

AMERICANIZED HISPANIC TERMS AND THEIR VITALITY IN THE WORK OF A 17th CENTURY CREOLE: AGUSTIN DE VETANCURT

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Abstract

In the texts written in Latin America during the 17th century, there is evidence of Hispanic terms already Americanized by changes of meaning, according to Kany (1962). This study analyzes *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697) by the Mexican Creole Agustín de Vetancurt (1620-1700) in order to present data on this process of Americanization. The methodology employed in the analysis of the Americanized terms is both quantitative and qualitative. Once the Americanized Hispanicism is detected, the vitality of its use is analyzed in comparison with other texts dating from between 1650 and 1700 recorded in the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE). The results show that the 21 Hispanicisms found have different degrees of Americanization.

Keywords: Americanized Hispanicisms, Agustín de Vetancurt, Franciscan, CORDE, lexical borrowing.

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TÉRMINOS HISPANOS AMERICANIZADOS Y SU VITALIDAD EN LA OBRA DE UN CRIOLLO DEL SIGLO XVII: AGUSTÍN DE VETANCURT

Resumen

En los textos escritos en América durante el siglo XVII se evidencian voces hispánicas ya americanizadas por el cambio de significado según lo explicado por Kany (1962). Esta investigación analiza *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697) del criollo mexicano Agustín de Vetancurt (1620-1700) con el fin de presentar datos sobre el proceso de americanización. La metodología de análisis de las voces americanizadas es cuantitativa y cualitativa. Una vez detectado el hispanismo americanizado se analiza su vitalidad de uso en comparación con otros textos entre 1650 y 1700 registrados en el *Corpus diacrónico del español* (CORDE). El resultado muestra que los 21 hispanismos encontrados tienen distintos grados de americanización.

Palabras clave: hispanismos americanizados, Agustín de Vetancurt, franciscano, CORDE, préstamo léxico.

1. INTRODUCTION

The colonization of Latin America gave rise to numerous writings in which the history of the region was recounted and that reveal not only the lexical/semantic adaptation of Hispanic heritage words, but also the use of borrowing from the different indigenous languages. According to Frago Gracia (1999: 227), it is possible to find in this vocabulary archaisms, semantic/lexical creation, the adjustment of Spanish words to the new «American» reality, the pervasive spread of certain Peninsular regionalisms, nautical terms (*marinerismos*), different specialised words (mining, military, textile, etc.) that entered into general usage, and borrowings from other indigenous and European languages. At the same time, certain lexical fields, such as said *marinerismos*, spread in American texts and came to be applied to land-based activities (Rosenblat, 1973: 313). It should not be forgotten that, faced with such a situation, a good part of the Spaniards, Creoles and mestizos opted for bilingualism from very early on; while the indigenous people, faced with a lukewarm linguistic policy of Castile, were forced to maintain their monolingualism, they were «isolated in their own language» (Blanco Sánchez, 1997: 247).

The aim of this paper is to present an investigation of the use of Hispanicisms with specific quantitative and qualitative data, and to

compare the vitality of these Americanized Hispanicisms in 17th century works; specifically, in *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697) by the Franciscan friar Agustín de Vetancurt (1620-1700), with other texts of the period. This Creole, a Franciscan priest and missionary, was also a historian and a son of the Frenchman Jean de Bethencourt. The French surname underwent various transformations in Spanish: Betancor, Betancourt, Vetancur and Vetancurt. In this article we have chosen the form that appears in the first edition of the work. After studying at university, where he obtained a bachelor's degree, he entered the Franciscan Order in *Puebla de los Angeles* (Mexico). The life and academic career of this friar leads us to assume that his more than forty years of evangelising in indigenous communities gave him extensive knowledge of «Nahuatlisms» and, at the same time, his identity as a Creole prompts us to assume that he employed vocabulary that was already Americanized. Vetancurt is part of the processes of *criollismo* and *mestizaje* that developed from the second half of the 16th century onwards in Mexico City. These processes had a great impact on intellectuals, literate discourses, representations, and other forms of expression that were used by the urban elite for the mass indoctrination of the neighbours through profane and religious functions and acts. The aim of the work we are investigating is to construct a discourse of its own about the prosperous and cultured city governed by the Creoles (Rose, 2002: 265).

Chronica was chosen because it is a text that has not yet been analyzed from the point of view of this research. This work belongs to *Teatro Mexicano: descripción breve de los sucesos ejemplares, históricos, políticos, militares y religiosos del Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias* and it is the most important work by Agustín de Vetancurt. Divided into four volumes and spanning almost 1900 pages, it describes, as its name indicates, various events in New Spain (historical, political, military, and religious). *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* is the fourth part of this *Teatro Mexicano*, which, considering the period to which it belongs, presupposes a greater number of Americanized words than of «indigenisms». Specifically, it is a chronicle of the Indies in two parts: the first is divided into five treatises (135 pages), and the second into a seraphic menology (156 pages). It is a compendium in which the evangelization of New Spain and the events that took place in these lands are recounted using

Spanish as the vehicular language, just as the Creoles did in the 17th century. In this study, the first edition has been used as working material.

The bibliography consulted concludes that, in the seventeenth century, the Creole society that produced and received texts about the region began a process of developing an «American» vocabulary (Rosenblat, 1963: 192). In this lexicon, Indo-Americanisms do not represent the most numerous contributions, although they are the most studied. Precisely how the heritage lexicon was adapted to the American reality is still a pending question, since general ideas must be based on texts that can add new data and perspectives to the question (Buesa Oliver & Enguita Utrilla, 1992: 153; Vaquero de Ramírez, 1996: 39; Cáceres-Lorenzo, 2016: 8; Trujillo González, 2022: 416). American texts of the 17th century, according to Guitarte (1991: 75), show that, during the colonial period, both Spaniards and Creoles perceived Latin American Spanish as an inferior modality, a peripheral variety devoid of prestige.

The «Americans» themselves, in fact, considered the peculiarities of their speech to be regionalisms without the distinction rendering them worth of inclusion in literary language, as they recognised the Spanish of Toledo, or Madrid, i. e. the cultured Spanish of the mother country as their linguistic model (Muñoz Machado, 2017: 658). This attitude was sustained throughout the 18th century, as Sánchez Méndez (1995: 47) has pointed out. At that point, symptoms of a shift in this stance emerged: Guitarte (1991: 74) has highlighted the 1713 foundation of the *Real Academia Española* and its favourable attitude towards the language's regionalisms (Sánchez Méndez, 1997: 212; Enguita Utrilla, 2004: 194; Cáceres Lorenzo, 2022: 15). Thus, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* incorporates American words and cites American writers as authorities. However, as Guitarte explains, these American authorities were then only geographically American, as they coincided linguistically with the Spanish authorities.

The change that occurred between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have been due to several factors, including the Creoles' preferences in Mesoamerican territory when selecting heritage vocabulary. Company (2010: 118), Quirós García & Ramírez Luengo (2015: 188) explain that heritage vocabularies present the following range of variations in their Americanization process: (a) having an identical

meaning in American as in Peninsular Spanish, in which case these are not really Americanized Hispanicisms, or they are only in the sense that their use is more common in texts produced in American territory, in this case, with the possibility of registering the Americanization of the word; and (b) the author writes using already Americanized Hispanicisms because they are no longer used in Peninsular texts.

In this context, from 1500 to 1700, the role of the Church in the development of *Indiano* vocabulary is evident (especially when compiling and using «indigenisms»), due to the great cultural influence that this social class possessed at that time (Frago Gracia & Franco Figueroa, 2001: 179; Ahumada, 2021: 189). The same could happen with Americanized heritage words that are compared with Peninsular usages.

We believe that the analysis of the vocabulary used in the texts demonstrates that, after the initial sociocultural encounter in the American adventure, Creole society emerged, adopting and incorporating a large number of new American terms, as well as attaching new meanings to Spanish ones (Andión Herrero, 2002: 6; Torres Torres, 2004: 78; Sánchez Méndez, 2010: 544). This process of Americanization is evident in the different degrees of assimilation of a heritage lexis in *Indiano* society, through the adaptation, adoption and creation of new words or meanings, and by the degree to which they were used.

In the light of the above, we propose the following research questions: what kind of procedures proposed by the theoretical framework can we find in Americanized Hispanic terms? How vital are these Americanized terms with respect to other texts from that period? And finally, how many examples of Americanized Hispanicisms are quite frequently used in the Americas?

In order to answer the first question, we will start from the classification of the phenomena of Americanization proposed by Kany in his work *Semántica hispanoamericana* (1962) with textual data from a case study of the 17th century.

According to Kany (1962: XI), this classification «aims to explain and classify the divergences of Spanish-American meaning from the general norm in Spain today, and also to present hundreds of new forms that have arisen in the New World and are little known to the average

Spaniard». It should also be noted that this classification is, in turn, the combination and subsequent modification of two semantic classifications proposed by Gustaf Stern (1931) and Stephen Ullmann (1958). This classification is made up of changes caused by:

- a) Linguistic conservatism, consisting entirely of substitutions. These are not due to linguistic causes, but to changes brought about by a «constant succession of new materials and changes in the moral and intellectual aspects of civilization» (Kany 1962: 16). This is the case with *pluma* ('bird feather') which has become the name of a writing instrument: *pluma de escribir* ('pen').
- b) Linguistic innovation. These are divided by the transfer of nouns based on similar meanings or by contiguous meaning, a transfer of meanings based on similar nouns or by a contiguity of nouns, and compound transfers.

Conservatism and innovation were the cornerstones of the process behind the development of American vocabulary through the transfer of names based on a similarity in their meanings. Kany defines it as the use of 1) the nomination or use of an old or new term to designate a reality to which it had not previously been applied. This includes both familiar jargon and humorous terms (words for *cabeza* [head]: *ayote*, *coco*), compounds (*cagatintas* as '*chupatintas*') and group and racial nicknames (*gachupín* as 'Spaniard'); 2) metaphors based on similarity of appearance: the name of one object or action is applied to another suggesting a similarity between them. These may be based on a similarity of colour (*sungo* 'a certain black dog' > 'black') or a shape (*iguana* as 'a very thin person'); 3) metaphors based on a similar quality, activity or function. As the name suggests, the name of one object or action is applied to another suggesting a similarity in quality, activity or function. They are divided into: names of animals, plants, people, actions, demonyms and proper names. For example, the term *águila* (eagle) has come to be used in Chile to designate someone who is a 'cheat or swindler'; 4) metaphors based on a similar perceptual or emotive effect: some of these are copied from other languages, and they fall into three categories: synaesthesia (sharp taste), the transfer of the material to the immaterial (*cabeza de luma* 'tree' > 'stubborn person') and the use of pejorative words that take on an affectionate meaning (*churrete*, 'he who has diarrhoea' > 'child'); 5) combinational analogy: this refers mainly to

prefixes (*acriollarse*) and suffixes (*molestadera*) that are added to new roots; and 6) correlative analogy: the most important are contrary meanings [*joya* (jewel) > 'worthless, insignificant'] and semantic borrowings (*alta misa* > 'high mass').

Also, Kany explains a transfer of names based on contiguous meanings. This is the case of the permutations that correspond to the extension of the material based on the object it is made of [*cuera* (leather) > 'leather jacket'], the receptacle for its contents [*barbacoa* (barbecue) > 'meat'], the part for the whole [*pantalón* (pants) > 'man'], the symbol for the symbolized [*argolla* 'ring' > *argollarse* 'to get engaged'], the instrument for the product (*changango* 'old guitar' > 'party, merriment'), the name from a concomitant circumstance (*promesero* 'pilgrim'), the action from a product or result [*engorda* (fattening) > 'cattle fattening'], the action for the instrument or means of action (*sorbete* 'straw'), the action for the agent [*faena* (workday) > 'workers'], for the place of the action [*descanso* (rest) > 'landing'], the quality for the person or thing that possesses it [bonitura (beauty) > 'pretty'], the names of persons for products (Winchester 'rifle'), the names of places for actions or products (cantón 'cotton cloth') or the mental state for the object or person causing it [*cariño* (affection) > 'gift']. This is also related to the transfer of meanings based on similar names¹, of meanings based on contiguous names², and, finally, what he calls compounds³. Kany's work of research was pioneering and has not yet been developed with textual examples such as the one we propose.

By adapting heritage vocabulary to the American reality, conceptual neologisms are generated that can be called «Americanisms» in the semantic sense (Morínigo, 1953: 237).

¹ Refers to phonetic associative interference, i. e. confusion between two phonetic sounds; due to the evolution of the old «c» and «z» in America, some words have become homophones, so that in certain contexts confusion may occur.

² This is the phenomenon of abbreviation; the emphatic words or syllables remain while the unemphasized ones may be lost (*señor* > *ñor*).

³ This category includes all those words that do not strictly fall into either of the two previous ones (transfer of names and meanings), since they belong to both categories, to varying degrees. These are divided into extensions (meanings that become more general, such as *cachifo* (schoolchild > any child) and restrictions (the opposite of extension, such as [*dulce* (a sweet) > *panela* (brown sugar)].

To this end, the novel aspect of this study lies in finding Hispanic American examples in Vetancurt's 17th century text. In this study we also employ lexical vitality as a tool indicative of the survival of the lexicon selected from *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697). In this regard, the lines of research on lexical vitality were carried out following several criteria, among which we can highlight the formation of derivatives and the creation of secondary meanings (Sala *et al.*, 1982: 8), criteria that we can easily relate to the words selected from Vetancurt's text. This will help us analyze the vitality of the usage of the Hispanicized Americanisms selected, both in America and in Spain.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

In order to carry out this study and answer the research questions, the following steps were followed:

- a) The collection of examples from the work selected. After a thorough reading of *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697), we proceeded to compile the Americanized Hispanic terms detected in the text and that present a clear change of meaning. To do so we used the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (DAut), *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (DCEH); *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* (NTLLE); *Tesoro de los diccionarios históricos de la lengua española* (TDHLE); *Diccionario de americanismos* (DA) and the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (DLE) to ascertain the American meaning that is maintained today.
- b) A qualitative and quantitative study of the results obtained following the classification of the Americanization phenomena proposed by Kany (1962). An analysis of the vitality of the Americanisms selected was also carried out with respect to other texts from the same period (1650-1700) recorded in the *Corpus diacrónico del español* (CORDE).

3. ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

A reading of the *Chronica* yielded 21 Americanized Hispanicisms. Looking for the origins of these words, we found that most of them come

from Latin, but we also find Arabisms, Gallicisms, and words from Occitan, Mozarabic, and pre-Roman speech (Table 1). Thus, 71.43% are Latinisms (*aliñar*, *animoso*, *barreta*, *barretero*, *cargar(se)*, *carmín*, *colorado*, *cuadra*, *durazno*, *león*, *natural*, *palma*, *parcialidad*, *purga* and *tigre*); 14.29% are Arabisms (*albarrada*, *arrabal* and *batea*); one is from Occitan (*bastimento*), one is from Mozarabic (*trapiche*), and one is pre-Roman (*vega*), which correspond to 4.76% each.

With regard to the lexical field of these Hispanicisms with different degrees of Americanization, it can be seen that this data complements that of Andión Herrero (2002) and Torres Torres (2004).

| American term and meaning (DA) | Origin | Peninsular meaning (DAut, DLE, TDHLE) | Classification (Kany) | Lexical field |
|---|--------|--|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>albarrada</i> 'lagoon, fence' | Á | 'mug' | MSQAF | R |
| <i>aliñar</i> 'to prepare something' | L | 'to season, adorn, clean, polish, beautify' | E | Act. |
| <i>animoso</i> 'generating enthusiasm' | L | 'courageous, gallant, encouraging, striving and brave' | CA | B |
| <i>arrabal</i> 'group of ramshackle houses' | Á | 'peripheral population centres' | R | CB, U |
| <i>barreta</i> 'wooden bar with a pointed end used for agriculture or mining' | L | 'type of bar' | R | I |
| <i>barretero</i> 'a person who uses a <i>barreta</i> in different contexts' | L | 'mine worker' | E | I |
| <i>bastimento</i> 'provision' | O | 'provision of an army' | E | A, M |

| | | | | |
|--|--------|---------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| <i>batea</i> 'receptacle' | Á | 'mining trough' | E | I, M |
| <i>cargar(se)</i> 'to carry' | L | 'to put or throw weight' | R | Act |
| <i>carmín</i> 'plant' | L | 'red-coloured material' | MSA | Co, P |
| <i>colorado</i> 'tree' | L | 'red-coloured material' | MSA | |
| <i>cuadra</i> 'measurement, block of houses' | L | 'horse stable' | F | B, P |
| <i>durazno</i> 'generic term for a tree cultivated in America' | L | 'peach tree, fruit of the peach tree' | E | CB |
| <i>léon</i> 'puma' | L | 'African animal' | H | F |
| <i>natural</i> 'Indian' | L | 'relating to nature' | R | D |
| <i>palma</i> 'flower arrangement' | L | 'palm tree' | P | P |
| <i>parcialidad</i> 'community population nucleus' | L | 'set of people living together' | E | U |
| <i>purga</i> 'plant, jalapa' | L | 'a medicine' | P | H |
| <i>tigre</i> 'jaguar' | L | 'Asian animal' | H | F |
| <i>trapiche</i> 'installations for sugar or minerals' | Moz. | 'olive or sugar mill' | H | I |
| <i>vega</i> 'wet terrain' | Prerr. | 'low, flat, fertile land' | R | R |

TABLE 1: Americanized Hispanicisms found in *Chronica*.

Origin: Á: Arabic; L: Latin; Occ.: Occitan; Moz.: Mozarabic; Prerr.: pre-Romanesque. Phenomena according to Kany's classification (1962): S: substitution; R: restriction; E: extension, MSA: metaphor based on a similar appearance; MSQAF: metaphor based on similar quality, activity, or function; CA: combinational analogy; P: permutation. Lexical field: F: food; Act: actions and operations; B: behaviour and emotionality; Co: colour; CB: civil buildings; F: fauna; G: demonym; I: instruments, tools and machines, mining; M: marine/nautical term; P: plant and flora; R: relief and climate; H: health and illness; T: time; U: urban development and type of settlement.

Kany's classification presents, in our text, three cases of substitution. We find clear examples with *león*, *tigre* and *trapiche*. Both *león* and *tigre* refer to animals on both continents, but in Latin America *león* came to refer to a puma (*Felidae; Felis concolor*), and *tigre*, to a jaguar (*Felidae; Panthera onca*), two recurrent words in other «Indian chronicles» in a general way since the 16th century. The adaptation of the Hispanicism did not restrict the use of other designations, such as *león americano* (american lion) and *león de montaña* (mountain lion), for which no textual basis has been found in the centuries analyzed.

The same is not true of the Hispanicism *jaguar*, which features the other designations *poncho overo*, *tigre americano* and *tigre overo*, as well as the Southern Cone indigenism *capiango*, the Mayanisms *chacbolay* and *chacmool*, the Mesoamerican word *champoltrín*; the Nahuatlism *tecuán* and the Quechuanism *uturunco (otorongo)*. The vitality of use of these terms in the texts is very uneven, since only *otorongo* is recorded, according to the CORDE, in the works of two indigenous writers: *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1595-1615) by Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala; *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú* (c. 1613), by Juan Santacruz Pachacuti; and also in *Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los incas* (1613), by the priest Martín de Murúa. The rest of the designations do not appear in texts prior to 1700. It is striking that, according to the CORDE, the great collector of Nahuatl terms, Bernardino de Sahagún, in his *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1576-1577) only uses the form *tigre*.

In the case of *trapiche*, there is substitution due to changes caused by a constant succession of the designated referent, as it passes from the oil industry, originally, to the sugar industry and, later, to the mineral industry (DA). In *Chronica* it appears together with *chancaca*, the indigenous word for sugar bread:

Dista doce leguas azia el Medio día de la Villa, tiene docientas familias de Indios, y veinte de negros, y mulatos, que se ocupan en la siembra de caña, y *trapiches* de chancaca, que hazen ochocientas personas, que administran dos Religiosos (*Chronica*: 93) [italics added].

Corominas & Pascual (2000) explain that in Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1535-1557) it first appears in relation to a field of sugar cane, although our research shows that it also

appears earlier in *Historia de las Indias* (1521-1567) by Bartolomé de las Casas. The use of the term to refer to minerals does not appear until the 17th century in historical texts such as *Historia de Guatemala o recordación florida* (1690) by Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán (CORDE). The importance of mineral extraction precipitated this expansion in its meaning. Both meanings are closely related to each other, but their referent becomes a name for a new one whose function is similar.

Compound transfers, i. e. extensions and restrictions, correspond to 48% of the words selected, with 6 and 5 words, respectively. We may observe how the meaning is extended in *aliñar*, *barretero*, *bastimento*, *batea*, *durazno* and *parcialidad*, while just the opposite happens with *arrabal*, *barreta*, *cargar(se)*, *natural* and *vega*.

The word of medieval use *arrabal* comes from Hispanic Arabic and refers to a 'neighbourhood outside the town to which it belongs' or to a 'town attached to a larger one' (DAut, DLE). However, in the DA we find exactly the meaning referred to in the text: 'a group of houses of poor and rickety construction': «[...] dixo que todo lo conquistado era un arrabal respecto de lo que estaba por convertir [...]» (*Chronica*: 116). As will be seen in the rest of the cases of restriction, *arrabal* is a term whose definition became more specialised after its arrival in the Americas, as it went from being considered a neighbourhood outside a larger settlement to being a group of poorly built houses.

Barreta is, in Peninsular Spanish, a 'small bar or lever' (DAut, DLE), but on the new continent its meaning was restricted, and it became an instrument used specifically in agriculture and mining (DA): «Pastores Palestinos, porque es vuestra el agua? cabastis vosotros la tierra? tomastis en la mano la barreta? os ha costado alguna gota de sangre, ò de sudor?» (*Chronica*: 19).

The derivative *barretero* has also been found:

[...] y su Hazienda Real se minoraban los Tributos, y hazian falta los que labraban las minas, pues podía tener mas de diez mil *barreteros* mas que las labrasen, y tributarios que le socorriessen, y dando el remedio (dice) que se mandasse, que todos los hijos nacidos de Indias fuessen hijos

de qualquier padre, se tuviesen por Naturales, pues la condición de la persona, sigue el vientre según Ley [...] (*Chronica*: 8) [italics added].

We see this change not only in Vetancurt, but also in Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, the author of *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1595-1615): «Responde los hijos: “Padre, madre mía, mejor era seruir a Dios cazado y tener hijos y alzar una barreta y trauajar que no rrobar a los pobres de los yndios con poco temor de Dios. Bueno era ya que fuera sacerdote, fuera flayre franciscano”» (CORDE).

Cargar(se) is a verb which seems to show a clear evolution in its meaning. According to the DAut, DCHE, NTLLE and the DLE, ‘to put or throw weight on someone or on a beast’ is its Peninsular use, while in the DA it has a more specific one: ‘to carry something, especially a personal object’:

Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte dexò en el cerro, llamado Totoltepec, cerro de pajaros, por lo que en aquel lugar se criaban en un maguey (aunque otros dicen en un Espino) a la Santa Imagen de los Remedios por verse impossibilitado por las heridas que tenia de *cargarla* (*Chronica*: 129) [italics added].

Natural, as a demonym for American Indian, evidences a process of restriction:

A Xuchimilco salió el Venerable Padre Valencia con Fray Francisco Ximenes, y mientras se les explicaban los misterios de Fè, se ponían en oración el Venerable Padre pidiendo a Dios Nuestro Señor su ayuda, y era tanta la devoción de los *Naturales*, que salían en las canoas a llevar à los Religiosos à sus Pueblos Comarcanos [...] (*Chronica*, 4) [italics added].

The same thing occurs with *vega*, in which American nature modifies the meaning: «Cerca del rio, y dos leguas de Xacona en una vega hermosa, y fértil de arboles adornada tenia una Iglesia muy capaz con dos Religiosos que administraban ochocientas personas [...]» (*Chronica*: 200).

The opposite happens in cases of extension, as we can observe in the American meaning of *aliñar*, ‘to prepare something’ (DA): «Determinose, que en la Procession saliessen las Imágenes de N. P. S. Francisco; esta se encomendó à la Tercera Orden, que la sacasse, y aliñasse, el Doctor Sutil

[...]» (*Chronica*: 43). *Barretero* is a 'person who uses a *barreta* for agricultural, quarrying or mining work' (DA), a broader meaning than that found in the DLE, which stresses that it is a term only used in mining. The same case applies to *bastimento*, «[...] la desgracia de no passar adelante esta santa obra fue, porq por falta de bastimentos no pudieron permanecer mas de dos meses, y no se pudo hazer la mission como convenia, y acelerose la salida [...]» (*Chronica*: 117), where in America they no longer designate provisions exclusively for the army.

The *marinerismo* (nautical term) *batea* exemplifies the nautical words used in different technical languages, always with the meaning of 'vessel':

[...] un choque suela de S. Phelipe de Iesus, y medio dedo de S. Nicolas de Tolentino, una hoja de la zarza donde N. P. estuvo; un vaso como el de Mexico de madera pequeño de la *batea* donde se labò las llagas N. P. S. Francisco [...] (*Chronica*: 51) [italics added].

The examples of extension *duraznero* and *parcialidad* take on a broader meaning. The *duraznero* tree became a generic name for *melocotonero* tree, *persico* tree and *duraznero* tree (DA). Something very similar was the case with *parcialidad*, which, from designating a group of people living together, came to be used to refer to the «area in which an indigenous community lives within a municipality or territorial district» (DA): «Tiene veinte y nueve Pueblos de visita en cinco parcialidades repartidos, con tres hermitas adiacentes, la primera parcialidad del monte tiene [...]» (*Chronica*: 51-52).

Veinte y dos leguas de Mexico azia el Norte con declinación al Poniente está el Pueblo ameno, y fértil de montes cercado, y de vna cerca de tapia resguardado, por tener en aquellas cierras Indios Chichimecos, que le roban, tiene huertas de *durasnos*, celebrados por buenos, y de otras frutas, con vna calle q llaman la obscura [...] (*Chronica*: 84) [italics added].

With respect to *colorado*, we see not only a total change of meaning, but also a change of grammatical category. On the one hand, in Spain we have an adjective referring to the colour red, or a noun describing a red-coloured material, while in New Spain it becomes the name of a type of tree (*Bombacaceae*; *Bombacopsis emarginata*). Specifically, the fragment refers to the material from which a cross was made, i. e. *madera*

de Colorado, or *colorado* wood: «[...] invocaron la ayuda de la Santa Cruz de que tenían noticia de pasados, y al punto avia bajado por el ayre una Cruz labrada de colorado con su peana, de dos varas de largo, cuya forma venia en el informa [...]» (*Chronica*: 97). Therefore, according to Kany (1962), this was a metaphor based on a similar appearance; specifically, colour, as the *colorado* is a tree of reddish tones.

Similar is the case of *carmín*, but in this case the presence of a metaphor based on a similarity in appearance, in colour, is presupposed. In this case, on the new continent the term came to refer to *Phytolaceae*; *Rivina humilis* (DA). The text refers to a liqueur made from this plant, which bears bright red fruits:

[...] es día de mucha ternura, y mas quando le dan la lanza, porque à vn Santo Christo lo ponen en la llaga vna vexiga de licor de *carmín*, y à este tiempo el Predicador está en el Acto de contrición, quye ha vista de espectáculo tan tierno ay muchos males de corazón en las mugeres, y lagrimas en los hombres [...] (*Chronica*: 42) [italics added].

Albarrada, the only case of a metaphor based on a similar quality, activity, or function, comes from Hispanic Arabic and the DLE relates it to the word *alcarraza*, which means «a porous clay vessel that has the property of allowing a certain portion of water to leak out, the evaporation of which cools the greater quantity of the same liquid that remains inside». This function is similar to that of an «artificial lagoon up to 30 m long by 15 m wide in which rainwater is collected for livestock during the dry season», a definition that we find reflected in Vetancurt's text:

En tiempo de los Españoles el año de 553, en tiempo de D. Luis de Velasco el viejo, y D. Alonso Montusar Arçobispo, lloviò tanto que se inundó la Ciudad y para su remedio hizo hazer la *albarrada* con ayuda de los Religiosos, que con brevedad se acabò, y consiguìò el remedio, y se atajò el daño (*Chronica*: 120) [italics added].

Unlike the rest of the words, *animoso* is an adjective that stands out especially for its suffix. In this case, there is not a very clear change of meaning, since the definition provided by the DAut and DLE: «he who has spirit» and the DA: «referring to a person or thing, especially to a spectacle, that generates enthusiasm» are not completely opposite and

have a very similar meaning. However, this word gains importance due to the suffix *-oso*, which indicates the possession of the characteristics denoted by the root noun (*ánimo*), which is much more frequent in Latin America than in Spain. Thus, Kany (1962) identifies it as a change caused by linguistic innovation; more specifically as a transfer of names based on similar meanings (combinative analogy):

[...] fundose al pie de una cerrania, donde viven Barbaros Chichimecas, para ir conquistando aquella indomita, que por estar entre espesas cerrania, y tan fragosos riscos y barrancas no han podido llegar los Españoles, tiene cerca à manera de muralla, con puertas que se cierran de noche, y centinelas, que por sus quartos hacen posta por estar cerca de estos Barbaros, que les hacen hostilidad, aunque siempre han salido los Barbaros vencidos, porque diez Olivas bastan para cinquenta de los demás; son diestros en el arco, *animosos*, y rosbustos (*Chronica*: 93) [italics added].

Finally, in *cuadra*, *palma* and *purga* we find cases of permutation, a phenomenon in which the word is extended to designate something related to it. *Cuadra* has gone from being a «stable» to a unit of measurement:

Llegò la Virgen à las dos *quadras* donde estaba el Exercito Militar aguardando à su Reyna; la gala con que le esperaban se dice con decir que corrió por cuenta del Señor Maesse de campo D. Antonio Vrrutia de Vergara la vizarria, [...] (*Chronica*: 44) [italics added].

The *palma* is a flower arrangement made from the leaves of the palm tree:

[...] era devota de S. Ioseph Glorioso, y en pago de su devocion antes de morir le trujo una *palma*, y corona, anunciandole el dia de su muerte, como lo refirio à su Confessor, que fue entre prevenciones de clausura en 28 de Iunio del año de 1651 (*Chronica*: 67) [italics added].

And finally, *purga*, a medicine with purgative effects, was applied to a root with the same effect:

Dista de Mexico quarenta y quatro leguas, camino para el Puerto de la Veracruz, entre sierras, y montes, donde se coje la *purga*, que es vna raíz que se lleva à España, y zarzaparrilla; [...] (*Chronica*: 66) [italics added].

3.1. Vitality and degree of Americanization

With the help of the CORDE, we examined the use of these same words⁴ in the period from 1650 to 1700, a time frame when the *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697) was also published, with no specific selection criteria except for the dates already mentioned.

| American terms and meanings | More used in Spain | More used in Latin America | Does the Peninsular meaning coincide with the American meaning? |
|--|--------------------|----------------------------|---|
| <i>albarrada</i> 'lagoon' | - | X | No |
| <i>aliñar</i> 'to prepare something' | X | - | Coexist |
| <i>animoso</i> 'to generate enthusiasm' | X | - | No |
| <i>arrabal</i> 'a group of precarious houses' | X | - | Coexist |
| <i>barreta</i> 'a wooden bar' | X | - | Yes |
| <i>barretero</i> 'a person who uses a <i>barreta</i> ' | - | X | No |
| <i>bastimento</i> 'provision' | - | X | Coexist |
| <i>batea</i> 'receptacle' | - | X | Yes |
| <i>cargar(se)</i> 'to carry' | X | - | Coexist |
| <i>carmín</i> 'plant' | - | X | No |

⁴ Excluding data from the United States and the Philippines.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---------|
| <i>colorado</i> 'tree' | X | - | No |
| <i>cuadra</i> 'measurement, block of houses' | - | X | Yes |
| <i>durazno</i> 'generic term for tree cultivated in the Americas' | X | - | * |
| <i>león</i> 'puma' | X | - | * |
| <i>natural</i> 'Indian' | X | - | Coexist |
| <i>palma</i> 'flower arrangement' | X | - | Coexist |
| <i>parcialidad</i> 'community population nucleus' | - | X | Coexist |
| <i>purga</i> 'root' | X | - | No |
| <i>tigre</i> 'jaguar' | X | - | * |
| <i>Trapiche</i> 'set of installations for sugar, minerals' | - | X | Coexist |
| <i>vega</i> 'wet ground' | - | X | Coexist |

TABLE 2: Greater use and meaning of terms in Spain and Latin America in the period from 1650 to 1700. T: term. *The data obtained do not make it possible to answer the question posed.

The data obtained, and presented in Table 2, show that the situation is complex, although, in some cases, there are not many examples, as explained by Company (2010: 118), and Quirós García & Ramírez Luengo (2015: 188). Analysis of the results in Table 2 yields a multifaceted scenario, as the following possibilities are evident with regard to the degree of Americanization:

- a) Terms with different meanings on the two sides of the Ocean, and that are documented in America with different degrees of usage (*albarrada*, *barretero* and *carmín*).
- b) Words with their own meaning in Latin America, but seldom used in Latin American texts (*animoso*, *colorado* and *purga*).
- c) Words that exhibit coexistence (*aliñar*, *arrabal*, *bastimento*, *cargar(se)*, *natural*, *palma*, *parcialidad*, *trapiche* and *vega*).
- d) Terms whose Peninsular and American meanings coincide in texts of the period, but whose use is more extensive in Latin America (*cuadra* and *batea*) or in Spain (*barreta*).
- e) Words for which no clear data can be obtained due to the similarity between the Peninsular and American meanings (*durazno*, *león*, *tigre*).

We only consider those grouped in section a) to be Americanized words in the period in question (1650-1700), as they have different meanings and are mostly used in American texts.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The results of the analysis indicate that the terms selected from the work *Chronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697) by Agustín de Vetancurt only contain 21 Hispanicized Americanisms. This may be because we are dealing with a text whose purpose was to divulge the process of evangelization in New Spain, so that describing the new reality there did not form part of its communicative objectives. It is also possible that 17th century texts did not yet reflect actual everyday vocabulary, as Guitarte (1991) and Sánchez Méndez (1995) suggest.

Nevertheless, and in response to the first research question, Kany's (1962) proposal gives us a glimpse of a clear trend with respect to the phenomena that have given rise to these changes in meaning. There is a clear tendency towards compound transfers, i. e. restrictions and extensions, in which the meaning does not change completely, but its use becomes more general, in the case of extensions; or more specific, in the case of restrictions, as we have seen in *aliñar*, *barretero*, *bastimento*,

batea, *durazno* and *parcialidad*; and *arrabal*, *barreta*, *cargar(se)*, *natural* and *vega*, respectively. These are part of changes caused by linguistic innovation, which have taken place most frequently in this group of words, there being only three whose changes are due to linguistic conservatism (*león*, *tigre* and *trapiche*).

With regard to the second question, we observe a complex situation due to the marked variety in the degree of Americanization of the words studied. However, we can conclude that 3 of the 21 Americanized Hispanic words analyzed were already Americanized between 1650 and 1700: *albarrada*, *barretero* and *carmín*.

In this regard, and in response to our last research question, we can observe that 42.86% of the terms found are used more frequently in American countries, while the remaining 57.14% exhibit greater use in Spain, according to the CORDE.

Finally, we should stress the need to increase the number of examples and words collected from this particular period, as the semantic variation in the New World is not sufficiently reflected.

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