

Chapter 1

The origins of Spanish: Spain and the New World

1.1 The origins

This chapter presents the most relevant external and internal factors that contributed to the formation of Castilian, Andalusian and New World Spanish. As a result of the repopulation movement advanced by Castilians during the very long period known as the Reconquest or *Reconquista* (711-1492), the new regional variety emerging in southern Spain came to be known as Andalusian, an offshoot of Castilian. In the history of the Spanish language, Castilian, Andalusian and New World Spanish are studied simultaneously because one cannot be entirely separated from the other two. The chronological order strongly suggests that the focus should be on Castilian first, Andalusian next, and New World Spanish last, but not least. The vast majority of studies do acknowledge the rise of Castilian in the first place, and as a result of the *Reconquista* (Reconquest) of southern Spain, the origins of Andalusian are interspersed with those of Castilian. Likewise, the emergence of New World Spanish is inextricably associated with both the history and development of Andalusian, although until recently Andalusian was not a well-known variety. The connection between Andalusian and New World Spanish has not been rejected; on the contrary, over one century of research has validated the preliminary proposals and theories advanced on the origins and development of the latter. The most important external factor impinging on the formation of New World Spanish was the transplantation of a prestigious European language, which was buttressed by the system of social stratification implemented in different New World colonies, the most prosperous found in the Mesoamerican and Andean regions. The system of social stratification had a dual socio-linguistic effect: on the one hand, it promoted the cultivation of an semi-formal standard, and on the other, the use of a vernacular variety unfolded in all the regions, towns, and cities where Spanish-speaking groups had relative and / or absolute power and control over the new colonial society. In this chapter, relevant features of Castilian, Andalusian and New World Spanish are compared and contrasted in order to highlight the patterns of evolution and systematic change, whenever possible.

The first speakers and writers of New World Spanish were born in different Spanish regions and belonged to different social and educational strata. Most of them were adult males who had had the trans-regional and transatlantic experience in their youth. There is more than sufficient evidence pointing to the diversity of peninsular regions from where Spanish immigrants originated but quantities are approximate in all available samples. The analysis of the samples

confirms that the proportion of Andalusians was higher than any of the other immigrants from peninsular regions, even if at present none of the regional New World Spanish dialects is identical to any peninsular dialect in particular; moreover, the Spanish from some New World regions shares salient features with both Andalusian and Canarian Spanish. Assuming that Andalusians typically conformed one-third or more of any sample in any given area of the New World, the questions that follow refer to the contribution of Andalusians as compared to the rest of the immigrants, who also had had trans-Castilian experience and contact by the time they arrived in the New World. Does this imply that Andalusian stand out as the sole and most significant contributor to the formation of New World Spanish? In the New World environment, speakers of other Spanish varieties were active participants in building the underpinnings of a new colonial society, but Andalusian must be taken into consideration as a significant component.

While the original features of New World Spanish were similar across the continent at least during the 16th century, regional variation has been reported as a result of contact with indigenous languages, provenance of Spanish immigrants, location of new Spanish speaking communities, and socio-economic development, among other factors. It is thus useful to discuss the differences between peninsular dialects and the features that were passed on to the various New World Spanish colonies. After the partial colonization of the Caribbean islands, Mexico became an extremely active center of mining, agriculture, education, and religious experiments, a focused colony, an ideal place to test the hypothesis on the diversification of a language spoken by a minority of Spanish speakers. Mexico had a large indigenous population, several prestigious native languages, and a minority of Africa-born slaves or African descendants born in the New World. Due to the economic activities around the mining sites, the Mexican central areas attracted both ordinary immigrants and high-ranking officials from Spain, who underscored the relevance of all things being Castilian.

In spite of the regional variations and environmental differences ensuing in the newer areas, it is accepted that the origins of Spanish in the New World are similar, because the basic linguistic layer throughout the sub-continent is the same. The divergences between the regional varieties are spelled out more clearly after the various movements of independence from Spain occurring in the 19th century. Even during the three-century colonial period, regional differences began to be noticed. As a case in point, the Caribbean region and Mexico were considered as a unit inasmuch as the dates of colonization occurred in the early decades of the 16th century. Three main theories about the origins of New World Spanish were advanced in the 20th century: (1) the first one is known as monogenetic for it proposed that New World Spanish was a direct descendant of Andalusian Spanish; (2) the polygenetic theory underscored the diverse origins of New

World Spanish; (3) and the theory of koineization stands out as the synthesis of the former two. A linguistic and sociolinguistic model showing that features of New World Spanish derive from the mixing of Spanish dialects and the addition of lexical items from Taino¹ and Nahuatl is advanced in order to explain how the earliest variety of Mexican Spanish was formed.

1.2 The rise of Castilian

The record of Christian resistance and the rise of Castilian hegemony are epitomized in Spain's linguistic history for the unity of Visigothic Spain was disrupted by the Muslim invasion, an event that placed the whole south and center under the control of the non-Christian culture (Entwistle 1936/1951: 106). In the 10th century, Castile expanded as far as the Duero River (912) and the Guadarrama mountain range (ca. 950), a less extensive territory than what is now known as *Castilla la Vieja* (Old Castile). In the late 11th century, after the conquest of the kingdom of Toledo from the Moors it was necessary to distinguish the newly acquired region south of the Guadarrama as *Castilla la Nueva* (New Castile) from that of the north (Old Castile). The fullest extent of Castile was achieved at the end of the 12th century, when the Reconquista reached the Sierra Morena. Beyond this point, the term Castilian did not apply but the territory to the south was and still is Andalusia (Penny 1991: 25-26). (See Map 1.1 for location of traditional regions, cities, rivers, and mountains).

Following closely the development of the Reconquista, the most distinguishing traits of Castilian emerged in the north. Andalusian nonetheless evolved with differing variations, which in combination make the resulting regional dialect a contrastive unit within the Iberian Peninsula. The discovery of the New World coincided with the publication of Elio Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática de la*

¹ Before the Spanish conquest the Arawakan language was spoken in a number of disconnected areas from what is now Cuba and Bahamas to South America. Taino was known in the Greater Antilles (Hispaniola or present-day Santo Domingo and Haiti), Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica and the surrounding islands. As the first Amerindian language known to by Europeans, it furnished the most widespread borrowings into European languages. The term Cariban refers to the group that includes the languages of the Antillean Carib and other South American indigenous languages. The lexicon of this region is known since the Discovery of the New World because Christopher Columbus himself and the active Spanish-speaking explorers spread select words across continents. In research, however, the borrowings from the Antilles are known as either *antillanisms* or *tainismos*; they seem to have been adopted, often adapted phonetically and morphologically and also documented in Spanish sources as early as 1492 or 1493.

lengua castellana (1492/1984), the first grammar of a European language. A few decades later, Juan de Valdés was also attempting to set the Spanish language standards in his *Diálogo de la lengua* (1535). Both scholars described the Spanish language and the criteria of correction prevailing at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, respectively. The precedent to normalization of Spanish medieval usages can be found in the intense work of Alfonso X the Learned (1221-1284), who was determined to set the rules of *castellano drecho* (correct Castilian) since the mid-13th century. Correct Castilian followed the Burgos model with some concessions to the speech of Toledo and Leon. In the end the speech of Toledo was the basis to the linguistic leveling of the kingdom, and the graphemes used were solidly established. Until the 14th century, the transcription of Spanish sounds adhered to norms fixed by Alfonso's Chancery and writings. By then, Castilian prose had become the vehicle of cultural transmission (Lapesa 1985: 240-242, 245-246). Directing his works from Toledo, the king made history as a humanist and historian. The Reconquista proceeded slowly until the Christian groups succeeded in repopulating the southern region, which had been heavily influenced by the Muslims.

In its earlier stages Castilian was a diasystem, that is, a mixture of dialects with no unified or homogenous structure. It shared traits with other dialects and had certain features not found elsewhere (Lloyd 1987: 273). Manuscripts written in early Old Spanish did not follow standard models until the scribes working for the king Alfonso rectified such situation. Under his reign, the royal Chancery patronized the simulation of the Castilian variety spoken in Toledo. Towards the end of the 13th century, the practices of Toledo began to influence the literary language but no longer represented the dialect of Burgos (Entwistle 1936/1951: 139, 169). Based on the Castilian dialect of Toledo the literary norm favored the older Romance standard at least as spelling is concerned. As a result of the scholarly endeavors of the king, regional traits disappeared in the 13th century. In contrast with other Hispano-Romance varieties, Castilian was the vehicle of a considerable production of scientific, historiographical, legal and literary work. By the end of Alfonso's reign, it was no longer possible to identify a specific regional flavor in the writings of Castilians. The new supra-regional literary standard was based upon the speech of the Toledo upper classes, a variety originated in the Burgos area and extended to Toledo at the time of the Reconquista of New Castile. A standardized Castilian was increasingly used in the documents issued by the Chancery and stood as model of correctness whenever they were read, copied or imitated. This does not mean that the speech of Toledo was readily emulated by the upper classes of other Spanish cities. On the contrary, other Spanish cities developed their own norms, which in the end, contrasted with those of Toledo.

This is the case of Seville, which was the largest and economically most prosperous city of the kingdom (Penny 1991: 15-16).

Alfonso the Learned believed that Castilian was the proper instrument to disseminate the culture that he was gathering and unifying; consequently, he deliberately broke with the tradition that supported Latin in erudite and scientific works. In supplanting Latin with Spanish, one finds the main reason for the large number of definitions. Because Spanish lacked the vocabulary to translate most of the works used, it was necessary to build words, to bring in learned words, or to explain uncommon words to the reader. In doing so, he resolved to name the objects while clarifying their meanings through etymologies, explanations, and descriptions. His method was flexible, since he preferred to follow concrete rather than abstract patterns. Alfonso promoted the idea that nouns were not so much concepts as they were something real, because his words were a reflection of everything in existence. Through his work, the preliminary dictionary of a Romance language can be reconstructed (van Scoy 1940). A random sample of 47 definitions retrieved from the *Siete Partidas* aid the reader in understanding the conception of the Spanish world as seen by the king. His definitions comprise a micro-context of lexicographic nature that can be placed within its referent, a macro-context, where each level corresponds to amplification and progressive extension. The structures utilize a set of symbols where clarity is better expressed by the separation of the parts (Roudil 1970: 162-163).

The Spanish spoken in the Iberian Peninsula showed since ancestral times a clear tendency to geo-chronological stages of koineization. Such process began in Burgos (9th to 11th centuries), one of the oldest northern cities, where immigrants from Asturias, Galicia, Santander, the Basque region and Navarre, as well as Mozarabs (*mozárabes*) from the south settled in the border county of Castile. These immigrants spoke different but mutually intelligible dialects, though the Basques also moved into Castile in large numbers, where they had to learn the Romance variety of the other speakers. Koneization continued in Toledo (11th and 12th centuries), and where a rapid increase in southward expansion and demographic mixing of the Christian Hispano-Romance speakers took place. In Toledo and its surrounding areas *mozárabes*, *mudéjares*, Jews, and Christians lived alongside with new arrivals from Castile, Leon, Asturias, Galicia, Navarra, Aragon, and Catalonia, not to mention the Christian Franks. Toledo is truly significant in the history of Spanish for it laid the foundation for an early standard model. Having its center in Seville leveling and koineization continued in Andalusia in the 13th century (cf. Tuten 2003).

1.3 Repopulation of Andalusia

The repopulation movement in southern Spain was simultaneous with the strides made by the Reconquista. According to González Jiménez (1997), Andalusia was repopulated during the 13th century after the defeat of the Almohads at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). This allowed the Christian kingdoms sharing a border with Andalusia to work on the territories that they had repossessed. Initiated by Castile and Leon, the campaigns culminated in 1248 with the seizure of Seville. Christian settlers came from regions incorporated to the kingdoms of Leon and Castile but also from Navarra, Aragon and even Portugal. Other territories such as Cadiz and Jerez became part of Castile. The new Andalusia was comprised of the current provinces of Jaen, Cordoba, Seville, Huelva and Cadiz on the Guadalquivir Valley. The new Christian settlers were mostly concentrated in important cities such as Baeza, Ubeda, Jaen, Cordoba and Seville, from where the *moros* (Muslims) had been expelled massively only to resettle in Granada or in northern Africa. In order to repopulate the re-conquered territory, the Spanish Crown distributed lands, housing and other goods to each and all settlers. Large lots included buildings or agricultural installations to members of the royal families, ecclesiastics, cathedral councils, monasteries and military organizations. Other estates known as *heredamientos* (neighborhoods comprised of houses), cereal lands, and parcels for olives were sufficient to cater to the needs of an entire family according to social rank. The beneficiaries of these estates were obliged to occupy the assigned land and comply with military service; in essence all re-settlers were by definition proprietors of either small or medium-size estates.

The new society had to be identical to a Western feudal society from where the settlers originated and where at least two groups were distinguished: the first one belonged to privileged nobility or clergy, while the second one was made up of peasants or artisans, a mass with no privileges. The aim of the Andalusian repopulation movement was to build a new society with no traces of Islamic background. It was a society of free men, proprietors of their own parcels and under no obligation to pay tribute to their lords. Andalusian society was a frontier society, a feature that was logged in the *repartimiento* books (distribution records) in which the settlers were grouped according to rank: members of the nobility, the military, and commoners who owned a horse, a few weapons, and who were willing to go into combat. The complex process of rupture substantially altered the trajectory of a region shaped by the Islamic trends. This heritage appears in forms of agricultural organization such as flour or oil mills or the spatial model of exploitation from where the haciendas derive. There are some other traits of urban infrastructure that are reminiscent of the Eastern culture. In the new repopulated areas, societal space was reorganized in a different manner. The Spanish nobility and

the new local bourgeoisie became the landowners around the city of Seville. The base of Eastern-derived agriculture was cereal, a crop precluding other forms of agriculture that required different technology, safer markets, and abundant manpower. The role of cities was reinforced by the repopulation of Andalusia, emphasizing their military and administrative qualities and altering the rural repopulation that was reorganized from the urban nuclei; cities functioned as administrative enclaves of the Christian dominions in which a coherent system regulated the use of natural resources flowing from the city to the countryside and vice versa. In this new environment, the raising of cattle flourished in the entire region. The repopulation of Andalusia forced the Castilian-Leonese society to resettle in a good part of Extremadura, La Mancha and Murcia. This explains why the northern Christians were not able to fill in all the gaps left by the expulsion of the *moros*. Depopulated areas were found near the proximities of the frontier with the kingdom of Granada. The frontier society of the 13th century was readjusted slowly and locally because it was difficult to attract permanent settlers despite the incentives that were awarded since the times of Alfonso. Settlers living in and/or selling castles and villas were tax-exempted. Despite many other privileges, repopulation of the region was not dense (González Jiménez 1997).

Finally, toward the late 15th century, the war and the frontier society came to an end and a new wave of repopulation triggered the much needed demographic growth of some villas, which had been reduced to walled spots. In some Andalusian regions the growth was higher than 300 %. This incited feudal lords to transform their estates into large dominions, where settlers-vassals could establish themselves. The repopulation of Granada followed the guidelines implemented in other regions, but there the newly arrived Christian settlers consisting in about 40,000 families had a difficult coexistence with the *mudéjar* (Muslims who remained in Spain after the Reconquista) majority capitulating at the end and converting to Christianity. After being pressured and defeated more than once, the Muslims of Granada turned into *moriscos* (baptized/Hispanicized Moors). This is in synthesis the origin of Andalusia, a region that prospered after the definitive expulsion of the infidels and the Discovery of the New World. Far from remaining underdeveloped, its economy flourished as a result of the multiplicity of exchanges with the New World. In the spheres of culture and language, Andalusia became a competitor with other regions, particularly Castile (González Jiménez 1997).

Andalusian Spanish was the end result of the mixing of different varieties that medieval Castile had, insofar as the former mirrors the process that transformed into Spanish the language of Old Castile at the end of the Middle Ages. Castilians from all provinces and settlers from Asturias-Leon, Galicia, Biscay, Navarra, Aragon and Catalonia swarmed the re-conquered territories of the south together

with Portuguese, French and Genovese, among other foreigners, all speakers who went through the process of leveling. This occurred in two key periods of the Castilian expansion to the south: (a) the 13th century, when Christian warriors seized Muslim Andalusia; (b) the 15th century, when the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Isabella annexed the kingdom of Granada. Both events caused the intermingling of immigrants, who were either linguistically divergent or convergent, a fact which in turn led to cultural exchanges and / or accommodation of different types. Documents from Andalusia point to the heterogeneous demography of the southern varieties of Spanish (Frago Gracia 1993: 54-55). The mixed origins of Andalusian were perceived as a drawback, and consequently, speakers of Andalusian were the victims of condescension on the part of speakers from other regions. Spaniards and foreigners singled out Andalusian Spanish and even argued that within large territories, it was going through internal fragmentation. The scholars of the 16th and 17th centuries believed that Andalusians had different linguistic habits from those observed in other Spanish-speaking regions. Grammarians disparaged both *seseo* and *ceceo* but made harsher remarks on the latter. For example, in Western Andalusia they said *caça* for *casa*, *maça* for *masa*, and the other way around. However, *seseo* was more accepted than *ceceo* (see definition and more examples in 3.2). Despite the narrow-minded judgments, some authors acknowledged the existence of sociolinguistic variants within the Andalusian urban centers, and by the 18th and 19th centuries, there were more than sufficient testimonies on the salient features of Andalusian (Frago Gracia 1993: 112, 119, 121). Spanish language historians and dialectologists have identified and contrasted the features of Andalusian and Castilian from both the descriptive and historical perspectives (cf. Zamora 1967: 287-331; Frago Gracia 1993).

1.4 Toledano and Old Castilian

In its earliest years, Castilian did not show a homogeneous structure but shared some traits with other dialects, and also had certain features not found elsewhere, perhaps because speakers belonging to the lowest and least prestigious class intermingled with the upper class for Castilian society was characterized by a fluidity of social class, in sharp contrast with its later rigidity. As Castile spread its power and its language to the south, devoicing was carried along with it (Lloyd 1987: 273). *Toledano* is the oldest variety distinguishing voiced from voiceless sibilants, while devoicing was spreading to the south of the Guadarrama River. Toledano eventually adapted the innovations of Old Castilian (Lapesa 1985: 371-372). The internal changes of these two varieties stem from a series of mergers that explain the trend of consonant simplification prevailing since at least the

late 15th century and most likely unrelated to the Discovery of the New World. The mergers include devoicing, de-affrication, de-lateralization, inter-dentalization, and de-palatalization, the latter two completed in the mid-17th century. In addition, the change from /f-/ > [h] > [Ø] across social groups and regions within Spain sheds light on patterns of evolution that are not inconsequential for the varieties of the New World Spanish spoken today. In this realm, scholars have painstakingly documented the progressions taking place from the 12th to the 15th centuries. Particular attention has been given to the sibilant consonants, which are divided into voiced and voiceless with different points of articulation. Devoicing, the most important change, is derived from the differences between Old Castile with its capital in Madrid to the north of Toledo, which stands out in Spain's multicultural hub during the Reconquista. While *toledano* distinguished between voiced and voiceless sibilants with the northern influences disseminating smoothly toward the south, Old Castilian represented a simplification motivated by the establishment in 1560 of a new court in Madrid, a small village which not only attracted nobility from ancestral regions of Spain but which also superseded Toledo as a center of power and prestige. Madrid became the enclave of the northern pronunciation soon associated to innovations such as the aspiration of word-initial F- derived from Latin. With some resistance, from the new capital this change was spreading to the rest of New Castile, Jaen, Eastern Granada, and Murcia (Lapesa 1985: 372-373).

1.4.1 De-affrication, devoicing and inter-dentalization

It has been proposed that medieval Spanish had six sibilant consonants, divided in three pairs of voiceless and voiced. The model of such distinctive pronunciation was Toledo, the cultural capital of Spain at the time of the Moorish invasion. Table 1.1 shows three voiced sibilants (1, 3 and 5), which went through the long process of devoicing. The dental affricates (1 and 2) changed the manner of articulation and became fricatives, a change ensuing in the north and the northern plateau. Once the sibilants completed the process of de-affrication, the contrast remained between voiceless and voiced sibilants, but was further reduced as a result of the influx of northern settlers to Madrid, who after two or three generations did not distinguish voiced from voiceless fricatives, perhaps because voicing had become a marker. The sharp differences which defined the speech of Toledo were leveled in the new capital. The new voiceless pronunciation found its way in Madrid and elsewhere, and by the end of the 16th century became the norm. It is believed that this change was consummated until the second half of the 17th century, when the articulation resulted in a new voiceless inter-dental

fricative, just like modern /θ/ (in writing <z> before <a>, <o> and <u> and <c> before <e> and <i>). In sum, the distinctive voicing phonemes merged with their voiceless counterparts (see phonetic symbols in Column 1).

Table 1.1: Spanish sibilants before the 16th century

Ph.	Symbol	Description	Grapheme	Examples
1.	/ž/	Voiced dental affricate	<z>	fazer, razimo
2.	/š/	Voiceless dental affricate	<ç>	força
3.	/ʒ/	Voiced pre-palatal fricative	<g>, <j>	gentil, gesta, jornal
4.	/ʃ/	Voiceless pre-palatal fricative	<x>	baxo, xabón, axuar
5.	/ʒ/	Voiced apical-alveolar fricative	<-s->	rosa, prisión
6.	/š/	Voiceless apical-alveolar fricative	<ss>, <-ss->	señor, pensar; passar, esse, amasse

The grapheme <ç>, known as “*ce con cedilla*” (phoneme 2) derived from medieval manuscripts and was shared with Aragonese, Leonese, and Galician. Devoicing spread through Toledo, Extremadura, Murcia, Andalusia and the New World. In addition, dental affricate sibilants moved their point of articulation, a change already attested in western Andalusia since the early 15th century and occurring, too, in the northern regions independently of and mostly likely after the emergence of Andalusian. In Toledo, de-affrication of /š/ (phoneme 2) occurred after the de-affrication of /ž/ (phoneme 1); as a result, for some time, the opposition of the two was maintained but did not persist after the mid-17th century. Scholars have focused on the opposition between /š/ and /ž/ and the loss of the distinction between the two in various regions of Spain. It is assumed that the fusion began to occur during the first half of the 16th century and that it was consolidated as of the second half, despite some endeavors to restore the voiced quality. In southern Spain the lack of distinction between the two pairs of sibilants resulted in the fusion of four sibilants (1, 2, 5 and 6). It has been proposed that in Andalusian, the de-affrication of /š/ and /ž/ had occurred earlier than in the northern regions (Catalán 1956-57) thus accelerating other changes. Finally, the coalescence of apico-alveolar phonemes /š/ and /ž/ resulted in one single voiceless /š/, which eventually lost its apical quality. The end result is a pre-dorsal-dental fricative /s/ prevailing in Andalusia, the Canary Islands and the New World (Catalán 1957).

In Castile, the merger of de-affricated affricates rendered one single fricative that forwarded its point to articulation resulting in inter-dental /θ/, a change consolidated about 1630 or 1650, and also occurring at a later stage in Extremadura, Murcia, Jaen, regions of Almeria and Granada. The Castilian pronunciation is

based on etymological criteria, and for this reason, it maintains the distinction between the de-affricated inter-dental /θ/ merger (resulting from 1 and 2) and the voiceless apico-alveolar /s̺/ resulting from the merger of sibilants 5 and 6. The devoiced merger retained its apical quality in the Castilian varieties of northern and central Spain. For more detailed accounts and interpretations of the sibilant Spanish system, see (Lloyd 1987: 330-344; Penny 1991: 84-91; and Arias Álvarez 1997: 43-59).

In the kingdoms of Seville and Cordoba as well as in the west and south of Granada, the confusion of apico-alveolar sibilants (5 and 6) with the dental affricates /ʒ/ and /ʃ/ coming from 1 and 2 went in a different direction the merger resulting in a single voiceless sound with dorsal-dental or dental articulation of [s]. The elimination of the apico-alveolar sibilants in favor of the dentals or inter-dentalized variants was identified as *çeçeo-zeezo*, inasmuch as the resulting pronunciation originated from abusing the sibilants 1 and 2. In the process of devoicing of the three original voiced phonemes (1, 3 and 5), the sibilants were reduced to one in most of Andalusia, the Canary Islands and the New World, where at present several variants co-exist: one dental [s] and one inter-dentalized [s^h]. The use of the former variant is known as *seseo* and is represented by the dental convex that became prestigious because it was used by the upper classes of Seville, whereas *çeçeo* was the inter-dentalized variant with a pronunciation not necessarily based on an etymological criterion (Lapesa 1985: 374-375).

The process of devoicing and the readjustment of the point of articulation reduced the original distinctions in most of Andalusia and the New World to one single phoneme with at least two non-distinctive articulatory variants: one coronal (flat or slightly convex) with the tip of the tongue pointing down, and another convex or pre-dorsal with the tongue fully convex and the tip of the tongue touching the lower teeth. The apical concave variant remained in Castilian territories (Zamora 1967: 288; Lapesa 1985: 510-511). By the 16th century the Andalusian innovations spread to the writing norms. In 1549 scribes from Seville used to write *resebí, parese, nesecidad, ofrese, resela*, in lieu of *resçebi, paresçe, nesçesidad, ofresçe, resçela* (< the Old Spanish orthography). The Andalusian spellings are also documented in the Canary Islands and Puerto Rico since 1521, in Cuba since 1539, and in Mexico since ca. 1523-1525 (Lapesa 1985: 375). *Seseo* emerged simultaneously in all the extended Andalusian zones and showed from the beginning intra-dialectal differentiation across regions and social strata. Manuscripts from different dates and provinces proffer sufficient evidence of such polymorphism (Frago Gracia 1993: 228-229ff).

The boundaries and distribution of variants (e.g. aspiration of word-initial /f-/, *seseo*, *ceceo*, and apical /s̺/) recorded before World War II and before the influential role of the mass media are extremely useful to understand the phe-

nomena transplanted to the New World Spanish colonies (see Maps 1.2 and 1.3 for the distribution of the sibilants in Andalusia). According to Navarro Tomás et al. (1933/1975), the distinction between /s/ and /θ/ and the *seseo* and *ceceo* variants appear in syllable-initial position, while many other variations are found in final position. It was commonly believed that the confusion between /s/ and /θ/ (realized as *seseo* or *ceceo*) occurred throughout Andalusia. In order to test this hypothesis, Navarro Tomás et al. (1933) surveyed all the Andalusian provinces, to wit: Badajoz, Huelva, Sevilla, Cadiz, Cordoba, Jaen, Granada, Malaga, Almeria, Murcia, and Las Alpujarras, where they found varying distributions of both sibilants. In Badajoz, for example, the Castilian distinction prevailed amongst educated subjects whereas *seseo* was heard among peasants and workers coming from the towns of the province. Also in Badajoz, they found three variants of /s/: (a) apico-alveolar concave; (b) coronal, pre-alveolar or post-dental flat; (c) pre-dorsal-dental convex. The first variant prevails in most of the province; the coronal variant is heard in the western towns, where the apical pronunciation reappears with relative frequency (Navarro Tomás et al. 1933: 27).

Unquestionably significant for the history of New World Spanish is the dispersal of the three sibilant variations in Seville, the least common being the distinction between /s/ and /θ/, and the most widespread the *ceceante* variant. Between these two, *seseo* is used in the northern and southeastern towns. The social significance of *seseo* and *ceceo* in Seville is even more substantial because the former is more prestigious than the latter. The upper classes from the city of Seville adopted the *seseo* variant. In Seville, sibilant [s] is pre-dorsal dental convex pronounced with the tip of the tongue over the lower teeth with an acoustic effect similar to that of ص and other velarized or emphatic Arabic sounds (Navarro Tomás et al. 1975: 38). The distribution in other provinces is equally interesting, since in most of them the three variants were found. In Murcia, Malaga and Las Alpujarras the authors reported only two variants (39-60). Castilian and Leonese settlers, known for distinguishing s, ç, and z, repopulated the Andalusian provinces in the 13th century. Both *seseo* and *ceceo* emerged in the city of Seville and the provinces before the 16th century, but *seseo* was introduced from the north (62-63). The coronal and pre-dorsal variants of Andalusian [s] were influential in the confusion of ç and z with s in this region. Upon the expansion of Castilian to Andalusia, either the pre-dorsal or the coronal variants of the Hispanic-Arabic population that remained in these kingdoms under the Castilian dominion replaced the pronunciation of apical [š] received from the colonizers' speech. Due to the dental nature of ç and z, these consonants were also confused with Andalusian [s] as soon as they lost their occlusive component (72-73).

1.4.2 De-palatalization

The merger of sibilants with a pre-palatal point of articulation (3 and 4 in Table 1.1.) rendered a new de-palatalized voiceless uvular or velar phoneme. Known as *rehilante*, the voiced palatal /z/ (in writing <g> or <j>) was a groove fricative (similar to English *pleasure* or French *jour*) coalescing with its voiceless counterpart /ʃ/ (as in English *shoe* or Italian *pesce*). This change was not only typical of Castilian but occurred, too, in Galician and Asturian-Leonese. In Castilian, however, the evolution continued, as speakers perceived the need to distinguish pre-palatal /ʃ/ from the apico-alveolar /s/. De-palatalization was the strategy that made the palatals truly different from other Romance languages and ancestral peninsular dialects. In Spain, words pronounced with a pre-palatal phoneme such as *mexior*, *dexiara*, *moxiere*, *vexiés*, *oxios* resulted in *mejor*, *dejara*, *mujer*, *vejez*, *ojos*, which are pronounced with a voiceless uvular or velar fricative transcribed as either /χ/ or /x/, better known as *jota* (Lapesa 1985: 377-378). Needless to say, the phonemes /ʃ/ and /z/ contended for a long time, but towards the end of the 17th century, the velar phoneme /x/ or its Castilian uvular variant /χ/ prevailed, while the pre-palatal phoneme (see 4 in Table 1) was relegated to non-Castilian dialects.

Finally, in regions where aspirated [h] and from Arabic-aspirated sounds turned into /f-/, the velar phoneme /x/ coming from the pre-palatals 3 and 4 also became aspirated and was confused with the former. Early documentation of [h] in lieu of <g> or <j> seems to denounce lower social strata, as in *hentil* for *gentil*, or *hermanía* for *germanía*, or the opposite hypercorrect pronunciation, as in *gerida* for *herida*, or *harro* for *jarro*. Aspirated [h] prevailed in areas of northeastern Spain, Extremadura and Andalusia. From Andalusia it was spread to the Canary Islands and the New World, but it did not turn into the preferred variant in the entire American continent; aspiration occurred mostly in the Caribbean, other coastal regions, and peripheral New World areas (Lapesa 1985: 379-380).

1.4.3 Yeísmo or de-latelarization

Documents from the early 15th century show occasional evidence of sporadic confusion between the phoneme /j/ (generally spelled <y>) and the palatal lateral /ʎ/ (spelled <ll>). Although the distinction is maintained in spelling, in most dialects of modern Spanish, the two have merged into the same, non-lateral palatal sound, which may range phonetically from a palatal fricative [j] to a sibilant [ʝ], depending on the dialect zone. Thus, for example, with few exceptions, Spanish speakers pronounce *yo* and *llover*; *Yolanda* and *llamar*; *haya* (<haber>) and *halla*

(< *hallar*) as a central palatal. This phonemic merger is called *yeísmo*, based on one name of the letter <y>. “Although not attested in Spain until the 18th century, this merger probably began in late Old Spanish since all varieties of Judeo-Spanish (separated from Peninsular Spanish in 1492) and most varieties of American Spanish witness its accomplishment” (Penny 1991: 93).

1.4.4 Aspiration and omission of /s/ in implosive position

Final /-s/ was never too tense in the common pronunciation and became lax in southern Spain until it was aspirated. The resulting aspiration [h] was not written because speakers were aware that it was a variant of sibilant [s]. The oldest samples of /-s/ weakening can be traced to 1492 as in *escrivanoØ públicos* and *Juan VásqueØ*, the first one omitted in the noun and the second one in the surname. It is assumed that weakening continued through the 16th century in southern Spain and the New World in manuscripts of Toledo, Seville, Mexico, Arequipa, Panama and Peru (Lapesa 1985: 387-388). In implosive position /-s/ is also aspirated as in *mascar* [mahkar], *los hombres* [loh ombreh]. Aspiration can be followed by omission as in [lah ólah] > [la óla] forms that are common in Murcia and Andalusia (Lapesa 1985: 502-503). According to Penny (1991: 94) weakening of /-s/ shows degrees of intensity on a scale from one to five, the least intense changing from /s/ to /ɾ/ as in *desde* [deɾde] occurring in northern rural areas. The second most intense in most of southern Spain, northern areas and most of the New World consists of the realization of /-s/ (and of θ where there is a separate phoneme) as an aspirate [h]. The third most intense is the weakening of /-s/ typical of Andalusia. The total loss of /-s/ occurs in Western Andalusia and most of the New World as in *los hombres* [loh ómbre]; *las olas* [lah óla]. Finally the most acute form of weakening is the total elimination in all environments as in *las olas* [la óla] and *las manos* [la máno] occurring in Eastern Andalusia.

1.5 Additional changes

The neutralization of /-l/ and /-r/ or the omission of any of the two is attested in Spain since the 12th and the 14th centuries, and in the New World since 1525 and 1560. Such occurrence does not define New World Spanish but it is spread over coastal and insular territories (Lapesa 1985: 575). Interchange of these two syllable-final liquids leads to some confusions such as *harto* (‘satisfied’) and *alto* (‘tall’); *arma* (‘weapon’) and *alma* (‘soul’), but unlike *seseo*, there is no merger (Penny 2000: 126-127). Other examples include *puerta* > [puélta], *calor* > [calól].

Another feature attributed to Andalusian is the weakening of /d/ in both final and intervocalic position, which is frequent in numerous Spanish words as in *bondad*, *calidad*, *cantidad*, *ciudad*, *majestad*; and in past participle endings *-ado* and *-ido* as in *cuidado* ('cared for'), *limpiado* ('cleaned'), *pintado* ('painted'), *llovido* ('rained'), *teñido* ('dyed'). The series of Latin stops /b/, /d/, and /g/ in intervocalic position turned into fricatives, and the fricatives can be further deleted in some dialects. According to Zamora (1967: 316-317), the deletion of /-d/ and /-d-/ has also been observed in Castilian but it is more frequent and deep-seated in Andalusian varieties.

1.6 Spanish initial F-: past and present perspectives

In his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1492), Antonio de Nebrija stated that "the *h* is not a letter, but the signal of the spirit, just a breathing sound" (113). Moreover, the letter H is used to pronounce the first letter of words such as *hago* and *hecho*, and although in Latin it was insignificant, we pronounce it distressing the throat like the Jews and the Moors, from whom we received it (118). In the 20th century Menéndez Pidal confirmed that the Spanish of the 15th and 16th centuries counted on an aspirated *h* in words such as *hazer*, *humo*, *holgar*, that is today entirely silent in the written language (1904/1977: 114). A major change consistently addressed in Spanish language history is the evolution of what is generally believed to have been labio-dental /f-/ to aspirated [h]. Latin labio-dental /f/ was adapted as a bilabial fricative [ɸ], and then into fully aspirated [h]. Juan de Valdés, the author of *El diálogo de la lengua* (1535), explained why the letter H is used in almost all the words in which Latin used F. One of his Italian interlocutors, Marcio, claimed to be stunned by the fact that many Castilian speakers still use the variant [f]. The only justification adduced by Valdés is that such Castilian pronunciation [h] derived from Arabic and that such discrepancy can only be attributed to a difference in knowledge of Castilian, given that Castilian speakers do use the variant [h] because they are legitimate Castilians while those who use [f] merely strive to appear Castilian (Valdés 1535/1964: 73-74).

The change from /f-/ to [h] has also been attributed to the 'revolutionary' influence of the Basque substratum (Otero 1971: 187). Presumably, the absence of /f/ in Iberian languages, particularly Basque, would have reinforced the aspirated component of /f/ (Menéndez Pidal 1968: 201-202; Alarcos Llorach 1968: 254-255). Comparing modern Spanish with other Romance languages, the former contrasts with the latter because in standard speech, the letter F has been replaced by the letter H. In some words, H turned out to be completely silent. One school of thought proposed that the primitive zone of aspirated [h] spread over non-Cas-

tilian territories, that is, Cantabria, Biscay, north of Burgos and La Rioja, where several variants co-existed, as in *forma*, *horma*, *orma*, and *porma* (all derived from Latin FORMA). In this zone the variant with [h] prevailed in colloquial speech with variable aspiration, sometimes very firm while others very weak. A second zone includes the southern territory of present-day Old Castile, where /f-/ was strongly rooted but was displaced towards the end of the 15th century because speakers preferred a weak aspiration. The third zone extended through New Castile and Jaen including the territories re-conquered by Castile from 1085 on, where the two variants co-existed. In New Castile /f-/ was restored and imposed ca. 1140. It is assumed that from New Castile it was spread to western Andalusia, Cordoba, Seville, Huelva and Cadiz. In the 14th century aspiration reappeared in non-common rustic words such as *hoto*, *hato*, *heda*, *huron*, *haça*, *herrén*, *hosco*, etc. This zone preserved the aspiration until the mid-16th century when it was lost in the second. Initial /f/ was maintained however in common words such as *fazer* (modern *hacer* ‘to do’); *fijo* (modern *hijo* ‘son’); *ferir* (modern *herir* ‘to hurt’); *fava* (modern *haba* ‘white bean’); *folgar* (modern *holgar* ‘to rest’); *fierro* (modern *fierro* or *hierro* ‘iron’); *fablar* (modern *hablar*) ‘to speak’, etc. (see Menéndez Pidal 1968: 221-233 and map facing page 233).

The change in question is not overemphasized for it is assumed that the near-perfect phonographic system conceived by Alfonso the Tenth was disrupted towards the end of the 15th century when the retention of /f-/ interfered with the ideal pronunciation. At the end of the 15th century, Elio Antonio de Nebrija reaffirmed the phonetic principle that Castilian should be spelled as it was pronounced, whereas the humanists who intervened in the process of normalization insisted on the use of the etymological criterion. Nonetheless, external events rather than internal changes swayed the seemingly consummated scheme and altered permanently the outlook of the Spanish language. Scholars assume that there were latent changes incubated as of the 15th century due to powerful external forces such as the expulsion of the Jews and the *mozárabes* from the re-conquered territory (1492) and the emergence of Seville as the capital of southern Spain. The pressure was exerted not only on the Castilian dialect as a whole, favored by the chanceries and the heroic songs, but on each individual form derived from Castilian. Each phenomenon has its own peculiar history not identical to any other, but in essence contributing to the eventual outcome. The most thoroughgoing of these phenomena is the substitution of F in writing by H (Entwistle 1936/1951: 159ff).

The traditional view that initial Latin /f-/ was replaced by aspiration as a result of contact with Basque has been questioned by Martinet (1951-1952: 141-143) and also by Penny (1991: 79-82, 91). Penny’s point of departure is the modern spelling of two groups of words: Group 1 with initial H- as in FĪCU, FĪLIU, FĪLU,

FARĪNA, FORNU, FACERE, which have rendered *higo* ('fig'), *hijo* ('son'), *hilo* ('thread'), *harina* ('flour'), *horno* ('oven') *hacer* ('to do'), respectively. Group 2 with initial F- as in FÖRTE, FÖNTE, FRONTE, FÖLLE, which rendered *fuerte* ('strong'), *fuelle* ('bellows'), *frente* ('forehead'), *fuelle* ('bellows'), respectively. In Old Spanish both groups were spelled with F because they were learned words. The objections to the contact-with-Basque theory read that the development of /f-/ > /h/ is also found in some small Romance territories where Basque influence was unfeasible. The substratum account does not explain why Group 2 words appear with initial F in Spanish. Loss of /f-/ may have to do with the internal evolution of ancestral areas such as Cantabria, where the spoken Latin may have preserved a bilabial articulation (represented by φ), which had been replaced by the labio-dental variant in Rome and in those areas in closest contact with Rome.

As for the regional distribution of /f/ and /h/, at present the aspirate or glottal fricative variant (as in *humu* < FŪMUS, *hambre* < FAMINE and *ahorcar* < FURCU) is restricted in Cantabria, eastern Asturias, western Salamanca, Extremadura, and western Andalusia, regions that are tangential to the main focus of /h/-dropping, namely Madrid. It is also limited to the least prestigious social groups within the abovementioned areas, a pattern that was carried by the pioneering settlers to the New World, who commonly use the aspirate variant regardless of social class. From the second half of the 16th century on, the /h/-dropping trend spread faster among the social elite in both continents. In the New World the result has been the competition between educated /h/-dropping and uneducated /h/-retention, in contrast with Spain, where /h/-dropping is virtually complete. Aspiration survives in New World rural varieties and also in lower-class urban speech. In all cases the same phoneme represents both the descendant of Latin F (as in *humo*, *horca*, *ahogar*) and the product of medieval pre-palatal sibilants as in *caja*, *mujer*, *junto*, *jugar* (Penny 2000: 162-163).

1.7 Features of Judaeo-Spanish

In the remarkable year of 1492 the Spanish kings Isabel I and Fernando II ordered the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon by the Alhambra Decree (also known as the Edict of Expulsion). Following the expulsion from Spain, Sephardic Jews settled mainly in the former Ottoman Empire, Morocco, Algeria, and areas of Middle East, like Israel, Lebanon and Syria. The language varieties spoken by the Sephardim have been reconstructed from language data of speakers still living in diverse communities around the world. The variety of Spanish spoken by the Sephardim is known as Judaeo-Spanish, also called *ladino*, which is derived from Castilian with traits adopted from Andalusian Spanish.

After more than five hundred years, *ladino* Spanish has preserved some of the features of 15th century Castilian. As a case in point, Balkan Judaeo-Spanish speakers still use Latin F- as /f/, as in *fazer*, Spanish *hacer* ('to do'), *furmica*, Spanish *hormiga* ('ant'), *fambri*, Spanish *hambre* 'hunger', though Eastern varieties show aspiration or no consonant. The paradigm of 2nd person plural *vos* shows the 15th century variation but with palatalization of final /s/ in the monophthongized forms: /kantáʃ/ ~ kantáís/, keréʃ/ ~ /keréis. In addition, like in Portuguese, syllable-final /s/ is palatalized, but only before /k/, as in móʃka (Penny 1991: 22). The Portuguese integration occurring in the 16th century resulted in the mergers of apico-alveolar fricatives (phonemes 5-6 in Table 1.1) and dento-alveolar affricates (phonemes 1-2 in Table 1.1) with dento-alveolar fricatives (i.e. *seseo*), but maintained the contrast between voiceless and voiced pronunciation (phonemes 3 and 4). The last pair is exemplified in *dixo* [*dijo*] 'he said' and *oʒo* [*ojo*] 'eye', that is, the persistence of the voiced / voiceless distinction (Penny 1991: 22-23), which is glaring in this variety.

1.8 Features from Spain transplanted to New Spain

The simplification of the Castilian consonant system resulted in the split in two well-defined varieties: the first one is the northern-central peninsular territory corresponding roughly to Castile, but extended to the kingdom of Toledo, Murcia, and eastern Andalusia with three voiceless fricatives (apical /s/, inter-dental /θ/ and uvular /χ/. The second major variety includes most of Andalusia, Cartagena (in the province of Murcia), the Canary Islands and the New World, where the three voiceless sibilants were further reduced to two: (1) dental /s/ and allophonic variations, and (2) post-palatal, velar /x/ or glottal fricative [h] (Lapesa 1985: 381). Features of Peninsular Spanish transplanted to the New World derive from either of the two macro-dialects resulting from the distribution of changes described above. Manuscripts from the 16th century aid in illustrating the features of the different regional dialects when these are not representative of the Castilian officialdom. However, literary texts and other formal documents are evocative of Old Spanish, which is understood as the fusion of *toledano* and Old Castilian. The 16th century may be considered a period of transition between Old and modern Spanish, which coincides with an intense stage of Spanish colonization, when most of the changes had not been completed. Although some of them were still ongoing, i.e. aspiration of initial /f/ represented by [h], devoicing, de-affrication and de-palatalization, others such as the merger of the fricatives and affricates as in Andalusia (*seseo/çeçeo*), the merger of /j/ and /λ/ (lateral palatal) as in Andalusia (*yeísmo*), and the aspiration and deletion of /-s/ in Andalusia were advanced.

1.9 The features of Andalusian Spanish

When the New World was discovered the dialect differentiation of the Andalusian varieties was strongly consolidated. The misspellings of graphemes are significant because the Andalusian texts provide the evidence of linguistic peculiarities, attitudes, and socio-cultural strata in both Spain and the New World (Frago Gracia 1994: 91). Devoicing preceded the discovery of the New World and its regional variations can be traced to the 16th and 17th centuries. The influence of Andalusian copyists appears in the cacographic transcriptions they made in manuscripts of non-Andalusian authors, the most noticeable of them being *ceceo-seseo* variants which render forms such as: *abrasado, assendiente, asertar, cabeza, comiensa, conclusiones, deceplina, dissenciones, çarsal, caucó, comensó, condisión, deceplina, jues, lucitano, lus, mostasa, paresca, reconosca, resívanlo*. These forms correspond to the following Castilian variants: *abraçado, ascendiente, acertar, cabeza, comiença, conclusiones, disenciones, çarzal, causó, començó, condición, disciplina, juez, lusitano, luz, mostaza, parezca, reconozca, recibánlo*. Presumably, the Andalusian scribes attempted to correct the original forms leaving sufficient traces of their regional origins. The samples of errors are abundant since the scribes use <s> or <ss> *anegadisas, assendrada* in lieu of *anegadizas, acendradas*. The opposite practice also occurred: *agazajava, baptizmo* in lieu of *agasajaba, bautismo*, etc. (Frago Gracia 1994: 20-21).

Many of the innovations of Andalusian Spanish were incubated in the city of Seville, which emerged as the receptive center of all the novelties coming from the New World, the Mecca of money and merchandise, and the host of all negotiations with Spanish speakers who had been living across the Atlantic. At the same time, because Spanish speakers wanted to evade their unpromising destiny through migration to the New World, they experienced personal and family uprooting. The New World was the salvation board though not all the dreams of success were achieved there either. One of the dreams was to find a position in public service. Spanish speakers believed that by being away from the mother country, they would be free. One of the most important issues discussed by observers of the new linguistic reality is the socio-cultural stratification of the community of Spanish speakers. Various authors pointed out the dialect variations of Spanish within the Peninsula, for instance, Mosé Arragel, Gonzalo García de Santa María, Bernardo de Aldrete and Juan de Valdés, who were not indifferent to the social and geographic variations of Spanish present in the vast Spanish dominions and the expansive influence of the Spanish language (Frago Gracia 1994: 42-44, 49, 95).

The expansion of Spanish was conducive to morpho-syntactic, lexical, and phonetic variation, which in turn had to do with the medieval heritage. The

double forms or *dobletes* show the vacillations of the writers in most manuscripts. For instance, the prepositions *e* and *y*; negative *non* and *no*; *ni* and *nin*; synthetic future *verná* and *vendrá*; analytic future and conditional tenses as in *decir lo he* and *decir lo hía*; non-assimilated infinitive and direct object as in *tenerlo* and *tenello*; various imperfect indicative forms, as in *tenía*, *tenie* and *tenié*; and double imperfect subjunctive forms, with –SE and –RA endings (as in *amasse* and *amara*). Diffusion of some variable forms reappeared in some New World regions, as for example, the use of the article + possessive + noun as in *la nuestra nao*; *los mis esforzados*, *la mi Elvira*, *la mi luna*, *la mi compañera*; or double negative as in *nadie no le veía*. The use of *cibdad* contrasts with *çiudad* or *ciudad*, whereas *nos* contrasts with *nosotros*, *vos* with *vosotros*, and *gelo* with *selo*. Spanish was transmitted to the New World with these variations, some of them inherited from medieval Spanish, others from the Spanish Golden Age, and some others from modern Spanish. The differences observed at present are consolidated, although they may have been used in different contexts or restricted by frequency or pragmatics. Spanish speakers were scattered all over the continent and those of some regions lived alongside others from other regions, a fact conducive to the nativization of the New World Spanish lexicon, since at times items restricted to a peninsular region became general or had a wide diffusion in the New World. As a result, lexical items used in the New World aid in the identification of the regional origin of emigrants and the corresponding variety, which highlights the differences against peninsular Spanish (Frago Gracia 1994: 65-68, 70).

At the time of the discovery of the New World, standardization of Spanish was still ongoing but had nonetheless a solid foundation to become diversified and to be used in numerous functions of public life and formal domains. It was on its way to substitute Latin in spheres in which Latin had prevailed. The regional dialects observed today were also observed in the 16th century, and finally, by the end of the 16th century, there was already a colony of Spanish speakers in the New World, that is, about 250,000 who were resolute in pursuing their dreams in the New World colonies. Spanish speakers working in public service, many more working for the Inquisition, and those who by necessity cultivated the art of letter writing contributed with multifarious documents that are at present extremely useful in the reconstruction of the major features of New World Spanish.

1.10 Spanish speakers in New Spain

The earliest sample of immigrants to Mexico (1493-1519) includes those who arrived with Hernán Cortés, Pánfilo de Narváez², and with other captains. These three groups make up a total of 743 adult males distributed as follows: 30 % were from Andalusia; 13.1 % from Extremadura; 26.1 % from Old and New Castile; 10.4 % from Leon; 4.8 % from the Basque region; 12 % from all other regions within Spain, and only 8.2 % from Portuguese, Italy or other European countries (Boyd-Bowman 1985: xli-xlii). In the Age of Exploration, a Spanish speaker who immigrated to the Indies in 1511 could reappear as a *vecino* (house or lot owner) in Santo Domingo in 1514, again as a *vecino* in Cuba in 1519, as a conqueror in Mexico in 1520, and then in Guatemala in 1523, only to return to Spain in the interim, and embark once more to the Indies in 1527 with a final destination to Peru in 1534 (Boyd-Bowman 1985: xxxiii). The origin and destination of the Spanish speakers who arrived in Mexico after 1519 are as significant as the whereabouts of the original group. The destination of the 16th-century colonists of known origin is divided in five periods as seen in Table 1.2. The total of 17,278 passengers from Spain leaving for New Spain represents slightly more than a full-third or 34.3 percent of the total of 50,395 recorded destinations to the New World between 1493 and 1600. Table 1.2 also shows that between 1520 and end of the 16th century, 16,400 immigrants settled in Mexico or central Mexico, which was already distinguished from the northern frontier and Yucatan, where only 420 and 458 immigrants were recorded, respectively (Boyd-Bowman 1976: 602).

² Pánfilo de Narváez was born in Cuellar or Valladolid in 1478 to an upper class family. He took part in the conquest of Jamaica in 1509, and three years later he participated in the conquest of Cuba under the command of Diego Velázquez, who later became its governor. In 1518 Velázquez had sent the young conquistador Hernán Cortés off to Mexico to begin the conquest of the mainland, but the Governor later changed his mind and appointed Captain Pánfilo de Narváez together with a force of over one thousand Spanish soldiers to explore Mexico. Narváez had the mission to send Cortés back to Cuba while taking command of the expedition. Cortés was ahead of his enemies, and in the process of defeating the Aztec Empire, he was forced to leave the capital of Tenochtitlan to return to the coast, where he fought against Captain Narváez. On May 24, 1520, the forces of Cortés and Narváez clashed at Zempoala, near Veracruz, where the former turned out victorious. His victory attracted many of Narváez's soldiers to the campaign undertaken by Cortés, who retained control of the expedition and the vast wealth that came after his triumph.

Table 1.2: Destinations of 16th-century Spanish colonists of known origin

Region of New Spain	1493-1519	1520-1539	1540-1559	1560-1579	1580-1600	Totals	%
Northern Frontier	--	NSF	NSF	NSF	420	(420)	0.8
Mexico	743*	4,022	2,057	7,218	2,360	(16,400)	32.5
Yucatan	--	278	NSF	120	60	(458)	0.9
New Spain	743*	4,300	2,057	7,338	2,840	17,278	34.3

() = Subtotals, NSF = No separate figure available, * Colonists already in Mexico

At the end of the 16th century slightly more than one-third of the Spanish immigrants destined to Mexico were from the province of Seville, which sent 4,000 colonists or more. Seville was followed by Badajoz and Toledo with 1,000-2,000; in third place, the provinces of Caceres, Huelva, Guadalajara, Madrid and Cadiz contributed with 400 to 1,000 immigrants; and finally Granada, Cordoba, Jaen, Ciudad Real, Palencia, Avila, Segovia and Burgos sent each from 200 to 400 Spanish speakers, provinces from predominantly Spanish-speaking regions, that is, they were not from bilingual areas such as Galicia, Catalonia or Biscay (see Table 1.3). As in the rest of the New World, the regional origin of the immigrants to Mexico was mixed, while the representative provinces of Spain included the northern-central and southwestern regions. The most compact group was that of Andalusians but there were also a good number of northerners.

Table 1.3: Emigration to Mexico by province (1493-1600)

Province	Number of colonists
Seville	4,000+
Badajoz and Toledo	1,000-2,000
Caceres, Huelva, Guadalajara, Madrid and Cadiz	400-1,000
Granada, Cordoba, Jaen, Ciudad Real, Palencia, Avila, Segovia and Burgos	200-400

Source: Boyd-Bowman (1976: 603)

There is also information on the occupation and gender of the immigrants. Many of those who were originally from Seville became merchants; others from northern regions resettled in Seville, Triana, Huelva, Palos, Sanlucar and other southern cities from where they transported merchandise between Spain and the New World. Until 1529 the trading centers in the New World were Santo Domingo and Mexico City. Between 1520 and 1529, forty merchants appeared in Santo Domingo,

thirty in Mexico City, and eleven more had uncertain destiny. After 1535, forty more merchants settled in the vice-regal capital. In the periods 1540-1559 and 1560-1579, Mexico attracted 108 and 147 respectively, and only 43 in the last period. With respect to gender, in the period 1540-1560, Andalusia outranked the rest of the country sending over half of all women: those who were married, those who were to join their husbands in the New World, and those who were single adults or very young girls; one in every three females was from the city of Seville itself (Boyd-Bowman 1976: 592-598).

Virtually all records or estimates on the emigration of Spanish speakers to the New World confirm the diversity of regional origins. This diversity is glaring in Table 1.4 which shows the precise origin of 1,370 Europeans migrating to New Spain in the 16th century; this confirms the predominance of Andalusians in absolute numbers, followed by Extremadura and the northern provinces of New Castile, Old Castile and Leon, which together make up a total of 438 or 32% of Spanish speakers from monolingual provinces. Andalusia by itself represents 26.4% of the total sample. There is also detailed information on the origin of 123 slaves brought to New Spain in the 16th century (Aguirre Beltrán 1972: 240). Finally, Map 1.5 shows the general patterns of emigration to the New World.

Table 1.4: Origin of 1,370 Europeans in the 16th century

Andalusia	362	Murcia	11	Portugal	30
Extremadura	188	Asturias	10	Italy	20
New Castile	175	Catalonia	7	France	6
Old Castile	129	Navarre	4	Flandes	3
Leon	75	Valencia	3	England	2
Basque region	23	Canary Is.	3	Germany	1
Aragón	16	Balearic Is.	1	Greece	1
Galicia	15	Unspecified	285		

Source: Aguirre Beltrán (1972: 240)

1.11 Spanish speakers and the castes in the 16th century

By the time the Spanish Inquisition was established in New Spain, the Spanish-speaking population was partially mixed with both the native population and the population of African descent, which had been imported via the slave trade. Table 1.5 provides information according to episcopate the most populous being that of Mexico City followed by Tlaxcala, Oaxaca and Yucatan, areas of dense indigenous population. Three decades before the end of the 16th century, Indians

(Column 3) were still the overwhelming majority at more than three million people or 98.7 percent of this particular sample, which does not include Puebla, Guanajuato, Queretaro and other dense indigenous areas of central Mexico (Aguirre Beltrán 1972: 210). According to this classification there are six groups: the group known as “Europeans” (Column 1) includes 6,644 Spanish speakers in 1570, a figure that approximates the subtotal appearing in Boyd-Bowman for the period 1560-1579 (see Table 1.2 above). However, Table 1.5 is useful to see the preliminary results of *mestizaje*, which occurred since the early 1520’s. Column 2 indicates the estimate of Africans—most likely born in Africa—while Column 3 contrasts with all the others. Column 4 is the most interesting addition to the New World population since “Euro-*mestizos*” were most likely born in New Spain and raised in Spanish households whereas “Indo-*mestizos*” in Column 5 were individuals of mixed origin but raised in indigenous households or communities; the estimate for these groups is strikingly similar to that in Column 6 or “Afro-*mestizos*”. Euro-*mestizos* are also known as “*criollos*” or “*españoles americanos*”, a group to be distinguished from Spanish speakers born in Spain. If it is assumed that all mixed groups were Spanish speakers and the subtotals of Columns 1, 4, 5, and 6 are added, the group of potential Spanish speakers may increase to at least 20,000.

Needless to say, other records provide higher estimates for the same year. In this realm, scholars classify the colonial population of Mexico, Central America and the Antilles according to three major ethnic groups: (a) Whites (b) blacks, mestizos and mulattos; and (c) Indians (Rosenblat 1954: 88). The calculation for whites or Spanish speakers comprises those who were born in Spain and the New World in one single group. Estimates vary considerably due to the different criteria used to calculate populations (see also Konetzke 1972/2001: 92).

Table 1.5: Population by castes in 1570

Bishopric	Europeans	Africans	Indians	Euro- <i>mestizos</i>	Indo- <i>mestizos</i>	Afro- <i>mestizos</i>
Mexico	2,794	11,736	1,310,904	8,632	1,992	2,000
Tlaxcala	900	3,278	844,828	944	100	100
Oaxaca	420	532	583,600	256	50	50
Michoacán	1,000	1,955	94,556	247	200	200
New Galicia	1,000	2,630	108,360	530	75	75
Yucatan	350	293	282,612	156	20	10
Chiapas	180	145	112,000	302	--	--
Totals	6,644	20,569	3,336,860	11,067	2,437	2,435

Source: Aguirre Beltrán (1972: 210)

The demographic quantitative weight of each original group is as significant as mobility, occupation, language and/or dialect contacts, face-to-face interaction with other Spanish speakers, training in manuscript writing, and the political or economic wave that unfolds in colonial societies, where the role(s) of immigrants and the dynamic forces prevailing at some point in time need to be taken into consideration. Geographic mobility is thus a variable that has to be factored in the model that explains the formation of proto-Mexican Spanish; to this, we may add the attitudes of the various groups of protagonists in the emergent society.

As a case in point, in the Mexican scenario, the mendicant orders played an important role in assigning prestige to some of the indigenous languages that were widespread in vast regions, e.g. Nahuatl. At the same time the mendicant orders over-asserted the role of Latin in the education of select indigenous groups while Spanish was not competing yet with Latin as the preferred language of the Catholic liturgy, religious conversion, formal education and diplomacy. In the constellation of languages present in the New World, Spanish obtained its own role because it was the language of the colonists who empowered themselves in the New Spanish society. Spanish became prestigious for the early history of the New World is written primarily in Spanish by the same actors or witnesses who in turn conveniently added features from Taino and Nahuatl, the languages available to them since the late 15th and early 16th centuries, respectively. The role of Spanish is manifold: it was used as the preferred colloquial language of the newcomers who also counted on a vernacular. Spanish was written by common individuals, chroniclers, historians, and functionaries of institutions such as the Mexico City Council or the secretaries of the Inquisition. When the need arose, Spanish was elevated to functions of solemnity and formality by the different protagonists who rapidly accessed positions of power and prestige. In addition, oral Spanish was transmitted to every generation of individuals of Spanish descent born in New Spain. Finally, some speakers of indigenous languages and/or African languages acquired or learned Spanish after a few decades of intermingling with active Spanish speakers. In sum, the demographic and language data point to diverse linguistic trends coming from Spain and their uses in the new lands.

1.12 Theories on the origins of New World Spanish

Andalusia and the ‘problem’ of *andalucismo* in the New World were zealously addressed during the first half of the 20th century. (1) Proponents of the monogenetic theory claimed that New World Spanish was a direct descendant of Andalusian, the southern peninsular variety; (2) the polygenetic theory maintained

that New World Spanish and Andalusian had undergone independent processes of evolution and that they were not necessarily correlative. The German philologist Max L. Wagner, advocate of the first position, provoked interesting reactions and replies (1920/1924). For several decades, P. Henríquez Ureña (1884-1946), the advocate of the second position, refuted the monogenetic theory with the data available to him at the time, but admitted that New World *andalucismo* prevailed along the coastal lands, and considered that Andalusian traits resulted from an analogous independent development and not necessarily from an influence from southern Spain. Finally, he discussed the non-existence of Spanish-based creoles in the New World (except for Papiamentu), and the geographic distribution of following features: (1) Weakening of intervocalic and final /d/; (2) Velarization of /b/ before the diphthong *-ue*; (3) merger of /y/ and /λ/ (*yeísmo*); (4) realization of /x/ as /h/; (5) velarization of final /n/; (6) fricativization of /rr/ and /r/; (7) lateralization, aspiration, deletion and/or vocalization of pre-consonantal /r/; (8) various points of articulation of /s/ (apico-alveolar, dorso-alveolar, coronal); (9) weakening and stratification of final /-s/, which is regularly aspirated and deleted in the lower classes and consciously maintained among individuals of the upper strata; (10) convergence of sibilants or *seseo*; (11) widespread *seseo* and non-existence of *ceceo*; (12) the use of *vos* as singular familiar pronoun of address that is in some countries more intimate than *tú* and a substitute of the more general informal pronoun. This feature (known as *voseo*), originating in Spain, has survived with variations in the New World (see Hidalgo 2001a).

In addition, P. Henríquez Ureña should be given credit for introducing the topic of immigration and demography by looking into the ship logs of the Archivo de Indias (1509-1533) in Seville, where he calculated the proportion of passengers of each peninsular region. His data showed that 43.7 percent of the settlers were from northern Spain and 42.9 percent from southern Spain, while the rest were coming from other provinces. Taking into consideration the comparable estimates, he classified peninsular regions according to absence or presence of *seseo*, and where such trait exists, he distinguished areas according to aspiration or non-aspiration of final /-s/. The results showed that settlers from regions that distinguished /s/ and /θ/ comprised slightly more than one-half of the total, whereas those that were *seseantes* constituted about less than half. The polygenetic or *anti-andalucista* theory was supported by A. Alonso (1961/1953), who added linguistic data to the existing demographic data. Alonso asserted that several traits attributed to New World Spanish are not linked to *andaluz*, to wit: *seseo*, *yeísmo*, and neutralization of /-r/ and /-l/. In his view, the identical phenomena in Spain and in the New World, especially with respect to *seseo*, was the result of leveling, a process by which speakers of diverse peninsular dialects gradually eliminated traits of their original provinces in search of linguistic homogeneity and accom-

modation to life in the New World. Such process of accommodation originated in the desires to belong to a more encompassing group, since Spanish immigrants were relinquishing their former provincial identities while embracing a new one.

1.13 Koines and koineization in New World Spanish

A third explicative model on the origins of New World Spanish puts in bold relief the notion of koines and koineization. The first Spanish linguist who referred to New World Spanish as a koine was R. Lapesa (1956), who was followed by D. Catalán (1956-1957) and P. Boyd-Bowman (1964). The resulting compromise has added the notion of a New World Spanish leveled and adjusted variety to New World conditions but concentrated—although not static—in the Caribbean region. Despite the fact that the Andalusian quantitative weight superseded all the provinces in the total number of immigrants, the region that contributed with the largest number of officials and administrators was Old Castile. The challenge for the disciples of koineization is to identify the features of dialects in contact and the processes that lead to the formation of the resulting dialect or koine. The spread of the southern pronunciation was completed when the New World Spanish-speaking communities were settled and had developed their own lifestyle, while at the same time remained connected to important metropolitan cities such as Seville and Cadiz, centers of intense commercial activities. The distribution of the features listed below varies by region but the basic 16th century layer of New World Spanish is the common speech of peninsular speakers and also a particular predominant (and simplified) dialect: *andaluz* from Seville. Common variants along the tri-continental coastal areas in Spain, the New World, and Africa (i.e. Canary Islands) are the following:

- (1) *Seseo* or merger of voiced and voiceless, fricative and affricate, and apical and dental sibilants resulting in the use of one single dental voiceless sibilant /s/. In contrast, Castilian distinguished apical /s/ from /θ/ and maintained the apical sibilant in the environments where Andalusian had replaced it with non-apical sibilants (see Map 1.3).
- (2) *Yeísmo* or merger of voiced palatal, one central /y/ and one lateral /ɲ/ favoring the central palatal in most regions of the New World. In contrast, with few exceptions Castilian distinguished /y/ from /ɲ/.
- (3) Aspiration and deletion of final /-s/ in implosive and final position, as in *los papeles* > [loh papeleh] or [loh papele]. In contrast, with few exceptions Castilian did not aspirate or delete /-s/ in any position.

- (4) Neutralization of pre-consonantal /r/ and /l/ (as in *arma* > *alma*; *puerta* > *puelta*). In contrast, Castilian maintained the difference between both consonants.
- (5) Aspiration of [h] (< initial Latin [f], as in FŪMUS > [humo] or [jumo]). Aspiration might also appear before the diphthong /we/ and /wi/ as in *fuerte* > [huerte]; *fui* > [hui]. Castilian restored the silent [h] while Andalusian was aspirating it for a long time.
- (6) Weakening of intervocalic and/or final /d/ (as in *pescado* > [pescao] *bondad* > [bonda]). Both Castilian and Andalusian tend to weaken final /d/ but the frequencies are higher in Andalusian, which in combination with all the above-mentioned traits makes Andalusian salient.

It is assumed that koineization is a contact-induced process that leads to quite rapid and occasionally dramatic change. Through koineization, new varieties of a language are brought about as a result of contact between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties. Koineization occurs in new settlements to which people have migrated from different parts of a single language area. Dialect contact, and with it koineization, is one of the main external causes of language change. The term “external” refers to social factors such as migration, which can reasonably be expected to promote change. In contrast, “internal” factors have to do with aspects of the structure of a particular language (its phonology and its grammar) which, perhaps due to structural imbalances, are predisposed to change. Koineization can take place relatively swiftly—though probably more gradually than pidginization (Kerswill 2006: 669).

Following the assumptions presented herein, it is convenient to proceed to the analysis of extant subsamples of language data for they may contribute to the chronological reconstruction of New World Spanish. In the early stages, the northern-central features were used in writing as attested in the documents of the 16th century. Those Spanish speakers who had proclivity for reading and writing contributed to shaping an semi-formal standard that stemmed from the system of social stratification, since the variety of Spanish spoken and written by those belonging to the privileged group turned into a relatively fluid linguistic model closely associated with the reputation and power of the monolingual Spanish-speaking elite. The concept of a superposed model is based on the respectable variety of *toledano-castellano*, used primarily in the Mexican Central Highlands in restricted domains (courts of appeal or *audiencias*, universities, church). Such variety alternated in a diglossic relationship with the New World Spanish koine spoken and to a lesser degree written over the entire continent by those belonging to the lower social strata, which was made up of both subaltern Spanish speak-

ers and second language learners (indigenous groups and speakers of African languages).

Once established in the new colony, the first generation of Spanish speakers born in Spain and the first generation of Spanish speakers born in New Spain formed a compact group who had countless reasons to profess solidarity and loyalty to one another and to manifest their willingness to accommodate to the new conditions imposed by both the metropolitan projects and the New World environment. Not only were Spanish speakers very far from the native land, but were quantitatively a minority vis-à-vis the large indigenous groups. Spanish speakers counted on peninsular dialects from various regions but *toledano* and *castellano* or *toledano-castellano* were accessible to a group of educated speakers who were able to distinguish in writing the pairs of voiced from voiceless sibilants, the fricative from affricate sibilants, distinctions made in medieval Spanish. There is evidence that this variety was used in New Spain (see Chapter 3).

1.14 The use of dialect features in New Spain

Toledano and Old Castilian did not aspirate sibilant /s/ in implosive position but maintained distinctions that had been lost in Andalusian. While Andalusian had gone too far in the simplification process, Spanish speakers settled in the New World colonies found more than sufficient variants to choose among those that were perceived as being the most appropriate through the process of accommodation. The explanation of linguistic adoption lies in multiple causes (both external and internal): the system of social stratification stands in itself as an independent factor impinging on the perceived prestige of at least a number of select features. Despite the quantity and distribution of speakers (past and present) all over the Spanish-speaking world, final /s/ has not disappeared from the vast majority of spoken registers (formal and informal), but it is stratified in those regions and among those speakers who consciously or not select variants of variable (s), as for example, sibilant [s], aspirated [h] or deleted [Ø]. The first generation of Spanish speakers living in the New World used more, and more frequently, their respective varieties of Spanish for informal communication, which was a primary necessity. The second generation was made up of offspring of Spanish speakers born in New Spain, but also of more recent newcomers from Spain, and children of mixed marriages. The third and subsequent generations were similar to the second one until the first one aged and disappeared.

It is clear that Spanish speakers coming directly from Spain had had the transatlantic experience and many of them had had trans-regional contact while those born in the New World did not necessarily had (re)contact with Spain.

Therefore, the second and third generations of the 16th century were responsible for adopting the features of the different varieties available to the second and subsequent generations. Their choices were determined by both socio-demographics and socio-cultural and political prestige. Assuming that the first generation of adult Spanish-speaking males used Andalusian, *toledano-castellano*, or features representative of additional dialects, the process of accommodation was more intense amongst speakers of the second and third generations. The second and third generations may have been more inclined to adopt *seseo* not only because it had been in vogue in southern Spain but because it had become prestigious in the city of Seville. These external influences must have been crucial in the adoption of *seseo*, but the internal factors may have to do with the loss of pertinent features such as affrication and voicing. With respect to aspiration or deletion of final /s/ and the full-fledged pronunciation, some speakers adopted the full pronunciation of different available variants with preference for the dental articulation which was more prevalent than the apical articulation. Those with higher levels of formal education chose the variants that were the closest to the written norms (pronunciation of final and intervocalic /d/, pronunciation of vibrant or flap /r/ and rejection of the lateral /l/). In Mexico, there were sufficient speakers of Castilian, who in the newer spheres of colonial society, were empowered as miners, *encomenderos*, merchants, educators, inquisitors, and religious leaders. Spanish speakers who were not from Castile or from Castilianized regions and were, in addition, striving to occupy posts of power and prestige most likely accommodated their speech patterns to the norms of Old Castilian or the transitional variety utilized in the 16th century in the domains that were perceived as being formal or that were created in order to convey a discourse of formality.

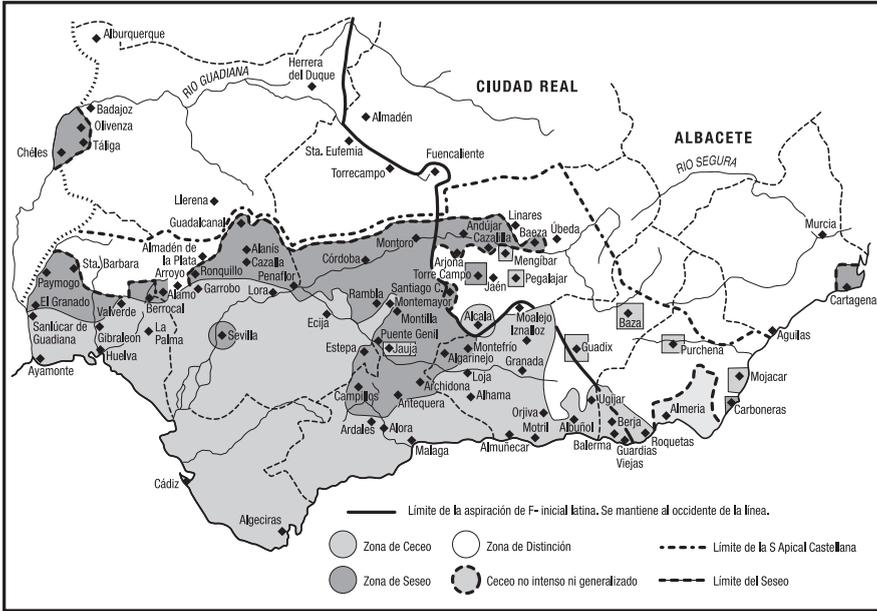
It is likely that along the coastal areas the traits of the tri-continental koine were more frequently available. Thus, if there was aspiration of /s/ in implosive or absolute final position in the early stages of koineization, sibilant [s] was restored at least in some speech registers during the stage of diversification or even later when standardization reached more individuals and groups of individuals. It is not easy to validate this hypothesis because the existing documents were written by literate individuals who more or less followed the norms of the time. Against the scarcity of documents belonging to semi-literate individuals, the diversity of manuscripts compiled by Company Company (1994) and Melis et al. (2008) is useful to refine the proposals advanced in this chapter. (For detailed discussions, see Chapter 3).

1.15 Conclusions

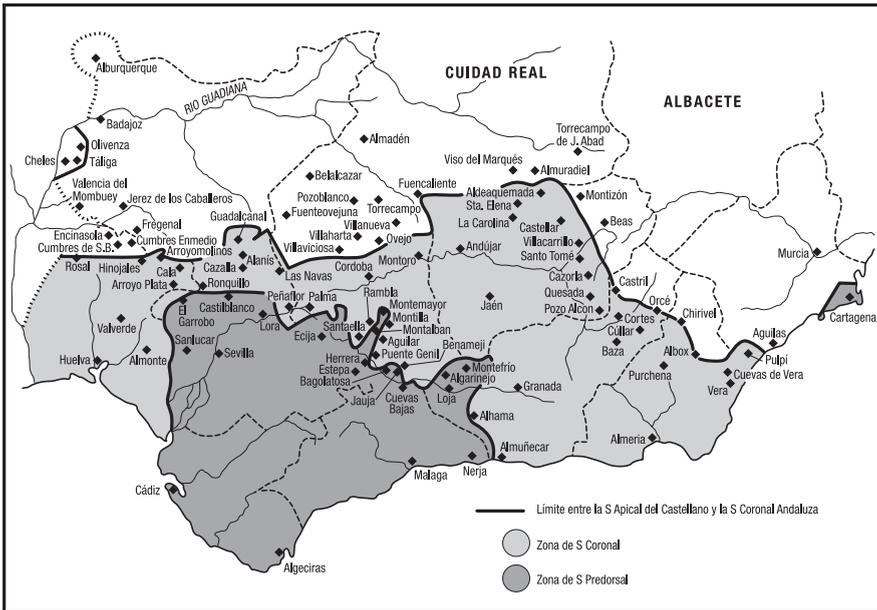
The point of departure in the history of New World Spanish is the series of changes that occurred in peninsular Spanish following the Reconquista. The phonetic mergers observed in both Castilian and southern Spanish may have been accelerated as a result of repopulation movements, weakening of ancestral ties, and the emergence of newer communities with different attitudes and values. The series of consonantal mergers which took place in Castile may be interpreted in the light of structural principles, for they pinpoint a case of neutralization of oppositions leading to systematic simplification. The mergers were going to occur anyway given the prolonged interaction of external factors and latent internal changes in peninsular soil.

This chapter has also explored the most important differences between the traditional varieties of peninsular Spanish (*toledano* and Old Castilian) and the origins of Castilian and Andalusian, the latter being a descendant of the former. It has repeatedly mentioned those features of Andalusian which were transferred to the New World Spanish coastal regions; it has also provided demographic data on immigration from Spain to the New World in general and Mexico in particular highlighting new interpretations such as the demographic balance of Spanish speakers from northern and southern Spain. Finally, it has discussed the three most popular theories on the origins of New World Spanish, to wit: monogenetic, polygenetic and koineization. Far from discarding old theories in lieu of new ones, this chapter reaffirms the appropriateness of theories and data that have to be reckoned with in order to explain the origins of New World Spanish. While the theory of koineization is fully valuable to account for the origins of New World Spanish, consideration to both internal and external factors are deemed necessary to elucidate the operational definitions of newer developments (stratification, popularization and creolization or lack of creolization). These definitions may be all-encompassing and aid in further clarification of New World Spanish phenomena, whose chronological stages may overlap in significant ways.

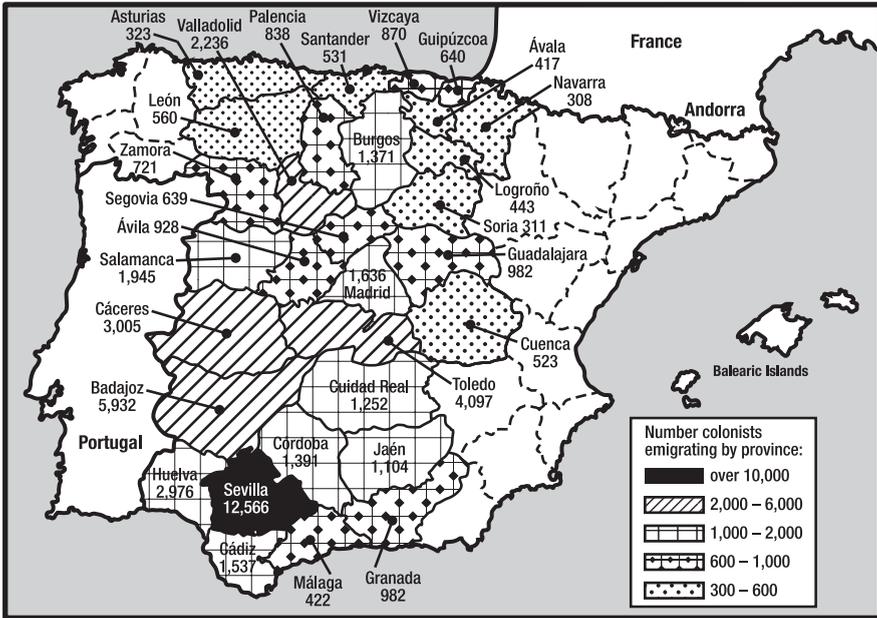
In order to explain sociolinguistic occurrences at all speech levels (and even literature), the notion of diversification is in the long term the aggregate needed to describe the growth, spread, expansion and dissemination of New World Spanish and its variations according to location, attitudes, demographic trends, and some other variables. Spanish was not only spoken as a primitive koine but was stratified and popularized among speakers of diverse backgrounds and also across (newer) emerging domains. It was spoken by native speakers and individuals of non-Spanish speaking origin (indigenous, Afro-Hispanic, and all those who were roaming around the new territories that belonged to Spain). The koine was not fully standardized as transplanted from Spain because it was used in a



Map 1.2: Boundaries of pronunciation in Andalusian. Source: Adapted from Zamora (1967: Map XXI)



Map 1.3: Variants of /s/ in Southern Spain Source: Adapted from Zamora (1967: Map XX)



Map 1.5: Spanish emigration to America: 1493–1600. Source: Adapted from Boyd-Bowman (1976: 590)