

Chapter 10

Diversification, attrition and residual variants

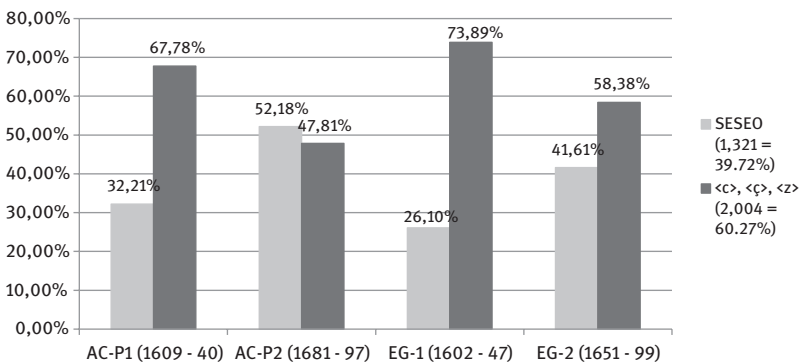
10.1 Attrition-focused variants

The diversification of New World Spanish is the result of a successful transplantation of peninsular Spanish into the American continent. Not all transplants survive the conditions of new soil and weather, and some trees may die due to improper removal of the roots and installation. This is not the case of New World Spanish for the shock of the transplant did not destroy the deep roots of the language tree that grew and blossomed in the new ground. The peninsular variety transplanted into the New World was already in transition from medieval polymorphism to pre-modern Spanish, and for this reason the inventory of available variants was lavish. The attrition of contending variants in the milieu of diversification reflects the decline of those that acquired a social meaning identified with peninsular-oriented attitudes. The coexistence of miscellaneous forms for identical functions within the same community of speakers is not cost-effective; in the New World environment the various contending variants were reduced to one in most cases, or to a dyad. In order to examine the rates of attrition, four focused variants were selected from Mexican colonial documents (see 1 through 4 below). The transplanted variants from Spain were altered by means of erosion, simplification, and elimination. The processes of change were successful in reducing the assortment of sibilant variants, the pronominal system, the pronouns of address, and the endings with subjunctive meaning in the following manner:

(1) The four sibilants represented by the graphemes <s>, <ss>, <ç> and <z> gradually merged into one in the general pronunciation of New World Spanish. After the language reforms of the 19th century, the one-single sibilant pronunciation or Seseo-P has been accepted in all speech styles and registers in all domains of interaction. There is no evidence of emulation of northern-central peninsular Spanish distinguishing in speech the subtle acoustic difference between /s/ and /θ/. This merger caused nonetheless a major crisis in the writing practices of speakers of all ages who for diverse reasons did not complete tertiary education. Sibilant distinction in writing may be restricted to individuals with solid and continuous formal training in colleges and universities.

The analysis of *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España. Altiplano Central* (1994) and *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España. Golfo de México* (2008) shows that in the 16th century the four sibilants were used like in the northern-central peninsular varieties, and that the trends of Seseo-W were rather moderate. Moreover, from the documents examined it is gleaned that Seseo-W

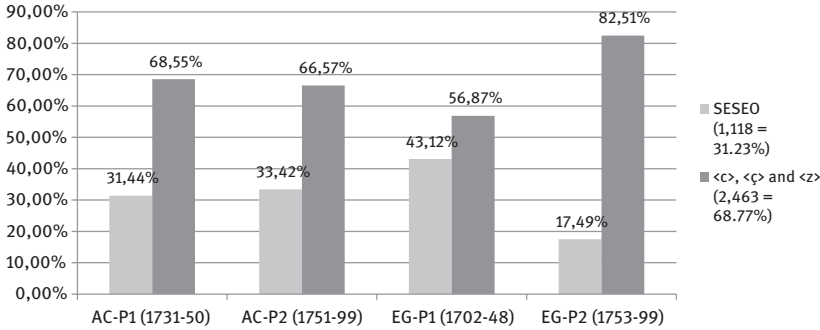
did not become a regular pattern until the following century. Graphs 10.1 and 10.2 show the rates of Seseo-W vis-à-vis traditional variants in the 17th and 18th centuries when writers used more frequently the grapheme <s> instead of the graphemes <c>, <ç> and <z>. High rates of spelling errors are found in the second half of the 17th century in both regions and also in the first half of the 18th century in the Gulf region. This means that a good proportion of all writers in both centuries had lost awareness of traditional norms, most likely because there were fewer first-generation speakers in bureaucratic positions, and at the same time, a good number of Spanish speakers who were born and raised in New Spain had not yet learned the writing rules *in toto*. This explains why other variants were used, e.g. <c> in lieu of <s>, as in for instance *precensia* (in lieu of *presencia*). Notwithstanding, when all the tokens of Seseo-W and all the items of traditional spelling are calculated and comparisons drawn for the 17th and 18th century documents, the latter practice prevailed in all periods, except in the last two decades of the 17th century in the Central Highlands (see Graph 10.1).



Graph 10.1: Summary of sibilant graphemes: 17th century

In the 18th century, traditional graphemes prevailed in all four periods in the two regions. This may have to do with the socio-cultural background of the writers working in key positions within the bureaucracy of New Spain. A major difference stands out in the Gulf between Period I and Period II when irregular or “incorrect” *seseo* or Seseo-W appeared at 43.12 percent in the former and 17.5 percent in the latter. The highest rate of traditional graphemes <c> and <z> appears in the second part of the 18th century, a trend strikingly similar to that observed in the first two decades of the 19th century. The second part of the 18th century and the first two decades of the 19th century may be considered the pre-independent period when Spanish speakers born in New Spain were thinking of severing themselves from

Spanish speakers residing in the metropolis. These results lead to believe that there was a cadre of highly educated individuals who was not enjoying the privileges afforded to their stratum.



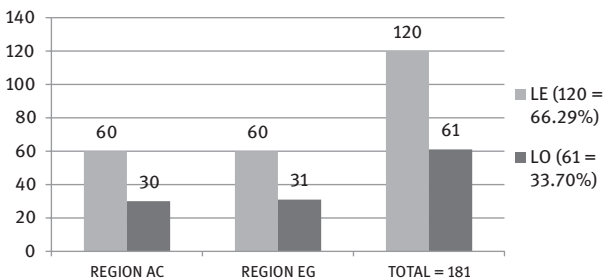
Graph 10.2: Summary of sibilant graphemes: 18th century

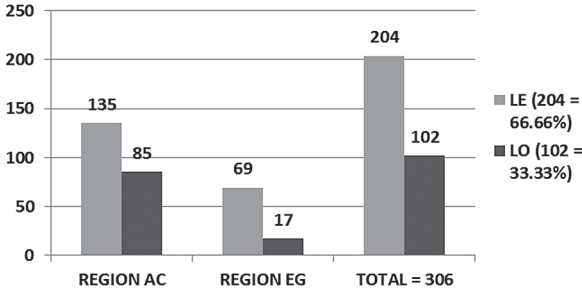
Furthermore, Table 10.1 shows the rates of *seseo* in the first two decades of the 19th century. By then, the grapheme <ç> had disappeared altogether, and the writers followed for the most part the rules of modern Spanish with a small percent of “spelling errors”. The most common spelling error was then, like today, the use of <s> where the graphemes <c> and <z> are supposed to be used, for instance, *alcansaron*, *comensó*, *conosco*, *paresco*, *hiso*, *afiansar* in lieu of *alcanzaron*, *comenzó*, *conozco*, *parezco*, *hizo*, *afianzar*. Occasionally, the opposite practice can occur, when the grapheme <c> is used instead of the grapheme <s>, as in *demaciado* (in lieu of *demasiado*). In these decades, the sibilant system was complete and stabilized, and no changes in spelling rules have been made after the movement of Independence (1810-1821). In the short period of the 19th century for which data have been gathered, writers show an exceptional rate of correct spellings most likely because they had a solid foundation in normative Spanish. Nevertheless, the spelling errors observed in the colonial period have been perpetuated for two centuries in all the independent nations of the Spanish-speaking world, and are in turn related to the illiteracy rates prevailing in each country. In the middle decades of the 20th century, for example, they ranged from a low of 8-9 percent in Argentina and Uruguay to a high 51 and 62 percent in Honduras and Guatemala, respectively (Padua 1979: 6).

Table 10.1: Summary of sibilant graphemes: 19th century

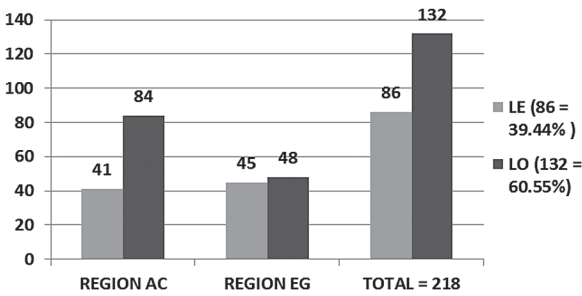
Region	Seseo-W	<c>, <z>
Altiplano C. 1800-1816	126 / 819 (15.38 %)	693 / 819 (93.63 %)
El Golfo 1802-1821	68 / 399 (17.04 %)	331 / 399 (82.95 %)
Totals = 1,218	194 (15.92 %)	1,024 (84.07 %)

(2) Towards the end of the colony, the use of the clitic pronouns LE and LO was also mature and complete in New Spain. Graphs 10.3 through 10.6 show the distribution of the two variants in the 16th century, when the clitic pronoun LE, representative of northern-central peninsular varieties, was used in New Spain two-thirds of the time (66.29%) in both regions, a rate which remained stable in the 17th century. This coincides with the Golden Age period when professional New Spanish writers found inspiration in peninsular models of poetry and drama. A sharp contrast transpired in the following century when the use of LE declined to less than 40 percent, that is, the trend of the 18th century was exactly the opposite of that observed in previous centuries, and became the pattern in the following centuries.

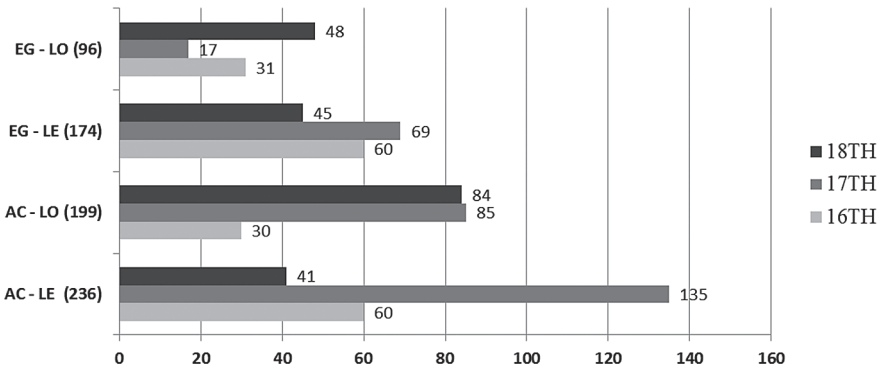
**Graph 10.3:** LE and LO in the 16th century



Graph 10.4: LE and LO in the 17th century



Graph 10.5: LE and LO in the 18th century



Graph 10.6: LE and LO in the colony: Central Highlands and the Gulf (raw figures)

In the pre-independent period (the first two decades of the 19th century), LE appears only 12 times in the Gulf region (see Table 10.2); three of those are used with the verb *saludar* ('to greet' or 'to say hello'), which is like today interpreted

as an intransitive verb. The results show that the use of LO was also settled with an average of almost 80 percent in both regions. The use of LO is stable in modern varieties of Mexican Spanish, and only few instances of LE have survived. Moreover, the variations that ensued in northern-central peninsular Spanish known as *laísmo* and *loísmo* do appear in some colonial documents but did not have continuity in New Spain because they were competing with pro-etymological LO and because their frequency was limited (see section 10.8 for discussion).

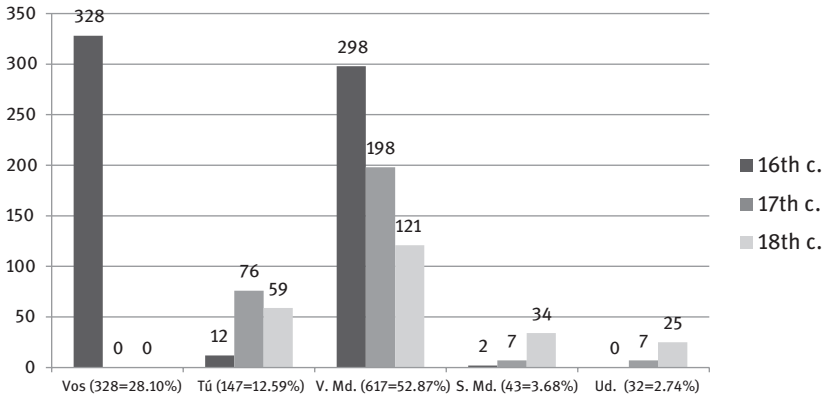
Table 10.2: LE and LO in the 19th century

Region	LE	LO
Altiplano C.	16 / 67 (23.88 %)	51 / 67 (76.11 %)
El Golfo	12 / 66 (18.18 %)	54 / 66 (81.81 %)
Total = 133	28 (21.05 %)	105 (78.94 %)

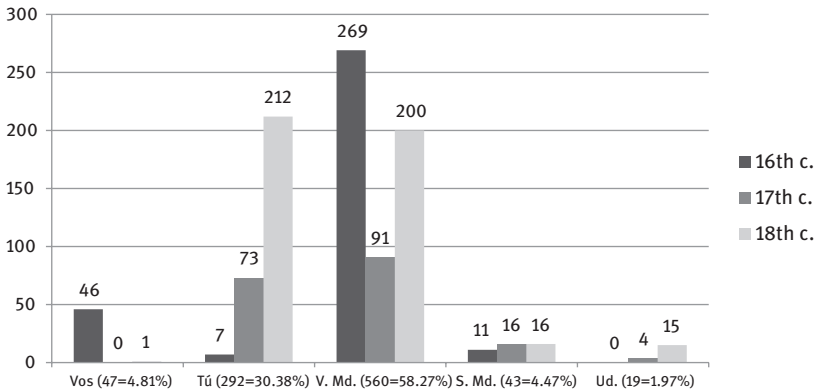
(3) In most Central and South American regions and/or nations, the pronoun *vos* is used with singular meaning as a subject and object of preposition, but was infrequent in the Mexican regions. The *voseo* branch is still growing in various New World regions with different verb paradigms that do not correspond entirely to the old forms derived from medieval Spanish. The only Mexican region in which researchers have reported a bud of the *voseo* branch is Chiapas. The medieval Spanish tree branch in which long verb paradigms such as *apartasedes* and *enviasedes* appeared did not survive at all. These forms were used as in Spain with the pronouns *vos* (singular) and were replaced by modern diphthongized forms such as *apartaseis* and *enviaseis* in northern-central Spain. Eventually, due to semantic ambiguity both forms disappeared in the new soil.

In the Central Highlands, the total tokens in the three centuries examined amounts to 1,167 subdivided in five categories. Representing the informal registers, *vos* was frequent in the 16th century, but declined abruptly to give way to the pronoun *tú*, which showed a modest increase in the following century. In this region, *vuestra merced* appeared in more than 52 percent of all the occurrences, while *su merced* and *Usted* were still incipient (see Graph 10.7). The tokens of the five pronouns totaled 961 in the Gulf region, where the pronouns *vos* and *tú* were uncommon due to the official nature of the documents of the first part of the 16th century. It is clear that the prevailing form of address in the colonial prose was *vuestra merced*, while all the other pronouns competed disadvantageously with it

(see Graph 10.8). The difference between regions may be due to the type of document found and the demographic density of the writers representing diverse backgrounds in the early decades of the colonial period. Notwithstanding the differences, the common denominator in both regions is the use of *vuestra merced* (*v.md.*) and the modest increment of *su merced* (*s. md.*), which had appeared a few times in the 16th century. In contrast, in the 17th and 18th centuries, *su merced* (*s. md.*) and *Usted* (*U*) were used more frequently, but did not compete with the frequencies attained by *vuestra merced* (*v. md.*). In order to validate the hypothesis that *voseo* was not used in New Spain on a regular basis, all subject pronouns were counted with the corresponding verb forms and objects of prepositions. Data show that the personal pronoun *vos* had virtually disappeared at the onset of the 16th century, and that the instances of mixed pronouns were extremely low (see section 10.8).



Graph 10.7: Pronouns of address in the Central Highlands by century



Graph 10.8: Pronouns of address in the Gulf by century

A variety of pronouns of address was still used in the first two decades of the 19th century. Table 10.3 shows *Usted* and *tú* ahead of the other pronouns while *vuestra merced* was still used and occasionally mixed with *Usted*. The other forms of address, *vos* and *su merced*, survived at low rates while the innovation *Usía* (< *Vuestra señoría*) appeared in the Gulf but not in the Central Highlands; in this region, subjects preferred *vuestra señoría* or *Ilustrísima* when they had to address a judge or a higher authority. All subject pronouns correspond to the paradigmatic verb forms. In the Gulf, the personal pronoun *vos* survived in formulaic interrogatories before the tribunals, a trend opposed to the extremely informal use of *vos* in the Central Highlands. The polarized functions of *vos* seemed to have contributed to its disappearance in Mexico. Finally, the most frequent pronouns in the preindependent period were *tú* and *Usted*, a dyad that established the usage patterns for the rest of the 1800's to the present. The alternating forms of address *tú* and *Usted* prevailed in Mexico and other New World regions, mostly along coastal areas, where *voseo* and honorifics such as *su merced* are not too commonly used. The pronominal system of modernizing New World Spanish was simplified, and in the end, it functioned with only two pronouns in singular and the corresponding plural *Ustedes* for all domains (see Table 10.4). In conclusion, in the realm of pronouns of address, the polymorphism of late medieval Spanish was transmitted *in toto* to Spain's favorite colony, but the semantic complexity in different domains was conducive to its own simplification to the extent that at present one slot is duplicated in the Latin American Spanish dyad.

Table 10.3: Pronouns of address in the Central Highlands and the Gulf: 19th century

Region	Vos	Tú	V. Md.	S. Md.	Ud.	Usía	V.S./ I.
Altiplano C.	4	56	14	4	52	0	35
Total = 165	(2.38 %)	(33.93 %)	(8.48 %)	(2.38 %)	(31.51 %)	(0 %)	(21.21 %)
El Golfo	12	21	0	0	21	4	0
Total = 58	(20.68 %)	(36.20 %)	(0 %)	(0 %)	(36.20 %)	(6.89 %)	(0 %)
Totals = 223	16	77	14	4	73	4	35
	(7.17 %)	(34.53 %)	(6.27 %)	(1.79 %)	(32.73 %)	(1.79 %)	(15.69 %)

Table 10.4: Pronouns of address in Spain and Latin America: 21st c.

Region	Northern-Central Spain		New World	
Number	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Informal	Tú	Vosotros /-as	Tú	Ustedes
Formal	Usted	Ustedes	Usted	Ustedes

(4) The contending imperfect subjunctive forms –SE and –RA survived in the New World with an eventual preference for –RA, which was used in colonial documents less frequently, as in (a) and (b). In each case, the –RA form can be replaced with the –SE form and vice versa in (c).

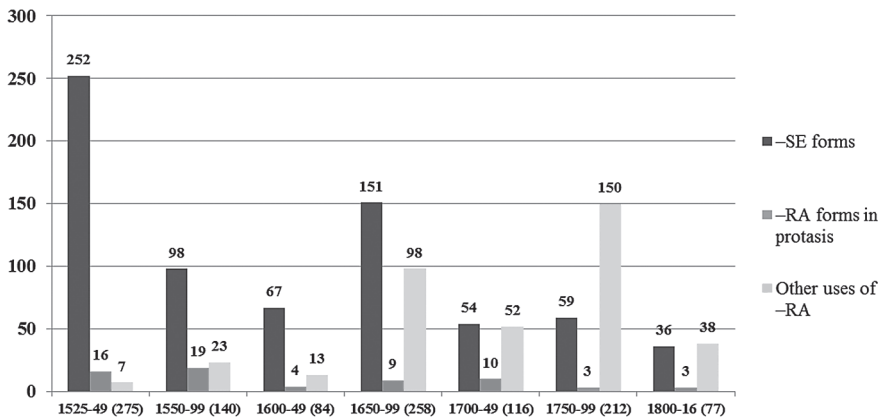
- (a) [Ella] le dio limosna al dicho confessor para que le *dixera* las misas (AC 121, 1634: 336)
- (b) para proceder contra la mulata era menester que *dieran* pruebas (AC 132, 1682: 352)
- (c) El señor licenciado me embió a mandar que le *dexase* yr sobre Juan Rodrigo (EG 15, 1542: 69)

In SI-clauses, the –RA form in both the protasis (conditional) and the apodosis (resulting clause) appears in modern popular Spanish in the same contexts used in colonial documents, which seems to indicate that –RA has maintained its ancestral indicative meaning. This combination is spontaneously generated in popular varieties of modern Mexican Spanish. The resulting clause in sentences (a), (b) and (c) appears with the conditional –RÍA in normative Spanish.

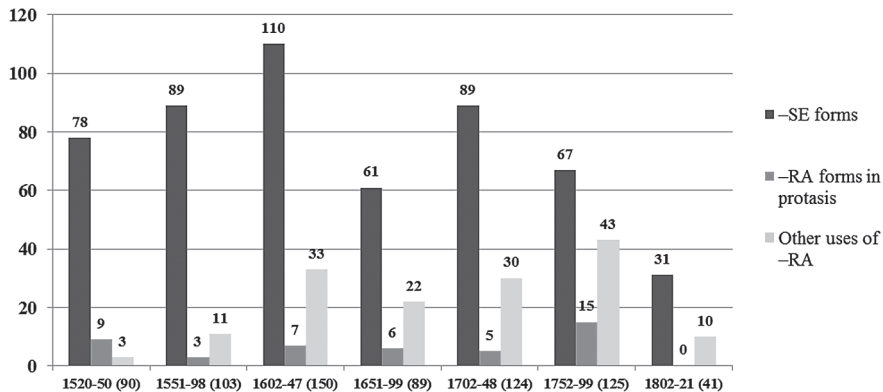
- (a) si *fuera* posible luego dexar los negoçios y yrme, lo *hiciera* (AC 33, 1568: 154)
[If I could drop all the businesses right away and leave, I would do it]
- (b) Si tú *buscaras* trabajo, luego luego lo *encontraras*
[If you looked for a job, you would find it right away]
- (c) si no *fuéramos* ayudados del favor y consolación divina, creo nuestro trabajo totalmente se *perdiera* (EG 20, 1559: 79)
[if we were not helped by divine mercy and consolation, our work would be completely lost]

The data drawn from colonial documents show that the alternation between –SE and –RA throughout the centuries is extremely variable. In the Central Highlands, the endings in –SE fluctuate from an all-time high (92%) in the first half of the 16th century to a bottom low of 28% in the second half of the 18th century. Graphs 10.9 and 10.10 show the progressive changes in seven periods and the recuperation of –SE in the first few decades of the pre-independent period (see also Tables 10.5 and 10.6). When all seven colonial periods are seen together in Graphs 10.11 and 10.12, the regression of –SE is glaring in the Central Highlands, while its decrease in the Gulf is not as sharp. However, the two regions are similar in that the –SE form was restored in the two decades preceding the movement of Independence, when the variant –SE regained its frequency. The hypothesis that the variant –SE was the last one to be replaced from the inventory of peninsular variants is corroborated with the 19th language data in both regions. By the end of the independent period, the variant –SE had become a social marker of Span-

iardness, and its decline must have been associated with the political upheaval that distinguished Spanish speakers born in Spain from those born in the New World. The wars of Independence resulted in the creation of a number of independent nations identified as Spanish-speaking Latin America.



Graph 10.9: Summary: Uses of -SE and -RA in the Central Highlands by period



Graph 10.10: Summary: Uses of -SE and -RA in the Gulf by period

Table 10.5: Summary: Uses of –SE and –RA in the Central Highlands by period

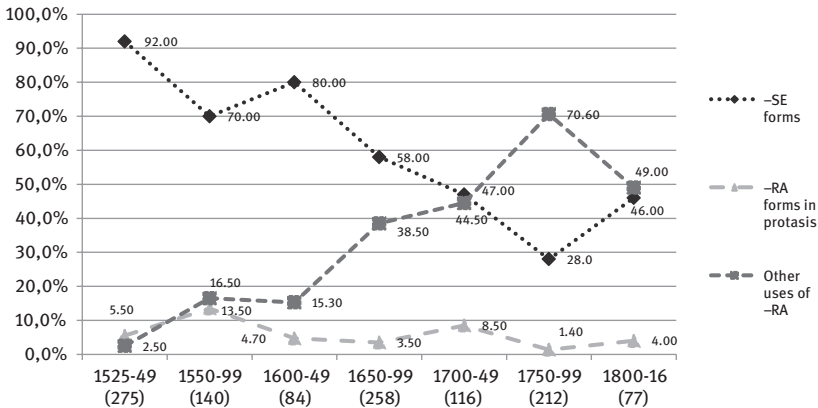
Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1525-1549	92% / 252	5.5% / 16	2.5% / 7	275
1550-1599	70% / 98	13.5% / 19	16.5% / 23	140
1600-1649	80% / 67	4.7% / 4	15.3% / 13	84
1650-1699	58% / 151	3.5% / 9	38.5% / 98	258
1700-1749	47% / 54	8.5% / 10	44.5% / 52	116
1750-1799	28% / 59	1.4% / 3	70.6% / 150	212
1800-1816	46% / 36	4.0% / 3	49.0% / 38	77

Source: Acevedo (1997: 108)

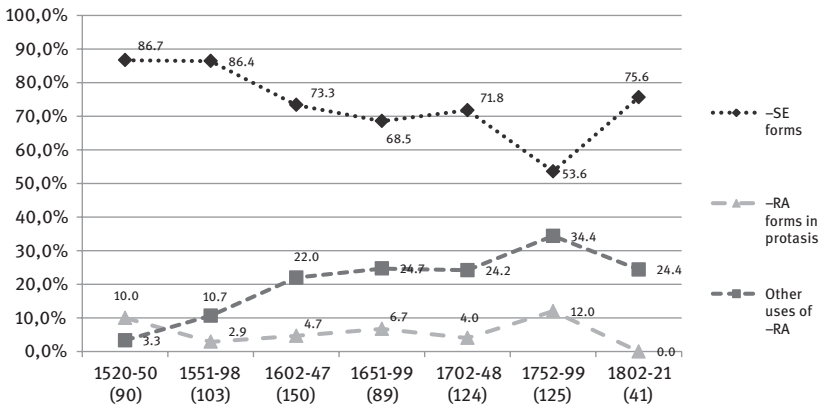
Table 10.6: Summary: Uses of –SE and –RA in the Gulf by period

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1520-1550	86.66% / 78	10.00% / 9	3.33% / 3	90
1551-1598	86.40% / 89	2.91% / 3	10.67% / 11	103
1602-1647	73.33% / 110	4.66% / 7	22.0% / 33	150
1651-1699	68.53% / 61	6.74% / 6	24.71% / 22	89
1702-1748	71.77% / 89	4.03% / 5	24.19% / 30	124
1752-1799	53.60% / 67	12.00% / 15	34.4% / 43	125
1802-1821	75.60% / 31	0% / 0	24.39% / 10	41

The variations in Graph 10.11 (derived from Table 10.5) show the progressive decline and recovery periods of –SE in the Central Highlands reaching a bottom low in the second half of the 18th century and a sudden upswing in the 19th century. Both forms reached the same frequency during the first half of the 18th century only to show a drastic divergence in the next period. This may have to do with the massive presence of speakers / writers born and raised in New Spain (*criollos* and *mestizos*). In contrast, the data shown in Graph 10.12 (derived from Table 10.6) indicate that in the Gulf there might have been a more pronounced separation of writers. The –SE writers were probably those with cultural roots in Spain (either by birthplace or because they were raised in all-Spanish speaking families), while the –RA users may have been locals. In this region the decline of –SE occurred in the second half of the 18th century, but it is not as sharp and does not converge in any period with the rise of –RA in other subjunctive contexts. Moreover, the emerging trends of –RA in the protasis and other uses of –RA seem to have grown together.



Graph 10.11: Uses of -SE and -RA in the Central Highlands by period in percentages



Graph 10.12: Uses of -SE and -RA in the Gulf by period in percentages

10.2 Optimal residual variants

Optimal residual variants are those that appeared in the colonial sources and that are still used by a vast majority of speakers mostly in colloquial registers. The earliest source of residual variants is the *Second Letter* (1522) by Hernán Cortés, where the following items appear: the derivative diminutive of the adverb *cerquita* ('very close'), the noun *alberca* ('pond') instead of the modern *piscina* ('swimming pool'), *maleta* (< Old French *malete*) with the original meaning of 'travel sack' in lieu of the more widespread *valija*. All of them are vital at present across regions

and socio-economic strata. Idiomatic expressions, the indirect speech marker *dizque* or *diz que* ('they say that'), common phrases, nouns, adjectives, and verbs belonging to the colloquial register have their roots in the colonial period and have passed the test of time. In the subsample below, items appear with the original source, year, page, and translation.

- (a) Sobre cada *alberca* y estanques destas aues auia sus corredores y miradores (*Segunda Carta* 1522: 30)
[In the birds' *ponds* and basins there were navigable waterways and watch-towers]
- (b) Hize aquella noche que los heridos y dolientes que lleuauamos a las anchas de los cauallos y acuestas hiziessen *maletas* y otras maneras de ayuda (*Second Letter* 1522: 45)
[That night I ordered that all those who were badly wounded and those that we were taking on our backs be ready to prepare their *travel sacks* and some other useful things]
- (c) levantaronse çiertos yndios en la provnçia de Guaxaca, *diz que* con acuerdo del dicho Pedro de Alvarado (AC 3, 1526: 51)
[*they are saying that* some Indians rioted with the complicity of Pedro de Alvarado]
- (d) *diz que* escrivjo al dicho Proaño para que le rrevocase el poder (...) y *diz que* enbjó a Geronjmo Lopes (AC 4, 1526: 61)
[he *presumably* wrote to said Proaño to get the power revoked (...) and *presumably* he sent Geronimo Lopes]
- (e) porque el presidente le favoreçiese, le hizo *de balde* muchas obras (AC 8, 1529: 88)
[because he wanted the favors of the President, he did a lot of work *for free*]
- (f) *Quien quita* que no tengan deseo de verse como en su prinçipio (AC 16, 1534: 107)
[*Who may say* that they won't have the desire to see one another like in the beginning]
- (g) adonde trabajé mucho, por ser las más agras tierras del mundo, y adonde *heché el bofe a pie* (EG 12, 1540: 61)
[where I worked a lot, as they were the most arid lands of the world, and where *I was sweating and walking*]
- (h) havjan de ser hombres que aca *havjan hechado el bofe* por estos miserable naturales (AC 26, 1555: 136-7)
[those must have been the men who *were sweating and walking* for the sake of the poor native people]
- (i) creo lo hara porques hombre que lo suele haçer y *muy de beras* (AC 33, 1568: 153)

- [I think he'll do it because he is the kind of guy who *honestly* does it often on his own]
- (j) Luisa de Gallegos, *acuitándose y llorando*, dijo... [Luisa de Gallegos, all *depressed* and crying, said...] (AC 55, 1576: 199)
- (k) vuestra magestat (...) mande y encargue muy *de veras* a su visorrey (AC 68, 1578: 217)
[I wish His majesty will order and *honestly* delegate onto his viceroy]
- (l) le dan todo lo que pide *de balde* (EG 59, 1621:192) [He gets everything he wants *for free*]
- (m) era un *conchudo* y miserable [he was a *cynic* and mean] (EG 89, 1675: 275)
- (n) no vio lo que pasó porque *luego luego* se salió (EG 103, 1691: 306)
[he did not see what had happened because he *immediately* left]
- (o) tenia bendido un coche y *conchabado* ya para entregarlo aqui (AC 162, 1691: 423)
[he had sold a carriage and had *arranged* the delivery over here]
- (p) con tantos ruegos a todos y asta su padre de vd. y a la *gachupina* (AC 147, 1689: 382)
[I was begging everyone I knew, and even to your father, and to the *Spanish woman*]
- (q) un indio ladino en *castilla* (AC 171, 1694: 451) [Indian fluent in *Spanish*]
- (r) el Padre Figueroa, religioso de la Compañía de Jesus, que llaman el *gachupin* (AC 176, 1697: 463)
[Father Figueroa, minister of the Company of Jesus, who is known as the *Spaniard*]
- (s) como assiendo burla y *chacota* (EG 107, 1703: 319)
[just like making fun of and *mocking someone*]
- (t) que *luego luego*, pasados ocho días, se sintió accidentado de dolores (EG 120, 1723: 350)
[and *immediately* after eight days, he felt the torment of pain]
- (u) *Y luego luego* se apareció en un cavallo el dicho Juan de Herrera (EG 122, 1724: 358)
[And *immediately* said Juan de Herrera showed up on his horse]
- (v) dixo que era para saver de un *gachupin* llamado don Francisco de Soto (AC 215, 1744: 530)
[he said he wanted to hear from a *Spaniard* known as don Francisco de Soto]
- (w) yndio, *baquero* de la dicha estancia (EG 137, 1746: 390)
[Indian, *cowboy* working in said small hacienda]
- (x) le venía a dar la notizia de una conbenienzia con un *gachupin* (AC 230, 1748: 563-4)
[he was coming to give him the news about a good deal with a *Spaniard*]

- (y) y *luego luego* oyo una vos (AC 245, 1772: 595) [and *immediately* he heard a voice]
- (z) aier te soñé a la siesta y *luego luego*, ya sabes, me sucedió (EG155, 1778: 441) [yesterday while napping, I dreamt of you and *immediately*, you know, it happened to me]
- (aa) a bien tengo con quien *chiquearme* (EG 154, 1778: 438) [I have someone who *spoils me*]
- (bb) así empeña la vergüenza para conmigo, y no *le saques* (EG 155, 1778: 441) [don't feel too bad, and *don't chicken out*]

10.2.1 The prepositions PARA and PA

The preposition PARA and its reduced form PA appear today in the same contexts that appeared since the times of the *Second Letter* (1522) by Hernán Cortés and the correspondence of Rodrigo de Albornoz with the king of Spain (AC 1, 1525). The first bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga (1468-1548), author of Doc. AC 7 (1529) had a strong preference for the preposition PARA while his contemporaries mixed PARA and PA or used only PA. Zumárraga's usage is considered today the standard practice in the formal written registers, whereas alternating between the full form and the reduced form is common in rapid speech in both Spain and Latin American Spanish varieties regardless of the topic and the socio-educational background of the interlocutors. At present, the contexts in which PARA may be reduced to PA are identical to those found in the colonial sources: (1) with the meaning of direction as in (a) and the second part of (b); (2) with the connector *que*, as in (c), (g), (i), (k) and (m) through (p); and (3) before an infinitive or a noun, as in (d)-(f), (h) and (l).

- (a) E visto lo que el dicho capitan me fizo saber, a la hora me parti *pa* la dicha villa (*Second Letter*, 1522: 2)
- (b) hacen panes de la dicha sal que venden *pa* los naturales y *pa* fuera de la comarca (*Second Letter*, 1522: 17)
- (c) se enbía a esta Nueva España *pa que* aca los oficiales de vuestra majestad tengan cuidado de lo hazer cunplir (AC 1, 1525: 28)
- (d) es la tierra más aparejada *pa servir* a Dios y sacar fructo (AC 1 1525: 37)
- (e) ellos ternian mucho lugar y aparejo *para hinchir* su cobdiçia (AC 7, 1529: 76)
- (f) no se ha visto que aya tenido descuydo en cosa que les toque *para* su interese y provecho (AC 7, 1529: 77)
- (g) dizque han embiado muchas mercaderias del president e oydores a Mechucan *para que* las venda a los mjneros (AC 7, 1529: 81)

- (h) Estando *para partirme* a besar las manos de vuestra magestad (AC 12, 1532: 95)
- (i) *pa que* todos los bassallos de vuestra majestad que en estas partes bibimos le ynportunemos (AC 13, 1532: 99)
- (j) *pa* la buena orden y serviçio del culto divino (AC 14, 1532: 101)
- (k) *para que* a vuestra magestad suplique (AC 14, 1532: 101)
- (l) Es tanto su trabajo y tan de doler, que aun *pa adereçar* o remendar sus cosas no tienen tiempo ni *pa hazer* su sementera (AC 15, 1533: 102)
- (m) Vuestra majestad me hizo merçed de me dar una çedula *pa que* el presidente e oydores (...) diesen mj repartimjento de yndios (AC 16, 1534: 108)
- (n) no tengo *pa qué* nj por qué, mas de hazer sabidor (...) (AC 17, 1535: 110)
- (o) *pa que* diesen frayles que fuesen a la provincia de la Nueva España (AC 28, 1562: 141)
- (p) *pa que* esto çese, y todo agrabio y daño se escusen a vuestros basallos (AC 65, 1577: 214)

In modern Spanish the reduced form *pa* appears frequently with the adverbs *aquí*, *allá*, *arriba*, *abajo* and with the connector *que*. In examples (a) through (c) the independent lexical items are reduced phonologically and further reanalyzed as a single word.

- (a) voy *pa'quí* y *pa' allá* [I go from here to there]
- (b) me traen *pa'rriba* y *pa' bajo* [they make me go up and down]
- (c) lo digo *pa' que* lo sepas [I say it so that you know it]

10.2.2 Dissolution of hiatus

The tendency to dissolve the hiatus of the adverb *ahí* ('there') has created a diphthongized form 'ay', which is confused with the homophonous *hay* ('there is' or 'there are'), as in sentences (a) and (b), which can be spontaneously generated in modern Spanish with different meanings. At present the dissolution of the hiatus is general in informal registers of Mexican Spanish. The form of the verb *traer* appears too in item (c).

- (a) Ay [ahí] ba con estas cartas mias [y] una de mi compañero (AC 44, 1574: 177-8)
[There he goes with my letters (and) some that belong to my buddy]
- (b) no ai [hay] pa qué tratar mas de ello (AC 32, 1567: 154)
[there is no need to deal with this any longer]
- (c) Calderon me dio la palabra que *trayria* [traería] a Diagito (AC 71, 1578: 222)
[Calderon promised me that he would bring Diagito]

10.2.3 Addition of *-s* in the preterit

Residual variants may gravitate from normative to colloquial registers. The addition of *-s* to the 2nd person preterit indicative is frequent and widespread across varieties of both peninsular and modern Latin American Spanish, and may have originated from an overlap of the verb paradigms corresponding to pronouns *tú* and *vos*, as in items (a) through (e). This occurrence appears in 16th century colonial sources and has been perpetuated all over the Spanish-speaking world, including urban peninsular varieties.

- (a) *pensastes* [pensasteis], *malbaratastes* [malbaratasteis], *pudistes* [pudisteis] (AC 43, 1574: 175)
- (b) si *recebistes* [recibisteis] cinquenta pesos de Alonso Peres (AC 50, 1575: 191)
- (c) ¿cómo no *hicistes* [hicisteis] lo que esta mañana os mandó Luis? (EG 37, 1585: 128)
- (d) le dijo esta declarante: “¿qué fue lo que *oýstes* [oísteis]?” (EG 88, 1675: 273)
- (e) no me olvido de lo que me *pedistes* [pediste] y te prometí (EG 156, 1778: 443)

10.2.4 Duplicate possessives

Duplicate possessives were transmitted from Spain to New Spain and for centuries have remained mostly in the Central Highlands where these noun phrases have become a distinctive component of the regional koine. This construction can be traced to the origins of Castilian in the 13th century and has been documented since the late 15th century. The possessed entity is mostly [+ human] and in the vast majority of cases it involves a [+ human] possessor (Company Company 1994a). The low frequency of duplicate possessives has limited the area of diffusion to the extent that they are unknown in subregions far away from the Central Highlands, where speakers can even use triple possessives as in (h).

- (a) *su hermano de Delgadillo* (AC 7, 1529: 84)
- (b) en las fiestas del casamiento de *su hijo del visorrey* (AC 23, 1543: 123)
- (c) *Doña Isabel Rodríguez de Andrada su hija de Francisca Nunez de Carbajal* (*El Abecedario*, 1590)
- (d) llegó el clerigo de estas minas de esta ciudad con *su carta de v.md.* (AC 98, 1629: 284)
- (e) Esto declarará *su madre della* que bibe en casa... (AC 108, 1630: 307)
- (f) y por fin de todo responde *su padre de Vd.* (AC 147, 1689: 382)
- (g) fue *su mamá de la niña* la que contó la historia (modern Mexico City)
- (i) con el sudor de *su frente de uno* (modern Mexico City)
- (h) *su amiga suya de usted* (modern Mexico City)

10.2.5 Amerindian loans

Nahuatl loans with different degrees of vitality are herein considered optimal residual variants. Some of them were supplanted by Taino loans, e.g. the noun *caçonçi* (< Nahuatl) was replaced by the more widespread noun *cacique* (< Taino), but most of the oldest Nahuatl borrowings documented in Molina's *Vocabulario* (1555) are still a major component of the daily lexicon of Mexican Spanish: e.g. *aguacate* ('avocado'), *atole* ('corn drink'), *cacao* ('cacao') *camote* ('sweet potato'), *comal* ('cooking grill'), *chía* ('savila seed'), *chile* ('hot pepper'), *jacal* ('adobe hut'), *mecate* ('string'), *metate* ('grinding stone'), *mitote* ('loud dance'), *petaca* ('hamper'), *pinole* ('corn and chia drink'), *tamal* ('corn bread'), *tomate* ('tomato'), etc. As attested in the sources of the following century, a total of 75 loans had vital continuity in the 17th century and on to the extent that they were documented in the 20th century along the 1-to-6 scale, i.e. from generally known to almost unknown (Mejías 1980: Table 2)

10.3 Residual variants belonging to the vernacular realm

Variants derived from colonial Spanish that have remained in popular varieties of Mexican Spanish may be considered residuals forms with varying degrees of vitality. The data from Cortesian texts shed light on features that stand out because they have been redistributed along the wide spectrum of popular use or rural domains of the Spanish-speaking world, and are still used today. Modern standards have replaced the non-standardized forms in normative styles, but residual variants have not disappeared. Features that seemed to be common in both Spain and the New World have been relegated to isolated areas, to use among rural speakers, or speakers residing in areas of high marginality; today they can be identified as features that together make the common denominator of popular varieties spoken across regions and sub-regions of modern Spanish-speaking Latin America. The variants presented in Table 10.7 appear in DLNE-AC (1994) and DLNE-EG (2008), and some other colonial documents. Because they belong to the dialect realm, they are infrequent, though in modern times they alternate with the variants used in normative Spanish. Their significance lies in the centuries-old survival and their redistribution along non-normative styles and registers. For this reason they can be considered the residues of Mexican Colonial Spanish.

(1) Vowel changes. The use of strong vowels commonly alternated with the use of weak vowels in medieval Spanish. Variants involving changes from strong to weak vowels in modern normative Spanish are the most abundant and can

be considered Type A1. In the early 1500's they were used by some of the best educated men in charge of the colony such as Juan de Zumárraga (first bishop of Mexico and author of AC 7, 1529) and Toribio de Benavente, leading colonial scholar and author of AC 24 (1550).

Table 10.7: Strong vowels in residual variants

Item	Colonial Spanish	Normative Spanish	Item	Colonial Spanish	Normative Spanish
1.	apercebida	aperc i bida	11.	bollicios	bullicios
2.	certefico	cert i fico	12.	descobrir	descubrir
3.	concebieron	conc i bieron	13.	encobrir	encubrir
4.	defuntos	d i fundtos	14.	complida	c u mplida
5.	escrebir	esc r ibir	15.	complimiento	c u mplimiento
6.	juresdicion	jur i sdcicci3n	16.	mochacho	m u chacho
7.	mesmo	m i smo	17.	soplicar	s u plicar
8.	polecia	pol i cía	18.	sostituyas	s u stituyas
9.	preñcipal	pr i ncipal	19.	ouiesen	h u biesen
10.	recebir	rec i bir	20.	posimos	p u simos

Variants in which weak vowels were used in colonial Spanish and were regularized in modern Spanish with strong vowels can be considered Type A2, as in for example: *intincion* > *intenci3n*; *inconviniente* > *inconveniente*. Variants in which diphthongs were eventually dissolved in normative Spanish can be considered Type A3 (e.g. *priesa* > *prisa*).

- (a) que es *carpentero* [carpintero] de ribera (AC 7, 1529: 81) Type A1
- (b) su *jntincion* [intenci3n] hera qual con ellos habia platicado (AC 7, 1529: 83) Type A2
- (c) asi por los bibos como por sus *defuntos* [difuntos] (AC 9, 1529: 94) Type A1
- (d) di la mayor *priesa* [prisa] que pude (AC 12, 1532: 97) Type 3
- (e) Otros muchos *ynconvinjentes* [inconvenientes] ay (AC 13, 1532: 100) Type A2
- (f) que heran la *preñcipal* [principal] cosa desta tierra (AC 15, 1534: 105) Type A1
- (g) hartos dineros que deven a los *defuntos* [difuntos] (AC 17, 1535: 110) Type A1
- (h) Sobre esto yo *escrevi* [escribí] en los navjos pasados (AC 23, 1543: 124) Type A1
- (i) vjenen con esto a ser mas más *aflejidos* [afligidos] (AC 24, 1550: 128) Type A1
- (j) no sería pequeño provecho para la doctrina y *polecia* [policía] umana (AC 24, 1550: 129) Type A1
- (k) “señor, no ay agora indios, mañana te yrás, no tengas tanta *priesa*” [prisa] (EG 24, 1558: 83) Type A3

- (l) la *fedelidad* [fidelidad] que devemos a su rreal servjcio (AC 36, 1569: 161) Type A1
- (m) como lo hemos visto por *experiencia* [experiencia] (AC 35, 1569: 163) Type A2
- (n) que a esta causa se *desimule* [disimule] con delitos tan orrendos (AC 37, 1570: 166) Type A1
- (o) quien no sabe ofiçio, ni leer ni *ecrevir* [escribir], no sé qué puede ser (AC 64, 1577: 212) Type A1

(2) Variants in which consonantal changes have occurred are considered Type B, the most relevant of all in today's Spanish being the aspiration of initial F, which was spelled with the graphemes <h> and <j>. Initially common amongst speakers of average or higher education, aspiration of *h* became silent in the written language and its pronunciation was later relegated to marginal varieties. In this context, regular aspiration has not survived in modern Mexican Spanish, but it is common in other regions of the Spanish-speaking world. The data found in colonial sources indicate that there may have been two types of variants with aspiration: (a) those derived from words that in Latin had initial F; and (b) those with an anti-etymological aspiration. The first group may include the following: *hacienda* (< FACIENDA), *hacer* (< FACĒRE), *herido* (< FĒRĪRE), *herir* (< FĒRĪRE), *hierro* (< FĒRRUM), *hijo* (FILIUS), *herrar* (FĒRRARE), *horadar* (< FORĀTUM), *holgar* (< FŌLLICARE), *harto* (< FARTUS), *ahorcar* (< FŪRCA), etc. In chronological order, items (a) through (n) below exemplify the cases in which aspiration is derived from initial F. The use was extended to aspiration in medial position such as *atraher* and *traher* (< TRAHŌ, -TRAHERE). The following items can be considered Type B residuals.

- (a) para los *atraher* a nuestra fee (AC 1, 1525: 30)
- (b) se *hierren* aquellos que sus padres fueron esclavos (AC 1, 1525: 31)
- (c) ay *hartos* marineros, y que dessean yr el viaje (AC 1, 1525: 34)
- (d) en este tiempo la puede *traher* de Castilla (AC 1, 1525: 42)
- (e) el mejor de la tierra se *holgaba* de yr a ellas (AC 1, 1525: 45)
- (f) va *huyendo* en estos navios (AC 3, 1526: 56)
- (g) concluyo con dezir que ellos están bien *ahazendados* (AC 7, 1529: 79)
- (h) ni me puedo *hartar* de plazer (AC 11 1531: 93)
- (i) *haze hahorcar* al cazique y al otro (AC 17, 1535: 110)
- (j) con poco temor del *hierro* que avian hecho (AC 1535: 110)
- (k) se empeñan y adeudan para dar a parientes veynte, y más, mill ducados de *hazienda* (AC 25, 1554: 133)
- (l) llegué *harto* fatigado (AC 52, 1576: 193)
- (m) Unos *hihos* de Martin Hernandez me enviaron un poder (AC 38, 1571: 168)
- (n) por no *caher* en descomunión (EG 36, 1582: 125)

- (o) ¿yo no os e mandado que *hagáis* de *hozicos* todo lo que os mandaren...? (EG 37, 1585: 127)

In his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1492), Antonio de Nebrija stated that “the *h* is not a letter, but the signal of the spirit, just a breathing sound” (113). Moreover, the letter *h* was used to pronounce the first letter of words such as *hago* and *hecho*, and although in Latin it was insignificant, we pronounce it distressing the throat like the Jews and the Moors, from whom we received it (118). In his *Manual de gramática histórica española*, Menéndez Pidal (1977: 114) confirms that the Spanish of the 15th and 16th centuries counted on an aspirated *h* (in words such as *hazer*, *humo*, *holgar*) that is today entirely silent in the written language. The representation of aspiration with <*h*> or <*j*> was common among writers such as Rodrigo de Albornoz and other protagonists of the colonization of Mexico

The spelling with the grapheme <*h*> is followed chronologically by the representation of the aspiration with the grapheme <*j*>, appearing in documents where the practice of *seseo* is more frequent, as in (a) through (g). Document EG 64 (1631), where the narrator is an eyewitness with sufficient experience in maritime battles tells the story on the siege of Campeche by the Dutch. Item (g) appears in the Gulf region, which is the testimony of an eyewitness living in the mountains among the Indians.

- (a) resivieron los olandeses poco daño, y ellos, con pérdida de más de beinte, sin los *jeridos* (EG 64, 1631: 205)
 (b) Bino una bos de la plaça de armas que los *jiso* rretirar (EG 64, 1631: 205)
 (c) Tienen más de sinquenta *jeridos*, de los quales se les ban muriendo algunos (EG 64, 1631: 206)
 (d) Lo *jisieron* así, enbistiendo la plaça por tres partes (EG 64, 1631: 205)
 (e) con la mesma *jumareda*, halló por dónde entrarla [la plaza] (EG 64, 1631: 205)
 (f) piasas de bronce y *jierro* (EG 64, 1631: 206)
 (g) estando embriagados de dicho balché él y los dos yndios, le *joradaron* las narises (EG 90, 1679: 279)

The second type of *h* in writing is anti-etymological, and appeared in words such as *enero*, *edad*, *orden*, *ordinario*. Aspiration functioned as a hiatus, which prevented the coalescence of two strong vowels, as in most of the sentences below. In the colonial documents at hand, the most frequent words with anti-etymological *h* are *hera* (< Latin ERAT) and *hedad* (< Latin AETAS). Occasionally, aspiration occurs after final *-s*, as in item (g), (h) and (n).

- (a) por ser, como *hera*, gran señor, no hiçiese ayuntamiento de gentes (EG 1, 1520: 27)
 (b) paresció que *hera* Pánfilo de Narváez (EG 1, 1520: 28)

- (c) aquella tal causa no *hera* final (EG 1, 1520: 34)
- (d) cómo *husan* dellos (AC 10, 1529: 91)
- (e) la paga *hera* reçibida tan buena (AC 11, 1531: 93)
- (f) No queda sino *hecharnos* en presiones (AC 11, 1531: 94)
- (g) de los alcaldes *hordinarios* (AC 12, 1532: 96)
- (h) por la *deshorden* tan grave que esta tierra tiene (AC 16, 1534: 106)
- (i) que *hera* fama que *hera* muerto (AC 3, 1536: 50)
- (j) que *heran* amigos (AC 3, 1536: 50)
- (k) del mes de *henero* (AC 23, 1543: 125)
- (l) Dixo ques de *hedad* de treynta e tres años (EG 21, 1551: 81)
- (m) al tiempo que de *hesos* rreynos salieron (AC 29, 1563: 145)
- (n) Vuestra muger mescrivjo una carta questavades *henojado* (AC 38, 1571: 167)
- (o) Dominguilla, negra que diz que *hera* de Sahagún (EG 34, 1576: 119)
- (p) se llama Juan de Villaseca, que es de *hedad* de quarenta y cinco años (EG 37, 1585: 127)
- (q) Y ques de *hedad* de veinte años poco más o menos (EG 40, 1590: 139)
- (r) la exhaló con el *haliento* algunas vezes (AC 80, 1618: 242)
- (s) El día que a v. md. escreví donde Alvarado, me salí de *hahí* (EG 67, 1637: 214)
- (t) “no sabía que tenía *habuela*” (EG, 192, 1814: 517)

(3) In sharp contrast with aspiration of F in initial and intervocalic position, aspiration and deletion of /s/ in implosive position has remained in regular variation with the full pronunciation. Aspiration of /s/ in implosive position is not stigmatized in formal domains provided the aspiration occurs in the prescribed environment and speakers do not incur in hypercorrection. These are cases of optimal spread. Considered together, these facts are consistent with what has been observed in situations of dialect contact, where variants that appeared diffuse or stigmatized eventually gain prestige if not widespread acceptance. Aspiration and deletion of /s/ in syllable-final or absolute final position might have occurred in New Spain at different junctures, but neither became the common pronunciation of a large majority of speakers. Aspiration and deletion were probably rejected by speakers and writers who attempted to compensate for the perceived loss; and as a result, they added /s/ in words that had no syllable-final /s/, as in (a) and (b), items that are similar to hyper-correction in modern Caribbean Spanish, as in (c).

- (a) [la iglesia] tiene pocos *ornasmientos* [ornamentos] e pobres (EG 21, 1555: 81)
- (b) una muger que dixo llamarse María Gerónima, mulata, muger *lesgítima* [legítima] de Francisco de Govea (EG 57, 1607: 170)
- (c) Este carro tiene mucha *po[s]tencia* (modern Caribbean Spanish)
[This automobile has a lot of *power*]

10.3.1 The diphthong /we/ in various positions

Other consonantal changes in popular varieties include the velarization of /b/ before the diphthong /we/ preceded by bilabial stop as in *abuelo*, which rendered [agüelo], [agüela] and [agüelos], as in (b), (c), and (f). With the exception of (m), the rest of the items exemplify the velarization of the diphthong /we/ in initial position, which rendered *güerfanos*, *güevos*, *güéspedes*, *virgüelas*, a feature that remains a residual variant derived from Mexican Colonial Spanish. These can be considered mixed Type A-B variants because they involve both vocalic and consonantal changes. Normative Spanish eliminated the velarized diphthong and added a silent *h*, rendering *huérfanos*, *hueso*, *hueco*, *huevos*, *enhuecaron*, etc. There is also a case of bilabialization in (m).

- (a) *guerfanos* [huérfanos] de sobrinos (AC 78, 1585: 238)
- (b) Frasquito llora cada día por su *aguelo* [abuelo] (EG 43, 1594: 146)
- (c) Frasquito besa a v. m. las manos y a su *aguela* [abuela] (EG 44, 1594: 149)
- (d) *guebos* [huevos], ensalada, pescado (EG 49, 1602: 159)
- (e) cosa que *guele* [huele] a su ydolatría (EG 52, 1606: 167)
- (f) su *aguelo* [abuelo] sirvió a vuestra magestad de alcayde (AC 118, 1630: 321)
- (g) un pedasito de *gueso* [hueso] de difunto (EG 78, 1655: 246)
- (h) llegando al *gueco* [hueco] de una viga (EG 86, 1673: 265)
- (i) para saber de un *guesso* [hueso] que halló (EG 86, 1673: 265)
- (j) assimesmo le daba un *guesso* [hueso] de difunto (EG 86, 1678: 266)
- (k) *guespeda* [huésped] en casa de doña Maria Sausedo (AC 162, 1692: 427)
- (l) pan, tortillas, espeseria, *guebos* [huevos] y demas cosas menesterosas (AC 170, 1694: 450)
- (m) abriendo un *abujero* [agujero] chico (EG 153, 1777: 435)
- (n) un *guesesillo* [huesecillo] o caracol pequeño (EG 112, 1707: 330)
- (o) antes de la epidemia de *virguelas* [viruelas] (EG 109, 1704: 322)
- (p) *enguecaron* [enhuecaron] más de media arina de trigo (AC 207, 1741: 520)
- (q) dandole un palo a Sanches, sonó a *gueco* [hueco] i desaparecio (AC 241, 1771: 585)

10.4 Verb forms

Verb forms preserved in popular varieties can be considered Type C variants. They include the following forms: (1) The preterit of the verb VER ('to see') in the 1st and 3rd person singular *vide* and *vido* and the 3rd person singular of the imperfect indicative *vía*, items (c), (e), (f), (i)-(k), (q) and (t). (2) The preterit of the verb TRAER in the 1st and 3rd person singular, *traje* and *truje* (items (a), (b)

and (g). (3) The present subjunctive of the singular pronouns of the verb HABER (*haiga*), when it is used as an auxiliary as in (l) through (p), (r) and (s). (4) The intrusion of palatal /y/ in verbs such as REIR and SER, items (d) and (h) is still heard in rural speech communities. The sentences (a) through (t) presented in chronological order were vital throughout the colonial period. These verb forms were later regularized in normative Spanish, but *vide*, *vido*, *vía*, *truje* and *trujo*, *seyendo* and *riyendo* are still used in marginal and/or isolated areas, while *haiga* has remained in both rural and urban varieties. The writer of Doc. EG 92 (1681) used both *aiga* and *aia*, which in normative Spanish has reappeared as *haya* (< HABERE), while Doc. EG 93 (1681) is the petition of a farmer. Residual popular variants may be frowned upon by some speakers in some contexts, but this does not mean that they are doomed to disappear.

- (a) quatro cientos indios de los que *traxe* de Cempoal (Cortés, *Second Letter* 1520: 6)
- (b) E *truxe* cerca de quatrocientas personas (Cortés, *Second Letter* 1520: 6)
- (c) *vido* este testigo que quemaron tress hombres y tress estatuas (EG 4, 1532: 44)
- (d) después de aver jurado en forma debida de derecho e *seyendo* preguntado (EG 6, 1537: 50)
- (e) una vez que [él] *bido* cubrir parte de la dicha yglesia a los dichos yndios (EG 21, 1551: 82)
- (f) fueron infinitas las gentes que yo *vide* quemar vivas (las Casas 1552: 87)
- (g) si *truxera* mil, *fuera* harto menester para rremediar algo de lo mucho que está perdido (AC 25, 1554: 133)
- (h) *riyendose* a manera de hazer burla (AC 54, 1576: 196)
- (i) Sólo *vide* salir de un aposento de la dicha negra Ursula a un español (EG 55, 1610: 179)
- (j) si de allí en adelante *vía* entrar a alguno en ella (...) que los castigaría (EG 55, 1610: 176)176)
- (k) *vide* allí en un clavo colgadas las llaves del convento (Erauso 1652: 94)
- (l) Fuele preguntado (...) si sabe o a oído decir que alguna persona *aiga* dicho o fecho alguna cosa que sea o parezca ser contra nuestra santa fee Catholica (EG 92, 1681: 284)
- (m) Fuele preguntado si sabe o presume que alguna persona *aia* en conversación tratado de otra con fundamentos o dudas de averse casado dos veses (EG 92, 1681: 284)
- (n) Andrés Peres Ortis, besino de La Cañada en esta jurisdicción y labrador en ella, paresco ante v.md. en la mejor forma que *ayga* lugar en derecho (EG 93, 1681: 287)
- (o) Y, por vida tulla, que no *ayga* falta (AC 147, 1689: 378)

- (p) en mi linaje no avido ninguno que sea ni *aiga* sido contra la santa fe (AC 175, 1696: 461)
- (q) le *vido* bendesir el agua con todas las seremonias del manual y *bido* confesar el día de Todos los Santos algunas personas (EG 110, 1707: 325)
- (r) Vien habrá extrañado v.m. que no le *haiga* respondido a tantas cartas (EG 126, 1733: 366)
- (s) ¿*haiga* quien tenga esto aqui? (AC 199, 1740: 502)
- (t) dixo que los *bido* casar y belar en este pueblo en la capilla (EG 133, 1746: 380-381)

10.4.1 The endings –RA and –RÁ in protasis and apodosis

The repetition of the ending –RA in Si-clauses and adverbial clauses with a renewed subjunctive meaning is also a residual variant that is heard in isolated, marginal and also in not so isolated or marginal areas. It is actually being disseminated from rural to urban or mixed communities (i.e. ‘rurban’), and can be actively used in the southwestern communities of the United States as in (j). However, in the colonial period, –RA and –RÁ alternated with the modern peninsular construction –SE and –RÍA, as in (a), (c), (e). The author of AC 7 (1529) is Bishop Juan de Zumárraga.

- (a) si no *tovjese* judicatura le *aseguraria* diez mill pessos de oro en un año (AC 3, 1526: 54)
- (b) si no se *oviera ydo* a Hibuerras que ya él lo *oviera preso* (AC 7, 1529: 70)
- (c) si don Hernando *fuese* vibo, que su persona sola de cada compañero *bastaria* a se lo traer preso (AC 7, 1529: 71)
- (d) si se *hallara* presente me *hechara* el púlpito abaxo (AC 7, 1529: 83)
- (e) sy *huviessen* de conprar las cassas donde agora está ell Audiencia, *serian* menester para ello çinquenta mil pessos (AC 19, 1537: 115)
- (f) Y entiende que si no *acudiera* tanta gente, *hirieran* al dicho alcaide (AC 58, 1576: 206)
- (g) si *ubiera querido* casalla [a mi hermana] con alguno, como la gente que ay en Sant Andres, ya la *ubiera casado* (AC 71, 1578: 222)
- (h) aunque yo *fuera* un hombre moço y lego y muy pródjgo de mj onrra, *tuvjera* temor de mostrarme en las cosas de v. m. (AC 76, 1583: 233)
- (i) que si no *fuera* por su primera muger, Ysavel de Alcoçer, [él] se *hubiera* ahorcado (EG 73, 1647: 233)
- (j) si nos *dieran* un rato libre a todos, *fuera* justo (modern United States Southwestern Spanish) [if *they gave* us all a break, *it would* be just fair]

10.5 Lexical items and idiomatic expressions in popular speech

Lexical items and idiomatic expressions derived from colonial sources can be considered Type D variants. The different versions of the modern adverb *así* ('in this way' or 'in this manner') still alternate with *ansi*, *ansy* or *ansina*.

- (a) lo esconderan lo que *ansy* an avido por maña (AC 10, 1529: 91)
- (b) sienpre lo e echo e *ansi* lo continuaré (AC 16, 1534: 105)
- (c) se me hazia mucho agravio, *ansi* por no tener aquj de comer (AC 12, 1532: 95)
- (d) *ansi* an benjdo abajando hasta agora (AC 16, 1534: 105)
- (e) *ansi* en lo spiritual como en lo temporal (AC 24, 1550: 127)
- (f) *Ansimesmo* es necesario para el buen tratamjento de estos naturales (AC 24, 1550: 128)

Likewise, the adjective *harto* ('many', 'very' or 'a lot') has survived in today's popular and rural Mexican Spanish as a modifier of a noun. In the *Second Letter* (1522: 14), Hernán Cortés wrote: "nos partimos con *harto* temor" ('we departed with much fright'). The adjective *harto* + noun makes up a phrase of high frequency in the colonial sources, as in examples (a) through (d). It can also function as an adverb as in sentence (e) or as a modifier / intensifier of an adjective as in items (f) and (g). In the documents examined, *harto* appears mostly with initial H indicating aspiration, and remains with aspiration in modern Caribbean Spanish.

- (a) ha estado en las yslas ocho o diez años y en esta tierra *hartos* días (AC 1, 1525: 32)
- (b) con *harta* ventaja de navegacjon (AC 1, 1525: 35)
- (c) con *harta* dificultad le sacamos (AC 1, 1525: 40)
- (d) venimos con *hartos* trabajos (AC 25, 1554: 133)
- (e) que *harto* lo vozeo aca y no aprovecha (AC 26, 1525: 137)
- (f) estaban pueblos de los jndios cristianos *harto* enruynados (AC 28, 1562: 143)
- (g) llegué *harto* fatigado (AC 52, 1572: 193)

In combination, the velarization of /ue/ (as in *abuelo* > [agüelo], use of *harto* + noun, *muncho*, *mesmo*, *nadie[n]*, *ansina* comprise the features distinguishing today's rural varieties. The origin of *ansina* might be *a + sí* modified with an intrusive -N, the same nasal consonant that modified adjective *mucho* > *mu[n]-cho*. These variants distinguish modern social varieties used in [- urban formal] domains, though they were components of the linguistic repertoire of the first and subsequent generation of speakers / writers of Mexican Colonial Spanish who had average or above average education. At present, they may be considered

‘archaisms’. Residual features appeared in the common speech of the 16th and 17th centuries, but were redistributed along vernacular varieties once the forces of standardization made strong inroads into the habits of Spanish speakers. Belonging to the second generation, Juan Suárez de Peralta, author of the *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias* (1586) was fond of *muncho*, which was used both as an adjective and as an adverb: *Munchas* colores (55), Dende a *munchos* días boluió (56), los yndios los quieren *muncho* (64), *munchos* colgaderos de morçillas y longanizas (76).

- (a) de la *mesma* manera fue quando al gobernador Cortés desbarataron (AC 1, 1525: 43)
- (b) declara la *muncha* bondad dellos (AC 11, 1531: 93)
- (c) olgaría de tractar con Vuestra Majestad *hartas* cosas de que Dios se sirviese (EG 28, 1565: 98)
- (d) le besan las manos *munchas* beses (AC 40, 1572: 171)
- (e) se ganan los dineros con *muncho* trabajo (AC 43, 1574: 175)
- (f) a Merchor Gonçalez se lo ruego más que a *nayde* (AC, 44, 1574: 177)
- (g) Y *ansi mesmo* vio a otros dos hombres (AC 63, 1576: 211)
- (h) Y *asina* os digo que de ninguna manera bengáis (AC 64, 1577: 213)
- (i) E tenido, a Dios graçias, *munchos trabajos* (AC 71, 1578: 222)
- (j) Y que assí la dixo que se fuese y que no dixesse a *nayde* nada de lo que con ella avia pasado, y que ella se lo contó después a su *aguela* (EG 48, 1598: 155)
- (k) Y no te fies de *nayde* (AC 146, 1689: 381)
- (l) si no sabía que a su casa no se yba a prender a *naide* (EG 104, 1696: 308)
- (m) dijo que, lo primero, *nadien* más que aquellos dos lo presenciaron (EG 187, 1808: 505)

10.6 The common denominator: residual variants

Residual variants embody the basic layer or common denominator to all varieties of New World Spanish transplanted in the 16th and 17th centuries. They exemplify the features of the Spanish koine, and have become a significant part of the inventory of colloquial varieties, better known as popular Spanish, in turn representing all mutually intelligible forms of speech that arrived in the American continent with the first and subsequent generations of Spanish speakers. Because many were common in colloquial registers, they have been (re)transmitted inter-generationally for hundred of years. The agents of (re)transmission have been the Spanish speakers who had little or no competition in the domestic domain, in the extended family, or in the compact Spanish-speaking communities where Spanish prevailed while doing their daily errands or when they were

requesting services from major institutions. Simultaneously, a semi-standardized version of Spanish was being used as a superposed variety with wide acceptance in most social and institutional networks. The relationship between the koine L(ow) variety and the quasi-standardized H(igh) variety has given rise to diglossia, as described by Ferguson (1959). The residual variants have been studied by scholars for more than one hundred years in all independent nations and also in the Spanish-speaking communities of the United States Southwestern states, normally in reference to or in comparison with the perceived variety of normative Spanish that progressively unfolded throughout the colony. While it is difficult to evaluate the effects of the Spanish Royal Academy on literacy and writing practices from the mid-18th century on, language standards and the perception of those standards have been disseminated via formal education, literature, and major institutions.

In his *Apuntaciones*, which appeared shortly before the end of the 19th century, Rufino J. Cuervo addressed the use and social significance of residual variants. Other comparative studies on the speech of the different independent nations were published by Henríquez Ureña (1938) in *El español en Méjico, los Estados Unidos y la América Central*, a collection of articles representing major works of dialectology (1896-1919) on the northern region of the American continent. This was volume IV of the series *Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana* sponsored by the University of Buenos Aires. It was followed by the most outstanding work on New World Spanish entitled *El español en Santo Domingo* (1940) also by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, who focused on the dialect division of New World Spanish and the persistence of old words and expressions transmitted from peninsular Spanish to the earliest settlement in the New World, Santo Domingo. Henríquez Ureña admitted that the foundation of Caribbean Spanish in general and Dominican Spanish in particular was derived from Andalusian, while the archaic components were mostly of Castilian origin. Some of those “archaisms” appear also in New Spain (e.g. *áina, dizque, dende, creder, veder*, etc.). In addition, he dwelt on the use of *tú* with its corresponding verb form, a usage that did not facilitate the emergence of *voseo*. He also looked into the overuse of diminutives in adverbs such as *ahorita, adiosito, apenitas, afuerita*, a trait that distinguishes New World from peninsular Spanish. The similarities between Caribbean and Mexican Spanish are put in bold relief in the koineization period.

In the United States, Aurelio Espinosa (1911) contributed with the study of Spanish as spoken in New Mexico and southern Colorado, the oldest regions of Spanish settlements. In like manner, the works of Anita Post (1933 and 1934) shed light on the vernacular variety of Spanish spoken in what is today the state of Arizona. Also covering all regions, genres and morpho-syntactic features before

the end of World War II is Charles Kany's superb compendium on *American-Spanish Syntax* (1945). After World War II the same author published another seminal book entitled *American-Spanish Semantics* (1960). The contribution of Angel Rosenblat on the speech of Venezuela *Estudios sobre el habla de Venezuela* (1956) confirms the researchers' proclivity for advancing distinctive criteria (normative and popular) of language use. Along the same lines, one hundred years later, Luis Flórez (1973: 8) commented and updated Cuervo's *Apuntaciones* (1872) where the former scholar still distinguished between popular and normative variants of the Spanish spoken in Bogota and some other places, whenever he found useful data. Following the trend initiated by Pedro Heneíquez Ureña on the identification of archaic components of New World Spanish, Manuel Álvarez Nazario (1982) has offered an exhaustive analysis of language use in Puerto Rico along the normative and popular domains that emerged in the 16th and 17th centuries.

10.7 Infrequent variants in modern Mexican Spanish

Some of the traits that are typical of coastal varieties did not have regular continuity in New Spain. One of them is the substitution of lateral /l/ by /ɾ/ or rhotacism, which can be found routinely in many other varieties of the Spanish-speaking world, as in (a) through (d).

- (a) ba un onbre por su mujer en esta *frota* [flota] (AC 44, 1574: 177)
- (b) es grande mi deseo de os *borber* [volver] a ber (AC 45, 1574: 180)
- (c) se pagarán a los demas a quien yo debo y estoy *obligado* [obligado] (AC 45, 1574: 181)
- (d) estoy puesto y *entabrado* [entablado] para ganar de comer para bos (AC 45, 1754: 182)

In the morpho-syntactic realm, *laísmo* is the use of LA with intransitive verbs such as *decir*, *demandar*, *hablar*, *hacer*, *preguntar* as in (a), whereas a variant of [+animate] *leísmo* may use LE with [-animate] objects as in (b) and (c), where the clitic refers to [-animate masculine singular objects] in the accusative. In item (d), the clitic LE is used as a dative to express an attitude, but in (e) it appears as a typical northern-central variant of *leísmo*. In (f) the peninsular idiomatic expression with the verb *pasar* ('to go through a good time or a bad time') is used with the neuter clitic LO, and as such, it is preserved today in Spain. Modern Mexican Spanish diversified the clitic LO to LA, and today (f) reads: "por mal que *la pases*, *la pasarás mejor*".

- (a) *dezirla y hazerla* creer después, y a sus hixas, que le había arrojado [el sapo] (EG 121, 1724: 353)
[to tell *her* and later make *her* believe, and her daughters, that he had thrown the toad]
- (b) su marido (...) le tomó un rosario en que rezaba y *le echó* en la lunbre (AC 1577, 66: 215)
[her husband took a rosary which she used for praying and *threw it* on the fire]
- (c) *el qual libro* le mostró (...) a este declarante que *le leyese* y que vería en él una cosa muy superior (EG 60, 1624: 194)
[he showed *said book* to this deponent so that *she could read it* [and] that she would see something really extraordinary]
- (d) si a b. m. [vuestra merced] no se *le haze* de mal, me enbje aca a un hermano mjo (AC 70, 1578: 220)
[if it is not *unpleasant to you*, please do send me my brother]
- (e) tengo grandisimo deseo de *le ber* (AC 78, 1585: 238) [I really want *to see him*]
- (f) por mal que *lo paseys*, *lo pasareys* mexor (AC 50, 1575: 191)
[even if you *don't have a good time*, *things will be better for you*]

10.8 Variants discarded in Mexican Spanish

Voseo did not survive in New Spain or in the Caribbean colonies, an occurrence justified by the political distance from Spain: colonies closer to the mother country followed the metropolitan trends, whereas those that were farther away (politically) did not follow the peninsular model where *vos* had been replaced by *tú*. Many of the variants that identify the second generation of Spanish speakers living in New Spain appear in the personal letters they sent to their relatives in Spain. Most of the time they showed their desires to assist them in the process of relocation by discussing the inconveniences of the trip and related issues. Documents 38 through 52 (1571-1576) and Doc. 64 (1577) reveal the peninsular variants that went through attrition in the New World. In this short period second generation writers normally addressed their loved ones with the pronoun *vos*, the object of preposition *os* and the possessive adjective *vuestro/a* with both the long and the reduced paradigmatic verb forms, as in (a) through (e). Affirmative commands appeared with both final /d/ and omitted /Ø/, as in modern times, as in (b) and (c) and with a clitic pronoun in which final /-d/ and initial /l-/ are transposed, as in (f) and (g). Writers were also inclined to mix the pronouns *vos* and *vuestra merced*, as in (h). In direct speech between husband and wife, the use of *vos* was common as in (i).

- (a) *os venj*[Ø] lo más presto que *puwieredes* (AC 38, 1571: 167)
- (b) Si *determjnares* de *venjros*, *vended* lo que *tubieredes*, y *venjos* con *vuestros* hijos y muger (AC 38, 1571: 167)
- (c) Y en estando en Xalapa *escrevi*[Ø] con el harriero cómo *quedays* ay, que yo yré *por vos* (AC 38, 1571: 167)
- (d) si bien lo *supiesedes os espantarias* y *abriais* lástima de mí. Y asina *os* digo que de ninguna manera *bengais* (AC 64, 1577: 213)
- (e) *vuestra* madre que hera el abrigo que en esa tierra *teniades* (AC 50, 1575: 191)
- (f) Y *encomendado* todo siempre a Dios (AC 44, 1574: 179)
- (g) Mas antes dixo a los indios: “*anda, dexaldo*, que no bolverá por aquí” (EG 52, 1606: 168)
- (h) La pipa de vino habrá *vuestra merced* recibido con Antonillo de Grebe, que es negro de recado, y *avizadme* si sallió buena (EG 22, 1554: 83)
- (i) “*mereçiadés* ser encoroçada porque *os quereys* yr a confesar” (AC 66, 1577: 215)

Many lexical items referring to the colonial reality in which Spanish speakers lived and interacted are infrequent or have disappeared in Latin American Spanish, as in (a)-(f), or replaced by modern words, examples (b) and (d). Some items became obsolete in Mexico but have survived in other countries (e.g. Paraguay), as in (c). Some others mean more or less the same in the Dominican Republic, as in example (e).

- (a) que se les diese así para el *matolaxe* de aý a Sevilla (EG 30, 1568: 101)
[modern *los víveres* (‘foodstuffs for the sea trip’)]
- (b) estoy nescesytado porque e *mercado* una estancia (AC 38, 1571: 167)
[modern *comprar* (‘to buy’)]
- (c) porque se acabe más *ayna* mi soledad y pena (AC 44, 1574: 178)
[*más pronto* (‘fast, immediately’)]
- (d) que os determines luego de *aviar* buestro biaxe (AC 44, 1574: 177)
[modern *prepararse para el viaje* (‘to get ready for the trip’)]
- (e) mozo de la *tienda pulpería* de don Andrés Budillo (EG 164, 1785: 453)
[*pulpería* (‘convenience store’)]
- (f) fue el declarante a componer una *calesa* de don Francisco Ortiz (EG 173, 1794: 471) [light low-wheeled *carriage* with a leather top or hood]

10.9 Modern Usted

The most common innovation referring to pronouns of address, *Usted* is derived from *vuestra merced*, an overabundant form in the personal and business corre-

spondence of the 18th century. The neologism appears in the Mexican colonial sources since the late 17th century, and has had continuity in the same contexts through the present time. In spoken Spanish, *Usted* may be pronounced with or without the final *-d* as in previous centuries.

- (a) ¿qué le parece a *usted* de la vellaquería y maldad de Laureano Núñez? (EG 86, 1673: 266)
- (b) Juana de Saavedra (...) le dijo a este testigo (...): “tiene *usted* razón” (EG 102, 1691: 304)
- (c) me [h]a de aser *usté* favor de llevarme a México a mi hijo (EG 108, 1703: 320)
- (d) Tráigole a *usté* una carta de su padre (EG 108, 1703: 320)
- (e) “¿quién le dio a *usté* esta carta? (...) Su padre de *usté*” (EG 108, 1703: 320)
- (f) “*Usté* mire lo que ase, y, luego que llegue, bea a su cura” (EG 108, 1703: 321)
- (g) Me alegraré que *usté* esté bueno en compañía de mis hijos (EG 182, 1802: 491)

10.10 Conclusions

The select variants examined in this work went through gradual attrition over the centuries. The evolution has to do with the environmental changes and speakers' attitudes and values. The most radical transformation occurred in the realm of pronunciation of the sibilants, which are still posing a major challenge to the educational system of the Spanish-speaking independent nations. The alternation between LE and LO and *-SE* and *-RA* was resolved in favor of the latter in the 18th century, though *-SE* partially recovered its frequency in the 19th century. The most drastic modification occurred in the pronouns of address; the Castilian system gradually eliminated *vos* and *vosotros* with all the corresponding verb paradigms. In the process of diversification, it is important to underline the multiple paths followed by colonial Spanish in general and by its particular components. While optimal residual variants have not changed at all, popular variants have been redistributed to almost exclusive use in isolated or marginal varieties where the effects of higher education and/or standardization have been limited. Some other variants have disappeared altogether as a result of a complex process of simplification (e.g. the verb system) or the technological developments that either slowly or swiftly replaces obsolete objects (e.g. *calesa*). After a century of research in New World Spanish, the definition of diversification as proposed by Cuervo still holds sway today. For Cuervo even a minor change of meaning, recognized today as polysemy, entailed a process of diversification, which is still extremely dynamic given that the newer version of New World Spanish, i.e. modern Latin American Spanish, is constantly re-diversifying itself. As a case in point, at the dawn of the 21st century, a new stage of diversification began with the introduc-

tion of terms related to high technology. Today they are making strong inroads in the private and public lexicon, and even morphology, particularly in desinences of verbs such as *tuiteo* (< to tweet), 1st person singular present tense indicative of the neologism *tuitear*. Those belonging to this social network are known as *tuiteros* (< tweeters).