

Present work is dedicated to the 1548 Dominican *Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Española y Mexicana*, made for the purposes of Chrystianization of the Nahuas. It is one of the earliest printed religious sources in Nahuatl, definitely more extensive than other religious sources created in similar time. Two things particularly distinguish this source from the others. First of all, it contains very broad explanations of Christian faith, what allowed investigating, what arguments and what discourse the friars used in order to preach the Holy Word to the Nahuas. Secondly, the *Doctrina* is bilingual, the Nahuatl text was created as a translation of the Spanish one and both texts are published together, in corresponding columns. It made it possible to study, how the authors of the Nahuatl version of the text chose and in some cases created, the vocabulary necessary for translating the terminology describing the Christian concepts, how they used it and how the translation served the purposes of Chrystianization.

The purpose of my work was to study, on various levels, the complex process of creation of this source, to investigate its' discourse, language characteristics, and affiliations. The dissertation addresses the following questions:

- How Christian doctrine was preached to the Nahuas in the 1548 *Doctrina* and how did the authors of the text explain the meaning of crucial elements of Christian faith?
- What are the models and authors on which the Dominican friars based their sermons?
- In what way was Christian doctrine preached to the Nahuas in the 1548 *Doctrina* and how did the authors of the text explain the meaning of crucial elements of the Christian faith?
- What are the models and authors on which the Dominican friars based their sermons?
- What vocabulary is employed in order to name and describe all of the crucial concepts of Christian faith. And, consequently, how did this terminology serve the purposes of Christianization? Were the authors of the *Doctrina* aware of the semantic fields of the Nahuatl words they applied to the Christian context and did they use them consciously.
- Was this vocabulary part of a broader linguistic project in the middle of sixteenth-century and did it proliferate in later written sources?
- To what point does the language of the *Doctrina* reflect language change induced by cultural and linguistic contact between the Spaniards and the Nahuas? How does the linguistic characteristics of the text fit into the periodization of language contact, so far developed in Nahuatl studies?
- What are the indigenous features of the language of the text?
- What insights or conclusions regarding the authorship of the text can be made based on the analysis of its linguistic features? Can the degree of indigenous influence in the text be traced in the usage of the language?

The starting point of this study are methods developed by the school of New Philology, combined with theories from the field of contact linguistics. In the approach of the New Philology, the historical criticism of the source is combined with multilevel analysis of its' language: vocabulary, syntax, discourse and other linguistic features.

My attention in this work is focused on key concepts from the Christian doctrine, discussed by the authors of the *Doctrina Christiana*. These are God, Jesus Christ, Saint Mary, soul, angels, devils, heaven, hell, sin, sacraments, and glory. Each of this subjects is discussed in the separate chapter. Each chapter begins with the introduction, explaining the basic theological aspects of given concept in the Christian doctrine. Next, in order to explain a particular Christian notion a notion from the Nahua beliefs was used, I describe its' meaning in this culture. This approach allows establishing the difference between the actual semantic fields of the Nahuatl terms used for the purposes of Christianization and their intended meaning, ascribed to them once they were applied in the Christian discourse.

The discussion of each notion is conducted twofold. Firstly, I describe how they were presented and explained in the *Doctrina Christiana*. My main area of interest is what and how exactly the authors of this sources decided to say to the audience. When it's possible, I indicate, from what tradition or author (usually – from which Father of the Church) a particular belief is derived. I compare the content of the *Doctrina* with other religious sources in Nahuatl from the sixteenth century and later.

Secondly, in the linguistic part of each chapter I list all of the terms used in the *Doctrina Christiana* in order to name or describe the discussed concept. My analysis focuses on identifying how they were created, what kind of language contact phenomena they represent and how they resonate with a precontact conceptual framework. The comparative material consists of other religious texts created around a similar time, other religious and mundane texts. A linguistic analysis combined with a contextual and semantical analysis reveals how the new vocabulary was created, but also how it changed, was extended or simplified, which of the new concepts and terms became widespread/accepted in the language and how this process proceeded in time.

The comparison of the *Doctrina's* content with Franciscan catechisms created in approximately the same period (Molina's *Doctrina breve*, compiled two years before the Dominican catechism and fray Pedro de Gante's *Doctrina Christiana*, written five years after the Dominican catechism) revealed that the Dominican's approach to the question of

Christianization made their catechism significantly different from other texts of this genre, due to its lengthy and detailed explanations of every notion of Christian faith.

Furthermore, the analysis of the discourse reveals that the authors of the 1548 *Doctrina* were well aware of many elements of Christian faith that could be misinterpreted by the Nahuas. They tried to adjust their explanations in order to avoid being misunderstood.

Contrary to the popular opinion, it turned out that the friars could not have strongly relied on the materials used for the purposes of Christianization of moriscos in Spain of that time, nor on the ecclesiastical materials prepared in Spain for the Spanish audience. In their explanations, the authors of the *Doctrina Christiana* relied strongly on the works of Saint Augustin Saint Thomas Aquinas.

The corpus of Christian Nahuatl vocabulary in the 1548 *Doctrina* consists of a multitude of instances of meaning-change, loanwords, calques, as well as some neologisms. The presence of the Spanish “original”, which served as a model for the Nahuatl text, made it possible to understand how the authors of the translation used the lexicon and syntactic strategies in order to translate the text almost “word by word”. Thus, I have been able to show that the authors of the 1548 *Doctrina* stand out with respect to other authors because of their great concern of how the wording would be understood by the Nahuas. I have also concluded that they must have had a very high level of understanding of semantic fields associated with the Nahuatl vocabulary employed in the *Doctrina*. Equipped with the knowledge of precontact meanings and connotations, they also created lexical calques, experimenting with existing terms in order to make the nature of particular Christian notions more understandable for the Nahuas. When they realized that a word may be not fully understandable, they provided an additional explanation of its meaning and clarified the difference between the Nahua and Christian worldviews. The whole *Doctrina* reveals a very deep understanding of these cultural differences.

The study concludes with a chapter regarding the general characteristics of the language of the *Doctrina's* Nahuatl text. It describes both the degree to which the Spanish influenced Nahuatl in this source and what in the Nahuatl text can be considered an indigenous feature, unaffected by contact. The analysis of the language of the *Doctrina* allowed to demonstrate, how the necessity of the faithful translation forced on its' authors the necessity to experiment with the Nahuatl syntax and introduce linguistic innovations. The appearance of this changes in the *Doctrina* precludes their attestations in mundane sources for about twenty years.

The study conducted for the purposes of this work demonstrated, that the periodization of the language contact phenomena, widely accepted in the Nahuatl studies, proposed by James

Lockhart and Frances Karttunen on the basis of the mundane sources, does not correspond with when these changes appear in the religious sources.

In addition to many innovations, there are many indigenous features in the language of the *Doctrina*, both in its lexis (when the author relied on the precontact semantic fields of the terms) and syntax. A deep understanding of precontact Nahuatl and its very conscious use has led me to propose that native speakers of Nahuatl were actively involved in the process of the creation of this text. The cooperation of indigenous aids or even co-authors of ecclesiastical texts produced in New Spain was presumed by the scholars, but it has not been not clearly proven. The analysis of indigenous features of the text of the *Doctrina* provides a strong argument in favor of this hypothesis.