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<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2dm7s447>

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### Publication Date

2017-01-30

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Los Angeles, November 2016

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## EL ESPAÑOL EN CALIFORNIA

### *The Spanish Language in California -- A Bilingual Guide*

The Spanish Language in California today is both a question and a subject, from the past and for the future. As I see it, it is both an historical question and subject, and a linguistic subject and question; for Spanish and English -- the two 'universal' languages of our contemporary world.

But why a bilingual guide, since the question and subject are very different in scope and details, when seen from the point of view of either language. For reasons of 'necessity', I would reply. At this late date, the second decade of the 21st century, the two points of view need to be brought together as a basic approach, or a guide. And moreover, I have already stated the question/subject in Spanish, that is, in terms directed to Spanish speakers and readers living in any part of the world, including California.<sup>1</sup>

Today most of the material written and published about or related to the subject/question and available to the public is, of course, in English . . . because directed emphatically to speakers and readers of this present-day majority language. But just as emphatically I would say the subject/question is the Spanish language -- speakers, readers, writers, from or since the beginning, the expedition of 1769, and even before, 1542, 1603.

I must emphasize this point, both now, and looking back three centuries to the arrival of Spanish-speaking Europeans to these Pacific shores. Before these dates I have mentioned, the only languages heard and spoken on these shores were the Indian dialects of numerous native tribes. With the sounds of Spanish, the California we know came into existence with place-names -- Reyes, Concepción, Monterey, San Diego, Los Ángeles, San Francisco.

In 1750, California was an unexplored territory claimed by a European power, Spain, inhabited by a profuse number of native (Indian) tribes, groups, languages, or dialects. Twenty-five years later -- by 1775 -- Spanish and Creole (Mexican) explorers and missionaries had explored the coastal plain from San Diego north, naming in Spanish every location and site they came upon, rivers, mountains, trees, plants, rock formations, etc., and had established three presidios and missions.

The use of Spanish in California has been continuous since, through historical changes and migrations, increase and diversity of population, for two and a half centuries. Today that continuity or permanence has assumed the astonishing cosmopolitan mix and variation (pronunciation, intonation, colloquialisms, etc.) of speakers from an array of Hispanic nationalities -- representing social class, profession or occupation -- that characterizes the new Spanish heard and spoken in the urban environments and even rural areas.

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At any given time since 1769, the Spanish spoken or written in California could not, in general, have been other than the language as spoken or written (print, books, newspapers) in Spain and the countries of South and Central America, with local variations and with characteristics of class or occupation. The astonishing facts of the situation today (1990-2016) stem from the unprecedented diversity of usage and linguistic traits heard or spoken, mostly in Southern California but also anywhere in the state on local radio or television, on the street or at home, workplace, offices; moreover, the voices heard are a mix, coming from Mexico, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, and Spain (Castillian, Andalusian). And the vocal registers vary from the colloquial and popular to the learned and professional representing all ages and occupation.

What historical factors have brought about this Hispanic composite ? -- Travel, trade, migrations, world economy, digital technology, the mass media? And why to this location on the map?

\* \* \* \*

This guide is meant to introduce the subject in a very general way, and state the various aspects of the question: what factors, historical, economic, or social, cultural or educational, explain the permanence and continuity of the language in this particular state?

Two other aspects of the question should be stated here: how and why (after 1850, and after 1980) has Spanish survived as a living, vibrant, language in all aspects of contemporary life in an English-speaking environment as powerful as we know it to be today -- ('English-only', 'official language')? And how could the language proliferate without state or public institutional sanction, or a central (linguistic) authority to impose standards of instruction, of usage and correctness? Further, how has English influenced Spanish -- word formation, sentence structure, -- especially among the young? And what does the immediate future, the next half century, hold that will re-order and re-shape the evolution of Spanish as an international language?

There are numerous side issues to the subject/question -- sociolinguistic, educational, ethnic, economic and political -- this guide can only allude to.

My task here and in the lists that follow is to focus on the material available in printed form, publications, books, articles, first of all **in Spanish** as 'primary texts' from authors well known or barely known, as evidence of the use of the language (and on the shelves of Doheny Library), from the Spanish Colonial period to the present. **The 'text' in Spanish is my focus.** And a translation to English of any 'text' is secondary. Of course the ideal form for some, myself included, would be a bilingual publication, the text in both Spanish and English, as is the case today of the Franciscan missionary-priests Juan Crespi, Pedro Font, and Junípero Serra, to start with.

Seen in the widest context, from 1769 to the present, the major factor is the movement and arrival of peoples of European extraction to these far shores. First, of Spaniards and Mexicans (and their native allies) from the south. Second, of Euro-Americans from the east (the Gold rush and after)

speaking English, in the 19th century. Followed in the 20th century by two major migrations of new generations of Spanish speakers from Mexico (1917-1930), and Central America predominately, after 1970 to the present.<sup>2</sup>

There were, of course, pre-historical migrations of native peoples and their languages (the Anthropological approach) that begin to explain the conditions the Spanish explorers and missionaries encountered on their arrival in Alta California.

The two major migrations of the 20th century, one before and one after 1950, are today well documented in the record -- historical, statistical, demographic and social, as well as sociolinguistic -- and no elaboration is needed here.

Nor am I concerned, primarily or otherwise, with the issues (economical, political, social) concerning immigration to the U.S. as debated today in Congress, the press or on television. My concern in these pages is the development and continuity of Spanish spoken or written in California, where, by whom and when. To this end I purposely use the term **migration** in the historical context, to describe the movement and arrival of newcomers to these Pacific shores.

We can speak of five major migrations and the changes they brought about, whereby the most significant would be the huge migration of English-speakers from the east who take over the Mexican province between 1846 and 1850. In the first half-century of the American takeover, Spanish then becomes a 'minority' language, concentrated in the southern half of the state, sustained or kept alive and current *at all levels of usage*.

The historical perspective provides a division of three major periods:

- I. The Spanish and Mexican periods, 1769-1850.
- II. The State of California, 1850-1950.
- III. 1950 to the present. Global Economy and Technology.

The first two periods are well defined in historical terms; here the major features can be described more readily. The third period is the more challenging because the material available or relevant is not only abundant but more varied and diffuse.

## NOTES

1 I have stated my views -- the Spanish language in California is an issue of European expansion to the Americas; the U.S. takeover (1846-50) confirmed an outpost of European civilization on the Pacific with the coexistence of the two languages, Spanish and English -- in the following articles with their references:

"El español en California, pasado y futuro", 2014.

"The California Story and European Expansion, 1492-1850."

"A Personal View: Learning and Teaching Spanish to Native Speakers in College", 2014.

2 The **Works** (1870-90) of H. H. Bancroft and his **History of California**, 7 vols, and the one volume **California Pastoral** (1888) head the abundance of books in English on this subject, from the Colonial and Mexican periods to the present. Few if any of these publications take notice or interest in the Spanish language as intrinsic to the subject. In this respect the book by Antonio Blanco, **La lengua española en la historia de California, Contribución a su estudio**, (Madrid, 1971) stands out for its historical focus and comprehensive treatment. The more recent and general approach -- historical, ethnic, sociolinguistic -- is "Spanish in the United States" where California can figure prominently as part of "The Southwest."

## *The Spanish and Mexican Periods, 1769-1850.*

The Archival evidence: preserved in official or private documents, correspondence, manuscripts, in Spain, Mexico, locations in the State or elsewhere, -- relative to exploration, colonization, is the initial feature; but of course much of this evidence in Spanish<sup>1</sup> is also important for later developments. Much of this early material has been brought to light by scholarship in Spanish and English. The published historical material is already extensive; the literary and linguistic aspects remain to be studied.

The expedition of 1769: the extant major 'texts', reports, correspondence of military officers, explorers and Franciscan missionaries from Lower or Baja California north by land and sea; the Capts Porto1á, Fages, Mercado; the missionaries Serra, Crespi, Palou, Font, Lauséns, etc., already well studied as historical material.<sup>2</sup>

A major linguistic feature, in my opinion, is the formality of address between military and religious leaders or participants these texts reveal. Even by 18th century standards, the formality of their discourse (speech and writing) is unusual on the frontiers of empire. Another feature would be the connection between the instruction in Spanish (Castilian) the Franciscans received in their home province (for most Balearic) as young students and its influence on their speech, conversation, pronunciation, grammar, because of the influence such training may have had on their 'teaching' young Indian converts, *neófitos*, words and grammar in Spanish. The other side issue: the Indians who learned Spanish well, or somewhat, or hardly at all.

[The Spanish learned and spoken by Indians (beginning in 1542...), men or women, is another broad subject/question and deserves a separate approach and even another historical focus.]

In their movement north the early explorers (de Anza, 1775) and Franciscan missionaries may be said to have brought from Baja to Alta California the Spanish language 'intact', in their speech, letters, official papers and reports. The whole expeditionary force represented -- in sociolinguistic terms -- an "oral" culture; formalized and administered from the top in writing but executed on the spot, down the ranks, by verbal, oral commands and conversations, military orders -- or religious prayers and sermons, -- the essence, the daily mass.

The written texts, manuscripts, military or religious, from that era and later are today available in archives or publications. The purely *oral* conversations, instructions and comments -- must be inferred from the evidence these manuscript texts provide as speech as well as action. These are the circumstances we face today when reading the oral or dictated (and translated) accounts available in print from or about the Mexican-Californio periods.

The Spanish of the colonial period, to 1821, from the top was the formal, administrative language -- all male -- in speech and writing of missionary priests, military commanders and captains between themselves and their supervisors in the capital of New Spain. On a lower level, social, religious, the development of the purely oral features of language for both males and females (after 1775) illustrate both continuity and change. Instruction in the language (spelling, grammar, verbs) was in the hands of the Franciscan order, friars or priests, and directed and inspired (prayers, sermons) by Catholic doctrines.

With the arrival of Mexican colonists with the second Anza expedition in 1775, the racial evolution (Mexicans, mestizos, etc.) begins -- under the military and administrative elite of Spanish commanders and missionaries.

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"Mexicanization" of the colony had been underway well before 1821. The increase in wealth and the number of missions -- their unique importance as centers of religious life and hospitality, their vast landholdings, attempts to control and discipline Indian converts and non-converts, -- were developments alongside the growth of pueblos and presidios with the increase of settlers and their families from northern Mexico, Sonora, Sinaloa, land grants and ranches to retired soldiers; moreover, by 1800 an entirely new set of conditions were in place at sea ports (San Diego, Monterey) for customs and trade.

The spoken and written language (like many domestic and religious [Catholic] customs) acquired Mexican features with the coming of a new generation. Only about or after 1780 were there children born to families of settlers, military officers or colonists, a first generation of Californios who were native speakers, the sons and daughters of military officers or soldiers assigned to presidios; they might have learned to read and write the language of their parents with or without formal instruction.<sup>3</sup> By 1800 schooling for youngsters (still based on religious doctrine and practice) had become indispensable for the military - political order, as for families looking to the future. In 1833 William Hartnell, the hispanized Anglo, established in Monterey a boarding school for boys (*Seminario del Patrocinio de San José*); it was short lived.<sup>4</sup> One can assume that books, grammars, readers and newspapers, circulated among family members and relatives of the elite (male or female). A significant degree of literacy would relate to wealth, social position, military and political power.

The years 1833-35 were pivotal. José Figueroa stands out as the Mexican Governor who could have directed the course of events to a different future for the province; he opposed the political leaders of the Híjar-Paredés colony (but not the colonists, settlers and their trades). His *Manifiesto a la República Mexicana* is the prime, representative 'text' of the Mexican period; -- printed by Captain Agustín V. Zamorano on the hand press he had set up in Monterey in 1835; it was the first book printed in California.

If the language of the Spanish colony, to 1821, is weighted toward the military and missionary, the language of the Mexican period is weighted to political ends -- control of expropriation of the missions, their vast landholdings, wealth and Indian labor. Figueroa's *Manifiesto* set the agenda for the aims of the younger 'native' military leaders who would dispute the rights of expropriation as an act of independence from authorities in Mexico City.

As the missions declined in wealth and influence, life on presidio/ranches became more prominent, with family celebrations, folk and religious festivals. The influence of women in manners and speech, formal or domestic, would characterize the courtesy and respect of a patriarchal family life, and the hospitality shown to visitors and strangers.

Daily life on ranches with their livestock, horses and cattle, *vaqueros* (names for their skills and gear, *reata*, etc.) and their horsemanship, an Indian workforce, along with clothing, music and dances, and yet a patriarchal formality, took on the characteristics of a life style that has been termed "pastoral". Land grants to retired soldiers and others multiplied right up to 1846 and beyond, particularly in the south.

Political and military governance would pass violently from Mexico City to the elite of leaders drawn from the most prominent landholding class, instigating intense rivalries, factions, even between south/north of the Departamento.

Among the native *Californios* (born roughly before 1810) who attained the age of maturity in the 1820s, are these young leaders and other decision makers.: the Carrillos, Pío and Andrés Pico, Pablo de la Guerra, Mariano Vallejo and Juan-Bautista Alvarado. Among them also those newcomers, Antonio Coronel (arrives 1834 from Mexico), Juan Bandini (arrives in the 1820s from Peru), and the future "oral" historian José María Amador (born presidio of San Francisco in 1781) and Antonio María Osio.

We know many facts about these historical figures, their family and blood ties, what we don't know



(and need to speculate) are the facts of their education, in particular of the most literate or best educated.

These men, and others as a group, representatives of a class or generation, were obliged by events to face and attempt to surmount, as leaders, the multiple, protracted crises of the Mexican period to 1846-50, severance of ties to monarchical Spain; attempts at autonomy or independence for the new Mexican province; secularization of the missions, expropriation or plunder of their lands and material wealth; arrival and controversy of the Híjar-Paredés colony, threats, military and naval, from foreigners overland and by sea, leading to the American takeover.

As the power elite of the province, these leaders were literate and realistic in their own ways; from 1822 to the 1840s as individuals they were dominant and fearsome. But as a class they were disunited, unprepared and unequal to the challenges coming from the interior of the continent or from the west by sea; the Euro-American expansion across North America to the Pacific.

Independence from Spain had exposed the Mexican province to dependence on foreign trade and commerce, and influences from abroad like liberalism and nationalism. Moreover, there were now numerous foreigners, Euro-Americans, in their midst, -- Stearns, Sutter, Hartnell, Larkin, etc., whose energy and skills foretold a change and a new direction.

Some, like Alvarado, the Picos, might conspire and plan to make the province an independent nation -- without the military or naval force to attain it.

The Bancroft Collection is the major repository of texts in Spanish from or about this decisive period and its long aftermath, to 1880, 'oral' *testimonios*, memoirs, historical accounts -- some are well known in English translation (Alvarado, Vallejo) as background to the American takeover (Bancroft's purpose in collecting them.<sup>6</sup>) My view is that these texts should be read, studied and interpreted, in their 'own right'; that is, as evidence of the speech and/or, writing of the language and its vitality on all social levels, by men or women. To me, at this late date, it seems contradictory that the Spanish originals of prominent and less prominent Californios remain archival material while English translations by diligent scholars are available on library shelves.<sup>7</sup>

In this respect, the complete text of two very important testimonials have been published expertly by editorial teams, José María Amador's *Memorias* in a bilingual edition (2005) with notes in both Spanish and English, and Antonio María Osio's *Historia*, skillfull and thorough yet in translation to English (1996).

As cultural *Testimonios* of decline, loss of property and political power, wealth and influence, these texts (transcribed or translated) express resentment, deprivation and dissatisfaction (in terms that Bancroft could use for his own purposes). But this is not their finality; as expression in the Spanish language their value in depth, historical or personal, or linguistic, remains for the future to explore and reassess.

By the 1840s a far greater threat or change approached, overland and by sea. When after 1821, the Mexican govt permitted foreign ships to trade at the ports of Monterey, San Diego or Santa Barbara, these ships brought not only manufactured goods to trade for cattle hides and tallow, but foreigners, most of them English speakers, among them some who chose to learn Spanish, convert to Catholicism, and became permanent settlers. Moreover, the Mexican govt and now the Californio leaders lacked the resources to control far-flung borders and the Sierra and desert from intruders and encroachments of migrants from the east -- smugglers, hunters, squatters, farmers and their families -- with the result that by the 1840s and the war with U. S. forces, a migrant population of English speakers had moved into the northern valleys (Sutter's ranch on the Sacramento) like an unwanted invasion.

The great migration west of Euro-Anglo-Americans to the Pacific *had been underway for half a century*, to climax in 1848-49 and after with the Gold Rush, overland and by sea.

## NOTES

1. An easy access to this information has been provided by Sylvia Hilton, most recently in the article cited from *Alta California*, ed. Steven Hackel (2010), and her book *La Alta California española*, (Madrid 1992).
2. Recent scholarship has clarified in depth the relationship between Fathers Serra, Crespi, Font and Palou, as authors, in particular by Alan K. Brown, and publications of the Franciscan Academies (Santa Barbara and Washington D. C.)
3. Instruction in the language (like instruction in general on any subject) was in the hands of the Franciscan Order, priests or friars, directed and inspired (prayers, sermons) by Catholic doctrines. Military discipline at presidios and missions down the ranks was largely oral and came from officers (*capitán, alférez*) literate in most respects. Of interest are the comments of Juan Bautista Alvarado on his education as a young man, writing many years later: "The schools were taught by some soldiers or others who hardly knew how to read and write and who had been educated by some friar, so that most of his learning consisted of knowing, and teaching his pupils to know, prayers, and the study of books of mysticism and catechisms of Christian doctrine; and that was the extent of the education of children, including the author of these pages." *Vignettes of Early California*, trans. John H. R. Polt, Book Club of California, 1982, p. 4.

Schooling at presidios and later pueblos was rudimentary and infrequent, despite the efforts of both Spanish and Mexican Governors to promote literacy, if only for military and administrative purposes. See Hilton (1992), pp. 300-302; Bancroft, *Pastoral*, ch 16.

The subject of instruction (read/write), schools and literacy, from the Spanish to the Mexican period, and its aftermath, from the top down, has to be expanded and redone, to replace Bancroft's self-serving summary in *Pastoral*.

4. See Susanna Bryant Dakin, *The Lives of William Hartnell*, Stranford, 1949, ch. 5.
5. Facsimile ed. & Introd., C. Alan Hutchison, U. Calif. Press., 1978. Harding, *Zamorano* (1934), ch. 8.
6. See the Bibliographical listings provided by the eds-authors Beebe and Senkewicz (1996), and R. Sánchez (1995). In her book *Telling Identities* Rosaura Sánchez subjects these *Testimonios* to an extensive critical (Marxist) analysis as historical sources, whereby her own valuable viewpoints are marred by an overdone rhetoric of "discourses."
7. The situation is reflected in the general approach to California and the subject/question of Spanish as the founding language of the state; consider the sparse coverage (with exceptions) devoted to California as a whole in the four volumes of *The Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United State* (gen. eds., Nicolás Kanellos and Claudio Esteral, Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993) by comparison to Puerto Rico, New Mexico, and Cubans.

## *The State of California, 1850-1950.*

It may be said that with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, text in Spanish and English, the former Mexican Territorio de California became a frontier (contested property ownership, discriminatory practices, bilingualism, segregation, etc.) opposing the two languages and their cultures for an indefinite time. At least until the Civil War. The northern half of the state was dominated by English-speaking Euro-Americans, and the other half south of Monterey by Spanish-speaking inhabitants of pueblos, presidios, ranch and former mission lands.

In practice the Constitutional Convention in Monterey faced the necessity of a viable, accurate, translation by a capable translator. The members of the Convention named the hispanized Englishman E. P. Hartnell, from Monterey, as the "Official Translator" and he ably provided the text printed and distributed from San Francisco (probably with help from the Californio members proficient in English (Vallejo, maybe others). Thus began the process that in one way or another for some thirty years provided texts and translations or information, printed or otherwise, of the state's laws and regulations (taxes, elections, etc.) for the lifetime of native Californios who needed and expected them.<sup>1</sup>

The Admission of California to the Union (Sept 1850) formalized this practice ("equality before the Law") of communicating new laws and regulations, in translation to the Spanish-speaking population, of which only a minority could read, as a matter of necessity.

The printed page, documents -- public, legal, official; newsprint, notices of every kind, take on a new reality. Bilingual translators become necessary; likewise, an elite of editors, lawyers, writers who read and write both languages. The newsheet in Spanish becomes a means to learn not only about local or state matters but about the world, in particular the Spanish-speaking world. As a frontier item, the Spanish language newspaper was born in an English-speaking environment.<sup>2</sup>

In this respect the life story and career of Francisco Ramírez, as editor and publisher, lawyer and political activist, becomes aptly illustrative.<sup>3</sup> Born in Los Angeles in 1817, this self-taught adolescent (also tutored by the Frenchman J. L. Vignes) edited and published *El Clamor Público* (1855-59) in Los Angeles, and later in San Francisco *El Nuevo Mundo*. His career as lawyer and editor for the next half century parallels (but does not repeat) the course of the *Californio* elite, the class of proud landowners. Their 'decline' is not our story. In the face of the onslaught of English-speaking dominance, the Spanish language did not 'decline' or die out, or disappear.

The historical fact should speak for itself: the State of California came into existence by incorporating a Spanish-speaking province that, after 1850, did not (figuratively speaking) 'disappear', did not 'die out' or 'assimilate', but that, in the next one hundred years took on a permanence of its own with further and larger migrations to the state of new generations of native Spanish speakers. The permanence and survival of Spanish is the basis of the bilingualism encoded in the state's culture, beginning with place names.

Two other considerations follow: information and education in Spanish, about which I intend to be brief and to the point. The American takeover stipulated providing in translation the necessary information about the state's new laws and regulations -- relative to court procedures (judges, translators, interpreters), elections, ballots, etc. -- in print. What the state of California did not even consider was to provide instruction for the young of the former Mexican territory to learn to read that information printed in their native language -- to become literate to some degree in Spanish.

# 10

In my view, the present-day controversies on this issue (language instruction) and other questions of this nature begin at this point.<sup>4</sup> In what, or which, language is a young male or female whose native language is Spanish to become (by instruction) literate by the age of seven or eight? In Spanish or English, or both? This fundamental question has remained irresolvable to the present. I see the question in both historical and sociolinguistic terms. The goal or aim should be attaining the highest degree of literacy by the age of twenty for the given individual.

A native language is what the child hears and learns from birth, let us say, to the age of five, when schooling begins. In the towns, cities, farms, rural areas, of California, since 1800 some ten generations of Spanish-speaking parents have passed on to (or imposed on) their progeny from birth this linguistic-domestic reality that is Spanish in sound and meaning *in the home, en el hogar*.

It is this family/parental domestic reality from childhood that imparts a preference, personal and life-long, over and alongside the dominance of English.

In my estimation, it is this personal preference -- difficult to describe even as an "ethnic" trait when addressing another Spanish-speaker, *Hispano, Hispana*, -- that has become the second major factor in the survival and continuity of the language. It is evident in the long-run among long-time speakers of any age as in new arrivals well or poorly educated but proficient in every aspect of their speech.

The majority of adult newcomers -- even middle class -- might be literate in their native language and educated to a significant degree, but as parents-to-be their children from grade to secondary school will face the need to become proficient in English and/or Spanish or bilingual.

In the present year of 2016, the loud-speaker voice on trains of the Los Angeles subway routinely broadcasts instructions and information in Spanish, -- not *as if*, but because, *in fact*, Los Angeles is and has been a Spanish-speaking city for generations.

In the 1880s, when Bancroft collected the texts of the Californios in eclipse and with the arrival of railroad connections to north and south, an entire re-ordering, and continuation, for the Spanish-speaking population was forming in urban and rural Southern California. 'Migrant Mexican' workers, as an underclass had been providing much of the manual labor that sustained the economic prosperity of the "boom of the 80s", by which "the Mexican pueblo" and Southern California would be transformed -- the "White wash" applied to "Adobe" of William Deverell's book. By the 1890s, the conditions by which Los Angeles would become the Spanish-speaking city of today had emerged, including a new intellectual leadership of bilingual politicians, writers and artists.<sup>5</sup>

The half century between 1880 and 1930 becomes the axial period.

The growing population of the state (into the millions), adhering to new inventions -- electrical power, the railroads, telephone, refrigeration, and later, the automobile and radio -- into the 1880s and 90s, attracted the steady arrival of "migrant" workers and their families from Mexico, producing in the midst of American prosperity a socio-economic and political minority that looked back to the home country for fiestas and commemorations. This was the surface. Underneath, another great change was in the making.

By 1900 a new generation of Spanish speakers, eager, able-bodied, was moving north in search of new opportunities as migrants or permanent settlers. They represented a new source of energy, a labor force and intellectual-spiritual force as well. Their coming north was facilitated by rail connections across the border into Mexico (policies of the *Porfiriato*) and when the Mexican Revolution of 1910 broke out these rail lines would provide the means for a mass movement of refugees -- individuals, groups, whole families -- able to migrate or forced to flee northward from the violence and disorder that gripped Mexico, and in far greater numbers after 1917.

The great majority of these families and individuals settled in and around Los Angeles, giving rise to whole neighborhoods and districts as 'Mexican'. That is, they spoke Spanish -- as individuals, not as a displaced nation. From Brooklyn Heights to Maravilla, the combination of established Spanish speakers and the newcomers would in time assume a social stratification with political overtones, as workers or citizens, from low to middle and upper class, professionals, entrepreneurs, due to job, income, education and a high degree of literacy. In this sense what emerged in 'East Los Angeles' was an urbanized, Spanish-speaking culture relevant to the new century -- the effects of cultural revolution, industrial innovation, resources of public libraries, mass transportation -- within the 'fastest growing city in the U. S.'

By the 1900s, newspapers and magazines began to flourish and circulate alongside bookstores and commercial outlets for news of events in the Mexican capital, the U. S. and in the Hispanic world. A literary culture of Spanish readers and writers was in the making.

In the first two decades of the 20th century the Spanish *reading* public in San Francisco and Los Angeles and throughout the state would support the rise of new and significant ventures in journalistic publishing, weeklies and monthlies, and their capable editors and staffs, including -- in the course of the Mexican Revolution -- the innovative émigré press: *La Prensa* (Adolfo Carrillo); *Regeneración* (Ricardo Flores Magón), *El Heraldo de México* (Juan de Heras), etc., and in the 20s, *La Opinión* (Ignacio Lozano), and others from radical to conservative viewpoints.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1920s, when radio stations began to broadcast in Spanish, and *La Opinión* appeared as a daily, their listeners and readership would confirm both the cultural and commercial value of these and other enterprises as well as the sense of a thriving community indispensable to the state's prosperity.

By 1930 the characteristics of community life in the Spanish-speaking neighborhoods of East Los Angeles and other 'Mexican' districts of the city and county were evident: churches, schools, libraries, civic organizations, political, social, religious (Catholic), public or private clubs for sports and businesses; outstanding artists, writers, musicians (*Marachi*); a bilingual street life of restaurants, stores, shops, and offices, reflecting the intimacy of family at home; a distinctly urbanized, working class culture -- backed by professionals, lawyers, physicians, entrepreneurs -- was at home in southern California, including movie houses showing films in Spanish. (Only in the late 1920s did film/cinema become 'oral' expression, the talkies.)

The border area, San Diego, west and south, had acquired its own characteristics as a bi-cultural, bi-lingual 'international crossing' convenient to motor trucks, autos, and pedestrians commuting daily.

By the 1940s there was evident a communal awareness, in some quarters of this population more active than in others, that speaking Spanish ('identity' in the parlance of sociolinguists) made the difference that sustained their place in the multi-racial, multi-cultural life of the state.

By 1950 the post-war economy of California (from aircraft to travel to agriculture and fruit picking harvests) had determined a new set of conditions for historical change: the awareness -- on both sides of the issue -- that the 'Mexican' populace and labor force of the past half-century had acquired a presence, *permanence*, political, socioeconomic, 'ethnic', and even ideological. This 'Hispanic' minority comprised a major urban-rural stratification, upper, middle, and lower 'popular' classes, essential to the future of the state, and, moreover, this minority would continue to grow as a result of world conditions.

## NOTES

- 1 The 'official' role of the language from 1850 to 1880 has been clarified by Rosina L. Lozano in her recent doctoral diss. -- from the linguistic barriers faced by the Californio delegates to the Convention of 1850 to the decision of "English only" of the Constitution of 1879. She further explores the parallel issue of instruction and schools, public and private, from schooling in Spanish in the south in the 1850s, instruction in modern languages like French and German introduced in San Francisco, bilingualism, and the rise of "English only" in the 20th century: '*Lenguaje sin Fronteras*', *Language without borders, The Spanish Language in New Mexico and California, politics, education, and identity, 1848-1952*, Univ. of Southern California, History, 2011.
- 2 My remarks apply to California in particular. The news sheet or newspaper had two aspects; it was local but produced to an international standard -- editorial and print wise. See listings and introd., Kanellos, Nicolás, (and) Martell, Helvetia, *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960* (Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage), Houston: Arte Público Press, 2000; California, pp. 87-89; and Geographic Index; and/or the data base at USC, *Hispanic American Newspapers 1808-1980*.
- 3 See the issue devoted to Ramírez, *California History*, vol. 84, n. 2 (Winter 2006 - 07) and the biography by Paul Bryan Gray (2012). The mass of new arrivals, migrants, to San Francisco in 1849 promoted an international demand for newsprint; newspapers in Spanish, French, German, alongside those in English. Among the miners, opportunists, journalists, attracted to the Gold Fields, and to international settlements in San Francisco, were Chileans as well as Mexicans and other Spanish-speaking migrants. See Urrutia, Carlos López, *Episodios chilenos en California 1849-1860* (Valpariso: Ediciones Universitarias, 1975).
- 4 To my knowledge these articles are the most recent statements on the question: Weiss, Michel (1978), Sapiens, Alexander (1979), Macías, Reynaldo (2001), and Guadalupe Valdés (2006). On bilingualism in the U.S. see the various articles in the vol. edited by Domita Dumitrescu, *El español en Estados Unidos* ('2013), in particular by Frank Nuessel, "La política de la educación bilingüe...una introducción", pp. 271-290.  
Another element are the long term efforts of the Spanish and Mexican govts to maintain a cultural presence in Los Angeles (and other cities in the U.S.) by providing instruction in the language at Cultural Centers, on all levels and emphatically as a *native* language, as well as 'foreign.' These efforts are also directed (from office of Cultural Attaché) to the public school systems as direct influence from Spain or Mexico.
- 5 The literature on this topic is extensive; I claim no originality. From Emory Bogardus and Carey McWilliams to Ricardo Romo and Antonio Ríos Bustamante the collective sense implied in 'Mexican', culturally or otherwise, is the Spanish language, i.e., 'Mexicans' as Spanish speakers. Note the titles and materials listed by William Deverell in his Notes, pp. 255 ff, *Whitewashed Adobe* (2004). Only after 1970, when this perspective had become fixed in the English Establishment, so to speak, did the historians of 'Latino' or 'Chicano' movements feel the pressure to write the 'professional' history of the Mexican Pueblo.
- 6 For a complete account see the translation of Castillo/Ríos Bustamante, *México en Los Ángeles* (1989), in particular pp. 185-192; and Kanellos, "The Press in Exile," p. 8 ff.

#### IV. 1950 to the Present

### *Global Economy and Technology.*

The causes -- political, social, economic -- of the mass movement north of Spanish-speaking peoples from tropical Central America are related to global conditions (third-world countries in crisis, job markets, civil war, drug wars, and military intervention), but their arrival in California, as immigrants or laborers or permanent settlers, has caused the state as a whole to confront this reality as an enormous human problem, and thereby another historical change in the presence of Spanish in the life and culture of the state.

From one end of cause/effect to the other, the reality is a global economy that affects not only trade and finance, labor, industry and agriculture, digital technologies, but the mass movement of humans, families and individuals, across national borders to job markets and opportunities (and reverse movement of remittances).

In the first instance these newcomers to the state, whether you call them immigrants or refugees or job seekers, are *foreigners*; yet not so, for in their own eyes they are Spanish speakers migrating like others of their kind in the past from homeland to another Hispanic destination.

If the increase in their numbers, by 1980, seemed unprecedented, the precedent was there in historical reality. The motivation to move north, for whatever reason, in search of asylum or economic opportunity, was prompted by world conditions of labor and industry, finance, and consumerism.

Their numbers as mass movement tell part of the story, or the reality. The other part is about the educated, upper-class minority and their motivations to follow or accompany as migrants: professionals and business men and women who started firms, services, or stores to serve their countryfolk, or found employment in radio, journalism, television, or cinema and entertainment outfits.

All this and the impact of their numbers has to be kept in mind when considering the change, cultural in the widest sense, but with political, social and linguistic ramifications after 1970. The change, pointing back to the past and projected to the future, has been to institutionalize the use and prominence of Spanish as a semi-official (i.e., minority) language in the state.<sup>1</sup>

In theory, no central (read *national*) authority sets standards for its use (grammar, spelling, terminology, etc.); in practice, each public agency is left to use the language according to its services and resources of personnel; business, banks, etc.

The state's efforts, from Sacramento to local agencies, followed by the municipal and commercial, were large and comprehensive, transforming by 1980 up and down the state, the entire policy and outlook onto 'minority' rights and services, -- health and medical, court procedures, and police -- the why and where, and how. The dependence on bilingual personnel for their oral or writing skills became indispensable, at courtrooms and clinics, and for banks and businesses at strategic locations. Yet, by what linguistic standards? In many cases the immediate need (911 phone call) and response -- location were more important than the right oral translation or spelling, as far north as San Francisco and San Jose.

The thirty years between 1960 and 1990 saw the gradual but deep transformation of many aspects of daily life throughout the metropolitan areas of southern California, comparable to the impact of freeways; Spanish speakers in large concentrations, families, men and women, living, or at work and depending on the mobility of public transport from the inner city to employment in the suburbs.<sup>2</sup>

In Los Angeles, the influx of newcomers from Central America, mainly from El Salvador, Guatemala (Mayans), Honduras, Nicaragua, took over an entire extended area west of downtown, the Westlake district and around Mac Arthur Park,<sup>3</sup> in the wake of "White flight" to the suburbs. -- and advent of the *mass media*, in Spanish and English.

Entire areas of the inner city were now bilingual, and the public transport system and the use of portable phones permitted close and personal communication and transportation between hispanics at home, on foot, or travelling. The eastside of Los Angeles remained predominately Mexican, but the center of the Hispanic community had moved to the westside, and expanded with concentrations of other 'nationals', from the Caribbean, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and South America, who settled to live and work in the San Fernando Valley -- Pacoima, Van Nuys, or south to Orange County, and east to Riverside and San Bernardino.

Oral communication in Spanish is sustained as well by the mass media, radio and television.<sup>4</sup> Of course, the same may be said for other regions of the globe. But here in California Spanish is heard and spoken in a diversity of international scope alongside English in an American environment. The advent of radio in the 1920s was decisive. Television, with its 'oral' and auditory connections to action-picture, is more powerful. Its effect, in this American environment, can be both personal and impersonal. A world economy in picture and sound or voice comes from the screen directly into one's living quarters in Spanish, with multiple variations of voice and speech (or music and song) -- as a programing originating in "standards" of the language, from owners of the network to the broadcasting anchors and their teams. The 'talk' shows in Spanish are the average medium, whether from Mexico City, Miami, or Los Angeles. Spanish television in the U.S. is largely imported,<sup>5</sup> and the voices heard are the 'native' vernacular or standard usage (i.e., world economy). It is this personal connection, produced electronically, that can influence the use and preference of Spanish by a younger generation, in addition to one's parents. There are at least two international networks and at least six channels in Spanish available in southern California; most programing (*novelas*, "soaps") is imported from Mexico, and with it imported anchors, reporters, celebrities and musicians. Their talk or speech communicates a living standard of the language (pronunciation, dialects, etc.) as well as 'native' expression.

These observations describe a middle ground between Spanish (non English) speakers in need and the civil authority or commercial businesses who provide services. And providing information about these services, in print or orally (radio, television), was, of course, the first step, i.e., communication.

In 1973, the state legislature passed the Dymal-Alatorre Bilingual Services Act to facilitate public services to 'minority' residents unable to speak, read or understand English. Among the most important: judicial services (court interpreters and translators), health or medical with extensive information (printed in Spanish) and of course police services, the most visible and demanding.

Law enforcement in Spanish (for state, county, city police) begins with basic training in the language for all cadets whether already bilingual or not, and likewise for civilian personnel on police-line phone operations.<sup>6</sup> In the field, printed guides with translated oral terminology are available, and "Miranada Rights" must be read aloud.

Traffic enforcement in Spanish has become a major pre-occupation, given the number of drivers and vehicles registered and on the road at all times. The California Highway Patrol has to be effective in Spanish (audio communications) on a large scale, from Public Relations to arresting 'drunk drivers' on freeways, to inspecting trucks, big rigs, and child seats. The Department of Motor Vehicles retains an entire staff to translate and edit the *Drivers Manual* in Spanish and perform tests and issue licenses. And of course there are Driving Schools providing instruction in Spanish. In the year 2016 political debates



in the mass media center on whether 'undocumented' resident aliens could be issued *legitimate* licenses.

Yet there has been a vacuum at the center of this 'official' linguistic activity. Unless a capable linguist supervised the translation and writing of texts or materials in English, the standard of accuracy (or meaning) from English to Spanish would depend on the 'average' language skills of bilingual personnel. There were guidelines, nothing more. Errors in grammar, spelling, appeared embarrassingly on a small scale. The standard aimed for, of course, was correct usage in every respect: the editorial, international and 'native' standard (*editoriales, diccionarios, Academias*) of the Hispanic world (in educational theory and practice, textbooks in high schools and colleges) --standard Spanish opposite standard English. While not an innovation, the scale of this undertaking both public and commercial, by 1990, throughout the state, had initiated a bilingual culture sustained by digital technology (Eng-Span terminology on LAPD computers).<sup>7</sup>

In the second decade of the 21st century this international-professional standard, for English as for Spanish, has to serve from the very top to the bottom: from high literary, scientific, legal, medical, etc., levels of usage and expression to the popular (sports, talk) levels of vernacular jargon, slang, social and mass media, and to the Internet (the international keyboard).

Digital technology can combine as one (earphone, mike) two elements of language: phonetic, lexical; sound/voice; sight/text, letters, numbers, demanding a very basic level of literacy from trainee or learner; but to become proficient on a high level in the use of computers requires a high level of literacy in Spanish (as in any language) to be competitive in the digital world of instant communication.

\* \* \* \*

It could be seen, by 1980, that the primary factor in the sustained number of immigrant workers from south of the border into California and the U.S. as a work force to occupy the lower levels of employment was the implicit failure of a highly industrialized, technological socioeconomy to produce (and yet demand and depend on) an enormous labor force at the lower end of the payscale to carry out the basic tasks of maintenance and food production (from agriculture to factory and fast food/ care of the elderly, child care) that would attract an available labor force (male and female) from south of the border. Another factor is social mobility upward ("the American Dream") by which this need is not normally attractive as employment to the unskilled.

What is not apparent as of now (the year 2016) is how the combination of socioeconomic and linguistic factors will be played out to bring the next major historical change: the influence in use and continued preference for the language by middle and upper class Central Americans (popular, professional fields) where Mexicans have been dominant; it is for the future to determine the significance of this three-way coincidence -- the development of digital technology leading to personal computer, cell phone, and the internet by 1990 -- parallel to the migration and arrival of Central Americans in huge numbers to Southern California -- and third, the renewal of Spanish as a semi-official language into the next decades of the 21st century.

At the top of the payscale of California's socioeconomy, so to speak, are Spanish-speaking/ reading/ writing professionals: doctors, lawyers, scientists, business man and women, artists, writers and teachers. They represent the top of the pyramid. It is their articulate speech and precise expression, familiar or professional, that stands out as standard or otherwise in the diversity of the language today.

## NOTES

- 1 This change, of course, did not happen overnight. It was the result on the California scene of social/political movements of the post-war era leading to Civil Rights movements of the 1960s. In this respect, the best treatment of issues in this era are the two articles by David G. Gutiérrez in the anthology of critical articles edited by him.: *The Colombia History of Latinos in the United States since 1960* (2004). I am also indebted in a comprehensive way to the articles by Kevin R. Johnson, Frances R. Aparicio, Luis Desipo and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla and Nora Hamilton (see below) in the same vol.  
I do not use the term 'Latino' in Spanish or English for Spanish speaker, i.e., *hispano*, *hispana*.
- 2 "Language is the heartland of cultural identity"; what these authors meant by 1982 in their article is that speaking Spanish as the language of preference in an Anglo environment is both the cultural and/or ethnic "identity" of an Hispanic, in an historical and sociolinguistic sense, thereby replacing "nationality", Walter Bloomberg and Rodrigo Martínez Sandoval, "The Hispanic-American Urban Order: A Border Perspective", *Cities in the 21st Century, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews*, vol 23, pp 112-132 (1982), p. 121. The term 'Identity' for Spanish speakers was adopted subsequently by historians, Weber, Hackel, Sánchez, etc. See below.
- 3 See Norma Stoltz Chinchilla and Nora Hamilton, "Central Americans in Los Angeles", pp. 200-201, in the vol. edited by D. G. Gutiérrez. The authors have published several books and articles on Central American immigration since 1995, when they organized the Symposium at U.S.C.
- 4 The article by Federico A. Subervi-Vélez *et al*, "Mass Communication and Hispanics", vol III, *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States*, pp. 304-357, covers newspapers, magazines, cinema, radio and television, from the viewpoint of cosmopolitan American culture. It does not report on what or how Hispanic audiences in the U.S. read or see themselves and their culture.
- 5 For information on this subject: the article cited above and articles by Félix F. Gutiérrez and Jorge Reina Schement (1991, 1993).
- 6 I speak from experience. From 1990 to 2008 I worked as a bilingual volunteer for Communications Division, Central Traffic Division, Los Angeles Police Department, and the California Highway Patrol, Southern Division, and compiled a number of bilingual guides (i.e., *Spanish Line*) for the use of police personnel; and collected a large number of English/Spanish public notices and brochures from various agencies on services available. These materials are included in 'Murillo Papers', Doheny Library, U.S.C.
- 7 In response, Public Libraries throughout the state, north, south, the Central Valley, have been obliged to provide instruction and information on the use of computers, as well as books and periodicals, to promote literacy in Spanish, and to put Spanish-speaking patrons in contact with the digital world.  
At this date the Los Angeles Public Library, U N A M (Mexico City), and the University of Guadalajara (with an office in Los Angeles) provide intensive and advanced courses for future teachers of Spanish *On Line*.  
The giant Book Fair (twi-annual) at the Los Angeles Convention Center attracts and brings huge crowds to the exhibits of world publishers in Spanish, co-sponsored by a local group and the University of Guadalajara. Attendance and interest indicate a large readership and a new urgency to achieve collectively a high level of literacy.

## V. EPÍLOGO

Al poner punto final a este ensayo, queda pendiente la pregunta: ¿ cómo se da cuenta de (cómo se escribe, narra) la realidad de la lengua española en California ? -- ¿ cómo historia cultural ? ¿ y qué aspectos lingüísticos quedan por aclararse, y desde qué enfoque ?

No pretendo más que haber señalado algunas características de los aspectos mayores del tema y la cuestión: la lengua hablada y oída, la lengua escrita y leída (diacrónica, sincrónicamente) a través de tres siglos.

En rigor, es muy distinto caso el escribir o narrar sobre la lengua de un país como Chile, Argentina, México o Cuba, o ya España misma. Sin lugar a dudas, en estos casos el enfoque tiene que ser la suprema existencia de cada país, y de ahí tanto las características 'nacionales' (e.g., aspiración de la s final de sílaba, etc., etc.) como las regionales o locales. La idea central es la lengua viva, hablada idealmente en común, es decir, de la entidad nacional, histórica, cultural, hacia un futuro y desde un pasado concreto, seguro.

Dicho esto, y a partir de aquí, se puede afirmar que debe verse, escribir o narrar, la existencia del español en California desde un enfoque pluri-e internacional, ya que se trata de establecer, en amplio sentido, no la singularidad de una expresión nacional, sino la multiplicidad de distintas nacionalidades concentradas en una localidad -- para captar tanto la diversidad de 'nacionalidades' como la unidad, o sea vitalidad, de su pan-hispanismo.

Sin duda, habrá algunos que dirán que omito en el ensayo otros aspectos de igual o más importancia -- aspectos políticos, económicos, lingüísticos; que mi selección de influencias internacionales (tecnologías, etc.) es incompleta o arbitraria. No entra, por ejemplo, en mi discusión, la influencia religiosa, la Fé o Iglesia Católica, ya en sí 'internacional'. Pero mi intención no ha sido más que señalar un camino hacia el futuro, en el que se apreciará la vital novedad del español como lengua universal en una determinada localidad (¿ post-nacional ?) identificable por su fondo histórico y cultural, así como por su dinamismo global.