

Chapter 9

The end of the colonial period: 18th century

9.1 Attrition of peninsular Spanish variants

The analysis of variants selected from *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España. Altiplano Central* (1994) and *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España. Golfo de México* (2008) shows that the gradual erosion of variants of peninsular Spanish in the New World continued through the end of the colony with no projections of recovery or newer trends shaping the features that define modern Latin American Spanish. While it is assumed that *seseo* was widespread at the level of pronunciation, noteworthy variations of graphemes still appeared in 18th century. The variations indicate that a minority of writers did follow all the rules of peninsular Spanish (distinguishing the three sibilants), whereas others mixed the sibilants <c>, <z> and <s>, and yet some others never distinguished the rules and opted for one single <s> that replaced both <c> or <z>. Also, the alternation of the clitics LE and LO was resolved in favor of the latter, although *leísmo* was not replaced *in toto* by the variant LO. In addition, in this century *vos* disappeared altogether, whereas *vuestra merced* prevailed over *tú*, and the use of *Usted* alternated incipiently with the use of both *vuestra merced* and *su merced*; in the end the use of *Usted* and its plural *Ustedes* triumphed in modern Spanish. Finally, the examination of the variants –SE and –RA from the abovementioned collections is complemented with a set of manuscripts related to mercantile activities in New Spain. *Comerciantes mexicanos en el siglo XVIII* [Mexican Merchants in the 18th century] (Yuste 1991) presents the correspondence between the officials in Spain who were in charge of regulating commerce in New Spain, and the homologous in the Mexican consulate. The variant –SE distinguishing peninsular Spanish is more frequent when these documents are added into the final quantification of –SE versus –RA. Stemming from the dramatic divide between Spaniards and *criollos* that characterized the dreadful wars of Independence, the variant –SE was the last one to decline in colonial Spanish. The shift to the almost exclusive use of the contending variant –RA is indicative of the radical polarization between Spanish speakers born in Spain and those already rooted in New Spain.

The demographic data available for the 18th century are useful to verify the ascending patterns of *mestizaje* and the growth of the population that was using Spanish. Subsamples from the most densely populated provinces aid in the extrapolation of data by the well-defined ethnic groups that emerged in the 16th century. Also, in light of new interpretations on language and ethnicity, this chapter reviews the results of the famous Revillagigedo Census (1790). The last

colonial period is truly appealing to study major societal changes from a dependent nation-to-be to an autonomous entity that had no other option but to become distant in values, attitudes, and lifestyle from those prevailing in the metropolis.

At the end of the colony the Mesoamerican languages had lost sufficient speakers to natural disasters and disease but also to miscegenation. It is assumed that massive bilingualism was noticeable in this period, but there is no reliable quantitative information to substantiate this claim. The data on the outcome of Nahuatl/Spanish language contact in the Central Highlands refer to the elite bilingualism originated in the 16th century, which failed to have the desired continuity over the rest of the colonial period. This was due in part to the separateness built around indigenous speaking and Spanish-speaking communities and the lack of support for the education of Indian leaders. While Nahuatl evolved throughout the post-conquest period making its own adjustments independently of Spanish, or adapting selective Spanish components, Spanish-speaking Nahuas did not experience much growth at the societal level. It seems that Nahuas began to write in Spanish a few decades before the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Lockart 1991). Their mastery of Spanish, albeit limited, progressively augmented the number of Spanish speakers.

9.2 The growth and decline of the colony

Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, designated his grandson Philip of France and Duke of Anjou as his heir. The potential unification of Spain with France incited the Spanish War of Succession (1701-14), facilitated in turn by the British and Austrian armies that invaded Spain with the intention of removing Philip V, also grandson of Bourbon King Louis XIV of France. In the end, Philip V was victorious and his administration initiated long-term reforms known for their modernizing strategies. A French cultural movement emphasizing reason rather than tradition and the reorganization of government is known as the Age of Enlightenment, truly influential in Spain, where the monarchs created intendancies headed by a regional intendant. The main goal was to collect larger revenues and to have more control of each region. For this reason, there is more information on the population of New Spain and its varied activities.

The type of Spanish emigration and the unfolding occupations might have had an impact on the consolidation of the diversifying roles of Spanish. In the newer economy of the 18th century, merchants had a significant role to play in the growing cities of New Spain. The thought-provoking data derived from the 18th century reveal the similarities of this period with the modern age in showing the concentration of commercial and educational enterprises in various cities. It

seems that while the capital attracted all kinds of residents, other cities began to compete with the capital at a smaller scale. Merchants enjoyed a prestige in society equal to landowners whose recognition was enhanced by titles of nobility normally granted by the Spanish Crown to those who had acquired significant wealth. The appreciation of Spaniards went further, since all of them were respectable citizens. Upward mobility was not always fluid, and Spanish speakers born in New Spain (i.e. *criollos* and *mestizos*) could not strive to those positions held by Spaniards (Brading 1971: 21-22). The significance of mining was increased as a result of the exclusivity Spaniards had in this enterprise and the exclusion of those born in New Spain who were not too interested in exploiting the resources of their native land; instead they preferred to dedicate their lives to literature, the professions, and public service (Brading 1971: 209-211). During the 18th century the Crown granted some 50 new titles of nobility to residents of New Spain. In most cases the criterion of selection was the possession of great riches. The Mexican aristocracy was recruited from the financial elite. A model of labor and ethnic distribution is Guanajuato, where the gainfully employed population was clearly adult, male, local, and multi-ethnic. This stability was derived primarily from mining where workers were engaged in related activities, e.g. dealers, cashiers, apprentices, managers, etc. (Brading 1971: chapter 6).

9.3 Spanish emigrants to New Spain

Emigration from Spain to New Spain was high during the 16th and 17th centuries, and the quotas increased in the 18th century due to the spectacular economic reactivation of the silver mining industry and to the trade growth in both the domestic and international spheres. As a result of the solid silver production, Mexico had a high purchasing power, and more candidates to emigration selected New Spain as the final destiny. Three groups of Spanish emigrants to the New World have been distinguished in this century: (1) *provisitos* or individuals with designated administrative positions; (2) merchants; and (3) *llamados* (migrants petitioned by relatives). All of them had the privilege of traveling legally with their servants, who are included in the final log. Data from the first half of the 18th century revealed that they were mostly young adult males: the *provisitos* amounted to 4,414 in addition to 3,456 merchants and 333 *llamados*. The total of this subsample was 8,203; of these, about one-half or 3,999 were established in an urban center in New Spain because in the cities the Spanish colonists preserved their cultural identity and maintained the economic and administrative activities that would eventually help them realized their dreams. If in the 16th century the dream was to obtain land and *encomiendas*, the aspiration of the newcomer two centuries later was

the facile integration into the vice-royal society. The Mexican capital attracted 30 percent of all migrants, followed by the most populated cities: Puebla de los Angeles, Merida, Veracruz, Guadalajara, Antequera, Valladolid, Campeche, San Luis Potosi and Zacatecas, where 34 percent of the Spanish speakers were concentrated. As in previous centuries, migrants to the New World in general and to Mexico in particular were coming from diverse peninsular regions, though New Spain was normally preferred by migrants from all regions within Spain (Macías Domínguez 1999: 45, 175, 177-179).

A subsample of illegal immigration is also available for the second half of the 17th century. The emphasis lies on the regional provenance of 1,361 Spanish speakers coming from diverse provinces with Andalusia prevailing at 28.9 percent of the total and followed by northern and central regions; only a few immigrants from Leon, Valencia, and the Canary and the Balearic Islands are represented in this subsample. The migrants from Andalusia were coming mostly from Seville and Cadiz (Macías Domínguez 1999: 95). Table 9.1 shows the diversity of origins and the fact that more than half of all illegal immigrants or 52.51 percent were from northern-central provinces: Basque-Navarre, Old Castile, New Castile, Asturias, Leon, and Aragon. Spanish speakers from these regions continued to intermingle with Spanish speakers from the southern provinces of Andalusia, Extremadura and the Canary Islands.

Table 9.1: Regional origins of illegal migrants

Regions	Total	Percent
Andalusia	395	28.90
Basque-Navarre	271	19.82
Old Castile	257	18.80
New Castile	100	7.31
Galicia	95	6.95
Asturias	61	4.46
Extremadura	43	3.14
Leon Kingdom	24	1.75
Canary Islands	22	1.62
Valencia Kingdom	8	0.59
Aragon	5	0.37
Balearic Islands	4	0.29
Unknown origin	76	5.56

Source: Macías Domínguez (1999: 94)

9.4 Population of New Spain

Two continuous and opposite trends are observed by the mid-18th century: one is the decrease of the indigenous population and the other is the growth of the Spanish-speaking population, primarily by miscegenation. Table 9.2 shows the evolution of the six ethnic groups in the 18th century in seven provinces with dense indigenous population. The total of all groups amounts to 2,477,277 with the largest at more than 1.5 million or 62 percent (Column 3), which decreased by 10 percent from the previous century. The second largest at 391,512 or 15.8 percent was the group of *Euro-mestizos* (Column 4), individuals of mixed ancestry raised in Spanish-speaking households, followed by *Afromestizos* (Column 5) and *Indo-mestizos* (Column 6) at 266,196 and 249,368, respectively. These two groups made up one-fifth or 20.8 percent of the total. More interestingly, however, is the combined growth of groups from Columns 1, 4, 5 and 6. When they are summed, a sizeable percentage of the population of these provinces emerges with a total of 916,890 or 37 percent of the Spanish-oriented people.

Table 9.2: Population by caste in 1742

Bishopric	Europeans	Africans	Indians	Euro-mestizos	Afro-mestizos	Indo-mestizos
Mexico	5,716	7,200	551,488	222,648	100,156	99,756
Tlaxcala	1,928	8,872	350,604	40,348	39,444	38,228
Oaxaca	416	240	231,892	9,220	10,716	9,120
Michoacan	171	492	147,808	55,508	45,896	47,884
Nueva Galicia	1,028	2,913	36,252	44,568	31,256	31,420
Yucatan	498	274	190,032	17,660	35,712	19,588
Chiapas	57	140	32,180	1,524	3,016	3,372
Totals	9,814	20,131	1,540,256	391,512	266,196	249,368

Source: Aguirre Beltrán (1972: 219)

9.4.1 The Revillagigedo Census

In contrast with the paucity of information about population trends in the 17th century, the 1790 Census offers substantial descriptions of New Spain. It was administered by the Count of Revillagigedo, who not only had experience in surveying the population in Spain but was at the time viceroy of New Spain. According to Castro Aranda (2010) the Revillagigedo Census is the most complete report

of a long-forgotten account with data gathered in 1770 at the initiative of the new Bourbon administration (see Table 9.3).

Table 9.3: New Spain: Total population by sex and jurisdiction in 1790

Jurisdictions	Males and females	Males	Females
NEW SPAIN	4 636 074	2 302 600	2 333 474
Alta California	8 540	4 472	4 068
Baja California	4 076	2 258	1 818
Durango	125 918	62 844	63 074
Guadalajara	513 366	235 075	278 291
Guanajuato	454 873	227 483	227 390
Mérida	364 022	180 579	183 443
México	1 147 973	574 786	573 187
Nuevo México	30 953	16 039	14 914
Oaxaca	419 309	207 187	212 122
Puebla	542 288	271 769	270 519
San Luis Potosí	242 280	124 944	117 336
Sinaloa	55 062	27 772	27 290
Sonora	38 305	20 473	17 832
Tlaxcala	59 148	29 997	29 151
Valladolid	322 951	159 638	163 313
Veracruz	163 539	85 694	77 845
Zacatecas	143 471	71 590	71 881

Source: Castro Aranda (2010: 164)

According to the Revillagigedo Census, the total population of the kingdom was more than 4.5 million people living in jurisdictions or intendancies (i.e. large regional districts) that approximate the present political division of the Mexican Republic: the intendancy of Mexico followed by Puebla, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, and Oaxaca. The northern regions were depopulated at the time, while there were intermediate intendancies of medium-size population (e.g. Merida, San Luis Potosi and Valladolid). At the end of the 18th century, the urban population of 17 select intendancies was less than 10 percent of the total. The intendancies with high population density were Mexico, Puebla, Guanajuato, Merida and Guadalajara; of these, the intendancies with low percentages of urban population were Guadalajara, Oaxaca and Valladolid (Table 9.4). Zacatecas, a privileged mining center, stands out with a high urban population of 19.57 percent. The data confirm that the rural-urban dichotomy emerging in the 16th century was still characteristic of the late colonial period.

Table 9.4: New Spain: Urban population by intendency in 1790

Jurisdiction	Total	Urban	Percent
NEW SPAIN	3 982 869	323 066	8.11
Guadalajara	505 428	24 249	4.80
Mexico	1 162 856	112 926	9.71
Puebla	566 443	52 717	9.31
Oaxaca	411 336	19 069	4.64
Valladolid	289 314	17 093	5.91
Guanajuato	430 127	32 098	7.46
Zacatecas	130 273	25 495	19.57
Durango	123 070	11 027	8.96
Mérida	364 022	28 392	7.80

Source: Castro Aranda (2010: 165)

The division by caste includes five groups with a majority of Spaniards and a tiny minority of “other Europeans” who must have been non-Spanish speakers. At the end of the 18th century Indians still represented a sizeable proportion of the population while mulattoes were the second largest minority. It is remarkable that the terms ‘criollo’ and ‘mestizo’ are conspicuously absent in this survey, which may be indicative of a late-colonial trend that refused to distinguish Spaniards from their own offspring, that is, *criollos* and *mestizos*. It may be inferred that “Spaniards” was subsuming three groups that had been separated in earlier stages of the colonial period: (a) Spanish speakers born in Spain, (b) children of Spaniards born in Mexico or ‘criollos’, and (c) ‘mestizos’ or children of Spanish speakers and Indians. If this interpretation is correct, it means that one-half or more of the total population of Mexico City was Spanish-speaking (see Column 2 in Table 9.5), while the rest of the vice-royalty might have had different groups of Spanish speakers and varying degrees of bilingualism or multilingualism in the Mesoamerican languages. For a discussion on the inconsistencies of the Revillagigedo Census, see Lerner (1968).

Table 9.5: Mexico City: Total population by caste and sex in 1790

Mexico City	Total	Spaniards	Other Europ.	Indians	Mulattoes	Other castes
Males	45 478	21 338	2 118	11 232	2 958	7 832
Females	59 282	29 033	217	14 371	4 136	11 525
Totals	104 760	50 371	2 335	25 603	7 094	19 357

Source: Castro Aranda (2010: 223)

When Mexico City is compared with the rest of the Mexico intendancy, the difference between ethnicity and language stands out. Only a small proportion 134,965 (13%) of the population is included under the category “Spaniards”, which might have been conceived as a composite of Spanish speakers born in Spain and Spanish speakers born in the New World (i.e. *criollos*). In contrast, the indigenous groups make up a large majority (71.1%). Table 9.6 shows the total by sex and caste in the intendancy of Mexico, which included about 50 mayoralties and small towns heavily populated by speakers of indigenous languages surrounding the capital city. In the small towns and villages of the different intendancies the mestizo families are logged in with all the other ethnic groups.

Table 9.6: Mexico Intendancy: Total population by caste and sex in 1790

Mexico Intend.	Total	Spaniards	Other Europ.	Indians	Mulattoes	Other castes
Males	529 308	66 795	1 308	378 024	27 070	56 111
Females	513 915	68 170	22	364 162	25 559	56 002
Totals	1 043 223	134 965	1 330	742 186	52 629	112 113

Source: Castro Aranda (2010: 212)

Local data gathered in the city of Queretaro reveal a stricter grouping distinguishing the mestizo caste and other groups. Tables 9.7A and 9.7B show that in the city and the intendancy, the largest ethnic group was the indigenous with 42 and 67 percent, which is followed by Spaniards with 26 and 16 percent, respectively. The mestizo group, which is absent in the general Revillagigedo Census, reappears with 18 and 10 percent of the total, while *castizos* (offspring of mestizo and Spaniard), *negros* (African descendants), and *lobos* (offspring of a Spaniard father and a Moorish mother) make up small minority groups (Super 1983: 273). More significant than the distinction of the mestizo group is the fact that by the 18th century, mestizos had attained upward mobility, had learned diverse occupations, were able to purchase small parcels, cattle, equipment for their businesses, and were debt-free. In essence, all these advantages gave them the option to marry Spanish-speaking women (Super 1983: 217-218), a factor that may have fostered Spanish language growth.

Table 9.7A: City of Queretaro: Ethnic composition in 1778

Indian	Spaniard	Mestizo	Mulatto	Castizo	Negro	Lobo	Total
11,470	7,080	4,997	2,732	257	34	829	27,399
42 %	26 %	18 %	10 %	9 %	.01 %	3 %	100 %

Table 9.7B: Intendancy of Queretaro: Ethnic composition in 1778

Indian	Spaniard	Mestizo	Mulatto	Castizo	Negro	Lobo	Total
35,960	8,341	5,867	2,589	64	3	874	53,698
67 %	16 %	10 %	5 %	1 %	.0005 %	2 %	100 %

An additional component of the basic statistic profile, occupation illustrates the type of activity and the proportion of people working at the time of the 1790 census. Table 9.8 shows the occupations listed in nine intendancies; it sheds light on the type of activity and the rates of gainfully employed individuals. More than 1.5 million workers in different positions as laborers (Column 3), tributaries and peons (Column 4), miners (Column 5), merchants (Column 6), artisans (Column 7), and others (Column 8) were registered in each category. Spanish-speaking merchants and miners were concentrated in the intendancies of Mexico and Guanajuato. By this time, they had reached faraway localities such as Sonora and Sinaloa in the north. The commercial and mining activities explain the quantitative preponderance of laborers, tributaries, artisans, and peons in the intendancies of Mexico and Guanajuato. Artisans learned different European-oriented skills in the silver and loom industry, and were exposed to Spanish for several generations until they became fluent in it. The different occupational activities were expanded to the north with a good representation in New Mexico and Sinaloa, followed by Durango and Sonora. At this time the Californias were virtually depopulated. The data available for northern intendancies reveal that before the independent period, Spanish was making slow but steady progress.

Table 9.8: Occupation in nine intendancies by type of activity (1790)

Intendancies	Total	Labor.	Various	Miners	Merch.	Artis.	Other
Total	568 557	71 567	406 820	10 490	4 759	43 448	31 473
Alta California	502	38	123	5	-	27	309
Baja California	203	1	102	5	-	22	73
Durango	6 177	325	1 181	-	33	966	3 672
Guanajuato	111 270	53 867	17 877	9 369	1 031	16 605	12 521
Mexico	400 349	5 406	359 453	881	3 360	19 589	11 660
New Mexico	9 457	5 862	-	-	-	2 518	1 077
Sinaloa	10 291	4 306	5 172	188	151	288	186
Sonora	4 996	933	2 319	41	64	498	1 141
Tlaxcala	25 312	829	20 593	1	120	2 935	834

Source: Castro Aranda (2010: 205)

9.5 The growth of the cities

It is assumed that miners and merchants were Spanish-speaking entrepreneurs with a great deal of power and prestige. They employed workers in the different occupations and districts of central Mexico and had at the same time good connections in the local and regional governmental offices. According to Kicza (1990: 198-199), the role of migration in the development of urban centers in the 18th century was pivotal because cities such as Guadalajara and Oaxaca experienced dramatic growth after barely growing over much of the colonial period. The population of mining centers such as Zacatecas and Guanajuato varied considerably according to the profits of their lodes. For most of the colonial period there were three conurbations in Mexico: Mexico City, Puebla and Guanajuato, and during the 18th century they were joined by Guadalajara. The cities were the centers of business and government, not just for their immediate regions but for all or a larger part of the colony; residing in them facilitated the completion of all sorts of business and miscellaneous activities. Mexico City was the center of education and intellectual pursuits; it possessed the most sophisticated urban economy with a good number of residents earning wages and participating in both the internal and the international market system. As in the previous century Mexico City merchants belonged to the privileged class, while families from other prominent cities migrated to the capital; although migration was not massive, it was recurrent and aided in the process of revitalization of this lofty sector. Migration of local agrarian and mining-active elites contributed to the consolidation of the colonial elite.

Scholars have distinguished two migration patterns within the merchant community: one was a cyclical movement away from and then back to the cities by young members of commercial firms, and the other, which involved movement to major cities by independent merchants who sought to establish themselves in more lucrative enterprises. Imports of late colonial Mexico City routinely maintained retail branches in provincial towns, especially those in mining and commercial agricultural zones. Throughout the colonial period there was continual movement of commercial agents out of and sometimes back into the main cities, which acted as poles of attraction for professionals who were educated in their youth; and when they began their careers and wanted to further advance, they requested transfers to a city or close to a city. Professionals travelled longer distances than artisans and skilled workers. Doctors and surgeons were also attracted to the cities in two cycles, initially to be educated and later to establish their practice. All physicians were born in New Spain and from families scattered throughout the colony, but for the most part they preferred to work in the capital because they could accommodate both teaching and practice. Continual migration to the cities by various occupational and social groups, including skilled artisans and unskilled construction and service workers, was determined by the waves of the economy which lured all types of migrants seeking employment (Kicza 1990: 201-205).

9.6 Education

At the beginning of the 18th century, schools and residences were conducive to the consolidation of the Jesuits' position in the New Spanish society. They opened 50 more elementary schools, colleges and seminars where boys studied Humanities. The variety of opportunities offered in the north attracted the Hispanic origin population (native and recent arrivals from Spain) where the Jesuits found sufficient interested persons in educational enterprises. In the northern cities such as Monterrey and Chihuahua the Jesuits influenced the New Spanish society and the New Spanish society influenced the Jesuits. At the same time, they turned into entrepreneurs who invested resources in haciendas where Spaniards and *criollos* worked as administrators (Gonzalbo 1990: 217, 221, 224, 228-229). The Jesuits' contributions to prosperity were unquestionable but their influence ended in 1767 when they were expelled from the New World colonies by royal order.

Latin texts such as anthologies of the classics, manuals of rhetoric and notes on Nebrija's grammar were edited in the printing press of the schools. The activities in colleges and student residences were so varied that accounted for 600 annual sermons in addition to publications, conferences and participation in

extremely varied public acts. The best known Jesuit school was the *Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo*, where scholars such as Francisco Javier Alegre (1750-51), Francisco Javier Clavijero (1759-60), and Rafael Landívar (1750-60) delivered their lectures. During the 18th century, hundreds of students were enrolled in the Jesuit schools while non-religious schools of higher education were opened in almost every city of New Spain. Daily activities included lessons on philosophy, theology and moral. With an enrollment of about 150 very young pupils, the *Colegio de San Ildelfonso* became the ideal place to celebrate the conquest of Mexico on the day of San Hipólito, which was organized by the students (Gonzalbo 1990: 243, 246, 266).

The rudimentary education afforded to women depended on social rank and available space. Only Spanish and *criollo* women of any position or status, residing or established in the centers of urban life, received some form of education. Some were able to afford governesses and did not attend regular schools. Girls also studied in *escuelas de amigas* where they learned manual labors, catechism, sewing, and the habit of discipline, which consisted in just being quiet. Very few knew how to read and write, and those few were the ones living in convents. This was the situation until the second half of the 18th century when reading and writing were offered in public schools; girls also had to show *probanzas*. The content of education improved gradually and extended offerings of reading, writing, arithmetic, music composition, and music instruments. Convents for young women proliferated in Puebla, Oaxaca, Guadalajara, Valladolid and Patzcuaro. Only occasionally did young women receive education in Latin. Many more girls around the age of 10 attended the girls' schools. All in all, the education of *criollos* resembled to a great extent the education of Spanish speakers in the mother country (Gonzalbo 1990: 320, 324, 327, 332, 337, 339).

9.7 The Bourbon reforms, the economy and ethnicity

The Bourbon reforms of Charles III (1759-1788) promoted free trade, a factor that enhanced the status of the Spanish-speaking *criollo* elites (lawyers, landlords and churchmen), Spain-born officials and merchants. These reforms were a fiscal success for Spain though the effects on New Spain's economy were mixed. While textile manufacturers flourished for a time, they were not at the cutting edge of technology. By the end of the century, the population was being drained with high taxes, and about 40 percent of the revenues were being delivered to Madrid, causing a serious budget deficit that affected mostly rural working people. At the same time Spanish speakers born in New Spain were increasingly joining the lower ranks of respectable people. The sharp stratification consisted of the upper

crust made up of almost exclusively Spaniards and *criollos* and the lower one of unskilled indigenous laborers. A new stratum might have emerged since more and more Spanish speakers joined the middle ranks (Martínez 2008: 241-242).

Since the 1730's the Inquisition had noticed that many individuals of obscure genealogy were buying *probanzas*. Others had noticed the rising incidence of mestizaje, and in particular the Spanish lineages mixed with black blood. This preoccupation derived from an increase in marriages between *criollos* and castes, and because those unions were more common, social mobility for the latter became more feasible. Because *criollos* were marked as "impure", the use of the word "criollo" became the subject of debate. Both religious and secular officials discouraged Spanish and native unions with people of African descent. A 1754 pamphlet entitled *Ordenanzas del baratillo de Mexico* [Decrees of the Mexico City market] mocked the endeavors of Spanish authorities to create exclusivity on the basis of purity of blood. Social mobility did not affect owners of large estates and mines, wholesale merchants, high-ranking royal officials and clerics, and large-scale retailers, nor did it apply to the bottom social levels, mainly consisting of unskilled indigenous laborers. On the other hand, fluidity did affect the colonial middle strata which included *criollos* and Spaniards in artisan and rental occupations, people of mixed descent, and acculturated Amerindians (Martínez 2008: 242-244).

In spite of the inconsistencies of the notion of purity of blood, it retained its basic religious tenet. This was true for all Spanish speakers (Spaniards and *criollos*). The purity status of the indigenous population and its religious basis were strengthened in the first half of the 18th century when the church and the state founded new institutions for them, such as convents for women (whose criteria for admission included nobility, legitimacy, and proof of not having idolatrous antecedents). These convents were opened in Mexico City, Valladolid, and Oaxaca, among other cities. Native people did have a theological status, which fostered the rise of a *criollo* vision of a Catholic mestizo kingdom under the protective image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Prominent *criollos* and Spaniards (mostly members of the clergy) defended unions with the indigenous population but not with blacks. Mexico City's *Audiencia* prompted priests to warn their indigenous flock that if they married persons of African ancestry, their descendants would not have access to important posts. Religious and secular officials were more protective of indigenous noblewomen, who still occupied a special place in the order of signs. The emerging Mexican vision of a Catholic mestizo nation was compatible with the Bourbon administration's social policies. These regulations consecrated the principle of indigenous purity, and mestizos were not only allowed to receive the sacred orders but were exempt from tribute. Other institutions emphasized that *criollos* were just as noble as Spaniards and that natives

were apt to hold public posts. The obsession with genealogy gave birth to a new genre known as *casta* painting, which reveals the vision that colonial artists had of the relationship between race and gender and colonial hierarchies. The caste system, which had always been unstable, grew in the latter half of the colonial period because of the ambiguities contained in the notion of purity of blood. In the end it was not clear whether purity was a natural condition or a social construct determined by oral testimonies (Martínez 2008: 249, 252, 258, 267-269).

9.8 Language attrition in the Central Highlands and in the Gulf

Variants transmitted from Spain to New Spain are examined in light of the ongoing structural changes of the pre-modern era when the attrition trends observed in previous centuries were stabilized. A major discrepancy in pronunciation must be reckoned with in the overall analysis of the sibilants retrieved from DLNE-AC (Docs. 177-277) and from DLNE-EG (Docs. 106-181). Table 9.10 shows that in all four periods the traditional graphemes <c> and <z> prevailed; it also indicates that the medieval grapheme <ç> was used sporadically. In both regions writers exhibit mixed traits. In the Central Highlands, they followed normative spelling rules at 68 percent in Period I and about 66 percent in Period II. It is inferred that slightly less than one-third of the writers in Period I and about one-third in Period II made the errors that today are considered to be typical of speakers / writers who have less than tertiary education, i.e. spelling *decir*, *hacer*, *veces* with the anti-etymological sibilant <s> as in *desir*, *haser*, *veses* (this is *seseo*-W).

Table 9.10: Anti-etymological and traditional sibilants in the 18th century

Region	Period by region	Seseo	<c>, <z>, <ç>
Altiplano C.	I. 1731-1750	316 / 1005 (31.44 %)	689 / 1005 (68.55 %)
Altiplano C.	II. 1751-1799	366 / 1095 (33.42 %)	729 / 1095 (66.57 %)
El Golfo	I. 1702-1748	298 / 691 (43.12 %)	393 / 691 (56.87 %)
El Golfo	II. 1753-1799	138 / 789 (17.49 %)	651 / 789 (82.51 %)
Tokens	Total = 3,580	1,118 (31.23 %)	2,462 (68.77 %)

It must be underscored nonetheless that in the Central Highlands in Period I there are 15 (or 15 % of the total) exceptional documents that consistently follow modern orthographic norms. The rest show mixed trends ranging from incipient *seseo* to intense and total *seseo*. *Sesantes* were most likely educated in New Spain, and for this reason, they may have lost awareness of traditional writing norms. A minority

of documents showing norms similar to modern Spanish might have been drafted by newcomers in good positions or well-educated *criollos*. In Period II most documents also show mixed trends and many exhibit the modern rules with just one or two typical errors, which like today can be considered “spelling errors” or performance errors that can be easily corrected. The 75 documents belonging to the Gulf of Mexico can be examined in two periods, Period I (1702-1748) comprising Docs. 106-139 and Period II (1753-1799) including Docs. 140-181. Writers from this region exhibit the same trends observed in the Central Highlands, and a few in each period follow the modern spelling rules with only a few exceptions (see Docs. 114-118 in Period I and Docs. 144, 146, 147, 163, 171, 174 and 175 in Period II). Document 118 is the testimony of an Indian via an interpreter, which was redacted by the secretary of the Inquisition. The author adheres to all modern norms, but he still uses *vido* and *vio*. Other writers follow the modern rules most of the time, though the vast majority of writers exhibit mixed trends, that is, they use both “correct” and “incorrect” spellings (see Table 9.11 for examples). Finally, in this collection the opposite trend can be found, that is, the flagrant violations of the rules using exclusively the grapheme <s> for words that go with either <c> or <z>.

Table 9.11: Incorrect and correct spellings with sibilant graphemes

No.	Doc.	Year	Region	Seseo-W	Normative	English
1.	203	1740	AC	capacidad	capacidad	capacity
2.	204	1740	AC	ensendieron	encendieron	to light up (3rd person plural preterit)
3.	207	1741	AC	benefisio	beneficio	the benefit
4.	207	1741	AC	amenasado	amenazado	threatened (masculine)
5.	221	1745	AC	pertenesiente	perteneciente	belonging to
6.	221	1745	AC	meresco	merezo	to deserve (1st person present)
7.	236	1752	AC	denunsiar	denunciar	to denounce
8.	236	1752	AC	obligasion	obligación	obligation
9.	246	1773	AC	horrorisado	horrorizado	frightened (masculine)
10.	259	1796	AC	isquierdo	izquierdo	left (side)
11.	109	1704	EG	consiensia	conciencia	consciousness
12.	110	1707	EG	prinipio	principio	principle
13.	119	1721	EG	reconosco	reconozco	to admit (1st person present)
14.	123	1732	EG	bengansa	venganza	revenge
15.	136	1746	EG	solisitaba	solicitaba	to apply (1st and 3rd person singular imperfect)
16.	150	1774	EG	quisá	quizá	perhaps
17.	155	1778	EG	vergonsosa	vergonzosa	ashamed (feminine)
18.	155	1778	EG	mansana	manzana	apple

9.9 Attrition of morpho-syntactic variants

Long-term structural changes in this century were conducive to differentiated activities and a more fluid society that was ready to modify peninsular-oriented attitudes and values. The external factors described in the previous sections contributed to the gradual decline of the morpho-syntactic variants associated with Spain. The variation of the clitic pronouns LE and LO clearly diminished in the New World, but the displaced pronoun LE has survived in some regions in some contexts and with some verbs. However, Mexican Spanish shows at present a more regular preference for LO and less variation than the national dialects and / or regional dialects of other independent countries. Mexican Spanish reduced the pronouns of address *vuestra merced* and *su merced*, although *su merced* is recessive in various New World regions. Finally, the variant –SE survived in Mexican Spanish at extremely low frequency rates, while in other regions it persisted at higher rates, although it has not prevailed in any of the independent nations.

9.9.1 Direct object pronouns LE and LO

In this century the variant LO finally surpassed the variant LE with more than one-half of all the occurrences in most contexts. The Central Highlands was ahead of the Gulf region with a distribution of two-thirds in the former and one-half in the latter. Documents from the middle decades (1731-1771) representing the Central Highlands still show mixed trends. Some documents reveal the consistent use of LO, as in items (a) and (b), while in others a sentence referring to the same subject could start with LE and end with LO as in (c) through (e), where the verbs *poner* ('to place'), *coger* ('to grab'), and *ayudar* ('to help') are used with LE. The clitic pronoun LE was used to refer to animals, as in (d) and (e).

- (a) que a no *haverlo* favorecido al testigo [Romero], *lo matan* (AC 182, 1731)
- (b) Quel dicho Muñoz es mestizo y siempre *lo ha conocido* mal inclinado (AC 183, 1731)
- (c) y mando (...) aprehendan la persona del dicho Francisco Muñoz y con toda guardia y custodia **le pongan** en esta hacienda vien asegurado y me avisen de *haverlo* ejecutado (AC 185, 1731)
- (d) aunque el dicho buey se defendia, el referido Diego *lo cogio*, y (...) **cogiendole** por el lado ysquierdo, en el qual le hizo con la llave un arañõ (...) que ni *lo derribó* (AC 187, 1733)
- (e) [el inquisidor] **le coxió** de un brazo y me mandó a mí (...) **le ayudase** a levantar y **le pusiese** en su asiento (AC 197, 1739)

The testimonies of witnesses, occasional bystanders or spectators in civil cases are the sources of vivid narratives visualizing the events that caused commotion or curiosity. Documents AC 222-224 (1746) anticipate the search of a male suspect who was fleeing hastily from the mob that in the end entrapped him, threw him to the ground, and took a machete away from him. All those who chased the subject assisted the authorities in taking him to jail. The scribe used 18 clitic pronouns referring to the male suspect; 16 of those are LO and only twice did the narrator use LE with the verbs *absolver* ('to absolve') and *matar* ('to kill'), as in items (d) and (e).

- (a) su compañero, no *hallandolo*, salio propio su merced en persona a *buscarlo* (AC 222, 1746)
- (b) *hallandolo* en la puerta de el dicho Pedro Cavallero, platicando con Barbara Cavallero, a el *aprehenderlo* le quitó el dicho que declara un machete rozador (AC 222, 1746)
- (c) dandole orden al dicho que declara que *lo prendiera* (AC 222, 1746)
- (d) le pidio perdón, pidiendole **le absolviessse** (AC 222, 1746)
- (e) casi **le hubieran matado** (AC 222, 1746)

The predominance of LO is obvious in AC Doc. 265 (1797), the testimony before the Holy Office of a young Indian male who narrated his experiences when he went for confession. The notary might have been a Spanish speaker born in New Spain of parents who were also born in New Spain. There are 14 cases of LO and not a single one of LE. Table 9.12 shows the distribution of LE and LO in the two regions, where it is clear that the pro-etymological variant eventually prevailed. The difference in the rate of attrition between regions has to do with the fact that the 16th century writers from the Central Highlands were not only the best-educated protagonists of the colonization of Mexico, but they were from central-northern regions within Spain where *leísmo* originated. With few exceptions, during the previous centuries LE was more frequent than LO; however, by the 18th century, there must have been more scribes, notaries and employees born and raised in New Spain working in the different public posts.

Table 9.12: LE and LO in the 18th century

Region	LE	LO
Altiplano C.	41 / 125 (32.8%)	84 / 125 (67.2%)
El Golfo	45 / 93 (48.38%)	48 / 93 (51.61%)
Total =	86 / 218 (39.45%)	132 / 218 (60.55%)

9.9.2 Pronouns of address

The rare cases of singular *voseo* disappeared in New Spain giving way to generalized *tuteo* and to the use of *vuestra merced*, which in combination with *su merced* and *Usted* account for more than one-half of all the occurrences in this century. *Vuestra merced* (*v. m.*), *su merced* (*s. md.*) and *Usted* (*U* or *V*) appear in the sphere of formal and business relationships mostly among adult males. The final tally of these three pronouns is boosted by the redundant use of objects of preposition corresponding to each pronoun. This pattern contrasts with the use of *tú*, which is reserved for the intra-familiar domain, where such disambiguation or redundancy was not deemed necessary in dialogues between two interlocutors. The use of *vuestra merced* is incremented by the repetition of both pronouns as overt pronominals as in items (a) through (c); as indirect objects in item (d); and as objects of prepositions, as in items (e) through (h). They are redundant particularly in business and personal letters, because they agree with 3rd person singular forms which are identical to those used with 3rd person singular *él* ('he') and *ella* ('she').

- (a) Beo cómo *resivio v.m.* de don Thomas de Zerezeda quatrocientos pesos (AC 178, 1731)
- (b) Me alegro que *v. md. gose* de cabal salud (AC 186, 1731)
- (c) *se serbira v. md.* de dar al portador de éste mi ropa (AC 213, 1743)
- (d) si *a v.m. le parece*, imbie al dicho su marido (AC 196, 1736)
- (e) Y quedo para servir *a v.m.* (AC 178, 1731)
- (f) Nuestro Señor dé *a v. md.* muchos años (AC 177, 1731)
- (g) pido a Dios me guarde *a v.m.* muchos años (AC 195, 1736)
- (h) al mismo tiempo apreciaré que la salud *de v.m.* sea mui próspera (AC 209, 1742)

Business letters seem to have originated by the many retailers who were eager to buy, sell and dispatch their products. A business letter was aimed at the reader's needs; its main goal was to communicate clearly the message of the retailer and create a positive impression of the business at hand. For all the above reasons they were extremely courteous. Documents from the Gulf illustrate the format of several pieces of correspondence normally opening with a personalized salutation, followed by a statement justifying the reason for writing, and the necessary background information. Retailers were mindful of the different strategies utilized and the variations involved in the courtesy formulas regardless of the items (e.g. metals, almond, cacao, boxes, mules, etc.) they needed in order to complete the transaction. The use of *vuestra merced* as a subject or as an object of preposition conveyed the impression of concern and wellbeing for the person receiving the letter at the same time that the sender was indulging in softened requests.

- (a) Señor don José Palacio Lazarte: *Estimado amigo y señor: por la favorecida de vuestra merced* del 3 del corriente quedó entendido en que recibió los 402 cabos de fierro platina con merma de 7 arrobas (EG 151, 1776)
- (b) *Doy a v.m. las gracias* por la venta de la almendra, cuio líquido producto de doscientos ochenta y cinco pesos y seis reales *dexo a v.m.* cargados en nuestra corriente (EG 151, 1776)
- (c) *he de estimar a v.m. se sirva mandar solicitar* su venta al menor corto precio que se pueda y verificar su salida sin despreciar marchante (EG 151, 1776)
- (d) *quedo en el agradecimiento de la exactitud de v.m.* en agenciar la renta del fierro, y en misma espero no se experimente dilación (EG 152, 1776)
- (e) *suplico a v.m.* que si ay en ese pueblo algunos cajones para mí, me avise. *En tanto ruego a Dios guarde a v.m. muchos años* (EG 157, 1781)
- (f) Señor don Nicolás Casado. *Muy estimado señor mío.* Ban estos arrieros con tres mulas *para que me haga v.m. el favor* de remitirme los tress cajones (EG 160, 1781)
- (g) *v.m. me ha de haser el favor* de que las tres mulas restantes se pasen a Tuxpa (EG 160, 1781).

While the use of *vuestra merced* was increasing in this century, the use of *Usted* advanced timidly in both regions, where the contexts are identical to modern patterns, as in (a) through (c).

- (a) “amigo, tráigole a *usté* una carta de su padre” (...) “¿quién le dio a *usté* esta carta?, y este le dijo: “su padre de *usté*” (EG 108, 1703)
- (b) por lo que consulto a *vd.* (...) para que me dictamine lo que deva hazer (AC 246, 1773)
- (c) Ya *usted* vee cuál estaría yo, aflagidísimo, y sin poder remediarlo (EG 177, 1799)

Table 9.13 shows the distribution of the five singular pronouns in the 18th century in the two regions, where *tú* replaced *vos* in all informal domains. On the other hand, the pronouns *vuestra merced*, *su merced* and *Usted* account for 60 percent of all cases, which include subjects, objects of preposition, and verb forms in 3rd person singular. The replacement of *vos* by *tú* in the informal domain was favorable to stabilize the usages of *tú* in non-reciprocal patterns of address such as those maintained between priests and parishioners, but also between interlocutors in symmetrical relationships such as close friends, close colleagues and comrades, and those involved in romantic relationships (see EG, Docs. 136, 1746; 141, 1755; 154-156, 1778). All in all the subsamples examined in this section indicate that, with only one exception, writers were not inclined to use mixed forms. The agreement of overt and null subject pronouns with their corresponding verb forms and objects of preposition was consistent throughout the colonial period, a pattern that explains the rejection of *voseo* in New Spain where there was not a socio-historical foundation supporting the use of mixed pronouns. As a corollary, it can be proposed that the colonies that embraced the *voseo* and *voseante* forms during the colonial period were then, as they are at present, consistently inclined to use mixed forms in various domains of interaction.

Table 9.13: Singular pronouns of address in the 18th century

Region	Vos	Tú	V. Md.	S. Md.	Ud.
Altiplano C.	0	59	121	34	25
El Golfo	1	212	200	16	15
Total = 683	1 (0 %)	271 (39.67 %)	321 (46.99 %)	50 (7.32 %)	40 (5.85 %)

Finally, in the Gulf region the use of *vosotros* and *vuestras mercedes* appears a few times but second person plurals are not computed in the total of pronouns of address listed in Table 9.13.

- (a) Yo, verídico informante, os digo lo mismo que *vosotros sabéis* por el padre Torres (EG 149, 1774)
- (b) deseo que Martín acabe describir para enviárselo a *vuestras mercedes* para los estudios (EG 142, 1755)

9.9.3 Use of –SE and –RA in conditional clauses and imperfect subjunctive

In this century the variant in –SE continued declining in both the Central Highlands and in the Gulf giving way to the uses of the –RA variant in subordinate clauses preceded by a verb requiring categorical subjunctive. A document from the former region (1740) is the testimony of a native woman in a trial over witchcraft against four other women who were playing games and unearthing skulls. The narrator uses the form –RA in all cases except in items (c) and (e).

- (a) que por la curiosidad les *rogó que se lo enseñaran* (AC 204, 1740)
- (b) les *mandaron (...)* *que volviesen* a enterrar los dichos huesos (AC 204, 1740)
- (c) la citada Maria, loba, le *dixo* que si queria aliviar sus trabajos, *que la diera* unas velas (...) y *que estuviera* cierta que nada dexava de parecer ensendindole velas al muerto (AC 204, 1740)
- (d) le *mandó lo fuese* a denunciar al padre Ramires, y asy lo hizo (AC 204, 1740)

The use of the –RA ending continues to appear in most documents drafted by scribes or notaries born in New Spain. The denunciation of Juan Bruno Eusebio de Palma over issues of sexual harassment against a teacher and presbyter appears in another document from the Central Highlands. The offended young male in turn requests counseling from another minister.

- (a) No obstante *resolvimos en que comulgara* (AC 208, 1741)
- (b) me *engargó no le dixera* a otra persona y que no *dexara* de verlo (AC 208, 1741)
- (c) me *aconsejó denunciara* de lo dicho (AC 208, 1741)
- (d) *me puso de precepto no bolbiera* a confesarme con él (AC 208, 1741)

Documents from the middle decades of the 18th century show three basic patterns: (1) writers use typical sentences of peninsular Spanish where –SE prevailed, as in (a) through (c); (2) sentences in which –RA prevails, as in (d) and (e); (3) sentences that mix –SE and –RA, as in (f) though (h). The last two sentences deal with the trial of three women who were accused of casting love spells on men.

- (a) le *dixe* que don Lorenço necessariamente procuraria saber de mí lo que avia; que en caso que me *hablase*, si le podia decir sí o no, que con libertad y gusto me *respondiesse* (AC 218, 1744)
- (b) por estas razones *condescendia* la dicha su maestra en que *respondiesse* a las cartas del padre confesor (AC 225, 1747)
- (c) [un topile] le *dixo* con mucho ymperio a don Agustin, su fiscal mayor, que se *revolviesse* y *fuese* a la presencia del gobernador (AC 240, 1768)
- (d) llegó la declarante a decirle y suplicarle que la *absolviera* porque estando arrepentida, no *fuera* que *volbiera* despues al pecado (AC 227, 1747)

- (e) porque no se *siguiera* el que *supieran* y *leyeran* sus trabajos y *hubiera* otras pesadumbres (AC 227, 1747)
- (f) llegó a él [Antonio de Errera] un negro nombrado Joseph Colina y le dixo que le *perdonara* por vida suya, que él era la causa de que *hubiese padecido*, por haverle dado el malefisso para que *padeciese* Antonio de Errera, pero que no le *diera* cuidado (EG 120, 1723)
- (g) [la Zeybana] les pedía que *dispusiesen* modo o forma de encantarlos [a don Francisco Puig] para que no se *apartara* de su amistad ni se *ausentase* para su tierra (EG 153, 1777)
- (h) noticiádoselo a un tal don Josef Victoria (...) amigo de don Francisco, para que, avisádoselo al citado don Francisco, se *cautelara* y *procurase* escusarse de este daño (EG 153, 1777)

In the 18th century writers still were using the medieval Spanish SI-clause construction with the forms in –RA and –RA in both the protasis and the apodosis as in items (a) through (f), which alternated with the modernizing sentences in which the conditional tense ending in –RÍA is used, as in (g) and (h).

- (a) le dixo el dicho religioso [a Magdalena]: “si *quisieras* tratar conmigo, yo te *diera* de vestir y de comer” (AC 221, 1745)
- (b) de manera que si *estuviera* con el christo ... *hisiera* mayores diligencias (AC 229, 1748)
- (c) si *entendiera* ser voluntad divina acer que la *arrojara* al infierno para siempre, halli *estuviera* gustossa (AC 229, 1748)
- (d) si la muerte *no hubiera cortado* el hilo de la vida (...), sin duda *hubiera seguido* las huellas de su antecessor (EG 140, 1752)
- (e) y si lo *hic[i]era*, el pobre indio, luego el señor cura *diera* el castigo (EG 150, 1774)
- (f) si no te *tubiera* yo a ti que me cuidas, no sé qué *fuera* de mí (EG 156, 1778)
- (g) el que si *volviese* a ver [al oficial] *conocería* (EG, 173, 1794)
- (h) el dicho padre le dixo entonces que la amaba [a Luisa Antonia de Zárate] y que si *fuera* secular se *casaría* con ella (EG 132, 1745)

The syntactic patterns observed in the subsamples above validate the assumption that writers were coming from different regional and Spanish language acquisition backgrounds. When all the uses of –SE and –RA are added in the three contexts examined since the beginning of the colonial period, it is obvious that there was a drastic change in the second part of the century in the Central Highlands, where –RA reached about 70 percent of all cases, a majority trend that later became a pattern in Mexico (see Table 9.14). The distribution of the same variants in the Gulf, where attrition is slightly less pronounced, can be seen in Table 9.15

Table 9.14: Uses of –SE and –RA in the Central Highlands

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in Protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1700-1749	47 % / 54	8.5 % / 10	44.5 % / 52	116
1750-1799	28 % / 59	1.4 % / 3	70.6 % / 150	212

Source: Acevedo (1997: 106)

Table 9.15: Uses of –SE and –RA in the Gulf

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1702-1748	89 / 124 (71.77 %)	5 / 124 (4.03 %)	30 / 124 (24.19 %)	124
1752-1799	67 / 125 (53.60 %)	15 / 124 (12.09 %)	43 / 125 (34.4 %)	125

When the percentages of the two regions are compared in Table 9.16, it is evident that the attrition of –SE in the Gulf did not reach one-half of all the cases, and that the attrition in the Central Highlands proceeded with more celerity than in the Gulf. The balance of the contending forms is obtained when all the tokens of –SE and –RA are added, and the form in –SE turned out to be more than 46 percent of the times vis-à-vis more than 47 percent of –RA.

Table 9.16: 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.	113 / 328 (34.45 %)	13 / 328 (3.96 %)	202 / 342 (61.58 %)	328
El Golfo	156 / 249 (62.65 %)	20 / 249 (8.03 %)	73 / 249 (29.31 %)	249
Totals = 577	269 / 577 (46.62 %)	33 / 577 (5.71 %)	275 / 577 (47.66 %)	577 (100 %)

9.9.4 The use of –SE and –RA in official documentation

The trade system established by Spain in the New World colonies was a restrictive monopoly. In the 16th and 17th centuries Spaniards were able to act as carriers, sailors and merchants; in contrast, in the American continent only Spaniards and their children were allowed to buy products in the trade fairs. Seville and later Cadiz had exclusivity in Spain while Veracruz (in Mexico) and Portobello (in Panama) had permission to receive the fleets. The idea was to promote the continuous demand of the products, which were not offered at retail but at wholesale prices. The merchandise received in Veracruz satisfied the demands in New Spain and Central America while that received via Portobello covered the needs in Caracas, New Granada, Peru, Chile and Rio de la Plata. The products shipped to the New World were wine, olive oil, vinegar and miscellaneous textiles, such as cotton, wool and silk; also species, dry fruits, wheat flour, paper, ceramics, books and furniture; in exchange the Mexican merchants would deliver silver in ingots, dyes, vanilla, and chocolate. Between the mid-16th century and the late 18th century, the trade routes utilized in the exchange and supply of manufactured products were Veracruz on the Atlantic and Acapulco on the Pacific. By royal decree, the latter had become the exclusive port of entry since 1561. Veracruz received vessels from Caracas with loads of cacao; on the other hand, Acapulco was the port of entry for sea traffic coming from El Callao (Peru) and Guayaquil (Ecuador). However, Acapulco rose to prominence because it was the legal port of entry for the Manila galleon (or the China's ship) which sailed from the Philippines to New Spain and anchored yearly at Acapulco (Yuste 1991: 8-9).

The 18th century trade is closely associated with the consolidation of the wholesale Mexico City merchants whose activities contributed to the dynamic economy of New Spain. Associated since 1592 around the Consulate of Mexico, the exporters established the business rules for the silver and dyes trade. These merchants represented the firms from Andalusia and private dealers who normally financed the trips and distributed their products in Mexico, Puebla or Oaxaca. In order to control the internal sale and distribution of their products, those residing in Mexico yearned for autonomy from the European counterparts. To this effect, they created networks with retailers, miners, customs agents, and civil authorities. The network resulted in one dominant, complex and large group within the colony. In this context, the Consulate functioned as an ally, competitor or enemy of the colonial power, which either supported or confronted, whenever necessary, the vice-regal authorities (Yuste 1991: 11-16).

Sixteen out of 17 documents compiled in *Comerciantes mexicanos en el siglo XVIII* (Yuste 1991) show that the –SE forms prevailed in both periods (Table 9.17). The use of –SE is identical in the first and the second part of the century account-

ing for about 70 percent in both cases, whereas the forms in –RA account for over a little more than one-fifth of the tokens, a trend that appears in documents drafted by individuals whose identity is already firmly rooted in New Spain (see for example, Docs. 5, 11 and 17). Document 16 is omitted from Table 9.17 because by itself it accounts for 374 items divided in the following manner: 346 are –SE forms (92.51%), while the forms in –RA are used 4 times (1.06%) in SI-clauses in the protasis, and 24 (6.41%) in other contexts. Document 16 is lengthy, was drafted by the Cadiz Consulate, and reveals the fractures that the Mexican merchants had had with the Spanish authorities over trade regulations. It is assumed that the rifts between Spaniards and Mexicans were exacerbated in the 18th century, and that these and other conflicts over power, inheritance, and basic rights led to the Wars of Independence in all the New World colonies. Authors agree in that after the War of Independence the rate of change in both variables was rapidly accelerated, leading to the predominance of –RA and the noticeable decline of –SE (cf. Wilson 1983: 152; Acevedo 1997, Martínez 2001). Acevedo overemphasizes the fact that the language change initiated in the 18th century anticipated the major political upheaval of the 19th century (1997: 112).

Table 9.17: Summary: Uses of –SE and –RA in the two periods

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in Protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1701-1745	52 / 74 (70.27 %)	11 / 74 (14.86 %)	11 / 74 (14.86 %)	74
1753-1781	141 / 204 (69.11 %)	13 / 204 (6.37 %)	50 / 204 (24.50 %)	204
Totals = 278	193 / 278 (69.42 %)	24 / 278 (8.63 %)	61 / 278 (21.94 %)	278 (100 %)

Source: Extrapolated from Yuste (1991)

9.10 Lexicon

In the new economy of New Spain, the lexicon referring to trade and other mercantile activities can be classified in two major categories. The first one includes items frequently used in previous centuries, when the economy was based on agriculture and labor: for instance, *cargas de cacao* ('cacao loads'), *tamemes* ('Indian carriers'), *naguatato* ('interpreter'), *meceguales* ('commoners'), *tepuzque* ('copper coins'), *hanegas de mayz* ('corn fanegas'), *millpas* ('single corn plant'),

matolaxe or *matolaje* ('provisions for a trip'), *aviamiento* ('equipment or kit for a trip'), *mercar* ('to purchase'), *fardo de mercaderías* ('bundle of goods', 'parcels'), *pagar la alcabala* ('to pay the sales tax'), *avíos de mercaderías* ('merchandise shipments'), *vara* ('linear measure or yard-stick'), *fojas* ('leaf of legal documents'), *gravamen* ('tax'), *mercaderes* ('merchants'), *naos mercantes* ('trade ships'), *marchantes* ('clients in the market place'); *garitas* ('inspection stations'), among many others. The second category includes items used in the modern economy of services and manufacturing: *comerciante* ('merchant'), *hombres de comercio* ('businessman'), *factura* ('original invoice'), *mercancías* ('manufactured products'), *remitir el expediente* ('to send the file'), *ventas por mayor y por menor* ('retail and wholesale'), *superávit* ('surplus'), *tiendas del menudeo* ('retail stores'), *venta al contado* ('cash sale'), *tomar fiado* ('to sign a promissory note'), etc.

When compared to the previous centuries, the use of diminutives increased from 31 percent in the 17th century to 60 percent in the 18th century. Diminutives with the suffixes *-ito* and *-ita* appear not only in nouns such as *bebido* ('baby'), *muertito* ('dead person'), but also in adverbs such as *ahorita* ('now'), *despuésito* ('after'), *lueguito* ('then'), indefinite pronouns such as *alguito* ('something'), *tantito* ('some'), and even gerunds of verbs of movement (*llegandito*). Nouns ending in *-ito* are so abundant that the other Spanish suffixes used to mark diminution (e.g. *-ico*, *-illo*, *-uelo*, *-ecito*) are indeed rare. Colonial texts of this century register diminutives in which the suffix *-ito* is used for different meanings not only size: for instance, *muletita* ('small crutch'), *oregitas* ('pretty ears'), *sacatitos* ('pretty grass'), and *burríta* ('short female donkey'). In addition to the overuse of Spanish patrimonial diminutives, nouns from indigenous languages (re)appeared in three glosses: (1) As an equivalent to a Spanish noun, as in **cocoliztle** or **tabardillo** ('illness'). (2) As a definition in an independent sentence, for example, *la grama, llamada en idioma mexicano zacate* ('grass'). (3) As a scientific gloss that describes a specific object, for example, **pilpitzintlis**, a mix of herbs and seeds of cannabis (Company Company 2012: 268, 278-279).

Witnesses describing ritualized contexts and retailers requesting miscellaneous products also resorted to borrowings of indigenous origin and used them without definitions or equivalent meanings. The original indigenous word appears with Spanish modifiers and other Spanish nouns belonging to the same semantic domain. The integration of borrowings in the Gulf, items (a)-(k), was completed after the integration of the same loans in the Central Highlands. Sentences (a) and (f) refer to rituals in which *copal* (an aromatic tree resin) is used for curative purposes. In sentence (g) the noun *petaca* (< Nahuatl *petlacalli*), which originally meant 'woven hamper', reappears with the meaning of 'trunk' or 'large suitcase' for travel as in (b) and (g), but the diminutive *petaquilla* was assigned varied meanings in Spain ('flask for liquor', 'small box for letters' or at present

‘cigarette case’). The word *chile* (< Nahuatl *chilli*) is used with a series of other edibles as in (k), but also originated the transitive verb *enchilar* (‘to season with hot pepper’) or the reflexive verb with the meaning of ‘feeling the effects of the seasoning’. An additional semantic extension referring to provoked irritation or anger is common today and was used with this meaning, as in item (c).

- (a) *jícaras de agua* que hazía componer de cascarilla y miel, con *copal* enzendido (EG 121, 1724)
- (b) los géneros los puse en mi cuarto en *petacas*, y el paño sobre una mesa (EG 128, 1734)
- (c) *enchilándola* en presencia de esta testiga, le impusieron graves penas (EG 129, 1735)
- (d) que no tiene oficio alguno, que se exercita en vender *zacate* y *leñas* (EG 139, 1748)
- (e) hizo su viaje en una *piragua* (EG 140, 1752)
- (f) el que declara cogió un *poco de copal* y le saumó las piernas (EG 139, 1748)
- (g) Parece que perdieron mis *petacas*, con todos mis papeles y ajuar, ni quedó en el navío otra cosa más que mi *petaquilla* con las cartas (EG 146, 1766)
- (h) Me resta v.m. un *petate*, y real y medio (EG 165, 1785)
- (i) v.m. propio me ofresió el *tequesquite* a 3 reales y medio (EG 165, 1785)
- (j) Llega la Pasqua, y aquí no hay más dulces que *zapotes* (...); y *quatro reales de cacahuates* (EG 166, 1785)
- (k) muchos se an atracado de *chile*, *aguacate*, naranjas tiernas y aguardiente (EG 179, 1799)

In the realm of ethnicity, the designations for different groups are used as in previous centuries. They are merely a component of the basic statistics of the subjects that are mentioned in the various documents: *negro*, *mulata*, *moro*, *española*, *ladino*, *mestizo* and *pardo* were used in the colonial nomenclature. One more identifier, *gachupín*, designates pejoratively the Spanish speaker born in Spain as in item (g). The use and frequency of the modifier *gachupín* to refer to Spaniards was intensified in the decades preceding and following the War of Independence and points acrimoniously to the conflicts between Spanish speakers born in Spain and those born in the new soil.

- (a) [Francisco Limón] tubo unas boses y pleito con otro *negro*, esclavo de Su Magestad (EG 120, 1723)
- (b) llegó a él un *negro* llamado Joseph Colina y le dijo que le perdonara (EG 120, 1723)
- (c) susedió delante de un *moreno*, esclavo, cuyo nombre no save (EG 120, 1723)
- (d) le llamaron [al curandero] para que curase a una *mulata* (...) que tenía un pie baldado (EG 121, 1724)

- (e) el denunciado (...) es el capitán Agustín Barranco (...) tenido por *desendiente de moro* por aver sido (...) su abuela *mora*, esclava en Cadis (EG 124, 1732)
- (f) pareció (...) Anna Francisca de Ibanes, *española*, natural y vezina de Xalapa (EG 136, 1746)
- (g) fray Francisco, que no save su apellido, sí ques *gachupín* (EG 136, 1746)
- (h) dirá verdad una india que dixo llamarse María Covoh (...) muger de Felis Tus, *yndio*, baquero (EG 137, 1746)
- (i) juró en forma que dirá verdad una muger de color *pardo* (...) vecina del varrio de Guadalupe (...), casada con Juan de Salazar, *mulato*, aunque se tiene por *mestizo* (EG 141, 1755)
- (j) otro *indio* que dixo ser natural del mismo pueblo de Papantla (...) *ladino* que entendía y hablaba bien en lengua castellana (EG 148, 1767)
- (k) que de los soldados que lo llebaban sólo conoce a dos (...) y que eran milicianos *pardos* (EG 148, 1767)

9.11 Language reforms, journalism and literature

Protected by the Spanish state, the Real Academia Española [Spanish Royal Academy] was founded in 1713. Its role was to establish norms for the use of lexicon, orthography and grammar. It published the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726-1739), an *Orthographia* (1741) and the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1771). The attention to language was also reflected in the monumental *Orígenes de la lengua castellana* (1737) by the royal librarian Gregorio Mayans y Siscar. The 18th century philologists and linguists were successful in completing the restoration of the Latin spelling in consonant clusters in words such as *concepto*, *efecto*, *digno*, *solemne*; the system of graphemes used in previous centuries (derived from medieval Spanish) was streamlined in order to deter the confusion of duplicate forms. In the end, the rules for spelling the sibilants <c>, <z>, and <s> were clearly explained, and the modern orthography was fixed in the eighth edition of the Real Academia Española 1815 (Lapesa: 1985: 419-423).

One of the most prolific writing fields was journalism, distinguished by the apparition of *El Diario de los Literatos de España* (1737-1750), *Diario de Madrid* (1750-1770), *El Mercurio Histórico y Político* (1738-1784), and the *Correo de Madrid* (1787), which published José Cadalso's famous epistolary novel *Cartas marruecas* [Moroccan Letters]. Though all these papers had a minority of readers, they circulated in large and small cities within Spain. Some of the prominent men of letters of this century were also devoted to journalism (Saiz 1983). Journalists found inspiration in the Illustration, and were inquisitive, versatile, innovative and broad (cf. Cebrián 2003). In intention and content the papers published in Spain

contrast with those published in New Spain, which were constrained by the local administration. In peninsular literature, the dominant trend was neoclassicism, the cultural movement oriented towards a new expression of criticism, didactics and moralization inspired in the Illustration, which in turn attempted to curb the excesses of the Baroque and to privilege the gust for philosophy and science. The essayists of the 18th century are known for addressing diverse topics germane to the spirit of the Illustration. Benito Jerónimo Feijóo (1676-1764) believed in the renovation of society and the aperture of Spain to new ideas, experimental science and freedom. Reason gave him direction to understand the perspective of modern science and philosophy. He also advanced a reflection on the origin of language, which is not possible without a speech community. His essays have encyclopedic scope and value. In literary theory, Ignacio de Luzán (1702-1754) contributed with the criticism of national drama in his *Poética*, which according to him has the same purpose of moral philosophy. José Francisco de Isla (1703-1781) wrote the satire of sacred oratory, whereas the studies on the location and origin of world languages were advanced by the Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735-1809), author of the *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas* [Guide to Languages of Known Nations], a work on comparative philology (Valbuena Prat 1937: 506-559).

The similarities between the playwrights of the French Illustration, such as Molière and Racine and Spanish authors, have been highlighted by literature historians. The dramaturges included are, for instance, Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760-1828), the most influential neoclassicist and author of *El sí de las niñas* [When the Girls Say Yes], *El viejo y la niña* [The Old Man and the Girl], and *La comedia nueva o el café* [The New Comedy or the Café], among other plays. Juan Ramón de la Cruz (1731-1794) introduced new genres such as the *sainetes* (short interludes) and *zarzuelas* (musical comedies) in which the author satirically depicts all the popular characters living in Madrid at the time. The outstanding lyric poet was Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754-1817). In the second part of the century, Manuel Josef Quintana (1772-1857), a prose writer and an enemy of absolutism reignited the theme of freedom and change. Some of the authors were chastised for expressing independent opinions while many of the men of letters affiliated with the Company of Jesus were exiled in Italy (Valbuena Prat 1937: 566-612).

In contrast to the beginning of journalism in Spain, journalism in New Spain was not extremely varied. A series of monthly gazettes appeared in the 17th century, but all of them were replaced by the *Gaceta de México y Noticias de la Nueva España* [Gazette of Mexico and News from New Spain] in 1722. The pamphlets were periodicals of at least eight pages and served not only to inform the local audience but to galvanize the social conscience. They reported on public

events, civil and religious festivities, travel, battles, literary contests, natural disasters and the like (Reed Torres and Ruiz Castañeda 1995: 40). The editor-in-chief of the *Gaceta* was Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Urzúa; he was followed by other editors who changed the title of the main gazette to *Mercurio de México* [Mercury of Mexico]. The content of these papers reveals the preoccupation and restlessness of the times with an emerging distinction made between *criollos* (Spanish speakers born in Mexico) and Spaniards. All the editors of the gazettes were *criollos*, a term that gradually acquired political, economic, and in general, cultural undertones referring to an ethnic group and social class (Reed Torres and Ruiz Castañeda 1995: 64-65).

In the 18th century the *criollos americanos* (Spanish speakers born in the New World) were the major leaders in the publication business. The famous editor of the *Gaceta de Literatura de México* (1788-1795), José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez, was knowledgeable of the scientific developments implemented in the viceroyalty and also a major contender in the public affairs of the colony dominated by the Bourbons. His disagreements with the Count Revillagigedo over the 1790 Census turned into an object of censorship, and consequently, the *Gaceta de Literatura* was suspended eight years after its foundation (Aureliano et al. 1996: 32-33). The content of the issues of the *Gaceta de Literatura* covered a wide range of themes leading to the investigation of methods that would increase the resources of the land as a territory separated from the Spanish Empire. The readers were exposed to the language standards of the times and were being informed about mining and metallurgy, flora and fauna, medicine and public health, meteorology, astrology for amateurs, classical literature, and many other topics which can be found in the synthesis of Aureliano et al. (1996).

With respect to the Spanish literature produced in New Spain, literature historians call attention to the first work of Mexican historiography known as *Biblioteca Mexicana* by Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren (1735-1755), the byproduct of a reaction against the disregard for New World literature. His goal was to defend the values prevailing in New Spain and to highlight those of the indigenous cultures. Another author, José Beristáin de Souza initiated similar research in 1790 logging in 3,687 authors (including handwritten manuscripts). Beristáin exacerbated his inclination for all things coming from Spain (Garza Cuarón and Baudot 1996: 14-16). A group of Jesuits is recognized for their contributions to the emergent nationalist spirit. The first Mexican historian who used a scientific method to describe the Aztec civilization and the accomplishments of the Spanish conquistadors was the Abbot Francisco Javier Clavijero, author of *Storia Antica del Messico* [Ancient History of Mexico] (1780). Also, Diego José Abad published various works of scientific character and Francisco Javier Alegre furthered Latin translation. Finally, Rafael Landívar is the author of *Rusticatio Mexicana*, a

poem in Latin hexameters which depicts the nature and country life in the New World (González Peña 1968: 125-136).

Expelled from New Spain in the late 18th century the Jesuits sought refuge in Italy, where they revived the nostalgia for their native land. In the dramatic genre, they followed to an extent the peninsular cannons by staging some of the plays of the Golden Age or the works in vogue in 18th century Spain. Following the rules of the Bourbon reforms they composed plays and comedies that were supposed to be both didactic and entertaining. A good number of works, however, were censored by the Inquisition due to political commentary. The best known playwright is Eusebio Vela, author of *Apostolado en las Indias* [Apostolate in the Indies], a comedy inspired in the chronicles of the 16th century which recreated the endeavors of the missionaries to convert the indigenous to Catholicism and the epic of Hernán Cortés. Another play *Si el amor excede al arte* [If Love Surpasses Art] was one of the viceroy's favorites and the scenario was not the New World but ancient Greece. The third comedy is *La pérdida de España* [The Loss of Spain] which narrated the legend of king Rodrigo's defeat and the triumph of the Moors. Finally, a heroic comedy composed by Fermín del Rey was *Hernán Cortés en Cholula* (1782) whose goal was to resuscitate the old topic of conflicts between Christians and Moors (Peña 2006).

9.12 Spanish-accented Nahuatl

By the time Spanish speakers were consolidating the features of Mexican Colonial Spanish, 18th century Spanish texts written by Nahuas show their mastery of Spanish pronunciation and lexicon; the differences between Spanish and Nahuatl speakers had to do mainly with morpho-syntax and idiomatic expressions, the result of transfers from Nahuatl to Spanish. Most Nahuatl speakers appeared to know basic principles of Spanish word order, number and gender agreement, and verb subjects. The Spanish object-of-verb system was, nonetheless, more complex than the Nahuatl equivalent, so Nahuatl speakers tended to simplify verb objects by using *lo* to cover all cases. Too, they omitted the preposition *a*, when personal *a* functions as an object (as in *veo a Juan*), and overused progressive constructions but handled Spanish tenses and subjunctive mood with relative accuracy (Lockhart 1991:113). In essence, a Nahuatl substratum appeared on the surface in various sub-regions (Toluca and Mexico City) yielding a Nahuatl-accented Spanish that was used for intra- and inter-group communication (Lockhart 1991).

Four texts written by bilinguals show a continuum of styles. Text 1 (land grant, 1750) is a sample of Nahuatl / Spanish code-switching. Text 2, a bill of sale of 1733, lacks gender and number agreement, verb inflections, idiomatic expres-

sions, and the like. Text 3 (obligation of the Council, 1781) shows mastery of lexicon, inflection, agreement and overall syntax and idiom, but contains typical contact features such as vowel raising, N intrusion, *r – l* interchange, and confusion of voiced and voiceless stops. Text 4 (land grant, 1783) is cast in a Spanish that follows general conventions but retains contact features such as auxiliaries with a progressive meaning (e.g. *fue dexando, mas que se ofrece lo esta dando*) (cf. Lockhart 1991: 105-121). This accented–Nahuatl Spanish “was a transitional phenomenon on the way to a broader acquisition of the more standard variety spoken by most bilingual Nahuas today” (Lockhart 1992: 323). It can be identified as a socio-ethnic variety still spoken in the area of Nahuatl substratum. It is similar in many ways to Quechua-accented or Mayan-accented Spanish of the Andean region or the Yucatan peninsula, respectively. Indian Spanish (or *español indígena*) seems to be characterized by inter-language features encountered in a continuum of varieties ranging from colloquial/vernacular to creolized versions of Spanish. Its emergence in the late 18th century is one more piece of evidence of sociolinguistic stratification and dialect diversification.

By the 18th century, speakers of Nahuatl were beginning to show their writing skills in different documents. In previous centuries, the communication modes between Nahuas and Spaniards did not generate a pidgin-like or ‘barbaric’ Nahuatl though Spaniards played an important role in Hispanicizing innovations (Lockhart 1992: 571-572). In the beginning Spanish conversations by Nahuatl speakers occurred between individual Spaniards outside the context of the indigenous world. Some Nahuatl speakers, including interpreters, employees and traders in cross-cultural relations habitually spoke Spanish. In the 16th and early 17th centuries Nahuas testified through an interpreter, despite the fact that many of them were fluent in Spanish. However, from the late 17th century forward, an interpreter continued to be used not only because of the potential legal challenges of statements made in Spanish by indigenous speakers but also because the interpreters were eager to maintain their positions in the courts. In the last decades of the 18th century Nahuatl speakers began to testify directly in Spanish or even to translate for others. Data available from the texts examined indicate that Nahuas were “reasonable masters of Spanish pronunciation and had few vocabulary problems”. Outstanding features have to do with syntax, particularly with distinguishing direct from indirect objects, masculine from feminine, and singular from plural objects in terms of individual words. After 1760-1770, the development of a critical mass of Spanish competence is observed but not until the end of the second half of the 18th century did Spanish-speaking Nahuas produce a substantial amount of written texts in Spanish (Lockhart 1992: 319-320).

Indian towns were able to retain both their language and many indigenous practices because a sizeable proportion of Spaniards were residing in a few large cities and somewhat removed from a largest part of indigenous speakers. During the 17th and 18th centuries, significant nuclei of Spanish speakers living in the countryside created new Spanish-style settlements until the whole area was honeycombed with them. Spanish entrepreneurs hired a large number of Indian workers, and in the regional markets Spanish speakers with connection to the cities were predominant. Spanish-speaking administrative officials positioned themselves near the Indian towns, where the presence of Spanish speakers fostered Nahuatl / Spanish bilingualism amongst the leaders of the communities due mostly to the fact that the testimonies of Indians in the courts were to be rendered in Spanish directly or via interpreters. Also, the bilingualism that was unfolding amongst indigenous leaders can be examined in the texts they were producing, i.e. normally prepared under the Spanish models, where the legal terminology eventually dominated (Lockhart 1992: 106-107).

Nahuatl writers were able to distinguish Spanish structures including verb tenses. The most interesting features of the Spanish texts composed by Nahuas have to do with the use of some prepositions, which sometimes are omitted (e.g. preposition *a*) and sometimes were integrated (e.g. prepositions *hasta* and *para*). The use of progressive tenses was transferred from Nahuatl to Spanish in expressions like *fue dejando* ('he went leaving'), "an attempt to reproduce a Nahuatl model construction meaning 'left something or someone on departure or death'" (Lockhart 1992: 322). All in all there seems to be a socio-ethnic dialect showing variants that are typical of common non-professional Spanish speakers and other features that are only produced by Nahuatl writers (Lockhart 1991: 111-112, 117-118). The first group includes variants of non-standard Spanish dialects: use of strong open vowel /o/ instead of weak close vowel /u/ as in *comonidad* ('comunidad'); velarization of the diphthong /ue/ as in *güérfanos* ('huérfanos'); interpretation of the grapheme <c> as <s>, as in *ofisiales* ('oficiales'), *obligasion* ('obligación'), *pedaso* ('pedazo'), *mais* ('maíz'), *besino* ('vecino'), *asotes* ('azotes'); the use of velar /x/ or *jota* before initial /f/, as in *jue* ('jue'), and the use of late medieval *onde* in lieu of modern *donde*. All of them are typical of Mexican Colonial Spanish, whereas the variants distinguishing Nahuatl speakers writing in Spanish were the following: intrusive -N, mostly at the end of a noun, as in *pedason de tierras* ('pedazo de tierra'), *testigon* ('testigo'), *republican* ('república'), *perjuision* ('perjuicio') *hijon* ('hijo'), *justisian* ('justicia'). The use of progressive tense to express completion of actions, as in *se lo fue dexando* ('se lo dejó'), *todo lo esta pagando* ('todo lo pagó'), *y mas que se ofrece lo esta dando* ('y ha dado más de lo que se necesita') derives from Nahuatlized Spanish.

9.13 Conclusions

This century simultaneously represents the end of the colony, the transition to Independence, and the beginning of a modern era. Introduced by the Spanish Crown under several monarchs, the Bourbon Reforms were modern since they promoted manufacturing, technological, commercial and fiscal development in both Spain and the New World colonies. These reforms opened opportunities for trade, though their main goal was to consolidate the Spanish power, collect higher taxes, and diminish the influence of the Society of Jesuits. In the strictly political realm, this set of regulations was counterproductive because the economy of the colonies was strangled, and as a result, the reforms accelerated the movements of Independence masterminded by the surviving Jesuits, who had been the intellectual leaders of those born in New Spain. The rift between Spaniards and those born in the colony was not only exacerbated at the end of the century but was conducive to an intestine war that was prolonged through 1821.

Journalists and men of letters residing in New Spain were not granted the same privileges enjoyed by intellectuals working in Spain; on the contrary, they were censored and repressed by the pro-Bourbon local authorities. Showing their concern for their native land, journalists clearly catered to the audience of literate *criollos* and mestizos. In contrast, literature in Spain followed neoclassical models, whereas the literary production in New Spain turned to ancient themes or the themes of the Conquest. The journalists, writers, merchants, and artists of New Spain had their own agenda, which was not intersecting at any juncture with the agenda of their homologues in Spain. For all the abovementioned reasons, both historians and lay people believe that no other former colony experienced a more dramatic rupture with Spain than her favorite possession, New Spain. This theory has been put forward by Spanish linguists who have repeatedly asserted that the alternation between –SE and –RA is reflective of such rupture, therefore explaining the almost exclusive use of –RA in modern Mexican Spanish.

The attrition-focused variants examined in this book reveal the consolidation of the trends initiated in the previous century. (1) Though it is assumed that *seseo* was general in the pronunciation habits of all Spanish speakers living in the New World, it did not prevail in writing. (2) The clitic pronoun LO ascended 60 percent over the contending pronoun LE. (3) The pronouns of address *tú* and *vuestra merced* prevailed over all the other pronouns of address, while (4) the use of –RA at almost 50 percent indicates that the changes were not regressing but progressing towards the Latin American Spanish patterns observed at present. The sibilants <c>, <z>, and <s> followed most of the time (more than 60 %) normative standards, albeit significant residuals of errors in discrete units appear at high rates. At the end of the colonial period, *seseo* was general in pronuncia-

tion, which can be identified as Seseo-P. From everyday pronunciation habits, it spread to writing, which can be considered Seseo-W, a socio-educational variety that regularly violates the normative standards. The ability to spell the sibilants according to prescribed rules turned into a habit of only a few Spanish speakers who were exposed to normative Spanish through formal education, literary activities, and the like. The rates of Seseo-W have not changed significantly since the beginning of the transitional period.

Other notorious modifications observed in the 18th century can be considered the breakthrough experienced in New Spain from the linguistic patterns prevailing in the metropolis (Company Company 2012). It has been proposed that the series of language changes were ahead of a major political cataclysm, the War of Independence, which was preceded by a series of fractures at all levels. The question raised is whether language change exemplified in attrition-focused variants can anticipate major societal changes. This hypothesis is advanced in the context of New Spain, a multilingual society in which values and attitudes unfolded in opposite directions that eventually resulted in a major divergence. The set of features and variants distinguishing Mexican Colonial Spanish from peninsular Spanish were supported by the resistance to ways-of-speaking like Spaniards, and the cumulative changes that over the centuries have marked the differentiation between the two varieties. While language is not strictly regulated in a setting of resistance, select variants can be eroded by the speakers in subtle, overt or vacillating ways, and social movements can proceed at a slower pace than language change. In fact, social movements (social, cultural, and political) can be more distressing to newer communities of speakers who may be unaware of the drifts that they themselves provoke. Ultimately, social movements shape the direction of society and give voice to newer concerns and attitudes. Internal language changes per se may be contrastingly insufficient to foster actions in broad social and cultural terms; though they normally stand as the dependent variable, when their social significance is enhanced or exacerbated, language drifts can prefigure major social changes at particular junctures. By reaffirming their preference for those variants that were instrumental in shaping their identity, Spanish speakers born and raised in the New World acted as the catalysts of change. Their collective attitudes can be considered the major external factor promoting simultaneously attrition, variation and diversification.