

# Studies in New Mexican Spanish

## Part III, The English Elements

by

**Aurelio M. Espinosa.**

*(Continuation.)*<sup>1</sup>

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### Chapter I. Origin, character and extent of the English influence.

§ 1. The admission of Texas as a state by the United States of North America in the year 1845, in open defiance to the Mexican government to which this territory had by right belonged since the Mexican independence and which had been formally recognized as Mexican territory by the United States in the Onís-Adams treaty of 1819, was the immediate cause of the Mexico-American war which ended in the cession by Mexico to the United States of the vast Spanish territory now comprised in the states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico and part of Colorado, in the year 1848.

The territory of New Mexico, which had been the home of a Spanish speaking population since 1598 when Oñate conquered the country and occupied it in the name of Spain, and which at the time of the American occupation included also what is now Arizona and part of Colorado and had a Spanish population of over 75 000 people, was invaded in 1846 by General Kearny, who entered New Mexico by the Santa Fé trail and occupied Santa Fé without resistance. New Mexico was formally occupied, a provisional government was established and the territory declared a part of the United States of North America. The New Mexican people offered no resistance whatsoever. General Armijo who had been charged with the defense of the country, finding his soldiers unprepared and too few to meet the American invaders, fled to Mexico, and the people, accustomed to revolutions and frequent political changes since the Mexican independence of 1810, accepted the new régime not only without resistance

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. RDR III (1911), 251-286; IV (1912), 242-256; V (1913), 142-172.

but even with pleasure, at least in some quarters. That the invaders were not everywhere welcome, however, is evident from the fact that only two years after the American occupation, in 1848, an anti-American revolt in Taos resulted in the murder of the American governor and the killing of many of the American settlers. American settlers, who had begun to enter the territory since the early part of the XIXth century, came in large number after the American invasion of 1846 from the south and middle-west and in a few years the country was, politically, thoroughly americanized and the New Mexican people have been obliged to live in a reluctant but necessary submission.

§ 2. For some sixty five years, therefore, the Spanish people of New Mexico have been in continuous, direct and necessary contact with English speaking peoples. Race antagonism has always been very pronounced, especially among the lower classes of both races, although they have freely intermarried and race fusion has been gradually taking place. These intermarriages were, relatively speaking, much more frequent in the first years of the American occupation, when young soldiers, merchants and adventurers from the southern and middle-western states settled in New Mexico and almost invariably and of necessity (there being very few American women) married Spanish women. From the Louisiana territory there came also since the early thirties many French settlers and many of these also remained in New Mexico and married Spanish women.

Since the introduction of the railroads and the very rapid commercial progress of the last twenty five years, together with the rapid growth of large cities and towns in New Mexico, there has come a check in the race fusion and mutual contact and good feeling between the two peoples. This check has been caused, in part, also by the great influx into New Mexico of peoples of other nationalities, especially Jews and Italians. In the new cities, such as Albuquerque, East Las Vegas, Silver City and Roswell, where the English speaking people are numerically superior, the Spanish people are looked upon as an inferior race and intermarriages are not very frequent at the present time.<sup>1</sup> In some instances the high-browed Americans who in

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico and Colorado are descendants of the old Spanish families which entered in the country with the conquistadores in 1598 and 1693. They very rarely intermarried with the native Indian population and are, therefore, in every sense of the word, Spanish. See also *Studies*, Part I, §§ 4, 5.

these cities look down on the New Mexican Spanish inhabitants, are low class Jews and poor Americans who have become wealthy in New Mexico by very questionable methods. Outside of a few of these very recent American cities, however, the Spanish element is still the all important one and predominant one. Santa Fé, Taos, Socorro, Las Cruces, Tomé, West Las Vegas and a score of other smaller towns and many more villages are predominantly Spanish and in these places the English influence in language, customs and habits of life is very insignificant. Some of the very isolated places like Taos and Santa Fé are yet thoroughly Spanish and will continue so, perhaps, for more than a century.

§ 3. At the time of the American occupation of New Mexico in 1846, the entire Spanish population of what is now New Mexico and southern Colorado was about 50 000. By 1880, or some forty years after the American occupation, the Spanish population of these regions had risen to 100 000, while the English speaking people numbered less than 40 000. The rapid influx and rise of the American population did not become important until after 1880, or after the introduction of the railroads and other rapid means of transportation and communication. At present, the Spanish people of New Mexico number about 175 000 or about one half of the entire population of the state. In southern Colorado the Spanish people number about 50 000. The Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico and southern Colorado, or the New Mexican territory which is the special object of our present study, number, therefore, about 225 000.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. In the region in question, therefore, the Spanish and English speaking inhabitants are very evenly divided, numerically. The inhabitants of both races, however, are not everywhere, evenly divided. As we have already said, some of the very recent cities like Albuquerque and Roswell have twenty Americans to one Spaniard, while in cities like Taos and Tierra Amarilla the figures are easily reversed. The remote mountain districts of New Mexico are settled entirely by Spanish people and there is not found one American to every fifty Spanish inhabitants. A very large portion of the New Mexican territory, therefore has not yet come under the influence of American institutions, in spite of the fact that the public school system makes an attempt to introduce everywhere the use of English.

<sup>1</sup> My previous estimate was a little exaggerated. See *The Spanish Language in New Mexico and Southern Colorado* (Santa Fé, New Mexico, 1911), page 17, and *Studies I*, page 1.

The New Mexico public school system dates from the year 1896. Since that time (only 18 years ago!) there has been a systematic attempt to have the English language taught in all the schools. Sometimes the American authorities have been very bitter in denouncing the use of Spanish in some of the country schools and in their enthusiasm for the English language have gone so far as to forbid the use of Spanish by the Spanish children during their play. All such measures have born no fruit. The fact of the matter is that previous to 1890, and in many instances even to the present time, Spanish was taught in the private and public schools, was considered far more important than English, and where there were no schools, parents who could read and write taught their children to read and write in Spanish. At present, although the school laws demand the exclusive use of English in the public schools, in many places, where all the pupils and even the teacher are Spanish, more Spanish is taught than English, and the whole atmosphere of the school is decidedly Spanish.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico have been, therefore, very zealous about the use of their native speech, and in spite of the present intellectual and commercial superiority of their American neighbors, have not abandoned their language, religion, customs and habits of life. As for language, not one in fifty is found who has entirely abandoned the use of Spanish and taken up English in his home.

§ 5. With the new generation, however, and especially with the new Spanish population of the cities and towns where the Spanish and American inhabitants are evenly divided, the problem is becoming fundamentally different. The Spanish school children of the predominantly American cities and towns like Roswell, Albuquerque, East Las Vegas, etc., speak English as well as the English speaking people and speak very poor Spanish. The gradual growth of the English influence in the schools has been, therefore, the greatest recent factor in the gradual encroachment of the English language on the Spanish language in New Mexico and southern Colorado. This was not, however, the only factor. The americanization of the country has brought with it the introduction of all American institutions with

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<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 1910 I had charge of the four week's Teachers' Institute of Socorro County in central New Mexico. There were in attendance some 25 school teachers, all but four, Spanish, and of the 21 who were Spanish, not one half could carry on an ordinary, correct conversation in the English language. They taught in districts where only Spanish is spoken and did some of the instruction in Spanish.

the language of these. In many fields of activity and intercourse, for example, in commerce, political institutions and machinery, the Spanish people readily adopted the English terminology, in many cases having no Spanish equivalents.

§ 6. Of the entire New Mexican Spanish population of New Mexico and southern Colorado, about 75 000, or  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the population, is entirely ignorant of the English language. Most of these are people above fifty years of age. Of the people under forty years of age nine out of ten have been in the public schools and speak English fairly well. There are, of course, great differences, if one distinguishes between town and country districts, social classes, etc. In some isolated districts and towns not ten percent of the Spanish inhabitants speak English. In cities where the American influence is great the figures are easily reversed. But even where English is not widespread among the Spanish inhabitants the English influence, especially in language is strong, for reasons already stated. Even in cases where race pride and the love of the mother tongue have been decidedly contrary to the acceptance of the English language, the necessary commercial and political intercourse with English speaking peoples, the introduction of American machinery, farming implements, household articles, etc., many of these of recent invention and previously unknown to the New Mexicans, and lastly, as we have said, the compulsory introduction of the English language in the schools, have of necessity caused the introduction of a large English vocabulary into New Mexican Spanish.

§ 7. It is no easy matter to decide through what channels the English words have found their way into New Mexican Spanish. The way the words have been introduced has been in many cases, no doubt, associated with the time of introduction, although this is, generally speaking, as yet an unimportant matter. Such words as *cute* < COAT, *rinque* < DRINK, *jolón* > HOLD ON (§§ 19, 23), *bogue* < BUGGY, *queque* < CAKE, *escrepa* < SCRAPER, *jaira* < HARROW, *reque* < RAKE, *jarirú* < HOW DO YOU DO, *estebale* < STABLE, *greve* < GRAVY, *broquis* < BROKE (§§ 7, 24), *craque* < CRACKER, *parna* < PARTNER, are words of extremely wide usage, belong to general terminology and must have been introduced in the early years of the American occupation. Such words as *boila* < BOILER, *breca* < BRAKE, *cabús* < CABOOSE, *chequiar* < CHECK, *espaique* < SPIKE, *guiangué* < GANG, *pulman* < PULLMAN, *reque* < WRECK, *suichi* < SWITCH, *taya* < TIE, *troca* < TRUCK, *yarda* < YARD, belong exclusively to the railroad vocabulary

and have been introduced into New Mexican Spanish since this institution came to New Mexico or after 1880. In the same way, it seems fairly reasonable to suppose that such words as *esmart* < SMART, *felo* < FELLOW, *besbol* < BASE BALL, *crismes* < CHRISTMAS, *espichi* < SPEECH, *fain* < FINE, *fone* < FUNNY, *ful* < FOOL, *espeliar* < SPELL, *juipen* < WHIPPING, *rede* > READY, have been introduced through the public school channels and are of very recent introduction. Many social terms and words that have to do with recent factory and city employment terminology, such as *pare* < PARTY, *jaque* < HACK, *pique-nique* < PICNIC, *quiande* < CANDY, *aiscím* < ICE-CREAM, *sangüichi* < SANDWICH, *sete* < SET, *sute* < SUIT, *londre* < LAUNDRY, *somil* < SAW MILL, *polis* < POLICE, *lonchi* < LUNCH, *gobe* < JOB, *cambasiar* < CANVASS, *bil* < BIL, *chachar* < CHARGE, *esprés* < EXPRESS, are also, clearly, of very recent origin. Thus we see, that the influence of the English language on New Mexican Spanish has been slow and gradual. As a rule, the English words adopted have no exact Spanish equivalent; in fact a large percentage of them had no equivalents at all. In most cases the adoption of the English word has not been a case of fashion, luxury in speech, neglect of Spanish or mere desire of imitating the language of the invaders, but an actual convenience and necessity. As has been stated above, the New Mexicans had, as a rule, no Spanish equivalents for the English words adopted. Of the entire New Mexican Spanish vocabulary of English source by far more than 50 % of the words have been introduced since the year 1880, or rather within the last thirty five years.

§ 8. The New Mexican Spanish vocabulary of English source is very unequally distributed throughout New Mexico and Colorado. Of the entire vocabulary, perhaps 50 % is of general use among the Spanish inhabitants, while the other additional 50 % is used only by those who are continually in daily, necessary contact with English speaking people in the cities or places and institutions where certain special vocabularies are in constant use. The mechanic who works in the railroad shops uses continually and unconsciously such words as *šopes* < SHOPS, *estraiقة* < STRIKE, *estiple* < STAPLE, *boila* < BOILER, *forman* < FOREMAN, *gũaša* < WASHER, *reile* < RAIL, and a score or more<sup>1</sup> of other words peculiar to his trade, words absolutely unknown to the New Mexican wood-seller or inhabitant of the mountain districts. The same applies to other trades and professions.

<sup>1</sup> I feel quite certain that several hundred (perhaps as many as two or three hundred) words of the special trades have entirely escaped my observation.

It is a surprising thing, however, to observe the general diffusion of a large part of the English borrowed words. Words that are once adopted and which become phonetically Spanish, become a part of the New Mexican Spanish vocabulary and no one is cognizant of their English source. The New Mexicans who come from the mountain districts, or from the remote country villages and who speak only Spanish, and on arriving at a town enter a drug store to ask, '*Quier una botëit e penquila* (< PAIN-KILLER, a patent medicine), or a saloon to ask, '*Quier un frasquity e jisque* (< WHISKEY), are speaking, as far as they are concerned, pure Spanish.<sup>1</sup>

§ 9. Speech mixture. Besides the use of the regularly developed words of English source, there presents itself in the cities where English is predominant the problem of actual speech mixture. In the streets, in the factories, shops, stores and other places of employment and amusement, and even in the homes, especially when all those in the family can speak good English, one continually hears the New Mexican Spanish people speaking Spanish and English mixed. In such cases regular English words and phrases are used mingled with Spanish words and phrases. The part of speech least used in such mixtures is the verb, which when used at all is regularly developed and takes the Spanish verb endings. The line between the regularly developed New Mexican Spanish words of English source and the English words and phrases used at random and with the usual English inflection, is, as a rule, easy to draw. On the other hand this very kind of speech mixture is the present great factor in introducing English words into New Mexican Spanish. A word frequently used, even if known to be English by those who use it, can be easily adopted as a regular Spanish word. When the educated New Mexican says, at cards, '*és es tu widow*', the word *widow* is a pure English word, known as such, and pronounced as in English. The New Mexican who does not know English well, however, gives it a Spanish pronunciation, *güido* [güido], and the word is then a strong candidate for adoption as part of the regular Spanish vocabulary.

The kind of speech mixture which brings into the Spanish of the New Mexicans the use of regular English words and phrases has

<sup>1</sup> My good friend, the well known lawyer and jurist, don Manuel U. Vigil of Albuquerque, New Mexico, has furnished me with a curious recent addition to my New Mexican vocabulary of English source, the verb *roseliar* < to RUSTLE = to work diligently). One of his clients from a remote Spanish district, entirely ignorant of the English language, said to him: '*No teng' usté miedo que no le pague lo que le debo, porque yo soy pa roseliar*' ...

no fixed limits and cannot follow regular laws. There is no limit to the use of such curious phenomena and they are most common among those who work in the cities, the school children and the educated who know English well. Even the uneducated, however, partake in this phenomenon, so that the English influence on the Spanish language of New Mexico and Colorado is very strong in various ways. It has introduced some 300 regularly hispanized words of English source,<sup>1</sup> has caused the curious speech mixture of which we have just spoken, and has influenced the syntax of the Spanish language itself, as we shall soon see.<sup>2</sup>

§ 10. Speech mixture continued. Since the examples of the Speech mixture mentioned in § 9 could be multiplied almost *ad libitum*. I made no systematic attempt to record all those heard. As in most such cases the English words or phrases used remain unchanged, there seemed to be no great value in collecting examples, for the philologist. A few of those which are found among my notes are the following:

dame <i>candy</i> .	<i>you bet</i> que sí
¿cómo sta tu <i>sweetheart</i> ?	va(á) haber una feria muy <i>fine</i> .
ai va tu <i>fellow</i> .	este <i>team</i> tienj un <i>fine pitcher</i> .
¡qué <i>ice-cream</i> tan <i>fine</i> !	tuvimos un grand <i>time</i> .
¡qué <i>fine ice-cream</i> !	ayer juimos á los <i>movies</i> .
¡qué hombre tan <i>sporty</i> !	queria andar de <i>smart and he</i>
<i>well, boys, vámonos</i> .	<i>got it in the neck</i> .
¿ <i>how are you</i> , señoritas?	yo no voy á bailar este <i>two-step</i> .
señorita, <i>come in</i> .	¿comieron <i>turkey</i> pa <i>Christmas</i> ?
<i>well, come along</i> , chicos,	¿ónde stá mi <i>silk hat</i> ?

<sup>1</sup> This number does not include derivatives. One single noun of English origin may give two or even three or more derivatives, so that counting in all derivatives, including diminutives, augmentatives and post-verbal nouns, the number of words of English origin may easily reach 600 or more. In the number above given, 300 words of English origin, are included only basic words developed in *tota forma* from the English original, such as *quique* < KICK (§§ 28, 47), a regular phonetic development, whereas *quiquiada*, *quiquiadita*, *quiquiadera* are derivatives which have Spanish endings. See Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup> An English influence similar to the one found in New Mexican Spanish exists, no doubt in the Spanish of Arizona, Texas and California. In the region of Santa Bárbara in southern California, a strong Spanish community since the early part of the 18th century, I have found some 150 basic words of direct English source, regularly developed and in common use among the Spanish inhabitants. Their phonetic development differs very little from the New Mexican. See Chapter II.

¡qué *waist* tan bonito traía la  
novia!

¡qué muchacha tan *fool*!  
es el niño más *cute* que he visto.  
no andes ai de *smart Alek*.

vamos ir al *foot-ball game*  
y después al baile á tener *the*  
*time of our lives*.

*he is doing the best he can* pa  
no quedarsí atras pero lo van  
á fregar.

no seas tan *cheater*.

*well*, compadre, ¿*how is your*  
*vieja*?

quitáte dí aqui, *cry-baby*.  
sean hombres y no anden *fooling*  
*around* tanto.

esa sí que fué una *first class*  
*cochinada*.

No le hagas caso á ese *fool*.  
*good morning*, señor Espinosa.

*hurry up* hombres, ya mero yega  
'l *police*.

§ 11. Aside from the actual English words found in New Mexican Spanish, and aside from the speech mixture just mentioned, the English influence appears in other important spheres of linguistic development, construction, word order and the development of new meanings in the Spanish language itself. The English influence on Spanish semasiology and syntax in New Mexico is of very great importance. The commercial and political superiority of the English language in these regions has caused the Spanish to be considered by necessity the less important and under the continuous influence of English in every respect. Even the local Spanish newspapers (and there are about a score of these in New Mexico and some six or seven in Colorado) are full of English phrases and constructions which have been literally translated from the English. Since these Spanish newspapers publish American news taken from the English newspapers the influence is direct. There are no schools where good Spanish can be learned. The New Mexicans are educated in English schools, and necessarily all possible influences are changing gradually the Spanish constructions into English constructions with Spanish words. From a Spanish population that is in continual and necessary contact with English speaking people who make no effort to learn Spanish, and whose language they must study and speak, the influence just mentioned is exactly what is to be expected.<sup>1</sup> The people are beginning to think in English and for expression seek the Spanish words which convey the English idea.

<sup>1</sup> In the early years of the American occupation all the American settlers learned Spanish. At present very few consider it worth while. Although, numerically, the two peoples are evenly divided, and as we have said two thirds of the Spanish inhabitants speak English, not one American in fifty can speak Spanish.

The study of the English influence in question is one of the most interesting problems in linguistic investigation. We have before us, not the gradual and natural development of syntax, word-meaning, etc., as one can observe in the gradual development of popular Latin into the Romance Languages, but the somewhat unnatural and necessary development which comes from urgent economic causes. In our present study no attempt is made to treat in full this very interesting and important chapter of the English influence in New Mexican Spanish. The complete materials for this part of our work have not been yet worked out in detail, and we shall content ourselves with a few examples.

§ 12. The most difficult part of the study above mentioned is that involving mere idea expressions which involve no necessary association with American institutions. The problem is made all the more complicated when one has to decide whether the new construction could have been evolved without the English influence. Expressions and constructions evolved in New Mexican Spanish directly under the influence of the English construction are very numerous. Of the following, some are taken from my notes, others are taken from the local Spanish newspapers. To show clearly how parallel the constructions run I give the English equivalent, which is good English. As for the Spanish, in some cases it would have to be translated again into Spanish to make it clear.

*el baile tendrá lugar el lunes*, the ball will take place on Monday.  
*se aseguró su vida*, he insured his life or took insurance.

*los prisioneros fueron puestos libres*, the prisoners were set free.

*haga fuerza venir*, make an effort or try to come.

*si gusta*, if you please.

*la mejor cosa en el proyecto*, the best thing in the bill.

*consiste de tres partes*, it consists of three parts.

*todos los rancheros se regocijan de las nuevas*, all the farmers are rejoicing over the news.

*nadie debe interferir en este asunto*, no one must interfere in this affair.

*el decreto vendrá á ser ley*, the bill will become a law.

*el comité se convino á las dos*, the committee convened at two o'clock.

*todas otras apropiaciones se harán en decretos separados*, all other appropriations shall be made in separate bills.

*lo tomaron prisionero*, they took him prisoner.

*fué ordenado de ir á la cárcel*, he was ordered to go to jail.  
*¡venta nunca vista! ¡precios quebrados! ¡vengan á ver para ustedes mismos! los que vengan primero serán servidos primero.* wonderful sale! prices smashed! come and see for yourselves! first come, first served.<sup>1</sup>

*guste de pasarme el pan*, please pass me the bread.

*jué considerau imposible*, it was considered imposible.

*la familia de la viuda será soportada por el estado*, the widow's family will be supported by the state.

*fueron recipientes de muchos presentes*, they were the recipients of many presents.

*niños de descendencia española jamás serán negados el privilegio de admisión y atención á las escuelas públicas*, children of Spanish origin shall never be denied the privilege of admission, etc.

*todo poder político está investado y emana del pueblo*, all political power is invested in and emanates from the people.

*la constitución tomará efecto y entrará en plena fuerza*, the constitution will take effect and come into full force.

*nada en este artículo será construído de prohibir el giro de bonos*, nothing in this article must be construed to prohibit the floating of bonds.

*no se requerirá ninguna prueba religiosa como una condición de admisión á las escuelas públicas*, no religious test shall be required as a condition of admission to the public schools.

*las grandes victorias recientemente obtenidas por las fuerzas de la reforma y por la avalancha civilizadora en las populosas ciudades progresistas . . .*, the great victories recently won by the forces of reform and by the avalanche of civilization in the populous progressive cities . . .

*congratulamos á la facultad á cargo de la Universidad por esta valiosa adición á su cuerpo de enseñanza*, we congratulate the faculty in charge of the University for this valuable addition to their teaching staff.

*dos de sus hijos atienden á las escuelas públicas*, two of his sons are attending the public schools.

<sup>1</sup> The English imitation reaches the height of ignorance and stupidity in the following announcement (Albuquerque, 1909): *Gran venta de salvaje para hombres y mujeres y niños!* Great salvage sale for men women and children! Even the uneducated New Mexicans remarked that only the final *s* of *salvajes* was missing.

§ 13. The Spanish translations used for governmental, political, educational, industrial, farming and household terminologies, alone, furnish material for a long and interesting study. The English words in question must of necessity be translated and the New Mexicans draw from their own resources and easily find some word or words to express the idea. The phrases and word groups joined with the preposition *de* are very abundant, in origin, a Spanish construction. Since I do not make a special study of these terminologies in any part of this work, the complete list from my notes is given below. The list, no doubt, is a small part of those in actual usage.

- abridor de jarros* [avriðor ðe ʒarɔs], can-opener.  
*aceite de olivo* [asejite ðolivo], olive oil.  
*administrador de terrenos* [administraðor e teɾenɔs], land administrator.  
*alianza de los rancheros* [aliã:sɛ loh rã:çerɔs], farmers' alliance.  
*asistente estafetero* [asistẽ:te stafetero], assistant postmaster.  
*auditor ambulante* [aðitor ambulantẽ], travelling auditor.  
*boleta republicana* [boleta repuvlikana], republican ballot.  
*cama que se dobla* [kama ke se ðovla], folding-bed.  
*carta en registrada* [kartẽ:ɾexistrada], registered letter.  
*carne de bote* [karne vote], canned meat.  
*casa de alto* [kasa ðialto], two story house.  
*casa de corte* [kase korte], court house.  
*colegio de agricultura* [kolexio ðiagrikołtura], college of agriculture.  
*comisionado de condado* [komisjonaɯ ðe kɔ:ðaɯ], county commissioner.  
*compañía de l'aseguransa* [kɔmpañie lasegurã:sã], insurance company.  
*común de cadena* [komũ:de kaðena], water-closet.  
*corte suprema* [korte suprema], supreme court.  
*corte de distrito* [korte ðistrito], district court.  
*cuarto de adelante* [kuarto ðiaðelã:te], front room, parlor.  
*cuchío grande* [kuçio ɣrã:de], butcher-knife.  
*cuerda de la luz eléctrica* [kuerde la luse létrika], electric light wire.  
*día de Crismes* [ðie krismɛs], Christmas day.  
*día de acción de gracias* [ðia ði aɣjõ: ðe ɣrasjas], Thanksgiving day.  
*dipo de l'unión* [dipe unjõn], union depot.  
*diputau alguasil* [diputa'ũ alɣuasil], deputy sheriff.  
*diputau asesor* [diputaɯ asesor], deputy assessor.  
*diputau escribano* [diputaɯ eskriβano], deputy clerk.  
*efectos secos* [eɣeto sekɔs], dry goods.  
*el de las órdenes* [el ðe las órðenes], the order man (grocer).  
*enumerador del censo* [enuneraðor ðel sɛ:sɔ], census enumerator.

- escuela alta* [eʃkuɛl alta], high-school.  
*escuela de minas* [eʃkuɛl ɛ minas], school of mines.  
*escuela normal* [eʃkuɛla nɔrma], normal school.  
*escuela de reforma* [eʃkuɛl ɛ rɛfɔrma] reform school.  
*escuela de sordos y mudos* [eʃkuɛl ɛ sɔrdɔs i mudɔs], school for the deaf and dumb.  
*espíritos di alcanfor* [ɛspiritɔ zɪalkũ:fɔr], spirits of camphor.  
*esteque de pierna* [ɛstɛkɛ dɛ piɛrna], round steak.  
*fondo de escuelas* [fũndɔ dɛs kuɛlas], school fund.  
*frijoles de jarro* [friʃɔlɛs ɛ xaɾɔ], canned beans. Also, *frijoles de bote*, *peras de bote*, etc.  
*frutas de bote or de jarro* [frutaʃ ɛ vɔtɛ, ɛ xaɾɔ], canned fruits.  
*frutas evaporadas* [frutaʃ ɛvapɔraɔas], evaporated fruits.  
*gran jurau* [grã: xurau], grand jury.  
*gran marcha* [grãu marɕa], grand march (at balls).  
*hospital de mineros* [ɔspital dɛ miɛnerɔs], miners' hospital.  
*implementos de rancho* [ĩmplemɛ:tɔs ɛ rã:ɕɔ], ranch implements.  
*ispetor de caminos* [ĩspɛtɔr dɛ kaɛminɔs], road overseer.  
*jamón di almuerso* [xamũ: dɪ ɔlmuɛrsɔ], breakfast bacon.  
*jamón de pierna* [xamũ: dɛ piɛrna], ham.  
*jues de distrito* [xuɛzɛ dɪstɪɾitɔ], district judge.  
*jues de la corte suprema* [xuɛzɛ la kɔrtɛ supɾema] supreme court judge.  
*jues de pas* [xuɛzɛ pas], justice of the peace.  
*leche de bote* [lɛɕɛ vɔtɛ], condensed milk.  
*leva de cola* [lɛvɛ kɔla] swallow tail coat.  
*leva larga* [lɛva larɕa], Prince Albert coat.  
*leva de tasación* [lɛva dɛ taʃaʃiɔn], tax levy.  
*máquina de cortar sacate* [mákiɛɲɛ kɔrtar ʃakate], hay-mower.  
*máquina de cortar trigo* [mákiɛɲɛ kɔrtar tɾigo], harvester.  
*máquina de coser* [mákiɛɲɛ kɔsɛr], sewing machine.  
*máquina de triar* [mákiɛɲɛ tɾiar], threshing machine.  
*máquina de rajar* [mákiɛɲɛ raʃar], saw-mill, lumber mill.  
*maquinita de moler carne* [mákiɛɲitɛ mɔlɛr karɛɲɛ], meat-chopper.  
*mariscal de la suidá* [maɾiʃkal dɛ la suidá], city marshall.  
*mariscal de los Estados Unidos* [maɾiʃkal dɛ lɔs ɛʃtaʊs unidɔs] United States marshall.  
*mayor de la suidá* [majɔr dɛ la suidá], city mayor.  
*medesina de la patente* [mɛdɛsiɲɛ la patɛ:tɛ], patent medicine.  
*mesa de librería* [mɛʃɛ livɾɛɾia], library table.  
*mesa de cosina* [mɛʃɛ kɔsiɲa], kitchen table.

- mesita del cuarto de recibo* [meʃiˈtɛl kʷaɾtuˈɾɛ ɾeʃivo], parlor table.  
*notario público* [noˈtarijo pũvliˈko], notary public.  
*orden de estafeta* [oɾdẽ: deʃtafeta], post-office, money-order.  
*oya del eslope* [oɣ̃ɛ leʃlope], slop bucket.  
*olivas, olivos* [oɣ̃ivas, oɣ̃ivos], olives.  
*palita de los panqueques* [paɣ̃iˈtɛ loʃ paːˈkekeʃ], pankake paddle.  
*palito de los dientes* [paɣ̃iˈtɛ lo ʒiˈɛ:teʃ], tooth pick.  
*palo de telégrafo* [paɣ̃ɛ teɫeˈɣɾafo], telegraph pole.  
*patio de maderas* [paˈtiɣ̃ɛ maˈðeɾas] lumber yard.  
*pinturas* [piːˈtuɾas], moving pictures.  
*pipas del agua* [piˈpas or piˈpaz e laɣ̃a], water pipes.  
*pipas del gas* [piˈpaz eɫ ɣas], gas pipes.  
*procurador de distrito* [prokuraˈðoɾ ðe ðiˈstriˈto], district attorney.  
*procurador general* [prokuraˈðoɾ ɣeˈneɾal], attorney general.  
*planta de la eletresidá* [plá:teɫe ɾeːˈiða], electric light plant.  
*plomero, plomería* [ploˈmeɾo, ploˈmeɾiá], plumber, plumber's shop.  
*queso de nata* [keʃɛˈnaˈta], cream-cheese.  
*ranchito de gallinas* [raːˈɟɛ ɣaˈiɲas], chicken ranch.  
*regentes de l'Universidad* [ɾeˈxɛ:te ʒe luˈniβeɾsiˈða], University regents.  
*reserva florestal* [ɾeʃeɾva floɾeˈstal], forest reserve.  
*sarsaparilla del doctor ayer* [saɾsaˈpaɾiɻa ðel ðoˈtoɾ aˈjeɾ], Dr. Ayer's Sarsaparilla.  
*sete de platos* [seˈte ðe plaˈtoʃ], set of dishes.  
*superintendente de instrucción pública* [supɾiːˈtɛ:dɛ:te ðiˈstɾuˈsiɔn pũvliˈka], superintendent of public instruction.  
*supervisor de florestas* [supɛɾviˈsoɾ ðe floɾeˈstas], forest supervisor.  
*supervisor del censo* [supɛɾviˈsoɾ ðel seːˈso], census supervisor.  
*tienda de grocerías* [tiˈɛ:de ɣɾoˈseɾiás], grocery store.  
*tienda de l'unión* [tiˈɛ: de luˈniɔn], union store.  
*tiquete de paso redondo* [tiˈkeˈte ðe paˈso ɾeˈðõ:do], round-trip ticket.  
*túnico de tienda* [tũniˈkoˈte tiˈɛ:ða], ready made dress.  
*vestido de tienda* [veˈstidoˈte tiˈɛ:ða], ready made suit.  
*viaje redondo (also paso redondo)* [viˈaxe ɾeˈðõ:do], round trip.  
*yarda* [jaɾˈða], yard of a house, lot, courtyard.  
*yardas del ferrocarril* [jaɾˈðas eɫ feɾoˈkaɾiɻil], railroad yards.  
*yave del agua* [jaˈveðe laɣ̃a], water-fosset.  
*zapatos bajitos* [saˈpaˈtoʃ vaˈxiˈtoʃ], low shoes, slippers.

§ 14. In studying the development of the English influence on New Mexican Spanish, the phenomena to be considered are, as we

have seen from the foregoing general remarks, very numerous and frequently of fundamentally different character the one from the other. To the developments already mentioned should be added the hybrid words or words half English, half Spanish. Here belong such words as *blofero* < BLUFFER, where \**blofar* or \**blofa* + *ero* has given the adjective form, *pilero* < PILER, where the *i* did not develop regularly, etc. The ending *-ero* being very common in Spanish, such words could be also looked upon as mere derivatives, but in the case of such words as *pilero* < PILER, *rilero* < DRILLER, it seems clear that they are hybrid words, since both have in addition, the regular derivatives, *piliador*, *riliador*. It should also be observed that many words with original *-EE* > *a* > *ero* (through influence of Spanish suffix *-ero*), have more commonly another suffix, showing that they are verbal derivatives and not derived from the English noun; *fuliador* from *fuliar* < (to) FOOL, *šutiador* from *šutiar* < (to) SHOOT, and not from *fooler*, *shooter*, etc. All this matter is treated in Chapter III, §§ 100-102.

§ 15. The influence of the English language on the Spanish of New Mexico and Colorado, must be studied, therefore, according to the following divisions, the phenomena of each division given in the order of relative importance from the view point of the comparative philologist:

1. The study of the phonetic development of all popularly and regularly developed New Mexican Spanish basic words of direct English source (about three hundred in number), the subject matter of Chapter II.
2. The study of the morphological development of the words of Chapter II, with the additional forms of non-phonetic development, as to inflection and conjugation, together with all derivatives therefrom, the subject matter of Chapter III.
3. A complete etymological vocabulary of all the New Mexican Spanish words of English origin, with all derivatives, proper names, surnames, names of places, etc., with meaning if different from the English, the subject matter of Chapter IV.
4. The study of the New Mexican Spanish words and phrases used to translate the English governmental, political, educational, industrial, farming and house-hold terminologies, the matter already treated (partially) in § 13.

5. The study of the problem of speech mixture in New Mexican Spanish, a matter already discussed in §§ 9, 10.<sup>1</sup>
6. The study of the English influence on New Mexican Spanish syntax and general phraseology and construction, a matter treated (partially) in §§ 11, 12.
7. The historical, racial and political problems; cf. §§ 1-6.

## Chapter II. Phonology.<sup>2</sup>

### I. Accent.

§ 16. Spanish as well as all the other Romance Languages inherited from Vulgar Latin a strong stress accent which has remained practically unchanged since Vulgar Latin times. The stressed vowel has undergone various changes but it has always remained. For Spanish the law has been very rigid in its application and most Spanish vocables retain, even in the dialects, the original Latin accentuation. The few changes that may be observed in the modern Spanish dialects are for the most part due to developments which have their origin in the Old Spanish period and which date from Vulgar Latin.<sup>3</sup>

§ 17. However, altho Spanish has a very strong stress accent, and the accented vowel is the all important one in the study of phonetic change, the unaccented vowels are all pronounced with even fulness and, generally speaking, there is no such thing as slurring vowels. Vowel compounds, especially if the two or three contiguous vowels in question be identical or nearly so, are united and simplified in various ways,<sup>4</sup> but the mere slurring of a vowel between consonants, merely because it is deprived of its accent, as is the case in English, is a phenomenon unknown in Spanish or its dialects.<sup>5</sup>

§ 18. In English there is also, as in Spanish and New Mexican Spanish, a strong and well defined stress accent, but its effect on the

<sup>1</sup> See also *The Spanish Language in New Mexico and Southern Colorado*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>2</sup> This matter was treated briefly in *Studies I*, §§ 215-264.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies I*, §§ 7, 8, 215.

<sup>4</sup> *Studies I*, §§ 80-97.

<sup>5</sup> In such words as New Mexican Spanish *maldisensia*, *suprintendente*, *mantención*, *imposibilitau*, the fall of the pre-intertonic vowel follows an old law which is no longer of general application. See Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 24. Furthermore, at least *maldisensia* and *mantención* may be due to the analogy of *maldecir*, *mantener*.

contiguous unaccented vowels of the same word or the accented and unaccented vowels of a compound which precedes or follows, is fundamentally different. The tonic syllable of a word is so important and bears so much stress accent that the preceding or (especially) following atonic vowel is slurred to the extent that in vulgar speech it is frequently not pronounced at all.<sup>1</sup> Word accent may also be facultative, changing with the word which receives the emphasis: *I see him* = I SEE *him* or I see HIM.

Furthermore there is in spoken English a general tendency to have a strong secondary accent on the initial syllable, especially in long words of three or more syllables, and even to shift the stress accent entirely to the initial syllable. Such a phenomenon is also unknown in Spanish.

§ 19. While most New Mexican Spanish basic words directly derived and phonetically developed from the English retain the original English accentuation, this has not been due to any influence of the English laws of accent, but to the fact that their accentuation conformed to the New Mexican. On the other hand many words which after being regularly and phonetically developed resulted with an accentuation contrary to the New Mexican laws of accent, changed the original accent to conform with these. The following observations contain the principal phenomena in question:

1. Words ending in atonic vowels or consonants which are silent or consonants which in New Mexican Spanish require a paragogic atonic vowel, retain the original accent. In N. M. S. all these words are paroxytones:

BUGGY > *bogue*, CRANKY > *cranque*, HARROW > *jaira*, CHANCE > *chansa*; PARTNER > *parna*, CRACKER > *craque*, QUARTER > *cuara*, WASHER > *guaša*; LUNCH > *lonchi*, STEAK > *esteque*, SET > *sete*, CAKE > *queque*, SPEECH > *espichi*, SINK > *sinque*, STYLE > *estaille*, etc.

2. Words ending in tonic vowels, tonic vowel + consonant or atonic vowel + consonant, retain also, as a rule, the original accent:

SHAMPOO > *šampú*, HOW DO YOU DO > *jarirú*; CABOOS(E) > *cabús*, POLIC(E) > *polís*, BALLOON > *balún*, TELEPHON(E)

<sup>1</sup> In the rapid speech of English Americans one hears frequently such pronunciations as *próbbly* < PROBABLY, *histry* < HISTORY, *we 'r* < WE ARE, *govnor* < GOVERNOR, *poligize* < APOLOGIZE, *you 'n' I* < YOU AND I, *you 've* < YOU HAVE, *despret* < DESPERATE, *directory* < DIRECTORY, *universty* < UNIVERSITY, etc., etc.

> *teléfon*; PULLMAN > *pulman*, BUSINESS > *bisnes*, CHRISTMAS > *Chrismes*, WHIPPING > *juipen*.

a) Some nouns ending in consonants, however, and which in English are accented in the initial syllable, shift the accent to the final syllable: SHOTGUN > *šotegón*, FIREMAN > *fayamán*, OATMEAL > *otemil*. These words have in English a secondary accent on the final syllable and this may have facilitated the New Mexican shifting of the accent. See also 3, below.

3. The distinction of two accents is lost entirely. The N. M. S. word retains, as a rule, only the principal accent (in 2a the secondary accent):

ICE-CREAM > *aiscrím*, HIGH-TONED > *jaitún*, RECESS > *risés*, HOLD ON > *jolón*, HOW MUCH > *jamachi*, WINCHESTER > *güincheste*, TRAINGANG > *renganchi*, DRESSING SACK > *resensaque*, etc.

4. In verbs, the English infinitive is taken as a stem and the N. M. S. verb has the regular infinitive and other endings. The accent, therefore, is necessarily shifted:

CHECK + IAR > *chequiar*, FOOL + IAR > *fuliar*, DRILL + IAR > *riliar*, etc.<sup>1</sup> See chapter III, §§ 86-91.

5. In all words not phonetically derived, hybrid words, and all derivatives, the Spanish accentuation prevails:

*pilero* (PILER), *suichero* (SWITCHMAN), *šutiador* (SHOOT), *campasiador* (CANVASS), *blofero* (BLUFFER), *šutiaderas*, *campasiada*, *blofiada*, *jolonsito* (*jolón* < HOLD ON), *baquiada* (*baquiar* < BACK + IAR), etc.

## II. Vowels.<sup>2</sup>

### a) Tonic Vowels.

§ 20. English tonic  $\check{a}$ ,  $\check{ä}$   $\Lambda$  > New Mexican Spanish  $\alpha$ .

1.  $\check{ä}$  >  $\alpha$ : CRANKY > *cranque* (S. B.), HACK > *jaque*, BRANDY > *brande* (S. B.), SCRAPES > *escrapes*, SCRATCH > *escrachi* (S. B.), SHANTY

<sup>1</sup> *Studies* II, §§ 138, 139.

<sup>2</sup> The phonetic system adopted for the English words is the one used in Webster's *Dictionary* (Webster's *New International Dictionary*, 1910).

Thruout chapters II, III, comparisons will be made with the Spanish words of English source used in the region of Santa Bárbara, California. See § 9, note 3. Altho the New Mexican Spanish territory and the Santa Bárbara region are nearly a thousand miles apart, and altho the Spanish inhabitants of the two localities have had no contact whatever, either before or after the American occupation, the words

> *šante* (S. B.), TRĂMP > *trampe* (S. B.), WRĂPPER > *rapa* (S. B.),  
PĂNTRY > *pantre*, MĂX > *Maques*.

of English origin adopted and hispanized by these peoples have followed, in the main, a parallel development. These phenomena are of a fascinating interest to the philologist and forcibly remind one of the parallel phonetic developments of the early period of the Romance Languages.

The class of words borrowed from the English in the California Spanish is, naturally, the same as the New Mexican, since the same causes which have introduced the English words in one place have introduced them in the other. See §§ 7-10. In the 150 California Spanish basic words of English origin (and all collected in the years of 1912, 1913) there are only about a score which are not found in my New Mexican 300 word list. In a brief list of Spanish words of English origin collected in Monterrey, San Luis Obispo and other localities in central California (68 basic words), I find no noteworthy differences from those gathered in the Santa Bárbara region. The abbreviation S. B. in parenthesis, means that the same word with an exactly parallel phonetic development as the New Mexican is found also in the region of Santa Bárbara. When the phenomenon is similar but not identical, or entirely different, the matter will be treated in the foot-notes.

In the publication which Marden called to my attention (*M. L. N.*, May, 1911), Juan Ignacio de Armas, *Orijenes del Lenguaje Criollo* (2nd éd., Habana, 1882), I find 61 Cuban Spanish words of English origin. Eight of these, *bordante*, *cricket*, *flibustero*, *ingeniero*, *lectura*, *paicnte*, *reporter*, *tranvia*, are either not phonetically developed or as in the case of *lectura*, Spanish words with different meaning. If popularly developed in Cuban, New Mexican, Californian or any other Spanish these words would have entirely different forms from those given above. There remain, therefore in Armas' list some 53 words of real popular origin and regularly developed. Six or seven of these show developments somewhat different from the New Mexican Spanish words of English source and these will be mentioned in the proper place. Some of the words in Armas' list are pan-American and used even in Chile, Argentina, Colombia, etc., e. g. *besbol*, *bistec*, *clawn*, *dólar*, *esplín*, *lonche*, *piquinque* (French origin?), *rosbif*, *sandwich*, *yate*, etc.

The dictionaries and other works on American Spanish dialectology give very few words of English origin; so few indeed, that one suspects that the lists are far from complete. In the Latin republics of América, where there has developed a Spanish civilization in continual contact with Spain and the rest of Europe, there does not exist a great necessity of borrowing words from the English; but, no doubt, a large number have found their way into the speech of the Spanish countries of América, a much larger number than one finds in the works referred to. For Columbia Cuervo (*Apuntaciones*, § 979) gives only four, *biftec*, *budín* < PUDDING, *repórter*, *saibor* < SIDEBORD (cf. N. M. S., *saibor*, but in Cuba, *seibor*). In Mexico, certainly, several score must be used, but Ramos y Duarte (*Diccionario de Meji-canismos*, México, 1898) gives only a dozen, *bel* < BÉLL (*payaso*, from the clown BÉLL of circus), *bisté* < BEEFSTEAK, *dipo* < DEPOT, *esprés*, *estimbote*, *guisque* < WHISKEY, *lonche*, *poca* < PÖKER, *pulman*, *repórter*, *rosbif*, *yoli* < JÖLLY (c. f., California Sp. *Yorchi* < GEORGE, § 43). All these develop in harmony with New Mexican Spanish phonetics, with the exception of the last which is like the California Sp. development in so far as  $\check{a} > y$ . The word *repórter* is learned. In the

a) Exceptions: English tonic  $\check{a}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $\epsilon$  in RĂDISH > *redes* (on account of the initial  $r$ ?) and in GOD DĂM > *gondeme* (in S. B., *godeme*).

2.  $\check{a}$  >  $a$ : SMĂRT > *esmarle*, PĂRTNER > *parna* (S. B.), REMĂRK > *remarca*, YĂRD > *yarda* (S. B.), CLĂRLES > *Chales*.<sup>1</sup>

3.  $a$  >  $a$ : CHANCE < *chansa* (S. B.).

§ 21. Palatalization of  $\check{a}$ , after  $c$ ,  $g$ ,  $k$  (=  $c$ ). After the velar consonants  $g$ ,  $c$ , English tonic  $\check{a}$  palatalizes in New Mexican Spanish into  $\check{\imath}a$ , or rather, English tonic,  $g\check{a}$ -,  $c\check{a}$ - > New Mexican Spanish *qu\check{\imath}a*, *qu\check{\imath}a*.

1.  $g\check{a}$  > *qu\check{\imath}a*: GĂNG > *qu\check{\imath}angue* (S. B.), WAGON WHEEL GĂP (name of a town in Colorado) > *Guaguén Ju\check{\imath}l Gu\check{\imath}ape*, GĂLLUP > *Gu\check{\imath}alope* (town in New Mexico).

2.  $c\check{a}$  > *qu\check{\imath}a*: CĂNDY > *qu\check{\imath}ande* (S. B.), KĂNSAS > *Qu\check{\imath}anses*, CĂSH < *qu\check{\imath}a\check{s}\check{i}*, CĂLICO > *qu\check{\imath}alico*, CATCHER<sup>2</sup> > *qu\check{\imath}acha*.

The strong velar quality of these initial English consonants gives rise to a clearly perceptible glide before the tonic back vowel  $\check{a}$ , and the New Mexican Spanish completes the palatalization. The examples show that  $c\check{a}$ ,  $g\check{a}$  >  $\check{\imath}a$  before  $n$ ,<sup>3</sup>  $l$ ,  $\check{s}$  or  $p$ , but since the examples are limited these few cases do not justify the formulating of a definite law. It is significant that the palatalization  $c\check{a}$ ,  $g\check{a}$  + nasal develops also in the California Spanish, but here, also, the development may be more general. It should also be noted that altho both in New Mexico and California  $g\check{a}$  +  $n$  > *qu\check{\imath}a* in GĂNG > *qu\check{\imath}angue*, the development does not take place in TRAINGANG > *renganchi*, both in N. Mex. and California. I can see no reason for this difference other than the fact that the original English compound has the principal accent on the initial syllable. It may be also that the assimilation of *ain* +  $g$  > [e\check{\imath}ng] deprives the  $g$  of *g\check{a}ng* of its primitive velar quality.

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popular Spanish it would be *repora* or *reporta*, c. f., *poca* < PŪKĒR, etc., §§ 61; 63. In modern Spanish literature, both in Spain and America one finds a large number of English words, such as *hall*, *style*, *smart*, *club*, *tennis*, *birdman*, *golf*, *sandwich*, etc., but all these are evidently of learned origin, pronounced in English fashion, and, therefore, do not enter into our present consideration. In time, however, some of these will also find their way into popular speech.

<sup>1</sup> In S. B., also CROW BĂR > *crobar*.

<sup>2</sup> Baseball term. Also *quecha*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Marden, *op. cit.*

§ 22. English  $\bar{a}$  (= Sp. *ei*) > New Mexican Spanish  $\epsilon$ :<sup>1</sup> BALE (of hay) > *beł*, BRÅKE > *breça* (S. B., *breque*), CRÅZY > *creše*, SCRÅPER > *escrępa* (S. B.), STÅBLE < *estęble* (S. B.), STEAK < *esteęue* (S. B.), GRAVY > *greve* (S. B.), CÅKE > *queęue* (S. B., Cuba, Armas, *op. cit.*), LÅDY > *łere*, RÅKE > *reęue* (S. B.), MÅRY > *Męre(s)* (S. B., *Męre*).

a) English tonic  $\bar{a}$  > *ei* (practically no change) before *st* in: WAIST > *güęiste* (only in N. M.), STÅTE STREET > *Estęistrit(e)* (only in S. B.).

b) English tonic  $\bar{a}$  > N. M. S. *i*: STÅPLE > *estiple*.

§ 23. English tonic  $\hat{o}$ ,  $\check{o}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $\rho$ .

1.  $\hat{o}$  >  $\rho$ : BASEBALL > *besbql* (S. B., Cuba), CHALK > *choęue* (S. B.), LAWN > *łqn*, LAUNDRY > *łndre* (S. B.), OVER-ALLS > *ovarjqls*, PSHAW > *šq*.<sup>2</sup>

a) After *kw* (*cy*)  $\hat{o}$  > *a*: QUARTER (coin) > *cuara*.

2.  $\check{o}$  >  $\rho$ : ALCOHÖL > *alcojql* (S. B., *alçql*), BÖSS > *bqs* (S. B.), CŁÖSET > *clęsete*, DÖLLAR > *dqla* (S. B.),<sup>3</sup> EVERYBÖDY > *evreęore* (S. B.), LÖT > *łte* (S. B.), SHÖPS > *šqpes* (S. B.), HOLD ÖN > (exclamation) > *jqlqn* (S. B.).

In central New Mexico the *o* < English tonic  $\check{o}$  is medium closed, and after *š* always  $\rho$ , *šapes* [*šqpes*] < SHÖPS. In all of northern New Mexico and Colorado this *o* is decidedly open in most cases.

§ 24. English tonic  $\bar{o}$  (= Spanish *ou*) > New Mexican Spanish  $\rho$  (in open syllables  $\rho$  or  $\rho$  with a greater tendency towards  $\rho$ , especially in central New Mexico (and also in Santa Bárbara):<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The unphonetic character of the English orthography gives the impression of an entirely new change, but the difference is often very slight. In the present case it is merely a question of the long diphthongal *e* (= *ei*) becoming short and open. In central New Mexico the vowel *e* is medium closed in most open syllables, see *Studies* I, § 15. English tonic  $\bar{a}$  in this part of the New Mexican territory develops into  $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ , with a more pronounced tendency towards  $\epsilon$ . In Santa Bárbara there is the same double development, but the *e* < English tonic  $\bar{a}$  is more frequently closed,  $\epsilon$ .

<sup>2</sup> Only in Santa Bárbara: TÖRCH > *torcha*.

<sup>3</sup> The pan-American word *dólar* is of learned origin.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that the English long closed diphthongal vowels not only develop into normal Spanish closed short vowels (see also § 22,  $\bar{a}$  (*ei*) >  $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ ), but more commonly develop in the New Mexican Spanish into open vowels, speaks eloquently in favor of the absence of decidedly closed diphthongal vowels in the New Mexican vowel system. Compare also Spanish *o* ( $\rho$  *orq*) < Old Spanish  $\rho^u$  < *ou* < *A + U*, and *e* ( $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ ) < Old Spanish  $\epsilon^e$  < *EI* < *A + I*, Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.* §§ 9, 14.

SPÖRT > *espor*, HELLŌ > *jälŏ'* (S. B.), PŌNY > *ponɛ* (S. B., *ponɛ*), PŌRCH > *porchi* (S. B.), RŌLLS > *rɔles*, SHOW > *šɔ* (S. B.), BRŌKE > *broquis*.

a) English tonic ō > N. M. S. *u*: HIGH-TONED > *jaitún*, COAT > *cute* (*sobretudo*). In California Spanish these words develop regularly: *jaitún*, *cote*.

§ 25. English tonic ʊ > New Mexican Spanish *ɔ* (in open syllables *ɔ* or *ɔ*, with a greater tendency towards *ɔ*, especially in central New Mexico, and also in Santa Bárbara):

BÜGGY > *bogue* (S. B.), LŪNCH > *lonchi* (S. B., Cuba *lonche*), DŪTCH > *dɔchi* (S. B.), FŪN > *fɔn*, *fɔn* (S. B.), BŪNCH > *bɔnchi*, SHŪTGŪN > *šotegón* (S. B.), SHUCKS > *sɔquis*, TRŪCK > *troca* (S. B., *troque*).<sup>1</sup>

a) English tonic ʊ (which in the following words is ordinarily pronounced in western English as a mixed vowel (cf. *ē* > *a*, § 39) and much lower than ordinary *ʊ*, approaching the sound of New Mexican Spanish *ɔ*) > New Mexican Spanish *ɔ*: GET ʊP > *quirap(e)* (in S. B. and rarely in N. Mex., *quirep(e)* (also a variant English pronunciation), HOW MŪCH > *jamachi*, SHŪT ʊP > *šarape*.

§ 26. English tonic ōō, ɔɔ, ū, ū̃ > New Mexican Spanish *u* (in some closed syllables, a little lower, but never as low as *ɔ*).

1. ōō > *u*: CŌŌN > *cun*, FŌŌL > *ful* (S. B.), PŌŌL > *pul* (S. B.).

2. ɔɔ > *u*: COOKY > *cuque*, HOW DO YOU DO (= HADIDŌŌ) > *jarirú* (S. B.), PULL > *pul*, PULIMAN > *pulman* (S. B.), PUSH > *puši* (S. B.).

3. ū > *u*: TWO-STEP > *tustepe*, SUIT > *sute* (S. B.), SAILOR SUIT > *selesute*, RŪLER > *rula*.

4. ū̃ > *u*: JEWELL > *ġul*, SEWER > *sur(e)* (S. B.). It is interesting to note that the atonic *ē* is completely absorbed by the preceding contiguous *ū* (being as a matter of fact a final mixed *u* + *e* glide), while the independent final atonic *ē* regularly develops into New Mexican Spanish *ɔ* (§ 39).

§ 27. English tonic ɛ̃ > New Mexican Spanish *ɛ* (in open syllables *ɛ* or *ɛ*):

ŪLL BĚT YOU > *albechu* (S. B.), CHĚCK > *cheque* (S. B., Cuba), STĚPS > *estepes*, JĚLLY > *ġelɛ* (S. B.), FĚLLOW >

<sup>1</sup> Compare Latin *ŭ* > *ɔ* in Romance, > *ɔ* in Spanish, Italian, etc.; Germanic *ŭ* > *ɔ*, *ɔ* in Romance, Franconian *nŭrdi* > Old French *horde*, Old High German *kŭpphia* > Old Spanish *cofia*, etc.

*felo* (S. B.), PĚNNY > *pene*, READY > *reĉe* (S. B.), WRĚCK > *reque*, (S. B., *reca*), SĚT > *seĉe*, GO TO HĚLL (exclamation) > *gòrejĉel*, *gòrijĉel* (S. B., *gòrejĉel*, *gorujĉel*; Cuba, *gotijĉel*),<sup>1</sup> SWEATER > *suĉera* (S. B.).

§ 28. English tonic  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{i}$  > New Mexican Spanish *i* (in some closed syllables, a little lower but never as low as N. M. S. *i*).<sup>2</sup>

1.  $\bar{e}$  > *i*: SPEECH > *espichi* (S. B.), GREASER > *griso*, LEASE > *lis*, DĚPOT > *dipo* (S. B., Mexico), CLIQUE > *clica*, SCREEN > *escrin* (S. B.), OAT-MEAL > *otemil* (S. B.), TREAT > *trite*, POLICE > *poliŝ*, *polis* (S. B.), ICE-CREAM > *aiscrim(e)* (S. B.).

2.  $\bar{i}$  > *i*:<sup>3</sup> BĪLL > *bil*, BUSINESS > *bisnes* (S. B.), BĪSCUIT > *bisquete* (S. B.), SPRĪNG (bed) > *esprin*, GEE WHĪS > *ġijuis* (S. B.), WĪLLY > *Guile* (S. B.), WHĪPPING > *juipen*, NĪCKLE > *nicle* (S. B.), PĪCNIC > *piquenique* (S. B. and Cuba, *piquinique* < *piquenique*, by assimilation), KĪCK > *quique* (S. B.), RĪG > *rigue*, DRĪNK > *rinque* (S. B., *rinque* or *drinque*), SĪNK > *sinque* (S. B.), SWĪTCH > *suichi* (S. B.).

§ 29. English tonic  $\bar{i}$  (*ai*) > New Mexican Spanish *ai*: DĪME > *daime* (S. B.), DĪKE > *daique*, SPĪKE > *espaique* (S. B.), STRĪKE > *estraique* (S. B.), GOOD-BYE > *gurbái* (S. B.), ALRĪGHT > *obraite* (S. B.), RĪDE > *raid(e)* (S. B.), SHĪNE > *šain(e)*, FĪNE > *fain*.

§ 30. English tonic  $\bar{i}$  + (E),  $\bar{i}$  + R > New Mexican Spanish *aią*.

1.  $\bar{i}$  + (E) > *aią*: TĪ(E) (rail-road) > *taya* [tają].

2.  $\bar{i}$  + R > *aią*: LĪAR > *laya* [lają], FĪRE > *faya*, FĪREMAN > \**fáyaman* > *fayamán*, MEYER > *Maya*, FLĪER > *flaya* (name of a special passenger train).

English long  $\bar{i}$  tonic, is diphthongal, so that when emphatic in an absolutely final position as in TĪ(E), the *ai* sound is so protracted that an indistinct *e* sound, English atonic  $\bar{e}$  is heard at the end.

<sup>1</sup> The *t* of the Cuban form represents an original distinct *t*. In the New Mexican and California forms the *r* represents an original mixed *d* + *r* sound, which is heard in the careless pronunciation of the western states for *d*, *t* in various positions.

<sup>2</sup> Revise *Studies* I, § 224. The same symbol,  $\bar{i}$ , will be used for this middle *i*.

<sup>3</sup> The New Mexican Spanish (also Castilian) having no  $\bar{i}$  in the accented position raises the English tonic  $\bar{i}$  to N. M. S. *i*. In the unaccented position it is weaker and lower so that the New Mexican Spanish lowers it to an  $\bar{i}$  or short  $\bar{e}$ , § 34. The same phenomenon occurs in California Spanish. The modern English tonic  $\bar{i}$  is evidently a higher vowel than the Latin  $\bar{i}$  or Old Germanic  $\bar{i}$ , both of which became *e*,  $\bar{e}$  in the Romance Languages, whether tonic or atonic. See Kluge, *Gröber's Grundriss* I, 387 fol.

English atonic  $\tilde{e}$  > N. M. S.  $a$  (see § 39), hence English tonic  $\bar{i} + \tilde{e}$  > N. M. S.  $ai\grave{a}$ . For  $\bar{i} + r$  >  $ai\grave{a}$  the same explanation holds. English  $r$  here is very sonorous and strengthened with the diphthongal vanish of the tonic  $\bar{i}$  is equivalent to atonic  $\tilde{e}r$ , which in N. M. S. >  $a$ , with silent  $r$  (see § 39). The result is, as in 1.,  $\bar{i} + \tilde{e}$  >  $a$ . Sonorous consonants in the final position absorb entirely the weak vanish of English tonic  $\bar{i}$ , as in  $\text{FINE}$  >  $fain$ ,  $\text{SHINE}$  >  $\acute{s}ain(e)$  (§ 29). In like manner consonants which require a paragogic  $e$  absorb this element,  $\text{RIDE}$  >  $raide$ ,  $\text{ALL RIGHT}$  >  $olraite$ . Exactly the same phenomenon, altho under somewhat different circumstances, is found in the case of English tonic  $\bar{u} +$  atonic  $\tilde{e}$  >  $u$  (§ 26 [4]), where the weak vowel in question is completely absorbed by the tonic  $u$ . The distance of the places of articulation of  $ai$ ,  $\tilde{e}$  prevented an assimilation in the case of  $\bar{i} + (\tilde{e})$  final, whereas in  $\bar{u} + \tilde{e}$  final this difference is not so important.

There is one notable exception to the development  $\bar{i} + (\tilde{e}) > ai\grave{a}$ ,  $gurbai$  < GOOD-BYE (§ 29), which is explained by the fact that the secondary accent on the first syllable deprives the final  $\bar{i}$  of its usual length and sonority. Even in N. M. S. the word has a weak secondary accent on the first syllable, [gũrváí].<sup>1</sup>

### § 31. The tonic diphthongs remain.<sup>2</sup>

1.  $\bar{i}$  ( $\Delta I$ ) >  $ai$ , see §§ 29, 30;  $\bar{a}$  ( $EI$ ) >  $e$ ,  $e$ , see § 22;  $\bar{o}$  ( $OU$ ) >  $o$ ,  $o$ , see § 24.

2.  $AU$ : ANY HOW >  $\acute{e}nejáu$  (S. B.), HOWLAND >  $Jau\acute{e}$ , DOWN >  $daun$  (foot-ball term), CLOWN >  $clau\acute{n}$  (S. B., Cuba,  $cláon?$ ), BAKING-POWDER >  $b\acute{e}quenpáurq$ .

3.  $OI$ : BOILER >  $boila$  (S. B.), BOIL >  $boil(e)$  (furuncle), LADIES' CHOICE (in dancing) >  $lereschóis$ .

4.  $EI$  (<  $\bar{a}$ ): WAIST >  $gueiste$  (S. B.), SHIRT-WAIST >  $\acute{s}orgueiste$  (S. B.), STATE-STREET >  $(e)\acute{s}téistrít$  (only in S. B.). See, however, 1., above and § 22, where  $EI$  ( $\bar{a}$ ) >  $e$ ,  $e$ , the regular development, is treated.

<sup>1</sup> In the California Spanish is found also,  $gurbai$  < GOOD-BYE, but I have no instances of  $taya$ ,  $laya$ , etc.

<sup>2</sup> There is, of course a slight difference in the pronunciation of these diphthongs which we call equivalents, but a detailed study of these phenomena, would take us far beyond the purpose of the present study, which is merely to present in a general way the development of the English elements in New Mexican Spanish. Some points of detail I may take up again later.

## § 32. Sporadic developments.

1. English tonic  $\check{a}$  > *ai*: HÄRROW > *jaira*. The English *r* seems to be preceded here by a weak *e* sound, so that we may have  $\check{a} + \bar{e}$  > *ae* > *ai* (see § 30).

2. English tonic  $\hat{u}$  > *o*: SHIRT-WAIST > \**sörquéiste* (> *šörquéiste*).

3. English tonic  $\bar{i}$  > *a*: I'LL BET YOU > \**aḷ bechu* (> *albéchu*). The English  $\bar{i}$  (*ai*) is pronounced in rapid speech *a*<sup>i</sup>, and when it loses its accent it is almost *a*. On the other hand the final development may have taken place in the New Mexican Spanish, I'LL BET YOU > \**aḷ bechu* > \**aḷbechu* > *albechu*. In the California Spanish (Santa Bárbara, Monterrey) the same phenomenon is found.

## b) Atonic Vowels.

§ 33. English atonic  $\check{a}$ ,  $\check{ä}$ ,  $\acute{a}$ ,  $\acute{\check{a}}$  > New Mexican Spanish *a* (when tonic, *a*, § 20).

1.  $\check{a}$  > *a*: ÄLCOHOL > *alcajol* (S. B., *alcol*), BÄCK + IAR > *baqujar* (S. B.), PÄNCAKE > *panqueque* (S. B. Cuba), PULLMÄN > *pulman* (S. B.), TRÄMP + IAR > *trampjar*.

2.  $\check{ä}$  > *a*: CHÄRGE + IAR < *chachar*, DISCHÄRGE + IAR > *deschachar* (S. B.).

3.  $\acute{a}$  > *a*: VÄLISE > *balís* (rase, *velís*) (S. B.), CÄBOOSE > *cabús*<sup>1</sup> CHRISTMAS > *Crismas*<sup>2</sup> (S. B.).

4.  $\acute{\check{a}}$  > *a*: BAGGÄGE > *bägachi* (S. B.).

a) In HOW DO YOU DO > *jarirú*, HOW MUCH > *jamachi* (S. B.) the atonic diphthong *au* is ordinarily pronounced in English<sup>3</sup> midway between atonic  $\check{ä}$  and  $\check{u}$  almost  $\check{ä}$  sometimes, hence it appears in New Mexican Spanish as *a*.

§ 34. English atonic  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{i}$  > New Mexican Spanish *e* (in open syllables *e*, *e* with a greater tendency towards *e*, especially when final in the word).<sup>4</sup>

1.  $\bar{a}$  > *e*, *e*: SAILOR-SUIT > *sęlesute*, PAINKILLER (patent-medicine) > *penquila* (S. B.), TRÄNGANG > *reņganchi* (S. B.), BÄSE-BALL > *beşbol* (S. B., Cuba, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> Observe that in the atonic position *ca-* does not palatalize, § 21.

<sup>2</sup> In New Mexico, also *Crismes*.

<sup>3</sup> I speak, of course, of the popular English of the locality in question.

<sup>4</sup> In the tonic position only  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ , > *e*, *e*, whereas  $\bar{i}$  > *i* or *i*, §§ 22, 27, 28. In the tonic position English  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ , fall together into *i*, *i*, § 28, but in the atonic position  $\bar{e}$  > *i* (§ 35), whereas  $\bar{i}$  > *e*, *e*. See, however 3a), above.

2. ě > e, e: BUSINESS > *bisneş*, ĚVERYBODY > *evrebore* (S. B.), DRĚSSING-SACK > *reşensaque*, TICKĚT > *tiquete* (S. B.)

a) In *jaló* > HĚLLÓ, the English atonic ě is almost ä (§ 33) in popular speech.<sup>1</sup>

3. ĭ > e, e: ALLEY > *alę* (S. B.), BISCUĬT > *bisquețe* (S. B.), BUGGŸ > *bogue* (S. B.), BRANDŸ > *brandę*<sup>2</sup> (S. B.), DĬSCHARGE > *deschachar* (S. B.), WHIPPING > *juipen*, LAUNDRŸ > *londre* (S. B.), GRAVŸ > *greve* (S. B.), MARŸ > *Mere(s)*,<sup>3</sup> PENNŸ > *penę*.

a) In verbs, the ĭ of the accented stem (> *i*, *i*) remains in spite of becoming atonic after the infinitive and other endings. Whether this is due to the consciousness of the original tonic stem (often a noun, e. g., *quique* > KĬCK, then *quiquiar*), or thru the analogy of the verb stems which in some other verb forms are accented (e. g., *chache*, *chacho*, *chachar* < CHĀRGE + IAR, etc.), is not easy to determine. It is more probable, however, that the analogy of the original tonic stem of cases like *quique* < KĬCK, *ril* < DRĬLL, etc., explains the phenomenon. Examples:

DRĬLL + IAR > *riĭar*; *rileo*, *rilié*. etc.<sup>4</sup>

KĬCK + IAR > *quiquiar*; *quiqueo*, *quiqueę*, etc.<sup>4</sup>

QUĬT + IAR > *cuiĭar*; *cuiteo*, *cuiĭates*, etc.

§ 35. English atonic ē > New Mexican Spanish *i* (in the tonic position, *i*, § 28): RĚCESS > *risés* (S. B.), STRAMBOAT > *estimbote* (S. B., Mexico), CHEAT + IAR > *chĭtiar*, SWEETHEART > *suĭtejarte* (S. B.), GEE WHIS (exclamation) > *ġjuís* (S. B.), GREENBACK > *grĭmbaque*.

§ 36. English atonic ī (AI) > New Mexican Spanish *ai* (when tonic, *ai*, § 29): PĪKE'S PEAK > *paiquespique*, STRĪKE + IAR > *estraiġiar*, HĪGHTONED > *ġaitún* (S. B., *ġaitún*, § 24), SIDEWALK > *saiguoque* (S. B.), SHĪNE + IAR > *şainiar*.

a) For *fayamán* > *fáyaman* < FIREMAN, see § 30. In the original atonic position *ī* + *r*, *ī* + *ē*, would probably not result in *ai*. See also *gurbai* < GOOD-BYE, § 30. I have no examples, however, which would decide the question.

b) For *albechu* < \**ailbechu* < I'LL BET YOU, see § 32 (3).

<sup>1</sup> The California Spanish *Jelę* < HELĚN, is due to the analogy of the feminine ending *a*.

<sup>2</sup> In Cuba *brandi*, Armas, *op. cit.* If the word is correctly transcribed it may be of learned origin.

<sup>3</sup> In *piquenique* < PĬCNĬC, both *i*'s developed into *i* on account of the two accents.

<sup>4</sup> See § 87 and *Studies* II, § 138.

§ 37. English atonic  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\hat{o}$ ,  $\check{u}$ ,  $\check{o}$ ,  $\acute{o}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $\varrho$  (in open syllables also  $\varrho$ , especially in the final position, and in the initial position sometimes  $\upsilon$  *Studies* I, § 17 [4]).

1.  $\bar{o}$  >  $\varrho$ ,  $\varrho$ : BRÖKE + IAR > *broquiar(se)*, HÖLD ON > *jólón*, DEPÖT > *dipò*, KIMONÖ > *quimono* (also *quimona*), KIDDÖ > *quido* (S. B., also *kitò*), OVER ALLS > *ovarjoles* (S. B.).

2.  $\hat{o}$  >  $\varrho$ ,  $\varrho$ : ALL RİGHТ > *qlraite* (S. B.), PAWN-SHOP > *pønšope*, *punšope* (S. B., *punšope*), SAW-MILL > *sqmil*.

3.  $\check{u}$  >  $\varrho$ ,  $\varrho$ : BÜCK-BOARD > *boquebor* (S. B.), RÜSTLE + IAR > *rošeliar*.

4.  $\check{o}$  >  $\varrho$ ,  $\varrho$ : GÖD DAMN > *gondeme* (S. B., *godeme*), CÖMPLAINT > *complén*, *cumplén* (S. B., *cumplén*), SHOT-GUN > *sotegón*, BÖSS + IAR > *bošjar*, SHÖTTISH > *šötis* (S. B.).

5.  $\acute{o}$  >  $\varrho$ ,  $\varrho$ : ALCÖHOL > *alcajol* (also *alcajol*, § 33), AUTÖMOBILE > *atömovil*, *atömovil* (S. B.), PÖLICE > *pölis* (S. B.).

a) Exceptions: 1.  $\check{u}$ ,  $\check{o}$  (= almost N. M. S. *a* in rapid speech) > *a*, *a*: SHÜT ÜP > *šarap(e)* (§ 25), SÖN ÖF A GUN > *šanamagón*, *šanavagón* (S. B., *šanavagón*). 2.  $\bar{o}$  > *a*: AUTOMOBILE > *atomovil* (also *otömovil*, see 5., above), ALCÖHOL > *alcajol* (also *alcajol*). 3.  $\bar{o}$  (= almost N. M. S. *a*) > *a*: KIMOMÖ > *quimona* (also *quimono*, see 1., above).

b) Generally speaking English tonic and atonic  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\hat{o}$ ,  $\check{u}$ ,  $\check{o}$ ,  $\acute{o}$ , develop in the New Mexican Spanish in the same manner. It is to be observed that  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\check{u}$  are not differentiated either in the tonic or atonic position, whereas  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\check{i}$ , altho they fall together in the tonic position (§ 28), they are clearly differentiated in the atonic position (§§ 34, 35).

§ 38. English final atonic  $\check{u}$  + nasal > New Mexican Spanish  $\varrho$  (and the final *m*, *n*, are usually silent). A noteworthy exception to § 37 (3), is the special case of  $\check{u}$  + nasal, which seems to develop in normal New Mexican Spanish into  $\varrho$ . This development is not clear (there are also exceptions, which will be mentioned later), altho English atonic  $\check{u}$  is rare in the final position, and it may be that final atonic  $\check{u}$  would become  $\varrho$  in all cases. English atonic final  $\tilde{e}$  (+ *r* as a rule, altho the *r* is silent in the N. M. S.) and  $\hat{u}$ , develop differently (§§ 37, 39), and the cases of  $\tilde{e}$  >  $\varrho$ , there, are analogical and not phonetic. It is quite possible that the analogy of the paragogic vowel, which is usually  $\varrho$  (§ 42), has helped in the development  $\varrho$  <  $\check{u}$  + nasal, altho an independent purely phonetic development is possible, mid-back-nasal > mid-mixed-nasal > mid-mixed-oral > mid-front-oral,  $\check{u}\check{n}$  >  $[\check{u}]$  >  $[\check{e}]$  >  $[e]$  >  $\varrho$ . Examples:

EXPRESS - WAGON (ŮN) > *esprésguàguen*, *esprésguàguę*, TRANSOM (UM) > *tranşę*, GRAND JUNCTION > *Grangonşę*, CATRON (proper name) > *Catre*, JOHNSON (p. n.) > *Ĝonşę*, WAGON WHEEL GAP (name of a town) > *Guàguenjuil guiape*, HOWLAND (p. n.) > *Jaule*, ELLISON (p. n.) > *Élensę* (< \**Éllesen*).

a) The two exeptions to the above general rule, have *o*, *o* not *e*, and both after tonic *i* < *ĩ*: WILSON > *Guilson*, LINCOLN > *Lincó*.<sup>1</sup>

§ 39. English final atonic  $\tilde{e} + r$  (which in N. M. S. is usually silent) > New Mexican Spanish *a*: BOILER > *boilá* (S. B.) BOOKEEPER > *buquipa* (S. B.) QUARTER (coin) > *cuará* (S. B.), DOLLAR > *dolá*, DRUMMER > *dromá* (S. B. only.), SCRAPER > *escrapa* (S. B.), WASHER (mech.) > *guaşá* (S. B.), PARTNER > *parná*, POKER (card game) > *pocá* (S. B. Mexico), WRAPPER > *rapá* (S. B.), RULER > *rulá* (S. B.), SWEATER > *suera*, PAINKILLER > *penquilá* (S. B.), SKINNER (proper name) > *Esquina*.

a) Some of the above nouns are feminine, others masculine. Names of articles, mechanical instruments, tend to become masculines. By analogy to the more common Spanish masculine vocalic endings, *o*, *e*, a few masculine nouns have final *o*, *e* instead of the phonetic *a*.

1. -ER (>  $\Delta$ ) > (by analogy) *o*: GREASER (> \**grisa*) > *griso* (S. B.).

2. -ĒR (>  $\Delta$ ) (by analogy) *e*: CRACKER > *cracá* (S. B.) > New Mexican Spanish *craque*, WINCHESTER (rifle) (> \**quinchestá*) > *quinchestę*.

In *selęsute* < SAILOR-SUIT, the *a* may have become *e* by assimilation.

That the *o*, *e*, of 1. and 2. are due to analogy is clear from the fact that not a single noun (and only nouns have the change in question) of those where the change is found remains feminine. Observe also la *cracá* (California), *el craque* (New Mexico). See also the opposite change, *e* becoming *a*, also by analogy to feminine nouns in *a*, § 44.

b) In some words the *r* remains:

DENVĒR (city) > *Dembar*.

PARKER (proper name) > *Párcar*. (Other proper names develop regularly.)

<sup>1</sup> For the California Spanish I have no examples which could furnish a means of comparison.

<sup>2</sup> Additional for Santa Bárbara and vicinity: CRACKĒR > *cracá* (N. M. S., *craque*, see(a), above), STOPPĒR (bottle) > *estopá*.

OVERALLS > *ovarjoles* (S. B.).

MISTER > *mistar*.

c) For English tonic  $\bar{i} + R$  (= tonic  $\bar{i} + R$ ) *aiq*, where final atonic  $-er$  develops regularly to *a*, see § 30.

d) For final atonic  $-ER$  completely absorbed by a preceding tonic *u*, see § 26 (4).

d) English final atonic  $\hat{u} + R$  > also, *a*: HOW DO YOU DO SIR (SŪR) > *jarirusa*.

§ 40. English atonic  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$   $\bar{u}$  > New Mexican Spanish *u*, *y* (as in tonic position, always *u*, § 26).

1.  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$  > *u*, *y*: I'LL BET YOU > *albechu* (S. B.),  $F\bar{O}\bar{O}L + \bar{I}AR$  > *fuliar*,  $SH\bar{O}\bar{O}T + \bar{I}AR$  > *šutjar*.

a) In *goręiel* <  $G\bar{O}$  TO HĒLL, the atonic *o* (=  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ ) of *to* is pronounced  $e$  in rapid careless speech, hence the development to  $e$ .<sup>1</sup>

2.  $\bar{u}\bar{u}$  > *u*, *y*: PUSH +  $\bar{I}AR$  > *pušar*, PULL +  $\bar{I}AR$  > *puliar* (S. B.), BÖÖK KEEPER > *buquipa* (S. B.).

3.  $\bar{u}$  > *u*: TWO-STEP (dancing) > *tustepe* (S. B.), also *tustepiar*.

### c) Accessory Vowels.

§ 41. Prosthetic  $e$ . Initial *s* + consonant is foreign to the Spanish language and its dialects<sup>2</sup> and to the Romance Languages, generally. Against such a Latin group Vulgar Latin rebelled very early and to make its pronunciation easy the vowel *e* or *i* was prefixed.<sup>3</sup> In Spanish *e* became general, and in accordance with this general law the New Mexican Spanish (also California, Cuba, etc.) has prosthetic  $e$  in all words of English origin that begin with *s* + consonant:

STEAK > *ęstegue* (S. B. Cuba), SMART > *ęsmarte*, STRIKE > *ęstraique* (S. B.), SCRAPER > *ęscrapa*, (S. B.), STYLE > *ęstail(e)*, SCRATCH > *ęscrachi*, STĒPS > *ęstepes* (S. B.), SPEECH > *ęspichi* (S. B.), SCREEN >

<sup>1</sup> In Santa Bárbara, *gorijel*, Cuba, *gotijé*, both cases with  $i > e$  < atonic  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ . A similar case is the New Mexican and Californian *jarirú* < HOW DO YOU DO (= HĀDĪDŪ [xądędú]).

<sup>2</sup> Cases where in New Mexican Spanish (also Old Spanish and many modern dialects) the *e* is absorbed by a preceding vowel (*mi stufa* < MI ESTUFA, *tú stabas* < TÚ ESTABAS, etc., *Studies* I, §§ 93, 202) are not exceptions, since the absorbing vowel becomes the accessory vowel and the *s* is no longer in the initial position, phonetically speaking. In Old French the same phenomenon is found, Nyrop I, § 493.

<sup>3</sup> See, Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 230; Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 39; Carnoy, *Le Latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, 114; Nyrop I, §§ 461, 493. In French  $ES$  (>  $e$ ) became general, while in Italian *is* prevailed.

*escrín* (S. B.), SPÖRT > *espor(t)* (S. B.), SLEEPER (sleeping car) > *eslipa* (S. B.), SMITH (proper name) > *Esmite* (S. B.), STABB > *Estabe*.

§ 42. Epithetic *ɛ*. Spanish and New Mexican Spanish words do not end in consonantal explosives or stops. Such consonants always require in Spanish a supporting vowel.<sup>1</sup> In New Mexican Spanish, therefore, all words of English origin, phonetically developed, have a paragodic *ɛ* after the explosive consonants *b, c, g, k, p, d, t*:

JOB > *gobeɛ*, STABB (proper name) > *Estabeɛ*, *Estapeɛ*, HACK > *jaqueɛ* (S. B.) STEAK > *estequeɛ* (S. B.), STRIKE > *estraiueɛ* (S. B.), RIG > *rigueɛ*, GANG > *guiangueɛ*, SHOP > *šopeɛ* (S. B.) SHŪT ŪP > *šarapeɛ*, TRAMP > *trampeɛ* (S. B.), SINK > *sinqueɛ* (S. B.), RĪDE > *raideɛ*, LOT > *lotɛ* (S. B.), COAT > *cutɛ*, WAIST > *gueisteɛ* (S. B.), BISCUIT > *bisqueɛ*.

§ 43. Epithetic *ɪ* > *i, i̇*. English words ending in the explosives *ch, ġ* and in *sh* (which is foreign to Spanish and also requires a final supporting vowel) have *i, i̇*, as the epithetic vowel instead of *ɛ*, since in New Mexican Spanish final atonic *e* of any source, after the palatals *ch, š, ñ, ll, y*, becomes *i* or *i̇* (*Studies* I, § 47):<sup>2</sup>

LŪNCH > *lonchi* (S. B.),<sup>3</sup> HOW MUCH > *jamachi* (S. B.), PŪNCH > *ponchi* (S. B., Cuba),<sup>2</sup> DŪTCH > *dochi*, BŪNCH > *bonchi*, SPEECH > *espichi*<sup>4</sup> (S. B.), SANDWICH > *sangüichi*,<sup>3</sup> SON OF A BITCH > *sanamabichi*,<sup>3</sup> SCRATCH > *escrachi* (S. B.); RĀNGE > *renġi, renchi* (S. B.), GEORGE > *Choċi* (S. B., *yorġi, yorċi*), NARROW GAGE (r. r.) > *Nároqueġi, Naroquechi*; PUSH > *puši*, SMASH > *esmaši*, CASH > *quiaši*.

a) By analogy to and thru confusion with the above phenomenon *is* appears in *broquis* > BRÖKE (adjective), not BROQUE. For the final parasitic *s*, see § 66.

§ 44. Epithetic *a* instead of *ɛ*. The numerous examples in §§ 42, 43, are sufficient to establish the general laws there treated, and which hold rigidly for the New Mexican as well as the California Spanish. Various factors, however, may disturb the regular phonetic developments, the most important of which is analogy. In questions

<sup>1</sup> In Old Spanish, it seems that final explosives were not altogether avoided, Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar* I, 193, note 2. In French the explosives have maintained themselves as finals, but in the modern popular speech feminine *e* is often added to these, especially to words of English origin, *brigue, chèque, dogue, elfe*, Nyrop I, § 495.

<sup>2</sup> In California Spanish the same phenomenon occurs with a general tendency towards *i*.

<sup>3</sup> In Cuba *lonche, ponche*, Armas, *op. cit.* Also in Mexico (Ramos y Duarte).

<sup>4</sup> The *i* seems to be favored after tonic *i* by assimilation.

of the final vowel for nouns the matter of gender is a disturbing factor. We have already seen (§ 39 a) how this same factor disturbed the regular phonetic development of final English atonic  $\tilde{e}r > a$ , some masculine nouns taking by analogy to the more common masculine endings,  $\varrho$  and  $\epsilon$  (GREASER  $>$  *gris $\varrho$* , WINCHESTER  $>$  *guinchest $\epsilon$* , instead of \**gris $a$* , \**guinchest $a$* ). In the question, therefore, of epithetic  $a$  instead of the phonetic  $\epsilon$  after the explosives, we have exactly the same phenomenon, the analogy of the noun endings, altho the development is reversed. Nouns that were made feminine took final  $a$  for the phonetic  $\epsilon$ , which remained in the vast majority of nouns, all masculine. Some nouns are of both genders, with the double vocalic ending (c. f., also New Mexican Spanish *el craque*  $>$  CRÄCKER  $>$  California Spanish *la craca*, where the first is analogical, the last phonetic). Examples of epithetic  $a$  instead of  $\epsilon$  by analogy: PLÜG  $>$  *ploga*, TRÜCK  $>$  *troca* (in S. B., *el troque*, regularly), GANG  $>$  *guiangu $\epsilon$* , *guianga*, BRAKE  $>$  *brec $\epsilon$*  (in S. B., *el breque*, regularly), HACK  $>$  *jaque*, *jaca*, BÄKE  $>$  *reque* (regular, but in S. B., *la reca*, analogical).<sup>1</sup>

§ 45. Epithetic  $\epsilon$  after the final consonants  $m$ ,  $l$ . Epithetic  $\epsilon$  may also be added in New Mexican Spanish to the English tonic groups *im* and *aim*, *ail*  $<$   $\bar{o}m$ ,  $\bar{i}m$ ,  $\bar{i}l$  (which are foreign to New Mexican Spanish): ICE-CREAM  $>$  *aiscristin( $\epsilon$ )*, DİME  $>$  *daim( $\epsilon$ )*, STYLE  $>$  *estail( $\epsilon$ )* (also *estail*) (S. B.), FİLE  $>$  *faile* (S. B., *faila*, analogic). Also in *gondem $\epsilon$*  (S. B., *godem $\epsilon$* )  $<$  GOD DAM(N).

§ 46. Epenthetic  $e$ . Epenthetic  $e$  appears in New Mexican Spanish in many words of English origin that have certain final syllabic consonantal groups not found in Spanish or New Mexican Spanish or in medial purely consonantal groups which are foreign to New Mexican Spanish. The epenthetic vowel is usually  $e$  ( $\epsilon$  or  $\epsilon$ ), but by assimilation to tonic  $i$ , the  $e$  becomes in some words,  $i$ .

1. The syllabic final groups BL, CL  $>$  *bel*, *bele*, *quel*, *quele*,<sup>2</sup> and also *ble*, *cle*, with epithetic instead of epenthetic  $e$ : NICKEL  $>$  *niquel*, *niquele*, *nicle* (S. B., only *nicle*), PICKLE  $>$  *piquel*, *picle* (S. B.), STABLE

<sup>1</sup> Naturally, the New Mexican and Californian Spanish could not always follow parallel developments in questions of gender and other morphological phenomena. The tendencies are almost parallel, and as in the case in question, the differences themselves give testimony of the phonetic processes, e. g., California Spanish *breque*, regular, N. M. Spanish *breca*, analogical, whereas, New Mexican Spanish *el reque*, regular, California Spanish, *la reca*, analogical. In Cal. Sp., also *la fensa*  $<$  FENCE, not found in N. M. S.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Studies* I, § 193.

> *estebale* (S. B.), BICYCLE > *baisíquēl*, *baisiclē*,<sup>1</sup> HUBBEL (name) > *Jóbel*, *Joblē*.

2. Medial groups (syllabically final)<sup>2</sup> of vowel or consonant(s) + explosive, require a supporting *e*, which for the word as a whole may be called an epenthetic *e* (sometimes *ē*): LEADVILLE (town) > *Lerevil*, LAKE CITY > *Lequesire*, MACNALLY (name) > *Mequenale*, SHOTGÜN > *šotegón*, *Macmillan* > *Maquemila(n)*, MONTRÔSE (town) > *Monterrós*, PICNIC > *piquénique*, *piquimique* (assimilation) (S. B., Cuba), FRAKLIN > *Franquílín* (assimilation).

3. Final *x* (cs) > *ques*: MĀX > *Maques*, SHÜCKS > *šoques*.

4. Medial NSL > *nesl* > *lesl*: WINSLOW (TOWN) > *Gwíleslo*.

5. Medial SLĀ > *selĭ*: RŪSTLE + ĭar > *roselĭar*.

### III. Consonants.

#### a) Initial Consonants.

§ 47. Initial single consonants. The English initial single consonants remain, for the most part, unchanged. In Spanish and all its dialects the initial consonants have always maintained a strong position and have all remained unchanged since Latin times with the single exception of *f* and in some cases *g*.<sup>3</sup> In New Mexican Spanish the same strength appears in the initial position and all the words of English origin have kept the initial single consonants unchanged, with the exception of *h*, *r*, *y*, *w*, which being much weaker in English are strengthened to [x], [r̄], [j] or [g̃], [gu], and *z*, which becomes voiceless and falls together with *s*.

Initial single consonants which remain unchanged: BĀLE > *bēl*, BŌSS > *bōs* (S. B.), CABŌOSE > *cabús* (S. B.), DĪME > *daime* (S. B.), DŪTCH > *dōchi* (S. B.), JĒLLY > *jele*<sup>4</sup> (S. B.), FĪNE > *fain* (S. B.), GOOD-BYE > *gurbái*, LŌT > *lotē* (S. B.), MARY > *Merēs* (S. B.), NICKEL > *nicle*, *níquēl*, PENNY > *penē* (S. B.), KĪCK > *quique*, SĒT > *sēte* (S. B.), SŪIT > *sute*, SHŌP > *šope*, TĪCKET > *tíquete* (S. B., Cuba).

a) The initial voiced explosives *b*, *d*, *g*, are maintained as such only in the absolutely initial position, according to New Mexican

<sup>1</sup> Also *baisíquēl*, by assimilation. Rare *báisique*.

<sup>2</sup> The phenomenon therefore is not essentially different from that of § 42.

<sup>3</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.* § 36; Haussen, *Gram. Hist.*, §§ 103–112 (I quote from the Spanish edition, Halle 1913).

<sup>4</sup> In Mexican *yolí* < JŌLLY (Ramos y Duarte) S. B., *Yorchí* < GEORGE English initial *g* > *y*, a phenomenon unknown in New Mexico.

Spanish phonetics. If the final vowel of a previous word, or certain final consonants, are joined to the stops in one breath-group, these become voiced fricatives, [v], [d̥], [g̥]; see *Studies* I, §§ 99, 104, 114. These matters have been discussed in detail and need not be treated again. See also  $s + d > z$ , *Studies* I, § 104; MIS DAIMES > [mizáimēs], etc.

b) Initial *f* may also (in New Mexico, only, and rarely, never in the California Spanish) become the voiced bilabial pharyngeal aspirate [f̥], and even [x], see *Studies* I, § 100. Examples: FŌOL > *ful*, *ful* or *jul*; FŌOL + IAR > *fuliar*, *fuliar*, *juliar*; FĪNE > *fain*, *fain*; FŪN > *fon*, *fon* (S. B.). The change to [x], seems to be favored only before *u*. This phenomenon is, strictly speaking, a case of strengthening. The New Mexican Spanish having since early times<sup>1</sup> a tendency to develop initial (and also medial) *f* into a voiced bilabio-pharyngeal aspirate, the labial element gradually disappeared while the aspiration was strengthened to [x]. The whole history of the development is clearly seen in the three values found in New Mexican Spanish for *f*, either of Spanish or English source.

The initial single consonants which are regularly strengthened in all words are treated in the following section.

§ 48. English initial single *h*, *r*, *y*, *w* > New Mexican Spanish *j* [x], [ɾ], [j̥] or [ġ], [gɹ].

1. English initial *h* > New Mexican Spanish [x]. The English aspirate *h* is a very weak pharyngeal aspirate and the New Mexican Spanish with its very strong initial [x] has strengthened it and assimilated it with it. It is noteworthy that the New Mexican Spanish has converted all aspirate sounds into the *j* [x] (c. f. § 47 b, etc.).<sup>2</sup> In California the English initial *h* is also strengthened into [x]:

HĂCK > *jaque* [xak'e], HĒLLO > *jaló* [xalɔ'] (S. B.), HIGH-TŌNED > *jaitún* [xaitún] (S. B., *jaitón* [xaitón]).

2. English initial *r* > New Mexican Spanish [ɾ]. The English initial *r* is a weak voiced apico-linguo-alveolar trill, somewhat like single medial Spanish *r*. The New Mexican Spanish initial *r*, however, is a strong dorso-linguo-lateral alveolar fricative,<sup>3</sup> and all words of English origin with the weak *r* just mentioned convert it into the regular strong New Mexican Spanish fricative:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The phenomenon dates, in all probability from Old Spanish; see *Studies* I, § 100.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Studies* I, § 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies* I, § 110.

<sup>4</sup> In California Spanish the change is practically the same.

RĀKE > *reque* [rɛk'ɛ] (S. B.), RŪLER > *rula* [rula] (S. B.),  
RŌLLS > *roles* [rɔləs], (W)RĀPPER > *rapa* [rapa] (S. B.).

3. English initial *y* > New Mexican Spanish *ġ* or *ǰ*, *ǣ*. There is no essential difference between English, Spanish and New Mexican Spanish *y* (= *ġ*).<sup>1</sup> English initial *y*, therefore, remains, as a rule, unchanged, just as the Spanish *y* remains, as a rule, unchanged. However in emphatic pronunciation the New Mexicans may often convert the initial palatal fricative *ġ* (< English *y*, Spanish *y*, HI LL, etc.)<sup>2</sup> into the prepalatal explosive [ǧ]:

YĒLL > *yel* [iɛl, ǧɛl] (S. B.), YARD > *yarda* [jarda, ǧarda] (S. B.), (YOU BET YOU > *yubechu* [jubeču, ǧubeču].

a) Furthermore, English initial *y* > N. M. S. *ġ* may combine with a preceding final *s* into *ǰ*, *ǣ*, *ǣ*, as may be the case with New Mexican Spanish *ġ* of any source:<sup>3</sup> LOS YELES > *lo ǣles*, *lo ǣles*; LAS YARDAS (railroad yards) > *la ǣardah*, *la ǣardas*, *la ǣardas*.

4. English initial *w* > New Mexican Spanish *gɥ*:

WASHER > *gũaša* (S. B.), WINCHESTER > *gɥincheste* (S. B.),  
WAIST > *gɥeiste* (S. B.), WILLIE > *Gɥile*, SIDE-WALK > *sai-  
gɥoque*, WYOMING (state) > *Gɥayomen*, WILDER (name) >  
*Gɥaila*, EXPRESS-WAGON > *esprés gɥaguen* (S. B.).

This phenomenon is the continuation of a well established law and runs parallel with the development of Old Germanic *w* (which had a sound similar to the modern English *w*) into the various Romance Languages. It is significant that a modern Romance dialect develops a Germanic *w* (= *ɥ*) in exactly the same manner as the same sound was developed by all the Romance Languages fourteen centuries ago. The process involved in the development is the natural result of the tendency to strengthen the *w* in the initial position. Its velar element is strengthened by a complete change in the place of articulation from the rounded lip position to the velum and tongue.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Studies* I, § 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* § 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies* I, § 163.

<sup>4</sup> In their early stages, all the Romance Languages converted Germanic *w* (*ɥ*) into *gɥ* (see Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 344, and the references there given), but this original *gɥ* developed later differently in the various languages, being frequently converted into single *g* without the *ɥ* element. In Spanish, Arabic *ɥ* was developed also into *gɥ* in the same way as Germanic *w*. For a further study of these interesting phenomena see *Studies* I, §§ 118, 123, 245; Grandgent, cited above; Nyrop I, 454; Meyer-Lübke I, § 416; Hanssen, *Gram. Hist.*, § 145. According to the rule formulated by Hanssen, the Spanish *gɥ* < Germanic *w*

a) The initial *g* element of *gʷ* may be either the explosive [g] or the fricative [g̃], according to the New Mexican phonetic laws.<sup>1</sup>

§ 49. Initial consonant groups.

1. The English initial consonant groups explosive + L or R, and consonant + ŋ,<sup>2</sup> remain unchanged in New Mexican Spanish:

BRĀNDY > *brande* (S. B.), BRŌKE > *broquis*, CLOSET > *clósete*, CRĀNKY > *cranque* (S. B.), CRAZY > *crese* (S. B.), GRAVY > *greve* (S. B.), GREASER > *griso*, PLUG > *ploga* (S. B.), FLĪER > *flaya*, TRĀMP > *trampe* (S. B.), TRUCK > *troca* (S. B., *troque*), FROST (name of a person) > *Froste*, PRĪCE > *prais*, QUARTER > *cuara* (S. B.), QUIT + IAR > *cuitiar*, SWEATER > *suera* (S. B.).

2. English initial DR-, however (and in one word, TR-), > New Mexican Spanish [r̃] or [r̃̄] (*Studies* I, § 110). The voiceless aspirated alveolar fricative *r* element assimilates completely the preceding dental. Such a group is found in New Mexican Spanish in the medial position after *n* (*Studies* I, § 110), but not when initial, where the forcible initial position brings about the complete assimilation.

a) DR- > [r̃̄]: DRESSING-SACK > *resensaque* [r̃̄sɛ̃:sákɛ], DRILL > *rīl* [r̃̄il], also *rīliar*, DRĪNK > *rinque* [r̃̄ɪŋkɛ].

b) TR- > [r̃̄]: TRAINGANG > *renganchi* [r̃̄ɛŋgã:çi].

c) In the California Spanish the development is less regular. In New Mexican Spanish the law is absolute with respect to initial *dr*, which always becomes [r̃̄], and there is only one case of TR > [r̃̄], remaining unchanged in other cases. In Santa Bárbara, however, the whole development in question does not behave with any regularity: DRŪMMER > *droma*,<sup>3</sup> DRĪLL > *dril*, DRĪNK > *drinque* or *rinque*, DRESSINGSACK > *resensaque*, TRAINGANG > *renganchi*.

3. The English initial groups SCR, SM, SP, SPR, ST, STR remain unchanged, but become medial groups on account of the prosthetic *e* (§ 41): SCRĀPER > *escrepa* (S. B.), SCRĀTCH > *escrachi* (S. B.), SMĀRT > *esmart(e)* (S. B.), SPEECH > *espichi* (S. B.), SPRING (bed) > *esprín*, STEAK > *esteque* (S. B.), STRĪKE > *estraiقة* (S. B.).

becomes simple *g* before *e*, *i*, remains *gʷ* before accented *a*, and develops in either way before unaccented *a*. In New Mexican Spanish, *gʷ* < English *w* remains always unchanged.

<sup>1</sup> *Studies* I, § 104.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, § 50.

<sup>3</sup> Not found in New Mexican Spanish.

§ 50. Initial English *wh-* > New Mexican Spanish [xu̠] and [gu̠]. Initial English *wh* (= Spanish [xu̠] > *ju* + vowel, but with the lip rounding thruout) undergoes two different developments in New Mexican Spanish. In Spanish and New Mexican Spanish the group [xu̠] is really a combination of two distinct elements, and the lip rounding or labial element of [u̠] does not begin with the [x]. In English the case is somewhat different in that the pronounced lip rounding of the [u̠] element has passed even to the [x], so that the group is really [x] accompanied by lip rounding + the regular *u*. The New Mexican Spanish, which has no such [x] accompanied by lip rounding, develops, therefore, the English initial *wh-* in two different ways, the labial element of [x] is lost entirely and *wh-* becomes ordinary N. M. S. [xu̠], or the pharyngeal *h* element is lost,<sup>1</sup> leaving a simple initial *u* (= English *w*, § 48) which in accordance with the regular phenomenon already treated (§ 48 [4]) develops in New Mexican Spanish into *gu*:

GEE WHIS (exclamation) > *gijúis*, *giguís* or with two accents, *ǵi júis*, *ǵi güis*; WHISKEY > *júisque*, *güisque*.<sup>2</sup>

#### b) Medial Consonants.

##### § 51. Single intervocalic consonants.

1. The English single intervocalic voiceless explosives remain unchanged in New Mexican Spanish:

SCRAPER > *escrepa* (S. B.), WRAPPER (*pp* = *p*) > *rapa* (S. B.), HIGHTONED > *jaitún*, SHOTTISH (*tt* = *t*) > *šotís*, CATCHER<sup>3</sup> (*tch* = *č*) > *quecha*,<sup>4</sup> PITCHER<sup>3</sup> > *pichu*, CAKE > *queque* (S. B.), CRACKER > *craque* (S. B., *craca*), POKER > *poca* (S. B., Mexico).

2. The doubled intervocalic voiceless explosives are simplified and then remain unchanged in New Mexican Spanish:

BOOK-KEEPER > *buquipa*.

3. The English single voiced intervocalic explosives become voiced fricatives in New Mexican Spanish, *D* > [d̠], *B* > [v], *G* > [g̠]:

<sup>1</sup> In the rapid careless speech of western Americans initial English *wh-* has often a very weak initial *h* sound. This may explain its development into *u* > *gu* in New Mexican Spanish.

<sup>2</sup> In Santa Bárbara, the *gu* development does not occur in these words. In México it is found in *güisque* (Ramos y Duarte, s. v.), *júisque* not given.

<sup>3</sup> Baseball term.

<sup>4</sup> Also *quíacha* (§ 21).

BUGGY (*gg = g*) > *bogue* [boge], CABŌŌSE > *cabús* [kaʋús] (S. B.), READY > *rede* [ɾeðe] (S. B.), RADISHER > *redes* [ɾeðes].

4. Other single intervocalic consonants remain unchanged:

*f*.<sup>1</sup> COFFEE > *cofe*.

*h*.<sup>2</sup> ANY-HOW > *enejau* (S. B.).

*l*. FELLOW (*ll = l*) > *felo* (S. B.), SPELLING > *espelen*.

*m*. HOW MUCH > *jamachi* (S. B.), DRUMMER (*mm = m*) > *droma*.<sup>3</sup>

*n*. PENNY (*nn = n*) > *pene* (S. B.), ANY HOW > *enejau*, FUNNY > *fone* (S. B.).

*r*. HARROW (*rr = r*) > *jaira* (S. B.).

*s*. RECESS > *risés* (S. B.), DRESSING-SACK (*ss = s*) > *resen-saque* (S. B.).

*sh*. WASHER > *gũaša* (S. B.), CASH + IAR > *quĩašar*.

5. The English labio-dental *v*, and voiced *z*, become both in the initial and intervocalic position New Mexican Spanish *v* (always a fricative when intervocalic), and voiceless *s*:

a) GRAVY > *greve* [grɛve] (S. B.), CRAZY > *crese*. By assimilation (-F- >) *v* > *m*: SON OF A GUN > *sanamagón*.

6. English intervocalic ġ > N. M. S. *ch*: BAGGAGE > *bágachi*, GEORGE > *Chochis*. When initial it usually remains (§ 47).

§ 52. English single intervocalic *d* > New Mexican Spanish *r*. English intervocalic *r* is in many common words pronounced very weakly, being a mere flap of the upper front of the tongue against the upper gums, approaching somewhat the sound of single Spanish *r*, so that in New Mexican Spanish it is confused with it. The English weak *d* sound just described is not only the sound of English intervocalic *d* but also of *t*, which in some words has the same sound. English weak intervocalic *d* (< English *d*, *ɒd*, *t*), therefore, > New Mexican Spanish *r*.

a) *d* > *r*:

EVERYBODY > *evrebore* (S. B.), LADIES CHOICE > *lereschóis*, HOW DO YOU DO (= HADĪDŌŌ) > *jarirú* (S. B.), BAKING POWDER > *bèquenpáura*, LEADVILLE (TOWN in Colorado) > \*LEDEVIL > *Lerevil*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, however, § 47.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, § 48.

<sup>3</sup> Only in California.

<sup>4</sup> The same phenomenon is found in *gurbai* < GOOD BYE, -D + B- > [rv].

b)  $t > d > r$ :

GO TO HELL > *gorejel*, *gorijel*<sup>1</sup> (S. B.), GET UP > *guirape*,  
LAKE CITY > *Lèquesire*,<sup>2</sup> SWEATER > *süera*.

For silent intervocalic *d*, see § 60.

## § 53. Medial grouped consonants.

1. Most of the English medial consonant groups are familiar to New Mexican Spanish. These are for the most part preserved unchanged, altho in some cases the syllabication may change to conform with the New Mexican.

## a) Groups of two consonants:

I'LL BET YOU > *albechu* (S. B.), BISCUIT > *bisquete*,<sup>3</sup> CHRIS(T)-  
MAS > *Crismes* (S. B.), TRÄMP > *trampe* (S. B.), WAIST >  
*queiste* (S. B.), SHÄNTY > *šante* (S. B.), CANDY > *qujande*  
(S. B.), TRÄNSUM > *transe*, PÖRCH > *porchi* (S. B.), PULLMAN  
> *pulman* (S. B.), CATRON > *Catre*.

## b) Groups of three consonants:

LAUNDRY > *londre* (S. B.), PÄNTRY > *pantre* (S. B.), SPRING<sup>3</sup>  
> *esprín*, STRIKE > *estraiue*. (See § 49 [3]. These are  
original initial groups.)

2. For the medial (usually syllabically final) groups which require a supporting vowel before the following consonant, or English syllabic groups which are broken up by an epenthetic or epithetic *e*, see § 46. The phenomena there discussed include most of the English medial groups of difficult pronunciation in Spanish and which could not be preserved unchanged in New Mexican Spanish.

## § 54. Medial consonant groups which suffer radical changes.

1. -ZN- > -sn- > -hn-: BUSINESS > *bisnes* [bihneš] or [bisneš]. English voiced *s*, *z*, become in all positions voiceless New Mexican Spanish *s* (§ 51 [5]), and this may become the aspirate *h* or disappear entirely.<sup>4</sup>

2. -NV-, -NQ- > -mb-: DENVER (city) > *Dembar*,<sup>5</sup> CÄNVASS + IAR  
> *cambasiar* (S. B.), ROSENWALD (name of a person) > *Rosembol*.

<sup>1</sup> In Cuba, *gotijel* (Armas, *op. cit.*), showing an original distinct *t* and not the weak *d*.

<sup>2</sup> Likewise KANSAS CITY > *Quianses Sire*, CAÑON CITY > *Cañón Sire*.

<sup>3</sup> I have included in the medial groups initial and final groups which by the addition of prosthetic or epithetic *e* become medial in New Mexican Spanish.

<sup>4</sup> *Studies* I, §§ 154, 186.

<sup>5</sup> Also *Dembas*.

The development of *-nv-* > *-mb-* is regular in Spanish and New Mexican Spanish phonetics.<sup>1</sup> In the word *Rosembol* it is very likely that the New Mexican word represents the German *v* sound of *w* (the name is German) rather than the English *w* [u]. In that case the phenomenon would be absolutely regular. The English *u*, which is initial in the syllable would have developed regularly to *gu*, as it does in the initial position (§ 48 [4]), and also in the medial position if syllabically initial, as in:

SAN(D)WICH > *sangüüchi*, SHIRTWAIST > *šorgüeiste*, SIDEWALK  
*saiguoque* (S. B.).

3. -CSPR- > *-spr-*: EXPRESS > *esprés*.

3 a) Medial English *x* (= *cs*) > *s*, but final English *x* > *ques* (§ 46 [3]). In *méchica* < MEXICAN, however, English medial *x* > New Mexican Spanish *ch* [č].<sup>2</sup>

4. -RT- > *-rd-* > *-r-*: QUARTER > QUARDER (the ordinary English pronunciation of this group in these words in the western part of the United States) > *cuara* (S. B.), PARTY > PARDY > *pare* (S. B.). See § 52, single intervocalic *d* > New Mexican Spanish *r*. The *t* > *d* of the above words is a similar weak *d*, which being similar to the distinct *r* which follows the tonic *a*, is completely assimilated by it. See also final *rd*, *rt* > *r*, § 61 (2).

5. For *-consonant(s) + u* > *-cons. + gu*, see 2., above.

6. -NSL- > *-lesl-* (the *n* > *l* is due to assimilation) see § 46 (4).

7. -RL-, -DL-, -LD- > *-l-*: CHARLES > *Chales*<sup>3</sup> (S. B.), NEEDLES (town) > *Niles*, WILDER (name of a person) > *Guaila*.

8. -RG- > *-č-*: CHARGE + IAR > *chachar*. Since both sounds have the same place of articulation, the strong (voiced >) voiceless explosive [č] easily absorbs the very weak vibrant [r].

9. UNGSH- [ŋpš] > *-šs-*:

GRAND JUNCTION (city in Colorado) > *Gran Ğonse* [grã:  
ğõ: se].

10. -LDF- > *-lf-* (see 7., above): ILDFELD (name of a person) > *Ilfel*.

11. -TSTR- > *-str-* (by dissimilation): STĀTE-STREET > *Estēstrite* (only in S. B.).

The majority of the above cases are clearly due to assimilation and simplification and need no further treatment. For intervocalic

<sup>1</sup> *Studies* I, § 99.

<sup>2</sup> In Santa Bárbara, regularly, *mésica(n)*.

<sup>3</sup> The assimilation of *R + L* > *l* is a well known phenomenon in New Mexican Spanish, *Studies* I, §§ 185, 264.

silent consonants and medial and final consonants which disappear in New Mexican Spanish under somewhat different or entirely different conditions, see §§ 60, 61.

§ 55. English medial or final (in New Mexican Spanish also medial) nasal *n* and nasal-velar *n* are retained in New Mexican Spanish. English *n* before consonants and English nasal *n* before the velar consonants are not unlike the New Mexican Spanish ordinary nasal and nasal-velar *n* sounds, and are, therefore, retained in New Mexican Spanish. The nasal-velar *n* is somewhat weaker in New Mexican Spanish but its quality is the same. Both in the case of the simple nasal *n* and in the velar *n* the preceding vowel is regularly nasalized according to New Mexican Spanish phonetics.<sup>1</sup>

1. Simple nasal *n*: LUNCH > *lonchi* [lõ:çi] (S. B.), WINCHESTER > *quincheste* [gũĩ:çeste] (S. B.), CANDY > *qujande* [kĩã:de] (S. B.), TRANSUM > *transe* [trã:se].

a) The group -*mb*- < -*nv*-, -*nb*- has the same nasal influence: DENVER > *Dembar* [dẽ:ˆmbar], GREENBACK > *grimbaque* [grĩˆmbake], CANNVASS + IAR > *cambasjar* [kãˆmbasjar].

2. Velar nasal *n* [ɲ]: SINK > *sinque* [sĩnkẽ] (S. B.), CRANKY > *cranque* [krãnkẽ], GANG > *gujangué* [gĩãngẽ] (S. B.), MONKEY-WRENCH > *mõnquerrẽchi* [mõ̃nkẽrẽ:çi].

3. English final, atonic -*ing* (sometimes medial in a word but always syllabically final) is a weak velar-nasal *ĩ* (= New Mexican Spanish *ĩ* of *hincar* < Spanish *ahincar*), but since there are no final nasal or velar-nasal consonants in New Mexican Spanish, unless obstructed by the initial consonant of a following word,<sup>2</sup> the English final atonic *ĩ* + weak velar nasal *ɲ* becomes in New Mexican Spanish *en* [ẽn],<sup>3</sup> if followed by a non velar consonant, [ẽn], [ẽm], and if by a velar consonant, [ẽɲ]:<sup>4</sup>

SPELLING > *espelen* (S. B.), WYOMING > *Guayomen*, BAKING POWDER > *bequenpaura* [bẽkẽ:mpãura], DRESSING-SACK > *resensaque* [rẽsẽ:sakẽ] (S. B.), WHIPPING > *juipen*, WHOOPING-COUGH > *jupen cofe* [xupẽɲkofẽ].

a) Tonic -*ing* > *in*: SPRING (bed) > *esprĩn*. Cf., English tonic *ĩ* > N. M. S. *i*, whereas atonic *ĩ* > *e*, §§ 28, 34, 35, 38.

<sup>1</sup> See *Studies* I, §§ 107, 256.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies* I, §§ 23-27, 107.

<sup>3</sup> English atonic *ĩ* regularly becomes *e* in N. M. S., § 34, while tonic *ĩ* > *i*, § 28.

<sup>4</sup> All this matter is treated here because it really belongs with both medial or final nasal or velar *n*. Both medial and final *ing* develop in the same way, so there is no necessity of repeating this matter in § 56, fol., where it also belongs.

## c) Final Consonants.

§ 56. The English final single voiceless explosives remain unchanged in New Mexican Spanish, but always supported by epithetic *e* or *i*, since final explosives do not occur in New Mexican Spanish. They remain unchanged but pass from a final to a medial position:

TRUCK > *troque*, *troca* (analogy), BUNCH > *bonchi* (S. B.),  
SET > *sete* (S. B.), SHOP > *šope* (S. B.), BAGGAG(E) > *bágaǵi*,  
*bágači* (S. B.).

For many more examples, see §§ 42, 43. In the initial and originally intervocalic position the voiceless explosives are likewise preserved unchanged, §§ 47, 51.

§ 57. The final English voiced explosives *b*, *d*, *g*, also require an epithetic *e*, become intervocalic, and are changed in New Mexican Spanish into voiced fricatives (likewise in the originally medial position, § 51 [3]):

JOB > *ǵobe* [ǵovɛ], RID(E) > *raide* [ʔaiðe], RIG > *rigue*  
[ʔig'ɛ], PLUG > *ploga* (analogy) [ploga] (S. B.).

§ 58. English final single consonants which are not foreign to New Mexican Spanish and which occur in New Mexican Spanish under similar conditions, usually remain unchanged:

DRILL > *ril* (S. B.), FUN > *fɛn* (S. B.), LEASE > *lis* (S. B.),  
SHOTGŪN > *šotegón*, CABŌŌS(E) > *cabús* (S. B.), CROW BĀR  
> *croǵbar* (S. B.).

a) In monosyllables final tonic *ail*, *aim*, *im*, may or may not require an epithetic *e*:

FĪL(E) > (\**faile*) > *faila* (analogy), also *fail*; DĪM(E) >  
*daim*, *daim* (S. B.), ĪCE-CREAM > *aiscrím(e)* (S. B.). See  
§ 45. The final consonants in question undergo no change.

§ 59. Final single or grouped consonants which suffer complete or partial change.

1. English *ǵ* in the medial and final position may remain as such (§ 56), but more commonly it remains only in the initial position (§ 47), while in the intervocalic (§ 51 [6]) and final positions it generally changes to *ch* [č] (with epithetic *i*, § 43):

BAGGAGE > *bágači* (S. B.), RĀNGE > *renči* (S. B.), GEORGE  
> (\**ǵorǵi*) > *chochǵi(s)*<sup>1</sup> (S. B. *Yorchǵi*).

<sup>1</sup> The initial *ch* < ǵ, may not be phonetic but thru assimilation of the following *ch*, since initial English *ǵ* remains (§ 47). The difference, altho not

2. Final **D** > *l*: BREAD > *brel* (only in Santa Fé).
3. For final **-NG** > *-n* (ING > *en*), see § 55 (3). In *renganchi* < TRAINGANG, **-NG** > *-nchi*.
4. Final posttonic **š** > *s* (in all other positions **š** remains unchanged): RADISH > *redes* (Albuquerque only), SHOTTISH > *šotis* (dis-similation?).
5. Final **x** (= *cs*), **CS** > *-ques, quis*: MAX > *maques*, FOX > *Foques*, SHÜCKS (exclamation) *šoques, šoquis* (S. B.). See § 46.
6. For final syllabic **BL, CL** > *bel, quel*, etc., see § 46.
7. Final **TH** > *s*: WROTH (name of a person) > *Ros*.
- 7a. Final **TH** > *t*: SMITH > *Esmite*.

#### d) Silent Consonants.

##### § 60. Silent medial consonants.<sup>1</sup>

1. For various cases of weak English medial consonants which in New Mexican Spanish are completely assimilated by a strong contiguous consonant, **-RĠ-** > *-č-*, **-RL-** > *-l-*, **-RT-** (> **-RD-**) and **-RD-** > *-r-*, **-LDF-** > *-lf-*, etc., see § 54.

2. Medial or final (always syllabically final) tonic English **-ĪD(E)** in compounds, both as a prefix or suffix becomes in New Mexican Spanish *-ai*, the English explosive *d* disappearing completely: **SĪDEBOARD** > *saibor*<sup>2</sup> (S. B.), **SĪDEWALK** > *saiguoque* (S. B.), **TELLURĪDE** (town in Colorado) > *Telerrái*. It is noteworthy that the *d* falls uniformly in New Mexico, California, and for *saibor* also in Cuba, altho in the monosyllabic, **RĪDE** > *raide*, the *d* remains. The groups *-aidb-*, *-aidgy-*, are impossible in New Mexican Spanish and in Spanish generally, but an epenthetic *e* could have avoided the difficulty.<sup>3</sup>

parallel, is found also in Santa Bárbara, e. g., *Yorchí*, but in other words initial **ġ** remains as in New Mexico, and likewise medial and final **ġ** > *ch*. In *chiclái* < **GĒE CLY** (exclamation) the S. B. Spanish has *ch* in the initial position. In New Mexico more regularly, *ġiclái*.

<sup>1</sup> In the initial and intervocalic positions no English consonants are silent in New Mexican Spanish.

<sup>2</sup> In Cuba, *seibor*, probably from an English *ei* sound, Middle-English sound of *i* and still preserved in some localities. The New Mexican, Californian and Cuban words have all shifted the principal accent to the final syllable. In Mexico, *saibor* as in California and New Mexico (Ramos y Duarte).

<sup>3</sup> Cf., § 46 (2), *šotegón* < **SHOTGUN**, *Lerevil* < **LEADVILLE**, etc. In the group *-aidgy-* the places of articulation of *e*, *gy* are too far apart and hence the complete assimilation, but in *-aidb-* it seems that the development to *\*aideb-* would have been more regular. Evidently the *-ide* is very weak; cf., *Telerrái*.

However, the English *d* in question is, at least in the compounds, very indistinct and the phenomenon may be a simple case of assimilation.<sup>1</sup>

§ 61. Silent consonants in final groups.

1. Final -ND, -NT > -n: HIGH-TŌN(E)D > *jaitún* (S. B., *jaitón*), BÖND (name of a person) > *Bon*, COMPLAINT > *complén* (S. B.).<sup>2</sup>

2. Final -RD, -RT > -r: SPŌRT > *espor*<sup>3</sup> (S. B.), SIDEBORD > *saibor* (S. B., Cuba, *seibor*), BÜCKBOARD > *boquebor* (S. B.),<sup>4</sup> SHĪRT-WAIST > *šorqeiste* (S. B.).

3. Final -LD > -l: HOLD ON > *jolón* (S. B.), FIELD (name of a person) > *Fil*, ILFELD > *Ilfel*,<sup>5</sup> BALD > \**bol* > *bolę*.<sup>6</sup>

§ 62. Final *m*, *n*, fall in New Mexican Spanish. The final English nasal consonants, *m*, *n*, of an atonic syllable, disappear in New Mexican Spanish: TRANSM > *transe* (S. B.), MÉXICAN > *méchica* (S. B., *mésican*), HĚLĚN > *Jela* (S. B.), GRAND JUNCTION (TOWN) > *Granĝonse*, JOHNSON (name of a person) > *Ĝonse*, CATRON (name of a person) > *Catre*, LINCO(L)N > *Linco*.

a) The *n* remains in WILSON > *Guilson*, GUNNISON > *Gónison* (names of persons), but these may not be popular phonetic developments, since ON (ŪN) remains, which develops in New Mexican Spanish more regularly to *e*, *transe*, *Catre*, etc. See also § 38.<sup>7</sup>

b) In the tonic syllable, and therefore, also in all monosyllables, final *m*, *n*, remain: DĪME > *daim(e)* (S. B.), ICE-CREAM > *aiscrim*, SCREEN > *escrin*, FŪN > *fon* (S. B.), CŌŌN > *cun*, SHOTĜŪN > *šotegón* (S. B.), FIREMAN > *fayamán*.

<sup>1</sup> As for -DB- > -b- compare Latin -DV- > Spanish -v- in ADVOCATU > *abogado* (Old Portuguese, *avogado*, French, *avoué*), ADVENTARE > *aventar* (Port., *aventar*, Ital. *avventare*), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Compare final -ND, -NT > *n* in Spanish, CIENT > *cien*, SEGUND > *según*, etc., Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 63 (2).

<sup>3</sup> Also *esport(e)* thru the analogy of the adjective *esportę* < SPŌRTY.

<sup>4</sup> Exception: ŠMĀRT > *esmart(e)*.

<sup>5</sup> See also § 54 (7).

<sup>6</sup> Used only in Colorado; not for *calvo*, but as the name of a series of high peaks devoid of all vegetation, and called in English, *baldy*, *bald*, *baldies*.

<sup>7</sup> Also in PULLMAN > *pulman* (S. B.), EXPRESS WAGON > *esprés ĝuaguen*, and the California Spanish *mésican* (N. M. S., *méchica*, regular). In most words regularly developed in popular speech, the tendency is decidedly in favor of the disappearance of the final *m*, *n*, of an atonic syllable, and of atonic -UN < *e*.

§ 63. English final *r* falls in New Mexican Spanish. English final *-r* of an atonic syllable disappears in New Mexican Spanish:<sup>1</sup>

WRÄPPER > *rapa* (S. B.), PAR(T)NĒR > *parna* (S. B.), WASHĒR > *guaša*, BOOK-KEEPER > *buquipa* (S. B.), SCRÄPPER > *escrepa* (S. B.), CÄTCHĒR (base-ball) > *quiacha*, *quecha*, PÖKĒR > *poca* (S. B. Mexico), PAINKILLĒR > *penquila*, BOILĒR > *boila* (S. B.), DOLLAR > *dola* (S. B.), HOW DO YOU DO SIR (= HADĪDÖÖSĒR) > *jarirusa*.

a) In some words of semi-learned source this final *-r* may remain: DENVĒR (city) > *Démbar*, *Demba* (also *Dembas*), PARKĒR (name of a person) > *Párcar*, *Parca*, MISTER > *mistar*. In *ovarjoles* < OVERALLS, it seems to remain on account of the original syllabication in popular English, *òva-ralls*, where the *r* is initial in a syllable, but the New Mexican word does not keep that syllabication.

b) In the tonic syllable, and hence all monosyllabic words, the *-r* remains: SÖRE (= offended, angry) > *sor*, SPÖRT > *espor*, SEWER (SÜĒR) (the tonic *ū* absorbs the *ē*, § 26 [4]) > *sur* (S. B.), CROW BÄR > *cröbar* (S. B.).

c) For *í + r* (= *í + ěr* > *ái + a*) > *aia* (regularly), see § 30.

§ 64. Sporadic cases of other silent final single consonants.

1. VĪLLA GROV(E) (TOWN in Colorado) > *Vilagró*.

2. GOD DÄMN ĪT > *godeme*.<sup>2</sup>

3. For final *-d* silent in *-īd(e)*, see § 60 (2).

#### e) Parasitic Consonants.

§ 65. Epenthesis.<sup>3</sup>

1. The English tonic groups *í + ěr* > *aia* and *í + ē* > *aiq* (§ 30), where the *ái* and final atonic *q* < *ěr* were joined by a weak English *y* glide, develop a strong New Mexican Spanish palatal fricative *y* [j]:

FLĪĒR > *flaya*, TĪE > *taya*, FĪREMAN > *fayamán* (S. B.), etc.

<sup>1</sup> English final atonic *-ěr* > New Mexican Spanish *-a* (§ 39), while final atonic *-ŭn*, *-ŭm* > *e* (§ 38). In either case, however nouns may have other final vowels by analogy. For examples see the sections cited.

<sup>2</sup> Also *godemete*; so that *godeme* may be from GOD DAMN (§ 20 [1]).

<sup>3</sup> The only phenomenon which involves what could be called the development of a prosthetic consonant in words of English source is the case of initial *w* (ŕ) > *gʷ* (§ 48 [4]).

2. Epenthetic *n*: GOD DĀM > *godeme*<sup>1</sup> (S. B., regular, *godeme*), ÉLLISON (name of a person) (> *Élese*) > *Élense*.<sup>2</sup>

3. Epenthetic *j* [x] appears in *ovarjoles* < OVERALLS. See also *Studies* I, § 190.

§ 66. Epithesis. New Mexican Spanish has a tendency to add an epithetic *-s* to certain words, including proper nouns, e. g., *Anriques* < ENRIQUE, etc.<sup>3</sup> The same tendency appears in the following proper nouns of English source:

MĀRY > *Meres* (also *Mere*) (S. B.), JIMMY > *Ĝimes*, GEORGE > *Chochis* (for the epithetic *i*, see § 43).

a) Also in the adjective *broquis* < BRÖKE (analogy to *šoquis*, *šoques* < SHÜCKS?).

## Chapter III. Morphology.

### I. Nouns, Adjectives and Adverbs.

#### a) Nouns.

§ 67. The endings. New Mexican Spanish nouns of English source are of three different classes, 1. nouns regularly and phonetically derived from the English, like the vast majority of the nouns treated in Chapter II., 2. nouns (also adjectives) which take a Spanish suffix under the probable influence of a similar English suffix (e. g., *blofero* < BLÜFFER + influence of Spanish suffix *-ero*?),<sup>4</sup> 3. derivative nouns, which have purely Spanish endings. Of these three general classes of nouns, the last two are treated under derivatives. Only the base is of English source; the endings are Spanish and the gender and inflection follow the usual Spanish rules. The first class, however, which includes a large number of basic nouns regularly and phonetically derived, is a class of nouns which must be studied apart with reference to gender and ending, questions which do not enter in the study of the nouns of the other two classes.

But even here, the question of analogy enters as a disturbing phonetic factor, and altho the regular phonetic ending or general

<sup>1</sup> Probably due to the double *d* sound + the nasal influence of the final *m*.

<sup>2</sup> It may also be a case of metathesis before the final *-n* fell, \*ÉLESEN > *Élense*.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies* I, § 200. I have accepted Marden's correction (*op. cit.*, 157 a) in the statement of the rule, and in the elimination of *Chales* which certainly comes from CHARLES. CHARLIE gives both in New Mexico and California, *Chale*, regularly.

<sup>4</sup> Phonetically, English atonic *-ER* > N. M. S. *-a*, § 39. The English noun and adjective BLÜFFER would develop, therefore, into \**blofa*.

phonetic form of a noun may determine its gender, on the other hand, certain general ideas which in Spanish and New Mexican Spanish determine gender, sometimes decide the question and the original phonetic ending may change accordingly.<sup>1</sup> The question of the ending in these nouns is, therefore, determined by various factors, some phonetic, others analogical. It must be treated with the question of gender with which it is inseparably associated.

§ 68. Gender and endings. Nouns with original phonetic *-a*.

1. Nouns which phonetically end in *-a* (< English *-ĒR*, § 39) keep the termination, as a rule, and become feminines:

WASHER > *guasha* (S. B.), POKER > *poca* (S. B.), RULER > *rula* (S. B.), SCRAPER > *escrapa* (S. B.), WRAPPER (article of clothing) > *rapa*, PAINKILLER > *penquila* (S. B.).

2. Nouns which phonetically end in *-a* (< English *-ĒR*) keep the termination, as a rule, and become masculines, if they denote males, masculine articles of clothing, male occupations, or mechanical instruments or new machinery and inventions which in New Mexican Spanish tend to become masculines, or if they are by analogy associated with Spanish masculine nouns of a similar or somewhat similar meaning:

PARTNER > *parna* (S. B.), SWEATER > *suerā* (S. B.), BOOK-KEEPER > *buquipa*, BOILER > *boila*<sup>2</sup> (S. B.), SLEEPER (Pullman) > *eslipa*, DOLLAR > *dola* (S. B.).<sup>3</sup>

3. By analogy to the more common masculine endings *-o*, *-e*, some nouns, originally of class 2, have the analogical masculine endings *-o*, *-e*, instead of the phonetic *a*:

GREASER (also adjective) > *griso* (S. B.), CRACKER > *craque*,<sup>4</sup> WINCHESTER > *quincheste*.

<sup>1</sup> This is the only important factor which disturbs the phonetic development of New Mexican Spanish words of English source. Its application has been already briefly discussed in §§ 39, 42-45. Less important disturbing phonetic factors will be treated in the proper place.

<sup>2</sup> In Albuquerque, also feminine (rare).

<sup>3</sup> The persistence of the final *a* is a strong testimony of the strength and reality of phonetic processes.

<sup>4</sup> In S. B., *craca* (fem.), remaining in 1. Some nouns in so far as the question of gender alone is concerned, could be either masculine or feminine, and in fact some nouns are of either gender, e. g., *boila*, above. Since after the explosives an epithetic *ε* appears in N. M. S. (§ 42), it is possible that such a phonetic analogy has changed *craca* to *craque* in N. M. S., but the analogy of the masculine *-e* ending is more likely.

§ 69. Gender and endings. Nouns with original phonetic *-e*.

1. Nouns which phonetically end in *e* (epithetic *e* after the explosives, § 42, syllabic groups, § 46, and from English final *-ŭN*, *-ŭM*, § 38, and final *ĩ* (and *ŷ = ĩ*), § 34), keep the termination, as a rule, and become masculines:

RĪG > *rigue* (S. B.), STRĪK(E) > *estraiue* (S. B.), SHŎP > *šope* (S. B.), PICKLE > *picle*, TRANSŪM > *transe*, EXPRESS-WAGON > *esprés guague(n)*, ALLEY > *ale*, PENNY > *penē* (S. B.), SHANTY > *šante* (S. B.), PŎNY > *pone* (S. B.).

a) Exception JELLY > (*la*) *ĵele*.

2. Some nouns which originally belonged to 1, above, with original phonetic final *e*, change the *e* to *a* if for any reason whatsoever they become feminines:

PLŪG > *ploga*<sup>1</sup> (S. B.), TRŪCK > *troca* (S. B., *el troque*, masculine and phonetically regular),<sup>2</sup> BREAK > *breca* (S. B., *el breque*, masculine and phonetically regular),<sup>2</sup> GĀNG > *guānga* (also *guāngue*, masculine and regular).

The reasons which necessitated a change in gender with the consequent change in the termination is not always clear, especially in view of the fact that double forms may occur with the same meaning, e. g., *guānga*, *guāngue*, and the New Mexican *breca*, *troca* (analogical), California Spanish *breque*, *troque* (phonetic), and the reverse in N. M. S. *reque*, California Sp. *reca*. Some cases may be due to analogy with similar Spanish nouns as in § 68, 2. *Pompa* (< PŪMP?) for example may be due to the influence of *bomba*,<sup>3</sup> or it may be the regular Spanish *pompa*, changing meaning.

§ 70. Gender and endings. Nouns with original phonetic *-i* (or *-ĩ*). Nouns which phonetically end in *i* (or *ĩ*) (epithetic vowel after the English consonants *č*, *ġ* SH > N. M. S. *č*, *š*, § 43) keep the termination and become masculines:

LŪNCH > *lonchi* (S. B.), PŪNCH > *ponchi*, RĀNG(E) > *renġi* or *renchi*, BĀGGAGE > *bāgachi* (S. B.), CĀSH > *quāsi* (S. B.),

<sup>1</sup> The feminine *ploga* means a piece, share, portion. There is also a regular *plogue*, meaning a plug to stop a hole or the like. A difference in gender avoids the confusion in New Mexican Spanish, a very natural development.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, RAKE > N. M. S. (*el*) *reque*, regularly, whereas in S. B. (*la*) *reca*, analogical, with 2, above.

<sup>3</sup> This Spanish word, however, is very rarely used in New Mexican Spanish with the Spanish meanings. A pump is always *pompa* (< English PŪMP?) and lamp-chimney (Sp. *bomba*, *bombillo*) is *chiflón*.

SPEECH > *espichi* (S. B.), BŪNCH > *bonchi* (S. B.), SMĀSH > *esmaši* (S. B.), RŪSH > *roši*.

This class of nouns has not a single exception to the general rule. All end regularly and phonetically in *i*, and all are masculines.

§ 71. Gender and endings. Nouns with original phonetic *-o*, *-u*. Nouns which phonetically end in *-o*, *-u*, tonic or atonic, keep the terminations and become masculines:

DEPOT > *dipo* (S. B.), FELLŌW > *felə* (S. B.), SHAMPŌŌ > *šampú*, BUGABŌŌ > *bugabú*.

- a) The word *quido* (S. B., *quito*) < KIDDŌ is of both genders.
- b) *jaira* < HARRŌW, has become feminine and has *-a* by analogy instead of the phonetic *-ə*.

§ 72. Gender and endings. All nouns which phonetically end in any consonant keep the phonetic consonantal endings and become masculines:

ICE-CREAM > *aicrím* (S. B.), VALISE > *balís*, *belís*, BUSINESS > *bisnes* (S. B.), BUCKBOARD > *boquebor*, CABŌŌSE > *cabús* (S. B.), CROW-BĀR > *crobar* (S. B.), SCREEN > *escrín* (S. B.), FIREMAN > *fayamán*, HOLD ON > *jolón* (= insult, calling down), POLICE > *polís* (S. B.), SHOTGŪN > *šotegón* (S. B.), SEWER > *sur*.

- a) The word *faila* < FĪLE, is feminine and has *a*. Also *fail*.

§ 73. Names of cities, towns, etc. All geographical nouns of English source, cities, towns, states, etc., keep the regular phonetic terminations, whatever these may be, and all become masculines.

a) Cities and towns: (*el*) *Lerevil* < LEADVILLE, (*el*) *Gran Ğonse* < GRAND JUNCTION, (*el*) *Lèquesire* < LAKE CITY, (*el*) *Dembar* < DENVER, (*el*) *Guñalope* < GALLUP.

b) States: (*el*) *Yutó* < UTAH, (*el*) *Guayomen* < WYOMING, (*el*) *Quianses* < KANSAS.

c) Varia: (*el*) *San Luis Vale* < SAN LUIS VALLEY, (*el*) *Encapágar* < UNCOMPAGRE (region).

§ 74. Christian names and surnames. Christian names and surnames of English source keep, as a rule, the regular phonetic terminations, and are either masculine or feminine according as they denote males or females.

#### 1. Christian names.

a) Masculine: JOHNY > *Ğone*, FRANK > *Franque* (S. B.), CHARLES > *Chales* (S. B.), GEORGE > *Chochis* (S. B., *Yorchis*), WILLY > *Gũile*,

JIMMY > *Ĝimes* (S. B.), MACK > *Maque*, MAX > *Maques*, JŌNY > *Jone* (S. B.), STEPHEN (STĒVE) > *Estive*, NICK > *Nique* (S. B.), SAMY > *Same*.<sup>1</sup>

b) Feminine: MĀRY > *Meře(s)* (S. B.), HELEN > *Jele(n)* (S. B., *Jela*, analogical), SOPHIE > *Sofe*, LŪCY > *Luse* (S. B.), MAGGIE > *Mague* (S. B.), MARĪE > *Marí*, *Marrí*, NELLIE > *Nele* (S. B.), FANNIE > *Fane*, JENNIE > *Ĝene*, SUSIE > *Suse*.<sup>1</sup>

2. Surnames: CATRON > *Catre*, BOND > *Bon*, HUBBELL > *Joble*, WILDER > *Guaila*, SCOTT > *Escote* (S. B.), SMITH > *Esmite* (S. B.), WEISS > *Guáis*, SKINNER > *Esquina*, PFEIFFER > *Faifa*, JOHNSON > *Ĝonse*, ILDFELD > *Ílfel*, MACNALLY > *Mequenale*, ROSENWALD > *Rosebøl*, MEYRR > *Maya* (S. B.), WROTH > *Rps*, SPITZ > *Espite*, WILSON > *Ĝuilso(n)*, JEWELL > *Ĝul*, STROUP > *Estraupe*, *Estrupe*.

§ 75. Number. Nouns of English origin when once introduced in New Mexican Spanish form their plural, as a rule, according to the regular New Mexican Spanish rules, which do not differ essentially from the rules for the normal Castilian.<sup>2</sup>

1. Nouns ending in atonic *-a*, *-o*, *-e*:

*la escrepa* (< SCRĀPĒR), *las escrepas* (S. B.); *la guaša* (< WASHĒR), *las guašas* (S. B.); *la ploga* (< PLŪG), *las plogas*; *el felo* (< FELLŌW), *los felos*; *el estail(e)* (< STYLE), *los estailles* (S. B.); *el reque* (< RĀKE), *los reques*; *el šante* (< SHĀNTY), *los šantes*.

a) (SHAMPŌO >) *šampú*, *los šampuses*, adds *-ses*<sup>3</sup> to form the plural. I have no other cases of nouns of English source ending in tonic vowels. There exist however, N. M. S., *papases*, *pieses*, etc., (*papá*, *pié*), which do not have necessarily the diminutives as a base, since the rule is general.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is current in New Mexico a story to the effect that a certain Catholic priest gave upon a certain occasion a special sermon, protesting against the common use of such English names for Spanish children, and stating that even to the baptismal fountain Spanish people went with the desire of having children named *Franque*, *Chales*, *Meres*, *Sofe*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The only noteworthy exception is the question of final *-is* instead of *-es* in nouns ending in *-ey* in the singular, and the change of *-es* to *-is* after *ch*, *š*, *y* (< LL), *y*, according to New Mexican phonetics; *Studies* I, § 47, II, §§ 23, 24. Nouns of English source ending in these consonants have similar plural formations.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies* II, § 22.

<sup>4</sup> See however, Hanssen, *Gram. Hist.*, § 164.

2. Nouns ending in atonic *i* (all after the consonants *ch, ś, ĝ*)<sup>1</sup> form their plural by adding *-s* in the same way as nouns of any other atonic vocalic ending:<sup>2</sup>

*el lonchi* (< LŪNCH), *los lonchis* (S. B.); *el esmaši* (< SMĀSH), *los esmašis* (S. B.); *el renchi* (< RĀNGE), *los renchis*; *el espichi* (< SPEECH), *los espichis* (S. B.).

3. Nouns ending in any consonant (including *ʻs*)<sup>3</sup> form their plural regularly by adding *-es*:

*el balis* [( < VALIS(E)], *los balises*; *el bos* (< BÖSS), *los boses*; *el cabús* (< CABŪŌSE), *los cabuses*;<sup>4</sup> *el escrín* (< SCRĒEN), *los escrines* (S. B.); *el lis* (< LEASE), *los lises*; *el lon* (< LAWN), *los lones*; *el šotegón* (< SHOTGŪN), *los šotegones* (S. B.); *el polis* (< POLICE), *los polises* (S. B.); *el jolón* (< HÖLD ON), *los jolones*;<sup>5</sup> *el ril* (< DRĪLL), *los riles*.

a) Nouns ending in *-es*, however (following part of the regular Spanish rule), seem to have the same form for both singular and plural:

*el bisnes* (< BUSINESS), *los bisnes* (S. B.); *el Crismes* (< CHRISTMAS), *los Crismes*;<sup>6</sup> *el risés* (< RĒCESS), *los ricés* (in Colorado also *riseses*); *el Chales* (< CHARLES), *los Chales*.

It is noteworthy that the only noun of this last class which ends in accented *-és*, may also have a plural *riseses*, as *lises*, *polises*, *belises*, 3., above.

§ 76. Some nouns of English source on account of their special use, both in English and Spanish, have only one form, singular or plural.

1. Nouns used only in the singular:

*el besbol* (< BĀSEBALL)<sup>7</sup> (S. B.), *evrebore* (< EVERYBODY),<sup>8</sup> *el espelen* (< SPELLING) (S. B.), *el fon* (< FŪN) (S. B.), *la*

<sup>1</sup> Final atonic *i* does not occur in New Mexican Spanish in any other case. Final *-y* does not occur in nouns of English source.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies* II, § 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies* II, § 22.

<sup>4</sup> On the analogy of this there may have developed also *šampuses*, 1a, above.

<sup>5</sup> This word, and also *gondeme* < GOD DAMN, are used in New Mexican Spanish regularly as in English exclamations, and also as nouns, see § 84.

<sup>6</sup> The Spanish people of New Mexico and Colorado have the custom of going from house to house on Christmas day asking for Christmas gifts (cake, candy, etc.), exclaiming *¡mis Crismes! ¡mis Crismes!*

<sup>7</sup> The game of baseball. The ball itself is called *la bola* or *pelota*.

<sup>8</sup> *Evrebore s'enfermó*.

*poca* (< PÖKĚR) (S. B.), *la penquila* (< PAINKILLĚR)<sup>1</sup> (S. B.),  
*la sarsaparila* (< SARSAPARILLA),<sup>1</sup> *el flaya* (< FLĚER).<sup>2</sup>

2. Nouns used only in the plural:

*los redes* (< RADISHES) (Albuquerque only); *los escrapes*  
 (< SCRAPS); *los roles* (< ROLLS) (in Albuquerque also, *un*  
*rolę*); *los triques* (< TRĚCKS) (= 'rags', 'trinkets'. With  
 the meaning, 'trick', 'deceit', it is regular, *trique*, *triques*);  
*los mompes* (< MŪMPS).

§ 77. The plural formation of Christian names and surnames.

1. Christian names.

a) Those ending in vowels in the singular are regularly pluralized:

*el Franque* (< FRANK), *los Franques* (S. B.); *el Guile*  
 (< WILLY), *los Guiles*; *la Mague* (< MAGGIE), *las Magues*  
 (S. B.); *la Mari* (< MARIE), *las Maris*.

b) Those ending in *-s* (only *-es*, *-is*, occur) in the singular have the same form in the plural:<sup>3</sup>

*el Chales* (< CHARLES), *los Chales*; *el Chochis* (< GEORGE),  
*los Chochis*; *el Ĝimes* (< JIMMY), *los Ĝimes*; *el Maques*  
 (< MĀX), *los Maques*; *la Mere(s)* (< MĀRY), *las Meres*.

2. Surnames.

a) Those ending in vowels are regularly pluralized:

*el Esmite* (< SMITH), *los Esmites*; *el Catre* (< CATRON),  
*los Catres*; *el Guaila* (< WILDER), *los Guailas*; *el Faifa*  
 (< PFEIFFER), *los Faifas*.

b) Those ending in any consonant (including *ʹs*, somewhat contrary to 1b, above and 75, [βa]) form the plural by adding *-es*:

*el Bon* (< BÖND), *los Bones*; *el Guáis* (< WEISS), *los*  
*Guáis*; *el Ĝul* (< JEWELL), *los Ĝules*; *el Īlfel* (< ILFELD),  
*los Īlfeles*; *el Ros* (< WROTH OR ROSS), *los Roses*; *el Mandefil*  
 (< MANDERFIELD), *los Mandefiles*.

c) When used as feminines, either in the singular or plural, surnames which do not end in *-a*, *-as*, may often take these endings by analogy:

<sup>1</sup> Patent medicines. There must be many more.

<sup>2</sup> A Santa Fé passenger train.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 75, [βa]. The rule is the same for all nouns, except those ending in accented *-ís*, *-és*, which add *-es* to form the plural, *polises*, *riseses*, etc.

*la Ğonsa, las Mequenalas, las Rosebolas, las Ifelas, la Guaisa, etc.*<sup>1</sup>

The regular phonetic terminations are also used for the feminines in these cases.

#### b) Adjectives.

§ 78. About a score of adjectives of English source have found their way into New Mexican Spanish. Some of these have been thoroughly hispanized and have assumed the regular inflections, while others are indeclinable as in English, altho phonetically developed. As compared with the nouns the number of adjectives of English source is relatively small, altho the proportion may not vary greatly from that of Spanish nouns and adjectives actually used in New Mexican Spanish. An adjective like *fain* < English FINE, can be used with so many meanings that the need of varying forms is not great even in English. With nouns the question is entirely different as each object has to have its specific name. The number of basic nouns of English source used in New Mexican Spanish and regularly and phonetically developed is about two hundred, whereas the adjectives, as already stated, number about a score, the nouns outnumbering the adjectives ten to one. If we should count the noun derivatives the difference would be much greater, since the nouns have each two or more derivatives, while the adjectives have very few.<sup>2</sup>

§ 79. The following adjectives are indeclinable, as in English, and have only one form for either gender or number:

*broquis*<sup>3</sup> (< BRÖKE) (S. B.); *crese* (< CRĀZY) (S. B.); *rede* (< READY) (S. B.); *esmart(e)* (< SMĀRT); *espor* (< SPÖRTY) (S. B.); *fain* (< FINE) (S. B.); *fone* (< FŪNNY) (S. B.); *ponque* (< PŪNK); *sor* (< SÖRE).<sup>4</sup>

a) When used as substantives, however, three of the above adjectives have a plural form:

<sup>1</sup> This tendency is found also in the surnames of Spanish source, *las Martinas* (*Martínez*), *las Armijas* (*Armijo*), *las Romeras* (*Romero*), etc., and even in standard Spanish the same tendency exists.

<sup>2</sup> For the complete classified lists of all New Mexican Spanish basic words of English origin, see Chapter IV.

<sup>3</sup> This form seems to be developed on the analogy of *šoquis* < SHŪCKS, *Maques* < MAX, purely phonetic analogy.

<sup>4</sup> Meaning 'angry', 'offended'.

(*el, la*) *crese*, (*los, las*) *creses* the crazy one(s)  
 (*el, la*) *espore*, (*los, las*) *espores* the sporty one(s)  
 (*el, la*) *ponque*, (*los, las*) *ponques* the punk one(s).<sup>1</sup>

§ 80. The following adjectives are regularly inflected:

1. *cranque* (< CRĂNKY), *cranques*, m. and f. (S. B.)  
*trampe* (< TRĂMPY?), *trampes*, m. and f.
2. *dochi, docha, dochis, dochas* (< DŪTCH) (S. B.)<sup>2</sup>  
*sanamabichi, sanamabicha, -is, -as* (< SON OF A BĪTCH).
3. *ful* (< FOOL), *fules*, m. and f. (S. B.)  
*jaitún, jaituna, jaitunes, jaitunas* (HĪGHTŌNED) (S. B., *jaitón, jaitona*, etc.)  
*sanamagón, sanamagona, sanamagones, sanamagonas* (< SON OF A GŪN).
4. *griso, grisa, grisos, grisas* (< GREASĒR) (S. B.)  
*guilo, guila*, etc. (< WILLIE? = fool, crazy).
5. *parna* (< PARTNER = companion = friendly), *parnas*, m. and f.  
*méchica* (< MĚXĪCAN), *méchicas*, m. and f.  
*laya* (< LĪAR), *layas*, m. and f.

The following sentences are taken from my New Mexican Spanish note-books:

*No sean tan cranques* [nɔ sjã tãŋ krãpkɛʃ]  
*Es pura docha* [ɛh purã ðɔɕã]  
*Piensan que somos sus fules* [piẽ:sã k'ɛ sɛmɔ suh fules]  
*¡Qué jaitunas vienen!* [kɛ xaitunãz viẽnen]  
*Eres purito griso* [ɛrɛh purɔ griso]  
*Son muy parnas* [sɔ̃: muɨ parnãʃ]  
*No le des nádesə guilo* [nɔ lɛ ðɛs náðɛsɛ guilo]  
*Dile qu'es un laya* [ðilɛ kɛʃ ũ: laɨã].

### c) Adverbs and adverbial expressions.

§ 81. Simple adverbs. Adverbs of English source are very rare in New Mexican Spanish. The causes which have introduced in the Spanish of the south-western part of the United States such a large number of English words, especially nouns, do not apply to such a part of speech as the adverb. Only a few of the most commonly

<sup>1</sup> Correct accordingly, *Studies* II, § 31. Whether § 79a applies to the California Spanish or not, I do not know.

<sup>2</sup> Used with the meaning, dutch or American (English).

used in popular speech, and each of which may have a variety of meanings to express certain general ideas of likes and dislikes or of time, have been introduced into N. M. S. Only seven simple adverbs of English source seem to be commonly used by New Mexicans, and four of these (§ 79) are also used as adjectives both in English and Spanish:

*crese* (< CRAZY) (S. B.), *fain* (< FAIN) (S. B.), *fone* (< FUNNY) (*Hablaban tan fone que no los pud' entender*), *olraite* (< ALL RIGHT [also exclamation], *rede* (< READY) (S. B.), *tumoro* (< TOMORROW) (rare),<sup>1</sup> *ènejáu* (< ANYHÖW) (very rare).

§ 82. Adverbial expressions. Adverbial expressions can be formed from almost any adjective or noun of English source (especially with the Spanish articles after the analogy of the Spanish adverbial phrases *á lo tonto*, *á lo judío*, etc., and by the use of the prepositions *de*, *á*, etc.) if the meaning allows it. Since these adverbial phrases are composed both of Spanish and English words, only the base of the noun or adjective may be of English source, the noun or adjective being often a derivative. A complete list of all these adverbial expressions is given in § 111. A few are given here to illustrate their formation, which, as already stated, follows Spanish models.

1. *á* (*lo*, *la*, etc.) + noun or adjective:  
*á lo trampe* (TRÄMP), in tramp fashion, like a tramp; *á lo ful* (FÖÖL); *á lo griso* (GREASER); *a lo méchica* (MEXICAN); *á las chitiadas* (CHEAT), by cheating; *á la puliada* (PULL), by pulling; *á quiques* (KĪCK) (= Sp. *á patadas*).
2. *de* + noun or adjective:  
*de escrachi* (SCRÄTCH), by scratch, accidentally; *de trampiada* (TRÄMP), in vagabond fashion = *á lo trampe*.
3. *por* + noun: *por fon* (FŪN), for fun (= Sp., *por broma*).

## II. Exclamations, Greetings and other common expressions.

§ 83. Exclamations. A few of the more common English interjections and exclamatory expressions are of frequent use in New Mexican Spanish, especially among the uneducated and lower classes. Those regularly developed are the following:

*auchi* < OUCH; *gorejel*, *gorijel* < GO TO HĚLL (S. B., Cuba, *gotijé*); *gondeme* < GOD DÄMN (S. B., *godeme*); *gondémete*

<sup>1</sup> There are no adverbs in *-mente* formed from English adjectives.

GOD DAMN IT; *chiclái* < GEE CLY (S. B.); *dē: ful* < DAMN FOOL; *ǵi juis* < GEE WHĪS (S. B.); *jel* < HELL; *jolón* < HOLD ON (S. B.); *jurá, juré* < HURRAH; *olraite* < ALL RIGHT (S. B.); *opa, ope, opi, op* < ŮP; *sho* < PSHAW (S. B.); *šoques, šoquis* < SHUCKS; *guirap(e)* < GĚT UP; *guirep(e)* < GĚT UP; *šarap(e)* < SHŮT ŮP; *sanamagón* < SON OF A GUN; *sana-mabichi* < SON OF A BITCH.

§ 84. The following oaths and exclamations are also used as substantives and they are regularly pluralized:

*gondeme* (< GOD DAMN), *gondemes* (S. B.) (= insult, oath in a general sense); *jolón* (< HOLD ON), *jolones* (S. B.) (= insult, reprimand, calling down); *sanamagonaso* (< SON OF A GUN + AZO), *sanamagonasos* (meaning same as *gondeme*); *sanamabichaso* (SON OF A BITCH + AZO), etc. (meaning to call one a s —); *l'echó sus gondemes*, he cursed him; *l'echó sus quenos jolones*, he reprimanded him severely (gave him a good calling down); *l'echó sus sanamagonasos*.

§ 85. Greetings and other expressions.

a) Greetings and leave-takings:

*jaló* < HELLO (S. B.), *jarirú* < HOW DO YOU DO (S. B.), *jarirusa* < HOW DO YOU DO SIR (S. B.), *gurbái* < GOOD-BYE (S. B.), *baibái* < BYE-BYE (to children).

b) Varia:

*albechu* < I'LL BĚT YOU (S. B.), *yubechu* < YOU BET YOU (S. B.), *yubet(e)* < YOU BET, *albechu que si (que no, etc.)*,<sup>1</sup> *yubechu que si (que no, etc.)*,<sup>2</sup> *yubet(e) que si (que no, etc.)*, *enejáu* < ANY HOW (= Sp. *no importa, sea como fuere, de todas maneras*), *olraite* < ALL RIGHT (S. B.), *jamachi* < HOW MUCH (S. B.), *camón* < COME ON, *camíar* < COME 'ERE < COME HERE, *plis* < PLEASE.<sup>2</sup>

### III. Verbs.

§ 86. Aside from the many Spanish verbs which have changed in some cases their original meaning for that of English verbs of

<sup>1</sup> These expressions may have the original English verbal force in the first (and second) person.

<sup>2</sup> Used as a rule at the end of the request: *damí um baso dī agua, plis*.

similar form and sound, a matter which does not concern us here,<sup>1</sup> there are some forty New Mexican Spanish verbs of direct English source and used with the exact English meanings.<sup>2</sup> All are formed from the English verb (infinitive), noun or adjective by adding *-iar* and belong, therefore to the first conjugation.<sup>3</sup> Since more than half of these verbs are derived from English verbs which end in consonantal stops and which are nouns as well, it may be that the analogy of the N. M. S. noun, which in these cases always ends with an epithetic *-e*, has caused the presence of the *-e*, and therefore, the *-iar* ending, but it is hardly possible that such a phenomenon would explain the total absence of a verb of the *-ar* class, the only exceptions being those where *-iar* is phonetically impossible, e. g., *lonchar* < \**lonchiar*, treated below. However this may be, the New Mexican Spanish verbs of English source all pass to the *-iar* class, and exactly the same phenomenon is found in the California Spanish.<sup>4</sup>

§ 87. Derivation. Most of the New Mexican Spanish verbs of English origin are derived from verbs, and most of these are English verbs which have a noun of like form. A few (nine in all) are derived from nouns and adjectives.

1. Derived from verbs:<sup>5</sup>

*baquiar* < BÄCK + IAR (S. B.), *bonchar* < BÜNCH + IAR, *bosiar* < BÖSS + IAR (S. B.), *cambariar* < CÄNVASS + IAR (S. B.), *craquiar* < CRÄCK + IAR (S. B.), *cuitiar* < QUÏT + IAR (S. B.), *chachar* < CHÄRGE + IAR (S. B.), *chequiar* < CHECK + IAR (S. B.), *chitiar* < CHEAT + IAR (S. B.), *es-crachar* < SCRÄTCH + IAR, *escrepiar* < SCRÄPE + IAR (S. B.), *espeliar* < SPËLL + IAR (S. B., *espelar*), *estraiquiar* < STRIKE + IAR (S. B.)

<sup>1</sup> See § 12.

<sup>2</sup> For complete list see § 110.

<sup>3</sup> The Judeo-Spanish verbs of Turkish origin also pass over to the *ear* (= *iar*?) class; see Wagner, BDR I, 59. The Germanic verbs which passed into Spanish fell in the first conjugation, but not always in the *-ear* class, and the *-jan* verbs passed to the third. See *Studies* II, § 138.

<sup>4</sup> For the California Spanish, however, there is one exception: *espelar* < SPËLL, > N. M. S., *espeliar*. The New Mexican Spanish *jairar* < HÄRRÖW + IAR is only an apparent exception. As the noun HÄRRÖW > N. M. S., *jaira*, the verb HÄRRÖW + IAR > N. M. S., *jairiar*, and this by dissimilation becomes *jairar*. *jairiar* is also used.

<sup>5</sup> For complete lists see § 110.

2. Derived from nouns (or nouns which are exclamations, e. g., *gondemiar* < *gondem(e) + iar*):

*grisjar* < GREASER + IAR (= to call one a greaser); *polqujar* < POLKA + IAR (= to dance a polka, jig) (S. B.); *trampjar* < TRAMP + IAR (= to steal; to act as a tramp); *gondemjar* < GOD DAM + IAR, *sanamagonjar* < SON OF A GŪN + IAR, *sanamabichar* < SON OF A BĪTCH + IAR (= to call one vile names; to curse, swear) (S. B.).

3. Derived from adjectives:

*broqujar* < BRŌKE + IAR; *cranqujar* < CRĀNKY (= to be or act cranky) + IAR; *jaitunjar* < HIGHTŌNED (= to be proud, act proud; be well dressed, dudish) + IAR.

§ 88. As already stated (§ 86), all the New Mexican Spanish verbs of English source pass to the *-iar* class. In New Mexican Spanish, the *-iar* verbs of Spanish source, representing various original *-jar*, *-ear* verbs which were often differently conjugated, were very much confused. Some types were so confused that they changed their conjugation *in toto*, while others used forms of varying classes side by side. All the original *-ear*, *-jar* verbs have fallen together in most of the tenses, and the double developments do not always follow the original type.<sup>1</sup>

The New Mexican verbs of English source, however, do not enter into this general confusion of the *-jar* (< Spanish *-EAR*, *-IAR*) verbs. All have passed to class 1. of the New Mexican Spanish *jar* verbs,<sup>2</sup> which have a present in *-eo*, but admit also the phonetic or analogical *-eyo*.<sup>3</sup> The complete conjugation of one verb will suffice, since the endings merely repeat those of *apjar* (*Studies* II, § 129).

§ 89. Conjugation of *chitjar* < CHEAT + IAR.

Infin.	<i>chitjar</i>
Pres. Part.	<i>chitiando</i>
Past Part.	<i>chitiau</i>
Pres. Indic. 1	<i>chiteo, chiteyo</i>
2	<i>chiteas, chiteyas</i>
3	<i>chitea, chiteya</i>
4	<i>chitjamos</i>
5-6	<i>chitean, chiteyan</i>

<sup>1</sup> All this matter has been treated in detail in *Studies* II, §§ 128-135, under six general and well defined types, which altho much confused, seem to follow certain regular developments.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies* II, § 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 126, 127, 128.

Pres. Subj.	1-3 <i>chitee, chitēi, chiteye, chiteyi</i> <sup>1</sup>		
	2 <i>chitees, chitēis, chiteyes, chiteyis</i> <sup>1</sup>		
	4 <i>chitéenos, chitéinos, chitéyenos, chitéyinos</i>		
	5-6 <i>chiteen, chitēin, chiteyen, chiteyin</i>		
Imperf. Indic.	1-3 <i>chitiaba</i>		
	2 <i>chitiabas</i>		
	4 <i>chitiábanos, chitiáanos</i> <sup>2</sup>		
	5-6 <i>chitiaban, chitiáan</i>		
Pret. Indic.	1 <i>chitié</i>	Fut. Indic.	1 <i>chitiaré</i>
	2 <i>chitiates</i>		2 <i>chitiarás</i>
	3 <i>chitió</i>		3 <i>chitiará</i>
	4 <i>chitiamos</i>		4 <i>chitiaremos</i>
	5-6 <i>chitiaron</i>		5-6 <i>chitiarán</i>
Cond. Indic.	1-3 <i>chitiaría</i>	Imperf. Subj.	1-3 <i>chitiara</i>
	2 <i>chitiarías</i>		2 <i>chitiaras</i>
	4 <i>chitiaríanos</i>		4 <i>chitiáranos</i>
	5-6 <i>chitiarían</i>		5-6 <i>chitiáran</i>

All the above forms are subject, of course, to the phonetic developments mentioned in *Studies* II, §§ 106, 110-112, involving accent shift, fall of medial consonants, change of the character of the final consonant, fall or change of the final vowel, etc., phonetic developments which are general in their application in New Mexican Spanish and affect all parts of speech.

§ 90. Verbs of English origin which end in the infinitive (which is the New Mexican Spanish verb stem) in the palatal consonants *č*, *š*, have in some forms a radically different development. Before an accented vowel<sup>3</sup> the *č* is completely absorbed by the preceding palatal *č* or *š*, and the result is that a verb of this class may have three developments side by side: 1. the regular *-iar* conjugation, type 1, as in § 89, 2. the verb is classed as an *-ar* verb, since the *č* is absorbed

<sup>1</sup> The forms are given in the order of common occurrence. In the order of development these forms would probably be as follows: CHITEE, CHITEYE (phonetic or analogic) > *chiteyi* (phonetic, *Studies* I, § 47) > *chitēi* (phonetic, *Studies* I, § 68). The original *-ée* could also become *ēi*.

<sup>2</sup> The fall of medial *b* is common here, but in rapid careless speech it may occur anywhere; *Studies* I, § 178, 2.

<sup>3</sup> In the future and conditional the already developed infinitive is the stem, so that the accent shift is secondary.

generally, 3. a mixture of both 1 and 2, with no regularity, and often with one development in one tense and the other in another. The regular *-o*, *-as*, *-a*, etc., forms are no doubt purely analogical and built on the infinitive *-ar* ending, from the analogy of the preterite, etc., while the *-eyo*, *-eo*, *-ëi*, forms show a clear connection with the other *-iar* verbs of English source and indicate that the absorption of the *ç* was, primarily, a purely phonetic development.

§ 91. The conjugation of the three following verbs shows the most important developments in the verbs in question. They are given together to show the irregularity of the developments. It seems that only the verbs with stem vowel *a* (*chachar*, *quijašar*) show a decided tendency to leave entirely the *-iar* conjugation and develop as regular *-ar* verbs.<sup>1</sup>

1.	2.	3.
Infin.		
<i>chachar</i> < CHÄRGE <sup>2</sup>	<i>lonchar</i> < LÜNCH <sup>2</sup>	<i>pušar</i> < PÜSH <sup>2</sup>
<i>quijašar</i> < CÄSH	<i>bonchar</i> < BUNCH	<i>sučhar</i> < SWİTCH
<i>escrachar</i> < SCRÄTCH		
Participles		
<i>chachando</i>	<i>lonchando</i>	<i>pušando</i>
<i>chachau</i>	<i>lonchau</i>	<i>pušau</i>
Pres. Indic.		
1 <i>chacho</i> , <i>chacheo</i> , <i>chacheyo</i>	<i>loncheo</i> , <i>locheyo</i>	<i>pušeo</i> , <i>pušeyo</i>
2 <i>chachas</i> , <i>chacheas</i> , <i>chacheyas</i>	<i>loncheas</i> , <i>loncheyas</i>	<i>pušeas</i> , <i>pušeyas</i>
3 <i>chacha</i> , <i>chachea</i> , <i>chacheya</i>	<i>lonchea</i> , <i>loncheya</i>	<i>pušea</i> , <i>pušeya</i>
4 <i>chachamos</i>	<i>lonchamos</i>	<i>pušamos</i>
5-6 <i>chachan</i> , <i>chachean</i> , <i>chacheyan</i>	<i>lonchan</i> , <i>lonchean</i> , <i>loncheyan</i>	<i>pušean</i> , <i>pušeyan</i>
Imperf. Indic.		
1,2,3,5 <i>chachaba</i> , etc.	<i>lonchaba</i> , etc.	<i>pušaba</i> , etc.
4 <i>chachábanos</i>	<i>lonchábanos</i>	<i>pušábanos</i> .

<sup>1</sup> See *Studies* II, § 139, where this matter was briefly treated.

<sup>2</sup> CHÄRGE + İAR > \**chachiar* > *chachar*, LÜNCH + İAR > \**lonchiar* > *lonchar*, PÜSH + İAR > \**pušiar* > *pušar*, SCRÄTCH + İAR > \**escrachiar* > *escrachar*.

	1.	2.	3.
	Pret. Indic.		
1	<i>chaché</i>	<i>lonché</i>	<i>pušé</i>
2	<i>chachates</i>	<i>lonchates</i>	<i>pušates</i>
3	<i>chachó</i>	<i>lonchó</i>	<i>pušó</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.
	Fut. Indic. and Condit. <sup>1</sup>		
1	<i>chacharé, chacharía</i>	<i>loncharé, loncharía</i>	<i>pušaré, pušaría</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.
	Pres. Subj.		
1-3	<i>chache, chachee,</i> <i>chacheye, chacheyi,</i> <i>chachëi</i>	<i>lonche, lonchee,</i> <i>loncheye, loncheyi,</i> <i>lonchëi</i>	<i>pušee, pušeye, pušeyi,</i> <i>pušëi</i>
2	<i>chaches, chacheyes,</i> <i>chacheyis, chachëis</i>	<i>lonches, lonchees,</i> <i>loncheyes, loncheyis,</i> <i>lonchëis</i>	<i>pušeyes, pušees,</i> <i>pušeyis, pušëis</i>
4	<i>cháchenos, chaché-</i> <i>yenos, chachéenos,</i> <i>chachéyinos, chachëinos</i>	<i>lónchenos</i> etc., like <i>chachar</i>	<i>pušéenos, pušéyenos,</i> <i>pušéyinos, pušëinos</i>
	Imperf. Subj.		
1-3	<i>chachara</i>	<i>lonchara</i>	<i>pušara</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.

§ 92. Verbal forms and expressions of English source. There are various verbal forms and expressions phonetically and regularly derived from the English and which do not follow, therefore the New Mexican conjugation. These are limited to the form used and have as a rule the English verbal force and meaning. They are fixed phrases of common occurrence, greetings, exclamations, oaths, affirmations, etc. Most of these have been already treated in the proper places, but since they all belong with the verb, some are repeated here, classified according to verbal value.

1. With present indicative force:

*albechu*<sup>1</sup> < I'LL BET YOU (S. B.), *yubet(e)* < YOU BET (S. B.),  
*yubechu* < YOU BET YOU, *yubechu laif(e)* < YOU BET YOUR  
LIFE, *obrait* < ALL RIGHT (= it is all right), *plis* < PLEASE  
(= if you please).

<sup>1</sup> See § 90, note.

<sup>2</sup> By contamination TE (*apuesto*) + ALBECHU > *t̃ albechu* or *t̃ albecho*, with the final -o of the first person.

## 2. With present interrogative force:

*jamachi* < HOW MUCH (is it? do you want?) (S. B.), *jarirú*  
< HOW DO YOU DO? (S. B.), *jarirusa* < HOW DO YOU DO  
SIR?

## 3. Imperative or exclamatory force:

*jolón* < HOLD ON! (S. B.), *quirap(e)* < GET UP! (S. B.),  
*gorejel*, *gorijel* < GO TO HELL! (S. B.), *camón* < COME ON!  
(S. B.), *camíar* < COME HERE, *šarap(e)* < SHŮT ŮP!, *gon-*  
*démete* < GOD DĀMN IT!

## 4. Mere greetings or leavetakings:

*jaló* < HĚLLO! (S. B.), *gurbái* < GOOD-BYE.

## IV. Derivatives.

§ 93. All derivatives are based on words of English origin regularly used and phonetically developed. In no case do derivatives exist formed from English words not used in New Mexican Spanish.

§ 94. Diminutives. The diminutives of nouns furnish by far the greatest number of derivatives. Any noun phonetically derived from the English, or any derivative noun, may have one or more diminutive derivatives. These are formed, in the majority of cases, according to the Spanish rules of diminutive formation. The only common diminutive endings in New Mexican Spanish are *-ito*, *-sito*, *-esito* (< Spanish *-ITO*, *-CITO*, *-ECITO*), and with the aid of these are formed the diminutive derivatives of the nouns of English words. The gender remains unchanged.

§ 95. Diminutives in *-ito*, *-esito*. Nouns ending in vowels may form diminutives in either *-ito* or *-esito*, but most nouns have only one of the two forms in actual usage. Since all derivatives are given in the vocabulary, only a few examples are given below.

*craque* (< CRĀCKER) — *craquito*; *cuque* (< CŮČKY) — *cuquito*; *esteque* (< STEAK) — *estequito*; *gwaša* (< WASHER) — *gwašita*; *bogue* (< BŮGGY) — *boguesito*; *lonchi* (< LŮNCH) — *lonchesito*; *cheque* (< CHĚCK) — *chequesito*; *pone* (< PŮNY) — *ponesito*; *greve* (< GRĀVY) — *grevesito*; *breca* (< BRĀKE) — *brequita*, *brequesita*; *šante* (< ŠĀNTY) — *šantito*, *šantesito*; *trampe* (< TRĀMP) — *trampito*, *trampesito*.

§ 96. Diminutives in *-ito*, *-sito*. Nouns ending in consonants form derivative diminutives in either *-ito* or *-sito*.

1. Nouns ending in any consonant, except *n*, form diminutives in *-ito*, only:

*belís* (< VALÍSE) — *belisito*; *bíl* (< BĪLL) — *bilito*; *ríl* (< DRĪLL) — *rilito*; *aiscrím* (< ÍCE-CREAM) — *aiscramito*.

a) Exceptions: *alcojolsito* — *alcojol* (< ALCOHOL); *boqueborsito* — *boquebor* (< BŪCKBOARD).

2. Nouns ending in *-n* form diminutives in *-sito*:

*balín* (< BALLŌŌN) — *balunsito*; *cun* (< CŌŌN) — *cunsito*; *escrín* (< SCRĒĒN) — *escrimsito*; *jaitún* (< HĪGHTŌNED) — *jaitunsito* (both noun and adjective); *jolón* (< HOLD ON) — *jolonsito*.

a) Exception: *fon* (< FŪN) — *fonesito* (*-esito* not *-sito*).

§ 97. Augmentatives. The only common augmentative ending which serves to form derivatives from nouns of English source, is the ending *-aso* (< Spanish *-azo*). Less common endings are *-on*, *-ucho* (depreciative). The formation follows the usual Spanish rules. As in Spanish feminine nouns become masculine when made augmentatives with the endings *-aso*, *-on*.

*belís* (< VALÍSE) — *belisaso*, *belisón*; *lonchi* (< LŪNCH) — *lonchaso*, *lonchón*; *cheque* (< CHĚCK) — *checaso*; *dipo* (< DĒPŌT) — *dipón*, *dipucho*; *esmaši* (< SMĀSH) — *esmašón*; *esteque* (< STEAK) — *estecón* (also *estequión* < ESTEQUE + ON); *fon* (< FŪN) — *fonaso*; *queque* (< CĀKE) — *quecaso*; *šotegón* (< SHŌTGŪN) — *šotegonaso*.

§ 98. The ending *-aso* is also used to form derivative nouns which express the blow or general effect of the object expressed by the original noun, as in Spanish.

*šotegón* (< SHŌTGŪN) — *šotegonaso*; *ríl* (< DRĪLL) — *rilasas*; *rula* (< RŪLER) — *rulasas*.

§ 99. Derivative nouns or adjectives formed thru the transformativ suffix *-ero*. A few nouns form derivatives which may be used either as nouns or adjectives thru the use of the suffix *-ero*.

*suichi* (< SWĪTCH) — *suichero*; *besbol* (< BĀSE BALL) — *besbolero*; *ríl* (< DRĪLL) — *rilero*; *blofe* (< BLŪFF) — *blofero* (influence of English *bluffer*?); *jaque* (< HĀCK) — *jaquero*.

a) There are two derivatives in *-era*, a noun derivative, *lonchera* (*lonchi* < LŪNCH) = lunch-box, and an adjective derivative, *cranquera* (*cranque* < CRĀNKY) = crankiness.

§ 100. Verbal derivatives. There are three important classes of nouns in New Mexican Spanish derived from verbs of English source. These are formed on the verb stem by the addition of the suffixes *-ada*, *-ador*, *-dera*. The derivatives in *-ador* may be used also as adjectives. Curiously enough there are no real post-verbal nouns such as *saqueo* (*saquear*), *clamoreo* (*clamorear*), etc.,<sup>1</sup> which are the very class of verbal nouns that one would expect from the New Mexican Spanish verbs of English source, which all belong to the *-iar* class (§ 86).

In all the verbal derivatives formed with the regular Spanish suffixes *-ada*, *-ador*, *-dera*, however, the *-i(a)* of the verb ending always appears, so that the complete suffixes which are used may be said to be *-iada*, *-iador*, *-iadera*. The *i(a)* element is derived, however, from the verb and not from the suffix. After a palatal group such as *ch* or *š*, the *i* element is completely absorbed.

The meanings change as in the case of the formation of similar verbal derivatives in regular Spanish. Examples follow.

§ 101. Verbal nouns in *-ada*:

*chitiada* — *chitiar* (< CHEAT + IAR); *baqujada* — *baqujar* (< BÄCK + IAR); *fuljada* — *fuljar* (< FÖÖL + IAR); *puljada* — *puljar* (< PULL + IAR); *blofiada* — *blofiar* (< BLÜFF + IAR); *trampjada* — *trampjar* (< TRÄMP + IAR); *šainjada* — *šainjar* (< SHĪNE + IAR); *lonchada* — *lonchar* (< LŪNCH + IAR); *pušada* — *pušar* (< PUSH + IAR).

§ 102. Verbal nouns in *-ador* (also adjectives):

*cambasiador* — *cambasiar* (< CANVASS + IAR); *baqujador* — *baqujar* (< BÄCK + IAR); *fuljador* — *fuljar* (< FÖÖL + IAR); *šutiador* — *šutjar* (< SHÖÖT + IAR); *trampjador* — *trampjar* (< TRAMP + IAR); *chitiador* — *chitiar* (< CHEAT + IAR); *tritiador* — *tritiar* (< TREAT + IAR); *quiqujador* — *quiqujar* (< KĪCK + IAR).

§ 103. Verbal nouns in *-(i)a*dera:

*blofiadera(s)*, *baqujadera(s)*, *chitiadera(s)*, *rijiadera(s)*, *quiqujadera(s)*, *craqujadera(s)*, *pušadera(s)* (< \**pušjadera[s]*), *puljadera(s)*, *cuitiadera(s)*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hanssen, *Gram. Hist.*, § 276.

## § 104. Sporadic.

1. Suffix *-erio*:

*craquerío* — *craque* (< CRÄCKER); *quequerío* — *queque* (< CÄKE); *gũaserío* — *gũasa* (< WASHER); *rulerío* — *rula* (< RÜLER); *pantrerío* — *pantre* (< PÄNTRY); *jaquerío* — *jaque* (< HÄCK).

2. Suffixes *-al*, *-ar*:

*belisal* — *belís* (< VALÍSE); *estecal* — *estegue* (< STEAK); *greval* — *greve* (< GRÄVY); *juiscal* — *jisque* (< WHISKEY); *otemilar* — *otemil* (< OAT-MEAL).

## Chapter IV. Vocabulary.

§ 105. In this chapter we give a complete list of all the New Mexican Spanish words of English origin, most of which have been already discussed. As we have said in another place, these lists do not include all those in actual usage. Many have, no doubt, escaped attention, but the lists are fairly complete. The greatest number of omissions are perhaps to be found among the derivatives. Those recorded give a very good idea of the frequent use of some of the New Mexican vocables of English origin, but their number is very limited and many more may be used.

The phonetic transcriptions are given only for the basic words regularly and phonetically derived from the English. All derivatives are given under the word from which they are derived. A derivative verb, like *cranquiar* (to act cranky, be cranky), for example, is not given in the verb list but in the adjective list, since this verb is derived from the adjective *cranque* < CRANKY.

Many vocables have suffered a partial or complete change in meaning. In all such cases the English equivalent is given.

The word lists are arranged in the following order: 1. Nouns, 2. Adjectives, 3. Verbs, 4. Adverbs, 5. Exclamations, Greetings and other expressions. The words of each list are arranged alphabetically.

## § 106.

## Nouns.

*àiscrím* [aískrím] < ICE-CREAM, §§ 7, 19, 28, 45, 58, 62, 72. Derivative: *aiscrímto*.

*alcojol*, *alcajol* [alkoxol] < ÄLCÖHÖL, §§ 23, 33, 37 (5). Derivative: *alcojolsito*.

*ale* [alɛ] < ÄLLEY, §§ 34, 69.

- atomobil, otomobil* [aʔomɔvil] < AUTŌMŌBĪLE, § 37, 5.
- bágachi* [bágaçi] < BĀGGĀGE, §§ 33, 51 (4), 56, 59, 70.
- baisíquel, baisicle* [baisíkel] < BĪCYCLE, § 46.
- balún* [baʎún] < BĀLLŌŌN, § 19. Derivatives: *balunsito, balunaso*.
- balís, belís* [baʎís] < VALISE, §§ 33, 72, 76 (3). Derivatives: *belisito, belisaso, belisal*.
- bel* [beʎ] < BĀLE (of hay), §§ 22, 47.
- bíl* [bil] < BĪLL, § 28. Derivatives: *bilito, bilaso*.
- bèquenpáura* [beʎẽmpaʊra] < BĀKĪNG POWDER, §§ 31, 52, 55 (3).
- besbol* [beʒvɔl] < BĀSEBALL, §§ 7, 23, 34, 63, 76. Derivatives: *besbolero, besboliar*.
- bisnes* [bihneʂ] < BUSINESS, §§ 19, 28, 34, 54, 72, 75a.
- bisqueete* [biskeʔe] < BĪSCUIT, §§ 28, 34, 42, 53. Derivatives: *bisqueete, bisquetal*.
- blofe* [bloʔe] < BLŪFF. Derivative: *blofero*.
- bogue* [boʒ'e] < BŪGGY, §§ 7, 19, 25, 34, 51 (3). Derivatives: *boguesito, bogaso, boquerío*.
- boil* [boil] < BOIL (fufuncle), § 31.
- boila* [boila] < BOILER, §§ 7, 8, 31, 39, 63, 68. Derivative: *boilita*.
- bonchi* [bõ:çi] < BŪNCH, §§ 25, 43, 56, 70. Derivatives: *bonchesito, bonchaso*.
- boquebor* [boʔeʒvɔr] < BŪCKBOARD (wagon), §§ 37, 61, 72. Derivatives: *boqueborsito, boqueborío*.
- bos* [boʂ] < BŪSS, §§ 23, 47, 76 (3).
- brande* [brã:de] < BRĀNDŸ, §§ 20, 34, 49. Derivative: *brandesito*.
- breca* [breʔa] < BREAK, §§ 7, 22, 44, 69 (2). Derivatives: *brequita, brequesita, brecaso*.
- brél* [breʎ] < BREAD, § 59.
- bugabú* [buʒavú] < BUGABŌŌ, § 71.
- buquipa* [buʔkipa] < BŪCKKEEPER, §§ 39, 40, 51, 63, 68.
- cabús* [kaʒús] < CABŌŌSE, §§ 7, 19, 33, 47, 51 (3), 58, 72, 75. Derivatives: *cabusito, cabusaso*.
- cláun* [klaun] < CLOWN, § 31.
- clica* [klika] < CLĪQUE (Spanish *corrillo*), § 28.
- clósete* [klõʂeʔe] < CLŌSET, §§ 23, 49. Derivative: *closetito*.
- cofe* [koʔe] < CŌFFEE, 51 (4).
- cumplén* [kũmplén] < CŌMPLAINT, § 37 (4).
- craque* [kraʔe] < CRĀCKĒR, §§ 7, 19, 39 (2), 44, 51, 68 (3). Derivatives: *craquito, craquerío, cracal, cracaso*.
- cristmes* [krihmeʂ] < CHRISTMAS, §§ 33, 53, 75a.

- crobar* [krovar] < CRŌW BÄR, §§ 58, 63, 72.  
*cuara* [kuara] < QUARTER (coin), §§ 19, 23, 39, 49, 54 (4).  
*cun* [kun] < CŌŌN, §§ 26, 62. Derivative: *cunsito*.  
*cuque* [kuqe] < CŌŌKY, § 26. Derivatives: *cuquito*, *cucaso*, *cuquerío*.  
*cute* [kute] < COAT (overcoat, never, sack coat) §§ 7, 24. Derivatives:  
*cutito*, *cutaso*.  
*Chales* [čalęš] < CHÄRLES, §§ 20, 54 (7), 74, 75 a, 77. Der.: *Chalesitos*.  
*chansa* [čä:sa] < CHANCE, §§ 19, 20. Derivative: *chansita*.  
*cheque* [čęqe] < CHECK, § 27. Derivatives: *chequesito*, *checaso*, *chequerío*, *checal*.  
*chipas* [čipaš] < CHĪPS (pōker).  
*Chochis* [čočis] < GEORGE, §§ 43, 51 (4), 59, 66, 77.  
*choque* [čōqe] < CHALK, §§ 23, 42. Derivative: *choquesito*.  
*daime* [daime] < DĪME, §§ 29, 45, 47, 58, 62a.  
*daique* [daıqe] < DĪKE, § 29. Derivative: *daiquesito*.  
*dawn* [daun] < DOWN (in föötbball), § 31.  
*dipo* [dipo] < DĒPŌT, §§ 28, 37, 71. Derivatives: *dipito*, *dipaso*, *dipón*.  
*dola* [dola, dola] < DŌLLAR, §§ 23, 39, 63, 68. Derivative: *dolita(s)*.  
*escrachi* [ęskrači] < SCRÄTCH, §§ 20, 41, 43, 49 (3). Derivatives: *escrachito*, *escrachaso*; *de escrachi*.  
*escrapes* [ęskrapęš] < SCRÄPS, §§ 20, 76.  
*escrepa* [ęskrepa] < SCRÄPĒR, §§ 7, 22, 39, 41, 49 (3), 51, 63, 75. Derivatives: *escrepita*, *escrepaso*; *escrepiar*, *escrepiada*, *escrepiadita*, *escrepiadera*.  
*escrín* [ęskrin] < SCREEN, §§ 28, 41, 49 (3), 62, 72, 75.  
*eslipa* [ęslipa] < SLEEPER (sleeping-car), §§ 41, 68.  
*esmaši* [ęsmaši] < SMÄSH, §§ 43, 70, 75. Derivative: *esmašón*.  
*espaique* [ęspaiqe] < SPIKE, §§ 7, 8, 29. Derivatives: *espaiquito*, *espai-caso*, *espai-cón*.  
*espelen* [ęspeleŋ] < SPĚLLĪNG, §§ 51 (4), 55 (3), 76.  
*espichi* [ęspiči] < SPEECH (oration, public speech), §§ 7, 19, 28, 41, 43, 49 (3), 70, 76.  
*espor* [ęspqr] < SPŌRT, §§ 24, 41, 61, 63.  
*esprés* [ęspręš] < ĚXPRESS (wagon), §§ 7, 54 (3).  
*espres guagen* [ęspręš guageŋ] EXPRESS WÄGON, § 38, 48 (4), 69.  
*esprín* [ęsprin] < SPRĪNG (bed spring), §§ 28, 49 (3), 53.  
*estaile* [ęstaiqe] < STĪLE, §§ 19, 41, 45, 75.  
*estable* [ęsteveqe] < STÄBLE, §§ 7, 22, 46. Derivatives: *establito*, *esteb-  
blaso*, *esteblerío*.  
*estepes* [ęstepeš] < STĒPS (door steps or stairway), §§ 27, 41.

- esteque* [ešteke] < STEAK, §§ 19, 22, 41, 42, 49 (3). Derivatives: *estequito*, *estecaso*, *estecón*, *estecal*, *estequerío*.
- estimbote* [eštĩmbote] < STEAMBOAT, § 35.
- estiple* [eštiple] < STĀPLE, §§ 8, 22.
- estraiue* [eštɾaike] < STRIKE (Spanish *huelga*), §§ 29, 41, 42, 49 (3), 53.
- evrebore* [evrevore] < ĚVĚRYBŮDY, §§ 23, 34, 51 (4), 76.
- failla, faile* [failla] < FILE, §§ 45, 58, 72.
- faya* [faja] < FIRE, § 30.
- fayamán* [fajamán] < FIREMAN, §§ 19, 30, 62, 65, 72.
- felo* [felə] < FĚLLOW, §§ 7, 27, 51 (4), 71, 75.
- faul* [faul] < FOUL (in base-ball).
- flaya* [flaja] < FLĪER (name of a special fast passenger train), §§ 30, 49, 65, 76.
- fon* [fɔn] < FŮN, §§ 25, 47, 58, 62, 76. Derivatives: *fonesito*, *fonaso*.
- forman* [fɔrman] < FŮREMĀN, § 8.
- ġele* [ġeɫe] < JĚLLY, §§ 27, 47. Derivative: *ġelar*.
- ġimes* [ġimeʃ] < JĚMMY, §§ 66, 77.
- ġobe* [ġove] < JŮB, §§ 7, 42, 57.
- gondeme* [gɔndeme] < GŮD DĀMN (oath, insult), §§ 20, 37 (4), 45, 64, 65. Derivative: *gondemġar* (to curse, insult).
- greve* [greve] < GRĀVY, §§ 7, 22, 34, 49, 51 (4). Derivatives: *grevesito*, *greval*.
- grimbaque* [grĩmbake] < GREENBĀCK (money), §§ 35, 55.
- griso* [griso] < GREASER (term of contempt applied to New Mexicans by some English speaking persons, and also by the New Mexicans among themselves), §§ 28, 39 (1), 49, 68 (3). Derivatives: *grisito*, *grisġar* (to call one a —); *á lo griso*.
- guaša* [gwaša] < WASHĚR (mech.), §§ 8, 19, 39, 48 (4), 51 (4), 63, 68, 75. Derivative: *guašita*.
- ġueiste* [ġueiste] < WĀIST (shirtwaist), §§ 22, 31, 42, 48 (4), 53. Derivatives: *ġueistito*, *ġueisterío*.
- ġuiangue* [ġiãgɛ] < GĀNG, §§ 7, 21, 42, 44, 55 (2), 69 (2). Derivative: *ġuianguito*.
- ġuile* [ġuile] < WĪLLIE, §§ 28, 48 (4), 77.
- ġuincheste* [ġuĩnċeste] < WĪNĊĚSTER (rifle), §§ 19, 39 (2), 44, 48 (4), 55, 68 (3). Derivative: *ġuinchestito*.
- ġuisque* [ġuiskɛ] < WHĪSKEY. See also *ġuisque*, § 50. Derivative: *ġuisquito*.
- ġoque* [ġoɔke] < WALK (Spanish *paseo*).

*jaira* [xajra] < HÄRRÖW, §§ 7, 19, 32, 51 (4), 71. Derivative: *jairita*.  
*jaque* [xake] < HÄCK (coach), §§ 7, 20, 42, 44, 48. Derivatives: *jaquito*, *jaquerío*; *jaquero*, *jaquerito*.

*jolón* [xolón] < HÖLD ÖN (insult, calling down), §§ 19, 23, 61, 72, 76 (3). Derivatives: *jolonsito*, *jolonaso*.

*jupen* [xupen] < WHĪPPIŃG, §§ 7, 19, 28, 34, 55 (3).

*jisque* [xɨiske] < WHĪSKEY. See also *guisque*, § 50. Der.: *jusquito*.

*jupen-cofe* [xupēnkofē] < WHÖPPIŃG-COUGH, §§ 55 (3).

*laya* [lajã] < LĪĒR. Adjective or noun, § 30.

*lere* [lɛrɛ] < LĀDŸ.

*lereshóis* [lɛrɛšɔis] < LĀDIES' CHOICE (in dancing), §§ 31, 52.

*lis* [lis] < LEASE, §§ 28, 58, 75 (3).

*lon* [lɔn] < LAWN, §§ 23, 75 (3). Derivative: *lonsito*.

*lonchi* [lɔ̃nči] < LŪNCH. See also *lonchar*, §§ 7, 19, 25, 43, 55, 70, 75.

Derivatives: *lonchera*, *loncherita*.

*londre* [lɔ̃ndrɛ] < LAUNDŘŸ, §§ 7, 23, 34, 53.

*lote* [lotɛ] < LÖT (piece of land), §§ 23, 42, 47. Derivatives: *lotesito*, *loterío*.

*Mague* [mage] < MĀGGIE, §§ 74, 77.

*Mague(s)* [makeš] < MĀCK, MĀX, §§ 20, 46, 59 (5), 77.

*Marí*, *Marrí* [marí] < MARIE, §§ 74, 77.

*méchica*, *méchican* [mɛ̃çi̯ka(n)] < MĒXĪCAN. Noun and adjective. In S. B. and rarely in N. M., *mésican*. Derivative: *la méchica* (= *los mejicanos ó nuevo-mejicanos*).

*Mere(s)* [mɛrɛ(s)] < MĀRY, §§ 34, 47, 66, 77.

*Mises* [miseš] < MISSĒS (Spanish [*la*] *señora*), § 22.

*mistar* [mistar] < MĪSTER (Spanish [*el*] *señor*), §§ 39, 63.

*mompes* [mɔ̃mpɛš] < MŪMPS, § 76.

*monquerrenchi* [mɔ̃nkɛrɛ̃:çi] < MONKEY WRĒNCH, § 55 (2). Derivative: *monquerrenchito*.

*nicle* [niklɛ] < NĪCKEL (5 cent-piece), §§ 28, 46, 47.

*otemil* [otɛmil] < OAT-MEAL, §§ 19, 28. Derivatives: *otemilito*, *otemilaso*, *otemilar*.

*otomovil* [otomɔvil] < AUTÓMÖBĪLE.

*ovarjoles* [ɔvarxɔlɛš] < ÖVERALLS (Spanish *zafones*), §§ 23, 37, 39 (2), 63.

*panqueque* [pãpkɛkɛ] < PĀNCĀKE, § 33. Derivatives: *panquequito*, *panquecaso*, *panquecal*, *panquequerío*.

*pantre* [pãtrɛ] < PĀNTRŸ, §§ 20, 53. Derivatives: *pantresito*, *pantrerío*.

- pare* [parɛ] < PĀRTY, §§ 7, 54 (4). Derivative: *piresito*.
- parna* [parna] < PĀRTNER (also adj.) §§ 7, 19, 20, 39, 63, 68.
- pene* [peɲe, peɲɛ] < PĒNNY, §§ 27, 34, 47, 51 (4), 69. Der.: *penesito*.
- penquila* [pɛɲkila] < PAIN-KĪLLER (patent medicine), §§ 34, 39, 63, 68, 76.
- picha* [piča] < PĪTCHĒR (base ball), § 51.
- picle* [pikle] < PĪCKLE, §§ 46, 69. Derivative: *piclito*.
- piquenie*, *piquinique* [pikiniɛ] < PĪCNĪC, §§ 7, 28, 46.
- ploga* [ploɣa] < PLŪG, §§ 44, 49, 57, 69 (2), 75. Derivatives: *ploguita*, *plogaso*.
- poca* [poɰa] < PŌKĒR (game at cards), §§ 39, 51, 63, 68, 76. Derivatives: *poquiar*, *poquiada*, *poquiadita*.
- polis* [pɔlis] < PŌLICE, §§ 7, 19, 28, 37 (5), 72, 75 (3). Der.: *poliserío*.
- ponchi* [pɔ:či] < PŪNCH (drink), §§ 43, 70.
- pone* [pɔɲɛ] < PŌNY, §§ 24, 69. Derivative: *ponesito*.
- ponšope* [pɔɲšɔpɛ] < PAWNŠŌP, § 37.
- porchi* [pɔrči] PŌRCH, §§ 24, 53. Derivatives: *porchesito*, *porchaso*, *porcherío*.
- pul* [pul] < PULL, § 26.
- pul* [pul] < PŌŌL (game), § 26.
- pulman* [pulmaɲ] < PULLMĀN (sleeping car), §§ 7, 19, 26, 33, 53, 62.
- puši* [puši] < PUSH, §§ 26, 43. Derivative: *pušón*.
- queque* [keke] < CĀKE, §§ 19, 22, 51. Derivatives: *quequito*, *quecaso*, *quequerío*, *quecal*.
- quiacha*, *quecha* [kjača] < CĀTCHĒR (base-ball), §§ 21, 51, 63.
- quiande* [kjaɲde] < CĀNDY, §§ 7, 21, 53, 55. Derivative: *quiandesito*.
- quiashi* [kjaši] < CĀSH, §§ 21, 43, 70.
- quido* [kido] < KĪDDŌ, §§ 37, 71.
- quimona* (rare *camona*) [kimɔɲa] < KĪMŌNŌ, § 37. Derivatives: *quimonsita*, *quimonaso*.
- quique* [kike] < KĪCK, §§ 28, 47.
- raide* [raide] < RĪDE, §§ 29, 57.
- rapa* [rapa] < WRĀPPER, §§ 20, 39, 48, 51, 63, 68. Derivatives: *raperío*, *rapal*.
- redes* [reɲes] < RĀDĪSHES, §§ 20, 51 (3), 59, 76.
- reile* [reile] < RĀIL, § 8.
- marca* [ɛmarka] < RĒMĀRK, § 20.
- renchi* [ɛ:či] < RĀNGE (KĪTCHEN RANGE), §§ 59, 70, 76. Derivatives: *renchito*, *renchaso*.
- renganchi* [ɛɲɣã:či] < TRAIN-GĀNG, §§ 19, 34, 49, 59.

*reque* [rɛkɛ] < WRĚCK, §§ 7, 27.

*reque* [rɛkɛ] < RĀKE §§ 7, 22, 44, 48, 75. Derivatives: *requito*, *recaso*, *requerío*.

*resensaque* [rɛsɛ:sakɛ] < DRĚSSĪNG SACK, §§ 19, 34, 49 (2), 51 (4), 55 (3).

*rigue* [rɪgɛ] < RĪG (buggy), §§ 28, 42, 57. Derivative: *riguito*.

*ril* [rɪl] < DRĪLL, §§ 49, 58, 76 (3). Derivatives: *rilito*, *rilaso*, *rilerío*, *rilar* (noun).

*rinque* [rɪŋkɛ] < DRĪNK, §§ 7, 28, 49. Derivative: *ringuito*.

*risés* [rɪsɛs] < RĚCESS, §§ 19, 35, 51 (4), 75 a. Derivative: *risesito*.

*roles* [rɔləs] < RŌLLS (bread), §§ 24, 48, 76. Derivative: *rolesitos*.

*roši* [rɔʃi] < RŪSH, § 70.

*rula* [rɪlɔ] < RŪLER (instrument for drawing), §§ 26, 39, 48, 68. Derivatives: *rulita*, *rulaso*, *rulerío*.

*saibor* [sajvɔr] < SĪDEBOARD, §§ 60, 61.

*saiguoque* (saiguokɛ) < SĪDEWALK, §§ 36, 48 (4), 54 (2), 60.

*salún* [səlún] < SALOON. Derivative: *salunsito*.

*sanamabichi* [sanamavɪçi] < SON OF A BĪTCH. Also adjective, §§ 43, 80. Derivatives: *sanamabichaso*, *sanamabichar* (verb).

*sanamagón* [sanamagón] < SON OF A GŪN. Also adjective, see § 80; §§ 37 a, 51 (4). Derivatives: *sanamagonaso*, *sanamagoniar*.

*sanguichi* [sanguiči] < SĀNDWĪCH, §§ 7, 43, 54 (2). Derivatives: *sanguichito*, *sanguichaso*, *sanguichal*.

*sarsaparila* [sarsaparɪlɔ] < SARSAPARĪLLA (botanical), § 76.

*selesute* [selesutɛ] < SĀILOR SŪIT, §§ 26, 34, 39 (2), 68 (3).

*sete* [setɛ] < SĒT, §§ 7, 19, 27, 47, 56. Derivatives: *setito*, *setesito*.

*sinque* [sɪnkɛ] < SĪNK (drain in kitchen), §§ 19, 28, 42, 55.

*somil* [sɔmil] < SAW MĪLL, §§ 7, 37.

*suera* [suɛrɔ] < SWEATĚR (garment), §§ 27, 39, 49, 52, 68. Derivatives: *suerita*, *sueraso*.

*suichi* [suiči] < SWĪTCH, §§ 7, 28. Derivatives: *suichito*, *suichaso*, *suicherío*, *suichero* (switchman).

*suitejarte* [suɪtɛxartɛ] < SWEETHEART, § 35.

*sur* [sur] < SEWER, §§ 26, 72.

*sute* [sutɛ] < SŪIT, §§ 7, 26, 47. Derivative: *sutito*.

*šain(e)* [šajne] < SHĪNE (shoe shine), § 29.

*šampú* [šɔmpú] < SHĀMPŌŌ (= shampŏŏing), §§ 19, 71.

*šante* [šá:te] < SHĀNTY, §§ 20, 53, 69. Derivatives: *šantito*, *šantesito*, *šanterío*.

*šerife*, *cherife* [šerife] < SHERĪFF.

*šo*, *cho* [šo, šɔ, čɔ] < SHŌW (spectacle, theater, circus), § 24.

*šopes* [šopɛs] < SHÖPS, §§ 8, 23, 42, 47, 56.

*šorgüeiste* [šorgüeiste] < SHIRTWÄIST, §§ 31, 32, 54 (2), 61.

*šotis*, *šotis* [šotıs] < SCHÖTTİSH (dance), §§ 37 (4), 51, 59.

*šotegón* [šotɛgón] < SHÖTGÜN, §§ 19, 25, 37 (4), 46, 58, 62, 72, 75 (3).

*šotegonsito*, *šotegonaso*.

*taimcheque*, *taimcheque* [taimčɛkɛ] < TĪME CHĚCK.

*taya* [taja] < TĪE (railway tĪe), §§ 7, 30, 65. Derivatives: *tayita*, *tayerío*, *tayal*.

*telefon*, *telejón* [tɛlɛfón, tɛlɛxón] < TELEPHŌNE, § 19. Derivative: *telefonsito*.

*tiquete* [tikɛtɛ] < TĪCKĚT, §§ 34, 47. Derivatives: *tiquetito*, *tiquetaso*, *tiqueterío*.

*trampe* [trãmpɛ] < TRÄMP (beggar), §§ 20, 42, 53. Derivatives: *trampito*, *trampesito*, *tramperío*, [*trampe* (adjective)? or is it from English TRÄMPY?].

*transe* [trãnsɛ] < TRÄNSOM, §§ 38, 53, 55, 62, 69.

*triques* [trikɛs] < TRĪCKS (= rags, goods). Derivatives: *triquesitos*, *triquerío*.

*trique* [trikɛ] < TRĪCK (deceit, artifice).

*trite* [tritɛ] < TREAT, § 28.

*troca* [trɔka, trɔka] < TRŮCK (cart), §§ 7, 25, 44, 49, 56, 69 (2).

Derivatives: *troquita*, *trocaso*, *troquerío*, *troquero*.

*tustepe* [tustɛpɛ] < TWOSTĚP (dance), §§ 40 (3). Derivative: *tustepito*.

*yanque* [jãnkɛ] < YÄNKEE. Derivatives: *yanquito*, *yanquerío*.

*yarda* [jãrdã] < YÄRD (Spanish *patio*), §§ 20, 48.

*yel* [jɛl] < YĚLL, § 48.

§ 107. Nouns continued. Surnames. The following list of English and German (with English pronunciation) surnames regularly hispanized, is no doubt incomplete. It includes all the surnames recorded in my notes.

*Bente* [bɛ:ntɛ] < BĚNT.

*Bidel* [bidɛl] < BĪDĚLL.

*Bon* [bɔn] < BÖND, BŮRN(S), §§ 61, 77.

*Catre* [katrɛ] < CÄTRON, §§ 38, 53, 62, 74, 77.

*Don* [dɔn] < DŮNN.

*Escote* [ɛskɔtɛ] < SCÖTT, § 74.

*Éldote* [ɛldɔtɛ] < ELLDODT.

*Élense* [ɛlɛ:se] < ÉLLİSSON, §§ 38, 65 (2).

- Esmite* [eʃmite] < SMĪTH, §§ 41, 59 (5), 74, 77.  
*Espite* [eʃpite] < SPĪTZ, § 74.  
*Espringa* [eʃprĩŋa] < SPRĪNGER.  
*Estape* [eʃtape] < STÄBB, §§ 41, 42.  
*Estrupe* [eʃtrupe] < STROUP, § 74.  
  
*Faifa* [faifa] < PFEIFFER, § 74.  
*Fil* [fil] < FIELD, § 61.  
*Franquilin* [frãnkĩlin] < FRÄNKLĪN, § 46.  
*Froste* [frøʃte] < FRÖST, § 49.  
  
*Godelfe* [gødelfe] < GÖTHĒLF.  
*Grinfele, Grunfe* [grĩmfelē] < GRUNSFĒLD.  
*Gũaila* [gũaila] < WĪLDER, § 48 (4), 54 (7), 64.  
*Gũais* [gũais] < WEĪSS, § 77.  
*Gudrichi* [gudriçi] < GÖÖDRĪCH.  
*Gũilson* [gũilson] < WĪLSON, §§ 62 a, 74.  
*Ĝonse* [ĝõ:se] < JŌHNSON, § 62.  
*Ĝul* [ĝul] < JEWELL, §§ 74, 77.  
  
*Îlefe, Ilfe* [ilfelē] < ILFĒLD, § 54 (10), 61, 74, 77.  
  
*Jarše* [xarʃe] < HĀRSH.  
*Jaule* [xauļe] < HOWLAND, § 31, 38.  
*Joble* [xovļe] < HŪBBELL, §§ 46, 74.  
*Jope* [xopē] < HŌPE.  
*Juve* [xuvē] < HŌŌVER.  
  
*Linco* [lĩpkõ] < LĪNCO(L)N, § 62.  
*Luis* [luis] < LEWIS.  
  
*Mandefile* [mã:ndefilē] < MANDERFIELD, § 77.  
*Maquemila* [maķemila] < MĂCMĪLLAN.  
*Maquentoše* [maķẽ:ntoʃe] < MĂCKĪNTŌSH.  
*Maya* [majã] < MEYER, § 30.  
*Medo* [međõ] < MĪDDAU(GH).  
*Mequenale* [meķenale] < MACNALLY, § 46.  
  
*Paique* [paikē] < PĪKE.  
*Ros* [rõs] < RŌSS, WRŌTH, § 59 (5), 74, 77.  
*Rosembol* [rõsẽmbõl] < ROSENWALD, §§ 54, 74.  
  
*Sélesman*, [sẽlesmã] < SELĪGMAN.  
*Šusta* [šustã] < SHŪSTER.  
  
*Trese* [treʃe, treʃe] < TRĀCY.

§ 108. Nouns continued. Names of cities and towns and other geographical names. Most of these are in origin surnames.

*Démbar* [démbar] < DĒNVĒR, §§ 39 (2), 54, 55, 63, 73.

*Demen* [demen] < DĒMÝNG.

*Encapágar* [ɛ̃nkapágar] < ŪNCOMPAGRE, § 73.

*Fuertegarlan* [fuertegárlan] < FÖRT GÄRLAND.

*Flaguestaf(e)* [flaɣ'ɛstafɛ] < FLÄGSTÄFF.

*Gónison* [góniʃon] < GŪNÝSSON, § 62 a.

*Granjonse* [grá:ngõ:se] < GRÄND JŪNCTION, §§ 38, 54 (9), 62, 73.

*Guàuenjuilguiápe* [gwaɣɛ:xiilgiápe] < WÄGON WHEEL GÄP, § 21.

*Guiálop(e)* [gíalopɛ] < GÄLLŪP, §§ 21, 73.

*Guayomen* [gwaɣiomen] < WYÖMÝNG, §§ 48 (4), 73.

*Guilson* [guilʃon] < WÝLSON, § 38.

*Lequesire* [lɛkɛsire] < LÄKE CITY, §§ 52, 73.

*Lerevil* [lɛrɛvil] < LEADVÝLLE, §§ 46, 52, 73.

*Mófate* [mofáte] < MÖFFAT.

*Monterros* [mõntɛrõs] < MÖNTRÖSE, § 46.

*Niles* [niles] < NĒEDLES, § 54 (7).

*Quianse Sire* [kiã:se sire] < KÄNSAS CITY, § 21.

*Rósgüel* [rõsguɛl] < RÖSWĒLL.

*Selaida* [sɛlaidã] < SELĪDA.

*Sómate* [sõ'matɛ] < SŪMMÝT.

*Telerrái* [tɛlɛraɪ] < TĒLLURĪDE, § 60.

*Vilagró* [vilagrõ'] < VILLA GRÖVE, § 64.

*Yutó* [iuto'] < UTAH, § 73.

## § 109.

## Adjectives.

*broqui(s)* [brõkiʃ] < BRÖKE, §§ 7, 24, 49, 66, 79. Derivatives: *broquiáar(se)*, *broquiáada*, *broquiáadita*.

*cranque* [krãnkɛ] < CRÄNKÝ, §§ 19, 20, 49, 55, 80. Derivatives: *cranquera*, *cranquiáar*.

*crese* [krɛʃɛ, krɛʃɛ] < CRÄZY (also adverb), §§ 22, 49, 51 (4), 79.

*dochi* [dõçi, dõçi] < DŪTCH (= American, German), §§ 25, 43, 47, 80.

*esmarite* [ɛsmartɛ] < SMÄRT, §§ 7, 20, 41, 49, 79.

*esporte*, *esporte* [ɛspõrɛ] < SPÖRTY, §§ 24, 49, 79.

*fain* [fãin] < FĪNE (also adverb), §§ 7, 29, 47, 79.

*fone* [fɔnɛ] < FŪNNY (also adverb), §§ 7, 51 (4), 79.

*ful, jul* [ful, xul] < FŌOL, §§ 7, 26, 47, 80.

*griso* [grisɔ] < GREASĒR (= dirty, and used contemptibly for New Mexican, Mexican), § 44, 49, 80.

*güilo* [gũilo] < WĪLLY? (= fool, foolish), § 80.

*jaitún* [xajtún] < HĪGHTŌNED, §§ 19, 36, 48, 61, 80. Derivatives: *jaitunjar, jaitunsito*.

*laya* [lajã] < LIĒR (also noun), § 80.

*méchica* [mɛçika] < MĒXĪCAN, §§ 54 (3), 62. Derivatives: *la méchica* (= *los nuevomejicanos de baja clase*).

*parna* [parnã] < PĀRTNĒR (also noun) §§ 7, 19, 20, 80.

*ponque* [pɔŋkɛ] < PŪNK (= bad, poor, of poor quality), § 79.

*quiut(e)* [kjute] < CŪTE.

*rede* [ɾɛdɛ] < READY, §§ 7, 27, 51 (3).

*sanamabichi* [sanãmãviçi] < SON OF A BĪTCH, §§ 43, 80. Derivatives: *sanamabichaso, sanamabichar*.

*sanamagón* [sanãmãgɔŋ] < SON OF A GŪN, §§ 51 (4), 80. Derivatives: *sanamagonaso, sanamagonjar*.

*sor* [sqɾ] < SŌRE (= offended, angry), §§ 63, 79.

*trampe* (trãmpɛ] < TRĀMPY? OR TRĀMP, §§ 49, 80.

## § 110.

## Verbs.

*baqujar* [bakjar] < BĀCK + ĬAR, §§ 33, 37, 87. Derivatives: *baqujada, baqujadita, baqujadera, baqujador, baqujón*.

*bonchar* [bɔ̃:çar] < BŪNCH + ĬAR, § 87.

*bosiar* [bɔsjar] < BŌSS + ĬAR, §§ 37 (4), 87.

*cambasiar* [kãmbãsjar] < CĀNVASS + ĬAR, §§ 7, 54, 87. Derivatives: *cambasiada, cambasiadita, cambasiador, cambasiadera*.

*craqujar* [kraçjar] < CRĀCK + ĬAR, § 87. Derivatives: *craqujada, craqujadita, craqujón*.

*cuitiar* [kuitjar] < QUĪT + ĬAR, §§ 34, 49, 87. Derivatives: *cuitiada, cuitiador*.

*chachar* [çãçar] < CHĀRGE + ĬAR, §§ 7, 33, 34, 87, 91 (conj.). Derivative: *chachada*.

*chequjar* [çɛkjar] < CHĚCK + ĬAR, §§ 7, 19, 87. Derivatives: *chequjada, chequjadita, chequjadera, chequjador*.

- chitiar* [çitjar] < CHEAT + IAR, §§ 35, 87, 89 (conjugation). Derivatives: *chitiada*, *chitiadita*, *chitiadera*, *chitiador*.
- deschachar* [deŝçaçar] < DĪSCHÄRGE + IAR, §§ 33, 34.
- escrachar* [eŝkraçar] < SCRÄTCH, § 87. Derivatives: *escrachada*, *escrachadita*, *escrachadera*.
- esmašar* [eŝmašar] < SMÄSH + IAR. Derivative: *esmašada*.
- espeliar* [eŝpeljar] < SPĚLL + IAR, §§ 7, 87. Derivatives: *espeliada*, *espeliador*.
- estraiçuiar* [eŝtraiçjar] < STRĪKE + IAR, §§ 36, 87. Derivatives: *estraiçuiada*, *estraiçuión*.
- fuliar*, *juliar* [fuljar] < FÖÖL + IAR, §§ 19, 40, 47. Derivatives: *fuliada*, *fuliadita*, *fuliador*.
- jairar*, *jairiar* [xajrar] < (dissimilation) *jairiar* < HÄRRÖW + IAR. Derivatives: *jairiada*, *jairada*.
- lonchar* [lõ:çar] < \*LONCHĪAR < LŪNCH + IAR. Derivatives: *lonchada*, *lonchadita*.
- monquiar* [mõŋkjar] < MONKEY + IAR (= meddle with, handle). Derivative: *monquidor*.
- puljar* [pułjar] < PULL + IAR, § 40. Derivatives: *puliada*, *puliadita*, *pulión*.
- pušar* [pušar] < PUSH + IAR, § 40. Derivative: *pušada*.
- quiašar* [kjašar] < CÄSH + IAR.
- quiquiar* [kikjar] < KĪCK + IAR, § 34. Derivatives: *quiquiada*, *quiquiadera*, *quiquidor*, *quiquión*.
- requiar* [reçkjar] < RÄKE + IAR. Derivative: *requiada*.
- riliar* [řiljar] < DRĪLL + IAR, §§ 19, 34. Derivatives: *riliada*, *riliadera*, *riliador*.
- risquiar* [řiskjar] < RĪSK + IAR.
- roseliar* [řoŝeljar] < RŪSTLE + IAR (= to be diligent, industrious, work), §§ 8, 37, 46 (5).
- suichar* [suičar] < SWĪTCH + IAR. Derivative: *suichada*.
- šainjar* [šajnar] < SHĪNE + IAR, § 36. Derivatives: *šainiada*, *šainiada*, *šainiador*.
- šutiar* [šutjar] < SHÖÖT + IAR, § 40. Derivatives: *šutiada*, *šutiadera*.
- telefoniar* [tełefnjar] < TELEPHONE + IAR. Derivative: *telefoniada*.
- trampiar* [trãmpjar] < TRÄMP + IAR (= to steal, swīpe, get by fraud), § 33. Derivatives: *trampiada*, *trampiadita*.
- tritjar* [tritjar] < TREAT (= give lunch, drink, etc.). Derivatives: *tritiada*, *tritiador*, *tritiadera*.

## § 111.

## Adverbs.

## a) Simple adverbs:

- enejau* [eɲɛxáu] < ANYHOW, §§ 31, 51 (4), 81.  
*crese* [krɛʃɛ] < CRĀZY (also adjective), § 81.  
*fain(e)* [fainɛ] < FĪNE (also adjective), §§ 47, 81.  
*fone* [fɔɲɛ] < FŪNNY (also adjective), § 81.  
*olraite* [ɔlraite] < ALL RĪGHT, §§ 29, 81.  
*rede* [rɛdɛ] < READY (also adjective), § 81.  
*tumoro* [tʊmɔɾɔ] < TOMORROW, § 81.

b) Adverbial phrases. The following adverbial expressions composed of nouns and adjectives of English source or derivatives of these, with the help of Spanish prepositions and articles, are, no doubt, a very small part of those actually used. Their formation follows Spanish models.

- á las chitiadas* (*chitiada* der. of *chitjar*), by cheating.  
*á las trampradas* (*tramprada* der. of *trampjar*), by tramping.  
*á los sanamagonasos*, by calling each other *s* —.  
*á los sanamabichasos*, calling each other *s* —.  
*al jolón*, in a mean manner.  
*á lo griso*, in greaser (New Mexican) fashion or manner.  
*á lo ful*, foolishly.  
*á lo jaitún*, in a hightoned fashion.  
*á lo méchica*, in Mexican fashion or manner.  
*á lo trampe*, in tramp fashion, like a tramp.  
*á la puliada*, by pulling.  
*á quiques* (Spanish *á patadas*).  
*d(e) escrachi*, by scratch, accidentally, § 82.  
*de tramprada* (= *á lo trampe*), § 82.  
*por fon*, for fun (Spanish *por broma*), § 82.

§ 112. Exclamations, greetings, leavetakings and other unclassified words and expressions.

- albechu*, *albecho* [albeçʉ, alveçʉ] < I'LL BĒT YOU, §§ 27, 32, 40, 53, 85, 92.  
*auchi* [aʉçi] < OUCH, § 83.  
*bai bai* [vai vái] < BYE BYE (= good bye), § 85.  
*càmiar* [kamiar] < COME HĒRE, §§ 85, 92.  
*camón* [kamɔn] < COME ŐN, §§ 85, 92.  
*dem ful* [dɛmful] < DĀMN FŌŪL.  
*chiclai*, *ģiclai* [çiklái, ğiklái] < JEE CLĪ, § 83.

- gijúis* [gǐxuís] < GEE WHĪS, §§ 28, 35, 83.  
*godémete* [gɔdémɛtɛ] < GOD DĀMN ĪT.  
*gondémete* [gɔ:ndémɛtɛ] < GOD DĀMN ĪT, § 92.  
*gorejel, gorijel* [gɔrɛxɛl] < GO TO HĚLL, §§ 27, 52, 83, 92.  
*guirape, guirepe* [gírɛpɛ] < GĚT ŪP, §§ 25, 52, 83, 92.  
*gurbai* [gʊrvai] < GŌŌD BYE, §§ 29, 30, 47, 85, 92.  
*jaló* [xalɔ'] < HĚLLŌ, §§ 24, 34, 48.  
*jamachi* [xɔmɔçi] < HŌW MŪCH, §§ 19, 25, 43, 51 (4), 85, 92.  
*jarirú* [xɔrírú] < HOW DO YOU DO (*hăđđdō*), §§ 7, 19, 26, 33, 40, 52, 85, 92.  
*jarirusa* [xɔrírusa] < HOW DO YOU DO SĪR, §§ 39 (2), 85, 92.  
*je* [xɛ] < HEX.  
*jolón* [xɔlɔn] < HŌLD ŌN (also noun), §§ 84, 92.  
*jurá, juré* [xurá, xurɛ] < HURRAH, § 83.  
*op, ope, opa, opi* [ɔp, ɔpɛ, ɔpa] < ŪP, § 83.  
*plis* [plis] < PLEASE, § 85, 92.  
*šarape* [šarɛpɛ] < SHŪT ŪP, §§ 25, 37 a, 42, 83.  
*šo* [šɔ] < PSHAW, §§ 23, 83.  
*šoquis* [šɔkɪs] < SHŪCKS, §§ 25, 46, 59 (5), 66.  
*yubet(e)* [jʊbɛtɛ, jʊvɛtɛ] < YOU BĚT, § 92.  
*yubechu* [jʊbɛçʉ, jʊvɛçʉ] < YOU BĚT YOU, §§ 48, 92.  
*yubechu laif* [jʊvɛçʉ laif] < YOU BĚT YOUR LĪFE, § 92.