

Chapter 6

Continuity and change: The second generation

6.1 The innovations of the second generation

The second generation of Spanish speakers living in New Spain can be dated from 1555 to the end of the 16th century. Those who were born in New Spain during the long colonial period resisted the dispositions of the Crown, which did not allow the children of Spaniards to maintain the *encomiendas* inherited from their parents more than once. The second generation of Spanish speakers enjoyed the benefits and educational opportunities offered by those who founded the University and schools for the Spanish-speaking youth. Their cohesiveness is exemplified in the connection between Brihuega, a small town in New Castile, and Puebla de los Angeles, the second largest city in New Spain, where about one thousand people or one-fourth of the population of Brihuega settled in the mid-1500's. Puebla evolved as a rich agricultural zone and as a locus for textile production where skilled immigrants were able to work and succeed in the colonial market. The immigrants were sufficiently numerous, and created a niche for themselves in many ways resembling their native hometown, in turn a major factor contributing to identity maintenance (Altman 2000). The socio-cultural and linguistic connections established by Spanish speakers on both sides of the Atlantic in the 17th century attest to the continuity of focused variants in the Mexican Colonial Spanish corpora available at present.

In order to extrapolate the features that might differentiate second generation from first-generation speakers, three sets of documents are examined in this chapter: (1) DLNE-AC (1994) and (2) the *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias* (1589) by Juan Suárez de Peralta represent the Central Highlands, whereas (3) DLNE-EG (2008) represent the Gulf region. The analysis of select variants sheds light on the innovations of the second generation, which are indicative of unstable variability stemming from the contact with both the New World and the mother country. The process of unstable variability may not be glaring because it is not controlled, while the result of the process is unpredictable. The output poses new challenges to researchers, who may want to utilize multiple instruments of scrutiny though the outcomes may still be uncertain. Second-generation speakers were the leaders of change in the new environment because they had exteriorized a type of social conduct that was reacting in opposition to values of the first-generation community. Spanish speakers of the first generation took all the risks, were more adventurous and attempted to become acclimatized to the new soil, though they did not always succeed. Notwithstanding, the two genera-

tions had in common their participation in dense social networks built in the new land. The second generation began to perceive the New World under a different perspective, partially accepted the values of the first, and struggled to assume those of their native land.

6.2 Linguistic documents: the Central Highlands

The published documents covering more than two decades (1562-1585) include personal letters, applications to travel to New Spain, denunciations, testimonies on various matters, and inquisitorial trials. The authors are diverse and overlap with those of the first generation. A few letters from illustrious protagonists are excluded from this analysis: one by Friar Pedro de Ayala, the Second Bishop of Guadalajara; another by Pedro de Gante, the Flemish monk who arrived before the twelve Franciscan friars; yet another authored by Friar Miguel Navarro, an active member of the Seraphic Order who was a longtime protector of Bernardino de Sahagún (see Chapter 7). The rest of the documents were written by ordinary Spanish speakers who were extremely concerned about staying in New Spain and doing all the paperwork necessary to help their relatives in the process of relocation to a different environment. Many of the documents are appropriate to examine the regional pronunciation traits, primarily the sibilants, the evolution of verbal clitics, the use of pronouns of address *tú*, *vos* and *vuestra merced*, their corresponding direct objects and objects of preposition, alternation of -SE and -RA in different contexts, and select lexical items.

6.2.1 Pronunciation traits

The departure from the system of medieval Spanish is more noticeable amongst speakers / writers who were not as active as colonial leaders. Documents 32-78 (pp. 150-239) include applications and personal letters between relatives who share things in common. The use of dental sibilants continues to appear according to the norms of the times: *reçebido* and *bendiçión* (152), *ausençia* (153), *paçiençia* (154), *encareçer* (154), *cabeça* (154), *desgraçiada* (163), *liçençia* (192), *soliçitan* (214), *negoçios* (214), *denunçia* (215); and also *plazera* (152), *agradezca* (153) and *agradezco* (154), *plazer* (157), *dezimos* (160), *lazos* (161). Considering that neither *seseo* nor *çeçeo-zezeo* was the general rule amongst educated speakers / writers, it may be inferred that these Spanish speakers distinguished the traditional spellings. From the graphemic variations, it is obvious that the cases of *seseo* supersede those of *çeçeo-zezeo*. Authors who were inclined to use *seseo*

wrote *acontesido* and *acontesca* (170), *beses* and *besino* (170), *consertase* (186), *juysio* (187), *Rodriges* (191), *onse* (209), *resibi* and *resibire* (213), *veses* (220), *parese* (222), *especial* and *especialmente* (238). At the same time *limpiesa* was alternating with *limpieza* (238). Examples of lexical items with the grapheme <z> in intervocalic position are the following: *capazidad* (146), *escandalize* (162) *parezido* (144), *suzias* (199), *lizenzia* (238), *afizionado* (238). Occasionally the grapheme <z> appears after consonant, as in *desparzieron* (209). In contrast with the abundance of cases of normative pronunciation, the examples of *çeçeo* are just a few: *mençajero* (172), *miceria* (198), *demacjados* (221), *aviço* (222). There is also double interchange of sibilants in *neseçdad* (220). The variations observed in the second generation of writers contrast with the adherence to general rules of medieval Spanish shown by speakers / writers belonging to the first generation.

6.2.2 Other pronunciation features

Language data from the abovementioned sources show some of the features of the prevailing dialects spoken and written in New Spain in the second half of the 16th century. With the exception of the letters delivered by Extremaduran Alonso Ortiz to his wife (see 6.2.6), all the other documents reveal the general inclination to preserve the consonants /d/ and /s/ in absolute final and implosive position. While in the first generation the practice of *seseo* was incipient, in the second generation *seseo* occurred more frequently. Also, the pronunciation of /d/ in final and intervocalic position is preserved in common nouns such as *salud*, *claridad*, *brevedad*, *voluntad*, *lodo*, *descansadas*, *dignidad*, *fidelidad*, *salido*, *marido*, *servido*, *querido*, *acometido*, etc. Occasionally however the omission of /d/ can occur, as in (a), (b) and (c), but such omission is sporadic and clearly contrasts with its preservation as in (d) and (e).

- (a) he *biviØ* en Mexico (167)
- (b) en *amistaØ* y concordia (186)
- (c) *hermandaØ* y *qujetud* (187)
- (d) tanto trabajo y *soledad* (157)
- (e) *limpieza* y *rectitud* (230)

In this subsample the aspiration of initial H includes cases that are clearly anti-etymological: *horden* (155), *hera* (164), *husamos* (164), *henero* (165), *henojado* (167), *hedad* (194), *huna* (233), and one infrequent case of aspiration extended to *hebrero* (152), which contrasts with *febrero* (177). A difference between the first and the second generation is the variety of sibilants used, the most frequent being the use of <s> for etymological <z> and <ç> as in *acontesido* (169), *acontesca* (170),

beses (171), *besino* (171), *haselle* (171), *veses* (220), *ves*, *resibo* (221), *alguasiles* (222), *conosco* (238), *sien* (212), *vejes* (220). *Seseo* is not entirely regular but alternates with other spellings as in *hacienda* (172) and *hazienda* (173) *resebi* (169) and *recibi* (175), *parese* (201) and *parece* (200). Etymological spellings are consistent in some lexical items such as *licencia* (175). Finally, *çeçeo* is less frequent but also appears as in *mençajero* (172) and *desasoçiego* (166).

Preservation of final /s/ in noun phrases consistently marks number agreement and is clearly redundant, even when there is no need for disambiguation as in *dos o tres meses* (213). In the noun phrases below, all noun and their corresponding modifiers (articles, adjectives and nouns) preserve both final /s/ and /s/ in implosive position.

- (a) las mujeres cuerdas (156)
- (b) sus humildes vasallos de aquellas partes (160)
- (c) yndios principales y naturales (173)
- (d) delitos tan orrendos (166)
- (e) mis sobrinos y deudos (184)
- (f) a todos los demás parientes y amigos (191)
- (g) las causas de sus deudos (214)
- (h) los leales vasallos (214)
- (i) los cojos y los mancos (222)
- (j) los dichos tres pesos (201)
- (k) sus espadas desnudas (201)
- (l) sus torpezas y deshonestidades (229)
- (m) dos sclavos negros e dos sclavas chichimecas (236)

By the same token, the redundancy principle operates in all the sentences with a verb or a clitic marked by the desinence -s, where /s/ in implosive position is preserved, except in item (f).

- (a) Dios les pague las buenas obras que siempre nos hacen (156)
- (b) qualquiera dellas os dara lo que ubierdes menester (176)
- (c) Todos nos pondremos (157)
- (d) besamos las reales manos (160)
- (e) dezimos que nosotros venjmos astos rreynos dEspaña a negoçios e de algunos no hemos despachado (160)
- (f) leØ diese a los dichos mis hermanos o a sus herederos, los pesos de oro que se concertase entre ellos (186)
- (g) no dexeis de hacer lo que os pido, pues sabeys cierto que lo que yo tengo lo quiero para vos y para vuestros hijos (189)
- (h) os envio trecientos pesos de a ocho reales (189)
- (i) esos mochachos que los queria tener connigo (193)

- (j) los días y las noches no los ocupa en otra cosa (225)
- (k) les faltara todo a sus criados (226)

6.2.3 Morpho-syntactic features

This subsample shows mixed morpho-syntactic traits: those belonging to pre-modern Spanish and others that adhere to late medieval standards. Late medieval Spanish features appear in verbal clitics, which are attached to the infinitive, as in: *negociallo* (157), *despachalla* (158), *vestillo*, *dolelles*, *regalallo* (183), *dexallos* (192), *ponella* (195). In contrast, verbal clitics used with infinitive forms can also end in a thematic vowel + R as in *enbiarles* (192). Finally, clitics are still used before verbs in the infinitive, as in *para me poder quitar de dicho ofiçio* (235) and *le prometio de le hazer bien* (236). The use of cliticized object pronouns LE and LO with accusative function appearing in a subsample of documents (56-63) is equally varied. They deal with the testimonies of witnesses who appeared before the Holy Office as a result of a violent incident.

The story begins in Doc. 56, when Melchior de Valladolid sent an Indian woman to buy some bread and candles. She went back home saying that when she was taking out the money to pay for the groceries, Juan Maldonado, a trooper, took it away from her. An old man whose name was unknown saw the incident as it happened. The old man had to run away from Maldonado, while yet another witness intervened with his sword in order to settle the fight. After that three or four troopers attacked the old man and stabbed him repeatedly while some other witnesses attempted to defend him. The doorman of the Inquisition, Pedro de Fonseca, came out and tried to bring order in the plaza where the brawl had started, but he was also stabbed in the head from behind. The narration of this incident, from the witnesses' perspectives focuses on the most significant events for which verbs of movement and perception were used: *alcanzar* ('to reach someone'), *prender* ('to apprehend'), *conocer* ('to know someone'), *defender* ('to defend'), *herir* ('to wound'), *maltratar* ('to abuse'), *matar* ('to kill'), *traer* ('to bring') and *ver* ('to see').

The occurrence of LE as direct object pronoun [+ singular masculine] may be explained under different perspectives. When the internal factors are highlighted, the verbs of perception become truly relevant since they are preferred in passages of vivid narrations. But if the focus shifts to external factors, then variation may be attributed to the regional provenance of the protagonists and to dialect contact. In point of fact, the regional origin of the notaries and secretaries of the Holy Office, their level of education and the network of connections that they had across the Atlantic may be considered factors associated with their

speech habits. Many speakers were raised and educated in the northern-central region of Spain or were coming from regions that were Castilianized; others were raised and educated in southern Spain under the speech models of the northern-central regions. An additional element that has to be factored in is the speakers' variable exposure to other dialects because some had had more inter-dialect contact than others. In the sentences shown below there are 20 cases of LE and 8 cases of LO, where LE is used mostly with verbs of perception and movement.

- (a) **viendole** sacar el dinero, se lo avia tomado (200)
- (b) porque no **le conoçia** de vista (200)
- (c) El que puesto caso que **le trataron** mal (201)
- (d) de otra manera **le alcançara** y cree que **le matara** (201)
- (e) Y somo este testigo estava reparandose, no vio quién **le hirio** (202)
- (f) que no **le matase** sin que *lo* sintiese la tira (203)
- (g) ¿pues cómo al official del Sancto Officio **tratale** de esa manera? (203)
- (h) Y los dichos soldados *lo* dexaron (203)
- (i) Y entiende que *lo* mataran sino fuera por las bozes de la ventana (204)
- (j) **le conoçera viendole** questá herido (205)
- (k) Y viendo cómo **le venia maltratando**, se pusieron (...) a poner paz (205)
- (l) que no **le mal tratasen** más de lo que **le avian maltratado** (205)
- (m) Y vio este testigo cómo el dicho mestizo o mulato que **le hirio** (205)
- (n) viendo cómo **le avia herido**, huyeron de él (206)
- (o) unos querian arremeter a él, yotros *lo* defendían (207)
- (p) que *lo* conocera mostrandose*lo* (207)
- (q) vio la capa del viejo, (...) **le alcançaron** en ella (207)
- (r) que *lo* dexasen que hera viejo (207)
- (s) no save quién **le hirio** (207)
- (t) no sabe de qué manera porque no *lo* vio (207)
- (u) le parece que con mostrar *selo* **le conoçera** (209)
- (v) tras el viejo **alcançandole** algunos golpes (211)
- (w) no **le ttraxeron** preso a la Inquisicion (211)

Two external factors may explain the alternating use of LO and LE: (a) peninsular origin and (b) level of formal education. Those from the northern-central region and with higher education tended to be *leístas*, while speakers from southern Spain and less formal education were pro-etymologists. In most subsamples, *leístas* prevailed because they had more access to positions in which they used their writing skills. It must be underscored that pro-etymological variants LO / LOS were not stigmatized. Finally, because *leísmo* represents the divergence from the ancestral system, other usages ensued such as *laísmo*, *loísmo* and inanimate

leísmo. These changes may be considered irregular variations that did not survive in New World Spanish (see Chapter 10).

6.2.4 Imperfect subjunctive

Writers belonging to the second generation preferred imperfect subjunctive –SE forms in subordinate clauses, but –RA forms appear in the protasis and the apodosis of conditional sentences and concessive clauses as in (a)-(f). This combination, which derives from late medieval Spanish, is still found among speakers residing in rural and marginal urban areas of the New World.

- (a) si *fuera* posible luego dexar los negoçios y yrme, lo *hiciera* (154)
- (b) si su marido *tuviera* gana de venirse aca, el *fuera* con Antonio Lopez a la corte y *truxera* licencia con que se *vinieran* (175)
- (c) aunque yo *fuera* no le *igualara* (183)
- (d) si *ubiera* de vender los bienes quél dexó, no *bastara* para cunplir sus mandos (187)
- (e) si yo *estuvjera* bueno, le *escriviera* (190)
- (f) si *ubiera querido* casalla con alguno (...) ya la *ubiera casado* (222)

6.2.5 Pronouns of address

The pronouns of address found in the personal missives delivered in this period are: *Vos*, which appears a total of 9 times in letters from father to son, 5 times in letters from husband to wife, and only once from uncle to nephew and sister to brother. *Vuestra merced* appears a total of 7 times in missives from brother to brother, twice in letters from sister to sister, and only once between brothers-in-law, son to mother, and also from a male friend to female friend. The plurals *vosotros* (1) and *vuestras mercedes* (2) are infrequent. *Vuestra merced* appears consistently as subject, with 3rd person singular verb forms, which are not mixed with any other pronoun. In addition, the series of possessive adjectives *vuestro(s)* and *vuestra(s)* agree with the personal pronouns *vos* and *vuestra(s)* *merced(es)*, creating ambiguity in most sentences with a null subject. Documents 56-62 narrating the testimonies of witnesses who rendered different versions of the violent dispute abovementioned show the use of *vos*. While the testimonies were redacted in the standard style of inquisitorial documents, *vos* prevailed in reported speech indicating the colloquial quality of this pronoun and its use with verb forms corresponding paradigmatically to the pronoun *tú*, as in (a), which is

a rare case of *voseo*. Sentences (b) and (d) use *vos* to indicate plurality with the corresponding verb forms while sentence (c) refers to singular *vos*.

- (a) ¡*calla[d]*, viejo!, y *ten[ed]* por bien de perdonar los tres pesos porque si no os juro que os an de matar ¡y *calla[d]* la boca! (200)
- (b) este testigo acudio con su espada (...) y diciendo ¡*teneos*, aya paz! (202)
- (c) que *vos* mi dinero me *aveis* de pagar pues me lo *deveis* (203)
- (d) Pedro salio diciendo: ¡*teneos*, hombres de bien, *teneos* (207)

6.2.6 Original letters by Alonso Ortiz

Two original letters delivered by Alonso Ortiz to his wife, Docs. 44 and 45 reveal the use of *vos* as subject and the mixture with verb paradigms corresponding to *tú*. *Voseo* stemmed from a combination of internal changes such as the following: (1) Reduction of diphthongized forms (AI to A and EI to E) corresponding to *vos*, as in examples (a)-(d). (2) Omission of final *-d* in the affirmative command, as in *entendeØ*, item (c). (3) Use of the paradigm corresponding to the pronoun *tú* as in *determinas* and *dexas* with the object corresponding to *vos*, as in item (d). (4) Preservation of *vos* as an object of preposition, as in (e) and (f).

- (a) La presente para por ella os rogar que *hagas* [hagás] por mi, *bos* y *buestrós* ermanos los solteros (177)
- (b) Y si acaso fuere, *podes* [podés] dalle a este poder para que os lo negoçe en Sebilla (177)
- (c) Lo quél os ruega por ella *entendeØ* ques para probecho de *vuestros* (sic) hijas (178)
- (d) si no *determinas* [determinás] de venir que no se os dé el dinero, si no *determinas* [determinás] de benir, no por eso *dexas* [dejés] de proquurar el dinero (178)
- (e) porquestoy ganando de comer *para bos* y para mis hijos (181)
- (f) que estas cartas ban *para bos* las puedes tener por tuyas (178)

Three features of southern peninsular Spanish can be found in the same documents: (1) omission of *-s* and *-d* as in items (a)-(l); (2) interchange of intervocalic *-r-* and *-l-* as in (m)-(t); and (3) rhotacism as in (t) and (u).

- (a) recibire muy gran *merceØ* (177)
- (b) si fuere *necesidaØ* de yr a la corte, él lo negoçará (177)
- (c) se acabe mas ayna mi *soledaØ* y pena (178)
- (d) onde quedo bueno de *saluØ* (179)
- (e) Le *deziØ* que rueguen a Dios por mi *saluØ* (181)

- (f) no quero trabaxar más de la *solicituØ* porque no me dé alguna enfermedaØ (180)
- (g) que pueda estar en esta *ciudaØ* de Mexico (181)
- (h) *podes* [podés] aca determinar, y con *brebedaØ*, de benir de esta misma *frota* (182)
- (i) a Melchor Goncales y a Alonso Goncalez *leØ deziØ* que quando de aca no se *leØ* enbiara nada (181)
- (j) si no *benis* [venís] *entendeØ* que no nos podemos ver tan ayna (178)
- (k) De lo que determinardes de hazer, me lo *esqribiØ* en el nabio (178)
- (l) A vuestro padre y madre *leØ podes* [podés] decir que por amor de Dios que me perdonen (178)
- (m) para los *fretes* [fletes], ay enbio yo mi poder a *bos* (177)
- (n) para que me *podas* [podás] *obligar* [obligar] por los *fretes* [fletes] (177)
- (o) desta Nueva España, ba un hombre por su muger en esa *frota* [flota] (178)
- (p) Que *cumpra* [cumpla] con *bos* la palabra (182)
- (q) y mira que *habra* [habla] mucho (180)
- (r) estoy *obligado* [obligado] (181)
- (s) yo estoy puesto y *entabrado* [entablado] para ganar de comer (182)
- (t) no sabe acabar de *habrar* [hablar] (180)
- (u) Es grande mi deseo de os *borber* [volver] a ver (180)

In some other cases, Alonso de Ortiz uses final *-s* in the present indicative. Third conjugation verbs retained final *-s* as in (a), while the diphthong reduction in the verbs belonging to the 1st and 2nd conjugations does trigger the reduction of final *-s*: *podés* < *podéis*, *hallarés* < *hallaréis*, *podás* < *podáis*), except in the monosyllabic verb *dar* as in (i). Finally, final *-d* in affirmative commands may be lost as in the second part of (h), or goes through metathesis as in (g) and (j).

- (a) si *benis* [venís] quiza estaré yo en el puerto (178)
- (b) a buestro padre y madre le *podes* [podés] decir que me perdonen (178)
- (c) este dinero lo *hallares* [hallarés] en Sevilla en poder de un jurado (181)
- (d) *podes* [podés] aca determinaros (182)
- (e) les *podes* [podés] decir que en estotra lenbio [le envió] cien queros (181)
- (f) Yo os enviaré mi poder a bos para que lo *podas* [podás] sustiuyr en quin bos *quisierdes* (181)
- (g) si acaso lo *bierdes* [vieres], *miralde* [miradle] las manos (181)
- (h) si *acordades* de no venir, *enbiame* [enviaØme] a Francisco (181)
- (i) y le *da[is]* mis encomiendas (178)
- (j) *encomendaldo* [encomendadlo] todo siempre a Dios (179)

6.2.7 Mixing *tú*, *vos* and *vuestra merced*

The documents from this period offer valuable data on the use of *vos* in New World Spanish and may explain the origin of *voseo*, which seems to have originated in the intra-familiar domain, from where it extended to other informal domains (friends and acquaintances). Such innovation might have reached additional public spheres of interaction during the colonial period. *Voseo* derived from the overlapping use of two common subject pronouns, *tú* and *vos*, and the mixture of paradigms. The most striking change is the use of the subject pronoun *vos* with the object pronoun *te*, which corresponds paradigmatically to the subject pronoun *tú*. The second change appeared in the present indicative since the verb forms of the New World Spanish *voseo* derive from older forms corresponding to the old plural *vos* and the neologism *vosotros* (< *vos* + *otros*). In this respect, the second generation of New World Spanish speakers shows unstable language patterns, resulting from their having weakened contact with Spain. A constant topic in the letters delivered to relatives is the preoccupation with moneys sent in cash and the acknowledgement of receipt, which was normally uncertain. In Doc. 64, a letter addressed by Alonso de Alcoçer to his brother, the opening salutation appears with the indirect object *te* as in sentence (a), but the author continues with the corresponding reflexive pronoun *vos* as in (b). The use of *vos* with the corresponding verb form of *tú* appears in example (c). In sentence (d), there is triphthong reduction and omission of final *-d*.

- (a) esta sera para *hazerte* saber (212)
- (b) yo sierto quisiera que *os binieredes* a esta tierra (212)
- (c) yo *os* lo embiaré algun dia porque en esta tierra no *podras* medrar nada (212)
- (d) Y las cartas *quescrivier[e]is, enbiaølas* a Sevilla, a mi cuñado (213)

The New World Spanish innovation known as *voseo* may be explained by at least four internal changes: (1) Diphthong reduction in indirect affirmative and direct negative commands. (2) Use of object pronouns that belong paradigmatically to the subject pronoun *te*; diphthongized standard forms *miréis* (< MIRAR), *tenéis* (< TENER), *hagáis* (< HACER) in sentences (a) and (b) were reduced to *mirés*, *tenés*, *hagás* later becoming the most frequent verb forms in entire regions and countries where the personal pronoun *tú* was rather infrequent or obsolete. (3) The reduction of the standard triphthong *-IAI-* as in *espantaríaís*, which in rapid speech is acoustically similar to the form of the pronoun *tú* (*espantarías*) as in (c) with the use of *tú* appearing again with the verb form corresponding to *tú* as in the first part of sentence (d). (4) Finally, when *voseo* omitted the final *-d* corresponding to affirmative commands, a subtle stress shift occurred, too, changing from *enviad* → *enviá* + clitic pronoun, as in the second part of sentence (d). (See also 6.2.6).

- (a) Lo que os ruego es que por amor de Dios que *mireis* que no *teneis* padre ni madre (212)
- (b) que *mireis* por *bos* y que *hagais* como hombre de bien (212)
- (c) si bien lo *supiesedes* os *espantariaØs* [espantaríais] y *abriais* [habríais] lástima de mí (213)
- (d) Y tambien mi cuñado *te* ayudará para que *puedas* benir. Y las cartas *quescrivier[e]is*, *enbiaØlas* a Sevilla (213)

Alonso de Alcoçer closed the letter addressed to his brother using the glaring features of *voseo*, which mix the subject pronoun *vos* with the object pronoun *te* and the possessive *tú*:

Mas si ser pudiera, *seais bos* el mensajero. Y con esto ni tengo mas que dezir sino que plega Dios Nuestro Señor me dexee *berte* en esta corte. *Tu* hermano que mas deseo tiene de *verte* *quescrivirte* (213).

[If at all possible please do be the messenger. And with this I have nothing else to add but to pray to God Our Holy Father to let me see you in this land. Your brother, who really wants to see you; more than he wants to write you].

Finally, in Doc. 43 (1574) Juana Bautista invited her sister to join her in New Spain. This writer shows the use of possessive adjectives (*su*, *suya*) corresponding to the 3rd person singular *vuestra merced* as in (a) and (b). The same writer used *vos* (+ *otros*) in direct speech. This abrupt change seems to indicate that the writer opened the letter with a softened salutation but continued with harsh criticism when she addressed her sister's husband behavior.

- (a) Una *suya* recibí abra dos días, que truxo Antonio Lopez (175)
- (b) si *su* marido tubiera gana de benirse aca, el fuera con Antonio Lopez (175)

The use of *vos* with the corresponding diphthongized paradigm in the 1st conjugation, i.e. *pensasteis* < PENSAR ('to think') and *malbaratasteis* < MALBARATAR ('to philander'), appears with the reduced diphthong in the passage below. On the other hand, the forms of the verb TENER (*teníades* and *tuvierades*) are used according to old medieval patterns. In contrast, the verb PODER is similar to PENSAR and MALBARATAR, appearing with the reduced diphthong:

¿Qué *pensastes*: que *teníades* otros dos pares de casas que trespasar? Pues tan presto lo *malbaratastes*. ¿Qué me hiziera si *tuvierades* media dozana de hijos a quien sustentar! Quando siendo *vos* y *vuestro marido*, ni con eso ni con esotro nos [no *os*] *podistes* abiar. Yo creo que aunque *os* enbie muchos dineros no *os podreis* abiar porque me dicen que *vuestro* marido es amigo de traer galas y trabajar poco (175).

[Did you think you had two more houses to transfer? You sold them really fast. What would I do if you had one-half dozen children to support? Because you and your husband are the way you are, you did not have enough to pay for the trip. I think that even if I send you money you won't be able to get ready for the trip, because I'm told that he likes to show off a lot and work a little].

6.3 Suárez de Peralta's *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias y su conquista*

Juan Suárez de Peralta was born in Mexico City in 1537 of Spanish parents from northern Spain who settled in the Caribbean area during the first years following the discovery of the New World. He was a true *criollo*, representative of the second generation of Spanish speakers, and author of the *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias y su conquista* [Treatise on the Discovery of the Indies and its Conquest (1589/1990)]. In his writings there is no trace of the opposition between the sounds corresponding to medieval Spanish by <ss> and <s>, between /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ spelled with <x> on the one hand, and <j> and <g>, on the other, because all sibilants had been devoiced and de-affricated. It is assumed that the voiced / voiceless opposition was resolved during this period, if not entirely gone. Suárez de Peralta also represents the coalescence of /š/ and /ž/ into a single voiceless /s/ and the apical-alveolar articulation which was absorbed by the dorso-dental variety pronunciation of the old /š/. The evidence leads to believe that by 1579, when Suárez de Peralta left Mexico City, his *seseo* was firmly established (Perissinotto 1994). There is no evidence of /s/ aspiration or deletion in implosive position or interchange of *-r-* and *-l-*, but there are a few cases of final *-d* omission, as in *berse en mucha neçesidáØ*. There are also a few cases of *çeçeo*: *reçuçitada* (104), *Çoliçita* (132), *çuçedió* (144), *suçeda* (235). Thus, while pronunciation features reflect more regular patterns, morphology, syntax and lexicon display greater and more irregular variation that can be considered evidence of polymorphism. His *Tratado* may be considered illustrative of the second generation of Spanish speakers, who spent a good part of their lives in the New World without losing the ties with the mother country (see also Perissinotto 1992).

6.3.1 Relevant features in Suárez de Peralta's *Tratado*

The *Tratado* is a lengthy essay dealing primarily with the memories and vision that the author had about New Spain. It is not a strictly historical account of the conquest and colonization of Mexico but an imaginative report about the

desires of the *encomenderos* to become perpetual lords of vassals in the face of the implementation of the New Laws. Narrated in the third person the author utilizes other literary resources such as definitions, descriptions and dialogue (in direct and indirect speech). Dialogues between well-known protagonists and common people aid in the reconstruction of forms of address prevailing in the 16th century. The author sounds even more innovative because of the abundance of borrowings, calques and phrases derived from the contact of Spanish with Amerindian languages. It is relevant that Suárez de Peralta was using a variety of traits derived from late medieval Spanish: (1) omission of the preposition *a* before [+animate] object with the function of direct object, as in *vio los cristianos*; (2) use of verbal clitics before infinitives, for example, *ydos a los ver*; (3) coalescence of infinitive *-r* and verbal clitics, for instance, *sacrificallos*; and (4) the preposition EN with a gerund, as *en saliendo*. Like other speakers and writers born in the New World, he was exposed to various peninsular dialects: the use of LE(S) for direct object pronouns singular and plural prevailed in the *Tratado*, but he also used the modern etymological system of direct object pronouns LO(S). Anti-etymological features are perceived as being an “ism”, and for this reason, the use of LE(S) is known as *leísmo*.

The inclusion of definitions of lexical items derived from Amerindian language is noteworthy, inasmuch as the author conveys his desire to explain with brevity and clarity some of native things, peoples, and customs. His definitions incorporate Tainismos: (a) *ají* (‘pepper’) and (k) *maíz* (‘corn’). The rest are Nahuatlismos: (b) *chalchihuites* (‘jade stone’); (c) *xuchiles*, (‘flowers’); (d) *iepales* (‘seats’); (e) *petates* (‘woven blanket from palm fibers’); (f) *piçietl* (‘cane’ or ‘reed’); (g) *jochiocoçot* (‘liquidambar’ or ‘sweet gum tree’); (h) *poquietl* (‘hollowed cane filled with perfume’); (i) *mecapal* (‘leather strap with two cords attached’); (j) *tianguetz* (‘market’); (l) *tiçatl* (‘white powder like gypsum’); (m) *cenalco* (‘cave’); (n) *suchiles* (‘flowers for the wrist’); (o) *cocoliztli* (‘disease’), (p, q, r) *jícara* (‘round recipient’). Suárez de Peralta thought of the speakers of Amerindian languages as the “Others” when he consistently refers to ‘they’ as in *ellos llaman* (‘they name something’).

- (a) Exemplifican en el *ají*, que son los pimientos de las Yndias (40)
- (b) otras que llaman *chalchihuites*, ques una piedra verde, (...), y no transparente (41)
- (c) Flores hechos ramilletes aquellos llaman *xuchiles* (42)
- (d) *pieça* y *çercada* de asientos, que llaman *iepales* (42)
- (e) unas esteras hechas de lo mismo que los asientos que aquí llaman *petates* (42)
- (f) llenos los canutos de tabaco, que llaman *piçietl* (45)
- (g) otras rayzes y liquidámbar, que allá llaman *jochiocoçot* (45)

- (h) Hazen de todo esto una masa y della ynchen los canutos de la caña, la qual llaman *poquietl* (45)
- (i) Se ponen unas çinchas que llaman *mecapales* (47)
- (j) Negocian ellas en los mercados que llaman *tianguetz* (48)
- (k) el *maíz* ques el pan que comen (54)
- (l) tienen un terrón de tierra muy blanca (...) que llaman los yndios *tiçatl* y con esta tierra se untan los dedos (60)
- (m) en una cueua, aquellos llamauan *çenalco*, donde dizen que abía grandes secretos (103)
- (n) otras [flores] para las manos aquellos llaman *suchiles* (121)
- (o) abía algunas enfermedades y peste, aquellos llaman *cocolitzli* (254)
- (p) tomábanle la sangre con una *jícara*, ques um baso hecho de calabças (254)
- (q) no hacen fiesta sin aquel brebaje, que llaman *jícaras de cacao* (168)
- (r) flores en *jícaras* que son unos basos como porçelanas (121)

The author born in New Spain was concerned about the meaning of some lexical ítems referring to cultural objects needing an identifying code. For instance, in sentence (a), the meaning of the word ‘drum’ (*teponaztl*) can be guesstimated by the referent ‘drum sticks’ (*maçuelos*) or the ‘to the tune of the drum’ (*al son del tenopaztle*). In item (b), the author uses a synonym to refer to the *cañas* or *poquietls* (‘canes or reeds’). In sentence (c), he included a full definition (‘*tortillas* are the pieces of bread made of corn’), and in example (d), there is a description (‘big canoes are tiny ships’). Typical Spanish diminutives *-illo*, *-illa* are suffixed to the integrated Taino-derived noun ‘*canoyllas*’, as in example (e). There is also the semantic extension of *cacao* (originally meaning ‘cocoa bean’), an item so valuable that also meant currency or coin as in sentences (f) and (g).

- (a) con estos *maçuelos* dan en el *teponaztl* (42) or al son del *teponaztle* (255)
- (b) No hacen fiesta ni presente que falten estas *cañas* o *poquietls* (45)
- (c) Llevaba algunas *tortillas*, que som *los panecillos* aquellos usauan, *hechos del maíz* (54)
- (d) *canoas grandes*, que son a manera de *chiquitos barquillos* (95)
- (e) El marqués y los que con él yban sescaparon en unas *canoyllas* (140)
- (f) corre una moneda que llaman *cacao* la qual es una fruta (166)
- (g) en los mercados se ponía tendido en una estera que llaman *petate*, a bender el *cacao* por menudo, contándolo (167)

As opposed to the Spaniards or *los españoles*, Suárez de Peralta refers to ethnic groups that are perceived as being nations or sub-nations. The patronymic Mexican, which had a double spelling *mexicanos* (100, 116) and *mejicanos* (115, 116), is constantly highlighted when he intends to stress the difference between

Mexicans and Spaniards. He also refers to the beginning of the war between *españoles* and *mejicanos* (128). Other groups are merely mentioned by the patronymic: *mistecas* (116), *otomites* (117), *tarascos* (119), and *chichimecas* (171). The ethnic groups of the Mesoamerican area are identified by a defining trait, a reference to history, or their regional / national origin, as in examples (a) through (d).

- (a) los *tlaxcaltecas* binieron de paz (126)
- (b) llegó a Acámbaro, donde halló los *tarascos*, que son los de Mechuacán (119)
- (c) Para poblar y señorear y conquistar a los naturales, queran los que llaman *otomíes*, *chochones*, *mistecas*, *çapotecas* y otras naciones (48)
- (d) los *çempoalas*, que eran mucha gente, sujeta a los *mejicanos* (116)

Suárez de Peralta also knew of the places (towns, mountains, woods, and sierras), prominent people, and even divinities associated with the Mesoamerican culture. For this reason, toponyms are abundant and sound natural: Chapultepec (114), Huaxaca (115), Escapuçalco (116), Suchimilco (117), Tezcuco (120, 136) Tlatelulco (120) Acámbaro (119), Huajoçingo (117) Amecameca (117), Chalco, Chinampa, Mezquique (117), Estapalapa and Mezquique (136). Suárez de Peralta knew the protagonists of Aztec history: Ahuitzontzin (109), Ajayacatzin (120), Acamapuchtli (115), Cacamatzin and Huauhtimutzin (136). The famous name of the Aztec Emperor was spelled in two ways: Mocteçuma (122) and Monteçuma (128).

- (a) Del primer señor de la ciudad de México se tiene noticia que se llamó *Acamapichtl* (48)
- (b) Vn ydolo de los suyos que llamauan *Çihuacoatl* andaua llorando de noche (105)
- (c) era de dios *Huitzilopuchtli*, que se llamaba tlacalteca (109)
- (d) llegó la fiesta de un ydolo que llamaban *Huitzilibuchcatl* (127)

His knowledge of Nahuatl must have been limited to toponyms, common objects of the Mesoamerican culture, and the like. It seems that he was monolingual or a receptive bilingual since he was familiar with a few phrases such as (a) *Ypaltzinco Dios* ('God's faith'); (b) *Qui mo, ma chitia* ('God may know'); and (c) *Matla cateçolotl nech, huica* ('May the Devil take me away!') (63). Phrases with Amerindian integrated loans and Spanish phrases are common and sound natural: 'media hanega de maíz' (54), 'día de *tianguetz*' (120), 'miel de *magueyes*' (164). Other lexical items derived from Taino and Nahuatl are: *macanas* ('wooden weapon or truncheon') (55), *tanate* (< tanatli) ('backpack'), (59) *malacate* (< malacatl) ('hard spindle') (59), *quilontlontli* ('homosexual') (115). With the meaning of 'blouse' or 'woman's shirt', he offered three variants: *hueypil* (115), *hueypili* (120), and the modern *huipil*.

6.3.2 Object pronouns LES and LOS in the second-generation

Suárez de Peralta was an inter-dialect speaker and writer since in his *Tratado* there can be found more linguistic variations than those observed in first generation of Spanish speakers. The author's father was from Avila and the mother from Navarra. It can thus be assumed that his first dialect, northern Castilian, was the one acquired from his parents, and that other dialect traits were learned in New Spain's multidialectal environment and from his trips to the mother country. In the *Tratado*, the use of LE(S) or the anti-etymological system [+ animate masculine] prevails over the pro-etymological system for a margin of 15 percent. This author used singular LE as in (a) through (e) and the modern etymological system LO(S) as in (f) through (i).

An interesting variation occurs when the direct object LE (*le hazían pedaços*) alternated with LO in the same sentence (*lo repartían*) in example (j).

- (a) era bueno su padre después que **le açotó** (52)
- (b) al cautibo por guerra jamás **le reduzen** a esclavo (77)
- (c) que creyó, çierto, Cortés que **le yba a matar** (85)
- (d) Como **le adoraúan** [al demonio] y le tenían debución (...) encomendábanse a él (63)
- (e) los yndios **le temían** [a Moctezuma] en estremo y (...) enojado no **le osauan** mirar (111)
- (f) se siruen destes negros y *los* tienem por esclauos (77)
- (g) Y los unos y los otros tienen costumbre uenderse o que *los* bendan (77)
- (h) Y *los* meten en el pueblo con mucho contento y *los* sirven y regalan dándoles de comer (64)
- (i) açotallos públicamente y tresquilallos las caueças a panderetes (52)
- (j) si alguno deuía a muchos y no tenía de que pagar **le hazían** pedaços, y *lo* repartían entre sí los acreedores (52)

The narrations and description of the conquest of Mexico refer to victories or defeats of both groups (Aztecs and Spaniards). Therefore, the verbs *matar* ('to kill') and *sacrificar* ('to sacrifice') are not only abundant but the author used both pronouns LE(S) and LO(S) with these verbs, though the etymological LO(S) system prevailed in the plural form.

- (a) *los matan* y hazen del menudo y sangre (75)
- (b) allí les dieron de lançadas y *los mataron* (127)
- (c) aunque fuesen criados de Montecuma y pribados, *los matavan* (128)
- (d) estando todos los yndios y señores prinçipales baylando, *los acometió* en el patio, acorralados, y *los mató* (128)
- (e) porque a sauello no se lo consintieran, sino antes **le mataran** (94)

- (f) volviesen contra él como cuando **le mataron** (113)
- (g) ya enpeçaban a sentir el çerco y los que **les mataban** (128)
- (h) que si no yba **le matarian** quando más descuydado estubiese (213)
- (i) **le abían de sacrificar** (110)
- (j) **le sacrificaron** en un cu questaba en México (110)
- (k) mandó engredar çiertos yndios para luego **los sacrificar** y untar con sangre a los mensajeros (102)
- (l) les mandó que (...) les lleuasen algunos cautivos para **sacrificarlos** (102)

With verbs of perception such as *conocer* ('to know someone'), *oír* ('to hear'), *sentir*, ('to feel'), and *ver* ('to see'), speakers may be more consistent and may use LE(S) more regularly, although exceptions can be found. Presumably the *leísta* speaker focuses on the activity or event 'to know someone' as in sentences (a)-(c), or 'to hear someone' as in sentence (d); or 'to see someone or something', as in sentences (e)-(g).

- (a) Yo **le conoçi** caçador mayor que tenía más de dos mil ducados (171)
- (b) echauan menos al birrey don Antonio, al qual tenían por padre y **le conoçían** muchos años abía y **le querían** en extremo (171)
- (c) **le conoçi** antes de ser sacristán, harto desbenturado (197)
- (d) le mandaron que fuese al marqués y **le oyese** y supiese del punto en questaua el negoçio (199)
- (e) le hablé y **le uí** con sus lacayos y tantos pajes (209)
- (f) ¡**belle** de aquella manera oy! (209)
- (g) y como **le uio** así, hincóse de rodillas, y tornó a reconciliarse (211)

Although the use of LE with [- animate masculine] objects is considered rare, in the *Tratado* the following examples referring to inanimate objects can be found: in (a) *el cubilete* ('copper baking mold'), in (b) *el sacramento* ('the sacrament'), in (c) a *un trapillo* ('small rag'), in (d) *mando* ('command'), (e) *el volcán* ('the volcano'), and (g) *remedio* ('remedy'), etc.

- (a) Como **le vio** [*el cubilete*] la Marina dijo que de aquella color y suerte tenía muncha plata (94)
- (b) El día que **le reçiben** [*el sacramento*] se uisten de nuevo (62)
- (c) sacó un *trapillo* que traya en el carcaje de las flechas, **le desemboluíó** (91)
- (d) Si Hernando Cortés tubiera *mando*, que no **le tenía...** (97)
- (e) dio en subir a **belle** [*el volcán*], él y unos frayles (106)
- (f) si en España su magestad **le tubiera** [*el bosque de Chapulteque*], fuera de muncho regalo y contento (114)
- (g) Y quando quisieron procurar *remedio*, ya no **le tenía** [*el dolor*] (141)

- (h) no se aprovechan luego del [el cacao] en sacándolo de la maçorca, sino **cúranle** primero a sol (168)
- (i) quando se beneficiaba el metal por fundición (...), no tenían la ley que bastaua para **fundirle** [el metal] (176)
- (j) “Bendéme *aquel desechadero* que tenéis, que **le quiero** para çierto negoçio”. El otro, que no **le tenía** en nada, **bendiósele** por çien pesos (177)
- (k) ¡Y tenía el otro *el tesoro* en casa, lo bía por momentos y no **le conocía!** (177)
- (l) [el corazón] **le echaban** a rodar las escaleras abajo del cu (254)
- (m) bajarom por *el coraçón* y quando **le subieron** hallaron la yndia en pie (255)
- (n) Toman *el coraçón* después de **abelle** subido y al son del teponaztle (...) cantándole lo tornan a meter en el cuerpo (255)

In sum, in the *Tratado* there is total of 457 cases of [+ masculine human] direct objects and a few that refer to [+ masculine animals]; therefore, the entire category can be considered [+ animate]. Less than 15 percent of the total refer to [–animate] objects. In all cases, LE is more frequent with singular than with plural objects and it almost never refers to feminine. Table 6.1 subsumes singular and plural masculine LE(S) and LO(S) and discards feminine gender. The results show that Suárez de Peralta does not betray his northern origins inasmuch as he used Castilian LE(S) in more than one-half of the tokens counted, while in the remaining 35 percent he preferred the pro-etymological system. He was clearly *leísta* when referring to singular and plural [+animate] objects; when he was referring to [–animate singular masculine] objects, he was strongly *leísta*; of a total of 73 clitics, he used LO only 10 times whereas in the remaining 63 tokens, he used LE.

Table 6.1: Number and percent of LE(S) and LO(S)

LE(S) + Animate + Masculine	270	(50.94 %)
LO(S) + Animate + Masculine	187	(35.28 %)
LE(S) – Animate + / – Masculine	73	(13.77 %)
Total cases = 530		(100 %)

6.3.3 Other object pronouns

Pronouns LE / LES and LO have been cliticized in verbs that refer to the subject thus creating a duplication, as in (a); the subject becomes a dative after an infinitive as in (b), and a neutral unknown antecedent as in (c). An additional clitic LE appears with intransitive and transitive verbs SER and DAR, as in (d) and (e); the

verb HACER with the clitic LE in sentence (f) has become an idiomatic expression with the meaning of manner or means ('to do things in a certain way'). Finally, the redundancy of direct and indirect objects is obvious in (h).

- (a) **Le tenía** muy severo *el rostro* (121) or **Le tenía** muy lindo *el rostro* (206)
- (b) les pedía parecer primero en las cosas que se **le ofrecían tomarle** (99)
- (c) y Dios *lo* permitió que el tubiese miedo (103)
- (d) el que *lo* era bueno **le ennoblecía** con dalle preminençias (115)
- (e) los tenían apretados y çercados hasta que fueron los españoles y se **les dieron** de paz (116)
- (f) Así **le hizo** por todo el camino hasta llegar a México (147)
- (h) **Le** mandaron que fuese al marqués y **le oyese** y supiese del punto en que estaua el negoçio y que **le concediese** todo lo que **le pidiese prometiéndole de le ayudar** (199)

When two clitics appear before a verb, one of them is a reflexive and the other one the indirect object pronoun LE(S). This type of construction focuses on the idiosyncratic involvement of the subject (expressed by the indirect object) with the action of the cliticized verb, as in (a)-(e). These are innovative examples with a reflexive SE and the clitic object LE. With LE, the verb ANDAR acquired a different meaning in modern Mexican Spanish and at present is used as the interjection "¡ándale!" with the meaning ('It's all right!').

- (a) temía que la jente **se le quería** bolber y le parecía no andaban con gusto (97)
- (b) Las malas voluntades (...) **se le descubrieron** al capitán (98)
- (c) **Se les yban quedando** yndios muertos del frío (106)
- (d) Acordaron de bolberse, **quiéndoseles muerto** más de quinze personas de frío (107)
- (e) Así mismo **se le pasaron** los de Huajoçingo (117)
- (f) no le llamaron, de lo qual él se sintió y se corrió mucho, y *lo* andava en extremo corrido (151)
- (g) Francisco Báñez, después de aber visto el engaño de la tierra procuró bolberse con harto trauajo. Auiendo rodeado el mundo y **andádole**, llegó a México y luego fue a besar las manos al birrey (158-9)

A case of feminine singular indirect object pronoun LA appears in the *Tratado* only with the verbs *avisar* ('to warn') and *hablar* ('to talk'), although in other documents *laísmo* is also used with *rogar* ('to beg') and *preguntar* ('to ask'). *Laísmo* is vital in modern peninsular varieties with the verbs *avisar*, *exigir*, *creer*, *hablar*, *pegar*; such innovation can spontaneously generate sentences such as *la aviso*, *la creo*, *la hablo*, *la pego*, which are rare in Latin American Spanish. With the verb *guitar* ('to yell'), Colombians may use LA, as in 'no la grite' ('don't yell at her')

- (a) Hernán Cortés dio en que nayde *la* hablase [a la Malinche]. Malas lenguas dijeron que de çelos (96-97)
- (b) se ponían algunos a las bentanas con sus mujeres, y las madres con sus hijas porque no *las* hablasen libertades. Y visto que no podían hablar*las* (190)

6.3.4 Verb forms

Verb forms derived from frequent verbs such as TRAER ('to bring') and VER ('to see') appear in different spelling variants, but the non-etymological form *trujo*, *trujeron* prevailed over *trajo*. Likewise, the form *vía* is mostly used in lieu of the modern *veía*.

- (a) eran en piedra, de las quales yo *truje* a España (41)
- (b) Y este nauio *trujo* nueba de alguna tierra (57)
- (c) *trujeron* la comida, que fue toda de carne (75)
- (d) luego hallaron ahua y la *trujeron* a los nauíos (90)
- (e) que *trujese* una señal para que fuese conoçido (115)
- (f) los *retrujese* a su casa y allí los ospedase (120)
- (g) *trujo* muy buena casa de criados y criadas (140)
- (h) y *trajo* esta nueba un fraile (149)
- (i) bí cueros de los que *trujeron* estos soldados (154)
- (j) Los ingleses que auían preso en la isla, mandó se *trujesen* a Mexico (249)
- (k) ya no *bía* la ora de verse rebuelto en aquella riqueza (94)
- (l) mostraba tan gran señorío que muy pocas bezes le *uían* reyr (115)
- (m) lo que el mundo auía mostrado en aquello que *bía* presente (209)

6.3.5 Pronoun of address in the *Tratado*

The use of direct speech in some of the *Tratado*'s passages facilitates the identification of the pronouns of address and the corresponding verb forms. The narratives, descriptions and dialogues available show a variety of pronouns, to wit: *tú*, *vos*, *vosotros* and *vuestra(s) merced(es)* and related forms such as *vuesa(s) merced(es)*. The uses of the informal pronouns of address are defined as *tuteo* (where *tú* agrees with its paradigmatic verb forms, possessive adjectives, etc.) and *voseo* (where *vos* may be used as a subject pronoun and as an object of preposition with verb forms corresponding to the pronoun *tú* in select tenses). *Tuteo* is used with both feminine and masculine, and prevails in informal domains between those of equal rank. *Tú* is directly derived from the second person singular Latin pronoun TU. In both medieval and modern Spanish, the personal pronoun *tú* may

be a null subject and the possessive adjective *tu* agrees in number with the possessed object as in item (a).

- (a) *Calla*, bellaco (...) que por ser cobarde y por miedo *as* bendido *tu* reyno (...)
Pues *tú* con ellos, *as* de morir (129)

The pronoun VOS is also directly derived from Latin. In peninsular varieties, the subject pronoun normally agrees with its verb forms, possessive adjectives, and direct and indirect objects. The passages below show the use of singular *vos* in a laconic, exhortative and fictitious welcome speech delivered by Moctezuma to the Spanish speakers who had just arrived in the Emperor's territory. At the time Suárez de Peralta wrote his essay, the memories about the conquest of Mexico were alive and intense. He consistently used the traditional diphthongized forms of the verbs *ser*, *haber*, *querer*, *meter* and *poner* but they also show the omission of final *-d*.

- (a) “Señor mío, *seáis* muy bienbenido. *Abéis* llegado a *vuestra* tierra y pueblo, México, y a *vuestra* casa, *ques* la mía, que *os* ofrezco para *vuestro* seruiçio. *Abeis* benido para sentaros en *vuestro* trono y señorío, el qual yo en *buestro* nombre e poseydo” (121)
- (b) Un caballero de los criados del birrey, bístole tan metido con Cortés, le dijo un día: “Señor, ¿qué *queréis* hazer con este hombre? ¿Gastar *vuestro* dinero y enbia[d]lle...? (150)
- (c) “Nos [no *os*] *metáis* con el sino *tomáØ* otro medio y *seguiØ* *vuestra* bentura. *Hazed* por *bos* solo esta jornada” (150-151)
- (d) “con *bos* armado, *os* diera que hazer” (152)
- (e) “Pues señor, *deziØselo*, quel lo hará” (199)
- (f) “Sí, señor; y lo que combiene es que *os pongáis* bien con Dios y le *supliquéis* perdone *vuestros pecados*” (206)
- (g) Le dijo su hermano Alonso de Abila: “*Andad* acá, hermana al monesterio de las monjas, que quiero y nos combiene que *seáis* monja y *abéislo* de hazer, donde *seréis* de mí y de todos *vuestros* parientes muy regalada y seruida” (214)

Vosotros is the neologism arising from the addition of *otros* to *vos*, which is used as plural of *tú*. In the fictitious speeches delivered by Moctezuma to his vassals and others in the crowd, *vosotros* appears as a subject pronoun, *os* as an object pronoun, and *vuestros* /*as* as possessive adjectives. All parts of speech are unambiguously plural.

- (a) “¿Para qué *tornáis* *bosotros* otra uez a benir acá? ¿Ques lo que *queréis*?” (108)
- (b) ¿Por demás es *vuestra* venida. Ya no haré más cuenta de México y para siempre *os* deixo. No terné más cargo de *vosotros* ni de *vuestro* rey Montecuma. *Apar-*

taos de mí, que no quiero hazer lo que me *pedís* ni el que me pide. *Bolbeos* y *mirad* a México” (108)

- (c) Yo *os* beo con mis ojos (...) beo *vuestra* cara y cuerpo y jente que con *bos* viene (122)
- (c) ¿De dónde *abéis* benido? (...) Ellas *os* trujeron (122)
- (d) Qué *abiades* de bolber a reynar en estos reynos y *os* *ayades* de sentar en *vuestra* silla y trono (122)
- (e) Se subió al terrado y les hizo esta plática: “Hijos míos y mis queridos basallos (...), a quien los españoles mataron en la fiesta y sacrificio que se hazía a *uestro* deboto ydolo Huitzilbuchcatl. La qual mortandad no fue por orden del gran señor y capitán como *auéis* bisto. *CreØ* del [de él que él] que os bengará y hará justicia. Y io en *uestro* nombre se la pediré. *Doléos* de mí, questoy preso, y de los que por *vosotros* mueren en esta guerra; y de nuestros biejos y niños, que todos hemos de morir si *vuestra* yra no se aplaca” (129)

6.3.6 *Vuesa(s) merced(es)*

Vuestra merced and *vuesa merced* agree with the verb in the 3rd person singular as in (a), (b) and the second part of (c). Both pronouns function as an object of preposition, can be masculine or feminine, and can take a direct object in LE, as in item (h). Similarly, *vuestas mercedes* can appear as an overt pronoun as in (d) through (f) or as a null subject as in (h). It can also function as an object of preposition as in the first part of (c), second part of (d), and first part of (i).

- (a) “Esta no *puede vuesa merçed* llevar (201)
- (b) “No es tiempo este, señor que *haga vuesa merced* eso, sino que mire por su ánima” (211)
- (c) Aquellos señores llaman a *vuesa merced*. Y el luego pidió la capa y la espada y se la trujeron. Y le dijo: “No *puede vuesa merced* llevar, porque ba preso” (201)
- (d) “señores dom Pedro y dom Baltasar, *oyan vuestas mercedes*: estos señores an sentenciado a *vuestas merçedes* y es ésta la sentencia” (226-7)
- (e) *Vuestas mercedes se aprovechen* desta poca de vida que les queda (227)
- (f) “ténganle *uuestas mercedes* y hagan sus diligencias” (227)
- (g) Aquellos señores llaman a *vuesa merced*. Y el luego pidió la capa y la espada y se la trujeron. Y le dijo: “No *puede vuesa merced* llevar, porque ba preso” (201)
- (h) “¡Señores, *encomienden* a Dios a estos caballeros, que ellos dizen que mueren justamente! (211)
- (i) “Me mandaron llevase a *vuesa merçed* preso y como a tal *le* llevaré” (201)

6.3.7 Use of imperfect subjunctive

One of the remarkable traits of medieval Spanish was the use of <ss> representing the voiceless apico-alveolar fricative, a spelling that was irregularly preserved in the imperfect subjunctive beyond the second generation. Suárez de Peralta used consistently single <s> in all cases.

- (a) para que los *encaminase* a la buena tierra y les *siruiese* de lengua (95)
- (b) que le *escondiesen* [a Montecuma] en el ymfierno, y en el paraíso terrenal o en la casa del sol (103)
- (c) que (...) *suplicasen* a Nuestra Señorar los *fauoresçiese* y que ellos (...) se *animasen* (97)
- (e) enbió (...) echizeros y agoreros para que *hiziesen* todo el mal que *podiesen* a los españoles y les *enechizasen* de manera que *emfermasen* y *muriesen* todos (102)
- (f) les mandó *trujesen* biem en la memoria y no se les *olbidase* nada que ellos *biesen* y su dios les *dijese* y les *mandase* (101)

6.3.8 Conditional sentences ending with –RA

Like the letter writers mentioned in the previous section, Suárez de Peralta still uses the imperfect subjunctive ending in –RA in conditional sentences with protasis (conditional clause) and apodosis (main clause), as in items (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) si *durara* gobernando lo que biuió, *fuera* de muncha ymportançia para la tierra (137)
- (b) Si dom Martín Cortés, segundo Masqués del Balle, *permaneçiera* en la Nueva España, que della no *saliera* ni le *sucediera* el negocio que le sucedió de tanta desgracia, *fuera* de los más ricos señores d'España (138)
- (c) Si él *procediera* diferente de lo que proçedió, el *permançiera* en la tierra y *fuera* el más rico de España (185)

6.3.9 Discourse markers, idiomatic expressions and other features

Suárez de Peralta used discourse markers, idiomatic expressions and features that at present are considered popular or colloquial. The marker *dizque* is not too frequent but it is identical to that used by the first generation and by today's speakers, as in sentences (a) through (c).

- (a) le dijo el gouernador negro al cauallero que le quería mostrar su casa, la cual *diz que* era como de negros (76)

- (b) Y destas cosas *diz que* decía muchas (236)
- (c) fuese con Hernando Cortés hasta el aposento del adelantado, el qual estaua muy descuydado y aun *dizque* dormido (84)

While the discourse marker *dizque* has spread all over the continent, other variants remained in certain regions. This is the case of the definite article added to first names and surnames, which is unusual in the Central Highlands, but common in the Mexican northern region and Central America.

- (a) *El Baltasar de Aguilar* aún no estaba siguro hasta que bió salir al secretario (227)
- (b) Preso *el Baltasar de Sotelo*, dierom abiso a los juezes (230)
- (c) *El Sotelo* sacó un perdóm destes (230)

Some other idiomatic expressions were spread across New Spain and across social strata, for example, *cuantimás* ('and there's more') as in (a), and *de veras* ('really', 'honestly') as in (b) through (d).

- (a) *Quantimás* que dizen estauan baylando y cantando (133)
- (b) Que muy *deberas* suplicasen a Nuestra Señora los fauoresçiese (97)
- (c) Ellos pagaron las burlas muy *de beras* (163)
- (d) Para quel no se declarara tan *deberas* contra ellos (195)

Finally, the adjective *lindo* ('nice', 'pretty') is at present associated mostly with feminine discourse, but for Suárez de Peralta it was a modifier associated with pleasantness, legitimacy and masculinity (see Cuervo 1902/1954).

- (a) *Lindísimo* gobernador, sin jénero ninguno de yntereses (170)
- (b) El era muy *lindo ombre* (171)
- (c) Hizo donde se corriese un toril *muy lindo* (172)
- (d) que le virrey le viesse correr y tener sus adereços *muy lindos* (172)
- (e) Era un hombre de *muy lindo talle* (245)
- (f) El rostro le tenía *muy lindo* (206)

6.3.10 References to ethnicity

Because Suárez de Peralta belonged to the second generation of Spanish speakers, he was able to observe the ethnic changes resulting from contact experienced by Indians and Spaniards; from his viewpoint, the former had acquired traits that distinguished them from the latter. The author referred to culture and language contact, as in (a) and (b).

- (a) está ya tan *españolada* [la gente] que en muchas cosas nos semejan (58)

- (b) están ya *tan españolados* y admitidos en los tratos y contratos con los cristianos, que en ellos se hallan muchos oficios mecánicos y otros de aprovechamiento (122)

6.4 Linguistic documents: the Gulf

The documents 24-48 (pp. 88-155) belonging to the second part of the 16th century (1558-1598) and representing the Gulf region (DLNE-EG, 2008) shed light on the different trends, which are similar to those of the Central Highlands and also similar to those of the first part of the 16th century. The medieval sibilant <ç> continues to appear according to etymological norms, as in *ençima*, *serviçio*, *ofiçio*, *Gonçalez*, *provinçial*, *oçeano*, *exerçio*, *negoçio* (93-94), spelling that is used through the end of the century: *veneraçion*, *açertado*, (97), *espeçial*, *oraçiones* (103), *conçiençia* (105), *naçer* (107), *purificacion* (108), *çiudad*, *alguaçil* (123). By the same token, the old grapheme <z> is preserved in *juez*, *vezino* (91), *fortaleza*, *dezir* (110), *paz*, *hizo* (121), *izquierda* (128), etc. Also, following medieval spelling standards, the sequence -sc- appears in *padesçen* (111), *caresçiendo* (152). Finally, the grapheme <z> alternates with <ç> in *dezia* and *deçia*, while <z> begins to appear where it does not correspond etymologically, as in *azero*, *prozeso* (54-55) *paresze* (56) *rezio* (66) *zelo* (97), *avizadme*, (83), *rezelo* (121), *cozina* (121), *regozijo* (129), *zielo* (133), *favorezido* (133), *suzeda* (134), *setezientos* (133), *suzzeso* (142), *rezebido* (145), *conozera* (151), *zercan* (146), *cârzel* (145), etc. Although in the Gulf the grapheme <z> does not prevail, it is a frequent practice. As the century goes on, -ss- reappears in words that normally do not have it as in *quissiese* (74), while <-ss-> alternates with single <-s-> as in *pasó* and *passó* (106), *confesado* and *confessaba* (108), *comisario* and *comissario* (123), *cassa* (142), *ssabe* (143). Finally, the cases of *seseo* are very few: *nesesario* (101), *veses* (121), *agradesco* (146); there are also rare cases of *ceceo* as in *çufria* (91), *ençuçiar* (149), and one truly rare item revealing aspiration of sibilant in intervocalic position as in *favoreherá* (147). Tables 6.2A and 6.2B show the total number of sibilant graphemes and their distribution in percentages.

In sum, with respect to the use of the sibilants, 16th century texts point to varied trends rather than to one single trend. The paucity of -ss- indicates that the voiceless apical sibilant had converged with its corresponding voiced -s-. From the variants of the graphemes it can be inferred that there were variants of pronunciation: (1) Spanish speakers of northern and central regions might have distinguished the two points of articulation, that is, apical versus dental; (2) the frequent use of <z> in intervocalic position could indicate vestiges of voicing; (3) some other Spanish speakers exchanged <ç> and <z>, and might have been

inclined to use moderate *ceceo-zeceo* with the different sub-variants (*siseante* or *ciceante*) that preceded *seseo*, though this type of pronunciation was not consolidated among educated speakers of any region because since early in the 16th century it was identified with marginal groups like the gypsies (Catalán 1956-57, 1957). Some other speakers preferred to use full-fledged *seseo* and fused the four sibilants. Finally, it is possible to speculate that some Spanish speakers did distinguish the sibilants in writing according to their educational profile, but their speech differed from the writing perhaps because they empathize—consciously or unconsciously—with the speakers already acclimatized in New Spain.

6.4.1 Miscellaneous traits in the Gulf

Like the writers from the Central Highlands, those from the Gulf exhibit some of the traits that in this study are considered popular residual variants; they are not optimal because they may have been relegated to use in rural, “rurban” or marginal communities that have been distant from mainstream education and modern socio-economic development. The most frequent variants from this sub-sample appear in (1) while the rest may (re)appear in isolated coastal communities.

(1) Writers hesitate between open and close vowels as in the following words: *avezados* (88) modern *avisados*; *seguinte* (88) modern *siguinte*; *dizía* (91) modern *decía*; *escrebí* (88) modern *escribí*; *besitar* (151) modern *visitar*; *obidiente* (153), modern *obediente*; *reszebí* (110) and *rezebí* (135) modern *recibí*. The conjunction *o* (“or”) as in *tres o cuatro*, is reinterpreted as a close vowel *u* as in “*han de venir Moreno hu otra persona*” (103) and “*ttres hu quatro pares de botillas*” (103).

(2) They also aspirate non-etymological H as in *heran* (89), *hordinario* (93, 123), *hacá* (101), *horden* (92), *hante* (105), *hera* (119), *harriero* (118), *hedad* (139), *husurpar* (124), *honzas* (126), ,), *hordénelo* (143).

(3) Aspiration of initial F- as in *hebrero* (125) (< *febrero*) is not too common but seems to be an extension of aspiration in initial position. It also appears in intervocalic position, as in *caher*, *trahernos* (96), *mahiz* (113), and in the phrases such as *hera huidor* (119). Etymological H is present in the following words: *huidores*, *hacienda* (115), *hozicos* (127), *honor* (129), *hallo* (133), *hijo* (143), *hanegas* (116), and in the adjective *harto*, which is normally placed before a noun as in *hartos bienes* (146), *hartas cosas* (96), and functions as an intensifier.

(4) The interchange of liquid consonants, which is common along coastal areas, is rare in New Spain. In EG 37, 1585 (Veracruz), the scribe interchanged liquids /r/ and /l/ in *çelebro* (127) [cerebro] and *calcañales* [carcañales] (128). The tendency to substitute a consonant with /-l-/ appears in *colodrillo* (128) [cocodrilo].

(5) The verb TRAER ('to bring') appears with both old and modern spellings, as in (a) through (c). The medieval Spanish form of the verb VER ('to see') *vido* was used when the speaker happened to be an eyewitness of a relevant event or was staring at someone, as in (d) and (e). Finally, with the verb REÍR, some writers used the epenthetic palatal <y>, as in (f).

- (a) *truxo* a esta villa otra esclava (94)
- (b) lo *traxeron* a Mexico (118)
- (c) me *trajo* la respuesta (142)
- (d) el dicho Gonzalo d'Ávila miró a él, y *vido* estar una cruz encima (106)
- (e) *vido* después cómo la metió en el aposento (138)
- (f) se *riyeron* de ver que salía descolorido (130).

6.4.2 The system of pronouns of address: *tú, vos, vosotros, vuestra merced, su merced*

At the end of the 16th century, the system of pronouns of address was sufficiently diversified so as to render three sets of dyads. The first one consisted of the two traditional pronouns, *tú* and *vos*, which were allocated along the [+ intimate informal] domains with a plural which was a neologism made up of *vos* + *otros*. The second set is also a neologism derived from the possessive adjective of *vos*, which rendered *vuestra merced* in singular and *vuestras mercedes* in plural. The third dyad, not too frequently used in these documents, was *su merced* and *sus mercedes*.

Singular informal: The examples in singular informal appear with the null subject *vos* and the corresponding diphthongized conjugations in (a), (b), (c), (e) and (g). The null subject *tú* appears with its corresponding paradigmatic forms in (d). Another example appears in the last part of example (e), which mixes the reduced form *hicistes* with the indirect object pronoun *os*.

- (a) “señor, *no digáys* eso, que Nuestro Señor es misericordioso y *os* puede perdonar a *vos* y a todo el mundo, por mucho pecados que *ayáis* fecho” (105)
- (b) el dicho Gonzalo d'Ávila miró a él, y *vido* estar una cruz encima, y alçó la mano señalando la cruz y dixo dos veces: “*áy estáys, ay estáys*” (106)
- (c) “¿no me *queréys* dar tamemes?, que me quiero yr” (88)
- (d) “señor, no hay agora indios, mañana *te yrás*, no *tengas* tanta priesa” (88)
- (e) asiéndole de la manga de un capotillo que traía cubierto le dixo: “¿negro, y no *os* e mandado que *hagáis* de hozicos todo lo que *os* mandaren los españoles questán en mi casa?” y el respondió que así era, y este confessante rrefirrió:

“pues ¿cómo no *hiçistes* [or *hicisteis*] lo que esta mañana os mandó Luis?” (128)

- (f) Martín Ochoa (...) dixo al dicho negro: “*anda, vete, quitate* de aý” (128)
 (g) “¡*callad!*, señora, no *lloréys* ni *tengáys* pena que yo os trataré mejor que don Pero Leño” (130)

Singular formal: The innovative pronouns *vuestra merced* (abbreviated *v.m.* or *v.md.*) and *su merced* are used as a subject as in items (a) through (d). Th common usage appears in letters between young and older adults, i.e. children to parents, nephews and nieces to uncles, and other family members. Both pronouns function as an object preposition as in (e) through (k). They agree with all verb forms corresponding to 3rd singular pronouns *él* and *ella* as in (a) through (d); semantically they correspond to the 2nd person, whereas the possessive adjective also corresponds to the 3rd person singular and plural (*su* and *sus*) as in (g) and (k).

- (a) dixo *su merçed* estar informado (90)
 (b) así *su merçed* no puede ni deve proçeder (126)
 (c) *V.m.* dé horden como se hagan un par de varriles descabeche (143)
 (d) “bien sabe *vuestra merced* que yo fuy alcalde” (124)
 (e) avía benido en casa *de su merced* a entregarle al negro (125)
 (f) Señor padre. Pena rezibo en ver que se pasen los años (...) y no vea *de v. md.* letra ninguna (132)
 (g) *De v. md. su* humilde hijo, Francisco [in the closing] (136)
 (h) De lo que toca al negocio de mi hermano yo no trataré *a v.m.* cosa ninguna (103)
 (i) “señor, yo vengo acá a tomar consejo *con vuestra merced*” (124)
 (j) ninguna cossa me tiene tan afligida como no saber de la salud *de v.m.* y carezer de *su* vista (143)
 (k) Ubediente hija *de v.md.* que *sus* manos vessa (143-144)

Plural informal and formal: In peninsular Spanish the corresponding plural pronoun of *tú* is *vosotros*, exemplified in (a) and (b). In Doc. 24, 1558, *vosotros* appears with its paradigmatic verb forms and the corresponding object *os*. The informal context and domains of *vosotros* contrasts with the formality of *vuestras mercedes*, a pronoun that agrees with the conjugated forms of the 3rd person plural pronouns, *ellos* and *ellas*. In contrast, in Doc. 33, 1589, the letter of Francisco Olivares de Collazos to his father, he addressed his father and mother with *vuestras mercedes* as in (c) and (d). The corresponding object pronouns of *vuestras mercedes* is [+ plural masculine] *los*, which covers both genders as in (c). Doc 42, 1594 is the letter drafted by a scribe of a mulatto woman who requested support from her parents as in (e) and (f).

- (a) “*Vosotros estáys* abezados de los frayles que son unos hombres mentirosos y no oyáis lo que os dizen, que os mienten en lo que os dizen e predicán” (88)
- (b) “Sí, quiero yrme luego, que a *vosotros os* deven de aver mandado los frayles que no *déys* tamemes (88)
- (c) mi desinio es el año que viene que vaia por *vuestras mercedes* y los traiga donde yo estoi (132)
- (d) no me falta (...) sino ver en esta casa a *vuestras mercedes* en la qual tengo ya trazado la vivienda de *vuestras mercedes* y mía (134)
- (e) Una de *vuestras mercedes* rezebí con el correo el viernes a medio dia (145)
- (f) aunque *vuestras mercedes* no se acuerdan en sus cartas ymbiarme a deçir cómo están (146)

Mixed forms: The conjugations corresponding to *vuestras mercedes* were occasionally mixed with the object pronoun that corresponds to *vos*. This rare case appears in Doc. 32, 1572 which is a sermon delivered by Friar Melchor as in (a). Singular *voseo* occurred in (b) when the priest was scolding the young male belonging to the ethnic group known as *criollos* (children of Spaniards born in New Spain).

- (a) “Hermanos, *procuren* de poner *vuestros* coraçones con Dios, que esto del açotaros poco inporta” (108)
- (b) el padre vicario se levantó y dixo [al joven criollo]: ¡*calla!*, [or *callad*] que soys muy desvergonçado, y que el fraile dixo en presençia de los yndios y españoles que allí estaban: “*mentís* como ruin hombre”, y que entonces le asió el padre vicario y dijo: “*sé* [or *sed*] preso, *andad* a la cárcel de un mal fraile, que *vos no andáis* para menos” (138)

Reverence: The honorifics *vuestro* and *vuestra* (possessive adjectives derived from *vos*) were used to address individuals occupying positions of power and prestige, as in (a) through (c).

- (a) “Aquí se vino a confesar conmigo un seglar que *vuestra reverencia* avia confesado...” (109)
- (b) Conbendría mucho a *vuestro real servicio* que desta tierra obiese más cantidad de gente (110)
- (c) sin liçençia de *vuestra real justiçia* (111)

The variety of forms of address used during the 16th century reveals the miscellaneous situations in which Spanish speakers were involved and intermingled with other Spanish speakers and with the castes, who also acquired or learned the pronouns of address. In some cases the speakers’ roles were symmetrical, while in others a wide social distance was marked by the use of honorifics, which were

also extremely diverse. The epistolary genre is the most convenient to examine the patterns of pronouns of address from generation to generation and in general throughout the colonial period.

6.4.3 Clitic pronouns as direct objects

The use of LE as a direct [+ animate singular masculine] object pronoun does not differ from the trends of the first half of 16th century or from those of the Central Highlands. The subsample below lists 22 cases of LE and only 9 cases of LO. With the verb TRAER, the authors use both LO and LE, as in items (g) and (l), while the verb ESCAPAR is used as transitive in item (j).

- (a) cuando ven los yndios algún conquistador, *lo* salen a rezebir con flores (89)
- (b) le dio una puñalada en los pechos, de que *lo* mató [a Juan] (93)
- (c) El señor Dios *lo* encamine [a Vuestra Majestad] como él sea servido (98)
- (d) ablarán a Pedro de Murga para que **le rezeiban** en la nao (102)
- (e) Juan Gomez escribe a v. m. sobre ello y el buen deseo que tiene de trabajar para **librarle** [al hermano del autor de la carta] (103)
- (f) vino a mí pensando que yo [fray Melchor] **le avía de absolver** [a un seglar] (108)
- (g) **le traxo** tan enfermo de allá que dentro de un día que llegó murió (114)
- (h) murió en Xalapa, camino de la Beracruz, que **le enbiaron** [a Antón Golofe] a sus negoçios fuera del yngenyo (118)
- (i) hera negro ageno y *teníalo* Gerónimo Pérez (118)
- (j) bendió su negro al padre Juan de la Cruz, y *lo* escapó y traspusieron (118)
- (k) prestó a Juanillo, criollo (...) a Francisco Bravo para que **le sirviese**, y **le mandaron** domar un potro, el qual potro le dio una cox que *lo* mató [a Juanillo] (118)
- (l) quando Françisco Brabo pasó por allí y *lo* halló tan malo, *lo* traxo a la hazienda (119)
- (m) le mandó echar los grillos al sobre dicho guardián, y **prenderle** y quitar la comida (121)
- (n) Que me yniba del conoçimiento del dicho negro y *lo* entregue a vuestra señoría (123)
- (o) el dicho negro nunca más se levantó, de ahí **le llevaron** a una cama, y hizo llamar este confesante al doctor Bravo y a Mendoza, çirujano, para que **le biesen** y **le bieron** (128)
- (p) pusieron en un palo al dicho Pedro Leño para que **le viniesen a encontrar** (130)

- (q) **le rezebí** [a un conocido] en mi gracia con aditamento que lo pasado, pasado (135)
- (r) nunca **le a visto traer** ábito negro sino blanco, y que tenía sospecha que no era fraile porque **le veyá andar** muy liviano, escandalizando a la gente natural y española que **le vía y trataba** (137)
- (s) como él era sabio **le avian aborreçido** [al fraile] (...) y que así hazían a todos (138)
- (t) el bachiller Bartolomé Barriga (...), **le llevó** con mucha gente a la yglesia y **le metió** en la sacristía [al fraile] (138-9)
- (u) **le tuvo** arrinconado, hasta que otro llegó y **le asió** [al fraile]. Y luego el bachiller Barriga **le llevó** a la cárcel (139)

6.4.4 Imperfect subjunctive: variations of –SE and –RA

The second generation of Spanish speakers residing in the Gulf region follow the syntactic patterns used by Hernán Cortés and other representatives of the first generation (see 4.4.7). The ending in –SE prevails in the second half of the 16th century in subordinate clauses preceded by a verb in indicative and in conditional SI- clauses, but it also alternated with the form in –RA.

- (a) dería verdad de lo que *supiesen* e les *fuese* preguntado (87)
- (b) Francisco Hernandes (...) fue a casa de este testigo y le dixo que le *diesen* tamemes (87)
- (c) se dió provisión real para que libremente *pudiesen* usar dellos (96)
- (d) está avisado de hacá que se les *diese* todo recaudo (101)
- (e) todos allí le dixerón que *mirase* lo que dezía (105)
- (f) que si el diablo *viniese*, que poco aprovecharía estar allí la cruz (106)
- (g) como si *dijera*: “no nos aprovecha que *encarnara* ni que *naciera*...” (109)
- (h) [Rodrigo de Escalona] hizo pregonar que no *diesen* a los religiosos servicio sin su mandado ni menos *acudiesen* a reparar la iglesia, aunque se *estuviese* cayendo (121)
- (i) podría correr rriesgo mi vida si no se *rremediasse* con el mandamiento (152)
- (j) ynoçentemente la llamó y le dixo que se *fuera* (138)

6.4.5 Lexical items referring to ethnicity

Throughout the second half of the 16th century the issue of indigenous slavery was still debated but there were no deliberations about the slavery of blacks. In a few decades the discourse about African descendants unfolded in two main

strains. A reference to blacks was simply a form of precise identification though most individuals were categorized by age, regional origin, ethnicity, marital status, slave master, and physical defects. On occasion, they were also distinguished by their perceived proficiency in Spanish for which the word *ladino* was used in phrases like “*negro ladino*”, which meant Spanish-speaking black in item (n) or “*indio ladino*” (Spanish-speaking Indian). The ethnic label *ladino* assigned to Sephardic Jews was extended to the castes emerging in New Spain.

- (a) riñó e obo paçion a Juan, *negro esclavo* de su Majestad Real (93)
- (b) Van con los novillos quantos ay *negros y mulatos, indios y españoles* (99)
- (c) Y ansí quedan a la muerte *un negro y dos mulatos y una negra* (99)
- (d) Más ha de pagar *los más negros* que murieron por sacallos fuera de las hazien-
das (117)
- (e) lo que se aberiguare *questos negros* valían (117)
- (f) hizo dejarretear *un negro* de los de su señoría (119)
- (g) ansy queda *el negro manco* y syn ser de provecho (119)
- (h) Juanillo, *criollo*, de hedad de quinze años y *los otros negros* (118)
- (j) que me yniba del conocimiento del *dicho negro* y lo entregue a vuestra señoría
(123)
- (k) Y hera *negro ageno* y tenía lo Gerónimo Péres (118)
- (l) *quatro negros y una negra* que andaban echos cimarrones (123)
- (m) procedí contra *los negros culpados* y los castigué (124)
- (n) y por su esclavo a Juan, *negro ladino*, llamado Juan de Tierra Congo, casado
con una *negra llamada Leonor ansimismo esclava* deste confesante (127)

6.5 More examples from the second generation

The analysis of Friar Juan de Córdoba’s documents (1578) highlights the contrast between Castile and Toledo in the south, which had maintained the voicing and voiceless opposition in an era in which Castile and the north had lost it. Juan de Córdoba, who spent all his life in New Spain, was either from Toledo or from Córdoba but distinguished <c> and <z>, as in *ynformación, merçed, neçesidad, obligaçion, provança* as opposed to *hiziesen, maíz, parezco*. Córdoba also aspirated initial F- as in *hago, hará, hizo, hanega*. Another writer was Friar Diego de Carvajal, whose document (1577) includes the following words: *marvedí, las casa reales, esterelidad, Generar* instead of *maravedí, las casas reales, esterilidad, and General*. His traits reveal the Andalusian or New World neutralization of /-l/ and /-r/ and the simplification of the old pairs of sibilants as in *fiansas* (< fianzas), *nesceçidades* (< necesidades), and *zasón* (< sazón). The relevance of the pair of graphemes <s> and <ss> lies in the process of readjustment of the two result-

ing in its simplification, as in *castigase*, *esos*, *llevasen*, *obedieçiese*, etc. Finally, the aspiration is marked by the use of the grapheme H as in *hazer*, *contrahecho*, *hambre*, *hasta* (Frago Gracia 1987).

6.6 Conclusions

Although eventually it was accepted by a significant majority of speakers, *seseo* was moderate in 16th century documents. In the initial stages of Castilian / Andalusian development *seseo* appeared to be irregularly spread throughout the New World until it became the norm in spoken Spanish. The grapheme <s> representing *seseo* was scarce in the 16th century and competed with other graphemes, a fact that is conducive to put forward alternate theories of sibilant pronunciation. The features defining New World Spanish can be examined along a continuum of residual distribution.

(1) Those that have remained in vast zones of Spanish-speaking Latin America, i.e. *seseo* and /-s/ deletion and aspiration in implosive and final position may be considered optimal, though in Mexican Colonial Spanish /s/ weakening is rare. This means that its preservation in all positions must have been the norm amongst the vast majority of writers who immigrated to New Spain. The convergence of the sibilants prevailed in the entire continent, whereas weakening of [s] survived in many regions in variation with the full pronunciation. In the modern varieties of Latin American Spanish, aspiration of final -s is not stigmatized in formal domains as long as it occurs in the prescribed environment and speakers do not incur in hypercorrection.

(2) *Leísmo* prevailed in the 16th century at the rate of two-thirds versus one-third. The alternate use of clitics LO and LE validates the theories of koineization since the pro-etymological forms and the *leísta* forms co-occurred in the emerging colonial society. The formality that defined the topics and styles of the first generation gradually deteriorated and paved the way for innovations of the clitic LE and its introduction in newer colloquial registers, where LE may appear as a dangling object, e.g. (“*le tenía muy lindo el rostro*”). When all the tokens of LE and LO are added, it is clear that the *leístas* from northern-central Spain prevailed in bureaucratic, governmental and ecclesiastic positions.

(3) *Voseo* was rare in New Spain, and for this reason, it did not have continuity in the following centuries, though it was present in other regions of the New World and remained vital for the following centuries. *Tú* emerged timidly in New Spain but *vuestra merced* superseded all forms of address in the family domain and interpersonal relationships.

(4) The choice of imperfect subjunctive endings representing peninsular Spanish prevailed in the Central Highlands and the Gulf of Mexico; the use of –RA in the protasis of conditional sentences and in other contexts where subjunctive is categorical was advancing slowly.

(5) Aspiration of initial F- and deletion of –d- and –d appear at low frequencies in both the Central Highlands and the Gulf. The first generation of speakers and writers replicated the features of their original dialects at varying degrees, while variation was gradually intensified not without going over an intermediate stage of instability represented by the second generation, which shows signs of vacillating standards in writing.

Tables 6.2A and 6.2B show the distribution of medieval Spanish graphemes in both regions, where the Romance grapheme <ç> appears correctly written in the vast majority of documents; it is followed by <z> and <s>, whereas the use of <ss> lags far behind in all the cells. The items in which *seseo* and *ceceo* appeared comprised a fraction of all possible spellings and are not computed in these sub-samples. When the tokens of Tables 6.2A and 6.2B are added, the patterns of the sibilants model those of the first generation, except for the use of <z>, which advances because writers began to identify the sibilants <ç> and <z> as though they were equivalent. Table 6.2C shows the summary of the two periods in both regions. When the subtotals in Tables 4.5A and 4.5B are added to the subtotals in Tables 6.2A and 6.3B, the final total for the 16th century amounts to 3,374 tokens, the vast majority of which correspond to the grapheme <ç>.

Table 6.2A: Traditional graphemes: Second half of the 16th century: Central Highlands

Period	<s>	<ss>	<ç>	<z>	Total
1562-	112	31	562	214	= 919
1585	(12.19 %)	(3.37 %)	(61.15 %)	(23.29 %)	(100 %)

Table 6.2B: Traditional graphemes: Second half of the 16th century: The Gulf

Period	<s>	<ss>	<ç>	<z>	Total
1558-	79	26	286	158	= 549
1598	(14.39 %)	(4.73 %)	(52.09 %)	(28.78 %)	(100 %)

Table 6.2C: Summary: Traditional graphemes in the 16th century (the two regions)

Period	<s>	<ss>	<ç>	<z>	Total
1520-	494	152	1990	738	= 3374
1598	(14.64 %)	(4.50 %)	(58.98 %)	(21.87 %)	(100 %)

During the second part of the 16th century the distribution of verbal clitics LE and LO is similar to the distribution of the first three decades, when the anti-etymological pronoun LE had an advantage over the alternate LO, the former representing speakers from northern-central regions and those from other regions who were educated under Castilian standards. The use of these two variants in the emerging environment is an indicator of the inter-dialect contact that preceded the process of accommodation. The use of the clitics in the second half of the 16th century is identical to the rates observed in the first half (see Tables 4.6 and 6.3A). When all the tokens of the 16th century are examined in the summary of Table 6.3B, it is clear there is no difference between the first and the second generation.

Table 6.3A: LE and LO: Second half of the 16th century

Region	LE	LO
Altiplano C.	23 / 38	15 / 38
El Golfo	38 / 54	16 / 54
Total = 92	61 (66.30 %)	31 (33.69 %)

Table 6.3B: Summary: LE and LO in the 16th century

Region	LE	LO
Altiplano C.	60 / 90	30 / 90
El Golfo	60 / 91	31 / 91
Total = 181	120 (66.29 %)	61 (33.70 %)

The calculation of pronouns of address includes the subjects, corresponding verb forms, possessive adjectives agreeing with the subject, the direct objects, and the objects of preposition. This aids in distinguishing the use of mixed forms, which in the Mexican colonial subsamples are rare. *Vos* and the derived innovation *vuestra merced* clearly prevailed in this century, while *tú* and *su merced* were incipient. *Vosotros* appears 5 times as singular and 16 times as plural, while *vuestras mercedes* and *sus mercedes* are used at low rates in the Gulf region. Tables 6.4A and 6.4B show a similar distribution of singular pronouns, where more than one-half correspond to *vuestra merced*. In addition, Table 6.4C shows that *vuestras mercedes* was ahead of the other plural forms. In colloquial registers, however, *vos* was preferred over *tú* in the Central Highlands due perhaps to the length and the quantity of the documents examined. When the tokens of the two regions are added, *vos* prevails over *tú* by a large margin. In both singular and plural, personal pronouns are implicit with no need for disambiguation, provided the context is unambiguous. In Doc. EG 30 (1568), *sus mercedes* is an overt subject 3 times; it is however implicit in verb paradigms, and it is therefore omitted 21 times because the author of the letter was consistently addressing her parents and other relatives as a collective entity (see Table 6.4C).

Table 6.4A: Singular pronouns in the second half of 16th century

Region	Vos	Tú	V. Md.	S. Md.
Altiplano C.	313	12	287	2
El Golfo	43	7	140	11
Total = 815	356 (43.68 %)	19 (2.33 %)	427 (52.39 %)	13 (1.59 %)

Table 6.4B: Summary: Singular pronouns in the 16th century

Region	Vos	Tú	V. Md.	S. Md.
Altiplano C.	328	12	298	2
El Golfo	46	7	269	11
Total = 973	374 (38.43 %)	19 (1.95 %)	567 (58.27 %)	13 (1.33 %)

Table 6.4C: Plural pronouns in the second half of 16th century

Region	Vosotros	Vs. Ms.	Ss. Mds.
Altiplano C.	0	18	0
El Golfo	16	18	3 + 21
Total = 76	16 (21.05 %)	36 (47.36 %)	24 (31.57 %)

Finally, the imperfect subjunctive variant –SE had a robust beginning in the 16th century, while the variant –RA was used in a minority of cases. Tables 6.5A and 6.5B show the attrition rates of –SE in the Central Highlands and in the Gulf, respectively. In addition, Table 6.5C shows the comparative summary of the two regions, where the –SE form prevailed in traditional contexts where imperfect subjunctive is categorical. At the same time the –RA form was struggling to find its own functions as a contender of the –SE form. This alternation may represent the most radical type of morpho-syntactic attrition, which eventually augmented the differentiation between peninsular and New World Spanish. The difference between the Central Highlands and the Gulf lies in the overwhelming use of –SE in the first half of the 16th century (at 92%), a period stamped by the contributions of prominent scholars shaping the destiny of New Spain. In the second half of the 16th century –SE declined to 70 percent, while in the Gulf the ending in –SE remained under 90 percent in both periods (see Table 6.5A).

Table 6.5A: Use of –SE and –RA in the Central Highlands in percentages

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1525-1549	92 % / 252	5.5 % / 16	2.5 % / 7	275
1550-1599	70 % / 98	13.5 % / 19	16.5 % / 23	140

Source: Acevedo (1997: 99, 108)

Table 6.5B: Use of –SE and –RA in the Gulf in percentages

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
1558-1598	89 / 103 (86.4 %)	3 / 103 (2.91 %)	11 / 103 (10.67 %)	103

Table 6.5C: Summary: Uses of –SE and –RA in the two regions

Region	–SE forms	–RA forms in protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
Altiplano C.	350 / 415 (84.33 %)	35 / 415 (8.43 %)	30 / 415 (7.22 %)	415
El Golfo	167 / 193 (86.52 %)	12 / 193 (5.21 %)	14 / 193 (7.5 %)	193
Totals =	517 / 608 (85.3 %)	47 / 608 (7.73 %)	44 / 608 (7.23 %)	608 (100 %)