

# 11 Conclusions

## 11.1 A tridimensional study

A tridimensional study is useful in assessing the reconstruction of sociolinguistic phenomena and also in representing a more realistic account during an important period in the history of Latin America. This view considers the interconnection of the three dimensions (history, society and language) and less ambiguous configurations of the outcomes. The tridimensional approach offers a more complete perspective on the role of history and society and their impact on the concatenation of events affecting directly or indirectly language phenomena.

The variants selected for this study represent the ways of speaking first like newcomers from Spain, then like acclimatized Spaniards, and finally like Spanish speakers born and raised in the New World. The cause of attrition of select variants may be found in the environmental conditions experienced in the new soil. The variants available in late medieval Spanish were transformed via elimination, simplification, and reduction. At the same time, Spanish in the New World followed its own path to diversification via the continual building and maintenance of domains of interaction. In addition to the personal and situational domains that unfolded in all the colonies, in New Spain complementary domains such as mining, commerce, journalism, and creative literature generated the use of specialized lexicon and styles unknown in most informal domains. At this juncture, it is useful to bring to mind alternate theories of language evolution and diversification, since the changes occur in languages impacted by sociocultural development, which can be gauged by linguistic traits per se such as vocabulary (Swadesh 1971: 10-11, 44-46). The motivations of language communities are responsible for the unfolding innovations, but internal changes may occur independently of external factors, a theory that leads to a broader question proposed in the introduction. Is language evolution based or justified on purely linguistic grounds or do we have to resort to expound external factors, and if so, to what extent?

## 11.2 The role of history: direct external factors

Amerindian loans do derive from direct language contact with speakers of indigenous languages. Spanish speakers were active in exploring the new soil and responsible for adopting and adapting to Spanish the lexical items that were more convenient for their needs. Over the centuries, the borrowings sounded

natural and were used as though they belonged to the patrimonial inventory of Spanish. Speakers who were going back and forth between continents were the transmitters of Amerindian borrowings. In Spain, they may have acquired a different meaning. One of the common examples of transatlantic diversification is the noun *petaca(s)*, which in Nahuatl meant ‘woven hamper’, and in today’s Mexican Spanish it means ‘suitcase’ but figuratively it also means ‘large hips’. In Spain however it referred to a ‘small box to save letters or cigars’, while its diminutive *petaquilla* means ‘flask for liquor’. Language contact may be seen through the lens of the daily needs of Spanish speakers, who selected the nouns, adjectives, or verbs that were essential for their communicative, pragmatic and survival needs.

The ideological power of the Inquisition in spreading Spanish and the restrictions of its discourse may be considered, too, a direct influence. Spanish speakers empowered by the Spanish Crown were in charge of reading aloud and writing for posterity the biographies, denunciations, and sentences dictated to the suspects. They created a style of reprobation and condemnation against those who were resistant to the dictates of the Holy Office. They utilized their power to curb the spread of divergent ideas, and by doing so, they built solid tentacles of intimidation. The thousands of documents archived by the Inquisition are today more than traces of colonial language. They provide reliable evidence of language use and language attitudes in New Spain showing a wide range of beliefs and practices that had an impact on the public and private lives of ordinary people. The inquisitorial documents illustrate the regularities and irregularities of the spontaneous speech of notaries, scribes, deponents and witnesses that appeared before the tribunals during almost three hundred years. The direct influence can thus be divided in two major categories: (1) the ideological discourse of coercion; and (2) the language variants available for further analysis.

### 11.2.1 Creole and semi-creole varieties

The paucity of creole or creolized varieties of Spanish is the direct result of a movement of resistance against the slavery of the indigenous, where the roots of the Latin American liberation theology can be found. A major shift in Western thought was initiated by Bartolomé de las Casas, who viewed the indigenous as participating subjects, not simply as objects, in the newer discourse with the peoples of the recently discovered world. In turn, the pro-human rights and anti-colonialism discourse deterred the complacent legality of comprehensive slavery and slave trade, though simultaneously permitted other forms of dispossession and alienation. The critical work of las Casas has been essential in understanding

the notions of cultural relativism and multi-culturalism, largely misunderstood by the proponents of the 'black legend', an invention utilized to undermine the principles of Spanish humanism. Finally, according to Forti (1989), the work of las Casas aids in examining the issues of social justice from the perspective of those whose conscience or false conscience has been following the values of the Western civilization over the past four hundred years.

Resulting from the admixture of a European language and African languages, the radical popularization of Spanish might have been epitomized by a continual process of creolization, but the environmental conditions that lead to such syncretism were not deep-seated in most regions of the new soil, where intermixtures and aggregations of language, culture, and music might have taken place. Several external factors explain the non-existence of Africanized creoles. The first one has to do with the quantitative disproportion of African descendants vs. native indigenous; the second is related to the emergent economy where it was more expensive to engage in the slave trade, an enterprise that was both cost-ineffective and politically incorrect. At the end of the colony, there were about 9,000 to 10,000 slaves, who were freed by the Independentist leaders. The abolition of slavery in the New World was proclaimed specifically for the remaining population of African descent.<sup>5</sup>

The economy of the Spanish-speaking New World did not depend only on slavery but on other forms of labor that fostered face-to-face interaction and alternate strategies of contact with and within the Spanish-speaking society. This made the difference in the separation of the castes from Spanish speakers who loosened the tight spectrum of rankings in the enterprise of colonialism. Towards the end of the colony, the end-result was a socio-ethnic variety of Nahuatl-accented Spanish with features that are typical of bilingual groups and bilingual individuals exposed to European languages in disadvantageous conditions; it must be emphasized that a full-fledge creole did not emerge in any of the communities in which indigenous languages have been spoken for centuries. The Yucatan peninsula with a high demographic density of bilinguals concentrated in a compact and homogeneous region might have been closer to rendering a Spanish contact vernacular with glaring features of Mayan languages; however, there is only evidence of Mayan-accented Spanish in bilingual groups, which may be considered the result of interference (cf. García Fajardo 1984; Lope Blanch 1987). In addition, research on Afro-Hispanic varieties leads to making inferences

---

<sup>5</sup> A discussion on the abolition of slavery in Mexico and the political motivations leading to its early proclamation by the leader of Independence, theologian and philosopher Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, both nationwide and in the provinces, can be found in Olveda Legaspi (2013).

about the existence of regional and social dialects that have maintained many of the residual features that are the common denominator of New World Spanish. In some of the enclaves where population of African descent (e.g. Veracruz, Acapulco and the Costa Chica) has been documented, researchers have found merely vestiges associated to the African presence. The recent reports on the Costa Chica point to the acquisition of the Spanish local popular dialect on the part of speakers of African or Afro-Mexican descent.

### 11.3 From the past to the present: indirect external factors

The emigration of Spanish speakers from Spain and their continual participation in mining, the textile industry, commerce, and other activities were directly responsible for the growth of the Spanish-speaking population. In turn, their mere presence promoted the use of alternate variants derived from the late medieval peninsular tree:

(1) The neutralization of the series of sibilants <*s*>, <ç>, and <*z*> can be traced to the latest stage of medieval Spanish and the many internal and external forces that weighed in their transformations over the centuries. The resulting variant known as Seseo-P is one of the outstanding common denominators of the vast Spanish-speaking region accepted as the norm in all domains, registers, and socio-cultural strata. Seseo-P includes the sub-variants of New World *seseo* since the sibilant [s] can be [+ tense] in the Central Highlands or [– tense] in the Gulf region and other areas of the Spanish-speaking world. In addition, this book has introduced the notion of Seseo-W, which is strongly associated with [+ / – literacy] rates that vary widely across regions and nations according to modern criteria of socioeconomic development.

(2) The use of LO and LE points to the co-existence of forms that in the first two centuries of the colony veered in the direction of *leísmo* or the metropolitan norm. The shift to the ancestral pro-etymological form occurred in the 18th century and did not regress, but has remained stable since then. Whereas at present speakers overwhelmingly prefer the pro-etymological clitic LO for [+ animate masculine singular] direct object pronouns, there have been found variations with select verbs, e.g. *ayudar* ('to help') and *entender* ('to understand'), though they do not resemble the typical *leísta* patterns. However, researchers do find a preference for LE with a group of verbs known as 'stative verbs of emotion', when LE is used as a dative. When the same verb is used with the accusative, it may mean something slightly different, e.g. *complacerlo* (pleasing someone by granting that person's wishes or desires), as opposed to *complacerle* (to be pleasing to someone) (DeMello 2002: 276). Table 11.1 shows the capital cities where data

have been collected and the sum of the total tokens of LO = 17 (6.65%) and LE = 239 (93.35%). The use of the clitic LE as a dative rather than accusative discards previous proposals on the existence of *leísta* patterns in modern Latin American Spanish. The few cases in which LE is used, say, with the verb *conocer* ('to know'), as in *le conozco* ('I know him'), refer to an event in which distance or respect is indirectly conveyed, whereas in northern-central peninsular Spanish *le conozco* is the routine structure used in everyday speech.

**Table 11.1:** *Lo / le* with stative verbs of motion

Capital city	Com- placer <i>lo/le</i>	Encantar <i>lo/le</i>	Interesar <i>lo/le</i>	Molestar <i>lo/le</i>	Pre- ocupar <i>lo/le</i>	Other <i>lo/le</i>	Total <i>lo/le</i>
Bogota	2/1	0/4	0/12	1/1			3/18
Buenos Aires		0/8	0/34	2/1	0/1		2/44
Caracas		0/6	0/20	0/3	1/0	1/0	2/31
Havana		0/1	0/3			0/1	0/5
La Paz		0/4	1/11	1/3			1/18
Lima		0/5	0/11	0/3	1/0		1/19
Mexico	2/0	0/7	0/12	1/1		1/0	4/20
San Jose, C.R.		0/2	0/7		0/2		0/11
San Juan, P.R.			0/16	0/4	0/3	0/1	0/24
Santiago, Chile		0/4	2/39	2/2	0/4		4/49
Total	4/1	0/41	2/165	7/18	2/12	2/2	17/239

Source: DeMello (2002: 276)

Originally a dative, the clitic pronoun LE has been moving to other functional spaces corresponding to a primary object through the weakening of accusative marking. In modern Mexican Spanish LE appears with a [– transitive] verb such as *correr* ('to run'), as in ¡Córrele de ahí! ('Run from there!'), an expression focusing on the pragmatic argument and the positive reaction of the hearer. The other construction is the affixation of LE to non-verbal parts of speech such as interjections used to exhort the interlocutor to react in a certain way: ¡Órale! ('Oh, yeah'), ¡Hijole! ('Wow!', 'Gee whiz'). The dative LE in Mexican Spanish can be reanalyzed in a sequence of concatenated changes that have resulted in the opacity of the verb. The most popular expression is ¡Ándale! ('Go ahead!'), in which the verb *andar* loses its original meaning ('to walk') and is transformed into a de-verbalized expression ('It's just fine!'), where the meaning of the verb no longer has to do with movement and the clitic carries the load of a new pragmatic argument (cf. Company Company 2002a, 2004 and 2008).

(3) In Mexican Colonial Spanish the verbal endings –RA and –SE alternated for more than two centuries until the former prevailed with minor reservations. Again, the comparison of rates in ten capital cities indicates that the ending –RA is ahead of the ending –SE in subordinate clauses where subjunctive meaning is categorical. Summarized in Table 11.2, the subsample includes spoken language data collected in the 1960's showing that Bogota, Lima and Mexico City were ahead of all the other capitals. The only exception to the overwhelming use of –RA was San Juan, Puerto Rico, which appears to be more conservative than Madrid and Seville. All in all speakers of peninsular Spanish are inclined to use –RA in the colloquial registers but not necessarily in formal written codes. It seems that both varieties are slowly converging in colloquial registers, and that other variations in the more formal and written genres need to be closely examined.

**Table 11.2:** Use of -RA and -SE verbal forms

Capital city	–RA forms	–SE forms
Bogota	408 (98 %)	8 (2 %)
Buenos Aires	393 (94 %)	4 (6 %)
Caracas	511 (94 %)	32 (6 %)
Havana	227 (96 %)	9 (4 %)
Lima	165 (99.4 %)	1 (0.6 %)
Madrid	188 (84 %)	36 (16 %)
Mexico City	362 (98 %)	9 (2 %)
San Juan, P. R.	249 (80 %)	61 (20 %)
Santiago, Chile	299 (86 %)	13 (4 %)
Sevilla	110 (87 %)	16 (13 %)
Total	2912 (93 %)	210 (7 %)

Source: DeMello (1993: 235)

Studies on Latin American capital cities have been mostly descriptive of the features of spoken Spanish and have contributed with insights into the general trends observed primarily in the 20th century. The variationist approach nonetheless can aggregate more internal and extra-linguistic variables that shed light into more specific patterns and can even be predictive. As a case in point, the analysis of the endings –SE and –RA in imperfect subjunctive, which in most grammars are described as being interchangeable, lends itself to further analysis and interpretation. Based on the corpus of 160 native informants divided in four generations and five social strata, a study on the speech of Caracas reveals an overwhelming preference for the –RA ending, 94 vs. only 6 percent for the –SE ending. Data from the late 1980's was examined according to the weight given to

both internal and extra-linguistic variables. The minor variation observed in –SE leads to raise questions about the impact that those additional variables had on the traditional variant. The group belonging to the fourth generation (60+ and older) was discarded because not a single case of –SE was tallied, as opposed to the younger generation that reported a tiny proportion of –SE. The most important internal variant explaining the use of –SE is the presence of a compound verb tense followed by the use of negative statements and another subjunctive verb in the preceding clause. The extra-linguistic variable that is significant in this subsample is middle socio-economic status, which accounted for slightly higher rates than the upper stratum, perhaps because –SE is associated with the bookish tradition. Finally, the analysis detected the variable generation (30-45), a group that is considered to be under pressure in their own community. The *GoldVarb* program aids in seeing that there is a curvilinear model that permits to anticipate the beginning of language change (Asratian 2007).

(4) The pronouns of address *vuestra merced*, *vos* and *tú* highlight the complexity of social relationships experienced in the colonies. A mixture of paradigms, *voseo* is the innovative contribution to New World and Latin American Spanish. The analyses of pronominal variants corroborates that while Spanish speakers prevailed in the sociocultural and political scenario of the colony, the variants associated with Spain remained stable. Their decline anticipated the political independence of the nations-to-be that were willing and ready to embrace a modified Spanish code. The connections with Spain are deemed responsible for the preservation of the pronouns of address *tú* and *Usted* in New Spain, as opposed to Central and South American independent nations, where miscellaneous versions of *voseo* seem to have been accepted as the daily norm. On the other hand, reports on the state of Chiapas indicate that *voseo* was common in the 1950's. Forms such as *vos vivís*, *querés*, *llorás* (present indicative), *vos vivás* (present subjunctive), and *viví*, *andate*, *venite*, *tené*, *esperá* (affirmative commands) are similar to typical *voseante* variants vital at present in many of the independent nations where *voseo* has been reported (Francis Soriano 1960: chapter 3). The external factors explaining the survival of *voseo* in Chiapas have to do with its isolation from the rest of Mexico during colonial times.

The difference between most of Mexico and other nations lies in the choices that speakers had in the past. Whereas in New Spain *vos* was replaced by *tú* and normally alternated with *vuestra merced*, in other colonies *vos* became a frequent pronoun of address in [+ symmetrical] relationships, a fact explained by the type-of-role relationship encountered in speech communities where solidarity between Spanish speakers was stronger. On the other hand, the overuse of *vuestra merced* in the colonial period explains the preference for the neologism *Usted* in [– symmetrical] relationships once the movements of Independence were com-

plete. As a corollary to the usage patterns examined in New Spain, it is inferred that where the mix of pronouns was rare or non-existent, the singular dyad *tú* / *Usted* prevailed, and where pronouns were routinely mixed, *voseo* unfolded in different versions. Updated language data collected in various nations and the multiple intervening variables in the regions, subregions, and / or speech communities (Madrid, Alcalá de Henares, Cadiz, Canarias, Mexico, and Central and South America) corroborate the existence of dynamic variations of *voseo* and other pronouns of address over the entire Spanish-speaking world (cf. Hummel et al. 2010). Additionally, data collected among college students reveal the trends of the youth in Medellín and Cali (Colombia), where *vos*, *tú*, *Usted*, and mixed pronouns were examined in connection with a number of independent variables such as: sex, age, socio-economic status, place of interaction, dialect, topic, and emotional closeness. The results indicate that in Medellín the most frequent given and expected pronoun of address in informal discourse is *Usted*, followed by *vos*, while *tú* and mixed pronouns show very low use rates. When all the other variables are factored in, similar results are displayed except in the home domain where *vos* is the preferred pronoun. Analysis of frequencies in Cali indicates that *Usted* is used at slightly higher rates in informal contexts and mostly when other intervening variables are correlated. Where *voseo* alternates with *tú* and *Usted*, the disciples of New World and modern Latin American Spanish are required to find the desired parameters and semantic features observed in multiple contexts (cf. Millán 2011). The preference for the most modern use of *Usted* in Colombia may have to do with the speakers' desire to circumvent the use of *voseo*, which necessarily derives from the mixing of *vos* and *tú*. This may have occurred at an earlier stage of diversification when *Usted* became popular in the well-established and nascent urban networks of Spanish speakers.

In contrast with the widespread of *voseo* as a diversified but modern form of address, research on *vuesa merced* in the New World, a less common variant, is not abundant. In Cervantes' masterpiece *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1605), which exploits the effects of colloquial Spanish, *vuesa merced* alternates with *vuestra merced* in the conversations between Don Quijote and Sancho Panza, who addresses his master with the two honorifics. In their glaringly [– symmetrical] relationship, Sancho Panza regularly received *tú*. A residual variant from colonial Spanish, *vuesa merced*, may still be used in Colombia in romantic relationships stirred by Courtly love where the personal protocol dictates a unidirectional male-to-female [+ reverence] turn that may be simultaneously nominative and vocative.

On the other hand, according to Granda (2007), *su merced* is limited to subregions where it remains as a residual variant. *Su merced* or *su mercé* can be traced to the late 15th century and the 16th century with continuity through the 20th

century in rural areas within Spain. In the New World, it has been preserved in Santo Domingo, Pura and Arequipa in Peru, northwestern Argentina and southwestern Bolivia, not to mention Colombia. *Su merced* was [+ reverential] in the 16th century haciendas; in the following century it descended to [+ symmetrical] relationships, though it was more prestigious than the neologism *Usted* derived through various stages of internal evolution from *vuestra merced*. Among Colombian privileged groups, *su merced* is still used because it is identified with an ancestral restricted upper-class stratum and social networks, where it is [+ equal] and conveys exclusive and mutual respect. *Su merce(d)* appears too as a residual variant in villages of central Mexico close to a major town (e.g. Chalco), a traditional community where speakers make a distinction of status within the family domain, social networks, and also in the local markets, a locus where the client may be addressed with an honorific of a higher rank. The use of pronouns of address in New World and modern Latin American Spanish has turned into a major challenge in studies of sociolinguistic variation across social classes, societal domains and role relationships (cf. Uber 2011 and Díaz Collazos 2015).

One more piece of evidence supporting the theory of diversification is the distribution of *vos* and *tú*. Map 11.1 illustrates the complexity and approximate distribution in modern Latin American Spanish, where *Usted* does not appear. Because forms of address represent a multiplicity of psychosocial dimensions, they are difficult to predict with precision even when the researcher probes into the sociolinguistic history of the speech community, the subregion, or the independent nation. The object of study can be the domain of interaction, the interactional nature of role relationships, the intentions of the speakers, the patterns and prejudices acquired or learned in the nuclear family, the extended family, the school, and the available social networks. In regions where the dyad *tú / Usted* has prevailed over the past two hundred years, forms of address may be studied exclusively along these two axes. In contrast, where *vos*, *tú*, *Usted*, and mixed pronouns are used, a tripartite system may unravel more complex [+ / – symmetrical] societal connections and interconnections. Where *voseo* prevails, e.g. Argentina, variations of *tú* can be studied in inter-group relations, that is, with speakers from other Latin American nations.

## 11.4 Peninsular, New World and Latin American Spanish

After almost five hundred years, the mutation of the peninsular tree in the New World has experienced a permanent change that is not reversible. Derived from the peninsular varieties, New World Spanish was diversified in pronunciation, morpho-syntax, and lexicon. After the Wars of Independence, the New World

Spanish tree has evolved in differentiated regional and / or national varieties generally identified as Latin American Spanish. Research on comparative dialectology points out that the Castilian variety is referential and focuses on grammatical categories such as number, gender, tense, etc. while the Mexican variety is relational, and tends to enhance the values that the speaker has about what is said. The split occurred at the end of the 15th century and continued in the 16th century triggering a differentiation between varieties; it is assumed that the differences are semantic and pragmatic, though both varieties share the similar underlying syntactic structures. This proposal considers four syntactic-semantic variables accounting for the differentiation between the Spanish used in Spain and the Spanish used in the Mexican Spanish, to wit: (1) duplicate possessives; (2) diminutives; (3) *leísmo*; and (4) the use of tenses in present perfect. While peninsular Spanish focuses on the observable semantic properties of the entities in question, Mexican Spanish is more sensitive to the reactions that the speaker may have about those entities and the relations of the entities within the discourse (Company Company 2002b).

## 11.5 Stages of diversification

The study of Mexican Colonial Spanish aids in finding some of the roots in the peninsular tree, which may be deeper than what appears on the surface. In modern Spanish lexical items revive with the same meaning as in (a), where the noun *correo* indicates that there was a sack with news, messages and letters from the king.

- (a) Llegó un *correo* con la nueva y cartas; el *correo* era el pliego del rey (Suárez de Peralta 1585: 201)

Before the advent of wireless communications, *correo* meant ‘the means or act of mailing’, ‘the post office’, or the sack where correspondence is saved. When electronic messages became popular, *correo* reacquired the old meaning of ‘message’, and these days it competes with the English ‘e-mail’, as in *mándame un correo* or *mándame un mail* (‘send me an e-mail message’). The major contributor to the diversification of New World Spanish, transformed into modern Latin American Spanish, still is the daily lexicon of colloquial registers. General or optimal residual variants derived from colonial Spanish persist in modern colloquial varieties, a fact that shows the deep roots of the late medieval Spanish tree. In contrast, popular residual variants derived from the same tree have been redistributed along registers belonging at present to marginal or isolated varieties, in turn impacted by socio-economic marginalization. This dichotomy (optimal vs.

popular variants) may be traced to the colonial period that defined the urban / rural axis of interaction. The different stages of diversification can be paired off with historical periods that are already distinguished by major transformations. The first stage of diversification has been spelled out in this book via the analysis and interpretation of attrition of select colonial variants. The next stage of diversification may be identified in the 19th century during the Independent period, which is known for the work of the intellectuals who accepted a language code representative of the newer Spanish-speaking Mexicans.

Marking the beginning of an era in which the process of “de-ruralization” was intensified in both Mexico and some other independent nations, Independence was followed by the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1921. Since the 1940’s the creation of new jobs and the expansion of trade, commerce, and other tertiary activities have stimulated intense domestic migration from rural areas to major Latin American cities. Since then the urban population has increased in direct proportion to the decrease of the rural population. The inversion of the rural / urban dichotomy points to newer forms of diversification emerging under different circumstances; one of them has been identified as a new constellation of ‘rurban’ dialects (Hidalgo 1990: 58). Defining the non-urban varieties as “archaic” and the urban as “educated”, this dichotomy has been highlighted in Puerto Rico by Álvarez Nazario (1982), and is applicable to the rest of Latin America.

In spite of the fact that this notion is commonly accepted, researchers have not explored the allusions to diglossic patterns because they normally associate diglossia with the position of Spanish vs. indigenous languages. Implying that there exist higher and lower registers used in semi-exclusive situations, Spanish has not been considered a diglossic language. Nevertheless, as stated in previous chapters, researchers do distinguish normative from popular Spanish. The former adheres to rules established by grammars, academies, dictionaries, and educational institutions, among other prestigious sources of the ‘norm’, which is allocated within the speech community that recognizes the linguistic norm as opposed to the popular varieties. Though some may argue that speakers do not acquire the ‘norm’ in a natural setting (e.g. the home domain), the conditions to learn the idealized variety can be propitious in the home domain and later complemented in formal schooling. The stability of the norm at the societal level enhances its preservation in the contexts and domains in which it is routinely used (higher education, government, media, etc.). As compared to other languages that may have ritualized domains, modern Spanish is not associated with strict religious practices. Nonetheless, since the advent of radio and later television, the perception of the norm is stronger in some independent nations where there may be active censorship on the means, transmission, form, and content of communication. Studies on the perceived linguistic norm have proliferated

since the 1960's when a group of researchers was engaged in the *Proyecto Coordinado de la Norma Lingüística Culta de las Principales Ciudades de Iberoamérica y España* [Coordinated Project on the Cultured Linguistic Norms of the Main Cities of Spain and Latin America (1964)]. The goal of the program was to study the Spanish segmental, supra-segmental, consonantal, and morpho-syntactic system in the capital cities around the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking world. The partial results of studies in Havana, San Juan (Puerto Rico), Mexico, Caracas, Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile are available in Lope Blanch (1977).

Acquiring and learning normative Spanish involves a lengthy process that requires reinforcement for at least 12+ consecutive years of solid education. Using this criterion as the basis for judging “normative” vs. non-normative Spanish leads to believe that very few individuals or groups of individuals could be identified as ‘normative Spanish speakers’. In modern Spanish, the linguistic norm is recognized by the use of regular morpho-syntactic features, while the lexicon can vary according to topic, context, interlocutor, and some other variables. When speakers of modern Latin American Spanish use the corresponding colloquial register, speakers of the norm do not alter the morphological and syntactic patterns of normative Spanish; instead, they switch to the popular variety of their region or nation by exploiting the lexicon of vernacular Spanish. They may also resort to some other variables associated with informal contexts, such final /s/ aspiration, or deletion of final and intervocalic /d/ at moderate rates. The vernacular, however, is not brought into play in the interaction with servants, fellow workers, friends, and family members; speakers of the norm do not switch up and down between the norm and the popular variety or varieties. Instead, the switches to vernacular variants may be motivated by pragmatic constraints such as topic, place, or phatic communication.

The studies on the linguistic norm of major capital cities began to appear after World War II when a more diversified society was emerging in traditional urban centers, where newer roles were growing in professional, managerial, and manufacturing activities. As the Latin American societies become immerse in the global economy, Spanish and Portuguese speakers also get involved in newer activities. Despite the fact that variation in modern Latin American Spanish has been studied since the 1970's, the shift to studying again sociolinguistic corpora in major cities is more recent. These days it is represented by the project known as *Proyecto para el estudio sociolingüístico del español de España y América* PRESEA [Project for the Sociolinguistic Study of Spanish in Spain and the Latin America], whose goal is to identify both internal and external variables affecting the variation of a cluster of specific variants. Researchers are engaged in studying both conditioning and extra-linguistic factors affecting language variants.

## 11.6 PARA and PA in Venezuela

Data collected in the last decades of the 20th century in Maracaibo, Caracas and Merida are analyzed on the basis of 72 recordings of subjects stratified by sex, generation (30-45 and 60+) and sociocultural status (SCS); in this subsample the researcher found 2,144 tokens, which were split in 48 percent for *pa* and 52 percent for *para*. The semantic value seems to exert an influence on the selection where the meaning of purpose or finality is present. The next factor is SCS (low, mid, high) with a distribution of 45 percent of the cases of *pa* reported by speakers in the low group, and the rest distributed equally in the mid and high strata. Male subjects showed a slight preference for the reduced variant than females. Finally, speakers from Merida and Caracas were not inclined for any of the variants, but a majority of those from Maracaibo (60%) actually used *pa* (Guirado 2007). Also in Caracas, data on the same variants are compared with the contemporary reports available for Spanish. The non-prescribed use in Caracas is larger than in Spanish cities such as Alcala and Murcia. Again, the samples from the Caracas youth are analyzed in 24 recordings, two select groups (20-24, 25-30), mostly college-educated belonging to the upper-middle crust of the Venezuelan capital. The place of residence selected was the central district known as *El Libertador*, the hub of intense commercial, cultural, and tourist-oriented activities, and another district. *Para* seems to be preferred in the context of finality, while the younger group used the variant *pa* at higher rates. Speakers from *El Libertador* were inclined to use *para*, and speakers from other districts were inclined to use *pa*. The use of *pa* increases if the speaker is a young male (Guirado 2011). Variationist studies are useful to examine usage patterns in time and space and aid in understanding the dynamic nature of some variants across generations. The sophistication of the analysis on the use of *para* and *pa* yields slightly—though not radically—different results. The choices that speakers had during the colonial period are similar to those observed in the present. Speakers of higher SCS seemed to prefer *para* over *pa*, but such preference is not overwhelming.

## 11.7 Diversification of the New World Spanish tree

The transplantation of the peninsular tree was so successful in the New World that a newer and gigantic tree of modern Latin American Spanish has blossomed with diverse branches that are recognizable in at least three levels:

(1) National 'standardized' dialects for each independent country, which may sound similar, although objectively none is identical to the other. In the Caribbean region, Dominican, Cuban and Puerto Rican Spanish share numerous features

that can be traced to the 16th century. As a result of the intense interminglings occurring from island to island, speakers are differentiated from one another within the area, and such distinctiveness may arise from nationalist attitudes. Those who are not familiar with this regional variety may confuse the national provenance of the speakers. Very close to the Caribbean are Panama and the coasts of Colombia and Venezuela, whose speakers may be confused with those from the islands. Similarly, the Spanish spoken in Mexico may be confused with the Spanish spoken in Guatemala, particularly with Guatemala City, which was an important subregion of New Spain. For the neophyte, the Spanish of Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua may sound identical, but Central Americans are aware of their ‘national’ distinctiveness. In South America, the Spanish spoken in Colombia and Ecuador may also sound alike to those who have not traveled extensively, though Colombians and Ecuadorians would readily hear or see the differences, large or small, objective or subjective, of their own ‘national’ dialects. The same principle holds for Peru and Chile, on the one hand, and Argentina and Uruguay, on the other. Finally, Chileans may be confused with Bolivians, but the Spanish of Paraguay seems to be unique in the large constellation of South American dialects.

(2) The second level of dialect distinctiveness is associated with popular ‘national’ dialects spoken by everyone, and sometimes represented in the national media as part of the Latin American folklore, i.e. dance, music, oral history, proverbs, jokes, popular beliefs, idiomatic expressions, food, and in general, the local customs. The popular national dialect traits may be flaunted in the lyrics of popular songs, while each nation may have its own popular rhythm represented by a few songs that in turn embody the ‘national’ dialect. The popular national dialect may have a faster tempo and intonational patterns. In the rural space and marginal speech communities, the popular ‘national’ dialects may still carry some of the features of the 16th and 17th century koine: *ansi*, *muncho*, *onde*, *truje*. In addition, the lexicon may have features or vestiges of indigenous languages, Afro-Hispanic varieties, or diversified meanings whose origins may be found in the history of Spanish literature or the popular history of the local region.

(3) National ‘popular’ dialects are not identical to regional vernaculars or local dialects spoken within the modern Latin American nations. In the regional vernaculars, the researcher and the common observer may find higher frequencies of ‘popular’ features, e.g. final *-s* aspiration and deletion, omission of intervocalic *-d-* and final *-d*, and in general, more noticeable consonantal reduction. Spanish-based regional vernaculars have evolved independently in each country, and may (or may not) be associated to language contact features: *pororo* in Santo Domingo, *bozal* in Cuba, *español indígena* in Mexico, or *español motoso* in Peru are vernaculars that unfolded as a result of contact with either indige-

nous languages or with the African presence. Notwithstanding the differences in time and space, all the vernacular dialects are intelligible provided the speakers have a good attitude and predisposition to understand speakers of other vernaculars. Contact vernaculars are derived from transfers initiated by speakers of Amerindian languages who carried overgeneratizations of the native language to Spanish. In turn, structural transfer results from the interaction of social variables related to various types of Amerindian societies impacted by central, intermediate or peripheral Spanish colonization, though occasionally the researcher can find bi-directional transfers from the Amerindian languages to Spanish and vice versa. Transfer occurred mostly in regions in which these variables fostered situations of intersection that promoted changes such as borrowing and language shift. Yucatan, Paraguay, and the Andean region—from northwestern Argentina to northern Ecuador—are areas of considerable transfer, which was originally common amongst Amerindian ethnolinguistic groups but whose features were later (re)transferred to the Spanish-speaking population, who in turn integrated them as part of the common regional dialect (cf. Granda 1999; see also Hidalgo 2002 and 2008).

The abovementioned Spanish-based vernacular dialects are not to be confused with vernaculars originating from contact between Amerindian languages or Afro-Hispanic varieties and Spanish. These may be found in Honduras, Belize, and to a lesser extent in Guatemala and Nicaragua, where *garífuna* (derived from diverse indigenous, African, and European languages) makes the difference in the constellation of Central American languages. Speakers of *yopara* (derived from Guaraní in contact with Spanish) contribute to the unique linguistic diversity in Paraguay. Spanish speakers of contact vernaculars may find that these varieties are not readily intelligible. Finally, the Spanish-based creole *palenquero* or *Palenque*, spoken in northern Colombia, stands alone as the living testimony of the extended African roots of the colonial period, and may not be readily understood by Spanish speakers.

## 11.8 Final conclusions

This study has shown that variation is the key to understanding diversification, which is more encompassing than variation itself. Variation allows the researcher to plow deeply, plow again, and harrow until more work can be done on the surface. Minor variations can stir the conditions of the variants under observation, while the researcher looks into the social and linguistic history of speech communities with more precise insights. The role of historical sociolinguistics is to single out the changes that are considered internal from those that are identi-

fied as external. Over the past three decades, historical sociolinguists have contributed to a better understanding of operational definitions needed to explain the reliable and valid assessment of external variables impinging on language change and its variations across time. Because the past is not directly observable, the researcher gathers optimal information from all sources useful for interpretation. This strategy has the advantage of following changes in real time (Nevalainen and Ramoulin-Brunberg 2012).

The examination of the variants selected herein has attracted scholars over many decades, and consequently, some of the internal changes are distinguished from those that are external. In the case of the Spanish sibilants, for example, disciples of Spanish historical linguistics have looked into the route of inherent evolution beginning with the distinction of pertinent features of all phonemes (voiced vs. voiceless, affricate vs. fricative, dental vs. alveolar) and the resulting mergers of the neutralized oppositions. In this respect, new questions point to the historical and social milieu that might have triggered the change. The distinctive Castilian sibilants would not have converged into Seseo-P (one single [s]) had Castilian speakers not moved southward and across the Atlantic in the repopulation and colonizing movements. This tridimensional study considers this framework in the differentiation of the sibilants, which was sustained only in the original Castilian and Castilianized regions amongst speakers who remained in the region where the distinction has prevailed, although at present is also reduced in a significant opposition often invoked by the distinction of /s/ and /θ/. The most-often quoted example is the noun *casa* [kasa] ‘house’ and its minimal pair *caza* [kaθa] (‘hunting’), which have identical pronunciation in the southern Spanish provinces and in the New World, and which are disambiguated only by the context. This makes clear that Seseo-P unfolded in the repopulated areas of southern Spain and later accelerated its course of development in the Spanish-speaking New World, where colonizers had lost contact with the original distinguishing Castilian varieties. This study has also highlighted that Mexican Colonial Spanish did not adopt immediately the *seseo* variants because the presence of Spanish speakers from northern-central regions within Spain made a significant difference in the colonial affairs.

The framework that assigns a role to the historical and social environment (or the social history of language) as proposed by Martinet (1953) is beneficial to explain the use of the contending verbal clitics LE and LO, the former innovation emerging in opposition to the pro-etymological Latin and Vulgar Latin system. Both clitics were transplanted to the New World, where they co-existed during the colonial centuries. Whereas LO was in clear disadvantage with LE, in the end LO prevailed for the same reasons that sustained Seseo-P. Spanish speakers who were progressively acclimatized in the new soil lost track of the variations of

*leístas*, who were more irregular than the variations of pro-etymological users; they had at their disposal the pro-etymological system for [+ animate singular masculine] direct objects. The competition of verbal clitics in the New World environs is one of the distinguishing traits of Mexican Colonial Spanish. In like manner, the contending verb endings –SE and –RA in imperfect subjunctive are associated to the sociolinguistic history of the speakers (cf. Thomason and Kauffman 1988) in the colonial milieu, where speakers of diverse origin co-existed for the entire period. The inclination for the use of –RA has to do with the attitudes of a group of Spanish speakers already adjusted and identified with the lifestyle of the New World-born, who in the end rejected the –SE form in order to show their desire to sever themselves from Spain. Finally, the tridimensional framework explains the continuous trend of reduction and simplification of the pronominal system. For this reason, in New World Spanish the pronoun *vosotros* (< *vos* + *otros*) was eliminated with all the verb paradigms. The surviving innovation known as *voseo* is one more example of diversification because this variant has evolved in assorted forms around the regions and speech communities, where different groups and subgroups of speakers assign and reassign socio-semantic values to the surviving singular pronouns, *tú* and *Usted*, that contend with a singular modern Latin American *vos*. The use of singular *vos* has a long and independent history from all the other features of Mexican Colonial Spanish, a variety that did not promote the mixture of personal pronouns.

In sum, ignoring external factors in the search for language evolution, change, innovations, and variation leads to ignoring the transformations of a certain historical period and meaningful social events that may offer clues to grasp those internal changes that are germane to all languages and dialects, the passing fads, and the more permanent patterns of diversification. Social history and sociolinguistics are not connected in a vacuum but are actually adjoined by the pleasant intermingling of the past and the present. Linking history, society, and language under a coherent “historical sociolinguistic model that may help explain the stages and substages of change across regions, chronological periods and socioeconomic determinants” (Hidalgo 2001: 10) will be the major challenge to students of New World Spanish. Historical sociolinguistics and the (re)interpretative ramifications along postmodern trends that view the multiple dimensions (i.e. classic, popular and modern) of language occurrences is indeed a promising field. I hope this book will inspire diversification studies showing the paths followed by New World Spanish and its transformations in different Latin American regions and/or nations.



**Map 11.1:** Distribution of *vos* and *tú*. Source: Adapted from Lapesa (1985: map facing page 575)