Studies in New Mexican Spanish

Part II, Morphology

by

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Introduction.

§ 1. Altho the orthography of the Spanish language is one of the simplest among the Romance languages, it often fails to represent the actual pronunciation. The orthography of the writers of the classic period was more phonetic than the modern, and on the whole, a faithful representation of the spoken language. The phonetic changes which have taken place in Spanish since that time have been numerous, but as a rule, and comparatively speaking the language has been extremely conservative, and the modern Academic orthography has frequently adopted orthographies which not only fail to represent the actual pronunciation but which do not represent Spanish pronunciation at any period of its history. From the XVth to XVIIIth century, Spanish writers wrote *estraño, dotrina, escuro, dino*, etc., as they actually pronounced. In all the modern Castilian Spanish dialects of Spain and America the pronunciation is still the same, but the learned are attempting to follow the rules of the Academy and write (altho they may not always pronounce), *extraño, doctrina, obscuro, digno*, etc.[1]

The inconsistencies of the modern orthography clothe the written language with a Latin garb which seems to separate it widely from the popular pronunciation, but this is frequently not the case, the dialectologist having in many cases only to transcribe fathfully the words in question, using the traditional alphabet.

[1] See Lenz, *De la ortografía castellana* (Anales de la Universidad, Santiago, 1894) pp. 9-10.

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In recording the New Mexican Spanish forms, it is certain, therefore, that in many cases we have recorded forms that do not vary in pronunciation from the literary words differently spelled.

§ 2. In the study of the Morphology of New Mexican Spanish a large variety of forms present themselves. In the same part of speech more than one change may take place according to its position in the sentence, its place before or after certain vowels, etc., etc. The majority of the phonetic laws governing these changes have been already carefully studied in the Phonology so that it is not necessary to repeat them again, altho in all cases references will be given to the change in question. When warranted by usage two, three or more forms will be given in order of common occurrence, and when necessary the phonetic transcription will be given also. All the possible phonetic changes which a form may undergo are necessarily omitted. The present indicative of *poder* for example (§ 163) is given as:

1 *pu̯edo, pu̯eo, pu̯ó, po*	4 *podemos, poemos*
2 *pu̯edes, pu̯ees, pu̯es*	5-6 *pu̯eden, pu̯een, pu̯én.*
3 *puede, pu̯ee, pu̯é*	

These are the common forms taken separately, but in some of these cases other changes may occur. *Pu̯edo, pu̯eo* may become, *pu̯ed, pu̯e,* or *pu̯edu̯, pu̯eu̯* (see § 109). In forms with final *s,* the *s* may become *h* (see § 111 and *Phonology* § 154) while the forms ending in *n* may suffer more important developments (see § 111).

Only the most important and very common forms will be given with the usual pronunciations as isolated forms or in the more common positions.

Part III, The English Elements, will follow.

Chapter I. Articles.

I. The Definite Article.

§ 3. The numerous forms of the definite article in New Mexican Spanish are due, principally, to the juxtaposition of vowels.[1] The following forms are found:

	Sing.	Plur.
Masculine	*el, l'*	*los, loj* [lọh]
Femenine	*la, l'*	*las, laj* [lah]
Neuter	*lo, l', lu̯*	

[1] *Phonology,* §§ 80-94.

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Here are not included the numerous changes which *los, las* may undergo as the result of the behavior of final *s*, such as LOS DE ÉL > [lǫzę̣l], LOS LLANOS > [lǫšanǫs], LAS LLAVES > (lą̈žavę̣s], etc.[1]

1. Before or after a vowel, EL > *l'*:

a) EL HOMBRE > *l'ombre*; EL ANILLO > *l'anío*; EL INVIERNO > *l'imbierno.*

b) PARA EL PADRE > *pal padre*; ME COMÍ EL PAN > *me comí 'l pan*; SI EL LIBRO ES BUENO > *sil libru̯ es güeno.*[2]

2. Before a vowel, LA > *l'*:[3] LA HARINA > *l'arina*; LA ÚNICA NIÑA > *l'única niña*; LA HIJA DE JUAN > *l'ij' e Juan.*

3. Before the vowels, *a, e, i,* LO > *lu̯*:[4] PIDE LO IMPOSIBLE > *pide lu̯ imposible*; NO LO HA HECHO > *no lu̯ (a)echo*; SÍ LO ES > *si lu̯ es.*

4. Before the vowels, *o, u,* LO > *l'*:[5] ES LO ÚNICO QUE DICE > *es l'único que ise*; POR LO ORGULLOSO QUE ES > *por l'orguyoso qu'es.*

§ 4. The more common prepositions combine with the definite article in various ways. Some of the more current combinations with the prepositions *con* and *en,* are the following:

1. CON + EL < *cõ:el, cõl, coel, col.*
2. CON + LA > *cõ:la, cõa, cola, cõl, col.*
3. CON + LOS > *cõ:los, colos.*
4. CON + LAS > *cõ:las, colas.*
5. CON + LO > *cõ:lo, colo, cõ:lu̯, cõl, col.*[6]

The exact form of the article part of the combination is determined by the conditions discussed in § 3. The forms *cõ:loš, cõ:lož, cõloh, coloh,* etc., may, therefore, occur also.[7] This observation applies also to the article in all the following combinations.

6. EN + EL > *ẽel, nel;* ESTÁ EN EL JARDIN > *está nel jardín* or *está ẽel jardín.*

7. After a consonant and before a vowel EN + EL usually becomes *ẽl*: LO PONES EN EL ÁRBOL > *lo pões ẽl 'árbol.*

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[1] *Phonology,* §§ 153, 162, 163.
[2] *Ibid.* § 93.
[3] *Ibid.* § 87.
[4] *Ibid.* § 91.
[5] *Ibid.* § 90.
[6] For the fall of *n,* here, leaving a nasal vowel, or its complete disappearance, see *Phonology,* §§ 20, 26, 28.
[7] The above developments are found in Asturian and some in Old Spanish, cf. Meyer-Lübke II, § 105.

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8. EN + LA > *ẽ:la, ẽl, ela.*
9. EN + LSS > *ẽ:los, elos.*
10. EN + LO > *ẽ:lo, ẽ:lu̯, elu̯, êl, el.*

§ 5. With the preposition *pa* < PARA, the definite article combines in the following ways:

1. PA + EL > *pal* or *pel.*[1]
2. PA + LA > *pala, pal.*
3. PA + LO > *palu̯, pal.*
4. PA + LOS, LAS > *palos, paloh, palah,* etc.[2]

These contractions take place, ordinarily, only when unemphatic in the sentence. When the article is the emphatic part of the sentence, the full forms are more common. ES PARA EL QUE YO TE DÍ > *es pal que yo te dí,* but ES PA EL HOMBRE > *es pal ombre* or *es pa el hombre.*

§ 6. Other combinations of the definite article with prepositions do not differ greatly from the above in their phonetic developments. SIN becomes *sĩ* or *si,* before the *l*; POR + L > *pol* (sometimes), hence, POR LA CARNE > *pola carne,* etc.

II. The Indefinite Article.

§ 7. The following are the principal forms of the indefinite article in N. M. S.:

Masculine	*un, ũ, n, um, m̥.*
Femenine	*una, ña, na, n', un, ũ.*

The factors involved in determining the form, are the juxtaposition of vowels, the nasal quality of the *n*, and emphasis. Most of these developments have been already considered.

§ 8. The forms with loss of the initial vowel are found when unemphatic (proclisis): UNA MUJER TAN LOCA > *na mujer tã: loca*; UN HOMBRE COMO ÉSE NO SIRVE PARA NADA > *n'ombre comu̯ ese no sirve pa nada*; UNA AMÍGA TAN BUENA QUE ALLÁ VERÁS > *n'amiga tã güena qui̯ aa verás.*

§ 9. The forms *um, m̥,* occur before labials:

1. UN VASO > *um* [ũᵐ] *baso*; UN PERRO > *um perro.*[3]

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[1] *Phonology,* §§ 87, 93.
[2] Also Asturian forms, Meyer-Lübke, op. cit.
[3] *Phonology,* § 26.

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2. Before labials, UN > *m̥*, when in unemphatic positions:[1] UN PERRO COMO ÉSE > *m̥ perro comu̯ ese*; UN BESITO Á TU PAPA > *m̥ besitu̯ á tu papá.*

§ 10. The preposition Á + UNA + cons. > *a̯na.*[2] This phenomenon is extremely common: Á UNA MUJER > *a̯na mujer* (the syllabic *n̥* has the accent). LO LLEVAVAN Á UNA VISTA > *lo ʝevaan a̯na vista* [lǫ ʝęvaąn a̯ną vistą].

When the group is in an unemphatic position Á + UNA + cons. > *ana*: NO QUIERO Á UNA COMO ÉSA > *no quieru̯ ana comu̯ ésa.*

§ 11. In accordance with phonetic and syntactical changes already mentioned, the preposition *con* combines with the indefinite article in the following ways: CON UN > *co: un, con, cun, co̯n, cu̯n, com, cum, cõ, cũ*;[3] CON UNA > *cõ: una, co̯na, cona, co̯n, coún, cu̯n, cuna, cũa.*[3]

1. The forms *con, co̯n, cun, com, cõ, cũ, cum,* are used when in unemphatic positions: NO DESEO IR CON UN HOMBRE DE ESA CLASE > *no deseyu̯ ir con* (or *cun*) *hombre d'esa clas*; CON UNA HIJA TAN LINDA > *co̯n ija tan linda*; CON UN EMPEÑO TERRÍBLE > *co̯n empeño terríble.*

2. Before labials (see also § 9 (2.)), any form ending in *n* may change the *n* to *m*: LE DIERON CON UN PALO > *le dieon com palo.*

3. *coun, couna, cuna, cũa, co̯na,* are forms which are common in any position: CON UN LIBRO > *co un libro*; CON UNA CARA > *coúna cara*; CON UNA CARA TAN LARGA > *cuna cara tã larga*; SE CASÓ CON UNA MUJER MUY BONITA > *se casó co̯na mujer mu bonita* (or *bo̯nita*).[4]

§ 12. The developments of *pa* (< PARA) + *un* or *una* are the following:

1. PA + UN > *paún, páun,*[5] *pun, pũ, pum, paṹ, paúm, paũ, páum.*[5]

Rare forms are *pan, pam.* PA(RA)UN NIÑO > *pun niño, paún niño, páun niño.* PA(RA) UN BAILE *pum baile, paṹm baile*; *paúm baile, pũm baile*; *páum baile, páum baile.*

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[1] *Phonology*, § 167. A complete treatment of syllabic consonants in New Mexican Spanish, will be published later in a separate article. A brief treatment is given in *Phonology*, § 167.

[2] *Ibid.* § 167 (4).

[3] These forms are the more common ones. Other less common changes occur. See also § 4.

[4] *Phonology*, § 167 and § 9 note 2.

[5] *Ibid.* § 9.

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2. PA + UNA > *paúna, pauna, pana, puna, pũa, pun, paun, paŋ(a)*; PA(RA) UNA CENA > *paúna cena, pauna cena, puna cena,* etc.

3. The form *paŋ(a)*, is more frequent before an unaccented vowel: PA(RA) UNA HOJITA > *paŋ' hojita*; PA(RA) UNA ENSALADA > *paŋ' ensalaa.*

§ 13. The preposition *en* + *un, una,* gives the following forms:

a) EN + UN > *ẽún, enun, eún, nún, (e)num, eŋn.*

1. ES EN UN CUARTO > *Es eún cuarto.*
2. EN UN MONTE > *en um (m)onte.*
3. ES EN UN AGUJERO > *es eŋn' ajuero.*

b) EN + UNA > *eúna, nuna, nũa, nun, eŋn(a).*

1. ESTÁN EN UNA CASA > *stan eúna casa.*
2. ENTRAN EN UNA FONDA > *entran eŋna fonda.*

c) The forms *nun, nun(a)*, are found, as a rule between vowels: ESTÁ EN UN HOSPITAL > *está nun hospital*;[1] SE FUÉ EN UNA HORA > *se jué nun' hora.* The form *nuna* is also frequent after a vowel and before a consonant: ESTÁ EN UNA CAMA > *está nuna cama.*[1]

Cchapter II. Nouns and Adjectives.

I. Nouns.

a) Gender.

§ 14. A few of the Spanish nouns ending in *-ma, -ta,* which may be of either gender, become feminines in N. M. S., and masculine forms ending in *-o* have developed:

m.	f.
artista	*artisto*
retratista	*retratisto*
tomista	*tomisto*
vítima	*vítimo*

§ 15. On the other hand, some Spanish nouns which tho ending in *-o*, are of either gender, become only masculine in N. M. S. and feminine forms ending in *-a,* have developed:

m.	f.
testigo	*testiga*
reo	*rea*

[1] See *Phonology,* § 93.

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These forms are all current in the popular speech of many Spanish countries.[1]

§ 16. For the same reasons (i. e. for the sake of differentiation), and thru analogy, some Spanish nouns which tho of either gender, end in *-e,* remain so as masculines only, and new forms ending in *-a,* have developed:

m.	f.
dependiente	*dependienta*
pariente	*parienta* (also old Spanish)[2]
arabe	*araba*
hereje	*hereja*
doliente	*dolienta* (also old Spanish)[2]

§ 17. By analogy to adjectives ending in *-or,* which regularly have the ending *-ora,* in the feminine, *actor* (*ator*) and *cantor* have the feminine forms *atora, cantora.* The analogy of such forms as *autor, autora,* etc., may have also helped.

Servicial (= waiter) is also only a masculine form and a feminine *serviciala*[3] is used.

§ 18. Spanish masculine nouns ending in *-ma, -ta,* have become feminine, by analogy: *la idioma* [l'iđi̯ọma], *la drama, la sistema, la poema* [la pu̯ẹma] (analogy to *poesía*?), *la problema, la planeta.* Note also, *la tranvía.*

§ 19. A few Spanish masculine nouns, beginning with the vowel *a* and ending in a consonant, have become feminine, and *-a* is added by analogy: EL AZÚCAR (m.) < *l'asucara* (f.); EL ÁNSAR (m.) > *l'ánsara* (f.); EL ARNÉS (m.) > *l'arnesa* (f.).

The change of gender was probably brought about thru agglutination with the article: EL AZÚCAR > *l'asucar* (see § 3) > *la súcar.* Then the full form *asúcar* was used as a femenine and the analogical *-a* was added.[4]

§ 20. Change of the final vowel without change of gender.

1. The masculine nouns, *pésame, pláceme,* have final *o* instead of *e,* an analogical change, *pésamo, plácemo.*[5]

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[1] Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 181.

[2] See Keller, *Historische Formenlehre der Spanischen Sprache,* Murhardt, 1894, § 6.

[3] See also the adjective form, § 25, and Pietsch, M. L. N. XXV, 210.

[4] *Phonology,* § 198.

[5] *Ibid.* § 48.

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2. All nouns ending in *-e* after the palatal groups, *ch, ll* (= *y*), *sh, ñ, rr,* of whatever gender, change the *e* to *i*, a purely phonetic change:[1] LECHE > *lechi,* COCHE > *cochi,* CALLE > *cayi,* TORRE > *torri,* PUNSHE > *punshi* [pũnši].

3. Probably for the same reason as in 2., o > *i* in *serruchi* < SERRUCHO.[2]

4. All nouns ending in *-a,* drop final *a* in the singular, before a vowel.[3]

5. All nouns ending in *-e,* drop final *-e* in the singular, before *e* or *i,* and change the *e* to *i̯* before *a, o, u.*[4]

6. All nouns ending in *-o,* drop the *-o* in the singular before *o, u,* and change the *o* to *u̯* before *a, i, e.*[5]

§ 21. Sporadic developments.

1. *Porción* is masculine in the quantitative phrase, *un porción de papeles,* and the like.[6]

2. *Hambre* is always masculine. In Spanish literature previous to the XIXth century, it was either masculine or feminine.

3. *Color* and *calor* ar used now as masculines, now as feminines. In old Spanish the same hesitation is found, tho there was a well marked tendency towards the feminine in all nouns ending in *-or,* as in French and Provenzal.[7]

4. *La manita* is the popular form in New Mexico, and not *manito,* which Cuervo calls a popular form (*Apuntaciones,* § 200).

b) Plural formation.

§ 22. Contrary to the rule in modern Spanish, that nouns ending in a tonic vowel should add *-es* to form the plural, in N. M. S. *-ses* is added, generally:

Sing.	Plur.
café	*cafeses*
navajó	*navajo(d)ses*

[1] *Phonology,* § 47.
[2] *Ibid.* § 52.
[3] *Ibid.* § 87.
[4] *Ibid.* §§ 88-89.
[5] *Ibid.* §§ 90-91.
[6] This phenomenon is also frequent in Columbia and Spain, see Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 193 and in Mexico, see Ramos y Duarte, *Diccionario de Mejicanismos,* Mexico[2], 1898, p. 411.
[7] *Ibid.* § 194.

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Sing.	Plur.
papá	*papases*
mamá	*mamases*
fé	*feses* (only in the expression *feses de bautismo*)
pie	*pieses* (not general)
sofá	*sofases* (not a sure case, since a singular form *sofás*, also occurs) [1]
rubí	*rubises* [2]

The word *reló* or *relós* (< old Sp. RELOX (š)), has a plural *reloses*. The diminutive is *relosito* or *relositos*.

§ 23. All nouns ending in *-ey* in the singular, add *-is* to form the plural, in accordance with the phonetic law which causes final *e* to change to *i* after *y*, *y* < LL, CH, and other palatals: [3]

Sing.	Plur.
güey (< BUEY)	*güeyis* (also *güeïs*)
rey	*reyis* (also *reïs*)
juey (< FUEY)	*jueyis* (also *jueïs*)
ley	*leyis* (also *leïs*) [4]

§ 24. In accordance with the phonetic law above mentioned, all the Spanish plural *-es* endings, become *-is* after *ch, sh, y* (< LL), *y*:

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[1] *Phonology*, § 200.

[2] Instances of this phenomenon are not rare in Spanish literature; see Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§ 156-158. *Maravedí* has in Spanish three plural forms, *maravedíes, maravedís, maravedises.*

[3] *Phonology*, § 47.

[4] In rapid discourse one may even hear the monosyllabic forms, *güeis, reis, jueis, leis.* See *Phonology*, §§ 62, 68. In old Spanish are found the regular plurals, *reys, leys*, and also in modern Asturian (Hanssen, *Sp. Gram.*, p. 122). I believe the N. M. forms are of independent development according to the general laws mentioned in *Phonology*, §§ 47, 62, 68, etc. REYES > *reyis* > *réïs* > *reis*, just as CALLE > *caï* > *cai* and AYE > *aï* > *ai*. The *e* had become *i* before the *y* fell as is seen from, *reyis, cayis*, etc. Phonetically, *reïs* could come also from *rees* (found in old Spanish, Hanssen, op. cit) just as the verb forms CREES, LEES > *creïs, leïs*, etc., but the independent development is preferible.

As to the Sp. *ley, rey*, I believe with Pidal and Staaff in the development LEGE > *lee* > *lei*. The first change may have left the form disyllabic but it soon became diphthongal. In N. M. S., when CREE > *creï* or LEYES > *leïs*, the disyllabic forms always precede the diphthongal forms and also exist later. Hanssen's explanation REGE > *reye* > *rey* is possible but not probable, in view of the fact that the explanation of Pidal brings it under a far more general and well known development (*Gram. Hist.*, § 28). Pidal's conclusions, however, need revision and modification in view of the latest contribution to the problem of final atonic *y* in Spanish, by Pietsch, ZRPh XXXIV, 641-651.

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Sing.	Plur.
coche, cochi	*cochis*
noche, nochi	*nochis*
punshe, punshi	*punshis*
vaye, vayi (< VALLE)	*vayis* or *vaïs*[1]
caye or *cayi* (< CALLE)	*cayis* or *caïs*
aye or *ayi, ai*	*ayis, aïs*

II. Adjectives.

§ 25. A few adjectives ending in *-e* and being either masculine or femenine, take in N. M. S. a femenine form in *-a,* by analogy, like the nouns mentioned in § 16:

masc.	fem.
obediente	*obedienta*
corriente	*corrienta*
doliente	*dolienta*[2]
asistente	*asistenta*
independiente	*independienta* (rare)

The phenomenon, is limited, apparently to adjectives ending in *-ente.* Such forms as the old Aragonese, *granda, simpla,*[3] are not found.

§ 26. Some of the Spanish adjectives which have only one form for both genders, ending in a consonant are used only as masculines and analogical feminine forms ending in *-a* have developed:

masc.	fem.
principal	*principala*
superior	*superiora*
inferior	*inferiora*

§ 27. Comparison. The only formations that require explanation are the forms with the intensive prefixes, which are very common. The more common prefixes are *re, rete, rede* (the popular development of *rete,* since the medial *t* has become voiced), and the repetition of these, or parts of these. The adverbs *mu* (< MUY), *ta, tã, tan* (< TAN), are occasionally used as pre-prefixes, here. Examples: *Es un niño retelindo*; *¡Que niña tarre* (< TAN + RE) *de de linda!*; *Es murrerretefeo.*

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[1] See § 25, n. 1.
[2] See § 16, n. 2.
[3] Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.,* § 78 (2).

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(< MUY RE- RETE FEO); *Es murrede chiquitito. ¡Compraron un cabayo tarrerredeflaco!*

The prefix *re-* has come to be considered as part of *que* in exclamations, forming one word with it and separated from the adjective: *¡Querre grande!*; *¡Querre chiquitu es el cabayo.*

§ 28. New adjectival form. A curious formation in N. M. S. is the transformation of a descriptive noun phrase into an adjectival form agreeing with the noun modified. The phrase in question is taken as a complete modifier and rightly so, and then it assumes a purely adjectival character. Examples: *Unas (e)naguas color-cafeses*;[1] *Unas (e)naguas color-de-rosas*; *Unos géneros color blancos.*

It is only with the word *color* that I have observed this construction. There are some doubts as to whether the second example belongs here on account of the presence of the preposition, but even the other two cases are not identical, the one made of noun + noun the other of noun + adjective.

III. Nouns and adjectives of English source.[2]

§ 29. Nouns ending in *-a* are feminine: *chansa* < CHANCE, *escrepa* < SCRAPER, *guasha* < WASHER, *ploga* < PLUG, *rapa* < WRAPPER, *taya* < TIE, *troca* < TRUCK, *yarda* < YARD, *boila* < BOILER, *pompa* < PUMP, *jaira* < HARROW.

There are a few exceptions: *dola* < DOLLAR, *parna* < PARTNER, *flaya* < flier, *cuara* < QUARTER (coin), are masculine.

The plural formation of the above nouns is regular.

§ 30. Nouns ending in any vowel other than *-a*, or in any consonant, are masculine:

a) with vocalic ending: *bonchi* < BUNCH, *cute* < COAT, *escra(d)chi* < SCRATCH, *esteque* < STEAK, *felo* < FELLOW, *güeiste* < WAIST, *pare* < PARTY, *rinque* < DRINK, *sete* < SET, *sute* < SUIT, *transe* < TRANSOM.

b) with consonantal ending: *aiscrim* < ICE CREAM, *bil* < BILL, *cabús* < CABOOSE, *estail* < STYLE, *fon* < FUN, *jolón* < HOLD ON, *redes* < RADDISH, *šotegón* < SHOT GUN.

The plural formation of the above nouns is also regular, except, *cabús*, which has as plural *cabús* or *cabuses*.

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[1] See § 22.

[2] For a brief treatment of the English elements in Spanish, see *Phonology*, Chapter V. A complete study is now in preparation, see Introduction.

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§ 31. Of the adjectives of English source, very few are inflected. This is very interesting, in view of the fact that there is no loss of inflection in the Spanish words. It is very probable that the lack of inflection is due to a feeling of their English source. Whether the adjective is singular or plural, masculine or femenine, there is only one form: *Él está broquis* (< BROKE). *Ellos están broquis.* *¡Qué fain* (< FINE) *casa compró!* *Esos dulces están muy fain.* *Está crese* (< CRAZY), m. or f. *Están crese,* m. or f. *Dicen unas cosas tan fone* (< funny).

Jaitún (< HIGHTONED), *güilo* (< WILLIE = fool), are inflected regularly, *jaitunes, güilos, güilas.*

IV. Titles of Address.

§ 32. The more common forms of the titles of address suffer a series of changes, not ordinarily encountered in the other words. This is largely due to the lack of emphasis, or to their proclitic use. As a rule it is the part of the word that bears the tonic stress, which remains in words of more than one syllable. Compare *don Juan* < DŎMINU JOHANNE(M) and *ñor Juan* < SENIÓRE(M) JOHANNE(M).

§ 33. The more common developments of the titles of address which are regularly used as proclitics in N. M. S. are the following: DON > *don, on, n*; PARA DON > *padon, paón, pon*; Á DON > *á don, aón, an, on*; DOÑA > *doña, oña, ña, ñ'*; Á DOÑA > *aoña, añá, añ'*; PARA DOÑA > *paoña, paña, poña*; SEÑOR > *señor, siñor,*[1] *sïor, ñor*; *jeñor, jiñor, ĵior*; SEÑORA > *señora, siñora, seña̲á, siña̲á,*[1] *señá, siñá, ña̲á, ñá*; *jiña̲á,* etc.[2]

The phonetic changes involved in the above forms have been fully treated in the *Phonology.* The non-phonetic factors involved in the changes are purely questions of position, i. e., proclisis and emphasis. Otherwise there is little choice in the form. The question of more or less respect does not always decide, an important factor in other Spanish countries, as Cuervo indicates.[3] In N. M. S. one may say with equal respect: *La cas'e señá Paula* < LA CASA DE SEÑORA PAULA. *La cas'e ñá Paulita* < LA CASA DE SEÑORA PAULITA. *Voy pan cas'e siñuá Paulita* < VOY PARA EN CASA DE SEÑORA PAULITA. *¿Onde stá on Juanito?* < ¿DÓNDE ESTÁ DON JUANITO? *Dijo ñor Juan que ya venía* < DIJO SEÑOR JUAN QUE YA VENÍA.

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[1] *Phonology,* §§ 46, 84, 203.

[2] A large majority of these forms are found in many Spanish dialects, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* §§ 753-756.

[3] *Apuntaciones,* § 753.

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The shorter forms, *ñor, ñá, ǰor,* etc., are used only by the most ignorant.

§ 34. The following forms have special uses: *mano* < HERMANO, *mana* < HERMANA, *tį́ó* < TÍO, *tį́á* < TÍA.

a) *mano* and *mana* are titles of address used towards old people who are inferior, yet respectable and honest: *mano Juan, Mr. John, old man John*; *mano Pedro, the good old Peter*; *mana Sofía, old lady Sophie, good Mrs. Sophie.*

b) *tį́ó* and *tį́á* are used towards old people who are considered decidedly inferior, and they always convey the idea of scorn or even indignation: *tį́ó Julio, worthless old Julio*; *tį́á Carmel, ugly old Mrs. Carmen.*

c) To express impersonally a given idea, the forms are used with adjectives: *Andas como tį́ó tonto, you walk like a fool. Hablaba como tį́á loca, she spoke as if crazy.*

d) *manitos* < HERMANITOS, is used as an exclamation: *¡manitos, no se 'nojen!. For heavens' sake don't get angry!*[1]

§ 35. The forms *tata* and *nana.* These two words, the first masculine and the second feminine, are used in N. M. S. in various ways.

1. They are often used as synonyms of *padre, madre.* When so used, however, they usually convey the idea of ridicule or scorn: *vete con tu tata, go with your old dady. ¿onde está tu nana? where is your mother?*

2. Towards grandparents or to brothers and sisters, the titles are used as terms of endearment: *mi tata Juan, Grandpa John, mi nana* (or *na*) *Luisa, Grandma Louise.*

With this sense, they may also be used in the diminutive forms, *tatita, nanita. Ven acá nanita, come here, dear* (to a little sister).

An old uncle, aunt or other close relative, also adresses his younger relatives as, *tatita* and *nanita.*

3. Intimate friends often use the forms *tatita* and *nanita* as forms of address towards each other, to express fear, astonishment or great joy: *¡Si vieras, nanita! You just ought to see!* Likewise are used the forms *nito* < *NANITO, (used for *tatita*), and *nita* < NANITA: *mira, nito, Look, dear. Oye, nita, ¿ques esto? Say, dear, what is this?* These last forms are also used between husband and wife.

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[1] The frequent use of *manitos* in N. M. S. has caused the name to be used as a term of ridicule on the part of the Mexicans.

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§ 36. English titles of address. The following titles of address of English source are in common use in N. M. S.:

1. *místar, mistro mestro* < MISTER. The last two forms are probably contaminations of the English *mister* + Spanish *mestro* < MAESTRO. The English source, however, is evident from the fact that they are used, as a rule, only with English names: *místar* or *mistro Smith,* etc. Tho less frequently, they may be used also with the first name: *místar Frank* or *Franque, mestro John.*

2. *mis* < MISS. This is very common and used with Spanish or English names. The article *la* may accompany it: *¿Onde stá la mis Smith?*

3. *mises* < [mịsịs] < MRS. = MISTRESS. The use of this is less general than 2.,[1] and is used with the last name only: *Aquí sta mises Montoya.*

By confusion *mis* < MISS is also used for *mises* < MRS.

V. Numerals.

a) Cardinals.

§ 37. Practically all the changes found in the cardinal numbers are due to phonetic causes operating thruout the whole N. M. S. vocabulary, and already studied in the Phonology. The Principal changes are the following:

1. Final *s, z* > *h,* or are entirely silent before *l, m, n, r*:[2] DOS HOMBRES > [dǫh õᵐbrẹh]; DOS REALES > *do rịales*; DIEZ REALES > *dié rịales*; DIEZ NARANJAS > *dié narājas.* The development [dǫzɪ̯ịalẹh] etc, also occurs.[3]

2. In the forms *dieciseis, diecisiete, dieciocho,* DIEZ > *dis* or *dij: disíseis, dijiseis, disisiete, dijisiete, disiocho.*[4] By haplology one may sometimes hear the forms, *diseis, disiete.*

3. In the compounds 21 to 29, VEINTE, TREINTA > *venti, trenti; vinti, trinti: ventisinco, ventiseis,* etc., *trentitres, trenticuatro,* etc., *vintídos, vintitres,* etc., *trintinueve,* etc.

The change EI > *e* is the more common. This is also an old change, since both developments are found in Old Spanish and in many modern dialects.[5]

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[1] Tonic English ɪ̯ becomes *i* or *i̯* in N. M. S., but in the atonic position it becomes *ẹ* or *ẹ̯*, *Phonology,* §§ 224, 235.

[2] *Phonology,* §§ 153, 154, 186.

[3] *Ibid.* § 111, 3.

[4] This reduction of proclitic IE to *i* in the numeral dates from Old Spanish and it is frequent in many of the modern dialects, *Phonology,* § 73.

[5] See *Phonology,* § 59, and Menéndez Pidal, *Dial. Leonés,* § 16.

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§ 38. *Ciento* [siẹ̃:tọ] suffers the following changes:

1. Before a vowel final *-o* is lost: CIENTO UN LIBROS > *cient' un libros.*

2. Before *-s* it is lost in: CIENTO CINCUENTA > *cient sincuenta,* CIENTO SESENTA > *cientsesenta,* CIENTO SETENTA > *cientsetenta.* This phenomenon is due to proclisis.

3. For the same reason one may also often hear the forms: *trecientscuarentiseis, dosientsveintiuno, cuatrocientsochentisiete,* etc.

b) Ordinals.

§ 39. Of the ordinals only the first three are in current use in N. M. S., and very few persons know the first ten. The more common forms are: *primer*(o), *sigundo, tercero, cuarto, quinto, sesto, sétimo* or *séutimo, octavo* or *outavo, noveno* or *nono.*

Note: 1. *Cada nonada* = *de vez encuando*; 2. *de á en uno en uno* [dịàẹnunụẽnunọ] = *de uno en uno* > *dịụnenuno* [dịụnẹnunọ]; 3. *rete doble* = *más que doble.* (See § 27.)

Chapter III. Pronouns.

I. Personal Pronouns.

§ 40. New Mexican Spanish has preserved all the personal pronouns used in the Spanish of the XVIth century with the exception of the second person plural. For the plural of *tú* is used *ustedes.* The new forms of N. M. S., are the result of apocope before vowels, the behavior of medial or final *s* and the important developments of medial *ll.*[1] To these most important phonetic phenomena which enter into the developments of all the parts of speech, must be added the peculiar N. M. S., phenomenon, the presence of syllabic consonants.[2]

Tho many of the N. M. S. forms are in form identical with many of the forms of the Old Spanish period, a comparison would not prove valuable, in view of the fact that the processes involved, whether phonetic or morphological are in the majority of cases radically different. The only important exception is the case of apocope before a vowel. Here the developments in Old Spanish and in the Spanish of the XVI century were in many respects parallel to those found in N. M. S.[3]

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[1] *Phonology,* §§ 87-93, 154, 158.

[2] See § 9 no. 2, and *Phonology,* § 167.

[3] *Phonology,* § 96, b.

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§ 41. The following table gives a fairly complete outline of the N. M. S. forms of the personal pronoun:

Singular.

	Nom.	Dat.	Accus.	Prep.
1.	*yo, žo, ǧo*	*me, mi, m', ɱ*	*me, mi, m', ɱ*	*mi, ɱ*
2.	*tú, t'*	*te, ti, t'*	*te, ti, t'*	*ti*
3.	*él, l'*	*le, li, l'*	*lo, lu̯, l'*	*él*
	eya, ea, ei, e	*le, li, l'*	*la, l'*	*eya, ea*
	eyo, eo, eu̯		*lo, lu̯, l'*	[ut nom.]
	usté, osté, ojté	*le, li, l'*	*lo, lu̯, la, l'*	[ut nom.]

Plural.

	Nom.	Dat.	Accus.	Prep.
1.	*nosotros, nojotros, losotros, lojotros*	*nos, noj* *los, loj*	[ut dat.]	[ut nom.]
2.	*eyos, eos*	*les, lej*	*los, loj*	[ut nom.]
	eyas, eas	*les, lej*	*las, laj*	[ut nom.]
	ustedes, ustées	*les, lej*	*los, las*	[ut nom.]
	ustés, ostés, ojtés		*loj, laj*	

The above table does not include all the forms which may result from the developments of final *s*. *Los* may be *los, loj, loš, loǧ, loz, lož, lo.*[1] The dative *se* is *se, je*; prep. *sí* is *sí, ji*. A femenine form *nosotras* is exceedingly rare. *Conmigo* and *contigo* are, *conmigo, comigo,*[2] *comío, contigo, contío. Consigo* is very rare.

The important developments will now be explained in detail.

§ 42. The forms ME LE, TE, USTÉ > *m', l'. t', ust'* when before the vowels *e* or *i*:[3] NO ME ENTIENDE > *no m'entiende,* LE HIZO UNO > *l'is'uno,* USTÉ IBA SOLO > *ust'iba solo.*

When very emphatic the development is not necessary and hiatus may occur.

§ 43. Before the vowels *a, o, u*, the same forms become *mi̯, li̯, ti̯, usti̯*:[4] NO ME HA VISTO > *no mi̯ ha visto,* USTE HA DICHO > *usti̯ ha dicho,* TE OYERON > *ti̯ oyeron.*

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[1] *Phonology,* § 1 3, 154, 163.

[2] *Comigo* is very frequent in Spanish literature and dates from the XIIth century, cf. *P. Cid,* 1043, 1192, 1258, etc. *Comigo* is probably a regular development of **commigo* < CŬM *MĪ CŬ(M), and independent of the form *conmigo*. In the *Nebrissenis Lexicon* (1492) only *comigo* occurs.

[3] *Phonology,* § 88.

[4] *Ibid.,* § 89.

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§ 44. The form LO > *l'* before *o* or *u* and *lu̯* before *a, e, i*:[1] NO LO OYERON > *no l'oyeron,* YA LO HUBIERA HECHO > *ya l'hubier'hecho,* NO LO HE VISTO > *no lu̯ ‿he visto.*

§ 45. The form *los* for *nos* is common everywhere in New Mexico, but particularly in Santa Fé. In *Phonology,* § 126, I have expressed the opinion that both *los* < NOS and *losotros* < NOSOTROS are due to analogy. I now have some doubts about that explanation but have nothing sure to suggest. I now limit the posibility of analogy to *los* < NOS, and ask myself why the analogy has not been complete and why we do not find gender distinction, *los, las.* As to *losotros,* the analogy is very doubtful.

§ 46. The forms *eya, ea,* become *ei̯, e* before any vowel: ELLA ESTABA AQUÍ > *ei̯ ‿estab'aquí,* ELLA HA DICHO > *ei̯ ‿ha dicho.* The *i̯* may fall and *e* results in hiatus with the ensuing vowel: *e estab'aquí* < ELLA ESTABA AQUÍ, *e ha dicho* [ęą đicǫ] < ELLA HA DICHO.

Since *ei̯* < ELLA, occurs only before vowels, and since the interconsonantal form is in almost all cases *ea,* it is probable that *ei̯* is derived only from *e* < *ea* and never from *eya,* the *i̯* being present to prevent hiatus:[2] ELLA ES > *ea es* > *e es* > *e i̯ ‿es.* ELLA RUBIERA VENIDO > *ea hubiera venido* > *e hubiera venido* > *e i̯ hubiera* (or *huyera*) *venío.*

§ 47. Rare forms:

1. The nominative forms *t'* < TÚ, *'l* > ÉL are sometimes heard in rapid speech before vowels: TÚ ERES MUY TONTO > *t'eres mu tonto*; SI ÉL QUIERE IR > *si'l quier'ir.*

2. *m̨* < ME, MÍ, are heard before labials when unemphatic: NÓ ME PUDO VER > *no m̨ pudo ver*; Á MÍ MENOS ME IMPORTA > *á m̨ menos m'importa.*

3. In rapid, careless speech one may hear *ls, ns,* < NOS, LOS, LES; NOS:[3] *no ls pagó naa* < NO NOS OR LES PAGÓ, NADA, etc.

§ 48. The prepositional combinations which may develop are frequently unrecognizable if compared with their theoretical Castilian sisters:

1. PARA ÉL > *pel,* DE ÉL > *del.*

2. PARA USTED > *p'usté,* DE USTED > *di̯ usté.*

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[1] *Phonology,* § 90, 91.

[2] *Ibid.* §§ 81, 97.

[3] Cf. the Catalan forms, *ns, ls* > NOS, LOS, Bofarull, *La Lengua Catalana,* Barcelona, 1864, pp. 84, 88.

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3. PARA ELLA > *pea*, DE ELLA > *dea*.
4. PARA ELLOS > *peos*, DE ELLOS > *deos*.
5. Á MÍ MISMO > *a m̥ mesmo* or *mismo*.
6. NI Á EL NI Á ELLA > *n̥iel, n̥iea*.
7. *se* LO DIGO Á ELLOS > *se lo digu̯ eos*.[1]
8. EN ELLOS DEPENDE > *neos depende*.

II. Possessive Pronouns.

a) Adjectives.

§ 49. The possessive adjectives are the following: MI > *mi, m', m̥, em, ẽm*; TU > *tu, t'*; SU > *su, s'*; NUESTRO, NUESTRA > *nuestro, nuestra, nuejtro, nuejtra*; MIS > *mis, mij, mi*; TUS > *tus, tuj, tu*; SUS > *sus, suj, su*; NUESTROS, NUESTRAS > *nuestros, nuestras, nuejtros, nuejtras*, etc.

The behavior of final *s* would multiply the number of these forms materially. *nuestro, nuestra*, and their plurals are very rare, the possessive phrase *de nosotros* being used in their place.

§ 50. The modifications of the form *mi* are subject to the following rules:

1. Before *i*, MI > *m'*:[2] MI HIJO > *m'hijo*; MI INTERÉS > *m'interés*.
2. Before other vowels MI > *m̥i̯*:[2] MI ABUELO > *m̥i̯ agüelo*; MI ESTUFA > *m̥i̯ estufa*.
3. After a vowel and before a labial consonant, MI > *m*: Á MI PAPA > *am papa*; DE MI MAMÁ > *dem mamá*.
4. Initial *mi* or *mi* after a vowel or consonant before a labial consonant may develop to *m̥* or *em*,[3] *ẽm*: MI PAPA > *m̥ papa, em papá*; COM MI PAPÁ > *con em papá, com̥ papá*; ¿QUÉ TE PARECE MI PERRITO? > *?qué te paese m̥ perrito?* The form *em* is the more common one after consonants.
5. With the more common prepositions the combinations before labials are: A MI > *am*, PA MI > *pam*, EN MI > *em*, CON MI > *com*, SIN MI > *sim*.

§ 51. The changes of *su, tu* are the following:

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[1] In such cases one cannot say that *á* as the sign of the personal accusative is missing. It is there, but absorbed. There is a tendency even in the literary language, to omit this *á* before *a* or *ha*, see § 93.

[2] *Phonology*, § 92.

[3] Compare the Catalan *em* < *m'hi* < MI + HI, Bofarull, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

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1. Before *u*, SU, TU > *s' t'*:[1] SU ÚNICO HIJO > *s' únicu hijo*; TU ÚLTIMO TRABAJO > *t' último trabajo.*

2. Before *a, e, i, o*, TU, SU > *tu, su*:[2] SU HIJO > *su hijo*; SU HERMANO > *su hermano*; TU AMIGO > *tu amigo*; TU OFICIO > *tu oficio.*

§ 52. Before *s, z, r,* and sometimes before *l, n, m,* final *s* is silent in *sus, tus, nuestros, mis*: MIS REALES > *mi reales*; TUS ZAPATOS > *tu sapatos*; SUS SACOS > *su sacos*; SUS LISTONES > *su listones.*

b) Substantives.

§ 53. The substantive pronouns have the following forms: MÍO > *mío, míu, mió, mi*; *miyo, miyu, miy'*; MÍA > *mía, miá, mi*; *miyo, miy'*; TUYO > *tuyo, túo, tuó*; TUYA > *tuya, túa, tuá*; SUYO > *suyo, súo, suó*; SUYA > *suya, súa, suá*; MÍOS > *míos, miós*; *miyos*; MÍAS > *mías, miás*; *miyas*; TUYOS > *tuyos, túos, tuós*; TUYAS > *tuyas, túas, tuás*; SUYOS > *suyos, súos, suós*; SUYAS > *suyas, súas, suás.*

The forms *nuestro, nuestra* are very rare. The forms *tuó, tuós, suó, suós,* and their, feminines are also rare. In the plural forms many other developments occur, due to the behavior of final *s,* but it is not necessary to repeat what has been already discussed, so these forms will not be given here.

§ 54. The forms *túo, súo* etc., with loss of medial *y* are very common, the fall of *y* conforming with the regular fall of medial *y* < LL in N. M. S.[3]

§ 55. The forms *mió, miós, miá, miás* are very frequent when unemphatic in rapid speech:[4] EL MÍO NO ESTÁ AQUÍ > *el mió no 'sta 'qui.*

The forms without the article rarely suffer this change.

§ 56: MÍO > *mi,* when before the vowels *o, u*:[5] EL MÍO OBEDECE > *el mi obedece.*

1. Before the vowels, *a, e, i,* MÍO > *míu*:[6] EL MÍO ESTÁ AQUÍ > *el míu está quí*; EL MÍO ANDA BIEN > *el míu anda bien.*

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[1] *Phonology,* § 92.

[2] *Ibid.* § 154, 186.

[3] *Ibid.* § 158. The Spanish forms with *y, suyo* < *suo* < SUU(M), etc. are phonetic, the *y* being introduced to break the hiatus. It is not necessary to resort to the analogy of the rare and learned *cuyo,* as Pidal, *Gram. Hist.,* § 96 and Baist, *G. G.* I, 910, do.

[4] *Ibid.* § 9.

[5] *Ibid.* § 90.

[6] *Ibid.* § 91.

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2. The form MÍA > *mi* before any vowel:[1] LA MÍA ES ÉSTA > *la mi es ésta*; ERA MÍA ANTES > *era mi antes*; LA MÍA, ¿DÓNDE ESTÁ? > *la mi, ¿onde 'stá?*.

§ 57. The forms *miyo, miyu, miyos, miyas, miya,* etc., with epenthetic *y* are probably all analogical. The *y,* however, is often, as we have seen, missing even in *tuyo, suyo* which not only become *túo, súo,* but even *tu̯ó, su̯ó.* The analogy may have been helped, therefore by other factors. In some cases a phonetic explanation is admissible as in, LA MÍA ES ESTA > *la mi es esta* > *la mi ¿ es esta* = *la miya es esta,* and from here the *y* could be carried to the other forms. As a matter of fact both phenomena may have brought about the change.[2]

III. Demonstrative Pronouns.

a) Adjectives.

§ 58. A large variety of forms are found in N. M. S., in the demonstrative adjectives. This is largely due to apheresis and apocope, since all these demonstrative pronouns begin and end in vowels. As for the apocopated forms, the New Mexican forms are found in practically all the modern dialects, following certain definite phonetic developments which are common to nearly all the modern Spanish dialects and found also in Old Spanish.[3] Many of the N. M. forms, however are of much later development and not found in other dialects. The most important of these are those due to the fall of medial *y* < LL and the subsequent development of the vowels thus left juxtaposed. The forms *este, esta, ese, esa,* i. e., those identical with the orthographic Castilian forms are used only between consonants: *Con ese pan*; *con estas manos,* etc.

§ 59. The following are the most important forms. The forms due to the developments of medial or final *s,* will not be given in these or any other forms hereafter.

ESTE > *este, ste, te, esti*; *sti, ti, est, st, t'*; ESTA > *esta, sta, ta*; *est', st', t'*; ESE > *ese, esi, es', se, si, s'*; ESA > *esa, sa, s'*; AQUEL > *aquel, quel*; AQUELLA > *aqueya, aquea, aquei, aque*; *aqu̯á, queya,*

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[1] *Phonology,* § 87.

[2] To these definite explanations must be added the general confusion in N. M. S., in all such cases of vowels in hiatus in mid word due to the fall of medial *ll,* ELLA > *eya, ea,* etc.; and then also CREO > *creyo* by analogy, etc., the purely phonetic development *yo yel* < YO Y EL, etc., etc., *Phonology,* §§ 86, 97, 158.

[3] See *Phonology,* § 86-96 and Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* Chap. II, § 71 fol.

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quca, quei, que, quiá; ESTOS > *estos, stos, tos*; ESTAS > *estas, stas, tas*; ESOS > *esos, sos, es*; ESAS > *esas, sas*; AQUELLOS > *aqueyos, aqueos, aquiós, queyos, queos, quiós*; AQUELLAS > *aqueyas, aqueas, aquiás*; *queyas, queas, quiás.*

§ 60. The initial syllable, vowel or vowel + consonant, remain in all forms after a consonant, whatever may he the changes of the non-initial elements: CON ESTE HOMBRE > *con esti hombre*; EN AQUEL LIBRO > *(e)n aquel libro*; EN ESA MESA > *(e)n esa mesa.*

§ 61. The forms with loss of initial *e* are regularly used after an accented vowel: COMPRÓ ESTE SOMBRERO > *compró 'ste sombrero*; SE FUÉ ESTA TARDE > *se fué sta tarde.*

Sometimes, this phenomenon occurs also after unaccented *a, i, o, u* in rapid speech:[1] COMPRO ESTE NO AQUEL > *compro ste nu aquel.*

Furthermore the more regular developments of vowels before *e-* may take place as in other words.[2]

§ 62. When initial in unemphatic positions the apheresis of the initial syllable may take place:[3] ESE HOMBRE NO SIRVE PARA NADA > *si hombre no sirve pa naa*; ESTOS MUCHACHOS SIEMPRE ANDAN LLORANDO > *tos muchachos jiempri andan yorando*; ESOS HOMBRES NO SON DIGNOS DE VIVIR > *sos hombres no jon dinos de ivir*; AQUEL RETRATO NO QUIERO NI VERLO > *quel retrato no quió ni velo.*

§ 63. The forms *quiá, aquiá, aquiás, aquiós, quiás, quiós,* with the accent shifted to the more sonorous vowel may be used in all positions whether emphatic or not:[4] AQUELLAS MUJERES VIVEN AQUÍ > *quiás mujeres viven aquí*; ESTÁN EN AQUELLOS MONTES > *tan en aquiós montes*; ¿DONDE ESTÁ AQUELLA CARNE? > *¿onde sta quiá carne?.*

§ 64. The question of the change of the final vowel or of its apocope in the forms ending in a vowel is subject to the general laws of juxtaposed vowels, treated in detail in *Phonology,* §§ 86-93. The application of the laws there given has been seen already in the treatment of the articles, personal pronouns etc., so that it is unnecessary to mention them again in connection with the demonstratives. *Ese, este,* become *es, est,* before *e* or *i, esi, esti,* before *a, o, u*; *esta, esa,* become *es, est,* before any vowel, etc., etc.

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[1] *Phonology,* § 93.
[2] *Ibid.* §§ 87-92.
[3] *Ibid.* §§ 201-203.
[4] *Ibid.* § 9.

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The initial syllable lost, according to §§ 60, 61, the development or loss of a final vowel fellows the same rules. This may result in such forms as, *s'* < SE, *sa* < ESE, ESA; *t'* < *te, ta* < ESTE, ESTA; *que* < *quea* < *aquea* < *aqueya* < AQUELLA:

a) *s' empleo nu̯ es güeno* < ESE EMPLEO NO ES BUENO; *s' harina pa na sirve* < ESA HARINA PARA NADA SIRVE.

b) *t' imbierno va ser mu frío* < ESTE INVIERNO VA Á SER MUY FRÍO; *t' oya vale do riales* < ESTA OLLA VALE DOS REALES.

c) *que' harina, ¿cuánto vale?* < AQUELLA HARINA, ¿CUÁNTO VALE?.

The developments of *-ea* in *aquea* < AQUELLA, are exactly the same as those of *ea* < ELLA, § 46. In *aque i̯ ansia* < AQUELLA ANSIA, therefore, the *i̯* is probably to brake the hiatus and not the original *y* of *aqueya*. The hiatus, of course, remains just as frequently, *aque ansia.*[1]

§ 65. *Es* < ESOS. This development is due, no doubt, to proclisis as in the other apocopated forms. The loss of *-os* is much more difficult after the group *st* or after *y* or *e* in *estos, aquellos, aqueos,* and hence there are no such forms as *ests, aqueys* in N. M. S. No such final groups are found in N. M. S. or in standard Spanish. Besides its proclitic value dissimilation may have helped, the case being almost one of haplology, since the atonic *o* here is really an indistinct *u* not differing much from *e*,[2] ES + OS > *es* + *u̯s* > *ess* > *es.* The long *s* (= *ss*) is heard often before vowels, the result being, almost *e* + sillabic *s*: ESOS HOMBRES SON MALOS > *Ess hombres son malos.*

b) Substantives.

§ 66. These are the same in form as the adjectival demonstratives and their mode of formation and development is the same. It is well to state, however, that the forms *to* < ESTO, *se* < ESE, *quel* < AQUEL, etc., i. e., forms with complete loss of the initial syllable are less common than in the adjectival forms.

§ 67. The neuter forms are the following: ESTO > *esto, sto, to, t'*; *estu, stu, tu.* ESO > *eso, esu, es*; *so, su, s'.* AQUELLO > *aqueo, aqueu̯, aqué*; *queo, que, quió*; *aquió*; *aqui̯u̯, qui̯u̯.*

[1] *Phonology,* § 81. It is therefore, not always easy to determine, whether, in some cases, *ll* remains as *y* or the *y* is later introduced. The history of the fate of Spanish *ll* in the modern dialects is one which would reward the labors of several scholars. A preliminary study of the history of Spanish *ll* in N. M. S., is to be found in *Phonology,* § 158. I may return to that subject again at some future time, in connection with the study of the Mexican dialects.

[2] *Phonology,* § 17, 4.

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The rules governing the changes in the above forms have been discussed already in connection with other simalar forms. ESO HABÍAS DE HABER DICHO > *es habiás ẓaber dicho, esu̯ habiás ẓaber dicho, su̯ habias ẓaber dicho, s'habiás ẓaber dicho* (rare). AQUELLO ES ASÍ > *aqueu̯ es así, aqueyu̯ es así, aqu̯iu̯ˆés así.* AQUELLO HUBIERA SIDO > *aque hubiera sido, aquiˆúbiera sido, que hubiera sido, quiˆúbiera sido.* AQUELLO NO IMPORTA > *aqueo nu̯ importa, aqu̯ió nu̯ importa, queo nu̯ importa, qu̯ió nu̯ importa.*

§ 68. New formations. By combining with the definite article or with the possessive pronouns, several new definite substantive demonstratives are formed. Frequently they have the force of relatives, but they may also be used as indefinite demonstratives. There is still present a feeling of the composition into two parts, since, when pluralized the two component parts take the regular endings. The more frequent formations are the following: *laquel* > EL AQUEL, *laquea* > LA AQUELLA, that one (there). *miaquel* < MI AQUEL, *miaquea* < MI AQUELLA, that one of mine. *suese* < SU ESE, *suesa* < SU ESA, that one of his. *miese* < MI ESE, *miesa* < MI ESA, that one of mine. *losesos* < LOS ESOS, *losaqueos* < LOS AQUELLOS, those (there). *ese* < EL ESE, *lesa* < LA ESA, that one (there). *leste* < EL ESTE, *lesta* < LA ESTA, this, this one.

These forms undergo, of course, all the developments that are possible in their final vowels as in other forms, and hence, LAQUEA > *laquiá, laqué*; SUESE > *suesi, sues*; LESA > *les*; LESTE > *lesti, lest'*, etc., etc.

§ 69. As adjectives such forms are used, but not frequently. When so used, the demonstrative element always comes last: *miaquel libro = aquel libro mío*; *tuese papel = ese papel tuyo*; *susesos caballos = esos caballos suyos.*

The formation is exactly the reverse, therefore, of the older Spanish demonstrative + possessise construction, *esta mi casa, este mi amo,* etc.[1]

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[1] Cf. *Quix.* I, IV. *"pero este mi amo, de que obras es hijo, . . .?"*; Lope de Rueda (Acad. ed. 1908), vol. I, p. 29, *"antes con las tuyas, delante del señor Polo, pienso limpiar las suelas destos mis estivales"*; Lucanor, p. 56, *"et me da a entender quel pesa del mio danno"*; ibid. p. 20, *"et pueda aver la su gracia"*; *Calisto e Melibea* (ed. Foulché-Delbosc, 1900) p. 51, *"Sempronio ha temido deste mi camino"*.

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IV. Interrogative Pronouns.

§ 70. The more common forms of the interrogative pronouns are the following:

Sing. *quien, quiẽ, quié, quien.*
Plur. *quienes, quiẽes, quiens, quiés.*
Sing. *cuál, cuále, cuáli*; *acuál, acuále, acuáli.*
Plur. *cuáles, acuáles.*
— *qué, qui, qu'.*
Sing. *cuánto, cuant', cuantu*; *cuánta, cuant'.*
Plur. *cuantos, cuantas.*

The vowel changes are all due to juxtaposition with the initial vowels of the following word, *Phonology,* §§ 86-92. For the fall of *n,* etc., *Ibid,* §§ 20, 29, 30.

The singular *quien* is frequently used for *quienes.*[1]

Cuyo, cuya, cuyos, cuyas are also used, but not with their original meaning. In N. M. S., they have become relatives, see § 73.

§ 71. The prosthetic and paragogic forms. For a general treatment of these phenomena in N. M. S., see *Phonology,* §§ 188, 198, 199. The form *cuale* is very probably taken from the plural *cuales. Cuali* is another form of *cuale, Phonology,* § 89.

The forms with prosthetic *a-* are the natural result of agglutination with the sign of the personal accusative, *á.* On account of, *¿á quién vió Ud?,* people say, *¿á cual de ellos vió Ud?,* and then, *¿acuál de ellos está aquí?.*

§ 72. The form *quiens* is not due to syncope of the posttonic vowel from the original *quienes.* By the fall of intervocalic *n,* a monosillabic form is finally developed, QUIENES > *quiees* > *quiés.* The presence of the *n* in the forms *quien, quienes,* calls for an *n* in the already developed *quiés,* which is the most common form in N. M. S. *Quiens* is used only before vowels and before *s*: *¿quiéns estaban con él?, ¿quiéns saben eso?*

§ 73. Relative pronouns. The relative pronouns in N. M. S., have exactly the same form as the corresponding interrogatives. The use of *quien* is very restricted as is also the use of *cual* as relatives, *que* being generally used in their place even after the prepositions. *La mujer de que hablo*; *El hombre con que hablaba.*

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[1] *Quien* was used for *quienes* in Spanish until the end of the XVth century and even in modern Spanish *quien* is used as a plural occasionally, M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.* § 101.

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Que takes the place of *donde, el lugar en el cual, en que, en la cual, á donde,* or any other relativs preceded by a preposition, indicating rest in or motion to a place: *el lugar que nació = el lugar donde nació, el caballo que vino = el caballo en que vivo, la casa que va = la casa á donde va, el lugar que vive = el lugar en el cual vive.*

The interrogatives *cuyo, cuya, cuyos, cuyas* are used in N. M. S., as pure relatives. Even a local Spanish newspaper speaks of, *'las leyes cuyas la comisión acaba de revisar'*, and, *'sacaron de la mina más de veinte cadáveres cuyos no fué posible identificar'*. Their regular Spanish use does not occur in N. M. S.

V. Indefinite pronouns.

a) Substantives.

§ 74. The indefinite substantive pronouns in N. M. S., are the following:

ALGUIÉN > *alguién, alguiẽ, alguié.*

For the fall of final *n*, see *Phonology*, §§ 20, 28, 29, 30 ALGO > *algo, algu, alg'.*

The behavior of final *-o* has been fully discussed already in other forms. NADIE > *nadien, nayen, naye*; *naide, naiden, naidien, naidie,* also *nadiẽ, nayẽ,* etc.

The most common forms are *naidien, nadien, nayen.* For the epithetic *n* see *Phonology*, § 200. *Nayen* and *naye* are the result of the fall of intervocalic *d*, while *naide, naiden* are due to metathesis.[1] NADA > *nada, naa, na*; *nad'.* A diminutive and emphatic form *nadita, naíta,* is also used, and also a duplicated form, *nadaná* < NADA NADA. *Nad'* is used before vowels. QUIENQIERA > *quienquiera, quienquiea, quienquiá.*

The plural form is the same as the singular: *quienquiá que sean* or *sián.*[2]

b) Substantives or adjectives.

§ 75. ALGÚN, -O, -A, -OS, -AS > *algún, algũ, algúm, alguno, algũo, alguõ, alguna, alguña, algunos, algũos, alguõs, algunas, algũas, alguãs.* Most of these developments are the same as those found in the indefinite article which has the same endings, §§ 7-10. When the intervocalic *n* has fallen leaving a nasal before it, the strong vowel

[1] *Naide* is very frequent in Classic Spanish and in the modern dialects, Cuervo, *Apunt.*, § 793; Gascón, *Cuentas Baturros*, Madrid 1908, I, 30, 45, etc. *Naidie* is also an Andalusian form, M. Pidal, *Gramm. Hist.*, § 102.

[2] See § 70 note 1.

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drawing the accent, attracts with it the nasality, since the *u* becomes consonantal: ALGUNOS > *algũos* > *alguõ̯s*.[1] Just as in *un*, or any other word ending in *n* before a labial, ALGUN > *algún*, before a labial: *algúm perro, algúm bote*, etc.

NINGÚN, -O, -A, -OS, -AS > *ningún, ningṹ, ningúm, ninguno, ningṹo, ninguna, ningṹa, ningunos, ningṹos, ninguõ̯s, ningṹas, ninguṍ̯s.*

The phonetic developments, here, are exactly the same as those of *algún*, etc.

§ 76. MUCHO, -A, -OS, AS- > *mucho, muncho,*[2] *munchu̯, munch'*; *muncha, much'*; *munchos, munchas*. The changes in the vowel ending forms need no explanation. The presence of the epenthetic *n* is no doubt thru assimilation. The influence of the initial nasal *m* nasalizes the following *u* and from here the nasality is carried to the *c* which then causes the nasal *n* to appear. This development is, therefore, not to be confused with cases like *trompezar, zambullir*, etc.[3]

§ 77. In *todo*, the fall of *d* has brought about a great variety of forms which tho in perfect agreement with the laws of N. M. S. phonology observed already, need special treatment. All the forms of *todo* with the reduplicated and otherwise combined forms, are the following: TODO > *todo, too, to*; *todu, tod', tu̯*. TODOS > *todos, toos, tos, to* (before *l, r, s, n*). TODA > *toda, toa, tu̯á, ta*; *tod'*. TODAS > *todas, toa, tu̯ás, tas, ta* (before *l*, etc.).

The fall of *s* indicated above, may take place in any *s* ending form. The forms *tu̯á, tu̯ás*, etc., are very common in rapid speech, and these frequently develop into *ta, tas*, etc.

CON TODO Y > *contói, contu̯í, contí*. This is used adverbially, *se jué contui familia* = he went away with all his family. CON TODO Y TODO > *contoi todo* or *contú̯todo*; CON TODITA > *con toïta, con tu̯ita, contita*; CON TODITO > *con toïto, con tu̯ito, contito*; TODITO, TODITA, TODITOS, TODITAS > *tu̯ito, tu̯ita, tu̯itos, tu̯itas*; TODITITO > *tu̯itito*, etc.

The fall of *u̯* (< o before an accented *a* or *i*) in the above forms may be compared to the reduction of *ue* (< ŏ) to *e* in Spanish.

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[1] See also *Phonology*, § 29. The fact that the accent has already shifted shows that the fall of *n* is old.

[2] *Muncho* is found in all the dialects of the modern Spanish territories, see Meyer-Lübke I, § 587; Subak, ZRPh XXX, 173; M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 68; Baist, GG I, 906; Schuchardt, *Zs.* V, 311. Schuchart states that the form was already found in Old Spanish. I have no example previous to the end of the XIIIth century. By the 15th century the form is very frequent, e. g. in *Gómez Manrique*.

[3] See Carolina Michaëlis, Ro II, 88-89.

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The N. M. change, however, is both before a front vowel, *tu̯ito* > *tito*, and before a back vowel vowel, *tu̯á* > *ta*.[1]

§ 78. *Mesmo, mismo.* In these forms the presence of either *e* or *i*, the fall of *s*, or its change to *j* (*h*) or *z* (voiced), the behavior of the final vowel *o* or *a*, and that of final *s*, bring about a large variety of forms. MISMO > *mismo, mismu̯, mism'*; *mizmo, mizmu̯, mizm'*; *mihmo*, etc. MISMA > *misma, mism'*; *mizma, mihma*, etc. MISMOS, MISMAS > *mizmos, mizmas*; *mihmos, mihmas, mihmah*, etc. MESMO > *mesmo, mezmo, mehmo, mesmu̯*, etc. MESMA > *mesma, mesm', mehma*, etc. etc. MESMOS > *mesmos, mehmos, mezmos*, etc. etc.

Mesmo is more common than *mismo* in N. M. S. as well as in other modern dialects. *Mesmo* is derived from *MEDĬPSĬMU(M), while *mismo* is derived from *meísmo* (old Sp.) < *MEDĪPSĬMŬ(M).[2]

§ 79. CADA > *cada, cad', caa, ca*; *qu'*. CADA UNO RECIBE SU SUELDO > *cad' uno recíe su sueldo.* CADA PERSONA > *ca persõa.* The form *qu'*[k] results from the fall of *-a* before a vowel in the forms *caa, ca* when unemphatic: CADA ESQUINA QUE VOLTEA > *qu'esquina que oltea.* The most frequent form is *ca* in any position.

§ 80. *Cualesquier-a,* is a form in general use in N. M. S., for both the singular and plural forms. Even the local Spanish newspapers follow this widespread usage. From *'La Bandera Americana'*, a Spanish weekly newspaper, published at Albuquerque, I copy the following: "*Sería una injusticia el favorecer á cualesquiera clase de ciudadanos en preferencia á otra, ó el abrigar preocupación encontra de cualesquiera clase*" (Enero 5, 1906). "*. . . ó cualesquiera juego de banca ó por ciento, ó cualesquiera clase de juego jugado con baraia, daos ú otra invención, por dinero, fichas, credito, ó cualesquiera otra representación de valor, será culpable de un mal proceder . . .*" (Enero 19, 1906). This curious use of the plural for the singular is found in many of the modern dialects of Spain and America and since the XVIIth century has been extensively used even in literature. In

[1] See *Phonology*, § 77, and M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 13. It is to be observed that the N. M. S., cases have the change in question after a dental. Compare, also N. M. S., *tavía* < *toavía* < TODAVÍA, and *señá* < *señu̯á* < SENORA, *Phonology*, § 84. If a dental alone, and not necessarily combined with a preceding labial, has a tendency to cause a following *u̯* to fall before stressed *e*, *a*, then the rule may be more general than Marden (*Dial. Mex. City*, § 18) and Pidal, (ut supra) believe. In N. M. S., the semi-consonantal *u̯* always remains after a pure back consonant: *ju̯an*; *ju̯é* < FUÉ; *juicio*; *gu̯eno* < BUENO, *cuesta*. See also § 146.

[2] See *Phonology*, § 37, P. Barbier fils, RDR II, 498, and the author's special article in Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. XXVI, 356-378.

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Andalucía the plural is practically unknown among the uneducated and in Galician the plural takes the place of both singular and plural as in N. M. S.[1]

Substantively, the word is used in N. M. S., with the equivalent of 'rascal', 'good-for-nothing', 'low person', and the forms are sing. *cualquiera,* plur. *cualquieras,* masculine or feminine. It is very interesting to see this inflectional difference accompanying the difference in meaning. A plural *cualquieras,* such as this, is, to my knowledge not found in any other Spanish dialect: *Díle, que es un cualquiera; No sean tan cualquieras.*

§ 81. For the usual Spanish *ambos, ambas,* or *ambos á dos, ambas á dos,*[2] the New Mexican forms are usually *ambos dos, ambas dos,* probably used for *ambos á dos, ambas á dos. Entrambos, entrambas,* are not used.

§ 82. New forms. ALGÚN + OTRO > *algotro,* ALGUNA + OTRA > *algotra,* ALGUN(OS) + OTROS > *algotros,* ALGUN(AS) + OTRAS > *algotras*; *algotra vez,* some time, some other time; *algotros cabayos,* a few other horses.

The phonetic development involved is in harmony with N. M. S., phonetic laws: ALGÚN OTRO > *algú otro*[3] > *alg̱otro*[4] > *algotro,* ALGUN(A) OTRA > *algú otra*[3] > *alg̱otra*[4] > *algotra.*

The plural forms are probably made from the regularly developed singular forms.

Chapter IV. **Particles.**

I. Adverbs.

§ 83. Simple adverbs. ASÍ > *así, ansí, ansina, asina.*[5] ENTONCES > *antonces, antões, antóns.*[6] *luego* = *luego, lueo, ḻó, lo*; *logo, loo, lo.*[7]

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[1] Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 159, Ramos y Duarte (*op. cit.*) 147. In Ramón de la Cruz, I find: *'La primera diligencia de cualesquier hombre honrado'*, (Mercado de Vidrio, 5).

[2] Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 512.

[3] *Phonology,* §§ 28, 29.

[4] *Ibid.* § 9.

[5] *Asina* is the most common form. For the phonetic development of all these forms and other similar forms found in old Spanish and in other modern dialects, see *Phonology,* § 34.

[6] *Ibid.* § 32.

[7] The form *lo* may come from *loo* < LOGO, or from *ḻó* < LUEGO, see § 77. For *logo* < LŎCŭ(M), see *Phonology,* § 75.

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casi = *casi, cuasi,*[1] *cuahi.* *recio* = *recio, rieso* (metathesis). *ahora* = *ora, or'*; *agora,*[2] *agor.* *pués* = *pues*; *pos, pus, poh, puh.*[3] *mucho* = *mucho, muncho, muchu, munchu, munch'.* APRISA = *apriesa* (old Spanish). SEGURO > *seguro, siguro, siguru.*[4] *también* = *tamién,*[5] *tayén, taén.* TODAVÍA > *tuavía, tavía, taía*; *tuá, ta.*[6] FUERA = *juera.* DESPACIO > *despacio, espacio.* *donde* = *onde, õe, õ.*[7] COMO > *como, comu, com, cõo.* MUY > *muy, mu.* MENOS > *menos, mẽos.* CUANDO > *cuando, cuão.*[8] TAN > *tan, tam* (before labials). AQUÍ > *aquí, quí.* ALLI, AHÍ = *ai.*[9] ALLA > *achá, aǧá, ašá, ažá, ayá, aá, a.*[10] ACÁ > *acá, cá.*

The forms of other simple adverbs do not call for any special treatment.

Reduplication of adverbs is common in New Mexico, *muy muy güeno; seguro seguro que va venir.*

§ 84. *Muy, mu, tan,* may take the intensive suffixes *re, rete, rede* (see § 27) and combine to make the following forms: MUY or MU + RE > *murre*; MU + RETE > *múrrete*; TAN + REDE > *tárrede*;[11] TAN + RE > *tarre,* etc.

§ 85. Adverbs combined with prepositions.

a) With a preceding preposition: DE LADO > *de lau*; DESDE ANTES = *desdi antes, denantes, endiantes, endenantes*;[12] DESDE ALLÍ > *esdiái,*

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[1] An old Spanish and classic form, *Phonology,* § 35.

[2] In modern Spanish poetry the ortographic *ahora* is almost always of two syllables (in Echegaray, Ayala, de Arce, Rivas, Becquer, Tamayo y Baus, Campoamor), hence, probably pronounced *ora.* *Ora* < *ahora* < AD HŌRA, while *agora* < HAC HŌRA, see M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.,* § 128, 3.

[3] For *pos* < PŎST, *pus* < *pues* < PUÉS etc., see *Phonology,* § 76. *Pos* and *pus* are common to all modern dialects.

[4] See *Phonology,* § 46, 6.

[5] This is probably a regularly developed old Spanish form, while *también* is an Asturian or north Spanish form, see *Phonology,* § 178, 4. *Tamién* is found today in Bogotá, Aragón, Andalucía, Buenos Aires, Santander, Mexico. *Tayén* is derived from *tamién,* the medial *m* falling.

[6] For UA > *a,* see § 77. *Tuá, ta* are derived from the apocopated stem *toda* (*vía*), due to proclicis.

[7] *Phonology,* § 32. The N. M. S. *onde* may not come from *donde* < DE-ŬNDE, but may be the regular old Spanish *onde* < ŭNDE, see Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 752, and Grandgent, *Vulg. Lat.,* § 73.

[8] *Phonology,* § 32.

[9] *Ibid.* § 9.

[10] *Ibid.* §§ 158, 159.

[11] For *rr* < NR, see *Phonology,* § 148.

[12] All these forms have been used in Spanish literature since the XVI century. *Denantes* was a popular form with Cervantes, see Cuervo, *Apuntaciones,* § 274.

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endiái;[1] DE ALLI > *diái*; POR ACA, POR AQUÍ > *puacá, puaquí*; PARA ACA, PARA AQUÍ > *pacá, paquí*; PARA DONDE; DE DONDE > *ponde, pande*; *dionde*; Á DONDE, Á ONDE > *ande, onde*; PARA AHORA > (*pa ora*) > *pora*; DE CONTINUO > *de contino*; DESDE AHORA > *esdiora, eziora,*[2] *endiora*;[3] DE ABAJO, DE ARRIBA > *diabajo, diarriba*; PARA ALLÁ, PARA AHÍ > *payá, paa, paí, pai*; DE REPENTE > *redepente* (metathesis); AL SOSLAYO > *al soslai.*

b) With a following preposition: ABAJO DE > *abajue*;[4] ARRIBA DE > *arribe* (< *arriba e*); ENCIMA DE > *encime*; ATRAS DE > *atrase*; ADELANTE DE > *adelante* (< *adelante e*); AFUERA DE > *ajuere*; MAÑA(NA)EN LA MAÑANA > *mañén la mañana*;[5] ASI DE > *asié*; ASINA DE > *asine*; COMO DE > *comue*; CERCA DE > *cerque.*

Other combinations need no special mention here.

§ 86. New forms, purely archaic forms, etc.

a) Spanish source: ORA + ORA > *orora* (very soon); ORÍTA + ORITA > *oritorita.*

Adrede (= *de propósito*) an archaic form rarely used in modern literary Spanish, is common in N. M. S., and in other modern dialects. In Mexico there exists also a form *aldrede.*[6]

The adverbs in *-mente* influence other adverbs and by analogy one also hears in N. M. S., *malamente, buenamente, despaciamente.* It is remarkable that these three new forms follow the regular rule of starting with a feminine stem.

b) Adverbial phrases of Spanish-English source: *de scrachi* < Sp. DE + Eng. SCRATCH;[6] *al jolón* < Sp. AL + Eng. HOLD ON;[8] *á lo griso* < Sp. Á LO + Eng. GREASER;[9] *á lo trampe* < Sp. Á LO + Eng. TRAMPE.[10]

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[1] For *dende* = *desde*, see § 95 and *Phonology*, § 34.

[2] See *Phonology*, § 104.

[3] For *ende* = *dende, desde*, see *Phonology* § 38.

[4] While the fall of intervocalic *d* is very common in rapid speech, the law is not universal. An initial *d*, however may always fall after a preceding final vowel. This is especially common in the preposition *de*. See also Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 274.

[5] The process is in perfect harmony with N. M. S. phonetic laws: MAÑANA EN > *mañda en* > *mañá en* > *mañén.*

[6] Ramos y Duarte (*op. cit.*) 33.

[7] *Phonology*, §§ 218, 238.

[8] *Ibid.* §§ 217, 261.

[9] *Ibid.* § 254.

[10] *Ibid.* § 218.

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c) Adverbs of English source: *fone* < FUNNY;[1] *fain* < FĪNE;[2] *rede* < READY.[3]

These words are used both as adjectives and as adverbs, see § 31.

§ 87. *Sí* and *no.* sí (< SĪC) > *si, sei, se, sẽi, sẽ; ji, jei, jẽi,* etc.

The diphthongization of *i* to *ei* is a new change in the Spanish dialects. It is brought about here by the long and emphatic character of the *i.*[4] The nasality is not clear, but exactly the same thing happens in *asin, asina* < AD + SĪC, § 83.

NO > *no, nõ, nã; nõõ.* Progressive nasality and lengthning thru emphasis are the factors involved in these developments.

II. Conjunctions.

§ 88. *y, ó, ú.* Y > *y* (*i* or *i̯*), *gui, gui̯.* Ó > *o, go* (*u, gu̯* before *e, a, i.*) Ú > *u, u̯, gu, gu̯.*

There is no trace of É (< ĔT) in N. M. S.

1. Y > *i̯* when before any vowel: YO Y ÉL > *yo yel* [i̯el];[5] UNO Y UNO > *uno yuno*; MADRE É HIJA > *madre y 'ija* (< YI HIJA).

2. The forms with initial *g* (= *g*) may be found when between vowels:[6] YO Y EL > *yo gui̯el*; YO Ó USTE > *yo gusté*; ELLA Ó EL > *ea gu̯el*; UNO U OTRO > *uno gu̯otro.*

3. The forms *y, ó,* occour only in the interconsonantal position: EL Y SU HIJO > *el y su̯ hijo*; DOS Ó TRES VECES > *dos ó tres veces.*

§ 89. *Ni.* NI > *ni, ni̯, n'; ñi, ñ'.*

Before the vowels *a, o, e, u,* NI > *ni̯* or *ñ'*:[7] NI EL NI ELLA > *ni̯el ni̯ea* or *ñel, ñea*; NI UNO NI OTRO > *ni̯uno ni̯otro* or *ñuno ñotro.*

Before *i* NI > *n'*:[8] NI IBA NI VENÍA > *n' iba ni vinía.*

Ni occurs only when interconsonantal and *ñi* may take its place at any time: NO HAY NI PAN NI CARNE > *nu̯ay ni pã ni carne.*

§ 90. *Aunque, manque, masque,* etc. AUNQUE > *aúnque, áunque, anque, onque, enque, unque*; MAS QUE > *masque, mahque*; *manque.*

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[1] *Phonology,* §§ 229, 248.
[2] *Ibid.* § 217.
[3] *Ibid.* § 222.
[4] The dipthongization of *ī* is rare in the Romance languages. Just as in N. M. S., i. e. a descending dipthong, it is found in some Italian dialects (see Goidánich, *L' Origine e le forme della dittongazione Romanza,* p. 7).
[5] This is the regular order in N. M. S.
[6] The *g* is introduced to break the hiatus, *Phonology,* § 97.
[7] *Phonology,* §§ 92, 127, 160.
[8] *Ibid.* § 92.

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The final *e* of all these forms becomes *i̯* or falls entirely before *a, o, u,* or before *e, i.*[1] *Anque* comes from *áunque,* while *onque* is derived from *aónque* an old Spanish form.[2] *enque* and *unque* have the weakened vowel thru proclisis. *Manque* is from *masque,* and the presence of the *n* is no doubt due to the influence of *anque* < AUNQUE as Pietsch has shown.[3]

Ramos y Duarte (*op. cit.*) *s. v.,* calls the form *aunque* a Mexican peculiarity stating that the proper accentuation should be *aunqué.* This statement is absolutely wrong. Salvá makes the same claim (see Cuervo, *Dicc., s. v.*) and many Spanish Grammars have followed him in his error. The accentuation *aunqué* is a provincialism as Cuervo states and when found in poetry it is a license not frequent in the best poets altho Calderón has used it.[4]

§ 91. *Quisque* < QUE DIZ QUE; *que.*

This form is so common in N. M. S., that it has almost taken the place of tho simpler *que* in all positions, and its composition is no longer felt. The phonetic development is perfectly regular: QUE DIZ QUE > *que iz que* > *quisque.*[5]

DIJO QUE YA NO VENÍA = *dijo quisque ya no vinía*; NO DIGAS QUE NO = *no igas quisque no*; QUE > *que, qui̯, qu'.* For the change or fall of *e* see above.

There exists in N. M. S., also a redundant *que que* = *que* (conjunction), which can also be derived from QUEÍSQUE > *quéisque,* but *que* + *que* is more probable.

III. Prepositions.

§ 92. Following the general N. M. S. phonetic laws, all prepositions drop final *a* before any vowel, change *e* to *i̯* before *a, o, u,* etc. The fall of an intervocalic consonant may further shorten such forms: CONTRA ÉL > *contr' él*; HASTA ALLÍ > *hast ai*; ENTRE ELLOS > *entr' eos*; DE ANTES > *di̯ antes*; PARA > *par*; *pa, p'*; PARA ÉL > *pa él* > *p'él.*

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[1] *Phonology,* §§ 88, 89.

[2] *Ibid.* § 34.

[3] *Notes on Spanish Folklore,* M. Phil. V, 103.

[4] *'Por quien las noticias sé*
De cielo y tierra; y aunque . . .'
(*La Vida es sueño* I, 206-207).

[5] *eí* regularly becomes *i* in N. M. S., cf. *rir* > REIR, *frir* < FREIR, *ingrirse* < ENGREIRSE, etc., *Phonology,* §§ 59, 69. Compare also *mismo* < MEÍSMO, *trinta* < TREÍNTA.

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§ 93. The preposition *á*.

Since final *a* is elided before any vowel, this preposition is seldom heard before a vowel even where the grammatical construction demands it:[1] NO LE HABLO Á ÉL SINO Á ELLA > *no lị̯ hablu̯ él sinu̯ ea*; VA Á HACER > *va hacer* > *v' hacer*; LE HABLO Á USTED > *lị̯ hablu 'sté*.

§ 94. *De*. The preposition *de* is lost in a similar manner thru syntactical phonetics, tho its force no doubt remains. This is due to the loss of the intervocalic *d*: LA CASA DE ELLA > *la cas' ea*.[2]

When the *de* is preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant DE > *e*: LA CASA DE JUAN > *la cas' e Juan*; VOY PARA (la) CASA DE MI PADRE > *voy pa case mi pare*.

The initial *d* is also lost by assimilation to u preceding *s* (< s, z):[3] ES DE ÉL > *es él* also [ęzęl]; LA VOZ DE ESA > *la vos esa* also [lavǫzęsą]; LUZ DE SU CASA > *lus e su casa*.

§ 95. *Desde*, for phonetic reasons already explained has all the following forms: *desde, esde, eze, ese*; *deze, dese, deje*; *desd', esd', ez', des', dez', deh', es*; *desi̯, esi̯, dezi̯*. The forms *dende, ende, dendi, endi, end'*, are probably derived from old Spanish *dende*; *ende* < DE + ĬNDE; ĬNDE.[4]

§ 96. All prepositions ending in *n* may drop the *n* before certain consonants, leaving sometimes the preceding vowel nasal:[5] CON LOS OJOS > *cõ los ojos* or *colos ojos*; EN LA CASA > *ẽ la casa* or *ela casa*.

§ 97. Before any labial consonant all the prepositions ending in *n* change the *n* to *m*: CON VASOS > *com basos*; SIN PODER > *sim poder*; SEGÚN VEA > *segum bea*; EN VEZ DE > *em bes e* also [ẽᵐbęzę].

The phonetic change here involved is one absolutely required and it is very probable that the phenomenon is found in all the Spanish dialects.[6]

For other changes which *en, con* etc. may suffer when juxtaposed to articles, see §§ 4, 10. *En* may also become *an, ã, am*.[7] The most

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[1] It is a case of '*vocal embebida*' not a case of the omission of the preposition syntactically speking, see § 49, n. 1.

[2] This phenomenon is found in the spoken Spanish of all regions, Menéndez Pidal, *Dial. Leon.* § 19.

[3] The process is s + d > [z] > *s*, see *Phonology*, § 104. The [z] stage is also frequent.

[4] See *Phonology*, § 34; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 274 and M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 128.

[5] See *Phonology*, §§ 20, 28 and *Morphology*, § 4.

[6] See *Phonology*, § 107.

[7] *Ibid.* § 23.

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common pronunciation is *en, ẽ, eŋ*, but in *an case* [ąŋkasẹ] < EN CASA DE, *an ancas* [ąnaŋkąs] < EN ANCAS, the vowel is always *a*.

§ 98. Two prepositions. In certain phrases there are used in N. M. S. two prepositions which have come to be looked upon as single forms:

a) PARA + EN > *pan, pã*; *voy pã case Juan* [vǫi̯ pãŋ kasẹ χu̯an];[1] *voy pã casa* [vǫi̯ pãŋ kasą].

b) DESDE + DE > *desdede, esede, desede*; *desedi̯ aquí hast'ayá*; *esedesa ves que no lo veo.*

c) *de de veras* (very common).

§ 99. Prepositional phrases: Á CAUSA DE > *cause*; Á CAUSA DE USTED > *caus'usté*; EN FRENTE DE > *enfrente*; JUNTO DE > *juntu̯e*; PARA DONDE > *pande, ponde;* PARA AHORA > *pora*; EN ESTE, EN ESO, EN AQUEL > *neste, neso, naquel*; DETRÁS DE, ATRÁS DE > *detrase, atrase*; PARA QUE > *paque*; PORQUE > *poque*; FUERA DE > *juere*; ALREDEDOR > *alreedor, alredor*; *arrededor*; EN CASA DE > *an case*; EN LUGAR DE > *en gual de.*[2]

IV. Interjections.

§ 100. The following is a list of the more common interjections of direct Spanish source which have undergone some change: VAMOS > *vamos, vamus*; *amos,* VA > *va, a*; *val.* VA QUE > *val que, a que.* CUIDADO > *cuidau*; *quidau.* OJALÁ > *ójala.*[3] OJALA Y > *ójali.*[3] MAL HAYA > *malaya*; *alaya,*[4] *laya.* MAL HAYA Y > *malayi*; *alayi, layi.* A(L) REDRO VAYA = *al redo vaya*; *arredovaya*; *mal redo vaya, marredovaya, redovaya.* OYE > *oyi, oyis.* ALBRICIAS > *albricias.*

For the loss of initial *v* in *amos* < VAMOS, *a* < VA, see *Phonology,* § 178. The presence of inorganic final *l* in *val, val que,* is not clear.[5] In *ójala* the shifting of the accent is probably due to the proclitic value of the word.

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[1] It is not impossible that *an* = *en* may be actually *an* < A + EN, see § 23. New Mexicans say *voy an casa* and *voy en casa,* as well as *voy á casa.* They also say *voy a casé Juan* and *voy an case Juan.* Just as PARA + EN > *pan,* A + EN could be *an*, so that the change of EN > *an* in § 97 is not absolutely certain, tho very probable. In Mexico (Yucatán and Vera Cruz, see Ramos y Duarte 226) they say *'Voy en ca mi tía,* but not *á casa'.*

[2] See *Phonology,* § 214. *En guar de* is found in *Corvacho.*

[3] Both forms are found in Mexico (Ramos y Duarte, *s. v.*).

[4] This form occurs also in Mexico (Ramos y Duarte, *s. v.*).

[5] See, however, *Phonology,* § 196.

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The loss of *m* in *alaya* < MAL HAYA may be due to the desire of avoiding the strong word *mal*. There may be however analogy to the exclamations beginning with *al* such as *al redo vaya, al diablo,* etc. In *arredovaya*[1] we have assimilation LR > *rr,* just as *arrededor* < ALREDEDOR, § 99. *Mal redo vaya* has *mal* = *al* by analogy. For *oyis* < OYE, see *Phonology,* § 200, and for *abricias* < ALBRICIAS, *Ibid,* § 182. *Ójala, mal haya, al redo vaya* are always followed by *y* if a verb follows, taking often the place of *que,* or when a noun follows: *ójali venga mañana* < OJALÁ Y VENGA MAÑANA; *alayi su lengua* < MAL HAYA (Y) SU LENGUA.[2]

§ 101. New forms:

a) *ápale,*[3] *ópale, úpale, ápa, ópa, úpa, ope, opi.* These are used to express surprise at a sudden meeting or a sudden fall. The first three forms may be contaminations of N. M. S., *ándale* = go ahead, hurry, and English UP > *op, opa,* § 102 below. *paun, pan, pon* = *zas*; *manito, manitos* = *Díos mío.*

For the form *manitos,* see § 34 d. The *s* is due to analogy with *diablos, demonios,* etc. New Mexicans always say also *carambas, caramberitas.*[4]

b) *hijo de nel, jo de nel*; *hija de nea, ja de nea.* These are used to express extreme surprise at a persons actions, equivalent to the English 'you are a fine one', etc. The loss of the initial syllable in *hijo, hija* is no doubt due to proclisis. The origin of *nel,* femenine *nea* is not clear.[5] In rapid speech one may also hear *jŋ̆e nel* < JO

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[1] *Al redo vaya* < AL REDRO VAYA has a dissimilation in REDRO > *redo. Arredo vaya,* is found in Mexico (Ramos y Duarte, *s. v.*).

[2] The preposition *de* is rarely used after *mal haya.* The *y* does not follow when pluralized to agree with the noun modified, as in the popular copla:

Yorando me prometites
que nunca mi olvidarías.
Jué lo primero qu'hisites;
¡Mal hayan tus porquerías!

This happens, even when the preposition *de* is used: *mal hayan deos* = *mal haya de ellos.*

[3] Used also in Mexico, Ramos y Duarte, *s. v.*

[4] The *s* is analogical, cf. *diablos, demonios, carajos,* etc.

[5] The form *ne* is also rarely used as a femenine: *hija de ne,* but the regular forms are masculine *nel* femenine *nea.* Since *ne* may be used for both genders, it seems as tho it is the original form, but the masculine form *nel* makes the matter more complicated. The forms have a very mild meaning and are in no way avoided. The word NOE > N. M. S. *nŋ̆e* > *ne* may be a possible source, but *nŋ̆e* is the common form in N. M. S. The exclamation 'HIJO DE NOE', tho attractive, is not found in the Spanish literature known to me.

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DE NEL and *je nea* < JA DE NEA. To avoid a less elegant phrase new Mexicans also say *hijo di un jujú* or *jo di un jujú.*

c) The exclamation *Dios* when used with the preposition *á* undergoes a series of interesting changes. The following are the principal forms: Á DIÓS > *adiós, adió, adiá*; *edió, edié.* These forms are used to express pleasant surprise or contempt or disgust.

d) The greeting *adió señor* < Á DIÓS SEÑOR, is used with the sense of *¿cómo está?.* Other forms of salutation that have suffered considerable change are: *¿co le va?* < COMO LE VA; *¿quí ai?* [kiái] < QUE HAY; *güenos días léde diós* [gu̯ẽ : ǫzią lę̨đę đi̯ǫs] < BUENOS DÍAS LE DÉ DIÓS; *quíte di aquí* < QUÍTATE DE AQUÍ (haplology).

e) Contaminations: *por dioble* < POR DIOS + DIABLO; *por diobligo* < Ibid. + suffix -GO. These are also used in the plural, *por diobles, por diobligos.*

§ 102. Interjections of English source. *šo*[1] < PSHAW; *shoquis* < SHUCKS; *auchi*[2] < OUCH; *Je*[3] < HEY; *op, ope, opa, opi* < UP; *jurá, juré* < HURRAH; *olraite*[4] < ALRIGHT; *guirape*[5] < GET UP; *ǧijuís*[6] < GEE WHIZ; *camón* < COME ON.

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[1] *Phonology,* § 221.
[2] *Ibid.* § 241.
[3] *Ibid.* § 259.
[4] *Ibid.* § 221.
[5] *Ibid.* § 255.
[6] *Ibid.* § 251.

(To be continued.)

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