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The Americanisation of Spanish and Indigenous vocabulary in the 17th century: a case study of la Historia del Huérfano (1621)

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1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to present textual evidence of the process of Americanisation of the Spanish vocabulary and of the selection of Indigenous words that appear in different *Criollo* texts from the 17th century. This chronological phase in Latin American texts represents the flourishing of the colonial world according to Guitarte's periodisation (1983). The recent publication of *Historia del Huérfano* (1621; *Huérfano*) by Andrés de León (pseudonym of the Augustinian friar Martín de León y Cárdenas) is an invitation to analyse the use of American vocabulary in a text whose literary and historiographical characteristics make it a form of hybrid (Rodríguez Moñino, 1968; Palacios, 2020). *Huérfano* emerged as the result of an interest in literary creation by *Criollos* in the city of Lima¹, therefore the vocabulary selected contains a wealth of information. This study aims to achieve results through comparison with other Spanish documents from the second half of the 16th century and the first third of the 17th, with the

¹ This article is part of the R&D+i Project - PGC Type B, XXXXXXXX of the Ministry for Science, Innovation and Universities of the Spanish Government.

aim of evaluating the use of these Americanisms in the context in which *Huérfano* was created.

Reading *Huérfano* takes us to the Andean context, in which the new *Criollo* society is revindicated through the description of the natural wealth of the place, but also of its cities, monasteries, convents and educational centres, etc. (Palacios, 2020). This information appears at the same time as it describes different events from the life of a character we know as the Orphan (*el Huérfano*). In this way, the historiographical information is associated with the creation of a fictional character. By looking in detail at the information provided with its corresponding vocabulary, it is possible to find economic information about daily life, as well as exchanges about prices in Potosí, stories of murders and vengeance in Ecuador, scientific speculations about climatology in Peru, and the philosophy of classical antiquity. And all of this is written using a vocabulary that is starting to become Americanised.

We understand Americanisms to mean terms that come from indigenous languages, as well as the Hispanic lexical items used by the conquistadors and colonisers which ended up becoming adapted to the American context. These Hispanic terms demonstrate Americanisation or *Criollisation*. This process can drive several mechanisms, including a change of meaning, by a process of conceptual adaptation or semantic conversion that manifests itself from the first American texts when referring, for example, to nature. Other processes also apply, such as derivation or composition, to name the new realities. Terms from other subcodes in the fields of seafaring, military or mining, which were generally used in colonial daily life, are also used, as demonstrated by documentary evidence. But furthermore, the *Criollisation* of Spanish vocabulary is demonstrated in the texts where a term is used more frequently in America than in Peninsular texts from Spain, excluding literary texts. The criteria of assessing the frequency of use, rather than exclusively the change of meaning, to recognise this dimension of Americanised vocabulary, is a contribution from Company (2010), and Quirós García and Ramírez Luengo (2015) for defining Americanisms.

1. Huérfano (1621) as a Criollo text.

Huérfano is a work of prose written over 328 pages and containing over a hundred poems, telling the story of the vicissitudes that befall a young Spaniard until he manages to embrace an exemplary life of self-sacrifice and austerity. The text presents a mix of

genres that were considered separate in Europe, namely history and fictional narrative (Palacio, 2017). Researchers will not find in this book the mark of a writer who wishes to understand Indigenous peoples and their cultural world; the thesis of *Huérfano* is to show the possibility that the Spaniards of the New World can set an example of following the virtues of the Gospel, and not reproduce the greed of some Spaniards. *Huérfano* was written between Lima and Seville, and according to Palacios, the friar used paraphrasing and superposition of texts extracted from contemporary writers. It may have been a desk-based work, given that Martín de León spent very little time in America (six years), and always in the Viceroyalty of Peru. This gives the lexicon chosen for *Huérfano* the gaze of a reader who uses different genres to narrate fiction, and who reflects on moral issues such as friendship and the true transformation of a Christian, all of which takes place in a Lima where the literary production of *Criollo* society is being developed.

The work describes a Spanish character who is to be admired despite his many flaws (gambling, thirst for vengeance, etc.), because he follows a process of true internal evangelical conversion as evidenced by his final decision to continue as a priest. *Huérfano* can also be considered a work that seeks to present the sociocultural and economic merits of colonial society: on the one hand, the Augustinian monks (the order that both the author and the character belong to) in Lima who denounce greed, and, on the other hand, the economic value of Lima, with its mining operations. Early *Criollismo* in America was based on presenting and advertising (to the contempt of Peninsular Spaniards) the reinforcement of the sense of belonging to a new land that is described by its beauty and wealth of products, but above all the opportunity to adhere to new moral and cultural ethics as Martín de León writes:

Mas, ¿qué deja de obrar naturaleza en los criollos? ¿O qué les queda ya que ser que ya no son? ¿O por qué les había de faltar nada de lo que tienen, si por sus padres de España fueron y a lo más largo, sus agüelos? Si por el cielo, la parte más benévola tienen; si por la tierra, la más poderosa y rica del mundo es; si por el regalo, ¿dónde tanto como en las Indias se halla? Si por dotrina, pulicía y letras, respecto de la grandeza de España (siendo como son las Indias menos), muchos más letrados hay hijos suyos que en España. (p. 440) [la negrita es nuestra]

But, what does nature cease to do in the Criollos? Or what is left for them but to be that which they are no longer? Or why should they lack anything of what they have, if through their fathers, and then, further back, their grandfathers, they were from Spain? If in heaven, they have the most benevolent part; if on Earth, it is the mightiest and richest in the world; if by gift, where so much as in the Indies is to be found? If by doctrine, refinement and letters, with respect to the greatness of Spain (the Indies being less so),

there are many more learned people that are its children than in Spain (Si por dotrina, pulicía y letras, respecto de la grandeza de España (siendo como son las Indias menos), muchos más letrados hay hijos suyos que en España) (p. 440) [translation and emphasis ours]

This paragraph is reminiscent of the words of another representative of *Criollo* discourse, Fray Martín de Murúa (1540-1618) in his *Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los incas* (1613):

Y porque concluyamos con lo tocante a esta ciudad, digo que el lenguaje que **en ella se** habla es el más cortesano, pulido y limado que en ninguna ciudad de España se habla, de tal manera, quel de Toledo, famoso y siempre çelebrado, no le exçede; y no se hallará en esta ciudad vn bocablo tosco y que desdiga de la pulidesa y cortesanía que pide el lenguaje español, que acá se a trasplantado de lo mejor y más asendrado de España; y ansí son los criollos, facundos y elegantes en sus razones y, aunque están muchos en reputación de mentirosos, no es regla jeneral, que también ay ynfinitos que se precian de trato berdadero, y siguen la virtud a banderas desplegadas. (Cfr. CDH) [la negrita es nuestra]

And because we conclude with what concerns this city, I say that the language that is spoken in it is the most courteous, polished and filed than is spoken in any city of Spain (que en ella se habla es el más cortesano, pulido y limado que en ninguna ciudad de España se habla), in such a way, that the one of Toledo, famous and always celebrated, does not surpass it; and there will not be found in this city a crude speech (no se hallará en esta ciudad vn bocablo tosco) that belies the polished and courteous nature that the Spanish language requires, which has been transplanted here from the best and most established of Spain; and thus are the Criollos, generous and elegant in their reasons (son los criollos, facundos y elegantes en sus razones) and, although many have a reputation as liars, it is not a general rule, there are also countless who pride themselves on honest dealings, and follow virtue with unfurled flags (see CDH) [translation and emphasis ours]

In the context of this new society, it is possible that at the beginning of the 17th century the vocabulary selected by different authors reflected a new phase in the history of American speech. *Criollo* speech is not synonymous with revindicating, in any predominant way, the culture of the Indigenous people, nor with fully reproducing the medieval lexical designations from Spain.

Huérfano is in part a literary work that can follow two tendencies when including Indigenous American terms, as demonstrated in La Araucana (Araucana) written between 1569-1589, and Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias (Elegías) from 1589. In Araucana, only around twenty Indigenous words appear (arcabuco, bohío, caimán, cacique, curaca, palla, etc.), and much of them come with explanations (lazos de fuertes mimbres y bejucos, quién de petaca o de fardel cargado; góndolas y piraguas presurosas;

ropes of strong wicker and vine, loaded with a flask or bundle; gondolas and fast canoes [translation ours]), and nor are there a large number of already Americanised Spanish terms, as explained by Lerner (1974). Three times more Indigenous American terms and Americanised Spanish terms are found in *Elegías*. What can be seen is that Indigenous terms, which were already widespread in the 17th century, according to the study conducted by Alvar (1975), continue to appear frequently through disjunctions (ajíes o pimientos, caimán o cocodrilo), definitions (grandes casas bien compuesta, /que suelen llamar por aquí caneyes], 'large well-built houses, /that tend to be called caneyes here'[translation ours) and explanations (Hay olorosos hobos que en faiciones/ Y pareceres son mirabolanos). Castellanos also represented the testimony of the Criollos by writing a poem to extol the Indians and using lexical Americanisms profusely (Folger, 2020).

We find another attitude towards the use of American vocabulary in *Arauco domado* (1596), a work which does not contain many Indigenous terms either, but gives the impression that Oña considers his homeland to be in America:

Por ser en su pays mi patria amada Y conocer su frasis, lengua y modo Que para darme credito, es el todo. (Cfr. CDH)

For being in their country my beloved homeland And to know their phrasing, language and manner Which to give me credit, is everything (see CDH) [translation ours]

That is to say, the writers are aware of Americanisation (*Y conocer su frasis, lengua y modo* [And to know their phrasing, language and manner]), and of Hispanic vocabulary from different origins (Arabic, French, Italian, Latin, Portuguese, etc.) that is frequently used in documents about America. These terms are sometimes regional uses that are documented in the New World, as argued by Franco Figueroa (1990). He presents textual information about Andalusian words recorded in non-literary texts of the 16th and 17th centuries as examples of Pan-Americanism: *aperar, calzón, cobija, conchabo, durazno, entablar, estilar, mudada*, as well as changes of meaning: *ahilado, apeñuscar,* etc. These documentary examples are confirmed by Frago Gracia (1999) when he concludes that the history of American Spanish must be understood through the concepts of archaism, lexical-semantic creation, adaptation of Spanish terms to the new American

reality, use of specialised vocabulary such as seafaring terms, generalisation of certain Spanish regionalisms, and loans from other languages such as Indigenous languages.

2. American vocabulary in the 17th century

The specialised bibliography of the history of American Spanish concludes the need to rely on research with documentary evidence on the flourishing phase of the colonial world. There are still many unpublished authors from this period who can provide diachronic data in different textual typologies. This is the basis for the analysis of Americanisms in *Huérfano*, although at the same time, we suggest that the search for a certain word in contemporaneous texts demonstrates its degree of usage in the preference of the authors and its consideration as an Americanism.

Research into the distinctive vocabulary of the American languages in literary texts has always focused on the novelty represented by Indigenous American terms. In the first half of the 17th century, the Indigenous vocabulary was incorporated slowly into the literary productions of Spain, and there is no evidence that the Indigenous terms used were recognised by the public. There are few studies on the Americanisation of Spanish vocabulary, despite the interest in dating the process that started from the first chronicles on America. Boyd Bowman (2003), with non-literary texts of different periods, states that Indigenous terms have a limited presence because, although *aji*, *cacao*, *cacique*, *naboria*, etc. were widespread, they did not manage to change the predominantly Peninsular character of American Spanish. It was therefore Americanised Hispanic terms that began to grow in the directions of creation, adaptation and adoption, in addition to derivation, and the coexistence of Indigenous and patrimonial words.

One of the first studies that has contributed most to the examination of Americanised Spanish words that endure as archaisms in America is that by Lerner (1974), who collected 500 terms of Spanish origin obtained from the study of different lexicographical and literary sources. He verified that 340 lexical items conserve their old meaning in the dictionaries consulted for his research. The rest have changed their meaning and have adapted to the communicative needs of the American context.

The matter has also been examined by Enguita Utrilla (2004) when noting the conceptual adaptation of patrimonial names to the American territory (for example, the Spanish designations for American plants: *abrojo*, *acacia*, *algarrobo*, *aliso*, *arrayán*, *cedro*, *jazmín*, etc.). In the new *Criollo* societies, these patrimonial names developed

particular meanings: *invierno* (winter) 'rainy season' or *verano* (summer) 'period of drought'; they also include seafaring terms used in new contexts, the so-called archaisms such as *aguaitar* 'guard, stalk, watch', *apearse* 'stay, lodge'; regionalisms and words of foreign origin characteristic of Hispanic America as opposed to the uses of general Spanish.

The need to give a name to unknown things led to a large influx of borrowings from indigenous languages. The presence of these Indigenous American terms in the Iberian Peninsula is down to three different aspects: trade relationships involving natural products or their introduction into Spain; the linguistic exchange of returning Europeans; and historiographical literature. Alongside this phenomenon, Spanish vocabulary adapted to the new reality. On this point, it is extremely important for the study to recognise the methods of transmission in the texts: description, definition, explanation, equivalence or disjunction and translation of Americanisms, as Enguita Utrilla points out for some of the texts published by Fernández de Oviedo, Góngora Marmolejo, José de Acosta, Cristóbal de Molina and Bartolomé Lorenzo.

Andión Herrero (2002) analyses non-Indigenous Americanisms in the historiographical work *Historia de las Indias* by Bartolomé de las Casas, and concludes that the Sevillian author reflects the Americanisation of the Spanish terms, especially when it comes to the seafaring terms (geographical features, sea conditions, atmospheric phenomena, nautical concepts, etc.), designations of fauna and flora, matters of administration, and the military. These facts were supplemented by Torres Torres (2004) who, with texts from different periods, explained that the Golden Age Spanish that arrived in America was characterised by its innovative nature, which allowed for the creation of a good number of formal and conceptual neologisms, and that the regionalisms of Peninsular Spaniards, as well as seafaring terms, formed part of the selection of patrimonial terms that appear in the texts.

With regards to Indigenous American terms, the conclusions drawn by specialists (Alvar, 1970; Zamora Munné, 1976; Lope Blanch, 1981; Frago Gracia, 2003; Tabernero Sala, 2011; Cáceres-Lorenzo, 2013; Trujillo González, 2022) for non-literary texts indicate several matters that could apply to works for aesthetic purposes: a) these words appear in a certain text due to a communicative need to provide information about an American object or reality; b) some appear to demonstrate that the author of the specific document is an expert in the region or place they describe; c) in 17th century texts,

Indigenous American terms are replaced by patrimonial terms wherever possible; d) Americanisms start to show signs of vitality (Lope Blanch, 1981; Sala et al., 1982), because they are used very frequently or are used through a process of derivation; and e) the incorporation of some Indigenous American terms is Panhispanic (*bohío*, *bejuco*, *cacao*, *cacique*, *canoa*, *hamaca*, *maíz*, etc.), but a preference is shown for Antillean terms, then for Mesoamerican terms, and finally for Quechuan ones.

All of the previous conclusions have been obtained through documentary substantiation. Therefore, our research proposal is based on resolving these questions with regards to *Huérfano*: how many Hispanic terms show full Americanisation through changes of meaning or increased use in the texts? Which terms are used simultaneously in American and peninsular texts? Which Indigenous American terms were selected in *Huérfano* and how are they recorded in the texts? And, finally, given that the work analysed is presumed to be a desk-based piece of work, which authors coincide in their use of Americanisms?

We hope the data we provide will contribute to clarifying the use of Americanisms in 17th century texts, with regard to the process of Americanisation.

3. Material and method

To answer the questions posed above, we have designed a lexicological study based on the search for American lexical items in the text of *Huérfano*, using the edition published by *Proyecto Estudios Indianos* on its website. It is one of the first editions obtained by Palacios from a manuscript from the *Hispanic Society of America*. Free access to this publication facilitates examination of a text that should have come to light in 1621, but did not do so until the 21st century.

This qualitative and quantitative study will be carried out in several phases, starting with the documentary search for Americanisms in *Huérfano*. The examples we have selected are those that appear in the *Diccionario de Americanismos* (DAmer) as terms belonging to the American variety of Spanish. The 2010 DAmer is available at this address:

https://www.rae.es/obras-academicas/diccionarios/diccionario-de-americanismos. For its part, the CREA (Reference Corpus of Present-Day Spanish) has been available in its annotated version 0.3 since 2021. It is possible to search it for forms, sayings and grammatical categories via this link: https://www.rae.es/banco-de-datos/crea After the creation of this initial lexicon, the search for these words was continued in other

documents dating from between 1550 and 1625. We believe that these dates may provide information on the numerical frequency of the Americanisms selected in *Huérfano* (1621). The information we aim to obtain is related to the number of examples of a particular term, in Spanish and American texts, and of its different meanings. For this purpose, we use various resources from the *Real Academia Española*: the *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española* (CDH); the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (2010, DA); the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (2021, DLE); and the *Fichero General* of the RAE.

In all of these cases the aim is to locate the meaning of the indigenous and Hispanic designations from a diachronic point of view, in different resources. For this purpose, the *Diccionario de la Ciencia y de la Técnica del Renacimiento* (DICTER) was also consulted, which allows us to clarify with documentation the meanings found in *Huérfano*, as well as the *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (DCECH).

4. Analysis of the results

The exploration of the Americanisms in *Huérfano* has provided us with 26 Spanish terms that are indicated in Table 1. This table also shows the number of cases and texts in which they appear, according to the CDH, both in America and in Spain. As demonstrated, 34.62% of the lexical terms were already Americanised (dark grey), another 26.92% were in the process of becoming Americanised (light grey), and 38.46% were used both in American texts and texts from Spain (white background).

Americanised Spanish terms			1550-1625 (CDH)			
		Origin	Texts on America		Texts on Spain	
			No. of cases	No. of texts	No. of cases	No. of texts
1.	amagamiento 'depression in the land, landfill'	Latin		-		
2.	almácigo 'seedbed, nursery'	Arabic	5	3	2	2
3.	alpargate 'espadrille'	Arabic	95	47	30	17
4.	alzado 'rebel'	Latin	277	41	735	212
5.	arriscado 'brave'	Latin	26	9	151	6
6.	bajo 'shoal, land'	Latin	66	21	133	58
7.	banda 'side or edge'	Portuguese	880	72	1576	349
8.	breñales 'shrubland'	Uncertain	23	7	4	4
9.	canalete 'oar'	Uncertain	13	5	0	0

10. <i>cata</i> 'well resulting from the exploration of an area of land'	Latin				
11. chapetón 'inexperienced'	Onomatopoeia	51	4	6	5
12. <i>criollo</i> 'American descended from Europeans'	Portuguese	124	28	14	10
13. crisneja 'plait, braid'	Latin	24	6	8	3
14. <i>desbaratar</i> 'strike something with force'	Latin	933	61	1607	332
15. encomendero 'civil authority'	Latin	1259	138	39	12
16. estancia 'rural house'	Latin	579	108	0	0
17. garúa 'type of rain'	Portuguese	13	4	1	1
18. lagarto 'caiman'	Latin	13	24	0	0
19. <i>montaña</i> 'heavily wooded terrain'	Latin	19	9	0	0
20. <i>overo</i> 'white-coloured horse'	Latin	10	6	64	38
21. <i>prisco</i> 'variety of peach, fruit'	Latin	1	1	0	0
22. pulpero 'shopkeeper'	Latin	87	15	3	1
23. <i>saloma</i> 'song for collective work'	Latin	1	1	8	7
24. <i>sarao</i> 'celebratory gathering'	Portuguese	39	21	261	111
25. zancudo 'insect'	Latin	10	6	8	5
26. zarzaparrilla `plant'	Latin	80	21	0	0

Table 1. Results from the study of Americanised Hispanic terms in *Huérfano*

Analysis of Table 1 shows us that, at least between 1550 and 1625, not all of the patrimonial terms in *Huérfano* are clear examples of Americanisms. This result coincides with the conclusions of Lerner, Enguita Utrilla y Frago Gracia, who seek to follow the journey of each word in order to show its Americanisation.

If we take into account the strategy followed by Martín de León, we can see data that completes the figures in Table 1. In fact, the already-Americanised words continue to appear accompanied by clarifications, as is the case with *canalete: Bogan con unas palas de ocho palmos, a quien llaman canaletes y es la boga tan sin cesar que, si la dejasen para solo tomar aliento, volvería la canoa atrás con la corriente "They paddle with eight-palm-span paddles, which they call canaletes, and the stroke is so ceaseless that, if they paused only to catch their breath, the canoe would turn back with the current." (p. 153) [translation ours]. Its meaning in the DLE and DA is 'oars to steer canoes', and neither dictionary gives a geographical indication, although by linking them*

to canoes, their association with America is made clear. The DAmer does not record it, but rather gives *canalete* as a designation in Colombia for the Nahua phytonym *suchicahue*, a tree widely used in cabinetmaking. This information seems to indicate that the term given in the DAmer is a metonym, since the material with which these oars are made could come from that tree. The DICTER explains the use of the term *canalete* as 'conduit or spool' for the sugar mill industry, mining, and seafaring. This meaning is different in *Huérfano*, which must have taken it from a chronicler of Peru, such as Acosta, or from the verses written by Castellanos in Colombia. It also appears in Lizárraga (see CDH), but his work was not yet published in the 17th century. In 1621 it was a rarely-used Americanism in texts.

Another appearance in *Huérfano* is the new meaning of the patrimonial term *amagamiento* for which the two contemporaneous dictionaries give different meanings: 'shallow gorge' (DLE) and 'place where water springs up' (DAmer). In *Huérfano*, this term related to the geographical description is used to detail the wretched aspect of a terrain dedicated to mining, as described below:

Entró el Huérfano con él a ver la mina, admirado de sus grandes peligros, riesgos, obscuridades, derrumbaderos, socavones, catas, amagamientos, escalas, humedades, calor, malos olores, desabrimentos y malos pasos que hay hasta llegar al centro, todos riesgos de la vida, donde vido más de ochocientos indios trabajando en varias ocupaciones en aquellos senos cavernosos y en tan grandes distancias que pudieran estar otros tantos. (p. 433) [la negrita es nuestra]

The Orphan entered with him to see the mine, admiring its great dangers, risks, darkness, derrumbaderos, potholes, catas, amagamientos, ladders, humidity, heat, bad odours, disappointments and difficult passes that lead to the centre, all risks to life, where he saw more than eight hundred Indians working in various occupations in those cavernous sinuses and at such great distances that there could have been many others (p. 433) [translation and emphasis ours]

This paragraph is a condemnation that describes the horrifying landscape produced by the extraction of the product by mining. Among the lexical terms that appear we find *amagamientos*, *catas* and *derrumbadero*. The first two have the meaning of 'fissure, open hole' and their use in *Huérfano* represents the first appearance of the word *amagamiento*. The meaning of 'depression in the land, landfill site' appears in the *Fichero General* of the RAE, specifically in files numbered 43, 44, 47, 50 and 51, which record

the American meanings that do not currently appear, and which could be related to the one that appears in *Huérfano*.

Among the words selected by Martín de León we also find a specialised term in a non-technical context, *cata*. This term refers to a 'shallow well', as given in DICTER with testimony from the *Diccionario de minas* (Mining Dictionary) (1609-1611) by Llanos. As with other examples, we can see that *derrumbadero* is the patrimonial word that accompanies two words that show evidence of semantic Americanism (*cata* and *amagamiento*). Once again, we see that the words chosen to explain an Americanism are repeated by other writers such as Díaz del Castillo, Pedro de Aguado and Juan de Castellanos. Through their texts it is possible to trace how the American meaning of *derrumbadero* gradually diverges from the general meaning of 'precipice' (DLE). The American meaning places more emphasis on the consequence of the height and slippery nature of the terrain that allowed materials, but also people, to roll. The word *derrumbar* 'tumble, fall' according to the DCECH, appears for the first time in *La Araucana* in 1569-1589, which means that, in *Huérfano*, from 1621, it was a recent borrowing.

The strategy of clarifying the meanings in *Huérfano* is continuous, despite the fact that they are occasionally widely used terms. This happens with *criollo* when writing *que así llaman a los que allá nacen* "that is what they call those who are born there" (p. 132); chapetón "inexperto en las costumbres de América" inexperienced in the customs of America' which is only used once (p.123); instead, the form bisoño 'novice soldier' is preferred, which appears five more times (p. 191, 204, 253, 264, 302, and 427), perhaps because the character of the Orphan is presented to readers as an experienced soldier (Palacios, 2020). The profession of *pulpero* as 'shopkeeper' is also explained through a disjunction: De mercaderes menores, digo de buhoneros y pulperos, que es lo mismo que tenderos, es muy grande la suma; y todos venden, ganan y enriquecen, siendo los compradores de todos los naturales, "Of small merchants, I mean of pedlars and grocers (pulperos), which is the same as shopkeepers (tenderos), the number is very large; and they all sell, earn and get rich, the buyers of everything being the natives" [translation emphasis ours] (p. 457-458).

In the cases of *alzado* and *arriscado* we note once again a certain degree of synonymy between these terms and other examples found between 1550 and 1625. The term is used to explain the danger of the paths, which are "not without new risks, not only of rebel (alzado) or fugitive Indians, but of caimans in such excessive numbers that the

Nile cannot hold so many" [translation ours]. For its part, arriscado seems to be used not just for the Indigenous people: no sin nuevos riesgos, no solo de indios alzados y huidos, pero de caimanes en tan excesivo número que no puede tener tantos el Nilo, "the bravery of the Pijao Indians, who are warlike, but as brave and valiant (arriscados) as the indomitable Indians of Chile" (p. 405), but it is also used to describe "a spirited and brave (arriscado) gentleman" [translation emphasis ours] (p. 171).

Alongside these examples, no clarifications are given for other lexical units: crizneja 'plait, braid' (p. 437); the French word chirimias 'musical instrument' (p. 364); the Arabic word saloma 'song to accompany collective work' (p. 213), which, according to the CDH was used in America for the first time in Gaspar Villagrá's Historia de Nuevo México (1610), and in Spain by Lope de Vega and Miguel de Cervantes. Nor are explanations given for the Portuguese borrowings banda 'side or edge of a territory' (p. 419, 421) and sarao 'celebratory gathering' (p. 292, 309, 313, 347, 349, 350, 357, and 378) which, in this period, were used in American texts as well as in Spanish ones.

The Arabic borrowing *almácigo* is used with the meaning of 'nursery, or the place where the seeds of plants are sown, to be transplanted after the first roots have emerged'. This meaning applies to *seminario*, (seminary), 'place where the seed of religious vocation grows'.

Entró el Huérfano en la famosa Ciudad de los Reyes y en el más majestuoso convento que hay en ella, y en él fue recebido de sus perlados con alborozo y amor, y estúvose con mucho gusto gozando de la observancia y religión de aquel convento que, como cabeza de su dilatada provincia (que tiene más de quinientas leguas de longitud), sin duda es el más observante, como almácigo y seminario que es de los demás desta orden. (p. 567) [la negrita es nuestra]

The Orphan entered the famous City of the Kings (Lima) and the most majestic monastery it contains, and there he was received with joy and love from his higher clerics, and he was gladly enjoying the observance and religion of that monastery which, as the head of his extensive province (which is more than five hundred leagues long), is undoubtedly the most observant, as a **seedbed and seminary** (almácigo y seminario) that belongs to the rest of this order (p. 567) [translation and emphasis ours]

The description of the landscape presents several examples, most of which are words that appear through an explanation, or accompanied by several synonymous terms, despite the degree of vitality of some of the terms used. It seems that the words chosen to explain an Americanism became, in turn, words specific to America. That is the case for

the Antillean term *arcabuco* 'dense forest', which is used on two occasions: on one it is accompanied by the Americanism *breñales* 'land covered by shrubs' (a), and in another by *montaña* in the American sense of 'extensive, uncultivated and heavily wooded terrain' (b). The construction of "*arcabucos y breñales*" was already used by Ercilla, therefore it is possible to venture that *Huérfano* uses it as a reference.

- (a) Otras veces han perdido sus soldados por hambres y enfermedades, a que están muy sujetos todos los que entran a estas conquistas por ser las tierras enfermísimas, llenas de **arcabucos y breñales** y la mayor parte pantanosas [...] (p. 123) [la negrita es nuestra]
- (b) Considerable cosa, por cierto, que sea tan bueno este lugar que estando en las riberas de un río no puedan beber de sus aguas, que parece que el mismo río aborrece la ciudad, la cual fue fuerza que se poblase allí y no en otra parte, porque no se halla otro asiento mejor ni más acomodado en sus riberas y no se gozara de la mucha madera de todos géneros que se saca de las muchas y estendidas **montañas o arcabucos** que tiene, de donde se saca para todas las ciudades, villas y lugares que están en la costa del Pirú y para Lima [...] (p. 568) [la negrita es nuestra]
- (a) At other times they have lost their soldiers through famine and disease, to which all those who enter these conquests are very susceptible, because the lands are very unhealthy, full of arcabucos y breñales, and most of it is swampy [...] (p. 123) [translation and emphasis ours]
- (b) It is certainly a considerable thing that this place is so good that, being on the banks of a river, they cannot drink from its waters, so that it seems that the river itself hates the city, which was the reason why it was settled there and not elsewhere, because there is no other better or more comfortable place to be found on its banks and it would not enjoy the many types of wood of all kinds that are taken from the many **montañas o arcabucos** that it has, from where it is taken to all the cities, towns and places that are on the coast of Peru and to Lima [...] (p. 568) [translation and emphasis ours]

Of this lexical trio, *arcabuco* is the possible Indigenous American term that has the highest frequency in texts reporting on America. In fact, it appears as early as the mid16th century without any comment or clarification of its American meaning. As proof of the vitality of *arcabuco* in this period, the chronicle *Historia de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada* (1573) by Pedro de Aguado uses a derivation, the adjective *arcabucoso* 'abounding with dense forest' (DLE). Despite the above, Martín de León preferred to gloss with other words: *breñales* and *montaña*. These have survived synchronously in American Spanish (DAmer), although they had different levels of vitality between 1550 and 1625, according to the CDH.

Another Indigenous word, this time Taíno, is *sabana* 'plain with little tree cover' (DAmer) which appears in *Huérfano* accompanied by other patrimonial lexical items, such as *llanos* (plains), which is related to the current American meaning of 'pasture, meadow'.

Habiendo andado las doce leguas, se entra en unos llanos que llaman sabanas, tierra fría y bonísima para ganados, aunque muy pantanosa, pero por una calzada se anda bien este llano. (p. 158) [la negrita es nuestra]

Having walked twelve leagues, he entered some plains (llanos) that were called savannahs, cold and very nice land for cattle, although very marshy (sabanas, tierra fría y bonísima para ganados, aunque muy pantanosa), but this plain is easy to walk across along a causeway (p. 158) [translation and emphasis ours]

The textual foundation in CDH shows that *sabana* is replaced in the South American context by the Quechuan word *puna* 'large expanse of bare and barren land, located at a height'. *Puna* is used with a level of vitality very close to *sabana*, but outside of the period studied. *Huérfano* is a work that was produced in the context of Lima, so its sparse use of Quechuan terms is significant. Specifically, the word *puna* appears in this paragraph alongside *páramo*, a current Americanism in the Andes area (see DAmer):

Y en Potosí hasta la agua se compra, porque todo es de acarreto, que es una **puna o páramo rigurosísimo** el mismo asiento donde está poblada la imperial; y con todo eso, es la más bien servida y más abastecida del Pirú, por los muchos intereses, y así, goza los mayores regalos de las Indias y los mejores que se hacen vienen a Potosí. (p. 458) [la negrita es nuestra]

And in Potosí even the water is bought, because it is all carried in, as it is an extremely harsh barren plain (puna o páramo rigurosísimo), the very seat where the imperial city is populated; and with all that, it is the most well served and best supplied of Peru, because of the many interests, and thus, it enjoys the greatest gifts of the Indies and the best that are made come to Potosí (p. 458) [translation and emphasis ours]

In the history of lexical Americanisms, *puna* is recorded for the first time in Spanish texts from 1535, in the chronicle of Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, but to refer to the name of an island near the Peruvian coast. In 1568 it appears in *Visita de los valles de Sonqo en los yunka de coca de la Paz* and other administrative documents, and José de Acosta (1590) was the first chronicler to use it: "[...] *other abandoned areas or deserts or barren plains (páramos), which are called punas in Pirú* [...]". This latter reference shows that it is not a word that is used frequently. The choice of *páramo* to accompany the explanation of *puna*, can lead us to think that our author read it from the Jesuit Acosta.

Continuing with the analysis of the Americanisms used in *Huérfano*, we bring here the case of *estancia*. It appears in Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1595–1615), with its American meaning of 'land used for livestock

purposes'. In the work we are analysing, *estancia* appears with the meaning of 'house', in the city or outside the town:

De allí fue a unas **estancias** de donde le dieron buen despacho para unos pueblos que tiene la isla camino de Puerto Rico, donde llegó en cuatro días. (p. 187) [la negrita es nuestra]

El último no es menos espanto y pasó así: un vecino de la villa traía sospecha que el aguacil mayor del lugar trataba con su mujer perjudicialmente y, fingiendo que se iba fuera del lugar, espió su casa, que era una estancia fuera de la villa; [...] (p. 408) [la negrita es nuestra]

From there he went to some **estancias** from where they gave him a good dispatch to some towns on the island on the way to Puerto Rico, where he arrived in four days (p. 187) [translation and emphasis ours]

The last one is no less frightening and it happened like this: a neighbour in the town had suspicions that the sheriff of the place was treating his wife wrongfully and, pretending that he was leaving the place, he spied on her house, which was an **estancia outside the town** [...] (p. 408) [translation and emphasis ours]

Martín de León also uses the term *cortijo* (country house) (p. 411), which belongs to the Canary Island and Andalusian lexicon. During analysis of the vocabulary, the word *rancho* and the Quechua term *chacra* were missing. He is also unique compared to other American writers in that the Arabic or Portuguese term *zahareño* is used instead of *alzados* (rebels) or *cimarrón* (wild) in this paragraph:

Navego la armada con prosperos soplos de un apacible viento y dio fondo en Saona, ciudad moderada de gentes **desapacible y zaharena y** con exceso esquiva declaradamente con los españoles. (p. 365) [la negrita es nuestra]

The navy sailed with prosperous gusts of a gentle wind and reached Saona, a moderate city of **unpleasant and wild (desapacible y zaharena)** people, with an excessively elusive attitude towards the Spaniards (p. 365) [translation and emphasis ours]

The Indigenous American terms used are not very numerous, which corroborates Alvar, Lerner, Martinell Gifre, Mejías and Sánchez Méndez, who insist that during this colonial period the use of Indigenous words declined. Among the examples, a clear preference is shown for Antillean terms, which make up 58.33% of the total, as seen in Table 2.

		1550-1625 (CDH)					
Indigenous American words	Origin	Text	s on America	Texts on Spain			
	Origini	No. of cases	No. of texts	No. of cases	No. of texts		
1. arcabuco 'dense and closed forest'	Taíno	101	17	6	4		
2. <i>bejuco</i> 'vine or climbing plant'	Carib	46	18	15	2		
3. <i>cacao</i> 'American fruit and tree'	Náhuatl	295	33	7	7		
4. caimán 'reptile'	Antillean	115	36	44	8		
5. canoa 'boat'	Taíno	881	73	425	12		
6. <i>chicha</i> 'alcoholic drink'	Panama	411	56	7	2		
7. guasábara 'conflict'	Antillean	9	5	2	2		
8. <i>hicotea</i> 'fresh water turtle'	Antillean	9	7	1	1		
9. <i>jején</i> 'insect'	Arawak	8	4	0	0		
10. mico 'mono'	Cumanagota	46	15	46	32		
11. sabana 'plains'	Taíno	66	21	0	0		
12. puna 'flat and barren land'	Quechua	168	22	19	4		

Table 2. Analysis of the Indigenous American terms in *Huérfano*

Once again, we find explanations in some Indigenous American terms with great vitality in the documents of this period, as is the case with *canoa*. For example, in the following description, a specialised technical seafaring word is used in a general text. In this case the term *vaso* is used to mean the boat's hull:

They call the **vaso** they sail in a canoa, all in one piece (like a fool), making it from one enormous cedar tree or from another wood, whose banks, in some parts, have great thickets of arcabucos (dense forest) (which is the same as montañas [heavily wooded terrain]) (p.152) [emphasis ours]

This usage had already appeared in *Elegias* by Juan de Castellanos (see DCEH) on two occasions:

El cual á la Española hizo via
De esmeraldas la bolsa proveida,
Donde sus lujos y mujer tenia
Y do pensaba rematar su vida.
La fama de riquezas ya corria
Y por las islas dió tal estampida,
Que en vaso de lijera carabela
Pudo también llegar á Venezuela.
II, III, 226 [la negrita es nuestra]

Which gave life to Hispaniola Of emeralds the bag provided, where he had his luxuries and his wife And he thought to live out the end of his life. De dardos y guerreros instrumentos Los vasos de canoas traen llenos: Si vienen con rüines pensamientos, Pedro de Limpias no los tiene menos: Como gentes no ven, alzan atentos Los ojos por aquellos anchos senos; Cathe por recelar casos siniestros Luego hizo salir dos indios diestros. III, I, 230 [la negrita es

nuestra]

The fame of riches was already running And through the islands he gave such a stampede,

That in a hull of light caravel (vaso de lijera carabela)

He was also able to reach Venezuela.

II, III, 226 [emphasis ours]

Of darts and warrior instruments The vasos de canoas (canoe hulls) come full:

If they come with mean thoughts,
Pedro de Limpias has them no less:
As people do not see, they raise attentive
Their eyes through those wide sinuses;
Cathe for suspecting sinister cases
Then he called out two skilled Indians.

III, I, 230 [translation and
emphasis ours]

The explanation is more evident in *guasábara* (*guazabala*) 'conflict, confrontation' which, despite being numerically widespread, is still explained:

Y digo, que en compañía de cien soldados, que son los que bastan para estas ocasiones, entró y dio principio a sus deseos y determinación, ocupándose año y medio en la conquista, a la cual dio fin una sangrienta guazabala (que es lo mismo que batalla) que número de cuatro mil indios les dieron, donde acabaron más de la mitad de los españoles y acabaran todos si el temor que tienen al estruendo de los arcabuces no los enfrenara. (p. 123) [la negrita es nuestra]

And I say, that in the company of a hundred soldiers, which are enough for these occasions, he entered and gave beginning to his desires and determination, occupying himself for a year and a half in the conquest, which was ended by a bloody **guazabala** (which is the same as a battle) [guazabala, (que es lo mismo que batalla)] which a number of four thousand Indians gave them, where they finished off more than half of the Spaniards, and they would have finished them all off if the fear they have of the noise of the arquebuses had not stopped them (p. 123) [translation and emphasis ours]

It is the same for the Indigenous American terms bejuco, cacao, maiz ('maize buns') and mico, which already show a different degree of vitality. In the case of bejuco ('vine or climbing plant'), it appears in a large number of texts on America, and its appearance in Spanish texts is always accompanied by another synonymous word that clarifies its meaning: yerva o bejuco ('plant'), bejuco o sarmiento ('shoot'), bejuco o melonera and soga o bejuco ('rope') in Discursos medicinales (1606-1611) by Juan Méndez Nieto, and again in a literary creation, in the theatre play Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda (1616) by Cervantes: fuertes bejucos y flexibles mimbres ('strong bejucos and flexible wicker'). Something similar occurs with cacao, which is only recorded in seven Spanish texts that do not describe the American context in the selected period of 1550-1625: in the book Secretos (1566) by Pedro Arias de Benavides, in which someone is invited to take ground cacao as a curative remedy; Romances (1580-1727) by Luis de Góngora, with its meaning of cacao as 'coin': "being, of an ungrateful Helen, Argolic

Menelaus, that my honest thought does not deem her worth a cacao (coin)". This economic value is repeated in the work *Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos* (1603) by Francisco Luque, and in *La Gitanilla* (1613) by Cervantes (see CDH).

As for the Indigenous American terms that describe nature and animals, in *Huérfano* the word *caimán* appears:

Al fin de la tarde, toman tierra en unas estendidas playas que el río tiene y salen todos, no sin nuevos riesgos, no solo de indios alzados y huidos, pero de caimanes en tan excesivo número que no puede tener tantos el Nilo; los cuales, si cogen alguna persona o bestia, se la llevan al fondo donde la ahogan y después la sacan a tierra, donde se la comen, y estos fieros lagartos están hasta muy cerca del nacimiento del río. (p. 153) [la negrita es nuestra]

At the end of the afternoon, they land on some wide beaches that the river has and they all get out, not without new risks, not only of rebel or fugitive Indians, but of caimanes (caimans) in such excessive numbers that the Nile cannot hold so many; which, if they grab a person or beast, they take them to the bottom where they drown them and then take them onto land, where they eat them, and these fierce lizards are even found very close to the source of the river (p. 153) [translation and emphasis ours]

According to the figures in Table 1, *caimán* shows a high level of vitality in the period from 1550-1625, so its appearance in the text without being accompanied by a patrimonial word was to be expected. The author does not always feel a need to give an explanation; for example, Martín de León does not explain *cacao*, *canoa*, *chicha* or *maíz*. In the paragraph cited, the reference to the Nile suggests crocodiles, and a few lines further on *lagarto* appears, a patrimonial word that had been used to explain the caiman since the first chronicles of the 16th century.

In the analysis of *hicotea* 'fresh water turtle', we can see a different process, given that this Americanism is not very widespread in texts on America until 1625:

[...] porque en este largo y hambriento camino donde ya los soldados más expertos y hechos al trabajo de la guerra se quedaban arrimados a los árboles y rendidos al mucho cansancio y hambre, y a otros que dejaban las armas por su mucho descaecimiento y desmayo, el Huérfano se les aventajaba con notable esfuerzo, comiendo yerbas y mariscos crudos, sacando de entre el arena huevos de tortuga, congrios y una especie de galápagos a quien llaman hicoteas. (p. 124) [la negrita es nuestra]

[...] because on this long and hungry road where already the soldiers who were most expert and experienced in the work of war stayed huddled against the trees and surrendered to great fatigue and hunger, and others who abandoned their weapons due to their great weakness and faintness, the Orphan surpassed them with remarkable effort,

eating herbs and raw shellfish, taking turtle eggs, **congrios** (conger eels) and a species of giant turtle called **hicoteas** from the sand (p. 124) [translation and emphasis ours]

The writers that make reference to this in the time prior to our document of analysis are very few (the chroniclers Gómara and Fernández de Oviedo). In the same paragraph the fish name *congrio* appears, which we do not consider to be an Americanism because, although the DCECH mentions a *congrio chileno* (Chilean conger eel), the texts on the period we are examining use this term only as a reference, without using it to name an American fish. Fernández de Oviedo writes that "they found a dead fish that looked like a conger eel (congrio), that the water had left on the beach, and they ate it raw and it didn't taste bad to them". In his Historia natural, Gómara mentions that "They take enormous eels (enguilas) or congers (congrios), which come onto boats and even ships at night; they kill men and eat them", while Sahagún uses it to explain coamichi and Castellanos names it as a fish known to the Spanish.

Finally, the inclusion in the text of the names for mosquitoes, zancudo (p. 133) and jején (p. 569) confirms that their presence in Huérfano may have arisen from reading other works. Crónicas del Perú by Cieza de León (1553) includes a reference to the zancudo: "They are so bad when they are from the mosquitoes (zancudos) that many have died from the ailment caused by them". In the case of jején, the first chronicler to record the term was Fernández de Oviedo in his Historia general y natural de las Indias (1535-1557): "[...] and the worst of all are some tiny ones that they call mosquitoes (xixenes), it is true that some of them pass through breeches, and they sting a lot". Neither name is used very frequently, as shown in Table 2.

Conclusions

During the examination of the American vocabulary in *Huérfano*, 38 cases were gathered, of which 26 are Americanised Spanish terms, and 12 are considered to be Indigenous American terms. Many of these words appear in American and Peninsular texts from the 16th century, but it is interesting to find these words with comments clarifying their meaning. This could be related to Martín de León's need to reach a wider audience, not just those who were familiar with the American context, or to show himself as a cultured man with a taste for texts written in *Criollo* society. This is corroborated with certain terms that were rarely used in the 17th century and may be considered to be literary words. It remains to be investigated whether this attitude of almost continuous explanation for many words that were already used very frequently is linked to the fact

that the text was produced in a literary environment dominated by *Criollo* writers. We do not have sufficiently well-documented information to assert that the *Criollos* who wrote avoided using "bocablo tosco" (crude speech), as Murúa states, or selected the novel words in order to show how cultured they were. We do know that the *Criollo* authors revindicated their aesthetic culture and their knowledge of classical culture. This conclusion could be corroborated in the future by studying *Huérfano's* use of Renaissance culture, which we have not covered in this study.

What remains clear is that there is no obvious link between the vitality of an Americanism that appears in texts between 1550 and 1625, and the need we see in Martín de León to clarify those words. In fact, the Americanised Spanish terms found have been commented on arbitrarily. And all of this is despite the fact that between these years, the documents show that some words were already totally Americanised (*amagamiento*, *canalete*, *encomendero*, *estancia*, *lagarto*, *montaña*, *prisco*, *pulpero* and *zarzaparrilla*), others were used more frequently in works about America (*almácigo*, *alpargate*, *cata*, *chapetón*, *criollo*, *crisneja* and *garúa*), and finally, other words, that are today deemed American, had not been totally Americanised, given that they appear in Peninsular texts unrelated to the subject of America (*alzado*, *arriscado*, *bajo*, *banda*, *breñales*, *desbaratar*, *overo*, *saloma*, *sarao* and *zancudo*).

The Indigenous American terms used in *Huérfano* reflect a preference for Antillean terms which, despite being characterised as a more widely used lexicon, continue to appear as words that need to be explained. Our research shows that, in some examples, such as *canoa* and *mico*, their frequency of appearance is not low in Peninsular works. It demonstrates that the rest appear frequently in documents about the medicinal value of American plants and animals or in literary texts. It cannot be concluded that the selection of Indigenous American terms used by Martín de León was very well-known in the chosen period, and perhaps in some cases (*hicotea*, *jején* and *sabana*) their appearance is the result of reading other authors on America.

Huérfano seems to be a desk-based piece of work, created by an author who spent around six months living in America, but who wished to contribute to the literary production of the Viceroy of Lima, a hybrid fiction text, full of classical references and a taste for a carefully-chosen vocabulary. In his contribution, he makes the decision to use a limited number of Americanised Spanish terms and Indigenous American terms, as a reflection of that *Criollo* society. This study presents one piece of a larger reconstruction

of how Spanish vocabulary was Americanised in America, and how Indigenous American words were spread. The conclusions drawn may be said to coincide with what we know about *Araucana*, *Elegías* and other hybrid chronicle or literary texts that describe the American context.

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	Origin	1550-1625 (CDH)				
Americanised Spanish terms		Texts on America		Texts on Spain		
Panion of the		No. of cases	No. of texts	No. of cases	No. of texts	
1. amagamiento 'depression in the land, landfill'	Latin	-				
2. almácigo 'seedbed, nursery'	Arabic	5	3	2	2	
3. <i>alpargate</i> 'espadrille'	Arabic	95	47	30	17	
4. alzado 'rebel'	Latin	277	41	735	212	
5. arriscado 'brave'	Latin	26	9	151	6	
6. bajo 'shoal, land'	Latin	66	21	133	58	
7. banda 'side or edge'	Portuguese	880	72	1576	349	
8. breñales 'shrubland'	Uncertain	23	7	4	4	
9. canalete 'oar'	Uncertain	13	5	0	0	
10. <i>cata</i> 'well resulting from the exploration of an area of land'	Latin					
11. chapetón 'inexperienced'	Onomatopoeia	51	4	6	5	
12. <i>criollo</i> 'American descended from Europeans'	Portuguese	124	28	14	10	
13. crisneja 'plait, braid'	Latin	24	6	8	3	
14. <i>desbaratar</i> 'strike something with force'	Latin	933	61	1607	332	
15. encomendero 'civil authority'	Latin	1259	138	39	12	
16. estancia 'rural house'	Latin	579	108	0	0	
17. garúa 'type of rain'	Portuguese	13	4	1	1	
18. lagarto 'caiman'	Latin	13	24	0	0	
19. <i>montaña</i> 'heavily wooded terrain'	Latin	19	9	0	0	
20. <i>overo</i> 'white-coloured horse'	Latin	10	6	64	38	
21. <i>prisco</i> 'variety of peach, fruit'	Latin	1	1	0	0	
22. pulpero 'shopkeeper'	Latin	87	15	3	1	
23. <i>saloma</i> 'song for collective work'	Latin	1	1	8	7	
24. <i>sarao</i> 'celebratory gathering'	Portuguese	39	21	261	111	
25. zancudo 'insect'	Latin	10	6	8	5	
26. zarzaparrilla `plant'	Latin	80	21	0	0	

Table 1. Results from the study of Americanised Hispanic terms in *Huérfano*