

WHAT'S IN A NAME? EXPLORING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES THROUGH THE NAMES  
OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE

by

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## ABSTRACT

JENNIFER L. BURKE. What's in a name? Exploring Language Ideologies Through the Names of the Spanish Language. (Under the direction of DR. CONCEPCIÓN B. GODEV)

This thesis embarks on an exploration of language ideology, centering its investigation on the debate surrounding the nomenclature of the Spanish language as “castellano” or “español.” It explores the concept of language ideologies by exploring the ideological underpinnings of the debate over naming the Spanish language, probing historical, cultural, and political factors that shape the ideologies associated with “castellano” and “español.” The investigation extends beyond the traditional debate by engaging textual artifacts in an imagined conversation. It situates the debate in its historical context to expose the complex network of interconnected ideologies, encompassing both linguistic and non-linguistic realms.

## DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my younger self; may I always be as ambitious as you.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Spoken by more than 480 million people in more than 20 countries<sup>1</sup> throughout the world, the Spanish language is a global one that has been the mode of communication for many social groups, communities, nations, as well as international relations. Different names have been used to refer the Spanish language since its birth. In Medieval Hispania, the Spanish language had not yet been consolidated into the language that is used today. During this time the Iberian Peninsula was in a situation of diglossia where Romance or Vulgar varieties of Latin were used (Rivera 256). These languages found themselves in contact with each other as communication needs became more prevalent, mixing and sharing features of the language with each other. The Spanish language used today began to take form as a spoken language variety as the kingdom of Castile gained political power and the language began to be referred to as “romance castellano” in order to distinguish the speech of the Castilian region from the romance languages spoken in other regions in the Iberian Peninsula. The new way to refer to the language was also used as a way of maintaining the distinction between the romance language and Latin. With evidence from other empires, like Rome and Greece, that language is a fundamental tool for uniting a nation, Antonio de Nebrija compiles the first grammar guide of the Spanish language, *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, in which he records the name of the language as ‘castellano’ (Nebrija 5). The term ‘español’ as a name for the language came into use, coexisting with the term ‘castellano’, as Spain began to consolidate (del Valle and Meirinho-Guede, “Ideologías Lingüísticas” 4). As the

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<sup>1</sup> Countries where Spanish is an official or co-official language, de facto or explicitly stated in the constitution include Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Countries where Spanish is widely spoken but not declared an official language include the United States of America, Andorra, Belize, Brazil, and Philippines. The Spanish language is a co-official language in the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico.

role of the language within each historical moment changed and evolved, the names used to refer to it have done the same. At times, the name of the language that ultimately is known today as Spanish has been an object of interest and a symbol of ideological stands in the areas where it was used.

Understanding why entities are given a name at all is helpful when considering why so much debate has been generated over a single term. The process of categorizing things, people, and ideas is a fundamental human endeavor that helps maintain order in the surroundings of a language community (Tyler 1969, qtd. in Godev 8). These categories manifest as linguistic signs that are matched to referents within a language. It is widely agreed upon in the field of linguistics that the link between a sign and its associated meaning in any given language is arbitrary. This is to say that the meaning of a linguistic sign is not derived from the sign itself, the meaning is given when the users of a specific language system agree on the meaning of a sign (de Saussure 96). The process of assigning a sign with a referent could potentially be considered denomination, however, for the sake of this thesis, I will limit the discussion of naming to account for the type of names that can only be created within a specific natural language, namely proper names (defined further down). Limiting the discussion to proper names will exclude general objects and ideas, and the signs used to refer to them, as there are certain properties of names that set them apart from other words in a language system. Proper names are given with the intention of conveying a specific meaning (Radding and Western 395).

One aim of this thesis is to identify the language ideologies (defined further down) associated with the use of either ‘español’ or ‘castellano’ as they refer to the Spanish language by analyzing the social and cultural contexts relevant at the moment a name was used to refer to the language. These language ideologies will be identified through a critical discourse analysis

(CDA) of the debate presented in this thesis. CDA aims to understand the relations between power and discourse within social groups, where those who are in a position of power tend to control the production and reproduction of social dominance through discourse (van Dijk 249-50). While studies conducted with a CDA framework tend to focus on the mistreatment of marginalized groups by focusing on social issues such as racism, sexism, ageism, etc., I intend to apply the principles of CDA to the use of language names as the use of language, whether spoken or signed, is intrinsic to social behavior. In addition to identifying language ideologies present in the debate, a link between names and social identity (defined further down) will also be identified to gain insight on how names play a part in the construction of social identity. To identify this link, I will analyze how names function within a language as well as examine why naming entities is essential in any language community, how names are used, and the kind of information they carry. There have been studies of this nature pertaining to names and how they function in society, such as a study of the name of the city New Orleans (Radding and Western 2010) and a study conducted on the renaming of place and street names in Moscow (Gill 2005). These studies have focused mainly on names, as well as the renaming of cities and streets and how these name changes affected the identity and mental representation of the cities. Alongside the existing literature and research addressing themes associated with the debate presented in this thesis, similar connections will be made between names and identities while considering how names are used to refer to the Spanish language. This thesis will contribute to the discussion of denomination and further it by examining the dynamics of favoring the use of a term versus another to name the Spanish language. It intends to provide insight into how names contribute to the construction of social identity, as well as to the conversation surrounding linguistic ideologies and names used to refer to languages. Going beyond the conversation, this thesis will

contribute to the debate surrounding making a language official by identifying the ways in which having an official language contributes to the ideological framework of a society. It will also foster awareness of the impact of otherizing of non-dominant social groups.

The present thesis will be structured in the following manner. Finishing Chapter 1 is a subsection that contains descriptions of the definitions of certain terms as they are meant to be understood in the context of this thesis. Chapter 2 consists of a review of the literature considered throughout the research of this thesis, which includes theories that attempt to explain the pragmatics of naming, philosophical theories, studies that are relevant to the contents of the present work, and theories that provide a theoretical framework for the present work. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology employed to carry out the research and analysis. Chapter 4 focuses on the debate and a critical analysis of it. The final chapter, Chapter 5, provides closing thoughts and implications that are identified through the analysis of the debate.

## **1.2 Definition of Terms**

The purpose of this section is to provide definitions of terminology as used in the thesis. The section includes terms related to language ideology (1.2.1), personal and social identity narratives (1.2.2), and names (1.2.3).

### **1.2.1 Language Ideology**

The term ideology is polysemantic in that there are several ways to define it. For the purpose of the present thesis, ideology is a term used to distinguish systems of ideas that function as a performative discourse. This discourse not only shapes society but is in turn shaped by society (del Valle and Meirinho-Guede, “Ideologías lingüísticas” 628). This is to say that the conscious and unconscious ideas and beliefs that society members have in regard to all aspects of their environment (for example culture, politics, religion, and family) are the tools which help to

shape their everyday lives (Eagleton 221). Many philosophers have attempted to define ideologies. One of the first is Althusser, who proposes a definition of ideologies in two forms. The first concerns the representation of ideologies in their imaginary form where ideologies are representations of the imaginary relationships individuals have of their actual existence. This is to say that ideologies are not physical representations of reality but illusions of reality (Althusser 109). The second considers the material form of ideologies. The material description of ideologies is not to say that ideologies are tangible objects rather that ideologies are present in all aspects of the environment (for example a religious apparatus, political apparatus, and legal apparatus) where the members of a society operate (Althusser 112). Theories by other philosophers are referenced in the work of Kathryn Woolard and are grouped in four recurring themes. Here I will briefly mention the common themes of ideologies observed by Woolard and discuss them in more detail later in this thesis. The first common theme focuses on ideologies as a mental phenomenon and how members of a society conceptualize the world around them (Woolard 5). The second common theme focuses on the conceptualization of ideologies that are rooted in the interests of those who hold a specific social position (Woolard 6). The third common theme is similar to the second with one major difference as it links ideologies to inhabitable positions of power (Woolard 7). Lastly, the fourth common theme is that ideologies are distorted versions of reality (Thompson 1984, qtd. in Woolard 7). There is much variation in the attempts that have been made to define the term ideology and no single definition can be considered absolute.

Much like ideologies, the term *language ideology* has no single absolute definition. It has been conceptualized as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 193). The term is used in this

thesis to refer to systems of ideas as they pertain to conceptions of language, especially in regard to how language is used within specific groups of a specific society. These systems of ideas are produced and reproduced through linguistic and metalinguistic practices (del Valle and Meirinho-Guede, “Ideologías Lingüísticas” 629). The term *language ideology* is used interchangeably with *linguistic ideology* in this thesis.

### **1.2.2. Personal and Social Identity Narratives**

Identity can be described as the way in which individuals categorize their sense of belonging (Yuval-Davis 266). Identities are comprised of *identity narratives* which are constructed and reproduced within different types of social discourse and facilitate the comprehension an individual has of their sense of belonging (Ricoeur 201). The term *identity narrative* refers to the ‘stories’ individuals associate with themselves that they share with others to tell them who they are or are not (Yuval-Davis 266). For the purpose of the present thesis, the term *identity* will be used conjointly with *personal* and *social* to form the two terms *personal identity* and *social identity*. *Personal identity* is used as a term to describe the sense individuals have of existing, which is constructed by the identity narratives that those individuals associate with their own sense of being as independent individuals. The term *social identity* is used to describe the sense individuals have of existing inside a specific social group. This sense is constructed by the identity narratives that are associated with attributes typically shared between members within that group that individuals also associate with their own sense of existing.

### **1.2.3 Names**

There is a special power found in the pragmatic functions of a name. The term *name* is used to describe a word or set of words used to refer to different types of entities such as a person, place, animal, artifact, or institution. Here I will briefly mention some of these pragmatic functions,

however this topic will be explored in further detail later in the present work. *Proper names* are used to differentiate entities from one another, each name containing properties shared with the entity that other names do not possess (Jackson 9). While *names* are used to identify and differentiate between entities, there is more to a name than its referent. Names have the capacity to communicate ideologies and emotions, as well as contribute to the negotiation of identities (Helleland 109). In the scope of the present thesis, I will focus on proper names and consider a proper name to be a type of referring expression comprised of a word or a word phrase that refers to a single entity depending on pragmatic use (Zabeeh 57). It should be noted that a proper name can belong to several different entities, for example there are many people with the name ‘Jennifer’, however, when the name is in use it refers solely to one entity. There is a need to distinguish between a common name and a proper name such as a “language” vs. “Spanish”, city vs. “New Orleans”, or “street” vs. “Bourbon St”. as this study will exclude the names of general nouns from consideration. I will categorize general nouns and the signs used to refer to them as part of the lexicon of any natural language. While the relationship between a sign and its referent is arbitrary, this is not always the case for proper names. The relationship between some proper names and their referents is not arbitrary at all, for example, the city Le Havre in France and its name have a relationship that is not arbitrary in nature (Radding and Western 395). Going forward, the term *name* will refer to a proper name when used in this thesis.

The terms *common name* and *proper name*, instead of *common noun* and *proper noun*, are preferred because the focus of the present thesis is on semantic content of names as opposed to their classification in terms of parts of the speech.



## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to present a review of the literature considered throughout the present thesis. This chapter consists of three sections. The first (2.1) focuses on the pragmatics, semantics, and theories of naming. The second (2.2) reviews studies that are relevant to the research topic. The third and final section (2.3) reviews the theories that serve as the theoretical framework of the topic.

### **2.1 Name Theory**

In order to maintain order and transmit their perception of the environment that surrounds them, the instinctive behavior of human beings is to apply signifiers or signs to concepts, objects, and ideas (Tyler 1969, qtd. in Godev 8). This intrinsic behavior creates a necessity for naming in a language. There are different kinds of names in a natural language, and they fall in the category of either common names or proper names. Common names are used to refer to types of entities. For example, “city” is a common name used to describe a specific type of area in the physical world. Proper names are given to entities to distinguish between two, or more entities within the same type, for example, “New Orleans” and “New York” refer to two different cities (Zabeeh 56). Proper names are used to differentiate entities from one another, each proper name containing properties shared with the entities that other entities do not possess (Jackson 9).

According to Ferdinand de Saussure, the relationship between signs and their referents is an arbitrary one in that the reference itself is not intrinsically determined by the sign used to refer to it (de Saussure 96). In contrast to the arbitrary relationship between signs and their referent, proper names, as opposed to other types of linguistic signs (common names, adjectives, verbs, to name a few), are specific kinds of signs that are given with the intention of signifying a certain meaning (Radding and Western 395). It has been said that names denote but do not connote (Mill

36). This is to say that a proper name does not contain a definition that dictates what and how the entity it names should be, rather a proper name provides a reference point which a cluster of descriptions can be attached to. Mill's idea that names do not connote could be considered true if proper names were not created inside of every natural language system. However, different proper names within different languages carry with them the characteristics of the language in which they were created. While we cannot say that the name "John" has a traditional definition in the same way that "human" does, we can say what the proper name "John" is (Zabeeh 10).

The proper name "John" is an English name typically given to men (Zabeeh 12). In this description alone, a connotation of what an entity that bears the name "John" might be like is present. This is the case for proper names created in other languages as well, for example "José" in Spanish or "Lorenzo" in Italian. All of these proper names carry connotations of their origin. In addition to this, when used in a specific context, proper names have the capacity to communicate ideologies and emotions, as well as contribute to the negotiation of identities (Helleland 109). Mill is correct in saying, however, this does not give meaning to the name, rather this provides an etymological trail of the name.

The concept of names, common and proper, has puzzled linguists and logicians alike. A name is different than other words in a language. One major difference is that names can only be created in an existing natural language in use within a social group. Names act as a rigid designator with any number of descriptions attached to them that, when used in the proper context, are shared with the entity that bears the name (Kripke 276). Names act "as pegs on which to hang descriptions" (Searle 172). These descriptions attached to the name are the channels through which names communicate ideologies. As mentioned before, names are given to entities with intention, namely the intention to be able to talk about that entity and have others recognize

when said entity is being referred to.

## **2.2 Relevant Studies**

There have been numerous studies conducted that have been influential in understanding the purpose of naming. In this section, I will review three studies that focus on the relationship between names and their referents and how they help construct the society in which the names are used. The first of these studies is a study of the name of the city New Orleans by Radding and Western. The city was founded in 1718 by the explorer Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, who had special instructions of what to name the city before the city was built. The name of the new city would be “La Nouvelle Orleans” (Radding and Western 404). The name of the city was chosen in order to strip the indigenous history and culture from the location of the new city which would be renamed to reflect the ideals and culture of the French civilization. In addition to a French name for the city, the streets were renamed after French aristocratic families and the use of indigenous names was avoided to reflect the European character of the city (Radding and Western 404). This study demonstrates the connection between names and the construction of social ideas associated with the entities the names refer to. By erasing the indigenous names from the city and streets, the French were able to reconstruct the identity of the city.

Another example of the identity of a city being changed by renaming occurred during different time periods in Moscow. A study conducted by Graeme Gill demonstrates how changing the names of streets in Moscow reconstructed the symbolic culture and identity of the city.

Renaming place and street names is integral to creating symbolic culture in a society as it combines a physical geographical location with a mental representation of that location (Gill 481). Renaming streets first took place in Moscow with the intention of erasing any references to

the tsarist period and creating new symbolic relationships that represented the new regime (Gill 482). In Moscow, street names became a way to record history as current leaders and important revolutionary contributors were immortalized in street and place names. Street names were also used as a way to remove certain figures who were unsuccessful in the political realm as their names were removed from street and place names effectively removing them from Soviet history (Gill 482). This study demonstrates how renaming helps to construct identity within a city, as it proves that under different regimes, street names and place names were changed to reflect the ideologies of those in positions of power.

The third study relevant to this thesis was conducted by Léglise and Migge in regard to names used to refer to languages. In the French overseas department of Guiana, a multiethnic and multilingual area of the world, the word Takitaki is used to refer to the languages associated with the Eastern Maroon population, who are African descendants of Suriname (Léglise and Migge 315). From the different perspectives of different social groups found in the area, the name Takitaki suggests conflicting connotations. The study, whose focus is on the attitudes associated with the use of the term Takitaki, identified different ideologies associated with the different groups that use the term. These groups include the group of non-native speakers of Takitaki in Guiana, the majority of which are from the French metropolitan area or from the local Creole Guiana, and the group of native Takitaki speakers made up of the youth of the Eastern Maroon population (Léglise and Migge 316). From the perspective of the non-native speaking group, their use of the name Takitaki to refer to the language conveys a negative connotation. They consider it a simple language that lacks abstract categories, grammatical structures, and the beauty of their own language. They also consider Takitaki a lingua franca that has an ethnic association and consider it the only way to communicate with “the others” (Léglise and Migge

324).

From the perspective of the native-speaking group, made up of the youth of the Eastern Maroons, the name of the language carries different connotations when used in different social situations. The first situation discussed in the study is that the members of this group use the name Takitaki to refer to their language when someone who they presume has no knowledge of the different languages and local dialects asks them questions about the language that they speak. They tend to use the word Takitaki to avoid confusion and only offer further descriptions of the language when they are asked (Léglise and Migge 325). Another situation discovered in the study is the use of the name Takitaki in a way that disguises one's ethnic origin (Léglise and Migge 327). This is the case of the Saamaka ethnic group. The Saamaka ethnic identity is associated with negative connotations (Léglise and Migge 327). Even though there are differences between the language spoken by the Saamaka ethnic group and the language spoken by the Eastern Maroons, the non-native speaking group of the Takitaki language is unable to distinguish between the two. Therefore, someone with a Saamaka ethnic identity is able to disguise their ethnic identity by adopting the same name for their language as the Eastern Maroons use for their own language since the later ethnic identity does not carry the same negative connotations as the former. This study shows that depending on different social situations, the name of a language contributes to the identity of its speaker.

## **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

The purpose of this section is to present the theories that will serve as the theoretical framework of the present thesis. It consists of three subsections which include a review of the notion of ideology and language ideologies (2.3.1), theories associated with signs and their referents (2.3.2), and, finally, a review of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (2.3.3).

### **2.3.1 Ideology and Language Ideology**

In this section I will discuss the notion of language ideology as it is presented by del Valle and Meirinho-Guede (2016), Woolard (1998), and Swiggers (2019). These works were chosen because of their relationship with the role of language ideologies as they pertain to the use of language from a multilingual perspective. Each of these works have related language ideologies to the use of language in the Spanish Speaking world.

The central focus of this thesis involves the concept of language ideology. Language ideologies are represented in the ways in which a speaker uses a language and the ideas they have in regard to how a language is used in different settings. One can consider language to be a social practice in which speakers negotiate their identities and social relations with each other through the use of signs and expressions (del Valle and Meirinho-Guede, “Ideologías Lingüísticas” 622). While signs and expressions are used to transmit a message, they themselves are not sufficient in conveying the meaning or the intention of the speaker. For meaning and intention to be transmitted, the signs must correspond to an experience, idea, or concept in the physical environment shared by the speakers (del Valle and Meirinho-Guede 622). Language ideologies are the underlying structures that dictate the use of a language within a society and manifest as the moral structures that regulate appropriate behavior and social norms. Different speech communities and cultures present different linguistic ideologies (del Valle and Meirinho-Guede, “Ideologías Lingüísticas” 626). Woolard (1998) outlines the common themes identified in the definitions of ideologies that have been proposed by philosophers throughout history. Firstly, ideologies are a mental phenomenon. They represent the ways in which members of a society conceptualize the world around them (Woolard 5). At times the conceptualization of ideologies extends from the interests of the members who hold a specific social position. Ideologies have

been linked to what Woolard calls “inhabitable positions of power” within societies (7).

Ideologies vary among different societies and cultures. They are a distorted representation of reality, illusions of how reality might be conceptualized by members of a society (Thompson 1984, qtd. in Woolard 7). Language ideologies are present in every instance of language use, whether it be spoken, signed, or written. Woolard discusses “The Great Divide” in the study of ideologies which lies between the neutral and negative aspects of ideologies. At times, ideologies have been reserved for critical use by some philosophers who posit that a distinction is necessary between ideologies and common knowledge (Bloch 1985, qtd. in Woolard 8). Such philosophers focus on how ideologies help structure social practices. On the other hand, some philosophers suggest that ideologies encompass all common knowledge, presenting ideologies as neutral representations of social knowledge and practices (Mannheim 1985, qtd. in Woolard 8). This neutral position on ideologies is criticized for a lack of attention to power relations and social construct (Thompson 1990, qtd. in Woolard 8).

In regard to language ideologies coming from those who hold positions of power, Pierre Swiggers (2019) identifies seven different types of language ideologies. The different types of language ideologies identified in his work will serve as a reference point later in the present thesis when presenting and discussing the debate over the use of the names “castellano” or “español” to refer to the Spanish language. The first of these is the territorial or regional ideology of a language. This type of ideology stems from the idea that a language is intrinsically linked to its place of origin (Swiggers 16). This is evident in the name of many languages that originated in specific places, for example, Italian from Italy and Portuguese from Portugal. The second type of ideology discussed is language ideologies of a religious nature (Swiggers 17). This type of ideologies stems from ideas that one has about the way a language is used in a religious setting.

Swiggers includes an example of this ideology found in an excerpt of Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, in which he defends a superiority of the European languages and cultures by describing the Spanish language as easy and sweet in contrast to the Quechua language (Swiggers 18). The third type of language ideology focuses on language ideologies of a social nature. This type of language ideology focuses on how a social group views the use of language in a positive and negative way (Swiggers 18). This is evident in certain Spanish speaking countries where different attributes of dialects of the language are viewed as more prestigious, typically those used in the more urban areas, while other attributes are deemed less favorable. The fourth type of language ideology is of a defensive nativist nature. This type of language ideology is observed when a foreign language intrudes on another language native to a certain territory (Swiggers 19). Swiggers discusses this ideology using the example of this Henri Estienne, who considered the introduction of Italian words into the French language during the reigns of Enrique II and Enrique III an invasion on the French language (Swiggers 19). The fifth type of language ideology is similar to the last as they both are of a nativist nature; however, this type of nativism is not so much averse to the use of another language as it is laudatory of the qualities of the native language of a territory (Swiggers 20). This can be observed in areas of multilingualism in which there is a dominant dialect or language in use alongside a non-dominant dialect or language. The sixth type of language ideology is the one that is used as a sociopolitical instrument. This type of ideology is linked closely to the politics of social groups (Swiggers 21). This can be viewed in the role that the Spanish language had in the consolidation of Spain as nation-state. The last type of language ideology discussed by Swiggers is language ideologies of a political-religious nature from an international perspective. This type of ideology focuses on language in use in a political and/or religious context (Swiggers 22). This can be viewed in the



Spanish conquest of New Spain.

The last two types of ideologies discussed by Swiggers complement the ideas included in Woolard's work in the sense that they focus on how ideologies contribute to the conceptualization of social structures. Swiggers' work agrees with the concept of ideologies stemming from the wants and needs of particular members of groups within a society. What is more, Swiggers work agrees with Althusser and Woolard that ideologies extend beyond the mental and have a direct influence on the physical world.

### **2.3.2 Theories of Signs and Referents**

There have been many theories proposed that attempt to describe the relationship between a linguistic sign and its referent within a natural language. One of these theories is iconization. Iconization refers to the transformation of the relationship between a linguistic sign and its referent (Irvine and Gal 37). The central idea of this theory is that when a social image and its linguistic image appear to have shared qualities, they undergo a process of iconization in which the two are perceived to be inherent to one another. Iconization develops out of a need for immediate representation (Irvine and Gal 38).

Another theory relevant to the relationship between a linguistic sign and its referent within a natural language is the theory of indexicality. This theory proposes that a linguistic sign points directly to the objects or concepts that they represent within a language practiced inside of a specific social group and brings them into contextual existence (Silverstein 29). It proposes that indexical signs, when enunciated in a particular context, have the capacity to indicate social identities as well as negotiate relations and identities between speakers (Hanks 124).

Iconization and indexicality differ from each other in the relationship between the signs and their referents. Signs that are said to be iconic representations of their referent have features that

appear to be inherent to the referent. Iconization can be observed in onomatopoeic words where the sound of the sign, the word in this case, appears to have the same features as the referent, for example, “splash”, “boom”, or “bang”. Indexicality differs from iconization in that the sign does not appear to have inherent features of the referent, rather the sign somehow points to its referent when used in a specific context. For instance, words such as pronouns, e.g., “you” or “them”, and words that make a reference to time, e.g., “yesterday” or “next week.”

Knowing that signs point to their referent presents the question of how they do this. A theory that attempts to answer this question is the theory of referentialism, which proposes that whatever sign is used to refer to a term or concept only refers to said term or concept if the sign possesses the properties specific to the term or concept (Kallestrup 36). This theory states that referring terms, for example proper names, directly refer to their referent by satisfying any number of descriptions that fit the referent (Kallestrup 56). When considering this theory in regard to proper names, the claims a proper name makes about how the entity it names exists in the physical world is the point of interest (Jackson 20). This is to say that, according to the theory of referentialism, a proper name dictates the properties of the entity that bears it.

Another theory that aims to describe how signs point to their referent is the theory of descriptivism. The theory of descriptivism relates to referentialism in that the referent has the power to refer to a specific entity, however it defers as the power of reference is derived through descriptive content. This theory proposes that the meaning of a name of an entity is found in the descriptions of the entity and the descriptions give the name its meaning (Kallestrup 14). This theory suggests that the name provides all of the qualities to the entity it denotes. While this theory does not explain how proper names such as “Jennifer” act as a reference to the person who bears that name, it could suggest how some cities received their names. An example of this

can be seen in the name of the French city Le Havre, which translates to “the harbor” The city was named after the harbor due to the importance of the harbor in the city, however, over time the original meaning of the name is lost and society attributes new meanings (Radding and Western 395). The descriptivism theory could describe the nature of the relationship between this city and its original name, however, the utterance of Le Havre today does not immediately conjure thoughts of the harbor, instead, the French city comes to mind (Radding and Western 395). While the original meaning of the name may have been derived from the landmark in the city, the utterance of the name does not describe the essence of a harbor, therefore the descriptive theory is not as effective in describing the relationship between name and referent in this instance as other theories may be. The theory of descriptivism is challenged by other philosophers and logicians, and some argue that a focus on the pragmatic functions of a name should take precedence over semantic functions of a name (Zabeeh 54). The meaning of a name does not contribute to any understanding of what a name does inside of a language. Knowing that the name of the city Le Havre means “the harbor” does not help to explain what the name Le Havre does when it is used in a specific context, specifically when it is used to refer to the city.

### **2.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Until this point in the present work, the theoretical framework has consisted of theories of how proper names work inside of a natural language. These theories answer only part of the question presented in this work. To identify language ideologies present throughout the debate over the use of a name to refer to the Spanish language, an analysis of certain evidence of text will be done through a critical lens drawing from the work by Fairclough and Van Dijk.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary field of social science that is concerned with power imbalances, social injustice, and political and cultural change as they are constructed

in discourse (Fairclough et al. 2). The approaches to CDA are varied and rely on different theories and research methods (van Dijk 25). Investigations that take the position of CDA do so by frequently siding with socially dominated groups with the intention to promote social and political change (Van Dijk 24). An analysis of discourse is an investigation beyond the meaning of a sentence or instance of discourse. It delves into how discourse participates in society and the effects it has socially, politically, culturally, and historically (Van Dijk 24). In this thesis, I will use CDA to identify language ideologies present at the instance that a name was used to refer to the Spanish language.

## CHAPTER 3: TEXTUAL ARTIFACTS

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the textual artifacts that will be analyzed. The chapter is comprised of five sections. The first section (3.1) introduces the study. The second section (3.2) contains the research objectives of the present work. Section three (3.3) presents the textual artifacts considered in the study. The fourth section (3.4) outlines the Critical Discourse Analysis structure and approach applied in the study. The final section of this chapter (3.5) includes limitations of the study.

### 3.1 Introduction to Study

Ever since the Spanish language has been in use, it has been referred to using different names. This study takes a look at the debate surrounding the names used to refer to the language in order to identify language ideologies present in the use of those names. Due to the main theme of the present work, the term debate is used widely throughout it. The way I use the term debate in the present work expands upon the more frequently circulated semantic use in which opinions are explicitly presented by either side of the debate. The nature of the motivations for using one name over another in regard to the Spanish language is not always explicitly stated. For this reason, I use the term debate to refer to an artificial conversation I have constructed consisting of textual artifacts that use either “español” or “castellano” to refer to the language. The textual artifacts represent the actors in the artificial conversation, with the text representing the content of the conversation. The textual artifacts presented in the debate provide different perspectives and as such represent the different voices of the Spanish-speaking world. The debate is made up of different types of textual artifacts coming from different time periods in which the Spanish language was used. The time periods considered in the debate are as follows: Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Time of Nebrija during the late 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup>

century, Colonization of the Americas during the 17<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> century, Postcolonial period during the 20<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Last fifteen years.

As mentioned earlier in chapter 2.3.1, ideologies are systems of ideas that define thought process and way of life of social actors in a society. Ideologies can be considered performative pieces of discourse that not only represent ideas and beliefs, but, as they are produced, reproduced, and distributed, often times by powerful institutions, they help shape society as well (Eagleton 221). Identifying ideological stands represented by electing one name over the other will outline the motivations for making the choice of which name to use. Additionally, taking a look at language ideologies that are presented through the use of one name versus the other will outline how proper names contribute to the reproduction and distribution of those ideologies. Furthermore, the research into the links between language and society throughout this thesis aims to contribute to an understanding of how the ideological framework of a society is affected by language and how the ideological framework can enact otherizing on non-dominant social groups.

### **3.2 Research Objectives**

The research objectives of the present work:

1. To present the debate of the nomenclature to refer to the Spanish language.
2. To identify motivations for a preference of using one name over another to refer to the Spanish language.
3. To identify how proper names help shape identity.

### **3.3 Textual Artifacts**

The debate over the use of names used to refer to the Spanish language is presented through textual artifacts from different time periods extending throughout the birth and life of the Spanish

language. The textual artifacts were obtained using library resources where I had access to physical texts and electronic sources from databases. All of the textual artifacts leading up to the last fifteen years come from various historical documents either found electronically in databases or in physical form. The textual artifacts from the last fifteen years were gathered using the ProQuest database and are all electronic artifacts. Each artifact was examined for the use of a name, either “español” or “castellano”, and situated by time period and country to determine the voices represented by the textual artifacts. The materials considered for the analysis of the present study are listed as follows:

1. Phrases from the General Estoria written under the patronage of Alfonso the Wise.
2. The prologue from Gramática de la Lengua Castellana by Nebrija.
3. 11 documents regarding language policies from the colonization period, 10 royal decrees and one royal ordinance regarding language policies from the colonization period.
4. The prologue from Gramática de la Lengua Castellana: Destinada al Uso de los Americanos by Andrés Bello.
5. Constitutions from 15 out of 21 Spanish-speaking countries that explicitly mention the Spanish language as an official or co-official language.
6. Legislations regarding education from 7 out of 21 Spanish-speaking countries that explicitly mention the Spanish language as a language of instruction.
7. The prologue from Gramática de la Lengua Española by Emilio Alarcos Llorach.
8. 74 titles of news articles published in Spanish-Speaking Latin American countries and Spain.

The materials considered for the analysis are laid out in chronological order to demonstrate the birth and evolution of the Spanish language. The first group textual evidence

comes from the period of the Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, which occurred gradually throughout the 8<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The text, the *General Estoria*, was chosen for its early use of referring expressions used to refer to the language. These early ways of referring to the language help outline the moments in which a need for a name for the language arose.

The next group of evidence comes from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century during the time of Antonio de Nebrija. Nebrija's prologue was selected for this work due to its efforts in recording the grammar for the Spanish language, ultimately contributing to its success as a national and international language. The prologue includes motivations for writing a grammar guide which are important to identifying ideologies associated with the language.

The next group of textual evidence comes from the colonization period during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this group, correspondence from the Spanish Crown to colonies in the Americas are included. The 10 royal decrees and single royal ordinance were selected for this work due to the unique insight they offer to the ideologies of the Spanish Crown during the colonization period. Further textual evidence from the colonization period is the prologue from the grammar written by Andres Bello. Bello's prologue was selected for this work due to its status as the first grammar guide written with the intention of describing the Spanish language as it was used in Latin America.

Following the Colonial period begins the Postcolonial period in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first textual evidence from this period consists of the constitutions from 15 out of 21 Spanish-Speaking Latin American Countries and the constitution of Spain. The Constitutions were selected for this work due to the currency they add to the debate. They offer insight into what name each country prefers to use to refer to the language in relation to the governmental institution. The constitutions were selected based on the criteria that they explicitly mention the



language by name using either “español” or “castellano” and that the language is declared either official or co-official. All other constitutions from Spanish-speaking countries who did not mention an official language in their constitution were not considered in this study. Also considered in the section are education legislation in Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. The legislations were selected for this work due to the perspective they provide for the educational institution. Only legislation from 7 of the 21 Spanish-speaking countries were chosen for observation according to two criteria. To be considered for this study the legislation must be from one of the countries who have explicitly mentioned Spanish as an official or co-official language in their constitution and also must explicitly mention not only an official language of instruction but specifically the Spanish language, by either “español” or “castellano”, as the language of instruction. The reason for these criteria is to determine if there are differences in name usage between institutions within the same country. The last textual evidence for this time period is the prologue from *Gramática de la Lengua Española* by Emilio Alarcos Llorach. Llorach’s prologue was selected for this work as it demonstrates the changing nature of the role the language has had since the time of Nebrija. The date of composition adds to the current perspective of the debate.

The rest of the textual evidence considered for the analysis comes from the last fifteen years and consists of 74 titles of news articles published in Spanish-Speaking Latin American countries and Spain. The media is a major participant in facilitating and distributing conversation. The titles of the news articles provide current views and various perspectives of the debate in the Spanish-speaking world.

### **3.4 Structure of Critical Discourse Analysis**

The present work consists of a Critical Discourse Analysis of the textual evidence of the debate.

The CDA involves presenting the data in a chronological order grouped according to certain time periods: Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Time of Nebrija during the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, Colonization of the Americas during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, Postcolonial period during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Last fifteen years. Within each time period, it will be made clear whether the evidence is either evidence of the Spanish perspective of the debate, which includes the textual artifacts associated with Spain, or of the Latin American<sup>2</sup> perspective of the debate, which includes the textual artifacts associated with Latin American countries. After categorizing the data as either Spain artifacts or Latin American artifacts, each group of data will be categorized according to which social structuring institution it belongs to, e.g. governmental, educational, religious, which will help identify the motivations, manifested as language ideologies, for applying the use of one name to the language over the other. Within each group categorized by institution, the textual artifacts will be organized chronologically, beginning with the earliest evidence to the most current, that chronologizes the birth of the Spanish language through its development into a global language. Amado Alonso's *Castellano, Español, Idioma Nacional: Historia Espiritual de Tres Nombres* provides historical context to some of the textual artifacts presented in the debate, which will further help identify motivations for choice of nomenclature. Alonso provides an influential historical overview of the debate of the names used to refer to the Spanish language. His credibility comes from his role as a student of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, a prominent member of the Spanish Philological School, and as the Director of the Institute of Philology of the University of Buenos Aires (del Valle and Meirinho-Guede, "Espanol (y Castellano)" 482).

### 3.5 Limitations

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<sup>2</sup> In this chapter, "Latin America" and "Latin American" refer only to the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America.

The nature of a Critical Discourse Analysis involves interpretation of language by a human agent. The human agent of the study is not a controllable variable as cognition, and therefore interpretation of facts, may often be biased by expectations, beliefs, and other factors. Another limitation of the present study is that while language ideologies are present in discourse in every language, the language of focus in this study is the Spanish language and the social groups who claim the language for their own, therefore the findings in this study may not be generalizable to all languages and social groups.

## CHAPTER 4: THE DEBATE

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the language ideologies present in the debate of the names used to refer to the Spanish language. I want to remind the reader that in the scope of this thesis, the use of the term debate is not to be taken to mean the arguments put forth to promote the use of one name over another, rather the term is used to refer to the conversation of a name being used, where the textual artifacts are the actors in the conversation that present the voices of the Spanish-speaking world. To identify ideologies present in the debate, I will carry out a Critical Discourse Analysis of textual artifacts associated with Spain and Latin American<sup>3</sup> countries in which the Spanish language is named. The chapter consists of three major sections that represent the debate chronologically. The first section (4.1) presents the debate from around the time of the 8<sup>th</sup> century Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. The second section (4.2) presents the debate around the time of Antonio de Nebrija, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The third section (4.3) presents the debate during the Colonization of the Americas. The fourth section (4.4) presents the debate in the postcolonial period. The final section (4.5) presents the debate as it has unfolded in the last 15 years. Within each section, the textual artifacts will be organized according to geographical location and categorized according to the social structuring institutions in which they belong in order to identify the language ideologies that may reveal the motivations for using one name over the other to refer to the Spanish language.

### **4.1 Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula – 8<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century**

The need for a way to refer to the language featured in the debate of the present work begins with the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim rule by the Christians (Alonso 11); the reconquest occurred very gradually between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century. As Christianity spread

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<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, the terms “Latin America” and “Latin American” refer only to Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America.

throughout the peninsula, the languages spoken by Christians, Latin and Romance languages, spread with them to the regions (Alonso 11). Religious ideologies were tied to the language as it was used by Christians who used the language to express their faith. The continuous reproduction of language used to express the Christian faith is what ties religious ideologies to the language. During these centuries, there was rarely a need to distinguish between the romance languages spoken in different regions of the peninsula, however when such an occasion did occur, “romance castellano” or “romance leonés” were used. These names were not used to distinguish different languages, rather they were used to differentiate between the regional usage of the common language that had evolved from Vulgar Latin. The need to name the colloquial language spoken in the peninsular regions typically occurred when there existed a fundamental metalinguistic opposition between Latin and Castilian Romance (del Valle and Meirinho-Guede, “Español (y Castellano)” 483). The moment a name was put in use to refer to the language, the name began collecting descriptions and attributes associated with it. While the opposition between Latin and Castilian Romance may not be the first instance of “castellano” being used as a direct name for the Spanish language, it is the first time that the phrase enters the debate in relation to the language.

The Christian Kingdom of Castile had a hand in the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, which would afford Castile a new position of political dominance. As the unification of the peninsula began with the kingdoms in the center, and south coming under Castilian rule, the unified regions adopted the style of romance language spoken in Castile. The acquisition of the “romance castellano” by the incoming regions of the kingdom suggests ideologies of the language as a sociopolitical instrument. This is evident as the regions adopted the language, culture, and religion of Castile. During the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the time when King Alfonso X, the

Wise, ruled the kingdom of Castile and Leon, the language was designated as the language of Castile in the *General Estoria*, a book written under the patronage of Alfonso the Wise (Alonso 13). The language was referred to in the text in the following ways:

- en el nuestro lenguaje de Castilla
- en el nuestro romanz de Castilla
- en lenguaje de Castilla<sup>4</sup>
- segund el proprio castellano
- en el castellano
- segund el castellano (Alonso 13)

Designating the language as the language of Castile puts it in opposition to not only Latin, but also to the romance language spoken in regions that were not under Castilian rule. The phrases included in the text that are used to refer to the language can be considered some of the earliest texts in which the name “castellano” is used explicitly as a name used to refer to the language. The ideologies associated with this name are regional ideologies as the terms used by King Alfonso X, the Wise, to describe the language stem from the name of the region in which it developed. Additionally, considering that the kingdom of Castile and Leon was a kingdom united in Christianity, ideologies of a political-religious nature can also be associated with the name of the language.

#### **4.2 Time of Antonio de Nebrija – late 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century**

The debate continues with the prologue to *La Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* by Antonio de Nebrija. The grammar guide was written in 1492, marking the first time the Spanish language was recorded in this way, and further popularizing the name “castellano”, previously used by King Alfonso X, the Wise, as the name of the language. The grammar guide established spelling

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<sup>4</sup> In his book, Amado Alonso mentions that this phrase was used frequently to refer to the language.

rules and rules on how to use language structures that were still in flux. With the definition of the language laid out, Nebrija attached the name “castellano” to it establishing a relationship between sign and symbol. The book was published right before the famous expeditions of Christopher Columbus. The language had already proven to be an effective tool in uniting the regions in the Iberian Peninsula. Nebrija believed that language and empire are always associated with one another; the success and misfortune of one coincided with those of the other. He considered language a tool used in uniting nations (Nebrija 1). The grammar helped refine this tool, and with the Crown’s interest in navigation and exploration, the grammar would facilitate the expansion of the language internationally.

Around the same time that the grammar was published, several texts were also published that include a name to refer to the Spanish language. Some of these texts are as follows:

- *Registrum* by Fernando Colón, 1495
- *Manual de Nuestra Santa Fe Católica, en Español* from Sevilla, 1495
- *Séneca Proverbia, en Español, cum Glossa* from Toledo, 1500
- *Flor de Virtudes, en Español* from Toledo, 1508<sup>5</sup> (Alonso 15)

The use of the name “español” in three out of four of the works mentioned above most likely refer to the register of the book or to clarify what language the book is written in. The titles do not aim to make an argument as to which name should be used to refer to the language (Alonso 16). The texts provide a contextual representation of the existence of the two names used at the same time to refer to the language. Nebrija’s grammar promoted the use of the name “castellano” as he included it not only throughout the entire work, but also in the title of the work. While the aforementioned texts include “español” in their title, none of the texts promote the name as the

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<sup>5</sup> For a more extensive list of works of this kind from the same period, refer to footnote 1 on page 15 of Amado Alonso’s *Castellano, Español, Idioma Nacional: Historia Espiritual de Tres Nombres*.

preferred name, nor did the text define the language in the same way as Nebrija. Nonetheless, it is critical to note that the names have been in use continuously and simultaneously throughout the existence of the language.

Remarks in the prologue suggest that Nebrija is in favor of the feats and interests of Isabel de Castilla rather than those of Spain. During this time Spain was not yet the nation that is recognized today, rather it was a nation in the making. Nebrija indicates in the dedication that appears before the prologue to his grammar that the book is presented to the Queen of Spain, Isabel de Castilla, and he encourages her to read it<sup>6</sup>:

1. ALA MUI ALTA Y ASSI ESCLARECIDA PRINCESA DOÑA ISABEL, LA  
TERCERA DESTE NOMBRE, REINA I SEÑORA NATURAL DE ESPAÑA I LAS  
ISLAS DE NUESTRO MAR. COMIENÇA LA GRAMATICA QUE NUEVA MENTE  
HIZO EL MAESTRO ANTONIO DE LEBRIXA SOBRE LA LENGUA  
CASTELLANA. I PONE PRIMERO EL PROLOGO. LEE LO EN BUEN ORA<sup>7</sup>.

(Nebrija 3)

Asking the Queen to read the prologue indicates that her opinion was important to Nebrija, suggesting that the ideologies present in the prologue agreed with the ideologies of the Queen to some degree. Ensuring that the Queen did not object to the grammar associates this textual artifact with the governmental social structuring institution.

To facilitate the analysis of the textual artifacts considered from the prologue, excerpts taken directly from the prologue that contain instances of a name being used to refer to the language

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<sup>6</sup> All of the excerpts from Nebrija's grammar come from the book edited by Ignacio González-Llubera. Some of the spelling in the excerpts follows spelling conventions used by José Luis Gómez-Martínez including maintaining the uses of both the Greek "y" and the Latin "i". The tilde featured above the "x" in the excerpts edited by González-Llubera are forgone in the present work to facilitate reading. Keeping with the style of Nebrija's writing, no accent marks are used in the excerpts. English translations are provided in an appendix.

<sup>7</sup> This excerpt is scripted in all capital letters to match the style of the two separate versions of Nebrija's prologue, one version edited by González-Llubera and the other by Gómez-Martínez, referenced in this thesis.



are presented as follows:

2. Lo que diximos dela lengua ebraica, griega y latina, podemos mui mas clara mente mostrar en la castellana; que tuvo su niñez enel tiempo delos juezes y reies de Castilla y de Leon, y començo a mostrar sus fuerças en tiempo del mui esclarecido y digno de toda la eternidad el rei don Alonso el Sabio, por cuio mandado se escrivieron las Siete Partidas, la General Istoria, y fueron trasladados muchos libros de latin y aravigo en nuestra lengua castellana (Nebrija 5);

In this excerpt from the prologue, Nebrija compares the language to other languages that have the status of national languages in nations that have achieved great geopolitical prominence, namely Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. This comparison puts the language in a politically powerful position. Keeping in mind the notion of Spain as a nation in the process of taking shape and the relationship Nebrija describes between an empire and its language, national ideologies are woven into the language which in turn becomes fixed to the name used to refer to it. As the Queen worked to consolidate the in-progress nation, Nebrija worked to consolidate the language that would accompany it. While doing this, he established “castellano” as the language of the nation-to-be of Spain. Framed in this manner, “castellano” is an identifiable feature of the elements that was to construct the Spanish nation. The language was expanding in other ways in addition to nationally; namely the language was expanding in the sense that many important works were being translated into the language. In the same excerpt he makes a reference to the Spanish language having reached maturity comparable to major languages at the time, as many books were translated from these major languages to the Spanish language under the patronage of King Alfonso X, the Wise.

3. Porque si otro tanto en nuestra lengua no se haze como en aquellas, en vano vuestros cronistas i estoriadores escriben i encomiendan a immortalidad la memoria de vuestros loables hechos, i nos otros tentamos de pasar en castellano las cosas pereregrinas i estrañas, pues que aqueste no puede ser sino n[e]gocio de pocos años. I sera necesaria una de dos cosas: o que la memoria de vuestras hazañas perezca con la lengua; o que ande peregrinando por las naciones estrangeras, pues que no tiene propria casa en que pueda morar. En la çanja dela cual io quise echar la primera piedra, i hazer en nuestra lengua lo que Zonodoto en la griega i Crates en la latina; los cuales, aun que fueron vencidos delos que despues dellos escribieron, alo menos fue aquella su gloria, i sera nuestra, que fuemos los primeros inventores de obra tan necessaria. Lo cual hezimos enel tiempo mas oportuno que nunca fue hasta aquí, por estar ia nuestra lengua tanto en la cumbre, que mas se puede temer el decendimiento que esperar la subida. (Nebrija 7)

In this excerpt, Nebrija expresses a need to record the feats and exploits of the Queen of Spain in the language that both Nebrija and the Queen speak, and further argues that the historians will not be able to create the records if the language is not solidified. The notion that the Spanish language is the most appropriate language to record the legacy of the region suggests territorial ideologies (Swiggers 16).

4. I seguir se a otro no menor provecho que aqueste alos ombres de nuestra lengua que querran estudiar la gramatica del latin; por que despues que sintieren bien el arte del castellano- lo cual no sera mui dificile, por que es sobre la lengua que ia ellos sienten – cuando passaren al latin no avra cosa tan escura que no se les haga mui ligera, maior mente entreveniando aquel Arte dela Gramatica que me mando hazer vuestra Alteza, contraponiendo linea por linea el romance al latin; por la cual forma de enseñar no seria

maravilla saber la gramatica latina, no digo io en pocos meses, mas aun en pocos dias, y mucho mejor que hasta aquí se desprendia en muchos años. (Nebrija 7)

In this excerpt Nebrija explains how the grammar will benefit those who speak “castellano” and want to study Latin grammar. He makes reference to the Art of Grammar which demonstrates the differences between the grammars of Latin and castellano and that these tools will facilitate the teaching and learning of “castellano”.

5. I cierto assi es que no sola mente los enemigos de nuestra fe, que tienen ia necessidad de saber el lenguaje castellano, mas los vizcaínos, navarros, franceses, italianos, i todos los otros que tienen algun trato i conversacion en España i necessidad de nuestra lengua, si no vienen desde niños ala deprender por uso, podran la mas aina saber por esta mi obra. (Nebrija 8)

In this excerpt, Nebrija expounds on the purpose of the grammar. He intended, by means of his grammar guide, that anyone could learn the language. He expresses intentions to spread the language to anyone who might have business to conduct in Spain, thus linking the language to economic activity.

The excerpts from the prologue feature elements that suggest the intentions for the language and imply several ideologies. The Spanish language was associated with powerful institutions that made it valuable to learn and speak. The value was afforded to it while the name “castellano” was being used to refer to it. The language was used in powerful social structuring institutions, namely the Spanish Crown, and those who advocated for the language advocated to extend its use beyond its use as a regional language. Using the term “castellano” to refer to the language used in association with powerful institutions and the valuableness of knowing the language produces, and reproduces with ever use, the link between the name “castellano” and the aforementioned ideologies.

### 4.3 Colonization Period – 17<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> century

In this section, I present the textual artifacts of the debate associated with the colonization period. The textual artifacts in this section include titles of 11 documents sent from the Spanish Crown in the form of royal decrees and ordinances whose topic is the teaching and advancement of the Spanish language. Table 1 contains the titles of the documents and the name that was used to refer to the Spanish language:

TABLE 1. Royal Decrees and Ordinance Regarding Language Policy in New Spain<sup>8</sup>

Table 1 (continued)

	Location and Date	Title <sup>9</sup>	Name used <sup>10</sup>
1.	Buen Retiro 30 May 1691	R. C. Que Se Pongan Escuelas y Maestros que Enseñen a los Indios la Lengua Castellana	castellano
2.	Madrid 2 April 1694	R. C. A la Audiencia De Mexico Para que los Gobernadores, Corregidores y Alcaldes Mayores se les Haga Cargo de Residencia, si no Observan lo Dispuesto en Cuanto a que a los Indios se les Enseñe la Lengua Castellana	castellano
3.	Madrid 2 April 1694	R. C. al Obispo de la Puebla de los Angeles, Previniéndole lo que ha de Ejectuar para que los Indios Sean Instruidos en la Lengua Castellana	castellano

<sup>8</sup> The textual artifacts included in this table consists of ten “reales cédulas” (royal decrees) and one “real ordenanza” (royal ordinance) sent from the Spanish Crown to New Spain during the colonization period. The complete documents can be found in a special collection of documents compiled and edited by Richard Konetzke, *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Formación Social de Hispanoamérica 1493-1810*.

<sup>9</sup> The titles are written without accent marks, as they appear on the documents.

<sup>10</sup> In the documents included in this thesis, there are two words used that equate to the English word language, *lengua* and *idioma*. Since the Spanish language also uses gender in its grammar, the ending of the word “castellano” changes between “a” and “o” depending on the gender of the word used to refer to language. Since the gendered ending of the word does not change the meaning, “castellano” is used to represent the names used in the titles of the documents.

Table 1 (continued)

	Location and Date	Title <sup>9</sup>	Name used <sup>10</sup>
4.	Madrid 7 August 1694	R. C. a la Audiencia de Guadalajara Sobre el Puntual Cumplimiento de los Despachos en que se Manda, Que a los Indios se les Enseñe la lengua Castellana	castellano
5.	Madrid 16 June 1700	R. C. Al Obispo de Guatemala Encargandole Solicite que los Indios Aprendan a Leer y Escribir en el Idioma Castellano	castellano
6.	Madrid 25 July 1700	R. C. Al obispo de Arequipa Dandole Gracias de lo que ha Obrado en Ejecucion del Despacho para que a los Indios se les enseñe la Lengua Castellana	castellano
7.	Aranjuez 5 June 1754	R. C. Para que los arzobispos y obispos de los reinos de las indias cumplan lo prevenido en las leyes, sobre que a los indios se les instruya y enseñe la doctrina Cristiana en el idioma castellano	castellano
8.	Villaviciosa 4 November 1758	R. C. al obispo de Cuba sobre lo que ha practicado para que se enseñe a los indios la doctrina cristiana en el idioma castellano	castellano
9.	Aranjuez 10 May 1770	R. C. para que en los reinos de las indias se destierren los diferentes idiomas de que se usa, y solo se hable el castellano	castellano
10.	Madrid 2 March 1771	R. O. al obispo de Cuba avisandole el recibo de su carta en que dio cuenta de que en su diocesis no se hablaba otro idioma que el castellano	castellano

Table 1 (continued)

	Location and Date	Title <sup>9</sup>	Name used <sup>10</sup>
11.	El Pardo 22 February 1778	R. C. Sobre Establecimiento de Escuelas del Idioma Castellano en los Pueblos de Indios	castellano <sup>11</sup>

Table 1 shows that “castellano” was used most frequently to refer to the Spanish language. It was not until 1778 that the name “español” appeared in the royal decrees in conjunction with the name “castellano”. These royal decrees, and singular royal ordinance, represent the Spanish Crown’s plan to advance the use of the Spanish language in the conquered areas of the American continent. In the analysis of the themes in the documents, four reoccurring intentions for the language were identified. These intentions are as follows:

- That “castellano” be taught to the indigenous people in the Americas
- That education be conducted in “castellano”
- That Christianity be taught via “castellano”
- That “castellano” be spoken to conduct business

It is evident from the textual artifacts in Table 1 that the Spanish Crown associated “castellano” with education as it was declared that schools be built to teach the language to the indigenous peoples. Not only did the Crown order that schools be built to teach the language, but it also ordered that the language of instruction be “castellano”. Using “castellano” as a means to facilitate learning ensured that children assimilate to the Castilian culture. With the existence of many native languages, the Crown viewed “castellano” as the language to use in order to impose their ideal religion and culture upon the native peoples. Making “castellano” the language of

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<sup>11</sup> While the name “español” is not featured in the title of this textual artifact, it is worthwhile to mention that this document uses the name “español” to refer to the language in the body of the document.

instruction facilitated the transposition and assimilation of the Castilian culture. As the language was being enforced in schools, mandates were also made to teach the Christian faith using “castellano” (Konetzke 284). The Crown’s preference for the use of their own language to discuss and teach their faith suggests that the language was closely associated with their religious ideologies. Using the name “castellano” to refer to the language ensured that the Castilian culture would be represented wherever the language was spoken.

During the period of time that these royal decrees were sent to the viceroys, governors, archbishops, and bishops demanding the teaching of “castellano” to the indigenous peoples, the language was also experiencing popular interest internationally in countries like France and Italy (Alonso 43). However, when a name was used to refer to the language internationally<sup>12</sup>, the preferred name was “español”<sup>13</sup> (Alonso 43). The intention of the Spanish Crown was not only to teach the Christian religion to the indigenous people but to impart on them other aspects of the culture as well. Declaring that religion and other aspects of the culture be taught using “castellano”, note the avoidance of the term “español”, suggests that the Spanish Crown did not view the Americas as international territory, where the language would have been referred to as “español”, rather the Spanish Crown viewed the Americas as an extension of Spain itself. The notion that the Americas were not considered international territory implies national ideologies and is evident in the ways in which the Spanish Crown intended to use the language. The Crown demanded schools to carry out the teaching of “castellano” so that the official language throughout the Americas would be the same as the Kingdom of Castile. The name “castellano”

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<sup>12</sup> Internationally in this case refers to any countries outside of Spain or outside any colonies under Spanish control. The international use of the name “español” is consistent with the observable pattern of national language names, which are associated with the name of the country, for example English in England, Italian in Italy, and Greek in Greece.

<sup>13</sup> While this thesis focuses on the perspective of Spain and Latin America, it is necessary to briefly mention the international perspective. Amado Alonso points out the international perspective of the debate with a detailed list of all texts composed internationally on pages 43-45 of his book *Castellano, Español, Idioma Nacional: Historia Espiritual de Tres Nombres*.

has been associated with national ideologies when used to refer to the language spoken in Spain, which was demonstrated in the ways Nebrija and King Alfonso, the Wise, referred to the language. “Castellano” as the national language of the Americas suggests a status of a Castilian nation. It is evident that the Crown intended for the schools to help with building a Castilian society in the Americas.

In the royal decrees, the Spanish Crown declares that no one is able to hold any position of power in the Americas lest that person speak “castellano” and that all business be conducted in “castellano”. Inaccessible positions of power leads to isolated groups who are unable to contribute to the standardization of social norms. Those who did not know the language were restricted from business, further prohibiting them from participating in society. These documents represent language as a sociopolitical instrument (Swiggers 21). As the Spanish language became the language to participate in society, in order to develop a social identity, individuals were forced to adopt the Spanish language. The Spanish Crown demanded that children, all boys, and girls under ten years old, be taught the language and the Spanish culture (Konetzke 11). During this time period, the center of culture and society was Castile and the language spoken in Castile was referred to as “castellano”. The culture and social behaviors were reflected in the language use and linked to the name of the language. The use of “castellano” to promote the Castilian society in the Americas, Castile’s position as a cultural power center, and the notion of Spain as a developing nation resulted in the indigenous populations hearing the term “castellano” more frequently than “español” (Alonso 130). Hearing the name repeatedly to refer to the language established a link agreed upon by a large social group between the name “castellano” and the language. Through the establishment of this link, and the eventual disappearance of the Kingdom of Castile into the larger nation of Spain, the term “castellano” experienced a



geographical detachment of from its origin. As a result, in the Americas “castellano” referred to the language without indicating an origin of Castile.

The final textual artifact presented in this section of the debate is the prologue of *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana: Destinada al Uso de los Americanos* by Andrés Bello. This textual artifact contributes to the Latin American perspective as it is the first grammar written with the intention of describing Spanish as used in Latin America. In the prologue, Bello defends the need for representation of the Spanish language spoken in Latin America. He refers to the language as “castellano” in the prologue, however, his explicit use of the name is scarce. With this in mind, the excerpts considered for the present work provide clues insight of the guiding language ideologies of Bello’s thoughts towards grammars previously written from Spain’s perspective. The passages of the prologue considered for the present work are presented as follows:

1. No tengo la pretensión de escribir para los castellanos. Mis lecciones se dirigen a mis hermanos, los habitantes de Hispano-América. Juzgo importante la conservación de la lengua de nuestros padres en su posible pureza, como un medio providencial de comunicación y un vínculo de fraternidad entre las varias naciones de origen español derramadas sobre los dos continentes. (Bello 11)

In this excerpt, Bello states his grammar guide is not intended for “los castellanos”, rather he is writing for those who inhabit Latin America. The use of “los castellanos” avoids the use of the term “español”, which is identifiable with the established state of Spain while the term “castellano” points to the language (Alonso 140). Avoiding using the term “español” separates the continents from one another making a clear distinction that Spanish-speaking Latin America is not Spanish. While he aims to make a distinction of how the language is spoken on both

continents, he does not intend to declare the differences as representing different languages. He uses the word fraternity which implies a familial connection between the users of the language, establishing a link that suggests a brotherhood between nations who share the language.

Avoiding the term “español” to refer to the language that unites this brotherhood avoids fixing the language with the region that is linked to a past when Latin America was a colony of Spain. He reclaims the territorial ideologies and redistributes them so that all users of the language have a right to use it.

2. Si de raíces castellanas hemos formado vocablos nuevos, según los procederes ordinarios de derivación que el castellano reconoce, y de que se ha servido y se sirve continuamente para aumentar su caudal, ¿qué motivos hay para que nos avergoncemos de usarlos? Chile y Venezuela tienen tanto derecho como Aragón y Andalucía para que se toleren sus accidentales divergencias, cuando las patrocina la costumbre uniforme y auténtica de la gente educada. En ellas se peca mucho menos contra la pureza y corrección. (Bello 13)

In this excerpt, Bello recognizes regional differences in the Spanish language spoken in Spain that have proven acceptable for the language. With the acceptance of the regional differences in the language spoken in Spain, Bello outlines the right that Latin American countries have to regional differences as well. He continues to challenge the nativist ideologies associated with the language, advocating for a global space for the Spanish language as it is spoken in Latin America.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, several nations were working towards independence from colonization. A way for the nations working towards independence to distinguish between the language associated with their national identity and the language used in the colonizing nations was to avoid using a name for the language. Instead, they referred to their language by using a

descriptive phrase that indicated the language to be the language of the nation. Examples of this can be seen in the articles by the journalist Arturo Costa Álvarez where he maintains that the language spoken in Argentina is unnamed and refers to it as the “idioma nacional” (national language) (Alonso 136). The pattern of using a descriptive phrase as a referent to a language to avoid using a name that associates with a different nation is seen in other areas of the world. It is observed in the United States just before the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in 1793 when William Thorton referred to the language used in the developing United States as the American Language in lieu of English in an attempt to separate the language from European ideologies (Read 1142). A similar situation is observed in the avoidance of a name that has traces of connotations pointing to a specific nation is the situation of the name of the language spoken in Brazil. In Brazil a distinction is made between the Portuguese spoken in Portugal and the language used in Brazil by referring to the language as “idioma brasileiro” and “lingua brasileira” in lieu of Portuguese (Alonso 152).

#### **4.4 Postcolonial Period – 20<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> century**

The debate continues into the postcolonial period beginning around 1945 with Constitutional acts of Latin American countries that explicitly mention the Spanish language by a name and declares it an official or co-official language. These textual artifacts represent the debate from the governmental institutions of Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America. Table 2 contains the country, year, and name that was used in each constitution:

TABLE 2. Constitutional Acts of 15 out 21 Spanish-Speaking Countries<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The textual artifacts included in this chart are Constitutions from Latin American countries that explicitly refer to the Spanish language using either “español” or “castellano”. Constitutions that did not explicitly refer to the Spanish language by either of these names were excluded from this work. Although the constitutions from Equatorial Guinea and Puerto Rico explicitly mention the Spanish language as a co-official language, they were not included in this section as it focuses on Spanish-Speaking Latin American countries.

Table 2 (continued)

	Country <sup>15</sup>	Year	Name Used
1.	Costa Rica	1949	español
2.	Panama	1972	español
3.	Cuba	1976	español
4.	Honduras	1982	español
5.	El Salvador	1983	castellano
6.	Guatemala	1985	español
7.	Nicaragua	1987	español
8.	Colombia	1991	castellano
9.	Paraguay	1992	castellano
10.	Peru	1993	castellano
11.	Venezuela	1999	castellano
12.	Ecuador	2008	castellano
13.	Bolivia	2009	castellano
14.	Dominican Republic	2010	español

According to Table 2, 7 of the 14 countries that declare the Spanish language as an official or co-official language refer to the language by the name “español” and 7 of the 14 countries refer to the language by the name “castellano”. The name “español” was used more frequently before the 1990s. The name “castellano” was used more frequently after the 1990s. As Spanish-speaking Latin American countries began to develop a national identity, the language of the conquerors

<sup>15</sup> Countries are listed chronologically according to the year the act entered law.

used in the nations continued to be used by the connection to the national identity. Historically, an identifiable pattern has been observed in national language naming conventions. The pattern displayed in these conventions is described as fractal recursivity, in which a given context is judged or labeled based on the symbolic and semiotic categories of another context (Irvine and Gal 38). The fractal recursive nature of the pattern of national language naming produced language names derived from the nation it is associated with, for example Italian in Italy, French in France, English in England. In the case of the language names, the national names have historically derived their name from the country they are associated with. The pattern continues in the name “español” for this name is semantically and morphologically associated with the country, “España” (Spain), where the Spanish language originated. The data in the constitutions suggests that the use of “castellano” as the name avoids tagging Spain to the Nations in which the Spanish language is spoken.

In addition to presenting the constitutions of Spanish-Speaking Latin American countries, the debate also includes the Constitution of Spain. The article in the constitution is worded in a way that shows that all languages spoken in Spain are considered Spanish languages. Article 3 of the Constitution of Spain states that “el castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado<sup>16</sup>.” In the same article of the Constitution, all of the languages spoken in Spain are considered to be official languages as well. The languages, aside from “castellano”, spoken in the Autonomous Communities of Spain are also official languages of those communities; for example, in Cataluña, Catalan is an official language alongside “castellano” (Godev 12). This way of framing the naming of languages in Spain entails that referring to “castellano” as “español” in Spain is problematic considering there is more than one Spanish language spoken in Spain. The notion that all of the languages spoken in Spain are considered to be “lenguas españolas” suggests that

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<sup>16</sup> *Translated:* “Castellano” is the official Spanish language of the State.

“español” is not used as a name, rather it is used an adjective that denotes belonging to a political entity that encompasses the language that is spoken both in bilingual and monolingual areas and the languages whose use is restricted to the bilingual areas. This concept can be visualized by viewing countries as containers. Each country is a container and everything inside of that container shares the quality of belonging in that container. The shared quality can be represented by using an adjective to describe them, for example items in the container representing Spain are Spanish items at the same time that the items in the container representing Mexico are Mexican items. In other words, the semantic value placed on the word “español” in Spain differs from the semantic value placed on the word in Spanish-speaking Latin American countries.

Unlike the situation for the language in Spain, where more than one regional language is described as a Spanish language, in Latin America the only item labeled with the description of being from the Spain container is the Spanish Language. In other Latin American containers, such as Mexico or Peru where other languages are also contained, no other languages are referred to as “español”. To this end, the adjective “español” successfully indexes the Spanish language in Spanish-speaking Latin American countries in the same way that a name would index the language. The use of “español” in Latin America reinforces the word’s semantic value of a name as opposed to the semantic value of an adjective featured in Spain’s use of the word. Applying the name “castellano” to the language in Latin America does not identify a speaker as being from a specific region of Latin America in the way that it points to the region of Castile in Spain.

The next group of textual artifacts presented in this section consists of education legislation in Latin American countries. The artifacts provide insight into the ideologies of the educational institutions in Latin America. Table 3 includes the list of laws from countries that

have declared the Spanish language an official or co-official language and also declare it to be the language of instruction. The laws are organized by country and year, and the name used to refer to the language is identified in the last column:

TABLE 3. Education Legislation in Latin American Countries<sup>17</sup>

Table 3 (continued)

	Country and Year <sup>18</sup>	Law	Name Used
1.	Costa Rica 1957	Ley Fundamental de Educación Capítulo VI - De los Establecimientos Privados de Educación art. 37 a	castellano
2.	Peru 1982	Ley General de Educación art. 6 - Formación ética y cívica art. 20 - Educación Bilingüe Intercultural a y c art. 38- Alfabetización	castellano
3.	Colombia 1994	Ley 115 Sección Tercera – Educación básica art. 20 c art. 22 a art. 23 áreas obligatorias	lengua castellana castellano
4.	Nicaragua 2006	Ley General de Educación Considerando VIII	español
5.	Venezuela 2009	Ley Orgánica de Educación Capítulo II – De los Planteles Educativos art. 61	castellano

<sup>17</sup> The textual artifacts included in this table come from the countries in which the Spanish language is an official or co-official language and only include those countries in which the Spanish language is mentioned explicitly in the education legislation and referred to as either “español” or “castellano”.

<sup>18</sup> The countries are listed in chronological order according to the date when the law went into effect.

Table 3 (continued)

	Country and Year <sup>18</sup>	Law	Name Used
6.	Bolivia  2010	Ley No. 070 Ley de la Educación  Capítulo 1 – Subsistema de Educación Regular art. 10 – Objetivos de la Educación Regular  Capítulo III – Diversidad Sociocultural y Lingüística 4 art. 7 – Uso de idiomas oficiales y lengua extranjera 1-3	castellano
7.	Ecuador  2011	Ley Orgánica de Educación Intercultural Considerando art. 347  Capítulo Noveno art. 68  Capítulo Segundo art. 81	castellano

The majority of the countries that have declared the Spanish language as the official or co-official language of the nation used the same name to refer to the language when it was declared that the Spanish language would be the language of instruction. The exception to this is Costa Rica. While Costa Rica declared the Spanish language the official language by referring to it as “español” in 1949, eight years later education legislation declares that all lessons should be delivered in “castellano”. The data suggests that the governmental institutions and education institutions in all, but one country agree upon the name used to refer to the language.

The prologue of *La Gramática de la Lengua Española* by Emilio Alarcos Llorach is the next textual artifact presented in this section. For this study, one passage was selected for



observation:

Mi propósito consiste en exponer los rasgos de la gramática del español que se descubren en los actos orales y escritos de los usuarios de la lengua en este siglo XX. Hoy día concurren normas cultas diversas en los vastos territorios donde se practica el español como lengua materna. Ya no es posible sostener, como, un siglo atrás hacía Leopoldo Alas, que los peninsulares somos los amos del idioma; más bien, según propugnaba don Ramón Menéndez Pidal, debemos ser solo sus servidores. (Llorach 17-18)<sup>19</sup>

In this textual artifact, the Spanish language is referred to by the name “español”. In Nebrija’s prologue, national ideologies are present as the language is used as a tool to unite the regions in the Iberian Peninsula as they began to fuse into a nation. The textual artifact presented above depicts a change in the national ideologies associated with the language. This change is ever present in the final line of the above quote. In this line, Llorach reflects on the evolution of the Spanish language from national language associated with Spain to a language of many nations.

#### **4.5 The Last Fifteen Years**

In order to analyze the debate over the last 15 years, titles of news articles that included a name to refer to the Spanish language were gathered from nine Spanish-speaking Latin American countries and Spain. The corpus for the present work was gathered in the first week of September 2023. The titles of the news articles were found in the ProQuest database Latin American Newsstream in which a search was conducted using the keywords “lengua castellana” and “lengua Española” between the years 2006 and 2022. Only titles that were associated with newspaper articles were considered. The searches returned 19 titles featuring the name

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<sup>19</sup> *Translated:* My goal consists of presenting the features of the Spanish grammar that can be observed in oral and written acts of users of the language in this twentieth century. Today, diverse standard varieties exist in the vast territories where Spanish is used as a mother tongue. It is no longer possible to maintain, as Leopoldo Alas did a century ago, that the people of the Iberian Peninsula are the masters of the language; rather, as Ramón Menéndez Pidal advocated, we should only be its servants.

“castellano”, of which 16 were used in the analysis, and 68 titles featuring the name “español”, of which 58 were used in the analysis. One title that features the word “español” is mentioned in the analysis but is not considered in the overall corpus because it is not used to refer to the Spanish language. However, the use of the word “español” in the title goes to further illustrate the semantic value of “español” as a word used in Spain. Titles were rejected from the analysis if the title was of an article that was published more than once with the same title. A total of 74 titles<sup>20</sup> were used for the final analysis. Figure 1. provides a visual representation of the number of titles and their location of publication:

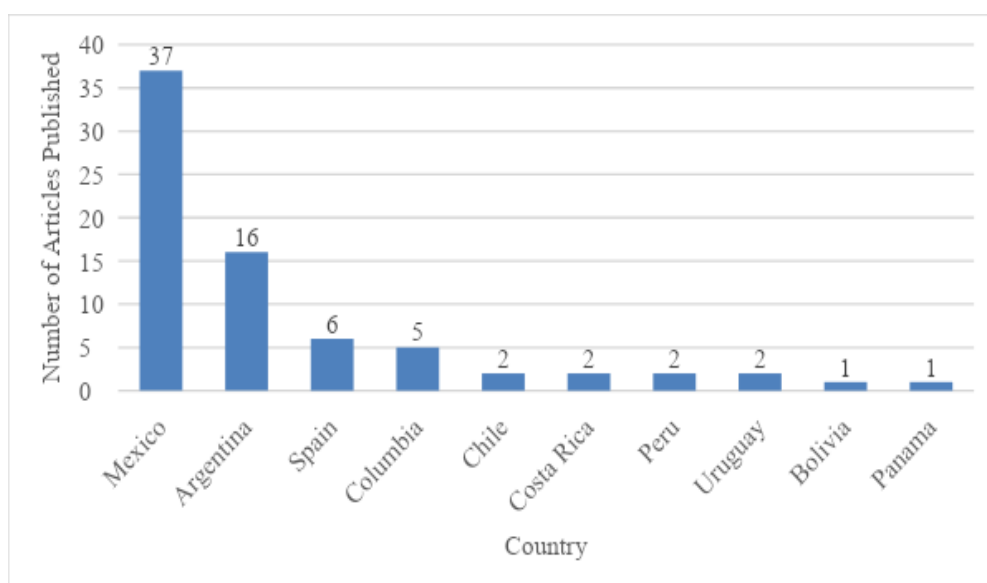


FIGURE 1. Number of Titles Published by Country

Figure 1 shows that the majority of titles were published in Mexico, Argentina, and Spain indicating that the voices from these countries have the most representation. Of these three countries, Spain is the only one that has not only declared an official language, but the official language declared is “castellano”. Neither Mexico nor Argentina has legally declared an official language. However, the predominant language in both countries is the Spanish language. The

<sup>20</sup> A complete list of the titles can be found in Appendix IV.

titles came from 26 different news sources. Figure 2 presents the number of titles published by each news source visually:

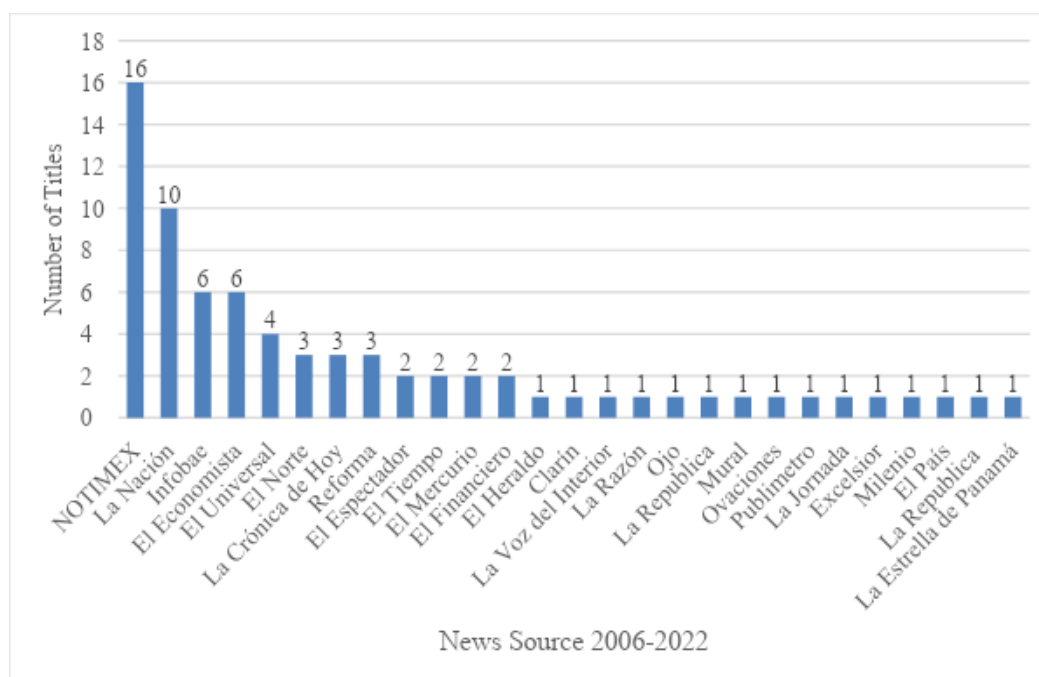


FIGURE 2. Number of Titles Published by News Sources

According to Figure 2, 16 out of 74 of the titles were published by the news source NOTIMEX in Mexico accounting for nearly 22% of all titles published. La Nación accounts for 13% of all published titles, publishing 10 out of 74. Infobae and El Economista both account for 8% of all published titles. These four sources combined account for 50% of the titles published. Therefore, 50% of the entire dataset of titles is made of titles published by 15% of the total number news sources.

Out of 75 titles, three titles referred to the Spanish language with both names. These titles come from news articles published in Panama City, Bogota, and Buenos Aires. The titles are as follows:

- Opinión: La lengua española o el castellano
- Español vs. Castellano y futuro del género con “e” cierran Congreso de Lengua

- El español avanza imparable en Estados Unidos: La población hispana es el grupo minoritario más grande del país; el castellano es la segunda lengua más hablada, según datos de la Oficina del Censo norteamericana

The first two titles acknowledge the debate of how to refer to the language. The other title uses both names interchangeably to refer to the language.

The Spain perspective represented in the data in this section is made up of eight individual news article titles. The titles published in Spain come from three cities: Madrid, Barcelona, Córdoba. Both Madrid and Córdoba published news articles with titles using the name “castellano” to refer to the language. Out of the eight news articles published in Spain, seven featured the name “castellano”. The one article published in Barcelona by Comunicae Newswire used the word “español”:

- “Bolsalea, primer ecommerce español que ofrece la lengua de signos en su servicio de atención al cliente”

Although this title does not indicate an incident where a name was used to refer directly to the Spanish language, the use of the word “español” in this title does reinforce notions discussed about the semantic value of adjective being applied to “español”. The word “español” is used as an adjective to describe a specific kind of ecommerce in Spain. This example clearly illustrates the different semantic roles of names and adjectives. The name of the ecommerce is Bolsalea while the adjective associated with the ecommerce is “español”. The use of the term “español” as an adjective describing ecommerce rather than naming it parallels the insufficiency of using the adjective to name the Spanish language in Spain.

The majority of titles featured in the analysis, 67 out of 74, come from news articles published in Spanish-Speaking Latin American Countries. The countries featured in the analysis

and the total number of titles associated with each country is as follows:

TABLE 4. Number of Articles Published in Each Spanish-Speaking Latin American Countries

	Country	Number of Titles
1.	Argentina	15
2.	Bolivia	1
3.	Chile	2
4.	Costa Rica	2
5.	Colombia	5
6.	Mexico	37
7.	Panama	1
8.	Peru	2
9.	Uruguay	2

According to Table 4, the country with the most titles published is Mexico with a total of 37 titles. Two cities were specified where the news articles were published, Mexico City and Monterrey. The country with the second most titles is Argentina, with all 15 titles coming from news articles published in Buenos Aires.

Throughout the analysis of the titles, the most common words that appeared next to or close to the names used in the titles were observed. Phrases frequently used with the name “español” include “redes sociales”, “lengua científica”, “lengua trasplantada de conquista”, “lengua conquista”. There were two topics observed more frequently in the data when the name

“español” was used. The first of the two includes “español” as one of the major languages used on social media, especially on platforms like Facebook and Twitter, recently rebranded as X. In addition to news articles reporting that “español” is a language frequently used on social media, according to the Internet World Stats it is the third most used language in social media behind Chinese Mandarin, with English being the most frequently used language. Social media has bridged some of the distance contributed to geographical features that create distance between social groups. The nature of social media is that experiences that happen in virtual worlds affect the physical world. Associating the Spanish language with the concept of a major language in social media creates a new role for the language. When the Spanish language left the Iberian Peninsula and entered other nations, it became an international language. As the Spanish language enters use into the social media environment, it becomes a new kind of language that goes between environments. The data presented in the analysis coupled with the records from Internet World Stats suggests that the Spanish language is performing in a new role as an “intersocialmedia”<sup>21</sup> language, and the name associated with the “intersocialmedia” role of the language is “español”.

The second theme observed frequently in the titles when the name “español” was used to refer to the language is the situation of the Spanish language and its association with the conquest of the Americas. The association with the conquest was observed in titles of news articles published in Mexico. The titles that used language associated with the conquest of the Americas were featured in two news sources, *El Universal*, with one title published and *La Crónica de Hoy*, with two titles published. The association of “español” with the conquest of the Americas could contribute to the motives of Mexico for not establishing it as the official national language as it

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<sup>21</sup> The term “intersocialmedia” is a term used as an adjective to describe items used throughout the container of social media. In the scope of this thesis, it describes a language that is used in and across social media environments. To the knowledge of the author, the term has not yet been used before.

has been established in the present work that national identity is associated with the national language.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary of the present work and closing thoughts. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section (5.1) provides a summary of the Critical Discourse Analysis of the debate carried out in chapter 3. The second section (5.2) provides concluding thoughts on how the information obtained from the analysis relates to the names used to refer to the Spanish language. The final section (5.3) provides a reflection on the status of the debate in the Spanish-speaking world.

### 5.1 Summary of Critical Discourse Analysis

The textual artifacts featured in the Critical Discourse Analysis of the debate (chapter 3) over the use of either “castellano” or “español” to refer to the Spanish language were organized chronologically to illustrate naming patterns in light of the birth and development of the language and the sociopolitical contexts associated with how Spanish evolved. I want to remind the reader that the human agent in the CDA is not a controllable variable in the study therefore the interpretation of data in the CDA may be biased. In addition to the limitation of a human agent, the findings in this study may not be generalized to ideologies in all languages as the language of focus in the present study is the Spanish language. The summary of the CDA includes figures not previously included in the main analysis in order to facilitate a summary of the numerical data. For the CDA, textual artifacts in which a name was used to refer to the Spanish language, either “español” or “castellano”, were gathered from different periods of time since the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Figure 3 provides a visual representation of the number of textual artifacts in each time period in which a name, either “español” or “castellano”, was used

to refer to the language:

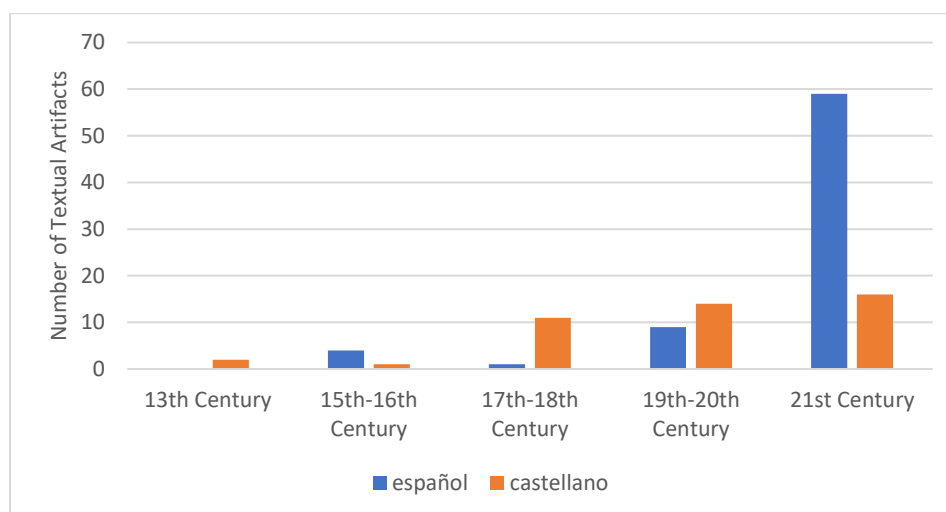


FIGURE 3. Number of Occurrences of Names in Textual Artifacts

In Figure 3, the vertical axis represents the number of textual artifacts included in the present work. The horizontal axis represents the century or range of centuries in which each textual artifact belongs. The bars represent the names used to refer to the language in the textual artifacts, blue for “español” and orange for “castellano”.

During the Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, in particular in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it was evident that King Alfonso, the Wise, King of Castile and Leon between 1252 and 1284, preferred the name “castellano”, as can be observed in *General Estoria*, where he referred to the language as “castellano” and “lengua de Castilla”. The ideologies that are observable in King Alfonso the Wise’s use of the name “castellano” are regional, national, political-religious, and ideologies of the language as a sociopolitical instrument. The phrase used to refer to the language, “nuestra lengua de Castilla”, suggests regional ideologies; the development of the nation during the same time period when the language was being referred to in this way ties national ideologies to the name.



During the time of Nebrija, end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, several texts were published that included the name “español” to refer to the language. While the use of a name in these texts did not appear to have ideological implications, it provides context to the existence of both names simultaneously and continuously throughout the life of the Spanish language. When an entity enters into a situation where it is frequently referred to, it creates a need to name the entity. Although the language was in use long before Nebrija used the language, the need for a name for the language was not a pressing issue. As the language gained prominence, more people used it and talked about it. The need to define the language motivated Nebrija’s use of a name for the language. Earlier uses of a name to distinguish the Spanish language from other romance languages, namely the romance varieties spoken in Leon, Navarra, and Aragon<sup>22</sup>, alongside the ideologies associated with the name may have contributed to Nebrija’s motivation to use the name “castellano”. The ideologies associated with the name before Nebrija’s use include regional ideologies, national ideologies, political-religious, and ideologies of the language as a sociopolitical instrument. Nebrija’s use of the name “castellano” alongside the ideologies previously associated with the name create a feedback loop. The feedback loop reinforces the association and relation between the name “castellano” and the language ideologies.

Section 3.3 of chapter 3 discussed textual artifacts associated with the Colonization period during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They consist of 10 royal decrees and one royal ordinance sent from the Spanish Crown in regard to the intended uses of the Spanish language in the Americas. Four common themes were identified. Figure 4 provides a visual representation of the number of textual artifacts associated with the four common themes observed in the

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<sup>22</sup> The regions of Leon, Navarra, and Aragon had regional Romance languages evolved from spoken Latin, also known as Vulgar Latin. When these regions united under the Kingdom of Castile, the regions were castilianized and adopted the Castilian Romance language (Alonso 15).

documents:

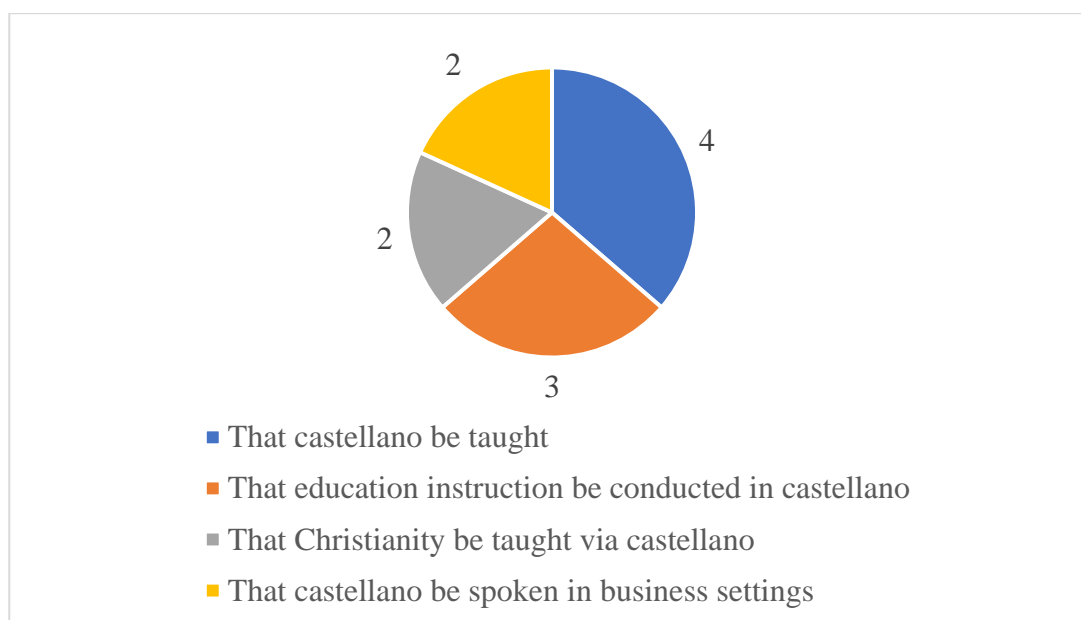


FIGURE 4. Number of Texts Featuring Content about the Use of the Spanish Language

The four common themes identified in the textual artifacts are represented in a pie chart to show the most common intention identified in the documents. The themes that represent the largest number of textual artifacts are the blue theme, with 4 documents, and the orange one, with 3 documents. In these documents, the Spanish Crown declared that “castellano” be taught throughout the colonies and that the language of instruction be “castellano”. The concern of the Crown to how social structuring institutions should perform suggests a preference for them to be modeled after the institutions in the Kingdom of Castile. When the language was introduced to the indigenous people in the Americas, the name of the language was “castellano”. The colonists would often speak to the indigenous people about the language and the Crown, however the name or the adjective “español” was not used to refer to the language or the Crown (Alonso 130).

The postcolonial debate begins at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the prologue of

*Gramática de la Lengua Castellana: Destinada al Uso de los Americanos* by Andrés Bello. This is the first time a grammar was written with the intention to capture the Spanish Language the way that it is used by speakers in Latin America. In the prologue, Bello avoids using the term “español” when referencing the speakers of the language in Spain as well as when he refers to the language. Bello maintains that the language does not belong to a specific territory and that the nations that use the language have the right to it as much as Spain. The use of “castellano” instead of “español” avoids fixing the language to the specific region that, in Bello’s time, is still associated with the former colonizing power. While “español” carries traces of Spain in its connotation, the word “castellano” does not.

The postcolonial debate continues after the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century through the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The first textual artifacts presented during this period are the Constitutions from Spanish-Speaking countries that established the Spanish language as an official or co-official language. Figure 5 provides a visual representation of the number of Constitutions that use either name to refer to the Spanish language in all of the constitutions considered in the analysis:

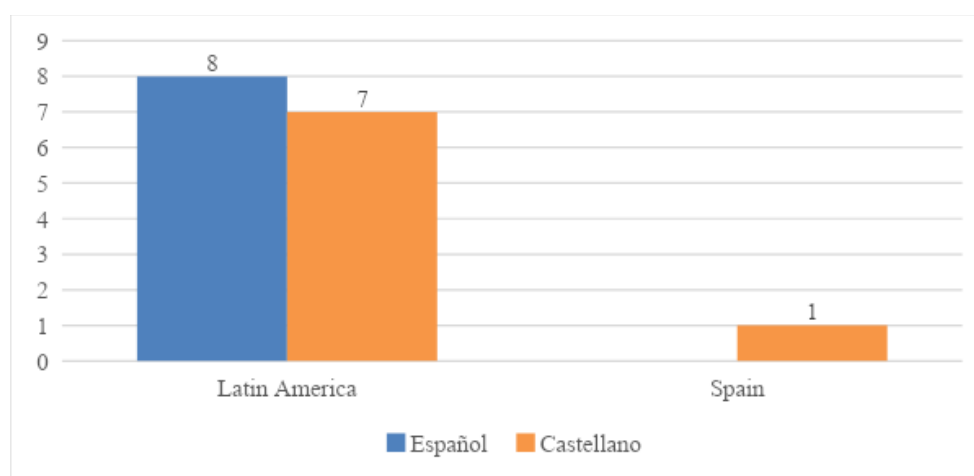


FIGURE 5. Number of Occurrences of Names in the Constitutions

In Figure 5, the vertical axis represents the number of Constitutions that use either name to refer

to the language. The horizontal axis represents the Latin American constitutions and Spain's constitution. The Spanish constitution is set apart from the Latin American constitutions to demonstrate a separation in the voices. The Spanish perspective and the Latin American perspectives are considered separately throughout the present work. The data is shown as bars representing the uses of the name "español" in blue and "castellano" in orange. Noteworthy is that between the years of 1949-1987, the name "español" was used most frequently in the constitutions regarding the official status of the Spanish language, with "castellano" appearing one time in 1983. The name "castellano" was only used one time during this time period in 1987. From 1991-2008, "castellano" was the most frequently used name, with "español" appearing one last time in the constitutions in 1991. The use of "castellano" in the Spanish Constitution as the name for the language is noteworthy as language naming conventions have historically used the name of the country to create the name for the language, i.e., English and England, French and France. The Spanish constitution describes all of the languages used in Spain as Spanish languages. Describing the languages as "lenguas españolas" suggests that the semantic value of term "español" is that of an adjective in Spain. While descriptions can be suitable to refer to entities in certain contextual situations, they are not the same as a name. It should be noted that in the Latin American constitutions, both names are used with similar frequency. In the countries that use the term "español", the semantical issue in Spain of referring to the language using "español" does not exist as the language is the only item in these countries that is referred to be this term. The countries that use "castellano" to name the language could be motivated by the desire to remove the risk of any colonial past associations being conjured up by the name of "español". The term "castellano" is not associated with a major nation, therefore it no longer carries any national ideologies associated with a specific nation.

In addition to constitutions, textual artifacts considered in the postcolonial portion of the debate includes Education Legislations regarding the language of instruction in seven Spanish-speaking countries. The countries whose legislation is considered in the present work are Costa Rica, Peru, Colombia, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Bolivia. Figure 6 provides a visual representation of the names used in educational laws in Latin America:

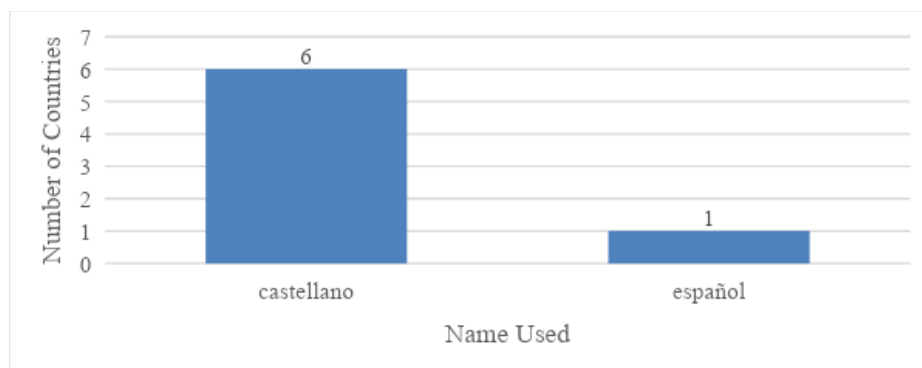


FIGURE 6. Number of Countries with Education Legislation Regarding Language Use<sup>23</sup>

In Figure 6, the chart represents the number of countries that explicitly name the Spanish language as a language of instruction in the education system. Out of seven countries, only one used the name “español” to refer to the language. It is evident that, of the countries<sup>24</sup> that specify a certain language as the official language of instruction, the majority preferred the name “castellano”.

The last textual artifact presented in the postcolonial period of the debate is the prologue of *La Gramática de la Lengua Española* by Emilio Alarcos Llorach. This textual artifact provides evidence to the changing role of the Spanish language. Throughout its use over the history of the Spanish language, the language has been used as a regional dialect, a regional language, a national language, and an international language.

<sup>23</sup> The textual artifacts included in the pie come from the Latin American countries in which the Spanish language is either an official or co-official language and only include those countries in which the Spanish language is mentioned explicitly in the education legislation and referred to as either “español” or “castellano”.

<sup>24</sup> Legislation from seven countries met the criteria to be considered in this analysis.

In the last 15 years, the names “español” and “castellano” have continued to be used simultaneously to refer to it. Evidence of this is observed in the titles of newspaper articles published in Spanish-speaking countries. Figure 7 provides a visual representation of the frequency with which each name has been used in newspaper articles from 2006 to 2022:

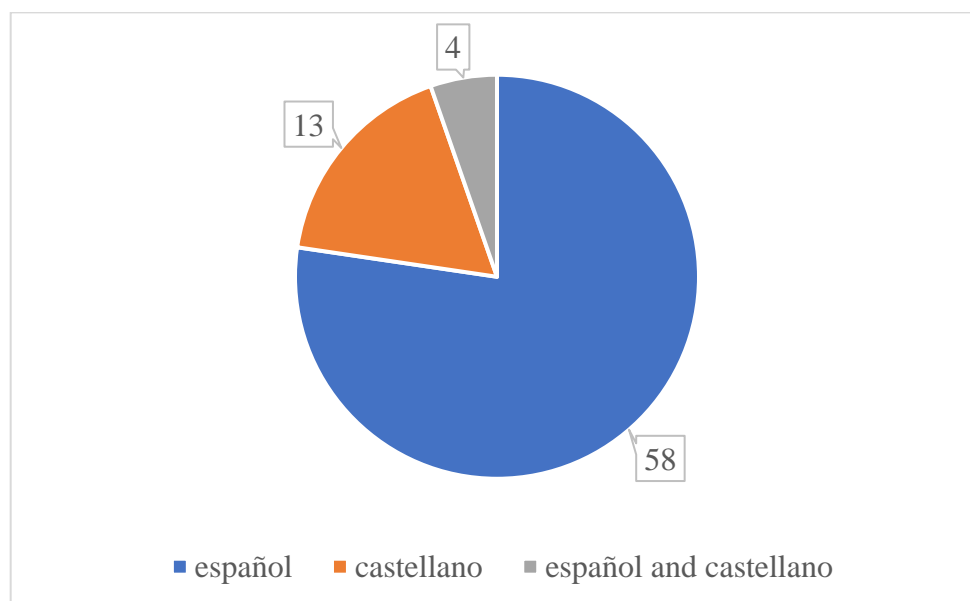


FIGURE 7. Number of Occurrences of the Names “Castellano” and “Español”

In Figure 7, the frequency with which the name “español” was used to refer to the Spanish language in the titles of newspaper articles is represented in blue and accounts for 58 of the titles. The name “castellano”, represented in orange, accounts for 13 of the titles. The last section is made up of 6 titles in which both names were used at the same time to refer to the Spanish language.

One of the ways that the role of language changes stems from its use in different social environments, for example languages can be used in regional social environments or national social environments. As mentioned before, the Spanish language has taken on different roles. Some of the roles the language has played include that of a regional dialect, regional language, nation language, and international language. As different social environments emerge in society,

new roles are assigned to languages that are adopted into these new environments. The newest social environment where the language is a leading participant is social media. Social media is an environment where virtual and physical realities, or environment, are intertwined and the actions that occur in one reality can have a direct effect on the other. The social media environment goes beyond international and global environments with the extension into the virtual environment. Social actors are able to participate in the virtual environment in ways that are not only similar to actions that take place in the physical environment, for example creating art or having a conversation, but in ways that influence how social actors behave in the physical environment as well. “International” and “global” are terms that have a physical geographical reference in the world. Currently the Spanish language is the third most frequently used “intersocialmedia”<sup>25</sup> language and the name associated with this role is “español”.

## **5.2 What’s in a Name**

The purpose of the present analysis was to gain an understanding of how proper names function in a language and contribute to the shaping of identities of different sorts i.e., personal identity and social identity. Names act as a collecting point for descriptions and attributes of the object that the name refers to (Searle 172). Names perform a specific role in a language in which they refer to an object by providing a token of sorts that acts as a quick reference point for an object when it needs to be referred to. While any description of an object has the potential to be suitable to refer to it in certain contexts, it is more efficient to have a specific tag for an object when it is being referred to frequently in conversation. Having a name to use for an entity makes it possible to immediately refer to that entity when it is not physically present where the conversation is

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<sup>25</sup> The term “intersocialmedia” was introduced in the preceding chapter. The term “intersocialmedia” is used as an adjective to describe entities that exist throughout the container of social media. In the scope of this thesis, it describes a language that is used in and across social media environments. To the knowledge of the author, the term has not yet been used before.

occurring.

Considering that names in use carry with them a set of descriptions that contributes to the understanding of the object being named, it is necessary to analyze the descriptions associated with a name before declaring said name the official name of the language. Historically, national languages have been named after the nations they are associated with, for example Italian and Italy and French and France. The naming conventions for national languages seem to have changed to coincide with the changes in the way nations have developed. When the Spanish language was developing, the Kingdom of Castile was concerned with growth and expansion. The language grew with the country which grew under its own identity. The situation for the nations that experienced colonization is different. The Spanish language was brought to the Americas and the culture and social structure of the Americas was designed to match a different nation. When these colonies fought and obtained their independence from colonizing nation, they began the reconstruction of their national identity.

The power of a name is evident when we consider the description of the language as a way to refer to the national language in lieu of an official name. This phenomenon is ever-present in nations that have experienced colonization by European nations and adopted the colonizing language as their own. In the United States in 1793, when the country was under development, the language was referred to as the American Language when he insisted that the language be freed from European ties (Read 1142). In Argentina, the language remained unnamed and was referred to as the “idioma nacional” or national language (Alonso 136). When nations began using phrases such as the American Language, “idioma nacional”, “idioma brasileiro”, and “lingua brasileira”, the national ideologies associated with the language from the colonizing nation changed to the ideologies of the individual nations that use the language. The



use of qualifiers to refer to the language suggests that the nation is in the process of developing a national identity.

### **5.3 Is the Debate Settled?**

There are many ways to refer to the Spanish language, for instance the way in which it was referred to in this sentence is one example of how one can refer to the language. The referent used in the previous sentence is an example of using a descriptive phrase as a referent. The use of the phrase “Spanish language” in this thesis is intentional as it avoids choosing a side of the debate presented in it. The language has been referred to in many different ways throughout its use and the semantic value of the referents differs according to context. The situation is complex in Spain. A study of the attitudes towards language of Spanish individuals in Spain, of which 85% of the participants are original from Madrid, provides a perspective of the general monolingual public. The study found that the name used for the Spanish language by the participants is split almost equally between “español” (44%) and “castellano” (43%) (Yraola 568). The remaining 12% of participants stated that they used both names, some specifying that they used “castellano” in Spain and “español” outside of Spain (Yraola 569). From an institutional perspective, it could be said that it is not appropriate to use “español” as a name for the language because all of the languages in Spain are considered Spanish languages. The term “español”, when used in relation with the languages of Spain, does not pretend to name all of the languages or suggest that they are all the same language. The term is used to classify the languages as a group of languages that coexist in different pockets within a container, that is, the geographical boundaries of Spain. Calling one language in Spain “español” excludes the other Spanish languages, for example Catalan in Catalonia. The term “español” does not have the semantic value of “español” as a name when used in the context of Spain. In other Spanish-

speaking countries, the language is the only item that is referred to as “español”. In these nations, the term “español” has the semantic value of a name. The data presents a pattern where each name, “español” or “castellano”, has been preferred over the other at different moments in time and in different spaces. Figure 3, included at the beginning of the present chapter, represents the change in preference over the centuries. Currently “español” is the preferred term used to refer to the Spanish language outside of Spain. From the perspective of social structuring institutions in Spain, the debate clearly leans in favor of “castellano”. It is evident from the lack of countries that have officially declared the Spanish language an official or co-official language and explicitly attached a name to it that the debate is unsettled in areas of Latin America<sup>26</sup>. The unsettled debate is further evidenced by the use of both names simultaneously in countries. For example, news titles<sup>27</sup> of articles published in Panama City and Bogota indicate recognition of the debate being active in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as the titles explicitly position the two names in opposition. Another news title shows evidence of the two names being used interchangeably in Argentina. The present work proposes that, in certain areas of the Spanish-speaking world, the debate will continue in the foreseeable future. In the future, exploring the more explicit conversation surrounding the use of a name for the Spanish language from the perspective of the general public could be explored through social media platforms. The methodology of the present work could be applied to a Critical Discourse Analysis of what individuals are saying on social media platforms like X. The nature of social media provides a unique perspective for the general public which would contribute to the findings in this thesis.

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<sup>26</sup> In this thesis, Latin America refers to the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America.

<sup>27</sup> The news titles can be viewed in Appendix IV of the present thesis.

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<sup>28</sup> This book is a translation of *Vocabulaire Européen des Philosophies. Dictionnaire des Intraduisibles* by Barbara Cassin. It has been adapted to the Latin American context (Prunes 198).

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APPENDIX A: ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF EXCERPTS FROM NEBRIJA'S  
PROLOGUE<sup>29</sup>

1. TO THE MOST HIGH AND DISTINGUISHED PRINCESS ISABELLA, THE THIRD OF THIS NAME, QUEEN AND LADY OF SPAIN AND THE ISLANDS OF OUR SEA. HERE BEGINS THE FIRST GRAMMAR OF THE CASTILIAN LANGUAGE AUTHORED BY THE SCHOLAR ANTONIO DE NEBRIJA. IT BEGINS WITH THE PROLOGUE. READ IT AT YOUR CONVENIENCE. (Nebrija 1)
2. What we have said about the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, can even more be said about Castilian; which was in its infancy during the times of the leaders and Kings of Castile and Leon, and began to show its strengths in the time of the very enlightened and worthy of eternity King Alonso, the Wise, by whose command *Las Siete Partidas*, the *General Istoria*, and many works in Latin and Arabic were translated to our Castilian language. (Nebrija 5)
3. If something is not done in our language similar to what has been done in their language, your chroniclers and historians will write in vain and entrust to immortality the memory of your commendable deeds, and in vain others of us attempt to explain in Castilian strange and foreign things, and this undesirable outcome cannot be but in a matter of years. And one of two things will necessarily follow: either the memory of your great deeds perishes with the language, or it will wander through strange nations, for lack of its own house to dwell in. I wanted to set the foundation and do in our language what Zenodotus did for Greek and Crates did for Latin; even though they were surpassed by those who wrote after them, at least it was their glory, and it will be ours, that we were the first writers of such a necessary work. This could not have been done in a more opportune moment, for our language is so close to the summit that we can fear its downfall more so than await its rise. (Nebrija 7)

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<sup>29</sup> All translations in this appendix are inspired by the translation done by Magalí Armillas-Tiseyra.

4. And it will be of no less benefit to the speakers of our language who may want to study the grammar of Latin: because after getting a good grasp of the Castilian language – which will not be very difficult because the book is about the language that people use – when they study Latin nothing will be difficult to understand, especially with the assistance of the book that I wrote, *Art of Grammar*, which your Highness asked me to write and which contrasts line by line the romance language with Latin; with this teaching method, it would not be surprising to learn Latin grammar not within a few months but within a few days, and much better than it has been learned to date for a long time. (Nebrija 7)
5. With this work, those who do not learn Castilian as children can learn the language quickly by means of my work, including enemies of our faith, the Vizcainos, the Navarros, the French, the Italians, and all of those who have matters to attend with Spain, and the necessity to know our language. (Nebrija 8)



APPENDIX B: ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF EXCERPTS FROM BELLO'S PROLOGUE<sup>30</sup>

1. I do not pretend to write for the Castilians. My lessons are addressed to my brothers, the inhabitants of Spanish-speaking Latin America. I consider important the preservation of the language of our fathers in its possible purity, as a providential means of communication and a bond of fraternity between the various nations of Spanish origin spread over the two continents.

(Bello 11)

2. If from Castilian roots we have formed new words, according to the ordinary procedures of derivation that Castilian recognizes, and of which it has made use and continually makes use to increase its wealth, what reason is there for us to be ashamed of using them? Chile and Venezuela have as much right as Aragon and Andalusia to tolerate their accidental divergences, when sponsored by the uniform and authentic custom of educated people. They sin much less against the purity and correctness of the language. (Bello 13)

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<sup>30</sup> All translations in the present work are the author's own translation.

## APPENDIX C: LIST OF CONSTITUTIONS OF 16 OUT 21 SPANISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES<sup>31</sup>

Art. 2 de la Constitución de la República de Cuba de 1976.

Art. 2 de la Constitución de la República del Ecuador de 2008.

Art. 3 de la Constitución Española de 1978.

Art. 4 de la Constitución de la República de Guinea Ecuatorial de 1991.

Art. 5.I de la Constitución Política del Estado de Bolivia de 2009.

Art. 6 de la Constitución de la República de Honduras de 1982.

Art. 7 de la Constitución de la República de Panamá de 1972.

Art. 9 de la Constitución de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela de 1999.

Art. 10 de la Constitución Política de la República de Colombia de 1991.

Art. 11 de la Constitución de la República de Nicaragua de 1987.

Art. 29 de la Constitución Política de la República Dominicana de 2010.

Art. 48 de la Constitución de la República del Perú de 1993.

Art. 62 de la Constitución de la República de El Salvador de 1983

Art. 76 de la Constitución Política de la República de Costa Rica de 1949.

Art. 140 de la Constitución de la República del Paraguay de 1992.

Art. 143 de la Constitución de la República de Guatemala de 1985.

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<sup>31</sup> The constitutions listed here explicitly mention the Spanish language as an official language. Some constitutions refer to the Spanish language by the name of “español” and some by the name of “castellano.”

# APPENDIX D: LIST OF EDUCATION LEGISLATIONS FROM 7 OUT OF 21 SPANISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES<sup>32</sup>

Política del Estado de Bolivia, el Congreso. Ley de la Educación. *unesco.org*, 2010.

República de Colombia, el Congreso. Ley 115 Por la Cual se Expide la Ley General de Educación. *mineducacion.gov.co*, 1994.

República de Costa Rica, el Congreso. Ley Fundamental de Educación. *pgrweb.go.cr*, 1957.

República de Ecuador, el Congreso. Ley Orgánica de Educación Intercultural. *educación.gob.ec*, 2011.

Republica de Nicaragua, el Congreso. Ley General de Educación. *legislacion.asamblea.gob.ni*, 2006.

República de Perú, el Congreso. Ley General de Educación. *minedu.gob.pe*, 1982.

República de Venezuela, el Congreso. Ley Orgánica de Educación. *defiéndete.org*, 2009.

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<sup>32</sup> These education legislations listed here explicitly mention the Spanish language as a language of instruction. Some legislations refer to the language by the name “español” and some by the name “castellano”.

APPENDIX E: TITLES OF NEWS ARTICLES FROM 10 SPANISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES FEATURING A NAME USED TO REFER TO THE SPANISH LANGUAGE<sup>33</sup>

APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
1.	Colombia	20-Apr-22	El Heraldó	Piden que el español sea lengua oficial del Tribunal Internacional de La Haya	español
2.	Colombia	30-Mar-19	El Espectador	Español vs. castellano y futuro del género con “e” cierran Congreso de Lengua	español castellano
3.	Colombia	20-Mar-16	El Tiempo	¿Qué agregar o quitar al español?: Esta semana se realizó en Puerto Rico el VII Congreso Internacional de la Lengua Española (Cile) y luego de sus discusiones surgieron muchas preguntas sobre el idioma y sus palabras.	español
4.	Colombia	21-Jun-14	El Espectador	El español, segunda lengua más utilizada en Facebook y Twitter	español
5.	Colombia	26-May-10	El Tiempo	Español como segunda lengua, desde Colombia	español
6.	Argentina	7-Dec-22	La Nación	El español avanza imparable en Estados Unidos: La población hispana es el grupo minoritario más grande del país; el castellano es la segunda lengua más hablada, según datos de la Oficina del Censo norteamericana	español castellano
7.	Argentina	11-Jul-22	Infobae	Himno Nacional peruano deberá interpretarse en castellano y en lengua indígena u originaria en actos públicos	castellano

<sup>33</sup> The titles included in this appendix feature the use of the names “español” or “castellano”.

## APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
8.	Argentina	21-Jun-22	Infobae	El castellano sigue como única lengua en Congreso español tras bronca sesión	castellano
9.	Argentina	21-Apr-22	La Nación	Día de la Lengua : las “burradas” más comunes que atentan contra el buen español : “Valla” es una cerca, no una conjugación del verbo ir, y junto con caer en redundancias o poner una coma entre el sujeto y el predicado son los “crímenes” más graves para los lingüistas	español
10.	Argentina	1-Mar-22	La Nación	El test que pone a prueba tu nivel de vocabulario en español y es furor en las redes: El examen que circula en Internet evalúa el conocimiento de los usuarios acerca de la lengua; es propuesto por el sitio arealme.com y arroja una puntuación final	español
11.	Argentina	29-Dec-21	La Nación	¿Cuál es la palabra del año para FundéuRAE?: Como en lengua inglés, también en español se eligió “vacuna” como el término más representativo de 2021	español
12.	Argentina	17-Dec-21	Clarín	Combatido y desdeñado: el castellano, la lengua que hablan 580 millones de personas, tiene problemas en casa	castellano

## APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
13.	Argentina	14-Oct-21	La Nación	Luis García Montero. “El español ya no es considerado una lengua de pobres en Estados Unidos”: El Instituto Cervantes dio a conocer su vigesimosegundo informe sobre la importancia de esta lengua en el mundo; 493 millones de personas tienen el español como lengua materna	español
14.	Argentina	6-Aug-21	Infobae	JJ.OO.- Español como nueva lengua oficial y arbitraje telemático son las novedades arbitrales de Tokyo 2020	español
15.	Argentina	22-Jul-21	Infobae	Estados Unidos.- Sánchez reivindica en EEUU el español como lengua de “futuro” y “el mejor embajador comercial y de libertades”	español
16.	Argentina	23-Nov-20	Infobae	“Suelos de lengua”, el libro para aprender español con una sonrisa	español
17.	Argentina	11-Nov-20	Infobae	“Suelos de lengua” o los usos incorrectos del español, desde el análisis y el humor	español
18.	Argentina	17-Jul-19	La Nación	La lengua argentina: alto diccionario de voces del español reusadas en el país	español
19.	Argentina	27-Mar-19	La Nación	Congreso de la Lengua: el español, entre el debate y la pura celebración	español
20.	Argentina	24-Jun-10	La Nación	El español ya es la tercera lengua más usada en Internet	español

## APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
21.	Chile	21-May-16	El Mercurio	Países que tienen al idioma español como lengua común multiplican por cuatro sus intercambios comerciales	español
22.	Chile	7-Sep-15	El Mercurio	Academia Chilena de la Lengua resuelve las dudas más comunes del español	español
23.	Argentina	22-Apr-22	La Voz del Interior	Día de la Lengua Española: los cinco errores más frecuentes al escribir en castellano	castellano
24.	Costa Rica	22-Jan-13	La Nación	El español es la tercera lengua más utilizada en redes sociales	español
25.	Costa Rica	1-Jul-10	La Nación	Español pasa a ser la tercera lengua más usada en Internet	español
26.	Bolivia	2-Jul-16	La Razón	El español es la lengua nativa de 472 millones de personas, 2 más que en 2015	español
27.	Peru	10-Jul-22	Ojo	Himno Nacional deberá ser interpretado en castellano y en lengua indígena u originaria en todo acto público	castellano
28.	Peru	21-Sep-21	La República	Lanzan concurso de ensayos en castellano, quechua, aymara o cualquier otra lengua nativa	castellano
29.	Spain	10 Nov 202	El Economista	Ciudadanos no apoyará los Presupuestos si el Gobierno mantiene que el castellano deje de ser lengua vehicular	castellano

## APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
30.	Spain	25-May-22	El Economista	El PP acusa al Gobierno de ponerse “del lado de los separatistas” al apoyar que el castellano no sea lengua de aprendizaje en Cataluña	castellano
31.	Spain	17-May-22	El Economista	Armengol subraya ante Ciudadanos que la lengua que está “en peligro” es el catalán y no el castellano	castellano
32.	Spain	3-Mar-22	El Economista	El Supremo ratifica que el castellano es lengua vehicular “en todo el Estado”	castellano
33.	Spain	23-Feb-22	El Economista	Plataforma per la Llengua tilda de “éxito” que la Ley de Educación balear no incluya el castellano como lengua vehicular	castellano
34.	Spain	23-Feb-22	El Economista	El Parlament balear aprueba la Ley de Educación que no incluye el castellano como lengua vehicular	castellano
35.	Mexico	3-Jun-22	El Norte	Reconocen en EU su labor por el español: Ingresa hoy Jeannette L. Clariond a Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española	español
36.	Mexico	21-Feb-22	El Norte	Hacen la vida mejor con su traducción: En el Día Internacional de la Lengua Materna que se conmemora hoy, intérpretes de lenguas indígenas en Monterrey cuentan cómo se preparan para ayudar a quienes no hablan español a ejercer sus derechos	español



## APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
37.	Mexico	18-Jul-21	Mural	Nuevo libro de texto, Reprobado: Los especialistas advierten que “Lengua Materna Español”, de tercero de Primaria, está lleno de deficiencias en diseño y contenido. Lo califican como más pobre que su versión anterior y con imágenes "de amateurs". Sólo 2 de los 18 volúmenes que se comprometió a rediseñar el director de Materiales Educativos de la SEP, Marx Arriaga, fueron reelaborados	español
38.	Mexico	19-Apr-21	El Norte	'Lengua española no es machista': Álex Grijelmo advierte que se han proyectado sobre el español culpas que no tiene, como que el masculino genérico es fruto del patriarcado	español
39.	Mexico	14-Dec-22	Ovaciones	Jóvenes del programa Unen al Barrio ofrecerán concierto rock en español en lengua de señas mexicana	español
40.	Mexico	18-Aug-22	La Crónica de Hoy	El español es una lengua trasplantada y de conquista: Concepción Company	español
41.	Mexico	4-May-22	Publímometro	Rey El Rey señala el Valle de la Lengua como ejemplo de las posibilidades la innovación para enriquecer el español	español

## APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
42.	Mexico	21-Feb-22	El Financiero	A propósito del Día Internacional de la Lengua Materna, ¿Cuántos y cuáles idiomas hay en México además del español?	español
43.	Mexico	21-Nov-21	La Crónica de Hoy	“El español en América: de lengua de conquista a lengua patrimonial”, fragmento de la obra de Concepción Company	español
44.	Mexico	20-Sep-21	La Crónica de Hoy	“El español en América: de lengua de conquista a lengua...”	español
45.	Mexico	30-Dec-20	La Jornada	Falta hacer oficial que el español es la lengua de México: diputado del PT	español
46.	Mexico	18-Nov-20	Excelsior	Vargas Llosa: 'Suprimir el castellano como lengua vehicular, idiotez sin límites'	castellano
47.	Mexico	27-Oct-20	El Financiero	El español que hablamos en México es la lengua más feliz del mundo	español
48.	Mexico	4-Mar-20	Reforma	¿Una lengua para 'todes'? Abogan por un español inclusivo. Ante las normas, asoma la rebeldía; piden académicas visión de género	español
49.	Mexico	25-Oct-19	Reforma	Coetzee, en resistencia: 'Hago lo que puedo para enfrentar la hegemonía del inglés'. El Nobel se rebela ante la arrogancia de su lengua y halla refugio en el español	español
50.	Mexico	14-Jun-19	El Universal	El español, de lengua de conquista a patrimonial	español

## APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
51.	Mexico	26-Nov-18	NOTIMEX	Presentan Libro de Estilo de Lengua Española para mejorar uso de español	español
52.	Mexico	15-Feb-18	El Universal	Buscan que lengua maya y español tengan igualdad de uso	español
53.	Mexico	10-Nov-16	NOTIMEX	“Español, segunda lengua más importante en Internet”: Fundación Telefó	español
54.	Mexico	9-Mar-16	NOTIMEX	entregan acreditaciones a intérpretes de lengua indígena-español, en e	español
55.	Mexico	4-Jun-15	NOTIMEX	Menores exhiben dominio de lengua indígena y español en Tabasco	español
56.	Mexico	25-Nov-14	NOTIMEX	Academia Mexicana de la Lengua reconoce al autor español Emilio Lledó	español
57.	Mexico	21-Oct-13	NOTIMEX	Urge Academia de la Lengua a una mejor enseñanza del español	español
58.	Mexico	30-Jul-13	NOTIMEX	El español, la tercera lengua más usada en internet: Caro y Cuervo	español
59.	Mexico	20-Feb-13	NOTIMEX	Pugna AML porque Constitución reconozca al español como lengua oficial	español
60.	Mexico	12-Jan-12	NOTIMEX	Desplazaría español al inglés como segunda lengua: experto	español
61.	Mexico	2-Aug-11	NOTIMEX	Ya no es considerado el español lengua articuladora en Latinoamérica	español
62.	Mexico	13-Apr-11	NOTIMEX	Habla Labastida sobre propuesta para que español sea lengua oficial	español
63.	Mexico	23-Mar-11	El Universal	El español como lengua oficial, propone la AML	español

## APPENDIX E (continued)

	Country	Date	News Source	Title	Name
64.	Mexico	7-Dec-10	NOTIMEX	Reconocer español como lengua oficial, reto de Jaime Labastida Ochoa	español
65.	Mexico	13-Oct-10	NOTIMEX	Es el español una lengua viva, no se puede encajonar: escritores	español
66.	Mexico	4-Dec-08	NOTIMEX	Aseguran el español ni ninguna lengua romance provienen del latín.	español
67.	Mexico	22-Nov-08	NOTIMEX	Firman convenio para certificar idioma español como lengua extranjera.	español
68.	Mexico	29-Oct-08	NOTIMEX	El español es la tercera lengua más hablada del mundo	español
69.	Mexico	2-Mar-07	Reforma	Impulsan al español como lengua científica	español
70.	Mexico	1-Oct-06	El Universal	El español tiene el reto de ser lengua internacional: RAE	español
71.	Mexico	11-Apr-13	Milenio	Español, lengua que se transforma pero no muere en las redes sociales	español
72.	Uruguay	13-Dec-22	El Pais	Liceales de Salto desarrollaron una app que traduce del español a la lengua de señas	español
73.	Uruguay	29-Mar-07	La Republica	En congreso del español debaten sobre el uso erótico de la lengua... castellana	español castellano
74.	Panama	22-Oct-13	La Estrella de Panamá	Opinión: La lengua española o el castellano	español castellano