'cheese': Apachean Jicarilla *khéeso* (Landar 1976), Navajo *kéeso*; Hopi *k'éeso*; Keres Acoma *kéesu*; Numic Southern Ute *kíyá-sóo*; O'odham *kíižo*; Tanoan Taos *kásu-'úna* (Trager 147); Yuman Cocopa *kiis*, Tolkapaya *kesa*; Zuni *keso*.

QUINCE 'fifteen; a game': Apachean Jicarilla *kiinisi* 'fifteen cents' (Mersol 222), Navajo *kiinsi*, *kíjisi* 'fifteen cents'; O'odham *gins* 'a game', *giinsi* 'fifteen'.

RACIÓN 'ration': Apachean Jicarilla *lasóon* 'ration; Saturday' (Vincenti); O'odham *lásion*, *lásan*, *lásón*.

RANCHO 'ranch': Keres Acoma *ránčhu*; O'odham *lánanju*; Tanoan Taos *ràncu-'úne* (Trager 149); Yuman Cocopa *raañč*.

REAL 'a bit, twelve-and-a-half cents': Apachean Chiricahua *-žááli* (Hoijer 111), Jicarilla *žali*, *žaali*, *žááli* 'money', Navajo *yáál*, Western *žááli* (de Reuse 1996a:167); Hopi *yáali*; Keres Acoma *yáari* (Miller 1959:152, 1960:42);

O'odham *lial* 'money'; Tanoan Jemez *yáale*; Yuman Cocopa *šyaal*, Maricopa *šiyaal*; Zuni *liyaali*. This loanword is used in combinations like *dos reales* 'two bits', and also as a generic word for 'money'. For cognates in northwest Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:361, 1990b:244. The term is also common in California languages (Bright 2000, and cf. Kiddle 1969).

REATA 'lariat': Keres Santa Ana *reyáatU*; O'odham *liat*.

REY 'king' (esp. in stories); 'king' (in cards): Apachean Navajo *žéí*, Western *žii* (Greenfeld 1971; de Reuse 1996a:168); Keres Acoma *rái*; O'odham *lai*; Numic Southern Ute *iri* 'king'; 'main pole of tipi'; perhaps name of Chief Ouray (cf. phonology of RICO > *i-riiku-či*); Taos *láy-na* 'king' (Trager 146); Yuman Cocopa *rii*, *ree*, *rey*; Yuman Walapai *réya* (Winter 195).

REZAR 'to pray': Keres Acoma *rusá* 'prayer', Santa Ana *resáa* 'prayer'.

RICO 'rich': Apachean Chiricahua *žíikò* (Hoijer 111), Jicarilla *talíik'óé* 'is rich'; Keres Acoma *riikhu*, Santa Ana *rikuš*; Numic Southern Ute *iríikuč*; O'odham *ligpig*; Yuman Cocopa *riik* 'be rich', Maricopa *riik-k* 'be rich'; Zuni *liiku*.

ROSARIO 'rosary': Keres Acoma *rusáayu* 'beads', Santa Ana *rusáayu*; O'odham *lósalo*.

SÁBADO 'Saturday': Keres Acoma *sáawaru*; O'odham *šáawai*; Tanoan Jemez *sáavola*, Taos *sóbolu* (Trager 1939:52); Yuman Maricopa *elsaav* (with Spanish article). For cognates in northwest Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:364, 1990b:243.

SANDÍA 'watermelon': Apachean Jicarilla *satiya*, Mescalero *santíiya* (Breuninger 102), Western *satiya*, *santíiya* (de Reuse 1996a:165, 1996b); Numic Southern Ute *satíiyay*; Tanoan Tewa (Arizona) *saniíiya*, (New Mexico) *sandia* (Robbins et al. 111).

SANTO 'saint': Keres Acoma *sánthu*; O'odham *sáanto* 'Catholic'; Yuman Maricopa *saant* 'Catholic'; Zuni *santu*.

SEDA 'silk': Keres Acoma *séera*; Tanoan Jemez *sææ læ*, Taos *sèdo-nq* (Trager 149).

SEIS 'six' (in cards): Apachean Navajo *séés*, *séis*; Yuman Havasupai *sees*, Walapai *seys*, *séesa* (Winter 196).

SEMITA (Mexican) 'a type of biscuit': O'odham *čímait* 'tortilla', *simito* 'bun'—perhaps reflecting older and later borrowings, respectively. The Mexican Spanish term is from *acemita* 'bran bread' (cf. Santamaría 1959). This Hispanism is attested in Indian languages of California (cf. Bright 2000); Miller (1990a:360, 1990b:242) gives possibly related terms for 'tortilla' from northwest Mexico: Mountain Pima *timič*, Tarahumara *rimé*, *remé*, Guarijio *teméi*. Forms meaning 'tortilla' in other languages of northwest Mexico, e.g., Yaqui *taska'im*, are borrowed from Nahuatl *tlaškalli*.

SEÑORA 'lady': O'odham *sinat*, *sinot* 'Mexican girl', *sinod* (Mathiot). This corresponds to Tarahumara *sinRo* 'mujer de raza blanca' (Lionnet 1972), to modern Nahuatl forms such as Huazalinguillo *šinolah* 'mestizo woman'

(Kimball 1980), and to words in languages as far away as Guatemala, e.g., Quiché *šnul* 'ladina'.

SIETE 'seven' (in cards): Apachean Navajo *seéti*; Yuman Havasupai *seet*, Walapai *siete*, *syéta* (Winter 196).

SILLA 'chair; saddle': O'odham *siil* 'saddle'. Cognates in northwest Mexico (Miller 1990a:361–362) include Nevome *sira*, etc., which contain a liquid and thus reflect colonial Spanish [síla] rather than modern [síya] (cf. Bright 1993:28). Also comparable are Nahuatl *šilah* (Law 1961), Huichol *sira* (Grimes 1981) and Tzotzil *šila* (Laughlin 1975).

SOLDADO 'soldier': Apachean Chiricahua *siláato* (Hoijer 111), Jicarilla *siláata*, Mescalero *sattáaku* (Breuninger 123), Navajo *siláo*, *tshiláo*, *siláako*, *tsiláako*, Western *siláata*, *salaada*, *tsilaada* (de Reuse 1996a:167, 1996b); Hopi *soláawa*; Keres Acoma *santáaru* (Miller 1959:153, 1960:43), Santa Ana *sundáaru* (Davis p.c.); O'odham *šondal*; Tanoan Taos *nòdu-úna* (Trager 149), Tewa (New Mexico) *sundaroh* (Miller 1960:43); Yuman Tolkapaya *stawa*, Walapai *soltaw* (Winter 193), Yavapai *sultáava*, *sultáawa* (Shaterian 608). In many languages the term can mean 'policeman'. For cognates in northwest Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a:365. Elsewhere in Mesoamerica, many languages reflect a prototype *šontalu like that seen in Keres, O'odham, and Tewa, e.g., Cora *šantáaru'u* (Casad 1988:99), Mazahua *šondaro* (Muro 1975), and Jamiltepec Mixtec *θandarū* (Pensinger 1974). However, the expected Nahuatl *šontalo has not been noted.

SOTA 'jack' (in cards): Apachean Navajo *sóota*, Western *sóota* (de Reuse 1996a:168); Hopi *sóota*; Yuman Havasupai *soot*, Maricopa *soot*, Walapai *sóta* (Winter 195).

TABACO 'tobacco': Apachean Jicarilla *tapáako* (Vincenti; or from English?); Hopi *tapáako* 'chewing tobacco'; Keres Acoma *thawáakhu* 'chewing tobacco'; O'odham *tawáago*, *táwago*.

TABLA 'board': Numic Southern Ute *táavara-vi*; O'odham *táawlo*; Yuman Cocopa *taawl*.

TAMAL 'tamale' (< Nahuatl *tamalli*): Apachean Western *thamááli* (de Reuse 1996a:175); O'odham *támal*; Tanoan Taos *tomòli-úna* (Trager 148), Tewa (Arizona) *tamali* (Robbins et al. 99), (New Mexico) *tamande* (Robbins et al. 94); Yuman Cocopa *tamáal*. Influence of English is possible in all these forms.

TÁPALO (Mexican) 'shawl' (cf. Santamaría 1959): Apachean Jicarilla *táapalo* (Vincenti), Mescalero *táapale* (Breuninger 108), Navajo *táápalí*, *táápalii*, *táápolii*, *tabáala*; Hopi *táapalo*; Keres Acoma *táapharu*; O'odham *táapalo*; Numic Southern Ute *táa-parí-ví* (Givón suggests word play on *táa* 'shirt'); Yuman Yavapai *táaplè* (Shaterian 610). The term is common in California Indian languages (Bright 2000).

TAZA 'cup': Apachean Jicarilla *táasa* (Vincenti); Keres Santa Ana *táasa*; O'odham *táasa*; Tanoan Jemez *táasæ*, Sandia *táasa*, Yuman Cocopa *taas* 'drink-ing glass'.

TE 'tea': Apachean Jicarilla *teh*, *thé* (Mersol 222), Navajo *tééh*, Western *téh* (de Reuse 1996a:165); Keres Acoma *tvé*; Tanoan Jemez *tææ*, Taos *té-ne* (Trager 149), Tewa (New Mexico) *te* (Robbins et al. 11).

TENEDOR 'fork': Taos *telçdúne-nema* (Trager 146); Tanoan Tewa (New Mexico) *teneróo*.

TENIENTE 'lieutenant': Tanoan Jemez *tenñite*, Tewa (New Mexico) *tinyentéh* 'lieutenant governor'; Zuni *tiniyante*.

TEOPAN 'church', a Nahuatl word (not listed in Santamaría 1959) occurs in one Southwest language: O'odham *ciopi*. Cognates in northwest Mexico are listed by Miller (1990a:360, 1990b:243), including Yaqui *teopo* (cf. Bright 1993:25). The Nahuatl term *teopan(-tli)* was apparently coined by colonial missionaries, from *teoo(-tli)* 'god' plus *-pan* 'on', in order to replace the term *teoo-kalli* 'god-house, temple' of the native religion.

TEQUIPANO 'to work', a Nahuatl word (not listed in Santamaría 1959) occurs in one Southwest language: O'odham *číkpan*, *čípkan* 'work'; *číkpaan*, *čípkaan* 'to work'. Cognates in northwest Mexico are listed by Miller (1990a:360, 1990b:243), including Yaqui *tekipanoa* (cf. Bright 1993:25). The term was apparently adapted, during the colonial period, from Nahuatl *teki-panoa* 'to perform a duty', in order to express the new semantic category of 'work for wages'; however, many Indian languages in other areas show borrowings from TRABAJAR (q.v.).

TIENDA 'store': Apachean Jicarilla *tenta* (Vincenti); Mescalero *téenta* (Breuninger 124); Keres Santa Ana *tvéenta* (Davis p.c.); O'odham *tiánna*, *číándo*; Tanoan Jemez *t'áada*, Taos *tjendo-'óna* (Trager 148).

TIJERA 'scissors': Apachean Jicarilla *thihéla*; O'odham *čihil*, *čičil*.

TOALLA 'towel': O'odham *tóaya*; Tanoan Taos *túoyo-'óne* (Trager 148); Yuman Cocopa *twaaay*.

TOMATE(S) 'tomato' (< Nahuatl *tomatl*): Hopi *tomáati*; Numic Chemehevi *tumírus(i)* (Press; probably from English); Numic Southern Ute *tumátis*; O'odham *tomáati*; Tanoan Jemez *tomáate*, Taos *tumáti-'ína* (Trager 148), Tewa (Arizona) *tomati*, (New Mexico) *tomatè* (Robbins et al. 1916); Yuman Cocopa *tumáat*, Maricopa *tumaat*, Tolkapaya *tuumaata*, Walapai *tamedas* (Barto 35; from English).

TORO 'bull': Apachean Navajo *dóola*, Western *tooli* (de Reuse 1996a:164); Keres Acoma *túura*; Numic Chemehevi *tóoro'(o)*; O'odham *tóolo*; Tanoan Jemez *tóoló*, Taos *túlu-'úna* (Trager 146), Tewa (New Mexico) *tqáú* (Henderson and Harrington 32); Yuman Cocopa *kikwáay tuur* (*kikwáay* 'cow'). For cognates in northwest Mexico, cf. Miller (1990a:360).

TORTILLA: Numic Chemehevi *turutii'a*; Yuman Havasupai *todiyy*, Maricopa *tortii*, Tolkapaya *tortiiya*.

TOTATZIN 'Catholic priest' is a Nahuatl word which has been reported from three Southwest languages: Hopi *totá'tsi*; Keres Acoma *thutaa'tshi* (Miller 1960:44), Santa Ana *tútsa'či* 'priest'; Tanoan Jemez *títaase*. The Nahuatl form *tota'tsin* means 'our respected father', from *to-* 'our', *ta'-(tli)* 'father', and *-tsin* 'reverential'. Santamaría (1959) gives a Mexican Spanish form

totache ‘nombre que por burla se daba a los sacerdotes’; however, the glottal stop in the Southwest words shows that they were borrowed from Nahuatl (or an intermediary Indian language), rather than from Spanish.

TRABAJAR ‘to work’: Yuman Tolkapaya *taarhaari*, Walapai *tərhaar* ‘work’ (Winter 193), Yavapai *thàrhmar’i* (Shaterian 637). See also TEQUIPANO. A.

TRES ‘three’ (in cards): Apachean Western *chéés* (Greenfeld 1971; de Reuse 1996a:168); Yuman Havasupai *tdees*.

TRIGO ‘wheat’: O’odham *pílkañ*. The phonology here seems problematic; however, the terms for ‘wheat’ listed from northwest Mexico by Miller (1990a:362, 1990b:242) include not only Yaqui *tiikom*, but forms with initial *p*, e.g., Opata *piliki*, Guarijio *pirikó*.

TROQUE (New Mexican) ‘truck’ (from English; cf. Cobos 1983): O’odham *tlóogi* ‘truck’; Taos *tròki-’ina* (Trager 150).

UVA(s) ‘grape(s)’: Apachean Jicarilla *uuva*, *uupa*; Hopi *óova*; O’odham *úudwis*; Taos *ùbo-’óna* (Trager 148); Tewa (Arizona) *uuba*, (New Mexico) *uva* (Robbins et al. 115); Yuman Cocopa *’uuvv*, Maricopa *’uuvv*; Zuni *uwa*.

VACA(s) ‘cow(s)’: Apachean Navajo *péékašii*, Western *pakaši(i)* (de Reuse 1996a:164); Numic Chemehuevi *wánkasi(i)*; Hopi *wáakasi*; Keres Acoma *wáakhaši* (Miller 1959:152), Cochiti *wágáši*, Santa Ana *wáakašI*, San Felipe *wáagašI*, Santo Domingo *wáagašI* (for all Keres forms, cf. Miller 1960:42); Tanoan Tewa (Arizona) *wák’a*, (New Mexico) *wáasih*; Yuman Havasupai *wagsi’i*, Walapai *waksi’* (Winter 194); Zuni *waakaši*. Cognates from northwest Mexico are given by Miller (1990a:362, 1990b:241). Records of colonial Nahuatl from 1548 show *wakaš* (Karttunen and Lockhart 1976:56), and similar terms are widespread in Mesoamerica, both in Nahuatl dialects and elsewhere, e.g., in Guatemala, Quiché has *waakaš* (PFLM 1996). See also Kiddle 1980.

VAPOR ‘steam; steamship’: Keres Acoma *wapúuri* ‘train’; Yuman Cocopa *wapúur* ‘ship’, Maricopa *kwpor*.

VAQUERO ‘cowboy’: Apachean Mescalero *makéetu* (Breuninger 123); Keres Acoma *wakéera*; O’odham *wákial*; Yuman Cocopa *vakiir*, *vakéer*, Maricopa *pakyer*, Tolkapaya *maakeera*; Zuni *wakeela*.

VAQUETA (New Mexican) ‘leather’ (cf. Cobos 1983): Keres Acoma *wakéetha*, Santa Ana *bakéeta*; O’odham *wagiida* ‘transmission belt’ (Mathiot); Tanoan Taos *vokáto-’óna* (Trager 146).

VASO ‘drinking glass’: Keres Acoma *wáasa*, Santa Ana *báasa*; O’odham *wáaso* ‘can’; Tanoan Taos *bósu-nq* (Trager 147).

VENTANA ‘window’: Apachean Jicarilla *mantháana*, *nthana*, Mescalero *mantáana* (Breuninger 118); Keres Acoma *mentáana*, Santa Ana *bentáana*; O’odham *wintañ*; Tanoan Jemez *vetáñq*, Yuman Cocopa *ventáan*, *mentáan*, and, with the Spanish article, *lavintáan*, *lamitáan*, *wa-lamitáan* (*wa* ‘house’), *lamintáan*.

VIERNES 'Friday': Keres Acoma *yéenisí*, Santa Ana *yéenasí*; O'odham *wiálos*; Tanoan Taos *mialnqsi* (Trager 1939:52), Tewa (New Mexico) *byéeneh*. For cognates from northwest Mexico, cf. Miller 1990a: 364, 1990b:243.

VINAGRE 'vinegar': O'odham *wináal*; Tanoan Taos *binàgre-'éne* (Trager 148).

VINO 'wine': Keres Acoma *wínuu*; O'odham *winui* 'whiskey'; Tanoan Jemez *véeni*; Yuman Cocopa *viin*.

VIRGEN 'the Virgin Mary': Tanoan Taos *mílxina* (Trager 146), Tewa (New Mexico) *bíheràh*.

XAMITL 'adobe', i.e., Nahuatl *šaamitl*, is not listed in Santamaría 1959, but occurs in one Southwest language: O'odham *šaamt*. It corresponds to Yaqui *sami* (Buelna 1890), Nevome *sami* (Pennington 1979), and to forms in many Mesoamerican languages (cf. Bright 1993:25), e.g., in Chiapas, to Tzotzil *šamit* (Laughlin 1975), and in Guatemala, to Quiché *šuan* (PLFM 1996). There is evidence that pre-Columbian borrowing may be involved in some languages (L. Campbell p.c.).

YEGUA 'mare': Apachean Mescalero *yéewa*, *yáawa* (Breuninger 129); Tanoan Taos *yàwo-'óna* (Trager 146), Tewa (New Mexico) *yewa* (Henderson and Harrington 30); Zuni *yeewa*.

ZARAGÜELLES 'breeches': O'odham *šáliw* 'trousers'. The historical lateral [ʎ] of this archaic Spanish term is also reflected in Pima Bajo *salwéer* (Escalante and Estrada 1993); Yaqui has *saaweam* (Johnson 1962), with a plural suffix and characteristic Yaqui loss of medial liquid.

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Languages and Sources

Apachean

Chiricahua	Hoijer 1939
Jicarilla	Mersol 1976 unless specified; Landar 1976; Vincenti 1981
Mescalero	Breuninger 1982 unless specified
Navajo	Young and Morgan 1992:1008–1010
Western	de Reuse 1996a unless specified; de Reuse 1996b; Greenfeld 1971; Greenfeld p.c.

Hopi

K. Hill 1998 unless specified; Seaman 1985 (Loans, pp. 564–565)

Keres

Acoma	Miller 1959 unless specified; otherwise Miller 1960
Cochiti	Miller 1960
Santa Ana	Davis 1964 unless specified; otherwise Davis p.c.; Miller 1960
San Felipe	Miller 1960
Santo Domingo	Miller 1960

Numic

Chemehuevi	Press 1979
Southern Paiute	Sapir 1931
Southern Ute	Givón 1979

O'odham (Pima/Papago)

Saxton et al. 1983 unless specified; Mathiot 1973; J. Hill p.c.

Tanoan

Jemez	Yumitani 1997
Sandia	Brandt 1970
Taos	Trager 1944 unless specified; Trager 1939 (Arizona) Kroskirty 1993:68
Tewa	(New Mexico) Dozier 1956 unless specified; Henderson and Harrington 1914; Robbins et al. 1916

Yuman

Cocopa	Crawford 1979
Havasupai	Hinton 1984; otherwise Spier 1946
Maricopa	Gordon 1991; otherwise Spier 1946
Mojave	Munro, Brown, and Crawford 1992
Tolkapaya	Munro and Fasthorse 1991
Walapai	Winter 1990 unless specified; Watahomigie et al. 1982; Barto 1980
Yavapai	Shaterian 1983

Zuni

Newman 1958

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