Chapter 4
Koineization and the first generation of Spanish speakers

4.1 The first generation

This chapter is concerned with the emergence of the earliest variety of Mexican Spanish spoken and written in the capital city and surrounding areas, where Spanish speakers of diverse peninsular regions and social strata not only settled but became protagonists of major political, ecclesiastic and social activities. It is assumed that Castilian, Andalusian and some other regional dialects were used in New Spain in the 16th century: the oldest peninsular variety, *toledano* was prestigious in the New World, and for this reason it was superposed over other varieties in formal domains (Granda 1994) and used and among men of letters (Perissinotto 1994). The earliest colonists (1520-1539) coming originally from Seville, Toledo, Badajoz, and Valladolid, and secondarily from Caceres, Salamanca, Cordoba, Burgos and other provinces (Boyd-Bowman 1968: 592) made up nonetheless a compact group of settlers residing with relative stability in New Spanish soil, where they used various peninsular varieties and/or mixed dialect features in the emerging spheres of interaction. The linguistic evidence appears mostly in the letters that they delivered to officials in Spain while they were in New Spain, when they replied to personal missives while in Mexico or in personal missives they wrote to their relatives in Mexico when they were in Spain. Scholars have retrieved numerous documents from various archives including those of the Spanish Inquisition in both Spain and Mexico. This chapter examines language subsamples from representative sources of the Central Highlands, to wit: *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España: Altiplano Central* (Company Company 1994) and *El habla de Diego de Ordaz* (Lope Blanch 1985). Language data from the earliest contact zone in the Gulf of Mexico are retrieved from *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España: Golfo de México* (Melis et al. 2008). Select variants belonging to the first part of the 16th century are analyzed from these three sets of colonial texts.

The koine may be considered the informal variety that evolved with vernacular features and co-existed with a more formal variety used by privileged members of the New Spanish society. It is the result of the mixture of features of diverse peninsular varieties, whose speakers intermingled in Hispaniola and Cuba before they discovered Mexico. Koneization began to take place on the islands, and by the time Spanish speakers reached the Mexican coasts, they were

already acquainted with one another's dialects. Koineization was accelerated in New Spain due to the inter-dialectal experience of explorers, *encomenderos*, and other Spanish speakers who had been in the Caribbean. In New Spain it may be traced from the early 1520's to the mid 1550's and may be extended through the end of the 16th century, the decades in which the first generation of Spanish-speaking adults explored and founded numerous towns and cities. One of the most intriguing questions about the origin of any emerging variety has to do with the external processes and mechanisms that serve as catalysts of development and change. In the case of New World Spanish the external stimulus is clear insofar as the dynamic transplant was possible due to a wide diversity of speakers from peninsular regions and social strata. The first generation Spanish speakers settled in or around the capital city have been identified as belonging to the *encomenderos*, their families, and some others who arrived from Spain shortly after. *Encomenderos* were mostly adult males who had compelling incentives to claim legal rights in the new lands, and for this very reason, they established dense social and political networks that would keep them in the position they had gained at least for a few decades. The *encomenderos*' regional diversity was not a strong motivational force to keep them apart; on the contrary, their most pressing need was to remain solidary against the indigenous groups, which were still a menace despite the fact that they had been fragmented.

4.1.1 Spanish space and Spanish institutions

First-generation Spanish speakers resided mostly in the capital of New Spain, where they built Spanish institutions that kept them in power for at least three centuries. The layout of the city, known as the *traza*, was a large square in the center, a grid-work of straight streets extending from there in all directions with the cathedral on one side of the square, the municipal council building on the other, and the residence of the governor on yet another. The residences of the most prominent citizens, usually the *encomenderos*, were located facing the square. Spanish settlers of lesser ranks had their homes in an outer ring of lots, and beyond these, whole blocks were given over to gardens. Beyond the *traza* the streets were open-ended as a bordering edge, where temporary huts or ranchos—mainly for Indians serving Spaniards—were built. The initial structure grew indefinitely through the expansion of the *traza*. In and around the center the largest of the *encomenderos* dominated the municipal council while the councils favored them in grants of land and mining sites. New residents of the city were usually the conquerors' relatives and newcomers from the same towns, whereas Indian servants and employees of Spaniards began to reside in the cities

and around the mining sites. Some lived with their masters, and others, not all steadily employed, lived in the irregular periphery. The *encomienda* was a major part of the center where the holder performed certain governmental duties and in turn received tribute that belonged to the Crown (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983: 66-68; 91-92). The viceroy and the *audiencias* (administrative centers and courts of appeal) became significant social and professional nuclei, where the new officialdom concentrated both wealth and power. The viceroys were authentic high nobles, close relatives of counts, dukes, and marquises, or they themselves holders of such titles. They brought dependents and other people from their own circle of friends and acquaintances. In addition, an administrative bureaucracy accompanied the core of New Spanish high society with all kinds of officials such as notaries, lettered men, lawyers, and other officials in charge as sub-governors and judges acting in areas of dense population (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983: 104-106).

Built over the ruins of the Great Tenochtitlan, the vice-royal capital soon became the most important urban center comprising both the city and the suburban fringe or densely settled territory lying outside of its boundaries but adjacent to them. The urban space was not identical with the locality but an additional geographical unit which included more than one locality with more than sufficient commuters going back and forth on a daily basis. The emergence of areas as urban or rural is bound up to historical, political, cultural and administrative considerations mostly referring to different forms of labor. Since the beginning of colonization the urban-rural dichotomy had an important role to play in the initial patterns of social stratification and turned into one of the determining factors in the formation of new lifestyles and attitudes. After this layout was established, a mass of indigenous natives turned into commuters who created a vital urban-rural pattern of sociolinguistic interaction, where Spanish and Nahuatl found their compartmentalized loci once sufficient Nahuatl speakers became bilingual and began to recognize the functions of both languages.

Spanish speakers of all regions and social strata resided and interacted in various domains playing all the roles that were needed to perform their institutional, familiar, social or personal activities and errands. The close-knit circle of Spanish speakers and the recreation of the new institutions inspired in the metropolitan model fostered the use of Spanish, which at the institutional level followed approximately the model of *toledano-castellano*, the result of convergence of the two oldest dialects inasmuch as *toledano* accepted the phonetic innovations of Castilian during the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century (Lapesa 1985: 370-381). It is assumed that a formal variety, which in Granda's model is only *toledano*, was superposed over the *español koiné* (Granda 1994a: 47). The semi-formal variety had less vernacular features than the Spanish

koine. Both were used simultaneously, but the semi-formal standard was associated with the upper strata and higher functions and the koine with the lower strata and informal functions. Notwithstanding, the most common language heard and spoken in the Mesoamerican area was Nahuatl. In the newly stratified society, the languages and language varieties were functionally allocated to serve distinct purposes in different domains. Social stratification enhanced the prestige and compartmentalized use of a semi-formal variety of Spanish exhibiting some of the Castilian features. This was most likely consolidated at the end of the 16th century, when at least one generation of Spanish speakers coming from Spain and one generation of New Spain-born adults had had the opportunity to fully develop different genres and styles in Spanish. The role of Spanish as a language of power and prestige was firmly ensconced by the end of the 16th century when a small but politically significant speech community sharing the same values and attitudes towards the transplanted language was established. This small Spanish-speaking community had a proclivity for literary endeavors and made New Spain a productive colony, where a trend towards standardization was favored at least in the capital city and amongst select groups of Spanish speakers. A minority of Spanish speakers moved to the rural areas that began to emerge as of the second half of the 16th century. The gaps in forms and functions between a standard variety and a koine led to diglossia, on the one hand, and role compartmentalization, on the other.

A comparative study by Perissinotto (1994) provides samples of adult emigrants from Spain who used the variety from Toledo. Fernán González de Eslava, born in Spain in 1534, reached the New World in 1558, became one of the early writers of Mexican literature, and followed the normative speech of Toledo. For example, he paired *pieça* with *cabeça* and *promessa* with *confiessa,* and did not confuse voiced <*z*> with voiceless <*ç*>, but maintained all the oppositions of medieval Spanish including aspiration of initial *h* (< Latin F). The speech of Toledo was still perceived as being the normative speech model by a considerable number of Spaniards and native-born Mexicans who were compelled to use the orthography of *toledano*, though their speech might have followed Andalusian patterns. Another representative of traditional norms was Diego de Ordaz. Born in 1480 in Castroverde de Campos (current province of Zamora), Ordaz migrated to the New World in his twenties and reached Mexico at age forty. Ordaz used the ideal sibilant model since he maintained the voiced/voiceless and fricative/affricate distinction of educated Spaniards from Castile and distinguished apical and dental points of articulation. The letters he delivered from Spain to his nephew living in Mexico have been thoroughly examined in the realms of phonetics, morpho-syntax and lexicon (Lope Blanch 1985)

4.2 The formation of the Mexican Spanish koine

New Spain proved ideal for koineization to take place because it was not depopulated like other New World regions, and because many indigenous towns were not completely destroyed by the war and ensuing epidemics. Spanish speakers engaged in agricultural activities and cattle-raising, and did not have any objections to settle in or around small towns, where they built haciendas and ranchos surrounded by masses of Indians needy of work and basic goods. The various peninsular varieties must have been spoken in the new Great Tenochtitlan as early as 1525, when the city had about 150 houses of Europeans. By the 1550's they numbered between 1,500 and 2,000 and were firmly settled in the central area, whereas 80,000 Indians lived in four of the major native barrios. Historians indicate that by the mid-16th century a compact top layer of Spaniards and mestizos governed a nation-to-be and vented a social exclusivity based on the moral values of conquest and caste (Liss 1975: 135ff, 154). On the basis of the available evidence it may be claimed that the Spanish koine originated in Mexico City amongst the speakers of diverse peninsular dialects residing there; from there the koine was spread to villages and towns founded by Spanish speakers throughout the 16th century and was disseminated to smaller towns and spots in both rural and semi-urban areas where there were still enclaves of Mesoamerican descent, which had at least partial exposure to the informal registers of Spanish. In sum, Spanish in New Spain evolved from three strains: (1) works of literature that followed, to an extent, the metropolitan trends and genres that were cultivated by the elite of Spanish speakers entrenched in positions of power and prestige. (2) Non-literary documents of educated Spanish speakers who paved the way for writing and speaking in the emerging institutions. (3) The informal variety or Spanish koine spoken by educated Spanish speakers who also used it as a colloquial register, Spanish speakers with less than average education, speakers of indigenous languages, speakers of ancestral African languages, and speakers of European languages other than Spanish.

4.3 The Spanish spoken and written in the 16th century

The New World Spanish archives of the 16th century differ very little or are identical to those kept in Spain because the Spaniards born or raised in Spain prevailed in the main court clerkships. The origin of the scribes aids in understanding the colonial period, inasmuch as in any given area of the New World, both Andalusians and non-Andalusians recorded and spread their own habits of pronunciation. From this competition and synthesis, a new Atlantic variety emerged, not

necessarily homogeneous but marked by the southern pronunciation that eventually prevailed, particularly in reference to the spatial and social extension of *seseo* (Frago Gracia 1987: 73-74).

Two documents analyzed by Frago Gracia (1987: 80-82) reveal the writing habits of Spanish speakers of miscellaneous origins. Document 1 was written in 1544 by Alonso de Herrera, a native from Seville, who aspirated initial /f/ as in *[h]aze*, *[h]ará*, *[h]iziere*, *[h]azienda*, *des[h]azer* showing both the original etymology and the hyper-correct tendencies which prompted the aspiration in words in which etymological /f/ did not exist, as in *[h]elado*, *[h]era*, *[h]orden*. Following medieval scribes Herrera omitted the letter H in derivatives from the verb HABERE, e.g., *ay*, *aya*, *e*, *an* + past participle. Despite his Andalusian origin, the learning of norms aided in maintaining the distinction between *<ç>* and *<z>* as in *çibdad, çient, nesçesidad, pareçe, proçedido, relaçión, azeite, hazer, hazienda, sazón* but he did not make the difference between *<-s->* and *<-ss->*, and therefore wrote *asi, boluiese, diese, fuese, pasar, resultase*. The author of document 2, García de Escalante Alvarado, was either born in New Spain or arrived in New Spain at a very young age and might have been from Asturias (Ribadeyeva). He was trained in traditional orthography and became the Mayor of Veracruz. His letter of 1553 reveals the consistent use of H to represent an etymological /f/ as in *hato*, *hazer*, *deshacer*, *hasta*, *huracán*, but the H also had an orthographic and etymologizing role in *humedad, he visto*, etc. He used simple *<-s->* as in *mudase, pasado, vasallo, viniese*, words that do not contrast with *casa, cosa, costosa, poderosa*. The graphemes *<ç>* and *<z>* are distinguished without errors as in *Audiençia, braças, çiertos, çiudad, março, pareçido* while he writes *diez, dizen, hazer*. A modern trait is the omission of *<-b->* as in *çiudad*, which could have been *çibdad*.

It was customary that a master scribe would transmit his knowledge to young pupils but this did not mean that academic training was required; it was merely a skill. Scribes had average education and very few attended universities. In both Spain and the New World colonies, spelling was the result of individual personality and skill. The periodization of Spanish documental history in Santo Domingo proposed by Carrera de la Red (1998: 28) is useful to identify the features of pronunciation of three periods: In Period 1 (1509-1550) documents reflect the continuity with peninsular Spanish showing the vacillation of vocalic timbre and the differentiation of two types of sibilants. In Period 2 (1551-1610), documents show phonological innovations such as abundant *seseo*, neutralization of /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ with the gradual shift to a laryngeal aspiration, and interchange of /r/ and /l/. Period 3 (1611-late 17th century) shows all the aforementioned traits in addition to *yeísmo* and interchangeable use of /r/ and /l/. It has been assumed that there exists an almost perfect correspondence between the sound and the graphemes because the relationship between the two is in constant evolution. Those scribes

trained in the writing of the medieval standards do not necessarily reflect the typical or vernacular pronunciation or morpho-syntactic patterns of their places of origin but the norms that were acceptable at the time. According to Frago Gracia (1993: 234-235 and ff.) in the 16th and 17th centuries there was a trend to maintain the orthography and etymology of Old Spanish, and the printing press attempted to respect the old norms such as the distinction of <s> and <ss>, although many scribes rejected the latter and overwhelmingly preferred the former.

4.3.1 Evidence of dialect contact and dialect change

There is no doubt that at the end of the 16th century, Spanish was regionally differentiated. The survey of speakers of the several peninsular dialects who immigrated to the New World confirms the linguistic heterogeneity of the early settlers (see Map 1.5). Additional evidence derives from texts from the various regions such as Old Castile and Leon, New Castile, Navarre and Aragon, Andalusia, etc. For instance, the settlers from Old Castile tended to be *leístas*; in contrast, those from Leon distinguished LE/LES from LO/LOS. Speakers from both regions, however, normally distinguished the sibilants by point of articulation. The regional evidence is highlighted by Frago Gracia (1999: 17, 19). Some of the writers who had lived in the New World for a long time were inclined to mix some salient features of the dialects. Those belonging to the first generation like Friar Toribio de Benavente (from Benavente in the north of the province of Zamora) exclusively used <s> and confused <ç> with <z>. A distinguished Leonese, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, had been in New Spain for about fifty years when he wrote the well-known *Historia General de las cosas de la Nueva España*, an original work revealing his proclivity for Andalusian pronunciation: *-s* deletion, indistinct use of <s>, <ç>, and <z>, etc. (Frago Gracia 1994).

Immigrants from northern Spain show that they were able to adapt to the New World writing norms. The case of Antonio Aguayo illustrates this pattern, since he was originally from Valladolid but settled in Cuba as early as 1525; his writings show both pre-modern and archaic features, that is, *seseo* and the conjunction *e* (< Latin *et*). On the other hand, immigrants from Old Castile and Leon comprised about one-fourth of the total population in two periods (1509-1515) and (1530-1539). They maintained this demographic weight throughout the 1630's, though after this date the population descended. Another interesting case is Alonso de Estrada (from Toledo), who headed for the New World in 1516; ten years later he wrote a letter to the Emperor in which he used modern <s> distinguished <ç> and <z>, and used etymological H, as in *hazia, hicieron, hecho*). Also, Diego de Ocaña (born in 1466 and from Toledo) was gone to the New World in 1512, where he

wrote two *denuncias* in 1526. Ocaña adhered to the norms of medieval Spanish, as in the following cases: use of the past participle with the verb SER (*hera venido*) and preference for the subjunctive form ending in *-ra,* as in *[pero si Dios no lo remediara, no lo pudiera escusar, y si se hiziera, Dios sabe quién mandara la Nueva España]).* While his *leísmo* is infrequent, he aspirated initial F as in *[h]ablar, [h] allé, [h]asta.* Finally, Nuño de Guzmán (from Guadalajara) immigrated to the New World in 1514. He preferred to use the ending –RA in pluperfect subjunctive or as conditional perfect, aspirated F in initial position as in *ahorcar, hallar*, but he was not *leísta*, and did not distinguish the sibilants (Frago Gracia 1999: 20, 39, 40). In sum, some of the settlers to the New World preserved the basic traits of their regional pronunciation, while others followed to varying degrees the patterns of southern Spain. In the opinion of Frago Gracia (1999: 30), the impact of colonization is not necessarily and always related to the influence of a majority group. As a case in point, the missionaries were truly effective in spreading speech forms in the areas of which they were in charge; the *capuchinos* (monks from Aragon) disseminated forms in the vast territory of Cumaná (presently Colombia). Catalans from the past were *seseantes*, but as opposed to those from southern Spain, they preferred the apical pronunciation [ś]. For the notion of Castilianization, see Frago Gracia (1999: 27).

4.4 Other documents related to Hernán Cortés

The ideal use of the sibilants is found in the letters by Diego de Ordaz, born in Castroverde de Campos in 1480, an explorer, conquistador, and *encomendero* who lived in Santo Domingo, Tierra Firme and Cuba before joining Hernán Cortés in 1518. While in Mexico, he made sufficient merits both in the militia and exploration, and consequently gained a respectable position. In 1526 he returned to Spain from where he wrote six letters to his nephew who had stayed in New Spain taking care of his uncle's properties (Lope Blanch 1985: 9-16). In Ordaz's letters the old opposition between the voiced fricative apico-alveolar /ż/ (spelled as intervocalic *-s-*) and the corresponding voiceless /ś/ (spelled *-ss-*) had disappeared. However, Ordaz preserved the graphic difference between <s> and <ç> or <z> as in *pesos*, *casa*, *tesorero*, *vasallos*, *preso* as opposed to *negoçiar*, *conoçer*, *petiçión*, *pedaço*, *reçelo*, *reçibir* or *dezir*, *hazer*, *vezes*, *razón*, *hazienda*, etc. By the same token he preserved the distinction between the voiceless affricate dental /ŝ/ (in spelling *c* or *ç*) and the corresponding voiced /ẑ/ (in spelling *z*), as in *pieça*, *moços*, *encareçer*, *ofreçiere*, *çiento*, *çédula* vis-à-vis *pazes*, *vezinos*, *doze*, *goze*, *López*, *Rodríguez*, etc. Identical distribution appears in consonant clusters as in *calça*, *alço*, *dolença*, *fianças*, *março*, *mudança* as opposed to *parezca*, *ofrezca*, *quinze*,

etc. (Lope Blanch 1985: 41-43). In conclusion, the pronunciation of Diego de Ordaz is similar to that of Castilian speakers and to those from Seville who were conservative and who preserved the difference between <*s*>, <*ç*> and <*z*>. Ordaz used one single voiceless apico-alveolar /ṡ/, was not *ceceante*, and distinguished the affricate from the fricative dentals, respectively (Lope Blanch 1985: 46), even though the preservation of the affricates is still a debatable issue.

While Hernán Cortés was ascending in the new political order of the Spanish colonies, other Spaniards attempted to curb the almost instantaneous power he had gained as a result of his victorious raids against the Aztecs and his clever alliances with other Mesoamerican groups. Charles V received miscellaneous reports on the ethnic cleansing policies that had been presumably implemented by Cortés in the recently established and somewhat disorganized communities of New Spain. These reports and some other documents (e.g. personal letters, notes and bills) are useful to reconstruct some of the most important traits of New World Spanish in general and those that distinguish Mexican Spanish in particular. The manuscripts compiled in *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España. Altiplano Central* (henceforth DLNE-AC 1994) were handwritten by some of the most distinguished protagonists of the Mexican colony, e.g. Rodrigo de Albornoz, a native from Salamanca who was the king's secretary and royal accountant. He arrived in New Spain in 1521, returned to Spain in 1526, and went back to Mexico City in 1529. As an *encomendero*, he received tribute from a number of towns but his income from this source ended in 1544 under the provisions of the New Laws. The author of Document 2, Alonso de Estrada, became co-lieutenant governor during the period in which Cortés was on leave (1524-1526). Estrada arrived in New Spain from Ciudad Real with his wife and six children. After his death in 1530, his widow arranged the marriages of her daughters with the dynasty of settlers who also owned *encomiendas* (Alvarado, Ávalos, Sosa and Vázquez de Coronado). The consorts were from Cordoba, Seville, Badajoz and Salamanca. The Estradas also lost their *encomiendas* after the enactment of the New Laws. The *encomenderos* were interrelated by blood and marriage and solidly entrenched in the new institutions governing Mexico City (Himmerich 1991: 68-74, 116). An entirely different character playing the role of the antagonist was Nuño de Guzmán appearing in Document 5. Guzmán, founder of the city of Guadalajara in Nueva Galicia, was the envoy of the king of Spain and native of Guadalajara, Spain. He arrived in New Spain in 1527 and became a colonial administrator and Cortés' most infamous enemy because he attempted to use ruthless practices to (re)sell and enslave the native population. For information on this topic, see Zavala (1952) and Martín-Tamayo (1956).

The DLNE-AC (1994) also include reports delivered by Spanish speakers belonging to the ecclesiastic hierarchy: Friar Juan de Zumárraga, the first arch-

bishop of Mexico City, opposed the practices of the Spanish auditors and reported to the king of Spain the turmoil of the new colony. Friars Luis de Fuensalida, Toribio de Benavente, Francisco de Mayorga, Francisco del Toral, and Nicolás de Witte gained important posts within the ecclesiastic hierarchy. While the king's secretary and the Franciscan friars had superior education, the rest seemed to have been, like Cortés, individuals of average education. Together they can be considered the forerunners of the newer Mexican society and amongst the first speakers and writers of proto-Mexican Spanish. The documents from the Altiplano Central (henceforth Central Highlands) render more than sufficient examples of diverse pronunciation traits. The use of the grapheme *<ç>* is glaring in this collection not only because of its high frequency in nouns and verbs but also because most writers almost never neglect the use of the *cedilla*. Document 1 is the letter by Rodrigo de Albornoz (1525), who followed Diego de Ordaz's system except for the preservation of *<ss>* as in m*andasse*, *enbiasse*, *sacasse*, a prevailing practice in his lengthy letter to Charles V, although occasionally he did use single *<s>*. In the official epistle genre there are about two dozen letters addressed to either Charles V or the Council of Indies by the protagonists of the colonization of New Spain.

The first 27 documents appearing in DLNE-AC (pp. 23-139) cover exactly three decades (1525-1555), and may be considered Cortesian texts since they highlight the linguistic and thematic trends established by Cortés. The missives written by prominent authors such as Alonso de Estrada (1526), Diego de Ocaña (1526), Jerónimo López (1532, 1534, 1543), Lope de Samaniego (1537), friars Juan de Zumárraga (1529), Luis de Fuensalida (1531), Toribio de Benavente (1550), Francisco del Toral (1554) and Nicolás de Witte (1555) preferred to use single *<s>* in imperfect subjunctive as in *abriesen*, *diese*, *proveyese*. This fact supports the theory proposing that the devoicing of the voiced sibilants had been completed amongst the speakers and writers belonging to the upper socio-cultural level. In Documents 1-27 the medieval sibilant *<ç>* continues to appear in *alcançar* (65), *çibdad* (159), *començaron* (127), *condiçiones* (50), *coraçon* (102), *conçiença* (65), in the integrated Amerindian loans to the Spanish lexicon, e.g. *caçiques* (31), *çapotecas* (48), *caçonzi* (63) or *casulçin* (32), *maçeguales* (131); and in the toponyms *Cuçalmeco* (25) and *Çacatula* (38). Simultaneously some authors preserved the grapheme *<z>* in *azul* (87), *borzeguies* (87), *donzellas* (83), *juezes* (96), *hazienda* (99), *hazemos* (101), *merezco* (96), *paz* (144), *razón* (103), *plazer* (157), *vezes* (103). There are in addition sporadic cases of *seseo* as in Doc. 7 by Juan de Zumárraga (*ofresco* 82), in Doc. 15 by Friar Francisco de Mayorga (*faser* 102), *desir* and *compadesiesen* (103), and in Doc. 17 by Friar Nicolás de Witte (*notisia* 138). The first case of *ceceo* appears in 1533 in Doc. 15 (*çubçedido* 103), whereas some of the authors begin to replace the grapheme *<ç>* with the grapheme *<z>* indicating

zezeo as in *azertase* (127), *reduzido* (100), *regozijaba* (90), *zeloso* (134). Also, the grapheme *<ss>* reappears in *permitiesse* (113) *supiesssen*, *mjrasse* and *truxesse* (138), a grapheme that spread to other items that did not have it, as in *desseamos* (116). In sum, in this period authors tend to maintain the *toledano-castellano* sibilant system (see Table 4.5A at the end of this chapter). Isolated cases of other variants are anticipated, as in Doc. 6, the letter of Antonio de Godoy, servant of Nuño de Guzmán, in which he used *faboresca* (seseo), *quizieren* and *prezidente* (zezeo), and *preçona* (ceceo) (64). Showing his preference for the grapheme *<z>*, Nuño de Guzmán (Doc. 17) wrote *favorezidos, conozer, amanezen, alcanze, cazique, zufrir* and *acreziente* (109-110).

4.4.1 The features of Cortesian texts

The letter delivered by Rodrigo de Albornoz to the king of Spain (Doc. 1, 1525) contains several Taino loans that are used without definitions and with common Spanish modifiers: *mahiz* or *mays*, *agi*, *canoa*, *hanegas de maiz*, *maçorcas de maiz*, *piraguas*. In addition to lexical items derived from Taino and Nahuatl, the innovations of the koine include the introduction of two affricate Nahuatl phonemes /tɬ/ and /ts/ primarily in toponyms and nouns that have vitality even at present. From the 27 documents of the first period (DLNE-AC 1994), it is inferred that the features of late medieval Spanish alternated with those of pre-modern Spanish. The spelling of words with initial F- alternated with the spelling of initial H (e.g. *hasta* and *hallar*, *fasta* and *hasta*, *fijo* and *hijo*). The past participle of the verb HACER was both *hecho* and *fecho*. Some of the old traits remained for the entire colonial period while others were replaced by those representing the transition to pre-modern Spanish: (1) The close vowels of modern Spanish (*i* and *u*) replaced mid open vowels (*e* and *o*). The words *andovo* (51), *bolliços* (68), çerte*fico* (77), *mesmo* (41), *podiendo* (45), *rreçebido* (54) changed to modern Spanish into *anduvo, bullicios, certifico, mismo, pudiendo, recibido*, etc. (2) The grapheme *<x>* represented the voiceless pre-palatal fricative /x/, which was widely used by the first generation of Spanish speakers, as in *dixoles*, *quexosos*, *vexaciones*. (3) Direct and indirect objects remain assimilated to the infinitive verb forms as in *buscalles* (75), *castigalle* (75), *encargallo*, though the modern infinitive and the object *encargarlo* also appears. (4) Authors were fond of adding a palatal between vowels in verbs like SER and VER, as in "*beyendo esto, hablé al presidente*" (82) or "*beyendo yo su disolución*" (82), and "*seyendo ellos los acusadores*" (85). (5) There are rare cases of *seseo*, as in *conoscan, resiben, faser, faserme*, interchange of liquids /r/ and /l/ as in *flayles* and *flayres*, and substitution of –r– by –l–, as in *ultramalinos*.

4.4.2 Spellings of common verbs

Spellings of common verbs such as DECIR, HABER, TENER, TRAER, and VER had variable spellings. Modern Spanish DECIR was spelled with both <ç> and <z> *dezia* (imperfect indicative) *diziendo* (gerund), but *dixe* and *dixeron* in the preterit indicative. Late medieval Spanish shows considerable variation in spelling according to verb tense. The spelling of the verb HABER shows the addition of the initial H- in the present tense, as for example, *ha acontecido*, *he sabido*, *he sido*, *se ha hecho*, *ha avido*, *huviesse*, *huviera*, *havia* etc., but forms without H- in other tenses are also common: *ay*, *aya*, *avia*, *avrá*, *avrán*, *aviendo*, *obieron*, *oviérame*. The verb HABER is used with the meaning of TENER and alternating with it. The verb HABER is also used in time expressions with the meaning of modern HACER. The conjugations of the verb VER were (*yo*) *vide*, „él *vido*" in present indicative but (*ellos*) *vían* in imperfect indicative. The 3rd person singular of the verb VER can be the medieval *vido* and the modern *vio*, while the present participle appears as *viendo* and *beyendo (*a) "*como vido esto antes que el factor supiese del, fuese al monasterio*" (71).

Throughout the 16th century writers from both sides of the Atlantic hesitated between two forms of the preterit of the verb TRAER. Whereas some followed the etymological form *traxe*, others preferred *truxe*. The spelling with modern *<j>* begins to be used as well as the form *trahen*, the latter suggesting that there was aspiration in intervocalic position.

(a) a quien los *trahe* el cacique (32)
(b) entre si los usan y *traen* (32)
(c) podrian venir los navios que *traxessen* la especieria (35)
(d) y que *traxesse* cada uno su adereço de labrança (36)
(e) como se *trahen* de lexos, vale todo en subido precio (44)
(f) y afirmó que hera muerto y *traxo* ciertos yndios que lo dezian (51)
(g) los otros se *retraxeron* por los monasterios (70)
(h) don Hernando *retraxose* al monasterio de san Francisco (71)
(i) seria bien que todo nabio *traxere* algunas plantas (94)
(j) recogio hasta çincuenta jndios y los *truxo* cargados de mayz (109)
(k) que mandase vuestra magestad que los *trujesen* en recua (130)
(l) la carta dize que los que no *trujeren* frutos nj cria de que den dos diezmos (131)
(m) y treynta *truxe* a esta Nueva España. Y si *truxera* mil, fuera harto menester (133)
(n) que me *truxesse* aquj al monesterio al dicho don Joan Xancal (138)

4.4.3 Morpho-syntactic features of Cortesian texts

Cortesian texts maintained some of the key traits of late medieval Spanish and anticipated those of modern Spanish. The question raised at this juncture is whether or not some of those traits have remained in Latin American Spanish, and more importantly, if they have evolved with newer social meanings. Some features changed in all varieties of the Spanish-speaking world while others disappeared in Spain but have been retained in colloquial regional or rural Latin American varieties.

4.4.3.1. The gender of the noun MAR ('sea') remained feminine, as in (b) through (e) but began to appear in masculine as in (g) through (h), which is the modern use. When the name of the 'sea' is explicit, the noun 'mar' is masculine but when 'mar' is general appears as a bear noun, as in (a).
(a) enviamos por *mar* (25)
(b) cuando *la mar* andava brava (34)
(c) por *la mar* del norte (67)
(d) *aquellas mares* (57)
(e) en *la mar* del sur (57)
(f) lo llevó Nuestro Señor en *el mar* (134)
(g) por *el mar Adriático* (35)
(h) Entraban por el seno y estrecho *del mar Rubro*, y por muchas yslas que venian a la punta *del dicho mar* (35)

4.4.3.2. Examples (a) through (g) show the addition of the preposition A before [+ animate] objects, which is considered a pre-modern trait and appears consistently in New Spain.
(a) y con el fuego desbarataron los indios *a los christianos* (25)
(b) dizque dieron sobre los que quedan y prendieron *al capitan* (25)
(c) que los esclavos que los caciques y señores dieren y ayan dado *a los christianos*, se hierren aquellos que fueron esclavos (31)
(d) hizieron tenientes de Medellin y Villa Rica *a Alvaro* de Saavedra (52)
(e) yban acompañar de noche y de dia *al dicho licenciado* (61)
(f) çiertos perros lebreles (...) los hechavan *a los jndios* pa que los mordiesen (84)
(g) me dixo y certificó que él mesmo encontro *al hermano* de Delgadillo (84)

4.4.3.3. Modern Spanish uses an infinitive preceded by the preposition A + article EL (*al amanecer*, *al decir, al soltar*) with the meaning of progressive action. In contrast, authors of Cortesian texts used the prepositional gerund.
(a) Y luego otro dia lunes *en amaneciendo* el licenciado dio mandamiento (60)

(b) los otros se retraxeron por los manasterios *en publicando* esta nueva de la muerte de don Hernando (70)

(c) *en pidiendoles* diezmos dejarian de criar y hazer granjerias (128)

4.4.4 Position of verbal clitics

The use of verbal clitics aids in tracing the evolution directly from Latin to emerging medieval varieties of Romance to modern Spanish and other languages. The movement of Spanish clitics can be reconstructed from the Spanish texts belonging to the first generation of colonists, which exhibit the in-transition trends from medieval to pre-modern to modern Spanish.

4.4.4.1. The use of GELO represents the oldest medieval contracted form. It is actually rare in the emerging variety of Mexican Colonial Spanish, as in (b) and (d), and alternates with the modern SE LO/LOS as in (a), (c) and (e).

(a) que cada uno ternia otro cuydado y manera en el tratamjento de los indios, que no tiene al presente con pensar que mañana *se los* han de quitar (42)

(b) Y enbiando tal persona de gobernador o oydores e pesquisador, quales conviene al serviço de vuestra majestad, *gelas* mande todas dar para que la traya aca (46)

(c) que su persona sola de cada compañero bastaria a *se lo* traer preso (71)

(d) y holgamos mucho de ver*gelos* llevar (93)

(e) y agora azen*selos* dar tan grandes (126)

4.4.4.2. Indirect and reflexive pronouns continue to be placed before infinitives as in sentences (a) through (h). As in modern Spanish, they are attached to the infinitive, as in (i).

(a) nasçimos para *le servir* (32)

(b) tenjendo los christianos tiempo para *se armar* y ponerse a cavallo (43)

(c) el tesorero tenja mucha gente armada en su casa para *se juntar* con él (50)

(d) Fue el veedor a *los pacificar* y a poblar una villa (51)

(e) sy Hernando Cortés diese de noche en alguna parte, como hizo a Narvaez, los otros se hallasen fuertes pa *le socorrer* (61)

(f) porque so color de *lo buscar*, los spañoles lo robavan (67)

(g) jnformado de la riqueza de la tierra donde yba, acordo de *se alçar* contra él (67)

(h) Y no asosegado con esto, acordo yr en persona a *le prender* (67)

(i) para autorizar*la* y traer*le* mas a su propósito (75)

4.4.4.3. In the 16th century, the objects are attached to the conjugated verb as in *satisfízole*, *parescióle*. The stylistic variations in (i) and (j), when the object goes before the conjugated verb, anticipates the change to modern Spanish.

(a) *bolvjeronla* a Hernando Cortés y *tomaronla* ellos en su nombre (52)

(b) *pusieronlos* presos en dos camaras (52)

(c) Despues de esto *juntaronse* procuradores (57)

(d) y a las bozes que dava fueron*le* a socorrer, y *quitaronsele*, y acordaron por aquellos de poner fuego a la casa y a ellos *quemaronlos* (109)

(e) y por todos los cercos *danles* grita (110)

(f) *desanparanla* y *vienense* a la çibdad de Compostela (110)

(g) *ponenlos* en peligro de hazer muchas ofensas (129)

(h) *murieronsenos* tres rreligiosos (133)

(i) *le entregó* todas las varas de justicia (72)

(j) *los tenia* por enemigos y *les hazia* tales obras (73)

4.4.5 Pro-etymological and anti-etymological verbal clitics

Verbal pronouns referring to [+ / − animate] objects stem from two systems: one based on Latin etymologies marked by case (accusative vs. dative) and the other one originating in the Castilian provinces. In the traditional system, the Latin demonstrative pronouns ILLE and ILLA rendered definite articles and object pronouns in each of the Romance languages. Spanish object pronouns LO / LOS (masculine) and LA / LAS (feminine) derive from the ancestral pro-etymological accusative case singular and plural system (Column 3). They have functioned as direct objects [+ / − animate], while LE and LES (derived from the dative) refer to indirect object pronouns (Column 2).

Table 4.1: Latin demonstrative pronouns and Spanish object pronouns

Number and Gender	Latin		Spanish	Latin		Spanish
Singular + Masculine	*íllī*	>	le	*íllum*	>	lo
Plural + Masculine	*íllīs*	>	les	*íllōs*	>	los
Singular + Feminine	*íllī*	>	le	*íllam*	>	la
Plural + Feminine	*íllīs*	>	les	*íllās*	>	las

The Castilian innovation known as *personal leísmo* can be traced to the 12th century. Occurrences in the Poem of Mio Cid undermined the case distinction introducing the dative LE for accusative [+ masculine + animate], and by the first

half of the 16th century, LE prevailed among writers coming from Old Castile, Alcala and Madrid (e.g. Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Calderón de la Barca, etc.). The point of departure of this innovation was the regimen of certain Latin verbs that were originally intransitive and were used with the dative case (*servire* 'to serve', *minari* 'to threaten', *oboedire* 'to obey'). However, the respective Spanish-derived verbs (*servir*, *amenazar*, *obedecer*) functioned as transitive but continued to use the dative pronoun LE referring to [+ masculine + animate] objects. In this way a new personal domain emerged (Lapesa 1985: 405-406). Also, some of the internal changes intervening in the adjustment from the LO system to the LE system may have to do with the fact that the direct object pronouns ME and TE (identical to those that are indirect) have a resemblance to third person singular LE, thus creating the series, ME, TE, LE (Urrutia Cárdenas 2003: 520-521). Another internal change may be associated with the apocopation of objects pronouns (LO and LE) that in medieval texts were represented by the use of ambiguous –L'. The koineizing contexts might have been ideal for extending an innovation like *leísmo* provided sufficient numbers of speakers were likely to produce it and accept it. The early apocopation of object pronouns was conducive to structural ambiguity (Tuten 2003: 194).

The rise of *leísmo* generated additional changes in the pronominal system to the extent that other phenomena known as *loísmo* and *laísmo* replaced the dative LE(S) with the intention of focusing on gender, inasmuch as LE appears to be neutral. For instance, *le doy el libro a él* ('I give the book to him') could be transformed into *lo doy el libro* ('I give him the book'). The same change occurs with the feminine object as in *le hablé a ella*, which could render *la hablé* ('I talked to her'). According to Flores (2002) these innovations have the same underlying motivation associated with the degree of transitivity of the event and a process by which new pragmatic values have been added to the meaning of the clitic pronouns. In order to test this hypothesis, the use of direct and indirect object pronouns as clitics was analyzed in a very large sample from 15th and 16th centuries texts. The use of LO(S) and LE(S) for [+ masculine + animate] objects seems to be determined by verb transitivity, which is gradual. The dative case marks [+ animate] entities tangentially affected by the event while the accusative is strongly affected by it suggesting that to a higher degree of transitivity there is a greater possibility that the select object pronoun will be accusative LO (44-49). Because the semantic nature of actions varies from speaker to speaker, the same verb can be cliticized with either LES or LOS. At present, this tends to occur among speakers and writers of *leísmo* or those who are transitional, but rarely amongst speakers using a clearly pro-etymological system (i.e. modern Latin American Spanish).

When the external causes of *leísmo* have to be reckoned with, Basque contact with Castilian Spanish is considered to be a factor intervening in the suppression

of accusative pronouns and the exclusive appearance of use of LE(S) for dative cases (Tuten 2003: 178). Research on *leísmo* is prolific, and in addition to the two basic systems, scholars find subsystems stemming from the divergence to a non-etymological system, which vary according to region, social stratum and formal education. Proponents of language contact assume that the change from the pro-etymological to the non-etymological system occurred in the Castilian regions in ancestral contact with Basque. Finally, data from current Basque-dominant and Basque recessive bilinguals sheds light on the net effect that ancestral contact of Basque with Spanish may have on Spanish speakers of northern peninsular regions. Basque contact is observed as a cause in the change to *leísmo*, the suppression and duplication of the accusative pronoun, and the addition of other object pronouns (Urrutia Cárdenas 2003: 527-528).

First generation writers from New Spain used both LO(S) and LE(S) with a strong preference for the latter. Variation can be explained by internal changes [+ / − transitive] and by inter-dialect contact in the new colonial environment where variants LE and LES were vital. First generation writers had strong tendencies towards *leísmo* but they did not discard the contending variants LO and LOS (see Hidalgo 2013). For instance, the letter delivered in 1529 to Charles V by Friar Juan de Zumárraga clearly reveals his preference for LE. Zumárraga was from Durango in the historical territory and province of Biscay. The author of Doc. 7 narrates the skirmishes in which Hernán Cortés was engaged when he arrived in Mexico under the initiative of Governor Velázquez, whose intention was to search for the other captain, Juan de Grijalva. Upon finding Grijalva, Cortés was supposed to return with him because the governor did not have permission to initiate the colonization of this territory; however in case he could not find him, he should have recovered as much gold as possible. In the passage below, Juan de Zumárraga, the first Bishop of Mexico, consistently used the clitic LE, a trait that still distinguishes the northern-central provinces from the southern region.

> Hernando Cortés vino a esta tierra, al prinçipio por mandado de Diego Velazquez, governador de la ysla de Cuba, que **le embió** por capitan de çierta armada a buscar a Juan de Grijalva, otro capitan que el primero havia embiado a descobrir, y **hallandole** se volviesen ambos juntos porque diz que Diego Velazquez, no tenia liçençia de vuestra majestad para poblar; y que si no **le hallase** en la costa desta Nueva España, rescatase todo el más oro que pudiese (66).

In the subsamples below there are 13 cases of LE, 11 cases of LES, and only 7 cases of LO, indicating the preference for *leísmo*. There are however 16 cases of LOS which can be [+ plural masculine or ambivalent]. The alternations between LE and LO indicate that the preference for the former may be motivated by the interpretation [+ / − transitivity] assigned to the verb e.g. *engañar* ('to deceive'),

prender ('to apprehend'), *castigar* ('to punish'), *echar* ('to throw out'), *ahorcar* ('to hang'), *mentar* ('to mention'), and *destruir* ('to destroy'). The use of LE may be also related to sentences that have two verbs as in (a) *poder engañar* ('to be able to deceive') or a verb and a predicate as in *tener ganado* ('to have subdued someone'), or *haber preso* ('to have someone in jail'), as in items (k) and (n). Juan de Zumárraga continued narrating the state of affairs in the recently discovered land that was in turmoil as a result of the conflicts between Hernán Cortés and other colonists who wanted to debunk him, as in items (a) through (r). He also expressed his concerns for the indigenous, whose situation was uncertain before the New Laws of 1542, as in examples (s) through (u).

(a) el Juez que ha de juzgar con equidad, que nadie **le podra engañar** (65)

(b) por muchas vezes y diversas vias procuraron de *lo* matar (66)

(c) porque so color de *lo* buscar, los spañoles *lo* robavan (67)

(d) fueron muy bien rescibidos y ospedados de don Fernando, el qual en nombre de vuestra majestad *los* admitio a sus ofiçios (67)

(e) Y no asosegado con esto acordo yr en persona a **le prender** (67)

(f) el factor y veedor le prometieron de **le castigar** por lo pasado (68)

(g) porque le acudian los amigos de don Hernando para que *lo* favoresçiese (68)

(h) pidiendole la mandase paresçer y **les admitiese** al dicho cargo (68)

(i) so çierta color que para ello buscaron, y **le hecharon** de la tierra (69)

(j) despues de preso, hizieron su pesquisa (...) y en poco espacio **le ahorcaron** (69)

(k) Y **teniendole ganado** y seguro dio tras el thesorero y qontador que *los* tuvo presos (68-9)

(l) a fin que si viniese don Hernando, que por defender sus repartimjentos **les defenderian y seguirian** (70)

(m) antes que el factor supiese dél, fuese al monasterio de san Francisco de miedo que no **le ahorcase** (71)

(n) muchos días antes **le avia preso** el fator y embiado a Castilla (71)

(o) si don Hernando fuese vibo, que su persona sola de cada compañero bastaría a se *lo* traer preso o darle de lançadas (71)

(p) a unos afrentó publicamente **haziendoles açotar** (...) por otros entró en los termjnos e jurisdicçion desta çibdat y *los* prendio e ahorcó (...) metiendo*los* en su governaçion, prendiendo los señores dellos e haziendoles vexaçiones, y molestándo*los* con capitanias de spañoles (...) para **hazelles** que sirviesen en su governaçion (73)

(q) Nuño de Guzmán (...) venia enponçoñado contra don Hernando y con quantos en su boca **le mentasen y toviesen** sus cosas por buenas (75)

(r) le hazian aquel favor a cautela y para dar después en él rezio y **castigalle** (75)

(s) han sido de acuerdo y paresçer muy claro y notorio a quantos en esta tierra viben, de ser muy dorrotabatido contra don Hernando para **le destruyr** totalmente (76)

(t) y todavia andan en la labor jnumerables yndios que *los* hazen trabajar como sclavos, (...) **haziendoles** traer todos los materiales a cuestas (84)

(u) çiertos perros lebreles que los yndios llevavan a cuestas (...) *los* hechavan a los jndios pa que *los* mordiesen (84)

(v) *los* aprisionavan y buscavan causas para mollesta*llos* y destruy*llos* (85)

Another distinguished colonist and encomendero was Rodrigo de Albornoz, His Majesty's direct envoy. Albornoz was in charge of reporting the conditions observed in New Spain. In Doc. 1 (1525) he used LES with the verbs *tomar* ('to take'), *tener* ('to have'), *capturar* ('to capture'), *matar* ('to kill'), and *maltratar* ('to abuse').

(a) encontro con siete o ocho mercaderes indios que venian en una canoa y juntósse a ellos y **tomóles** (25)

(b) prendieron al capitán (...) y llevaron*lo* en señal de victoria a un templo (...) y alli *lo* sacrificaron a sus ydolos (25)

(c) no *los* tiene seguros, sino que oy **les tiene** uno y de aquj a un mes *los* dan a otro, y cada uno procura de *los* despojar aquel tiempo que *los* tiene (27)

(d) que si no lo quisjeren hacer, **les capturen y tomen** como esclavos (29)

(e) su amo, el christiano, atemoríza*los* a que digan que son esclavos aunque no lo sean. Que aunque **les maten** no quieren dezir sino que son esclavos (30)

(f) algunas vezes *los* hierran como a los esclavos (31)

(g) a otro **le hacen esclavo** porque hurtó diez maçorcas de maiz (31)

(h) Destos esclavos (...) que los christianos sacan de sus caciques, pues se *los* dan en lugar del oro que antes les solian dar (33)

(i) no aviendo qué les sacar, es pues fuerça que **les han de maltratar** (36)

Finally, Friar Francisco del Toral, author of Doc. 25 (1554), also wrote to the king of Spain and described the disadvantageous circumstances imposed on the natives, as in (a) through (c). Friar del Toral was from Jaen (Andalusia) and attended the convent in this locality.

(a) Quel pobre del yndio, como no tiene esos parientes poderosos ni sabios ni rricos, siempre **le olvidan, dilatan y amedrentan** (134)

(b) En otras cosas de serviçios personales andan los yndios vexados, porque se a puesto una ynposiçion que **les mandan** a los pueblos (134)

(c) asi son vexados, y en **les hazer yr** de los pueblos comarcanos a servir por fuerça (134)

For a few years when Hernán Cortés was on leave, Nuño de Guzmán, a native from Guadalajara, became his antagonist. Guzmán, the author of Doc. 17 (1535), tells his version of the story to the Council of Indies. In the passage below, he narrates how the person in charge of capturing Indians actually picked up about fifty of them and brought them loaded with maize to a place called Piastla, where the Indians were locked up in a house until the marquis had time to see them the following day. When they were trapped and unable to escape, a Spanish official went to check them out. As the Indians saw only one of them, they grabbed him, beat him up, and as he was yelling, others rushed to rescue him, but in revenge the other allies set the house on fire and burned all those who were inside. In the intense fragment Guzmán used LE for the most pressing and harsh actions of the narration.

> [el encargado] recogio hasta çincuenta jndios y *los* truxo cargados de mayz al dicho Piastla; y acordaron aquella noche de encerral*los* en una casa pa vernirse al marqués otro dia; y teniendo*los* alli, entró uno de ellos a requerir*los*. Y como los jndios **le vieron** solo, asen dél, y **comienzanle** a mal tratar, y a las bozes que dava **fueronle** a socorrer, y **quitaronsele**, y acordaron por aquello de poner fuego a la casa y a ellos, y quemaron*los* a los más dentro (109)

4.4.6 Variable use of PARA and PA

The first generation of writers from the Central Highlands show three basic patterns of PARA and PA usage in the contexts discussed in 3.5.5. In contrast with Hernán Cortés, who alternated between the two prepositions, the Spanish speakers representing the protagonists of the colonization of Mexico can be divided into three groups: the first one used mostly PARA; the second group used both the full and the reduced form; and the last group only used the reduced form. These three patterns may not be explained by socio-educational or regional differences because all the writers had similar backgrounds. The full form may have been perceived by some writers as the most appropriate to address the Emperor. Nevertheless, a distinguished colonist close to the Spanish nobility, Rodrigo de Albornoz, was not concerned with this stylistic variation. The author of Doc. 1 used abundantly the abbreviated form PA. The variation in colonial documents may have to do with the same pragmatic alternatives that speakers have at present. If they are in a hurry to complete a fragment of their discourse, they use PA; otherwise they use PARA. The subsample below derived from the lengthy letter delivered to Charles V. The reduced form PA appears partially in italics, whereas the full form appears complete as *para*. In all subsamples where the alternation needs to be shown, I make the difference between *pa* and *para*.

(a) *para que* los venda (34)

(b) *pa que* de alli los enviasen (34)

(c) *pa ayuda* a sus grandes gastos (34)

(d) porque es la tierra más aparejada *pa* servir a Dios (38)

(e) *pa que* los hijos de los caciques y señores (...) se instruyan en la fee (38)

(f) *para que* ninguno exceda ni tome más de lo que fuere (41)

(g) *para poder* ser aprovechados (81)

4.4.7 The use of imperfect subjunctive

The verb tense system in the indicative and subjunctive moods was considerably and gradually reduced from Latin to modern Spanish. Like Hernán Cortés, first generation speakers / writers clearly preferred the subjunctive form ending in −SE in the subordinate clauses as in examples (a) through (g). The use of −SE is preferred over the use of −RA even in sentences in which such ending appears five or more times, as in (f) and (g).

(a) lo qual fue descubierto antes que se *pusiese* en efeto (53)

(b) en toda mj residencia no ubo persona que demanda me *pusiese* nj de mj se *quexase* (97)

(c) Que vuestra señoria y esos señores (...) se *compadesiesen* déstos y *oviesen* dellos misericordia y los *desagraviasen* y *quitasen* algun pedaço siquiera de sus cargos (103)

(d) que *mjrasen* bjen lo que sentençiavan porque si de otra manera lo *hiziesen*, (...) él avja de apelar de la cabsa (123)

(e) Sería gran piedad que pues que Dios a multiplicado aca muchos caballos, que *mandase* vuestra magestad que los *trujesen* en recua (130)

(f) Y que a cada uno dellos se le *repartiessen* en la provinçia donde a*ssentase* çiento o duzientos yndios para que *tuviesse* en administraçion, o se les *diessen* por suyos pa que se *sirviesse* dellos e le *ayudasen* en sus labranças e grangerias; e los *impusiesse* en sus lavores (36)

(g) Yo le respondj que *mjrase* bien lo que hazía, y que luego que la sentencja *fuese* dada, la *apelase* antes que *ovjese* lugar de rogar o mandar, por que yo le avjsava que avja de ynformar a vuestra magestad lo que *pasase* (123)

In conditional sentences, the SI-clause appears with both the ending −SE and the ending −RA. The alternation is justified because the −SE form is slightly more intense expressing the [+ reservation] and [+ subjectivity] intention of hypothetical situations ranging from those that are interpreted as possible to those that are uncertain (in imperfect subjunctive). Sentences with forms ending in −RA in both

the protasis and the apodosis follow one of the structures of medieval Spanish
and appear in Cortesian texts as in (a) through (d).

(a) si Dios no lo *rremediara* no se *pudiera* escusar, y sy se *hiziera*, Dios sabe qujén
     mandara la Nueva España (53)
(b) si mucho se *tardara* la venjda de Hernando Cortés, sabe Dios sy *parara* aquj
     (53)
(c) si él *muriera* nunca la tierra se *ganara* (66)
(d) si no se *oviera* ydo a Hibueras que ya él lo *oviera* preso (70)

The other structure used in the 16th century is similar to modern Spanish con-
ditional sentences made up of the protasis and apodosis with subjunctive in the
former and indicative in the latter. The examples (a) through (c) show sentences
in imperfect subjunctive with the ending –SE in combination with the synthetic
conditional ending in –RÍA as in modern Spanish. The contrastive structures are
explained by the process of attrition of –RA with a function of pluperfect which
was changing to simple conditional (Acevedo 1997: 98).

(a) si no *tovjese* judicatura, le *aseguraria* diez mjll pesos de oro (54)
(b) porque sy hazer se *pudiese*, yo *daria* fe de todo esto como escrjbano público
     (56)
(c) sy *huviessen* de conprar las cassas donde agora está ell Audiencia, *serian*
     menester para ello cinquenta mill pesos (115)

4.4.8 Pronouns of address: from Cortés' letters to 1555

The first generation of Spanish speakers settled in New Spain was not made
up of professional writers interested in creative writing; they were rather prag-
matic representatives of the epistolary prose of the times. Colonial documents
are useful to retrieve the data on the patterns of address between the different
actors, and to an extent. they reflect the schemes of social stratification existing
in both Spain and the New World colonies. The pronouns of address used today in
Latin American Spanish are the result of a long process of simplification, which
not only eliminated the opposition between VOS and VOSOTROS but the two
pronouns altogether, on the one hand, and VUESTRA MERCED and VUESTRAS
MERCEDES, on the other. Through evolution of intermediate forms, the second
dyad turned into the modern USTED and USTEDES prevailing in all varieties. The
difference at present lies in the ambivalence of USTEDES, which indicates both
[+ / – deference] in Latin American Spanish, whereas in Castilian Spanish indi-
cates only [+ deference]. The DLNE-AC (1994) also show the forms of address that
are [+ deference / reverence], since the major protagonists in charge of the New

World colonies regularly reported to the authorities in Spain the state of affairs across the Atlantic. Common forms of address used exclusively with the king, the president of the Council or the members of the Council are the following: *Vuestra catholica cesarea magestad*, *Vuestra sacra majestad*, *Vuestra magestad*, *Vuestra señoria*, *Vuestra reverencia*; these forms were often abbreviated and conjugated with verbs in the 3rd person singular masculine and feminine. Occasionally, the members of the Council were addressed as *Vuestras mercedes*, abbreviated as *vs. ms.*, which appears 6 times in the letter by Diego de Ocaña (Doc. 3, 1526).

Other patterns of address appear in the brief correspondence between Nuño de Guzmán and his servant (Doc. 5, 1529). When Nuño de Guzmán headed to Mexico to scrutinize the new government, he had the full support of the Spanish Crown. His servant, Antonio de Godoy, was addressed with *vos* 17 times making *vos* agree with its corresponding verb forms, possessive adjectives and object pronouns as in (a) through (c); in contrast, in Doc. 6 Nuño de Guzmán received *vuestra merced* 15 times from his servant as in (d). *Vuestra merced* (abbreviated *v.m.*) appears many more times in short informal business notes between buyers and sellers. In sum, at this stage the singular pronouns between interlocutors are only *vos* and *vuestra merced*.

(a) resçebi una carta *vuestra*. Y en lo que *decis* del caçonzi y su hermano, pareçeme que en algo *teneys* razón (63)
(b) que acudan a su tiempo a donde les *hordenaredes* (63)
(c) yo no querria que *vos os apartasedes* dello, sino que *enbiasedes* el oro que ay y que p*rocureys* de que en ese rio que se ha hallado se hechen mjs quadrillas (63)
(d) Aqui me escrive *vuestra merced* (...) Suplico a *vuestra merced* le haga bolver (64)

4.4.9 Diffusion of Spanish, discourse markers, and lexical items

It has been proposed from the onset that the most significant agents of diffusion and change of Mexican Spanish were the Spanish speakers residing in the different regions of New Spain, but particularly those who lived and worked in the Central Highlands. Some of the features that appeared in 16th century colonial sources disappeared when the colonial period ended. Others have survived through the 21st century and are vital today in colloquial Mexican Spanish. This section highlights three items that have relevance today: (1) the verb *platicar* meaning 'to chat', but which had the meaning of a more formal talk. (2) The use of the verb *pregonar* ('to announce publicly' or 'to proclaim'), because it is directly

related to the diffusion of Spanish. (3) The discourse marker *dizque*, which is obsolete in Spain, but still common in Latin American Spanish.

4.4.9.1. The verbs *platicar* and *charlar* mean 'to chat', but first generation Spanish speakers clearly preferred the former in [+ formal] domains and registers. In Spain the verb *charlar* is preferred over *platicar*, but in Mexican Spanish *platicar* descended to a colloquial register.
(a) he *platicado* con muchos esta materja (31)
(b) que se *platycava* entrellos que hera pa prender al fator y veedor (50)
(c) que su jntinçion hera qual con ellos habia *platicado* (83)
(d) Hanme jnformado, y en esta çibdat asi se *platica* entre quien lo sabe (85)

4.4.9.2. The role of the *pregonero* in the diffusion of Spanish cannot be underestimated. The crier was an official representative of the local governments and was supposed to maintain confidentiality except when it was the right time and place to make public announcements. The expressions '*dar pregones*', *'pregonarse'*, *'voz de pregonero'* and *'hacer pregonar'* were common in colonial texts.
(a) Fueron alla el fator y veedor con mucha gente y *dieronse pregones* (50)
(b) y *dieronse pregones* (...) pa deriballe la puerta y hecho otro requerimjento por *boz de pregonero*, abrieron con çiertas condiçiones (50)
(c) Hernando Cortés (...) hazía rrepartimyento de yndios a muy gran priesa y *hizo pregonar* conqujstas y armadas (54)
(d) Este mjsmo día en la tarde *se pregonó* en la plaça desta çibdad, *por pregonero* y ante escrjbano, çiertas ordenanças que Hernando Cortés hizo (...) y otras muchas otras ordenanças que *se pregonaron* (59)
(e) los servjdores de su magestad dixeron que este *pregon* era crimen magistatis (59)
(f) El liçenciado salio a la plaça y hizo llamar a Hernando Cortes y *hizo ciertos pregones* en que dixo que a su notycia hera venjdo (60)
(g) Lo que suçedera Dios lo sabe. Lo mejor seria asegurallo todo con *prender* media dozena de *pregones* que se puede hazer muy bjen aquj (62)
(h) mandó el factor *pregonar* publicamente que ninguna persona fuse osado de dezir que don Hernando era vibo so pena de çient açotes (69)

4.4.9.3. The discourse marker *dizque* or *diz que*, derived from the impersonal 3rd person plural, *dicen que* ('they say that'), appears frequently in DLNE-AC (1994) where most of the documents deal with narrations of hypothetical situations.
(a) y ya que amanecio *diz que* dieron sobre los que quedaban y prendieron al capitan (25)

(b) y a los indios que de aca yban con los christianos *dizque* guardaron para comer, y a los christianos hechaban en la laguna porque *diz que* los han provado y son duros y amarga la carne de ellos (25

(c) aunque el estrecho no se halle, como no *dizque* le ay, podrian venir los navios (35)

(d) venian a la ysla Scoyra donde *diz que* habitan christianos, (...) y ahi *dizque* la tomavan en camellos (35)

(e) y assi *diz que* sería muy provechoso que vuestra majestad mandasse venir tres o quatro mill labradores (36)

(f) Hernando Cortés (...) *diz que* escrivjo al dicho Proaño pa que le rrevocase el poder y lo diese a otro, y *diz que* enbjó a Geronjmo Lopes escrjbano del rrey (61)

(g) porque *diz que* Diego Velasquez no tenia liçençia de vuestra majestad (66)

(h) Y para vuestra majestad *diz que* señaló algunas cibdades y provjncias bien principales (67)

(i) hera cosa admiraçion las quexas que *diz que* le yvan a dar (72)

(j) que *diz que* fue cosa mucho admirable (72)

(k) y por esto *diz que* han querido ahorcar un señor destos (82)

4.4.10 Loans from Taino and Nahuatl

In describing the economic and political situation that the envoys of Carlos V found in New Spain, authors used the most frequent Tainismos that the Spanish-speaking men had brought from the islands. Most of them sounded natural and adjusted to Spanish, the most frequent being *cacique*, which was spelled both *caçique* and *cazique*, followed by *maiz* (also spelled *mays*, *mahiz*, *mayz*), which by then was preceded by common phrases as noun modifiers: *"mazorcas de maiz"* (31), *"alhondigas de maiz"* (78), *"puño de mahiz"*, (84) *"hanegas de mayz"* (94), *"cargas de maiz"* (134). Some others are not too frequent in the Mexican colonial sources (*areytos* and *piragua*). On the other hand, the Nahuatl loans include the equivalent of the Taino loan *cacique*, which was *caçonçi* with variable spellings (*cazonzi*, *calsulsin*). First generation speakers introduced toponyms such as *Çacatula* (28), *Piastla* (109), and *Tlaçhinolticpac* (137), and a few patronymics representative of the peoples they slowly discovered such as *çapotecas* (48) and *chichimecas* (110). The loans also show the incipient knowledge they had about the societal roles and social stratification of the Mesoamerican culture and their objects: *maçeguales* ('laborers'), *caconzi* ('chief leader'), *tequilatos* ('tax collectors'), *tianguez* ('markets'), *calpisques* ('majordomos'). During the first three decades after the conquest of Mexico, the noun *caçonçi* was in open competition

with *cacique*, but the former did not survive in the modern lexicon of Mexican Spanish, except in discourse referring to Mesoamerican culture, as in item (i).

(a) encontro con siete o ocho mercaderes indios que venian en una *canoa* (25)

(b) yo procuré con el *caçique* de Çacatula (28)

(c) que diese de cuatro en cuatro meses (…) y *maiz* y *cacao*, que son unas almendras que ellos usan por moneda (28)

(d) demandar a su *caçique* oro (30)

(e) un dia que ellos estaban en sus *areytos*, que es su fiesta (31)

(f) avian bendido tres o quatro vezes en sus *tianguez*, o mercados que tienen cada dia (31)

(g) venian en una grandes *piraguas* (34)

(h) por el *cacao* se da oro (38)

(i) por temor del *caçonçi* (40)

(j) aunque viniessen en diez mill *canoas* no pararian (44)

(k) haze hahorcar al *cazique* y al otro (110)

(l) los *maçeguales* no tienen tierras propias (130)

(m) a todos los azen pecheros y tributarios: a los señores principales, *tequjlatos* (130)

(n) tortillas y *chile* y un poco de *atule* (130)

4.5 The speech of Diego de Ordaz

El habla de Diego de Ordaz is a major contribution to the history of New World Spanish (Lope Blanch 1985). Diego de Ordaz represents the educated Castilian man of arms and letters with clear ambitions to climb the social ladder via his own merits as explorer and soldier. His letters (1529-1530) belong to the documents of the first generation of Spanish speakers living in the Central Highlands who were Cortés' contemporaries. Ordaz' traits correspond to the Castilian norms prevailing during the first half of the 16th century.

The pronunciation of vowels was one of the features defining the transition from late medieval to modern Spanish. The vacillation of strong mid vowels (*o, e*) and weak high vowels (*i, u*) identify writers of this era. Diego de Ordaz confused the following pairs: *espicial / especial*, *escrevire / escrivire*, *perjoizio / perjuizio*, *encorporado / incorporado*, *recebir / recibio*, *recibieron / recebido*. He also used strong vowels as in the following variants: *venieredes*, *envierno*, *posieron*, *podieron*, *morio*, *tovieron*, *conplio*, *ovieran*, *morio*, *acochillar*, *mesmo*, *doplicada*, *delegencia*, *sofrir*, *fondir*; and occasionally he also used the modern Spanish variants with weak vowels, as in *invierno*, *descubierto*.

The pronunciation of consonants reflects the norms of educated individuals of this period. Ordaz distinguished between (a) the palatal lateral /λ/ (in writing <ll>, <li>, <ly> or simply <l>) as in *hallo, lleve, allá, vasallo, caballero, valle, Castilla, lyeva, lieva, levar*, and (b) the central palatal /y/ (in writing < *y*> or <*i*>) as in *aya, mayo, huyendo, sayo, yegua, suyas, joyas*. He also maintained the distinction between the voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/ (in writing <x>) and its corresponding voiced counterpart /ʒ/ (in writing <j> and <g>) as in *dexar, caxa, dixo, baxas, taxo*, as opposed to *conejo, mujer, ajeno, mejor, viejos, espejos, trabajo* and *ovejas*. This distinction corresponds to both *toledano* and Castilian. With respect to voiced labials Ordaz differentiated between occlusive /b/ and fricative /β/, the former appearing in intervocalic position as in *abierta, cabo, abrir, cabeçera, saber*, and the latter in *aver, dever, cavallo, provecho, ovejas, llevar*. Although the confusion between these two phonemes had started in earlier times, he shows systematic correction according to medieval standards. Also, the aspiration of initial H- derived from Latin F- appears to be the norm; he writes *hanbre, hazer, hablar, holgar, hasta, harto, harina, hallar, hijos, enhilado*; and there are no anti-etymological aspirations since he writes *aver, ay, ahora, eredad, abito, oy, os, onrra*. Diego de Ordaz spoke and wrote like the educated Castilians of his time: he did not distinguish the voiced apico-alveolar fricative /ż/ from the voiceless /ś/, but he did distinguish the affricate dentals /ẑ/ and /ŝ/. Finally, he was neither *ceceante* nor *yeista*, and aspirated initial H due to either the preservation of an articulatory habit or a good knowledge of orthography.

4.5.1 Morpho-syntactic features of Diego de Ordaz

The analysis of the morpho-syntactic features that appear in Diego de Ordaz' letters aids in the reconstruction of the different variants used since the early decades of the 16th century. The evolution of atonic pronouns, use of imperfect subjunctive, and the combination of tenses with the SI-clause can be traced from first generation writers to modern times.

4.5.1.1. In Diego de Ordaz' letters the position of the atonic pronouns varies according to the verb tense. In modern Spanish, the atonic pronoun is placed before the conjugated verb, as in "*se habia* hecho". With verbal phrases, the atonic pronouns can have various positions: before the auxiliary verb: "*lo he* de hacer", before or after the infinitive, "*helo* de hacer" or "he de hacer*lo*". The second variant is infrequent in modern Spanish. With non-conjugated forms, verbal clitics can go either before the infinitive, as in (a) "hazeme escritura de *me volver*"; (b) "para *vos dar*

parte"; (c) "Vase a Sevilla para *se embarcar*", or after infinitives, as in (d) "trabaje *por enviarla* mas firme" (Lope Blanch 1985: 64, 67-68).

4.5.1.2. In Diego de Ordaz' letters, there are 156 sentences where 79 SI-clauses appear in the protasis, and where the −SE form is used in both the protasis and the apodosis, as in (a)-(c). In temporal clauses expressing anteriority or posteriority with the connectors *antes de que* or *quando*, the subjunctive form in −SE was commonly used as in (d) and (e). When the result was hypothetical, as in (f), the imperfect subjunctive form in −SE was also preferred (Lope Blanch 1985: 97-98).

(a) Si *hallaseis* a quien vender la casa, la *vendieseis* (107)
(b) Si quando el *fuese*, vos las *ovieseis* vendido, la venta vuestra valga y la mia no (110)
(c) Si *viniese* algun navio i me *enviaseis* dineros (112)
(d) Antes que me *partiese* a Madrid (...) *os* escrevy (115)
(e) quando yo *volviese* a la tierra a vsar el regimiento, le bolvere sus dineros (115)
(f) les dexo vna carta o dos para que os las *diesen* con el oro (115)

4.5.1.3. Forms ending in −RA appear in main, concessive or adversative clauses and refer to events in the past when the events are uncertain or impossible. In cases (b) through (d) writers of modern standard Spanish would have preferred the indicative conditional form ending in −RÍA. The concurrence of the forms ending in −RA and in −RÍA was not a remarkable trait in the Spanish of the 16th century, but it is today in varieties of both peninsular and Latin American Spanish.

(a) por esto no pude aca aver el perdon, aunque *dieran* diez mil ducados (113)
(b) las cartas de favor para los oidores bien *podieran* ir antes (113)
(c) a el mejor le *fuera* esperar (113)
(d) se esperaba su residencia (...) pensando que la *hizieran* como juezes sin pasion (113)

Like other writers of his time, Diego de Ordaz gradually replaced the simple form in −RA with the compound form *hubiera* + past participle. As the typical construction for past contrary-to-fact invaded the space of the present contrary-to-fact, it was necessary to select a structure that would be unambiguously past. The perfect tenses were available in different combinations. All in all Diego de Ordaz reveals his superior education in the epistolary genre and appears to be the most versatile user of verb tenses and verb modes. Other letter writers who did not reach that level of education were not able to maneuver the stylistic variations of medieval and pre-modern Spanish (cf. Lope Blanch 1985).

4.5.1.4. In Castilian Spanish the pronoun *vos* was the most common subject pronoun used to address those in a subordinate position (master to servants, servants and servants) but it was also used as an object pronoun. Lope Blanch (1985: 17) documents a fragment of the 1530 letter that the Queen of Spain delivered to Diego de Ordaz, who was addressed with the subject pronoun *vos* as in sentence (a). In items (b) and (c), *vos* is used as object pronoun alternating with *os* in sentence (d).

(a) Por quanto *vos* el capitan Diego de Ordaz, vezino de la Nueva España me heziste rrelacion que por, por la mucha voluntad que *teneys* al servicio del Emperador y Rrey mi señor y mio.

(b) Primeramente *vos* doy licencia e facultad para que por nos y en nuestro nombre y de la Corona Real de Castilla *podays* conquistar y poblar dichas tierras.

(c) por honrrar vuestra persona e por *vos* hazer merced prometemos de *vos* hazer nuestro governador e Capitan General.

(d) Otrosy *os* hazemos merced del titulo e nuestro Adelantado.

4.5.2 The origins of *voseo*

The letters that Diego de Ordaz wrote to his nephew reveal the trends on the use of *tú* and *vos*, pronouns that at the time belonged to the same semantic domain. Because Ordaz was worried about his properties in New Spain, he delivered many recommendations to his nephew. Diego de Ordaz did not use mixed forms (e.g., *tú pedís* or *vos dices*), but he did omit the final −*d* of the affirmative command of the pronoun *vos*. In addition, he also inverted the order of consonants in those commands ending in −*d*. Table 4.2 shows the normative forms of the three conjugations (−AR, −ER, −IR) of the verbs *tomar*, *tener*, *pedir*. The pronoun *tú* appears in Column 1 and the pronoun *vos* in Column 5 with their corresponding conjugations in the present tense (Columns 2 and 6), preterit indicative (3 and 7), and affirmative commands (Columns 4 and 8). These paradigms are helpful to understand the internal changes that originated the New World Spanish innovation known as *voseo*.

Table 4.2: *Tú* and *vos* in three conjugations and three tenses

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
TÚ	Present	Preterit	Command	*VOS*	Present	Preterit	Command
Tomar	Tomas	Tomaste	Toma	Tomar	Tomáis	Tomasteis	Tomad
Tener	Haces	Hiciste	Haz	Tener	Tenéis	Tuvisteis	Tened
Pedir	Pides	Pediste	Pide	Pedir	Pedís	Pedisteis	Pedid

New World Spanish *voseo* may have its origins in an internal change originating in final −*d* dropping of affirmative commands corresponding to the pronoun *vos* (see Column 8). Examples (a) through (g) illustrate the forms that were normative at the time (Lope Blanch 1985: 206-209). A verbal clitic appearing before the affirmative command was also used, as in (h).

(a) *dad* a esos señores esas cartas
(b) *tened* mucha vijilancia
(c) *hazed* todo lo que podierdes
(d) *echad* conejos y venados
(e) *enviad* todo lo que buenamente podierdes
(f) I *criad* en Guaçoçingo muchos puercos
(g) *mirad* si podéis dar un corte
(h) I luego *le poned* la demanda

Although the normative use prevails in Diego de Ordaz' correspondence, occasionally he dropped the final −*d*, as in (a) *tomáØ* posesión; (b) *PasáØ* a Guaçoçingo algunos naranjos; (c) I *tenéØ* quenta con esos señores (Lope Blanch 1985: 206, 214, 219). More interesting examples of affirmative commands appear when the verbal clitic goes after the affirmative command, since via metathesis, the final −*d* takes the place of the initial −*l* of the verbal clitic. This use appeared consistently 37 times (Lope Blanch 1985: 209, 212, 213, 219).

(a) *Daldes* de comer
(b) *hazeldos* que entiendan
(c) i *traeldo* bien tratado
(d) *quitalde* la india Isabel
(e) i *sabeldo* pedir a su tiempo

The tendency to drop the final −*d* in words other than commands is common in both Castilian and Andalusian. In addition, alveolar consonants L + D do not appear in clusters but in syllable-coda position (e.g., *al-da*-ba, al-*cal-de*, *bal-de*) thus increasing the probabilities of deleting final −*d* in other positions. Diego

de Ordaz and other speakers might have pronounced their commands in coda position: *dal-des*, *hazel-dos*. Final −*d* dropping in affirmative commands and the semantic overlap of the 2nd person singular pronouns *tú* and *vos* may have been conducive to the emergence of *voseo*. One more internal change dealing with reduction of diphthongs complements the explanation of *voseo*. The present tense (as in Column 6 in Table 4.2) eventually rendered monopthongized forms in verbs of the 1st and 2nd second conjugations: *vos tomás*, *vos tenés*, *vos llamás*, *vos querés* in those sub-regions in which *voseo* survived (most Central and South American countries).

4.6 Nahuatl loans in the *Vocabulario de la lengua castellana y mexicana*

The opposite of Hernán Cortés was the young Alonso de Molina, who immigrated to New Spain with his parents and a younger brother when he was in his mid-teens. Molina learned Nahuatl for preaching and teaching the Christian doctrine, was educated within the cloisters of the Franciscan Order, and never returned to Spain. He is the author of two major works of philology: the Nahuatl grammar and the *Vocabulario de la lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana* (henceforth *Vocabulario*, 1555/1570) which has been used mostly as a source of Nahuatl lexicography but rarely as a source to investigate the origins of Mexican Spanish. In the prologue Molina claims that faith should be taught in the language of the native people; those who preach and teach should know the propriety of the words they use, for the language and phrases of the natives are very different from Latin, Greek and Castilian. The *Vocabulario* not only contains Tainismos and Nahuatlismos, but it gathered the most vital Spanish items at the time and those that were conveniently translated into Nahuatl. Molina was fluently bilingual and bi-literate but he claimed he did not know the Nahuatl language like a native speaker. Nahuatl lexical items were selected by Spanish speakers who had been in contact with Nahuatl from the 1520's on. Proto-Mexican Spanish was enriched with borrowings recorded in the Spanish section of the *Vocabulario* (see Table 4.3). The Spanish / Nahuatl section of the *Vocabulario* integrated the loans from Nahuatl that were being used in the New Spanish society before 1555. Spanish speakers had a good ear and transcribed the loans following closely their original pronunciation. The Mexican Spanish koine differs from other regional koines in that in addition to incorporating lexical items from Taino, it integrated those from Nahuatl. Appearing in the first edition of the *Vocabulario*, Nahuatl borrowings were adapted by Spanish speakers in the following manner.

First, the grapheme <x> represented the Nahuatl sibilant that appeared as voiceless pre-palatal fricative in initial position; this coincided with the same medieval Castilian phoneme that went through regular evolution and ended as modern *jota*, as in items 19-23 in Table 4.3. Second, voiceless dental fricative /s/ appears before consonants as in items 6, 17, 25, 39; and in intervocalic position as in items 42 and 45. Third, the affricate phoneme /tɬ/ is distinctively Nahuatl. It appears in items 1, 5-10, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 31, 40-44 and 46-47. In contact with Spanish, such pronunciation, however, resulted in at least two variants: the first one retained the affricate quality and the second one added the paragogic letter −e as in *aguacate* (1), *cacahuate* (5), and *camote* (9). The second variant omitted the affricate as in *jícama* (20) and *tequio* (41). The frequency of nouns ending in /tɬ/ and the numerous toponyms with the same phoneme contributed to the retention of the affricate in modern times. Such persistence is associated to the prestige of Nahuatl. Some Spanish speakers used [tɬ], which they heard from other Spanish speakers who were highly educated such as Alonso de Molina and Bernardino de Sahagún. Yet some others preferred -te, which was the Hispanicized variant of informal speech. The geminate lateral /l:/ in final position was reduced to a Spanish liquid −l, or endings −le or −ra (see items 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 34, 36, 37, 39, 42 and 47). These variations show the prominence of Spanish speakers as agents of diffusion and change because most of the Nahuatlismos are vital at present.

Table 4.3: Nahuatlismos in Molina's *Vocabulario de lengua castellana y mexicana* (1555)

No.	Modern Spanish	Original Nahuatl	Dated	English equivalent	Assimilated
1	Aguacate	AVACATL	1535	Avocado	Yes
2	Aguachil	Spanish 'agua' + CHILLI	Molina	Water of hot pepper	No
3	Aje	AXIN	Before Molina	Unguent	No
4	Atole	ATULLI	Before Molina	Thick drink made of corn	Yes
5	Cacao	CACAHUATL	1525 or earlier	Cocoa drink	Yes
6	Cacastle	CACAXTLI	Molina	Pannier	No
7	Cacle	CACTLI	1532	Sandal	Not completely

Table 4.3 (continued)

No.	Modern Spanish	Original Nahuatl	Dated	English equivalent	Assimilated
8	Camalote	AMALACOTL	Molina	Water plant of rounded leaves	No
9	Camote	CAMOTLI	1551	Yam, sweet potato	Yes
10	Cimate	CIMATL	Molina	Root of plant used as a condiment	No
11	Comal	COMALLI	1532	Clay utensil used to cook *tortillas*	Yes
12	Copal	COPALLI	1532	White or colorless incense	No
13	Chía	CHIA, CHIAN, (CHIANTLI)	1544	Seed of the salvia columbariae	Yes
14	Chile	CHILLI	1521	Hot pepper	Yes
15	Chiquigüite	CHIQUIUITL	1521	Basket	Yes
16	Guacal	VACALLI	Molina	Pannier or box	Yes
17	Huistle	VICTLI	Molina	Shovel	No
18	Hule	OLLI, VLLI	1532	Rubber	No
19	Jacal	XACALLI	1532	Adobe house or hut	Yes
20	Jícama	XICAMATL	1532	Edible tubercle	Yes
21	Jícara	XICALLI	1532	Recipient made of one-half pumpkin	Yes
22	Jilote	XILOTL	1532	Ear of the corn	Yes
23	Jitomate	XITOMATL		Tomato	No
24	Macegual	MACEUALLI	1532	Vassal, laborer	Yes
25	Mastel, mastate	MAXTATL	1532	Underwear	?
26	Mecapal*	MECAPALLI	Molina	Wide and flat string	Yes
27	Metate	METATL	1532	Stone to grind the grains	No
28	Milpa	MILPAN: MILLI + PA(N)	1540	Corn field	Yes
29	Mitote	MITOTL	1545	Vociferous dance	Yes
30	Nahua	NAHUATL, NAHUA		Speaker of Nahuatl	No
31	Nahuatl	NAHUATL		Adjective referring to language	No

Table 4.3 (continued)

No.	Modern Spanish	Original Nahuatl	Dated	English equivalent	Assimilated
32	Nahuatlato	NAHUATLATO	1530-1	Translator, interpreter	Not completely
33	Oyamel	OYAMEL	Molina	Oil-producing tree	Not completely
34	Petaca	PETACALLI	1530-5	Box made of wood rods	Yes
35	Piles	PILLI	Molina	Aztec noblemen	No
36	Pinole	PINOLLI	1532	Drink of toasted corn and chia	Yes
37	Tamal	TAMALLI	1552	Corn bread	Yes
38	Tameme	TLAMAMA, TLAMEME	1540	Cargo carrier	Yes
39	Temascal	TEMAZCALLI	1532	Small steam bathroom	No
40	Teponaztli	TEPONAZTLI	1532	Wood drum	Not completely
41	Tequio	TEQUIOTL	ca. 1539	Labor imposed as tribute	Not completely
42	Tezontlale	TEÇONTLALLI	Molina	Porous sand used in construction	No
43	Tomate	TOMATL	1532	Tomato	Not completely
44	Tlaxcalmimilli	TLAXCALMIMILLI	Molina	Long corn bread	No
45	Tuza	TOÇAN, TUÇAN	Molina	Gofer	Not completely
46	Yelosóchil	YELOXUCHITL	Molina	Aromatic flower	No
47	Zoalli	TZOALLI	Molina	Roll bread of seeds	No

Source: E. Hernández (1996: passim) period *It appears in the edition of 1555

4.7 The explicative model of proto-Mexican Spanish

Spanish language contact with indigenous languages, particularly Nahuatl, has to be reckoned with in the explicative model of proto-Mexican Spanish. The fact that Mexican /s/ ended up with a [+ tense] quality may be explained by the direct contact of Spanish speakers with Nahuatl during the decades in which it was the

most widely heard and spoken in Mexico City and its surroundings. It was also a language that was first codified in the Romanized tradition and implemented to fulfill certain functions in religious domains. The transliteration of Nahuatl and other indigenous languages began in the early decades of the 16th century. Therefore, its prestige was beyond doubt. Nahuatl borrowings were added to the Spanish spoken in New Spain after the addition of Tainismos had taken place. It can even be argued that the sibilants coming in from *toledano-castellano* merged with those of Nahuatl rendering a new (proto-Mexican Spanish) sibilant slightly more tense than the one used in most Spanish varieties. Tenseness of /s/ occurred after Spanish speakers selected and incorporated sufficient Nahuatlismos to the Spanish spoken in New Spain.

A corpus consisting of 94 documents (1524-1578) shows the patters of transliteration of Nahuatl sibilants into Spanish consonants (Arias Alvarez and Báez 1996). Table 4.4 shows Nahuatl voiceless dentals in initial and implosive position (1 and 2); also, voiceless palatal fricative 3 appears in initial position in names of places or persons such as Xilotepec and Xochitl, while Nahuatl voiceless affricate 4, identical to Castilian, appears in words such as Michuacan or Mechuacan, Opochtli, Tenochtitlan, Tlacochcalcatl, etc. When sounds are identical, researchers do not find variations of graphemes, but when sounds between the two languages differ, researchers found two systems: one utilized by the missionaries, which is closer to the Spanish grammar described by Elio Antonio de Nebrija, and the second one used by all the other Spanish writers who adapted indigenous sounds to their own speech and writing systems, and for this reason, there is more variation in graphemes.

Table 4.4: Transliteration of Nahuatl borrowings

No.	Description	Symbol	Grapheme	Examples
1.	Voiceless dental fricative	/ś/	\<c>, \<ç> or \<z> in initial position; \<z> or \<s> in implosive position	**Z**acatl > **ç**acate [initial]. Tepo**z**tli > tepu**z**que or tipu**s**que or cocoli**z**tli > cocoli**s**tle
2.	Voiceless dental affricate	/ŝ/	\<tç>,\<ts>, \<tz> in initial position; \<ts> and \<tz> in implosive position	Cal**tz**oltzin > ca**ç**onçi, ca**ç**on**z**i [initial]. Que**tza**lcoatl > Que**ts**al-coatl
3.	Voiceless palatal fricative	/ʃ/	\<x> or \<s> in initial position; \<s> or \<z> in implosive position; or is lost.	Oa**x**aca > Gua**x**aca; **X**icalli > **x**icalas; Me**x**ico > Me**x**ico [initial]. Calpi**x**qui > calipisques

Table 4.4 (continued)

No.	Description	Symbol	Grapheme	Examples
4.	Voiceless palatal affricate	/tʃ/	<ch> in initial position; <s> in implosive position.	**Ch**alco > **Ch**alco; **Ch**olula > **Ch**olula [initial]. Teno**ch**titlan > Teno**zt**titlan, Teno**x**titlan, Teno**s**titlan

The analysis of Nahuatl sibilants is conducive to propose that voiceless dentals 1 and 2 merged with de-affricated Castilian dental sibilants, and added the extra-articulatory tension present in Nahuatl. With respect to voiceless palatal fricative 3, it must be clarified that it remained as such until the process of de-palatalization was completed in Spanish in the 17th century. However, numerous Nahuatl toponyms have retained the palatal fricative 3 and are still used in the area of Nahuatl influence, for example, Santiago *Xalitzintla* (a small town near the Popocatepetl volcano), *ixtle* (string or lancet made of fiber), *paxtle* (hanging plant). Finally, voiceless palatal affricate 4 is identical to Spanish *<ch>* and has remained as such in both Nahuatl and Spanish. This completes the preliminary formula of the explicative model of proto-Mexican Spanish both in the realm of non-Spanish lexicon and pronunciation of the sibilants. Nahuatlismos appearing in DLNE-AC (1994) complement the invaluable data published in 1555 by Alonso de Molina.

4.8 The Gulf of Mexico

Twenty-three manuscripts belonging to the Cortesian period (1520-1555) appear in *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España: Golfo de México* (DLNE-EG 2008). Document 1 is a letter by Hernán Cortés, in which he informed the king of Spain of the arrest of Moctezuma. It was handwritten by Cortés himself in Segura de la Frontera at Tepeaca (present day state of Puebla). The rest of the documents were issued at Cempoala, Veracruz, Antequera, Panuco, Tehuantepec, Xalapa, towns spawning along the coasts of the present states of Tamaulipas, Veracruz, Tabasco, Campeche, Quintana Roo, and Yucatan proper, a region that was explored before or at the same time that the Central Highlands, but which was neglected by the New Spanish officials. These manuscripts reveal the preoccupation of the writers with the precarious conditions of the area, which was teeming with a diversity of problems. One of them was the absence of authorities such as mayors, judges, and military personnel. According to the missionaries who were able to visit the

region in this period, the few Spanish speakers in charge of this region were oblivious of the regulations on the treatment of slaves and Indians, who were at the personal services of the *encomenderos*. Despite the severe conditions, there was trade and reports on trade and other activities. All of the documents were prepared by the personnel of the Inquisition, friars and scribes, that is, all of them deal with the topics discussed in Cortesian texts and show the features of the early period, although Tainismos and Nahuatlismos are not abundant.

The close vowels of modern Spanish (*i* and *u*) replaced mid open vowels (*e* and *o*) in words such as in *escrevir* and *escreví* (71) *oregynales* (85), *recebir* (74, 77), *remetirme* (79) in the first group and *estoviese* (42) and *sotilezas* (57) in the second. (2) The grapheme <x> representing the voiceless palatal fricative was used by the first generation of Spanish speakers as in *dixo* (49) *truxeron* (61). (3) The spelling of words with initial F- alternates with the spelling of initial H: *faria* (31), *fazen* (28), *fecho* (28), *hazerme* (30), *hizo* (80), and *hiziese* (41). At the same time anti-etymological aspiration can be found in *harriero* (47), *hedad* (50), *henemigo* (45), *hera* (35) *henojo*, *hevidente* (37) *hordena* (59), *hebrero*, *hechar*, etc. (4) Addition of a palatal between vowels in verbs like SER and VER appears in *"beyendo esto, hablé al presidente"* (82), *"porque beyendo yo su disolución"* (82) and *"Seyendo ellos los acusadores"* (85).

The variations of pronunciation are glaring in *crus* (43), *desía* and *desían* (44), *Veracrús* (45), *disiendo* (49), *hiso* (47), *vesino* (45), *fise* (67), and <z> in *paresze* (55), *avizo* (83), *dezasosiego* (83). Although there is no aspiration or deletion of /s/ in implosive or final position, the opposite trait occurs in rare occasions, that is, there is an additional *–s* in implosive position as in the *ornasmientos* [ornamientos] (81), perhaps representing a tendency towards hypercorrection.

Spellings of the verbs TRAER and VER were variable. Like the authors from the Central Highlands, those from the Gulf hesitated between *truxe* and *traxo*, as in (a), (b), (d), (e) and (f), even in the same manuscript, while the medieval spelling of preterit tense of the 3rd person singular of the verb VEDERE was *vido*, as in (c) and (g).

(a) Se me avian perdido los que *truxe* (40)

(b) *traxo* uno de los officios de la Casa de la Contrataçión (45)

(c) estaba muy mala quando este testigo la *vido*, con la candela en la mano (51)

(d) se [ha] de hazer consçiençia de aver cargado los yndios que lo *truxeron* (61)

(e) las cartas que *truxo* el primillo (68)

(f) la plata que *traxo* de la costa de la Florida (85)

(g) una vez *bido* cubrir parte de la dicha iglesia a los dichos yndios (82)

4.8.1 The sibilants in the Gulf

The documents from the Gulf belonging to the first part of the 16th century (1-23) are useful to illustrate the traits of the first generation of writers, who with few exceptions were representatives of the Spanish Crown or local functionaries occupying diverse positions. There are letters to the king, testimonies, interrogatories, inventories, business letters, statements, petitions and a few personal missives. In Doc. 1 (pp. 27-31) Hernán Cortés did not use *<ss>* in imperfect subjunctive (e.g. *hiçiese*, *estuviese*, *dixesen*, *declarasen*, *supiesen*, *fuesen*, but preserved the use of *<ç>* as in *obedeçían*, *alçado*, *relaçión*, *apelaçiones*, *notiçia*, etc. He preferred the sequence -*sç*- in verbs with this combination in the stem (*paresçió*, *conosçer*) and used the grapheme <z> in *paz*, *fazen*, *hizo*, *perjuyzio*, *dezia*, *dozientos*; only in one occasion did he alternate between *hiçiese* and *hiziese*. In Doc. 2 (pp. 32-38), Cristóbal de Tapia, used single *<s>* in *pusyesen*, *consentiesen*, preserved the grapheme *<ç>* (*alteraçión*, *bolliçio*, *poleçía*), and preferred the sequence -*sç*- in *paresçe*, *resçiban*, *reconosçen*, but once he used *mereçió*. He also used *dézimo*, *juezes*, *gozaba* and anticipated the *seseante* tendency in *hisyese*, *rasón*. Doc. 3 (pp. 39-42) is the letter addressed to Carlos V by Francisco de Montejo, who wrote *hize*, *reçebir*, *nesçesidad*, *esperança*, *mudança*. Documents 4 and 5 (pp. 43-47), drafted by the notary of the Inquisition in Antequera, narrate Melchior Romero's testimony against Ruy Díaz; in both documents he used single -*s*- in *supiese*, *hiziese*, *viniese*, *fuese*, but there is a case of -*ss*- in *tress*. The notary used the grapheme *<ç>* in *conoçe*, *provinçias*, *liçençia*, *governaçión*, *perteneçe*, and the grapheme *<z>* in *hazen*, *hizo*, *dize*, etc. He also included samples of *seseo* in *crus*, *desían*, *disiendo*, *hiso*, *relasión*, *hasía*, *vesino*, etc. The remaining documents 6-23 cover almost two decades from 1537 to 1555. The authors tend to preserve the grapheme *<ç>* according to the etymological use as in *sentençia*, *çien*, *començó*; at the same time, the grapheme *<ss>* in imperfect subjunctive is rare or almost obsolete, while single *<ç>* alternates with -*sç*- in *conosçe* (51), *paresçe* (52), *resçibido* (54), *nasçimiento* (66). The alternate use of *<z>* and *<ç>* also appears in *dezia* and *deçía*, and the grapheme *<z>* began to appear in anti-etymological position as in *azero*, *prozeso* (54, 55), *paresze* (56), *rezio* (66), *azeyte* (68), *avizadme*, *avizo* (83). Although in the Gulf the grapheme *<z>* did not prevail, it was the most frequent practice. As the century goes on *<ss>* reappears in words that did not have it as in *quissiese* (74) and alternated with single *<s>*, as in *pesos* (70) and *pessos* (71). Finally, the cases of *seseo* are extremely rare, *fise* (67).

4.8.2 *Leísmo* in the Gulf

The language data from the Gulf reveal patterns that are similar to those found in the Central Highlands. Cortesian documents confirm the tendency towards the use of *leísmo*. In the sub-sample below, there are 28 cases of clitics referring to [+ masculine accusative]. Singular LE appears 18 times while there are 12 cases of LO. In sentences (a) through (l) the author of Doc. 1 (pp. 27-38), Hernán Cortés refers to Moctezuma using both LE and LO, which means that Cortés was at times *leísta* and at times pro-etymologist. The rest of the authors are also inclined to use both pronouns. (For discussion of plurals LES and LOS, see Hidalgo, 2013).

(a) se a dado notiçia del dicho Motecçuma después que *lo* tuvo preso (27)

(b) *lo* syguró fasta que *lo* prendió pa del todo saber los sujetos desta tierra (27)

(c) E los naturales destas partes *lo* tienen por gran señor (28)

(d) asý a él en nombre de sus Altezas ***le an tenido e obedeçido*** (28)

(e) algunos de los naturales destas partes que ***le yvan a ver*** (30)

(f) quel era el dicho Motecçuma y se *lo* hiziese soltar (30)

(g) en prendiéndo*lo* o soltando al dicho Motecçuma, luego se avía de yr (30)

(h) ***viéndole*** a él salir de la dicha çibdad (...) y que *lo* sacasen de la presyón (30)

(i) Mutecçuma tenía conçertado, aviendo muerto a los españoles que ***le aguardaban*** (30)

(j) ***le avía enviado*** con ciertos navíos y gentes a descubrir y a poblar esta tierra (31)

(k) siempre ***le ha visto*** ser arriero de esta tierra [a Ruy Diaz] (44)

(l) Fue preguntado que sy al dicho Ruy Diaz ***le ha oýdo*** blasfemar o dezir mal (44)

(m) Fuele preguntado sy es pariente del dicho Ruy Dias este testigo, o sy es su henemigo o ***le*** quiere mal (45)

(n) ni ***le quiere mal*** más de a las malas obras que ***le a visto*** hacer [a Ruy Diaz] (45)

(o) lo que sabía del dicho Ruy Dias a la justicia lu[e]go que *lo* conoció en estas partes (45)

(p) que ***le vee facer*** obras de buen cristiano [a Viçençio] (52)

(q) ***le oyó*** decir este testigo sobre cierta deferençia [al acusado] (54)

(r) "Dios no tuvo padre, y se llamó Josepe, y ***le llamavan*** hijo de un carpintero" (55)

(s) Fuele preguntado sy conoçe a Gonzalo Bernal o de qué tiempo a esta parte *lo* cono*çe* (57)

(t) Dixo que *lo* conoce avrá quatro o çinco años [a Bernal] (57)

(u) Ni él (el Padre Alonso Ruyz) *lo* a confesado ni menos sabe quién *lo* a confesado (57)

(v) porque sy se desmandava, ***le castigaran*** como merecía [al autor de las calumnias] (68)

(w) se ha apartado este testigo de ***velle*** jugar [al acusado] (72)

(x) y se fue por no ***oýrle*** decir más (73)

(y) "más ***le he o**ý**do dezir*** que eso, que ha dicho:…" [el acusado] (73)

(z) no e podido ***favorecelle*** como quisiera [al yerno Gerónimo] (83)

4.8.3 Use of subject pronouns: *vos*, *vosotros*, *vuestra merced*

The missives of this period are addressed to the king or to other civil and ecclesiastic authorities in Spain; for this reason personal pronouns are not too frequent, but appear as null subjects as in *vosotros* (a) and *vos* as in (f). The most frequent form of address was *vuestra merced*, normally abbreviated *v.m.* All of them agreed with the same possessives *Vuestra Real Corona*, *vuestros vasallos*, *vuestros servidores*, etc.

(a) *avizadme* si sallió buena (83)

(b) y prohoverá *v.m.* pa quando sea neçesario (63)

(c) la pipa de vino habrá *v. m.* recibido (83)

(d) suplico a *vuestra merced* enbíe a mucho recabdo a Martin de Alberruçia (68)

(e) las dos calderas que *v. m.* enbió pata Tustla (83)

(f) hallaron al dicho Gonzalo Bernal comiendo una gallina un viernes, y que le dijo el dicho Andrés de Valladolid: ¿por qué *coméys* oy viernes carne? (58)

4.8.4 Imperfect subjunctive: variations in –SE and –RA

Spanish speakers belonging to the first generation exhibit the miscellaneous uses of –SE and –RA in imperfect subjunctive in the different contexts in which it commonly appeared. Hernán Cortés is the author of Doc. 1, 1520, a letter delivered to the king narrating the capture of Moctezuma in Tenochtitlan. Cortés clearly preferred the ending in –SE, items (a) and (b), but he switched to –RA and –RA in the SI-conditional sentence (c). The subsamples in imperfect subjunctive are grouped under three categories: (1) all the –SE forms in nominal, adjectival and adverbial clauses; (2) –RA forms in the protasis, because this context was the first one in which –RA appeared with subjunctive meaning; and (3) other –RA forms with subjunctive meaning (see Table 4.8A).

(a) E porquel dicho Moteççuma (…) no *hiçiese* ayuntamiento de gentes y *alborotase* la tierra contra él (27)

(b) que no *estuviesen* en esta tierra e que *saliesen* della (28)

(c) Lo qual no *oviera* sy el dicho Narváez no *dixera* lo que dicho es (30)

(d) si lo tal se *pudiera* fazer, diríamos que sy *salieran* al camino e me *tomaran* en Castilla (33)

(e) E sy se proyvió que no *viniesen* otras personas fue porque acá no se *supiese* (35)

(f) convenía que *viesen* e *supiesen* que se cunplían los mandos de Su Magestad (37)

(g) si *conosçieran* que quería oro *pusiéranse* en hazerme alguna trayción por no dallo (39)

(h) lo que Vuestra Magestad me hizo merçed *viniese* a conquistar y poblar en su nombre (41)

(i) si *estoviese* dividido de la del norte, no tendría por dónde se poder proveer (42)

(j) estava con grandísima calentura, como sy *estuviera* en un horno metida (50)

(k) no se casaría con esta muger que al presente tiene si de çierto no *supiera* que era muerta su muger en los reynos de Castilla (52-53)

(l) *Pudiera* escrevir a Guaxaca, pues estava tan çerca como de aquí, y *fuera* luego proveýdo (64)

(m) *Quisiera* saber las vaziedades que me escrive que dezía, porque sy se desmandava, le *castigaran* como merecía (68)

4.8.5 Lexicon

Lexical items can be identified along different semantic categories: (1) Words that refer to indigenous objects are not as abundant as in the Central Highlands, where Tainismos and Nahuatlismos were common, for instance, *calpisques* (76), *naguatato* (68), *tameme* (68, 77), *tyangues* (62), *petacas* and *petaquilla* (71), and *caçonci* (40). (2) There are terms referring to currency and objects made of metal, as in *castellanos* (monetary unit or gold peso with fractions in *reales* and *maravedíes*) (41); *pesos en tostones* (coins of lesser value) (59); *typuzque* (monetary unit made of copper) (59); *pesos de minas* (currency valued at 450 maravedíes) (62, 64), *pesos y tomines* ('pesos and small silver coins') (85); *reales de plata quintada* (coins of sterling silver) (66); *petacas de plata rrefina* ('big boxes of refined silver') (70); *planchas de plata* ('slabs of silver') (70); *rreales de plata* ('silver coins) (85). (3) There is also a semantic category that refers to work, ethnicity, and slavery as in (a) through (g).

(a) tenemos *gente de yndios y negros* carpinteros (60)

(b) Hellos quedan contentos, *y los esclavos muy buenos y bien tratados* (61)

(c) conviene meter un *oficial calafate con los negros* (64)

(d) Mi *moço* lleva cinco *tamemes* o seis suyos (68)

(e) careçen de *calpixques y negros y mestizos* que tienen ordinariamente los encomenderos en sus pueblos (76)

(f) hecha la tasa y mandado que no uviese *tameme ni esclavo* (77)
(g) Y ansí les sacan la sangre a los míseros *yndios en los tributos y serviçio per-sonal* (77)

4.9 Conclusions

The first generation of Spanish speakers, protagonists of the conquest and colonization of Mexico, were the speakers of proto-Mexican Spanish. Simultaneously a smaller group of Spanish speakers settled in the Gulf of Mexico; consequently, Spanish speakers from both regions welcomed the arrival of more Spanish speakers with whom they interacted in the newer domains. In the Central Highlands, they created various permanent institutions: the vice-royal Court, the courts of appeal, the churches and monasteries, and a few schools that stimulated the use of the Spanish variety that was perceived as being formal or semi-formal. Despite their regional differences Spanish speakers remained solidary. Evidence from a variety of documents provides useful information on the variants and variations of the formative period in which various genres generally followed the norms of Castilian Spanish. First generation speakers from Castile and from other regions counted on a model based on late medieval Spanish and at the same time exhibited inclinations towards koineization (1520-1555), a period distinguished by the adoption of Amerindian loans from both Taino and Nahuatl, documented in the most reliable source, the first part of the *Vocabulario* by Alonso de Molina. The external circumstances enhancing this process was first the exploration of the Caribbean islands where Spanish speakers picked up the native lexicon, and later the conquest and colonization of Mexico, where Nahuatl was since pre-Hispanic times the most widespread lingua franca used for intra- and inter-group communication.

The phonetic traits analyzed in this chapter must have presented more variation in the colloquial registers used for daily communication, though in the earliest period none of the features that later defined New World Spanish emerged clearly. For instance, in the realm of the written language, *seseo* is moderate amongst first generation writers. *Seseo* is most reliable evidence of koineization, but is not represented in the early decades of the 16th century for the writers followed mostly Castilian(ized) norms (see Tables 4.5A and 4.5B). In the second half of the 16th century there are more cases of *seseo* (see 6.2.1.). Other traits such as aspiration of –*s* in implosive position, neutralization of -*r* and -*l*, weakening of -*d*- and -*d* are conspicuously absent in this subsample. There is more evidence on the aspiration of initial H (< Latin F) which alternated with the full pronunciation of initial F.

Table 4.5A: Traditional graphemes in the Central Highlands

Period	<s>	<ss>	<ç>	<z>	Total
1525-1555	225 (15.85 %)	93 (6.55 %)	835 (58.84 %)	266 (18.74 %)	= 1419 (100 %)

Table 4.5B Traditional graphemes in the Gulf

Period	<s>	<ss>	<ç>	<z>	Total
1520-1555	78 (16.01 %)	2 (0.41 %)	307 (63.03 %)	100 (20.53 %)	= 487 (100 %)

With respect to morpho-syntactic variants, proto-Mexican Spanish had the same assortment of forms transmitted from Spain. Spanish speakers used both the ancestral proto-etymologist system and the innovative *leísta* system. The samples from the Central Highlands (or Altiplano C.) and the Gulf (or El Golfo) reveal the preference of LE over LO. The inclination for *leísmo* is reflective of the patterns of prestige and formal education, since the speakers were either from northern-central Spain or educated in Castilianized regions. *Leísmo* indicates the divergence from Andalusian drifts (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6: LE and LO in the first half of the 16th century

Region	LE	LO
Altiplano C.	37 / 52	15 / 52
El Golfo	22 / 37	15 / 37
Total = 89	59 (66.29 %)	30 (33.70 %)

In the realm of pronouns of address, New Spain counted with a tripartite system of singular forms: (a) *vos* [+ / – solidarity]; (b) *tú* [+ solidarity] and (c) *vuestra merced* [+ deference], the latter eventually resulting in the neologism *Usted*. The pronoun *vos* prevailed in the intra-familiar domain, as revealed in Diego de Ordaz's letters to his nephew. *Vos* was common in the informal registers and was used to address those speakers perceived as being subalterns. At the same time, mixing *vos* with the verbal paradigm of *tú* fostered the New World *voseo*. Whereas *tú* and *vos* derive from Latin, *vuestra merced* stemmed from the possessive adjective *vuestro/s*. During the colonial period, *vuestra merced* was the most frequent

pronoun of address in the two regions, followed by *vos* while *tú* and *su merced* do not appear in the first half of the 16th century, primarily because the missives of the first generation writers are addressed directly to the king of Spain or other authorities (see Table 4.7). In this subsample, the form *vosotros*, the plural of *vos* and *tú*, is absent, whereas the plural formal *vuestras mercedes* and *sus mercedes* appear only three and two times, respectively.

Table 4.7: Singular pronouns in the first half of the 16th century

Region	Vos	Tú	V. Md.	S. Md.
Altiplano C.	15	0	11	0
El Golfo	3	0	129	0
Total = 158	18 (11.39 %)	0 (0 %)	140 (88.6 %)	0 (0 %)

Finally, Table 4.8A shows the alternating variants –SE and –RA, which have been examined in the Central Highlands by Acevedo (1997: 100-101). Acevedo's methodology is useful to subsume the varied uses of two variants in three main environments (see 4.8.4). This methodology aids in the comparison of the data between regions, as shown in Tables 4.8A and 4.8B.

Table 4.8A: Uses of –SE and –RA in the Central Highlands

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1525-1549	92 % / 252	5.5 % / 16	2.5 % / 7	275

Acevedo (1997: 99, 108)

Table 4.8B: Uses of –SE and –RA in the Gulf

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1520-1555	78 / 90 (86.66 %)	9 / 90 (10.0 %)	3 / 90 (3.33 %)	90