Introduction: Sociolinguistic diversification

1 Diversification

This book explores the notion of diversification in the context of New World Spanish sociolinguistics. Diversification refers to both the act and the result of diversifying the roles, functions, domains, and even traits of a transplanted language, which may be rejected or diminished by the speakers living in the environment where the transplantation occurred. When a transplanted language is diversified, there are less risks of attrition, shift, or death. By the same token, if the transplanted language is empowered by the speakers (immigrant or native), its chances of survival and growth are much higher. The point of departure is the analysis of the Spanish written, and by inference, spoken from the very beginning of the Spanish presence in the vast region first known as New Spain and later Mexico. While it is difficult—if not impossible—to examine all the occurrences and changes that took place during almost five hundred years, it is feasible and extremely useful to select features that emerged and evolved in different ways. The variety of Mexican Spanish is the second oldest in the American continent, and as such it did assimilate some of the innovations occurring in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean region.

Diversification is encompassing since it covers two-and-a-half centuries of language development preceded only by the early stage of koineization (Hidalgo 2001a: 27-30 and 2001b: 56, 65ff). In the context of diversification the aim of this book is to address, explore and problematize the relationships between external factors and internal changes affecting New World Spanish in general and Mexican Spanish in particular during the entire colonial period (1520-1821). A tridimensional view of history, society, and language may allow a better understanding of the relationships amongst the main components within the colonial setting and serves as the framework to study the historical and social milieu in which colonial Spanish unfolded. While history remains in the background as the independent variable, societal forces are more visible, and appear closer to language data in general and select variants in particular.

The comparative approach is useful to understand or at least to infer some of the differences between Mexican Colonial Spanish and other New World varieties. External factors refer to events that are in principle independent from language phenomena. In the case of New World Spanish we can think of major historical events such as discovery, exploration, conquest, colonization, and emigration, to name a few that are clearly pertinent to the New World, where several European languages were transplanted. Many a time external factors are conspicuous and

thus can be identified with more precision than internal linguistic changes. On the other hand, extra-linguistic factors such as gender, age, education, ethnicity or the socio-economic status of a speaker or groups of speakers may be more difficult to grasp in historical sociolinguistic studies as they relate directly or indirectly to language phenomena, e.g. language variation, change, or linguistic occurrences such as borrowing, attrition or erosion of specific features. In the diversification of New World Spanish, the roles of Spanish speakers should be underscored, for they were the agents of spread, transmission, diffusion, change, and some other innovations.

In "El castellano en América" (1901/1954), reprinted in miscellaneous outlets, Rufino J. Cuervo, the pioneer of Spanish-American dialectology, admits that the Spanish spoken in the New World derives from the different peninsular regions, but that as a whole the variety is not similar to any one particular dialect nor is it identical in the regions of the former colonies. Cuervo adds that there is "a gradual diversification of forms, constructions and meanings that may be common to one region or to several regions" (557). This in turn may cause a breach between the Spanish spoken in the New World and that spoken in Spain. The literary language co-exists with the common language while the changes that are generalized in the latter are eventually accepted in the former. The notion of diversification explains the emergence of dialects, primarily those identified as regional; it also aids in explaining the relationship between the spoken and the written language, which in the past were closer than in the present. In fact, the literary language has its origins in the language spoken in medieval Spain.

The development of New World Spanish features selected from colonial texts sheds light on the interaction between external factors and internal evolution, though the outcome of this interaction is not systematic. For this reason, in some cases it is merely addressed, while in others it is explored in depth and problematized. The origins of New World Spanish correspond closely to a stage of koineization, defined by the mixture of various dialects of peninsular origin, for the immigrants to the New World were from every region within Spain. Regions were differentiated by history, demography and dialect traits that in some cases precede the Discovery of the New World (e.g. *leísmo*), and in others are almost simultaneous to it, for instance, convergence of the sibilants ç (affricate voiceless dental) and *z* (affricate voiced dental).

In Mexico koineization was both delayed and accelerated. The earliest arrivals had been in the Caribbean region prior to reaching the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, an event that facilitated the convergence between and amongst Spanish speakers (1519-1555). As a result of continuous immigration and (re)accommodation of speakers of diverse peninsular regions and social strata, koineization proceeded in intervals, and was followed by a thoroughgoing stage of diversification

covering the entire colonial period, including a paramount phase of stratification that was critical to propel the restructuring and social transformations caused by colonization. Social stratification fostered sociolinguistic stratification early in the colony, and consequently, the conquest and colonization of the Mesoamerican peoples inverted the roles of the languages in an environment politically dominated by Spanish speakers (Hidalgo 2001a). In different areas of the New World, koineization (1493-ca.1550) must have taken longer and was extended after the 16th century. Diversification could not have occurred without popularization or vernacularization, a process that disseminated the Spanish koine along with the features belonging to the common variety (e.g. frequent verb forms such as *vide* < *ver* ('to see') and *truje* < *traer* ('to bring'). Some of these features later became archaic and were allocated or relegated along informal registers or rural varieties. Since the mid-16th century, colonial activities and lifestyles unfolded along the axis of urban and rural distinction, which in turn contributed to social stratification. In sum, diversification includes social stratification, standardization and popularization, processes that were indispensable for diffusion of Spanish in all domains (including rural, informal, and colloquial). Without a quasi-standardized or a semi-formal standard variety, Spanish would not have reached the prestige it had in the colonial period; by the same token, without a vernacular or vernaculars, New World Spanish would not have been disseminated to tiny spots, isolated regions, and enclaves inhabited by indigenous people and speakers of African languages.

2 Diversification: Social stratification

Social stratification was based on the caste system rather than on the social class structure known in pre-modern and modern times. The system imposed in New Spain was meant to ensure the socio-political hegemony of Spanish speakers over the native population and some other non-Spanish-speaking groups. It represents the basis of colonial social strata, which differentiated and ranked the whole population in corporate units generally defined by ancestry (Old Christian lineage vs. New Christians), marriage (intra- or inter-ethnic), and occupation (manual and others). Social stratification is rooted in the ancestral experience of medieval Spain, where Christians, Muslims and Jews maintained their separateness and distinctiveness via endogamy (Sáez Faulhaber 1993: 97). The religious differences of the Old World were replaced with divisions justified on ethnic practices that were not too effective, inasmuch as mixed unions occurred on a regular basis even during the period that can be considered exclusive to the first generation (1520-1555).

Pioneering many transformations, the *encomenderos* (grantees of Indian labor) were from diverse peninsular regions, social strata, and occupational backgrounds. They formed a peculiar caste for they had been directly or indirectly involved in the foundation of colonies in the Caribbean islands and in the conquest of Mexico. They belonged to the first generation of Spanish speakers who took the credit for enforcing the system of social stratification and for promoting marriages with members of the surviving indigenous nobility; they were in charge of the masses of working Indians who performed many tasks that provided sustenance to the entire population. The second and subsequent generations of children of Spaniards, known as *criollos* or *euromestizos*, belonged with their parents to a privileged stratum. The next group was formed by legitimate *mestizos* and Indians followed by mulattos and blacks who were first enslaved and later slowly manumitted by their masters. Spaniards were bureaucrats and merchants; *criollos* were big landowners; *mestizos* were artisans and small shopkeepers; mulattos worked in urban trades; and Indians were mostly peasants. There were, however, individuals of all races in the several strata, with the exception of Spanish speakers, who almost never worked as servants. Whereas the caste system was the basis of social stratification, the class system was an incipient phenomenon (Sáez Faulhaber 1993: 99-100). The quantitative imbalance between the Spanish-speaking population and the other ethnic groups points to the socio-economic and political privileges of the former. With a very low proportion of European women, Spanish speakers had little or no chance of self-reproduction and resorted to population growth via exogamy. The unions with the indigenous and the population of African descent changed the demographic profile of the vice-royalty where urban areas and Mexico City as their most important residential center, grew steadily. By 1570, one-half of the Spanish-speaking people lived in the vice-royal capital (Velasco 1993:71). The newer economy of Mexico City attracted a high number of immigrants from nearby towns and cities (Pescador 1993:115).

3 Diversification: Stratification and popularization

While koineization might have taken place regardless of social stratum, stratification and popularization are more clearly associated with the new caste division. Once the basic Spanish koine was established in New Spain, other dynamic forces intervened in a more comprehensive process of diversification. Whereas the popular variety of Spanish was spread to all regions, cities, towns, villages and even marginal spots within New Spain, the semi-formal standard was used in the emerging formal domains (official correspondence, education, government, commercial transactions, etc.). This dual process occurred simultaneously. First,

the proto-Mexican Spanish koine became firmly rooted in the Central Highlands, where more than one-half of the Spanish speakers resided, where first-generation Spanish speakers used Spanish almost exclusively in most domains, and where they created the Spanish institutions needed for its continuity. Registers of semi-formal standard(ized) Spanish varieties of the times (late medieval and pre-modern) were used. Transmission was effective as the second and subsequent generations continued to use Spanish in the aforementioned domains and contributed to the diversification of the Spanish language by strengthening typical Spanish institutions and introducing new ones (e. g. private religious education, creative literature, and miscellaneous cultural activities). While the educational attainment of the elite of Spanish speakers is beyond doubt, they also used features that at present are considered non-standard. Some of those features that were spread in, around, and beyond the areas of the Central Highlands have been preserved inter-generationally; after language and educational reforms, they have been relegated to informal domains and have become part of the Mexican Spanish koine, rural Spanish, or popular Spanish. Those vernacular features that are no longer frequent or standardized are herein redefined as residual variants.

By 1519, the political division of New Spain was made up of 129 towns located primarily in the Mesoamerican zone of influence where Spanish speakers settled or were active in *encomiendas*, mining sites, agriculture, and some other enterprises. The Indian population of the region and of each locality in particular ranged between the hundreds and the thousands (cf. Gerhard 1993). Nonetheless, the mere presence of Spanish speakers was a factor contributing to the spread of Spanish. The groups of Spanish farmers that appeared in the second half of the 16th century were skillful in agriculture and cattle raising, and were given grants of different sizes, where they could harvest land near a town. Indian laborers were brought to the sites to grow wheat, maize or harvest silk (Chevalier 1952/1963: 54-55). When the activities of the countryside were differentiated and opposed to those of the growing cities, the rural-urban dichotomy became an important axis that even today explains the linguistic variants of Mexican Spanish, in particular, and New World Spanish in general. The resulting koine of New Spain was constantly renewed and (re)adapting vernacular features that either remained in the Central Highlands or were spread to other regions of New Spain.

4 Language traditions

Tradition lingers heavily in the study of Spanish language and literature. The literary model and the relationship between literary language and popular speech cannot be detached from studies of dialectology, or even from sociolinguistics.

Indeed the study of New World Spanish is since its inception associated with the notion of an ideal, archetypal, or prototypical language derived from a well-known community of professional and amateurish writers. This is the point of departure of Rufino José Cuervo (1844-1911), author of major studies such as *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano* [Critical notes on the speech of Bogota] (1867/1907), a pioneer book published at least five times in the late 19th century and at least three in the 20th century. Cuervo's work is not a treatise on the ways of speaking in the city of Bogota, capital of Colombia, but a comparative study addressing point by point, the language issues that in his view should be recognized and pertinent to all Spanish speakers. In order to reach this goal, the famous author resorted to analysis, comparison, reconstruction, exemplification, and inference. All these methods in combination explain to an extent the origin, the uses, and the differences between established norms based on the literary language and the observed usages of the Spanish spoken in the Colombian capital.

Highlighting the grammar model and the ways in which the literary language has shaped and nurtured the popular language, Cuervo's *Apuntaciones* (1914/1954) dwelt extensively on pronunciation, syllabification, pronouns of address, irregular verbs, and origins of lexical items. While it was difficult to keep a distance from the norms of the former, popular speech transpires more spontaneously giving rise to a dialect or dialects, particularly when a language is spoken in a vast region. Cuervo did not disparage the knowledge of dialects; on the contrary, he believed that it was truly beneficial: from one word belonging to a dialect, the researcher can reconstruct the necessary links between the origin, which may not be found in the literary language, and various intermediate versions (73). His ample perspective not only provided a solid foundation to understand language change but also explained the causality of the facts. For instance, some of the forms used by authors belonging to classic periods turned into archaic forms no longer in vogue amongst modern writers or individuals of advanced education. The selection between the popular and the cultured in the common language depends on the gentleness gained from individual upbringing more than from formal education. The different styles can be cultivated according to the author's personal taste, because the relationship between the literary language and the common speech does not permit to break the rules that act as the common denominator (e.g. gender and number agreement in singular and plural). Furthermore, those words that now belong to a popular variety cannot be resuscitated in the formal variety: examples such as *truje*, *vide*, *ansi*, *mesmo*, *dende* caught his attention because at his time they were still used in popular varieties (Cuervo 1914/1954: 53), and even today they alternate with the equivalent standard variants, i.e. *traje*, *vi*, *así*, *mismo*, *desde*. An issue of major concern was the lack of universality of language when this is spoken in vast regions; lan-

guage is not identical to itself in time or space for even small communities are heterogeneous, and speakers use many words and phrases that are not necessarily well known. The diffusion of those rare items depends on whether or not a good number of educated persons might accept them (706-707).

Also in the *Apuntaciones*, Cuervo deals with the comparison between the familiar speech and the literary language, which aids not only in understanding language changes, but also in seeking the causes that generate them. For example, in the early periods of the Spanish language, the verb ending –RA, exclusive of the indicative, was used in the apodosis of conditional sentences as in '*Si tuviera, diera*' (< Latin '*Si haberem, darem*') ['If I had something, I would give']. In medieval Spanish, the forms in –RA prevailed in the two clauses. By the same token the form in –SE, corresponding etymologically to the subjunctive, was being used in the hypothesis. In the Golden Age the use of the endings –RA and –SE were about equal in frequency until –SE began to decline (46-47). At present, the alternation between both forms is supposed to be the rule in modern grammars, as in '*Si tuviera, daría* with the conditional –RÍA in the resulting clause. The repetition of –RA and –RA in both clauses is not preferred in normative styles, but the abuse of –SE and –SE in conditional sentences has been discarded too. The acceptable pattern is the "free" alternation of forms ending in –SE and –RA. The assumption of "free variation" becomes relevant in contemporary studies of conditioned variation.

In his short but insightful article "Las segundas personas del plural en la conjugación castellana" ['Second persons plural in Castilian conjugation'] (1893/1954), Cuervo traces the origins of the verb forms ending in –*ades* and –*edes* belonging to the paradigm of *vos* (with the meaning of 2nd person plural informal). In the 13th century, these verb forms maintained the intervocalic –*d*– (e.g. *érades*, *íbades*, *guardades*, *faredes*, *partides*, *passedes*, *viniérades*, *quisiéredes*, etc.). By the 15th century, the loss of the intervocalic –*d*– began to occur resulting in the reduced ending –*ees*, which very soon turned into –*és*, as in *avés*, *querés*, *serés*, etc. For a period, the full and the contracted forms contended in the writings of renowned authors until the former began to decline and became the minority. Diphthongized forms such as *amáis*, *sois*, *tenéis*, *habláis* alternated with those that were reduced, e.g. *leés*, *sabés*, *perdés*, *sepás*, *tengás* (139-140). In the 17th century, the playwrights stereotyped the peasants using *habés*, *sos*, *tenés*. Finally, when the pronoun *vos* disappeared in Spain, the verb forms associated with it became obsolete in popular speech. For a period of time, *vos* was perceived as being more formal than *tú*, and survived in vast regions of the Spanish-speaking New World. Moreover, these days it is used with reduced forms, as in for instance, (*vos*) *acordás*, *tenés*, *sos*, *cuidás* (147-150), which in turn has given

rise to the widespread phenomenon identified as *voseo*, a variant that was not too frequent in New Spain

A topic derived from the use of the 2nd persons reappears in his *Apuntaciones*. Cuervo was concerned with the use of the pronoun *vos*, which in the New World is used exclusively in singular with reduced forms coming from forms with a diphthong, e.g. *vos querés* or *no comás* (292) derived from *queréis* and *comáis*. He recommended the use of the verb forms corresponding to the pronoun. Once an interlocutor begins using *tú*, he / she should be consistent with the conjugations and should not insert *vos*, although Cuervo admits that some writers from Madrid do mix *tú* and *vos* (338-340). Cuervo was appalled by the replacement of *tú* by *vos* and the archaic forms that accompany *vos* such as *amás*, *tenés*, *dijistes*, *tomastes*, *andá*, *comé*, *salí*. Moreover, *vos* is clearly mixed with the object pronoun *te*, instead of *os*, which disappeared in New World Spanish and generated sentences such as: "**Vos decís eso pero te aseguro que no es cierto**" (341). ('You say that but I assure you that it is not true').

Rufino Cuervo addressed a major issue of Spanish morphology in a seminal paper initially published in *Romania* (1895). In "Los casos enclíticos y proclíticos del pronombre de tercera persona castellano" ['Enclitic and proclitic cases of third person in Castilian'] (1954), he explains in detail the uses of LO and LE, the clitic pronouns referring to [+ animate masculine singular] objects in manuscripts written between the 13th and the 19th centuries (171-178). Cuervo documented thousands of cases that are summarized below. In the ancestral Castilian system, the object pronouns LO and LA and their corresponding plurals refer to both [+ / − animate] objects; the divergence from this etymological system is noticed in the 13th century when writers begin to use LE for [+ singular masculine animate] objects in order to distinguish between [+ animate] and [− animate] objects. This clitic shift culminated in the 16th and 17th centuries with a clear tendency (62 %) to use LE (see Table 1).

Table 1: Use of LO and LE: 1202-1889

Period	LO (%)	LE (%)
1202-1501	542 (33.74)	109 (4.70)
1504-1602	397 (24.71)	490 (21.15)
1606-1700	222 (13.82)	939 (40.54)
1726-1813	88 (5.47)	199 (8.60)
1818-1889	357 (22.23)	579 (25.0)
Total tokens	1,606 (100 %)	2,316 (100 %)

When the 16th century is separated from the 17th century, it is clear that almost two-thirds of all the clitics are placed under the column of LE while a little over one-third belong in the column under LO (see Table 2). The trend known as *leísmo* culminated in the Spanish Golden Age centuries amongst writers from Madrid (e.g. Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Calderon de la Barca, Miguel de Cervantes, and Santa Teresa). This drift continued into the late 19th century, and was spread to authors from other regions who had been residing for a long time around the Court in Madrid. The tendency to use LE or *leísmo* was associated with an air of culture and elegance that was validated in literature to the extent that speakers who normally used LO in the home domain or in the street, shifted to LE in writing. Cuervo underscored the efficacious prestige of the Court in creating a parallel and consequent awareness amongst those who spoke a different dialect (178-179). Before the 18th century, the use of LO was clearly a minority at 36 percent, while LE accounted for the majority or 66 percent of all tokens computed.

Table 2: Use of LO and LE: 16th and 17th centuries

Period	LO	LE
1504-1602	397 (64.13 %)	490 (34.28 %)
1606-1700	222 (35.86 %)	939 (65.71 %)
Total tokens	619 (100 %)	1,429 (100 %)

Closely related to the use of clitics as direct objects were the verb forms of commands corresponding to the pronoun *vos*, which always take a final −*d*, as in *cantad* (< *cantar*), *comed* (< *comer*), and *venid* (< *venir*). When these affirmative commands take an object, speakers and writers of the times used to transpose /l/ and /d/, as in *dalde*, *venilda*. In this realm, Cuervo (1914/1954) agrees with those who adduce a grammatical and logical argument saying that *dad* and *venid* are the verb forms and that LOS, LAS, LE function as objects; for these reasons the verb forms must go before the clitics (236-239).

Another topic of discussion in the 20th century was the complex evolution of medieval sibilants represented by the graphemes <s>, <ss>, <ç>, and <z>, whose convergence in Andalusian and New World Spanish is known as *seseo*. In this field, Cuervo not only demonstrated his erudition in *Disquisiciones sobre antigua ortografía y pronunciación castellanas* [Reflexions on old Castilian orthography and pronunciation] (1898) (henceforth *Disquisiciones* 1954: 240-476), but pioneered the still ongoing debate on the uses of the sibilants. The two versions of this essay deal cogently with the diverse origins of <ç> and <z> in different

positions (e.g. initial, medial or final), with the general overlap in pronunciation (mostly dental voiceless fricatives), and also with their appearance in texts dating from the 12th to the mid-17th century, when they merged in both writing and speech. Cuervo used the comparative method in order to explain the similarities (and differences) with Hebraic, Arabic, Latin and Castilian letters, and grappled too with the many interpretations of the writers and scribes who maintained the graphemes as separate entities, despite the fact that their pronunciation had merged. At the time, the printers attempted to follow Nebrija's model, but the orthography failed to correspond to the pronunciation or to the etymology. From the mid-16th century and on, the old Spanish orthography was disrupted giving rise to a major split in the regions in which two major dialects emerged: Castilian and Andalusian (253-279). The confusion in pronunciation gradually invaded the writing trends, and even the best authors hesitated between letters and constantly amended their manuscripts (284-285).

5 Literary and popular language

Popular language forms belong to the repertoire of a different variety, which is at present clearly distinguished from the modern academic standard. This distinction may be identified today as diglossia, where variety H(igh) functions effectively in institutional domains and between speakers of advanced education, and variety L(ow), which is used almost exclusively in informal settings and between less educated speakers (Ferguson 1959). This was the situation observed by Cuervo and his 19th century contemporaries when the gaps between varieties must have been wider, given sharp stratification between the groups of Spanish speakers, who after the Wars of Independence, ended up in extreme polarization. On the one hand, the *criollos* and leaders of the independent movements—who in most cases belonged to the intelligentsia of the former colonies—were separated from the mass of uneducated speakers, indigenous and non-indigenous, who formed the class of the new proletariat. For this reason, Cuervo had more than sufficient material to indulge in remarks, explanations, and abundant notions of correctness justified by the uses of the literary language. Spanish-American dialectology and Spanish linguistics had a good start that emphasized a descriptive, comparative approach. Numerous works of historical linguistics, phonetics, and history of the language followed the trend initiated by Cuervo, who in his own way also delved on the connection between external factors and internal changes (Cuervo 1901/1954). According to Cuervo, the most influential factor shaping internal changes and general attitudes was the intervention of language academies (cf. *Disquisiciones*, *Apuntaciones*, "El castellano en América"). Some of the

most relevant works of Spanish linguistics tackle to an extent the connections between internal processes and external factors (see for example, Catalán 1956-1957 and 1957; Granda 1978, Lapesa 1985, Penny 2000).

6 Language reforms and standardization

Koineization in Toledo, Spain's cultural capital during the Reconquest period, was instrumental in curbing the spread of polymorphism already present in the northern kingdoms, where hundreds of documents were being archived. The ramifications of the koineization movement are revealed in the practices of the Toledo chancery, which began to influence the literary language. The examination of the external facts and internal linguistic changes in medieval Spanish explains that the Iberian fragmentation brought about by the Reconquest was reduced by koineization and by language reforms that can be interpreted today as language planning and codification. Three key movements in the history of Spanish define the language reforms.

In the 13th century, the first language reform was promoted by Alfonso the Tenth, who had a personal commitment to regulate Spanish spelling under the principles of the Toledo chancery, on a Castilian basis that made significant concessions to Toledo with an almost perfectly phonetic system. It has been assumed that medieval Spanish orthography is a faithful picture of the language as it was spoken in official and cultured circles at Toledo about the year 1275 (Entwistle 1936/1951: 152-157). The personal intervention of Alfonso and the many scribes who followed newer practices are embodied in the *Primera Crónica General* (the history of Spain), the *Grande e General Estoria* (the book of world history), and the *Libro de las Siete Partidas* (a major work on jurisprudence), written in Castilian but no longer in the dialect of Burgos. Despite the fact that the king's guidelines were based on a clear linguistic criterion, the vast production was not uniform. His policy is justified under a simple orderly principle: the prose written in his kingdom should reflect a version of 'straight Castilian' or *castellano drecho* (in modern Spanish, '*castellano derecho*'). Straight Spanish had as a model the taste of Burgos, although it made some concessions to the language of Toledo and Leon. Whenever there was ambiguity or excessive regionalism, the king determined that the forms would follow the speech of Toledo, which served in the process of leveling. In this way, the signs used in the writing system known as *graphemes* were solidly established (Lapesa 1985: 237-242).

Until the 16th century, the transcriptions of Spanish sounds conformed to the norms fixed by the chancery and Alfonso's prose. This planning endeavor enabled the language to be used for didactic purposes at the same time that

several problems of lexicography and syntax were addressed. The *castellano derecho* advocated by Alfonso as the norm for the written language definitely prospered and continued in later centuries. It was even perfected by the writers of the 14th century (e.g. Juan Manuel, Juan Ruiz 'Arcipreste de Hita', Sem Tob and Pero López de Ayala). The medieval vacillations of the Castilian prose were resolved throughout the 14th century. Spanish spelling and orthography were consolidated, insofar as the attitude of the writers was oriented towards the establishment of a normative criterion. Some of the controversial cases of spelling and phonetics settled in this period but some others ensued. By the mid-15th century, scribes, notaries, and both professional and amateurs writers were confronted once more with contending norms (Lapesa 1985: 248-251).

The publication of the celebrated *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1492) by Elio Antonio de Nebrija represents the second key moment in language reforms. It was written after he finished the translation of the *Introducciones latinas* (1486) as he himself indicated in his prologue. The renowned prologue to his former work concluded January 2, 1492, while the printing was completed on August 18, 1492. This coincides with the seizure of Granada, the discovery of America, and the publication of *La Celestina* a few years later (1499), most likely authored by Fernado de Rojas. The end of the 15th century marks a momentous break-off point between medieval and modern Spanish; it also marks the advent of the printing press and the beginning of standardization, a movement that may have contributed to the regularization of the existing koine. The Spanish grammar appeared before the Italian, the French, the English, and the Portuguese grammars. Nebrija's policy and the purpose of his grammar are spelled out in his prologue: Spanish was destined to become an imperial and a national language that would consolidate the recently unified country; it will serve to stabilize the vulgar language of Spain; it will help to fix the rules and to transmit the glories of the past. It will be completely independent from Latin and will also be like Latin (in Quilis 1984: 87). Nebrija addressed his wishes and desires to the Queen of Spain: "after Her Majesty has succeeded subjugating and ruling over barbarian and native peoples whose languages were itinerant, as a result of that subjugation, they will need to understand the laws which the victor imposes on the vanquished. And along with those laws, then, those people could come together to understand Spanish through my grammar book, just as we now learn the rules of Latin grammar in order to comprehend it" (in Quilis 1984: 101-102).

Spanish linguistic imperialism has been identified as one the major goals of Nebrija's grammar primarily because he made it clear in his famous prologue. Codification was the other goal of Nebrija's plan since he wanted to ensure the longevity of Spain's literary production by reducing the variations of the written language and establishing a uniform code. Thus, given his predicament, he cod-

ified Spanish in accordance with the classical model and devised structural parallels between Spanish and Latin. In addition, his grammar would facilitate the learning of Spanish by speakers of other languages. Finally, Nebrija envisioned the role of language, politics, and religion in the building of an empire (Milán 1983: 123-124).

The transition to modern Spanish is represented by the codification of Spanish, which did not spread swiftly into all domains. Instead, Spanish usages developed in an irregular pattern from the medieval period until the Spanish Royal Academy was founded in the 18th century. According to Douglas (1982), the introduction of the printing press in Spain had an enormous impact on spelling, for it took only about a generation (1475-1500) for many of the individualistic contractions and manuscript abbreviations such as flourishes and tildes to be discarded in favor of a simpler alphabetic system. Between the beginning of the 16th century and the installation of the Court in Madrid in 1561, many changes took place. First, double letters that had no phonetic significance began to simplify, as in *attender* → *atender*; *rrey* → *rey*; second, the unpronounced final *d*, as in *segund*, *algund* disappeared; third, the groups *mb* and *mp* (as in *también* and *compañero*) became stabilized as in modern Spanish. During the reign of Philip II (1556-1598), the most extensive crystallizations of spelling conventions took place, since the doctrine that accepted pronunciation as the principal criterion for spelling was truly relevant in this period. In addition, etymological criteria had its won significance, and the spelling of words was adjusted to this principle, as in *digno* (spelled *dino* in Castile), *escrito* (previously *escripto*), *duda* (previously *dubda*), *católico* (previously *cathólico*). Between 1575 and 1625 some orthographic problems were resolved: stabilization of learned combinations such as *-g(-m-)* as in *aumentar* and *pragmatica*; *-(c)-* as in *acción* and *nación*; *-c(t)-* as in *lector* and *sujeto* (from *subjecto* or *sujecto*). Despite the resolutions, the etymological criteria did not prevail in the change from *quatorce* to *catorce*, in the loss of *b* as in *dubda* → *duda*, and in the change from *ph* to *f* in words of Greek origin such as *filosofia* from *philosophia*. Some other spelling patterns were resolved until 1726 (use of *b, v* and *u, c* and *z*, accent marks, etc.). Between 1516 and 1625, Roman type in printing began to supplant the older black letter type, and in general great strides towards the stabilization of spelling occurred. The introduction and spread of the new bureaucracy—which had begun under Charles V—became fully entrenched under Philip II, who spent his days surrounded by piles of documents. Philip II preferred the distinction between *u* vowel and *v* consonant, which were used interchangeably before 1630, although forms such as *deue* for *debe*, *sauido* for *sabido*, and *auisaros* for *avisaros* are not infrequent. The Spanish king had the freedom to make unambiguous *b*'s or *v*'s but seemed to prefer an ambiguous

graph that looked like half *b* and half *v* in the forms of the verb *haber* and words such as *inconveniente, resuelvo, enviar*, etc. (Douglas 1982: 420-421).

By the time Philip II was in office, the pronunciation of *ç* and *z* had changed and fused into a single phoneme. In printing, this merger between Old Spanish *z (facer > fazer > hacer)* and *ç* or *c*, did not appear until 1620, and resulted in new spellings like *hacer* and *veces*. Thirty years later, it was followed by a shift from consonant *ç* + vowel to consonant *z* + vowel. The resulting spellings were *templanza, alzar*, and *alcanzar*. His spelling reveals a close adherence to the Old Spanish distinction between voiceless *ç* or *c* and voiced *z*, rendering *esperança, Lorenço, Caragoça, parece,* and *hace*. The king's writing reveals the fusion of *ç* and *z* at an early stage, perhaps because the devoicing of the Castilian *z* to [s] or [ts] had occurred before the late 16th century (Douglas 1982: 421). Classical Latin *h*, a laryngeal or pharyngeal aspiration, was lost in pronunciation as early as Vulgar Latin and sometimes as late as the 12th century in Spain. In the medieval period, classical Latin word-initial F before a vowel became a Spanish aspirate *h*, but the aspiration was lost in writing. Word-initial Latin *g* sometimes became Spanish *h*, as in *hermano < germanu, helar < gelare*, and *hinojo < genuculo*. During the 16th century, *h* was being used for two purposes: (a) to indicate the existence of a no-longer pronounced Latin *h*; and (b) to denote the pronunciation of an aspirated phoneme /h/. Moreover, printed books always showed *h* from Latin (as in *filiu > hijo*), while the use of *h* as in *onra/honra, hombre/ombre* had not been yet established. "The use of the letter H in the forms of the verb *haber* lost ground in the printed books that were published between 1575 and 1625, the period in which Philip's spelling might be expected to exert its influence. In the present tense of the verb, an accent mark often replaced it, as in *é* for *he* and *á* for *ha*" (Douglas 1982: 421). Finally, Philip spelled with *h* words in which Spanish-initial *h* was derived from Latin. The forms of the present tense of the verb *haber* were *he* and *ha*, respectively, but he spelled *abiendo* instead of *habiendo* and *abra* for *habrá, aya* for *haya, abria* for *habría, vbiese* for *hubiese, abia* for *había*. The verb *hacer* was spelled with *h (hareis, ha, he haria)*; probably this spelling was transposed to the forms of the verb *ser (era)*, which in his writing appears as *hera*. He also wrote *hecho* instead of *fecho*, which was the spelling of his secretaries and correspondents. This spelling paralleled that of the usage of published books.

Other changes include the use of *y*, which began to decline to give way to *i*, as in *yglesia > iglesia* and *seys > seis*, a change completed around 1650. The use of written accents was still in the formative stages and the device of using the letter *y* to indicate the tonic value of /i/ in vowels clusters was frequent, showing *leya* for *leía* and *oyr* for *oír*. The king also used *i* as a semivowel (*seis, podreis, informais*), and where *y* appears at the end of a word, the cause may be analogy, as in *rreyno* for *reino*, a form which might have been influenced by his signature *Yo el rrey*

('I the king'). Double *r* in initial position disappeared from most printed books about 1505, whereas trilled *r* following *n*, as in *honra > honrra* was spelled either *r* or *rr* until about 1580. Despite the fact that double letters were in vogue, Philip avoided its use as in *assi, fuesse, offrecer, possible*. The simplification (initial *rr, tt, cc*, post-n *rr, pp, ff, ll, ss*) decreased gradually between 1505 and 1726. The use of *qua [kwa]* was used consistently by the king, his secretaries, and the publishers. Because Philip preferred to guide his writing by the patterns of pronunciation, he used forms like *pareceme* instead of *paresceme* and *nace* instead of *nasce*. He also avoided the learned diagraphs *ch, ph, rh* and *th* in words of Greek origin. His name was consistently spelled Felipe after 1600. In sum, the spelling practices of Philip II of Spain reveal his pronunciation-oriented tendency, which was not strong enough beyond the confines of his own study. The 17th century evolved slowly and did not always follow many of the practices described herein (cf. Douglas 1982).

The third key movement in the history of Spanish in Spain was the creation of the Spanish Royal Academy, founded in 1713 during the reign of the Bourbons. This institution accomplished two major forms of codification: lexical and structural. The former is represented by the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1730), while the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1771) reflects the prescriptive approach of the neoclassical authors (Milán 1983: 125). It is assumed that diffusion of Spanish rules via updated dictionaries and grammars has indeed accomplished the goals of preserving the linguistic unity of Spanish speakers around the world (cf. www. rae.es).

7 After the Wars of Independence

The work of the Spanish academicians during its first century of life affected the entire Hispanic world, both in Spain and Latin America, but the Royal Academy turned into a foreign institution once the vast majority of the colonies became independent from Spain. Shortly after the movements of Independence, academies were established in 1825 in both Bogota and Mexico (Guitarte and Torres Quintero 1974: 318-319). The separation from Spain is epitomized by the many contributions of Andrés Bello (1781-1865), the grammarian, philosopher, and jurist born in Venezuela, acting diplomat in England, and nationalized Chilean. In his youth, he was acquainted with the most celebrated protagonist of South American independence, Simón Bolívar, and with the illustrious German scientist Alexander von Humboldt.

In the realm of Spanish linguistics, the most impressive of Bello's works is the *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* [Grammar

of the Castilian Language Destined for the Use of Latin Americans] (1847) initially published in Chile and five more times in Colombia between 1860 and 1889 (Torres Quintero 1952: 14-15). It is thus assumed that the country that was most favorably impacted by Bello's school of thought was Colombia (cf. Torres Quintero 1952). Bello's grammar is known for its innovations, both ideological and pedagogical. His prologue is genuine and calls for the dependability of his principles. His lessons are prepared for his fellow Spanish-speaking folks hoping that Latin Americans would change their perspectives on Spanish grammar and the concomitant teaching practices (Bello 1954: 18-20). The pragmatic aspects of the grammar include the reduction of the parts of speech and the removal of the case system inherited from Latin, because the declensions in Spanish did not make sense any longer. The grammar also streamlined the verb moods (indicative and subjunctive) into categories that were more easily understood; in addition, he proposed a new nomenclature for verb tenses, which in combination reflect a universal principle: time is linear and verb tenses show the temporal sequence more logically (anterior and posterior events viewed from a point in time referring to present events). The classification of irregular verbs is still the most useful for teaching Spanish to both native and non-native speakers. Like most modern grammars, it provides plenty of examples from the classics and from real-world situations, since Bello believed that the rules for New World Spanish were based on the use of its speakers rather than on ancient and no longer realistic models.

Before the publication of his grammar in Santiago de Chile, Andrés Bello believed that the interplay between Latin and Spanish was complex, and although he defended the teaching of the former, was not satisfied with the application of grammatical structures of Latin to Spanish. Admitting that Latin might provide some general notions on the structures of language, he had been advocating the teaching of the ancient language as the most necessary area of education, albeit with some reservations, since he underscored that students would not necessarily learn the rules of Spanish. To this end, the Spanish Royal Academy employed the Latin model in the preparation of the Spanish grammar. Assuming that languages evolve within a relatively stable matrix from where the roots derive, and that it would be undesirable to dismiss (natural) language development just in the interest of an old static grammar, Bello's goal was to unify the Spanish language in order to match standard practices around the Spanish-speaking world (1954: 23). His departure from the grammar of the Spanish Royal Academy was a statement of political, linguistic, and cultural freedom of the Spanish-speaking New World and the acknowledgement of its integration and respect for unity within its own diversity (Zubiría 1982: 21-22). Loyal to his predicaments, he wrote a grammar for Spanish speakers living in the New World, those who had a new identity based on newer political and linguistic realities. Because the grammar

has indeed responded to concrete educational needs, it has been published more than seventy times in the American continent and in Europe (Jaksić 2001: 150-151).

8 Schools of thought

This book is inspired in the works of historical linguistics, history of Spanish, and dialectology, and is enriched with newer interpretations derived from the field of sociolinguistics. It is a major challenge to explain the traits transplanted to the New World, because it cannot be assumed that Spanish was a static entity with no variations. Thus, searching for the causes of change or the interrelationships between internal change and external factors requires an explanatory model covering: (a) socio-historical and demographic trends, (b) language documentation, and (c) the analysis of select features over at least the three centuries of colonial life. The diachronic analysis renders outcomes that may be more effective showing the development in the three above-mentioned dimensions. In the transplanted environment, language is normally a dependent variable primarily or exclusively controlled by external factors, but internal dynamics are not relegated to having a secondary role. As proposed by Martinet (1953: 5-6), the most challenging question has to do with the genuine weight or pressure that an external factor might have over an internal change. To this effect, the researcher may be tempted to explore in depth the social history of a language by spelling out the concatenation of causes and effects, a truly stimulating endeavor. Searching for the causes may shed light on the significance of the external factors and on the diffusion of select features of say language A, though the intrinsic qualities of a language are not a guarantee that it will do better than competing languages. Other circumstances related to the particular socio-linguistic situations of the time and the territories in which change or diffusion occur might have more impact on language change.

Historical linguists have identified internal changes occurring from the time in which the earliest manuscripts appeared and have traced some of the changes to Latin and Vulgar Latin. Researchers have focused on the regularity of consonantal change, and there is little or no doubt that there is consistency in the internal processes that have taken place. The internal changes of Spanish and other Romance languages are well known, and may or may not be explicitly connected to external factors. In essence, it is the task of the disciples of historical linguistics to find the cause or multiple causes and to join all the dots. Such gargantuan projects may or may not be successful. More than a century of study of Spanish historical linguistics has rendered plenty of results, e.g. the *Manual de gramática histórica española* [Handbook of Spanish Historical Grammar] (1904/1977) by

Menéndez Pidal. Thanks to this work we know sufficient about the internal changes of Spanish and the regularity of sound change, which many times nonetheless have been interpreted as being indivisible particles for they seem to be severed from the external causes that triggered them. Furthermore, researchers have highlighted the consonantal alterations that in the end distinguished Spanish from other Romance languages. Assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, epenthesis, hypercorrection, acoustic equivalence, and some other processes of change were explained and exemplified by Menéndez Pidal and other authors (e.g. Lathrop 1984; Penny 1991, 2000 and 2012). An inventory of internal changes has provided effective clues to make constructive inferences about the processes leading to change, e.g. in assimilation, the initial process prompts the match of one trait to another similar (preceding or following) feature. Spontaneous changes are motivated by internal causes; in contrast, combinatory changes result from the presence of other phonemes. Following Saussurian principles, it is assumed that these changes are perfectly regular (Saussure 1915/1945: 236-238).

In extracting language data from ancient documents, historical linguistics can reconstruct general language patterns and the rules associated with them. The analysis of data across time and space is thus extremely useful to isolate the main traits of a language and/or the competing variants in a specific period. Assuming that language is constantly changing, historical linguists can observe the pace of change of those variants that acquired a social meaning in their own contexts. Change can be fast or slow, intriguing or dull, simple or sophisticated until one variant prevails over the other. The evidence provided by historical linguistics and the conceivable links to socio-historical factors serve as the point of departure to postulate theories of variation with the focus on a particular community. Such arduous endeavor is not facile for the researcher has to examine the data in discrete units. The work of Romaine (1981) offers the socio-historical approach in linguistics and the methodology to examine the development of relative clause markers in Middle Scots documents (1530-1550), a sample of texts written during the reign of James V. The emphasis lies on the contributing role of variation between WH forms, TH forms, and omission; the relative markers appear as an independent variable characterizing stylistic variation, its connection to time-period, and the internal syntactic constraints on relativization. This type of analysis suggests that the style is the result of a series of processes embedded in a linguistic and socio-historical context where one variant was associated with the written corpus and the other with the colloquial register. The role of history or historical events surrounding the documents in question is less important than the discrete variables under study. This approach appeals to sociohistorical linguistics, whereas historical sociolinguists may emphasize the independent role of history in shaping and explaining language variation and diversification.

Historical linguists assume that the history of a language is a function of the history of its speakers and not an independent phenomenon that can be studied without reference to the social context in which it is embedded (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). The authors "do not deny the importance of purely linguistic factors such as pattern pressure and markedness considerations for a theory of language change, but the evidence from language contact shows that they are easily overridden when social factors push in another direction" (4). The assumptions underlying the concept of a genetic relationship derive from various analyses and interpretations of contact-induced language change. The first assumption refers to the main stimuli of linguistic change over time: (a) drift or the tendency to change due to structural imbalances; (b) dialect interference between stable and strongly differentiated dialects and between weakly differentiated dialects through the differential spread (in waves) of particular changes; (c) foreign interference. The second assumption is that change can occur at any level of the linguistic system and that internally motivated sound change is normally regular. The third assumption underscores the role of inter-generational transmission and/or via peer groups with little or no change over the short run; provided there is a stable sociolinguistic context, transmission will be normal. The fourth assumption reads that when or if transmission is imperfect the resulting system may have massive interference from the structure(s) of the language(s) originally spoken by the transmitter group (8-10).

Highlighting the connection between external factors and internal changes, Calvet (1999: 34-35) advances a model that considers language as a social practice inseparable from its environment. The ecology of language likewise presupposes different levels of analysis. In the eco-linguistic system the co-existing languages are related in a certain way that each of them is assigned to a specific niche. For this reason, a language is subject to the external stimuli to which it is adapted. The reaction to the stimuli is regulated by an internal mechanism, which in turn neutralizes the effects or consequences of change. The responses to the stimuli are self-regulated by the communicational needs of the speakers and the societal functions of language. The question raised by Calvet (123-128) is the following: What are the effects of a given ecology on a language when it is introduced into a new environment made up by social organization, social functions, and social roles? Both language and society are subject to internal pressures, and while language changes under social pressure, language change is not mechanical but results from tensions simultaneously present in both internal structures and external forces. Cases of artificial communities, where speakers of diverse languages intermingle for a period of time, exemplify the type of communication that can emerge naturally in a new environment. In the era of corsairs and pirates, the ships sailing on the Mediterranean shed light on developing linguis-

tic niches, where speakers of various Romance and non-Romance languages lived and worked. The resulting contact code, based on a version of Late Latin, was a mixture of all the languages. For this reason, it presented a reduced syntax but the new composite was constantly adapted and (re)lexified. The vocabulary of such code circulated from ship to ship, port to port and island to island. Ships and sailors were not only the carriers of lexical innovations but played a role in the diffusion of lexicon. In this way, 'pineapple' turned into *anana* in French (via Portuguese but originally from Guarani). Other examples belonging to the international lexicon of trade used by sailors are *banana*, *caiman*, and *hurricane* (Spanish *banana*, *caimán* and *huracán*), etc.

In the present century, the significance of external motivation has taken its place alongside internal impulse, and again contact is considered to have a more significant role in language change. Farrar and Jones (2002: 1-8) discuss the different perspectives that may have justified neglecting extra-linguistic factors pertaining to social characteristics of situations in which speakers interact. First, an explanation for a change will not point to one motivating factor but will invoke a number of interacting factors. Second, the role of the internal/external dichotomy may serve as a descriptive tool for categorizing different factors but it is insufficient as a theoretical explanation, because internal factors are not separated from external factors in discrete camps for the convenience of researchers. Finally, when there is an implicit hierarchy of internal factors and these are weighed against extra-linguistic ones, the assumption leads to believe that the majority of changes a language undergoes are due to internal factors and that for this reason, the search for external or extra-linguistic motivating factors is warranted. Presumably if a lower position is not assigned to external factors, there will be a more ample view of socially motivating factors because thus far it has not been proven that internal factors really do play a more important role in the process of language change.

Historical sociolinguistics proceeds on a uniform principle of development, namely, that the circumstances and the effects observed in the present will most likely approximate those observed in the past. This synthesizing view postulates that the social context and the external factors surrounding language variants can be reconstructed in order to identify the independent variables impinging on variation in a specific period. The difference lies in the type of source material utilized for research, for the corpora of the past are limited in space and the authors of the manuscripts did not have any interlocutors (Conde Silvestre 2007: 41, 53).

9 The case of Spanish: from the beginning to New World Spanish

The advocacy for external factors can be illustrated within the framework of the historical episodes occurring in medieval Spain. When the Muslim armies invaded the Iberian peninsula in the 8th century successfully pushing inland, a series of events initiated meaningful changes that impacted the variety of Hispanic Romance spoken in that territory. This undeniable fact, known as the Reconquest and the reaction of the invaded Christian peoples triggered language, culture and religious contact(s) that have called for an explanation. Language contact occurred between linguistic codes that were genetically unrelated; from this point in time, researchers strive to explain the processes leading to a more balanced environment. The exploration of the processes and analysis of koineization aids in elucidating the external causes of linguistic change in the middle ages because it highlights the dynamic geo-chronological stages that shaped the Spanish language in its original territory. Koineization started in Burgos in the 10th century, continued in Toledo (11th-12th century), and ended in Seville in the 13th century. Identifying the features of each stage leads to making a case for the interplay between extra-linguistic, external, and internal causes. The *Reconquista* is the major external factor responsible for the mixture of peninsular dialects, in turn prompted by repopulation movements, which in the end were conducive to the emergence of a vast southern province (cf. Tuten 2003). Because it turned into the depository of select Spanish traits that evolved in diametric opposition to northern features, Andalusian is the end-result of the *Reconquista*, a statement that leads to the next question.

If language like art is considered a creative activity, then it is legitimate to ask if social structures have impact on language change, language use or language traits per se, or in the emergence of new dialect or dialect zones. These predicaments should apply to a social history of language that would ideally connect every historical event to a major language change or language feature. An integrative model explaining the cause-and-effect linearity or co-linearity of internal and external changes would be advantageous. Because this case study deals with the fate of a transplanted language, it propounds a comprehensive explicative model that elucidates the types of variants that were modified from the transplanted peninsular tree in the new environment. The model excludes the contact with the indigenous languages, except for nouns derived from Amerindian languages; in this study, all the variants were selected from the polymorphic inventory of the peninsular tree. The focus on the first group of variants examined is attrition, for only one variant or a dyad survived in the New World, while the other was either discarded or modified; the second group of variants is known as residual.

Residual variants are defined as those that persisted in two domains: the general colloquial and daily speech of most speakers, and the variants that have been reallocated to varieties spoken in regions or sectors distant from urban, cultural, and educational centers.

10 New World Spanish: spoken and written

In a lesser known essay "Castellano popular y literario" ['Popular and literary Castilian'], published posthumously (1944/1954), Cuervo proffers illuminating and abundant data on the differences between popular and literary varieties. He divides the phonetic distinctions in two major groups: vowels and consonants. The alterations of the former represent a miniscule proportion when compared to the numerous consonantal changes. These alterations do not refer to the changes identifying large regional dialects (i.e. Castilian, Andalusian, or New World Spanish) but to more extreme phenomena that he himself observed in Colombia and other places. This essay is enriched with the reports that were known to him at the time. The phonetic dissimilarities between standard and non-standard Spanish aid in the identification of the features that exist in social dialects, better known as popular varieties.

The inventory of consonantal changes can be further exemplified in the interchange of the alveolar series: /d/, /l/, and /r/ in syllable-final or absolute final position. The examples below illustrate the two sides of the interchange, the most common being the substitution of /l/ by /r/ known as rhotacism (see left Column). The opposite is also feasible, and is known as lambdacism (see right Column). The traits listed below have not been regularly reported in any of the social or regional varieties of Mexican Spanish, but they may have occurred in former stages and in certain specific areas such as the ports of Veracruz and Acapulco.

alcalde	> [arcarde]	*Carmen*	> [calmen]
blanco	> [branco]	*cuerpo*	> [cuelpo]
faltar	> [fartar]	*sacerdote*	> [saceldote]
golpe	> [gorpe]	*matar*	> [matal]
hilvanar	> [irvanar]	*comer*	> [comel]

Other variations in social dialects can be considered more extreme and include the use of /r/ in words beginning with /d/, as in *después* > [repué]; *decencia* > [recencia]; *dice* > [rice]; *añade* > [añare]. Also by loosening the articulators' contact, /l/ can turn into /d/, as in [devantarse] < *levantarse*: [almirar] < *admirar*; [almitir] <

admitir; [liferencia] < *diferencia*; and [melecina] < *medicina*. More radical is the change from /s-/ to /l-/ as in *muslo* > [murlo] (1375-1381) and the vocalization of alveolar consonants (1388), as shown below:

barco	> [baico]	*salga*	> [saiga]
porque	> [poique]	*valga*	> [vaiga]
largo	> [laigo]	*golpe*	> [goipe]
torpe	> [toipe]	*papel*	> [papei]

One of the most intriguing internal changes has to do with the substitution of initial labiodental /f/ by aspirated [h] in a group of words that by the 19th century were identified as vernacular, for example: [harto] ('full' or 'fed up') < *farto*, *fartus* or [jieřo] < *fierro*, *ferrum* ('iron'). While researchers offer multiple insights referring to the history, diffusion and social class distribution of both variants, it has been challenging to explain the extreme distance in points of articulation (/f/ > [h]). According to Lapesa (1985: 280-286) in Old Castile, the aspirated variant [h] turned silent in speech but continued to appear in writing. The hesitation between the two variants indicates that the actual sound was an aspirate, which survived in standard Spanish through 1580. At this stage, /f-/ disappeared and was replaced by [h], which was no longer aspirated but silent [Ø] in Old Castile. As of the 17th century, the aspirate was weakened and lost in Old Castilian but it survived in the Andalusian territory. In the written language [h] had spread to the southern territory re-conquered by the Castilians and from there to the New World. By the 16th and 17th centuries, the criterion of correctness was more open than in the past, and a selection amongst available sounds led to the establishment of regularity in the literary language. The invention of the printing press contributed significantly to regularize the writing, an event that brought to an end the polymorphism of hand-written manuscripts. Aspiration was relegated to rural uneducated speech, especially before the diphthongs *-ue, -ie* (as in *huerte < fuerte), hue < fue), hiebre (< fiebre)*.

In exploring the origins of /f/ > [h] in initial position, Cuervo (1944/1954: 1407-1409) resorted to the opposition and tensions between literary language and the distribution of vernacular features. Old Spanish writers preserved the etymological initial F, and by the time of Nebrija's grammar, the erudite reaction had restored the F- in some of the words that appear with H, which were almost equally divided into those that today are spelled with F- and those spelled with H-, which was silent. Popular speech was however more advanced and has preserved the aspiration in words derived from Latin as in the examples in Table 3, which shows the evolution from Latin to medieval Spanish to modern Spanish and finally to popular dialects. Aspiration of F- in initial position was extended

by analogy to additional groups of words. In rural Colombia the aspiration also includes words that did not form part of the traditional group of /f/ vs. /h/, for example, (a) fue > *jue*; fuera > *juera*; (b) afuera > *ajuera*; (c) enfermo > *enjermo*; (d) firme > *jirme*; (e) fácil > *jácil.*

Table 3: Evolution of words with initial F

Latin	Medieval Spanish	Modern Spanish	Dialect
FACTUM	fecho	hecho ('fact')	*jecho*
FOETERE	feder	heder ('to stink)	*jeder*
FILIUS	fixo	hijo ('son')	*jijo*
FĒMINA	fem(i)na	hembra ('female')	*jembra*

Equally interesting and insightful are the observations he made about the variations of /s/ in different positions. In his "Castellano popular y literario", Cuervo (1944/1954: 1413-1415) emphasized the common nature of this phenomenon across the Spanish-speaking world, i.e. southern Spain, Cuba, Veracruz, Colombian coasts, Venezuela, Chile and Argentina. The different realizations of /s/ are applicable to both *c* and *z* given the widespread use of *seseo* in the New World. The most interesting realizations occur in the following cases:

(1) In final position before voiceless consonants, where it is perceived merely as a pause, as in *esto* [e'to] and *usted* [u'té] or disappears altogether, as in *los fósforos* [lo foforoh], *desfilar* [defilar], *resfriar* [refriar]. Plural of words ending in a consonant may be marked only with the vowel *e*, as in *Las mujeres y la fortuna* [la mujere y la fortuna].

(2) Before voiced consonants within the word, aspiration can be partially assimilated to the following consonant having the effect of duplication and opening of the preceding vowel as in *mismo*: [mihmmo], *obispo*: [obihppo], *usté*: [uhtté], *riesgo*: [riehggo].

(3) In final position before voiced consonants there is at least an aspiration marking the difference between singular and plural as in [la letra] [la letrah]; [la madre] [la madreh]; [el niño] [lo niñoh]; [lo diente] [lo dienteh].

(4) In initial and intervocalic positions, it can be aspirated or omitted, as in *suba* [huba], *señor* [eñor], *casino* [cahino], *casa* [caha].

(5) In final position before a word beginning with a vowel, the sibilant appears more closely linked to the following word, as in *los ojos*: [lo sojoh]; *los hombres*: [lo s(h)ombreh]; *los amigos*: [lo hamigoh].

(6) In implosive position before a voiced consonant sibilant /s/ can turn into a voiceless fricative /x/ or /f/, as in examples, *disgusto*: [dijusto]; *rasgar*:

[rajar]; *resbalar*: [refalar]; *resbalón*: [refalón]; *desbaratar*: [efaratar], most likely found in Chile than in other places.

In his *Apuntaciones*, Cuervo (1907) was concerned with language variation across time and space, particularly when a language is spoken in vast territories. For this reason, the uniformity or universality of all the terms is not possible. Diversification entails the change of the original meaning of an item derived from peninsular Spanish into a different meaning assigned in the New World. The change can be drastic or subtle, and only the speakers' subjective interpretations can explain the change (417-418). For this reason, Cuervo explains in detail the circumstances in which items originated. Though his point of departure is the speech of Bogota, he indulges in comparisons with other dialects of the Spanish-speaking world. Regional dialects emerged as a result of language expansion, and one word can have multiple meanings. Divided in subsections, Cuervo offered numerous examples of lexical variations (e.g. articles 579, 585, 616-617) which are uncontrolled, except when some terms are accepted by a considerable number of educated speakers (article 709). Lexical variation across dialects of the same language endorses Saussure's principle on the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign (Saussure 1915/1945: 130-136). The case of New World Spanish illustrates that lexical variation is conducive to distinguishing boundaries between and across regional dialects, where diversification has been truly effective, first in creating confusion and then in resorting to clarification, since the same word can have radically different meanings depending on the region where it is used. The most common example of polysemy is the noun *guaga* with the meaning of 'bus for collective transportation' used in the Caribbeam region, while in the Andes it means 'baby'.

Various explanations may shed light on the external causes that have discouraged Mexican Spanish speakers from using the six extreme features listed above, which were observed by Cuervo at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Diffusion, stratification, and pressures from academic standards are among the external factors that have contributed to deter the radicalization of Mexican Spanish, except among speakers living in extreme isolation or extreme socio-economic marginalization.

This book highlights words that belonging to colonial Spanish have survived in modern New World Spanish with diverging, similar, or identical meaning(s). The analysis of New World Spanish variants has been facilitated by collections of colonial documents, which aid in the comparison of Mexican Spanish with other varieties, e. g. *Documentos para la historia lingüística de Hispanoamérica, siglos XVI a XVIII* (Fontanella de Weinberg 1993) and *Documentos para la historia lingüística de Hispanoamérica, siglos XVI a XVIII,* vol. 2 (Rojas Mayer 2000). The first of the two volumes includes varied texts from Santo Domingo, Mexico, Peru,

Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay, while the second covers the Canary Islands, Cuba, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Mexico, and the United States.

In the identification of linguistic variants and variationist trends, two volumes on New Spain have been selected for analysis: The first one is *Documentos lingüísticos de la Nueva España. Altiplano Central* (Company Company 1994), which covers the Central Highlands; this is complemented by *Documentos lingüísticos de la Nueva España. Golfo de México* (Melis et al. 2008), which includes the Gulf of Mexico. The Central Highlands and the Gulf of Mexico are the two oldest Mexican regions in which Spanish speakers settled on a permanent basis. Other manuscripts on New Spain complement the linguistic corpora needed to examine select variants. The *Second Letter* by Hernán Cortés printed in Seville (1522) and excerpts from the *Abecedario* (1525-1770), a rare inquisitorial manuscript bound in Mexico City by the Holy Office were obtained with permission from the Henry E. Huntington Library. Additionally, subsamples from colonial sources serve to extract language data. The letters by Diego de Ordaz (1529-1530) transcribed by Lope Blanch (1985), the *Tratado del descubrimiento de Yndias* (1585) by Juan Suárez de Peralta, transcribed by Perissinotto (1994), the *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana* (1555/1571/1970) by Alonso de Molina, and the modernized collection *Comerciantes mexicanos del siglo XVIII* (Yuste 1991). All of them contribute in understanding the historical events of the colonial period and the everyday routines and worries of the common people living in New Spain.

11 The aim of this book

This book aims at discussing the origins of Mexican Colonial Spanish and the components that make it similar to or dissimilar from other varieties of New World Spanish. In order to achieve this goal, I have selected variants that can be traced to the very origins of the Spanish language in the American continent, to wit: Amerindian transfers and borrowings, *seseo*, *leísmo*, *voseo*, and the use of imperfect subjunctive endings –RA and –SE, which have been highlighted by scholars at different junctures. This analysis is noteworthy because these variants were assigned a social meaning in the environment of transplantation. I also examine the gaps between normative Spanish and the residual forms derived from Mexican Colonial Spanish, a term referring to the Spanish variety written (and spoken) in Mexico during the colonial period (cf. Arias Álvarez 2014). Residual variants are those that originally belonged to the semi-formal or informal registers and were redistributed or reshuffled to New World Spanish popular varieties. Residual var-

iants are divided into two sub-types: (1) optimal or general and (2) popular. The first group includes those that are still used by a majority of speakers in colloquial registers, informal domains, etc. Popular variants are those that have reappeared in rural sub-regions or areas of high socio-economic marginality. The study of these variants sheds light on the current gaps between New World standard Spanish and vernaculars. Therefore, the differences are explained by the polarization of socio-educational disparities that have been observed since the earliest colonial times.

Amerindian borrowings into Mexican Spanish are derived from both Taino and Nahuatl. The former are older than the latter, and some of the Taino borrowings were replaced by Nahuatl loans. At some point in time, Taino and Nahuatl loans competed with Spanish but Spanish speakers were responsible for integrating the Nahuatlismos into the Spanish spoken in the 16th century. After Independence from Spain, Nahuatl loans were incorporated into general Spanish and many of them and are still vital today. Transfers from Nahuatl into Mexican Spanish are found in the phonetic realm, particularly in the adaptation of affricates [tɬ] and [ts]. They are vital in the area of the Central Highlands, where the Nahuatl language has had a permanent influence particularly in frequent toponyms (e.g. volcanoes, towns, villages, neighborhoods, and streets), but their vitality decreases as the distance from the Central Highlands increases.

Seseo is the end-result of the convergence of medieval Spanish sibilants that unfolded in the dialects of southern Spain and the most widespread merger that has prevailed in all domains in New World Spanish. Mexican Spanish writers of the koineization period (16th century) used the different graphemes available in peninsular Spanish. *Seseo* appears to be motivated by an internal regular change and a series of mergers that coincided at a point in time between the 15th and the 16th centuries. The use of the grapheme *<s>* increased gradually after the 16th century, whereas the graphemes *<c>* and *<z>*, representing sibilant phonemes, were later restored by language reformers under etymological principles. *Leísmo* is the trend of Castilian origin that did not prevail in New World Spanish. It refers to the use of clitic pronoun LE for [+ animate masculine singular] direct objects. New World Spanish, like Andalusian, preferred the traditional pro-etymological system LO and LA. Spanish-speaking immigrants from diverse peninsular regions intermingled in the New World colonies where the two systems co-existed, and where the pattern of divergence from Castilian was consolidated after having gone through a long process of accommodation. The use of the pro-etymological system increased gradually over the long colonial period. Therefore, in most regions of the American continent *leísmo* was discarded due to its irregular variations. *Voseo* is the surviving use of the pronoun *vos* with exclusive singular meaning in New World Spanish. In the 17th century, *vos* was replaced by

tú in New Spain, but the former pronoun was transformed in many Central and South American colonies with the resulting variant used as a subject and object pronoun, and reduced monophthongized verb forms in the present indicative and in commands. Singular *vos* and plural *vos* and *vosotros* were infrequent in New Spain perhaps because their meanings and verb conjugations overlapped. In contrast, *vuestra merced* was over-abundant in Mexico, and like in Spain, it was used with 3rd person singular conjugations and the corresponding plural *vuestras mercedes*, until both were replaced by modern Spanish *Usted* and *Ustedes*.

A major shift from the times of Cortés and the *Second Letter* (1520-1522) is observed in the use of verbs in imperfect subjunctive with alternating endings in –RA and –SE. This occurrence is identified in subordinate clauses referring to subsequent events, as in *Le sugerí que le escribiera* or *escribiese* ('I suggested that he write to him') or *Le aconsejó que siguiera* or *siguiese peleando en ese pueblo* ('He advised him to continue fighting in that town'). It is found, too, in conditional sentences such as *Si tuviera algo se lo diera* ('If I had something I would give it to him'). The frequency of forms in –SE is glaring in Cortés' prose and 16th century documents, and remained throughout the 17th only to decrease noticeably at the end of the colony when Mexican *criollos* shifted to variants in –RA, a preference that continues until the present.

Optimal or general residual variants include colonial transfers of lexical items that were also (re)transmitted inter-generationally, e.g. the verb *ligar* ('to tie' or 'bind') with the figurative meaning of 'to flirt' with or 'to have a date', has identical meanings in Mexico and Spain. Other colonial transfers are socio-semantic, e.g. the noun *lana*, originally referring only to 'wool', has been extended to mean both 'wool' and 'money', the latter meaning derived from the lucrative loom industry of the 16th and 17th centuries. With the meaning of 'money', the noun *lana* has spread all over the country, across social strata, and well beyond the Mexican borders. The colloquial word used in Spain for money is *pasta* (derived from the more lucrative mining industry) but unknown in Mexico with this meaning. The second category of residual variants includes verb forms that belonged to the peninsular matrix and were (re)transmitted inter-generationally during the colonial period. After the language reforms and re-codification, they have been relegated to rural and isolated varieties (e.g. verb forms in the 1st and 3rd persons singular of preterit indicative as in *vide*, *vido* from the verb *ver* 'to see', and *truje* and *trujo*, from the verb *traer* 'to bring'). The frequency of the variants in the colonial documents seems to have determined its survival in today's popular varieties and almost exclusively amongst speakers residing in isolated and/or socio-economic marginal regions.

Finally, this book discusses the changes occurring in different New World Spanish varieties and Mexican Colonial Spanish. The analysis of select variants

of the latter unravels a myriad of connections between internal, extra-linguistic, and external factors. In most cases, the analysis is based on observed rates of attrition throughtout the colonial period. The focus on attrition is glaring in *seseo*, *leísmo*, the endings in −SE and −RA, and *voseo* (see 2 through 5 below).

(1) Amerindian borrowings and pronunciation transfers are clearly the result of language contact. Spanish immigrants, explorers, and travelers were responsible for the spread, (re)trans-mission and diffusion of Amerindian loans.

(2) *Seseo* was a latent phenomenon that debilitated the medieval Spanish internal system, probably generated by the disruption of the Hispanic Romance spoken in the Iberian Peninsula since ancestral times. Having lost the distinction of pertinent features (e.g. voiced vs. voiceless sibilants) in the southern peninsular varieties, the convergence of the sibilants found a fertile ground throughout the process of transplantation to New World soil.

(3) *Leísmo* had a good beginning in New Spain when Spanish speakers were involved in the mining economy, trade, and miscellaneous cultural activities. *Leísmo* declined towards the end of the colony when speakers preferred the ancestral pro-etymological forms more in vogue in southern Spain showing, again, an attitude of convergence with Andalusian speakers. Language academies and language planning must have contributed to regularize this variant in New World Spanish.

(4) The use of verb endings in −RA and −SE is conditioned by both internal and extra-linguistic factors: the contending form −RA progressively acquired subjunctive meaning in direct proportion to the gradual political distance that colonies were keeping from Spain.

(5) *Voseo* stems too from the peninsular tree but it is not uniform in New World Spanish. *Vos* lost its vitality in the colloquial domain and was replaced by *tú*. At the end of the 15th century, the pronouns of address available to Spanish speakers were distributed along the non-deferential (*vos* / *tú*) and the deferential (*vuestra merced* / *su merced*) axis, a system transmitted to the New World, as substantiated in the written language of all colonial centers and adjusted in different ways in the various colonies. According to Penny (2000: 152-153), *vos* disappeared in those colonies that were closer to peninsular Spanish: the Caribbean islands, most of Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. According to Lapesa (1985: 392, 579), a new use of *vos*, known as *voseo* emerged with the reduced verb forms (e.g. *vos tenéis*, > *tenés*, *vos podéis* > *podés*) and has survived in large areas of Central and South America, and in the Mexican state of Chiapas, which is historically linked to Guatemala. In Spain, *vos* became obsolete during the 17th and 18th centuries.

(6) The use of standardized PARA and reduced PA continues the be subjective, and it is reflected in speech patterns already present in the 16th century. The analysis presented herein is not based on attrition because the two variants alter-

nate in the same contexts on both sides of the Atlantic. In both cases it has the meaning of direction or intention similar to English 'towards' or 'in order to'. This alternation, which appears since the times of Hernán Cortés, has been re-transmitted for centuries in contexts that are identical to those found in the famous *Second Letter*.

12 The chapters

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the beginnings of the Spanish language history and the period in which Castilian emerged, marked by the repopulation movement in Andalusia and the transplantation of Spanish into the New World. It provides information on the features of Castilian as opposed to those of Andalusian and looks into the different theories on the origins of New World Spanish, to wit: monogenetic, polygenetic and koineization. It puts forward the more encompassing theory of diversification, which was the end-result of the transplantation over three centuries of colonial development. Chapter 2 describes the lifestyle of the first speakers of Mexican Spanish and the role of the *encomenderos* (grantees of native labor) in shaping the new society. The *encomenderos* attempted to enslave the native population but the humanists interposed serious objections, i.e. the New Laws of 1542. The new set of regulations derailed their plans and had a long-term effect throughout the colonial period. In response, the *encomenderos* arranged the importation of African slaves and added to the complexity of an already multilingual / multicultural and multi-religious scenario, where Spanish / Portuguese Jews also played a dramatic role, causing the intervention of the Inquisition. Established in 1571, the Inquisition was partially responsible for the diffusion of Spanish. A rare Inquisition's manuscript known as the *Abecedario* sheds light on the diverse origins of Spanish speakers who migrated to New Spain. Chapter 3 examines the printed letter by Hernán Cortés, where he narrates his early skirmishes in Mexico, an exceptional document known as the *Segunda Carta de Relación* [Second Letter] published in Seville by Jacobo Cromberger in 1522. The *Second Letter* is the point of departure to analyze and compare the abovementioned variants of New World Spanish; this document offers subsamples of Amerindian borrowings and subsamples of alternating variants derived from the peninsular Spanish tree. All the chapters examining language data focus on the continuity and / or the attrition of select variants. Chapter 4 continues the analysis of colonial documents from the first half of the 16th century and examines a good subsample of Nahuatl transfers and Nahuatl borrowings. The Spanish variants selected for analysis in chapters 3 and 4 are representative of the development of New World Spanish in general and Mexican Spanish in particular: (1)

sibilant graphemes *s*, *ç* and *z*; (2) verbal clitic variants LO and LE; (3) pronouns of address *tú*, *vos*, *vuestra merced*, *su merced*, *Usted*; and (4) imperfect subjunctive endings –RA and –SE. The first generation of Spanish speakers was inclined to preserve the peninsular Spanish variants while anticipating a low-intensity trend of change and attrition that gradually increased over the centuries.

Chapter 5 deals with the occupational, educational, and cultural activities of Spanish speakers. The most significant economic enterprise was mining, which attracted Spanish and non-Spanish speakers to the emerging sites and their surroundings. Spanish speakers founded newer towns, schools, and churches around the mining districts consolidating the compactness of a newer Spanish-speaking community, which was always the quantitative minority but at the same time a powerful group with common attitudes and values. It is proposed that mining, agriculture, the textiles industry, and services were the main labor domains in which non-Spanish speakers were exposed to Spanish. Most of these activities contributed to the diversifying the roles of Spanish and the solidarity of the Spanish-speaking minority. Chapter 6 analyzes the attrition-focused variants used by the second generation of Spanish speakers, who added more components to the process of diversification. Variations to the traditional sibilant system were initiated in the second half of the 16th century, a period in which *seseo* was moderate. The use of the verbal clitics LE and LO remained unchanged from the previous decade with the Castilian variant LE prevailing over LO. In the second generation the singular pronoun of address *vos* [– formal] was more frequent than *tú*. At this stage, the neologism *vuestra merced* had little competition with other pronouns. Finally, the contending forms of the imperfect subjunctive –SE and –RA also show inter-generational variation with a decline of 22 percent in the Central Highlands and minor changes in the Gulf of Mexico. The regression in the Central Highlands may be explained by the fact that the second and subsequent generations of writers did not match the standards of the first generation, i.e. the northerners of privileged socio-educational background who stand out today as the foremost protagonists of the colonization of Mexico.

Chapter 7 deals with the consolidation of Spanish-oriented institutions, particularly the Catholic Church, which was pro-active in incorporating indigenous languages to the tasks of conversion. Spanish language contact with indigenous languages was conducive to bilingualism and /or trilingualism amongst select members of the clergy, reciprocal Nahuatl/Spanish influence, various degrees of acculturation, and Spanish proficiency. In the second half of the 16th century the policy of the Spanish Crown was to separate the indigenous from other groups, and therefore speakers of indigenous languages were congregated in newer native communities administered at a distance from Spanish speakers, which

might have resulted in syncretic venues leading simultaneously to language maintenance and language shift.

Chapter 8 discusses the growth of the Spanish-speaking population resulting primarily from miscegenation at the time in which the economy of New Spain enjoyed both stability and diversification of activities. By the 17th century, it is clear that the minority of Spanish speakers enjoyed an enviable quality of life and that the established caste system developed its own projects. This chapter also examines the attrition rates of the selected variants (*seseo*, *leísmo*, pronouns of address, and the –SE and –RA endings). By the 17th century it was obvious that several generations of Spanish and non-Spanish speakers were exhibiting mixed speech / writing patterns. The 17th century is also known for the expansion of horizons in Spanish and the high quality of its literary production. Chapter 9 highlights the external historical events that had a powerful impact on the administration of the colonies (i.e. the Bourbon Reforms) and the distinct demographic trends prevailing in the 18th century, such as commerce with Spain, urbanization, and the professionalization of miscellaneous services. It continues the analysis of the same variants examined in previous centuries showing the transition to the Independent period, particularly in the sharp decline of those identified with peninsular Spanish (e.g. direct object pronoun LE and the –SE form associated with imperfect subjunctive). In this century, literature and journalism in New Spain differed significantly from the production in Spain, which had lost the luster of the Golden Age, though it was both innovative and versatile.

The summary in Chapter 10 displays the graphic quantitative differences between the sets of variants derived from the peninsular tree and the gradual diminution by century and by region of each variant representing peninsular Spanish. It also exemplifies the two types of residual variants: optimal and popular. The difference between attrition-focused variants and residual variants lies in the type of variation displayed over time. Whereas attrition leads to a permanent change, residual variants were reallocated to contexts of informality or marginality though they maintained the same co-referential meaning. Chapter 11 closes with a discussion on the origins and effects of diversification in connection with the external factors that may have impinged on attrition. Finally, the Appendix lists a subsample of 221 subjects retrieved from the Inquisition's manuscript known as the *Abecedario*; the origins of the subjects attest to the diversity of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of New Spanish residents. The sample is interesting because it reveals the spontaneous writing patterns of the notaries and secretaries of the Holy Office and the Spanish variants they used.

13 Explicative models

An explicative model is a useful description, although by no means exhaustive, of observations that make sense in the historical context under study and are useful to understand at least the major components of sociolinguistic phenomena: history, society and language. No single model can account for all the variants and variations as they relate to external or extra-linguistic factors. Each model may nonetheless explain multiple factors affecting internal changes as they become associated to the social context(s) and / or to the intersection of various social contexts and sub-contexts. The explicative model proposed in this book supports the theory of diversification. The notion of linguistic niches proposed by Calvet (1999) and / or the development of domains as elaborated by Fishman (1972a: 78, 81, 83 and Fishman 1972b: 113-117) may explain continuous and uninterrupted diversification of Spanish in New Spain, for diversification was not as extensive or continual in colonies that were not on the spotlight of the metropolis. In Spain's favorite setting permanent domains were built and renewed at all levels of the new colonial society; their emergence delineated the role-relations and contexts of interaction into which the newer groups were organized, and where Spanish (the newer language) was promoted or preferred as the medium of communication in the newer multilingual society. Some smaller or distant colonies from Spain did not have the opportunity to indulge in creative literature and other language-related activities; this explains that the Church, the Inquisition, and the mining industry had a tangential interest and a limited or delayed role in some other colonies.

This book contributes to the analysis of massive language data, both quantitative and qualitative; the varied approaches may be necessary to follow leads and inferences in the specific ambiance where Spanish was transplanted. Linguistic corpora provide the evidence of (re)trans-mission, diffusion, and allocation of language variants and variations. Therefore, the historical sociolinguistic model of diversification is testable in different New World nations, regions, and sub-regions. While this book offers the results of general trends and the necessary theoretical principles and methodological strategies for verification and/or corroboration of the proposals advanced in it, more research is needed to identify the internal linguistic constraints (genres, speech styles, topic, intention, or type of sentence and / or clause) by historical period. The major implication of this case study is that history can not be changed or distorted in order to accommodate it to language data or language findings. The directionality of cause-and-effect events entails the predictability of history as the independent variable; furthermore, the scrutiny of language variants may indicate that social and language occurrences depend on the specificity of historical events or on the shockwaves produced by

the events. The tridimensional approach allows us to see the pertinent language data glaring on the surface and the socio-historical reliefs standing out on a dynamic contextual background that is open to renewed interpretations.