

Chapter 8

Diversification and stability: 17th century

8.1 Spanish speakers in the 17th century

Research on emigration from Spain to the New World has focused primarily on the 16th century. The socio-demographic reports are not only abundant by region and by period, but also provide precise information on the personal activities and whereabouts of the colonists (cf. Bermúdez Plata 1940-1986; Boyd-Bowman 1976). Emigration from Spain has continuity in the mid-colonial period, although in contrast with the previous century, the figures on this phenomenon are neither precise nor readily available. Calculations for the first half of the 17th century yield results varying from 100,000 to 200,000 new emigrants, the latter figure based on a yearly average of 3,896 emigrants between 1601 and 1650. Optimal population density figures appear in Rosenblat (1954: 59). In addition, a fortuitous sample of 1,172 Spaniards living in Mexico City in 1689 reveals their diverse regional origins: 30.2 % from Andalusia, 28 % from Old Castile, 14.5 % from Biscay; 6.8 % from Galicia; 5 % from Navarre; 2.9 % from Extremadura, and the rest from other regions such as Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and the Canaries (Mörner 1976: 741, 743, 767). As compared to the scarcity of information on population, data available on commerce is abundant for the years 1650-1699, when New Spain was the preferred market for perishable goods and the number of fleets of merchant ships making a round trip to Indies amounted to 1,851. The transatlantic traffic of this period was dominated by the merchants from Seville and Cadiz (García Fuentes 1980: 417-425 and chapter 1), a factor that may explain the theory on the quantitative and qualitative weight of southern Spain in the consolidation of Spanish ties with the New World.

Socio-demographic data bring up to light reinterpretations on the population growth of the mid-17th century when the total was 1,712,615 people in provinces densely populated by Indians (Table 8.1). The majority or 74 percent (Column 3) was still of indigenous origin, while other groups were on the rise. Table 8.1 shows the division by ethnic group and the small proportions of Spanish speakers from Europe and first-generation Africans at 0.8 and 2 percent, respectively (Columns 1 and 2). In contrast, mixed groups (*Euromestizos*, *Afromestizos* and *Indomestizos*) account for a significant minority (23 %). As compared to the 1570 report (Table 1.5), the information available for the mid-17th century shows the three mixed groups in the hundreds of thousands. *Euromestizos* at 9.8 percent were directly related to the minuscule proportion of Spanish speakers born in Spain.

Table 8.1: Population by caste in 1646

Bishopric	Europeans	Africans	Indians	Euro-mestizos	Afro-mestizos	Indo-mestizos
Mexico	8,000	19,441	600,000	94,544	43,373	43,190
Tlaxcala	2,700	5,534	250,000	17,404	17,381	16,841
Oaxaca	600	898	150,000	3,952	4,712	4,005
Michoacan	250	3,295	35,858	24,396	20,185	21,067
Nueva Galicia	1,450	5,180	41,378	19,456	13,778	13,854
Yucatan	700	497	150,053	7,676	15,770	8,603
Chiapas	80	244	42,318	1,140	1,330	1,482
Totals	13,780	35,089	1,269,607	168,568	116,529	109,042

Source: Aguirre Beltrán (1972: 219)

By the end of the 16th century, Spanish-speaking people had settled in different places in New Spain. The period from 1590 to 1660 was the heart of the middle colony, during which the transformation of the New Spanish society from an Indian to a blood-mixed population continued to evolve. These years are defined by the impressive growth of silver and gold production reaching its highest point of 42 million pesos in 1591-1600, an amount that rose to more than 53 million from 1611 to 1620, a decade of trans-Atlantic trade. Domestic and international trade was an important source of income across the social spectrum of professional merchants, who enjoyed a favorable position and were regarded as members of a prominent group. Merchants were divided into two categories: wholesalers and retailers with silver dealing as the common denominator of the Mexico City traders; wholesalers were allowed to join the guilds and conducted their businesses as independent traders, possessed an estate, a warehouse, and a shop managed by an employee. Finally a diversified economy contributed to open routes of commerce in all directions. The trend toward urbanization that had defined the end of the 16th century was pronounced between 1580 and 1630 with the largest concentration of householders in Mexico City, where hospitals, schools, religious institutions, public works and architectural monuments multiplied accordingly. Urbanization was linked to a new market and a specific group of suppliers. In this way, merchants made possible the material basis for a higher social status for all groups. Despite the advances in material wellbeing, social changes from 1590 to 1660 were not actively promoted because the newer caste society fostered the status quo and discouraged mobility (Schell Hoberman 1991: 7, 9-17). By the mid-17th century, it was clear the difference between urban and rural life. The cities were just propitious for the growth of the Spanish-speaking and mestizo groups (Gonzalbo 1990: 27, 320).

8.2 Education of Spanish speakers

The history of education for the children of Spaniards illustrates the long-term goals, curricula and general mission of the different institutions founded for this group. During the 17th century the *Colegio de San Ildefonso* consolidated its prestige and was accredited as the breeding ground of secular and ecclesiastical functionaries not only due to the students' preparation but to the frequency and brilliance of the public acts. Application for admissions was accompanied with the necessary documentation needed for *probanzas*. The *Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo* later merged with the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, when it was boasting the coat of arms of Castile and Leon. Literacy acts were normally conducted in Latin and were well-attended. Students were also engaged in oral drills in order to demonstrate their knowledge before a tribunal. When they desired to participate in private and public tournaments, applicants were compelled to show that they were children of Old Christians, and that it was fruitful to compete in lively debates of logic and rhetoric. The graduates from the various colleges occupied in turn high positions in both ecclesiastic and lay institutions. Children of Spaniards admitted to schools had to be legitimate, while some schools balanced the staff members between Spaniards and *criollos*. Dominicans and Franciscans were also active in University activities. Indigenous students remained in the rural areas, whereas the cities became the propitious environment of the Spanish-speaking society (Gonzalbo 1990: 236, 246, 251, 261-264-266, 273, 278, 295, 298, 311).

In the early 17th century, the principles of purity of blood were still applied in the selection of students and teachers, and for this reason, blacks, Indians and mulattoes were not allowed to become instructors. Schools were founded throughout the colony first in central Mexico (e.g. Mexico City, Queretaro, Puebla) where young girls were educated in the *escuelas de amigas* (schools for girls) or simply "amigas". Since the early 17th century, the Jesuits founded schools in Merida (with 70 students), in San Luis Potosi (with 200 students) and in Queretaro, which was a village in 1606 but became a city in 1656. A few years later in 1671, Queretaro had turned into the third city of the viceroyalty because of the economic prosperity in the areas of agriculture and cattle raising; it also became a trade center strategically located at the crossroads of the mining sites to the north. Throughout the 17th century the Jesuits continued opening schools to the northwest. The *criollo* population increased gradually in and around the schools; one of the most important schools was that of San Nicolás in Valladolid. The Jesuit schools became the centers of cultural and intellectual life. In Zacatecas (1617-1620), Spanish speakers requested courses and the schools received donations from the mine owners. In this city there were 1000 Spanish families who had priority to take Latin grammar courses. By the mid-17th century, some schools

were still requiring a certificate of purity of blood or *probanzas* (Gonzalbo 1990: 205, 211, 213 and *passim*).

Like their homologous Franciscans and Dominicans, the Jesuits were knowledgeable of those indigenous languages that were advantageous to establish missions in the northwest or colleges in the central area. The Jesuits' curriculum was not very different from the Calvinists centers founded in Strassburg or Heidelberg. The mastery of languages was a prerequisite for studies of Theology for it provided the basis to proceed in Latin. Boys started as young as 7, and between the ages of 12 and 14 they had completed their course of studies in the Humanities. Between 16 and 18, they began studies of Theology, which lasted four years. Classes started with the reading of a Latin text followed by corresponding explanations or clarifications. In lower-division courses, discussions were conducted in the mother tongue but from the third year onwards, the use of Latin was exclusive. Their insistence on the classic curriculum gave the Jesuits the reputation of being elitists. The average number of years needed for a member to graduate was 14. As the *Compañía de Loyola* spread over the vast expansion of the New Spanish territory, local Jesuit congregations gained relative autonomy at the same time that the requirements for admission turned looser. Towards the end of the 17th century, the academic standards on the Humanities had declined considerably, and consequently the Jesuits attempted to search for strategies that could make the study of Latin attractive. Because it was impractical to adhere to the all-Latin rule, extra-curricular activities were oriented towards colloquia and dramas in Romance (i.e. Spanish); as expected, when tradition was altered, the academic standards were no longer upheld. Written assignments for advanced students were required in Latin but Spanish was just fine in basic courses. The long-term goal was to have 12-14 year-old students writing Latin prose and verse (Gonzalbo: 217, 221 and *passim*).

8.3 Uprooting and integration of the castes

In contrast with the quality of life that Spanish speakers enjoyed, other groups struggled in the process of integration to colonial society which was constantly challenging their loyalties and expectations. The study of the caste system in New Spain probes into the many contradictions posed to the different ethnic groups (Martínez 2008: 196-198). As the decades of the colonial period went by, the exigencies of the caste system were more difficult to meet. In order to introduce a coherent design, as of the late 17th century Spanish speakers produced sufficient memorials extolling the alliances of the early colonial times which stressed the notion of nobility by adding the ancestry from elite Amerindians. Spanish-speak-

ing *criollos* constructed a native identity separate from Castile claiming kinship to historical narratives related to the imperial pre-Hispanic past. In this way, scholars gave literary expression to the growing hybrid cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The transformation of the pre-Hispanic past into New Spain's classical antiquity enabled Spanish speakers to create deeper roots in the New World; this was the beginning of the rupture with Spain. Indigenous ancestry, if only symbolic, was not an impediment to issue a *probanza*. Due to changes in marriage patterns and legitimacy rates, the caste system in central Mexico was not intact. In Puebla, for example, marriages between Spaniards and women of partial African descent experienced modest increases at the end of the 17th century. By then, the Church had intensified its campaign to compel couples in informal unions to marry. Because the Church was upholding the principle of free will in the choice of marriage partners, families had no legal mechanism to impede such unions. Legitimacy rates among castes were also rising. The growing instability of the caste system was due to the greater complexity of the colonial society, which had a dramatic surge in the population of mixed ancestry; the beginnings of a working class culture (especially in the northern mining towns, Mexico City and Puebla) and increasing social mobility was simultaneous to the expansion of mercantile capitalism (Martínez 2008: 238-239).

Many colonial officials used their slaves as public symbols of the economic, social and military power because there were no separate plantations for black slaves (Martínez 2008: 146-147; 159-160). "By the early 17th century both Mexico City and Puebla had rising numbers of free and enslaved Africans who were relatively integrated into Spanish colonial society. Many lived in close proximity to Spanish residents and tended to be relatively acculturated, especially those who had been raised in the Americas and worked in Spanish households" (Martínez 2008: 160). Acculturated blacks and mulattoes were Spanish proficient or so well assimilated that they were indistinguishable from authentic Spaniards. Mobility went in both directions but economic trends were not uniform. Improvements in mining and agricultural production and greater integration into the Atlantic economy gave Mexico modest but steady economic growth rates. Some regions experienced more decline in out-migration growth, e.g. Puebla, where many Spaniards became impoverished while the city itself lost its charm. During these decades of economic fluctuations, colonial officials believed that the craft guilds were models of order, and a good portion of the working population played a role in reproducing social hierarchies. In Mexico City, a good number of working males participated in artisan crafts, which despite the growing numbers of non-Spaniards who owned their own shops, was structured according to racial lines. Even if master artisans were no longer all Spaniards and *criollos*, and even if workers were by no means people of indigenous and black ancestry, the most important

trades and small workshops were still controlled by people of European descent. In the Puebla-Tlaxcala basin, Michoacan, Jalisco, Guanajuato and the Mexico City area, almost all owned by Spaniards, the workforce was made up exclusively of people of mixed ancestry and black slaves (Martinez 2008: 161, 240).

In this century more than 350 slaves were brought to Parral (presently Chihuahua) mostly from Angola, Mozambique, Biafra, Portugal and Calabar. In Parral, slaves, free blacks and mulattoes worked in the mines and as servants of the local people; they intermingled with one another, became part of the community, got married and had children. Some turned into cowboys and looked after cattle. Finally, in the early 1700's in other mining locations, blacks and mulattoes played a significant role in the economy and furthered their assimilation into mainstream Mexican culture. They resided in the towns of El Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar (present day Chihuahua City) and Santa Eulalia (Chihuahua), where they worked as domestic servants, miners, muleteers, and blacksmiths. By the early 18th century blacks had become an integral part of colonial society, and by the end of the colonial period they had adopted all aspects of their European counterparts' culture including religion, language, food and general lifestyle (Franco 2004: 47-54)

Regarding the hacienda in the state of Morelos, Wobeser (1986) offers a good example of the activities of black slaves, who made up the nucleus of labor force because of their specialized skills; they were in charge of sugar manufacturing and worked together with Indians, mestizos and Spaniards where they acted as supervisors, administrators, accountants, artisans, and the like. However, Indian and mestizos made up the largest group in the vast majority of haciendas where they served as shepherds, raised cattle or worked in agriculture. Some lived permanently in the haciendas while others were temporary employees. The number of black slaves was variable, since its availability depended on the law of supply and demand. Most haciendas purchased slaves in the early 1600's but after 1730 they decreased, only to disappear at the end of the 18th century. Slavery was normally dwindling, and there is no information on any hacienda maintaining or augmenting its original numbers. Overexploitation, low fertility rates, high mortality rates (including suicide) were the main reasons of population loss. Women worked in the sugar mills, but they were also in charge of other duties such as cooking, baby-sitting for working women, teaching catechism, or midwifery. Some of the male slaves worked as supervisors, and as such they served as a bridge between the administrators and the black community, whose members often lived in huts inside the hacienda. There was one supervisor for males and another for females, and many problems were resolved by the oldest and most judicious ones. Aside from working in the sugar mills they were supposed to go to church and learn the Christian doctrine. While the *hacendados* imposed many restrictions on them

and were constantly watching them, some managed to escape and never returned to the haciendas. With few exceptions, during the first half of the 17th century almost all the adult slaves had been born in West Africa, e.g. Senegambia, coasts of Kongo and Angola, and the Ghana region. The offspring of this first generation were known as *negros criollos* (native blacks), a group that outstripped those born in Africa. As a consequence of interbreeding with Europeans, Indians and castes, members of the second generation were not necessarily 'racially pure'. Overall, they held different attitudes towards slavery: many adjusted themselves to exploitation while others sought to overcome their condition and fought for their freedom via confrontation, evasion, or integration into the free society.

About thirty percent of the cases tried by the Holy Office in the 17th century refer to descendants of Africans. This proportion tends to decrease while the cases of mulattoes increased during the same century, a fact that reflects the new trends of mestizaje. Due to the emphasis on castes the total of both groups makes up about one-half in which the individual's ethnic origin is logged in with precision. Their sins were normally blasphemy, curse, sorcery, bigamy, and aggression. The archives shed light on their lives marked by the disgrace of being uprooted, not only from their families but from their lands, and whereas the vast majority were victims of excessive corporal punishment, some enjoyed surprising freedom. Diego de la Cruz, for example, was sold by his master because he was disobedient and was going out on a spree having a lot of fun (Alberro 1988: 457, 461).

It is assumed that there was complicity between African slaves and crypto-Jews, who were communicating in African languages. Some of the merchants and children of Portuguese descent Jews were raised by African nannies who taught them their languages. In addition, some of the wealthy merchants, who lived surrounded by slaves, used African languages for different periods of time. This disconcerting alliance stems from a common experience in the repressive circumstances of the New World. For instance, Gaspar Rivero de Vasconcelos, born in Tanger of Portuguese parents, lived as a free literate subject and conspired with a Portuguese Jew. He was accused of bigamy and was rebellious and maladjusted (Alberro 1988: 469-471).

8.4 Colonial Spanish in the oldest Spanish-speaking regions

In the multilingual / multicultural scenario of New Spain, the Spanish language unfolded in varying domains and spread in different directions. This section examines 17th century language data and compares the emerging trends with those of the previous century. The variants selected are retrieved from DLNE-AC (Docs. 79-176) and from DLNE-EG (Docs. 49-105). The analysis of the 16th century language

data reveals that the Spanish used in the Gulf region does not differ substantially from the Spanish written in the Central Highlands. Thus, the occasional dissimilarities are not suitable to probe into differing models that might explain minor disparities. The variants analyzed in the following sections and the interpretations advanced therein derive from the examination of language data in both regions.

8.4.1 The spelling of the sibilants in Castilian

The *Documentos Lingüísticos de España* collected by Menéndez Pidal (1919) offer numerous clues and examples of lexicon and verb forms that are representative of the different regions and sub-regions where Castilian or medieval Spanish was spoken, particularly the 13th century, when the spelling of medieval sibilants was relatively consistent. Based on the etymological criterion, many of the spellings of words with *<c>*, *<ç>*, *<z>*, *<s>* and *<ss>* did have continuity beyond the 13th century. In the New World nonetheless the departure from the etymological principle was glaring until the 17th century. The examples in Table 8.2 show the Castilian pattern matching the spelling with the dental pronunciation: *<c>*, *<ç>* and *<z>*, graphemes that were later modernized and finally became the norm. When the connections with Spain weakened, New World Spanish speakers lost awareness of the metropolitan norms. The distinction of the sibilants was one of the affected areas to the point that scribes and other writers preserved mostly items ending in Latin *-tiō*, spelled *-cion* in Castilian.

Table 8.2: Words and verb forms: 13th century

Year	Document	Item	Normative
1227	86, p. 125	acaeken	acaecen
1228	87, p. 126	fazer	hacer
1228	87, p. 126	cielo	cielo
1237	91, p. 131	decima	décima
1241	93, p. 134	precioſo	precioſo
1241	93, p. 134	establecido	establecido
1242	94, p. 135	pedaço	pedazo
1242	94, p. 135	cerca	cerca
1247	97, p. 138	sazon	sazón
1254	100, p. 140	palacio	palacio
1262	102, p. 143	Lucifer	Lucifer
1279	105, p. 146	deuocion	devoción

Source: Menéndez Pidal (1919)

Another group of words with sibilants also appear in the *Documentos Lingüísticos de España*; they represent the apico-alveolar pronunciation of the graphemes <s> and <ss>. A complete divergence from this pattern was also multi-secular, and eventually double <ss> was dissolved in favor of the single <s> grapheme. Table 8.3 shows the difference between the 13th century spelling and the modern spelling.

Table 8.3: Words and verb forms: 13th century

Year	Document	Item	Normative
1237	189, p. 241	cosa	cosa
1239	190, p. 245	esa	esa
1255	196, p. 252	confirmasse	confirmase
1261	197, p. 253	podiessemos	pudiésemos
1262	102, p. 142	remission	remisión
1262	103, p. 143	condessa	condesa
1279	105, p. 146	ffiziessemos	hiciésemos
1279	105, p. 146	missas	misas
1285	107, p. 149	vassallo	vasallo
1285	108, p. 150	presentes	presentes
1304	143, p. 188	successores	sucesores
1325	145, p. 190	possession	posesión

Source: Menéndez Pidal (1919)

8.4.2 The spelling of the sibilants in the Central Highlands

The confusion of sibilant graphemes permeated the documents issued in the New World Spanish colonies, where the spelling of words with <c>, <ç> and <z> was replaced with <s>. The spelling of the sibilants in the New World shows alterations and vacillations of different sorts. The most common practice was the spelling of <c> and <z> words with consonant <s>, particularly in items of high frequency. As seen in Table 8.4, in the Central Highlands there is sufficient evidence of anti-etymological spelling trends (Docs. 79-132).

Table 8.4: Words and verb forms: first half of 17th century

Year	Document	Item	Normative
1621	83, p. 251	conosia	conocía
1621	83, p. 251	hechisera	hechicera
1621	84, p. 252	hasian	hacían
1625	89, p. 265	vesino	vecino
1625	89, p. 265	asotasen	azotasen
1625	89, p. 265	obligasion	obligación
1625	89, p. 265	consiensi	conciencia
1628	91, p. 268	prensipio	principio
1628	91, p. 268	lus	luz
1629	93, p. 272	cavesa	cabeza
1629	93, p. 273	empesaron	empezaron
1629	94, p. 275	escandalisado	escandalizado
1629	94, p. 277	espasio	espacio
1629	94, p. 278	paresia	parecía
1629	94, p. 279	calsadilla	calzadilla
1630	103, p. 295	resevi	recibí
1632	120, p. 325	desir	decir
1634	121, p. 336	alcansar	alcanzar
1634	121, p. 336	obligasion	obligación
1634	122, p. 336	acresentamientos	acrecentamientos

Source: Company Company (1994)

Writers of the colonial period are divided in two major groups: (1) those who tend to follow the etymological patterns derived from late medieval Spanish, and (2) those who deviating from the norm incurred in the replacement of *<c>*, *<ç>* and *<z>* by single *<s>*, a practice that initiated the trend known as *seseo*. In the computation of the sibilants, the following items were excluded: words that are abbreviated or reconstructed, numbers, months of the year, first names, surnames, and toponyms. Items spelled with *<c>*, *<ç>*, and *<z>* exemplify traditional trends: *gracia* (240), *reverencia*, *braços*, *voces*, *diciendo* (241), *contradicendolo*, *conocia*, *noticia*, *cabeça* (242), *cruzada*, *cobranza* (341), whereas items spelled with *<s>*, which could have been spelled with any of the other sibilants, represent the *sesante* trends: *hiso* (244), *averiguacion*, *pareser*, *desia* (245), *conosieron* (246) *anochesió*, *senaron* (246), *serrojo* (247), *asul*, *plasa* (272). The analysis of documents of the 17th century reveals that there are minor differences between the Central Highlands and the Gulf, and that other spelling practices were present in documents drafted by notaries, paid scribes, and common letter writers.

8.4.3 Sibilants in the Gulf

Subsamples retrieved from DLNE-EG (Docs. 49-105) reveal a minor difference between regions, since the sibilant graphemes used in the Gulf are more diverse; although all the variants appear in both regions, alternate graphemes are more abundant in the Gulf. This may be due to the personnel assigned to the Gulf, who might have been closer to Spain but not well trained in the Castilian norms of the times. In this century, anti-etymological spelling practices may be interpreted in different ways:

- (1) Use of <z> in inter-vocalic position, as in *dezir* (164), *hazen* (167), *regozi-jos* (168), *azerca* (189), *alguazil* (193), *cruzes* (177), *hazienda* (225), *dozenas* (226), *calzetas* (243), *raízes* (244), *nezesario*, *lizenzia*, *rezivia* (257) might have been associated with voicing in intervocalic position, or at least with vestiges of such pronunciation. The same principle was probably applied to the use of <z> in the Latin suffix *-ciō*, as in *presenttazion* (256), *determinazion* (289), and to the use of <z> in initial position as in *zedro*, *zerradura* (244), *ziudad* (189), *zepo* (289). After a voiced nasal consonant, the same abovementioned criterion might have been applied, as in for example, *marzo* (256), *ofenza* (276), *amanzevamientos* (303), etc.
- (2) Use of false <z> before a voiceless consonant as in *ajuzte* (226) or *berberizca* (230) might have been merely a performance error.
- (3) Spelling with <ss> imperfect subjunctive verb forms represent traditional trends, as in *descubriesse* (186), *hiziesse*, *vissitasse* (189), *informasse*, *pagassen*, *perturbasse* (221), *ubiesse* (222) *reduxesse* (223), *declarasse* (268), *llegasse*, *opusiessse* (282), but alternated with single <s>.
- (4) Use of <ss> in false *seseo*, as in *conossidos* (188), *favoressido* (189), *hasse* (218), *confirmassion* (221), *partissipan*, *gocco* (223), *mossa* (268), *alcanssó*, *caballerissa* (289) might have been a passing trend that imitated the model of late medieval Spanish.
- (5) Use of <ss> in false etymology, as in *personas* (188), *franzesses* (188), *descanssa* (223), *casso* (188), *pressente* (218), *pressure* (268), *usso* (278); and use of <ss> in correct etymology as in *passión* (160), *comissario* (166), *sucesso* (211), *missa* (218).
- (6) Finally, the tendency to use medieval Spanish <ç> to represent a *ceceante* pronunciation in lieu of etymological <s> reappears in the 17th century documents of the Gulf, as in *descanço* (161), *peços*, *graça* (161), *paça* (162), *yglecia* (206), *aviça* (163) *omiçión*, *viçita* (246), and *puçieron* (279).

8.4.4 “Regular” *seseo*

Most of the miscellaneous graphemes used in the colonial period show divergence from the etymological norms but the variety of graphemes did not establish an unusual tradition. The only spelling practice perpetuated by writers was the “regular” *seseo*, primarily in frequent words. Spelling words with *<s>* when the etymological rule (*<c>* or *<z>*) must apply is now a peculiar routine amongst Latin American Spanish speakers who have not had opportunities to attain a solid tertiary education. Table 8.5 shows a subsample of common words that can be misspelled in both colonial and modern documents. In combination with other features (e.g. archaic verb forms such as *vido* and *truje*), commonly misspelled words point to the existence of popular or vernacular varieties that are still used in rural or marginal areas of the American continent.

Table 8.5: Examples of “regular” *seseo* in the 17th century

Year	Document	Seseo	Normative
1603	50, p. 161	sielo	cielo
1621	59, p. 191	asen	hacen
1621	59, p. 193	publisidad	publicidad
1625	62, p. 199	corason	corazón
1626	62, p. 200	isquierdo	izquierdo
1631	64, p. 205	capás	capaz
1646	71, p. 225	acsidente	accidente
1668	83, p. 259	relasion	relación
1668	83, p. 260	consiencia	conciencia
1668	84, p. 263	amenasas	amenazas
1681	93, p. 287	obligasiones	obligaciones
1689	97, p. 293	asotara	azotara

Source: Melis et al. (2008)

Despite the divergences of spelling trends in this century, the difference between traditional graphemes and *seseo* points to a preference for the Castilian norms. Table 8.6 shows the spellings representing *seseo* in two periods and two regions. In Period I, normative graphemes prevail with two full thirds (67.78 %) in the Central Highlands and almost three-fourths (74.62 %) in the Gulf. The decline of normative graphemes occurs in the second half of the 17th century when slightly more than one half (52.18 %) of the spellings in the Central Highlands and 41.32 percent in the Gulf, respectively, represent *seseo*. In Period II, *seseo* increased from about one-third to slightly more than one-half in the Central Highlands, and

such increase was slightly more moderate in the Gulf. The total for both periods in both regions reached 3,325 tokens. A majority of tokens represents traditional norms with 60 percent of all the tokens tallied; in comparison, sibilants representing *seseo* amount to roughly 40 percent in this century. *Seseo* was still moderate in both regions in Period I taking an upward swing in Period II (20 % in the Central Highlands and 16 % in the Gulf). Local writers indulge in the exclusive use of *seseo* and total disregard for the traditional variants (see AC Doc. 162, 1692). Notwithstanding, *seseo* did not prevail because some writers were following metropolitan norms. Other trends are exemplified by the graphemes *<ss>*, *<zz>*, *<cs>*, which may have represented various allophones, misspellings, or simply performance errors.

Table 8.6: Summary: Anti-etymological and traditional sibilants in the 17th century

Region	Period	Seseo	<i><c></i> , <i><ç></i> , <i><z></i>
Altiplano C.	I. 1609-1640	306 / 950 (32.21 %)	644 / 950 (67.78 %)
Altiplano C.	II. 1681-1697	598 / 1146 (52.18 %)	548 / 1146 (47.81 %)
El Golfo	I. 1602-1647	159 / 609 (26.10 %)	450 / 609 (73.89 %)
El Golfo	II. 1651-1699	258 / 620 (41.61 %)	362 / 620 (58.38 %)
Tokens	Total = 3,325	1,321 (39.72 %)	2,004 (60.27 %)

8.4.5 Residual verb forms

The forms of the verbs TRAER and VER frequently appear in the preterit of the indicative tense in both the Central Highlands and in the Gulf region. The verb TRAER derives from Latin TRAHERE; the medieval spelling in the preterit was both *traxe* and *truxe*, while the alternate spelling appeared after the 16th century: *yo truje* (modern *traje*), *tú trujiste* (modern *trajiste*), *él / ella trujo* (modern *trajo*) and *ellos / ellas trujeron* (modern *trajeron*). The verb VER derives from Latin VEDERE, and the preterit forms in medieval Spanish were *yo vide* (modern *vi*), *él / ella vido* (modern *vio*), *nosotros videmos* (modern *vimos*). In the 17th century two forms of the same verb may appear in the same sentence, as in (b) and (k). More interestingly, some of these forms are still used in rural and marginal regions and communities of the Spanish-speaking New World, and may reappear in the United States Southwest in both rural and urban communities.

(a) Y que de allí a quatro semanas *trujeron* a esta testigo a este pueblo (EG 54, 1609)

- (b) aviendo descargado las mercaderías que *truxo*, (...) la gente llegó a este puerto, donde asimismo echó algunas mercaderías, y dél se *retrajo* al puerto de Campeche (EG 58, 1620)
- (c) De do *vido* esta testigo (EG 55, 1610)
- (d) Sólo *vide* salir de un aposento de la dicha negra Ursula a un español llamado Juan Gallegos (...), y *vide* que estaba detrás de la puerta arrimado a la pared (EG 55, 1610)
- (e) hize a los indios cerrar las puertas de la sala y les mandé *trugesen* cordeles para maniatarlo (EG 55, 1610)
- (f) pedía que *truxesen* brasas (EG 55, 1610)
- (g) Y despues que *truxeron* luz le conosio mas bien (AC 81, 1618)
- (h) Donde *bido* este testigo al dicho capitan (AC 82, 1618)
- (i) Este testigo dio bozes a los indios y los mandó llamar para que le *truxesen* caballo; y se lo *truxeron* como al amanezer (AC 82, 1618)
- (j) Y descubriéndole *bido* como estaba desnudo (AC 82, 1618)
- (k) Entre la gente que *truxo*, *traxo* seis o siete franzesses (EG 58, 1620)
- (l) Y *bide* en este tiempo la dispusisión de todo (EG 64, 1631)
- (m) Aunque lo *vide*, no me atrevo a dezirlo por no parezer encareçedor (EG 66, 1636)
- (n) *trujeron* a esta villa a la justicia hordinaria (EG 73, 1647)
- (o) este declarante *vido* lo referido (EG 104, 1696)

8.4.6 *Leísmo* in the Central Highlands and in the Gulf

The items of the subsamples below refer to events that were relevant for the subjects who had to deal with stressful events in which immediate attention or involvement was needed. The narrators were normally the Spanish speakers who appeared before the Inquisition or the civil authorities where there was an office in charge of registering the testimony of a party or witness in civil or criminal proceedings taken before a trial. Because the verbatim transcriptions were unaltered, they most likely reflect the spontaneous speech habits of those who were deposed in public.

Items (a) through (j) retrieved from AC 80 (1618) relate the denunciation of Marianna's sister against an Indian doctor who was called to see Marianna's baby boy. The narrator is the baby's aunt, who was dissatisfied with the presence of the Indian doctor; in the end the doctor cured the baby, and the mother was grateful because he had a healthy life for many years. Marianna's sister may have been identified exclusively with Spanish speakers, and thus in her testimony the use of LE prevailed, but at the end of the drama the baby's mother used a categorical LO in item (j).

- (a) **trayendole** en braços de un parte a otra dava voces diciendo: “¡Ha, que se me muere mi hijo!”
- (b) se despido para yr a ver a su hijo, que tambien **le tenia** enfermo en su casa
- (c) Y andando a buscar a quién **le curasse** [al bebé]
- (d) no conoçia al médico (...) ni en su vida **le avia visto**
- (e) y para efecto de **curarle** pidio un tepalcate con brasas, copal y algodon
- (f) el yndio Alonso, criado que *lo conocia* y les acabava de dar noticia dél. Y luego a la tarde volvio y *lo traxo*
- (g) el yndio **le estava saumando** con copal y haziendo cruces sobre él y hechandole bendiciones
- (h) assi mismo **le vio vaxar** el rostro sobre la cabeza del niño
- (i) lo qual no oyo esta declarante ni **le vio mover** los labios
- (j) dixo la doña Marianna que *lo avia curado* muy bien

The sentences below from AC 81-82 (1618) deal with another unexpected incident narrated by the witness of a murder where the victim was Diego de Quesada, the Mayor of Pinotepa (Oaxaca), who was having an affair with Gregorio Basques' wife. The case of marital infidelity, items (a) and (b), caused a lot of commotion in the nearby towns. The perpetrator of the crime, Gregorio Basques, had a few buddies who heard the story, and rushed to his place where they found the Mayor's body. The narrator stumbled over words and repetitively described the place and the manner in which the corpse had been found, items (f) through (h). According to the witness, the protagonists were involved in the shrouding of the dead for burial, items (c) and (f). The author alternates the clitics LO and LE particularly with the most intense verbs *hallar* ('to find'), *matar* ('to kill'), and *amortajar* ('to shroud'). For the witness, 'to shroud' was probably more intense in (c) than in (e).

- (a) despues que truxeron la luz **le conosio** mas bien, y sabe **le mató** el dicho Gregorio Basques porque **le halló** con su muger en su aposento
- (b) **le halló** desnudo enserrado
- (c) este testigo *lo hizo sacar* a la sala para **amortajarle**
- (d) El dicho Santoyo abló con él **saludandole**
- (e) [el testigo] bido antes de *amortajarlo* cómo tenia en las espaldas dos agujeros
- (f) por aver visto la sangre rrepresentada donde **le mataron** y el rrastro de ella, que yba donde este testigo **le halló**
- (g) y tambien *lo mataron* en la dicha sala y arrastraron a la recamara
- (h) este testigo *lo halló* [al capitán], porque en la dicha sala fue donde el dicho Gregorio Bazquez **le mató** y el dicho Francisco de Sosa *lo dexó* alli muerto
- (i) preguntandole este testigo si savía quién *lo avia arrastrado*, pues *lo avian muerto* en la sala

Document EG 52 (1606) is the letter that Francisco Torralva wrote to Friar Rodrigo Ortiz with news about the conflicts between the Governor and the Bishop of Yucatan. Items (a) through (d) refer to the unsettling issues related to caciques, Indians, some other subjects, and the reprimands recommended for the subalterns.

- (a) El día que *lo recibieran* en cavildo [al teniente Paniagua]
- (b) requirió el padre provincial que **le castigase** al Padre Cuevas
- (c) al otro fraile (...) también **le mandó castigar**
- (d) también lo ha quitado porque no **le salio** a reçebir

Document EG 55 (1616) is the letter delivered by Hernando de Valdés to the Holy Office in which he informs about the crimes committed by Juan de la Peña, assistant to the Mayor. Again, the narrators seem agitated over the episodes and the protagonists involved.

- (a) fui a casa del dicho Fabián de la Peña donde vivía el dicho su sobrino, y **le halle** vestido y recostado sobre su cama
- (b) Yo di voces a un indesuelo niño que llamase dos indios que *lo cargasen* [a Juan]
- (c) yendo a cerrar la puerta de donde **le saqué**, él se salió corriendo
- (d) busqué al dicho Juan de la Peña por la casa y no **le halle**
- (e) El dicho teniente quiso salir, haciendo campo con la espada, y yo **le detuve** con la mía
- (f) Yo digo que *lo avía* de llevar preso
- (h) yo **le absolvería** de la excomunión
- (i) en la yglesia **le aguardaba** y que en las puertas della **le absolvería**
- (j) **le embié** a llamar para **absolverle**, y **le aguardé** buen rato

Document EG 65 (1632) is to the biography of Father Alonso Guillén, a virtuous young man who was sent to Salamanca to study law; he was constantly teased by his colleagues and was unable to prevent them from playing the deceitful games that got him in trouble, items (a) through (e).

- (a) *lo enbiaron* a Salamanca para que estudiase el derecho canónico y çivil, lo que hacía con ventaja entre los de su edad, quando el señor **le llamó**
- (b) Un hombre grave y público estuvo determinado de poner en él las manos y aun de *hacerlo* matar
- (c) encarecidamente le rogó que no **le alavase**, sino que **le tuviése** por pecador
- (d) Una persona (...) viéndolo tan zeloso de la pureza y castidad, se determinó de vuscar medios y valerse de mugeres perdidas para *lo enechizar* a fin de **hacerle** caer en el sucio deleyte
- (e) entre el padre y los juezes que **le trayán** engañado

Documents in which spontaneous speech appears contrast with biographies, because in the latter there seems to be no urgency to narrate unexpected events, and the emphasis lies on the life of the subject. In EG 84 (1668), a witness gave a detailed account of Joseph de Reynoso's whereabouts. The verb *conocer* ('to know someone') is consistently used with the clitic LE, as in (a) and (b). The witness however makes a difference between *vido* and *vio* (alternating preterits of the verb *ver* ('to see'), where the difference might have been the intention of observing or meeting a person, as in the second part of (b), and just seeing him / her, as in items (c) and (d).

- (a) dixo que este testigo conoce a don Joseph de Reynoso, y **le conoció** en el reyno de la Nueva España
- (b) después assimismo **le conoció** en esta ciudad (...) donde **le vido** muchas veces
- (c) este declarante **le vio** con una capa blanca larga (...) así mismo **le vio** por más tiempo
- (d) asimismo **le a visto** andar (...) a cauallo

Documents EG 94 (1681) and 96 (1689) tell stories about the ethnic groups who had been living under extremely disadvantageous conditions. The theory on inter-ethnic relations may apply in these contexts. Using LE might have served to enhance the Spanish identity of the narrators; for this reason, the clitic LO alternates with the use of LE. Document 94 deals with the strategies of Francisco Marcos de Velasco and his cellmates to escape from jail, items (a) through (f).

- (a) entraron las personas que cuidavan su prissión y le metieron los pies en el sepo donde donde **le dejaron** asegurado
- (b) trajeron presso a dicha su prissión a un yndio ladino llamado Juan, y que al *meterlo* en el sepo donde él estaba ...
- (c) dio voses a Juan Chiquito, mulato, esclavo del dicho señor alcalde mayor, para que *lo cuidase*
- (d) el dicho alguasil mayor **le cojío y aprendió** (...) hasta que con orden de dicho señor alcalde mayor **le an traído** a la deste pueblo
- (e) todo a sido caminar de noche hasta que **le cojieran**
- (f) Y que al indio que salió con él no **le vido** más

Finally, EG 96 is the denunciation of Cristóbal de Frías against a black slave accused of blasphemy, items (a) and (b), while EG 99-101 (1691) deal with charges of sexual harassment filed by an Indian against a mulatto, items (c) through (e), and the mulatto's defense from the accusations, items (f) through (j).

- (a) aviéndole echado unas esposas para **traerle** [al esclavo] con seguridad renegó de Dios i de los santos

- (b) [el negro] desía que le echassen de ahí unos perros que **le atormentavan**
- (c) llegó un mulato, que no **le conoce ni le avía visto** nunca
- (d) diciéndole *lo llevaría* a Campeche (...). Y entonces *lo empezó a pellizcar*
- (e) [el mulato] **le vio venir** hablando con un yndezuelo (...) **le empezó** a llamar
- (f) la primera vez que **le vio y conoció** [a Juan Ramírez] fue en casa del cappitan (...) y que no **le vio** después
- (g) antes de la festividad de la Concepción de Nuestra Señora, **le volvió** a veer esta declarante en la puerta de su solar
- (h) aviéndose despedido de esta declarante, no **le vio** más
- (i) no **le volvía a ver** hasta el día siguiente [al mulato]
- (j) que *lo mataría* [a quien mirase hacia un cuarto de la casa]

The [+ animate] *leísta* patterns of the 17th century are not very different from those reported in the 16th century, although attrition might have been expected. In junctures like this, the researcher may resort to an explanatory model that puts in bold relief the inter-ethnic relations of the 17th century when Spanish speakers might have desired to be distinguished from the castes. In situations of stress and before civil or ecclesiastic authorities, Spanish speakers might have enhanced their allegiances with the colonial system that was favorably working for them. In like manner, LE might have been used to show a prudent distance from the “ethnics” who were not original native Spanish speakers. A summary of the verbs and clitics appears in Table 8.7. This random subsample includes both independent verbs and some that are used with auxiliaries. The most frequent verbs used with LE are *absolver* (‘to absolve’), *coger* (‘to grab’), *conocer* (‘to know someone’), *hallar* (‘to find’), *tener* (‘to have’), *traer* (‘to bring’) and *ver* (‘to see someone’). The results are similar to those of the 16th century (in Table 6.3A), where the use of LE stands out with two full-thirds of the tokens.

Table 8.7: Subsample of verbs with LE and LO

	Verb	LE	LO
1	Absolver	3	
2	Aguardar	2	
4	Alabar	1	
5	Amortajar	1	1
6	Aprehender	1	
7	Atormentar	1	
8	Cargar		1
9	Castigar	1	1
10	Coger	3	1
11	Conocer	5	1
12	Cuidar		1
13	Curar	2	1
14	Dejar	1	1
15	Detener	1	
16	Enhechizar		1
17	Enviar		1
18	Enviar + Aux. V	1	
19	Hacer + Aux. V	1	2
20	Hallar	4	1
21	Llamar	1	1
22	Llevar		1
23	Mandar	1	1
24	Mandar + Aux. V	1	1
25	Matar	2	2
26	Meter	1	1
27	Morir		1
28	Pellizcar	1	1
29	Poner	1	
30	Recibir		1
31	Sacar	1	
32	Saludar	1	
33	Reprender		1
34	Sahumar	1	
35	Tener	3	1
36	Traer	4	1
37	Velar	1	
38	Ver	12	
39	Ver + Aux. V	2	
40	Volver	2	
Total = 89		63 / 89 (70.78 %)	26 / 89 (29.21 %)

8.4.7 Inanimate objects and *leísmo*

The rise of *leísmo* in northern-central Spain triggered other innovations which were extended to [- animate] objects, as in sentences (a) through (c), which refer to a book with a certain mysterious content.

- (a) *el qual libro le mostró (...) diciendo que **le leyese** y que vería en el una cosa muy superior* (EG 60, 1624)
- (b) “*lea v. md. adelante*”. Este declarante le respondió: “*ora es ya de comer*”, *después le leería*, y que le rogó le dexase aquel libro para *leerle* más despacio (EG 60, 1624)
- (c) *el manuscrito le rasgó* porque no conoçessen las personas que *le viessen* que lo que éste havía predicado era de sermón ageno (EG 91, 1680)

Another and more complex innovation stemming from the departure to a non-etymological system is *laísmo* or the use of the pronoun LA as indirect object, which replaces a LE as in (d), in which a female subject is to be warned of something evil.

- (d) *abía de llamar a la justicia para abisarla de las maldades y echiserías que hasía* (EG 97, 1689)

The total number of tokens referring to [+ animate masculine] singular objects appears in Table 8.8 showing an overwhelming majority of *leístas* with a difference of almost one-fifth between the Central Highlands and the Gulf. While it is difficult to ascertain that there are significant regional variations explaining the contrast, other variables such as situational context, topic, emphasis, intention, and the inter-ethnic attitudes of the subjects involved in the selected subsamples may be factored in the examination of variation, which on the surface appears to be random. The cases of [- animate] LE enhance the *leísta* pattern but are not computed in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8: LE and LO in the 17th century

Region	LE	LO
Altiplano C.	135 / 220 (61.36 %)	85 / 220 (38.63 %)
El Golfo	69 / 86 (80.23 %)	17 / 86 (19.76 %)
Total = 306	204 (66.66 %)	102 (33.33 %)

8.4.8 Pronouns of address: *tú, vuestra merced, su merced, Usted*

Between the 16th and the 17th century a major shift occurred when *vos* was replaced by *tú*, the trend known as *tuteo*, which was coming from Madrid. *Tú* was invoked by those who worshipped God and the saints, as in (a) and (b), whereas all the priests commonly addressed their parishioners with *tú* regardless of sex, age and sociocultural status, as in (c).

- (a) “corte del cielo, *mírame*”, ... “corte del cielo, *óyeme*”, ... “corte del cielo, *respóndeme*” (EG 56, 1616)
- (b) “San Juan de Dios, *duélete* de mi alma, que la tengo muy negra” (EG 88, 1675)
- (c) el dicho padre le dixo: “no *digas* ‘Dios’, sólo *as* de decir ‘compañero’ (EG 54, 1609)

In addition to the routines described above, *tú* was used in asymmetrical relations between master and servant, where the latter received *tú* and the former *vuestra merced*, as in items (a) and (b). In husband and wife relationships, the use of *tú* was reciprocal as in (c) and (d).

- (a) don Lucas de Dosal llamó a un criado suyo, mestiço, y le dijo: “*tráeme* mi reliquia que está en la petaca” (EG 74, 1651)
- (b) don Lucas, llamó a voçes a su criado diciendo: “*anda, tráeme* mi reliquia” y (...) le preguntó: “qué reliquia es la que *v.md.* tiene para los rayos y estas tempestades?” (EG 74, 1651)
- (c) don Lucas del Dosal dixo a su muger (...) “*¡quítame* de aquí esta cara de diablo (...) ya *te* e dicho muchas veçes que lo *quites* de aquí (...) y lo *eches* en la cocina, yo *te* juro (...) que si no lo *quitas* de aquí y lo *echas* en la cosina, ¡que me la *as* de pagar!” (EG 74, 1651)
- (d) “con la patatiña *te* quiero untar porque de mí no *te puedes* apartar (EG 62, 1629)

Tuteo was quite common in the interaction between Spanish speakers and the castes, who were addressed with *tú* by Spanish speakers, as in items (a) and (b); they in turn received *vuestra merced* from the castes, as in the first part of item (a). The castes belonging to the same ethnic group addressed one another with *tú*, as in items (c) through (f), while the young normally received *tú* from older interlocutors, as in (e). Speakers belonging to different non-Spanish ethnic groups (a mulatto boy and an Indian) also addressed one another with *tú* as in item (f), where the speakers used *tú* 4 times with the corresponding paradigmatic forms in the 2nd person singular. Likewise, Spanish-speaking friends of the same sex as in (g) or different sex as in (h) used reciprocal *tú*. Occasionally, an officer in a high-ranking position re-asserted his power using *vos*, as in (j), where the

commissary of the Inquisition clearly invokes his right to use *vos* as the subject pronoun that was becoming obsolete in New Spain.

- (a) “*míreme qué tengo, que dicen tengo la boca tuerta y el ojo izquierdo tuerto*”, y la denunciante le dijo: “*veamos*”, y vídola y le dijo: “*no tienes nada*” (EG 63, 1628)
- (b) Juana de Saavedra dijo a la dicha negrita: “*no baias porque se lo [h]e de desir a tu amo*” (EG 102, 1691)
- (c) “*¿qué tienes que estás tam flaca?*”, y le respondió la negra Gracia: “*qué tengo que hacer si ando mala?*” y le dijo la otra (...): “*qué me darás? Yo te daré sana*” (EG 63, 1628)
- (d) “*el diablo se te a metydo en la boca*” (EG 63, 1628)
- (e) “*no sabes lo que me susedió ayer*”, y que le respondió: “*¿qué te susedió?*” Y que le dijo: “*As de saber que oy salió un clérigo de mi cassa (...), y le dije a mi negra: ‘as bien de comer y temprano’*” (EG 89, 1675)
- (f) “*¿de dónde eres?*”, y, diciéndole que era de Santa Lucia, le dixo: “*mientes que no eres de Santa Lucia, y entonces este declarante le preguntó: ‘¿de dónde eres tú?’*” (EG 99, 1691)
- (g) “*aprende niña lo que t[e] digo para que te quiera tu hombre*” (EG 88, 1675)
- (h) Yo *te* quiero mucho, si es por aquello que *te* digo *¿por qué no quieres ser mis amores?* (AC 86, 1621)
- (i) “*calla, que burlando te lo devio de decir*” (AC 86, 1621)
- (j) llamo de *vos* a las personas que parecen ante mí (EG 51, 1603)

8.4.9 *Vuestra merced, Usted and vosotros*

By the 17th century the pronouns *vos* and *tú* had become so frequent and popular in Spain that there was hardly any difference in symmetrical / asymmetrical relationships. *Vos* and *tú* were used between interlocutors of equal social standing until *vos* was replaced by *tú*. In order to make the difference along the axis of [+ / - deference], *vuestra merced* (derived from the possessive adjective of the pronoun *vos*) was used more frequently and normally alternated with the pronoun *tú*. *Vuestra merced* (< Latin *misericors* ‘mercifulness’) was a treatment of courtesy which invoked the mercy of the interlocutor, who was perceived as an honorable person (Nebrija 1492/1984: 181). *Vuestra merced* (abbreviated *v.m.*), *su merced* (abbreviated *s. m.*), and *Usted* (abbreviated *U* or *V*) appeared in the 17th century colonial documents (3rd person singular) in opposition to *tú* (see Table 8.9). *Vuestra merced* was overused in the 16th and 17th centuries in both formal and informal domains but particularly in business affairs and the family (Acevedo 1997: 70). In this subsample, *vuestra merced*, *su merced* and *Usted* account for

two-thirds of all the singular pronouns, whereas *tú* accounts for the rest. Table 8.9 excludes the pronouns found in the ‘love’ letters of one writer (Table 8.10). The modern personal pronoun *Usted* appears for the first time at the end of the 17th century in both regions, where it contended disadvantageously with *vuestra merced*, and occasionally with *vuesa merced* (see Doc. AC 169, 1694).

- (a) *la verdad desto v.md. la save* (EG 50, 1603)
- (b) *que vuestra merced le mande llamar y reprehenda* (EG 51, 1603)
- (c) *Lea vuestra merced esta conclusión y verá cosa grandiosa* (EG 60, 1624)
- (d) *Dixome: “sea v.m. muy bien venido, señor lienciado”* (EG 55, 1610)
- (g) *“ueste deber ser laurin, que todo lo que dixo salio berdad”* (AC 166, 1694)
- (h) *le dixo dicho alcalde mayor al sussodicho: “¿es usted el señor don Sebastian de Guzman?”* (AC 169, 1694)
- (h) *Juana de Saavedra, su suegra, le dijo a este testigo (...): “tiene usted razón”* (EG 102, 1691)
- (i) *fue a la cassa dste testigo Melchiora, negra libre (...) y le dixo a este testigo: “¿qué le paresse a usted de la vellaquería y maldad de Laureano Núñez...?”* (EG 86, 1673)

The plural of *tú* that unfolded in Spain was *vosotros*, which appears as a null subject in item (a), whereas the plural of *vuestra merced* and *su merced* was *vuestras mercedes* and *sus mercedes*, respectively, which is also used as a null subject in item (b). Plural pronouns are rare in the colonial documents examined in the subsamples of both regions.

- (a) *“¿cómo os tardasteis tanto, que yo prestito me confessé?* (AC 86, 1621)
- (b) *“christianos, favorescanme, que me matan”* (EG 101, 1691)

The most relevant change in this century is the replacement of *vos* by *tú* presumably because *vos* was overused and had lost its quality of deference between interlocutors of high rank (see Table 8.9). *Vos* was originally plural but intruded in the domain of *tú*, a change that originated the neologism *vosotros* (*vos* + *otros*), which was used with the same paradigm belonging to singular *vos*. The overlap in meaning and forms triggered another alteration, conducive to the disappearance of *vosotros* in New World Spanish in general (Acevedo 1997: 68). The few cases of *vos* and *vosotros* point to the fragmentation of the peninsular pronominal system in the New World. The items available in the Central Highlands refer to female Spaniards who addressed their female friends (a) and a mother who addressed her daughters (b) with *vos*.

- (a) *“¿cómo os tardasteis tanto?* (AC 86, 1621)
- (b) *“callad locas, no andéis diciendo esso* (AC 86, 1621)

The same object pronouns used for plural *vosotros* were used for singular *vos*, an additional structure that contributed to ambiguity particularly when the subject pronoun is not overt, as in (c). With the elimination of *vos* and *vosotros*, the entire verbal paradigm in all tenses and moods disappeared in New World Spanish leading to a drastic simplification that at present distinguishes New World from peninsular Spanish (see Company Company 1997).

(c) *Y que de ahí a pocos días, estando en la puerta de la Merced, le dixo a este testigo, Andrés de Vega, pardo libre, (...) “¿qué os parece, cómo el secretario Barrios, le a pedido a María Roteta para su sobrino?”* (EG 101, 1691)

Table 8.9: Pronouns of address in the 17th century

Region	Vos	Tú	V. Md.	S. Md.	Ud.
Altiplano C.	0	76	198	7	7
El Golfo	0	73	91	16	4
Total = 472	0 (0.00 %)	149 (31.56 %)	289 (61.22 %)	23 (4.87 %)	11 (2.33 %)

8.4.10 Change of pronouns in the personal domain

The seven ‘love’ letters written in 1689 by a young man who wants to elope with his sweetheart illustrate the change of pronouns in the personal discourse (DLNE-AC Docs. 144-150). The suitor is a baker delivering missives to his girlfriend, who was living in a convent. He starts with confidence addressing her with *tú* and thinking that he is going to persuade her to escape at night with the help of some of his buddies. In the third letter, he is still using *tú*, but in the fourth one which serves as a transition, he becomes frustrated and begins to use *Usted* and *vuestra merced* in order to show personal distance. In the fourth letter he actually used the three pronouns *tú*, *Usted* and *vuestra merced*, but in the fifth and sixth he reiterated the use of *tú*. In the seventh and last letter he used *tú* 31 times while *vuestra merced* appeared 23 times. The latter pronoun of address expresses his resignation, since he did not get a single reply from the girl. The pronoun *tú* agrees with its verb forms, direct objects and possessive adjectives about three-fourths of the time; its redundancy serves a major purpose, which is to assert the young male identity and his intentions to succeed in the romantic adventure (Table 8.10). The use of *vostra mercede* in Courly love and despair for the soul belongs to the medieval Romance tradition of troubadours and singers. Francesco Petrarca (1303-

1374) is one of the representative poets inspired by Laura, a young lady of unusual sweetness, who is present in his vast production (Petrarca 1962: 97).

Table 8.10: Seven ‘love’ letters (1689)

Letter	Document	Tú	Ud.	V. Md.
1	144	23	0	0
2	145	16	0	0
3	146	23	0	0
4	147	15	28	4
5	148	18	0	0
6	149	21	0	0
7	150	31	0	23
Total = 202		147 (72.77 %)	28 (13.36 %)	27 (13.86 %)

8.4.11 Imperfect subjunctive with –SE and –RA

The analysis of the forms in –SE and –RA is divided in two periods. In the first period in the Central Highlands, the traditional form in –SE recovered its frequency reaching 80 percent but decreased to 58 percent in the second period (Table 8.11). In contrast, in the Gulf region the –SE form declined to 73 percent in the first period and to 68 percent in the second (see Table 8.12). The –SE form continued falling in the Central Highlands, where the mixed population (Euromestizos, Afromestizos and Indomestizos) was growing faster, and where those born in New Spain had consolidated positions of relative prestige. When the tokens of all the periods in the two regions are added, the –SE and –RA variants resulted in a two-thirds and one-third dispersal, respectively. This distribution is similar to the distribution reported for the variants LE and LO; in combination, they show the modeling patterns of central-northern peninsular norms in the first half of the 17th century (Tables 8.8 and 8.13). The –SE form in sentences (a) through (d) illustrate the use of imperfect subjunctive with subjunctive meaning, while the items (e) through (h) show the variation of –RA (originally indicative) to the newer subjunctive meaning in New World Spanish.

- (a) *me rogó no tuviese disgusto con el dicho su teniente* (EG 55, 1610)
- (b) *El padre Cuevas en Oxutzcab mandava al caquí que castigase a los indios* (EG 52, 1606)

- (c) don Lucas de Dosal *dixo* a su muger que *quitase* una ymagen de San Antonio (EG 74, 1651)
- (d) le *dixo* que *cojiese* un pedasito de gueso de difunto y en polvos se lo *diese* en el vino a su marido (EG 78, 1655)
- (e) la dicha indisuela les *dijo* que no *dijeran* a nadie (EG 97, 1689)
- (f) *esperando* a que vuestra magestad le *hiciera* alguna merced (AC 118, 1630)
- (g) *le dio limosna* al dicho confesor para que le *dixera* las misas de san Agustin (AC 121, 1634)
- (h) para proceder contra la mulata *era menester* que *dieran* pruebas (AC 132, 1682)

The medieval Spanish patterns of conditional sentences with the form –RA in both the protasis and the apodosis are still used in the 17th century as in (a) through (e). In modern normative Spanish present conditional is preferred in the apodosis.

- (a) si no *fuerá* Juan de Alarcón que me prestó sien peços para gastos de mariñeros y cassa, no sé qué *fuerá* [sería] de mí (EG 50, 1603)
- (b) si *estubiera* aquí el patache, ya le *ubiera* [habría] *dado* carena (EG 50, 1603)
- (c) si yo lo *uviera sabido* y v.m. me lo *uviera dicho*, ya lo *uviera* [habría] *hecho* (EG 55, 1610)
- (d) Si (...) estas palabras *fueran* verdad, no *tubiéramos* [tendríamos] los ombres que desear más (EG 60, 1624)
- (e) desde que entré en esta siudad no e poseído ni poseo balor de quatro reales para comprar unos çapatos, i si no me los *dieran*, *andubiera* [andaría] descalzo (EG 83, 1668)

Table 8.11: Summary: Uses of –SE and –RA in the Central Highlands

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in Protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1600-1649	80 % / 67	4.7 % / 4	15.3 % / 13	84
1650-1699	58 % / 151	3.5 % / 9	38.5 % / 98	258

Source: Acevedo (1997: 99 and 108)

Table 8.12: Summary: Uses of –SE and –RA in the Gulf

Period	–SE forms	–RA forms in protasis	Other uses of –RA	Total tokens
1602-1647	110 / 150 (73.33 %)	7 / 150 (4.66 %)	33 / 150 (22.0 %)	150
1651-1699	61 / 89 (68.53 %)	6 / 89 (6.74 %)	22 / 89 (24.72 %)	89

Table 8.13: 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.	218 / 342 (63.74 %)	13 / 342 (3.80 %)	111 / 342 (32.45 %)	342
El Golfo	171 / 239 (71.54 %)	13 / 239 (5.43 %)	55 / 239 (23.01 %)	239
Totals	389 / 581 (66.95 %)	26 / 581 (4.47 %)	166 / 581 (28.57 %)	581

8.4.12 Ethnic groups

The terms related to ethnicity reveal the preoccupation with diversity and the distinguishing traits referring to regional origin as in (a), which designates the individual who looks or speaks like someone from the Basque region ('avyzcaynado'), or someone else who looks or speaks like people from Andalusia ('andaluzado'), as in (a). The differentiation by ethnic group was not necessarily used to profile individuals but to describe casualties, as in (b). Ranking in the new social hierarchy is also revealed in (c), while affection or disaffection may be expressed with a diminutive as in (d).

- (a) Miguel de Olabarriá, que es muy *avyzcaynado*, y el Murguía, muy *andaluzado* (EG 51, 1603)
- (b) En la rrefriega murieron de los nuestros catorce *españoles*, y algunos heridos, más de veinte *yndios*, algunos *negros* y *mestisos* (EG 64, 1630)
- (c) Y los *nauatlatos* escriven a los *caquíes* que no castigen a los *yndios* (EG 52, 1606)
- (d) este testigo se quedó dentro del patio, y oyó que el dicho alférez Ximenez abló con su *negrita* (EG 102, 1691)

8.5 Literature in Spanish

The consolidation of the Spanish language is beyond doubt because in this century creative literature was abundant and of high quality; the major players were born in New Spain and belonged most of the time to privileged individuals working close to the viceroys. Their inspiration derived from the works of peninsular writers, which in the 17th century were splendid due to the excellence and quantity, diverse genres, and the immediate impact it had in the Spanish society of the time. Miguel de Cervantes' masterpiece *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* also known as *Don Quixote* (1605) is not only considered the first modern European novel, but inaugurates the second century of the Spanish Golden Age. Cervantes (1547-1616) was a master of narration, and like many men of letters of his time he was immersed in the literary trends, art and architecture of the Italian Renaissance. He is also the author of short novels, plays, and poetry. One of the best dramatists of European literature, Lope de Vega (1562-1635) was second only to Cervantes; he was devoted to refurbishing the Spanish theatre when it was turning into a massive spectacle. Due to the matchless volume of his plays, he was nicknamed 'The Phoenix of Wits' and 'The Monster of Nature'. Along with Pedro Calderón de la Barca and Tirso de Molina he adapted the Spanish drama to models based on the social realities of his times. When Lope de Vega passed away, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) initiated the next phase of the Spanish Golden Age with about 200 plays known for having perfected the structure, the exquisiteness, and existential view of the Spanish drama. His best-known play is *La vida es sueño* [Life is a Dream], where the central theme is the conflict between free will and fate. Tirso de Molina (1579-1648) was also a prolific author but only a small fraction of the 300 pieces that he authored survived. His best-known play is *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra* [The Trickster of Seville and the Stone Guest] whose content focuses on divine justice, repentance, and predestination. The vast production in the dramatic style is complemented by the poetry of Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645) and Luis de Góngora (1561-1627), representatives of the schools known as *conceptismo* and *culturismo*, respectively, which belong to the Baroque period, the former emphasizing the ideas in order to impress the intelligence and the latter focusing on the beauty of the pompous forms.

As the world of the Renaissance worries acquiesced to complex ideas of the Baroque era, the grounds of literature bore new fruit, especially in the New Spanish poetry and drama. The Spanish *conceptismo* of Luis de Góngora and the *culturismo* of Francisco de Quevedo found sustainable growth in Mexico. Writers embracing the Baroque sensibility include those born in Spain and those whose works were written in the new soil. Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700) and Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600-1569), among others, were known for their

erudition in different subjects. One of the shining stars of New Spain was Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza (1581-1639) capable of competing with the famous Spanish playwrights (Lope, Calderón and Tirso). Alarcón's most famous plays remain *Las paredes oyen* [The Walls have Ears] and *La verdad sospechosa o el mentiroso* [The Truth Suspect or the Liar] which was condensed in Cornielle's *Le Menteur* (Cortés 1992: xxx-xxxi). The most outstanding poet, playwright and essayist was Juana de Asbaje (1651-1695) also known as Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz ('The Tenth Muse'), the most sensitive writer from Spain during the Golden Age. For generations her works have inspired countless other authors and literary critics. She found inspiration in the classics and explored the topics of ethnicity that distinguished the dynamic *criollo* society of New Spain. She inserted *tocotines* (dramatized dance in either Spanish or Nahuatl) in the religious plays known as *autos sacramentales*. In addition, she also indulged in the composition of *villancicos* (carols) that exhibit the traits of the Afro-Mexican speech of the times (cf. Megenney 1985). The versatile literary creativity of this century epitomizes the pinnacle of the Spanish language in New Spain and the continuity of diversification in all genres, except the novel.

8.6 Conclusion

The major change observed in this century is the growth of the mixed population which gained sufficient speakers for the Spanish language to maintain all the domains of interaction incepted in the 16th century. In this period the quality of literary production is equivalent to major poetic and dramatic trends in Spain. Additionally, language data for this century corroborate the gradual attrition of some of the variants that are considered typical of peninsular Spanish, though the triumphant variants corresponding to New World Spanish do not yet prevail. (1) *Seseo* ascended to 40 percent while the traditional graphemes persisted with 60 percent of the tokens. (2) *Leísmo* remains in its former 16th century position with two-thirds of the cases tallied in both regions. (3) In considering the -SE vs. -RA opposition, the -SE form still had the leading role with more than two-thirds of all the tokens counted in the two collections of documents. (4) Finally, *tú* and *vuestra merced* made strong inroads in the personal and business relationships, while the subject pronouns *vos* and *vosotros* were not used in this century; *tú* and *vuestra merced* gained the slots and functions that *vos* had lost. In the selection of personal pronouns, direct objects, possessive adjectives, and objects of preposition, Mexico and the Caribbean region adhered to the unfolding trends in peninsular Spanish, which stabilized the singular dyad *tú* / *vuestra merced*,

presumably because these colonies had been politically closer to Spain than all the other regions.

Representing opposite trends, *seseo* (New World) and *leísmo* (Spain) co-existed with glaring vitality in the 17th century. Whereas the pairs of sibilant variants followed their own path of erosion, towards the end of the century, some local writers may have overused “regular” incorrect *seseo*, but simultaneously preserved the features that are identified with peninsular Spanish (see Doc. AC 162, 1692). Finally, the external factors that were shaping the patterns of attrition of normative sibilants, *leísmo* and the –RA / –SE opposition may be related to the wave of acclimatization of native Spanish speakers and the subtle integration of the castes into the diversified economy of the viceroyalty. Spanish gained new speakers progressively, not abruptly. Those speakers who lost contact or who never had contact with Spain may have accelerated language change because they lost track of the polymorphic assortment of variants coming directly from the metropolis. Non-Spanish speaking groups acquiring and / or learning Spanish had sufficient exposure to face-to-face interaction with Spanish speakers in the different domains: the households of the Spanish speakers where they worked, the church, the hacienda, the shop, the construction site, or even the schools. This was possible because the physical dividers and the social pressures and regulations turned looser in the process of separation or segregation of the castes from Spanish speakers. An additional variable that must be factored in the diversification of Spanish is the fact that it gained both speakers and prestige, and that New World Spanish literature made original and significant contributions in the age of its own apogee.