LA INVESTIGACIÓN DEL LÉXICO DEL ESPAÑOL DE LA CALIFORNIA TEMPRANA: LOS MEXICANISMOS EN LA OBRA DE UN MISIONERO PENINSULAR

INVESTIGATING THE LEXICON OF EARLY CALIFORNIA SPANISH: MEXICANISMOS IN THE WORK OF A PENINSULAR MISSIONARY

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Recibido: 16 de agosto de 2018. Aceptado: 16 de octubre de 2018

Resumen: Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, un fraile español nacido en la provincia de Burgos, pasó la mayoría de su vida en la Alta California, territorio español y luego mexicano. Un análisis cuidadoso de su vocabulario manuscrito español-mutsun, el *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus* (c. 1815), demuestra que Arroyo de la Cuesta emplea una gran variedad de términos que se consideran típicos del español mexicano. También utiliza en su vocabulario términos regionales españoles y términos de la lengua californiana mutsun, pero en menor grado. Este análisis apoya la afirmación de que el español hablado en la Alta California tenía orígenes fundamentalmente mexicanos, y contradice la afirmación de que la influencia mexicana comenzó sobre todo después de 1830.
Palabras claves: California, colonos, español, Estados Unidos de América, historia de la lengua, léxico, mexicano.

Abstract: Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta was a Spanish priest born in the province of Burgos who spent most of his adult life in the Spanish and then Mexican territory of Alta California. Careful analysis of his manuscript Spanish-Mutsun vocabulary, the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus* (c. 1815), shows that he employed a wide range of terms that are considered typical of Mexican speech, along with a smaller number of regional Castilian and native Californian (Mutsun)

terms. These findings support claims that the Spanish spoken in Alta California was fundamentally Mexican in origin and contradict claims that Mexican influence began in earnest only after 1830.

Key words: California, colonists, language history, lexicon, Mexican, Spanish, United States of America.

1. Introduction

The present study aims to contribute to the growing body of research that confirms the Mexican origins of early California Spanish (e.g. Moyna & Decker, Lamar Prieto). It is well-documented that the early Spanish-speaking population of Alta California –those who came to the territory between 1769 and the 1830s, often referred to as the "mission period"– consisted of settlers who came principally from the northern areas of Mexico, comprising the modern-day states of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Baja California (Hackel 57) as well as Franciscan missionaries who hailed, particularly in the early years of the colony, from Spain. Previous studies of California Spanish have, logically, focused on the language of the settlers who comprised the bulk of the Spanish-speaking population of Alta California, and have shown these settlers used a variety of Spanish most closely related to Mexican dialects. As early as the 1930s researchers were recognizing that "the [Spanish] language of southern Arizona, Sonora and California is very similar" (Post 35). Moyna and Decker found in documents from San Diego in the mid 1800s evidence of a number of traits of Mexican Spanish, and more specifically Northern Mexican dialects. These included lexical elements, syntactic structures, and even written evidence of features of Mexican Spanish pronunciation. Lamar Prieto also concludes that "Si quisiéramos caracterizar brevemente el español histórico de California, deberíamos mencionar en primer término, tal y como se ha dejado sentado en el primer capítulo, que se trata de un dialecto cuyo origen se encuentra en el Norte de México, en un dialecto con base rural." (316).

However, the total number of Spanish-speaking colonists living in Alta California during this period was

surprisingly small; Hackel estimates that there were only some 3500 Spanish-speaking colonists in the territory in the 1820s, and that most of these were descendants of just a few hundred settlers and soldiers who had come to the region in the later decades of the 18th century (57). These few thousand Spanish speakers were also spread out over a wide territory, with communication between early civilian settlements such as San Jose and Los Angeles requiring several days of travel. Given these small overall numbers, the relative isolation of both Alta California and the communities in the territory, and the potentially outsized prestige and influence of Spanish-born priests and missionaries, one could also imagine several scenarios in which some Castilian traits were maintained. One common outcome when speakers of different varieties of a language come into contact is dialect mixing, which can then lead to koineization, but one could also posit the use of different varieties of Spanish in different speech communities: the Mexican variety prevalent in the towns and presidios and the Castilian variety predominating in the missions. This is the proposal of Antonio Blanco in his 1971 work *La lengua española en la historia de California*. In describing the language of the Franciscan missionaries, he claims "Creemos suficiente afirmar, como ya los hemos hecho, que en la época pastoral de California la lengua escrita por los misioneros constituye el elemento más puro, elegante y llano de expresión; que la larga permanencia de estos frailes en California, casi hasta su muerte, y su poco contacto con el mundo fuera de los límites de su provincia, hacen que su lenguaje se arcaíce y mantenga vocablos que han atraído nuestra atención." (79) Obviously, "archaic" language does not have to mean "Castilian" –indeed, archaic expressions are often cited as typical of the rural dialects of Mexico– but he clarifies in the next paragraph that he is referring to "expresiones llanas y castizas" (79). Blanco goes on to claim that the "Mexicanization" of California Spanish occurred in the 1830s, partly with the arrival of the Híjar-Padrés expedition: "fue esta colonia la que más contribuyó [...] a aportar a la lengua un vocabulario más mexicanizado" (74). His claim, then, is that during the

period examined in the present study, little Mexican influence should be found:

> Hasta 1830 aproximadamente, se conservó firmemente no solo la estructura, sino el léxico, la morfología, la sintaxis, y tenemos razones fundamentales para suponer que la fonética también, que forman la base de la lengua castellana. Pocas influencias mexicanas de léxico y modo de expresión encontramos, debido a dos razones que ya hemos explicado: el ser un baluarte de los españoles-americanos y de los españoles-europeos y el enorme aislamiento [...] (259)

Moyna and Decker also recognize the presence of Peninsular varieties in Alta California, characterizing the early Spanish settlements as "multilingual and multidialectal" (148) and noting that many of the Spanish priests were from Cataluña and likely spoke Catalan as well as Spanish: "The early Spanish settlements in California were therefore multilingual and multidialectal. On the one hand, the missionaries and officers spoke not just varieties of Peninsular Spanish but also Catalan. Moreover, the neophytes spoke a staggering number of different indigenous languages ... Finally, the soldiers and settlers contributed their New Spain regional dialects to this linguistic mix." (Moyna and Decker 148) Because the Mexican origins of "popular" California Spanish have been well-established, whereas the language(s) and varieties spoken by the missionaries have not been studied as closely, I have chosen to focus here on the latter, in an intent to verify to what extent the Spanish priests in Alta California maintained Castilian features in linguistic usage.

2. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta and the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus*

The writings of Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta present an ideal case study for many reasons. First are the biography and linguistic background of the priest. He was

born in 1780 in the small town of Cubo de Bureba, in the province of Burgos in the historic Spanish region of Castilla la Vieja, and thus it is reasonable to surmise that his native variety of Spanish would have exhibited those traits found in the dialects of North-Central Spain, in pronunciation, syntax and lexicon. According to Geiger (1969), Arroyo de la Cuesta arrived in the Spanish territory of Alta California in August of 1808, at the age of 28, after spending three years at the Colegio de San Fernando in Mexico City. Upon his arrival Arroyo de la Cuesta was sent to Mission San Juan Bautista, located some 50 kilometers to the north and east of Monterey, then the capital of the territory. The mission had been founded in 1797 by Father Fermín Lasuén and thus had been operating for just over 10 years when Arroyo de la Cuesta arrived.

Within the first decade of his arrival in Alta California, Arroyo de la Cuesta had begun to learn and document the languages spoken at and around San Juan Bautista. His earliest manuscripts documenting languages appear to date from 1815 and 1816, and the study of indigenous language continued to be an interest throughout his life, as he continued to write and re-copy linguistic texts well into the 1830s. Arroyo de la Cuesta remained at San Juan Bautista for some 25 years, from 1808 until 1833. While there he described not only the Costanoan language spoken in the immediate vicinity of the mission, Mutsun, but also a variety of Yokuts spoken by people who came to San Juan Bautista from California's Central Valley and five different languages spoken at Mission Dolores in San Francisco. After leaving San Juan Bautista, Arroyo de la Cuesta spent the last seven years of his life in four Central California missions: San Luis Obispo, San Miguel, La Purísima and finally Santa Inés, where he died on September 20, 1840. During these last years of his life he recopied many of his earlier notes and word lists and continued to study and record Native languages, including a variety of Chumash spoken around Santa Inés.

Arroyo de la Cuesta's body of work includes two substantial manuscripts, both of which were posthumously edited and published. These are a vocabulary of Mutsun, the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus* (1815), published in

1862 as *Vocabulary or Phrasebook of the Mutsun Language* (Shea's Library of American Linguistics VIII) and a grammar of the same language, the *Extracto de la gramática mutsun* (1816), published in 1861 (Shea's Library of American Linguistics IV). Other shorter works that remain only in manuscript form include a notebook of field notes bearing the title *El oro molido* (1821) and a later compendium of notes and observations dating from roughly 1837 which bears the title *Lecciones de Yndios*, though it is sometimes listed under an alternate title, *Lengua de California.* Other works have been attributed to Arroyo de la Cuesta, including a grammar of the Yokuts language he calls *tulareño*, but if such a work did exist, no extant copies are known. Likewise, we know Arroyo de la Cuesta's Mutsun grammar only through the published edition from the 1860s, the original manuscript being lost and most likely destroyed in the fire following the San Francisco earthquake of 1906.

In this study, I focus on the lexical features of the Spanish portions of Arroyo de la Cuesta's vocabulary of Mutsun, the full title of which is *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus, exprimationum causa horum indorum Mutsun*. Arroyo de la Cuesta refers to the work as his *Arroyuelo*, and this is the title found on the cover of the original manuscript; both the Latin title and this affectionate nickname for the work are plays on his surname. I will refer to the manuscript using the shortened title *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus*; as noted above, the published version of this work bears a completely different name, *Vocabulary or Phrasebook of the Mutsun Language*, but barring some omissions and errors in the printed version, it is substantially the same work, with no additions or emendations. The *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus*, penned entirely in Arroyo de la Cuesta's hand, is by far his most substantial work, and as a vocabulary it lends itself particularly well to a lexical study. Arroyo de la Cuesta's two field notebooks, *El oro molido* and *Lecciones de Yndios*, were also consulted. However, because these two works contain principally field notes and short word lists comprising basic vocabulary from a variety of other indigenous languages, they did not con-

tribute in any meaningful way to an analysis of Arroyo de la Cuesta's broader lexicon. Finally, because comparison of the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus* manuscript and the 1862 printed edition of that work reveals numerous discrepancies and errors in transcription, his grammar, for which we do not have an extant manuscript, was also omitted from the present analysis. Given the text considered, the importance of the lexicon is clear: the vocabulary is focused on language description and documentation and therefore contains a wide range of terms and vocabulary, much wider than one could expect from everyday correspondence. At the same time, because the main content of the text is discrete words and short phrases, it is not ideal for studying other aspects of language, such as syntax.

A description of the general characteristics of the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus* is useful to get a sense of how the work is structured and how the lexical items might be analyzed. The manuscript contains Mutsun words and phrases translated into Spanish and occasionally Latin, but it is not a traditional vocabulary and has several characteristics that make it difficult to work with. Principal among these is its very loose organization; while ostensibly the vocabulary is organized alphabetically, and while all the words and phrases in a given section generally begin with the same letter, within the sections there is no apparent order or organization to the listings. Some entries contain a single word, some a list of words, generally but not always related, and others full phrases in Mutsun. To give the reader a sense of the variety in format of entries in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus*, I will reproduce a series of 6 consecutive lines from the section of words beginning with H; these can be found on page 35 of the published work. Both here and in subsequent examples, where there are discrepancies between the manuscript and the published version, I will follow the spelling and punctuation of the manuscript, but provide page numbers from the 1862 edition for ease of reference, as this edition is more readily accessible. Because the published version contains some significant errors in transcription, I will indicate these when relevant.

> Huiacse: Hocse. Esta tarde : ya hace tiempo, ó mucho tiempo.
> Huica. Aier.
> Hitugtei. Está rebuelto, ó mezclado.
> Huomogte. Barbon.
> Humirina macque: vel umirina. Vamos á bautizar ó lavar.
> Huac patian piñi rotes. Era ó fue acaso su sangre. (35)

As this example shows, the alphabetic order is not precise, and words and phrases are not generally grouped by meaning or by shared morphemes. Rather, one has the impression that Arroyo de la Cuesta jotted down words and phrases as they came to him. While frustrating for those attempting to use the vocabulary as a reference work, for the purposes of this study it helps to confirm the impression that, while he almost certainly relied on Mutsun speakers for elements of the Mutsun portions of the vocabulary, the Spanish portions of the text were produced by Arroyo de la Cuesta himself and reflect his own knowledge and use of the language.

3. Characteristics of Arroyo de la Cuesta's lexicon

One striking feature of *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus,* Arroyo de la Cuesta's Mutsun-Spanish vocabulary, is that the Spanish translations include some 21 *nahuatlismos* or words clearly derived from Nahuatl. These belong mostly to lexical fields related to food and drink or the natural world, so we have the food-related terms *atole* (Nahuatl *atolli*), *pinole* (*pinolli*), *pozole* (*pozolli*), *metate* (*metlatl*), and the verb *tatemar* (*tlatemati*), referring to a technique of cooking on a comal or similar surface; the plant-related terms *amole* (*ahmolli*), "soap plant," *chía* (*chiyantli*), *popote* (*popotl*) "straw," *tule* (*tolin*) "sedge," and *zacate* (*zacatl*) "grass;" and the animals *chanate* (*tzanatl*), "grackle," *chapule* (*chapolin*), *coyote* (*coyotl*), *pinacate* (*pinacatl*), a type of beetle, and *gicote* [sic] (*xicohtli*), a type of bee, which is today generally spelled *jicote.* Other words derived from Nahuatl found in vocabulary include *chichigua* (*chichihualli*) "nursemaid," *mecate* (*mecatl*) "rein used to train horses," *pepena* (*pehpena*) "choose, scavange," *tapestle* (*tlapechtli*) "wooden plat-

form," and *temescal* (*temazcalli*) "bath, sweat bath," Two derived terms also found in the vocabulary are the verb *enchilar*, "to sting," ultimately derived from Nahuatl *chilli* but incorporating the Spanish prefix *en-,* and the ethnonym *tulareño*, from *tule*, which Arroyo de la Cuesta uses to refer to Yokuts-speaking peoples from California's Central Valley.

While some borrowings from Nahuatl, such as *tomate*, *chocolate*, and *cacahuate/cacahuete*, were incorporated into peninsular varieties, most of these were and remain principally Mexican terms. All but *chapule* and *temescal* are listed in the *Diccionario de mejicanismos* of Felix Ramos y Duarte (1895) and all but *chanate* and *tapestle* appear in the *Léxico indígena en el español de México* of Juan Lope Blanch, a study realized in 1969. According to Blanco, "chapule" is a common variant for the Mexican term "chapulín" in Northwest Mexico (193). Lamar Prieto also comments on the presence of Nahuatl terms in California: "No podemos olvidar que parte del caudal lingüístico de los californios, como proveniente de México, alberga términos nahuas. Este fenómeno tiene una explicación muy sencilla, ya que al español que llega a California procedente de México ya se habían asimilado un buen número de nahuatlismos. De nuevo, un argumento más en contra de la hipotética *castellanidad* del dialecto californio." (169)

Looking at each of the words in context helps to clarify how and how often Arroyo de la Cuesta employed them. For instance, some words, like *amole, atole, chanate, pinole* and *zacate* are found several times over the length of the vocabulary, while others (*chichigua, gicote, mecate, tapestle*) are found only once. Table 1 lists all instances of each of the *nahuatlismos* in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus;* while the manuscript vocabulary was consulted for all examples, corresponding page numbers for the 1862 printed edition are provided for ease of consultation.

Table 1. *Nahuatlismos* in context in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus.*

amole: ¿No dijiste que iríamos por amoles? (12); Mañana sí iremos por amoles (12); Se me ha caido [sic] mi amole

(41); se resbaló, bajó, cayó, rodó, desbarrancó y perdió el amole (55); Tu peine de raices [sic]: de amole (59); Vamos á pedir y juntar: v.g. trigo, bellota, amole, etc. (64); Está crudo el amole (76); Dime, ¿es esto amole? (87); Vamos a traer amole (88); Trae amole para mí (88)

atole: Hirvió el atole (30); Van a cojer [sic] atole (35); Id por atole, ó id a traer atole, ó a tomar atole (69), Cierto panes y atoles (81); Dame atole de cualesquiera especie (81); atole de bellota (86); Corita para atole (88); el atole, caldo, etc. (93)

chanate: lo encarnado del ala del chanate, tordo (19); lo encarnado de la pluma del Chanate : Lechuza : Aguilon (35); 7 especies de varios colores de chanate (37); chanate de cabeza y pluma amarilla (68); chanate de ojos zarcos (90); chocita adonde se atisba á los chanates para cazar (93)

chapule: chapule ó salta-caballos (71)

chía: ¿Y dónde cojo yo chia (Semilla para refrescar.) [sic] (12); chia [definition] (71)

chichigua: Ahí viene una con hijo ó chichigua (73)

coyote: Coiote [definition; incorrectly transcribed in the 1862 edition as *Corote*] (30); Me corrió el coyote (32); Me morderá el coyote (32); Coiote : id[em] [definition] (56); Coyotillo, ó hijo de coyote : coyote (80)

enchilarse: Me enchilé ó me he picado la garganta (88)

gicote: Gicote. [definition] (18)

mecate: Cuerda, ó como dicen mecate (77)

metate: Se muele esto : en molino, metate, arrastra, &c. (42); Mano de mortero de Indios, ó metate (72)

pepena: Pepena: recoge: espiga tú castellanamente (70); Dice que pepena ó recoge sapa (cierta semilla prieta y dura.) (73)

pinacate: Escarabajo, ó como otros dicen, Pinacate. (92)

pinole: ¿Para quién has guardado el pinole? (9); ¿Dónde está el pinole? (12); Thrae [sic], como pinole, y lo acabo (14); Te ahogaste con pinole (33); Nunca pruebo el pinole (51); ¿te dió [sic] pinole? (57); Hemos acabado de moler, ó hacer pinole. (61); Come pinole con tu hermano menor (64); Allí está tapado y guardado nuestro pinole (65); Dadme pinole (69); trae un poco de pinole (70); Está compuesto con abalorios dicho adorno. Salvado y lo gordo de pinole (79)

popote: aguarda te quemo con un popote (44); Allí hai [sic] ó está los palitos delgados; como v.g. popote (90)

pozole: Acaba de llegar el pozole (40); Acaba de llegar el pozole (72)

tapestle: Cuando se enferman se hace tapestle para thraer [sic] el D. (21)

tatema: Tuéstale ó tatemale (82)

temescal: Oí a los hombres en el temescal (67)

tule: Se hincha (esta especie de) tule (36); Tule fresco (49); Cáscara ó pellejo ó cútis [sic] de tule fresco (51); Una yerba á manera de tule (71); Naguas de yerba ó tule (76)

tulareños: Se han quitado los tulareños el vestido (12); los tulareños han traido agua [y] semilla (40); Los Tulareños tienen amarrado el pelo (42)

zacate: Un zacate (17); Su peine de hilos de zacate, torohu [sic] ó barbas o raíces (37); Se metió ó escondió el venado entre el zacate (61); Cebadilla; o zacate, con una espiga como cebadita (69); Dame zacate ó yerbas (85)

Several notable aspects of Arroyo de la Cuesta's usage become clear after considering these words in context. First, based on how many of these *nahuatlismos* refer to elements of the natural world, one might assume that their use should be attributed to the fact that they denote entities or concepts for which no word existed in Spanish; Parodi 2009 and 2012 notes this characteristic of borrowed words in her framework of cultural semantics. This

could easily be the case for *pinacate*, "stink beetle," an insect indigenous to the area in and around the Sonoran Desert, or for plants indigenous to the Americas such as *amole* or *chía*. However, there are other examples that seem to indicate a preference for a Nahuatl term over a comparable Castilian equivalent. To give one example, the term *chanate* refers specifically to a medium-sized dark-colored bird known commonly as the Mexican grackle that is indigenous to Central and South America, but is not commonly found in central or northern California. In Mexico this bird is often referred to as a "chanate" or "zanate," but is also sometimes mistakenly called simply a "cuervo" or crow, also a medium-sized dark-colored bird. Arroyo de la Cuesta uses the term "cuervo" just once in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus,* in a definition, "Cuervo grande" (1862: 17), but as noted above uses "chanate" in six different definitions, and speaking of different types of *chanates*: "7 especies de varios colores de chanate" (37), "chanate de cabeza y pluma amarilla" (68), "chanate de ojos zarcos" (90). Because neither the Mexican grackle nor closely related species are common in northern California, while crows are indigenous to the area, is not likely that we can assume that Arroyo de la Cuesta chose the term "chanate" simply to be precise in his identification. Rather, it seems that he adopted the word "chanate" as a general term to refer to a variety of medium-sized birds, and that this word has been firmly assimilated in Arroyo de la Cuesta's lexicon. The same is true for "tule" and "zacate," both terms that can be used to refer to a range of types of common reed or grass-like plants; while in his notebooks Arroyo de la Cuesta occasionally pairs the term "tule" with a Castilian equivalent, "junco," he does not use the Castilian term at all in his vocabulary.

There are several other instances in which Arroyo de la Cuesta does give both a Castilian and a Mexican term in his definitions: "chapule ó salta-caballos" (1862: 71) "Mano de mortero de Indios, ó metate" (72), "Escarabajo, ó como otros dicen Pinacate." (92). For these examples, it seems clear that he is aware that there may be two different Spanish words that would fit with his definition of a Mutsun word or phrase, and that he chooses to provide both

options. In the case of "metate" he makes an explicit association between the term and the context of indigenous America, but with "chapule" and "pinacate" he simply provides these terms as alternates. For "pinacate" it is "como otros dicen" (92), but the "others" are left unspecified and no judgement is made regarding the appropriateness of either term. There are other cases in which it is not clear if the second Spanish term provided is meant to clarify the meaning of the *nahuatlismo* or simply provide nuance for the definition, as in "Dame zacate ó yerbas" (1862: 85). Regardless, the existence of these doublets seems to indicate that Arroyo de la Cuesta was aware of linguistic variation in the Spanish spoken in Alta California. They may indicate his awareness of the more prevalent variety, Mexican Spanish, and that he felt a need to include Mexican terms in order to make his vocabulary useful to the other Spanish speakers around him. However, it is just as important to note how many of the Mexican terms he uses are not contrasted with a Castilian term (e.g. *atole*, *chanate*, *gicote*), which may show that they needed no clarification in his mind.

Terms derived from Nahuatl are not the only *mexicanismos* in Arroyo de la Cuesta's work, though they are the most prevalent. Other terms found in the vocabulary that are widely recognized as being of Mexican origin include *chino* to refer to curly hair: "tiene su vello, ó es su vello como chino" (1862: 35), *mero* meaning "truly": "Puras, ó meras chiquitas: puras" (13), *sarape* (serape) "blanket, shawl": "Vete afuera a sacudir : v.g. el sarape" (21), and *platicar*: "Que hemos de contar, ó hablar, ó platicar" (40). The variant *fresada* for frazada "blanket" is found several times: "se sacude el vestido ó fresada"(1862: 26), "que el Padre no te dió fresada?" (28), "fresada rayada" (28), "en la fresada" (29), "Deja ó aguarda me fajo la fresada" (37), "su fresada es de pieles" (45), "Deja desdoblo la fresada" (46), "Esta es la fresada de mi abuela" (61). All of these terms are listed as *mexicanismos* by either Ramos y Duarte or Gomez de Silva, or both. Blanco makes special note of *fresada* as a "Término común en California para frazada" (205). Arroyo de la Cuesta also uses the term *cora* to refer to a type of basket: "Pedazo de cora vieja" (1862: 36) "Una

cora para beber y tener agua" (82), "Una cora con mano para recoger semillas." (82), "Corita para atole" (88). Both Blanco and Ramos y Duarte have this as a term specifically from Chihuahua, and Blanco mentions how common its use was in California (187-188). Finally, Arroyo de la Cuesta uses the term *verrendo* to refer to the pronghorn antelope, a mammal indigenous to the Western United States– "Si el venadito se haria verrendo y si el verrendo se haria venadito entónces habria transformacion" (1862:75). This term is found in Icazbalceta's *Vocabulario de Mexicanismos* and Blanco also mentions it as a "californianismo" (172-173). As with the *mexicanismos* derived from Nahuatl, we sometimes find these terms used alone, with no clarification, as is the case with *chino, sarape, fresada* and *cora*, and sometimes alongside equivalent Castilian terms, as with "Puras, ó meras chiquitas" (1862:13) and "contar, ó hablar, ó platicar" (40)

Given the large number of identifiable *mexicanismos* in Arroyo de la Cuesta's work, one might wonder if there is any indication of his upbringing in the Spanish province of Burgos in this work. Indeed, I was able to identify a handful of regional Spanish terms in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus*. These were confirmed using dictionaries and other studies of regionalisms from Burgos and neighboring provinces; Arroyo de la Cuesta's hometown of Cubo de Bureba in Burgos is in the northeast corner of that province, close to the borders of both Álava and La Rioja. Arroyo de la Cuesta uses several terms included in Federico Baráibar y Zumárraga's *Vocabulario de palabras usadas en Álava y no incluídas en el Diccionario de la Real Academia*, a particularly useful source given that it was published in 1903. These include "cuchacho," (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1862: 68), which Baráibar y Zumárraga defines as "golpe dado en la cabeza con los nudillos de la mano, cerrada." (84) and "botrino," mentioned three times in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus*: "¿Que no vais a pescar con botrino?" (1862: 29), "Y donde tenemos los botrinos" (29) and "Botrino, como una cosa rala" (95). A variant of the fishing term "buitrón," Baráibar y Zumárraga notes that the *botrino* variant is "general y corriente, por lo menos en Alava [sic], Logroño, y Burgos" (58). Other

regional variants found in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus* include "cachibajo" (1862: 23, 66, 68), spelled "cachibaxo" in the original manuscript, as a variant for "cabizbajo," which is listed as characteristic of La Bureba by González Ollé (58) and characteristic of La Rioja by Pastor Blanco 2004 (60), and "saltacaballos" (71) for "saltamontes," listed as characteristic of La Bureba by González Ollé (49).

While "cachibajo" as a variant for "cabizbajo" can be found in several descriptions of regional speech, including the Spanish of rural Panama (Robe 187), "saltacaballos" seems to be particularly indicative of the speech of La Bureba, the region of Burgos in which Arroyo de la Cuesta was born and raised. Likewise, we find the relatively unique term "sapo cerval, ó Rana" in the manuscript, rendered incorrectly as "rana cerval, ó rana" in the printed edition (30) This term also seems to be unique to the region in which Arroyo de la Cuesta was born; Baráibar y Zumárraga, in his dictionary of regionalisms from Álava, lists "sapo zabal" as deriving from Basque "zabar," "heavy" (229) and Puente Amestoy (117) gives "sapo cerval" as a variant of "sapo zabal" specific to the area of Villanueva de Valdegovia, which is just across the border with Burgos and only 30 kilometers from Cubo de Bureba. Pastor Blanco 2008 (314) also lists the term "(sapo) cerval" as a "vasquismo" used in La Rioja.

There are a couple of other terms in the vocabulary that may be classified as Peninsular regionalisms; in describing a wild flower, Arroyo de la Cuesta uses the terms "escalambruxo, zapaculo" (1862: 57). The term *escalambrujo* in its modern spelling, as a variant of the more widespread term *escaramujo*, "wild rose," is given as characteristic of La Rioja by López Leiva (158), along with the similar variants *escarambrujo* and *zarza calambrujera*. While *zapaculo* is not found in published descriptions of Peninsular varieties, both *escalambrujo* and the term *tapaculos* are given as regional names for the wild rose in the comarca of Rincón de Ademuz in Valencia (Gargallo Gil 210), and *escalambrujo* is found with the same definition in a description of the variety spoken in the comarca of Gúdar-Javalambre in Teruel, which borders Ademuz (López

Navarrete and Torres Belmonte 60). Given the noted presence of missionaries from Valencia, Cataluña and the Baleares Islands in Alta California, the association of these terms with Valencia may be worthy of note.

While the present study focuses on the Spanish elements in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus*, it is worth noting that Mutsun words are also found in the Spanish portion of the vocabulary. Arroyo de la Cuesta typically provides a Spanish definition even for terms that seem unique to the area, so we find entries such as the following: "Lalac : lucluc. Ansar : otro de otra especie. Lisana : lesocua. Especie de culebra : lombriz. Lumuimin : littacua. Cierta yerba : venas." (1862: 53). The vocabulary contains many definitions of this sort, where a term is defined generically as a type of plant, fruit, snake or bird; in one case he simply gives a definition as "flor grande que no sé como se llama en Romance." (85). Arroyo de la Cuesta does, however, employ Mutsun terms when the word in question is part of a larger phrase, so we find "Cochop atchainis toinon [sic]. Cuando la muchacha va á por toion (cierta frutilla)." (21) where the term "toion" refers to a small tree native to northern California and to its berries; the Mutsun term for this tree has also been borrowed into English with the spelling *toyon*. A similar example is "Throncon sapa. Se enlacian esta [sic] semillas que se llaman sapa." (92), where instead of specifying simply "ciertas semillas" or "una especie de semillas," the Mutsun term is used in the definition; further along in the same section "sapa" is used again in a Spanish definition with no clarifying information: "Tuiem .... sapa tiguis. Arco Iris .... en que se ve la flor del sapa." (92); note that "Arco Iris" is incorrectly transcribed as "Arco Tris" in the printed version. In just a few instances, the Mutsun word is provided in its own definition, so we find "Jop. Jale. Jur. Alerce. Tule fresco. Jur, Semilla de este nombre" (49). While it is not clear to what extent these Mutsun terms had been integrated into the broader lexicon of California Spanish, their inclusion in the Spanish portion of the vocabulary, in at least one instance with no additional clarification of meaning, does indicate at some presence of native Californian terms in Arroyo de la Cuesta's personal lexicon.

4. Conclusions and implications for further research.

The main finding in the present study is that there is a substantial Mexican lexical influence in Arroyo de la Cuesta's vocabulary; because this work dates from 1815, this finding runs contrary to the assertion of Blanco that the Mexican influence on the Spanish of California is principally found after 1830, and supports the conclusion of Lamar Prieto that early California Spanish is fundamentally Mexican in origin. This conclusion is bolstered by the fact that Arroyo de la Cuesta is from the Burgos region in Central Spain, thus a native speaker of a Peninsular variety of Spanish, and spent relatively little time in Mexico before coming to Alta California. These factors make the presence of so many Mexican terms in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus* all the more notable. While some regional Castilian terms and some indigenous Californian terms are also present in the Spanish portions of the vocabulary, these are relatively few when compared to the number of *mexicanismos*. Because the work in question is a manuscript in Arroyo de la Cuesta's hand, and because we have every indication that he authored the definitions himself, there is little question that the Mexican terms found therein were produced by him and were either part of his own usage or familiar enough that he chose to include them.

This small-scale study suggests several avenues for further research. Arroyo de la Cuesta left several letters, and it would be interesting to see if there is any difference between the lexical choice in these and in the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus*, though it is also unlikely that one would find a similar range of lexical items in the letters. A larger-scale lexical study of the writings of missionaries in Alta California would also help to clarify whether the case of Arroyo de la Cuesta is unique, or whether other Spanish priests also adopted Mexican terms. While the *Alphabeticus Rivulus Obeundus* is unique in size and scope, there is a shorter extant manuscript vocabulary of the language spoken near Mission San Antonio that could serve as a comparison. Finally, this study focuses exclusively on the lexicon, arguably a facet of language that is more easily

adapted and adopted by speakers of different varieties. Given that there have been several studies that relate aspects of the morphology, syntax and even phonology of California Spanish to Northern Mexican varieties, another line of research could verify whether any of these characteristics are present in Arroyo de la Cuesta's and other missionaries' writing, or whether Mexican influence on their language was limited to the lexicon.

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