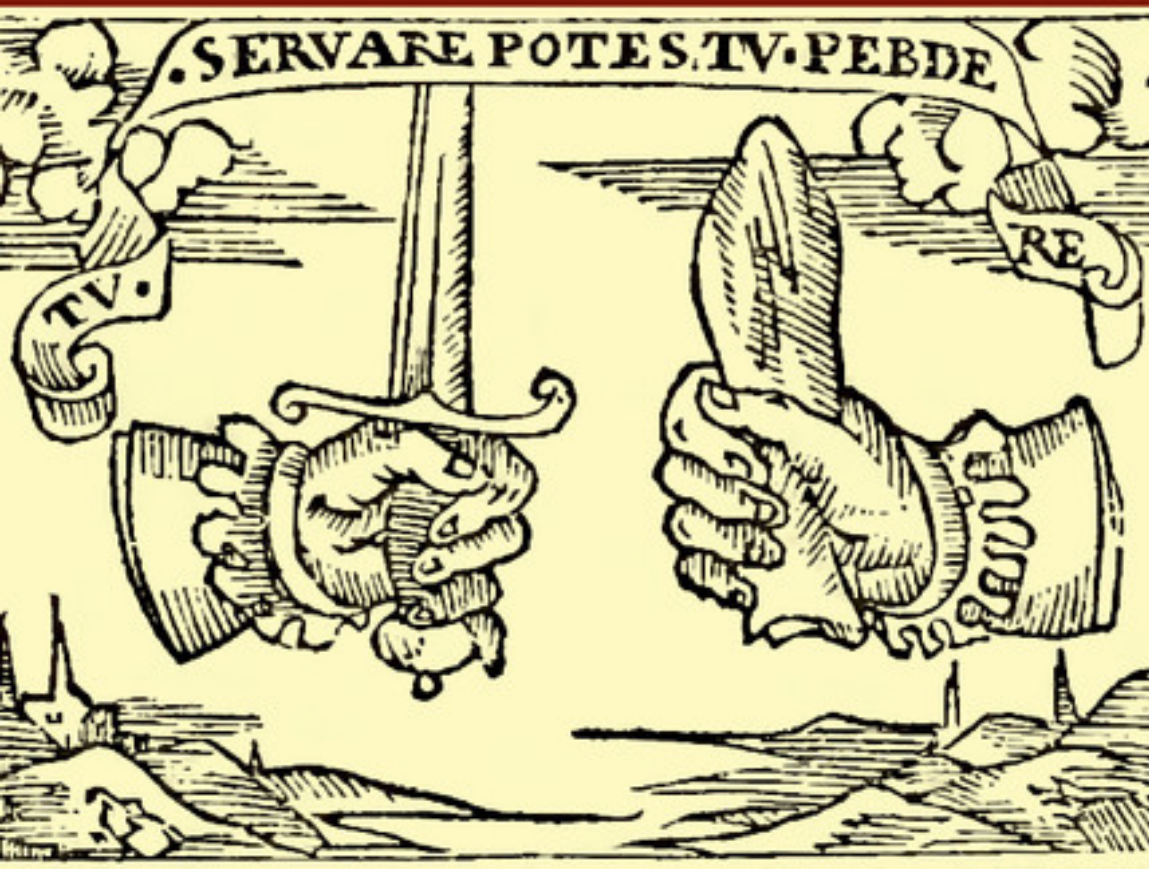


A Political History of SPANISH

The Making of a Language



EDITED BY JOSÉ DEL VALLE

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A Political History of Spanish

The Making of a Language

Spanish is spoken as a first language by almost 400 million people in approximately sixty countries, and has been the subject of numerous political processes and debates since it began to spread globally from Iberia in the fifteenth century. *A Political History of Spanish* brings together a team of experts to analyze the metalinguistic origins of Spanish and evaluate it as a discursively constructed artifact – that is to say, as a language which contains traces of the society in which it is produced, and of the discursive traditions that are often involved and invoked in its creation.

This is a comprehensive and provocative new work which takes a fresh look at Spanish from specific political and historical perspectives, combining the traditional chronological organization of linguistic history and spatial categories such as Iberia, Latin America, and the US, whilst simultaneously identifying the limits of these organizational principles.

JOSÉ DEL VALLE is Professor of Hispanic Linguistics at the Graduate Center of The City University of New York. In 2010 he received the Friedrich Wilhelm Bessel Research Award from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for his outstanding research record.

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José del Valle



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Emblem of the Tongue and Sword
*Dos armas son la lengua y el espada
 Que si las gobernamos cual conviene
 Anda nuestra persona bien guardada
 Y mil provechos su buen uso tiene.
 Pero cualquiera de ellas desmandada
 Como de la cordura se enagene
 En el loco y sandio causa muerte
 Y en el cuerdo y sagaz trueca la suerte*

“The sword and the tongue are two weapons
 that, if we handle them as we should,
 will ensure our security
 and bring us great advantage.
 But, if either escapes our control,
 as if robbed of all good sense,
 it will bring death to lunatics and fools
 and ill fortune to the wise and sane.”

EMBLEMA 66.

*Dos armas son la lengua, y el espada,
 Que si las gouernamos qual conuiene,
 Anda nuestra persona biẽ guardada,
 Y mil prouechos su buen uso tiene:
 Pero qualquiera dellas desmãdada,
 Como de la cordura se enagene,
 En el loco y sandio causa muerte,
 Y el cuerdo y sagaz trueca la suerte.*

Mm 2 Sié.

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Contributors

ELVIRA NARVAJA DE ARNOUX teaches interdisciplinary linguistics, sociology of language and semiology at the *Universidad de Buenos Aires* (Argentina) and is Director of the MA in Discourse Analysis.

GRACIELA BARRIOS is Professor in the Department of Psycho- and Sociolinguistics at the *Universidad de la República* (Uruguay) and coordinates the MA in Language, Culture and Society.

YVETTE BÜRKI is Assistant Professor of Spanish Linguistics at the *Institut für spanische Sprache und Literatur* at the *Universität Bern* (Switzerland).

SUSANA CASTILLO RODRÍGUEZ is Lecturer in the Department of Languages, Literatures and Culture at the University of New Hampshire.

BÁRBARA CIFUENTES is Senior Professor and Researcher at the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* (Mexico).

JOSÉ DEL VALLE is Professor in the PhD programs in Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures and Languages and Linguistics at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY).

ELISE M. DUBORD is Assistant Professor of Spanish at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey.

MAURO FERNÁNDEZ is Professor of General Linguistics at the *Universidade de A Coruña* (Spain).

ARTURO FERNÁNDEZ-GIBERT is Associate Professor of Spanish at California State University in San Bernardino.

PAUL FIRBAS is Associate Professor in the Department of Hispanic Languages and Literature and Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Center at Stony Brook University.

OFELIA GARCÍA is Professor in the PhD programs in Urban Education and Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures and Languages at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY).

JENNIFER LEEMAN is Associate Professor of Spanish at George Mason University and Research Sociolinguist at the US Census Bureau.

GLENN A. MARTINEZ is Professor of Hispanic Linguistics at The Ohio State University.

MIGUEL MARTÍNEZ is Assistant Professor of Spanish Literature at the University of Chicago.

ALBERTO MEDINA is Associate Professor in the Department of Latin American and Iberian Cultures at Columbia University.

HENRIQUE MONTEAGUDO is Professor of Galician and Portuguese Linguistics at the *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela* (Spain).

GUILLERMO TOSCANO Y GARCÍA teaches linguistics at the *Universidad de Buenos Aires* (Argentina) and is co-director of the multi-annual research project “The Formation of School Grammar in Argentina, 1863–1922” (CONICET).

JUAN R. VALDEZ is Assistant Professor of Education at CUNY’s Queens College.

LAURA VILLA is Assistant Professor of Spanish at CUNY’s Queens College.

KATHRYN A. WOOLARD (PhD, U.C. Berkeley 1983) is Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, San Diego, and past president of the Society for Linguistic Anthropology.

ROGER WRIGHT is Emeritus Professor of Spanish at the University of Liverpool (England), where he taught courses on Mediaeval Spanish Language, History and Literature from 1972 to 2008.

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I will close this litany by thanking Lina because since we met there have been no two days alike.

Part I

Theoretical underpinnings

1 Language, politics and history: an introductory essay

José del Valle

“Language is too important historically to leave to the linguists”

Peter Burke (1987: 17)

“It is our ambition to add to the history of language and languages a dimension of human agency, political intervention, power and authority, and so make that history a bit more political”

Jan Blommaert (1999: 5)

Historical grammar and the scientificization of language studies

The origins of a good number of scholarly articulations of language and history can be traced back along the path that led from comparative and historical studies to historical grammar and, from there, to the schools of modern linguistics that developed from Saussure’s *Cours* (1916). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the debate over the origin of language provided the appropriate intellectual framework for the development of a specialized discourse on language that would eventually result in the crystallization of an autonomous discipline. This debate was fueled by the Enlightenment’s interest in the nature of society and the human mind (Salmon 1995), and the quest for the common source of most European and Near East languages – which had been encouraged by the “discovery” of Sanskrit in the context of British colonialism (MacMahon 1995). A statement made in 1786 by Sir William Jones (1746–1794), judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, is often – somewhat inaccurately (Jankowsky 1995) – credited with inaugurating comparative and historical linguistics:

The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed that no philologist could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. (Jones qtd. in Lehmann 1967: 189)

Jones's statement and the conditions of its production condense a series of lines of thinking and evoke a set of circumstances that deeply influenced how language had come to be viewed at the time. The aforementioned debate on the origins of language had resulted in discussions of how speech is linked to mental activity, and how both are linked to the environment. The doctrine developed in Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744–1803) award-winning essay *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (*Treatise on the Origin of Language*) (1772) was behind affirmations of the existence of an inalienable link between language and culture; a notion that, further elaborated by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), would gain special traction in the context of post-Napoleonic nationalism. Jones's interest and expertise in Sanskrit was directly related to his position as a colonial officer of the British Empire and, therefore, to his responsibility to develop technologies of knowledge that would assist in "understanding" the colonized subject: "[w]hen, in 1765, the East India Company obtained the administrative rights to Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, knowledge of India's culture became a colonial necessity" (Rocher 1995: 189).

Paradoxically, Jones's statement also foreshadowed a development that in due course would channel linguistic research in a direction that radically severed language from culture. By suggesting that research focus on "the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar" he subscribed to a line of thinking that prioritized the formal dimension of language in plotting linguistic comparison and evolution (Collinge 1995: 197). It was the trend that would be dominant throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as language scholars equated progress with scientificization, and mapping the forms of grammar offered the most suitable strategy to replicate the categories and methods of science. John E. Joseph has described the process as

the gradual realignment of the study of language away from moral science, philosophy, aesthetics, rhetoric, and philology, and in the direction of the natural sciences – first botany, biology, chemistry, and comparative anatomy; then geology; and finally physics, by way of mathematics. With this has come a steady elimination of human *will* from the object of study, the necessary condition for any "science" in the modern sense. (Joseph 1995: 221)

Still within the comparative and historical paradigm, August Schleicher (1821–1868), with the *Junggrammatiker* (or Neogrammarians), played a central role in the process when he formulated a clarifying analogy that compared languages and natural organisms. The latter exhibited predictable behavior and contained within themselves the seeds of their own evolution; and these properties, Schleicher suggested, were applicable to languages, which were thus (rhetorically) rendered suitable for scientific observation. The Neogrammarians moved away from their predecessor's organic analogy but continued to focus nonetheless on linguistic forms, declaring the absolute regularity of their

evolution through sound laws (*Lautgesetze*): “every sound change, inasmuch as it occurs mechanically, takes place according to laws that admit no exception” (Osthoff and Brugmann qtd. in Lehmann 1967: 204). The central metaphor controlling the field switched from organic to mechanical, but the operations of language in the process of evolution continued to be located outside the purview of human agency.¹

The dominance of comparative and historical studies and the progressive scientificization of linguistic research through a radical focus on the formal system of language resulted in historical grammar, a discipline that aimed at describing the linguistic processes and identifying the successive stages through which a particular language had evolved from its immediate ancestor into its present shape. The ideal was that the knowledge produced by multiple investigations on specific sections of a language’s grammar – vowels, consonants, pronouns, verbs, relative clauses, etc. – at different points in time would be collected and organized into a particular type of text that would display a description of the language of origin’s grammar, followed by the chronologically arranged sound laws that had generated the present state of the language. In the Spanish tradition,² this was exactly what Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869–1968) did in 1904: He brought together his research on the evolution of Spanish and the notes he had developed for his course on the comparative grammar of Latin and Spanish at the University of Madrid. The result was his *Manual elemental de gramática histórica de la lengua española* (1904).³

The idealist challenge: redefining the relationship between language and human will

The 1904 *Manual* was one in a series of publications that made Ramón Menéndez Pidal Spain’s leading scholar in matters of language and philology. It is crucial to note, however, that Menéndez Pidal’s reputation was built

¹ Saussure would in fact formulate the theory of language that would radically establish the autonomy of linguistics by isolating language from usage (*langue versus parole*), context (internal *versus* external linguistics) and history (synchrony *versus* diachrony). However, having rendered language an object of scientific investigation, he insisted on the importance of examining its entanglement with cultural and political phenomena. See Crowley 1992 for a pertinent distinction between diachrony and history in Saussure.

² The Spanish tradition goes, of course, well beyond Menéndez Pidal. Suffice it to remember Menéndez Pidal’s disciples (e.g. Amado Alonso, Américo Castro, Rafael Lapesa) at Madrid’s *Centro de Estudios Históricos* and its Latin American ramifications (partially discussed here in Toscano y García’s chapter). See Catalán Menéndez-Pidal for a discussion of the Madrid School’s theory of language.

³ For a theoretical and ideological critique of historical linguistics see Milroy 1992. For an ideological analysis of Menéndez Pidal’s early-career foray into historical grammar see Del Valle 1997.

through a broadly based project that included the study of the country's language, literature and history.⁴ In fact, his incursion into historical grammar and therefore into the autonomous field of linguistics surprised some of his contemporaries and even triggered a critical and revealing reaction from one of Spain's most prestigious intellectual figures: diplomat and writer Juan Valera (1824–1905). In a 1905 article entitled “Gramática histórica,” Valera reviewed Menéndez Pidal's book (as well as two others of much less consequence by José Alemany and Salvador Padilla) and charged against the discipline:

The doubts that I have modestly expressed . . . go against historical grammar if by such we mean not just the history of language but the philosophy of said history; not just the observed fact but also the cause, the reason, the law by virtue of which the fact is realized or must be realized unless the law is broken . . . My doubts have to do with the laws to which words are subjected in the process of change. What about them is natural or universal? What about them is arbitrary? What is positive or in force only in a limited region? What is still current and what is already old or has been abolished since who knows when? (Valera 1905: 1180–1)

Valera was not concerned with historical grammar as long as it was taken to be a purely descriptive endeavor, that is, a record of the changes that had led from the language of origin (e.g. Latin) to the language being historicized (e.g. Spanish). His main concern, however, was with the theory of language that, associated with historical grammar, identified the essence of the object in its purely formal properties and explained its operations with utter independence from human will.

I will not deny the existence of certain phonetic laws. But maybe, within those laws, without abolishing them or breaking them, the instinctive whim of different peoples – or maybe, sometimes, even just one – produces entirely different sounds or combinations of sounds from the same root . . . At first sight, for the layman – in whose number I modestly count myself – there is no such thing as a phonetic law. In the transformation of words there is nothing but constant usage, which is grounded in instinctive whim. (Valera 1905: 1179)

While instinctive whim (*capricho instintivo*) and the reasoning behind it were no match for the thoroughly elaborated notion of sound law, Valera made an extraordinarily lucid and powerful point: scientificity in language study had come at the tremendous cost of surgically removing it from speakers, from the act of speaking and therefore from the contextual conditions of language's existence.

⁴ The breadth of Menéndez Pidal's pursuits is discussed in, for example, Pérez Villanueva 1991 and Pérez Pascual 1998, two mostly hagiographic but detailed and informative biographies, and Portolés 1986, an insightful account of the development of linguistic and philological studies in twentieth-century Spain.

Valera, of course, was not writing in a vacuum. At the time of his critique of historical grammar and close to the core of mainstream linguistics, the voices of dialectologists – which paradoxically had been encouraged by the Neogrammarians – were being heard as they questioned the systematicity of sound laws and even the very existence of well-delineated language frontiers. The observation of language in context – of speakers speaking – was revealing, as Valera's instincts suggested, important flaws in the dominant theory of language evolution. There was also an alternative climate of opinion among certain scholars of language that took an anti-positivistic stand and affirmed the existence of an essential link between language and human will. Suffice it to recall the publication of Benedetto Croce's *L'estetica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale* (*Aesthetics as the science of expression and general linguistics*) in 1902, which placed human will at the center of language studies and rejected the model of the natural sciences, and Karl Vossler's *Positivismus und Idealismus in der Sprachwissenschaft* (*Positivism and idealism in the language sciences*) in 1904, in which – in a tradition that connected him to Croce and could be traced back to Wilhelm von Humboldt among others – language was defined as an expression of the human spirit and its history classified as a branch of the history of culture. Although Vossler continued to focus on the formal transformation of language, the forms themselves were no longer an end but a methodological strategy through which to reach the psychological make-up and aesthetic inclination of individuals and collectivities. Change originates as individual creation, as the product of intuition, and spreads throughout the community.⁵

In spite of Menéndez Pidal's initial success with historical grammar, he must have shared Valera's concerns with that discipline's possible implications. In fact, the bulk of his linguistic work – as well as that of most of his disciples in the Madrid School of Spanish Philology – developed along lines that, despite some discrepancies, were drawn on the grounds of linguistic idealism.⁶ When Menéndez Pidal published the first edition of his masterpiece *Orígenes del español: estado lingüístico de la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo XI* in 1926, he had not abandoned the rigorous study of linguistic documents and the linguistic forms they revealed, but he had redefined the relationship between language and history. Language had now become a sociolinguistically complex structure and its historicity had morphed from a sequential disposition along a chronological empty grid into a dynamic relationship with the context of production. He did

⁵ For an overview of the development of dialectology and its challenge to historical linguistics see Chambers and Trudgill 1980 (13–36). For the development of the Italian Neolinguistic School's challenge see Albrecht 1995. For a thorough review of the state of Romance linguistics at the beginning of the century see Jordan and Orr 1970.

⁶ For the penetration of idealism in the Madrid School see Catalán Menéndez-Pidal 1955 and Portolés 1986. Portolés is less inclined to add Menéndez Pidal to the list of idealist linguists.

identify three distinct periods on the basis of the type of language displayed by the selected documents from León, Castile and Aragon: a first period between 900 and 1030, in which he could discern a strong tendency to romanize writing; a second, between 1030 and 1170, in which a Latinizing thrust seems to have taken over writing habits; and a third phase, from 1170 onwards, in which the romanizing tendency returned for good. However, his greatest and more lasting contribution was not in his description of specific linguistic changes – which would later be corrected by others working with new data and perspectives – nor in his (from our present perspective ridiculous) view of Castilian’s inherently superior features.⁷ His profound contribution was his commitment to render the study of language truly relevant to history:

We must try to examine the history of these dark centuries in relation to this linguistic evolution. We must try to do it by penetrating, to the extent possible, the spirit of that remote past life; by inspiring ourselves in the aesthetic intention of those speakers, whether they were under the influence of educated or vulgar tendencies, archaizing or neological ones, emphatic or careless about speech. (Menéndez Pidal 1950: ix)

The idealist theory of language in which *Orígenes* was based led Menéndez Pidal to examine scribal practices in a context of socially significant linguistic variation and to link linguistic processes to the realm of the Law, “Reconquest” politics, and identity-building:

Castile, upon its emancipation from the tradition of the Visigoth court followed by León and upon its subsequent departure from Spain’s common norm, emerges as an exceptional and innovating people. Let us remember this characteristic that will explain the essence of the Castilian dialect. And let us add a most interesting coincidence: Castile – which, known for its customary law, opposes the written law dominant in the rest of Spain – is the region that provides the Peninsula with the main literary language. (Menéndez Pidal 1950: 475)

The specifics of Menéndez Pidal’s views on the origins of Spanish have been contested on the basis of philological evidence and developments in language change theory (e.g. Penny 2000), and the nationalist ideological underpinnings of his linguistic work have been highlighted (e.g. Del Valle 2002a). However, the fact remains that he lucidly embraced a perspective that, first, recognizes the operations of linguistic variation within a complex system of socially grounded norms and that, second, searches for the origins of Spanish in the interface between language and politics during the Middle Ages: in the struggles among

⁷ For example, when describing the variation that led to *ou* > *o* and *ei* > *e* in Castile, he states: “By soon discarding the *ou*, *ei* forms, Castile displays a more accurate acoustic taste, choosing quite early and with resolve the most euphonic forms” (Menéndez Pidal 1950: 486).

the various Iberian kingdoms and in the sociopolitical roots and ramifications of scribal decisions.⁸

Language, society and history

In many respects, Menéndez Pidal can be included (with the likes of, for example, Antoine Meillet and Hugo Schuchardt) among the precursors of sociolinguistics in general and historical sociolinguistics in particular,⁹ which produced a new articulation of language and history through the mediation of social categories. Sociolinguistics – whose modern crystallization is best represented by the initial work of William Labov (1972) and Peter Trudgill (1974) – identified variation as a central phenomenon in language and rescued actual linguistic practices – the locus of variation – from the peripherality to which Saussure had pushed it (see note 1). The new discipline also found a crucial correlation between social categories such as age, gender, education or situation and the systematicity of variation, a development that brought context to bear on linguistic research. From this point on, having defined language as variable and variation as systematic, sociolinguists engaged in the accurate description of orderly heterogeneity through empirical and quantitative methods.

This new paradigm had a double implication in terms of how language and history are related. First, if a language is no longer conceived of as a highly focused and stable grammar but as a complex diasystemic structure, earlier stages in the history of that language must also be conceived as complex diasystemic structures, and research into those stages must proceed accordingly. This is precisely historical sociolinguistics' intent: In the absence of actual speech, historical sociolinguists must devise ways to treat the archival material so that it will lend itself to the reconstruction of the language's particular configuration of orderly heterogeneity at any time and to the field's signature quantitative approach.¹⁰ There is yet a second dimension of sociolinguistics that deeply

⁸ Efforts to bring together what at the time was known as internal and external history and thus move away from the dry “dehumanizing” effect of historical grammar are best represented by Rafael Lapesa's classic *Historia de la lengua española*, first published in 1942 (Lapesa 1980). In spite of its value, this genre – which continues to be practiced to this date (e.g. Pharies 2007, a textbook, or the outstanding and truly impressive *Historia de la lengua española* (2004) coordinated by Rafael Cano) – offers limited attempts to theorize the connection between that which is identified as internal – linguistic form – and external – a series of events that define a narrative of Spain's and Spanish America's history and that only loosely connect with linguistic practices – and essentially remains within traditional paradigms.

⁹ For treatments of this genealogy see, for example, Lloyd 1970 and Gimeno Menéndez 1995.

¹⁰ The pioneering work in historical sociolinguistics is Romaine 1982. A good example of how Spanish has been approached from this perspective is Gimeno Menéndez 1995. More recently,

affected the interface between language and history. In an inspired theoretical move, synchrony and diachrony were merged into one. Variation was the essence of language and, while it was obvious that not all cases resulted in change, it became evident that all instances of change did originate in the type of variation whose meticulous representation was being designed by sociolinguistics through methods that combined formal grammar, logical-mathematical language (statistics) and elementary sociology. A sociolinguistic description of a language offered not just correlations between forms of grammar and social factors but the snapshot of a system that contained the seeds of its potential transformation. Thanks to this theoretical and methodological leap, it was now possible to see language in motion and to think of the historicity of language not only as evolution along different positions in a chronological empty grid, but as a dynamic relationship with context.

Developments in sociolinguistics led Peter Burke to see a gap between linguistics, sociology and history: a barely explored space that could and should be productively gauged and charted by a social history of language (1987). In his view, sociolinguistics had made four major historically relevant points: “1. Different social groups use different varieties of language. 2. The same people employ different varieties of language in different situations. 3. Language reflects the society (or culture) in which it is spoken. 4. Language shapes the society in which it is spoken” (1987: 3–4). Points 1 through 3 are indeed consistent with the general development of sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics: inasmuch as variation correlates to social categories and situational factors, an individual’s usage – the choice of certain variants over others – may provide us with information on her or his social position as well as on the social structure of the situation in which the utterance or the text was produced. Following these principles, specific research projects (on, say, the use of *vos* and *tú* in eighteenth-century Castile or the use of *s* and *x* as social markers in sixteenth-century León) would produce results that would be located in a “big picture” representing the history of language X. Language X is diachronically laid out along a chronological grid and, for different points along the timeline, its structure is described *in accordance with sociolinguistic principles*, that is, with attention to how linguistic forms relate to social and contextual factors and to how socially grounded variation is the key to the dynamics of change.

However, Burke’s proposal of a social history of language reaches beyond the scope of historical sociolinguistics. He demonstrates an interest not just

Conde Silvestre (2007) reviewed the field through case studies from English and Spanish. Ralph Penny’s 2000 *Variation and Change in Spanish* must be included as a major contribution to the historical sociolinguistics of Spanish even though his take – following Trudgill’s studies of dialect contact, Giles’ theories of accommodation and Milroy’s views of change through social networks – displays a more relaxed attitude towards quantification.

in sociolinguistics but also in ethnolinguistics, the sociology of language and the ethnography of communication; and tellingly declares from the outset: “It is high time for a social history of language, a social history of speech, a social history of communication” (1987: 1). These choices of objects and disciplines move the program away from formal approaches to language history anchored in the powerful imagery suggested by “grammar” – formalist approaches with which sociolinguistics by and large aligns itself – and turn it towards an integration of language within a culturally and sociologically relevant theory of communication. In keeping with this turn, tracing the history of a specific language and describing it at different points along the chronological grid, even if through the identification of variables and their social correlates, may not be the main purpose of a social history of language. Instead, more broadly understood patterns of communication may be identified, within this new field, as the object through which to pursue an ethnographic and sociological understanding of a particular community. In fact, a certain social group, a complex set of social structures or a set of social practices of a specific type is the ultimate object of study, and language is conceived of not as an isolated entity whose nature is to be identified and explained but as an integral part of a sociologically defined object. “A history of Spanish” – where “Spanish” is uncritically accepted as an object that exists out there – and “a linguistic history of Spain” – where “Spain” is identified as a linguistically heterogeneous territory and a disputed cultural and political space – construct very different sets of phenomena and invite very different scholarly approaches to their treatment.¹¹

Of particular relevance to the present essay and to the book it introduces is how Burke and the sociolinguistic schools that he vindicates actually articulate language and history into an object of scholarly reflection. On one hand, language and communicative practices are described diachronically, that is, they are assumed to change over time according to identifiable patterns. On the other, they are described synchronically in their inalienable relation to specific cultural and social contexts. In this sense, what’s envisioned is an articulation of language and history in which synchrony and diachrony are two sides of the same coin, in which the assumption is made that language not only has a history – it changes over time – but also and especially that it is historical – that its nature can only be understood in relation to the context of usage.

¹¹ In this regard, it is worth mentioning existing projects structured around the linguistic history of a territory rather than a language: on Spain and the Iberian Peninsula, Echenique Elizondo and Sánchez Méndez 2005, Lleal 1990 and Moreno Fernández 2005; on Mexico, the two-volume project edited by Barriga Villanueva and Martín Butragueño 2010. For a lucid and productive reformulation of the relationship between language and history – and a related research agenda – see Kabatek (2003).

Language and politics

Of the four general points that, according to Burke, have been made by sociolinguistics, the fourth is worth discussing separately. Language is said to be not a representation of society or a mere instrument of communication but “an active force in society, used by individuals and groups to control others or to defend themselves against being controlled, to change society or to prevent others from changing it” (1987: 13). Burke affirms that there is a crucial link between language and power that must be the object of systematic investigation.¹² However, in providing examples of authors who have established such a link, Burke mentions the likes of Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Louis Althusser and Jacques Derrida, who are not by any stretch of the imagination directly linked to the development of sociolinguistics. In fact, these authors – and whatever amount of linguistic theorizing they engaged in – stand quite critically apart from – when not openly against – the positivistic theories of language underlying most sociolinguistic research.

While it is true that sociolinguistics provided us with, first, fine tools to describe the formal relationship between language and society and, second, a daring and convincing challenge to the synchrony/diachrony dichotomy, the most productive explorations of the relationship between language and power are to be found somewhere else, in disciplinary spaces where efforts are being made to articulate language and politics. One of the crystallizations of this kind of research is Language Policy and Planning (it has even come to be known as LPP, an unquestionable sign – the generalization of an acronym – that the field has indeed acquired a significant level of autonomy). The initial development of LPP was favored by conditions created after World War II, by decolonization and the subsequent emergence of new countries whose often complex profiles – cultural, linguistic, economic, etc. – had to be reconfigured following development theories and in compliance with the nation-state model. LPP became a form of social engineering and engaged in the creation of a technical vocabulary of its own (e.g. bilingualism, diglossia, standardization, dialect, language) and in the identification of domains suitable to specific forms of linguistic intervention (e.g. schools, government, media).¹³

A second strain of LPP, to a great extent critical of the first and associated with the defense of minorities’ rights, grew when minoritized languages within traditional nation-states were recognized as forms of cultural expression and as sources of political mobilization, and therefore demands for their normalization – i.e., for their standardization and restoration to all social

¹² For Burke’s work along this line see his 2004 *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*.

¹³ A brilliant exponent of the classical LPP model is Haugen 1972. Kaplan and Baldauf 1997 offer an excellent example of its persistence. For an overview of LPP’s development see Ricento 2006 or, in Spanish, Amorós Negre 2008.

domains – gained political strength. Although the main strain was critiqued for reproducing the categories and hierarchies that had justified colonialism and for perpetuating minoritization, the positivist epistemological bases of LPP were not questioned: languages continued to be taken as objective entities and cultural (often including linguistic) homogeneity remained a requirement for community construction.¹⁴

There have been other paths towards the articulation of language and politics as an object of study besides LPP. The *Journal of Language and Politics* – published by John Benjamins and edited by prominent discourse analysts Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton – is one of them:

The *Journal of Language and Politics* (JLP) represents a forum for analysing and discussing the various dimensions in the interplay of language and politics. The basic assumption is that the *language of politics* cannot be separated from the *politics of language*. The notion of ‘Political Discourse’ does not remain limited to the ‘institutional’ field of politics (e.g. parliamentary discourse, election campaigns, party programmes, speeches, etc.) but opens to all linguistic manifestations that may be considered to be political, provided that it is convincingly argued what makes them ‘political.’ (<http://benjamins.com/#catalog/journals/jlp/main>)

As one might expect from a journal edited by Wodak and Chilton, *JLP* articulates the two entities in the concept of “political discourse” and favors – or attracts – mainly contributions that fall squarely within discourse analysis. It is worth remarking that it embraces a broad understanding of politics that goes beyond the practices associated with the literally political institutions of the state.

A similarly comprehensive conceptualization of the political realm – one to which the present project stands closer – is found inside the publishing house Routledge. The Politics of Language series was defined by its editors – Tony Crowley and Talbot J. Taylor – in the following terms:

The Politics of Language series covers the field of language and cultural theory and will publish radical and innovative texts in this area. In recent years the developments and advances in the study of language and cultural criticism have brought to the fore a new set of questions. The shift from purely formal, analytical approaches has created an interest in the role of language in the social, political and ideological realms and the series will seek to address these problems with a clear and informed approach. The intention is to gain recognition for the central role of language in individual and public life. (Burke, Crowley and Girvin 2000: ii)

Thus, the project aimed at revealing language’s involvement in all spheres of social life and at promoting an approach inspired by the conceptual landscape outlined by the various strains of cultural theory. Not surprisingly, the

¹⁴ An early exponent of this strain is Louis-Jean Calvet’s 1974 *Linguistique et colonialisme, petit traité de glottophagie*. In Spain, scholars working on the Catalan-speaking areas made significant contributions to the field, e.g. Aracil 1976 and Vallverdú 1981.

program proudly exhibited a slippery resistance to rigid definitions and conceptual enclosures, and left it up to each individual contributor to formulate from particular perspectives on cultural theory her/his own take on the interface between politics and language. Within this paradigm, John Joseph, in his *Language and Politics* (2006), has produced the most elaborate articulation of these two objects to date. Embracing both the narrow and broad sense of politics, he defined language as fundamentally political, as involved not only in the organization of the affairs of the state but also – mostly, we are inclined to say – in negotiating “any situation in which there is an unequal distribution of power” (Joseph 2006: 3).

In sum, LPP has tended to produce an articulation of language and politics in which the goal is to analyze the conditions under which language becomes an object of political action mediated by “language professionals” and to assess the outcomes of such intervention. In a different vein, the analysis of political discourse and the politics of language have conceptualized language – treating it as discourse and as an object of discourse respectively – as an essential component of the political process, which unfolds within and outside of the institutional field of politics and in which regimes of normativity, questions of authority and the distribution of power are worked out. Language, in this view, has “no existence separate from the way in which we conceive of it and talk about it” (Joseph 2006: 20).

Towards glottopolitical history: metalanguage and ideology

As Arnoux (2000) has pointed out, historical approaches to language policy developed in the 1970s mainly in the context of reconstructing the circumstances under which the language policies of the French Revolution had been designed and implemented.¹⁵ These approaches were historical, first, in that they turned their gaze back towards periods conventionally identified as “the past.” However, more relevant to our purposes, their historicity was grounded in the fact that they aimed at an examination of the material conditions for the production of those policies and, significantly, at an analysis of the metalinguistic discourses that sustained or disputed political interventions in language. How has language been represented in relation to the cultural, economic and social universe? How has language been conceived in relation to legitimate membership in the community and to the modern idea of citizenship? How has the relationship between language, nation and empire been constructed? What constitutes in any particular historical instance a rightful language expert with the authority to intervene in linguistic matters? What has the relationship

¹⁵ See, for example, Balibar and Laporte 1974 and De Certeau, Julia and Revel 1975. A study that embraces a broader notion of politics and constructs its connection to language in a manner that has inspired the present project can be found in Grillo 1989.

been between the holders of the linguistic *skeptron* and institutions of political power? What is the political and social grounding, and what are the institutional and practical conditions of production and circulation of metalinguistic discourses? These questions, among others, articulate a connection between language, politics and history that demands the reconstruction of the social spaces and material conditions in which practices and metalinguistic discourses were deployed and that searches through the archive in order to retrieve texts that, as Arnoux argues (2000), are no longer treated as simple documents but as discourses that must be read against the grain. This glottopolitical history, as it were, must unveil their ideological underpinnings, their performative nature and the strategies through which they constituted their position in the field from which and into which they emerged.

The glottopolitical history project that we are presenting in this volume places metalanguage at the center of its pursuit and, in so doing, recognizes its debt to recent efforts to theoretically construct a “meta zone” where the dialectical relation between language and context is built and from which language studies can develop in productive new directions. Adam Jaworski, Nikolas Coupland and Dariusz Galasiński, in an effort to highlight the current centrality of this concept, have put together a broad and systematic survey of the ways in which different branches of language studies have approached metalanguage (2004).¹⁶ They define it as “language in the context of linguistic representations and evaluations” and establish the premise that “for the analysis of language use in social life, we need to engage explicitly with a ‘meta’ component, a set of social and cognitive processes ‘alongside’ or ‘about’ the forms and substances of speech, writing or other symbolic material” (2004: 6). These representations of language provide us with crucial clues on the role that it is assigned in society by different social groups. Often it is the case that these representations spread throughout the public sphere and become common sense knowledge that naturalizes certain sociolinguistic arrangements which, far from being natural, result from and reproduce specific power dynamics. In other words, “metalanguage can work at an ideological level” (Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński 2004: 3).¹⁷

One of the fields in language studies that Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński identify as having recognized the centrality of metalanguage is precisely language ideology analysis. This approach assumes a theory of language that is, by and large, the result of the evolution of modern sociolinguistics from a

¹⁶ Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński’s book was published by Mouton de Gruyter in its Language, Power and Social Process series, edited by Monica Heller and Richard J. Watts, another major contributor to the dynamic articulation of language, politics and history. Blommaert 1990 (see below) belongs to this same series.

¹⁷ Among the works available from this meta perspective, I will single two out for their influence on the articulation of the present project: Deborah Cameron’s *Verbal Hygiene* (1995) and Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller’s *Discourses of Endangerment* (2007).

descriptive to a critical discipline. Language is “a contextualised and contextualising phenomenon, . . . a set of strategic, often reflexive, socially imbued practices” (Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński 2004: 16). Consequently, studying the sociolinguistic profile of any given social group requires going beyond the formal description of their repertoire of *lects*, the different discursive genres in which they are put to use and their distribution over the social landscape. The critical approach that we embrace requires that language in society be inscribed within the specific competing regimes of normativity that articulate linguistic practices and social meanings. In the last decade of the twentieth century, the study of metalinguistic discourse in relation to regimes of normativity – that is, the historical contingency, social localization and political function of representations of language – greatly benefited from the emergence of language ideology studies. A group of North American anthropologists launched a project throughout the nineties that coined the term and opened the doors to a new line of research on language.¹⁸ According to Kathryn Woolard language ideologies are “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world . . . mediating link[s] between social forms and forms of talk” (Woolard 1998: 3). The adoption of this new term signaled, first, a willingness to problematize traditional anthropology’s naturalizing thrust in its view of culture: “Ironically, anthropology too often has participated in a kind of naturalization of the cultural, casting culture as a shared and timeless prime motivator. The emphasis of ideological analysis on the social and experiential origins of systems of signification helps counter such naturalization” (Woolard 1998: 10). Secondly, the new term indicated that these anthropologists were taking an interest in language that focused on the roots and ramifications of its representations: “[T]his [political-economic] emphasis was hardly unexpected, given the acknowledged importance in much language ideological research of understanding the language beliefs and practices of social groups as strongly connected to group interests within society” (Kroskrity 2000: 2).

Almost at the same time, a comparable project entitled *Ideologies of Language* (1990) was being launched by John E. Joseph and Talbot Taylor through Routledge’s already mentioned series on the Politics of Language. In this case, most contributors came from the field of linguistics but proclaimed their linguistic Protestantism (“we are linguistic ‘protestants,’ even if belonging to distinct denominations” (1990: 2)) and examined discourses on language – including some produced within the disciplinary boundaries of linguistics – revealing their connection to broader processes located in the social and

¹⁸ Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998 and Kroskrity 2000a stand as the most representative of that program.

political realms.¹⁹ Both projects denounced the amputations suffered by language in the process of scientificization and construction of an autonomous field. In isolating grammar and thus rendering language susceptible to scientific description, there had been a separation of language from actual usage, a privileging of its referential functions and a negation of the empirical value of the speaker's linguistic awareness (Kroskrity 2000b: 4–5). According to Bourdieu, the universalization through radical formalism of rules that are ultimately those of the socially legitimate language “sidesteps the question of the economic and social conditions of the acquisition of the legitimate competence and of the constitution of the market in which this definition of the legitimate and the illegitimate is established and imposed” (Bourdieu 1991: 44). Language ideology studies, and metalanguage research in general, rescue from marginalization elements that come to be considered central to the operations of language: “the concept of language ideology is the offspring of two neglected forces: the linguistic ‘awareness’ of speakers and the (nonreferential) functions of language” (Kroskrity 2000b: 5). In the process, representations of language – whether produced inside or outside of the disciplinary borders of linguistics – are recognized as contextualized and contextualizing, as emerging from and central to the constitution of regimes of normativity that characterize the sociolinguistic life of a community.

One particular project within the ideology paradigm has been especially inspiring for the development of the present book: Jan Blommaert's volume *Language Ideological Debates* (1999). Blommaert explicitly sets out to engage in a historiography of language ideologies, in the study of their historical production and reproduction (1999: 1). The selected point of entry to the delineated field of study – the immediate object of analysis – is the debate; not necessarily the one-time event in which opposing opinions are presented, contrasted and discussed, but “slowly unfolding processes of discursive exchange” (1999: 11) in which civil society meets policy making, through which “the polity gets involved in shaping policies” (1999: 8). Following Silverstein and Urban (1996), Blommaert defines debates as struggles over authoritative entextualization, that is, over the establishment of preferred – maybe even optionless – readings of particular social experiences. The focus is, of course, on debates in which any aspect of language is the object of discussion and which “develop against a wider sociopolitical and historical horizon of relationships of power, forms of discrimination, social engineering, nation-building and so forth . . . Language ideological debates are a part of more general sociopolitical processes, and one of the contributions . . . may consist of a clearer

¹⁹ Joseph and Taylor's project, like the present volume, configures a disciplinary space that intersects not only with the history of linguistic ideas (Auroux 1989) and linguistic historiography (Koerner 1995), but also with intellectual history.

understanding of the precise role played by language ideologies in more general sociopolitical developments, conflicts and struggles” (1999: 2).

By definition, ideological representations of language are inseparable from the circumstances of their production, from the context into which they are injected. The sociopolitical embedding of linguistic ideologies invites a thorough approach to that context that recognizes its inherent complexity: “Sociolinguistics now theorises social context . . . as a dynamic interaction between language forms and an array of ‘situational components,’ which include cultural norms of production and interpretation, generic and stylistic conventions, communicative motivations, discursive moves and strategies” (Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński 2004: 6). Glottopolitical history thus requires an examination of the agents of such metalinguistic discourses, an understanding of their position in the cultural and political fields in which they operate, and an exploration of the material conditions that enabled or impaired the circulation of particular discourses, their relationship to the institutional landscape of the time.²⁰ It requires delving into what Blommaert (1999: 3–8) calls the intrinsic historicity of metalinguistic discourses. Following Fernand Braudel’s well-known formulation of *durée*, he defines history as “the study of overlapping, intertwining and conflicting temporalities in the lives of people” (Blommaert 1999: 3), temporalities that include both objective chronological phenomena and socially constructed perceptions of time. Such conception moves away from a flat historicity that relies on placing events along the chronological empty grid behind the arbitrary line that separates past from present. It invites us instead to move towards historicity as a dynamic interaction between language phenomena and a multilayered context that includes social conditions simultaneous with the phenomena themselves as well as other language phenomena – previous or subsequent – of which the one under study may be a reformulation, reinterpretation or precedent.

A political history of Spanish: the making of a language

It should not come as a surprise by now that, in this project, Spanish is approached as a discursively constructed political artifact that, as such, contains traces of the society in which it is produced and of the discursive traditions that are involved – and often even invoked – in its creation. However, it is not only for its representational value that we look at it as an artifact, but for its performative function in the field in which it is produced. As political artifacts, signs constructed with the *lengua española* or *español* signifier – in tension

²⁰ In this regard, the fragmentary and partial nature of glottopolitical history is evident inasmuch as it relies on written texts and, therefore, mostly on the representations of language produced by specific sectors of the society under study. Studies that focus on periods for which evidence of orality is available can circumvent this limitation. This may be a productive area of cooperation between glottopolitical history and historical sociolinguistics.

with others such as *romance de Castilla*, *lengua castellana* or *castellano* – have been playing a role for centuries in the construction of political consciousness and the organization of power structures. The focus of the studies that make up this volume is therefore metalinguistic discourse that, under different sets of ideological and material conditions, has produced politically relevant representations of Spanish.²¹ This delimitation of the object leads us then to set the beginning of our story, through Roger Wright's study, at the time when scribal practices and explicit references to the romance language of Castile – and to the necessary elaboration of a correct variety of it: *castellano drecho* – brought to the fore the political significance of a new linguistic regime in which a written language close to everyday speech acquired value in a cultural space that until that time had been monopolized by Latin. Wright's theory, which clearly conceptualizes the birth of Spanish as a metalinguistic change rather than a process of linguistic evolution, offers the perfect setting to mark the initial point of our narrative.

In spite of this project's – admittedly pretentious – claims of originality, the overall structure of the book is ultimately deeply conventional. Some of these conventions – such as, for example, the ordering of the chapters according to the relative chronology of the events, debates and processes discussed – are less problematic. But even chronology is not free from contradictions as the variously defined objects under study cover different temporal ranges often overlapping with each other instead of constituting a clean order. We must therefore be cautious about the sequentiality suggested by the disposition of the chapters: while in some cases it may allow us to discern historical continuities and discontinuities, in others it may merely serve as a convenient expository device.

The organization of the book in four parts is even more vulnerable than standard sequential chronology. I would dare contend that Parts II, III and IV are intuitively justified. The history of Spanish has for the most part been written alongside the history of Spain; the historical presence of Spanish and its evolution in Spanish America has been written – more often than not – separately, as an offshoot of the former; Spanish in the United States has come to be recognized – especially in the last couple of decades of the twentieth century – as an autonomous object worthy of scholarly (and political) attention. And yet, even the labels chosen as titles for each part uncover the contradictions and blind spots of the traditional narrative that, to some extent, I reproduce: taking “Iberian” and “Latin American” perspectives forces us to look at Spanish transversally, that is, not only in a diachronic relation with itself but also in a dialogic relation with other languages and geographic spaces. Part III's title even suggests the existence of a transatlantic perspective which, as Arnoux

²¹ The glottopolitical angle, among other elements, distinguishes our project from Francisco Abad's “*Lengua española*”: *para la historia de un concepto y un objeto* (2003).

and Del Valle argue in their introduction, in fact crosses the whole book and should be the basis of a trans-area approach to the historical construction of Spanish that completely reconfigures the methodological and epistemological involvement of space.²² Part V turns out to be a revealingly odd combination that, as Fernández and Del Valle suggest in their introduction, produces vectors that may point in productive directions for the reading and rereading of the volume.

The very title of the book should expose a fundamental tension. On one hand, it names an object (“a political history of Spanish”) whose objective existence is questioned from the outset; on the other, it suggests a closed structure that is contradicted by the project’s open-ended character. The title and size of the book seem to promise comprehensive coverage, a totalizing narrative that would succinctly make sense out of a complex glottopolitical field. And yet, the reader will not find such comprehensive representation, nor even the desire to produce it. In fact, the tension between the title’s totalizing thrust and the case-study structure of the project reveals – or so I hope – the fragmented nature of our account and the open character of this undertaking. Just as Spanish is constantly in the making, as the subtitle announces, so is the scholarly project that takes it as its object.

Thus, like its object, this project is itself historical. It is engaged with a scholarly tradition that has been traced – or constructed – in this necessarily brief introduction and that somehow loosely represents this editor’s academic trajectory as a “linguist.” It is also a collective project that involves a network of collaborators of different national origins, geoacademic situations and even disciplinary trainings that has developed over the years through this editor’s professional circulation. In spite of its diverse and international flavor, we must not overlook its firm roots in North American academia, which itself constitutes a fascinatingly explosive intellectual and political field with tensions of its own. The fact that it is published with Cambridge University Press is not alien to the distribution of symbolic capital and the material conditions of life in US institutions of higher education. It is not alien either to struggles – which, I suspect, are not exclusive to the US – within the field of “Hispanic linguistics” over what constitutes legitimate “linguistic” scholarship and, therefore, over who gets faculty lines, student fellowships and research grants. Some of these contextual factors may be pertinent to understanding the – for many probably disquieting – publication of a political history of Spanish *in English*, a language-ideological move as worthy of critique as any of the cases analyzed in this book.

²² Ottmar Ette has been playing a central role in the development of TransArea studies (e.g. Ette 2011).

Part II

The making of Spanish: Iberian perspectives

2 Introduction to the making of Spanish: Iberian perspectives

Alberto Medina, José del Valle and Henrique Monteagudo

As Del Valle anticipated in the previous chapter, in contrast with traditional histories of Spanish that begin with an overview of the pre-Roman languages of the Iberian Peninsula, our project opens the historical arch at the time when Spanish seems to have emerged as an object of discourse. Our decision – not an unproblematic one – is grounded in Roger Wright’s theory and is, therefore, only as valid as the theory turns out to be.¹ In any case, we choose to take Wright’s work as a reference point not because of its implications for dating the “birth” of Spanish (ultimately, a matter of relative, if not superficial, importance) but because of his particular take on the historical emergence of languages. In this view, a new language appears not necessarily as a result of linguistic evolution, not only as the development of new linguistic forms, but rather as the product of a new conceptualization of speech. The birth of a language is, as it were, less a linguistic than a metalinguistic matter.

Beginning the historical narrative that underpins this book in the period when the conceptual split between Latin and Romance must have taken place seems like a reasonable methodological move. On one hand, it forces us to take into consideration a context defined by the conquest and colonization of Visigoth Hispania by Muslim armies and settlers of mostly Arabic and Berber origin. It also invites us to consider the relevance of Jews in medieval Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Muslim societies. Finally, it leads us to revisit the various processes through which Hispano-Christian kingdoms subdued and conquered their southern Hispano-Muslim neighbors, especially after the twelfth century. In such contexts, the politics of the various forms of Arabic-Hebrew-Latin-Romance multilingualism become central.

In [Chapter 1](#), Del Valle suggested that, among the many virtues of Ramón Menéndez Pidal’s masterpiece *Orígenes del español* [The origins of Spanish], first published in 1926, we can count his unequivocally contextual approach to the relationship between Latin and Romance. While he did engage in the

¹ Wright advanced his theory in his groundbreaking book of 1982 and succinctly presents it in the next chapter of this volume. See also Wright 1996 for a collection of articles both supportive and critical of his proposals.

description of the language at different stages of its evolution, his most lasting contribution was the commitment to render his study truly relevant to history. The idealist theory of language in which *Orígenes* was grounded (see [Chapter 1](#)) led Pidal to examine scribal practices in a context of socially significant linguistic variation and to link linguistic processes to the realm of the Law, “Reconquest” politics and identity-building.

The political relevance of language and its manifestation in metalinguistic practices become particularly salient in the thirteenth century, as Wright argues in the next chapter. It is a period of unprecedented southward expansion by the Christian kingdoms in which the political interests of each alternately coalesce (e.g. the definitive union of León and Castile under Ferdinand III in 1230) and clash (e.g. the well-known friction between Ferdinand’s son Alfonso X and his Portuguese and Aragonese neighbors). It is also a phase in which education and access to the written word spread to social groups from which it had been traditionally kept at a distance (Leal 1990: 206–7). Translation, metalinguistic practice *par excellence*, and the emergence of linguistic regimes concerned with the establishment of norms of correctness for the “new” Romance languages reveal themselves in this period as practices closely connected with state power and proto-national affirmation. Toledo’s notorious *Escuela de Traductores* and Alfonso X’s search for a form of correct Castilian, *castellano drecho*, stand out as examples of this inalienable glottopolitical link.

By the fifteenth century, while the northern Ibero-Romance linguistic map remained a continuum, distinct varieties associated with politically bound territories had been crystallizing through institutionalized writing practices and the slow but steady consolidation of literary traditions. They had become culturally recognizable languages. During the Renaissance, the discourse of grammarians progressively moved away from the scholastic speculation of the Middle Ages towards a more pedagogically oriented approach to classical languages and a descriptively inspired codification of vernaculars (Percival 1995). The latter became not only vehicles for the transmission of knowledge – although Latin would still stand strong for a few centuries – but also instruments of communication and objects of discourse deeply entangled with the politics of colonization, national pride and social exclusion (as Firbas, Miguel Martínez and Woolard show in this volume).

The dynastic union between Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon is a central turning point in Iberian history since the unification of these two kingdoms under one crown can be constructed as the onset of a process that would result in the emergence of modern Spain. The fact that the *annus mirabilis* of 1492 and the multiple historical developments that it came to symbolize are located in the middle of their reign justifies the useful centrality of this period in narratives of Spanish history and even in historical narratives produced from a broader Iberian perspective. The conquest of Granada and the expulsion of

Hispanic Jews are materially and symbolically linked to policies of collective identity that, as Woolard reminds us in this volume, progressively moved, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from religion to culture and, finally, to *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood). Similarly, Columbus's arrival in the Americas is directly linked to imperial politics that spread the power of Castile across the Atlantic, across the Pyrenees and, even closer to the imperial center, across the loosely defined borders that had separated the Iberian medieval kingdoms. In this regard, the 1581 invasion of Portugal by the Duke of Alba is particularly salient as it opened a phase identified as the Iberian Union, in which Portugal, Castile and Aragon were under one single crown worn successively by Philip II, III, IV and, finally, Charles IV, during whose reign, in 1668, Portugal would regain full independence.

Our history of Spanish as an object of discourse for the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries unfolds, therefore, in a complex network of tensions with other Iberian languages such as Arabic, Catalan and Portuguese (see Miguel Martínez and Woolard in this volume), other European languages such as French, German and Italian (see Miguel Martínez in this volume) and an overwhelming American linguistic landscape that will only be corralled, if at all, through numerous and inevitably violent epistemological operations (see Firbas in this volume). In other words, representations of language in this period must be interpreted in the context of national/imperial as well as Iberian/transatlantic politics and cultural flows. The metalinguistic discourses unveiled in this part demand an interpretive framework in which, in contrast with the traditional "monumental narrative of global expansion for the Spanish language" (Miguel Martínez in this volume), the symbolic requirements of nation and empire coexist with the strategic pragmatism of sociolinguistic actors in determining the usage, status and development of Spanish.

The eighteenth century and the War of Succession (1701–1714) brought with them a new glottopolitical scenario that led to the creation of Spain's language academy, *Real Academia Española* (RAE). While traditional views of the emergence of the RAE have placed it within the context of Enlightenment linguistic thought and identified it as a natural step in a natural process of linguistic standardization (e.g. Lapesa 1980: 418–21), it seems productive to broaden the scope and look at the institutionalization of language as a development that unfolds within specific political conditions (Medina in this volume).

Shortly after his arrival in Spain and still immersed in the war, Philip V enacted a series of laws that redefined the distribution of power in the country. The support that Catalonia, Aragon and other regions had given to his enemies was punished with a series of measures that extensively curtailed the autonomy traditionally guaranteed by regional laws or *Fueros*. However, the *Nueva Planta* decrees also revealed a new centralist understanding of the administration

of political authority modeled after French absolutism (which the king had assimilated in his grandfather's court).

In this context, language – Spanish in the case at hand – became a privileged tool in the systematic centralization of power. If local administrations were going to work under the direct control of Madrid, an effective vehicle of communication was to be designed and implemented. Thus, a legal discourse on language was deployed in order to organize the sociolinguistic field through proscriptive indictments and prescriptive principles. A 1716 decree, for example, required that all the cases to be heard in Barcelona's Royal Court should be written and conducted in Spanish. A year later, the magistrates and local authorities were instructed to use Spanish systematically and introduce it as extensively as possible in their areas of influence. Those were only the first in a series of laws and communications focused on the implementation of Spanish, the frequency and reach of which were increased after Charles III was crowned in 1759 (Moreno Fernández 2005).²

The implementation of Spanish as an effective tool of the new centralist state also required that it be subjected to a careful process of standardization, that is, to another form of metalinguistic practice. Following the example of Italy's *Accademia della Crusca* and the *Académie Française*, the RAE was founded in 1713 and soon began to publish its principal instruments of standardization: the dictionary (1726–39), the orthography (1741) and the grammar (1771).³ These processes are to be conceived within a general trend of growing institutionalization of power and knowledge as well as of a progressive rationalization of their circulation and distribution. The effectiveness of royal power depended on a simplification of the networks that allowed the king to have a closer presence and tighter control over all aspects and throughout all geographical confines of government. The creation of cultural institutions such as *Sociedades de Amigos del País* and the RAE allowed for the coordinated and unified circulation of knowledge, where intellectual trends followed lines of distribution analogous to those of the state bureaucracy.

These institutions became, in a way, new technologies of governmentality that contributed to the production of precise “mappings” and descriptions of the object over which power was to be exerted.⁴ If, for example, the

² Also, in 1768, it was decided that Spanish – instead of Latin – was to be the only medium of instruction in schools, and in 1770 it was decreed that only Spanish should be spoken in America – thus ending the strategic use of indigenous languages that had been systematic after the Council of Trent. The use of Catalan would be further prohibited in the church (specifically in Mallorca in 1778) and even in the theater (where all languages but Castilian were banned in 1799).

³ The interest in that process of codification was not limited to the Academy and, in the same period, numerous intellectuals like Mayans, Juan de Valdés, Fray Martín Sarmiento and Benito de San Pedro contributed to the same cause with their own works.

⁴ On governmentality we choose the following statement by Foucault: “If we take the question of power, of political power, situating it in the more general question of governmentality understood

implementation of new tax policies required *catastros* and *planimetrías*, that is, the meticulous cataloguing of rural and urban properties, the new uses of forms of cultural capital such as language required its detailed description and codification as a threshold for its control and effective use, always within the pyramidal conception of absolutist power and enlightened despotism.

All these trends paved the way for a new relationship between language and nation that would emerge after the French Revolution and spread to the rest of Europe: “national language” was now to be conceived as a tool of nation-building through the assumption of a common political conscience. Belonging to the nation as a political project necessarily meant speaking the shared and common language. It was no longer the absolute monarch who inhabited the core of the centralist project but rather the people themselves, who renounced their particularities in the name of the common good and actively shared a project of political and cultural unity called nation. In Spain (as in Latin America, where nation-building was even more literal in the post-independence context; see Arnoux and Del Valle in Part III), this process gained considerable traction during the second half of the nineteenth century (see Villa in this volume). It entailed, first, securing access to the language – mainly through the educational system – for those who had to be incorporated into the state bureaucracy and to positions within the national economy that required a certain level of linguistic competence. It involved, secondly, the ideological elaboration of Spanish as the legitimate national language.

The process, however, faced resistance in parts of Spain such as Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country where, at different points in the course of the nineteenth century, movements emerged that disputed Spanish’s hegemony through the defense of their respective languages and cultures. At first, these movements had little explicit political content, focused on the literary cultivation of the language and did not question the status of Spanish as Spain’s only official language in education and government. It was towards the end of the century that these initiatives became associated with political operations that aimed at regional self-government in the context of a decentralized Spanish state. Although this evolution occurred at a different pace in each community,

as a strategic field of power relations in the broadest and not merely political sense of the term, if we understand by governmentality a strategic field of power relations in their mobility, transformability, and reversibility, then I do not think that reflection on this notion of governmentality can avoid passing through, theoretically and practically, the element of a subject defined by the relationship of self to self. Although the theory of political power and an institution usually refers to a juridical conception of the subject of right, it seems to be that the analysis of governmentality – that is to say, of power as a set of reversible relationships – must refer to an ethics of the subject defined by the relationship of self to self. Quite simply, this means that in the type of analysis I have been trying to advance for some time you can see that power relations, governmentality, the government of self and of others, and the relationship of self to self constitute a chain, a thread, and I think it is around these notions that we should be able to connect together the question of politics and the question of ethics” (Foucault 2005).

depending, to a great extent, on the speed of modernization and the development of capitalist forms of economic organization, in all cases the spread of nationalist movements and ideologies went hand in hand with the articulation of linguistic demands and efforts to further cultivate the respective languages.

This tension between different nation-building projects has run through Spain's contemporary political history and has pervaded – until the immigration movements of the late twentieth century triggered new forms of linguistic awareness – public discourse on language in the Spanish Iberian context.⁵ The discourse on Spanish is linked to a conflict that revolves around the permanently contested structure of the Spanish state and to a constant back and forth of actions, reactions and counter-reactions in which the Spanish nationalism embraced by the state confronts several nationalisms from the periphery. The period known as *Restauración* (1875–1923) pursued the imposition of Spanish as the national language within a liberal-oligarchic framework that deployed both political and discursive strategies to counter the claims of Basque, Catalan and Galician regionalism and nationalism. The dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera that resulted from a *coup d'état* in 1923 engaged in linguistic nationalization through authoritarian and openly coercive policies that forcefully displaced the other Iberian languages from public life. The Second Republic (discussed by Monteagudo in his chapter) restored in 1931 a liberal framework in which language-ideological debates inevitably accompanied policy implementation. The 1936 coup inaugurated a new and long period of radical erasure of Basque, Catalan and Galician from public life and iron-fisted affirmation of a centralized organization of the state.⁶ In the last quarter of the century, a change in the political system and the approval of the 1978 constitution returned Spain once more to a liberal democratic system in which negotiations on the structure of the state went hand in hand with debates on the relative status of Spain's languages. Each of these periods – and the language-ideological debates that they engendered – requires, of course, special attention. It seems clear that, while the ideology of linguistic nationalism underpinned most representations of language in the twentieth century, the mappings of this ideology onto Spain's political configuration have been multiple and diverse.

As stated in [Chapter 1](#), the primary focus of this book is not language itself but its relationship to the formation of political conscience. Our interest is not the historical transformation of linguistic features but the way in which those transformations acquire political meaning and socio-symbolic significance. In that sense, the pragmatism and symbolism of language in the different contexts

⁵ The conspicuous absence of Portuguese in Spain's discourses on language – with the obvious exception of Galicia – is itself an intriguing fact.

⁶ The linguistic ideologies of Francoism are also briefly discussed in Castillo Rodríguez's chapter on Spanish in Equatorial Guinea.

analyzed in this part are inextricable. In Wright's analysis the convenience of a new system of writing that facilitates reading aloud is put in practice by religious and political institutions in need of spreading out pieces of doctrine or legislation in the most effective manner. That new linguistic tool, Romance, would also become a vehicle of international prestige for an ascending political unit becoming, in a certain way, its easily distinguishable signifier. Language becomes both a tool and a symbol of power.

However, conversely, the ways of power are also the ways of its resistance. Miguel Martínez's chapter illuminates the way in which both the Empire and its critics share the pragmatism of using the most effective and wide-reaching tool to disseminate their message, the Castilian language, even if to pursue contradictory goals. In that sense, the tool and the symbol do not necessarily go together anymore. If the role of Castilian in Charles I's 1536 speech in Rome after his military victory over the Turks or in the edition of Nebrija's grammar were retroactively "constructed" as crucial symbolic events in the formation of that entity called the "language of the empire," it is no less true that the very same language was the vehicle chosen to resist the homogenizing practices of that empire by figures such as Antonio de Sousa.

Similarly, the linguistic polemics around the "Sacromonte forgeries" studied by Woolard show how an excluded minority used the language of exclusion as an intended tool of resistance: by claiming that Castilian was being written in first-century Granada by their ancestors, the *Moriscos*, about to be expelled, presented themselves as related to the first Christians, thus closer to the origin, to older Christians (and to Spanish speakers), than the old Christians who were accusing them of maintaining the Arabic language and Islamic practices. The linguistic thinkers analyzed by Woolard saw their approach to language mediated by an alternative and disruptive use that forced them (and their readers) to confront the ideological and political implications of their linguistic studies.

Medina's chapter on the creation of the RAE a century later can be read as an effort to go against the retroactive attempt to de-politicize the symbolic dimension of language institutionalization, erasing the political pragmatism that was historically inextricable from it. A study of the political role of the founder of the Academy, the Marquis of Villena, in the Royal Court, along with his very tight relationship with Melchor Macanaz, president of the Council of Castile, the most influential political body in Spain after the king, reveals how the project of the Academy was linked to a wide range of parallel political transformations. The creation of a "cultural" institution as symbolically charged as the RAE was at the same time the origin of a political tool in a context in which culture was becoming a privileged means of a new "micro-politics" characteristic of that nascent paradigm called modernity.

The polemics surrounding the intended orthographic reform by teachers during the 1840s is another symptomatic step in the political history of the

Academy. Villa's study argues that control over this institution constituted a necessary tool in the hands of a government that understood language and grammar as disciplinary practices in the constitution of national citizenship (on the relation between grammar, the state and modern subjectivity see also Arnoux in this volume). If every Spaniard was to be educated as an effective citizen contributing to the coherence, strength and prosperity of the nation, the decisions surrounding the codification of language used in the classrooms could not be left in the hands of institutions located outside the orbit of government control. Following the trend slowly built through the eighteenth century and consecrated by the French Revolution, belonging to the nation necessarily implied the use of a common language, tool and symbol of its unquestionable unity. In 1857, the education law (known as *Ley Moyano*) was a transparent formulation of those ideas: a centralized and homogeneous education with the help of institutions such as the RAE was both a mirror and the condition of possibility for Spain as a modern nation.⁷

In the final article of this part, Monteagudo analyzes the moment of crisis of that paradigm. In the context of the Second Republic, the modern success of that idea of nation had reached everywhere and, as a result, competing national projects enter a symbolic and political conflict. If the unity of language had been a priority for the modern Spanish nation and its self-constitution, other nations within that political unity called Spain to start thinking along similar lines. In that new reality, different intellectuals directly involved in parliamentary discussions around the 1931 constitution are forced to confront the choice between identification of Spanish language and nation on one hand and, on the other, a more complex dissolution of that privileged relationship in favor of a plurilingualism that may avoid political conflict. It was an attempt to make compatible the stability of the political unity and the ascendant demands of competing self-conscious national identities that made the recognition of other official languages along with Spanish possible, if only for a very short period of time.

But that moment, the political making of other languages within Spain, is perhaps a window to see the stories told in this part just as a threshold to a more complete exercise of storytelling that can only be conceived as polyphonic. The story of a dominant voice is, to a certain extent, a fiction that this volume wants to reveal as such and, in that sense, necessarily intertwined with many other silenced stories to which these studies are only a prelude.

⁷ Metalinguistic discourses in the context of the development of educational systems – and the connection of both to nation-building and colonialism – are addressed in several chapters throughout the volume: Villa, Arnoux, Barrios, Dubord, Fernández-Gibert, Castillo Rodríguez.

3 The prehistory of written Spanish and the thirteenth-century nationalist zeitgeist

Roger Wright

Introduction

For many centuries, Romance morphology, syntax, vocabulary and semantics developed gradually, and could be represented in writing according to the old Latin writing systems. The idea of the deliberate invention of new Ibero-Romance ways of writing, intentionally distinct from the inherited Latin norm, was catalyzed by the import from France of the phonographic mode of reading Latin aloud in Church with a sound for each written letter. This requirement led first to the existence of two ways of saying the same word, and then, after the invention of Romance writing, to two ways of writing it. The word “Romance” was first applied to the new ways of writing, rather than to speech. Written and spoken “Medieval” Latin (known usually as *grammatica*) was in theory standardized over Europe. Written Ibero-Romance, used in many contexts by the mid-thirteenth century, might have developed as a single unit, but increasingly during the thirteenth century the separate political units of the Iberian Peninsula wanted to elaborate their own national written form; that is, the conceptual split between Ibero-Romance languages came after, but only shortly after, the conceptual split of “Medieval Latin” from Romance.

The development of written Spanish was not a single event, even though the appearance of complete texts in a deliberately new *scripta*, around 1200, was relatively sudden. Their arrival had a long prehistory, as Romance features had been present in texts for centuries, and no political overtones. But soon after the appearance of complete Romance texts, the mode was adopted for non-linguistic purposes only indirectly connected with its original point.

Romance languages developed from spoken Latin over many centuries. The choice of language names is notoriously tricky for the philologist studying these centuries, as within the Iberian Peninsula we are faced with the possibility of using “Vulgar Latin,” “Late Latin,” “Proto-Romance,” “Early Romance,” “Ibero-Romance” and even “el español primitivo”; the speakers themselves created no new language names, and used the phrase *lingua latina* to refer to their language throughout the whole period before the deliberate invention of new ways of writing. For it does seem that the word “Romance” (variously

spelled) was first applied to the novel techniques of writing rather than to any register of speech. The modern analyst, on the other hand, naturally wishes to distinguish between the spoken language states of the fourth, eighth and twelfth centuries AD, which is why we feel justified in using a procedure which on the whole historical linguists would do well to be wary of; that is, we tend to apply to their language some names which its speakers did not use themselves. In particular, it has seemed reasonable to many to call the spoken language of the sixth to the eleventh centuries “Romance,” or “Early Romance,” which in this perspective comes later than “Latin” but earlier than the geographically restricted “Ibero-Romance” (or “Old Spanish”).

In the first part of the present study we shall glimpse the way in which, within the Peninsula, Early Romance appeared in written form. I am not here referring only to the linguistic mistakes which were unintentionally made in the Latin of inscriptions and manuscripts. There were also occasions when writers in the Iberian Peninsula were deliberately and consciously trying something different, when their non-standard written form was not just a straightforward, spontaneous and natural reflection of their speech, but an intellectual attempt to achieve something new. The presence of both intentional and unintentional phenomena of these types in the Peninsula are collectively summarized here as being the “prehistory of written Spanish,” using the language label “Spanish” in the way that Ramón Menéndez Pidal (e.g. 1972) and Inés Fernández Ordóñez (e.g. 2010, 2011) have done, to mean what other scholars mean by “Ibero-Romance”; that is, it is not to be identified solely with Castilian.

Menéndez Pidal paid a great deal of attention to this prehistory in his *Orígenes del español* (see Del Valle’s brief discussion in [Chapter 1](#)), which was devoted to the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. He pointed out, for example, quite rightly, that we can learn from the way names of non-Latin places and people were written, since the scribes often had no canonical inherited form available and were left to their own devices. In general, those written features in the texts of this age which we can interpret as being inspired by Romance phonetics can indeed help us assess what those phonetics were; where it seems that Menéndez Pidal was probably overconfident was in the converse case, where he tended to suggest that the presence of the traditional written form of a word implied that the scribe used old-fashioned phonetics rather than merely that he had learned how to spell the word correctly. Several of the graphical choices made by scribes in the Peninsula during what has come to be known as the *época de orígenes* were not destined to become standard in the subsequent writing systems of Old Spanish, such as the spelling of the palatal affricate sound with a double letter *gg* in such names as Sánchez; that is, the sound now represented by the letters *ch*. Peterson (2009: 254) has pointed out that in the early eleventh century the same person’s name, now written as *Ochoiz*, of Basque etymology, was spelled in documents in twenty-one

different ways, none of them *Ochoiz*. But, as António Emiliano has pointed out (e.g. 1991/1996, 2003), it is probably the case that most of the individual graphical (in his word, “scripto-linguistic”) solutions eventually adopted in the semi-standardized methods of writing Ibero-Romance in the early thirteenth century had in fact been used on occasion already, within documentation that was ostensibly Latinate.

The decision to represent in a new written format whole texts, rather than individual phonetic features or non-Latin words, when it was consciously taken in some areas of the Peninsula in the second half of the twelfth century, did not thus involve starting from scratch. To many modern analysts it has seemed natural to see Latin and Romance as already being separate whole languages before that time; but the features of both had coexisted in the texts of earlier centuries, and to understand the process that led to their eventual separation as two distinct modes it is worth deconstructing the phenomena into their component parts, taking what Ángel López García (2000) would call a “modular” approach. In the next sections we will look in order at syntax, semantics, the lexicon, morphology, phonetics and orthography.

Syntax

Several aspects of Latin syntax changed over the years. But not as much as we might think. Within the Roman Empire itself, written Latin of a practical kind, such as that written by architects, doctors, gardeners, cooks and other professionals, has sometimes been described, inappropriately, as “Vulgar Latin” (see Herman 2000). This is widely regarded now as an unhelpful way of describing these works, if only because what is often called “Vulgar Latin,” as opposed to “Classical Latin,” was in reality just “Latin,” spoken by all, whereas “Classical Latin” was a *recherché* register written by only a few and spoken by perhaps nobody. The grammar of texts prepared in non-literary registers during the Roman Empire is markedly more like that of later Romance than is the grammar of the highest literary register of that period; it is well known now, for example, that the default word order of the late fourth-century *Peregrinatio*, composed in a colloquial register by the probably Peninsular nun Egeria, is more or less the same as that of the average thirteenth-century Peninsular composition. Similarly, tenth-century Peninsular documents often attest a VSO (or VS) order, particularly in subordinate clauses, more characteristic of later Romance than of most Latin works written during the Roman Empire. We can also watch, without much surprise, as the documentation of this *época de orígenes* uses more prepositions (particularly *de*) and fewer case inflections than would have been the case during the Empire, although the prepositions themselves are not new. Robert Blake (e.g. 1991), who has shown how the syntax of many documents of the age is effectively that of the Romance of the

time rather than that of the Latin of the distant past, refers to these documents as being “Latinate”; that is, Romance in syntax, although the scribe is still aiming to make the document look like Latin through his use of the traditional spelling. These word-order and other syntactic phenomena are probably not intentional, though; the scribes used those developed features of syntax in writing merely because they used them in speech, rather than out of any conscious desire to revolutionize the written form itself.

Semantics

The study of the semantics of the documentation of that age has not been undertaken to any great extent. Even so, there is a sizeable number of words whose meaning changed between the first and the twelfth century. If we find these words being used in ostensibly Latinate texts with their evolved meaning, that is, with their Ibero-Romance meaning rather than their older Latin one, this supports the hypothesis that the scribe was writing his natural Romance language by disguising it under the old-fashioned orthographical mode, which was the only one available to him. This phenomenon was examined in a paper given to the 2003 conference on the origins of the Romance Languages in León (Wright 2004), using as the main example the third-person present subjunctive forms of the Latin verb *SEDERE*, traditionally written in the singular as *SEDEAT*, which had been changing its meaning in the Peninsula from “to be seated” to “to be” (whose infinitive would later be written as *ser*). In the eleventh-century Riojan Glosses, we find this subjunctive form written as *sie-gat*, and used in those glosses with both the semantics and the grammar that it had in contemporary Ibero-Romance (that is, as a passive auxiliary); in this way, it exemplifies the glosser’s attempts to write a feature of his natural language in a novel way. This same word appears in many of the documents of the period which are kept now in the archives of León Cathedral; up to the thirteenth century it was always written in the traditionally correct form *sedeat*, but with the meaning of “be,” including in several uses as a passive auxiliary, and without the original meaning of “is seated.” Thus both the syntax and the semantics of this word in these ostensibly Latinate documents in León are those of Ibero-Romance, as they had been in the Riojan Glosses. When we move ahead a few years to investigate the early thirteenth century, and look at what is probably the first written Romance document produced in either the Leonese or the Castilian chancery, the Treaty of Cabrerós of 1206 (both versions are edited in Wright 2000), we find that same word (already pronounced [sé-a]) written several times with the letters *sea*, a three-letter combination which had not been attested in writing in the chanceries before (so far as we can tell). This item is the same entity as the *sedeat* written in the previous documentation in León (and the *sie-gat* of the Glosses), from a semantic and syntactic point of

view, and probably also from a phonetic point of view in speech, but written in a new way. Many other words which had undergone semantic changes had their new meaning attested in old graphical form in the *época de orígenes* as well; thus the eventual change to Romance writing in these cases involved a change to a new spelling only, because the semantic and syntactic entity had been present in writing for a long time already.

This conclusion is unsurprising and indeed only natural; when semantic and syntactic changes occur in a language there is no need to change the language's writing system at all if we wish to represent them on paper, because new word orders and new grammatical and semantic uses for existing words can be represented in writing just as well as the traditional orders and uses can. That is why I called my edition and study of the Treaty of Cabreros a "sociophilological study of an orthographic reform" (i.e. of the existing language) rather than "of a new language."

The lexicon

Lexical change involves new words, and thus is far more salient to the language user than semantic change is. There can be consequences for the written form, particularly, as already noted, in names of places and people. Words borrowed into Ibero-Romance from Germanic, and even more so from Arabic, often had no obvious written form in the Roman alphabet. Borrowings from Greek had previously led to the adoption in writing of the Greek kappa, and the Greek upsilon and zeta had inspired counterparts in the letters *y* and *z* which were added to the end of the Roman alphabet; but that had already happened long before the Ibero-Romance period, and these letters were no longer seen as novelties. Thus the letter *z* appears in many documents of the *época de orígenes*, particularly in the names of witnesses (representing the sound [dz]), and the *k* especially in the dating formula, where *kalendas* tended to be abbreviated with a *k*. In the Iberian Peninsula there seem to have been no attempts to transfer Arabic letters into the Roman alphabet to represent unfamiliar sounds heard in the etyma of Arabisms; instead the scribes tried to find suitable Roman alphabet equivalents for the unfamiliar sounds, without notable success in a number of cases, as attested by the multiple spellings of some of the more phonetically complicated lexical items involved. This phenomenon helps our reconstruction of the phonetics, as for example when Arabic words with an initial aspirate [h-] turn up in Latinate or Romance texts with an initial letter *f*- (e.g. *fasta* for [hás-ta], modern *hasta*, [ás-ta]) and thus help us argue that *f*- in (e.g.) the *Poema de Mio Cid* often represented [h-].

The presence of originally non-Latinate lexical items in writing is another sign that the scribes were merely aiming to represent their own language on parchment, rather than trying to recreate the Latin of the distant past in

which such entities were not yet present. And it happens more often than we might expect that there are apparently non-Latinate lexical items in tenth-century documentation which we cannot now easily recognize or interpret. Two examples: the phrase *sagia vizione* in a legal judgment from late tenth-century Vairão in the diocese of Porto, which might be used to refer to an ecclesiastical sash with ribbons on (Wright 2010c); and the strange word *raisce* used in several of the documents examined in David Peterson's thoughtful study (2005) of those documents in the San Millán cartulary which were brought there from the Valle del Alto Tirón in the eleventh century. This is a word which seems from the context to mean a meal held in celebration of a successful transaction, but is etymologically unexplained. There are several others, and in general the scribes saw no reason not to use in writing terms which were current in their own community, whether or not they would count technically as Latin to an admirer of Lewis and Short.

As Steven Dworkin pointed out (1995), the eventual change to the new Romance writing system involved losing from the written registers a number of old-fashioned words which probably played little role in speech; but the converse is also true, that most of the Romance vocabulary of that time, whatever its etymological origin, had also been attested earlier in ostensibly Latinate documentation. This fact has consequences for the elaboration of etymological dictionaries; there is little validity in Corominas's normal procedure (Corominas and Pascual 1980–91) of regarding the earliest attestation of an Old Spanish lexical item as necessarily being its earliest attestation in reformed spelling, since most of the words in question turn up in unreformed spelling before the date given in that dictionary. But they are the same item from an etymological point of view, however they happen to be spelled (see Wright 2010b).

Morphology

Morphology is interesting in the present context, and worth separating out into nominal and verbal morphology. Nominal morphology had slowly but permanently simplified over the years, losing all the original case-endings other than the accusatives from Latin nouns and adjectives, preserving [-s] (and -s) in a new function as a plural marker. Most texts prepared in a non-literary register, during these centuries previous to the development of written Romance, do not attest the ablative cases of nouns, because speech had lost the ablative; and they rarely kept the genitives, datives and (in the Iberian Peninsula) nominatives either. Speech eventually preserved only the originally accusative forms of nouns and adjectives, but the use and the understanding of the nominatives and datives survived in the spoken pronouns, and still do (e.g. ILLE > *él*, ILLIS > *les*); and genitives continued to be written throughout the period in a number of proper nouns such as the names of churches (e.g. *ecclesia*

Sanctae Mariae), so it would be an exaggeration to say that the other cases had been dropped from speech. Verbs are slightly different, in that Romance verb morphology, although much evolved, was no simpler than that of Latin. For example, we have already seen the attested spread of the passive auxiliary (< SEDERE), and during these centuries in writing the tense of these passive compounds was often determined by the tense of the auxiliary, as in Romance, rather than that of the participle, as in Latin. Overall, it is reasonable to see the verbal morphology of most non-literary texts of the age as mostly representing that of the speech of the scribe and/or author.

Thus the main difference, between “Latinate” texts of the *época de orígenes* (that is, written before the advent of the Gregorian and Carolingian reforms) and the subsequent texts in the new Romance writing, lies only in the spellings attempted by the scribe; Romance grammar, vocabulary and semantics were already representable and represented on parchment. The reform of spelling in the Peninsula was preceded and precipitated by a phonetic reform in the nature of the official Latin used in church, and subsequently in the first universities; the official change of rite in Castile and León after 1080 imported the French liturgy and backgrounded the native liturgy which had been elaborated in the seventh century by Isidore of Seville and his colleagues, and brought with it the requirement that in church all texts should be read aloud using the method of giving each written letter of the text a sound, and in theory the same sound each time. Thus most words sounded different in the liturgy from the way they sounded in other circumstances; e.g. *episcopus* would be pronounced there as [epískopus] rather than [obíspo], and *fecit* as [fékit] rather than [fídzo]. These developments were an integral part of the Gregorian reforms of the late eleventh century. French clerics were needed to train the native priests in the new techniques (Wright 1982, 2003; Emiliano 2003 traces the effect of these developments in Portugal). The theoretically biunique connections between each individual written symbol and its related spoken sound, as established at that time in what we now call Medieval Latin, underlay the eventual development of the same correspondences between vernacular sound and letter in the new Romance writing modes. But since contemporary Romance morphology, syntax, vocabulary and semantics could already be, and regularly were, represented up till then in the old writing methods still instilled in scribes during their training, the novelty of such officially inspired texts as the Romance Treaty of Cabrerós of 1206, prepared in the Castilian royal chancery with a copy also made in the Leonese chancery, lay almost exclusively in the spellings.

Written Romance, which is what the word “Romance” was initially reserved for at the time, was thus not the sudden eruption of a complete novelty. All aspects of the spoken language other than the phonetic had for a long time already been directly represented on parchment; in exactly the same way, modern English and Spanish grammar, morphology, semantics and vocabulary

are written down by us all on paper every day in the traditional spellings which we learned at school, far from being a phonetic script though these are. The newly developed spellings were a new way of writing the same language, rather than a totally new language. That idea, of a new way of writing the same language, had been gestating for a century already. The famous Riojan Glosses of the 1070s have sometimes been described as the “birth certificate” of the Spanish language. This idea is not taken literally any more, but the Glosses certainly attest the birth of something, for they show us the start of a new idea within the scribal mentality: the idea that their words could be deliberately written in a non-traditional way. It seems reasonable to suggest that this idea is a by-product of the new atmosphere which accompanied the arrival of the reforms in the 1070s and 1080s.

The reforms themselves, though, took over a century to become generally operative. The twelfth century in the Peninsula presents a kind of patchwork in this respect, as the reforms were pursued more enthusiastically in some groups (such as the new religious orders) than elsewhere (see Fernández Ordoñez 2011; Hernández 2009; Wright 2003: [chapter 17](#)). In some places where the reformed technique of reading Medieval Latin aloud was introduced, an incentive to represent vernacular spoken registers on parchment in a novel way, and thence to create a conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance based on the two modes of writing, was likely to follow, though not necessarily at once. But these new written Spanish modes had a prehistory, which Hispanists are well advised to bear continually in mind; in particular, those who study Ibero-Romance grammatical features of the thirteenth century should be aware that they are almost certainly attested in the preceding centuries also, in texts whose graphical form might make them look ostensibly as if they are not Romance at all.

The reasons for the emerging preference for writing in a new Romance style in the early thirteenth century have been much discussed by modern analysts, with no clear consensus emerging. As was probably the case earlier in Carolingian France, there is probably a connection with ease of reading aloud comprehensibly, which had been made a more complex task by the arrival of the new Medieval Latin reading style (which required, and requires, a sound for every written letter). In my view, and that of several others, the monk (or monks) who wrote the glosses of San Millán and Silos was probably writing for his own subsequent benefit (or possibly also the benefit of a foreign visitor) when later reading the texts aloud; but this is not a universally accepted interpretation. What we call Old Occitan (which it would really be more appropriate to call Young Occitan) may well have been a model in the back, or even in the forefront, of the minds of those who tried the initial experiments. Shortly afterwards, the Languedoc certainly seems to have inspired the twelfth-century developments. Hernández’s 2009 study pointed out that where scribes were

trained is more important for their writing techniques than the place their documents now happen to be kept, which latter assumption underlay most of Menéndez Pidal's organizational rationale in his *Documentos Lingüísticos*; rearranging the evidence in this way suggests to Hernández that the members of the new religious orders of the age, particularly the Cistercians and the Premonstratensians who had come from the Languedoc, where texts in written Occitan Romance had been known for some decades already, were particularly interested in developing an Ibero-Romance written mode. Geographically, the ensuing patchwork of old and new seems incoherent; in terms of where writers were trained, the pattern makes sense. The result in Burgos, for example, was that the Cistercian nuns at Las Huelgas welcomed the new modes from at least 1188 and the cathedral did not do so until the mid-thirteenth century (Hernández 2009: 267). Aguilar de Campó (where several scribes had Jewish names) adopted the novelties soon after it affiliated to the Premonstratensians in 1169, San Millán did not till well into the following century, and so on. The idea had come from over the Pyrenees, and was continually reinforced by the contacts in both directions between the Peninsular and mother houses, but naturally the details needed to be newly invented in the Peninsula, given the phonetic and other differences between the two varieties of Romance.

In Toledo, local government still mainly used Arabic in written texts in the twelfth century, but towards the end of that century, as knowledge of written Arabic was gradually diminishing, the new written Romance seems to have taken up some of the slack, probably encouraged by the Cistercians who had created the military order of nearby Calatrava (Hernández 2009: 280). None of this seems to have been the result of any political or national perspective; one prime mover may well have been the Archbishop of Toledo, Martín López de Pisuergra, who was granted oversight of the royal chancery by Alfonso VIII of Castile in July 1206, but the arguments between himself and the official chancellor, Diego de Campos (Diego García), who would have preferred to use traditional written Latin consistently, were probably religious and moral in nature rather than political. Diego de Campos was eventually relieved of his duties in 1217, and immediately (1218) produced his extraordinarily reactionary and unsurprisingly little-read Latin work entitled *Planeta*, in which he expresses the idea that the world is falling to pieces, even implying that the written Latin forms of words have an intrinsic mystical value and that Romance writing, by definition, therefore, is heretical.

As Tore Janson's work has established (Janson 2002), the concept of Romance as a separate language from Latin followed the elaboration of the new written mode, rather than inspiring it. Judging by some of the data recently adduced by Fernando Tejedo Herrero (2008), that idea seems to have taken a remarkably long time to take complete hold. The metalinguistic distinction between different Romance languages came later than that between Latin and

Romance. For it is clear, from detailed comparative analysis of the two texts of the Treaty of Cabrerros of 1206, that although in that context the distinction between written Latin and written Romance must have been obvious to the chancery scribes, and the choice was probably a matter for conscious discussion and argument, there was at that point no real desire or instinct to distinguish metalinguistically between different geographical kinds of written Romance. Their heads had enough to do getting round the promotion of a diastatic register distinction (high style versus low style) to the status of a linguistic one (Medieval Latin versus normal Romance), without doing the same for the diatopic (low style in area *x* versus low style of area *y*). That is, there is no sign in the Treaty evidence that the scribes and notaries of the chancery made any clear distinctions in their minds between one geographical kind of Romance and another. This is hardly surprising from a linguistic point of view, since (as Fernández Ordóñez has established and as we would in any event expect) isoglosses did not then bundle neatly along the political frontier between León and Castile; metalinguistically, we have no evidence to support the idea that they made a conceptual distinction yet between Castilian and Leonese as whole dialects. The words *castellano* and *leonés* existed, but not with the metalinguistic meaning. The two surviving versions were written by notaries from the chanceries of Castile and León respectively, and show a large number of minor differences that are most easily attributable to their being two different transcriptions taken from the same dictation; but these differences, much more often than not, did not correspond to isoglosses running between León and Burgos. Usually they correspond to two possible ways of spelling the same word within either region (e.g. *a* versus *ha*).

Linguistic analysis of the Castilian version of the Treaty and of other Romance texts written in Castile during that decade also shows no consistency in the representation of details; that is, there was no common Castile-wide idea of how to write the Romance of their kingdom. Such consistency as there was tended to operate at the level of the local cultural centre, if at all, not at that of the kingdom as a whole. The idea of writing the Treaty in the new way, and the original preparation of the text, must have come from Castile rather than León. The so-called *Posturas* of the Cortes of Toledo of January 1207 (Hernández 1988) were prepared in Romance also, as were a few other documents from Toledo at the time (1206–8), including one or two brief *fueros* (not to mention the *Poema de Mio Cid*). Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, however, replaced Martín López de Pisuergra after the latter's death in August 1208, and rehabilitated Chancellor Diego de Campos (as can be seen in the details at the end of the chancery documents of these years). Between them these two forceful personalities and excellent Latinists seem to have discouraged such frivolities as the use of written Romance in the Castilian chancery. Indeed, it is tempting to suggest that this may have been one of the motives for the appointment of

Ximénez de Rada in the first place, at precisely the time when the masters in his *alma mater*, Paris, were expressing hostility to all the novelties coming into France from Toledo, although the fact that he was said to have been elected with the unanimous support of the cathedral chapter may cast doubt on such a hypothesis. In any event, once Fernando III came to the throne in 1217 the writing of Romance texts seems to have slowly come back into political favour in Castile, and then to have been more decisively rehabilitated at an official level after the Council of Valladolid of 1228 (Wright 2000; 2003: chapter 18). Meanwhile in León, after the Treaty of Cabreros, there is no other surviving Romance text from the chancery until after the union of the two kingdoms under Fernando III in 1230. It is striking to note that there is a document from the Leonese chancery, dated September 1207, which refers extensively to the stipulations of the Treaty of Cabreros of the previous year, but which was written once again in the traditional Latin mode (other than the many toponyms, most of which are spelled there in the same obviously non-Latin way as they were in the Treaty; see Wright 2010a).

Written Romance was being developed in Castile as an occasional proper medium for legal texts throughout the first half of the thirteenth century, a development which was accelerated in the 1240s, when many monastic and other centres saw a marked rise in the proportion of documents transacted in Romance. This change of taste may well have been connected with the spread of *fueros*. The first *fueros* were in Latin, such as the highly influential *Fuero de Cuenca* of c.1190 (Powers 2000). But some brief ones were being redacted in Romance in New Castile already in the early 1200s, and the general view now among scholars is that this choice was connected with their nature as public documents to be read aloud intelligibly to a wide audience, rather than private texts to be read in a monastic cell, for which the traditional Latin mode was not only more appropriate but actually easier to follow than the new written Romance, for those who had learned to read Latin. New Castile seems to have been the main area for these novelties. The *Fuero de Madrid*, which was elaborated in several stages, has both Latin and Romance sections; the long *Fuero de Alcalá de Henares* (Torrens Álvarez 2002) shows that if the notaries wished to write lengthy texts in the new mode in the first half of the thirteenth century, they could. Henrique Monteagudo's study (2008) of the *Foral* (*fuero*) of Burgo de Caldelas in Galicia shows that the idea was also finding favour there in 1228. The Leonese were less keen to change the written mode in this way, and were to continue to be so; in the second half of that century, Gil de Zamora wrote in Latin, which he probably thought was more respectable than Romance, with the result that almost no modern scholar reads his work.

It has been traditional to see Alfonso X as the crucial figure in the development of written Castilian Romance. As Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja (e.g. 2004) and others (including Torrens, Harris-Northall 2007 and myself) have been

arguing, this downplays the role of those who worked out how to represent Romance in writing in the first half of the thirteenth century. But it still seems viable to see Alfonso X as the one who brought in the political, nationalistic and metalinguistic dimension which has characterized inter-Romance rivalry in the Peninsula ever since. Before his time, the arguments, including those between Martín López and Diego García (Diego de Campos) in the Castilian chancery at the start of that century, seem to have been practical, rather than nationalistic. But in the 1240s, when many of the intellectual protagonists of the first half of the century (including Ximénez de Rada) died, the pendulum suddenly swung to the benefit of those who preferred to write in Romance. Berceo, the skilled Latin notary who always said he wrote his verse in *romanz* (or *romance*) rather than any geographically more restricted mode of Romance, had started his second career as a writer of McGonagallesque verse in Romance after, and perhaps as a result of, the Council of Valladolid of 1228. At first he must have seemed somewhat eccentric; by the time of his death in the 1250s, his genre, the four-line stanzaic *mester de clerecía*, was becoming something of a cliché.

It is plausible to attribute the startling metalinguistic success of Romance in Castile, and then its reconceptualized mode as Castilian Romance (*romance castellano*), to the support given to it by Alfonso X even before he ascended the throne in 1252. He was active both intellectually and in practical, including military, matters before then, and his attitudes are likely to have catalyzed the general shift to Romance documentation in many literate centers during the 1240s. His father, Fernando III, had decreed that the *Fuero* given to Córdoba in 1241 should be translated into Romance (*in vulgarem*), although so far as we can tell this did not actually happen until Alfonso's reign. Alfonso's interest in harmonizing, as far as he could, the legal systems in his expanding realms started in the 1240s (if not before), and his collaborators collected together *fueros* from several areas, probably in both Romance and Latin, which became synthesized in his *Fuero Real* of 1255–6. The use of written Romance in such an authoritative text, guaranteeing its validity even in legal documentation, can be seen now, and probably also was then, as a definitive indication of the status of Romance as a separate language from Latin. Such a sociolinguistic change needs official blessing and prestige, and the use of written Romance in the chancery and the law gave it that.

The idea that there was a specifically Castilian Romance followed this soon afterwards. Berceo never seems to have bothered to decide what geographical kind of Romance he was writing (which is why it is anachronistic to refer to him as writing in Castilian). Alfonso's choice of Romance for the written works produced at court was initially conceptualized as the alternative to Latin, as a part of the avant-garde zeitgeist, but since the linguistic details corresponded more often than not to features found on the eastern side of any isoglosses

which ran north to south in the Leonese and Castilian realms, Leonese elements were downplayed, often, probably, intentionally. There had been identifiably Leonese documentation in the central years of the thirteenth century, but there was no political need to use more than one Romance written mode at court, and written Leonese gradually lost political prestige and practical value (Morala 2004). In the 1270s, Alfonso also helped establish written Galician as a separate respectable entity through his own use of it for poetic compositions of a broadly “lyrical” nature, allying the choice of language with choice of genre, but in Castile *romance castellano* was always the one with the political prestige. Alfonso wanted Castile to have prestige on an international level, as evidenced in his pursuit of the imperial throne, and the language was part of this project. Politics, in the writing of *castellano*, had thus taken over from the initially specifically linguistic purpose of writing Romance (which was, in particular, to aid reading aloud).

Meanwhile, Portuguese and Galician were acquiring separate metalinguistic identities as a result of Portugal and Galicia having become separate political entities during the twelfth century; and the Catalans, happy to write in a Romance mode based on Provençal features in the twelfth century, developed their own independent written form once the Battle of Muret in 1213 had definitively separated Provence and Catalonia politically. Thus the independent written modes, on which conceptually distinct Ibero-Romance languages were based, were allied closely to independent political units, and each kingdom wanted to be able to claim its own language; by the fourteenth century, they were able to do so.

4 Language, nation and empire in early modern Iberia

Miguel Martínez

Language and empire

It is not easy to unravel the intricate historiographical traditions that reproduce inherited, and often unquestioned, critical topoi about the relations between language and empire in early modern Spain. Two main events of a somewhat anecdotal character, however, have structured the narratives of Spanish as a triumphant imperial language that suddenly acquired political currency and international prestige in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Nebrija's (1441–1522) publication of allegedly the first European vernacular grammar and Charles V's Castilian speech in Rome in 1536 have indeed constituted for years the two milestones of an imperial discourse on the Spanish language that has found complex ways to survive until the present. Let us start, therefore, by taking a quick look at these two climactic moments of the plot.

Nebrija's *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, published in 1492, has often been regarded as the foundational moment of this monumental narrative of global expansion for the Spanish language, destined, inevitably and providentially, to become the universal language of a universal empire. Although the scholarly production on Nebrija is extremely rich and diverse, some of the key axioms of the argument that interests us here, as it occurs in many other intellectual debates regarding Spain's cultural history, were influentially postulated by Ramón Menéndez Pidal: "the first grammar of a romance language to be produced in the Europe of humanism was written in the certain hope of the New World [en la esperanza cierta del Nuevo Mundo], although no one had sailed to discover it yet" (Menéndez Pidal 1933:11). The tellingly paradoxical nature of this idea will be found in many histories of the language, as Nebrija is often characterized as a humanist among barbarians or as a visionary whose linguistic ideas about the peninsular and global victory of Spanish predated the actual events.

Nebrija's prologue to his work is certainly one of the most interesting formulations of the relation between language and political power ever to be made in the early modern age, and his famous dictum – language was always the companion of empire [*siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio*] – has

been the object of intense scholarly discussion.¹ What is rarely taken into consideration in the scholarship on Nebrija's ideas about the relationship between language and empire, however, is the fact that they had almost no traceable repercussion among his contemporaries and alleged inheritors. After its first edition of 1492 in Salamanca, Nebrija's *Gramática* would never be reprinted until the eighteenth century.² Although recognized by many scholars, the objective limits of such an exiguous material distribution of Nebrija's ideas about language and empire have usually been ignored, and the grammarian's absolutely central position both in the historical metalinguistic corpus on Spanish and in the narratives about its triumph has been continuously and unproblematically reasserted.

Juan de Valdés (d. 1541), another pillar of Golden Age discourse on language according to literary and linguistic historiography, mocked Nebrija precisely because his grammar, which he boasts not to have read, "was printed only once" (Valdés 2010: 156). The scant editorial history of the first European vernacular grammar is even more shocking if we consider the extraordinary success enjoyed by the other Latin works of the *lebrixano*, certainly among the most widely used in Spanish and European universities and schools during the sixteenth century.³ The Castilian Valdés, however, was in no position to scorn the Andalusian Nebrija and the relative failure of his pioneering work on the Spanish vernacular. Despite the enthusiasm about the *Diálogo de la lengua* shown by one of the characters, Marcio, who intends to "give it to everyone . . . and maybe print it" (273), Valdés's work would not be published until the eighteenth century, and its circulation in the sixteenth century was very limited.⁴ If we are to resituate the debate about imperial Spanish, it is crucial to emphasize the meager material circulation of these two works, which calls into question their place as milestones in the story of the ineludible and providential triumph of Castilian that interpretations of both Nebrija and Valdés have, more than anything else, contributed to design.

1492, however, is not the only *annus mirabilis* to be found in this story of unflinching success. In 1536, after having defeated the Turk in the walls of Tunis in the summer of 1535, Charles V marched through the streets of Rome

¹ On this topic, see mainly Asensio (1960), Rojinsky (2010) and Binotti (2012).

² Álvarez de Miranda has explored the vicissitudes of the forged edition of the mid-1700s, when even for the erudite specialists of the newly founded Spanish Royal Academy, Nebrija's *Gramática* was a most rare ancient book which they felt should be recovered from centuries of oblivion.

³ On the centrality of Nebrija's Latin work in both the Spanish and the wider European contexts see Rico (1978), *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros*, especially 99–133. Esparza and Niederehe's bibliography gives an idea of the overwhelming editorial success of the humanist's Latin oeuvre.

⁴ For the material and textual history of the three manuscripts preserved see Laplana's excellent study in Valdés (2010: 83–103), which condenses and surpasses all previous scholarship on the topic.

as a true and victorious Roman emperor. On April 17, Charles V delivered one of his most famous speeches in front of Paul III's pontifical court, the cardinals and the European ambassadors that populated the Vatican's *Sala dei Paramenti*.⁵ The emperor's address was motivated by Francis I's attack on the imperial fiefdom of Savoy earlier that year, which would eventually lead to a new cycle of hostilities, reviving the never-ending conflict over northern Italy between the Habsburgs and the Valois. The urgency of the new political crisis in Italy would have led Charles to speak spontaneously, without consulting with his more intimate counselors, and aggressively targeting the French ambassadors Claude Dodieu de Vély and Charles Hémard de Dénouville, bishop of Mâcon.

What appears to have surprised French and Italians alike, beyond the chivalric *desafío* (challenge) that a visibly angry Charles launched upon the person of the French king, was the fact that this most famous speech was delivered in Spanish. The event has been repeatedly recorded by political and linguistic historiography as the birth certificate of the international currency of Spanish as a "universal language," a phrase to be found in the title of at least four twentieth-century accounts of the episode.⁶ The anecdote was undoubtedly popularized, again, by Menéndez Pidal, who recorded it both in *El lenguaje del siglo XVI* (1933: 35) and in *Idea imperial de Carlos V*, a lecture originally delivered in Havana in 1937 and later included in his book of the same title (1941: 30–1). This last essay was the source of García Blanco, who reproduced the story in *El español en la época de Carlos V* (1958), and finally Lapesa's *Historia de la lengua española*, in the same vein as his predecessors, offered an account that would become standard in many ways (1980: 296–7).

However, the ultimate origin of this crucial episode in the early modern history of Spanish is an informative and richly nuanced article by Alfred Morel-Fatio published in 1913, in which he offers a varied and conflicting array of testimonies about Charles V's celebrated speech of Easter Monday. The documentary complexity of Morel-Fatio's influential essay, however, is dramatically simplified in later accounts by Spanish scholars. According to some of the extant evidence, one of the French ambassadors, the bishop of Mâcon, would have reacted angrily to Charles of Gante's unexpected language

⁵ Manuel Alvar, referring to Nebrija's prologue, explicitly relates both discursive events: "We read this, five hundred years later, and we are still moved as Spaniards. Then we, speakers of that Castilian that on that Easter Monday of 1536 ceased to be Castilian and became Spanish, we feel that the old master was right, because destiny could no longer be stopped, ineluctably marked by the community of language" (1997: 7). The address of 1536 figures prominently in Alvar's account of the emperor's acquisition of Spanish, which follows closely Menéndez Pidal's ideas about the progressive *Hispanization* of Charles of Gante (169–87).

⁶ Morel-Fatio (1913), Lapesa (1980), García Blanco (1958) and Fontán (2008). The anecdote is also recounted by Alatorre (1996: 69), who mistakenly dates it in 1546 instead of 1536, which attests to its automatic, uncritical transmission in linguistic historiography.

choice. His complaint to both the emperor and the pope would have not stopped the former from finishing his address in Spanish.

According to the always controversial and colorfully literary version of the Seigneur de Brantôme's *Rodomontades espagnoles* – taken from Morel-Fatio by Menéndez Pidal and then reproduced to exhaustion by later linguistic historians – the emperor responded proudly to the French ambassador: “Bishop, please understand me if you want, and do not expect from me any words other than in my Spanish language, which is so noble that it deserves to be known and understood by all Christendom” (qtd. in Morel-Fatio 1913: 217). The praise of the universality and nobility of Spanish in the haughty words of the emperor is only to be found in Brantôme's collection of stories and apothegms about the bravery and the arrogance of the Spanish character written many years after the events recounted, but they fit perfectly in standard historical narratives about both the progressive *hispanization* of the once French-speaking emperor and the international triumph of the language. “Thus,” concludes Lapesa, “Spanish was proclaimed an international language” (1980: 297). The words certifying the universal condition that Castilian would have almost miraculously acquired by virtue of Charles's speech are not recorded or even hinted at in any of the other, more reliable documents provided and evaluated by Morel-Fatio.⁷

One of them, in fact, provides a justification for the use of Spanish by Charles that has little to do with the glories of its imperial destiny. The renowned humanist historian Paolo Giovio, who was part of Paulo III's entourage on that Easter Monday (Zimmermann 1995: 146–7), assures the reader, in his celebrated *Historiarum sui temporis*, that “The emperor said that he would speak in Spanish so that more people could understand him in a language so close to Latin” (qtd. in Morel-Fatio 1913: 216). The Emperor's justification of his language choice does not obey any kind of Spanish imperial or national pride – “pour bravade et ostentation, pour honorer mieux sa langue,” as Morel-Fatio said (217–18) – but rather the social (or sociolinguistic) logic of the specific local setting in which the famous scene occurred.⁸ Charles I did not give up his native language, French, because he was consciously staging a performance of

⁷ To the sources provided by Morel-Fatio, Cadenas y Vicent (1982) adds many other valuable documents referring to the imperial address that were unknown to the French scholar. None of them records any explanation along Brantôme's lines.

⁸ Although Morel-Fatio had no doubt that Giovio's *Romano eloquio* referred to the Italian language, two contemporary translators interpreted his words differently. The Italian translator of the *Historiarum*, Ludovico Domenichi (2: 400), renders *Romano eloquio* as ‘lingua Romana,’ while one of his Spanish translators, Gaspar de Baeça, renders ‘lengua latina’ (2: fol. 111r). Morel-Fatio ends up discrediting the eyewitness version of a respected historian and sticking to the inventive literary account of Brantôme's *Rodomontades*, although he acknowledges the unreliability of Brantôme as a historical source: “Certainly, we cannot guarantee the very terms of this answer, and with a writer like Brantôme we have to be alert; but the general sense remains true” (1913: 218). Brantôme's words can be found in Bourdeille 1864–82: vol. 7, 71–3.

his newly acquired Spanish imperial identity, but because of his entourage's belief that Spanish was easier to understand for a mainly Italian- and Latin-speaking audience – neither of which languages he was able to speak fluently. Rather than the sudden awakening of a national linguistic consciousness that would have immediately bestowed universality upon the language, as the narratives of imperial Spanish have imagined for this iconic moment, it is the often heteroglossic linguistic culture of international politics in the highly local context of the Roman court that helps us to better explain the emperor's linguistic behavior.

In order to understand why the historiographical narratives of imperial Spanish have conferred such a great deal of symbolism upon these two moments of Iberian early modernity we have to set them against the backdrop of the sociolinguistic and political articulation of the Iberian Peninsula in the period. What was really at stake when tracing the enthusiastic genealogy of the imperial triumph of Spanish was the question of its status within the peninsular territory. Historians of language have consistently and explicitly linked both Nebrija's grammar and the emperor's Roman speech – while ignoring the limited material history of Nebrija's grammar and providing a drastically partial reading of the Easter Monday episode – to the transformation of Spanish into the *national* language within Spain. Perhaps not surprisingly, the most important source of this argument, which has become ingrained in the historiography of early modern Spanish, is again to be found in Menéndez Pidal: "Nebrija's grammar thus evokes ideas about the fixation and expansion of the language, and seeks the first solution to the linguistic problem of the Iberian Peninsula" (1933: 12). The *linguistic problem* of the Iberian Peninsula is, again unsurprisingly, its intrinsic diversity, which is conceived as a *difficulty* that Nebrija's and Charles's imperial Spanish would help to overcome, as Menéndez Pidal promised to show in the rest of his essay.⁹ For Lapesa, that "Spanish had been proclaimed an international language" by virtue of the imperial speech in Rome, and the "undeniable fact" that "Castilian had become the national language" by the sixteenth century, were intimately related facts: "the Hispanic community had a language," he concluded in characteristically Pidalian idiom (1980: 297–8). In modern scientific discourse on language, the *universality* of Spanish in the wake of Nebrija's foundational work and after the newly hispanicized emperor consecrated it in Rome is closely associated with a narrative of linguistic homogenization within the Iberian Peninsula at the expense of competing vernaculars.

⁹ José del Valle (2004) has explored in detail the relation between Menéndez Pidal's scientific oeuvre and the political and cultural context of post-1898 Spain, a nation whose unitary identity was being questioned both by peripheral nationalisms and by a conflictive relationship with its former colonies and its imperial past. The tense interplay between empire and nation are crucial to understand Menéndez Pidal's monumental history of Spanish as "a spectacular icon," in del Valle's words (2004: 100).

Language and nation

For many historians of language, Nebrija's *Gramática* is an icon of the *unitary language* that Tony Crowley has theorized building on Bakhtinian ideas of monologism and dialogism. Grammatical standardization of vernacular varieties is often considered to serve the "formal unity" and thus the "cultural unity" of a given political community. Nebrija's discourse, however, would hardly have taken part in the "massive centralizing forces overcoming heteroglot differences": the metanarrative situating the origin of the "historical process of linguistic unification and centralization" (Crowley 1989: 74) in the *Gramática castellana* is ultimately flawed by the limits of its material circulation.

It is also revealing that the social and territorial distribution of early modern works on Spanish language appears to be unrelated to Nebrija's text. There is no vernacular grammatical reflection in Salamanca or Seville, for instance, as might be expected from the legacy of such an influential master, nor is there any in the most important centers of Castilian political and cultural activity, such as Toledo, Valladolid or Madrid. If we start to trace the material production, distribution and reception of early modern metalinguistic discourse on Spanish, what we find is a network of European cities, mainly Italian and Flemish, associated with the geography of Habsburg imperial power, but far from any concerns about the linguistic heterogeneity of the Spanish kingdoms.

Valdés's *Diálogo de la lengua*, undoubtedly a minor work in the career of a humanist known and followed for his religious thinking and practice, was written in viceregal Naples in the context of the emperor's sojourn in the city after the conquest of Tunis, from the last months of 1535 to the beginnings of 1536. While composing his dialogue, Valdés must have had in mind those Italian ladies and gentlemen of the imperial court who were in the orbit of the Habsburg power (Valdés 2010: 115). Decades later, Mattia Cancrè would also print in Naples Giovanni Mario Alessandri d'Urbino's *Il paragone della lingua toscana et castigliana* (1560), which influenced another well-known Spanish textbook for an Italian audience, Giovanni Miranda's *Osservationi della lingua castigliana* (1566), published by Giolito's Venetian workshop, where important cultural mediators such as Francisco Delicado and Alfonso de Ulloa worked for a while. Two of the most often cited Spanish grammars of the sixteenth century – the *Vtil y breve institvión para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua Española* (1555) and the *Gramática de la lengua vulgar de España* (1559) – were published by the printer Bartholomaeus Gravius in the city of Louvain, a vibrant, multilingual humanistic capital with a thriving book market linked to the university that held intense debates over the religious legitimacy of vernacular scriptures. Antwerp, popularly known as "the world's market" [*la plaza del mundo*] because of its economic, political and cultural centrality in northern Europe, and a supplier of printed matter

to the imperial court of Brussels, gave birth not only to Cristóbal de Villalón's *Gramática castellana* (printed by Guillaume Simon in 1558), but also to Bachiller Thámara's *Suma y erudición de grammatica en metro castellano* (printed by Martinus Nutius in 1550) and Gabriel Meurier's *Conjugaisons, regles, et instructions . . . pour ceux qui desirent apprendre François, Italian, Espagnol et Flamen* (printed by J. van Waesberghe in 1558).

This provisional editorial geography points to the fact that, at least during a significant part of the sixteenth century, it was the practical demands of courtly practice, commercial exchange, the printing industry and imperial administration that made possible the emergence of a corpus of vernacular works on the Spanish language. While living in the Flemish heart of the Habsburg Netherlands, Benito Arias Montano made reference to the people who needed to learn Castilian "both for public matters and for trade" [*ansí para las cosas públicas como para la contratación*] (Lapesa 1980: 293). The grammatical systematization of the Spanish language does not seem to derive from a pre-occupation about the linguistic homogenization of the Peninsula, as has often been assumed by the proponents of Nebrija's imperial Spanish. It is not a desire to expand the uses and domains of Spanish within the Iberian Peninsula that helps us explain the emergence of this new discursive formation around language. It is rather the "practice of the empire," in Koenigsberger's words, "the detailed work of . . . imperial administration" (1951: 40), the specific administrative procedures, institutional settings, territorial and intellectual networks and social spaces required by the European imperial apparatuses of the "composite monarchy" of the Spanish Habsburgs that generates most of Renaissance discourse on language (Elliott 1992).¹⁰

The production of a specialized discourse devoted to the pedagogical systematization and elaboration of Spanish is inextricably linked to certain nodes of imperial power and to a multiplicity of practices and social spaces that are impossible to reduce to the *unitarian* and centralizing drive of grammatical discourse as it has been understood by linguistic scholarship since the twentieth century. Despite the fact that some of the linguistic works listed above are frequently invoked as decisive milestones in the historical path leading to the necessary triumph of Spanish in the world and within the Iberian Peninsula, it is not at all clear that they would have aimed at disciplining the linguistic and literary practices of such a diverse and conflicted cultural territory as the

¹⁰ This instrumental dimension of Spanish is clearly formulated in the telling testimony of a Portuguese grammarian, Duarte Nunes de Leão, reproduced by Henrique Monteagudo. According to Nunes de Leão, "The reason why the Castilian language is spoken and understood by many throughout some provinces is not the goodness of the language, which we do not deny, but the necessity that many people have to use it. The governors and officials that were sent to those states [Naples, Milan and other conquered provinces] were Castilian and Aragonese, so it was necessary for the people in their courts and chancelleries [*cancillerías*] to take the language of their vanquishers, just as they took their laws and government, even if Castilian were a barbarian language, which it is not" (Monteagudo 1999: 191–2; see also 176–7).

Iberian Peninsula in favor of Castilian. In fact, many of these texts clearly problematize the *Spanish* triumph of Spanish, the narrative of internal linguistic homogenization that would naturally follow the imperial expansion of the language.¹¹

The authors of the two anonymous Lovaina grammars open their works with extremely nuanced reflections about the linguistic complexity of the peninsular territory and with hesitant remarks about the very name that should be given to the variety they attempt to systematize. The often quoted prologue to the trilingual (Latin, French and Spanish) *Vtil y breve institvton* (1555) starts by claiming that “this language for which we will give precepts here is called Spanish, not because in all of Spain only one language is spoken, common to all its inhabitants, since there are many other languages, but because most of Spain uses it. . . . Certainly this language should properly be called Castilian, since it belongs to the nation they call Castile, which the ancient Romans named Hispania Tarraconense” (Aii–v).¹²

Much more complex is the political and social linguistic distribution of the Iberian Peninsula traced by the second Lovaina grammar, *Gramática de la lengua vulgar de España* (1559). After stating that “nowadays four languages are spoken in all of Spain, very different from each other,” the anonymous author enumerates Basque, “the oldest language of all”; Arabic, “in which many good Spaniards have written” and still “spoken in the kingdom of Granada”; Catalan, which being “spoken in the kingdoms of Catalonia, Valencia, Mallorca, Menorca, Ibiza, Sardinia and even in Naples,” contains “the best and subtlest books in prose and verse that have ever been written in Spain”; and, finally, “that which I newly call Vernacular Language of Spain, because it is broadly spoken and understood in all of it.” Portuguese would later be added to the count. The same uncertainty about the name to be given to the language today known as Spanish underlies the metalinguistic discourse of the second Lovaina: “The language I name *vulgar*, some called Spanish, which seems wrong to me, since we see that in Spain there is more than one language . . . Others named it Castilian . . . which, although it does not seem utterly inappropriate, is still an overambitious name, and full of envy, since it is as clear as the sunlight that the kingdoms of León and Aragon have a better right to the *vulgar* language than the kingdom of Castile itself” (*Gramática de la lengua vulgar de España*: 6–8).

None of these well-known testimonies about the *making* of the Spanish language, however, accounts for the defeat of the other peninsular languages. On the contrary, they insist on the linguistic complexity of a politically complex

¹¹ In this volume, Firbas analyzes the colonial debates about the irreducible linguistic diversity of the New World and the similarly tortuous path towards a never completely triumphant Castilianization of the American territories.

¹² Amado Alonso writes a few classic pages on this hesitancy (1958: 47–58).

territory and on the instability of the relationship between language and nation during the early modern period. In Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532), one of the constitutive discourses of political modernity, this shifty relation between language, territory and the body politic is also made clear: "I say, then, that the territories a conqueror annexes and joins to his own well-established state are either in the same country [*provincia*], with the same language, or they are not" (1988: 8). Early in Machiavelli's pioneering work language appears at first to be inextricably associated with a territory as one of the key elements that would constitute a distinctive political community (Elliott 1992: 52). The relation between language and nation, however, is not always as stable as this first distinction might suggest. If the principalities to be acquired by the *new prince* are of the same language, they will be easy to hold, "provided their old way of life is maintained and there is no difference in customs." This last qualification immediately decenters the importance of common language by emphasizing the relevance that political institutions, customs, and the fact of being used to "governing themselves" – the Republican *libertà* – have in the constitution of principalities and states. For one of the groundbreaking thinkers of the increasingly complex political world of Renaissance Europe, language will have varying degrees of influence in the conceptualization of nations and in the determination of imperial expansionist political practice. Just as the material geography sketched above has provided us with a productive framework to explore the imperial context of metalinguistic reflection, Machiavelli's complex discursive articulation of language, nation and empire will help us consider the relevance that the different conceptualizations of empire may potentially have for our understanding of the relation between language and nation within the Iberian Peninsula.

There is no doubt that language, according to a phrase that had been already used by Nebrija, belongs in "the things of the nation" (*las cosas de la nación*), which would also include customs, political institutions, laws, ancient and local history, and poetry or literature, among other assets. The emergence of an increasingly self-assured discourse in praise of the Romance vernaculars is directly related to the European humanistic debates around the *question of language*, particularly intense in the Iberian case. *Defenses* or *praises* of the native language proliferated in Italy, France, England, Spain and Portugal, and usually posed the explicitly contending nature of their claims to supremacy in terms that are difficult to separate from national anxieties regarding the relative status of their vernaculars in the global context.¹³ Renaissance translators, on their part, often conceived of vernacularization of Latin classics, as well as the

¹³ See mainly Binotti's works (1995, 2012). Vázquez Cuesta (1981), Stegagno Picchio (1982) and Asensio (1960) have worked on the Portuguese side of the Iberian question of language. For the defenses and praises of Spanish see Bahner (1966), Terracini (1979) and García Dini (2007).

translation of foreign literary works into the national language, as an enriching activity that would serve to accumulate literary capital for both the native language and the nation (Casanova 2007). Literary controversies such as those around the purity and property of Garcilaso's lyric language in the sixteenth century, or over Góngora's audacious poetic innovations in the seventeenth, were repeatedly and unequivocally associated to an emerging discursive formation around the "things of the nation." Finally, Woolard has persuasively argued, against one of the axioms of the modernist history of nationalism, that "the construct of nation as a natural and venerable political community was not only available to competing elites but was being used as a strategic tool in public debates in early modern Spain," as in the language quarrel between Bernardo de Aldrete and Gregorio López Madera that she has meticulously reconstructed (Woolard 2004: 75; see also Woolard in this volume).

The difficulty lies, however, in determining the nature of this belonging of language to the nation's cultural capital, that is to say, to what extent the emerging discursive formation on the nation is able to condition specific linguistic practices, outweighing the determining force of other possible associations such as those of language and local social space, language and cultural praxis, and language and political constitution. The fact that much of the discourse produced in Portugal and Catalonia that was decidedly contributing to the things of the nation, including learned historiography, antiquarian history, chorography, literary criticism, documentary collections, and juridical treatises, was often written in Castilian reveals the complexity and obliqueness of the relation between the discursive construction of the national cultural archive and the instrumental language in which that archive would be built.

Let us focus on two instances of a discursive gesture that is characteristic of the nation's textual production in Portugal and Catalonia during the early modern period. In 1630, Antonio de Sousa e Macedo felt the necessity to explain the title he gave to his miscellany on the glories of *Portuguese* history and their complicated relation to things *Spanish*: "Some may say that despite the title of my book being *Flores de España, excelencias de Portugal*, I deal only with Portugal, and not with any of the other kingdoms of Spain, and thus the title would not agree with the matter, and that the name of *Flores de España* could just be removed. To this I answer that, Portugal being such an important part of Spain, by writing the *Excellencies* of this kingdom I no doubt write *Flores de España*" (1630: *iv-r). The contrast between the Portuguese pride of an author that would eventually become one of the leading intellectual architects of the Restoration in 1640 and his choice of Castilian as the instrumental language for his work on the things of the nation might strike us as paradoxical or contradictory. But Sousa e Macedo offers an *imperial* argument for the defense of his *national* endeavor: "I excuse myself by saying that I do not give up the Portuguese language because I consider it to be inferior . . . Yet since my love

of the motherland [*patria*] incites me to publish its excellencies throughout the whole world, I thought it better to use the Castilian language, which happened to be better known [*acertó ser más conocida*] in Europe than the Portuguese language" (1630: 267).

The imperial logic of local historical writing may reach new levels of complexity in the case of the Catalan-speaking territories. In the dedication of *Descripcion de las excellencias de la my insigne civdad de Barcelona* (1589) to the *consellers* of the same city, Dionisio de Iorba apologizes for having his work translated first into Latin and then into Castilian, "alien language" [*lengua estraña*], despite having originally written it in his native Catalan, "which I have not done for contempt towards our language . . . but because I fondly desire that the matters of this most illustrious and most noble city be as well known as they are heroic and noteworthy. I have therefore begged my friend to bring these matters to light in Castilian, a language so well known among the Spaniards themselves, the Italians and the French, and so spread among the other Eastern and Western nations that, making exception of Latin, no other language has been so extended" (1589: A1r–A2v).

The argument should not strike us as contradictory or exceptional: it became so generalized that even works written in Catalan resorted to it. In the preface to his *Summari, Index o Epitome dels admirables y nobilissims titols d'Honor de Catalunya, Rosselló y Cerdanya* (1628), the Catalan historian Andreu Bosc assumes that "since this work contains our praises, it would have been better to write it in one of those common languages [Latin or Castilian], in order to make them known to strange and remote nations" (1628: Proemi fol. 4). Bosc, thus, justifies the "reasons that have obliged me to write not in Latin or Castilian, though more common, but in our mother tongue" by addressing his work to a local audience which he claims is unaware of the *titles* and *honors* of the land. Local chorography and antiquarian history are especially urgent in light of the wider scholarly interest in what Bosc considers to be the alien history of empire: "Does not everyone know how badly this land needs them [praises of the nation's history] today, since the most erudite and knowledgeable only care about the histories, deeds and actions of the discovery of the New World, the states of China, the wars of Flanders, Italy, and the successions, exploits and feats of foreign nations and kings, and when they are asked about their nation's they can say they come from the Indies to know those of others? [*quant los demanen les de llur casa poden dir que venen de les Indies a saber les dels altres*]" (1628: Proemi fol. 4; partially qtd. in Torrent 1989: 35). The tension between nation and empire, between Catalan local glories and the expansionist accomplishments of Castile, could not be clearer.¹⁴

¹⁴ See Kagan for a crucial discussion of this tension in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish historiography.

In these cases, which we might characterize as strategic pragmatism, it is certainly the imperial reach of Spanish, rather than its pan-Iberian dimension supposedly derived from its triumph over other vernaculars, that appears to give support to most of the *excusationes* of those who, not having Spanish as their first language, use it to write about the things of their nation. The choice by Catalan or Portuguese authors of a medium alien to their “language, customs and institutions” is never justified in terms of the greater richness or intrinsic superiority of Spanish over their native tongues, but, in the words of Sousa e Macedo, because “it happened to be better known.” The periphrastic construction, also characteristic of these justifications, implicitly negates any kind of providential design in the expansion of Spanish. Duarte Nunes de Leão, on his part, thought that “the wider spread of one language over another is not a proof of its superiority” (Monteagudo 1999: 191). If, on the one hand, the imperial institutional spaces and networks of the Habsburg composite monarchy had provided the material basis for these hegemonic uses of Castilian, on the other it would be those same imperial structures that would allow the broader distribution of the *flowers* and *excellencies* of non-Castilian peninsular nations, especially in the context of open political confrontation.

Spanish nationalist historiography has always found the production of Castilian written matter in Portuguese- and Catalan-speaking domains to be an unmistakable sign of the Spanish political hegemony and local social currency (Lapesa 1980: 298–9). Portuguese and Catalan nationalist historiographies, on their part, have often been disturbed by what is seen as a constitutive contradiction between national and linguistic consciousness, a conflict that is usually framed by the paradigms of *decadence* and *Castilianization* that have informed the standard political narratives about their languages during the *dark centuries*.¹⁵

A political history of Spanish vis-à-vis the other peninsular languages during the early modern age is necessarily messier. The actual political and social valences of language choice and usage do not always correspond with explicit discursive representations of the relationship between language and the nation. This is especially true for the periods of most intense political conflict between the peninsular kingdoms. Despite the force of the discourse of Portuguese humanists in defense of their vernacular (Stegagno Picchio 1982), it has been shown that the bulk of the Portuguese political satire opposing Philip II's claim to Portugal's throne in the succession crisis before Philip II's invasion in 1580 was written in Castilian (Martínez-Torrejón 2002). The Courts of Tomar's constitutional arrangements between the kingdom of Portugal and its new king

¹⁵ The most consistent and illuminating attempt to question these paradigms from positions different from Spanish and Catalan nationalism is the work of Joan-Lluís Marfany (2001; 2008).

stated clearly that Portuguese was the only language to be used for interlocution between the Spanish king's officials and their Portuguese counterparts, yet the intensified human and material traffic across the peninsular border after the aggregation would inevitably result in an increase in the use of Spanish by Portuguese authors residing in Madrid, and of Castilian printing in Lisbon's workshops.

Marfany has argued, against traditional Catalan linguistic historiography, that, much as in Habsburg Portugal, it was precisely the constitutional arrangements of the kingdom and the specificity of its institutional relationship with the monarchy that helped to deter the advance of Spanish.¹⁶ Anna Maria Torrent reminded us of the fact that whereas many of the anti-Castilian political pamphlets of the Catalan revolt in 1640 were also written in Spanish, because that allowed a wider distribution, the *relacions* and *gacetas* meant to inform the native population about the ongoing war against the Castilian enemy were printed in Catalan. While the fight for the liberties of the kingdom was not incompatible with the use of the enemy's language for political struggle, the vitality of the Catalan popular printing industry requires us to question both the narratives of the total victory of Spanish and those of the *decadència* of a language that undoubtedly continued to be the only one for most social groups in most social settings in the Catalan domains (Marfany 2008: 85–106).

At the same time that they insist on the emergence of a specialized discourse around the things of the nation, all these contrasts problematize the automatic association based on metonymical contiguity or iconic representation between language and nation. My argument, thus, does not aim at strengthening or severing the link between language and nation, but at formulating a more complex, changing and problematic interaction between the two terms, one also inevitably mediated by the workings of empire. A political history of language and linguistic practices within the Iberian Peninsula must take into account the diversity of discourses and representations available when talking about language, the diverging views of the relation between language and power, and the multiple rationalizations of opposing linguistic practices.

Between the local and the global: for a connected history of Spanish in the early modern age

Scholars in the sociology of language, language policy and linguistic ideologies have long argued for a politically and socially informed understanding of

¹⁶ "It is necessary to firmly reject the idea that political and institutional activity was one of the main paths towards the Castilianization of Catalan society. On the contrary, all evidence suggests that the persistence of Catalan in this sphere was a fundamental barrier against the advance of this Castilianization" (Marfany 2001: 107).

linguistic phenomena (see Del Valle's [Chapter 1](#)). Despite efforts to bring the historical study of language closer to what Bourdieu calls the "world of practice," Spanish linguistic historiography on the imperial age has remained for the most part trapped in an overall narrative of success whose teleological underpinnings are easily undermined by detailed reference to the very same sources that served to document its main episodes, a narrative that reproduces, not always consciously, the discursive dead ends of a few nationalist and imperialist topoi.

The different hierarchies and configurations of the relationship between language, nation and empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries entail diverse and conflicting representations of language that are irreducible to one single unifying narrative, be it the inevitable triumph of imperial Spanish, the linguistic homogenization of the Iberian Peninsula, the Castilianization of the periphery, or the decadent dark ages of other peninsular languages. A political history of Spanish, or a history of its representational politics consistent with the project embraced by the present book, should not seek to delineate a totalizing story that would most likely end up erasing precisely the struggle of representations and the specificity of the linguistic practices associated with the many different social spaces engendering and being shaped by those representations, which is what we should attempt to recover.

Empire and *nation* were rarely used as unmediated categories to describe actual political bodies. Yet they are working, even structuring, concepts of the early modern discourses on language, and they do pervade, in one way or another, every piece of metalinguistic reflection written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But these national or imperial linguistic representations are always associated with concrete social contexts – the local governing institutions and constitutional arrangements of the kingdom of Portugal or the crown of Aragon, the spaces and networks of the printing industry and their geographic and economic logic, the international courts serving as centers of imperial administration, or the humanist circles producing local historiography within specific cultural traditions – that necessarily limit their reach and mediate their meaning, a fact that the metanarratives based upon those concepts more often than not tend to ignore. In order to recover the nuanced political logic of linguistic representations in the early modern age it is crucial to turn to the social constitution of the local spaces where those representations originated and to the material mechanisms that made possible their distribution, appropriation and use by different, and often conflicting, social groups and communities.

The main problem that Crowley identified in Bakhtin's otherwise invigorating account of the history of language was precisely "the lack of historical specificity" (1989: 74) and the failure to identify particular sites of conflict and representational struggle: "The particular situation in which a representation

is to be deployed dictates the form of the representation” (75–6). Gabrielle Spiegel’s programmatic recovery of “the social logic of the text” might be in order for a project concerned with the exploration of specific metalinguistic corpora and with the political history of language representation:

As a starting point in the fashioning of this sort of critical stance, we can begin by remembering that texts represent situated uses of language. Such sites of linguistic usage, as lived events, are essentially local in origin and therefore possess a determinate social logic of much greater density and particularity than can be extracted from totalizing constructs like “language” and “society.” The advantage of this approach to literary history in terms of the social logic of the text is that it permits us to examine language with the tools of the social historian, to see it within a local or regional social context of human relations, systems of communication, and networks of power that can account for its particular semantic inflections and thus aid in the recovery of its full meaning as cultural history seeks to understand it. (1990: 77–8)

This is precisely what scholars working on the history of Catalan and Spanish in the early modern age such as Joan-Lluís Marfany and Kathryn Woolard – in this volume – have started to do masterfully. The main challenge that this program confronts when applied to the study of Spanish linguistic practices and representations of the period is that the *local* contexts of their deployment are in many senses inflected by the *global* dimension of the empire. To explore the role that specific booksellers and printing institutions played in the spread and consolidation of particular linguistic varieties entails the consideration of the dynamics of both local and global book markets; to study humanist discourse and representations of language requires us to take into account the international material networks of intellectual exchange; to study the operating logic and linguistic practices that take place at specific local institutions and social sites in different territories of the empire, we need to consider how those spaces were related to the broader polysynodal, polycentric and composite political articulation of the Monarchy of Spain. Rather than arguing for a total history of Spanish against which much of the present essay – and the present volume – has contended, it might be useful to think of it as a *connected history* in the sense that Subrahmanyam and other scholars on early modern empires have proposed, encouraging us “[not] to take the geographical units as given from the conventional wisdom, and then proceed to a higher level of comparison using these very units as building-blocks,” and to answer instead, “How might the local and specific have interacted with the supra-local in our terms?” (1997: 743, 745).

The story of the Portuguese writer Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608–1666) could not be more instructive in this respect. On the outbreak of the Catalan revolt in 1640, because of his military experience in Flanders and his intellectual renown in Madrid he was appointed to accompany the Marquis of Velez to fight

the rebels and to write the history of the war, which he eventually did in his celebrated *Historia de los movimientos y separación de Cataluña* (Melo 1996), first published in Lisbon in 1645 by Paulo Craesbeck. After the December 1st events in Lisbon, however, Melo fell under suspicion of having collaborated in some way with the Portuguese uprising and was taken to Madrid as a prisoner. He was soon released and sent back to the Low Countries as a high-ranking military officer, but during his voyage he ended up siding with the newly acclaimed João IV and fleeing to London, where he carried out important diplomatic negotiations. Back in Portugal he was imprisoned again by his new king, this time accused of supporting Castile, though this would not prevent him from acting in favor of his native country with every means at his disposal (Prestage 1914).

Provoked by an anonymous Spanish political pamphlet written in the middle of the Restoration war, to which he referred as *La voz de Castilla*, Melo wrote the *Ecco politico* (1645). For him, one of the most outrageous claims of the pro-Castilian text was that, had a more aggressively centralist policy been applied to Portugal during the years of the Iberian union, the rebellion would have been avoided, “and today they would all be Castilian and there would not be any separation of language and government, being all common as it is the law and the monarchy [*Monarquía*].” Francisco Manuel de Melo responded angrily to this *Realpolitik* new version of Nebrija’s insights about language and political power: “He infers that we would all be Castilian, and it is more accurate to infer that we would be Portuguese, or we would not be anything at all . . . The separation of language does not seem to be up to the princes’ discretion . . . The spirit [*ánimo*] being free, will language not be so? How could it not be?” (1645: 57r).

Melo goes on to prove his argument by reminding the anonymous author that, despite political hegemony, Castile has not been able to impose its language on vassals and kingdoms either in Spain or abroad: “the subjects of Castile themselves have differences in language, without them being altered by any nation: Galicians, Asturians, Biscayans, Guipuzcoans and Alavese, all adhere to the antiquity of their native languages. The same happens in Navarre, where few commoners speak the Romance. Valencia and Catalonia still use the Lemosin language with varying degrees of corruption. Aragon always spoke the ancient Castilian and people from Mallorca barely understand it.” Naples and Sicily, in spite of being “keen on Spanish rule and manners” [*aficionados a la policía española*], have never abandoned their language, while in Flanders neither persuasive nor repressive policies have been able to modify the linguistic behavior of either “the nobles or the commoners.” Of all peninsular nations, concludes Melo, Portugal is the most dissimilar from Castile in customs: “justice, constitutions, manners, currency, weight and measure, everything is

different” and even “what we borrowed of some customs and fashion . . . may be caused just by vicinity, and not necessarily by dominion [*imperio*]” (56v–57r).¹⁷

Presumably, Melo would have strongly disagreed with Nebrija, had he ever had the chance to read the prologue to his pioneering grammar. Proximity sometimes achieves what extended political power – *imperio* – does not; social interaction on a local level may contribute to spread a particular custom or linguistic practice more than global imperial policies. But the fruits of empire could be wisely appropriated by its enemies. Melo’s *Ecco polytico*, like the pamphlet that motivated it, did not target an exclusively Spanish audience, but an international one: the English courtiers and diplomats in charge of the negotiations between the newly acclaimed João IV and Charles I of England (the first European monarch to recognize the Portuguese king’s legitimacy), the pope, and the new French ambassador in Lisbon, who received a copy of the pamphlet from Melo himself (Prestage 1914: 210). The fact that Melo chose Castilian – as he did in much of his literary production – to defend unambiguously the prerogatives and the identity of the Portuguese nation should, I hope, no longer strike us.¹⁸ Melo is aware of the fact that a pamphlet written in Spanish would be able to reach a wider international audience, crucial to secure Portugal’s allies in the European arena, or “the world’s battlefield” [*la campaña del mundo*] (*Ecco polytico*: 100v). While Spanish hegemony had accustomed both friends and foes to learn the language of the empire, Castile’s *voice* could be loudly *echoed* throughout the empire to make it tremble. What the notions of nation and empire must bring to the exploration of the political history of Spanish is not a narrative of uncontested triumph at home and abroad, but one of complexity, connectedness and struggle on both a local and a global scale.

¹⁷ See Woolard in this volume for other articulations of the relations between language and conquest by Spanish humanists of the period.

¹⁸ “I write with alien letters because our fellow countrymen need nothing but reason to believe, and so that our enemies have no excuse to ignore my truth. This is why I published it in their language” (preliminaries 4v). Melo would also write in Spanish *Manifiesto de Portugal* (Lisbon: 1647) and *Declaración . . . por el reyno de Portugal* (Lisbon: 1663), two political pamphlets in defense of the Portuguese Restoration addressed to the same international audience as the *Ecco*.

5 The seventeenth-century debate over the origins of Spanish: links of language ideology to the Morisco question

Kathryn A. Woolard

Introduction

This volume takes a contextual approach to language in order to analyze linguistic thought in relation to political and social questions of authority, legitimacy and power (Del Valle's [Chapter 1](#)). However, what Jan Blommaert (2005: 130) has called the “layered simultaneity” of local and global spatial frames and of long- and short-term temporalities means that it is not obvious what the appropriate political and social context is for the interpretation of a given idea about language in a particular historical moment. As Miguel Martínez's chapter (this volume) demonstrates, dominant narratives of nation and empire need to be nuanced by an appreciation of complexity and contestation on a local as well as a global scale. Careful groundwork is necessary to uncover, rather than assume, the politics of a text in its own time and place, and even to know how that time and place are to be defined.

This chapter, like Martínez's, recontextualizes a historical text in Spanish linguistics and thus unsettles accepted storylines. The text addressed here is *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana ò romance que oi se usa en España* [*On the origin and beginnings of the Castilian language or Romance, which is used in Spain today*], by Bernardo José de Aldrete, published in 1606 (1972).¹ Aldrete's work, which is recognized as the first published history of Spanish, argued at length that the language had been

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¹ The author's name is sometimes spelled “Alderete”; b. 1560 Malaga, d. 1641 Cordoba. The text will henceforth be referred to as *Origen*. Translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

derived from Latin. Once praised as a proto-scientific linguist (Alonso 1938: 105), Aldrete has come under critical scrutiny in recent decades as an apologist for the Spanish imperial project in the Americas. To the modern eye, a claim to Latin linguistic origins seems clearly to be a glorification of Spanish and Spain, and a legitimization of Spanish conquests based on the Roman model (Guitarte 1986; Mignolo 1995).

Yet, surprisingly for this critical modern view, Aldrete's thesis of Latin origins was received by powerful contemporaries as an inglorious outrage against the Spanish nation, and it provoked decades of furor in Spain. As Paul Firbas (Chapter 10 in this volume) writes, quoting Edward Said, the study of origins and the construction of *beginnings* is always a political act. But just what kind of political act? To understand both the controversy and the full social significance of Aldrete's theory of Latin linguistic origins, I have followed a trail of forgeries and miracles, religious intolerance and ethnic extirpation. In this chapter, I argue that Aldrete's work takes on different meaning when we trace its complicated ties to the precarious position of the Moriscos in Spain. Theories of the Latin versus Babelian origins of the Spanish language were entangled with a growing ideology of racial difference that was pivotal in the final struggle between "Old Christian" Spaniards and "New Christians" of Islamic origin in a unified Catholic Spanish state.

Aldrete in polemical context

The opposition to Aldrete's thesis of Latin origins claimed that Castilian was the primordial language of Spain, created in the confusion at Babel and brought to Spain by Tubal, grandson of Noah (see Binotti 1995). The most powerful proponent of the theory of primordial Castilian was Gregorio López Madera (1562–1649), a jurist who published his linguistic ideas in sweeping essays in 1595 and again in 1601 when he was a prosecutor in the chancery court in Granada. Soon after, his star rose at the royal court, and he attained positions of substantial authority and prestige. Madera reiterated his linguistic theory in a third publication in 1625, rebutting Aldrete's arguments point by explicit point.

In his several works López Madera argued that "our Castilian is the true language of our ancestors" (1595, qtd. in Nieto Jiménez 1972: 145); moreover, "our language now" is the same as that of fifteen hundred years earlier (López Madera 1601: 68v). He asserted that Castilian had not been formed from the corruption of Latin, but rather had always been a distinct language (1625: 106). The first Spaniards "never lost their language" despite centuries of subjection to Roman conquest, Madera concluded (1625: 100).

Since López Madera held the classical view that change from an originary perfection could only be decay (Read 1977; 1978), he professed to be scandalized by Aldrete's assertion that the Castilian language derived from any form

of corruption, “as the scholar who raised the doubt, unworthy son of his fatherland, so unworthily called it, for solely through his imagination he wanted to deny to it its own language, which is so much a part of the honor of a nation” (López Madera 1601: 70).

In 1625, Madera further attacked Aldrete (who long since had come to deeply regret publishing his thesis for the grief it had brought him):

The habit of contradicting (to show erudition) has moved one author who wrote after my works to impugn this excellence of our nation and language, wanting to prove that the Castilian that we speak is corrupted Latin, and not ancient and our own . . . This is so significant for the excellence of Spain, that a response seems necessary to me . . . I write almost forced by the necessity of defending something that is so important for Spain, and for our Religion: that author, voluntarily writes . . . against the honor of his nation. (López Madera 1625: 100r–v)

The origins of the origins debate

To make sense of Madera’s vehement attacks on Aldrete’s theory of Latin origins, we must set out on our circuitous tour through Early Modern Spanish history. The story that led Aldrete to publish his troubling book begins in 1588 in Granada, where laborers demolishing the main mosque to construct a Catholic cathedral uncovered a lead box in the ruins. Among the relics in the box was a parchment written in Arabic and Castilian, with a Latin annotation. The parchment claimed to contain a prophecy from St. John the Evangelist that had been translated from Hebrew into Castilian and buried in the time of Nero by St. Cecilio, who added a commentary in Arabic and then had it hidden.

Beginning in 1595 on a hill above Granada that came to be known as the Sacromonte (Holy Mountain), treasure hunters found lead plaques inscribed in Latin. These plaques told of the martyrdom of St. Cecilio, his brother St. Tesifon and other Christian disciples, on this same hill in the first-century reign of Nero. Remains were soon unearthed nearby, as were a number of lead books (*libros plúmbeos*, or *plomos*) inscribed in idiosyncratic Arabic letters. The authors were identified in the writings as the Arab brothers Cecilio and Tesifon, who had been converted to Christianity by Jesus himself and had come to Spain as disciples of St. James (Harris 1999: 947). These astonishing discoveries caused excitement in all of Granada and much of Spain. They allowed Granada to trace an unbroken Christian tradition from the time of the apostles (Harris 2000: 127–8), and they established that Christianity had come to Spain before it came to France and England (Sotomayor 1996: xxxii). A hearing was held in 1600 to determine the authenticity of the relics, which were found to be genuine, to the jubilation of Granada. Among the worthies who judged the authenticity was Gregorio López Madera, Aldrete’s opponent (see Barrios Aguilera and García Arenal 2006 for further discussion of the Sacromonte treasures).

Origins of the parchment: the racialization of the Moriscos

From the beginning, some observers suspected that the parchment and *plo-mos* had been forged and planted by local Moriscos, descendants of Muslims converted to Christianity after the Reconquest. It is now generally held that the documents were written by the very same Morisco leaders who were later called upon to help translate them.²

Why would Moriscos fabricate these Christian texts and relics? The Sacromonte texts are likely to have been a desperate attempt to redeem Granada's Moriscos by rewriting their history. Counter-Reformation Spain was increasingly intolerant of them, viewing most as apostates. Old Christian Spaniards feared that Moriscos were plotting with the Turks for another Islamic invasion. Such anxieties brought calls for their extermination or expulsion. Ultimately those of Islamic origin were constituted as an alien people that had to be extirpated from what had come to be defined as a Christian and Spanish territory (Root 1988; Shell 1991). This ideological construction was achieved through three overlapping phases, whose focus progressed from religion, to culture, to blood.

By 1526, forced conversion to Christianity had been imposed on all Muslims in Andalusia, Castile and the crown of Aragon, and in theory there were no Muslims left on Spanish soil (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 1997: 25). The struggle then moved to cultural terrain, as "Old Christians" concluded that the mass conversions of Muslims as "New Christians" had, unsurprisingly, failed. In 1526, the Emperor Charles V prohibited numerous Arab cultural practices viewed as heretical, including Arabic names and language use. Now not just those who failed to embrace the Christian religion were seen as Muslims, but also those who preserved the most minor ancestral custom and thus revealed their origin: "At first it was the Infidel who was rejected; now it would be simply the Other" (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 1997: 22).

Although there was an initial reprieve of the imperial order, strict cultural prohibitions were reinstated in Granada in 1567, when Arabic names, speaking, reading and writing all were outlawed (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 1997: 268–72; Lea 1901: 228–9). Don Francisco Núñez Muley, an elderly leader of the Granada Moriscos, appealed the prohibitions, arguing that the forbidden practices were regional, not religious. Diversity of dress and other customs was accepted among Christian Europeans, and it was only Morisco customs that were singled out as unacceptable. The Arabic language was unobjectionable in principle, asserted Núñez Muley: "Language does not bear on Muslim doctrine, either for or against" (Garrad 1953: 221). In any case, although almost all Moriscos wished to learn Castilian, few teachers were available. It would be

² This analysis was established by Godoy Alcántara (1868). However, Harris (2000, 2007) argues that Christian humanists and clergy are also likely to have participated in the forgery.

nearly impossible for the elderly to learn it in their remaining years, asserted the aged Núñez Muley (see Barletta's further discussion of the memorandum in Núñez Muley 2007 [1657]). Nevertheless, the prohibitions were instituted, and in response a Morisco rebellion soon arose in the mountains of Granada.

One aristocratic Spaniard who witnessed the revolt depicted a rebel leader, Hernando de Válor, "el Zaguer," rousing the Morisco community with an impassioned speech on its oppression:

Embraced by neither God nor men, treated as Moors among the Christians, only to be disdained; and as Christians among the Moors, only to be disbelieved, unaided and excluded from human life and conversation. They tell us not to speak our own language. But we do not understand Castilian; in what language can we communicate our thoughts, request or give things, if we are not allowed the conversation of men? Even animals are not forbidden to hear human voices! Who denies that a man who speaks Castilian can follow the law of the Prophet, and one who speaks the Morisco language the law of Jesus? (Hurtado de Mendoza 1984: 19–21)

Religious, cultural and linguistic traces of Islamic origin were now nearly fully established as intolerable in Spain, but the construction of difference as damning did not stop there. It continued into the domain of genealogy in a racializing policy of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), in which a non-Christian ancestor was deemed to taint bloodlines irredeemably. By racialization, I mean an ideology that explicitly locates significant social difference in characteristics viewed as natural, essential and ineradicable because biologically given. Statutes of *limpieza de sangre* had been developing throughout Spain since the mid-fifteenth century. They excluded from public and religious offices any individual who could be shown to have an ancestor who had been Jewish, Islamic, or penanced by the Inquisition.³ This doctrine was originally aimed at Jewish *conversos* whose power in the royal court and clerical orders was coveted by Old Christians, but the same progression of the basis of exclusion from religion to genealogy also applied to Moriscos.

The debate over the expulsion of the Moriscos

By the opening of the seventeenth century, it seemed incontrovertible to Old Christians on any side of the Morisco question that non-Christian people could not be tolerated on Spanish soil in the long term. But was the correct solution to the Morisco problem continued evangelization, expulsion, confiscation of children from Morisco parents, castration, extermination? These alternatives were interminably mooted; policy decisions were made and unmade.

Pedro de Valencia, royal chronicler, Christian humanist and outspoken opponent of the Sacromonte parchment and *plomos*, was also one of the most

³ Prohibitions on descendants of those penanced by the Inquisition were generally limited to children and grandchildren (Sicroff 1979:55).

vociferous opponents of expulsion and other final measures. Valencia's recommendation was to disperse Morisco communities throughout Spain and then convert them through evangelization and social integration (Gómez Canseco 1993: 236; Valencia 1997: 11). His arguments were given short shrift.

The strongest voices argued that Moriscos were inassimilable. Biological accounts indicted the whole community, including children: "they have the infected root within their guts" (qtd. in Cardaillac 1983: 14). As one exasperated missionary wrote, "Terrible are the mute and silent arguments that make the blood cry out within the veins. After we preach to them, these wretches respond, 'My father – Moor; myself – Moor'" (qtd. in Domínguez Ortiz 1962: 44).

The controversy over the Morisco problem came to a head in the same years as the struggles over the authenticity of the *plomos* and the linguistic conflict between Aldrete and López Madera. After years of debate, the first royal order for the expulsion of the Moriscos finally came in 1609, and expulsions of some 275,000 Moriscos were carried out through 1614 (Cardaillac and Dedieu 1990: 26).

The Sacromonte forgeries as proposed solution

The troubled prelude to expulsion was the context in which the Granada parchment and *plomos* were planted. In what may have been a last-ditch attempt to redeem the Morisco community, the texts traced the city's roots to Arab Christian apostles and martyrs, who thus became the oldest Christians in Spain. Moreover, the books gave Arabic people a leading role in Christian redemption. In a particularly pointed passage, Peter asks the Virgin Mary,

"Tell us how God will manifest the victory of his rightful law, and by whose hand . . ."

Mary: "God will give his law and make it manifest by the hand of the most excellent peoples among his creatures in the lineage of Adam in that time."

And Peter said: "What people are these, Our Lady?"

And she said: "The Arabs and their language."

Said Peter: "The Arabs and their language?"

Said [Mary]: "The Arabs and their language, and I tell you that the Arabs are one of the most excellent peoples, and their language is one of the most excellent languages. God chose them to assist his law in the final days, after they had been his greatest enemies. . . . But (in those final days) the Arabs and their language return to God and his rightful law, and to his glorious Gospel." (Hagerty 1980: 122–4)

For Moriscos, what was important about the *plomos* was the discovery that Cecilio, the patron saint of Granada, was an Arab. Old Christians, in contrast, overlooked the news that their first bishop had been of Arab origins as well

as the books' praise of the stellar character of Arabs. For them, the parchment and the *plomos* allowed the portrayal of the city's original, true character as Christian (Harris 2000: 127–8). The Sacromonte discoveries became part of a larger program to Christianize Islamic Granada and to push Moriscos entirely outside the narrative of Granadine tradition (Harris 2000: 126; see also Harris 2007).

The role of language in the Sacromonte polemics

Unfortunately, the parchment and the books themselves posed inconveniences for these Old Christian civic and national-religious projects. The basic challenges were linguistic: how could Castilian appear in texts from the first century, if as a corruption of Latin it did not exist until well after the arrival of the Visigoths in the fifth century? If the linguistic facts could not be reconciled, then the parchment and the *plomos* were false, a disastrous loss for Granada and Spain. This was the motivation for the debate over the origins of Castilian.

Among those who were skeptical about the *plomos* was Pedro de Valencia, who concluded dryly,

It cannot be denied that whoever wrote the parchment knew how to speak Castilian as it is spoken today. It remains for its defenders either to prove with similar certainty that it was also spoken in the time of Nero, or else to resort to miracle and revelation, which is how anything can be proved. (qtd. in Gómez Canseco 1993: 181)

López Madera took Valencia's first route, insisting that Castilian was already spoken in the time of the apostles. In defense of the Sacromonte discoveries, he elaborated the theory of Primordial Castilian: "what we find in the language of the prophecy is the most certain, the truest and at the same time one of the most honorable things that we could ask for our nation, the antiquity of its language" (López Madera 1601: 75r), which "we can say is the same as that of one thousand, one thousand and five hundred, years ago" (70v).

In contrast, Aldrete's approach was the second one suggested by his fellow humanist Pedro de Valencia. Although Aldrete defended the authenticity of the Sacromonte parchment and books, he insisted that the Castilian in which the parchment was written was *not* spoken at the time when St. Cecilio wrote it. Rather, it was a *miracle* that the parchment was written in modern Castilian, a language not yet born: "The way that before there was a Castilian language it could be written in the Parchment was through the miraculous gift of tongues" (Aldrete 1614: 326). St. Cecilio had the gifts both of prophecy and of tongues and so was able to divine the language that would be spoken fifteen hundred years later, when the parchment would be needed and therefore revealed:

Thus the Romance of the Parchment is from the time in which God saw fit to reveal it, and not from the earlier time when St. Cecilio wrote it, because in so many centuries

there has been a great change in the language of Spain as in all those of the world, and so it was prophetic to write it at that time. (1614: 303)

In some ways, language was incidental to the ethno-religious, civic and national history at the heart of this event, just an annoying obstacle to documentary proof. However, the language debate became important in its own right. Moreover, the language debate epitomized the questions and visions of society that were at stake in the Christian–Morisco controversy: What is the essential expression of the nature of a nation? What is the relationship of dominator and dominated? Is coexistence possible? The most fundamental question was: What is the truth about human difference? All of these questions are addressed throughout Aldrete's and López Madera's work, just as they are throughout the many tracts on the Morisco question. Echoes of answers given in the Morisco debate can be identified in Aldrete's own text. With the frame of the Christian–Morisco struggle established, and with these questions in mind, we can now return to the analysis of the linguistic controversy itself.

Ideologies of language in López Madera and Aldrete

Aldrete and López Madera shared an absolute conviction in the rightness of Christianity, and this Christian belief was expressed in the divine ordination of language. However, they each had very different models of the workings of providence in language. López Madera traced Castilian directly to God as its creator at Babel. Aldrete gave a less direct role to God's intervention in human cultural and linguistic affairs. Although he believed that it was God's design that Latin spread around the world to facilitate the preaching of Christianity (1614: 3–5), he thought that the Roman Empire and Latin language had to develop through human efforts in order for that design to be fulfilled. Aldrete was impressed not by the origin of language nor by the glorious high culture carried in a language like Latin, but rather by the language's destiny in God's purpose (Nieto Jiménez 1972: 47).

In what follows, I focus on several central themes around which Aldrete's and López Madera's views of language were directly opposed.

Theme 1: locus of language

Given that the antagonists disagree about the origins of their language, we should ask what they think it is that makes a language a language: distinct, integral and identifiable. For López Madera, the essential heart of a language lies not in its vocabulary but in its distinctive patterns of combining words and of using them, "which is what each language can say is its own" (1601: 66v). "To differentiate between one language and another, we should not consider

the sound of a word, but its distinct quality (*propriedad*); not its diction, but its force and meaning,” argues Madera (1601: 66r). “Do they think that a language consists of whether you say ‘hijo’ or ‘fijo,’ in saying ‘ca’ or ‘que’? No, of course not, for that changes every day, with the language still staying the same, and after twenty years we have left behind some words and taken up others” (1601: 69r).

Madera argues that different languages are defined by “manners of speaking” (*maneras de decir, phrasis*, 1601: 67r), by the interconnections among words and the figures formed from them (*la travazon y figura*, 1625: 105v). By manners of speaking, López Madera generally means idioms and deep structural tropes. He stresses the incommensurability of languages, locating their essences in aspects that are especially resistant to translation. These ineffable differences in manners of speaking are what make it difficult to acquire a second language or to translate a book, even from Latin to Romance or from Greek to Latin (1601: 67r–v).

Aldrete explicitly rejects López Madera’s claim that ways of speaking are the core of language. He writes with flat certainty that

the principal parts of a language are the words and the grammar . . . To these can be added manners of speaking, which affect the language’s character and perfection, because these are without a doubt diverse, and different in each language. But they are not the principal part of which it is composed. Without doubt, the first two elements are, because if either of those is lacking, it is a different language . . . Which does not happen if the manner of speaking is lacking. (Aldrete 1606: 188)

All aspects of language are susceptible to change, but Aldrete argues that manners of speaking (*modos de decir, el estilo*) move as rapidly as fashions in clothing (1606: 178). He points out that there are varying regional manners of speaking in Spain but that they are all considered the same language. Ways of speaking a language are as diverse as the places where it is spoken, but (in direct contradiction of Madera) Aldrete holds these to be “accidental” rather than the defining substance of a language (1606: 191–2, 196).

Theme 2: honor in antiquity versus perfectibility

As seen, López Madera held antiquity to be the prime source of nobility in a language: “What we find in the language of the prophecy is one of the most honorable things we could ask for our nation, which is the antiquity of its language” (1601: 75r). Moreover, not only an honorable nature but any distinct linguistic nature at all is established only by antiquity. For Madera, “It would be truly absurd to grant substance to a language that did not have its origins as one of the seventy-two languages of the division [at Babel]” (1601: 70v).

Aldrete once again rejects López Madera's position outright. "I do not know for what reason or cause there should have been change in all languages, and only Spain has maintained its language exactly the same from its ancient beginnings," he grumbles (1614: 302). In the unpaginated prologue to *Origen*, Aldrete argues the point head-on:

I cannot refrain from responding to those who feel that I do harm to our language by attributing to it a beginning that is more modern than the populating of Spain by the ancient Tubal. They hold that anything else is unworthy of Spanish greatness, which they claim for their side, and they persuade themselves that everything else is not honorable and should not be written. Such trappings and adornments of antiquity do not beautify or honor the language, which has its own riches and luster, and those are not imaginary . . . [T]he abundance of words, sweetness together with gravity, elegance accompanied by ease, and other similar ornaments are what honor and give value and esteem to a language. If these are lacking, no matter what the antiquity, it will not be worthy.

Aldrete goes on in his main text to make clear that these honorable qualities are not inherent in a language but rather are developed through cultivation by its users. His expressed hope is that once he has identified Castilian's origins, others will apply their talents to raising its quality through art and diligence (1606: 5).

Theme 3: linguistic consequences of conquest

The central point of explicit disagreement between the two authors concerns the linguistic consequences of political conquest. Each sees a nearly inevitable outcome, but for Aldrete that is shift by a conquered population to the conquerors' language, while for López Madera it is maintenance of an indigenous language (see Firbas in this volume for resonance with López Madera's view among contemporaries).

Madera writes forcefully, "People would lose their lives before they lose their language" (1601: 68v).

No nation in the world has ever lost its language, unless it has been completely destroyed. And a foreign language has never been introduced into a province unless it has been conquered by the transmigration of another entire nation . . . because by other means, only through conquering the government and domination, the language does not change (1601: 58v).

For Aldrete, in stark contrast, "The conquered take on the language of the conquerors, surrendering [their own] along with their arms and persons" (1606: 138). Despite his rather brutal general principle, Aldrete emphasizes the importance of social relations in determining language choice. He points out the significance of both miscegenation and shared social systems in creating

linguistic unity: "After the war, the trade, friendship, kinship and marriages in which the Romans joined with those of the provinces where they lived, that they made them part of their honors and responsibilities, that they extended to them the privileges of their city, made them all one together, and made Latin the language most used in the world" (1606: 58).

Theme 3a: lessons of specific conquests

The Americas: López Madera argues that if Spanish is spoken most in the Indies, it is not because the indigenes abandoned their languages, but because almost all the population was now Spaniards who had come with their wives, children and households, almost "consuming" the natives (1601: 58v).

Writing of the Antilles, Aldrete observes that "the language of everyone is Castilian. The Indians that are left have completely lost their own language" (1606: 146). This is not necessarily a direct contrast to López Madera, since Aldrete agrees that the indigenous population was decimated in the Antilles. However, he also writes of the New World more generally:

I have been told by people who have lived there many years that the Indians who interact with Spaniards, which is almost all of them in our provinces, know how to speak Romance more or less well, depending on how hard they try, and all the rest understand it. Some Indian leaders pronounce it as well as our own, and so do all those who are of the Spanish race, by whatever route; they speak as in Castile. Although the Indians commonly know and understand Castilian, they use it little, because of their fondness for their own language, since no one makes them speak the foreign one, and some take it as a point of honor not to speak it. Embarrassment and fear of speaking poorly keep many of the Indians from using Castilian. (1606: 145–6)

Aldrete asserts that he has no doubt that if Spain continues to govern the Americas, then "in a very short time all will speak Castilian, without diligence on our part" (1606: 146) (see Firbas in this volume, for further discussion of Aldrete's work in relation to the Americas).

Moriscos: On the more immediate case of the Moriscos, the two authors have even more acutely discrepant views. López Madera's pithy dictum that "a people will lose their lives before they lose their language" was exemplified for him by the revolt of the Moriscos in Granada in 1568: "In our days, we have seen the rebellion that follows from wanting to take a language away from even a nation so scant, so subjugated, as the few Moriscos that have remained in this kingdom of Granada" (1601: 58v). Madera later repeats the point that the Moriscos "never could be made to give up their language, even if they learned Castilian. Even though they were punished by judges, and without need of it for their livelihood or everyday exchange, they always made sure to keep their language" (1625: 106v).

Aldrete's views are nuanced but contrast clearly:

After the Christian rulers recovered Spain, those Moors who were subdued and remained living apart with little exchange or communication with Christians kept their Arabic language without learning ours. But those who truly embraced our faith and intermarried with Old Christians lost it. Those who after the rebellion of 1569 were dispersed throughout Castile and Andalusia and mixed with other inhabitants took on our language and do not speak any other in public, nor do they dare . . . The same is true in Aragon; those who do not know particular speakers cannot tell them from the natives. In the kingdom of Valencia because they live by themselves, they retain the Arabic language. The reason why they have applied themselves so little to our language is very clear. It is the aversion that they have toward us, which is almost natural to them, and I will not say more about that, but I believe that they will lose this in time. Add to their will the fact that they are excluded from honors and public responsibilities, and they do not seek to intermarry with Castilians or have affection for them. All of which ended in the [Roman] provinces . . . the Religion was one, everyone was admitted to honors and offices . . . with which it seems that of necessity, those of the provinces became fond of the Romans and their language. (1606: 86)

Aldrete draws on the example of the negative and positive responses of Moriscos under different circumstances, as well as the positive case of the Roman provinces, to argue that social marginalization, endogamy and ritual exclusion – characteristics of the *limpieza de sangre* policy – exacerbate linguistic and cultural difference. In contrast, he holds that social inclusion and shared responsibility lead to willing assimilation, affection and loyalty.

Theme 4: mastery of second language

Finally, both authors have views on whether a non-indigenous or second language *can* be fully learned. Since for López Madera the essence and uniqueness of a language are almost ineffable, it is not surprising that in his view second-language learners can rarely get it right. When he comments on second-language proficiency at all, it is usually on telltale linguistic traits as diagnostic of ethnic identity:

When we hear someone say '*hermoso muger*' or '*el calle*' . . . we know the speaker is Basque. And another who says . . . '*yo querer servir*,' we know is a Morisco (López Madera 1601: 66v–67r).

We can tell the natural language of a person speaking in a foreign language just as if he were speaking his own (López Madera 1601: 68v).

In his conviction of the difficulty of mastering a non-native phonology, López Madera verges onto biological determinism:

Much [of the difference between languages] also consists of pronunciation. Because the nature that arranges everything to its purpose exists in languages, too, so that in each

nation it forms the vocal instruments to accommodate the language they speak. So that some have the teeth low . . . and others high, some have the lips sagging, and others tight, some the tongue slim and agile, others heavy and thick, and because of this, foreigners who speak Castilian well cannot pronounce it well, and the reverse is true for us with them. (1601: 66v)

Predictably, Aldrete's view is in clear opposition, holding that second-language speakers can be indistinguishable from native speakers. On the case of the Americas, he says, as we have seen, that "Some of the Indian leaders pronounce it as well as our own." Similarly, for the Moriscos,

The children and grandchildren [of those Moriscos who were dispersed throughout Castile and Andalusia after the rebellion of 1569] . . . speak Castilian so well, as well as the best . . . even if some of the most hardened others have not given up their Arabic. The same is true in Aragon; those who do not know particular speakers cannot tell them from the natives. (1606: 86)

Aldrete reiterates the point in his second book:

The Moriscos who came to Cordoba did not know any other language than their own. . . . their sons . . . learned [our language] from us in school, and they spoke it as well as those of our own who speak it best. I have listened to them with curiosity on occasion, and I found them speaking adages and witticisms, achieving hidden and extraordinary things much better than many natives; so much that I was astonished, since I never thought they could reach so far. (1614: 71)

Summary: contrasting linguistic ideologies

These themes add up to two very distinct visions of cultural and linguistic difference in society. The key concepts in Aldrete's vision of humanity, language and culture are "mutability and perfectibility," while in Madera's vision "origins and essences" are central.

Aldrete: mutability and perfectibility

For Aldrete, languages change, and people's relationship to any given language is changeable. People capitulate culturally under conquest. In conditions of contact, they alter their language the way they alter their customary dress. There can be practices that make us different from each other (such as manners of speaking), but they are not necessarily of substance or essence. Moreover, cultivation is possible. Crude forms of language, like early Spanish, can be cultivated and applied to higher purposes, such as Christian doctrine. Similarly, people can be cultivated; children can assimilate perfectly. If people are not just dominated, but also given time, motivation and, most importantly, social

integration through kinship, responsibilities and honors, they will learn and be loyal to other ways – in religion, language and culture. With a common language, nations can be united in friendship and love as fully as by blood (1614: 128).

López Madera: origins and essences

For López Madera, in contrast, genealogy is essential (both defining and necessary). Origins establish the true nature of things, including peoples and languages.⁴ Nobility derives from antiquity and therefore is not something that can be cultivated or acquired. There is a general tendency to stasis: “each thing tries to conserve the characteristics of its kind” (1601: 68v); “according to the laws of nature, change in things cannot be presumed” (1625: 100v); “All nations always try to conserve not only that which is natural, such as their language, but also the accidental, such as customs and ceremonies” (1625: 100v). Such unique characteristics are ineffable and ultimately incommunicable, and thus true assimilation is not possible in human society. People do not give up these traits unless they are completely destroyed.

It would be inappropriate to link a particular position on the origins of Castilian directly to a particular position on the Morisco question, since a complex intellectual field intervened between the linguistic ideas and the social conflicts. Neither Aldrete nor López Madera gives any indication that in discussing the linguistic question they meant to weigh in on Morisco policy. Nonetheless, the status of the Moriscos was publicly and nearly interminably debated in the years of their textual encounters. Moreover, both authors comment directly on Morisco assimilation and relations to Christian Spaniards, often echoing the Morisco debate itself. Finally, we will see that López Madera himself took an active role in the resolution of the Morisco problem. For all these reasons, we are motivated to ask how the linguistic views of Aldrete and López Madera relate to the pressing social question of the Moriscos.

There is a striking consistency between the contrasting logics of linguistic difference that were developed within the linguistic debate on the one hand and the images of human difference that entered into the Morisco debate on the other. Madera’s claims about the essential and ineradicable nature of linguistic difference fit well with the pessimism about cultural difference and the emerging racial conception seen in the *limpieza* policies and in the advocacy for expulsion. Aldrete’s vision of the mutability of humans and human relations, in contrast,

⁴ The linkage of ideologies of etymology and family genealogy was a familiar tool of Early Modern European scholars. An original order of language was represented in this view as expressing an original order of the world (Bloch 1983:83). Origins in general were seen not only as eternal but as always present (Harris 2000:127; cf. Rothstein 1990).

echoed the moral opposition to expulsion and its hopes for true conversion of the Moriscos.

Within his linguistic enterprise, Aldrete delineated a vision of cultural and linguistic allegiances as mutable, and of conquered populations as highly assimilable and not essentially different. His book provided detailed arguments for, as well as positive evidence of, the successful social and cultural integration of dominated others in general, and of Moriscos in particular. In his discussion of Morisco examples, Aldrete showed the negative effects on assimilation that came from denying a group positions of responsibility and honor (as the *limpieza* statutes did), and from lack of kin ties. Drawing on the Roman conquest of Iberia as well as positive Morisco examples, Aldrete repeatedly pointed out that intermarriage, kinship and social inclusion changed cultural practices and created unity, new affections and allegiances.

In contrast to Aldrete's optimistic universalism, López Madera's particularistic vision of national essences denies the possibility of assimilation. Recalling the Morisco rebel leader El Zaguer's impassioned question, "Who denies that a man of the Castilian language can follow the law of the Prophet, and that a man of the Morisco language can follow the law of Jesus?" we can answer that López Madera did. His representation of the ineradicable nature of cultural difference fit well with its increasing racialization on the peninsula. As Firbas (this volume) finds for the seventeenth-century Andes, the notion of full conversion actually threatened the underlying structures of power, which were dependent upon the maintenance of religious, linguistic and racial differences. Faced with the practical problem of Moriscos in Spain, the particularism that López Madera developed in his linguistic thesis pointed explicitly toward the destruction or expulsion of the inassimilable. And that is in fact exactly what López Madera actively participated in, as an agent of the state.

López Madera clinched his public reputation and his career at the royal court by expelling Moriscos from Spain. In 1608 he was sent by the king to investigate a Morisco community known as a center of resistance. López Madera became famous for quickly hanging town leaders and dispatching others to the galleys. Renowned for his diligence and severity, he was named to a *junta* overseeing the completion of expulsion throughout Spain, and a play was written about his heroic exploits in the expulsions (Pelorson 1972). In the 1625 edition of his book on the *Excelencias de la monarquía* (in which he lambasted Aldrete's account of the Latin origins of Spanish), López Madera lauds the "greatness of the work" that King Philip III undertook in expelling all the remnants of the Moors. He mentions with pride that he himself took an important part in the "danger, care and work" of expulsion (54r).

There is no doubt that Aldrete as well as López Madera accepted unquestioningly the rightness of messianic Spanish imperialism. Nonetheless, different visions of empire, such of those of Aldrete in contrast to López Madera, have

been consequential in different ways, and these differences can matter deeply to people's lives. The Moriscos' desperate attempts to remain in Spain testify vividly to the significance of contrasting social visions that might look similarly oppressive to a modern audience. Such significantly different visions of humanity, of nation and of empire can be articulated in apparently arcane linguistic debates. As López Madera's vehement opposition shows, Aldrete's theory of the Latin origins of Spanish carried implications not just for philology, or even for the overseas empire, but for political, religious and moral struggles within peninsular Spain.

6 The institutionalization of language in eighteenth-century Spain

Alberto Medina

Absolutism and the new technologies of language

The arrival in Spain of a new king and a new dynasty in 1700 was the point of departure for the irreversible deployment of a new set of “technologies of power” unknown under the previous rule of the Habsburgs. The transformations in the institutional structure of the state, the new sets of laws, the disciplinary grid that the Bourbons progressively spread over the territory and its subjects followed the theoretical principles of French absolutism, first developed by Bossuet (1627–1704) and personally transmitted to the future Philip V by his instructor, Fenelon (1651–1715). These principles implied the blurring of the traditional boundaries of politics and made possible the extension of royal power into the private sphere of their subjects or, rather, its crucial role in the very definition of that “privacy.” Practices previously left outside the reach of the state would now constitute a new site for its projection. As Foucault and his many followers have shown us, in the eighteenth-century state power became progressively invisible, confused with the individual body itself, now functioning as its subject and object at once in an undivided space of self-discipline previously associated only with religious (bad) conscience (Foucault 1990: 291). If the new configuration of power implied, in that sense, the blurring of subject and object, private and public, body and state, it is of course no surprise that language should become a privileged disciplinary instrument. Is it not precisely language that is the vanishing point of the radical “privacy” of the body into public space, the ultimate questioning of its limits? There was no more convenient entrance into the realm of the body for purposes of political “subjection” for the new mechanisms of power.

In order to understand the new ways in which language in particular and culture in general became political vehicles in this context we should consider what is perhaps the most influential formulation of absolutism, that of Bossuet, whose teachings were at the very core of the Bourbons’ conception of their own royal power. According to him, the authority of the king was always already sacred and always already there (“the royal throne is not the throne of man, but the throne of god himself”) (Bossuet 1990: 58). It had no origin. His schema

erased any possibility of a contractual moment but also implied that the political dimension of the subject had no origin either. The individual's subjection was inscribed in his body and his soul from the beginning as part of his (Catholic nature) in a way. There was no Hobbesian wolf/man here, but rather an eternal son of his father ("all the world agrees that obedience, which is due to public power, is only found (in the Decalogue) in the precept which obliges one to honor his parents") (Bossuet 1990: 62). Hobbes's diachronic and historical logic was replaced in Bossuet by the synchronic generalization of a patriarchal space in which the subject was always a son submitted to the tutelage of the king. There was no possible age of emancipation but rather an eternal minority and endless state of tutelage under the monarch. Education had no end. Father, monarch and God were placed in analogous positions. Familiar, and also political, obedience were inscribed in the (religious) body.¹ Political obedience was thus mandated by religious conscience (Bossuet 1990: 59–61).

Accordingly, the domain of royal power was redefined beyond the traditional sphere of the political, erasing any chronological distinction between religious and political interpellation. This line of thought allowed for the sphere of language to be considered a possible object of control or even legislation by the state along with other issues – such as modes of hygiene or any kind of "practices from everyday life" – that, until then, had been thought to be beyond its reach. Those new spheres of discipline could also be read as an attempt to "secularize" and politicize what had previously been under the safe grip of the church under the strategy of "bad conscience." Feelings such as shame about certain expressions or productions of the body were now the object of political interpellation following the religious structure of "bad conscience." Discipline was to be internalized by the subject, direct repression replaced by self-control. Laporte's analysis regarding the new place of the state in the circulation of waste gives us an idea about its new role in the control of the "private sphere": "The state . . . is the grand collector, the tax guzzler, the *cloaca maxima* that reigns over all that shit, channeling and purifying it, delegating a special corporation to collect it" (Laporte 2000: 46). An analogy could easily be traced with the new symbolic circulation of language legitimacy in eighteenth-century Spain, where the Academy would fulfill that central role of "channeling and purification." The self-consciousness of the speaker about his own personal use of language was now to be politically mediated. That will be precisely one of the main hypotheses of these pages: the institutionalization of language in eighteenth-century Spain should be understood as the secularization of structures of "discipline" that, until then, had been under the monopoly

¹ In Foucault's words: "Obedience is a virtue, which means, it is not, as for the Greeks, a provisional means towards an end, but rather an end in itself. It is a permanent state of being, sheep should always obey their shepherd: *subditi*" (1990: 282).

of the church. In this regard, the process of institutionalization and, in particular, the creation of the Royal Spanish Academy (henceforth RAE from *Real Academia Española*) should be conceived in dialogue with the deployment and application of “regalism,” the political philosophy that argued for the priority of the monarch over the church in general and the pope in particular in a variety of attributions (see Sánchez Agesta 1979: 175–83), and that constituted the axis of that process of “appropriation” of technologies of the eternal by the temporal.

The most important document of Spanish regalism in eighteenth-century Spain, the *Pedimento de los 55 párrafos*, was written in 1713 – the year the RAE was founded – by Melchor de Macanaz (1670–1760), a very close friend of the Academy’s founder, Juan Manuel Fernández Pacheco, Marquis of Villena (1650–1725). Through this personal link, the following pages will trace the close relationship between the “cultural” project that led to the creation of the RAE and “regalism.”

A regalist in the court

Many of Juan Manuel Fernández Pacheco’s hagiographies have been written in the context of the RAE’s history and are heavily indebted to the eulogies read on the occasion of his funeral in 1725.² Quite often, they portray a monumental figure, both a great soldier and a humanist, always comfortable in the battlefield or in his legendary library, but also always feeling suspicious, slightly out of context in the royal court, surrounded by treacherous politicians whom he despised. He is pictured as keeping his distance, quiet and silent, not getting involved in ubiquitous political intrigues. Only a single anecdote keeps reappearing in those accounts that, for a moment, suspends that image of distant and prudent suspicion.³ Already invested with the dignity of *mayordomo mayor* (chief of staff) by the king, the Marquis is denied his right to enter the royal chambers by the future Cardinal Alberoni. The former, in rage, raises his cane (he could barely walk after his harsh imprisonment in Italy) and violently beats the priest. The extraordinary scene – one that would be remembered in the court’s lobbies for years – does not only illustrate the resentment of the head of one of the most illustrious noble families in the country against a professional politician just elevated to the dignity of count for his services. Once we begin tracing the political position of both figures, the anecdote turns into a perfect metonym of the political environment in the court and the irreconcilable differences within. Alberoni would become the most influential politician in the

² See Marqués de Molins 1870, Casani 1726, Cotarelo y Mori 1914, Ferrer del Río 1870 and Zamora Vicente 1999.

³ The main source of the anecdote in most accounts is Saint-Simon (1983–87: 527–9).

nation after the arrival of the new queen, Isabel de Farnesio, in 1714, and also the person responsible for the radical defeat of the reformers favored by the king until the rapid change that took effect just days after the royal marriage. The Marquis of Villena, along with the Princess of Ursinos,⁴ was one of the symbolic pillars of that reform through the very tight connection between the prestige of his name and the most active and radical of the reformers, Melchor de Macanaz.

Despite the systematic attempt of his many biographers within the RAE to de-politicize the figure of the Marquis, a superficial revision of his role in the courts of Charles II and Philip V is enough to clearly place him within a very specific political project, "regalism." The political and cultural initiatives of the Marquis were tightly related: on the one hand, his role in support of a regalist turn in Spanish politics; on the other, his creation of the RAE. The latter cannot be easily separated from the former and should instead be conceived as necessarily intertwined with it. As we will see, the process of institutionalization of language through the RAE in 1713 establishes a complex dialogue with the radical reform attempted on two other institutions that very same year under the regalist trend: the Council of Castile and the Spanish Inquisition. The Council's resistance to the creation of the RAE has been presented as a surprising gesture of disobedience to the king and as a result of bureaucratic laziness (Zamora 1999: 29), of a superficial resentment against everything new, or, quite simply, of the personal resistance from a Galician counselor, with a particularly strong local accent, afraid of his possible marginalization (Cotarelo 1914: 36). Nevertheless, an analysis of the radical changes that the Council was undergoing at exactly the same time that the petition regarding the RAE was being considered allows us to unveil a very different and complex landscape. What seemed to be an innocuous cultural project was directly associated with the people responsible for reforming the very Council that, only a few years before, as we will see, had condemned them in the strongest possible terms. What the Council saw in the structure and constitution of the RAE was a model of institutionalization that had a lot in common with the one being implemented in its own mechanisms. The RAE was viewed as an infamous mirror-image of the ideal Council that reformers had in mind, in short, a secularized institution withdrawn from its old complicity with the church and whose traditional independence was being submitted to a rigorous process of centralization and direct control by royal authority.

⁴ She had been one of the most important supporters of French interests in Rome immediately after Charles II's death. After successfully arranging the marriage of Philip V and Maria Luisa of Savoy, she traveled with the latter to Spain and became her *camarera mayor* (chief of her household) from which position she became one of the most influential voices in the court always in support of French interests. Her influence was abruptly interrupted by the arrival of the new queen, who arranged her immediate exit from the country.

The Marquis and the lawyer

It could be said that everything started around Charles II's deathbed in 1700. The prospect of a chaotic succession due to the absence of a direct heir and the competing strong invested interests of all European empires consumed the last of the Habsburgs. Unable to make a decision, he desperately asked for advice from the Pope, Innocent XII, but also from his most trusted courtiers, specifically three of the most influential names in Spanish nobility, the Count of Montellano, the Duke of Montaldo and the Marquis of Villena (Martín Gaité 1988: 30). All of them declared themselves in favor of the Bourbon candidate and, along with him, of an implicit reform of the nation after the innovative model of French absolutism. The alternative, the house of Habsburg, was seen as the useless continuity of a model that had taken Spain to its political decadence and financial ruin.

Just a few months before, the Marquis had made an acquaintance of great relevance for his own future and his family's. Every Saturday the Count of Montellano organized an informal *tertulia* at his home, where issues of politics and law were discussed by Madrid's brightest minds. The Marquis of Villena was a frequent participant, as was a young lawyer in his twenties, educated in Salamanca; both showed a proclivity for the most progressive views and displayed extraordinary knowledge of traditional Spanish law. The lawyer's name was Melchor de Macanaz, possibly the most important of those responsible for the implementation of regalist reforms after the arrival of Philip V. What is perhaps even more important for the purpose of this chapter, he would be appointed Attorney General of the Council of Castile precisely in 1713, the year when the RAE was founded.

From the very beginning, the mentality of the Marquis – combining a strong demand for the renewal of the country's stagnant institutions, helped by his Francophile views, with the traditionalism invested in his name and title – found a natural companion in a young lawyer whose historical and legal knowledge served as an extraordinarily rigorous source of support for the introduction of new ideas coming from France. The Marquis would hire Macanaz as the main tutor responsible for the education of his sons, especially his oldest, Mercurio, who would later succeed his father as the RAE's director. His attachment and trust in the young lawyer would be confirmed when, after the arrival of the new king in 1700, the Marquis was invested Viceroy of Sicily. Forced to leave his estate in Madrid, he chose none other than Macanaz as his “general agent” in the court (Martín Gaité 1988: 34). In the years when the Marquis was absent from Spain, Macanaz quickly became one of the main architects of the reforms undertaken by the new king. During the war, Macanaz served as Mercurio's personal secretary, but once the balance of the war favored the Bourbon, Macanaz gained an important political post in Valencia that positioned

him at the very front of the two main political fights of the new dynasty: those against the church and those against the regional privileges known as *fueros*.

In that period Macanaz, because of his expertise in Spanish traditional law, was in continuous contact with Michel Amelot, the new French ambassador interested in adapting to the Spanish context the regalist measures that had been successfully implemented in France. Their communications were not limited to the role of the church and its complex relationship with the king's secular power; they were also extremely useful in building the intellectual foundation for a substantial critique of the regional *fueros* and, more specifically, of the role of the Council of Aragon, which would soon be abolished by the king. In one of the long reports addressed to Amelot, an exhaustive criticism of the Council of Aragon, we can find a very enlightening reference to the Marquis of Villena:

The Marquis of Villena, who has served in both Aragon and Catalonia under the Council [of Aragon], is of the opinion that the king's interests will never be achieved as long as the Council exists and so he used to say: If I were to serve, even for just eight days, as President of Aragon under the power of a resolute king, I would do anything in my power to end this Council. (qtd. in Martín Gaité 1988: 82)

Among the legal authorities and erudite references in the text, Macanaz was relying on one of the biggest names in Spanish nobility, but also on the Marquis's direct experience as a soldier. It would be inconceivable, even with his proximity to the Marquis and his family, that Macanaz could be using his name without the absolute certainty that the Marquis would implicitly or explicitly agree with the use of his symbolic authority.

Finally, on June 29, 1707, the *fueros* of Aragon and Valencia were abolished. A few months after that, in a Royal Decree dated October 5, Macanaz was appointed judge in Valencia (*Juez de Confiscaciones*). From that position, he would have the opportunity not only to feed the coffers of the king by expropriating the properties of his former war enemies but also to try, by any means, to reduce the church's access to sources of money that he wished to reserve to the exclusive right of the king. Predictably, he antagonized not only the church and the Inquisition but also the Council of Castile, whose conservative nature would view Macanaz's activities with suspicion. In 1708 the Council strongly condemned him and one year later he was presented with the church's harshest punishment, excommunication. It was in those years that a distant but still influential certain nobleman secluded in an Italian jail came back into Macanaz's life. To console him after his excommunication, one of Villena's sons, the Marquis of Moya, compares the politician's situation to his father's: "I want to give you no other consolation than my father's example, since after serving the king he has been left to suffer in a prison. . . . remember his tolerance and try to have no less" (qtd. in Martín Gaité 1988: 131).

Moya was comparing not only Macanaz and Villena but also, implicitly, their enemies. The roles of the church and the Council of Castile in the case of the former were indirectly presented as analogous to that of the enemies of the crown, the supporters of the Habsburg candidate to the throne who were responsible for the Marquis's incarceration. But the parallel between Macanaz and Villena became even more real in better circumstances just two years later: thanks to the support of the regalists in the court, particularly Robinet, his Majesty's confessor, Macanaz regained the king's favor. And not only that, the reformist operation headed by the Princess of Ursinos had him as one of its essential tools. After writing some of the theoretical texts that would constitute the axis of political reform, regarding both the abolition of the *fueros* and the relationship between the church and the king, Macanaz was chosen as the main figure responsible for the radical transformation planned for the Council of Castile and, potentially, the Inquisition itself.

When Macanaz finally arrived in Madrid, getting closer to his stellar appointment as Attorney General of the Council, he was coming from Paris. Quite possibly, he had traveled to the French capital to receive the Marquis of Villena, finally released from jail thanks to a prisoner exchange. It is also quite possible that they traveled together to Madrid.

Game of mirrors: the Council of Castile and the Royal Spanish Academy

Macanaz's and Villena's double return marked the simultaneous point of departure for two parallel and inextricable developments: the creation of the RAE and the attempt to radically redefine the role and constitution of the most important political institution in Spain after the king himself, the Council of Castile.

Our analysis of those two parallel developments will focus first on the historical and institutional connections between them. A comparative analysis of the chronology of both the Council's reform, implemented by Macanaz between 1713 and 1714, and the approval of Villena's RAE project by that very same Council reveals significant connections. As we will see, it is most unlikely that the councilors did not see a strong symbolic relation between the two projects, if only for the very public strong link between the two men responsible for them, Macanaz and Villena.

Right after his arrival in Madrid, Villena started organizing informal meetings with his friends at his palace. Many of the same people that we could find in the Saturday *tertulias* attended by the Marquis before his departure showed up at the new meetings. Macanaz was, of course, one of them (Martín Gaité 1988: 170). As has been said again and again in the many accounts of the RAE's origins, it was there that the new institution was conceived. But behind

the peaceful meetings there was no shortage of political intrigue. The regalist team, constituted by the Princess of Ursinos, Jean Orry, the king's confessor Robinet, and the increasingly important Macanaz were trying to convince Villena to turn his symbolic endorsement for the regalist cause into a more substantial support. Different possibilities to involve the Marquis in the front line of politics were considered. Nevertheless Villena, possibly because of his poor health after so many years of imprisonment, rejected all of them and was instead appointed *Mayordomo Mayor*, a title with extraordinary symbolic importance but no real content (Alabrús 2005–06: 186). His support for the regalist cause would be of a totally different nature. His project to institutionalize language through the RAE would serve the cause, not at the level of direct and explicit political action, but rather as a means of extending political subjection to processes of interpellation and identity construction such as language itself.

But before that, it is necessary to go back to politics. At the same time as the RAE was being incubated in the Marquis's *tertulias*, Macanaz was initiating his assault on the Council of Castile. As a response to a petition from the king inquiring about the limits of the power of the Council, Macanaz wrote a Legal Rebuttal [*Refutación Jurídica*] in which, in very clear terms, he denied all possible independence to the Council, whose power was understood to come exclusively from the king himself. The "council was nothing without the king" (Macanaz, qtd. in Martín Gaité 1988: 170).

As might be expected, the *Refutación* infuriated the Council as much as it delighted the king, who appointed Macanaz Attorney General of the Council in the same decree that radically transformed its constitution and role, turning it into a mere extension of his own authority. It was an attempt to substitute the ministerial system of the French court for the polysynodal system favored by the Habsburgs (Dedieu 2000: 116–22; López-Cordón 2000). That decree was signed on November 10, 1713, less than one month after the Council received an apparently unrelated minor decree asking for its advice about a cultural project conceived by his majesty's *Mayordomo mayor*, the possible creation of a royal academy that would protect the elegance and purity of Spanish. By then the Council was already aware of Macanaz's *Refutación* and the imminent and radical transformation of the Council. In those circumstances, any petition coming from the person responsible for opening the court's lobbies to Macanaz obviously had to be treated with suspicion, if not outright resistance.⁵ In a

⁵ Dedieu describes the environment of the Council in that period: "The marginalization of the President and the empowerment of the Attorney General turned the latter into the real head of the institution. But one step farther, Macanaz forced his own appointment for that position. That started a real strike: many of the older members just left the council or stayed only to paralyze its functioning with the complicity of notaries and other workers whose interests had been damaged by the reform" (Dedieu 2000: 120). For detailed accounts of the reform of the Council, see Coronas González 1992 (44–8) and Salustiano De Dios 1986 (LXI–LXXVIII).

polite answer to the king, the Council expressed a certain reticence and denied its direct support for the Marquis's initiative. It required some substantial proof of the kind of work the Academy intended to pursue (Gil Ayuso 1952: 595–5).

Effectively ignoring the Council's resolution, the Marquis presented for its consideration a new memorial signed on November 14, just four days after the appointment of Macanaz following the decree that ordered the radical transformation of the Council. The memorial referred to the creation of a Dictionary, a Grammar and a Poetics, and described in very general terms the planned institutional structure of the Academy.

Two different reports coming from the Council were signed on December 2 and January 16. Macanaz wrote the first one. He gave straightforward and clear support to the creation of the Academy and denied the need to wait for any substantial work prior to the approval of the new institution. The second one came from the Council itself, which once again found a way to delay its unambiguous support for the initiative, asking for a description of the emblem and seals to be used by the academy (Gil Ayuso 1952: 596–7).

When, after the obvious pressure imposed by the king's and Macanaz's support, the Council had no choice but to approve the initiative, it still found a way to express its discomfort. In May, Villena complained to the king that the Council had given its approval through an "ordinary approval" and not a "royal bond" as requested by the Academy. A royal order ten days later demanded that the Marquis's petition be granted.

But this story of distrust, reticence and veiled hampering is just a small symptom of the real issues affecting the Council during those months. Macanaz was at the center of all of them. In the relatively short period of time, less than a year, that it took for the RAE project to be considered and finally supported by the Council, a number of other projects were also being considered. Right after the decree describing the changes in the institution, Macanaz introduced proposals for the limitation of the rights of the church regarding its access to certain economic benefits, for a radical transformation of the Spanish university and finally, with the famous *Pedimento de los 55 párrafos* (Fifty-Five-Paragraph Request), for the implicit limitation of the reach of the Inquisition. All these in addition to the intention, stated in another memorial to the king in January of the same year, to abolish all the Catalan *fueros* as a punishment for the military resistance to the king (Alabrús 2005–06: 184). In one way or the other, it could be said that all these issues resonated in the minds of the councilors when considering the, in comparison, very minor issue of the RAE's foundation.

We could begin, for example, with the institutional change of the Council. When, along with Macanaz's appointment, the council received the *Decreto de nueva Planta para los consejos de Castilla y de hacienda y sala de Alcaldes, con la supresión de la cámara de Castilla* (De Dios 1986: 128–32), there

was an intriguing coincidence with the proposal for the creation of the RAE received less than a month before: the number of ministers for the new council and that of academicians in the new cultural institution was to be the same, 24. Simultaneously, it was impossible that the councilors did not perceive an almost ironic similarity between some of the words in the Marquis's *Memorial* and the implications of the Royal Decree regarding the Council's transformation: Villena's purpose was not only to ask for the king's support but also to establish a very particular relationship between the academicians and the King. He asked for every member of the Academy to be invested with the honorific of "Royal Servant" (Real Academia Española 1726–39: 10).

It could be said that the language used by the Marquis in his memorial is tainted by a purely formal quality and a need to flatter the king, but still, it looks like a detailed script for the new role that was being imposed on the councilors by the Royal Decree of May: no longer an independent institution but mere servants of the king. The rhetoric used by Villena meticulously coincided with the regalist nightmare confronted by the Council.

The institutionalization of the Spanish language being proposed through the RAE's creation had also a lot to do with the kind of reform Macanaz was proposing for the university. This took the form of a harmless curricular change. Fed up with the useless education that he himself had received, Macanaz proposed to substitute the study of current and traditional Spanish Law for an old curriculum entirely centered in Roman law: in other words, to elevate the Spanish language to the vehicle of instruction in law schools along with Latin (Coronas González 1992: 113–14). But this reform had a much more important social impact. It was also conceived to reduce the immense power of the *Colegios mayores*,⁶ the source not only of most members of the Council of Castile but also of most holders of positions of political responsibility. Education and not privilege should now be the door to the political sphere. Macanaz, as a *manteísta* (not a member of any of the *Colegios mayores*), was always perceived as an enemy by the Council. But this reform, which threatened to give new power to other *manteístas*, could only be perceived with terror by political elites. The institutionalization of the Castilian language was seen as connected with the potential redistribution of power in which "regalism" was the context that allowed complicity between the king and the bourgeoisie against the old nobility and its privileges.

⁶ These worked both as teaching institutions associated with the Universities and as residential dorms. Originally, they had been conceived to support brilliant but underprivileged students. Very soon, though, the sons of the most illustrious families, by making access by other students progressively difficult, monopolized them. After that, they became almost a requisite for a brilliant political career. Students without access to the *Colegios mayores* and attending the regular classes at the university instead of the special classes at the *Colegios* were known as *manteístas* and usually ended up working in lesser jobs within the Estate Bureaucracy.

Another pressing issue in Macanaz's agenda for the Council was the proposed abolition of the Catalan *fueros*, which would take place only later, in 1716. The issue of language would be explicitly mentioned for the first time in a decree published in January 1716. Along with the prescription of renovations in the structure of local and regional administrations to give the king more influence over local authorities, it banned the use of Catalan in a variety of juridical contexts (Moreno Fernández 2005: 169). It is hard not to see a connection between the process of legitimization, codification and royal tutelage of the Academy – founded three years before the 1716 decree – and the political-turned-linguistic marginalization of regional interests that had to submit to the central authority of the king.

The issue of the RAE was also not unrelated to the most important confrontation faced by Macanaz, that with the Inquisition itself. In his *Pedimento*, finished on December 19, a few days after he signed his favorable report on the RAE, Macanaz conceived the most explicit regalist attack of the eighteenth century against the position of the church, its relationship with the king and, implicitly, the role of the Inquisition. Not since Chumacero and Pimentel's *Memorial*⁷ in 1633 had such a vitriolic attack been written in Spain against the temporal privileges of the church. Only Omar Talon's *Traite de l'autorite de Roi* . . . – published in Amsterdam in 1700, condemned by the Inquisition at the same time as Macanaz's text and quite probably a direct inspiration for the latter – would be comparable. Briefly put, Macanaz's goal in the *Pedimentos* was none other than the appropriation of many of the attributions of the church and the Inquisition by the royal authority.

Again, a small coincidence allows us to establish a connection between Macanaz's regalist attack on the Inquisition and the RAE. Luis Curiel, the former Attorney General displaced by Macanaz, and possibly one of his worst enemies in the Council, sent the latter a virulent response to the *Pedimento* with a strong defense of the Inquisition. It was dated March 1, 1714:

Our Theologians and jurists were admired by all Christianity in the Council of Trent . . . with that theology and with the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, with the utmost reverence to the Pope and the scrupulous attention to everything sacred . . . the Christian religion and faith in Spain has been and will continue to be pure, clean, without any wrinkles or stains. (Curiel qtd. in Martín Gaité 1988: 212)

Only eight days afterwards, the council asked Villena to provide a description of the “*Empresa y sello*” that would be used by the RAE. His answer is well known:

⁷ It was presented in Rome in the name of Philip IV to protest against the excesses of the Papal intervention in the Spanish monarchy.

The emblem chosen for the seal of the Academy is a crucible on the fire with this motto: cleans, fixes and gives splendor. . . . The crucible is an instrument used to purify, fix and shine metals through the action of fire. The Academy means that through hard study, it purges the precious metal of the Spanish Language from the slag of those out of use or any malformed strange words and sentences that had been introduced. (Gil Ayuso 1952: 598)

Some members of the RAE were also ministers in the Council and quite probably had read Curiel's answer. It is not improbable that Villena himself had known about it through Macanaz; but, in any case, the mere coincidence of a common metaphor of purification indexes the image that the Academy had of itself, that of a tribunal. The use of legal analogies was widespread in the first texts produced by the RAE:

The Academy is not a teacher and neither are academicians. They should be seen rather as judges that, after serious study, have judged the different words and, to support their sentencing, provided the arguments of the trial, substantiated in quoted authorities. (Real Academia Española 1726–39: 15)

The academicians were repeatedly identified as “Attorneys and judges” – as, indeed, many of them were – working either for the Inquisition itself (Juan Ferreras and José Casani) or for the Council of Castile.

It is hard not to see the mind of inquisitors behind language such as this:

Instead of fixing metals, fire liquefies them, but it is also known that if these had any slag, whoever may want to fix them without this imperfection will need to make use of the fire and the crucible, where they get liquefied to become pure and only then will it be possible to fix them with a new and greater splendor. It is a fact that no metal can be purged of any impure blending without having been previously liquefied in the crucible or under the punishment of the *copela*. (Real Academia Española 1726–39: 11)

The symbolic transfer between the Inquisition and the Academy, the circulation of people between the two institutions and between them and the Council of Castile, should be read in connection with the diffusion of the limits between the sacred and the profane that theories of regalism and absolutism had made possible. Authors such as Bossuet – as well as Chumacero and Pimentel, Omar Talon and others – opened, from both the French and the Spanish traditions, the way for new models of subjection in which the mechanisms reserved to the church were now at the disposal of secular powers. Those authors were ubiquitous in the libraries of Villena and Macanaz and directly or indirectly influential in the implementation of the regalist turn conceived by the Princess of Ursinos's circle.

The RAE – or, in other words, the institutionalization of language and culture – constituted the perfect space in which sacred and profane technologies of power came together in search for new modalities of political interpellation

at the level of the body and personal identity, the “microphysics of power” popularized by Foucault.

In this sense, it would be wrong to think of the RAE as simply a regalist nest. An analysis of its members finds inquisitors, ministers of the Council and a minority of names related to the university and the cultural sphere. Its members were not only regalists but included also, for example, Luis Curiel, Macanaz’s mortal enemy. The inclusive list of academicians – and the fact that most of them were politicians – illustrates the necessary permeability of those new technologies of power, which now included culture and language at the service of political subjection. The change was not a radical break but precisely a process of confusion and appropriation in which “mechanisms” previously ascribed before exclusively to the orbit of the church or the monarchy came together. If the regalist reform clearly failed in the short term in 1715, nevertheless it was an inevitable process in the long term. It was precisely the RAE’s ability to congregate secular and religious names behind the “neutrality” of its cultural purpose that allowed it not only to survive the political uncertainties of the period but also to establish a cooperation and dialogue between very different minds that, if potential enemies in the political sphere, could work together under the guise of culture for the constitution of a new relationship between subject and politics through the institutionalization of language. The RAE was, in a way, a mechanism in the hands of, mostly, professional politicians to extend the reach of the political. Its ability to avoid the radical confrontation of Macanaz and other “enlightened” politicians and intellectuals, implementing instead an eclectic and apolitical environment, allowed the institution to survive and flourish. An implied regalist agenda was more effective and successful when framed in a cultural, apparently de-politicized, context. In the Academy, politicians who could be enemies in the Council or the court were reunited in a conciliatory environment under a common “cultural” goal. But what exactly was that common goal beyond the specific interests of different political factions?

Dagmar Fries, in her essential study about the RAE, is right to be skeptical about reasons traditionally adduced for the actions of the Academy in its first years. There are no traces in the institution’s programmatic texts of fears surrounding the dangerous presence of too many French imports in the language (see also Lázaro Carreter 1985). There is no indication either of a protection against a culteranist trend in the use of Spanish in the period. Fries takes the programmatic texts of the Academy literally, especially the introduction to the *Diccionario de autoridades*, in order to identify its real goals: to increase the glory and the honor of the nation and elevate the international prestige of the Spanish language. For that purpose, a process of stabilization through the creation of a dictionary and a grammar was seen as necessary (Fries 1989: 47).

But in its very first meeting the Academy produces a text that can help us extend Fries's analysis. She herself quotes it:

[Our intention is] to establish an Academy in this town of Madrid, court of our Catholic monarch, . . . just like the one in Paris, composed of decorated subjects able to consider and discern the mistakes that corrupt the Spanish language with the introduction of foreign or inappropriate words that should not be used by discreet people, with the goal of warning ordinary people [*vulgo*] (whose lesser intelligence leaves them defenseless against the attraction of such novelties) how damaging this is for the reputation and luster of the nation. (qtd. in Fries 1989: 26)

The Academy implicitly establishes another goal in these words: turning the *vulgo* into *gente discreta*, in other words, common people into responsible citizens who would be able to contribute to the "reputation and luster" of the nation.

*Epilogue: the RAE, school of nation and "fábrica de discretos"*⁸

That central goal of the Academy, building citizenship, would be more explicit decades later, in a text published in 1769 by Benito de San Pedro, very indebted to the RAE's ongoing project and dated only two years before its official grammar:

I anxiously wish that every good Spaniard would know his language as a question of principles and reason, in a time when every European nation dictates its own language after its own principles and when it is well known that the state makes every effort to inculcate patriotism into its citizens, this being one of the most powerful means to achieve such a task. (San Pedro 1769: XVIII)

The codification of language ultimately aimed at promoting patriotism, turning the *vulgo* into citizens able to contribute to the glory of the nation. That which had been implied in 1714 is now made explicit. The centralization of linguistic codification in an institution explicitly linked to the monarch and systematically identified with the nation had been parallel to the progressive implementation of a new model of citizenship that was not to be interfered with by secondary loyalties such as that traditionally owed to the local *patrias* (or homelands). The same idea would reappear in 1777: a "critic" of the Academy able to consider not only its theoretical principles but also their practical implementation, Feijoo, pointed exactly at what should be its intended role. Certainly not to "fix" the language as the motto of the Academy stated:

⁸ It means literally, "factory of discreet men." The category of *discreto* in eighteenth-century Spain refers to an individual whose ideas are the product of reason as opposed to those of the *vulgo* (the masses), used to act in irrational and impulsive ways.

Even though I think dictionaries are important works, I do not consider the goal stated by its authors, to fix the language, useful or even attainable. It is not useful, because it means to close the door to many words, the use of which can be of great convenience. It is not attainable because there is no writer with a certain ability who makes the decision to contain his language within the limits of the dictionary. (1777: 269–70)

Earlier in the century, the Academy had identified the *vulgo* as the intended reader of the *Diccionario de autoridades* and, years later, Feijoo unquestionably agreed:

Those short-minded men are just like schoolchildren. If they just start writing without guidance, they waste the ink in blots and scribbles. On the other hand, those men of a sublime spirit achieve their most perfected features when they generously ignore the common rules. (1777: 265–6)

The need for codification had as its object the social purpose of turning an “uninformed” *vulgo* into effective citizens of the nation. However, educated subjects were free to distance themselves from those same rules; their functional citizenship did not require from them linguistic obedience.

There was also an interesting geopolitical dimension in Feijoo’s analysis. In his *Amor de la patria y pasión nacional* [*Love for the country and national passion*], he clearly established an opposition between a rational *patria* (the “nation”) built around a common government and set of laws (1980: 111) and a useless, irrational fidelity to a local *patria*, attachment to which could only be negative for the “res-publica” (112).

The linguistic component of that opposition and the place opened for the role of the Academy implicitly appear in a different text, *Verdadera y falsa urbanidad* [*True and False Courtesy*], in which Feijoo refers to the convenience for Galician children traveling to Castile of acquiring a pure, perfect accent in Castilian (1778: 247). The need to displace loyalty to the local *patria* in favor of that owed to the king and the nation is thus parallel to the ability to speak the proper language of the nation as spoken at its symbolic center. Language and citizenship go together under the common authority of the king. It was the common accord on the convenience of that “technology of power” that allowed (mostly) politicians of very different backgrounds to sit together in the RAE around a common project: building nation and citizenship by means of the codification of language, turning it into a political space opened to the influence and use of a new model of power under the gaze of a king identified with a modern concept of nation, one in which both the *vulgo* and the local *patrias* no longer have a place.

The ultimate goal of the Royal Spanish Academy could be described as the successful attempt to manufacture a linguistic “bad conscience” of sorts, the secularization of a religious disciplinary strategy at the service of a new model of

state and nation. In the same way as Bossuet conceived the new political subject as driven by a sense of “sacred” obedience to the father and the consequent potential shame caused by any deviation from his (not necessarily explicit) mandate, the institutionalization of language implied the self-discipline of a speaker always necessarily unsure about the use of his mother tongue, always looking for the approving gaze of the father. That new dimension of the “bad conscience” became an essential component of the sense of belonging to the fatherland.

7 The officialization of Spanish in mid-nineteenth-century Spain: the Academy's authority

Laura Villa

Education is a matter of power: the one who teaches dominates, given that to teach is to form men, men adapted to the viewpoint of the one who indoctrinates.

Antonio Gil de Zárate (1855: 117)

This chapter addresses the role played by language and schools in the history of Spain's nineteenth-century liberal nation-building project. Both the Spanish language and the public school system were strategic sites where national consensus could be built and, consequently, the achievement of linguistic homogeneity through education became a central goal for the state. These pages examine, in particular, the conditions that favored the linguistic norms developed by the Royal Spanish Academy (henceforth RAE from *Real Academia Española*) and the debates that surrounded their officialization and imposition in the emerging national school system. While the historiography of Spanish has traditionally described the selection and implementation of the RAE's norms as if they were undisputed and ideologically neutral (Calero Vaquera 1986; Esteve Serrano 1982; Martínez Alcalde 1999, 2001; Sarmiento 1986), this study will emphasize the political complexity of the standardization process by approaching the archival material with "an ethnographic eye for the real historical actors, their interests, their alliances, and where they come from, in relation to the discourses they produce" (Blommaert 1999: 7).

The officialization of orthography

During the 1840s, teachers associated with Madrid's *Academia Literaria y Científica de Instrucción Primaria* (Literary and Scientific Academy of Elementary Education, henceforth ALCIP) – a non-governmental organization – engaged in a process of orthographic reform that, they claimed, would facilitate literacy acquisition in elementary schools. By organizing public debates and circulating newspaper articles – mainly through *El Educador*, a periodical publication created precisely with the purpose of spreading the ALCIP's ideas

and activities – the association discussed and publicized the advantages of simplifying the Spanish alphabet. Although the teachers argued first over the specific orthographic features that would better represent the Spanish language, they also debated the most appropriate ways of implementing the reformed spelling system. While some defended a gradual simplification, others preferred a radical and quick reform; while one group of teachers suggested collaborating with the government and the RAE, others defended the legitimacy of the ALCIP to control the implementation process.

The heterogeneity and overwhelming number of proposals given voice in *El Educador* resulted in an intense debate which, in turn, aroused the editors' fear that the lack of consensus would blur the common interest in spelling reform and strengthen their opponents, "etymologists, bitter enemies of all these reforms" (*El Educador* 1842: 3). Thus, in July 1842 they published an article intended to end the discussion by alerting the teachers to the harm it could cause and by selecting and promoting a single reformed system. However, they were careful to counter the perception of authoritarianism by insisting that *El Educador* had been open to all proposals: "Supporters of [orthographic] reforms cannot complain that the editors of *El Educador* have not shown frankness and understanding by including all the opinions they have been sent on this matter in order to give a platform to the reasons on which the opinions of every person are based" (3–4).

The article concluded by supporting a simplified alphabet drawn from a syllabary composed by the ALCIP in 1822 which reflected "the true pronunciation . . . as the clearest way to achieve a perfect, easy, and eternal orthography" (4). This new spelling system, grounded in the bi-univocal correspondence between phonemes and graphemes, consisted of 24 letters and introduced the following reforms: first, the simplification of pairs of letters representing the same sound, namely <c/q>, <c/z>, <g/j> and <i/y>, writing *ceja*, *zita*, *jiro* and *lei* instead of *queja* (complaint), *cita* (appointment), *giro* (turn) and *ley* (law); second, the substitution of simple letters <r> and <y> for the digraphs <rr> and <ll>, and of letter <n> for <m> before and <p> ; third, the elimination of silent letters <h> and <u> in the combinations <qu> and <gu>, writing *anbre* and *gera* rather than *hambre* (hunger) and *guerra* (war); fourth, the replacement of <x> for the letter <s> and the combination <cs>, in pre-consonantal and intervocalic positions, respectively; finally, the modification of the names of some letters so that the designation of the sounds would be homogenized (for instance, letters <m> and <r> would be renamed *me* and *re* (pronounced /re/) instead of the traditional *eme* and *erre*).

This system was eventually selected by the teachers' association for implementation in Spain's elementary schools. Soon after its publication in *El Educador*, the ALCIP printed it as an independent pamphlet intended to publicize

both the system itself and its advantages for education.¹ A significant part of that pamphlet was devoted to a list of strategies to promote the reformed spelling system, among which the following are particularly salient: members of the ALCIP would write all official correspondence and their announcements in all newspapers using the new alphabet; they would also teach it in their schools; instructors would be urged to compose textbooks using the simplified orthography; and, finally, the ALCIP would inform both the *Comisión de Instrucción Primaria* and the RAE of the orthographic simplification in order to seek their endorsement.

Following these recommendations, on April 24, 1843 the RAE was sent six copies of the pamphlet together with a letter requesting its collaboration. The minutes from the RAE's meeting held three days later briefly recorded that the corporation had received the documents from the ALCIP and decided to have the secretary convey to the teachers the institution's decision to not support the new orthography, claiming that "such an innovation" would bring "serious inconveniences and no advantages."

The RAE's negative reaction to the ALCIP's project went, indeed, well beyond disapproval of the proposed orthography and even involved a request for the queen to intervene and stop the implementation of the simplified alphabet in elementary schools. This petition was not made directly by the RAE but by the *Consejo de Instrucción Pública* [Council for Public Instruction], an advisory body recently created to oversee the public education system. Nevertheless, the bonds between the two organizations were numerous and important: Antonio Gil de Zárate (1796–1861) – whose views on education as a form of power opened this chapter – was a prominent member of the RAE as well as General Director of Public Instruction, and at least five other academicians held positions of responsibility in the Council at the time of its creation in 1843.²

Bearing in mind the RAE's opposition to the teachers' proposal and considering the institution's privileged relation to and multiple connections with the government, it can be concluded that a number of academicians taking part in the public administration of instruction asked Queen Isabella II to ban the system devised by the teachers' association from schools and to officialize the RAE's orthographic norms. The queen agreed and on April 25 and December

¹ A copy of this pamphlet is kept in the RAE's archive. Together with this document the institution holds both a letter asking for the academicians' support for the reform project (dated April 24, 1843 and signed by the secretary of the teachers' association, Manuel María Tobía) and a duplicate of the corporation's negative response to the ALCIP's project (dated May 4, 1843 and most likely written by Juan Nicasio Gallego, the RAE's secretary).

² Manuel José Quintana, Eugenio de Tapia, Martín Fernández Navarrete, Juan Nicasio Gallego and Javier del Quinto, all members of the RAE at the time of the officialization of orthography in Spain, also took part in the inaugural session of the Council on January 1, 1844 (Ceprián Nieto 1991: 437–9).

1, 1844 signed two Royal Decrees that respectively mandated the exclusive use of the institution's orthography and spelling textbook (*Prontuario de ortografía de la lengua castellana* [*Handbook of orthography of the Castilian language*], 1844) in Spain's elementary instruction.

Public debate over the officialization of orthography

These events have been usually described in the historiography of Spanish through a narrative that explains the officialization, first, as a necessary response to a radical proposal that could have had negative effects, second, as a legitimate reaction against the teachers' association's meddling in the ongoing standardization process planned by the RAE, and, finally, as the closing point of the old controversy over spelling (Esteve Serrano 1982; Real Academia Española 1999; Vilar 1999). However, the material gathered for this project reveals that the queen's signing of the legal document that established the officialization stirred, rather than ended, the public debate. In the discussion that follows, I draw on the language-ideological debate (Blommaert 1999) that surrounded the officialization, aiming at a better understanding of the reasons behind the teachers' drastic intervention in a linguistic matter, the RAE's and the government's authoritarian responses, and the loud resistance to the imposition of an official orthography in schools.

The controversy was not, interestingly enough, the first or even the most intense public debate involving the teachers' association and governmental institutions in charge of developing public instruction. It took place, indeed, amidst a broader and deeper struggle to control teacher training – one of the chief domains of the ALCIP. The teachers' association's monopoly of this activity had come to be jeopardized by the creation of normal schools – a project devised by Pablo Montesino and Antonio Gil de Zárate, and first put into practice in Madrid in 1839. The ALCIP, which, according to Gómez R. de Castro (1983: 50), aimed at monopolizing Madrid's public instruction, challenged the implementation and power of the normal schools by refusing to accept the supremacy of instructors trained in such institutions, by continuing to organize seminars for teachers and by spreading its critiques to Spain's educational policy through journals such as *El Educador*, *Semanario de Instrucción Pública* and *La Academia* (Melcón Beltrán 1992: 135–43; Molero Pintado 1994: 39–47).

It was, thus, not surprising to find that this broader context of struggle between the ALCIP and the central government permeated the debate over Spanish spelling. The legal documents emerging from the academicians' reaction to the teachers' association, for instance, reveal its political nature. The queen justified the government's intervention by identifying orthography as an issue of national interest: "all nations always proceed with extreme caution

in such a delicate matter, preferring the advantages of a fixed and uniform orthography understood by all” (qtd. in Villalaín Benito 1997: 99–100). Having been declared “a concern of the state” (Rosenblat 1951: cxxiv), the Spanish language should remain in the state’s hands and, therefore, be managed by an institution tied to the central government: the RAE. Following this rationale, the Royal Decrees empowered the institution as the corporation most authorized to judge linguistic matters, representing its members as the voices most qualified to dictate the norms of the national language (qtd. in Villalaín Benito 1997: 101).

The reaction from the teachers was loud: the ALCIP organized, in October of the same year, a public meeting to criticize the crown’s imposition (*Academia Literaria* 1844), while some of its members wrote pamphlets against the RAE’s norms and authority (Hernando 1845; Macías 1846). If the legal documents justified the government’s intervention with political arguments, the teachers relied on their professional experience to claim control over decision-making in educational spaces. In his refutation of the RAE’s orthographic textbook, Victoriano Hernando wondered: “Is it likely that the government knows, understands and sees this situation? No sir, because it doesn’t practice this profession. And what about the Council for Public Education? They do not either, for the same reason. And the Academy of the Spanish Language? They do not, unless some of its members have practiced teaching” (Hernando 1845: 21). Seniority in education would become not only a source of reaffirmation of the teachers’ association’s authority but also, as Hernando’s quote clearly states, a means to delegitimize novel central institutions.

There is still another salient strategy employed by the teachers in order to discredit their opponents: the negative portrayal of the imposition as a despotic and immoral (or even illegal) maneuver unbecoming to a democratic state. Manuel María Tobía, the secretary of the ALCIP, made this point in a straightforward way: “the government has just prohibited instructors to teach [the reformed system] under threat of a terrible punishment, despite the fact that such a mandate is openly opposed to the laws and regulations that govern us” (*Academia Literaria* 1844: 16). The accusation of excessive authoritarianism became, at times, extremely passionate and politicized. During the public meeting organized by the ALCIP a few months after the officialization, on October 3, 1844, the president of the teachers’ association even needed to call the audience to order when they loudly applauded and encouraged a Mr. Bona as he stated that “when governments speak they are not always right” (1844: 30). Regardless of the president’s warnings, the speaker went on to stress the government’s responsibility in political and popular uprisings because, he argued, “people that are happy do not revolt; and the best way for them to be happy is to give them freedom to secure their own education, the exercise of all their rights and their well-being through all possible means” (1844: 31).

This Mr. Bona, who so aggressively called for resistance to the government, was most likely Juan Eloy Bona y Ureta, a prominent Catalan economist, journalist and determined supporter of free trade. An honorary member of the ALCIP, he became – once settled in Madrid in the 1840s – a member of the city's *Sociedad Económica Matritense*, director of the widespread journal *Eco del Comercio* and co-founder of Madrid's *Sociedad Libre de Economía Política* (Román Collado 2011: 700). His words in the meeting organized by the teachers to publicly oppose the imposition of the RAE's orthographic norm were praised by Francisco Salmerón y Alonso, another highly politicized participant, passionate supporter of freedom of instruction and fervent detractor of the state monopoly of education (Melcón Beltrán 1992: 142). Mr. Salmerón expressed his liberal ideas in a journal that he co-edited, *La Academia*, a periodical publication that took the wheel from *El Educador* and *Revista de Instrucción Pública* and that would be accused of promoting ideas related to utopian socialism. This political activism at the heart of the educational debate is, according to Melcón Beltrán (1992: 143), a case where old-fashioned sectors of education and political radicals would join forces to attack the moderate government's policy.

The ALCIP fought, precisely, to win the battle over educational market niches and decision-making power against the emerging national public school system and administration. In that process the teachers displayed a number of strategies to resist the centralization intended by the government: from the organization of public debates to the circulation of their dissidence in a number of newspapers, and even through the sabotage of governmental institutions and measures. And, as we have seen, they did not even hesitate to align themselves with political opposition to the government coming from revolutionary groups.

The previous contextualization of the public debate over orthography challenges the traditional understanding of the teachers' reformed system as a spontaneous and radical proposal, and the corresponding explanation of the government's response as a legitimate reaction to the instructors' unacceptable interference in a field outside their competence. On the one hand, both the teachers' intervention in this linguistic matter and their deep and loud resistance to the crown's imposition of the RAE's spelling system can be seen as further strategies to exacerbate public confrontation and to challenge the government's increasing accumulation of power and monopolization of educational spaces. On the other hand, the compelling response to the teachers' independent initiative from the Council for Public Instruction was an effective measure to secure control over the standard language in education and, furthermore, became a display of the government's strength against decentralizing forces that would hinder the nationalization of public instruction.

The officialization of grammar

In addition to the spelling system, the RAE's grammatical norms were made official in Spain's schools in the central decade of the nineteenth century. Despite differences from the process that led to the officialization of orthography, the rationale behind the deliberate pursuit of an official recognition of grammar also responded to the centralization of education and control of the linguistic market. However, in this case, the RAE's struggle to become the recognized linguistic authority was fought not against the teachers' association but against a number of competing grammars that had gained public acceptance and taken over the textbook market.

The RAE's intense grammatical work in the eighteenth century contrasts with the lack of productivity in this area in the first half of the nineteenth century (Fries 1989; Sarmiento 1979, 1986). By 1854, when the new edition of the RAE's grammar finally appeared, the prestige of the 1796 edition had considerably diminished and other grammars had filled the vacuum (Gómez Asencio 2002). The vitality of texts such as the *Gramática de la lengua castellana segun ahora se habla* [Grammar of the Castilian language as it is now spoken] (Salvá 1831) and the *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los Americanos* [Grammar of the Castilian language for the use of the Americans] (Bello 1951 [1847]) made it evident that the RAE was losing its hegemonic position. Moreover, the criticisms in those texts both of the institution's static norm and of its members' lack of concern for the improvement of their grammar came to intensify the RAE's discredit: "the wise men who have constituted that corporation [the RAE] for the last sixty years" – stated Salvá reproving the academicians' "lack of perseverance" and devotion to "more pleasant and glory-giving tasks" – were unable to fill "the many gaps of their *Grammar* until the present day" (Salvá 1831: XI).

The prominence and reputation of Salvá's and Bello's work had a tremendous impact on the Academy, so much so that they played a significant role in the revitalization of the grammatical activity within the institution and, therefore, in the resulting new edition of its *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1854) and in the publication of its *Eptome* (1857b) and *Compendio de la gramática castellana* (1857a). The records from the academicians' meetings themselves reveal the pressure they felt to work on a new improved grammar. In the notes from the meetings held during the first part of the nineteenth century, we find two moments of intense discussion over the necessity to take up the revision of the 1796 text again. The first one followed the publication of Salvá's grammar. Only six weeks after Diego Clemencín's depiction of Salvá's work as "judicious and appreciable," the minutes from the February 21, 1833 meeting recorded that "the importance and urgency of reforming the Academy's

Grammar was ultimately discussed.” The second instance of the need to issue a new grammar occurred right after the publication of Bello’s *Compendium of the Castilian grammar written for the use of the schools* [*Compendio de la gramática castellana escrito para el uso de las escuelas*] (1884 [1851]). The minutes from the meeting held on September 4, 1851, recorded that Antonio Gil de Zárate, a prominent figure, as we have seen, in the process of affirmation of the RAE’s linguistic authority, urged the corporation to actively devote itself to the elaboration of the Grammar. Since Bello’s *Compendio* was a reduced grammatical text specifically targeting schools, it seems highly significant that the reminder of the importance of working on the grammar came this time from Antonio Gil de Zárate himself, an academician well connected with the government’s educational institutions.

The pedagogical nature of the 1854 edition is in fact one of its distinctive qualities. In addition, the RAE’s grammar shows a marked normative character and an acute awareness of the political importance of language. Because of these three salient characteristics, it can be considered, following Narvaja de Arnoux’s typology (2008b), a state grammar. Rather than as a set of rules for language, grammar, due to its normalizing and unifying power, can be understood as a practice that disciplines individuals into citizenship. Accordingly, grammar becomes a foundational discourse of modern states (Ramos 1993: 18), which upholds both the practical and the symbolic realization of the nation.

This political nature of grammar and the challenge posed by other texts can explain the RAE’s interest in the imposition of its *Gramática*. Parallel to the process of official recognition of its orthography, the corporation relied, once again, on its connections with the government and took advantage of the context of rapid and intense centralization of education. And, once more, they obtained the queen’s support: on September 28, 1854, Isabella II signed a Royal Decree asserting that “having listened to the Royal Council for Public Instruction, and in accordance with its opinion, [the queen] has declared the new edition of the *Grammar* of the Castilian language made by the Royal Spanish Academy the textbook for public education, and stated that it is recommended to all schools and high-schools of the Kingdom” (qtd. in Villalaín Benito 1997: 156). Although this legal document did not yet entail a full imposition of the RAE’s grammatical norm as mandatory and exclusive in education, its *Gramática* would enjoy, after this decree, not only official approval, but also the royal recommendation, a privilege not granted to other authorized textbooks at that time.

The concession of exclusivity to the RAE’s grammatical norm would come three years later, hand in hand with Spain’s first comprehensive educational law, the *ley Moyano*. Signed on September 9, 1857, the law stated that both the RAE’s grammar and its orthography would be the mandatory and only

norms to be taught in public education.³ The academicians' privileged political position – which, we argue, facilitated this imposition – is made evident once more by the fact that they knew about the officialization even before the ratification of the law: the minutes from the RAE's meeting held six days before the *ley Moyano* was made public recorded the “need” to work on grammatical textbooks specifically targeting elementary and secondary education and entrusted the composition of an *Epítome* and a *Compendio* to Manuel Bretón de los Herreros (1796–1873) and Eugenio Hartzenbusch (1806–80), respectively.

The context of emergence of the RAE's 1854 *Gramática* and its 1857 *Epítome* and *Compendio* – and the understanding of grammar “as a cultural artifact intensely engaged in a dialogue with its times” (Del Valle 2009: 885) – lead us to perceive the steps taken by the institution to gain official recognition of its grammatical norm as a strategy to recover their hegemonic status in the field. According to contemporary testimonies, the officialization of the grammar in 1857 did indeed entail the RAE's monopoly in education: only ten years later, Spanish printer and humanist Pascual Polo stated that “the language Academy has almost banned the introduction of any book other than its own on this subject [grammar] for elementary and secondary schools” (qtd. in Gómez Asencio 2004: 1322); and, by the end of the century, Simón Aguilar y Claramunt – a well-known Spanish pedagogue – asserted that “this Grammar, declared a mandatory and exclusive text by article 88 of the September 9, 1857 Law, has reigned supreme in official education, leaving other treatises on the matter only some hidden spots where they can, every now and then, raise deeply felt complaints” (qtd. in Calero Vaquera 1986: 269).

The RAE's control of the educational market became not only a permanent source of the corporation's authority but also a continuous source of income from the sale of grammar textbooks (Gómez Asencio 2004: 1316–21). According to the Marquis of Molins, director of the Academy between 1857 and 1868, more than one hundred thousand copies of the *Compendio* and seven hundred thousand copies of the *Epítome* had been printed by 1870 (Fries 1989: 86). The economic stimulus they brought took place during one of the worst crises suffered by the institution, ending “the, until then, chronic financial misery in the Academy” (86) and, thus, considerably boosting “the flourish of its activities during the second half of the nineteenth century” (87).

Interestingly enough, the officialization of the RAE's grammatical norm did not trigger a public debate or meet the opposition that the official recognition of orthography had confronted. Spelling is certainly a more suitable matter for linguistic ideological discussions, but there is a more powerful reason to explain this lack of reaction from the educational community. The ALCIP – the

³ The contents of this legal document can be found in http://personal.us.es/alporu/historia/ley_moyano_texto.htm.

organization that had actively rejected the imposition of the RAE's orthography – had been censured: “by Royal Decree on January 5, 1853, the suspension of the said Academy, as well as of the ones established in other provinces, was determined” (Academia de Maestros 1870: 5). The legal document that abolished those institutions justified the suspension of the teachers' associations on the grounds of “the untimeliness and harm caused by the matters and conflicts that some of them have promoted, bringing discredit on themselves” (qtd. in Molero Pintado 1994: 55). Antonio Gil de Zárate reappeared in this language-ideological debate to represent, in his salient *De la Instrucción pública en España* [Public instruction in Spain] (1855), the ALCIP and its members as sources of instability and decadence:

Madrid teachers, for their part, organized in an Academy labeled *scientific and literary* that promoted frequent scandals in their public meetings, declared themselves enemies of the general reform of elementary education, of the normal schools and of the teachers trained by them, and formed a coalition so that neither these teachers nor their methods penetrated in those establishments; hence everything remained in the same backward and decadent state. (239)

By suppressing the teachers' associations, the government had erased dissident voices and, therefore, won the battle over control of Spain's educational market. However, while this erasure was certainly an effective method to succeed in the process of becoming Spain's linguistic authority, we have argued that there was still another issue that decisively worked in favor of the RAE: its deep connections with the government (Fries 1989: 64–5). The excellent relations between the RAE and the administration have already been pointed out: on the one hand, it was once again the Council for Public Instruction – which included many members of the RAE – that was responsible for asking Queen Isabella II to give the 1854 grammatical text a special status; on the other, the academicians started to compose the 1857 *Epítome* and *Compendio* in order to satisfy the needs brought about by the *ley Moyano* even before the legal document was ratified. It seems reasonable to suggest that this coalition between state and RAE was embedded in the sociopolitical context of the nineteenth century: the linguistic institution relied on its relations with the government and, in turn, gave the state apparatus a state grammar that would reinforce the nation-building project by emphasizing normativity and offering a standard language for the nation (Narvaja de Arnoux 2008b: 210).

Contextualization and conclusions

The nineteenth century stands out for the large number of measures designed and implemented in order to promote state power and Spain's nation-building project. The liberal, progressive and moderate political parties that governed

Spain in the 1840s and 1850s took decisive steps in favor of economic development, the expansion of infrastructures, territorial reorganization, the administration's rebirth and the increase of power in the state's hands. During the central decades of Isabella II's reign, coinciding with the period covered by this chapter, the Spanish police force – *Guardia Civil* – was set up (1844), the Treasury was reformed with a new tax system (1845), a centralizing model was imposed over local and provincial administrations, the uniformity of the legal system began to be feasible thanks to the 1848 Penal Code, trade and communications were improved with the Railroad General Plan (1852) and the Railroad General Law (1855), the stock market was reorganized, the 1856 Banking Law was signed and the Bank of Spain was created (Arias Castañón 1998: 33–7).

As part of this nation-building project and the subsequent centralization of state institutions, public education was also promoted as a strategic site to spread national practices and representations. In consequence, the nineteenth century witnessed the central government's recurrent efforts to consolidate a national school system by enacting education laws and establishing mechanisms to supervise public instruction. For instance, Madrid's Normal School [*Escuela Normal de Madrid*] and the Council for Public Instruction, in charge, respectively, of controlling teacher training and instructors' practices, were instituted in 1839 and 1843. Regarding the legal underpinnings of education, several legislative initiatives – such as the *ley Someruelos* for elementary schools (1838) and the *plan Pidal* for secondary and university instruction (1845) – undertook a regulation of the public school system in the first half of the century that culminated in 1857 with the signing of the already mentioned *ley Moyano* (Puelles Benítez 1999, 2004).

This drastic intervention of the state in education brought about a deep reorganization of the market which entailed the rearrangement of structures of power and control over decision-making. In this context, the RAE began to position itself as Spain's linguistic authority and, along the way, accomplished a worthy goal: the officialization of its orthographic and grammatical norms in Spain's schools. The first two sections of this chapter have shown the coexistence of these two processes – namely, the rise of the RAE and the restructuring of education – by analyzing the public debate over orthography that involved the government, the RAE and the ALCIP. Following Blommaert (1999), I have characterized it as a language-ideological debate and placed the focus of analysis on “human agency, political intervention, power and authority” (5). While language is undoubtedly a central topic in this orthographic episode, the debate itself is also “part of more general sociolinguistic processes, . . . sociopolitical developments, conflicts and struggles” (2). As we have shown, it reproduces a wider controversy among different approaches to Spain's nation-building project as well as the struggle between the state's centralization initiatives

and the non-governmental organizations' resistance to its rapidly increasing accumulation of power.

Literacy, as this orthographic episode clearly shows, should be understood as a political matter rather than as a merely technical activity (Woolard 1998: 23). Discussion of specific linguistic features was, indeed, almost completely absent in our corpus. Instead, the participants in this debate put forward a great many arguments to defend the legitimacy of their dictation of the norms of linguistic correction in education. It seems evident, then, that this debate goes beyond the limits of the linguistic terrain: the control over educational spaces is what is really at stake (Villa 2011). The main goal of this study has been, precisely, to bring to the forefront the sociopolitical environment surrounding the emergence of the standard spelling system that, with minor changes, is still accepted and widely used today in the Spanish-speaking world. Placing the political context at the heart of the analysis has led us to emphasize the agency of *all* parties involved in the debate, and, thus, to consider both the teachers' simplification initiative and the RAE's officialization as disputed and ideologically laden projects.

The competition to control language and education inclined to the RAE and the central government. The third section of this chapter has studied the officialization of grammar in close connection with the sociopolitical context of mid-nineteenth-century Spain. The revitalization of grammatical activity within the corporation and the steps taken by its members to give their norms an officially recognized special status have been understood not as part of a neutral standardization process but rather as purposeful movements to occupy a hegemonic position in the linguistic market. The analysis concluded that the exceptional relations of the RAE with the government and other state institutions, particularly educational ones, were determinant for achieving the officialization of its grammar (and its orthography), for erasing the resistance to its project and, thus, for confirming its authority in language. In fact, those links were so strong in the central decades of the nineteenth century that we barely find academicians that did not hold, at some point in their lives, positions of responsibility in Spain's administration: members of parliament, ministers, directors of the National Library, of the General Direction of Public Instruction, and presidents of the Ministers' Council swelled the ranks of the RAE between 1843 and 1857.

Placing the focus on the *political* history of standard Spanish, this chapter has unveiled a historical struggle behind the emergence of linguistic authorities and official norms in the central years of the nineteenth century that has often been neglected in traditional representations of the historiography of Spanish. Dominant discourses on the history of standard Spanish have actually contributed to a neutralization of its context of emergence and to a naturalization of the linguistic norms and authorities themselves by erasing the RAE's agency

in the historical process. This chapter, in contrast, has paid attention to the crucial role that the institution as a whole and some particular academicians, such as Antonio Gil de Zárate, played in achieving the officialization of its orthographic and grammatical norms, as well as to their active participation in the struggle over the monopolization of the linguistic and educational markets in mid-nineteenth-century Spain. Discussion over the institutionalization of the Spanish language is, of course, not a process exclusive to the period covered by this study; quite the opposite, contestation from different sources – powerful groups within Spain, Spain's periphery movements and Latin American intellectuals – would actually increase in the following decades (Del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman 2004; many contributions to this volume). However, the 1840s and 1850s deserve more scholarly attention because they witnessed the development of a strong alliance between the state and the RAE. The former granted the cultural institution a special status and a national character that made it possible for the corporation to become Spain's linguistic authority, for its norms to be made mandatory and for its activities to be invigorated thanks to an economic growth. The RAE, in turn, provided Spain's political authorities with a standard language that made it possible to develop the nation (both in its material and symbolic dimensions) and to form the national citizens through the public school system – as Antonio Gil de Zárate's passionate statement on the ideological potential of education suggests.

8 Spanish and other languages of Spain in the Second Republic

Henrique Monteagudo

“The question of co-official languages is as complex as that of shared sovereignty. It is the very heart of national unity.”

Miguel de Unamuno, 1931

The Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed in April 1931, shortly after the collapse of Primo de Rivera’s dictatorship, which in 1930 had led to the fall of the monarchy. Elections were called in June 1931, and over the ensuing months (1931–3) parliament hosted numerous debates aimed at discussing and drawing up a new constitution. The election was won by a coalition of republicans and socialists. The latter had the largest number of members of parliament (MPs), followed by groups of various ideological persuasions: moderate center-right, left and center-left and right-wing republican parties. Catalan, Galician, and Basque and Navarre nationalists also won a considerable number of seats (Casanova 2007: 3–37). Intellectuals played a leading role in the advent of the Republic (Tusell and García Queipo de Llano 1990), which is reflected in the surprisingly large number of them who won seats in this election: out of a total 446 MPs, there were 47 writers and journalists and 45 university professors (Bécarud and López Campillo 1978: 34). It is not by chance that the Second Republic was labeled a republic of intellectuals.

One of the first decisions made by the republican government was to initiate the process of devolution, through legal recognition of self-government, to Spain’s internal nations. Thus, the *Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña* was approved in a referendum held in August 1931 and authorized the use of Catalan in schools through implementation of bilingual policies. Almost at the same time, an assembly of Basque and Navarre councils approved a project for a Statute of Autonomy, and a similar initiative was undertaken in Galicia. Inevitably, the question of devolution played a central role in the political discussions of the time as well as in the parliamentary debates surrounding the new constitution. Closely connected with devolution were issues like state organization, national identity and the question of the official recognition of Basque, Catalan and Galician.

My aim in this chapter is to analyze the discussions on the political status of Spanish in relation to the other Spanish languages at that time, especially as that status was reflected in the constitutional debates. I will focus first on the discourses on Spanish, especially on its history. It will be recalled that the republican constitution was the first in Spanish history to give Spanish legal recognition as an official language, simultaneously opening the gate for legal recognition of the other languages of Spain. From a historical point of view, it must be highlighted that the formula which was finally chosen in 1931 was an obvious precedent for the formula enshrined in the democratic Constitution of 1978.

Secondly, I will discuss the role played by intellectuals in forging and legitimizing the aforementioned discourses, focusing especially on Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936), Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869–1968) and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz (1893–1984). All three count among the most prominent figures of Spanish national culture at the time of the Second Republic, with groundbreaking contributions in the fields of literature, language, philology and history (Tusell and Queipo de Llano 1990: 19–38; Varela 1999: 229–57, 293–321). Unamuno, president of the University of Salamanca, was an acclaimed writer who accrued huge prestige as an intellectual, especially through his journalistic columns and his public speeches.¹ Menéndez Pidal was director of the *Real Academia Española* and a founding figure of Spanish philology as an academic discipline (Portolés 1986: 45–83). Albornoz was a professor of Spanish history at the University of Madrid and a leading member of *Acción Republicana*, one of the governing parties. Both Albornoz and Unamuno were among the most active members in parliament.

Unamuno: ‘The discursive creator of the Spanish Republic’

Unamuno, arguably the most influential Spanish intellectual of his time, made a series of public interventions on the topics that concern us in this chapter. He delivered three important parliamentary speeches: one in September–October 1931, in the context of the constitutional debates, and two in July 1932, in the parliamentary debates about Catalan self-government. In the constitutional debates he voiced his opposition to devolution and the regions’ self-government, and expressed his preference for a centralized state (1931i). In line with these views, he submitted a couple of constitutional amendments, one against the full recognition of languages other than Spanish (Unamuno 1931j), the other about the powers to be devolved to the regions and the languages to be used in

¹ Unamuno was hailed, in a petition signed on July 22, 1931 by a large group of intellectuals to support his presidential candidacy, as the “creador verbal de la República española,” that is, the “discursive creator of the Spanish Republic” (Rabaté and Rabaté 2009: 583).

education (1931k).² Regarding the *Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña*, he filed one amendment about the official status of Catalan (1932c) and another about the proposed powers over education to be devolved to the Catalan government (1932d).

Unamuno also voiced his views in numerous journalistic columns, where he reiterated and expanded on the views he expressed in parliament. He contributed thus to shaping Spanish public opinion on these matters, although he repeatedly argued that he was merely acting as a spokesperson for the common views of the public.³ Thus, on the one hand, in one of his speeches he claimed to be a privileged representative of the whole nation (“I don’t want to say on behalf of whom I am speaking; it might seem smug if I say that *I am speaking here on behalf of Spain*,” the emphasis is ours), but, on the other hand, he admitted he was aware of “his share of responsibility in shaping Spanish public opinion” (2008: 1034, 1048). Moreover, at the end of this speech he claims to be surprised at the excessively passionate turn the debates on language had taken, failing to mention the role he himself had played in arousing such passions (2008: 1058).

As we will see below, his reference to the inflamed passions of the general public is a characteristic feature in the discourses of those who were reluctant, if not directly opposed, to grant official recognition to the so-called regional languages. Unamuno was indeed the leader of a faction of parliamentary hardliners who championed opposition to the rights of minority languages.

National religion, language worship and imperialism

Unamuno wanted to transfer to the Republic the intellectual and political projects of his own generation, the so-called Generation of 98, to which scholars attributed the “invention of Spain” (Fox 1997; Varela 1999: 9–16, 145–76). In particular, he tried to endow Spanish and national identity with a kind of mystic aura (Resina 2002). On this point his discourse displays two of the characteristic traits of modern nationalist discourse: the displacement of the sacred from religion to politics (Álvarez Junco 1993) and the “ethnicization of the polity” (Grillo 1980 and 1989: 23–9). Thus, he described the process that turned Spain into a nation as a substitution of national culture for the monarchy and Catholicism as defining features of collective identity. Unamuno himself contributed significantly, along many other liberal nationalist intellectuals, to the project of nationalization of Spanish culture. As he says: “the State – and

² To make consultation easy, I will be referring to Unamuno’s parliamentary speeches, in Unamuno 2008. For simplicity, I will henceforth omit the name of the author when the reference is clear.

³ Most of these columns are collected in Unamuno 1979 and 1984. We are quoting from Unamuno 1931a, 1931h, 1931i, 1931m, 1932a, 1932b and 1932e.

this is the heart of liberalism – must play an active role in the field of culture, especially against the church. The cultural struggle, *Kulturkampf*, becomes a necessity.”⁴ In Unamuno scholarship it has become almost a commonplace to emphasize his attempts to infuse politics with religious rhetoric (Rabaté and Rabaté 2009: 317). Indeed, he once described his own political role as being that of a “culture priest” (2008: 1066).

In his press columns Unamuno repeatedly praised “popular, secular, national and traditional” religion, which constituted for him the “soul of the nation.”⁵ The most sacred dogma in this religious version of Spanish nationalism is that of national unity, which, in his view, was achieved through divine will (Unamuno 1979: 103). The historical process that led to the unity of Spain is seen as the teleological development of a God-given plan. This is the reason why Spanish history, because of its divine origins and transcendental status, becomes an object of worship. “The nation, the fatherland,” he claimed, “is kept alive through our worshipping of History, of a past which is unchanging, of an eternal past which at the same time is an eternal present and an eternal future, which is eternity itself, history itself. Worshipping the dead is worshipping not death, but immortality” (1979: 92, 131). It is difficult to find a clearer formulation of his understanding of the nation: since it belongs to the realm of the sacred, the nation has a non-historical and non-temporal essence which is immortal and eternal, and lies beyond human reach (1979: 97).

Unamuno rejects Rousseau’s theory of the social contract, including the doctrine of federalism (1979: 81–2, 103), holding instead that national unity must be achieved after a free confrontation between the constitutive groups, whereby the winner, as the strongest group, imposes its language and culture on the others. In practice, in the case of Spain the main contenders are Castile and Catalonia, both of which, in conjunction with all the other regions, must try to dominate all the other peoples: “let them conquer us, or let us all conquer each other” (2008: 1045).⁶ This is the reason he opposes an agreement with Catalan nationalists: “With this we want to avoid civil war. Some civil wars lead to true unity between peoples. Before civil war, unity is false, after civil war there is true unity” (2008: 1069). Unamuno’s idea of a reciprocal conquering between the various peoples of Spain seems to be either a utopian wish or else simply an attempt to legitimate the right of the strongest group to culturally “conquer” the others.

Now if history acts as a guarantee for the transcendence of the nation, the Castilian language is a kind of thread “uniting the historical generations, making

⁴ Speech delivered in Bilbao in 1908 (Unamuno 2008: 239).

⁵ Unamuno 1932b: 140. See also 1931b: 57, 1931m: 119, 1932a: 137.

⁶ This notion of “civil war” is not new in Unamuno’s work, even though scholars emphasized it only recently (Rabaté and Rabaté 2009: 59: 130). He borrowed this from Herbert Spencer, of whom he had long been an admirer and follower.

continuity possible.” The language creates a “human, historical, spiritual race [*raza*],” it is “what turns us into a community, what creates our communion through space and time” (1984: 121). Closely connected with this is the idea of Spanish/Castilian as the spiritual foundation of the Spanish Empire: “Who cares if a part of our spiritual community or spiritual race [*raza espiritual*] is split politically from us, if it continues to think by means of our spiritual blood, by means of our language?” (1984: 122). Furthermore, this worship of language is not just an integral part of the national religion, as it also becomes a kind of religion of empire: “there is religiousness in language. And this religiousness is an integral part of the great Hispanic race [*raza hispánica*] on both sides of the Atlantic” (1984: 122–3). We see here how Spanish linguistic nationalism takes on an imperial character, not just with regard to the Americas, but also inside the Iberian Peninsula itself (Del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman 2002b: 6–7).

National sentiment versus regional resentment

The sacred unity of Spain is projected into the future as a shared Spanish national mission. Unamuno uses such a notion in order to differentiate the noble *sentiment* associated with the sacredness of the Spanish nation-state from the regional *resentment* which he sees negatively insofar as it challenges the former. Thus, in a parliamentary discussion about the official character of the other languages of Spain, Unamuno started by recognizing that “this issue lies, no doubt, at the very heart of national unity and is what most arouses national sentiment,” to conclude in a lyrical tone with a celebration of a sort of mystical fusion of his own body with the transcendental nation, embodied in its History, its land and its language. It is with the final rest in the bosom of the motherland, when historical time is suspended, that the survival of the Spanish language ensures his individual transcendence:

I feel I am walking down, little by little, under the weight not of years but of centuries full of memories stemming from History, toward the final and well-deserved rest, into my deathbed, the maternal earth of our Spain, to lie there waiting for the sounds of one single Spanish language to echo in the grass that grows above me. (2008: 1047)⁷

Unamuno’s passion for Spanish, indeed the *pathos* of religious communion with the language, the nation and the soil, so vividly expressed in this quotation, contrasts starkly with the little affection he showed for “regional” languages. Indeed, he even denounces the excess of sentimentality in which regional

⁷ This kind of emotional rhetoric about the afterlife is not new in Unamuno. See the end of a talk he gave in Bilbao in 1905 (Unamuno 2008: 747). It also appears in a newspaper column of this period (Unamuno 1979: 90).

language supporters allegedly indulge: “I want to make it clear that I will avoid the sentimental tone which, regrettably, has often accompanied discussion of these issues”; “supporters of non-official, regional languages have all too often approached this issue sentimentally, rather than politically” (2008: 1107–8). For him, “the so-called personality of the regions” is to a great extent no more than a “sentimental myth” (1979: 83). His contrast between *sentimientos* and *resentimientos* briefly encapsulates his opposed feelings for the different languages of Spain, the positive sentiment he associates with Castilian and Spain versus “local resentment” (1979: 98), which is peculiar to regional “*resentful* peoples” (1979: 93–4). Sometimes his dislike for regional languages is voiced in a hardly disguised aggressive tone: “I believe one must hurt sentiment and resentment,” he once said in a discussion about the topic in focus (2008: 1034).

He encapsulates the plight of both the Spanish nation and the Spanish language in a powerful metaphor: Spain as a crucified Jesus. Thus, just like the inscription on the cross, which was written in three languages, so Spain was being turned into a “trilingual country,” where everything is going to be written “in the languages that divided parents from their children, brothers and sisters from their brothers and sisters, in the languages of particular sentiment and resentment, instead of the Spanish language, which has a universal, imperial sense” (1984: 72). It should not come as a surprise that just a few months after its proclamation he expressed (Unamuno 1979: 88–9) his feeling of distance toward the Republic specifically because it granted regional autonomy and official status to regional languages.⁸

Language struggle and bilingualism

Unamuno found academic and scientific backing for his linguistic nationalism in biology, more specifically in evolutionary doctrines about the survival of the fittest. The history of languages is, according to this view, modeled on nature and is ultimately determined by biological laws (Huarte Morton 1954: 90–2). This is the reason why Unamuno believes that any attempt at modifying natural development of languages through social and political intervention is doomed to fail (2008: 1114). Herbert Spencer’s social doctrines were reinforced and complemented by the positivist faith in the progressive character of the laws of human development leading inescapably towards the unity of the whole of humanity. The idea that the whole of humanity would one day speak one single

⁸ He had made repeated pronouncements on this during the months that preceded the constitutional debates; for example: “No, Spain cannot be sacrificed for the sake of the Republic” (Unamuno 1979: 98); “if in the end the Republic dies, Spain can engender a new one, but if Spain dies, there will not be another Republic” (Unamuno 2008: 1104).

language was a corollary of the belief in the future unity of the human race (Williams 1992: 1–8, 16–17).

The bulk of Unamuno's ideas on the question of language unity were already present in a speech he gave at the Poetry Floral Games (*Juegos Florales*) in Bilbao in 1901, where he made explicit his belief in a natural teleological plan inevitably leading to a final state of linguistic unity. He cautions, however, that this process of progressive development toward unity "cannot be imposed extemporaneously or from the outside by force. Self-interest alone will achieve what cannot be achieved by means of governmental decisions" (Unamuno 1968: 241). This is the reason why he opposes any legal and political decision that might interfere with this natural tendency towards unity. Thus, although he opposed the repression exerted on minority languages under Primo de Rivera, he firmly believed that the hegemony of Spanish was a historical necessity, and therefore became a fierce opponent of the policies of official recognition for "regional" languages: "official status should not be granted to any language other than Castilian, the national language" (Unamuno 1966: 436). So Unamuno's attitude of tolerance towards "regional" languages must be understood in the sense that he trusted that, through natural selection, the "national" language would prevail in the end (Juaristi 1997: 65–135).

Unamuno understands that this process of unification will come about spontaneously through the fusion of the weakest with the strongest languages: "The problem of the multiplicity of languages will be solved through integration, perhaps through reduction to a multiplicity of styles within one common language. Dialects should not be repressed, just allowed to fuse with the strongest language, in accordance with the laws of nature" (Unamuno 2008: 963–4). This idea of evolution through fusion of languages, borrowed from pre-comparative linguistics, allows Unamuno to present "Spanish" not simply as a more developed form of "Castilian," but as a sort of ongoing synthesis of all the languages of the Peninsula (2008: 1101). He sees bilingualism merely as a transition stage which will sooner or later lead to language assimilation, this being another reason for his stubborn stance against the official recognition of bilingualism: "official recognition of bilingualism," he says, "is nonsense and fighting assimilation is a disaster" (1979: 82–3). Thus, in order to justify his opposition to the recognition of co-official status for Catalan, he argues that since this is a question of language biology, "lawmakers have no business here." Further, he has recourse to the alleged authority of science to claim that there is no true bilingual country anywhere: "when a country is allowed to become bilingual, it ends up by, first, mixing up the two languages and, finally, by combining them till they fuse into one" (2008: 1104).⁹

⁹ In a lecture at the Liceo Andaluz on May 7, 1932 on the topic of bilingualism in the Basque Country and Catalonia, he argues that bilingualism "can only be a transitional state" (qtd. in Rabaté and Rabaté 2009: 597–98).

Rather than an academic philologist, Unamuno was an ideologue of language or, as he has been called, a “language priest” (Huarte Morton 1954: 7–29). Jon Juaristi claims that Unamuno, “in his self-appointed mission as a bard, prevented other possible discourses about the Basques to emerge and gain public recognition” (Juaristi 1997: 107). I would claim that this is also what he tried to achieve in the language field: to prevent the emergence of alternative, more egalitarian and democratic discourses that might challenge the hegemony of Spanish.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal: the Spanish language and the Spanish nation

In parliamentary debates Menéndez Pidal was often quoted as a universally recognized scientific authority on historical and linguistic matters. Indeed, his authoritative accounts of the history of Spain and of the Spanish language were met with such wide acclaim that by that time they had arguably acquired canonical status. The narratives he constructed, however, were not ideologically neutral (Del Valle 2002a). In fact, it could be said that his historical narratives provide the single most important intellectual contribution to the ideological underpinning of modern Spanish nationalism (Abellán 1993: vol. VII, 203–7 and Varela 1999: 238–50). It is not surprising, then, that he was often quoted in support of the view of Spain as a single nation-state under the hegemony of Castilian Spanish, and against granting rights to the other languages of Spain. For example, the Castilian MP Antonio Royo Villanova repeatedly quoted Menéndez Pidal in support of his amendment to keep a clear reference to the sovereignty of “*la Nación Española*” (the Spanish Nation) in the final draft of the Constitution. According to Royo’s views, the national character of Spain is something “unquestionable, unavoidable” (Mori 1932: vol. II, 54), unlike Catalonia which, for him, is not a nation, because it is simply grounded in the possession of a different language. For him, the mere existence of a language is not sufficient to ground a nation: “the nation is *not* the language,” he claimed; rather, “what makes a nation is national consciousness” (Mori 1932: vol. II, 56).

At first sight, it might seem surprising to find that someone like Menéndez Pidal was quoted, from a centralist perspective, to the effect that nations were not simply grounded in language. In fact, this might not be considered surprising if we bear in mind that for him nations are defined primarily by ethnic and racial elements – including psychological traits – and the privileged mode of expression of their national spirit is literature, rather than language (Menéndez Pidal 1962 [1921]: 14–15). However, it is interesting to note that this rejection of the link between language and nation always takes place in the context of debates and controversies about the national character of “regions” like Catalonia (Monteagudo 2000b).

Our eminent philologist argues, however, for a Spanish national character in a couple of articles published in the newspaper *El Sol*.¹⁰ Menéndez Pidal rejects the idea, put forward by Catalan nationalists, that Spain is a state but not a single nation. As he puts it, Spain is “the most homogeneous of the greatest European nations in linguistic and racial terms,” clearly differentiated from the “heterogeneous and autocratic” empires with which “extremist nationalisms” – meaning peripheral nationalisms – want to associate it (1931a). He argues that the Spanish nation was constituted historically, well established from around the thirteenth century (1931b). In this narrative, he accords Castile a leading role: “[Castile] had a clear vision for great collective endeavours, and its hegemony was well deserved in historical terms, rather than a product of mere chance.” Menéndez Pidal believed in the cultural superiority of Castile over the other peoples of Spain, and the metaphor he chose to express it was unambiguous: Castile reached “the highest peaks in the curve of culture in Spain” (1931a), which endowed her with a “stronger power of attraction and assimilation over the other peninsular peoples.” He insisted that the spread of Castilian over the Peninsula had nothing to do with the political hegemony of Castile. For him it was a merely cultural phenomenon, as he explicitly emphasized “the non-political character of the spread of the central language over the regions” (1931a).¹¹

Further, Menéndez Pidal also made use of a purportedly scientific argument borrowed from historical linguistics to support his thesis of a natural, age-old tendency for all peninsular language varieties to fuse with central Castilian. He invoked the linguistic map of the north of the Peninsula which, instead of sharp linguistic frontiers, displays large grey transition zones where the different language varieties mingle with each other. This for him is evidence of “the centuries-old phenomenon of the mixing of all Peninsular cultures, of the fusion of the peripheral languages with the central language” (1931a). We have already encountered this notion of a kind of natural and spontaneous drift towards unity in Unamuno. Menéndez Pidal is making a similar point here, this time grounding unity on the allegedly objective facts provided by historical linguistics, but fails to provide a convincing explanation for this natural “spontaneous drift” towards unity and fusion with Castilian.

Menéndez Pidal generally had a more tolerant attitude toward the other Spanish languages than Unamuno and was better disposed toward their official recognition and introduction in school curricula. Although he could be considered a moderate supporter of the policies of bilingualism, he always insisted that

¹⁰ Menéndez Pidal 1931a and 1931b. *El Sol* also published an interview with Menéndez Pidal shortly afterwards dealing with most of the issues that interest us here (Arbeloa and Santiago 1981: 211–17).

¹¹ This argument had been put forward by him in an article published much earlier (Menéndez Pidal 1902).

the “bilingual regions” like Galicia, the Basque Country and Catalonia should never attempt to get rid of Spanish, and this for two reasons. First, Spanish was part and parcel of these region’s identities as a result of their “centuries-old coexistence,” and secondly, Spanish could counter “regional parochialism,” given that it was a widely spoken language. Thus, Menéndez Pidal underscored the role of the school as a guarantee for the survival of Spanish in these “regions” (1931a).

The state, through its educational institutions, is entrusted with the mission of bolstering national consciousness. If this mission fails, then the preexisting Spanish nation runs the risk of collapsing and turning simply into . . . a state. There is something paradoxical here. On the one hand, Menéndez Pidal seems to be simply asserting an essentialist concept of the Spanish nation, insofar as he sees it as the result of an unproblematic and natural process of historical development, as we saw above. On the other hand, the very existence of the nation seems to depend on the political role of the state in bolstering national consciousness. It is true that, in his historical and linguistic narratives, he used concepts like “hegemony” and “prestige,”¹² which correctly point to the central role of politics. However, he never quite abandoned the sharp distinction between culture and politics, and the paradox remained.

Articles 4 and 48/50 of the Constitution

In order to give readers a better understanding of the context in which these debates took place, I will briefly summarize the process of elaboration of the new republican constitution (Jiménez de Asúa 1932). Shortly after the proclamation of the Republic, the provisional government appointed a Technical Committee with the task of writing a first draft for the new constitution. Later, another committee was appointed by the newly elected parliament with the charge of writing the final draft of the constitution, which was to be submitted for discussion, amendment and approval at plenary sessions in parliament. We already mentioned the dispute caused by the use of the term “nation” in the preamble, but the most important controversies arose in connection with discussion of articles 4 and 48 of the final draft (4 and 50 in the definitive text of the constitution), dealing, respectively, with the official standing of

¹² From the beginning of the twentieth century, some European linguists – Gilliéron, Meillet, Bartoli – explained the spread of languages outside their original areas as a process of external irradiation from a culturally influential central point. For the so-called French sociological school and the Italian “neolinguistic” school the outward spread of languages was not due to state coercion, but to the superior cultural prestige these languages have accrued and which speakers of neighboring areas were spontaneously willing to accept. The notions of (language) *prestige* and (social and political) *hegemony* also feature prominently in the work of Antonio Gramsci, who underscores the relations between culture, politics and the state. See Lo Piparo 1979: 103–51, Rosiello 1982 and Ives 2004.

Castilian vis-à-vis the other languages, and the devolution of education powers to regional governments, which included the power to decide on educational language policies.

From our point of view it is interesting to consider the significant differences between all three versions of the constitution – that is, the first draft, the final draft and the definitive text. It should be recalled that as the constitution was under elaboration, in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia preparatory work had already started towards writing their respective *estatutos de autonomía*, all of which included articles relative to language. The amendments to articles 4 and 48/50 which appear in the final draft and the definitive version all go in the direction of limiting the devolution of power to the regions and securing a higher legal status for Castilian to the detriment of the other languages. These changes and amendments were proposed by all state-wide majority parties, both left-wing and right-wing. It seems surprising that representatives of peripheral nationalist parties did not propose any amendments (with the exception of Galician nationalists: Monteagudo 2000a and 2000b) or participate much in parliamentary debates.

Of the seven proposals to amend article 4, just one was accepted for consideration (*DSCCRE* 40–1).¹³ One of the most restrictive amendments for “regional” languages was put forward by a liberal group called *Al Servicio de la República* [In the Service of the Republic], to which Unamuno and other well-known intellectuals belonged. Unamuno himself was responsible for proposing and defending this amendment which, after discussion in parliament, was approved and included in the definitive version of the constitution. Thus, article 4 of the final text reads:

Castilian is the official language of the Republic. All Spanish citizens are entitled to use it and obliged to know it, without detriment to the rights that state laws might grant to regional and provincial languages. Unless special laws stipulate otherwise, knowledge or use of regional languages does not constitute a legal requirement for anyone.

Regarding article 48/50, there were ten proposed amendments (*DSCCRE* 60–1; see Jiménez de Asúa 1932: 308–17 and Azaña 1981: vol. I, 244–7). Alongside Unamuno, Albornoz played a leading role in the discussion of amendments and in the negotiation of the final contents of this article, which was the result of an agreement between centre-left republicans and Catalan nationalists:

Autonomous regions shall be able to organize education in their respective languages, in accordance with the powers granted to them in their Statutes of Autonomy. The study of

¹³ *DSCCRE* = *Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Constituyentes de la República Española* [Record Book Proceedings of the Constituent Parliament of the Spanish Republic]. Book and page numbers are given in parentheses.

the Castilian language is compulsory, and it shall also be used as a vehicular language in all primary and secondary schools in the autonomous regions. The state shall be able to create or preserve teaching institutions at all educational levels in the official language of the Republic.

Unamuno is responsible, to a great extent, for including both the obligation for all Spaniards to know Castilian in article 4 and the obligation for bilingual regions to provide education with Spanish as a medium of instruction. This was an important precedent for the 1978 constitution, which also includes the obligation to know Castilian. As for the question of the availability of education in Spanish in Catalan schools, it is no less well known that it has constantly been an object of concern – and media hype – for Spanish nationalism since the Generalitat (the Catalan government) started to implement Catalan immersion policies.

Parliamentary debates: intransigent versus conciliatory stances

One striking aspect of the parliamentary debates is the relatively low-key participation of representatives from peripheral nationalisms, who apparently preferred to work behind the scenes and reach agreements with other groups than to engage in public controversies. In the course of debates, two main positions emerged among representatives of majority state-wide parties: first, the *intransigent* stance of those who, like Unamuno, strongly opposed both regional devolution and the co-official recognition of Basque, Catalan and Galician. A second group of MPs showed a more *conciliatory* attitude, accepting both a certain form of decentralization of state power and some form of legal recognition to languages other than Spanish. Their priority was to consolidate the republican regime, and, in order to achieve this, it was important for them to include peripheral nationalists into the constitutional agreement, especially the influential Catalan left nationalists.

Critical MPs often justified their intransigent stance by arguing that they were simply acting as spokespersons for the whole of Spain, as Unamuno did, usually equating Spanish public opinion with Castilian public opinion. There were constant warnings about the importance of these issues and the possible alarm these might cause to the public. Manuel Azaña, prime minister, Castilian MP and leader of a left-wing republican group, warned about the risk of inflaming the passions of the public: “there is nothing more sensitive, nothing which causes more irritation, than the language question” (*DSCCRE* 61: 1891). Along these lines, other MPs insisted on the centrality of language for more general questions about identity, sovereignty, power and nationality. Within the critical or intransigent camp, use of apocalyptic rhetoric and alarmist tone were

frequent, for example when they talked of “relinquishing the cultural mission of the state,” “abandoning our centuries-old spiritual heritage,” and even of “high treachery.”

While for critics of devolution and minority language rights the hegemony of Spanish was a necessary condition to guarantee Spain’s spiritual unity, the feared risk of dismemberment was downplayed by the conciliatory camp, which emphasized instead that a tolerant official attitude towards other languages could be helpful for establishing a new sense of peaceful coexistence among all Spaniards. As Albornoz, one of the most distinguished “conciliatory” MPs, put it: “Spain already has geographical, racial, cultural and spiritual unity, and it also has unity of destiny.” He does not see recognition of language and political rights to minorities as a threat to the common national project: “only if we concede maximum liberties and maximum recognition to regional languages will we all be able to feel comfortable within this State we are all helping to build” (*DSCCRE* 61: 1884–7). Note, though, that he speaks of *conceding*, from a position of superiority, recognition to *regional* languages.

In spite of these differences, both intransigent and conciliatory MPs, from the left and from the right, still had quite a lot in common, as they all relied on the then dominant narrative about the linguistic history of Spain. Andrés Ovejero, a socialist MP and a literature professor at the University of Madrid, went the furthest in this direction when he claimed that “our Castilian language was already an official language in Catalonia and Navarre two centuries before they were politically united with Castile” (*DSCCRE* 40: 994), something which flies in the face of all historical evidence. Albornoz, more cautiously but no less significantly, ascribed the hegemony of Castilian to the “genius” of the “race,” again displacing the causes of the process from the sociopolitical field into an allegedly detached realm of learned high culture:

It was the genius of Castile, spurred by the sharpest minds of our race, which determined that the regions of Galicia and Catalonia, purely out of their free will, adopted our language, our culture and our arts. (*DSCCRE* 61: 1885)

There were numerous alarmist warnings coming from the intransigent camp about the catastrophic consequences that official recognition of Catalan, Basque and Galician would bring about. Thus, Abilio Calderón suggested that all action which was not aimed at defending Castilian was “detrimental to our language, hurtful to our patriotic feelings and prejudicial to our moral and economic interests.” And, characteristically, he also warned of the risk of Spain becoming a new Tower of Babel, at the same time as Spanish disappeared from Catalonia in a single generation (*DSCCRE* 40: 990–1). From the conciliatory camp they replied that these fears were unjustified. Eduardo Ortega, for example, expressed his total faith in “the vitality, the biological, universal force of Castilian, which must always prevail under any circumstances” (*DSCCRE* 61:

1897). Along similar lines, according to Alborno, Castilians should not be concerned in the slightest about the future of their language, since the latter's future is "absolutely guaranteed." Alborno does not fear for the unity of Spain either, as he believes the latter will always exist as long as this world exists. He even trusts that "Castilian culture will flourish in Catalonia the moment they stop seeing it as imposed" (*DSCCRE* 61: 1884–7).

As we see in these quotations, the question was often presented in terms of a confrontation between Castilian culture, often equated with Spanish culture, and Catalan culture. This is consistent with the already mentioned fact that some of the MPs seemed to be acting as *Castilian* MPs, rather than *Spanish* MPs. "It is the state's duty to protect and to teach Castilian culture," said the conservative Miguel Maura, who also reproached Catalan nationalist representatives "trying to impose *your Catalan* spirit at *your* universities, to the exclusion of the *Castilian* spirit" (*DSCCRE* 61: 1889–1). On hearing this reproach, Manuel Azaña himself replied angrily: "Catalan culture is as Spanish as our culture, and both are an integral part of this country and this Republic" (*DSCCRE* 61: 1892–3).¹⁴

The old question of the name of the language, *español* or *castellano*, was also debated in relation to proposed amendments of article 4. In fact, perhaps this apparently inconsequential question of the naming of the language encapsulates better than anything else the true political stakes of this whole debate. Initially, *Spanish* seems to have been the preferred option for a majority. Nationalists from the peripheries rejected this and claimed that the other languages should also be considered Spanish languages. The Galician Daniel Castelao, for example, argued that Galician should be considered "as Spanish a language as Castilian" (*DSCCRE* 41: 1013–14), and the Catalan Gabriel Alomar went further when he complained that equating Castilian and Spanish was an "insult" to Catalonia and the other regions: "my Catalan language, Basque and Galician are all Spanish languages" (*DSCCRE* 40: 996–7). In the end *castellano*, Castilian, was the preferred choice for both Castilian centralists and peripheral nationalists, although probably for opposite reasons.

Conclusion: "the heart of national unity"

We have identified a contradiction at the heart of what we have termed the "intransigent" discourse. On the one hand, they assert the inherent, natural superiority of Castilian language and culture, denying thereby that politics, in the form of state intervention, had played a major role in bringing about this region's hegemony. One wonders why, then, they opposed official recognition for the other languages so vehemently. One cannot avoid the feeling that their

¹⁴ On Azaña's views about Spanish nationalisms, see Blas Guerrero 1991: 124–33.

insistence on preserving the privileged position of Spanish in education and other state-related domains reveals that they believed, more than they were prepared to admit, that the political action of the state is ultimately determining for achieving language hegemony. This could be the best way to refute their thesis about the intrinsic superiority of Castilian, pointing instead to the true political factors lying behind its hegemony. On this point the conciliatory camp seems to have been more consistent: they were convinced that no form of official recognition of the other languages would be enough to challenge the superior strength of Castilian language and culture.¹⁵

We have pointed out that MPs' stances towards the regional languages were not strictly matched with any political ideology or political party, as intransigent and conciliatory positions cut across the ideological spectrum. Nevertheless, generally speaking, liberal and center-left groups (where Azaña and Albornoze belonged) showed a better disposition than both conservative and leftist groups. That said, the two stances had more in common than might appear at first sight; their differences were more a matter of political tactics than of conviction. The intransigent camp insisted that the state should not hesitate to facilitate – rather than hinder – the process of linguistic “unification” already under way, whereas the conciliatory position viewed such an approach as dubiously democratic and strategically counterproductive. First, it could be an obstacle to the incorporation of peripheral nationalisms into the republican project and, secondly, a language policy openly restrictive could trigger a counter-reaction, as happened with Primo de Rivera's repressive measures (Ventalló 1976).

The weakest point in the argument of the conciliatory camp was the lack of a truly pluralist cultural discourse which could have acted as a real alternative to dominant centralist and nationalist stands. Such a discourse was not available in the Spanish intellectual and academic contexts of that time. Philology, imbued as it was with nationalist ideas, was probably unable to provide it. As a consequence, the foundations of the linguistic ideology that furnished their discourses were shared by both camps. First, they all shared the idea of a monolingual culture which, explicit denials aside, ultimately subordinates language and culture to the state. Secondly, the hegemony of Spanish is unquestionably assumed to be based on the superiority of the Castilian language and *raza*. The spread of Spanish in the Peninsula is presented as a natural fact, the result of a spontaneous historical tendency towards unification, driven by an inexorable law of progress. This process is further legitimized through references to biological science, bringing Darwinian ideas about the survival of the fittest into the field of language. In this connection, it is interesting to note their respective attitudes towards bilingualism: while Unamuno rejected it head-on,

¹⁵ Menéndez Pidal voiced his support for this view, see Arbeloa and Santiago 1981: 215.

Menéndez Pidal and Albornoz said they were in favor of it (however, their position is quite ambiguous and somehow half-hearted, and ultimately seems to be based on tactical calculation rather than firm conviction). Finally, one cannot avoid the feeling that, whatever their differences, they were all convinced that Spanish would end up replacing all the other languages, turning Spain into a monolingual country, which, in their eyes, would make it a stronger nation.

We have underscored the role intellectuals like Menéndez Pidal and Unamuno played, first, in underpinning the hegemonic Spanish nationalist discourse on language and, second, in legitimizing political and legal regulations that were in accordance with that discourse. However, they differ markedly. As an unquestioned academic authority, Menéndez Pidal's could be characterized as a cold, rational discourse, in the sense that it is intellectually solid and anchored in the scientific field. Unamuno, in contrast, was an acclaimed writer, and his discourse on language displayed poetic and lyrical overtones. It is weaker than Menéndez Pidal's, perhaps, from a strictly rational position, but strongly appealing from an emotional point of view. They could be said to embody two slightly different versions of the same nationalist discourse on the Spanish language and the Spanish nation. Menéndez Pidal's, in its ambiguity, proved to be appealing for both the intransigent and the conciliatory stances. Unamuno's, on the other hand, having a more openly nationalistic overtone, proved more appealing to the intransigent stance. In any case, the notoriety these and other intellectuals enjoyed is not totally unrelated to the political centrality of the language controversy, in the same way that the passion with which they defended Spanish cannot be totally detached from their own material and particular interests as a social group (Hobsbawm 1991: 127).

Finally, the achievement of co-official recognition for the smaller Spanish languages alongside Castilian for the first time in Spanish history was the result of an agreement between the conciliatory camp and peripheral nationalists, reached through a complex and protracted negotiation. The conciliatory discourse towards the other languages of Spain opened up a new path which made it possible to pursue peaceful dialogue between Castilian language and culture and the other languages and cultures of Spain, for the first time questioning the hitherto dominant monolingual hegemonic culture. For their part, representatives from peripheral nationalisms did not play such a central role in these debates as one would have expected given the nature of the topics that were discussed. Instead, they seem to have preferred to concentrate their efforts on the elaboration of their respective statutes of autonomy.

Be that as it may, official recognition in the Constitution of the other Spanish languages was an important first step in the direction of constructing new, more inclusive and pluralistic discourses in Spanish culture, a path which, as we know, was sadly truncated by the fascist coup in 1936, the civil war

and Franco's subsequent dictatorship. Within the few years that the Second Republic lasted, there was not enough time for the practical effects of the new official arrangement to be fully felt, except briefly in Catalonia. In any case, it constituted an important legal precedent for the 1978 Constitution. But that is another story.

Part III

The making of Spanish: Latin American and
Transatlantic perspectives

9 Introduction to the making of Spanish: Latin American and Transatlantic perspectives

Elvira Narvaja de Arnoux and José del Valle

Introduction

We concluded the introduction to Part II by highlighting the necessarily polyphonic nature of historical storytelling, and the multiple – and often contradictory – voices that participate in the making of Spanish are further examined in this part. While some of the themes already discussed will reappear (the institutionalization of language, the dominant tropes of linguistic history, grammar and the state, the press and the public sphere, language and otherness), Part III examines properly Latin American makings of the language, that is, narratives that produced the historicization of Spanish in the context of a Latin American experience. Of course, there is no such thing as a single Latin American experience, and the term itself (*vis-à-vis* Spanish America, for example) is a political choice, a particular position within one of several competing discursive matrixes that struggle to make sense of the continent's history. There is, however, a series of political processes that immediately stand out as claiming to take a "Latin American" perspective on the Spanish language and that, in our view, justify the choice: conquest and colonization, imperial politics, struggles for independence, nation-building and cultural homogenization, the emergence of a lettered class and its complicity with power, ideals of continental unity, and threats from the northern Anglo neighbor.

We also claim to be taking a transatlantic perspective, as the part title indicates. Are not imperial politics and independence movements processes that unfold in the transatlantic axis? Is not the lettered class's imagining of national configurations the product of models that circulate, round and round, between Europe and the Americas? Are not exile and migration in the background – if not at the very center – of modern cultural configurations of the language? Our transatlantic perspective is not an *a priori* theoretical stance but a position demanded by the objects of our interest, since the processes we study involve agents who themselves view the Spanish language as occupying a transatlantic space, as playing a role in either building or contesting the construction of a transatlantic relationship. In this regard, we reiterate Del Valle's warning in [Chapter 1](#) that the book contains structural instabilities. In the case at hand, we

notice the imperfect match between contents and structure as chapters in the previous part (which claims to adopt Iberian perspectives) deal with cases that unquestionably call for a transatlantic angle and that should, therefore, be read in dialogue with the following chapters. A full understanding of the language politics of empire that Martínez analyzes in [Chapter 4](#) or of the politics of cultural unification that Woolard discusses in [Chapter 5](#) cannot be obtained within an exclusively Iberian and European framework and, in fact, engage in a productive dialogue with Firbas's chapter in this part. Similarly, the operations of the *Real Academia Española* (RAE) in the mid-nineteenth century that Villa studies in [Chapter 7](#) only make sense, as she suggests, when considered in view of Latin America's linguistic developments and in conversation with the objects of Arnoux's, Cifuentes's and Del Valle's studies. Even in the analysis of the politics of language in territorial Arizona and New Mexico in Part V, transatlantic vectors are drawn, for example, by the Neomexicano elite's efforts to ground their culture less in their Mexican than their Spanish heritage.

In keeping with the broader project of which the present part is a component, we have focused on segments of that historical landscape in which language policies as well as various forms of metalinguistic discourse reveal tensions in the organization of regimes of normativity aimed at legitimizing Spanish's political role vis-à-vis other linguistic varieties. The language questions that arise in each historical moment – and that often persist throughout all periods – open for us a gate into the linguistic ideologies that map the space between linguistic practices and political conditions. We delve therefore into discourses that construct the status of Spanish in relation to indigenous languages in a context in which the empire desperately seeks an operative structure. We also examine how the complex processes that led to political independence from Spain and to the deployment of nation-building strategies leave traces in grammar textbooks that explicitly or implicitly assume the responsibility of creating new citizens. We look at the tension between the advancement of a common standard and the recognition of varieties with potential to symbolize national identity. We analyze the treatment given to Spanish American words by the RAE and the sites through which the excluded terms were somehow brought into the historical-linguistic record. We see the national language defensively brandished to face external threats posed by military occupations, migrations and porous frontiers. We unveil the linguistic mechanisms through which society is disciplined as well as those giving voice to new social groups that demand greater participation in the political life of the community. We examine, finally, how the former metropolis – often acting still according to a colonial logic – and the former colonies struggle to manage the shared language through actions that reveal the persistence of a tension between coloniality and the protection of national sovereignty.

Multiple histories and multiple ideologies: discourses on language in Latin America

During the three long centuries that comprise the colonial period, linguistic policies and discourses on language were shaped by a variety of factors: Europe's exposure to America's difference and diversity, the discovery of highly centralized power structures that provided new models for political unity, alternative ways of thinking the empire, and ever-evolving articulations of politics and religion. Throughout the colonial period, the linguistic decisions made by the monarchy's state apparatus coexisted – not without tensions – with steps taken within the colonies themselves (Heath 1972; Solano 1991): the context was one of struggles over control of territory and subjects among religious orders, *encomenderos* and civil servants of the imperial administration. Glot-topolitical choices were ultimately grounded in factors such as the dominant mode of production, the importance of the workforce for the extraction of wealth, the relative position of indigenous and *criollo* elites in the exploitation and commercialization of resources, the strategies of religious orders, and the link between civil servants and the dynamics of colonial power. Although, in general, the legal and administrative imposition of Spanish ran parallel to colonization and evangelization, initial efforts to castilianize the indigenous elites eventually yielded to a more pragmatic appropriation of widely used indigenous languages – known as *lenguas generales* – for the purpose of running the colonial enterprise. It would only be under the Bourbons that decidedly unifying policies grounded in the imposition of Spanish would be designed and implemented (see Medina in this volume). The American sociolinguistic landscape was certainly a moving target. Indigenous languages were meeting with different destinies ranging from extinction to standardization for usage in certain domains. And Spanish, in a new American geography and under the conditions of a new political economy, started to evolve autonomously and develop a double status as dominant language and subordinate dialect within the empire's linguistic ecology.

Such a novel environment led to the production of multiple metalinguistic discourses through which the agents of empire – and there were multiple gradations of agency – attempted to make sense of the new linguistic experiences. However, while the weight of metropolitan interpretive frameworks often prevented recognition of the uniqueness of those experiences, these also contributed to destabilizing available knowledge and even producing arguments that re-entered, with renewed force, European linguistic debates. Firbas shows, in his chapter, how *criollo* and Spanish writers' experience of American realities resulted in the articulation of relatively autonomous lettered networks – such as the Antarctic Academy – that operated with relative independence vis-à-vis metropolitan authors and ideas. American experiences carved new

representations of language that played a role in the legitimization of policies and left discursive traces of the transatlantic circulation and two-way influence of old and new cosmologies. Miguel Cabello Balboa, author of the *Miscelanea antartica* that Firbas discusses, offers an excellent example of how Babylonian chaos and the Tower of Babel were used as interpretive schemata to rationalize America's polyglotism and translate the indigenous world, through its subjection to biblical geography and history, into an imperial project of unification. While this hermeneutic exercise was a response to the new American reality, it also participated – as Firbas claims (in dialogue with Woolard) – in European debates on linguistic evolution and, more specifically, on the ancient history of Spanish; it both emerged from and gazed back at European policies of linguistic unity. This dynamic transatlantic circulation of linguistic arguments was particularly salient in Gregorio García's theory of the stability of imperial languages, in whose formulation he used his linguistic experience in the Andes in order to underpin his views of Europe's linguistic history and the history of Spanish.

After the Spanish American revolutions and the independence movements, lettered culture acquired new political value as various nation-building processes were undertaken (A. Rama 2004). Firstly, industrial production and the distribution of goods needed a growing sector of the workforce to have reading and writing skills that exceeded those of manual workers. Secondly, the written text was the principal support of an emerging public sphere that required a regular flow of information on government affairs and public debates in which the rationale for laws and policies could be subjected to public scrutiny.¹ It was also the medium privileged by the republican system to implement, in an orderly fashion, modern forms of political representation, which were, in principle, incompatible with the perceived limitations of oral communication, that is, its uncontrollable nature and ultimately demagogical effects. Finally, written texts shared by the body of lettered citizens would also become one of the main channels through which the new national communion could be imagined (Anderson 1991). Thus, if lettered culture was an important qualification in industrial production, a requirement of citizenship and the basis of nation-building, it became imperative for the new Latin American polities to set up tiered educational systems that would train a qualified workforce, develop national consciousness and, in the case of those with access to the upper tiers of the educational structure, enable political participation (see [Chapter 2](#), note 6).

In her chapter, Arnoux argues that it is precisely in such a context that we are to understand the production, after the first revolutionary decade, of school

¹ The importance of the press in developing a public sphere and producing linguistic ideologies is discussed in many chapters throughout the book: Arnoux, Cifuentes, Dubord, Fernández-Gibert, Bürki, Castillo Rodríguez.

grammars that, while written for students and teachers, also showed sensitivity to the needs of an emerging press. She shows that, on the bumpy road to the consolidation of the school grammar as a genre, authors had to not only make choices among different traditions of grammatical thought and pedagogical strategies but also participate in the production and reproduction of a budding patriotism, outline discursive profiles for the didactic text's subject of enunciation, select or even produce corpora of examples, identify and describe local varieties associated with socially prestigious groups, and choose to exclude or include (even if for proscriptive purposes) others. Arnoux shows how, in the early phase of independence before the spread of a public education system, grammars such as Senillosa's and Valdes's erased popular speech and even linguistic variation as they naturalized the common language as "the" language. In a way, these texts were conceived as introductions to modern rationality for the elite. In contrast, Marcos Sastre's grammar, written decades later for an already established primary education system, aimed at a socially broader student body and took a prescriptive turn that, paradoxically, revealed the existence of variation and created the conditions that would lead to the affirmation of the language's Americanness.

If written texts such as school grammars played a role in disciplining subjectivities and organizing the citizenry, other sites of metalinguistic discourse – such as legal texts regulating, for example, language usage in education and government – greatly contributed to the construction of internal homogeneity and the defense of national identity. After independence, threats to sovereignty and identity came less from the colonial metropolis's feeble efforts to retain some level of cultural preeminence and more from two other highly conspicuous sources: borderlands, where the power of the state had not yet settled and linguistic frontiers were still open, and foreign immigrants, who populated the big cities in increasing numbers and filled them with their strange tongues. From the dominant nationalist perspective – which viewed a single common language as an essential attribute of the nation – these anomalies had to be resolved through the exercise of power by the state. Thus, efforts were made to occupy the whole territory, to centralize the administration of the state, to mandate military service and, as indicated above, to establish and regulate an educational system that would finally build – to a great extent, through the imposition of language – national subjects.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Latin American cities not only received mostly European immigrants but were also the destination of internal migrations attracted by the opportunities offered by industrial development. These linguistically diverse groups, with their alternative views of society and politics, made the ruling classes uneasy about their future. Some interpreted the presence of immigrants as chaos and anarchy, as a return to a state of barbarity that until then had been considered a question of the past. In such a

context, they tended to express their anxiety through conservative discourses on language and to assert their power through control of legal frameworks for teaching the national language and creating language academies and linguistic institutes.

Glottopolitical choices in Uruguay offer us a window into the strategic use of language legislation as a response to anxieties triggered by the perceived linguistic instability of the border and the disruptive intrusion of immigrants. In fact, Barrios studies the centrality of the language question in the education law of 1877. As the state moved towards cultural unification and political control over all the territory, Spanish was made the compulsory medium of instruction in public schools. The northern border with Brazil was an area of special concern and additional legal steps were taken towards the teaching of Spanish and even its preeminence in private schools. In the course of the twentieth century, the border question seems to have moved to the background in Uruguayan public debates and – in the context of economic recession and the international geopolitical conditions of the thirties and forties – immigration and its corruptive effects became the topic that most dominated representations of language. It was this turn in the language debate and the prominence of a purist ideology that resulted in the creation in 1943 of a language academy, the *Academia Nacional de Letras*.

The defense of cultural homogeneity gains special impetus when communities face foreign invasions. In instances in which the invader possesses a different language, the erasure of internal differences and the idealization of national unity go hand in hand with a process in which language acquires strong symbolic value. Linguistic resistance becomes a form of struggle. In Latin America, the US's expansionist moves – evident in the annexation of northern Mexico and the Spanish-American War – resulted in an anti-imperialist discursive matrix that led to the valorization of Hispanic culture and the questioning of the Monroe Doctrine and the Panamericanism espoused by the United States (see also the discussion in Del Valle and García in this volume). Numerous intellectuals and writers at the end of the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries took on the task of building an imaginary that would transcend national boundaries and embrace all countries in a brotherhood anchored in language. The discourse produced in this context explored questions of identity in part by interrogating the history of a language that was felt to be paradoxically linked to the former metropolis and to the origins of the new nations; a language that was associated with the values of purity, continuity and stability.

As Valdez shows in his chapter, throughout Dominican history a form of linguistic purism that places Spanish at the center of national identity and affirms this Caribbean nation's loyalty to its Hispanic origins has always mediated cultural self-representation and the role that, in this context, has been assigned to Haiti, Spain and the United States. The US occupation of the

Dominican Republic (1916–24) was an instance in which this discursive tradition manifested itself with particular intensity and with the nuances appropriate to these historical circumstances. Intellectuals such as historiographer Américo Lugo mobilized the Dominican cultural field in order to awaken national consciousness and affirm a Dominican identity that would prevent contamination from the foreign invader. In this context, language would thus become at the same time the preferred object of study by linguists and philologists such as Pedro Henríquez Ureña and, as one would expect, the central piece of nationalist discourse. As Valdez shows, Henríquez Ureña's dialectological and philological work would end up producing an image of Spanish that highlighted its archaic nature as proof of Dominicans' loyalty to Hispanic culture.

The Panhispanist movement – so present in the Dominican Republic's cultural struggles (Valdez 2011) – has played a significant role in Spanish's contemporary history (Pike 1971; C. Rama 1982; Sepúlveda 1994, 2005). It developed once Spain, after the loss of most of its American colonies, began to rethink its strategic approach to the new Spanish-speaking countries. On one hand, a diplomatic front was activated that resulted in a series of peace and friendship treaties that normalized relations with the new nations (Pereira and Cervantes 1992). On the other, a movement – based on the idea that, in spite of political independence, the culture of Latin American nations was essentially Spanish culture – slowly developed in order to strengthen cultural unity and promote a panhispanic conscience that should result in the crystallization of a culturally, economically and politically operative entity. An important milestone in the history of Panhispanism was the creation in 1885 of the *Unión Ibero-Americana*, an association that, according to its statutes, aimed at “tightening artistic, scientific, economic, social, political, and affective relations between Spain, Portugal and the American nations and striving to develop a more cordial understanding among these peoples/brothers” (*Unión Ibero-Americana* 1893: 5). Panhispanism faced a significant challenge: building a community in the space left vacant by the fallen empire – even using the remaining rubble as building material – while silencing the neocolonial echoes of the effort. In the *Unión's* own words, they had to “polish rough surfaces and instill love and trust in order to unify and channel the noble aspirations” (*Unión Ibero-Americana* 1893: 7). While origin, religion, customs and language were advanced as constitutive elements of the panhispanic ethos, the latter became more and more prominent as the movement underwent a process of modernization. Religion and customs were too sensitive to ideological discrepancies; but language appeared a more neutral anchor for panhispanic unity and more likely to help polish the rough surfaces of the post-colonial relationship. The Spanish language would instill the love and trust between Spaniards and Latin Americans needed to plausibly imagine the panhispanic community.

However, the movement had to confront numerous challenges. In the first few decades after independence, openly anti-Spanish discourses proliferated and even explicit statements of linguistic independence were made. Argentina's generation of 1837 was particularly prone to expressing an emancipatory spirit with respect to language: "The only legacy that Americans can and do gladly accept from Spain – because it is truly precious – is the *language*. But they accept it on condition of improving it and transforming it progressively, that is, of emancipating it" (qtd. in Alfón 2008: 52); "If the language is nothing but the face of thought, ours demands to be in intimate harmony with our American thought; which is a million times more sympathetic to the fast and direct movement of our American thought than to the never-ending contours of Spanish thought" (qtd. in Alfón 2008: 53). Even in the absence of such open declarations, the *criollo* elites of the new Latin America faced, as a part of nation-building, the challenge of producing linguistic regimes of their own, systems of linguistic values and the institutional frameworks that produce them that would domesticate speech in order to satisfy the requirements of emerging state bureaucracies and support the development of a national economy (Ramos 1993; Arnoux in this volume). In this regard, the publication in 1847 of Andrés Bello's celebrated grammar offered undeniable proof of the lettered class's interest in and preparedness to manage linguistic standardization without seeking the Spanish institution's support or even its direct legitimizing authority. In spite of being motivated by the pursuit of unity (Gómez Asencio 2009) and relying on classical Spanish models of literary usage (Moré 2002), Bello's iconic text, by the very fact of having been produced, became a powerful emancipatory statement (Jaksič 1999). Similarly, the emergence of Colombian Rufino José Cuervo as the most distinguished linguist working on the Spanish language – especially after the publication between 1867 and 1872 of the first edition of his *Apuntaciones Críticas sobre el Lenguaje Bogotano* [Critical notes on Bogota's language] – had further proven that sectors of Latin America's lettered class were not only producing their own discourse on language but doing so from a position of authority defined by their compliance with the developing protocols of the language sciences (see Del Valle 2002b for a discussion of Cuervo's polemic with Spanish writer Juan Valera). These metalinguistic discourses and the intellectual practices that contributed to establishing autonomous cultural fields in Latin America posed a serious challenge to a Panhispanist movement that had to control representations of language as the basis of the panhispanic community in order for Spain to gain preeminence over the former colonies and secure a relevant position in the international arena.

In this context, since the shared language had become the preferred discursive object around which to enable the imagining of the panhispanic community (Del Valle and Gabriel-Stheeman 2002a; C. Rama 1982; Sepúlveda 2005), in 1870 the RAE engaged in the creation of a network of subsidiary language

academies in Latin America that would protect the quality and unity of Spanish and, most importantly, retain the right to manage the language within an institutional framework controlled by the Spanish corporation.

In her chapter, Bárbara Cifuentes discusses Mexico's response to the RAE's invitation. In 1875, the *Academia Mexicana de la Lengua* (henceforth AML) was created and Mexican academicians declared their intent to collaborate with the Spanish corporation. As Cifuentes chronicles the early years of the AML, she describes a tense field in which the reproduction of purist ideologies and the defense of panhispanic linguistic unity coexisted with parallel affirmations of linguistic Mexicanness and a clear distrust of the RAE's initiative. The language debates associated with the development of the AML reveal confrontations between conservatives and liberals that were playing themselves out in the realm of cultural institutions and even show the country's discomfort in dealing with its own indigenous past and colonial heritage. They offer us a view of the multiple challenges faced by the panhispanic movement and of the fact that this community-building project – in spite of its proclamations of familial harmony – had to coexist – often in not so harmonic terms – with competing articulations of nations and regional integrations.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the AML had consolidated its status as a valuable cultural institution, so much so that Mexican president Miguel Alemán, in a forceful gesture, charged it with organizing a conference that would bring together all academies of the Spanish language for the first time. All were invited and all expenses would be covered by the Mexican government. And yet, the RAE – in spite of the wishes of many of its members – was warned by the Spanish government against attending. The 1951 conference – in particular, the controversy triggered by Spain's absence – offers us a vivid close-up, as Del Valle shows in his chapter, of the blatantly political nature of language academies and the representations of language that they produced. The Mexican initiative was a strong statement that Latin America – in this case, one Latin American country – was ready not only to assume a leadership role in managing the language but also in developing a strategy for its international instrumentalization. However, the calls for linguistic emancipation heard during the event – the plan to reconstitute the academies as a federation of equals – were soundly defeated in favor of maintaining the existing pyramidal structure that recognized Spain's inalienable right to stand at the top. At the same time, the conference revealed the persistence of skeptical views of Spain's linguistic embrace of Latin America and the uphill road that Spaniards faced in leading the process of building a community grounded in the Spanish language.

There were even some countries, such as Uruguay and Argentina, in which the creation of a subsidiary academy proved to be ephemeral or just plain impossible. But, even in these cases, the perceived need to control both linguistic variation and the public discourse on language resulted in the creation of

institutional infrastructures authorized by the state. Barrios, as we saw above, discusses the creation of Uruguay's *Academia Nacional de Letras* as a non-subsidiary of the RAE and Toscano y García chronicles the creation in 1922 of the *Instituto de Filología* at the University of Buenos Aires. Once again we see tensions within national institutions: on one hand, the *Instituto* is seen as a project at the service of the nation; on the other, the post of director is surrendered to Spanish scholars from Madrid's *Centro de Estudios Históricos*. Toscano y García analyzes these tensions and the operations carried out by the institute's most prominent director, Amado Alonso, in his efforts, upon his arrival in Buenos Aires, to control the linguistic field and delegitimize the hostile responses to the Institute's development by two Argentinean intellectuals deeply involved in the public discussion of language questions outside the scientific field of linguistics and philology in which the Institute anchored its legitimacy.

Conclusion

The study of the historical processes through which Spanish was conceptualized in Latin America leads us to search for its connections with various linguistic *others* against which it came to be defined in complex and often controversial dynamics. It also invites us to examine the circulation of linguistic ideologies in the midst of tensions such as those defined by nationalism and colonialism, discipline and rebellion, dominance and subalternity, or settlement and migration. Although the Latin American perspective evokes processes that manifest themselves within the specific political conditions of the continent – and that may even include explicit Latin Americanist declarations – the studies included in this part enter a productive dialogue with the rest of the book. The transatlantic perspective, as we stated above, implies the two-way circulation of metalinguistic discourses between an imperial center and its colonies, between Spain and Latin America, and thus underlines the connection with some of the themes introduced in Part II (and even Part V). Similarly, the case-studies that focus on specific nations – i.e. Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Uruguay – suggest, on one hand, interactions among Latin American nations that counter the asymmetric bipolarity suggested by “transatlanticism” (Spain versus Latin America) and, on the other, intriguing continuities and discontinuities between “north” and “south” that, as Part IV will show, render the Rio Grande a multiplex border, that is, a physical place of both encounter and exclusion, and a discursive site in which multiple identities and forms of political conscience are worked out.

10 Language, religion and unification in early colonial Peru

Paul Firbas

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards' penetration into the New World resulted in their coming into contact with an enormous variety of languages that escaped the limits of all previous knowledge and experience. These languages had no apparent kinship with the ones of the classical world, and so could not be easily deciphered using traditional tools. Unable to renounce the conceptual bases which sustained the entire authority of the "Old World" over the "New," humanists and theologians constructed bridges and established continuities, amending and enhancing ancient cosmology and sacred history in order to accommodate the American variety. In some cases, like the Jesuit Joseph de Acosta in his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Madrid, 1590), the new reality brought about certain ruptures with ancient knowledge and nurtured a new perspective positing experience as the source of knowledge.

With this brief, contextual backdrop in mind, the following pages examine the intersection between the Spanish experience of American polyglotism and the politics of unification that accompanied the advance and consolidation of empire. The objective here is to reconstruct an imperial discourse about the role of the Castilian language in the Indies in relation to native languages. This discourse was not always explicit; those who defended and represented empire believed in the natural superiority of Castilian and thus saw no need to defend or contextualize its use. With this in mind, the present essay addresses the following set of questions. Is it possible to recover a late sixteenth-century perspective on the language of Castile that recognizes the impact of the American colonial experience on that language? And which sources can offer insight into the ideological formation and legitimization of a language politics that the administrative agents of empire themselves did not explicitly dictate? How do we read a non-explicit discourse on language that was, nonetheless, behind the practice of the empire?

As far as is known, at no point during the sixteenth century did any treatise appear which directly analyzed the role of the Castilian language in the processes of conquest, colonization and religious conversion of new imperial subjects. This apparent absence is understandable because, from the Spaniards' perspective, there was no need to explicitly revisit the politics of language; texts

from as early as the fifteenth century had already encoded that politics in the briefest of forms. Gonzalo García de Santa María, for example, in addressing the language problem in the unification of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in 1486, wrote that “speech, usually, and more than anything else, follows the empire.” A similar idea took shape in the humanist writings of Lorenzo Valla, who claimed that the most fundamental element of empire was “sovereignty over letters,” since, he argued, linguistic conquests continue long after the fall of military and political authorities. Finally there was Antonio de Nebrija’s well-known and nearly axiomatic formulation from 1492 that “language is the companion of empire,” a phrase which encoded an entire enterprise that Spanish military, religious and political authorities would undertake in the colonies.¹

These cryptic comments notwithstanding, it is important to recognize that the most profound expressions dealing with the relationship between language, politics and history do not necessarily appear in treatises or explicit decrees. Direct references and conspicuously metalinguistic texts are not the only sources one can use to reconstruct a discourse on the politics of language. In fact, ideology and politics can function in a purer way when presented as naturalized truths in separate arguments. In this sense, perhaps the best places to find a discourse about language are texts where the politics of language is not directly discussed, but which nonetheless assume the centrality of language as their point of departure. Examples of such texts include writings about caste differences, evangelization and the expansion of empire. Ensconced outside the borders of visible historical debate, linguistic ideas – like myths – sustain an entire complex of fully “normalized” or naturalized social and cultural practices.²

If “the *historiography of language ideologies* is something that remains to be constructed” (Blommaert, 1999: 1), then an analysis of the relations between language, power and social structure during the colonial period must necessarily look beyond the few explicit documents in which the crown enacts legislation or makes recommendations regarding the uses of Castilian and its role in the New World. Such an analysis must necessarily begin with a recognition of the peculiar characteristics of the Spanish vicerealties in the Americas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, characteristics which were markedly different from those of later European colonial experiences. When analyzing ideas about the role of the Castilian language in Peru during the first century of Spanish rule, one cannot – without falling into anachronisms – use a modern

¹ See the classic study by Eugenio Asensio (1960: 401–7) and Miguel Martínez’s chapter in this volume on the extent of Nebrija’s ideas in the sixteenth century.

² On the importance of debates as “moments of textual formation and transformation” and how these debates redefine language ideologies, see Blommaert 1999.

“nationalist” framework or a framework based on colonial and post-colonial relations in the post-Enlightenment world. Nonetheless, contemporary post-colonial theories can offer insights into the imperial process across different time periods; and, in this sense, the study of the politics of language in early colonial Peru can contribute importantly to our overall understanding of empire.³

Colonial policies on the language of Castile

In the colonial world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the history of linguistic politics cannot be separated from the history of evangelization. This being so, one needs to clarify Nebrija’s 1492 formulation and declare that language was the companion of a Christian doctrine that ideologically justified empire. During the first half-century of Spanish rule, catechesis was, in principle, the most important instrument in the Castilianization of the urban indigenous population, especially that of caciques and noble families. Special schools like the one in Mexico’s Tlatelolco district were opened for the children of indigenous noble families. Indian commoners could also learn the language of the Spaniards in their local parishes; and while they were unable to attain the level of acculturation reached by those in the special schools, their knowledge of Castilian nonetheless allowed them to work in the colonial administration or as church auxiliaries and translators (Charles 2010: 32). Mestizos and *indios ladinos* thus became interpreters and bridges between the new regime and the indigenous world.⁴ Members of the regular clergy understood the necessity of studying local languages in order to get close to the Indians and instruct them in the exclusivist and unifying force of Christianity. Nonetheless, polyglotism was an overwhelming reality, and the evangelizing labor of priests working in multiple languages seemed an impossible undertaking, especially at a time of growing mistrust in the mediation of mestizos and *indios ladinos* whose full conversion had always been suspect. In 1551, Friar Juan de Mansilla wrote to Charles V from Guatemala to report that there were “very few to teach the language of Castile to the Indians . . . [and that] it would be better to generalize the use of the Mexican language”; that is, to teach in Nahuatl, a language that was “extremely widespread,” already included a working

³ See Jorge Klor de Alva (1992) on the use and abuse of the term “colonial” for the Spanish American territories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁴ On “*indios ladinos*,” see Adorno (1991) and Charles (2010). In the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), Covarrubias notes that the term *ladino* refers to “the morisco or the foreigner who has learned our language with such care that we can hardly differentiate between him and ourselves” (2006: 1158). One should note that the acquisition of the knowledge necessary to erase the aforementioned differences between “us” and “them,” although supposedly the idealized end of civil and religious conversion, would also have led to the dissolution of the differences that justified colonial domination.

grammar and a number of sermons, and for which the Indians had an affinity (qtd. in Rosenblat 2002: 91). A few years later, in 1560, in Valladolid, the Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás published his *Grammatica* and *Lexicón o vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú*, identifying one particular variety of Quechua as the privileged language for conversion. Beginning around 1580, after the arrival of the Jesuits in the Americas, the Spanish colonial administration began to officially promote the generalized use of a few indigenous languages, thereby granting these a geographical extension and unifying function far beyond what they had enjoyed in the pre-Hispanic era. In the Andes, church officials made use of a variety of Cuzco Quechua to create a technical and somewhat artificial language that was at times unintelligible to speakers from other regions.⁵

Throughout these early years, the Spanish Crown and its colonial authorities continued to recommend the teaching of Castilian, delegating to priests and their assistants a task that could only be carried out with great difficulty. Some Spanish officials on the Council of the Indies, undoubtedly fearful of the possible heterodoxy of mestizos and the political designs of *criollos* fluent in native languages, sought to make the teaching of Castilian obligatory and eliminate the use of native languages among caciques. Philip II himself reacted negatively to this idea in 1596, stating that “I do not think it prudent to offer rewards to [caciques] to give up their native tongues, but we could provide teachers to those who voluntarily wish to learn Castilian” (qtd. in Rosenblat 2002: 102). That same year, Philip II signed a decree designating Castilian as the language of evangelization and recommending that all priests and sacristans teach Castilian at no economic cost to Indians who “voluntarily” agree to learn it. At the same time, however, the king re-enacted an ordinance from 1580 which created university posts in Mexico City and Lima for the teaching of the “general languages” and stipulated that all priests serving Indian communities be required to learn a native language before being ordained. Thus stipulated by Philip II, this was the policy that was basically to remain in effect until the eighteenth century, when the Bourbon reforms and Enlightenment nationalism began to promote a more radical program of Castilianization.

From reading the introductory essay and compiled documents from Francisco de Solano’s 1991 volume entitled *Documentos sobre política lingüística en Hispanoamérica (1492–1800)*, it becomes clear that until 1550, the predominant school of thought in Spanish colonial administration promoted the teaching of Castilian in the hope that it would eventually become the only

⁵ The Spaniards believed that the Incas had imposed a Cuzco variety of Quechua over all their conquered territories. Recent studies have shown, however, that the language taught to conquered local elites by the Incas was the language spoken by Incan elites and was probably a Quechua influenced by a variety from the coastal region or central Andes (Cerrón Palomino 1995: x–xiii; Charles 2010: 59, 63).

language of civil administration and evangelization. However, as Spanish officials became more familiar with native cultures and more aware of the difficulties and problems involved in translating religious concepts, they came to believe in the necessity of evangelizing in vernacular languages, even as they clung to the practices and the ideal of Castilianization. In Peru, the Third Council of Lima (1582–3), with its elaboration of the first trilingual catechism, marked an explicit change in evangelical and linguistic policy. Recent analyses of colonial ecclesiastical documents reveal that indigenous elites and commoners who served in local administrative posts and as parish auxiliaries used Castilian extensively. The documents also attest to the fact that some Indians sought out private tutors in order to improve their mastery of Castilian, suggesting that learning Castilian was not always something forcibly imposed, but could also represent a desire to attain status and participate in the new colonial order. In any case, the Jesuits played a key role in producing multilingual catechisms and vocabulary lists, and in creating and administering native language exams for priests who planned to work with Indians (Charles 2010: 31–2, 49; Durston 2007: 110–12).

In 1634, in an effort to end the church's dependency on what he felt were mediocre translators corrupting Christian discourse, the Archbishop of Lima ordered the obligatory teaching of Castilian to all Indians. Although the decree was totally impracticable, its existence reveals the fear among colonial elites of a diversity that could be neither eradicated nor controlled. Faced with this threat, Spanish elites turned to the example of the ancient empire of the Incas – or to the idealized version of that empire which had been assimilated into the European imperial imagination – as a model of the linguistic politics to emulate: if the Incas had been able to impose Quechua on the language diversity of the Andes, the Spanish should be able to do the same with Castilian (Solano 1991: LXVII).⁶

At the end of the seventeenth century, the crown outlined a broader policy for the teaching of Castilian, freeing the task from exclusive church control and providing each indigenous community with local financing toward this end. In a royal edict from 1690, Charles II prescribed that all Indian officials be fluent in Castilian and gave them a period of four years to learn the language, years during which they would also acquire, “radically and fundamentally,” an understanding of “the mysteries of the Catholic faith” (Solano 1991: LXXIV). This edict clearly articulated the belief that true evangelization or full conversion could only occur in the Castilian language. And yet, the notion of full

⁶ As will be discussed below, not all authors referred to the political model of Quechua in the same way. Gonzalo Correas, for example, compared the spread of Latin in the Iberian Peninsula, where Castilian had been spoken since the era of the patriarch Tubal, to the imposition of Quechua in Peru, describing the latter as a language that “the Incas ordered spread throughout their territories,” but which could not eradicate local languages (1954: 20).

conversion actually threatened the underlying structures of colonial power which were dependent upon the maintenance of religious, linguistic and racial differences. In other words, even as conversion and the dissolution of difference were part of its ideological sustenance, the colonial system ultimately needed elements of barbarism and idolatry to justify its existence. Juan Carlos Estenssoro has called attention to this systemic necessity of producing and maintaining the opposition between Indian and Christian (2003: 142).⁷ In the sphere of language, Bruce Mannheim has described this colonial contradiction in the following terms:

European and Euro-American settlers had a stake in ensuring that native populations continue to speak a Native Andean language rather than Spanish, allowing the settlers to broker the involvement of native communities in the colonial economy and society. On the other hand, the Spaniards came armed with the conviction that languages were implanted by right of conquest, that religious indoctrination could only take hold through the medium of European languages, and that the linguistic conversion would guarantee loyalty to the Spanish empire. (1991: 34–5)

A dynastic change in Spain in the eighteenth century produced a centralized state opposed to forms of regionalism (see Medina in this volume). Bourbon elites imposed an overarching policy of unification which included the creation of state-sponsored language schools to foster the Castilianization of the colonies. In 1770, the traditional requirement that any priest working in an Indian community be fluent in a native language was replaced by a new criterion of theological excellence. In effect, this change in language politics censured the appointment of bilingual and mestizo priests and began the process of hispanization and *criollización* of the colonial church. That same year, confronting social disorders which he blamed on the existence of different languages within a single region, Charles III signed several decrees imposing the exclusive use of Castilian so that “men do not get confused as if in a tower of Babel” and so that “once and for all we manage to extinguish the different languages spoken in a single domain and insure that only Castilian is spoken, as repeated laws have ordained” (Solano 1991: 257, 261).⁸

From this brief summary of a complicated process lasting over three centuries, it is most interesting to underscore the political change that occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century and, in particular, the role of the clergy in developing an entire methodology and politics of teaching native languages.

⁷ This is clearly reminiscent of the opposition between Christian and Moor in Spain and the problem of Arabic as a valid language to express Christianity. See Woolard in this volume.

⁸ Solano dedicates several pages of his analysis to the problem of teaching Castilian to African slaves, an issue ignored by the colonial administrators. As a result, the Castilianization of slaves was informal, largely carried out by black *ladinos*. Although some Jesuits worked on the evangelization of slaves – especially Alonso de Sandoval – there was no African “general language” that could facilitate religious instruction among the enslaved (Solano 1991: LXXXVII).

The change in the approach to evangelization which occurred in the Americas around 1580 was partly a function of the priests' experience in the field with an unyielding polyglotism, but was also the direct result of the reformulation of Catholic church policy following the Council of Trent, in which the Jesuits played a determinative role.

The *Misceláneas* and the unifying discourse of language

One way to explore non-explicit colonial discourse about the Castilian language is to pay close attention to narratives about "the origin of the Indians" that are especially ideologically charged with assumptions about the role of language in the imperial order. Although many early historians and chroniclers of the Indies discussed the genealogies of New World natives, the question of the origin of the Indians and their languages became even more important as Spaniards gained greater knowledge of the Americas. Indeed, this question would come to serve as the common axis for the reformulation of ancient cosmographical knowledge, the founding of modern comparative ethnography and the elaboration of new discourses about the origin of the Castilian language and its political role.⁹

It was near the end of the sixteenth century, in Peru, that Miguel Cabello Balboa wrote his *Miscelánea antártica*, an ambitious work about "the origin of our western Indians." Even though not published until the nineteenth century, the work circulated widely among the intellectuals of the Peruvian viceroyalty. Cabello was one of the principal figures of a group of writers of the "Antarctic Academy," a name that identified a generation of *criollo* and Spanish writers long resident in the Americas. These writers, while working within the most prestigious European genres, also presented their knowledge of and experiences with American realities, thereby carving out their difference from metropolitan authors.¹⁰

Cabello Balboa arrived in the Indies in or about 1566, became a secular priest in Quito and, sometime around 1586, finished his work on the *Miscelánea antártica*. Several years before, in 1578–9, he had led a small expedition to the coast of present-day Ecuador to pacify runaway slaves, mulattos and Indians in the province of Esmeraldas and to map out a new passage from the city of Quito to the Pacific Ocean. In 1582 he was in Lima and no doubt participated in the debates of the Third Council of Lima, a congregation of religious authorities from all parts of the extensive ecclesiastical province of Lima, which at that

⁹ On the origin of modern ethnography in Bartolomé de Las Casas and José de Acosta, see Pagden 1982 (chapters 6–7). Frank Lestringant studied sixteenth-century cosmography as an ambitious and perhaps desperate effort to synthesize and unify the admirable variety of the world (Lestringant 1994: 129).

¹⁰ On Cabello Balboa and the *Academia Antártica*, see Tauro 1948, Firbas 2000 and Rose 2005.

time stretched from Central America to Chile and Paraguay. The American church and its new subjects posed greater challenges than anything encountered by Christian authorities in Spain. In Catholic Europe, the church rejected humanist reforms and reinforced the mediating role of the institution and its agents as the means of unifying and controlling religious experience. Meanwhile, in Peru, the politics of unification found their expression in the *Doctrina christiana y catecismo para instrucción de los indios* (Catholic Church 1584), a trilingual catechism featuring Castilian, Quechua and Aymara, the three “general languages” of the viceregal kingdom. This new catechism purported to revise and surpass all previous catechisms that had circulated in the viceroyalty and to regulate the translation of Catholic concepts so as to offer new Christians a coherent and unified image of the church. Ultimately, even though Quechua, Aymara or any other indigenous language could be used in the evangelization process, the gospels were to function as a unifying supra-language, the only one capable of resolving the chaos that Babel’s linguistic fragmentation had imposed upon the world.

In his work entitled *Lingua*, translated and published in Castilian in 1528–31, Erasmus had defended the idea of the gospels as a sacred language whose promise was to resolve the Babelian fragmentation. Even though his text was banned in 1559 as part of the Counter-Reformation’s crusade against Erasmian humanism, writers like Cabello Balboa continued to produce texts and other projects promoting the ideals of a humanism centered in the power of language. According to Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, Erasmus’s translator, humanity was a single body whose members were tied to God through language, “the translator of our reason” (Erasmus 1975: 6), and it was through language that men had united to build cities: “language is by itself the bond, glue and knot that ties, sustains and governs the whole human lineage. . . . When language was one, we were all one body” (Erasmus 1975: 6).¹¹ In this sense, as Aurora Egido has noted, “Christ is transformed into the teacher of a new universal language which restores the shattered hopes of the Edenic utopia in *Genesis*” (1998: 17). If Christ was the teacher of a new language of unification and sixteenth-century humanists sought to recover the lost language through philological studies, a priest of the colonial church like Cabello believed that imperial politics reflected this model of sacred unification whose binding agent was the gospel, even in native languages. Nonetheless, in this tradition, Castilianization was necessary for full evangelization and for the colonies to escape their Babelian punishment: “The identification of the One God with a singular language and a diversity of languages with the diversity of gods, is an argument that underlies all discussion about polygotism” (Egido 1998: 17). In other words, the unyielding linguistic

¹¹ See the study by Severin (Erasmus 1975), included in her edition of *La lengua de Erasmo*, and Egido (1998).

diversity that obligated the Spaniards to catechize in Quechua was the indelible imprint of an idolatry that the colonial system simultaneously combated and promoted. Political theories and ideals of empire had long been linked with the utopia of unification and the recuperation of a Platonic lost language. Even though polyglotism was a reality in both Europe and the colonies, the meaning of that polyglotism within the process of Christianization was different in the New World than it was in the Old. In the New World, the different languages were above all a sign of barbarity, demonism and blasphemy, totally opposite from the word of Christ, which, according to Erasmus, was a “mild language, medicinal and docile, capable of reconciling the earth with the sky” (Erasmus 1975: 197).

Before beginning his *Miscelánea antártica*, Cabello composed a long text entitled *Verdadera descripción y relación larga de la provincia de las Esmeraldas* (c. 1581), which narrates the author’s expedition to pacify and resettle the maroons, mulattos and Indians that had fled into the mountainous jungle to live beyond the reach of the colonial order. After negotiating with the maroon *ladino* Alonso de Illescas, who had been a slave in Seville before being shipwrecked in Esmeraldas, Cabello expected all to submit peacefully and leave their secret hiding places. He waited in vain, however, because the “unfaithful barbarians” never appeared. In his narrative of the wait, Cabello inserted the hendecasyllabic translation of a psalm that his assistant would sing at night, accompanied by an “out-of-tune guitar” (Cabello 1945 [c. 1581]: 49). The psalm (137 or 136) tells of the fall of Jerusalem and the Babylonian exile, and the very act of singing in an alien and enemy land.¹² In the Babylonian context of Esmeraldas, the psalm acts as a corrective to the vices and confusion caused by the presence of other voices, languages and songs in the text. Here Cabello coincided with Friar Luis de León in positing the poetry of the psalms as the language of God (Pérez 1994: 55). Yet even as Cabello’s translation clearly participated in the humanist tradition, it is differentiated by its contact with an American reality that brings the biblical word to life. America “naturally” recalls the Babylonian chaos and the Tower of Babel, two images of extraordinary importance in the context of the extreme polyglotism of the colonies. Chroniclers of the Indies repeatedly used the image of Babel to depict the linguistic and moral condition of the indigenous world and to position the Christians as the incarnation of the unifying gospel.

In the text of his *Miscelánea*, Cabello directly links the creation of idolatries to the political tyranny of Nimrod, the grandson of Noah, founder of Babylonia and architect of the tower that provoked God’s condemnation and the confusion

¹² Cabello’s Castilian translation begins: “Sobre las babilónicas corrientes / no para descansar nos asentamos.” The King James version of Psalm 137 reads: “By the rivers of Babylon, / there we sat down, yea, we wept.”

of tongues. Cabello describes Babylonia as “the mother of confusion, a monster that gave birth to monstrous abominations” (Cabello 1951: 35).¹³ In addition to punishing mankind by taking away its maternal language and imposing linguistic fragmentation, God punished humanity by removing the memory of letters, a knowledge granted ever since the time of Adam: “and many nations of the world never fully recovered the use of letters, and many others never had any knowledge of them” (1951: 90). Although the origin of writing is a common theme in works of miscellany (Egido 1998: 33), here Cabello had a specific purpose in mind: he intended to interpret the absence or amnesia of letters among the native peoples of Peru by way of reference to sacred Judeo-Christian history.

In the opening pages of the *Miscelánea*, Cabello states that he found authoritative support for his theory of the origin of the Peruvian Indians in Lima, upon consulting the first volume of the critical, multilingual *Biblia Sacra* by Benito Arias Montano of Seville (Arias Montano 1569–73). This humanist author was undoubtedly a predominant intellectual figure among the writers of Andalusian descent in the Antarctic Academy.¹⁴ It was in Arias Montano’s work that Cabello found corroboration for his theory that the Indians of Peru were direct descendants of Noah. Arias Montano had argued that the etymological origin of “Perú” or “Pirú” was the word “Ophir,” the name of one of Noah’s descendants and the place name for groups of islands that supplied gold to King Solomon. According to Cabello, Ophir was responsible for the first great migration that populated South America from India and other parts of the Terra Australis (Cabello 1951: 108). Arias Montano had essentially read the existence of a profound and sacred language beneath the surface of the American name. His etymological reading of “Peru” embodies a process in many ways analogous to the catechisms in indigenous languages; a process which converts the pagan into the sacred and thereby allows the indigenous world to enter into biblical geography and history.¹⁵ The curious etymology of Arias Montano can be read as a theory of translation in which a classic word replaces the American name,

¹³ Egido reminds us that beginning with the *Libro de Aleixandre* (c. 1202) “Babel and Babylonia became synonyms for confusion and arrogance, to the point of becoming part of the lexicon” (1998: 30).

¹⁴ *El Discurso en Loor de la Poesía*, a poem in praise of the Antarctic Academy, refers to Arias Montano as “the honor of Seville.” See Mazzotti 2000, and García Gutiérrez 1998: 326.

¹⁵ On the elusive etymology of “Peru” see Firbas 2010. Arias Montano’s thesis appears in Volume VIII of the *Biblia Sacra* (1569–73). In his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, the Jesuit José de Acosta debunks and amends this etymological argument, pointing out that “the name ‘Pirú’ is neither that ancient nor that generalized throughout this land” (2008 [1590]: I, 13, 52). Sometime before 1606, Aldrete consulted Inca Garcilaso’s manuscript of *Comentarios reales* in Córdoba and confirmed the modern etymology of the toponym, coined around the second decade of the sixteenth century, which posits its origins in the Spaniards’ failure to understand indigenous terms and consequent tendency to corrupt them: “the Spaniards corrupt almost all the vocabulary they take from the Indians of that land” (Garcilaso de la Vega 1945: I, 18).

not as an equivalent term, but as the restitution of a more profound, original meaning: Perú is really Ophir. It is an etymology that presupposes the erasure or amendment of a native culture and produces a situation of extreme diglossia. The study of origins and the construction of *beginnings* is always a political act (Said 1985). In the case of Cabello, the search for the origins of the Indians and their native languages operates both as a vehicle for unification, dissolving differences into similarity, and as the means to consolidate relations of power, normalizing the hierarchies proper to empire and colony.¹⁶

Cabello's writings, along with his political and religious activities in Peru, were also interventions within a European theoretical debate about linguistic change and the ancient history of the Spanish language, a debate which was ultimately to define and defend the idea of an independent national language (Bahner 1966: 148). Thus, in his *Miscelánea*, Cabello contested the theories of a direct Jewish origin of the Peruvian natives, supported by many authorities, among them a professor by the name of Juan del Caño [or Elcano], who lectured in Salamanca in 1580.¹⁷ Caño proposed a Jewish lineage for the Peruvian Indians based on many Hebrew words found in their language. Cabello rejects this idea, arguing that Caño overlooked the many nations and languages found in Peru, a country of such extreme diversity that often more than one language was spoken in a town and even in a family household. His critique of Caño's lectures – and of a metropolitan ignorance of colonial reality – calls into question any homogenization behind the terms “Indian” or “Peru” and, furthermore, presents multilingualism as a negative force that separates neighboring peoples, homes and families:

In many provinces you could not walk a league without finding a different language, and as remote and different one from the first as the Castilian language is from Basque, English or African. In some lakes formed by a branch of the Magdalena River called Cesare . . . there are some small populated islands, one in sight of the other, and on each a different language is spoken. In some parts of the Indies this is so extreme that people in the same town would speak two and three languages, and inside a house it happens that the mother and daughters would speak one language and the husband and sons a very different one; and in some areas it would be dishonest for a woman to speak in the language of a man, and for a man, it would be degrading and infamous to speak in the language and terms of a woman. (Cabello 1951: 105)

¹⁶ The encounter of languages and the dialectic of colonization affected both cultures, resulting in an early Andeanization of Castilian and the Castilianization of indigenous languages. On Andean Castilian, see Rivarola 2000, and Cerrón Palomino 2003.

¹⁷ In his edition of *Miscelánea antártica*, Isafas Lerner notes that the 2002 *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* does not register any “Juan Elcano” (Cabello 2011: 141). Lerner's excellent edition is based on the manuscript held at the University of Texas at Austin, signed by the author. In my study I followed, with my own corrections, the 1951 edition published in Lima. Quotes from 1951, pp. 35, 104–5, 220 correspond to 2011, pp. 60, 141–2, 275.

There is no doubt that Cabello was exposed to real language diversity; his description of the vast and complex linguistic reality in Peru is also attested by other sources. But it is also unquestionable that he was unable or unwilling to understand the real linguistic varieties or the native politics behind what he saw as a radical and chaotic fragmentation. For him, the situation in Peru was the result of a lack of a coherent policy that would unify the region and ultimately correct the “morals” within families. Cabello, like many writers in his time, imagined that the Inca state had successfully imposed a policy of linguistic unity in all its territory, creating a true “general language,” only broken and corrupted once the imperial state collapsed:

[the Inca kings] mandated the use of a general language and that no mixtures would be admitted in it, and even after this, when their government ceased here, a million corruptions were introduced into the language and in some areas of Peru it is almost altered and made into a different one. (Cabello 1951: 220)

Cabello does not entirely negate the possibility that Hebrew words exist in the Incas’ general language, noting that French and Spanish words also exist in the vocabulary of Quechua, for example *casco*, *tio*, *mayo* and *manga*. Cabello tends to consider these verbal fragments as mere phonetic coincidences, thereby delegitimizing the idea of any direct parentage between the languages of the Old World and those he heard in the Americas (Cabello 1951: 105). Only an etymological study of the name “Peru” was able to reveal some remote but essential connection, barely discernible on the surface of colonial speech. Only the architecture of a few words, preserved from the era of the patriarchs, could restore the connection and unity between two worlds so apparently separate and different, but worlds which, nonetheless, belong together and can be reincorporated within a unifying discourse of sacred cosmography. Here the process of converting difference into similarity was driven by a discourse of restitution, in which the existence of linguistic diversity in the Americas became the best evidence that only the language of Christianity could resolve the Babelian reality.

Confronted by fragmentation, Cabello saw the need for a close relationship between the state and the politics of language: he viewed the imperial state as a force for turning back the tide of linguistic corruption. In the third part of the *Miscelánea*, Cabello explains polyglotism as the consequence of families separating, diverging from the language of their elders, inventing new words, mixing in words from other communities also separated from their own elders, and ultimately engendering new languages fated to last less than a hundred years. The emergence of the Incan state, Cabello claims, put an end to corruption and multiplicity by imposing a “general language” in which “no mixture was allowed.” From his perspective, a mere fifty years after the Spanish conquest, Cabello believed that the Quechua language had already been corrupted, to the

extent that “in some parts of Peru, it has very nearly been altered and made into a different language” (1951: 220).¹⁸

In contrast with the image Cabello presented, we now know that the linguistic reality in the Andes was very different. The Incas did spread their language as part of their military conquests, but they did not normalize its use or punish the use of local tongues:

The southern Peruvian Andes were, in general, a cultural mosaic in which speakers of distinct and often unrelated languages lived cheek to jowl to one another; even though Southern Peruvian Quechua was the administrative language of an expansionistic state, before the European invasion, it never became hegemonic, nor was it ever standardized, even in the territory immediately surrounding the Inka capital. (Mannheim 1991: 2)

The colonial Andean region was characterized by the coexistence of a “multitude of languages in different grades of diffusion and dialectal diversity” and although some diglossic orders did exist, “the degree of *idiomatic violence* they generated was mitigated by the relatively uniform level of technology in the contending communities and by the policies of linguistic and cultural respect and tolerance introduced by the Incas” (Cerrón Palomino 2003: 139). The sudden introduction of Castilian, alphabetic writing and the politics of Europe and its technologies radically changed this reality. In the case of the spread of Spanish in the Andes, both in practice and discourse, the politics of language were primarily constituted by the imperatives of religious conversion and linguistic unification.¹⁹

During these same years, from 1592 to 1604, the Dominican friar Gregorio García was living in Peru and writing an extensive treatise entitled *Origen de los indios de el Nuevo Mundo, e Indias Occidentales*, which he eventually published in Spain in 1607. The author dedicates several pages to the topic of polyglotism in the Indies, arguing that native Americans were descendants of the ten tribes of Israel who had, over time, lost their knowledge of Hebrew and had had to invent new languages in order to communicate (1607: 287). García’s experiences in the colonies also helped authorize his intervention in

¹⁸ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the theory of linguistic corruption dominated the debates and was prevalent among writers from divergent perspectives. Bernardo de Aldrete, author of the most important study on the origin of Castilian Spanish, considers and ultimately refutes the theory of a primitive Castilian, a Babelian language prior to Latin (Bahner 1966: 103; Woolard in this volume).

¹⁹ In 1602 in Lima, Diego Dávalos y Figueroa published his Renaissance-inspired dialogue *Miscelánea austral*. Dávalos denounced the impoverishment of Castilian in the Andes because of its borrowings from Quechua and noted semantic changes in the native language resulting from its contact with Castilian, as in the word *quispi* coming to mean ‘glass’ (Dávalos y Figueroa 1602: 125r). For Dávalos, an *encomendero* from Andalusia, the Castilian language had been barbarized in Peru as a result of its exposure to Quechua. See Cerrón Palomino 2003: 123–33 on the linguistic ideas of Dávalos, and Colombí-Monguió 1985 on the influence of Petrarch in Peru.

the ongoing debates about the origins of the Castilian language. From his perspective, Castilian was a derivative of Latin, the “general language” of the Roman Empire and the language that had corrected the confusion of Babel. Latin remained the stabilizing language until the fall of the Empire, which then resulted in a new fragmentation (1607: 287). García applied this theory of the stability of imperial languages as much to the Incan Empire as to the Roman. His intellectual strategy was two-pronged: not only was he hoping to use European history to help translate or incorporate the American world into a Christian narrative (as the Inca Garcilaso would also do in his *Comentarios reales*), but he was also relying upon a synchronic analysis and his own experience in the Andes to help explain the linguistic history of the Old World.

For García, then, the study of the linguistic state of America wound up affecting or transforming his understanding of the history of Spanish. In this sense, his *Origen de los indios* would become a testimony to the importance of the American experience for the Castilian language, not only in terms of speech or linguistic practices, but also in the formation of theories and discourses about language. For example, as evidence that the Hebrew language had come to America in the remote past but had been gradually lost amid the mixings, corruptions and inventions of Indians, García draws a parallel with the history of the Castilian language in Spain: because the Iberian Peninsula experienced invasions from so many different countries, the language of Castile includes many words from other languages and “it is nearly lost and corrupted, and is now very different from the past” (1607: 289). From the perspective of the “now” of his text, García proceeds to describe the astonishment a peninsular Spaniard experiences when coming into contact with American Spanish, as if the long historical transformation of the Castilian language in Europe could be read or heard synchronically in the colonies:

what can we say about the Spanish language that our people speak in the Indies, where by the contact and communication that the Spaniards have with the Indians so many words had stuck to it, and when one goes from Spain to those parts one finds strange both his own tongue and the language spoken there. (García 1607: 291)²⁰

The linguistic experience of the colonial present informs the history of Old World nations and languages, transforming the synchronic state of American Spanish into a mirrored reflection of the historical processes by which languages were formed. The American present seems to be legible only as a remnant of Europe’s past and origins. One could interpret this form of reading the colony

²⁰ García’s text was re-edited in Madrid in 1729, with additional notes and a lengthy commentary, by Andrés González de Barcia, a founding member of the Real Academia Española, who promoted an “Americanist” editorial line and established a canon of chronicles about the Indies. See Pease 1995: 311–47.

as another variant of the “translation” process that Arias Montano performs upon the word “Perú.”

In his conclusion, Friar Gregorio García stakes out a conciliatory and inclusive position vis-à-vis the different theories on the origins of the Indians, debating and revising each one in turn. He ultimately argues that ancient America was populated by Carthaginians, Hebrews, Atlantics, Spaniards, Romans, Greeks, Phoenicians, Chinese and Tartars, and that traces of the customs and words of all these nations have remained, turning the western Indians into “mestizos of diverse nations” (1607: 487). But García’s reflections do not end here; he then ventures beyond the initial proposal of tracing the origin of the Indians. He argues that the diversity in America is also a mirror of Spain herself, which as a result of being populated by many peoples “has today a mixture of all the nations that came to her, and testifying to this are the many different words and customs of all these [nations] that still persist to this day” (1607: 487). The link between Spain and America, therefore, originates in a structural similarity revealed in the analysis of their languages. García concludes, from a synchronic colonial perspective, that the best text for reading about Europe’s historical processes is the present-day Indies:

For where one can best observe what I have described is in our Indies, where [one finds] Castilians, Indians, Portuguese, Galicians, Viscayans, Catalans, Valencians, French, Italians, Greeks, blacks and even moriscos and gypsies in hiding or living in some hovel or corner of this land, and the descendants of Jews are also to be found; and because all these peoples live together in the same provinces, they necessarily have to mix, either through marriage or by way of illicit exchanges or copulation. (1607: 487–8)

In short, the hundreds of pages of García’s thoughts on languages and migrations seek not only to explain the origins of the Indians, but also the peculiarities of the colonial present, which, like the Castilian language in America, is and is not Spanish. Even though García, as a speaker of European Castilian, noted a strong divergence between the Castilians of Spain and the Americas, his cementing of a linguistic and cultural similarity between the two worlds was informed by the unifying politics of empire and by the ideology of *mestizaje* that sustained that politics. From his perspective, conditions of instability and cultural mixing justify an imperial politics of unification, since it is always best to avoid another Babel; at the same time, however, the linguistic identity of Castilian rests upon its inherently mestizo character. An imperial language is also a language of migrations and difference.

By way of a conclusion: the Incas and the origin of Spanish

As an established clergyman in Peru, Cabello battled polyglotism and the disorder of the colonial frontier with a unification project that equated the gospel

with language and interpreted the space and peoples of Peru in terms of moral, biblical geography. Dávalos (see note 19), the poet *encomendero*, read the existence of bilingualism and heteroglossia in the Andes as a barbarizing force against which he opposed the Renaissance culture of his *Miscelánea austral*. In contrast to these, García did not position himself within local debates or particular political battles; rather, his perspective was that of a pilgrim tracing a map, envisioning and describing a heteroglossic and multiracial order that defined the Americas in the synchronic and Spain in the diachronic sense.

Perhaps contemporary scholarship has not yet fully recognized the importance of Incan images and the experience of colonial polyglotism in the Spanish linguistic debates of the early seventeenth century, but clearly the Andean past and present functioned within those debates as fundamental reference points for viewing the history of the Castilian language and the imperial politics of Rome. For Bernardo de Aldrete, for example, the most renowned of the early seventeenth-century linguists (see Woolard in this volume), conditions in Peru clearly reflected the realities of peninsular life under the Romans, meaning “the conquered received the language of the conquerors” (1972 [1606]: 138). At the same time, he noted differences, for the Iberians’ familiarity with letters had facilitated their adoption of Latin whereas the absence of writing among the Indians had posed greater challenges for Castilianization (1972 [1606]: 149). He also claimed that the fundamental difference between the Incas’ successful imposition of a general language and the Spaniards’ sluggish progress in Castilianization was that, in the latter case, “there has been no diligence in introducing the language, because if there had been the kind exercised by [the Inca] Huayna Capac or by the Romans, then without a doubt [Castilian] would be spoken throughout these parts” (1972 [1606]: 146). Nonetheless, Aldrete predicted that “within a very short time,” and by the grace of God, there would be total Castilianization, because the Indians already “dress in Spanish clothes” (1972 [1606]: 146), and languages, like modes of dressing, are not difficult to change (178).

Just as Aldrete wrote his book to refute the theory of a “primitive Castilian,” first postulated by López Madera in 1601 (Bahner 1966: 102; Woolard in this volume), so Gonzalo Correas wrote his treatise as a refutation of Aldrete’s work. While also basing his argument on the model of the Incas, Correas came to the opposite conclusion: i.e. the popular permanence of vernacular tongues in the face of imposed imperial languages spoken only by elites. Correas argued that Latin and the Quechua of the Incas were both courtly languages, never truly becoming general languages because they failed to eradicate the particular languages spoken in the different provinces. In contrast with Aldrete, who referred to the colonial territories to bolster his prophecy of total Castilianization, Correas used the colonial world to predict the permanence of local languages, whatever the linguistic politics of empire. As long as there are

Indians, he argues, there will be indigenous languages: “only when they are eradicated will their languages be eradicated, as happened on the island of Hispaniola” (Correas 1954: 21). Thus Correas posits an unbreakable bond between the *vulgo* (or what the Romantics will refer to two centuries later as “the people”) and its language, the language which accompanies and defines that community.²¹

Like the historicism of the nineteenth century, the humanist philology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attempted to construct or reconstruct continuities after an experience of great change and rupture. Unlike their counterparts in the nineteenth century, however, the humanists did not create continuities through “the rationalist concept of a natural order” (Del Valle 2004: 120), but through the unquestionable truths of a supernatural, textual order whose language, subject to exegesis and commentary, could incorporate and assimilate change.

²¹ On Aldrete and Arias Montano in relation to Peru, see MacCormack 2007: 188–91 and 263–5. Correas’s incorrect reading of Spanish history is, nevertheless, a more faithful description of the Andean setting than those of other writers of his time who interpreted the linguistic diversity of Peru as a consequence of the corruption of Quechua after the fall of the Incan “empire.” One could infer that, from Correas’s perspective, a radical Castilianization would only be possible after the extermination of all non-Spanish speakers.

11 Grammar and the state in the Southern Cone in the nineteenth century

Elvira Narvaja de Arnoux

After independence, Spanish America's new nation-states had to confront numerous political challenges while at the same time engaging in military operations and facing internal upheaval: they had to build the institutions of representative democracy, structure the state apparatus, modernize society, extend agriculture and cattle farming, regulate commerce, protect local production and meet the demands of industrialization. Linguistic unification through a standardized language and the spread of lettered culture were necessary prerequisites to accomplish those social, political and economic goals. The production of school grammars in the first half of the nineteenth century, which went hand in hand with the initial expansion of the educational system, helped meet precisely those goals. They were part of a process – already under way in the Iberian Peninsula – that introduced the teaching of Spanish grammar in elementary school (Lázaro Carreter 1949: 167, 176) and supported the imposition of a standard variety as the common language of the nation.

In this chapter, we will focus on two pairs of school grammars. First, we will discuss two texts published in Buenos Aires in 1817, the same year the Army of the Andes, led by General José de San Martín, won its first victory in Chilean territory: *Gramática Española* or *Principios de la Gramática General aplicados a la Lengua Castellana*, by the Spaniard Felipe Senillosa, and *Gramática y Ortografía de la Lengua Nacional*, by the Cuban Antonio Valdés. We will then discuss a second pair of grammars produced by two *porteños* – father and son from Buenos Aires – and a Uruguayan, respectively: *Gramática Argentina* by Rufino and Pedro Sánchez in 1852 and *Lecciones de Gramática Castellana* by Marcos Sastre in 1857. They were also published in Buenos Aires in the decade that preceded the period of National Organization (1852–80), which led to the establishment of national borders, administrative centralization and new strategies for domestic market development.

The grammarians of the first revolutionary decade

Antonio José Valdés (1780–1830) and Felipe Senillosa (1790–1858) arrived in Buenos Aires in 1815. Valdés sailed from Cuba to Mexico, Spain, Chile and,

finally, Argentina; and Senillosa made it to Buenos Aires after traveling from Spain to France, back to Spain, and then to London before he began his journey to the Río de la Plata. Valdés represents the Spanish American dimension of the war of Independence and Senillosa its political dimension. While one was Cuban and the other Spanish, both were liberals who – proving the Spanish American/transatlantic dimension of the independence process – took part in the journalistic, educational and political undertakings of the Buenos Aires government during the first revolutionary decade.

A few months after Valdés's arrival in Buenos Aires, the city government or *Cabildo* appointed him editor of *El Censor*, an official newspaper that reported and commented on the government's activity. He held this position from August 1815 to February 1817. In order to be able to take a more critical stance, he also created – in this case hiding his identity – his own newspaper, *La Prensa Argentina: Semanario político y económico*, which was published between September 1815 and November 1816. Valdés left Buenos Aires in February 1817, when he was sent on a special mission to Europe by Supreme Director Juan Martín de Pueyrredón. Senillosa, for his part, founded, in late 1815, a cultural newspaper, *Los Amigos de la Patria y de la Juventud*, which was published until May 1816 (Arnoux 2010a). In that same year, he was appointed Director and Preceptor of *Academia de Matemáticas* (Gómez de Mier 2004). He remained in the country – taking part in many political, journalistic, educational and cultural activities – for the rest of his life.

On punctuation

Valdés and Senillosa were involved in journalism at the time when they published their respective grammars, and this engagement in public debates may have influenced their perception of what their grammars' ideal readership would be. Our analysis reveals that, besides primary schoolchildren, they were addressing a broader public, one that was expected to engage in the production of textual genres significantly more complex than those written at the elementary-school level. For example, when Senillosa deals with punctuation, he describes a thought process that necessarily unfolds in a long written text:

On the period (.) Since we do not express every idea created by our imagination, it happens that not all propositions exhibit the same degree of connection with each other. This connection varies according to the number and type of intermediate ideas that have remained unexpressed. The lower degree of connection is indicated by a period followed by writing in the same line; by a period followed by writing in the next line; by a period followed by a new *paragraph*, a new *article*, *chapter* . . . or a whole new work altogether. (Senillosa 1817: 57)

His discussion of the colon also shows – through his reference to italics and manuscripts – that he is not only addressing schoolchildren but also readers involved in the production of more advanced texts: “Colon indicates a quotation and also a consequence . . . NOTE. The quoted text is usually between commas . . . or in italics. Similarly, those words to which we wish to draw the reader’s attention are usually written in italics. Italics are indicated in manuscripts by drawing lines under the words” (Senillosa 1817: 58).

For his part, Valdés, as the following examples show, also deals in his grammar with requirements for the elaboration of fairly complex texts: “Parentheses are used when a circumstance that has no immediate relation to the context of discourse occurs: *Napoleón se hallaba en París (présteme V. atención) cuando los aliados pisaban el territorio francés* [Napoleon was in Paris (pay attention) when the Allies set foot on French territory]. Besides, there are other marks that printers in particular use: they are *quotation marks [“”]: the asterisks or reference . . .*” (Valdés 1817: 115).

Pronunciation and orthography

In Senillosa’s grammar, the standards set for reading aloud were – in the spirit of Enlightenment – based on a rational criterion that identifies one letter with one sound and each sound with one letter. For example, when he discusses word-final *d* (in words such as *verdad*) he insists that it should not be dropped. It must be pronounced, softly, like intervocalic *d*. In the case of *v*, however, he accepted *betacismo* (i.e. the generalized use of a bilabial pronunciation identical to that of *b*): “pronouncing *v* by sinking the lower lip and bringing it under the upper teeth, as some claim it should be, would be alien to the Spanish language” (Senillosa 1817: 5). Although, on occasion, he supports general usage, he also points out arbitrary aspects of Spanish orthography and argues for criteria based on modern rationality (i.e. for the consistent application of principles and the search for simplicity). When describing the standard, he often highlights the problems associated with criteria other than pronunciation (such as etymology or usage) and even suggests possible reforms through statements introduced by “*más sencillo fuera*” (“it would be simpler”), “*se deberían escribir*” (“they should be written”), “*mejor fuera*” (“it would be better”), “*Mejor fuera escribir je, ji siempre con j*” (“It would be better to write *je, ji* always with *j*”) (Senillosa 1817: 9). With regard to *h*, he is more categorical: “This letter could be eliminated from the Spanish alphabet and kept only in *ch*” (Senillosa 1817: 10). In a note, Senillosa suggests that reform should be introduced by a legitimate authority – in general, a state agency – and is careful to insist on the importance of uniformity:

It is desirable that a duly constituted authority produce the norm and provide the means to implement these and other simplifications in our language on which many modern

grammarians so rightly insist. Meanwhile, it is good to comply with the generally received orthography, since uniformity is the most beautiful condition to be desired in a language either spoken or written. (Senillosa 1817: 8)

This praise of uniformity was being voiced at a time and in a context in which a common language was seen as one of the elements that define or construct national identity and as a necessity for the development of industrialization. However, as we saw, Senillosa also pointed out the weaknesses of Spanish orthography and stated the need for orderly changes carried out from a legitimate position and through the application of rational criteria.

A similar tension between reform and respect for uniformity and general usage was found in Valdés's grammar. When discussing *betacismo*, for example, in contrast with Senillosa Valdés recommended accepting the authority of educated people and maintaining a distinct pronunciation for *b* and *v*:

Letter *B*. *B* is produced by breathing out when opening the lips: it is usually confused with the consonant *V* in pronunciation and often in writing. Consequently, some people have thought it appropriate to eliminate *v* in order to simplify writing. But its persistent use and the authority of educated people have supported the permanence of both letters in their respective usages. (Valdés 1817: 88)

With regard to *h*, Valdés agrees with Senillosa that eliminating it would be more convenient; but he poses one objection based on the power of tradition and usage: "Letter *H*. Undoubtedly, in order to simplify the orthography it would be advisable to eliminate *h* from our language, since it is completely unnecessary. But, although the other simplifications that I mention have many followers, the elimination of *h* has always found resistance, perhaps because of how strange it looks" (Valdés 1817: 92).

In general, in Valdés's grammar, as in Senillosa's, we find a reformist thrust that, while typical of Enlightenment thought, intensified during the revolutionary period:

[B]ut, following other authors very knowledgeable of our language, I would use letter *c* in all these cases [of letter *Q*] and similar ones, with the same idea of simplifying writing, thus avoiding exceptions that do not show anything else but a superstitious respect to origins and a disruptive respect to writing. It is a fact that in an infinite number of other cases we contradict the origin for the sake of ease, analogy, and simplicity of language. (Valdés 1817: 90)

Grammatical traditions

In spite of their commonalities – such as their overall position on punctuation and orthography – Valdés and Senillosa were located within different grammatical traditions. Valdés explicitly recognized as a source, and closely followed, the fourth edition (1796) of the Royal Spanish Academy's (henceforth RAE, from *Real Academia Española*) grammar, although, in his prologue, he points

out that he had selected certain rules and made certain amendments in order to meet his pedagogical objectives. He identified himself as a compiler and adapter, and inscribed his grammar within the “public services” to which he had devoted himself:

Friendly Youth, nothing should be more useful to you than a clear and sufficient summary of the GRAMMAR and ORTHOGRAPHY of our language. In these elements that I bring to you with great affection, you will find everything that the Spanish Academy as well as other Spanish writers have said on the subject. You will also find a collection of rules and amendments that I have adopted or produced in order to facilitate this study by simplifying its object. . . . Receive, friendly youth, this small gift from one who has gladly devoted his work to public service. (Valdés 1817: 1–2)

By contrast, Senillosa built a different kind of authorial identity, one which openly questioned the RAE and affirmed individual effort and personal reflection (although his own work was grounded in the general grammar tradition initiated by the Port-Royal *Grammaire* in 1660).¹

With regard to word types, Valdés adopted the RAE’s Latinate perspective, which declined article, noun and pronoun. He divided nouns into two types, substantive and adjective, and justified the explanatory power of case: “The different ways in which the declinable categories produce meaning – except for verbs – are called cases. They are given this name because it is really a different case when we say *Pedro aconseja* and when we say *aconsejan a Pedro* (‘Pedro advises’ and ‘They advise Pedro’)” (Valdés 1817: 2).

Senillosa moves away from this tradition. He does not resort to case but to syntactic function, and separates nouns from adjectives. He discusses yet another type of noun, abstract nouns, which he derives from propositions, thus providing a syntactic explanation for word formation. He describes the process as one of syntactic manipulation:

Every secondary idea in stating a judgment may give way to a new one and can therefore become a primary idea. If we apply this principle, we say that any attribute may become subject. If that is the case, that subject/attribute is the noun for an abstract idea, namely, the perceived quality. Therefore we will call it *noun-attribute*. *Ese hombre es alto* > *Ser alto es útil* (That man is tall > being tall is useful).

NOTE. Nouns have been created to replace the most frequently used name-attributes. However, since they do not represent an existing body or being but one of the qualities

¹ Our authors’ own biographies are relevant to understanding their position vis-à-vis grammar. In Valdés’s case, his affinity with the Cadiz Courts and the importance that the Cádiz model had in his political views (Goldman 2002) allowed him to accept and praise the RAE’s grammar and, at the same time, take a constitutionalist stand. For his part, Senillosa decidedly turned his back on Spain. He did not live through the Cádiz experience and rejected the absolutist monarchy embodied by Ferdinand VII. Moreover, in Paris, he had been in contact with the *ideologues*, hence his criticism of a non-reasoned and merely normative grammar.

of being, we will label them *metaphysical or abstract nouns* and we will distinguish them from others called *physical nouns*, such as those nouns like *humildad* (humility), *canto* (singing), *lectura* (reading):

Es laudable ser humilde > La humildad es laudable (It is laudable to be humble > Humility is laudable). (Senillosa 1817: 41–2)

Senillosa articulates grammar and logic and focuses on propositions, as well as on the relationship between these and judgment. He uses transformations and ellipsis to explain the connection between one and the other, to establish equivalences, and to prove points of grammar. He proposes and develops a grammar and logic exercise in which he relates word types to functional categories (in this, as in many other aspects of his text, he goes beyond the expectations of a standard school grammar):

Words must not be analyzed in isolation but in the performance of their functions, that is, in sentences. Otherwise, it would be chaotic confusion. There are words that function as nouns in one sentence or phrase and adjectives in another. Prepositions sometimes become conjunctions. Some prepositions and conjunctions become adverbs. Adverbs become nouns. Participles become adjectives. Adjectives become adverbs. And, finally, the same word often represents the different parts of a sentence in different propositions. (Senillosa 1817: 64)

Logical analysis identifies functions and grammatical analysis identifies words by indicating their type and their inflectional and derivational features.²

If Senillosa articulated grammar and logic, Valdés favored instead the relationship between grammar and rhetoric and, again, clearly pointed at a readership that went beyond schoolchildren. He found it necessary, for example, to include – beyond a figurative syntax (which manipulates word order, as in hyperbaton, which allows us “to make speech more elegant”) – an appendix with a catalogue of fifty rhetorical figures (many illustrated with classical texts). He also discussed the period, a major topic in the writing arts, which amply exceeded the more primary limit of the simple sentence:

A period is a short discursive unit consisting of several parts linked in such a way that the full meaning is never revealed until its conclusion. There are periods with two, three and four members. 2: *Si es así que nuestro preceptor se esmera en educarnos, debemos, como alumnos agradecidos, recompensar sus fatigas* (“If it is the case that our tutor

² At the end of the book, Senillosa includes an “Example of an analyzed text” that works as a recapitulation of the topics covered throughout the manual. It is worth noticing that the text chosen for the exercise performs an ideological function as it expresses, in this case, some of the fears of bourgeois society (“the vagaries of unfair fortune”) and, especially, the values of Enlightenment (the connection between knowledge and moral values, between truth and good) which applied both to individual life and social order: “Science and virtue are the two goods / That never faded the vagaries / Of unfair fortune.”

strives to educate us, as grateful students, we must reward his effort”). . . . 4: *antes que la guerra se declare / antes que los enemigos del estado infesten nuestras costas / discurremos, amados compañeros / inventemos modos de aniquilarlos* (“before war is declared / before the State’s enemies infest our shores / let us think, dear partners, / let us plan ways to annihilate them”). (Valdés 1817: 68)

In sum, these authors published their grammars in Buenos Aires during the first revolutionary decade in a context in which a modern nation-state was being forged, open to cultural and educational institutions, capable of organizing society by disciplining subjects, and sensitive to the freedom of the press and the spread of print media. As our analysis of their discussions of punctuation and orthography has shown, both grammars were inscribed in this process as they targeted not only schoolchildren but also those who needed to participate through writing and public speaking in an emerging public sphere grounded in rationality. Their discussion of orthography reveals precisely their commitment to rationality and their rejection of criteria that do not result in simplicity and unity. Differences between the two grammarians reflected the traditions in which they were inscribed: general grammar for Senillosa and the RAE for Valdés. Concern for the citizen’s rational development of the intellect is expressed in the former’s work, whereas the latter, embracing a different representation of the school-educated citizen, favored elegant writing and appealed rather to the value of rhetoric.

Grammars of the decade before national organization

Gramática Argentina by Rufino (1790–1852) and Pedro Sánchez (1810–71?) – a reformulation of Rufino’s previous grammar from 1828 (*El amigo de la juventud* [The friend of youth]) (Blanco 2003) – was published in 1852 (the same year Governor Juan Manuel de Rosas was defeated at Caseros by a force led by Justo José de Urquiza with troops from both the provinces and Buenos Aires). Vicente López y Planes, author of Argentina’s national anthem assumed the presidency in that year and his son, historian Vicente Fidel López, took over the Ministry of Public Instruction. These political circumstances may have influenced some paratextual aspects of the 1852 grammar. First, the title, which states the grammar’s national character – “Argentina” identifies the territorial limits of its validity (Blanco 1999) – and the coveted, yet threatened, national unity (shortly after its publication, Buenos Aires separated from the Confederation of interior provinces). Secondly, the grammar’s territorial scope was also represented on the cover by the twelve-spear shield representing the *Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata*. Finally, the national anthem was introduced in the prologue as the language model *par excellence*. It was an

ideal tool for forging citizens, not only because of the virtuous classical style of its lyrics and the emotional power of its rhetoric, but also because of the principles that it represented.³ Rufino's mother had been a teacher during the colonial period, and so was Rufino, from the first revolutionary decade until his death in 1852. Pedro assisted his father and, in 1844, founded his own school, the *Liceo Argentino de San Telmo* (Cutolo 1983: 613), which was attended by many who, years later, would participate in the organization of the nation-state.

Marcos Sastre (1808–87) published his *Lecciones de Gramática Castellana* in 1857, the year in which the RAE published the *Epítome de la Gramática de la Lengua Castellana para la primera enseñanza elemental* (see Villa's chapter in this volume). It is the period when – despite Buenos Aires being separated from the Confederation – the first steps were taken towards the organization of the national education system. His *Lecciones* was the first such text to have the approval and support of the Department of Schools, which, since 1856, had been directed by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. It is the first instance of what would later become a requirement: official approval of school textbooks. The grammar came after the publication of two other education-related texts by Sastre: the *Anagnosia* in 1849, which aimed at the teaching of the first letters, and, in 1854, *Ortografía Completa*. Marcos Sastre – founder of the *Salón Literario*, where the generation of 1837 used to gather – strengthened in these years his relationship with other intellectuals and politicians who would later engage in nation- and state-building under *porteño* hegemony (after the Battle of Pavón in 1861, and during and after Bartolomé Mitre's presidency between 1862 and 1868). He participated in educational administration, and his teaching activity allowed him to meet different sectors of the population. He was secretary at the *Colegio Republicano Federal* in Buenos Aires between 1842 and 1846; in 1846 he founded an elementary school in San Fernando, and he was appointed General Schools Superintendent in Entre Ríos in 1850 and in Buenos Aires in 1855. Therefore, his grammatical work went hand in hand with the expansion of the public education system, that is, with the progressive inclusion of social sectors other than the Buenos Aires elite, and the incorporation of a greater number of teachers. The grammar reveals this double reader/user: it includes notes aimed at teachers and prescriptions against unacceptable popular usages aimed at students. In all cases, we notice, on the one hand, grammar's function as a unifier of practices and, on the other, a representation of the site where the language would be taught: elementary school.

³ In this manner, the grammar introduces patriotic education through the use of prestigious examples.

Pronunciation, punctuation and orthography

When discussing pronunciation, Rufino and Pedro Sánchez took a purist approach. Probably led by a desire to secure their students' social distinction, they rejected *betacismo* and ignored *seseo* (an [s] pronunciation for words spelled with *z* or *ce*, *ci*):

A well-pronounced *b* will not be confused with any other letter. However, bad habit has so marred *v*'s peculiar sound that it is often confused with *b*. We will avoid this abuse by pronouncing *b* in all syllables with the lips closed together, and *v* with parted lips. Their different pronunciations will thus be noticeable . . . *z* is pronounced in all syllables biting the tip of the tongue. This sound is very different from the *s* sound. (Sánchez and Sánchez 1852: 8, 11)

They often saw punctuation rules as guidelines for reading aloud and for written texts that were meant to be read aloud. They focused on developing students' speaking skills in formal situations:

The pause associated with a semicolon should be longer than that associated with the comma; and the tone in the clause that follows should be modulated so that, through a change in the voice, the clause that follows the semicolon is more vigorously explained than the clause that precedes it. (Sánchez and Sánchez 1852: 24)

Exclamation marks must be uttered in a slow and quiet voice, as if surprised. The voice changes completely and, at the end, a sharp and slow pause is made. (Sánchez and Sánchez 1852: 25)

In *Gramática Argentina*, tone was also a function of emotion (whose expression, by the way, the authors also regulate): "Note that anger calls for a high-pitched and abrupt sound, compassion and sadness require a soft and quiet voice, delight is explained in a sweet and slow tone, fear in a low and interrupted voice" (Sánchez and Sánchez 1852: 31).

The Sánchezes' grammar also deals with the modulation of the voice according to the rhetorical structure of discourse:

Voice should also change according to the level of discourse. At first, in the exordium, the voice should be low and less heated (except in cases of anger). In narration we will use a clear voice, open and familiar, as if telling a story. In offering proof and confirmation we will use a hard voice and an imposing tone. In peroration, the voice should be more relaxed and free, as if the speaker were confident that listeners are fully satisfied with what he has said. (Sánchez and Sánchez 1852: 31)

Even as it introduced a category like pronoun, *Gramática Argentina* used criteria for the evaluation of speech that can be traced to the tradition of the arts of writing:

Sound, a quality inferior to meaning, should never be neglected. No matter how select our voices may be, untimely repetition is, without a doubt, tiresome and unpleasant to

the ear. The harmony and beauty of sentences depends on the appropriate collocation of words. Pronouns were invented to produce such harmony . . . to avoid the annoying sound of a continuous repetition of the same noun. (Sánchez and Sánchez 1852: 11)

Sastre – who had a different kind of reader/user in mind and could not ignore Sarmiento's endorsement of American pronunciation (Arnoux 2008a) – gave *betacismo* and *seseo* a different treatment (not quite as purist as Rufino and Pedro Sánchez):

Insisting on making children pronounce *v* differently from *b* is a waste of time because the *general and constant* usage in Castile as well as in America is to pronounce *v* and *b* with both lips. (Sastre 1900: 112)

In Spain's pronunciation, *s* sounds very different from dental *z* and *c*. But American pronunciation has merged these two articulations into one: American *s*, much softer than Spanish *s* . . . It would be most appropriate to accept the American pronunciation, irrevocably approved by usage throughout the continent. (Sastre 1900: 110)

Sastre favored reading and writing, assuming that students would receive rhetorical training at the secondary-school level (at least those who made it to that level). Therefore, since his is a school grammar, he discusses mostly the use of comma, semicolon and period: that is, those punctuation marks that are more clearly associated with basic sentence structure. "The relative value of marks indicating divisions and pauses" (Sastre 1900: 135) becomes clear in the deployment of narrative texts (precisely the type of discourse introduced at the primary-school level).

In one particular example, Sastre provides a long sentence that reports an event and transforms it into a long paragraph in which the different parts of the story unfold in sequence. With this, he shows how to introduce more complex grammatical structures according to the requirements of narrative writing. He describes punctuation marks in relation to grammatical information ("a comma must be inserted between similar parts of a sentence, that is, between noun and noun, between verb and verb, etc.") and as reading guides ("Colon indicates no particular pause; it only draws the reader's attention to the words that follow. Therefore we should not use colon except as a sign that calls attention to what we are about to add; and especially when we cite texts, maxims or sayings without preceding them by a conjunction") (Sastre 1900: 137).

As we just saw, the differences between the two grammars with respect to pronunciation, punctuation marks and forms of reading are connected with different representations of the subject who is going to be schooled and the intended scope of primary education. However, the texts coincide in how they deal with orthography. Here they present a kind of knowledge that is not subject to discussion, and they counter, therefore, the reformist impulse that we found in works from the first revolutionary decade. Just as modern

rationality – which feeds Enlightenment thinking and its rejection of loose and arbitrary orthographic criteria – goes hand in hand with progress in the new nations, these also side with order and prescription once they have reached a significant level of consolidation. The grammars discussed in this section – from the period when the organization of the state is announced – had already become part of the great disciplinary enterprise undertaken by the educational system.

Language varieties and normativity in Sastre

Many of the notes in Sastre's grammar reveal its prescriptive character: they aim at correcting linguistic practices in general and those of speakers of non-standard, popular, and even dialectal varieties in particular. The book's cover indicates that it contains "The Correction of Incorrect Utterances used in this Country." Also, its definition of grammar ("the art of speaking and writing correctly") reveals its prescriptive thrust – quite different from Rufino and Pedro Sánchez's, which was to some extent indebted to philosophical grammars: "the art that teaches how to speak and write a language."

The teacher is constructed as a guardian of the norm and negative evaluations are issued through expressions such as *es impropio* ("it is not proper"), *sería intolerable decir* ("it would be intolerable to say"), *dicen mal algunos* ("some wrongly say"), *es mal dicho* ("it is wrongly said") and *esta corruptela* ("this petty corruption") (Sastre 1900: 11):

The student must be warned that it is not proper to say: *antiayer* [the day before yesterday], *anteantiyer* [the day before the day before yesterday], *redepenete* [suddenly], *interin* [interim], *toavía* [still, yet], *endenantes* [before]. (Sastre 1900: 40)

I must call teachers' attention to the bad habit (which is not less intolerable for being widely used) of deleting the last syllable of the preposition *para* [for] using *pa mí* [for me], *pa ti* [for you], *pa comer* [to eat], *pa tomar* [to drink], *pa poner* [to put], *pa qué* [what for?]. This *corruptela* [petty corruption] so tarnishes the language that undoubtedly anyone who notices it in their speech will take the greatest care to avoid it. (Sastre 1900: 42)

Normative discourse, therefore, evaluates linguistic production and warns about that which is "incorrectly said." At the same time, it criticizes the forms registered as popular or vulgar. Negative evaluations that combine aesthetic ("*afean*" ["tarnish"]) and moral ("*corruptela*," "*vicio*" ["corruption," "vice"]) criteria project themselves onto speakers, whose incorrect speech must not be tolerated in schools. The teacher must repress those stigmatized usages and impose the legitimate language on which the state apparatus will be built and that citizens must know. However, we must highlight his caution with respect to *voseo*:

The language used in the family context usually exhibits the anomaly of distorting the second person singular of the present indicative and the imperative. It uses *amás*, *temés*, *amá*, *temé*, which are corruptions of the plural forms *amáis*, *teméis*, *amad*, *temed*. But teachers should abstain from disapproving of this usage in the family context, because it would bring parents into confrontation with children. (Sastre 1900: 33)

Sastre identifies *voseo* with the language spoken in the family domain, which confirms Fontanella de Weinberg's (1987: 110–20) claim that, in the Buenos Aires region, *voseo* was generalized at all sociocultural levels and in rural as well as urban areas from colonial times. Although school grammars must point out this “corruption” (plural forms used with singular meaning), Sastre must also advise teachers to be moderate in their corrective impulse since most adults – including those from higher social classes – used *voseo*. The school must not interfere with familial authority.

Grammatical analysis

Traditionally, in elementary school the teaching of grammar has been subordinated to the teaching of writing. Grammar teaches children how to draw word boundaries – which are a property of writing – and facilitates understanding of topics as central as, for example, agreement, which is crucial to the proper construction of sentences (these, in turn, become more and more complex in each school grade). Grammar practice or, better, sentence analysis – which uses a metalanguage that identifies units as members of a class – allows students to approach the text from an intellectual distance that is essential to the development of self-correction strategies. The student analyzes the sentence and identifies how phrases are bound and which features reveal the binding system with which writers must comply. The differences between *Gramática Argentina* and *Lecciones* are based on one hand on the types of sentences analyzed, as well as on the prominence given to syntax. On the other, the differences are noticeable in the content of the examples used not only to illustrate points of grammar but also to reproduce moral values and to discipline human behavior. Sastre's text was aimed at elementary schools and therefore focused on simple sentences and moral norms; Sánchez's aimed at higher grades and therefore focused on more complex sentences and introduced moral dilemmas.

Gramática Argentina presents a predominantly syntactic analysis (in contrast with Sastre's, in which it is predominantly morphological). It illustrates the different types of sentences described, indicating the kind of verb and the grammatical case of the other constituents of the sentence. They take, therefore, a Latinizing perspective on the analysis of grammatical function. Sentences are analyzed linearly, indicating the syntactic category and some semantic features for each constituent: “*Los enemigos* [nominative, person who experiences] *pueden* [determining verb, active voice] *ser destruidos* [determining verb,

passive voice” [“The enemies can be destroyed”]. At the end of the syntax section, they present sentences in paraphrastic families: “*El joven virtuoso es digno de ser premiado*” [“The virtuous young man deserves to be rewarded”] / “*El joven virtuoso es digno de que lo premies o de que sea premiado*” [“The virtuous young man deserves that you reward him or that he be rewarded”] / “*El joven virtuoso es digno de premio*” [“The virtuous young man is worthy of a prize”] / “*El joven virtuoso es premiable*” [“The virtuous young man is prizeworthy”]. This provides guidance on how to transform statements while preserving meaning, a fundamental skill in the development of writing.

Sastre’s *Lecciones* defines “Análisis gramatical” as “the classification and explanation of words in discourse according to the principles of grammar” (45). While it discusses the syntax of simple sentences, that of complex sentences is not discussed, which indicates that dealing with subordination in detail is not considered appropriate for the level for which the book is intended. In contrast with *Gramática Argentina*, in *Lecciones* it is the morphological analysis of words or lexicalized structures that predominates.

As we already mentioned, examples differ not only on the basis of the grammar point that they illustrate, but also in the representation of the reader and the moral universe to which the content of the example refers. In *Gramática Argentina*, when they go beyond the simple exemplification of a structure, they reproduce thoughts linked to the moral, legal and political fields that show the complexity of human behavior: “Man, born for sublime things, must be ashamed of the meanness he commits” or “How frequently we notice tears in a sensitive Judge’s face as he signs a death sentence!” In Sastre’s texts, however, examples seem to be selected because they establish each individual’s social position, offer exemplary behaviors, reproduce commonplaces, or review topics from other school subjects. Examples perform a double function. On one hand they illustrate the correct usage of the legitimate language, and on the other they regulate behavior and morality:

Las niñas son juiciosísimas [Girls are very prudent]. *Si yo trabajo mucho y me porto bien, agradaré a mis padres, seré útil a la sociedad y seré estimado de todos* [If I work hard and behave, I will please my parents, I will be useful to society and I will be esteemed by everyone]. *¡Oh quién lograra vivir sin pesares!* [Oh, who could live without regrets!] *Ama a tu prójimo como a ti mismo* [Love your neighbor as you love yourself]. *La tierra gira alrededor del sol* (The earth revolves around the sun). (Sastre 1900: 46–53)

In sum, in 1852, *Gramática Argentina*, because of the choices made by its authors, was a step forward in the transition to the model that would become dominant in primary schools. However, it was Marcos Sastre’s *Lecciones* that came to represent this new model more faithfully (even if it did not deal with

patriotic education to the extent that the Sanchezes' or Bello's textbooks did; Arnoux 2008: 282–308). Although *Gramática Argentina* does contain numerous references to philosophical grammars and is committed to developing a rational discourse that accounts for the phenomena it analyzes, it does not question the RAE's orthography and deals with categories such as declension that can be traced to a tradition legitimized precisely by the RAE. This more normative approach would become dominant in later grammars. With regard to pronunciation, *Gramática Argentina* takes a purist position and, as when dealing with punctuation, focuses on writing that is intended to be read aloud. The intended reader/user is the kind of student that would be typical of secondary schools after the expansion of the education system: a member of the leading groups, who speaks the standard variety, and is being trained for the public use of language.

Marcos Sastre also adopted a normative approach. However, he addressed a new student/subject from other social groups, who must be taught the standard language and introduced to lettered culture following the requirements of the primary level (in which, for example, rhetoric is not needed). Hence, his description of non-legitimate, sociolinguistically marked forms focuses on simple sentences and the presentation of the punctuation marks needed to write basic narrative texts. While the link with the RAE is important to the development of grammar and the orthographic norm, Sastre's *Lecciones* recognizes and legitimizes specifically Argentinean dialectal features (such as *voseo*), thus contributing to grounding the nation-state in language.

Conclusion

The construction of citizens in the context of state-building as active participants in the exercise of democracy is closely connected to the development of class subjectivities. In the first half of the nineteenth century, when the public education system was not yet widespread, the grammars' ideal readers/users were members of the elite. Grammars such as Senillosa's and Valdés's, published in 1817, were the vehicle through which those readers would be introduced to modern rationality, which was the basis for the organization of the state. This led to efforts to approach the teaching of grammar rationally, to the erasure of popular speech, and to the belief that the language variety described in grammar books – with its reflection in writing – was indeed “the language.” Moreover, the development of a specialized metalanguage not only established a certain distance with respect to the object but, at the same time, naturalized the shared language as the basis for the nation that, at the time, was under construction.

However, once the resources for the development of primary education were put in place, the grammar book had to address a different reader/user and stress its prescriptivism. Grammar became dogmatic and followed, for example, the

question–answer format (pedagogical practice that authorizes only questions that can be answered). In our corpus, Marcos Sastre’s *Lecciones*, from 1857, marks the transition from a speculative grammar to one that focuses on the actual language. While the former contains philosophical references, engages previous doctrine, includes a comparative angle and even – as was the case in Valdés – introduces rhetoric, the latter has a clearly prescriptive orientation and produces lists that separate acceptable from unacceptable forms. It recognizes legitimate dialectal forms as American – in an emancipating move of sorts –, acknowledges the widespread nature of the forms it questions – such as *voseo* –, and rejects – while showcasing it – popular urban and rural speech. It is a didactic text meant to circulate in elementary schools, and therefore includes morphological analysis of words and the structure of simple sentences. In this regard, Sastre’s *Lecciones* is different from the type of grammar that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, will be produced for secondary education, where the members of the elite will be educated. In their education, discussion of more complex structures that include subordination, and the teaching of rhetoric, will be essential for preparing this social group for their operation in the public sphere.

12 The politics of lexicography in the Mexican Academy in the late nineteenth century

Bárbara Cifuentes

The RAE's expansion program

As indicated in the introduction to this part, in 1870 the *Real Academia Española* (henceforth RAE) decided to promote the creation of subsidiary academies in Spanish America in an effort to secure institutional representation in this continent and strengthen its authority. In order to counter possible accusations of interventionism, the RAE declared that the initiative had “no political objectives and was therefore independent of any attempts to carry out actions and establish relationships with the respective governments” (Puente Apezechea 1873a: 289). Their main goal was to protect Spanish so that “it would recover and preserve the essence of its ancient purity and grandiloquent accent on American soil” (Puente Apezechea 1873a: 279). The new academies would be granted a certain degree of freedom to adapt the RAE's bylaws to local needs and the right to withdraw from this association at any time (Puente Apezechea 1873a: 280–1). The Colombian (1871), Ecuadorian (1874), Mexican (1875), Salvadoran (1876) and Venezuelan (1883) academies were created first. They embraced the RAE's goals and eagerly collaborated in the academic task of lexicographical codification with the aim of unifying, purifying and enriching the Spanish language. The result of this collaboration was the publication in 1884 of the landmark twelfth edition of the RAE's dictionary, the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (henceforth DRAE 12).

Supporters of the expansion program were asked to publicize it throughout Spanish America (Puente Apezechea 1873a: 286). In Mexico, the newspaper *La Iberia* (February 15, 1872, pp. 1–2)¹ and the journal *La Sociedad Católica* (Vol. IV, 1872, pp. 34–46) initiated this campaign and provided first-hand

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¹ The article was entitled “Sobre los trabajos de la Academia Española” [“On the work of the Spanish Academy”]. In this paragraph, we quote from this article. The article published in *La Sociedad Católica* was entitled “La Academia Española.”

information on the expansion program by publishing a full version of the RAE's "Summary of Activities" for 1870 and 1871. The Summary's author, RAE's secretary Antonio María Segovia (1808–74), reported that the original idea had been advanced by Spanish academician Eugenio Hartzenbusch (1806–80) in collaboration with a few Colombian colleagues and that the final plan to establish the subsidiary academies had been drafted in November 1870. There had been consensus within the RAE, he wrote, regarding the benefits of the project: the Spanish language and the Catholic religion, two essential components of national spirit shared by Spain and Spanish America, would be strengthened. According to Segovia, in previous years, educated elites throughout the Spanish-speaking world had been showing a favorable attitude towards promoting proper usage of the language. Spain itself was a good example of this trend, he said, since linguistic corruption, which earlier "appeared to be an incurable gangrene," was no longer in vogue. It was noticeable that "newspapers, the congress and the courts [showed] greater interest in language" and that the RAE's normative texts were more widely accepted. In Spanish America, there was also a growing number of learned people who had a "very fertile intelligence and possessed an in-depth knowledge of our language evidenced in works of outstanding prose and verse." And these, he added, were also involved in the production of works of grammar, orthography and prosody. The RAE needed, the report claimed, the support of these authors in order to build strong subsidiary academies and protect the language from further deterioration in the Americas, which, according to the RAE's special committee for the development of Spanish America's associated academies (CAACE for *Comisión de Academias Americanas Correspondientes de la Española*), had begun with independence and become more pronounced with the passage of time as a result of political divisions and the proliferation of trade with foreign cultures.

La Iberia (November 15, 1873) disseminated another document taken from *Eco de ambos mundos*, published in London. The author was Fermín de la Puente Apezechea (1812–75), member of the RAE and first secretary of the CAACE (significantly, he had been born in Mexico). His article (Puente Apezechea 1873b) reproduced the expert report that had recommended, in the first place, the creation of associated academies and offered a rationale for the expansion program. The arguments emphasized the common origin of Spaniards and Spanish Americans and minimized the cultural effects of political independence and more recent geopolitical conflicts between Spain and its former colonies. Apezechea naturalized the RAE's role as guardian of the shared linguistic and literary legacy, and therefore assumed that the Spanish corporation would also be responsible for protecting that heritage from fragmentation in the American continent, with its estimated 20 million Spanish speakers. By resorting to the uncritical identification of language and national

identity, the CAACE appealed to the creation of a common front against the most feared of enemies, United States expansionism:

The Academy will rebuild the violently broken ties of fraternity between Spanish Americans and Spaniards; it will reestablish the community of glory and literary interests that should never have disappeared between us; and, finally, it will build a retaining wall, more powerful perhaps than bayonets themselves, to halt the invasive spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race in the world discovered by Columbus. (Puente Apezechea 1873b: 1)

Another report on the initiative – by Eugenio de Ochoa (1815–72), another member of the CAACE – was printed in the Mexican journal *El eco de dos mundos* (1873, Vol. II: 21–3). The original contribution of this piece was the effort to identify the specific threats to the purity of Spanish in both the Old and the New Worlds. Ochoa affirmed the harmful influence of French and English interventionism and argued that the language of Spaniards had been corrupted as a result of “the foreign wars that have burdened us over the past two centuries” (Ochoa 1873: 22). By contrast, he felt that in the Americas, “as a rule, a more authentic and pure form of Spanish is spoken, especially in the central States,” and emphasized the language’s health among the regular folk, who “generally speak today the same beautiful form of Spanish that they inherited from their courageous forefathers, the first settlers” (Ochoa 1873: 21–2). At the same time, however, he claimed that the situation was not the same among “the illustrious writers, who nowadays honor the Americas . . . and in general among the most educated classes in those societies, especially in official circles” (Ochoa 1873: 21). These, Ochoa claimed, consciously adulterate the language by mixing it with foreign words, following the example of English, whose grammarians, lexicographers and linguistic authorities seem more likely to accept foreign loanwords. These practices, he insisted, were ultimately political statements made to highlight “the unquestionable fact of independence” in the realm of linguistic normativity. He warned that this type of behavior was contrary to the advice of the most conservative and purist elite, for whom true progress for Spanish entailed the preservation of the original traces, foundation of its purity.

La Sociedad Católica (1872, Vol. IV: 235) also included an anonymous article – originally published in *El Diario de Marina* run by the Spanish government in Cuba – to report that the linguistic attitudes of Spanish American liberals, who fought for a norm more open and dynamic than the RAE’s, went against the unitary development of the Spanish-speaking community. The author reviewed the Colombian case, emphasizing that Spain’s failure to recognize this country’s independence had not prevented the maintenance of a solid tradition of good language use. Colombian philologists and grammarians had fought the pernicious influence of French literature and an even greater danger: “the behavior of some writers from the liberal school who have stood against the project of preserving the language in its authentic value and purity . . . believing . . . that

the theories of democracy, freedom and republicanism . . . cannot be defended in authentic Spanish or that this language represents a danger to them.” In view of their call to break away – “Spanish, dead language!” – the author of the article sided with the “honorable men” who did not see a contradiction in defending republicanism and, at the same time, recognizing the most precious legacy received from Spain: the Catholic religion and the Spanish language.

El Diario de Marina’s article invited its readership to think of the Spanish language as the instrument that would clear the way for progress in Spanish America. This good fortune was under threat in places where Spain’s regional varieties were being brought by new immigrants and contact with foreign languages was frequent. The problem was especially noticeable, it said, in large cities and coastal areas highly influenced by the arrival of railroads, shipping and the telegraph. Given these circumstances, it was essential to subscribe to a common norm in order to guard against the risks of corruption in language, material progress, affectation and the exchange of ideas. All these, the article concluded, were responsibilities shared by all who belonged to the same race, and were not therefore a matter incumbent upon each separate Spanish American nation.

The Mexican subsidiary

On August 23, 1875, the Mexican newspaper *El Porvenir* reported that the RAE had approved the establishment of a Mexican Academy (henceforth AML from *Academia Mexicana de la Lengua*). Among its founding members were several well-known Mexican and Spanish philologists, grammarians and writers whose work, taken as a whole, dealt not only with Spanish but also with American Indian languages, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, English and German: José María Bassoco (1795–1877), Director; Joaquín García Icazbalceta (1825–94), Secretary; Alejandro Arango y Escandón (1821–83), Librarian; Manuel Peredo (1830–90), Censor; José María Roa Bárcena (1827–1908), Treasurer; Juan Bautista Ormaechea (1812–84); Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada (1823–89); Joaquín Cardoso (1803–80); Casimiro del Collado (1822–98); Manuel Orozco y Berra (1816–81); Rafael Ángel de la Peña (1837–1906); and Francisco Pimentel (1832–93) (Carreño 1945: 18, 120–241). With three branches already established (in Colombia, Ecuador and now Mexico), the RAE was optimistic: “it is expected that with this noteworthy example other countries throughout the American continent will relatively soon join them,” so that all the academies can finally constitute “a true and most useful federation” (Puente Apezechea 1875: 3).

García Icazbalceta (García 1975a: 8–10), who became the AML’s spokesman, argued that Spanish was “a legacy received from our forefathers

so that we may understand each other and better enlighten ourselves,” and acknowledged that the RAE was the true depository of authority in matters of language. Moreover, he ratified the commitment to “encourage all efforts that lead to the furtherance of our common language and to strengthen relations between the old metropolis and its progeny the Spanish American countries” (García Icazbalceta 1975b: 20). In the same context, Rafael Ángel de la Peña reviewed Mexico’s recent history – full of wars, losses and misunderstandings – to underscore the patriotism behind their concern for the Spanish language, “the strongest fraternal bond among the progeny of a common ancestral land [and] faithful custodian of religious or national traditions, all beloved and revered” (Peña 1975a: 23–4).

Although for more than three years the RAE’s supporters in Mexico had been praising the benefits of the extension program, once the AML was created some critical voices were raised. For example, Joaquín Gómez Vergara (d. 1894), a liberal writer and member of Mexico’s diplomatic mission in Madrid, sent a long essay to *El Porvenir* (February 15–16, 1876) warning his fellow countrymen about the hegemonic purpose behind the RAE’s project, the limited prestige of this institution even in Spain itself and the conservatism of the AML’s members. Gómez’s familiarity with Spain allowed him to contradict Eugenio de Ochoa and state that, in this country (Spain), not even the cultural and political elites comply with the RAE’s guidelines. He also questioned the political feasibility of intervening in processes of linguistic change. Gómez felt that chances of successfully influencing the linguistic development were minimal, since language evolution is subject to “time, the requirements of progress, the diversity of customs, needs, material objects and, above all, the presence of foreign languages” (Gómez Vergara 1876: 2). Moreover, he claimed, the alleged unity of Spanish was false. In clear contradiction of the statements made by Spanish academicians Antonio María Segovia, Gómez maintained that in Mexico, “from the times of Spanish domination . . . the language was far from having a real uniformity with that of the metropolis, which is the goal behind the creation of subsidiary academies” (Gómez Vergara 1876: 2). Gómez Vergara also denounced the RAE’s monocentric view of language as insurmountable and considered it naive to believe that the RAE would promote Spanish American varieties or reconsider its purist position. The contribution of the subsidiaries, he feared, would be limited to reporting on deviations from the original pure language and satisfying Spaniards’ curiosity regarding certain Spanish American words. In opposition to the CAACE’s arguments, Gómez Vergara concluded that, at present and in the future, building Mexico’s nationality – with Spanish as one of its integral parts – was and should be the responsibility of Mexicans. Therefore, the AML was entitled “to assume supreme authority and sovereignty over our language” (Gómez Vergara 1876: 2). Its activities should be channeled toward the production of a grammar and

a dictionary “adjusting precepts and rules according to how Mexicans speak their language” and in conformity with the principles of political sovereignty (Gómez Vergara 1876: 2).

This skepticism was not unrelated to the fact that most original members of the AML had close associations with the recently defeated conservative party. Gómez Vergara saw them as traitors for having fought against the 1857 Federalist Constitution, for supporting the Mexican church and for having collaborated with the Austrian imperialist government of Maximilian (1864–7). In order to counter the identification of the AML with conservatism, the RAE tried to strengthen the associated academy’s authority by also incorporating representatives from the dominant intellectual and liberal circles. It was with this outlook that the RAE and the AML appointed Cardoso, Peredo and, later, José María Vigil and Alfredo Chavero, who, in addition to being active members of the liberal governments, were affiliated with the group headed by Manuel Altamirano (1834–93), a prominent intellectual who was engaged in the development of a nationalistic literature that would in turn legitimize the unique characteristics of American Spanish.

In this context, the founders of the AML proceeded with extreme caution with regard to the corporation’s public image and to its relation with liberal literary groups. An example of this vigilant practice was the decision not to sanction works other than those produced by the Academy itself and not to disseminate matters unrelated to the corporation’s activity. In order to avoid conflicts with liberal writers, Bassoco’s proposal that the AML establish its own journal was rejected, as was using those that already existed to condemn and correct the many barbarisms found in the official press. In 1876, just like the RAE, the AML decided to create its own publication, *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Lengua* (Proceedings of the Mexican Academy of the Language, henceforth *MAM*), in order to report on its activities and disseminate the work of its members. Unlike the Madrid corporation, however, the *MAM* would be self-sufficient, funded solely by its members (*Actas de la Academia Mexicana de la Lengua*, henceforth and in the References *AAML*, June 22, 1876).

The voice of Mexicans in the *DRAE*

The Mexican Academy began its activities embracing the principle that Spanish language and literature were common goods shared by Spain and Spanish America. Having accepted the RAE’s bylaws, the AML’s main objective had to be the defense of the unity and purity of Spanish and the imposition of authentic – i.e. Castilian – norms while at the same time further pursuing, in accordance with the RAE’s and the AML’s statutes, original research from the – at the time fashionable – comparative-historical perspective (Fries 1989: 71).

This double commitment to the defense of language and scientific innovation was already present in the RAE's 1859 *Bylaws* (*Estatutos de la Real Academia Española*), whose Article I stipulated that the corporation's main tasks were to "cultivate and stabilize the purity of the language; reveal its origins; fine-tune its grammatical principles; publish ancient unknown and precious documents; and describe the slow but progressive development of the language" (*Estatutos de la Real Academia Española* 1859: 1). In keeping with these guidelines, the members of the AML were of the opinion that the RAE was entitled per se and by right of seniority to conduct inquiries on the history of the language and to lead work on the dictionary (known as *Diccionario de la Lengua*) (AAML, October 16, 1875). However, they also decided that the AML should study as well the processes of "growth and corruption of Spanish in Mexico" through two projects: a literary history of Mexico and a dictionary of Mexican provincialisms (AAML, September 25, 1875).

Arango y Escandón felt that it was extremely important for the AML to produce a history of Mexican literature. This project would showcase those literary productions from New Spain and Mexico that more closely emulated, in form and spirit, aesthetic trends valued by the RAE as well as some original productions mainly in the realm of sacred oratory. Besides, on the basis of what this project would reveal, it would be possible to show that for the longest time Mexico's lettered elites had exhibited a better command of Spanish than their peers in other Spanish American regions. For his part, Pimentel, a highly regarded philologist who received the Volney award in 1875, felt that it was indeed essential to engage in a type of historical work that critically approached language in various literary fields in order to educate young writers and, above all, to restore Mexico's image abroad, demonstrating that "we weren't a group of barbarians" (AAML, October 16, 1875). He felt, however, that a literary history of Mexico would fall outside the scope of the AML.

While, after consulting with the RAE, the AML realized that they lacked the necessary resources, in an effort not to completely abandon the initiative, Segura and Orozco y Berra suggested that, to the extent that it was possible, each academician should contribute specific studies on the literature of different periods, authors and topics (AAML, April 13, 1876). Moreover, the Secretary, García Icazbalceta, emphasized that the establishment of the AML afforded Mexico the opportunity to remedy two unfortunate shortcomings: a lack of interest in – even scorn towards – the colonial period and the limited distribution and knowledge of old and modern Mexican literature. Recovery of historical, biographical and bibliographical manuscripts and books, as well as books dealing with the fine arts during the Colonial Period was essential, first, to produce a critical evaluation of the most representative works and authors, and second, to understand the introduction and spread of Spanish in the country (García 1975a: 7–10). Academicians committed to both projects – those

conceived by Segura and Orozco y Berra and by García Icazbalceta respectively – presented their work at AML sessions and even published some of them in the *MAM*.

The dictionary of Mexican provincialisms (*DP*) was less controversial. Initially, Arango y Escandón opposed this project because he felt that most provincialisms were either old-fashioned words and phrases, already registered in the *DRAE*, or barbarisms whose use should not be sanctioned (*AAML*: October 2, 1875). However, his position did not gather enough support. A group of academicians, headed by De la Peña, declared that provincialisms were not just archaic expressions and barbarisms but “words or phrases, not insignificant and many taken from indigenous languages, which after being adapted to Spanish had worked their way into everyday language and were frequently used to name objects that were specifically Mexican and had no equivalent name in Castilian Spanish” (*AAML*: October 2, 1875). When this project was finally published in the *MAM*, it was presented as the first step in an important long-term undertaking that should trace:

the origin of the differences between, on one hand, the spoken and written language in Mexico and, on the other, pure Castilian Spanish; document the growth and decadence of the latter among us, which had followed almost the same steps as in the metropolis; provide examples from our good writers of the various meanings that many words have acquired in Mexico, as well as of the introduction of many new words. (García 1975a: 7)

Pimentel supported research on provincialisms and Spanish American words since this was precisely the subsidiary academies’ main commitment to the RAE. Articles 2 and 5 of the RAE’s 1861 Bylaws stipulated that one of the new lexicographical projects would be the elaboration of the most comprehensive dictionary of provincialisms. To this end, the RAE had asked its collaborators to send “the largest possible number of words and phrases, with their specific uses either in Spain’s provinces or in Spanish American countries” (*AAM* October 16, 1875). Without neglecting this obligation, Pimentel urged his fellow academicians to have the AML prepare, independently from the RAE, its own dictionary focusing on Mexican Spanish. As a statement of support for this initiative, García Icazbalceta pointed out that Mexico should not be less than other Spanish American countries that already had their own dictionaries of provincialisms.

Two months after the creation of the AML, a special committee was established to coordinate a dictionary of provincialisms, and the collection of materials already in the hands of academicians began. Orozco y Berra delivered a manuscript “on indigenous words introduced into Spanish” that had been compiled by José Fernando Ramírez before his death. García Icazbalceta donated three articles, published in *El Siglo XIX* in 1844, that contained a prospectus and

progress report for a project conducted by Melchor Ocampo and entitled *Idioticon Hispano-mexicano* (Cifuentes 2004) and De la Peña and Peredo offered notes of their own. Peredo's work had been part of another project that, unlike the *DP*, defended the existence of a national language in Mexico and demanded autonomy from the RAE for establishing pronunciation and lexical norms. This project, headquartered at the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* [Mexican Society for Geography and Statistics] (henceforth SMGE), bore the title "Study of the Variations Undergone by the Spanish Language in Mexico" and was advanced by the well-known promoter of national literature Manuel Altamirano (*ASMGE*: January 12, 1872).

In May 1876, the AML accepted the RAE's request, sent four months earlier, to collaborate in the revision of the next edition of the *DRAE* as well as in the correction and improvement of the Academy's oldest and most complete dictionary, *Diccionario de Autoridades*. Initially, they decided to work simultaneously on the RAE's projects and their own *DP* (*AAML*: July 22, 1876). However, the imminence of the deadline for submitting their contributions to the *DRAE* (March 1877) led them to spend more time on this effort. It would seem that they wanted to take advantage of this opportunity to show the intellectual training of the AML's members and the quality of the Spanish spoken in Mexico.

In the process, there were heated discussions on the appropriateness of including words of indigenous origin among the provincialisms that were going to be sent to the RAE. Especially De la Peña, Orozco y Berra and García Icazbalceta offered technical, political and historical arguments in favor of their inclusion. The criteria for adopting these words should be the same as for neologisms: that there not be a Spanish word for that object and that it be adapted to the structure of Spanish. They would also include a scientific classification of the vocabulary for flora and fauna (*AAML*: June 2, 1876). Also, hoping to help improve the *DRAE*, they found it necessary to specify the American origin of some of the words already registered in previous editions and to take into account recent dictionaries and encyclopedias – besides the RAE's – in order to offer their own interpretation in favor of or against the provincialisms found in them (*AAML*: February 12, 1877).

García Icazbalceta highlighted the importance of Mexican provincialisms inasmuch as they had contributed to co-constructing the nation from the sixteenth century:

Spanish coexisted with many other languages that were in this land prior to its arrival. Over time, all [the subjugated nations] lent Spanish some of their words. As a result of this and the vast reaches of the territory, it was only natural that, in some places of what was once called New Spain, diverse provincialisms would appear, some quite widespread and others limited to certain places. (*AAML*: February 12, 1877)

In view of the great diatopic and diastratic diversity of Mexico's Spanish, they decided to submit only the most commonly used provincialisms since, from their perspective, only these could, hopefully, be legitimately incorporated into general Spanish. They also made an important clarification: no statement was made to the effect that the provincialisms submitted were specific to Mexico, so that the RAE could determine their geographic extent.

One year after initiating their contribution to the *DRAE*, the AML learned for the first time some of the criteria being followed by the special committee in charge of the new edition. They also learned that the deadline for delivering the entries had been extended. This news made it clear to the AML that there were no restrictions on contributing "as many phrases as deemed necessary . . . and undoubtedly, in addition to provincialisms, there were other lexical items that were much more important and that could increase the richness, culture and decency of the language" (*AAML*: April 12, 1877). In view of the RAE's apparently open attitude, De la Peña urged his colleagues to share their excellent work not only on provincialisms but also on scientific language, since he felt that limiting themselves to the first would mean that "their hands would be tied due to the scarcity of terminology" in the near future. Most academicians voted in favor of having more freedom in their subsequent collaborations to propose "all the terms they felt were relevant, without worrying about whether they were included in other dictionaries" (*AAML*: May 7, 1877). Broadening the horizons of their research to include the codification of neologisms would be beneficial for the dissemination of the sciences, the humanities, moral values and political principles among Spanish speakers. In this sense, collective lexicographic work by the academies would result in turning the *DRAE* into an up-to-date reference tool, scientific and open to further development. As early as 1870, it had been announced that the next edition of the *DRAE* would be in keeping with the demands of the new era. They expected therefore to turn over to the printer "the most copious and correct version to match progress made in philosophy and the sciences" (*DRAE*, 1869 and "La academia española" 1872: 40).

In "Discurso sobre los elementos constantes y variables del idioma español" ["Digression on the constant and variable elements of the Spanish language"], Ángel de la Peña proposed dissecting the structure of words and phrases of recent coinage through an analysis based on philology, ideology and grammar. He warned that in order to control the incorporation of neologisms there had to be a strict preservation of roots and a productive use of inflectional endings. As time went by, the AML broadened the scope of its lexicographic research, always with the condition that its members committed to making worthy and original contributions to the *DRAE*. Thus they submitted entries that reflect scientific language (*AAML*: April 30, 1879), synonyms (*AAML*: March 9, 1880), Gallicisms (*AAML*: November 22, 1881) and provincial expressions. Another contribution they made consisted of providing examples from

prestigious Spanish or Spanish American writers to support entries already included in the RAE's dictionaries (*AAML*: June 25, 1879).

Although the *DRAE* continued to absorb most of the AML's activity, the pace of their work tapered off in 1879. García Icazbalceta expressed regret for this situation in his correspondence with his friend Miguel Antonio Caro (1843–1909), director of the Colombian Academy of the Spanish Language: "Our academy is dying. Some have passed away, others are ill or have deserted the cause; meetings are attended by only three or four members" (Romero 1980: 66). Still, in April 1880 the *MAM* recorded their commitment to the RAE, announcing that, as a result of their lexicographical research, they had submitted "twelve lists with seven hundred and ninety-one articles, many of them with etymologies and examples from prestigious writers, be they Spaniards or Mexicans" (García 1975c: 5). However, the situation reached a critical point in 1881, which led to the reorganization of work among the most active academicians (Peña, Collado, Peredo and García Icazbalceta) and others new to the corporation (Francisco P. Guzmán, Isaac Alcaraz, Tirso Rafael Córdoba and José María Vigil (*AAML*: April 4, 1882). The AML sent seven additional lists up until the month of August 1884.

Once the deadline for the delivery of manuscripts was met, García Icazbalceta informed the RAE that the AML's suggestions could be divided into two groups: one comprising changes and additions to articles already included in the *DRAE*, and the other proposing new items for inclusion. The latter group contained words peculiar to Mexico as well as some Castilian words, including technical terms (*AAML*: February 12, 1877). The RAE expressed its appreciation for all of these helpful collaborations in achieving the "noble task of enriching and purifying the language of Cervantes." In 1886, two years after the publication of the *DRAE* 12, it was revealed that the Mexican subsidiary had sent a total of 1,295 entries, of which "652 had been accepted by the Spanish Academy, some with minor changes, and 633, mostly our provincialisms, had been rejected" (Peña 1975b: 6). This policy of privileging both new and general aspects of the language at the expense of provincialisms was made explicit in the *DRAE*'s *Advertencia* [Warning preliminary remarks] in which the Madrid corporation showed its pride in having included numerous technical, literary and colloquial words. This openness reflected the clear tendency for literary and everyday language to "show off scientific erudition in similes, metaphors and all sorts of figures of speech" and the constant demand by public opinion for the RAE to more readily accept commonly used words. It was in response to this pressure that such commonly used words were accepted.

The *DRAE* 12 was welcomed by García Icazbalceta, who expressed his satisfaction upon noticing that a good number of the AML's proposals to modify existing and add new words had been accepted. However, he felt that the value of provincialisms had been underestimated, since these were precisely the

most reliable witnesses to the language's stages of development. Dictionaries of provincialisms and those by the RAE would have to fill these gaps and provide a contextualized history.

From one common source

The experience gained from working on the *DRAE* stimulated the AML to take a new stance with respect to their lexicographical projects. At first, the concept of provincialism was maintained in order to “describe how the Spanish language is spoken in Mexico,” and the *DP* project was revived in an effort to distinguish general provincialisms from regional ones. To this end, specific academicians were appointed in the various states (Peña 1975b: 7–11) and help was requested from some members of the SMGE who were working on a *Catálogo de Etimologías Mexicanas* (Bernal 1982: 83). Another project aimed at producing a glossary that would register the particularities of the language in the Guadalajara region in the eighteenth century. With this in mind, José María Vigil began a revision of Matías Ángel de la Mota y Padilla's *Historia de la Conquista de Nueva Galicia* (1748).

García Icazbalceta's *Vocabulario de Mexicanismos* was the most elaborate project in this new trend. His first draft was *Provincialismos Mexicanos* [Mexican provincialisms] (1888), written as the prologue to the *DP* progress reports published in the *MAM*. The ideas set forth in this text, as well as their implementation – which continued until 1894 –, received the unconditional support of Rufino José Cuervo (1844–1911), a distinguished Colombian philologist and lexicographer. Through a fruitful correspondence in 1884, García Icazbalceta revealed to Cuervo that, after reading his famous *Apuntaciones críticas del lenguaje bogotano*, he had decided to collect “some Mexican provincialisms, explaining them to the best of his ability and pointing out those that were also used in other Spanish American countries” (Romero 1980: 194–5). Moreover, he expressed his concern and disagreement with how negligently the historic – i.e. systematic – dimension of provincialisms had been treated by both the RAE and Spanish Americans. In his view, the available dictionaries provided evidence that established two important facts: the common origin of the American branches of the Spanish language and the later individualization in different regions. The fact that numerous provincialisms were common throughout Spanish America could be explained by the fact that Spanish had taken root and disseminated throughout the New World rather quickly: in less than a century, the Spanish conquerors had established settlements throughout North and South America. After the initial period, however, the remoteness of these settlements and limited contact among them had led to the preservation of some linguistic traits brought by the conquerors and to the development of unique changes. Linguistic change was of course a natural

process and, in this case, the type of Castilian brought to America adapted to the new circumstances of the social, cultural and even natural environment.

In sum, García Icazbalceta agreed with Cuervo that the AML's lexicographical task consisted in "reconstructing, to the degree that it was possible, the language of the conquerors, which ought to be preserved *like a golden treasure* . . . to trace the evolution of the language in these regions; to present what had been preserved and added; to point out errors in order to correct them and even use them in research" (García 1975d: 190). Recovery of this precious treasure was essential for a better understanding of this stage in the evolution of Spanish (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), both in the Peninsula and in the Americas. This time period was not sufficiently well recorded, not even in the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, either because *Autoridades* had not included many colloquial words because they were absent from the manuscripts available to the authors, or because these lexical items had already disappeared by the time the dictionary was compiled. It was the task of Spanish American academicians to remedy this shortcoming in the RAE's lexicographical work by contributing data from the abundant legal and administrative documentation available as well as from the numerous New World chronicles.

From this comparative perspective, provincialisms were the empirical basis for understanding the evolution of Spanish in each of the Spanish American nations. This new approach was legitimized by the fact that Spanish America's dominant classes had incorporated – in the past and to the present – regional traits, distant from the RAE's standards and used by a growing number of people. García Icazbalceta cited the most renowned Spanish American grammarian, Andrés Bello, in order to highlight the fact that acceptance of transatlantic words and expressions should not be the exclusive purview of the RAE; instead, it should reflect the inventiveness of the language and especially "the uniform and authentic usage of educated people in Spanish America" (García 1975d: 181). He also agreed with Rafael Merchán (a Cuban writer living in exile in Colombia), who, in the pages of *Repertorio Colombiano* (1870), had proposed that the efforts of Spanish American lexicographers be channeled toward the construction of the *Diccionario de Americanismos* and be forwarded to the RAE: "*of the forty-two million people who speak Spanish twenty-seven million of us have adapted these words with a new meaning: they constitute the group that we have the duty and the right to add to the language's lexical wealth*" (Marchán quoted in García 1975d 180, emphasis added by García Icazbalceta).

Conclusion

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, the RAE engaged in the defense of the Spanish language as a strategy to safeguard its spiritual and cultural hegemony in Spanish America (see Arnoux and Del Valle in this

volume for the connection with Panhispanism). This move is to be understood in the context of the political conditions prevailing at the time: on one hand, the United States' Manifest Destiny and its own hegemonic ambitions across North and South America and, on the other, Spain's lingering conflicts with its former colonies due to its non-recognition of the sovereignty of some of the new nations, the independence movement in Cuba, its support for the establishment of the French monarchy in Mexico and the demand for payment of the debts incurred with the former metropolis (Sánchez 2007).

In such a context, Spain had to prove itself as a desirable partner. The program to create subsidiary academies throughout the Spanish-speaking world and the supposedly joint elaboration of the twelfth edition of the *DRAE* were to offer final proof that the common language was now managed through a truly panhispanic effort and to secure Spain's relevance, at least in matters having to do with culture, in the former colonies. With these accomplishments, the RAE would be able to argue that its campaign for cohesion among the Spanish and Spanish American peoples through the defense of their common language was supported by renowned members of Spanish America's intellectual elite. In the *Advertencia* section of the *DRAE* 12, the RAE celebrated this relationship by pointing out that for the first time "Spain and Spanish America have worked hand in hand in order to work for the language, a common good shared by both. This accomplishment fills them all with ineffable happiness and deserves to be forever remembered in the literary history of those peoples as well as of the nation that always takes pride in calling them its children" (vii). This strategy allowed the RAE to place itself again as the hegemonic institution in the Spanish-speaking world with a level of legitimacy guaranteed by the participation and consensus of its subsidiaries.

But the project was not completely successful. A number of Spanish American academicians remained skeptical about the expansion program's intentions and not quite as convinced of the twelfth edition's success. As the Mexican debates discussed in this chapter show, they dismissed the RAE's relevance – even in Spain; they discerned a hegemonic intention in the effort, and pointed out the relatively low weight still given to American varieties of Spanish and the persistence of monocentric criteria in the elaboration of the RAE's normative texts (Sarmiento 1979).

However, the information collected by each subsidiary academy and the new familiarity acquired in the process with lexicographical research carried out in other Spanish American countries shed new light and raised awareness of which aspects of the language – orthoepic, phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic – were common to varieties spoken on both sides of the Atlantic and which were exclusively Spanish American. It was in this climate that – intentionally or not – Spanish American academicians in general, and García Icazbalceta in particular, set the stage for an approach to Spanish which was

both regional and global. Icazbalceta can be singled out for his study of the origins of New Spain, for the lexicographical experience he acquired while working on the *DRAE*, for his profound study of dictionaries from the various Spanish American regions, for his work on Mexico's provincialisms and for his exchange of ideas with philologists and grammarians throughout North and South America. In his effort to compile the *Vocabulario de Mexicanismos* (1899), his goal was double: the accurate description of Spanish as spoken in the Americas – a goal shared with the most highly esteemed Spanish American philologists – and improvement of the RAE's dictionaries. In order to attain these objectives, he collected a broad lexical corpus and carried out a rigorous comparative historical and geographical study. Grounding his work in scientific protocols was crucial to establishing a new research policy for the study of Spanish and demonstrated the importance of constructing a reliable representation of the language's past and present, as well as the readiness of Spanish Americans to undertake such a task. This goal was shared by other academicians who also decided to aim their research at producing their own interpretations of the origin and development of Spanish in the Americas, with the ultimate goal of correcting representations of American varieties as corruptions of the sole original source of the language, that of Castile.

13 Language in the Dominican Republic: between Hispanism and Panamericanism

Juan R. Valdez

Until recently, the subject of language in the Dominican Republic has been absent from historiographical analyses of the country's sociopolitical evolution. This has been the case despite the fact that, as Matos Moquete (1986) and Valdez (2011) assert, the relationship between language and identity in the post-independence Dominican Republic has always been politicized. An example is the statement made by Bruno Rosario Candelier (*Hoy Digital* 2010), President of the Dominican Academy of the Language, that the new Constitution contains two hundred grammatical errors, a sign of the state's failure to prepare its educators to teach the Spanish language to its citizens. Within discussions of the Dominican Republic's social origins and development, we often find a concomitant discourse on language which mediates Dominicans' self-definitions and their relationships to three specific communities: Spain, Haiti and the United States. This discourse proposes that: i) in the Dominican Republic, the Spanish language retains the essence inherited from the original Iberian colonizers and settlers; and ii) Spanish has served as a retaining wall which prevents invading forces (particularly those from Haiti and the US) from causing any alteration to the linguistic and social fabric of the nation.

A particularly interesting stage in the evolution of this discourse emerges during the North American military occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916–24). During this period, several intellectuals and political leaders organized resistance to the occupation and struggled to redefine and strengthen Dominican national identity, and linguistic representation played a central role in this effort. Nationalist intellectuals such as Américo Lugo (1870–1952), Fabio Fiallo (1866–1942) and Emiliano Tejera (1841–1923) continually stirred up the people of Santo Domingo to rally behind their identity and language in opposition to US occupation. They urged Dominicans to form a national consciousness and defend against the “Northamericanization” of Dominican culture. Heeding the call to action of these intellectuals, lexicographers and linguists such as Pedro Henríquez Ureña (1884–1946) worked with zeal to solidify national consciousness through language loyalty. Particularly, Henríquez Ureña worked during the last two decades of his career to establish that the archaic

nature of Dominican Spanish was proof of the strong loyalty of Dominicans to their Hispanic heritage (Valdez 2011: 162–3). Yet it was Dominican historiographers such as Lugo who had set the ideological tone for this type of philological work during moments of national crisis. Despite the many examples of the persistent link between language and matters of state, most Dominican analysts overlook opportunities to critically examine the problematic connection between the fields of language and politics. While cumulatively very little has been written about the political character of language in Dominican history, at times politicians and philologists have converged on language as a discursive object which explains Dominican society or advances a particular political establishment. In this chapter, I analyze the political conditions and intellectual framework in which philological texts and linguistic representations of the 1930s emerged. My objective is to determine to what extent the ideologies of political historians inform the work of philologists and their effort to establish a specific socio-historical image of Dominicans that defines their relationship to the panhispanic community and opposes extra-Hispanic influences. In the historical narratives and philological texts of the 1930s, linguistic representations emerged as an intellectual response to the political events of the previous three decades in the Caribbean, which was then wedged between the opposing currents of Hispanism and Panamericanism. An analysis of this historiographical-philological enterprise reveals the sociopolitical character of linguistic representations.

Feeling Spanish: Dominican historiographers and nationalist discourses

After centuries of Spanish domination, the Spanish-speaking part of Hispaniola sought to gain its independence on three different occasions in the nineteenth century: first from Spain in 1821, then from Haiti in 1844, and again from Spain in 1865. The historical account of Haitian occupation subsequently combined with the Dominican elite's opportunistic exploitation of the subject for political purposes, producing a virulent anti-Haitian ideology, known as *anti-haitianismo*, which exclusively targets Haitians as the source of many of the problems of Dominican society. This dominant yet contested anti-Haitianism has greatly influenced the cultural and linguistic construction of the Dominican nation (Valdez 2011: 71). According to the relevant historiographical and philological discourses, the maintenance of Spanish was essential for Dominicans in their resistance against the influences of black Haitians and Haitian leaders' plan for regional and cultural integration. While the tense relationship with Haiti has largely defined Dominican nationalism over the last two centuries, the United States has had a considerable impact as well. Particularly in the twentieth century, Dominicans struggled to maintain their political sovereignty under

US military occupation (1916–24 and 1965–6). The United States' Caribbean policies in the twentieth century developed as a result of the Spanish-American War of 1898 and the US acquisition of rights over the Panama Canal, and aimed at preventing European economic and military influence in the region (Atkins and Wilson 1998: 40). Under President Woodrow Wilson's administration (1913–21), the Dominican Republic became the main target of US military and political interventionism. The leading Dominican cultural figures reacted with bitter opposition to what they considered an unjust and illegal occupation. Under the tutelage and political repression of the US, they felt compelled to organize resistance to the transculturation of Dominican society. A pessimistic outlook on Dominican society has traditionally accompanied its numerous dictatorships, revolutions and political turmoil.¹ This pessimism includes a negative assessment of the country's ethnic make-up. Historically, Dominican intellectuals have complained that a combination of factors make the Dominican people unsuitable for political activity (López 1896; Lugo 1916; Pérez Cabral 1967). Lugo wrote: "the Dominican nation is as [racially] mixed as the nations that have figured prevalently in this regard throughout history; but it will refute anthropologists' affirmation that 'the more mixed a nation is, the more fertile and apt it will be for civilization'" (1993d [1916]: 382). According to Lugo, the factors contributing to the Dominicans' political immaturity included the following: "malnutrition, the excessive contribution of African heritage, anarchic individualism and lack of culture" (1993d [1916]: 388). In fact, with this negative vision of Dominican society, intellectuals spur the citizenry to follow a particular path of development while obscuring the complex effects of history on the country's racial and sociolinguistic profiles.

Linguistically, the Dominican Republic is characterized by the existence of a multidialectal and multilingual repertoire. Spanish (the national language) is undoubtedly dominant, but English is also natively spoken by more than 8,000 individuals – particularly in the Samaná Province, where African-American and Anglophone Caribbean immigrants have settled since the nineteenth century (Valdez 2010). Additionally, a local variety of Haitian Kreyòl (sometimes referred to by the locals as "Patois") is spoken in Samaná as well as in the border region. Yet, since its independence, the philological images of the Dominican nation have presented Spanish monolingualism as a key tenet of its national identity. These images appear and reappear in several nationalist discourses, which allow us a glimpse of how the leading political classes and intellectuals have sought to consistently articulate the nation from the perspective of the elites' cultural hegemony. Sometimes contradictory and other times

¹ Alba (2009) provides an account of Dominicans' linguistic pessimism and its socio-historical basis.

complementary, these discourses converge around the notion of a linguistically and racially homogeneous Dominican society and produce an incessant search for and conservation of curious historical and linguistic fossils. The particular narrative found in these texts is a product of the systematically conservative thought that dominates Dominican historiography. This historical discourse fed the linguistic representations of the Dominican speech community that we find in the texts of linguists and philologists such as Henríquez Ureña, who assumed the task of mapping the linguistic contours of the nation. The figure and the texts of the Dominican-born Henríquez Ureña are unavoidable in the analysis of language history in Latin America and the politics of language in the Dominican Republic. His linguistic research and cultural and literary criticism both aimed at establishing the historiographical foundation of Latin American societies. While he had a broad view regarding the development of culture and Spanish in Latin America, in the Dominican context he attempted to reach his scholarly objectives by describing and representing an archaic and homogeneous speech community. The key texts for understanding Henríquez Ureña's linguistic representation of the Dominican Republic include the two articles "La lengua en Santo Domingo" (2004a [1919]) and "El idioma español y la política en la República Dominicana" (2004b [1937]), and the books *La cultura y las letras coloniales en Santo Domingo* (1988d [1936]) and *El español en Santo Domingo* (1975 [1940]). In addition, a complete ideological analysis requires a reading of many of his political writings, including "Carta abierta a Federico García Godoy" (1988a [1912]), "La República Dominicana" (1988e [1917]), "Libertad de los pueblos pequeños y el senado norteamericano" (1988f [1923]), and "Homenaje a Luisa Ozema Pellerano de Henríquez" (1998c [1933]). Under rigorous analysis, these texts reveal a preoccupation with carrying out the tasks laid out by Lugo² and others: orienting intellectual production towards the consolidation of the state and the crystallization of national consciousness primarily based on Hispanism.

Américo Lugo, a constitutional lawyer and a disciple of the Puerto Rican intellectual Eugenio María de Hostos (1839–1903), was one of the most eloquent and prolific Dominican historians of the twentieth century. Lugo is a central figure in Dominican nationalism because of his keen and original sociopolitical ideas and his direct participation in the elaboration of a doctrinal corpus that led to the Dominican state (Cassá 1993: 13). Peña Batlle (1989) notes that "it would be difficult to write the history of ideas in Santo Domingo without reference to such an influential figure" and argues that Lugo's "inflexible

² Lugo defined patriotism as an intellectual activity on behalf of the nation-building project and challenged younger Dominican intellectuals, including Pedro Henríquez Ureña and his brother Max, to assume the task of transforming their educational, philological and literary initiatives into political activity (1993c [1914]: 355).

ideological attitude” was the spark that ignited the nationalistic campaign against US occupation in 1924. Initially guided by the nineteenth-century liberalism and positivism of Hostos, Lugo began his intellectual career by promoting the development of Dominican society through access to the core elements of Western civilization and modernity. His early writings document a commitment to realizing the task of national integration and a desire to understand the causes of social and political problems in the Dominican context. Although he did not completely abandon his intellectual roots, as he grew older Lugo’s politics became conservative in the face of his country’s political crises. According to Cassá (1993: 22–3), Lugo’s theoretical work consistently aimed at formulating the specific coordinates of the state, which required a profound discussion of the legal norms and the historical foundations of the Dominican people.

Lugo was admired by his contemporaries and the succeeding generations for his effort to fulfill what Peña Batlle (1989) calls his “Dominicanist function”: that is, putting his intellectual gifts at the service of his community. Lugo’s first book, *A punto largo* (published in 1901), is a collection of essays, lectures and speeches that he had written and delivered throughout the previous decade. *El estado dominicano ante el derecho público* (1916) presents political reflections based on archival research that Lugo conducted in the General Archive of the Indies in Seville. Along with “Cartas al Listín” (1911), the often cited “Por la raza” (1920) and “Emiliano Tejera” (1932–3) constitute an important contribution to the modern nation-building project of the Dominican state and the corpus of Hispanism in the Dominican Republic, and offer documentary evidence of the active role played by intellectuals in the cultural representation of Dominicans. Ultimately, Lugo’s writings are significant because they embody and struggle with several of the contradictions surrounding Dominican national identity. They also constitute the modern paradigm from which philologists such as Henríquez Ureña drew their nationalistic inspiration and intellectual guidance in the elaboration of linguistic Hispanism: “I agree that we must guide our efforts in favor of the hegemony of the Latin race, provided that, recognizing ourselves as Spanish, we concentrate all our efforts in aggrandizing our particular branch of the Spanish race” (Lugo 1993e [1920]: 88). Interestingly enough, Lugo was not always a fervent Hispanist, nor did he always believe that American societies necessarily owed their national development to contributions from Spain: “clearly, American nations existed even before becoming completely independent from colonial rule. These nations’ strongly persistent individualities were already thriving in their struggle against the metropolis” (1901: 124). Anticolonial rhetoric and nation-building discourse appear in Lugo’s early writings and speeches in complementary and contradictory roles. For example, regarding the Spanish-American War, Lugo wrote: “we have accepted colonial politics as a historical fact but have rejected it as

a political process . . . The economics, history and politics of it all confirm that Spain has no place dictating norms to Cubans” (1993b [1897]: 138–40).

At this point, Lugo believed that Cuban independence would strengthen Dominican sovereignty and contribute to Latin American unity. To the practical reasons for Cuban independence from Spain, Lugo added that Spain’s colonial failures prevented it from creating extra-territorial modern nations. Lugo also initially called into question the vitality of Spanish: “the Spanish language, the voice of our progress, lost its prestige with Spain’s decline . . . The Spanish language is barely spoken in Europe and our literary works can hardly reach a meager audience capable of understanding and judging them” (1901: 118). This type of anticolonial discourse, a remnant of the Dominicans’ struggles against Spanish annexation a few decades earlier, was often reproduced in arguments in favor of a Caribbean confederacy (Hostos’s political dream). At this stage in Lugo’s early nationalistic writings, we find several statements that call for resolute rejection of the colonial past in favor of creating a modern nation oriented towards the future (1993a [1897]: 161). Read in light of his subsequent arguments, these earlier statements reveal the inherent multi-sited and contradictory nature of ideologies (Philips 1998).

In light of US interventionism, this anticolonial discourse withered and gave way to a sharply contrasting Hispanism. A couple of decades later, Lugo described Spain’s colonial adventure as benevolent and approved of a return to a neocolonial relationship:

Our hope, our remedy, is in returning to Spanish tradition. The perseverance of the Spanish character in Spanish American republics is unquestionable. Our love of our race is undeniable. The feelings and customs, our homes, our women’s sense of decency, our self-respect, our nobility, the generosity of the Hispano-American: what are they, if not Spanish? French literature and the wave of French culture that currently envelops us cannot drag us along because our soul continues being Spanish. Having traveled throughout the Peninsula, I can confirm that the regional communities, like our Republics, are indeed Spanish . . . In order to join the front rank of world powers, all Spain needs is to build a political accord with Spanish America that guarantees an effective reciprocal collaboration, in specific contexts, among Hispanic nations . . . What else can Spain be, if not our most loving mother? And as far as we are concerned, hatred has turned into infinite love (1993e [1920]: 87)

Lugo promoted these ideas in a speech he gave in Barcelona in which he was illustrating for Catalans the political and cultural loyalty that Spain deserved: “our sentiments can attest to our exemplary loyalty to our Motherland” (1993e [1920]: 93). He added: “we, Dominicans, can attest that we are faithful trustees and guardians of the Spanish and Latin civilization in America” (1993e [1920]: 93). Twenty-two years after the Spanish-American War, Lugo had come to champion the cause of Hispanism. Cassá (1993: 49) sees this ideological shift as the product of Lugo’s desire to distance himself from Hostosian thought, of

the archival research he carried out in Spain and of his extended contact with Spanish culture and Spanish intellectuals. In fact, while in Spain Lugo wrote: “every day, I feel more Spanish, more proud of belonging by virtue of origin and a promising future to this [Spanish] nation. With increasing familiarity, it reawakened in my soul that almost forgotten love of humanity that my mother instilled in me as a child . . . Spain is my country because of my race, language and history” (1911).

On the other hand, Cassá (1993: 49) notes that Lugo’s eventual embrace of Spanish tradition as the primary source of Dominican national consciousness was conditioned by his personal and theoretical resistance to US military occupation. Regarding Lugo’s personal and intellectual evolution at this juncture, Peña Batlle (1989) was even more categorical: “working for Spain, trying to raise the moral and social values of Hispanism in Santo Domingo . . . was tantamount to recognizing the political need to establish Dominican nationality, in the best sense, based on history and tradition” (cited in Cassá 1993: 49–50). Fundamentally, Lugo vindicated Hispanism as the normative regime necessary for guiding and guaranteeing the nation-building project. A generation later, Peña Batlle, ideological architect of the regime of the dictator Rafael L. Trujillo (1930–61), celebrated this particular achievement: “[Lugo’s] complete analysis of the status of Dominican nationality in the face of US military occupation . . . is an inventory of the age-old qualities required for the Dominicans’ self-government” (1989).

Against Panamericanism

Undoubtedly, Lugo’s Hispanism evolved in light of the interventionist policies of the Woodrow Wilson administration (1913–21) in the Caribbean and other Latin American regions. Lugo warned Dominicans of the US’s interventionist attitude under the Monroe Doctrine, which sought hegemony over the Caribbean to the detriment of competing European countries: “Monroeism is imperialism, and Panamericanism its mask” (1993e [1920]: 87). Lugo’s political forecast for the Dominican Republic was pessimistic but it also contained a clear and definite challenge to Dominicans to rise up, empower themselves and pay closer attention to the constitutive elements of their nationality, including language:

The proximity of this mighty nation [the US], the triumphant Monroe Doctrine, its Panamerican politics, its imperialist expansion, its culpable estrangement from the principles of its generous founders’, its occupation of Puerto Rico, its control of Cuba, the painful situation in Haiti, everything compels us to reflect and to be prudent. Yet, the Dominican Republic is headed towards its demise. Considering the lessons of history, we can deduce that the Dominican people do not constitute a nation. However, it is certainly a spiritual community unified by language, customs and other cultural ties. (Lugo 1993d [1916]: 388)

Nationalism was intensified during the US military occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916–24). Almost immediately, the occupying forces took measures to prevent uprisings and to reorganize the socioeconomic and political life of the country (Moya Pons 1995: 322). These measures included the prohibition of arms among Dominican civilians, censorship of the press, the building of infrastructure, the creation of the Dominican National Guard for the suppression of future revolutionary movements and the creation of a national primary public school system. During the course of the occupation, the Dominican economy grew to levels never seen before, but Dominicans did not reap the benefits because the financial structures and commerce were controlled by the US. Resistance emerged in different sectors, particularly among the educated urban elite. In addition to producing the legal and moral arguments, nationalist intellectuals such as Lugo and Tejera continually stirred up the people of Santo Domingo to rally behind their identity and language in opposition to US occupation. In particular, some of these intellectuals urged Dominicans to oppose what they perceived as a threat to the linguistic integrity and culture of Dominicans (Moya Pons 1995: 329; Cassá 1999: 121–3), and worked diligently to strengthen contemporary and traditional ties with Spain. Among these historical ties, language received particular attention and reverence. Lugo's catalogue of Spain's historical achievements and gifts to the New World includes "the predilection for classical culture which produced [Jiménez de] Cisneros's polyglot Bible, Nebrija's encyclopedic works, and the cultivation of letters, all rooted in the splendid triumph of the Castilian language" (Lugo 1993e [1920]: 81). The vindication of Hispanic linguistic and cultural heritage had become the cornerstone of nationalism in the Dominican context. Evaluating the strength of Dominican nationalism during the US occupation, Tejera claimed that the lessons of Dominican history clearly pointed to the resistant role of the Spanish language against invading forces, such as that of the Haitian occupation: "councils, universities, educational institutes, monasteries, temples, everything was quickly destroyed. Under the strange domination of Haitians, Spanish became especially resistant" (1928: 35). As a result of the historiographical work of Tejera, Lugo and others, Spanish was effectively assigned a leading role in the development of Dominican national identity.

Enacting linguistic agency

Missing from the Dominican context of the early twentieth century were the necessary linguistic corpus, pedagogical texts and normative agencies capable of representing and preserving the symbolic power of Spanish. Several philologists and politicians stepped in to fill these gaps. In the 1920s, the collaboration between Dominican and Spanish intellectuals yielded some interesting results, such as the foundation of the Dominican Academy of the Language (1927–32) by, among others, the Spaniard José Lebrón Morales's Dominican-born son

Mariano Lebrón Saviñón. The Academy's motto was: "preserving the splendor and purity of Spanish in the Dominican Republic" (Dominican Academy of the Language 1939). The founding document states: "in short, [the Dominican Republic] loves its Spanish origin more than any other country. Among our past glories, we find, above all, the rich language of Castile. Thus in this memorable day in the annals of history, we, the undersigned, establish the Dominican Academy of the Language" (Dominican Academy of the Language 1939). With this expression of cultural pride and linguistic loyalty, the Dominican branch confirmed its support for the RAE's mission of unifying the Hispanic-American cultural landscape under the banner of language. The expanding role of English as an official language in Puerto Rico was particularly disturbing for the Dominican Academy of the Language. Regarding this particular subject, Lugo had previously issued a warning:

Through the effective means of a utilitarian and anglophile education, the US has opened a wide and deep gash in the soul of Puerto Rico. Through these awful means, the US hopes to root out and eradicate Puerto Rico's loyalty to its origins, memory of its ancestors, love of its national history, the spirit of tradition, and the Spanish language itself. Essentially, it will wipe out everything that lifts up a people's character and is useful for the generational transmission of a nation's personality and way of thinking. (Lugo 2008 [1925]: 54)

Protecting a nation's generational transmission of its personality and way of thinking became the highest priority for the newly formed Dominican cultural institutions and its affiliated philologists during and after the occupation. Henríquez Ureña chronicled their emergence in the following terms:

During the North American invasion, the principal associations that were founded had patriotic goals. Following the occupation, there is a cultural rebirth and, in 1931, these associations become exceptionally active, especially *Ateneo Dominicano*, *La Acción Cultural* and the women's organization *Nosotras*. In 1932, Santo Domingo is one of the Spanish American cities where we find the greatest number of conferences, among which we must point out Dr. Lugo's series on colonial history . . . In 1930, the Dominican Academy of the Language is founded under the leadership of Archbishop Nouel (1862–1937). In 1931, the Dominican Academy of History is established. *Clío*, its bulletin, publishes valuable works. (Henríquez Ureña 1975 [1940]: 480–1)

Yet, Dominican elites still needed to assert themselves and persuade the racially mixed masses and the imperialistic US of the country's firmly established linguistic homogeneity.

The most notable philological and lexicographical texts in which authors attempted to represent the nation linguistically appeared during or immediately following the turbulent decade of the 1930s and were supported by the members of the Dominican Academy of the Language. The list of texts includes: Rafael Brito's *Diccionario de criollismos* (1931), Federico Llaverías's *Vicios de la*

dicción castellana (1940 [1933]) and *Por España y por su lengua* (1941), Ramón Emilio Jiménez's *Del lenguaje dominicano* (1941), Patín Maceo's *Apuntaciones gramaticales* (1934) and *Dominicanismos* (1981 [1940]), and Emiliano Tejera's posthumous *Palabras indígenas de la isla de Santo Domingo* (1951 [1935]). These authors' intentions were consistent with the Dominican Academy of the Language's principal objectives, among which we find that of protecting Dominican Spanish from "the unhealthy influence of the surrounding strange and foreign languages" (1939). In the letter to RAE officials, the Dominican academicians spell out their particular challenges:

Without delay, all nations in Spanish America need ongoing work in the purification of the language, but in the Dominican Republic the situation is more urgent, not only for the obvious historical reasons, but also because of its special geographical location. Despite our effort in rejecting adulterating influences, Dominicans are closely surrounded by them. (Dominican Academy of the Language 1939)

In effect, the mobilization of linguistic agents authorized to describe, diagnose and represent the Dominican linguistic landscape responds to a series of specific events and problems, and the prevalent climate of opinion that surfaced during successive political crises.

Linguistic representation in the Dominican Republic

While many amateur lexicographers eagerly answered the call to action with superficial contributions, talented philologists such as Henríquez Ureña understood the history of language, as well as literary history, as part of a much greater historiographical project, documenting the most essential expressions of the past and preserving them as a road map for the future. Henríquez Ureña's "La lengua en Santo Domingo: rectificación a Meyer-Lübke" (2004a [1919]), his first official foray into language history and polemics, contains the basic components of his representation of Dominican Spanish. Here, he takes a firm stand on the uniquely peninsular character of Dominican Spanish:

[Santo Domingo] was a Spanish colony from 1492 until 1891 . . . Various factors contributed to the maintenance of the purity of Spanish in Santo Domingo: one was the ever-present dominance of families of Spanish ancestry; and culture also contributed, especially during colonial times. Colonial Santo Domingo was the site of schools, universities (founded first in the sixteenth century and again in the eighteenth century), convents, archdioceses, a royal court, the printing press and the theater. Pompously, its citizens called this capital city "the Athens of the New World." Also, literature has continuously flourished there for four centuries. (Henríquez Ureña 2004a [1919]: 50–1)

Henríquez Ureña's *El español en Santo Domingo* (henceforth ESD), composed between 1935 and 1940, became the standard dialectological manual.

Almost all of the philological texts from the era, in their own way, framed the origin and development of the Dominican speech community in a specific sociocultural and historical context, that of an isolated but culturally thriving Spanish colony. Bent on constructing an enduring image of the Dominicans' linguistic nationalism and emphasizing the need to defend it, Henríquez Ureña wrote:

Still in 1861, Santo Domingo sought to return to Spain, an enterprise bound to fail (completed in 1865), but which signified a type of ritualistic act intent on ending contact with nations of different spiritual roots. Thus, the pride which gave us an exalted sense of language in colonial times is now kept alive by the desperate defense. This feeling of desperate defense prevails today. During the period 1916–22, under the US government-imposed military occupation, Santo Domingo defends itself as it did a hundred years ago, resisting the influence of a foreign language, seeing in Spanish its only weapon and only shield at home and abroad. (2004b [1937]: 249)

Henríquez Ureña's initial discussion in ESD clearly delineates the author's main concerns: i) to establish that the Spanish of the Dominican Republic is the most archaic dialect in the continent and a relatively unchanged dialect of Peninsular Spanish, ii) to rectify the Dominican Brito's representation of Spanish in his *Diccionario de criollismos* as a fundamentally distinct rural dialect of Spanish, and iii) to obtain a record of the archaic speech before it begins to "naturally erode" (Henríquez Ureña 1975 [1940]: 8). The first four chapters define the Dominican speech community in the context of the Caribbean region and the important historical events that shaped it, including early colonial settlement, the foundation of cities and the early status of the eastern part of the island as a site of colonial power. While Henríquez Ureña described Spanish in the Dominican Republic as a relatively homogeneous entity, his text's serious implications unfold through the formulation of a number of dichotomies (for example, diversity versus homogeneity, variation versus tradition): "urban speech is uniform throughout the country, as we would expect in relation to general aspects of the standard language. However, we find divergence with respect to rural speech" (1975 [1940]: 37–9). Despite a mostly Andalusian-influenced pronunciation, to Henríquez Ureña, the Caribbean, especially Santo Domingo, constitutes a speech community characterized by "a strong Castilian flavor" in its lexicon and syntax:

In relation to their traditional linguistic base, the Caribbean resembles Lima and Bogotá. In contrast to the rest of their respective nations, these two cities represent the highest degree of Castilian flavor in the Andes. Likewise, Santo Domingo exhibits a great many archaic features. This linguistic situation can be partially attributed to the fact that this island was the first site of Spanish settlement in America. (Henríquez Ureña 1975 [1940]: 41)

Noticeably, Henríquez Ureña opposes Castilian to Andalusian, in order to place Dominican Spanish closer to the central-northern peninsular edge of the dialectal continuum. The linguistic resemblance between Dominican Spanish and Castilian Spanish is achieved by focusing primarily on the lexicon and syntax of the Dominican standard variety. The author also compares this variety synchronically with the Spanish of Bogotá and Lima, dialects that enjoy greater prestige throughout Latin America because of their perceived linguistic purity (Zentella 2002). With this strategy, Henríquez Ureña distances Dominican Spanish from its Caribbean counterparts, which occupy lower positions in the hierarchy of Spanish regional dialects and which were deemed far too Anglicized by Dominican intellectuals.

The emphasis on lexical and syntactic archaisms is ideologically connected to the discourse that links the deployment of such linguistic forms to the expression of loyalty to Spain as opposed to the US. After establishing this connection, Henríquez Ureña provides a historical explanation in support of his theory on the archaic nature of Spanish in the Dominican Republic:

This is exactly what happened in Santo Domingo: during the first fifteen years following the Discovery, the relatively large core of the population established the linguistic base. To this initial foundational linguistic base, we can add the contributions of *noveles* [new arrivals] and *chapetones* [urban dwellers from the Peninsula]. However, the old (self-proclaimed) *baquianos* [indigenous name for “field scouts”] must have greatly influenced the speech of the first settlers. This explains the survival in Santo Domingo of medieval words and other linguistic forms that had become archaic or at least obsolescent by the sixteenth century. (Henríquez Ureña 1975 [1940]: 41)

In ESD, the explanation of the initial colonial settlement in Santo Domingo is highly significant. The image of an initial and dominant group of Spanish settlers that Henríquez Ureña draws, in order to establish the base of Dominican Spanish, exhibits no major regional, social or dialectal differences. Always resistant in the face of change, the image of the Dominican speech community that emerges is one of loyalty to Spain and Hispanic tradition.

Henríquez Ureña supports his concept of the Dominican linguistic base by relying on the authority of the Colombian linguist Rufino José Cuervo, who had argued that “Hispaniola was the first site of acclimatization for the Spanish language in America. Here it was that the language began to adapt to the new realities” (Henríquez Ureña 1975 [1940]: 41). Indeed, Hispaniola, as the first Spanish colony in the New World, was initially a central point of communication between Spain and America and, according to Cuervo, a key site in the establishment of linguistic norms. However, Henríquez Ureña offers Cuervo’s characterization as supporting evidence of the preservation of an exclusively archaic (i.e. pure) variety and the privileged linguistic role

that Hispaniola played during the early stages of colonization in the New World.

In the first four chapters of his book, *Henríquez Ureña* presents a sketch of the historical circumstances that contributed to the initial configuration and subsequent development of the Dominican speech community, as well as the archaic nature of Dominican Spanish. This explanation of the traditional linguistic base of Dominican Spanish is consistent with tradition in Dominican historiography which privileges colonial heritage, intellectual tradition, the presence of powerful institutions and linguistic pride among the most relevant historical factors. *Henríquez Ureña* asserts: “while Santo Domingo was the capital of the Caribbean, pride in its privileges set the dignified tone which is characteristic of local speech” (1975 [1940]: 47). In “La lengua in Santo Domingo,” in “El idioma español y la política en la República Dominicana,” and repeatedly in *ESD*, he reinforces the idea that resistance, first to Haitian domination and second to US occupation, effectively led to the preservation and dominance of Hispanic cultural and linguistic tradition (i.e. archaic Spanish):

Even after the indifference of the metropolis allowed the country to fall into foreign hands, it never gave up. For more than seventy years it fought to preserve its Hispanic national character and cultural traditions from Spain . . . After proclaiming its independence with difficulty in 1821, it set out to resist the invasion and occupation by Franco-African Haiti in 1822. Dominicans put up a long and passive resistance to the foreign-speaking Haiti until 1844, when the resistance turned violent and independence was recovered. In 1861, it joins Spain again in an effort at annexation destined to fail in 1865. This attempt, however, was a formal event which marked the end of contact with people of different spiritual roots. Therefore, the pride in its linguistic heritage, developed during colonial times, now reawakened in the desperate struggle for freedom, kept the language alive. The feeling of ferocious preservation persists in our time in light of the illegal and unprovoked invasion ordered by the United States government (1916–1922). Santo Domingo defends itself as it did one hundred years ago, resisting foreign linguistic influence and using the Spanish language as its only weapon and shield at home and abroad. (1975 [1940]: 47–8)

This particular set of statements by *Henríquez Ureña* recalls others uttered by a previous generation of Dominican historians and historiographers: “Spanish became especially resistant” (Tejera 1928: 35). Accordingly, the inhabitants of Hispaniola resisted relinquishing Spanish and Hispanic tradition, despite the fact that Spain had abandoned the eastern part not too long after its conquest. In this particular historical context, the reference to shields and to weapons reveals a peculiar militarization and nationalization of the language consistent with formulas of Dominican national discourse. It also resonates with the nationalist campaign that Dominican intellectuals carried out in the face of US intervention in the twentieth century.

In nationalistic literature and in philological texts, Dominican authors consistently endeavored to prove that the subsequent isolation from Spain and the constant threat of foreign invasion spurred the Dominican leading social classes to successfully preserve their Hispanic cultural and linguistic tradition until the twentieth century:

As in Mexico and in Peru's great urban cultural center, Lima, another sign of linguistic and colonial influence is the use of the second person pronoun *tú* and its corresponding verbal forms . . . Another sign is the persistence of subjunctive future forms such as *hablare* [were to talk] and *hubiere* [were to be], which survive in Santo Domingo and are readily and effortlessly used by educated people, especially in writing. (Henríquez Ureña 1975 [1940]: 48–9)

Henríquez Ureña's linguistic and cultural analyses of Dominican society abound with images of a norm-setting educated urban elite and references to "persistence" and "survival." The survival of linguistic forms corresponded with the Dominican elite's desire to remain culturally Spanish and preserve the colonial foundations and neocolonial social structures. Henríquez Ureña's work on the history of Spanish and Hispanic culture aimed at rebuilding the confidence of the cultural elites and the ruling classes who were concerned with the loss of political sovereignty, and at providing the socio-historical and linguistic foundation required for the restructuring of Dominican society in the early twentieth century. In his work on Dominican Spanish and culture, Henríquez Ureña maintains the Dominicans' ability to preserve their national identity in the face of adverse conditions. Thus, ensuring this vision of continuing cultural success in light of an uncertain future provides a sense of the purpose, motivation and conditions behind the theoretical and methodological processes of his work. As Arnoux and Del Valle argue, despite some changes in the evolution of its ideologies, these discursive frameworks seemingly continue to be emotionally anchored in past social imaginaries (2010: 17). Against the backdrop of the US occupation and the threat of US cultural expansion in the Caribbean, Henríquez Ureña was compelled to address the nature of Spanish in the Dominican context from the perspective of the leading historiographers and cultural voices in the Dominican Republic in the first half of the twentieth century. Above all, they all agreed that the Dominican nation had persisted in its desire to remain culturally Hispanic (Henríquez Ureña 1988b [1925]: 440). These scholars have represented Dominican linguistic reality with Spain as its only source of reference and its sole provider of identity.

Conclusion

The sociological explanation and representation of linguistic foundations emerge on the scene as political phenomena. When read in light of the

political debates and conditions, Henríquez Ureña's linguistic representations reveal their ideological underpinnings. While Henríquez Ureña and Lugo approached their object from different fields, using different methods and under different sets of personal circumstances, they converged on the idea that, despite their country's political tribulations, Dominican society has remained a staunchly Hispanic nation, primarily because of its fierce loyalty to the Spanish language and Hispanic tradition. Both scholars were prompted by the political problems of their time and the prevalent climate of opinion in the Dominican context. Under the threat of cultural and political absorption by the US, they viewed total hispanization as the quickest and surest road to sovereignty and the full realization of Dominican national identity. In this outlook, Henríquez Ureña and Lugo coincided with the discursive tradition of Bello and Rodó, by representing their respective regions as culturally and linguistically homogeneous communities and viewing diversity as a threat to national development, unity and sovereignty. The image of Spanish as a symbol of high culture and Hispanic international dominance is a political and sociological phenomenon that pervades the representations of language in the Dominican Republic. While linguists definitely strive to possess more complete knowledge of linguistic reality, the process of linguistic representation involves the articulation of fears, hopes and desires embedded in political contexts.

14 Language diversity and national unity in the history of Uruguay

Graciela Barrios

Introduction

Uruguay's linguistic profile is the result of the complex interaction between colonial policies, nation-building and multiple historical events that determined the fate of indigenous, African, colonizing and migrant languages. Since neither the indigenous languages nor the African languages brought by slaves managed to survive, colonizing and migrant tongues ended up shaping the linguistic landscape and contributing to perpetuate the myth of a white European Uruguay. Among colonial languages, Spanish became dominant, while Portuguese remained a vernacular on the north and north-east border with Brazil. Migrant languages, among which Italian and its many dialects were the most significant, gradually receded as immigration came to a halt.

Traditionally, linguistic diversity has always been seen as a problem and state policies have always aimed at promoting Spanish as the national language. A strong identity grounded in language would affirm the country's viability as a nation independent not just from Spain and Portugal (which had their own disputes over this territory) but also from Argentina and Brazil, with which Uruguay has shared a good part of its history.

In this chapter, I will compare two periods in the history of Uruguay: the first is defined by the passing of the *Decreto-Ley de Educación Común* [Decree-Law for General Education] in 1877 and the second by the foundation of Uruguay's language academy, the *Academia Nacional de Letras* (henceforth ANL) in 1943. Both glottopolitical episodes took place in contexts of institutional breakdown which included respectively the dictatorship of Colonel Lorenzo Latorre (1876–9) and the dictatorships of Gabriel Terra and Alfredo Baldomir (1933–43), with a few intervals of democratic re-institutionalization. The linguistic events shared the aim of promoting and defending Spanish as a national language, but they differed greatly in what they perceived as obstacles to the achievement of that goal. In the first case, the center of attention was the border and Portuguese; in the second case it was immigrants and their languages.

This discussion is based on the analysis of public and institutional documents of wide circulation and great influence upon the social, educational and linguistic practices of Uruguayan society in the relevant periods. The corpus includes legislative texts, official school textbooks, literary works, pedagogical texts and press articles written by renowned scholars and educators. These hegemonic discourses, closely related to public policies, reveal the aim of consolidating nationality.

The birth of modern Uruguay: the border and Portuguese as a problem

The presence of Portuguese on the Brazil–Uruguay border is the result of the early settlement of people of Portuguese origin in this region (Elizaincín, Behares and Barrios 1987; Barrios 1996). From the beginning of the Spanish Conquest, the territories of what was then known as *Banda Oriental* were the object of disputes between Spain and Portugal, which resulted in several treaties, hostilities and the foundation of settlements. In 1494, two years after the European arrival in America, the Treaty of Tordesillas set the boundaries of the conquered areas. However, while the present territory of Uruguay fell within Spanish jurisdiction, Portugal continued to expand, eventually controlling a good part of the lands assigned to Spain by the Treaty.

The first Spanish settlements in this area date back to 1527, but they were hardly significant. In 1680, the Portuguese founded Colonia del Sacramento, strategically located on the River Plate, opposite the city of Buenos Aires. A few decades later, Spain founded the port city of Montevideo (1724), also on a privileged location on the River Plate. Montevideo would later reach an even more important milestone, becoming the capital of Uruguay.

The Portuguese presence in the northern territory of contemporary Uruguay began early through the *bandeirantes* (hostile expeditions that aimed at raiding and taking Indian prisoners and later selling them as slaves) and the settlement of farmers and Brazilian workers. After independence from Spain, towards the mid-1800s, there was an attempt by Montevideo to counter Brazil's presence in the north: the Uruguayan government founded border towns with Spanish-speaking people and immigrants from other origins. Brazil followed suit, leading to the creation of twin Hispanic-Portuguese towns. Still today, Artigas–Quaraí, Rivera–Santana do Livramento and Río Branco–Jaguarão symbolize a Brazilian–Uruguayan border identity that is still very much alive despite the historical controversies that surround their origin.

The independence of Uruguay was a complex process of separation from Spain and Portugal as well as from its neighboring countries, Argentina and Brazil, with which it keeps – to this day – close cultural and economic ties. The text of the Declaration of Independence of August 25, 1825, for instance,

included a clause that established the union with the United Provinces of the River Plate. Uruguay's independence was made official in 1828 and was the result of negotiations between Argentina, Brazil and the United Kingdom. The country finally acquired a legal framework in 1830 with its first Constitution.

Uruguay became an independent country in an extremely unstable economic, demographic and institutional context. For forty years it suffered civil wars and foreign intervention. The *Partido Blanco* (or *Nacional*) and the *Partido Colorado* identified respectively with the countryside and the capital. The north was under the leadership of rural leaders called *caudillos* who had frequent and easy contact with people on both sides of the border. The central government of Montevideo barely knew what was happening in this region beyond the continuous hostilities.

The country was sparsely populated; the inhabitants of the north were mostly Brazilians. They owned the lands and controlled the administration of these territories. Elizaincín, Behares and Barrios provide the demographic details:

according to the first Uruguayan Census (of 1860) the country's population was at least 200,000, of which 40,000 were Brazilian, living in the country's north-west. On the other hand, around 1857 . . . it was estimated that over 47,300 km², divided into 428 ranches, belonged to Brazilian subjects . . . Brazilian culture and even currency were used in this region; if there were legal conflicts, these inhabitants appealed to Brazilian authorities. Moreover, Brazilian Justices of the Peace operated in that territory. (1987: 39)

Meanwhile, the population in the southern regions of the country increased rapidly with the arrival of large migratory contingents of European origin, predominantly Italian and Spanish. By 1875, the population had reached 450,000 and by 1900 one million. Between 1840 and 1890, 50–60% of the population of Montevideo was foreign, mostly European. The 1860 census indicated that foreigners represented 35% of the population of the country, a figure that decreased to 17% in 1908. Even though the arrival of immigrants decreased in the twentieth century, it continued until 1960, influencing the cultural and economic profile of the capital and a good part of the south and west regions of the country.

Delimitation of borders and hispanization: Varela and the Decree-Law for General Education (*Decreto-Ley de Educación Común*)

The viability of Uruguay as an independent state required an effective political and economic organization as well as an identity grounded in the Spanish language. This view of viability achieved some degree of consistency only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a period known as the first modernization. In 1876, Colonel Lorenzo Latorre (1844–1916), until then Minister of War,

became Provisional Governor. In 1879, he was elected constitutional president, holding this position for only one year.

During the Latorre administration, steps were taken towards the organization of the countryside and the affirmation of central authority: the land was fenced (to mark the boundaries of property and control the raiders who stole hide and cattle), the telegraph and the railway were used to facilitate communication between different regions, and the army was supplied with more modern weapons (which facilitated the repression of revolts in the countryside). The farthest-reaching measure towards political control and unification of the country took place in the field of education when a special decree-law was passed on August 24, 1877 (Araújo 1897, 1911).

This decree-law reflects to a large extent the education doctrine of José Pedro Varela (1845–79), previously developed in two pedagogical texts inspired by the Argentine and American models: *La educación del pueblo* dated 1874 (Varela 1964a) and *La legislación escolar* of 1876 (Varela 1964b). By 1868, Varela and other young intellectuals concerned with the lack of a true public educational system had founded the *Sociedad de Amigos de la Educación Popular* [Society of Friends of Public Education]. In Varela's discourse, Portuguese and its presence in the border are already represented as a problem: "At present, Brazil, after continuous and patient efforts, rules over almost all the north of the Republic through her subjects, who own the land: all over this area, even the national language has almost been lost, since it is Portuguese that is usually spoken" (Varela 1964b: 149).

In these words, we can find the distortion – "erreur historique," in Renan's (1987 [1882]) terms – of considering the situation along the border as the result of a displacement of Spanish by Portuguese ("the national language has almost been lost"), when in fact, since the first settlements in the region, the dominant language had been Portuguese. This representation is repeated as a leitmotiv in public and institutional discourses and is one of the strongest arguments for justifying the fight against Portuguese (which turned particularly violent during the military dictatorship of 1973–85) (Barrios and Pugliese 2005).

Even though his political and intellectual stance was incompatible with Latorre's dictatorship, Varela was persuaded to work on drafting the Decree-Law for General Education. His proposal ratified free education and recommended that it also be compulsory and non-denominational. The first two items were accepted, but non-denominationalism was the subject of great controversies; only a few restrictions were placed on religious education in public schools.

Linguistic questions were still considered central to the process of educational reform. Article 38 of the Law established specifically that "in all public schools, teaching will be conducted in the national language" (Araújo 1911: 681), assuming that this language could only be Spanish. From this moment on,

it was compulsory for public instruction to be conducted in Spanish, independently of the sociolinguistic reality where it took place, and even if students were not native speakers. Since then, free and compulsory education has been the pillar of the expansion of Spanish as the national language throughout Uruguay, as well as the most effective instrument for the construction of nationality.¹

Regulation of the Decree-Law for General Education in border schools

In spite of the decree-law, Portuguese was still the language of education in many border schools, especially private ones. In a note dated October 22, 1878, the Minister of War José M. Montero, Jr. warned the government about the linguistic situation on the border: “H.E. the Governor could see on his recent trip to our provinces on the border with Brazil that, with the exception of public schools, Portuguese is the only language taught in the schools located in this area” (Araújo 1897: 171). Montero reiterated the central role of language in the construction of nationality and the preservation of sovereignty:

It cannot escape Y.E.’s patriotism that this fact can affect our nationality. The language becomes so naturally linked to the people that it becomes a matter of honor to preserve its legitimate predominance. Since language is one of the most vigorous means to express the idea of sovereignty, it is neither fair nor patriotic that the Castilian language we inherited from our forefathers should be second to any other language throughout the territory of the Republic. A man who grows under the domination of a foreign language necessarily undermines the feelings of patriotism and dignity of the citizen. (Araújo 1897: 171)

Spanish was seen as an instrument for the affirmation of nationality, which basically meant establishing differences with Brazil and eliminating Portuguese. For this reason, Montero requested that compulsory education in Spanish be the rule and compliance with this regulation controlled:

It is on the basis of the previous arguments that the higher authorities order Y.E. to compel those teachers in the aforementioned case to give preference in their teaching to the Castilian language, informing them at the same time that, if they fail to comply, the authorities will proceed to close down their schools. For the purposes mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Y.E. will be so kind as to commission the best employee of the local government to visit schools and give an account of the way in which teachers comply with this superior resolution. (Araújo 1897: 171–2)

¹ This measure, however, had different consequences among groups of speakers of languages other than Spanish: while migrant languages underwent an irreversible process of recession in favor of Spanish (Barrios 2004, 2009), the northern border evolved towards Spanish-Portuguese bilingualism with diglossic distribution (Elizaincín 1973; Behares, Díaz and Holzmann 2004).

The note made it clear, however, that this request did not aim at banning any foreign language:²

The Provisional Government has given the country many proofs of its liberality, as well as evident demonstration of sincere appreciation of the nations that cultivate relations with the Republic, and will not contradict in the present the liberal and paternal principles that have informed their conduct thus far. It does not intend to proscribe any foreign language, which would constitute an attack on freedom and hurt sensibilities which are worthy of respect. However, it intends to preserve among its citizens love for the country and appreciation of the national language. (Araújo 1897: 172)

Montero's request resulted almost immediately in Colonel Lorenzo Latorre's decree of October 20, 1878, which, based on the aforementioned considerations, ruled that "in all elementary, higher or scientific schools, the Spanish language will be given precedence, without this entailing the exclusion of the study of the other languages" (Art. 1).

On January 20, 1879, the *Dirección General de Instrucción Pública* [Department of Public Education] passed the regulations that extended the obligation to teach Spanish to private schools. It established that it was compulsory for private schools to employ personnel sufficiently skilled in developing speaking, reading and writing proficiencies in Spanish: "All private schools will have the duty to keep at all times a person devoted to the teaching of the Spanish language, understanding by this that he must teach how to speak, read and write it. The person that verifies that this teaching takes place could be the Headmaster of the school or someone else" (Art. 2).

The regulation also established that, in order to comply with this measure, the *Inspectores Departamentales* [Provincial Inspectors] had to "find out if each and every student in these schools [was] taught the Spanish language with the depth required in the previous article" (Art. 3). Those institutions that did not comply with this regulation would be penalized with fines or even closed down. Note, however, that the ruling refers not to teaching *in* Spanish (as was the case in public education) but to the teaching *of* Spanish. The documents confirm, therefore, that towards the end of the nineteenth century Portuguese was spoken in a large area of the country, that in many private schools in the north teaching was conducted in Portuguese, and that there were difficulties in guaranteeing the teaching of Spanish with the available staff.

² The explicit intention of not exacerbating potential xenophobic feelings might be interpreted as a gesture of good will towards the immigrant population residing in the capital and in the border settlements, and a sensitivity to the existence of educational institutions in Montevideo founded by immigrants during the second half of the nineteenth century, such as the *Deutsche Schule* (1857), the *Scuola Italiana di Montevideo* (1886) and the *Collège Carnot*, which preceded the foundation of the *Lycée Français* in 1922.

The concern of both the government and educators with the border question – above other demographic and sociolinguistic situations equally or more noteworthy in numerical terms – deserves some reflection. Even though the extent of migrant multilingualism did not escape the intellectuals of the time, it seems that it was not felt to be as dangerous as the question of border Portuguese. The reasons are mostly economic and political. The need to assign a clearly outlined territory to the new nation found an obstacle in the fact that the land belonged to Brazilians who received education and legal services in their native tongue. These Portuguese speakers in Uruguayan territory were the most visible face of a larger political and economic problem related to land ownership and the permeability of the borders.

Despite being numerically more significant, immigrants did not own large extents of land and were concentrated in areas more accessible to the central government than the distant northern frontier. They seemed, in general, open to learning Spanish in order to facilitate their social and economic integration (Barrios 2004, 2009); the ethnically oriented institutions themselves started out as bilingual and introduced the teaching of Spanish to the immigrants' children early on. By contrast, the distance from the capital, the ownership of the land, the economic and sovereignty problems it entailed, and the identification of the people living on the border with Brazilian models explain why Portuguese and the border were of greater priority in the discourses and the political regulations of the time.

Borders, immigrants and the construction of nationality during the first quarter of the twentieth century

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, while we still find explicit references to the border, they now coexist with the immigrant question. According to Behares, Díaz and Holzmann, the idea that “‘everything is Brazilian north of the Río Negro’ is repeated until the end of the nineteenth century and even through the beginning of the twentieth” (2004: 237). In 1922, Justino Zavala Muniz, a politician, referring to the province of Cerro Largo, on the border with Brazil, remarks that “the fight that must be waged in defense of nationality is incredible,” since “everybody there, absolutely everybody, speaks this lowly dialect, a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese” (qtd. in Behares, Díaz and Holzmann 2004: 237). The aforementioned passage includes the traditional representation of hostilities in terms of foreign invasion and national defense: “only elementary school can defend us against this invasion of Brazilian elements in our country,” pioneering a discourse which is still common nowadays, also in relation to Portuguese (Barrios and Pugliese 2005).

The historical events of the turn of the century show a recession of the border problem. The defeat and death of the *caudillo* Aparicio Saravia (1856–1904),

an emblematic figure along the border with a strong influence in rural areas, allowed president José Batlle y Ordóñez (1856–1929) to focus on a series of social, political and economic transformations. These changes are known as the second modernization and project the image of a modern, prosperous, educated, democratic and non-denominational country, an image that would remain as a referent of Uruguayan national identity. An important contribution to the nation's identity from the intellectual field was that of José Enrique Rodó (1871–1917), a prestigious journalist and essayist, who defended an elitist European model that aimed to detach Uruguayan identity from the poor and illiterate European immigrants among the popular urban classes in Montevideo (Asencio 2004).

The rapid growth of our democracies due to the incessant aggregation of a vast cosmopolitan multitude – due to the migratory tide, incorporated into a core still too weak to carry out an active work of assimilation and to channel the human flow with the means offered by the historical strength of social structure, a safe political order and the elements of an intimately rooted culture – will expose us in the future to the dangers of democratic degeneration, which suffocates under the blind force of numbers any notion of quality. (Rodó 1910: 60)

In contrast with Rodó's and Zavala Muniz's texts, in the *Libro del Centenario* (Asencio 2004), a monumental work of propaganda published in 1925 to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of Uruguay's independence, the question of cultural or linguistic diversity is simply erased: "there are no dialects or region-based differential language varieties given Uruguay's intrinsic political unity, its small territory, its origin as the absolute expression of the domination of and conquest by a single race and the uniform ethnologic character of its population" (*Libro del Centenario del Uruguay*, qtd. in Caetano 1992: 88, 2000).

This statement, together with the aforementioned texts from the period of Batlle's presidency (conveniently reinforced by schooling), is a token of the conventional representation of Uruguay through the mid-1950s: a small, prosperous and uniform country, unscathed by the problems of diversity that others faced. Once more, the distortion imposed itself as a dominant narrative in the construction of nationality.

The thirties and forties: immigrants and migrant languages as a problem

The first quarter of the twentieth century was a bountiful time in which the immigration currents continued – albeit in lesser quantities than in the previous century (Pellegrino 2003). But in the 1930s and 1940s, Uruguay began to experience the effects of economic recession, of the global political context

and of two new dictatorships, namely those of Gabriel Terra (1873–1942) and Alfredo Baldomir (1884–1948). In this period, immigrants – and their languages – became the center of public debates and the targets of numerous policies. The government, the press, the education establishment, intellectuals, the left and the right, converged in a common diagnosis: immigrants were an economic, political, ideological, educational and – of course – linguistic problem.

Gabriel Terra was the constitutional president of Uruguay between 1931 and 1933, when he staged a coup and remained as *de facto* president until 1938. During his administration, the entry of immigrants was restricted because of the economic recession and the increase in unemployment rates. However, international politics also influenced and conditioned the influx of foreigners to the country. In this period, legislation on immigrants includes Law 8868 (1932), the Constitution of 1934 and Law 9604 (1936) (known as *Ley de indeseables* [Law of Undesirables]). Besides restrictions that applied to people who had committed crimes, others were imposed on those with physical or psychological disabilities, and on those deemed to have moral flaws. Art. 36 (Law 9604 of 1936) also added the requirement of a consular certificate with an explicit statement denying any ties “to any kind of social or political organization which, by means of violence, aims to destroy the foundations of nationhood.” Given that Terra’s administration had recognized the Spanish government of Francisco Franco in 1936, that it expressed openly its sympathy for the German government of Adolf Hitler, and that it maintained a smooth relationship with the Italian government of Benito Mussolini, this last restriction can be interpreted as an attempt to control the entry of anarchists and communists of Italian and Spanish origin.

Immigrants were also a cause of concern to leftist Uruguayan intellectuals, but for the opposite ideological reasons. In 1939, a few years after the *Ley de Indeseables* was passed, the influential weekly *Marcha* denounced the presence of Nazi and Fascist groups operating in the traditional German and Italian educational institutions, founded by immigrants in the nineteenth century in a very different historical context. Some headlines in this periodical expressed concern with what they considered an intrusion on Uruguayan nationality: “Conspiring against national independence. Nazi organizations are a threat to the nation” (*Marcha* 1, June 23, 1939, in Alfaro 1970: 136), “The Nazi party in Uruguay is a source of espionage” (*Marcha* 2, June 30, 1939, in Alfaro 1970: 140).

In the first of the aforementioned articles, under the subheading “*La Juventud Nazi*” [“Nazi Youth”], journalist Victor Dotti warned his readers against the *Deutsche Jugendbewegung* [German Youth Movement] in Uruguay: “for Nazism, the descendants of Germans are also German, were they born in Uruguay or in China” (138).

In the second article, some classic themes in the history of Uruguay reappear: ownership of the land (“purchases by Nazis of large extents of land on one of the margins of the Uruguay River, for the establishment of submarine bases” (141)) and the strategic location of Uruguay in the region (“The strategic importance of our country is what makes it a desirable target to international fascism” (141)).

The fear of a possible link between immigrants and the dominant ideologies in their countries of origin also applied to Italians. An article entitled “Cómo se organiza la quinta columna de la traición” [“How to organize the fifth column of betrayal”], denounced:

all the monstrosities carried out in the *Scuola Italiana di Montevideo*, where our children are taught never to question the orders of Mussolini (4th Reading Book, p. 54), to worship him like a god, to commemorate with veneration the day he was born . . . to worship the great dates of Fascist Italy (4th Book, page 8), whereas there is not a single mention of our great national dates. (*Marcha* 3, July 7, 1939, in Alfaro 1970: 145)

The journalist questioned the lack of answers on the part of the Uruguayan educational authorities (who “lack the legal resources to put an end to the anti-national and antihuman work of Nazi–Fascist schools” (147)) and denounced the fact that “the *Deutsche Schule*, as well as the *Scuola Italiana*, continue to enjoy the approval of the State” (148)). The *Deutsche Schule* was closed down in 1946 and reopened in 1951.

The migratory question in education

In the realm of private education, the concern with immigrants reemerges in specific actions such as the closing down of the *Deutsche Schule*. In public education the perceived problem was dealt with through far-reaching proposals, targeting children in general, regardless of whether they were the children of immigrants. In this case, the aim was not to regulate the entry or the activities of the immigrants, but rather to integrate them by making them participate in the values and models of a Uruguay conceived by the intellectuals of the 1900s.

In the context of education, school textbooks were a particularly interesting instrument to achieve this goal (Oroño 2010a, 2010b). These textbooks were tools not only of instruction, but also of propaganda and representation of the virtues of the Uruguayan citizen in all its aspects: patriotic, moral, spiritual and, of course, linguistic (on grammar and the construction of a modern subject see Arnoux in this volume). In this nationalist outlook, the reference to immigrants was unavoidable. In the prologue to the *Curso práctico de Idioma Español* [Practical Spanish Course] by Adolfo Berro García (1935 [1930]), the author takes a purist and nationalist stand, where the main threat no longer came from

Brazilians – as was the case in the pedagogical discourse of the late nineteenth century – but rather from the immigrants and their language varieties:

It is precisely in these River Plate countries, where very diverse factors contribute to vitiate and deform the language, where the contribution of such a large number of immigrants, of diverse ethnic origin, facilitates the continuous invasion of strange words and turns of phrase, where this teaching must be duly channeled, that – in stopping and avoiding the impurities of popular speech – the goal of everyone correctly speaking the national language becomes possible. (Berro García 1935 [1930]: 6)

The prologue to the *Libro Cuarto de Lectura* [Fourth-level reader] by Roberto Abadie and Humberto Zarrilli also contains an explicit warning against the dangers of immigration:

Regarding our ethnographic reality: a large percentage of our schoolchildren belong to foreign races and many of them were not even born in our country. This circumstance leads parents to instill in their children, naturally, the love for heroes of their country of origin, and even, as we have ascertained, to despise ours due to the narrow scope of their action. And this happens not only with regard to our military and civic heroes, but also with regard to our literature, our arts, our industry and even our language and the customs of our people. (Abadie and Zarrilli 1946: IV)

The discourse explicitly articulated the role of education and, in particular, of these books as instruments of nationalist propaganda:

Regarding our cultural reality: it is well known that in most homes the entire library is made up of books children bring from school. These books are browsed by the parents and, many times, read by them. This fact compels the authors of the readers and the state that sanctions them, to bestow on them, beyond their didactic status, that of an instrument of propaganda in favour of nationalist ideals. (Abadie and Zarrilli 1946: IV)

Linguistic purism and the creation of the *Academia Nacional de Letras*

In 1938, Gabriel Terra's administration gave way to the presidency of Alfredo Baldomir. This constitutional period was again interrupted by a coup in 1941, which reinstituted rights that had been suppressed by the previous dictatorship. On February 10, 1943, through Decree-Law 10.350, the *Academia Nacional de Letras* (ANL) was created (Academia Nacional de Letras 1983).

An antecedent of this Academy was the *Academia Uruguaya de la Lengua* [Uruguayan Language Academy], created in 1923 with the status of *Correspondiente de la Real Academia Española* [Associated to the Royal Spanish Academy], and its director was the poet Juan Zorrilla de San Martín (Asencio 2006). The ANL of 1943 is formally more independent of the Spanish institution, but the spirit of *unity within diversity* is emphasized throughout the foundational document. The linguistic reality of the country is still recognized

as a legacy of Spain (“the language is the greatest treasure Spain bequeathed to us” (ibid.: 55)) and the ANL commits to proceeding “without affecting the necessary and cordial relations with the Spanish Language Academy” (ibid.: 56). Thus, the creation of a Uruguayan Academy is an act of national assertion which, nevertheless, is attenuated insofar as it vindicates the participative function of the Spanish language above any separatist aspiration.

The country is also represented as part of the American context: “our language is an admirable instrument of bonding and solidarity between eighteen nations in America, which demands that it should be given particular consideration in its continental and national aspects” (p. 56). However, inescapably, and even though it already had more than a century of independent life, the country is also represented in relation to neighboring countries: “Uruguay is one of the few in the continent that has not created an organization to fulfill this transcendental mission, as the Argentine Republic did over a decade ago, as well as the United States of Brazil with regard to its language” (Academia Nacional de Letras 1983: 56).

The foundational text of the ANL once again grants immigrants and their languages a central role but fails to make reference to the Portuguese of the border. Immigrants are represented in contradictory terms, but in the final analysis these terms are negative: the possibility that their tongues could “enrich our language” is neutralized when confronted with the warning made explicit in expressions such as *corrompe*, *envicia* [corrupts, vitiates] and the pejorative use of adjectives such as *foráneos* [foreign]:

Considering that the strong migratory support that the Nation has received and is still receiving from the most diverse origins and with the most varied ethnic and linguistic features, at the same time that it enriches our language, it corrupts and vitiates it with the introduction of turns of phrase, expressions and words from foreign languages, which the people, unaware of this, sanction with its mistaken and inconvenient use. (Academia Nacional de Letras: 55)

Immigrants are mentioned explicitly, as in the previous text, but also indirectly, through geographical indications of their places of arrival and residence. Accordingly, “it is in the countries of the River Plate where this danger is more evident” (55), and in urban centers, where “the elaboration of popular expressions also impacts the purity of language and from where it extends to every other area of the country” (55). Let us bear in mind that it was precisely in the metropolitan cities of the River Plate (Montevideo and Buenos Aires) that we find a concentration of immigrants.

The text we have analyzed lacks complaints against Portuguese and rural speech, generally stigmatized as deviations from the urban model. The border and the countryside, key concerns of the public policies of the last quarter

of the nineteenth century during the process of nation-building, give way to immigrants and popular urban speech.

The foundational text of the ANL embraces the nationalist and purist objectives that define this type of institution. Despite declarations of adhesion to Spain and to America, the creation of a national language academy implies in itself a statement of independence. The ideology of purism supports this process in proclaiming the value of the chosen national language and manifests itself in a double rejection of otherness from the hegemonic perspective of lettered culture. Purism concerned itself on the one hand with foreign languages (*idiomas foráneos*) and, on the other, with vulgarisms (*expresiones populares, expresiones y voces ordinarias y groseras*) (Academia Nacional de Letras 1983: 55). In this case, both strains converged on a single language variety: the Spanish of the River Plate, strongly influenced by the migrant tongues.

In fact, this variety incorporated many popular expressions from migrant languages, especially Italian. The more popular varieties included *cocoliche* (Spanish spoken by Italian immigrants) and *lunfardo* (jargon of marginalized social groups, which took many expressions from Italian and other migrant languages, and which was also used in popular music such as *tango*).

As I have remarked in Barrios (2011), the foundational text of the ANL is more explicitly and decidedly prescriptive than it is nationalistic. It takes from Andrés Bello the recognition of local linguistic realities, without losing sight of the *fate* of the Spanish language as a whole. Linguistic prescription encloses diversity, and the normative administration of regional particularities prevents any danger of linguistic fragmentation.

The creation of the ANL had ample repercussions among teachers and language scholars. In 1946 *La defensa del idioma* was published by Alberto Rusconi, a teacher who held important positions in the administration of public education and edited newsletters widely circulated among teachers. The book compiles a series of the author's articles that had appeared in the press. As the title indicates, the vast majority of them broach topics related to the correct usage of language by means of a purist discourse that links good speech with civic, moral and spiritual values.

Cosmopolitanism appears once more as a problem in need of solution: "Purifying speech is a patriotic undertaking, since language is a spiritual heritage that configures the greatness and cohesion of a people. Linguistic cosmopolitanism and disaggregation find their identical counterparts in the physiognomy of a nation" (Rusconi 1946: 13). In the chapter entitled "En pro y en contra de las academias de la lengua" [For and against language academies], Rusconi expressed his dissatisfaction with several aspects of these institutions. However, he found a plausible justification for their creation in the need to channel the "intense cosmopolitanism" of countries like Uruguay, since "language

constitutes one of the foundations of nationality, at least with regard to countries with an intense cosmopolitanism, such as ours" (ibid.: 48).

In another chapter, entitled *Idioma, nacionalidad y cultura* [Language, nationality and culture], he turns again to the question of cosmopolitanism to declare the normative work of academic institutions: "In countries of intense cosmopolitanism such as ours, it is convenient to create groups of good speakers who exemplify a correct language, and by such we understand the language used by educated people" (ibid.: 62). Rusconi recognizes "the ethnic inequality that prevails" in Uruguay and he vindicates the role of language in the homogenizing process. This inequality:

conspires against linguistic unity and the purity of the language, given the large number of foreigners incorporated into our community, who in their private lives continue to speak the languages of their respective nations, damaging the correct expression of their children as a consequence. In order for the descendants of foreigners to amalgamate in the national structure, there is but a single factor: the possession/command of the language we speak, since these people lack in their homes both the tradition that binds and the means that create aptitudes of adaptation. (Rusconi 1946: 61–2)

The book includes a chapter devoted specifically to *lunfardo*, the object of all sorts of diatribes: *El lunfardo, lengua de malandrines* [Lunfardo, jargon of thugs]. The author dubs this variety "linguistic decomposition," "employed by lowlifes and criminals" (ibid.: 29). And, of course, he refers to the influence of migrant languages in the conformation of this variety: "Moreover, let us strengthen our rejection of *lunfardo* by adding that it almost completely lacks the merit of being original, since its words are adaptations or deformations of the Italian and Spanish vocabulary" (ibid.: 33).

Throughout this period, the arguments for the representation of immigrants and migrant languages as a problem are more complex than those of the late nineteenth century in relation to Portuguese. Linguistic nationalism is reinforced by linguistic purism both in discourses and in legislation covering both the corpus and the status of Spanish.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have analyzed how political and linguistic representations of language in Uruguay have evolved according to historical trends, with particular emphases, arguments and instruments in each period. However, they have shared the common aim of regulating minority languages and protecting Spanish as the national language.

In particular, we have analyzed the policies and ideologies surrounding border and migrant linguistic minorities in two different moments, taking as defining milestones the passing of the Decree-Law for General Education

(1877) and the creation of the ANL (1943). The Education Law was passed when the country faced political and economic troubles that required, above all, control of its borders. The instrument of choice for achieving this goal was the generalization throughout the territory of education in Spanish. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Uruguay appears to be economically and politically consolidated and the foundational discourses of the nation consecrate an elite democratic model of a white, educated European citizen. In this context, the social visibility of poor and illiterate European immigrants begins to be perceived as problematic. Even when the number of these immigrants was lower than in the previous century, the historical situation will progressively grant them a centrality similar to that of the border and Portuguese in the last quarter of the previous century.

A new period of institutional instability, exacerbated by the international context, revived the defense of nationality and the regulation of diversity, which now openly focused on immigrants and popular urban speech. The creation of the ANL in 1943 was an emblematic measure although not the only one.

With migrant languages, the context was not favorable for any of them to seriously challenge the social spaces of Spanish (not even Italian, since immigrants were mainly speakers of dialects and promptly adopted Spanish as a common language; see Barrios 2009). However, contact made it likely that Spanish would incorporate foreign words and expressions, which was a cause of concern for the guardians of the national language.³

With time, the historical context changed, as did the protagonists, but the interpretation of linguistic minorities as a problem remained the same. Their greater or lesser visibility had to do with economic, political, ideological and identity factors – both domestic and global – which maintained the representation of minorities as problems in need of solutions, with the aim of consolidating sovereignty and constructing nationality.

³ By contrast, there were few purist discourses in relation to Portuguese in the nineteenth century, because there was no frequent contact between Portuguese and Spanish. Contact between these languages would increase with time, as Spanish progressively made its way into border communities as a result of literacy education in this language. The period that best illustrates purist policies and discourses related to Portuguese is certainly that of the military dictatorship of 1973–85, with strong campaigns against this language (Barrios and Pugliese 2005).

15 Language debates and the institutionalization of philology in Argentina in the first half of the twentieth century

Guillermo Toscano y García

Introduction

The establishment of the *Instituto de Filología* as a research center at the University of Buenos Aires's *Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* in 1922 was a fundamental step in the academic institutionalization of philological studies in Argentina. From that moment on, the Institute played a modernizing role in linguistic research and became, especially after the closing of Spain's *Centro de Estudios Históricos* in 1936, the leading research center in Spanish philology.

The Institute quickly emerged as a central reference point when it came to describing and analyzing Spanish varieties spoken outside of Spain, and it also participated in the debate concerning the likelihood that dialectal differences could eventually lead to language fragmentation. In early twentieth-century Argentina, the consequences of immigration (see Barrios in this volume for a discussion of the same phenomenon in Uruguay) were added as a new variable to the language fragmentation controversy that began with Andrés Bello and Rufino José Cuervo, with a subsequent spread throughout the field of Spanish studies (see also Arnoux and Del Valle 2010, and Del Valle's [Chapter 16](#) in this volume). The publication of Lucien Abeille's *Idioma nacional de los argentinos* (1900) triggered a separate debate regarding the effects of immigration on language contact. This debate went on for several decades, with positions ranging from the condemnation of linguistic change, to subsequent attempts to restore standardized Castilian Spanish as the norm, to the embrace of what was thought to be the development of a new, distinct language.

The Institute and the scholars who directed it offered university authorities between 1923 and 1946 a formal venue through which to participate in these debates. Their contribution was based on the model developed by Spanish philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869–1968), the Institute's Honorary Director from its foundation, which had historical linguistics as its epistemological framework and the evolution of peninsular Spanish as its main object of study. The efforts were successful and, during this period, the Institute's actions had a long-lasting twofold effect. On the one hand, they helped build and

strengthen a scientific field for linguistic studies, establish a well-defined and up-to-date theoretical framework, develop a sound methodology, and design new protocols for research. On the other, the Institute was a key agent in the appraisal and defense of standardized Castilian Spanish, a process simultaneously set in motion by governmental and educational authorities. Even though there were differences among them, the Spanish philologists who headed the Institute upheld a policy that promoted standardized Castilian Spanish, based on a philological model upheld as modern and prestigious.

Evidence of the Institute's success in establishing the hegemony of this model is found in the historiographical approach found during this period, which precluded the inclusion of any other theoretical or ideological perspective. This chapter seeks to examine two of these otherwise excluded points of view; namely, those held by Arturo Costa Álvarez and Vicente Rossi, two intellectuals who had critical views of the Institute's position in the years under study.

The establishment of the *Instituto de Filología*

In 1920, the Board of the *Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* approved a new curriculum that, among other things, added a Romance linguistics course in the fifth year of study. This addition coincided with the first attempt by Coriolano Alberini to create an Institute of Philology that would comprise four sections – general philology, Romance philology, philology of American languages and philology of indigenous languages – and be directed by “a young philologist from Spain” appointed by the Dean with the advice of “Mr. Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Mr. José Ortega y Gasset” (Toscano y García 2009: 119).

Alberini's project was not met with institutional support until 1922, when the new Dean, Ricardo Rojas, reintroduced it with some minor changes. To Rojas, the Institute of “Linguistics” (the change in name must be noted) was to perform two fundamental tasks: “studying the living Spanish spoken in Argentina, under the influence of aboriginal and immigrant languages” and “updating the teaching of Spanish in schools, in line with the new scientific and pedagogical trends” (RUBA 1922: 702–3). Evidently, Rojas sought to integrate scientific research with education and, therefore, while designing a synchronic research program focusing on the regional varieties of Spanish, he expected such research to result in the production of two linguistic tools for language learning: a grammar and a dictionary.

The project to create the Institute was approved in 1922; and in April 1923, Rojas informed the Board of his negotiations to appoint a director. Since the new center would be “a serious thing, unprecedented in this country,” he thought it was best to hire someone from “abroad, preferably in Spain” (Rojas 1924: 85–6). He suggested Menéndez Pidal, “whose authority on these matters cannot

be denied" (*RUBA* 1923, 650), as Honorary Director, with the wherewithal to appoint Executive Directors, who would reside in Buenos Aires. The Board agreed with Rojas's suggestions, and Menéndez Pidal accepted the offer. In the years that followed, the following Executive Directors were appointed to the Institute: Américo Castro (1923), Agustín Millares Carlo (1924), Manuel de Montolú (1925) and Amado Alonso (1927–46).

By agreeing to hand over control of the Institute to Menéndez Pidal and some of his former students, university authorities in Buenos Aires made a fundamental contribution to Spain's efforts to energize and reposition its scientific prestige, which had been pursued for several years through multiple agents, such as the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas* [Board for the Promotion of Scientific Study and Research], diplomatic representatives, the publishing industry and several associations.¹ Likewise, they contributed to a gradual process that would establish a scientific field around linguistic studies, which also involved implementing new guidelines to assess scientific competence. The choice of the Spanish philological model also entailed the adoption of its validation criteria as a guarantee of certain minimum standards when it came to university studies, specialization abroad, publications in professional journals, specific scientific knowledge, etc.

Separately, the decision led to the emergence of a conflict that would unfold in the following years between the nationalist program designed by Rojas for the Institute of Philology and the successful model set forth by Menéndez Pidal for linguistic and literary studies. As a result of this clash, the Institute would go through a long process of administrative reorganization, completed only in 1927. The program Menéndez Pidal and the Spanish philologists sought to implement in Buenos Aires deviated from the Institute's mission statement, which had been put forth by Rojas at the Institute's inauguration ceremony on June 6, 1923:

To preserve this delicate organism that is Spanish [*romance castellano*], avoiding the risks of both academic crystallization and plebeian corruption; to make it the starting point of our studies while drawing on classical and oriental sources; to analyze its genealogy among Romance dialects within the larger group of Indo-European languages; to define the character of our language in literary texts and in speech, so that it can grow in contact with other languages without being contaminated by them; to include the study of pre-Columbian languages in connection with their apparent genealogy among Asian languages and their contributions to Spanish; to incorporate as many words as possible from all Spanish-speaking peoples in order to produce a larger, richer dictionary than existing ones; to preserve grammatical and aesthetic discipline by means of a literary

¹ Especially the *Institución Cultural Española*, an organization founded in 1914 by a group of bankers, professionals and businessmen settled in Buenos Aires as an organ of propaganda for Spanish Regenerationism. For the relationship between the *Institución Cultural Española* and the *Instituto de Filología*, see Toscano y García 2009.

education . . . : these are the ambitions that inform the establishment of the *Instituto de Filología* that I am opening today. (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras 1923: 12)

Starting with Castro (1923), the Spanish directors would gradually move away from the Institute's intended purpose. As a result of this departure, a series of debates began in relation to the Institute's approach to the regulation of research and the political or ideological dimensions of the discourses on language that it produced.

Arturo Costa Álvarez: “*Cuidados ajenos matan al asno*” or “Mind your own business”

Arturo Costa Álvarez (1870–1929) was a leading figure in linguistic circles in early twentieth-century Argentina. A self-taught man, Costa Álvarez worked as a translator for the newspaper *La Nación*, combining this important activity with a diplomatic career and the writing of short articles on aspects of language and language learning for newspapers and cultural and educational journals. In 1922, he published *Nuestra lengua* [Our language], a book that was met with critical acclaim and that, in a context where linguistic thought had not yet become institutionalized, earned its author a place among language authorities.

Costa Álvarez's subsequent works were fundamental in at least two different ways. First, they were produced between 1922 and 1929, a key period in the history of Argentine linguistics as it coincided with the establishment of the *Instituto*. Costa Álvarez was the only Argentine specialist with whom the Spanish philologists considered it necessary to contend for the monopoly of linguistic authority. Second, there was a public clash between Costa Álvarez and the university administrators who had established the Institute, as well as with its early directors. In this controversy, which spread to journals, cultural magazines and newspapers, Costa Álvarez challenged the philological model and the scientific agenda implemented by the Spanish directors, denouncing them as imperialistic. He questioned two of the principles on which the authorities had based their decision to hand over control of the Institute to Menéndez Pidal, namely, the neutrality of science and its global nature.

Nuestra lengua is Costa Álvarez's first published work and a groundbreaking text in Argentine linguistics. In the prologue, the author described the field of linguistic studies in Argentina and in it he anticipated the rapid professionalization that was to begin one year later. He stated that the book had been written “for the author himself” for a single reason: “the absence of interlocutors.” After trying to find someone to talk with “on the subject matter of this book, that is, language trivia” (9) for twenty-four years in the articles he published in Buenos Aires newspapers, the only reward he got was “family meetings where

it was decided that the author should be admitted to a mental facility if he insisted on his pursuit” and the conviction that “if there is something nobody is interested in, that is language” (10).

Humor enabled Costa Álvarez to characterize both a discursive space – that of linguistic research – and himself: in the realm of linguistic thought, which had not yet become a formal field of study in Argentina, he was alone. In 1922, he could still rely on his exceptionality to lay the foundations of his authority. In addition, the autobiography included in the prologue portrayed him as a self-taught man who, while working as a translator, “took down, in an attempt to save time and effort in the future, the results of research done to answer the questions that arose from the difficult task of translation” (11); the book was nothing but a polished version of these notes. A year later, the establishment of the *Instituto de Filología* gave rise to a fast process of professionalization, and holding a university degree became the new legitimizing requirement.

Costa Álvarez’s thesis in *Nuestra lengua* brought him close to the tenets held by Rojas from around 1909 until the writing of the final version of the Institute’s organizational mission, which was presented one year later. In contrast with Rossi, as we will see, Costa Álvarez defended the unity of the Spanish language in the Iberian Peninsula and the Americas; he criticized those he called “*ideomólogos*” (the scholars like Abeille and the regionalist writers, who believed in the existence of particular features that characterized the Argentine language as distinct from Castilian Spanish); and he rejected the predictions of linguistic fragmentation, which he considered to be unscientific. His diagnosis of the contemporary situation of Spanish in Argentina also brought him close to Rojas and to the early directors of the Institute. Costa Álvarez believed that action needed to be taken against the corruption of standardized Spanish as a result of immigration, and its misuse by writers who operated under the influence of French literature: “our language is Castilian Spanish, and we must wipe off the dirt from cosmopolitan immigration in popular speech and the continuous reading of foreign books in the educated variety” (1922: 71). In this sense, he endorsed the prescriptive role of linguists, who must “correct mistakes,” following the model set by scholars like Ricardo Monner Sans, Matías Calandrelli or Juan B. Selva. He preferred prescriptive grammarians to scholars like Abeille: “The Abeilles should go; the Monner Sans, the Calandrellis, the Selvas should come” (120).

Until 1929, Costa Álvarez pursued a program based on the conviction that it was the fundamental task of linguists in Argentina to develop tools for the proper use of standardized Castilian Spanish. During those years he worked on two prescriptive tools, a grammar and a thesaurus, their lack being one of the problems language users faced in Argentina. He also became a reference writer on linguistic matters for a relevant sector of the Argentine intelligentsia,

as evidenced by the volume of articles he published not only in the leading newspapers (*La Prensa*, *La Razón*) but also in some of the most important cultural magazines (*Nosotros*) and university publications (*Humanidades*, *Valoraciones*).

Against this background, Rojas's decision to appoint a Spanish scholar to run the recently established *Instituto de Filología* was a snub to Costa Álvarez. A few months later, in January 1924, Costa Álvarez's response to such a decision appeared in *Valoraciones* in the first of a series of publications that continued until 1929. This article triggered a dispute with the Institute's authorities. In the first section, Costa Álvarez reviewed a paper by Selva, published in the previous issue, underscoring its "educational purpose" (1924: 142) and the prevalence of the "social function over the scientific one," thus avoiding "philological sectarianism" (1924: 141). In Selva, he recognized "the embodiment of the Argentine philologist" (1924: 142) and the antagonist of the *Instituto de Filología's* director, Spanish philologist Américo Castro, to whom the rest of the article was devoted.

Costa Álvarez's criticism unfolded along multiple dimensions. First of all, Costa Álvarez noted that the disciplinary framework designed at Menéndez Pidal's *Centro de Estudios Históricos* and taken up by Castro in Buenos Aires did not match the objectives found in the Institute's mission statement laid down by Rojas or the specific needs of Argentine linguistics. Focusing on the "historical study of language to discover the basis of its formation and the laws that govern its evolution," the Spanish philologists' approach neglected the study of "the principles that rule the function of linguistic elements today, which can guide the teaching of proper use" (1924: 142). Such a prescriptive yet synchronically descriptive program, which Costa Álvarez had supported two years earlier, was also based on the second dimension of his criticism: the mismatch between the Spanish model and the realities of Argentine education. In this regard, he noted that Castro's "scientificism" [*cientificista*] (1924: 144) was not compatible with the situation of university students in the country, who knew nothing about "comparative grammar" (which Costa Álvarez considered to be "the basis of" philological studies) or even "the grammar, the lexicon and the rhetoric of Spanish" (1924: 143). This explained why Castro's courses, which at first drew many students, ended up with a lot of "empty desks" (1924: 145).²

This led to the most important objection Costa Álvarez raised against the program launched by university officials: the appointment of a Spanish rather

² See Del Valle's introduction to the volume for a discussion of the scientification of language studies. Notice that Del Valle underscores the fact that, in spite of adopting the scientific paradigm of historical grammar, Menéndez Pidal does not give up the connection between language and human will.

than an Argentine philologist as Director of the Institute. "Once again the weakness of our authorities became clear . . . as they believe that in science as well as in art (but never in politics, how strange!) Argentines are unable to do worthy things, and foreigners are the only people who are capable enough" (1924: 144). In his view, this appointment relegated Argentine specialists to the background when instead they could have taken over the Institute's leadership, placed at the Institute's helm a scholar "with no psychological affinities with us" (1924: 148), and, above all, merely established a "branch of the Madrid-headquartered *Centro de Estudios Históricos*" (1924: 149), thus transferring the scientific agenda designed in Spain to the Buenos Aires-based Institute. Costa Álvarez suggested leaving the history of pre-classical, classical and Golden Age Spanish to Spanish philologists and focusing on "the product of the American territory" in local research:

A variety of colonial Spanish is . . . available for direct observation, both in the oral tradition and in legal, ecclesiastical and council archives, which are an invaluable source of information on the early evolution of Spanish when transplanted to this continent. We have the languages of the Americas, and an indigenous toponymy whose scientific study has not yet started. Last but not least, we have a hybrid of Spanish and native languages, and the alterations of the former under the pressure of European polyglotism. (1924: 145)

Costa Álvarez's position was almost a faithful reproduction of Rojas's earlier mission statement and, as such, revealed the extent to which the Institute had parted ways with it under Castro. Moreover, the text made clear the contradiction between Rojas's nationalist program and the appointment of a Spaniard to run the Institute, a decision Costa Álvarez understood as a gesture of academic subordination to Spanish imperialism.

Contrary to the neutral and global model supported by Rojas and Castro, Costa Álvarez's argument emphasized the political dimension of institutions and practices associated with scientific research. Whereas Castro, when taking office, celebrated the fact that Argentine university administrators "objectively" considered, "without taking account of sentimental factors," that the *Centro de Estudios Históricos* could offer services in Argentina analogous to those provided by Lenz and Hanssen in Chile (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras 1923: 15), Costa Álvarez sought to expose this alleged objectivity and advocated the appointment of an Argentine specialist, since "this Argentine Institute must be run by a specialist from Argentina who teaches the science as confined to the Argentine reality and uses methods adjusted to Argentine matters" (1924: 148).

In "La mala suerte del Instituto de Filología" [The Institute of Philology's misfortune] (1925), Costa Álvarez raised an objection that forced the administrators at the *Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* to rearrange their

original agreement with Menéndez Pidal.³ The objection was that, failing to carry on with the Institute's initial mission, the Spanish philologists hired for the Institute were "migrant scholars, birds of passage" (1925: 110), who stayed in office for a few months (and not for three years, as stipulated in their contract) and thus were unable to ensure the continuity of their research programs. This argument also laid bare the inconsistency between the program designed by each director and its results. In the case of Castro, Costa Álvarez pointed out that, when taking office, he announced the production of a dictionary "to contain the semantic and regional evolution of Spanish in both worlds, from its prehistoric origins . . . to the present. The ambitious plan revealed the southern, almost tropical, fantasies of the first Director of the Institute in all their lushness" (1925: 110–11).

In the same article, Costa Álvarez denounced the inadequacy of the Spanish model to the Argentine context. In his view, "scientificism" applied to the Madrid-based *Centro de Estudios Históricos* as a whole, but affected Menéndez Pidal's former students in particular; he described it as "a sectarian school prone to scientificism and to the Germanization of the scientific study of Spanish in Spain, based on microscopic structural analysis" (1925: 110). With regard to the Institute's second Director, Millares Carlo, Costa Álvarez noted that his training in paleography would be of little use in effectively carrying out the study of regional varieties of Spanish in contact with native and immigrant languages. Once again, he emphasized the connection between this model and the method implemented by the Spanish philologists. In his review of the first large project carried out at the Institute, the editing of a medieval Bible in Romance from a manuscript at the library of El Escorial, he warned against "the interest of the *Centro de Estudios Históricos* in printing in our country and at our expense a Medieval Jewish Bible in broken Spanish whose diplomatic version was produced in Spain" (1925: 111).

In "La obra del Instituto de Filología" [The work of the Institute of Philology] (1929), Costa Álvarez targeted Director Amado Alonso for the first time and, as we will see, triggered the strongest response ever to his invectives. Strengthening the position he had introduced in "El Instituto Argentino de Filología" [The Argentine Institute of Philology] (1928), he encouraged university authorities to admit that the project had failed and to shut down the Institute if they wanted to avoid "having a useless organization and wasting public money," a place "whose parasitic existence swallows 18,000 pesos a year, taking into account salaries and operating expenses." Instead, he suggested establishing a new center with the same name and a similar purpose that would focus on

³ In 1927, the School Board called again for Menéndez Pidal to appoint a new Director for the Institute, with the condition that the appointee should stay in office for at least three years (Toscano y García 2009: 133).

the study of colonial Spanish, the production of a linguistic atlas and “the scientific grammar and dictionary of standardized Spanish,” the “methodical study of Spanish dialectology in the Americas, including the collection of folklore materials and a comparative analysis of them,” and “the philological analysis of documents produced in the Americas” (1929: 15).

Unlike his predecessors, Alonso replied to Costa Álvarez’s criticism, and he did so in two articles published in *Síntesis*, exerting his scientific authority in a surprisingly aggressive style, otherwise non-existent in his writings. His argument was aimed at displacing Costa Álvarez from the central place he still held in the field of linguistic studies, and at defining and establishing the base criteria that would govern the field of language studies in Argentina from then on.

In the first of the two articles, “La filología del Sr. Costa Álvarez y la filología” [Philology and Mr. Costa Álvarez’s philology] (1929a), Alonso, taking a different course of action from his predecessors, answered his critic, “as requested by many dear friends in Argentina who want to know, once and for all, whether Mr. Costa Álvarez has enough knowledge on the subject to make such horrific criticisms as he usually makes. They want to know whether Costa Álvarez is, after all, a philologist or a linguist” (1929a: 125). In order to answer this question, Alonso pointed out – as Rojas and Castro had done before him – that the decision to hire a Spanish philologist as Director of the Institute was in line with the policies implemented by the leading universities around the world, based not only on the globalized nature of contemporary research, but also on the *esprit de corps* shared by those who wanted to “improve their knowledge in any field,” irrespective of their countries of origin (1929a: 140–1).

As he assessed Costa Álvarez’s competence, Alonso revisited the history of linguistics from the nineteenth century on, taking as his starting point what he believed to be the foundation of modern research: Karl Vossler’s idealism. Showcasing a variety of methods and theories, he would then go on to analyze the ideas expressed by Costa Álvarez in *El castellano en la Argentina* (1928). As a result of this analysis, he criticized Costa Álvarez in a series of discrediting remarks by describing his opponent’s concept of science as “outlandish,” “provincial” and “foreign,” and Costa Álvarez as “one of those unwitting memorizers who build their phrases using blocks they heard or read in books” (1929a: 133).

Costa Álvarez’s reply – written in the same aggressive tone – appeared in “Curiosa función del Instituto de Filología” [The intriguing function of the Institute of Philology] (1929a), his last text in this series. Building on the already numerous damaging remarks made in previous articles, this time he targeted Alonso’s youth and its effects on his career: “with regard to his intellectual development, he still has milk on his lips” (1929a: 139); Alonso’s objections “are personal and malevolent, a sign of the prepubescent spirit; when

you look into them, you can see the mental *tabula rasa*, made up of general statements, that characterizes the adolescent mind” (1929a: 139). Besides his more *ad hominem* references to Alonso’s age, Costa Álvarez also questioned the Spaniard’s credentials. Taking up the latter’s reference to his self-taught background, he remarked on his rival’s “naïve belief that a university degree is proof of knowledge, and the only one at that” (1929a: 139).

The debate came to a close with an unfortunate article by Alonso, “Sobre el difunto Costa Álvarez” [Remarks on the deceased Costa Álvarez] (1929b), in which, just after the Argentinean’s death, the author ratified and strengthened his invectiveness. The text “paid homage” to the Argentine linguist by arguing that his views were not the result of bad faith but of ignorance: “No. There was no bad faith in what he believed. It was the best the man could do” (1929b: 178). This “defense” was in fact a new insult, removing Costa Álvarez out of the field of true science: “Upon the arrival of foreign philologists, he was seized by the hatred felt by folk healers in the presence of a real doctor” (1929b: 175); “I myself have shown that, on linguistic and philological matters, Costa Álvarez’s ignorance was chemically pure” (1929b: 176).

Vicente Rossi: “The geographical tale of ‘the Language’”

Unlike Costa Álvarez, Vicente Rossi (1871–1945) did not hold a central position in the scientific field in the period under study. His background was heterogeneous (he was a journalist and writer, an editor and a philologist); he published in unconventional media such as booklets, newspapers and self-published books; and his raids into the scientific arena had a limited reception (his criticism met no reply from the *Instituto de Filología*).

The first of his *Folletos lenguaraces* [Insolent pamphlets] appeared in 1927 – a series of thirty-one booklets that were published at intervals until his death in 1945. They were controversial writings with which Rossi intended to lay the foundations for a River Plate philology, mainly leaning towards lexicography. The model was different from the ones embraced by the *Real Academia Española* (RAE) and by the Spanish philologists who ran the *Instituto de Filología* in Buenos Aires. The series was divided into two main categories. The first twenty-one issues dealt with the discussion of linguistic matters and were themselves divided into smaller groups: lexicographical issues (booklets 1 to 5); the “national language of the River Plate (Argentina–Uruguay)” (booklets 6 to 10), whose existence Rossi proved by analyzing entries from the RAE’s dictionary to show that in the “innovated, altered, newly created, unknown, or unused words there are no traces of Castilian Spanish and the rights to a national language emerge” (1928b: 7); and back to lexicographical issues (booklets 11 to 13), including the project to produce a *Vocabulario del Vasallaje* [Vassalage vocabulary] as a preliminary contribution to a “River

Plate (Argentine-Uruguayan) Language Dictionary.” The second major category revolved around *Martín Fierro*. Two booklets in the series were aimed at the Institute’s authorities: No. 9, “Del trascendentismo” (1929) and No. 23, “Filología y filolorjía” [Philology and philology] (1939).

The first booklet, “Etimolologomanía sobre el vocablo ‘gáucho’” (1927a) [Etymologomania on the word “gaucho”], began with a brief statement describing the author’s objectives: it was intended to discuss how “people who are politically active in the literary trade” deal with “philological issues pertaining to the national language of the River Plate” (1927a: 3). Using a modified spelling that he would continue to use throughout the *Folletos* series, Rossi made explicit the rhetorical core of his texts, which found in the debate format the best rhetorical strategy. The reference to professional philologists pointed at the members of the Institute, whose foreignness was used by Rossi to reject their scientific legitimacy: “It is not easy to be accurate about our popular vocabulary when you are not familiar with it, let alone when you are not familiar with the people who use it” (1927a: 3). Right from the first item in the series, Rossi made it clear that the construction of a national philology and the non-acceptance of foreigners as language authorities were affirmations of linguistic sovereignty against the decisions made by university authorities: “The nationalist tone in these *Folletos* will be surprising . . . strange, even ridiculous, in the face of the reigning servility on linguistic matters and the indifference towards our own heritage that characterize our political leaders, to the detriment of the civic health of our people” (1927a: 3).

In the same issue, Rossi discussed an article by Roberto Lehmann-Nitsche, the Institute’s Acting Director in 1926, about the etymology of the word *gaucho*. First, Rossi questioned the research approach employed by the German anthropologist: “This writer deals with our stuff on the basis of the conclusions he draws from his unselected readings, from what has been published about it; and such a method usually leads to wrong conclusions. In this case, he draws upon exotic publications by authors who are not even geographically acquainted with us, and the result is, as will soon become evident, puzzling” (1927a: 5–6). This argument, which Rossi would take up again in later works, addressed one of the common methods of contemporary research: ethnographic fieldwork; instead, he introduced a native-oriented criterion, based on direct, experiential knowledge of the phenomena observed as the guarantee of scientific research.

His second objection had nothing to do with method, and advanced instead a thesis that would become central to Rossi’s arguments in the following decades: the language spoken in the River Plate area had its roots in native and African languages rather than in the Spanish spoken by the conquistadors. The “national language of the Argentines and the Uruguayans” contained but a few traces of Castilian Spanish. The mistake, asserted Rossi, had been to ignore this fact and maintain instead that the language spoken in Argentina had Spanish as

its substratum: "His [Lehmann-Nitsche's] first mistake, and the mistake made by all the people who study the philology of our language, is the assumption that there is a preceding 'Iberianism.' Above this usually held chimera there is the reality of 'indigenous' and 'black-African' roots, no matter what they have done to conceal them" (1927a: 6). Rossi's explanation, which he expanded and improved on throughout the *Folletos* series, was that the process of political independence also implied the individuation of the national spirit: "we have managed to speak [a language], formed and adjusted through the gradual development of our culture and our national, independent, spirit" (1927a: 14–15). The result of this spiritual transformation was a "clear and concise, harmonious" language, "with a sweet and smooth pronunciation" (1927a: 14–15), distinct from peninsular Spanish.

His criticism of lexicographical studies continued in the second *Folletto* (1927b), where he targeted the RAE, whose "psychology, deafness and loss of voice make it impossible to know and appreciate our sonorous words, our graphic phrases" (1927b: 5). Rossi criticized the Academy's dictionary for not including words commonly used in the River Plate area and for providing a large number of definitions that did not explain regional meanings. At the same time, he sought to show the influence of the native substratum on semantic change. His lexicographical enquiries, therefore, performed a significant political function: his negative review of the RAE's dictionary on the basis of its dialectological shortcomings meant the rejection of the RAE's power to regulate language use.

In contrast with Costa Álvarez, Rossi was against unifying perspectives on language. He sought to establish a radical and alternate concept of linguistic change as one being inherent to language, rather than as a consequence of language corruption. His modern point of view in this respect became evident in his disagreement with negative appraisals of the "River Plate language," which stood in sharp contrast to the standpoint of the Spanish philologists in Buenos Aires. Its modernity was limited, however, by the persistence of value judgments, which led him, for example, to assert the superiority of this language over Castilian Spanish: "Our clever and playful people have managed to displace [Castilian Spanish] using the very same words, so much so that the simplest definition shows it is the Greek-Latin-Arab know-it-all schoolmaster that cannot speak, let alone understand, properly" (1927b: 21).

Finally, Rossi tackled one of the key theoretical tenets established by Menéndez Pidal and his former students in Buenos Aires: the view that change leading to the emergence of a new language occurred when the educated sectors lost control and the vernacular became the standard. In Rossi's view, River Plate "Spanish," as well as the other languages spoken in the Americas, was the result of "self-evident broad renovation, unstoppable and educated" (1927b: 21). The emerging national languages were the necessary outcome of the process of

adaptation undergone by Castilian Spanish in a new spiritual world; as they evolved out of the standardized variety they also shaped it. For Rossi, “language mistakes” (a common phrase in the writings of the Spanish philologists) was a parallel process to language variation: “Every human language has sprung from so-called *language mistakes*” (1928a: 9).

Amado Alonso’s arrival in 1927 sparked Rossi’s strong criticism of the university and the Institute’s leaders, text which appeared in No. 3 of *Folletos lingüaraces* (1927c). As Costa Álvarez had done two years earlier in “La mala suerte del Instituto de Filología,” Rossi attacked the authorities, and Rojas in particular (who was responsible for the establishment of the Institute), on the grounds that they had betrayed the position previously taken in such works as *La restauración nacionalista*:

They meekly flock together, in the broadest sense, those Americans who embrace anti-nationalist defeatism, giving in to language servility on dubious sociological, philosophical and literary grounds which fail to conceal racial, herd-like tendencies. In our case, we have come to the point where a bunch of intellectual leaders herd us together under the command of Spanish directors appointed, at the expense of the public treasury, to organize, against our magnificent popular, social and literary language contributions, a defeatist approach, including future *dictionaries* “peppered” by these foreign directors especially to suit our tastes, by way of digests that we will “need” for submissiveness and dependency.

They demand the nationalization of . . . oil! and forget all about language, the element that is closest to national intellect, spirit and race. (1927c: 27–8)

In Rossi’s opinion, Rojas’s decision to place the Institute in the hands of Spanish philologists not only ignored Argentine experts, who were able to perform the same task, but was also an act of political submission. Moreover, Rossi drew attention to a conflict that had gone unnoticed by all the other intellectuals of the period, that between two opposing nationalist projects: the one sponsored by Rojas in Argentina and the one advanced by Madrid’s *Centro de Estudios Históricos*. The latter had been brought to the Americas in 1910: the Spanish directors of the *Instituto de Filología* “teach us nationalism by defending and imposing what they consider their own, as if they were ‘*envoys of the Sun*’ coming to illuminate ‘*the lands of the West Indies*’” (1927c: 29).⁴

The sixth booklet, “Idioma nacional rioplatense (arjentino-uruguayo)” [National language of the River Plate (Argentina–Uruguay)], marked the beginning of the subseries on the national language, and was published between 1928 and 1931. Here Rossi sought to prove the existence of a new language through a peculiar strategy: “analyzing every word on any page of the royal and

⁴ In 1929, Rossi stated in connection with Alonso: “In sum, this is a case of nationalist stubbornness. We are nationalists and stubborn too, but everything favors us, and only we are wrong!” (1929: 18).

academic dictionary produced by the Castilians" (1928b: 7). All the booklets in this subseries included sections reviewing and discussing the meanings found in the RAE's dictionary, which he found inadequate when applied to the lexicon of the River Plate. By analyzing these differences, he gathered enough evidence to reject the existence of a unified Spanish language, "which prevented Castilian Spanish from settling in the River Plate, since to us it sounds archaic, rough and arbitrary, detached from our race or soul" (1928b: 7).

In Rossi's view, the identification and defense of a national language was consistent with similar assessments made by some members of the scientific community. In other words, he built his own scientific tradition, in which he placed Lucien Abeille in a distinguished position. Contrary to the negative opinions about the French philologist that had been voiced by Menéndez Pidal, the Institute's directors and even Costa Álvarez, Rossi restored Abeille to a prominent place as the man who had produced "the first and only serious work of great scientific value, with deep knowledge of the complex science of linguistics and a keen perception of the national soul" (1928b: 14). Abeille's was a work Argentines should be proud of, and criticisms of it could only be taken as anti-patriotic, as claims against it represented more a political stance than an attack on its theoretical content.

Rossi contrasted Abeille's work with that of the Institute's philologists. Where the former was the prime example of a national philology, politically opposed to Spanish linguistic imperialism, the latter he associated with (neo)colonial intentions: Castro was a "Castilian-trotter" who had "only devoted himself to Romance studies and transcendentalism in his *inspection visits* to the *West Indies domains*," Alonso a "language maven" hired "to make sure that the royal language is respected in this humble and loyal *Viceroyalty* of the *River Plate*" (1928b: 16).

In similar fashion to Costa Álvarez, Rossi understood that the unifying, pro-Castilian discourse could only be rejected if there were language institutions that countered the RAE, where the creation of linguistic tools that legitimized the emerging language would be possible. Two years before the establishment in 1929 of the *Academia Argentina de Letras* [Argentinean Academy of Letters] – which, it should be remembered, was not a subsidiary of the RAE (see Barrios's discussion of the similar Uruguayan case in this volume) – he urged "Argentine and Uruguayan intellectuals . . . to encourage the creation of the Academy of the National Language of the River Plate, whose members shall be in charge of editing our lexicon" (1928b: 33).

In the ninth booklet (1929), Rossi plunged into the activity of the *Instituto de Filología*. He reviewed the Castro and Montolíu administrations, noting that they had come to Buenos Aires with "the insolent intention of suggesting we had to surrender unconditionally to 'the *Spanish* way of speaking' if we wanted to be *educated gentlemen* in the *Viceroyalty* of the *River Plate*, which used to

be a land of black slaves and had now become *linguistic*" (1929: 5). After them, there came Alonso, "who has been with us for a while, admired by our sensitive yet snobbish scribes" (1929: 6).

Rossi's reply to Alonso's "Llega a ser el que eres" [Come to be who you are] (Alonso 1929c) came in his translation of the title as "Be what you are and not what you want to be." In his article, Alonso reviewed the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville (1929), which he considered to be a milestone in the building of an Ibero-American identity. Alonso believed the most important "product" among those on display did not have a pavilion of its own, but could be seen everywhere: "the Spanish language" (1929c), which he considered common heritage and a symbol of cultural unity between Spain and the former colonies. Against Alonso's unifying thesis, Rossi predicted that, following "natural laws," Americans would drift away from Castilian Spanish, "for it is a sign of intellectual decay that a language is preserved without changing, and a sign of poverty of the spirit and of a race to resist such change" (1929: 8). He cited the example of the United States as one to be followed, and suggested that each country "should inform its own language with its nationality: Chilean, Paraguayan, Ecuadorian and so on" (1929: 14).

Finally, Rossi discussed Alonso's idealist program. Remarkably, he concluded that this perspective, grounded in the conviction that language is the expression of the activity of the spirit, supported his own idea of language change as being inherent to language. Quoting Alonso ("But languages do not live in their own right; they are the mere product of the spirit of speakers"), Rossi found crucial evidence for his theory:

Our maven is here! . . . Without him realizing, his argument has brought him to our own ground. We are sick and tired of saying we cannot speak Castilian Spanish because it is detached from our spirit and our race; we are sick and tired of repeating that "language is the reflection of a people's intelligence and soul" and, naturally, we cannot speak a language that is not "the product of our spirit." (1929: 22–3)

Ten years later, in 1939, Rossi wrote a new booklet focusing on the activity of the *Instituto de Filología*. This time, the debate was aggressive, and the nationalist tone dramatic. The new booklet was preceded by a caption: "The peoples in the River Plate have the patriotic duty to consider non-existent those institutions and publications betraying their nationality by turning the language into Castilian Spanish. Do not forget this when you choose your political leaders" (1939: 60). In the first section, "Elementos para la gramática nacional rioplatense (argentina-uruguaya)" [Elements for a national grammar of the River Plate (Argentina–Uruguay)], Rossi laid the foundations for a spelling reform. If it was to stick to the maxim of "writing the way we speak" (1939: 3), the written language should reflect the linguistic independence already accomplished in speech.

In the second section, “Confabulación antiarjentinista” [Anti-Argentina conspiracy], Rossi warned against a “second ‘Reconquista’” and the return of the *viceroyal* farce. He drew on the vocabulary of war and urged a new independence campaign against academic and scientific submission to Spain. In this war, the Spaniards’ “theater of operations is history-making, their only weapon the artful club of ‘the language.’” The agents of this intervention are “the new conquistadors, ‘our wise men,’ sheltered by educational, cultural and propaganda institutions.” As in the past, “the *epic deeds* take place in Buenos Aires,” but the new “minaret of the viceroyalty” is the *Instituto de Filología* (1939: 61).

The war metaphor led to an unusual reinterpretation of the debate in gender terms. Rossi reconstructed the “battle” by listing the linguistic phenomena⁵ addressed at the RAE and at the Institute, as well as in other institutions like the *Consejo Nacional de Educación*. As expected, he chose the River Plate variants over the Castilian ones, which he disregarded as effeminate:

They vent their anger like children:

against our beautiful, expressive, manly ‘vos,’ which they want to replace by ‘tú’ and ‘ti,’

against our manly pronunciation of ‘s,’ which they want to replace with the queer sound ‘z,’

against our manly pronunciation of ‘ll’ and ‘y,’ which they want us to replace with the bland Castilian version. (1939: 88–9)

Beyond the anecdote, Rossi’s peculiar arguments to reject Castilian Spanish and defend the language of the River Plate could be taken as a sign of the degree of professionalization that the linguistic field had reached by 1939. His point of view could only be held from the periphery, which he managed to use to his own advantage. Only from there could he challenge the institutions that controlled language and hoped to strengthen their role in the reproduction of a logic based on broader political submission. In other words, if the Institute succeeded in asserting the neutral nature of scientific knowledge in the face of political struggles (especially those revolving around nationalist ideas), Rossi’s *Folletos* contained the only voice willing to denounce the naturalizing operation from the margins of the scientific field, warning against the intertwining of institutions, theories and scientific programs and a regulation of language that was definitely, and perforce, political.

⁵ *Seseo*, or the merger of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and the voiceless dental fricative /θ/; *yeísmo*, or the loss of the palatal lateral approximant /ɲ/; and *voseo*, or the use of the pronoun *vos* instead of *tú* for the second person singular.

Conclusions

The analysis of Costa Álvarez and Rossi's texts from the early decades of the *Instituto de Filología's* activity shows that they questioned the scientific agenda of the Spanish philologists in Buenos Aires, thus paving the way for a different theoretical – and political– model for linguistic research. Costa Álvarez rejected the philological model implemented by the Spaniards and supported a descriptive synchronic research program that focused on the transfer of language knowledge in schools. Rossi rejected prescriptivism and considered the specific features of River Plate Spanish vis-à-vis those of Castilian Spanish. They both vehemently criticized the Institute's operations and question whether they could foster an environment conducive to the generation of legitimate scientific results. Against the claim of ideological neutrality, they insisted on the imperialistic, hegemonic nature of the Institute's model; against the global nature of science, they embraced nationalism and demanded the appointment of Argentine scholars for the development of a research program that met the country's needs; and finally, they understood the fundamental role of linguistic knowledge in the exercise of linguistic power.

16 Linguistic emancipation and the academies of the Spanish language in the twentieth century: the 1951 turning point

José del Valle

Introduction

As discussed in earlier chapters, the independence of most of Spain's American colonies in the second decade of the nineteenth century resulted in a destabilization of the institutional ecology in which, until that point, the standardization of Spanish had been developing. Within the imperial structure, despite the heterogeneity of the Iberian and American sociolinguistic fields and the difficult implementation of state language policies (Firbas and Martínez in this volume; Solano 1991; Heath 1972), the metropolis had been the principal source for the production and reproduction of the legitimate language (Bourdieu 1991). In the eighteenth century, with the advent of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne in 1701, this metropolitan linguistic centrality had been strengthened even further through institutionalization with the creation, in 1713, of the Spanish Royal Academy (henceforth RAE) (Medina in this volume; Moreno Fernández 2005: 168–73). The independence of most American colonies in the early nineteenth century resulted in the development of new conditions for the deployment of language policies and metalinguistic discourses. In spite of the Panhispanist movement's efforts to perpetuate colonial cultural hierarchies, by the last third of the century it had become clear that the Latin American lettered class had assumed control not only of the political destiny of the new nations but also of the development of autonomous cultural fields.

Within this political and institutional ecology, Spanish became not only a central instrument for the articulation of the nation-state – an instrument that must, therefore, be managed by the agents of the state – but also a disputed symbol of both national and panhispanic identities, an object over whose control – over what it is, what it represents and who has the authority to settle linguistic disputes – fierce battles would be fought with both national and transnational interests at stake. The history of the academies of the Spanish language (Guitarte and Torres Quintero 1968; Zamora Vicente 1999: 345–67) is a privileged object through which to examine these debates. As we saw in Cifuentes's chapter, the foundation of subsidiary academies after 1870 generated tensions that revealed linguistic and political discontinuities internal to the still young Latin American

nations as well as the swampy ground on which the panhispanic community would have to be built (see also Toscano y García in this volume). In this chapter, we will consider the conference that, several decades after the RAE's initiative, brought together for the first time all academies of the Spanish language and prepared the ground for the eventual creation of the *Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* (ASALE), a language planning body which to this day plays a central role in the codification and elaboration of Spanish. The 1951 conference became not only, as we would expect, a conspicuous display of verbal hygiene (Cameron 1995) but an explosion of language-ideological debates (Blommaert 1999), a profusion of mutually contested metalinguistic discourses that exposed the multiple cultural and political processes with which the standardization of Spanish is inextricably intertwined.

Mexico's invitation

In 1950, Mexican president Miguel Alemán (1902–83) asked the Mexican Academy (henceforth AM from *Academia Mexicana*) to organize a meeting of all academies of the Spanish language under the auspices of his government. The president's intention to launch this original and ambitious cultural initiative was made public on June 14 during a special session of the AM. The occasion was the induction of José Rubén Romero (1890–1952), Mexican writer and special advisor to the president, as full member of the Academy. After delivering, according to tradition, his inaugural speech and listening to the AM director's response, Romero once again took the floor and publicly declared the Mexican government's plan to organize and fully subsidize the event. He applauded the president's commitment to culture and predicted "a beautiful spectacle . . . [that will bring together] all academies without exception . . . without consideration for relationships among governments and caring only for the common interest and mutual sympathy that springs from language, the spiritual blood of races" (Garrido et al. 2010: 53).

Offering an outline of the program, he highlighted its goals: unifying the lexicon, enriching the language with words commonly used in Latin America, providing accurate definitions for Americanisms already included in the RAE's *Diccionario*, creating academies in countries that did not yet have one (he meant Puerto Rico) and putting the Spanish language – "force of love and spiritual cohesion" as well as "the only weapon available to the weak for understanding each other and earning the respect of others" – at the service of Humanity (Garrido et al. 2010: 53). Romero's speech foreshadowed a series of leitmotifs that ran through the whole conference structuring debates about Spanish – its corpus, status and symbolic value – and struggles over control of the academies' discourse of self-representation: first, a tension between the defense of linguistic unity and the simultaneous affirmation of Latin American agency vis-à-vis language; second, an apparent contradiction between, on one

hand, a conspicuous effort to define the conference as non-political and, on the other, its obvious origin within Mexico's body politic and the recognition of panhispanic unity as a strategic value in a broader geopolitical context.

Alemán's proposal was enthusiastically embraced by the AM. An organizing committee was appointed and the decision was made that the event would begin on April 23 of the following year on the anniversary of Miguel de Cervantes's death. A few weeks later, a representation from the AM flew across the Atlantic in order to personally issue the Mexican government's invitation. The AM's director, Alejandro Quijano, with his colleagues Genaro Fernández MacGregor and José Rubén Romero, landed in Madrid on October 13.

On the 19th, at a special session of the RAE, the Mexican delegation was able to issue the official invitation. In their speeches, Quijano, Fernández MacGregor and Romero further developed the themes announced in Mexico a few months earlier. Firstly, they gave special prominence to Latin America's Spanish roots and recognized – in a line of thinking reminiscent of Panhispanism and *arielismo* (see Arnoux and Del Valle in this volume) – a common descent and culture that unites all Spanish-speaking nations, enabling them to commit to joint undertakings: “Today, in America, we all feel our common descent; and that is how awareness of a common destiny has been formed and will be affirmed” (Fernández MacGregor in Garrido et al. 2010: 81).¹ Secondly, the Mexicans' speeches showed significant concern with the language's quality and, reproducing old fears of fragmentation associated with political division² and new ones triggered by rapid changes affecting modern societies in the 1950s, made a call to safeguard unity:

Let's try . . . to care for and purify our language, protect it from contamination in the form of barbarisms and unnecessary neologisms . . . We only want to protect it, in all the countries where it is spoken, from the anarchy produced by unwise idioms and words that, if left unchecked, threaten to leave us one day not with one language but with a series of languages or rather dialects. (Quijano qtd. in Garrido et al. 2010: 77)

It would be inaccurate, however, to characterize the Mexicans' discourse on language as falling squarely within radical purism and uncritical Hispanophilia.

¹ The conference proceedings can be found in Comisión Permanente 1952, published in the form of a *Memoria* by the Standing Committee that emerged from the conference. More recently, in 2010, the Mexican Academy – in collaboration with *Fondo de Cultura Económica*, the *Fundación Miguel Alemán*, and Mexico's *Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes* – published them again in a different format that includes minutes from the AM's meetings during the period (referenced as Garrido et al. 2010 throughout this chapter).

² The possible fragmentation of Spanish after the collapse of the Spanish empire – a development that would parallel that of Latin – was one of Andrés Bello's justifications for writing his 1847 grammar. Later in the nineteenth century, Rufino José Cuervo would not only fear but also predict the eventual end of linguistic unity. It was this prediction that triggered his bitter polemic against Spanish writer and academician Juan Valera (Del Valle 2002; Ennis and Pfänder 2009). See also Toscano y García in this volume.

Their concern with the quality and unity of the language was nuanced by the recognition of not only the inevitability but, more revealingly, the necessity of change in a context defined by progress – “We do not want the language to become a static organism; on the contrary, it must be a living phenomenon, always in motion in order to respond to the requirements of progress” (Quijano qtd. in Garrido et al. 2010: 77) – and the development of national character:

The language, as it passed through indigenous lips, earned in softness and sweetness what it had lost in brightness, and became richer with small gems, the many words from vernacular languages which remained to name the indigenous animals and plants as well as simple everyday things. That is why we find it so much our own, so intimately linked to the very essence of Mexicanness, that in primary education it is called National Language. (Romero qtd. in Garrido et al. 2010: 86–7)

It must be noted, however, that these affirmations of national self-determination were carefully crafted and in no way undermined the ideal of linguistic unity that had been placed at the very ideological core of the conference. All speeches expressed a desire and commitment to preserve panhispanic unity in a geopolitical context in which blocs rather than individual countries were, if not the legitimate, at least the *de facto* agents in the international arena. The shared Spanish language was, in the academicians’ view, a most valuable asset:

In the United Nations, the principle of collective security, the power of the law, is definitely established; as is a mechanism that will secure the dominance, in every instance, of the equitable will of all powers brought together . . . the Ibero-American race has to contribute with its ideals to the moral reconstruction of the world. (Fernández MacGregor qtd. in Garrido et al. 2010: 82)

Overall, the AM’s representatives in Madrid dexterously navigated a politically and rhetorically challenging event. Empowered by the Mexican government’s initiative and support, they had taken a bold step towards assuming actual leadership of the institutional network of language academies, and such an action had the obvious potential to raise suspicion, if not to alienate the RAE. The very goal of unity that had inspired the initiative ran the risk of giving birth to a stillborn if the Spaniards – and with them numerous Latin American academicians – were to oppose it. Therefore, while taking such a vigorous language policy initiative, the Mexicans trod carefully to save the RAE’s face, to recognize its seniority and grant the Spanish institution a special distinction within this apparently emerging pluricentric linguistic field: as Quijano addressed the Spaniards, he announced that a draft of the program would be delivered to them for their revision and approval, and asked the head of the Spanish institution, the distinguished philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869–1968), to officiate as chairman of the upcoming event.

Franco's deal-breaker

After obtaining a positive response from their Spanish colleagues as well as from other academies, the conference promised to be a celebration of panhispanic harmony and commitment to the joint defense of the common language, paradoxically, under Spain's tutelage and Mexico's sponsorship. Preliminary activities showed that there seemed to be consensus around a less strident form of purist discourse – one that accepted the changing nature of language and its need to adapt to times and circumstances – and around a defense of the language's unity grounded in the coordinated action of all academies.

However, on February 26, the AM received a telegram from Madrid: “*SURGIDA DIFICULTAD INSUPERABLE EXPLICO CARTA STOP CORDIAL SALUDO CASARES / UNSURMOUNTABLE PROBLEM ARISEN I EXPLAIN IN LETTER STOP CORDIAL GREETINGS CASARES.*” It was signed by Julio Casares (1877–1964), the RAE's secretary, and was followed by an official letter confirming the Spaniards' withdrawal from the conference because of warnings from Spanish authorities (“indicaciones de la Superioridad”). Six weeks later, on April 7, the Spanish government, through a statement made by its Education Minister, would make its position public:

Upon receiving the invitation from the president of the Republic of Mexico, the Spanish Royal Academy stated that, for patriotic reasons, it demanded, as a necessary moral pre-condition of its participation, that the Mexican government publicly state that it has ended its relations with the Red government and suspended recognition of the so-called Spanish diplomatic representation in Mexico. Since the Mexican government did not comply with this requirement – which in the present circumstances our national dignity deems indispensable –, the Spanish Royal Academy has decided not to attend. (Pagano 1951: 253)³

The background to this clash is well known. In 1936, during Spain's Second Republic (1931–9), the democratically elected leftist government of the *Frente Popular* came under siege as a result of a military coup. A three-year civil war ensued that ended with the insurgents' victory in 1939 and thousands of

³ The fact is that Spanish academicians wanted to attend but were discouraged by the government from doing so. The RAE's secretary, Julio Casares, sent Quijano two letters: the official letter informing him of the RAE's absence and a personal and confidential letter that provided further details on the circumstances surrounding their decision. In the latter, we read: “The contents of the attached letter is what the secretary of the Spanish Academy must report to the director of the Mexican Academy. Now, Julio Casares, the friend, wants to say something else to Alejandro Quijano, the friend, even if in a strictly reserved and confidential manner . . . our director called a secret meeting last Saturday the 24th and informed us on the contents of a note from the Council of Ministers in which, while our attendance as individuals to the academies conference is not explicitly prohibited, it is suggested that our attendance would not be well received.” I thank my colleague and collaborator Bárbara Cifuentes and Mr. Liborio Villagómez, head of the Mexican Academy's library, for facilitating access to these letters.

Spaniards going into exile and settling in countries such as Argentina and, quite prominently, Mexico (Lida 1997, 2001; Pagni 2011). Spain's political regime became a right-wing military dictatorship led by General Francisco Franco, and a Republican Spanish government, referred to by Francoists as the Red government, was established in exile. While initially Spain was excluded from the United Nations, in late 1950 Franco's diplomats began to succeed in breaking the isolation and a number of countries started to formalize relations with the dictatorship. Mexico, however, which had been the first to recognize Spain's Republican government in exile, remained firm in its refusal to grant diplomatic legitimacy to Franco's government.

The organizers of the 1951 conference were aware that this active fault might very well cause an earthquake. In fact, while the AM representatives were in Madrid in October 1950, Mexico's position in the UN – opposed to lifting sanctions against Spain – had become known and led some Spanish academicians to express disappointment. The minutes of the AM's meeting held on November 27, 1950 – a few weeks after the delegation's return to Mexico – reveal their concern that these political developments might get in the way: “Mr. Romero provides more information and adds that the speech given at the United Nations by our permanent delegate, Mr. Luis Padilla Nervo, who opposed the lifting of the sanctions imposed on Spain by that organization in 1946, caused a poor impression among Spanish academicians” (Garrido et al. 2010: 97). A few months later, at the first AM meeting after receipt of the telegram, the October episode was recalled: while in Madrid, the Mexican representatives had been able to defuse the crisis by insisting on the academies' non-political intentions and their independence of the respective governments' actions (Garrido et al. 2010: 108). However, as the minutes of the March 30, 1951 meeting of the AM clearly show, the diplomatic imbroglio surrounding Spain's efforts to come out of isolation would only get worse in subsequent months:

Mr. Carreño stated that subsequent events of a political nature had contributed to making that already unfavorable impression even worse. During the recent meeting of the Social and Economic Council of the U.N. in Santiago de Chile, the Mexican delegate supported a motion by the Soviet delegate opposing the Spanish government. (Garrido et al. 2010: 108)

The matter was serious and caused much distress among Mexican academicians, who saw the RAE's absence as possibly devastating for the conference. A debate ensued within the AM in which three resolutions were placed on the table: the first, advanced by Quijano and supported by president Alemán, was to go ahead with the conference; the second, defended by Fernández MacGregor, was to suspend it; and the third, preferred by García Naranjo, was to postpone it by three months. Fourteen votes were cast for the first option and two for the

second. The conference would begin on April 23 without the Spanish Royal Academy.

The Spanish government's attitude not only upset the academicians' plans but also, as one might expect, caused indignation throughout Spanish America and most intensely in Mexico. The daily press filled its pages with articles reporting on the episode and expressing outrage at what was felt to be Spain's slap in the face to the Mexican people. An editorial in *El Universal*, entitled "El Congreso de Academias," insisted that the conference had been planned as a purely cultural endeavor that had been politicized by Franco, and responded to the Madrid press's questioning of the event's legitimacy:

But suddenly, close to the date of the inauguration, the RAE informed the Mexican Academy that "because of orders from the authorities" they would not be able to attend. We know well what those orders were and where they came from! Politics had gotten in the way! The regime currently dominant in Spain, with which Mexico does not have relations, was banning the Spanish Academy – which is a statutory body in Spain – from taking part in the conference. They even wanted something else, ignoring the elevated spiritual and cultural goal pursued: to sabotage the Academies Conference. Some Madrid newspaper, unquestionably speaking for the current regime, explicitly declared that the conference could not take place without Spain and that, with regard to language, it is there and not in America that things are decided and legislated. (*El Universal*, 21 April 1951, section 1, page 3, columns 3–6)

In the days immediately preceding the inauguration of the conference, the Mexican press forcefully condemned Franco's government for its decision (while, in general, exonerating Spanish academicians), consistently praised president Alemán's initiative, expressed pride in Latin America's cultural accomplishments, recognized the need to protect the language, and declared Latin America's preparedness to do so.

The inauguration

The inaugural ceremony, on April 23, offered an opportunity for the organizers to discursively manage the disruption caused by the RAE's absence and, once again, to frame the event in order to control its meaning and secure its success. Two texts in particular can be singled out as representative of this effort: President Alemán's speech at the inauguration ceremonies (Garrido et al. 2010: 143–8) and Mexican academician Nemesio García Naranjo's (1883–1962) at an official conference banquet on the same date (ibid. 169–76).

President Alemán maintained that, on one hand, the language exhibited great unity and resilience – "with the hardness of a diamond whose essence and character have resisted the changes imposed by time, geography and customs" (143) – and, on the other, a healthy degree of variation that allowed for the expression of national idiosyncrasy – "and, with the sparkle of a diamond, it

reflects the essential richness of our peoples with their multiple manifestations” (145). Elements of this type of discourse – that embraces simultaneously the language’s unity and its internal diversity – appeared throughout the speech and echoed the conceptual structure of traditional Panhispanism. In this tradition, Spanish was not simply a valuable instrument for communication but a shared cultural frame worthy of special care, a position also advanced by Alemán: “If after the four centuries since Spanish came to America more than twenty peoples still jointly cultivate it, this indicates that, in spite of differences that may be found among those peoples, something fundamental unites them permanently, deep bonds constituted by identical ways of conceiving and expressing thought, of experiencing and manifesting feeling, that we must strengthen in our minds and our affections” (145).

However, the new context – a conference tarnished by Spain’s absence – lent itself to a more robust affirmation of Latin America’s proud ownership of Spanish. In contrast with Panhispanism’s assumption of Spain’s preeminence over its former colonies, as he recognized the cultural unity grounded in the common language Alemán was also careful to reclaim the historical agency of Latin Americans: “In its development, Spanish American nations and the Philippine peoples have contributed, alongside Spain, to strengthening the Spanish language” (Garrido et al. 2010: 143). He embraced unity among the peoples who speak Spanish but granted no single country any right to claim superiority and forcefully argued for the uniqueness of American Spanish – “with the different rhythms affectionately imposed by our indigenous peoples throughout the colonial period” (146) – and, in a rhetorical move that conspicuously brought politics and language together, for its nobility associated with freedom, knowledge and the highest forms of literary expression:

Spanish has been for the American people a language of freedom and human dignity. In this language, Hidalgo delivered his harangues and Bolívar his speeches; Morelos issued the decrees that abolished slavery and distributed the land. . . . Also copious is the manifestation of the highest thinking that shapes the unmistakable style and nobility of our writers. . . . In literature, the American idiom stands out perhaps for its subtlety, which don Juan de Alarcón took to Spain itself. (146–7)

For his part, Nemesio García Naranjo further pursued Alemán’s affirmation of Latin America’s ability to actively and competently engage in matters related to language standardization. However, the central purpose of his speech – namely, tackling the thorny issue of the RAE’s absence and responding to questions regarding the legitimacy of the conference – led him to reveal a position much more ambivalent than Alemán’s and ultimately to fumble in his effort to claim the achievement of linguistic emancipation. He insisted that, in planning the event, the AM had at all times respected the RAE’s authority by granting the Spanish institution its due leadership position. Recalling his colleagues’ trip to

Madrid, he reminded the audience that the Mexicans “confirmed once more our hierarchical subordination, our a priori compliance, our filial respect” (Garrido et al. 2010: 170). The family metaphor implicit in “filial respect” was prominent throughout García Naranjo’s speech and articulated a two-sided argument that, on one hand, recognized the existence of a hierarchy between Spain and Latin America (mother–children) and, on the other, identified a critical period of emancipation triggered, in the case at hand, by the absence of the maternal figure:

In such conditions, we feel the joy of the child who manages to take her first steps. But, oh, our joy can never be as big and intense as that of the mother who sees her children already able to stand on their own! . . . One cannot tell a mother that she is not needed; but one can promise that, in her absence, the sacred obligations that the orphan life will impose will be fulfilled. (172)

While he indeed defended the personality of American Spanish and the right of American academies to participate in the standardization process, García Naranjo’s representation of the conference – trapped by the implications of the familial metaphor – ended up being only moderately liberating, if liberating at all:

We wanted a Hispanism that was fitting and logical, an integral Hispanism led by the Motherland. But since that has been impossible to achieve, the only thing that can be done is what we are trying to do: a self-governed Hispanism. . . . Provisionally self-governed, it should be understood; because neither the Mexican Academy nor the other academies from this hemisphere nor that of Malaysia have thought for one second of disregarding the authority of the Royal Spanish Academy. (171)

In keeping with the tone set in Madrid, in Alemán and García Naranjo’s speeches purism was always moderated by recognitions of language’s dynamic nature and the discourse of panhispanic unity nuanced with statements that proudly declared Latin America’s readiness to actively engage in the management of a language that they considered very much their own. However, in spite of these commonalities each speech had its own effect. While Alemán decidedly linked language to politics and language policy to the spirit of the Mexican revolution, García Naranjo ultimately reproduced the intra-academic hierarchy inherited from the previous colonial relation.

The not-so-harmonious side of the conference

Owing, perhaps, to this profound contradiction, neither the efforts to separate Spanish academicians from their government’s decision nor the inaugural speeches that insisted on the value of unity were enough to prevent the tension from affecting the development of the conference. During the first plenary session, on April 27, Mexican writer and academician Martín Luis Guzmán

(1887–1976) used the incident to force all delegations to reconsider the suitability of the current institutional structure and to take a truly emancipatory stand. The RAE's absence, he maintained, was, first, an insult to Mexico and all other Spanish-speaking countries; second, a flagrant violation of the statutes that, since 1870, had regulated the relationship among the academies;⁴ and, third, an irresponsible act that jeopardized the academies' mission of protecting the nature and integrity of the language. If the problem created by the RAE were not remedied, he asked, "what hope can we have that our indispensable cooperation will protect us from the danger that already looms on the horizon: the disintegration of Spanish?" (Guzmán 1971: 1377). We would risk, he went on, "because of Spain and Mexico today or any other two tomorrow, practical and cooperative unity . . . being rendered impossible; this dangerous fragmentation becoming chronic" (Guzmán 1971: 1380).⁵

In sharp contrast with García Naranjo's position, he argued forcefully against the notion that linguistic unity could only be safeguarded through the current hierarchical model and claimed that, in fact, the opposite was true: real unity could only be achieved through an agreement among equals that imposed on no one a humiliating oath reminiscent of feudal relations and colonial ties:

[T]he unity that you are trying to defend does not exist. But the one that we should be advancing has already begun to emerge: the one that would spring from an honorable agreement between equals, between peers, not one based on an oath of service, a humiliating pledge after the existence of feudal lords ended with the end of feudalism and after our status as colonies ended with the end of the Spanish empire. (Guzmán 1971: 1383)

Guzmán maintained that, through its actions, the RAE had exposed the weakness of the system and, most importantly, surrendered any possible credentials it might have had to act as the cultural leader of the Spanish-speaking world. He concluded by proposing a resolution according to which the American and Philippine academies would renounce their association with the RAE, reconstitute themselves as autonomous entities and reorganize as equals in a "clear, egalitarian and fruitful association" in which the RAE would also take part as an equal partner (Garrido et al. 2010: 187).

The discussion that ensued was spirited. While Guzmán had insisted that his proposal did not entail breaking away from the RAE but rather restructuring

⁴ Article 11 of the 1870 statutes stated: 'Since the purpose for which the Associated Academies are created is purely literary, their association with the Spanish Academy must be isolated from any political objective and, consequently, independent of the actions and relations among the respective governments' (Zamora Vicente 1999: 363).

⁵ I have discussed this polemic in Del Valle 2011b. I am grateful to Nils Langer, Steffan Davis and Wim Vandebussche for the feedback they gave me on that article. See also Goodbody 2010 (especially section 1.2).

the association on an egalitarian basis, his critics immediately framed the resolution as a threat not just to institutional peace but to linguistic unity and, therefore, as an attack on the conference itself (Comisión Permanente del Congreso de Academias de la Lengua Española 1952: 381–3). Opponents of the resolution tackled the matter by declaring it outside the purview of the conference and by refusing to discuss it. At the end of the debate, two motions were on the table: some endorsed the outright refusal to discuss Guzmán's proposal (a position that came to be known as “*inhibición*”) while others suggested that it be sent to a special committee for further consideration. The Philippines abstained, four delegations – Guatemala, Panama, Paraguay and Uruguay – voted to allow further discussion, and a large majority of thirteen – including the host academy, of which Guzmán was a member – voted to kill the initiative.

There were other instances in which, as in this case, a proposal was perceived by a majority of academicians as a threat to unity. On the fourth plenary meeting of the assembly, for example, Antonio Castro Leal, a Mexican academician, proposed a resolution that, if approved, would direct the academies to undertake two lexicographical projects: a dictionary of Americanisms and a new dictionary of Spanish (*Gran Diccionario*) that would benefit from the “sensible work of the Spanish Royal Academy” but, at the same time, present “a complete picture of the popular and literary language with all the words, expressions and meanings current among the Spanish-speaking peoples” (Garrido et al. 2010: 203). During the ensuing discussion, Martín Luis Guzmán, Germán Arciniegas (from Colombia), David Vela (from Guatemala) and Max Henríquez Ureña (from the Dominican Republic) spoke in favor of the resolution. Vela, for example, stated that

[i]n America we are better equipped to work on that which is fundamental: expressing Spanish American culture . . . the problem is not just to add words to the RAE's Dictionary but also to revise meanings and look for correct definitions, and incorporate a little of the American way of life into this dictionary, which sometimes does not say what we feel or think in America since it is a little behind with respect to the process followed by American life. (206)

Several academicians, however, vehemently opposed the idea of a new dictionary: Alberto María Carreño (from Mexico), Rubén Vargas Ugarte (from Peru) and Guillermo Hoyos Osoreo (also from Peru) defended the RAE's dictionary and the protocols through which this institution collaborated with American academicians in its elaboration. Hoyos Osoreo even blamed the latter – American academicians who neglected their responsibilities – for the existing dictionary's possible peninsular bias, and insisted that the creation of a new dictionary of Spanish would violate the spirit of the conference by conspiring against unity: “If, in addition to the Spanish Royal Academy's

Dictionary, another one were produced, a decisive step towards the disintegration of the language would be taken. If the RAE's Dictionary has flaws, it is, to a great extent, due to the lack of an effective collaboration from the subsidiary academies" (208). When the matter came to a vote, only six delegations were in favor of the resolution (the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Paraguay, the Philippines, Uruguay and Venezuela) and eleven against it (Argentina and El Salvador's votes are not registered in the proceedings). The initiative to write a new *Gran Diccionario* of Spanish was soundly defeated.

During the sixth and final plenary session, new discussion of a proposal previously made by Adolfo Mejía Ricart, of the Dominican delegation, in the context of a special committee triggered yet another tense debate. Mejía Ricart had "proposed the foundation of an Institute for the Unification of the Teaching of the Spanish Language, in which each academy would be represented by one member, that would be charged with preparing a grammar that could be adopted by all Spanish-speaking countries" (225). In response, Vela, who had presided over the special committee, stated that several academicians had argued against the initiative stating that, "in their respective countries, the Spanish Royal Academy's Grammar is the official text; finally, others opposed it because they considered that such an agreement would contribute to driving a wedge between the Spanish Royal Academy and its subsidiaries" (226). The Dominican's proposal had been defeated within the special committee and was rejected again at the plenary session when the head of his own delegation, Max Henríquez Ureña, withdrew the Dominican Academy's original proposal, putting an end to the discussion. In consequence of his defeat, Mejía Ricart expressed outrage in revealing words:

[Dr. Mejía Ricart] is distraught to think that in America there are still sediments of cultural colonialism and [said] that it causes him great pain to see that in matters of culture America is still subjugated by Europe . . . "There is a true attitude of subordination in the Conference" . . . participants should not continue to be absolutely subordinated in all questions to the Spanish Royal Academy, as if they did not have a head to think . . . a person following the conference from the margins will think that colonialism has not ended. (Garrido et al. 2010: 227)

Virtually the same terms would reappear minutes later, still within the sixth plenary session, when a new feisty discussion broke out surrounding a proposal made earlier in the conference by the Ecuadorian academician Julio Tovar Donoso. The initial paragraph in Mr. Tovar Donoso's proposal stated that the conference should "request that the Spanish Academy hint to National Academies that they should introduce all necessary modifications in their statutes in order to adapt them to the new circumstances in these countries, to their structure and psychology" (Comisión Permanente del Congreso de Academias de la Lengua Española 1952: 316). Martín Luis Guzmán once

again took the floor and, ridiculing the terms of Mr. Tovar Donoso's proposal (the convoluted sequence of "requesting" and "hinting" that barely hid a servile attitude towards the RAE), suggested that many academicians might be suffering from a fault inherent in their status as members of purely subsidiary academies ("la deformación *académico-correspondiente*"), "a kind of morbid pleasure drawn from subordination, from submission" (Guzmán 1971: 1392). Guillermo Hoyos Osoreo (from Peru) responded, first, by denying the servility with which Guzmán charged them and proceeding then to affirm the RAE's inherent entitlement to occupy a leadership position: "although the American academies may have people of considerable formation, they lack the prominent technicians that advise the Spanish academy. Its experience and immense intellectual richness are reason enough for American academies not to break the bond" (Garrido et al. 2010: 232). Chile's Pedro Lira unequivocally affirmed the same position with a statement that, as the minutes reflected, was received with noticeable applause: "I believe, and I say it out loud, that the language's meridian runs through Madrid" (233).⁶

Making sense of the debate

Analysis of the conference – of its organization and development as well as of the various discourses on language it produced – reveals how Spanish – its representations and the institutional struggles within which they were generated – operates as a discursive site where various cultural, political and social processes affecting the nations involved in the 1951 event were being worked out. First, the deeply political nature of the conference revealed itself paradoxically in its constant negation. From the outset, as we saw above, José Rubén Romero announced a beautiful spectacle, "without consideration for relationships among governments," in which academies and academicians would naturally bond through their shared love for the common language. And yet, the politically neutral role of the language academies' gathering was difficult – if not impossible – to sustain in light of the very events that led to their development: the conference was indeed initiated by a head of state even if his ultimate intention is open to interpretation. His initiative may have been an effort to approach Franco's Spain outside of regular diplomatic

⁶ In the sixth plenary session, Guzmán – softening the terms of his original speech – renewed his proposal to revise the status of American academies vis-à-vis Spain's. On this occasion, five delegations voted against and seven in favor of creating a Standing Committee (*Comisión Permanente*) that would "study the advisability of revising the regulations that currently govern the relation between the Spanish Royal Academy and the American subsidiaries" (*Comisión Permanente* 1952: 368). The creation of the Standing Committee – which was joined by a member of the RAE immediately after the conference – ended up being the basis for the eventual articulation of the *Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española*, in which the Spanish institution has continued to occupy a position of preeminence.

pathways and through the allegedly ideologically neutral space constituted by culture and language (Pérez Montfort 2001). It may have been a compensatory attempt to affirm Mexico's "hispanicness" in the context of a presidency that had allowed the country's economy to depend more and more on the United States (Pérez Montfort 2001: 95–6). It could easily be seen also as a strategy – not incompatible with the previous ones – to position Mexico in a leadership slot and to gain visibility and influence in the international sphere through activation of the Spanish-speaking world as a politically and economically relevant bloc. In any case, in a political context in which Franco's Spain was striving to come out of isolation, the fact that the conference would be organized by Mexico, precisely the country that most vehemently opposed lifting the sanctions and that continued to take firm stands against Franco's government in international forums, could not but render ineffective any effort to erase the ultimately political nature of the conference and, by association, of the role that language academies play in their respective societies. Once the RAE's absence was confirmed and the conference began, President Alemán did not hesitate to identify Spanish as a valuable instrument in the historical trajectory of the Mexican Revolution, thus unmistakably placing the initiative within the realm of politics: "A voice of freedom, our language is also an instrument of democracy. In this regard, the Mexican Revolution has been determined to spread it as much as possible and Revolutionary governments have engaged in a tenacious campaign – strengthened since 1942 – to bring literacy to the whole population" (Garrido et al. 2010: 147).

We should also recall that Alemán's original project, as reported by José Rubén Romero, had a significant Latin Americanist thrust: it was, as it were, a double affirmation vis-à-vis both Spain and the United States. The goals of enriching the language with words commonly used in Latin America and of properly defining Americanisms already included in the RAE's dictionary were prominently displayed, as we saw above, as central to the conference's meaning. Mexican academicians were acutely aware of the provocative nature of their gesture, of the fact that it challenged the linguistic order inherited from colonial times and reproduced through the institutional arrangement that, while creating language academies in Latin America, had consolidated the RAE as the main agency for language standardization, hence the care with which they navigated these rough waters when they visited Madrid, apparently striking a good balance between a rhetoric that was respectful of traditional hierarchies and a claim of ownership over the language, of their legitimate right to manage it within the confines of their national territory and of their ability to perform a leadership role at the international level.

However, the sectors of Latin America's cultural elite represented by the academies were obviously split with regard to how to manage the affirmation

of a Hispanic legacy and the relationship with Spain.⁷ Many, as we saw, confirmed their loyalty to the existing organization as the vehicle for managing the language and continued to rely on the familial metaphor to structure the present and future relations among Spanish-speaking countries. For others, such an arrangement impaired their ability to generate a more consequential emancipatory discourse on language. When faced with the challenge posed by the proposal to reconstitute the relationship, to produce a new dictionary or to create a new coordinating agency, a majority of academicians rejected it flatly. In spite of facing optimal conditions for broaching a new, more egalitarian compromise, they voluntarily chose the neocolonial status quo.

The terms in which both the emancipating and the conservative stances were defended indicate that fears of linguistic fragmentation – well known in the nineteenth century – had not disappeared. The conference had been organized on the premise that the nature and integrity of the language needed protection. In fact, the need to protect Spanish was linked to fears of fragmentation that haunted academicians just as they had haunted Spanish and Latin American men of letters at least since the middle of the nineteenth century. In those days, these fragmentation anxieties had been deeply entangled with the crises produced by the fall of the Spanish Empire and the nation-building projects undertaken not only by the former colonies but by Spain itself. At the same time, however, the argument that justified those fears was predominantly linguistic: if dialectal forms were to percolate to the speech of the educated in each Spanish-speaking country the language would soon meet the same destiny as Latin and evolve into a number of related but independent tongues. These arguments, however, were almost absent from the 1951 conference. In fact, one could very well conclude that, by this date, although the language of fragmentation was still in play, the threat of actual linguistic divergence was no longer a serious concern. What we witness instead is a fractal projection of disintegration anxieties from language itself to language academies, in a reincarnation of the fragmentation discourse in which the nature and unity of the panhispanic linguistic field is threatened not by the possible divergent evolution of linguistic forms but by alternative – and contradictory – conceptualizations of the body politic of the language.

Guzmán's opponents believed the current institutional arrangement to be the appropriate framework for defending the nature and unity of the language and, in keeping with the spirit of Panhispanism, accepted a language community built under Spain's tutelage. There was to be no questioning of the

⁷ Although the academies are significant sites for the production of cultural values and arrangements, it is crucial to insist that academicians cannot be uncritically considered to represent all of Latin America's cultural and intellectual elite.

RAE's authority, no challenging of its dictionary and its grammar's value as the only tools of standardization. Not only was Latin America's linguistic identity being grounded in a form of monolingualism inherited from colonial times, the post-colonial management of the language was being trusted to an institutional infrastructure that reproduced colonial hierarchies. Guzmán, however, stood against the traditional model of interacademic relations and the type of panhispanic community that it mirrored. As for all the academicians attending the conference, for Guzmán Spanish was in need of protection as the linguistic, cultural and political influence of Mexico's powerful northern neighbor loomed on the horizon. But a unified institutional approach to this defensive strategy was only possible if the institutions involved renounced a relationship that the RAE's absence had revealed as tarnished by the imprint of bygone colonial hierarchies. The competent defense of Spanish, claimed Guzmán, had to be grounded in an institutional arrangement in which all Spanish-speaking nations converged as equals.

Conclusion

More than a century after the creation of the first associated academies and more than half a century after the first conference that brought them all together for the first time, the ASALE can claim to be a solid institution and to hold, still under the unchallenged leadership of the RAE, a prominent position in the standardization of Spanish. At the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, languages such as Spanish have acquired, as Alemán suspected, renewed value in the constitution of regional alliances and become important commodities in international linguistic markets. In this process, the RAE and the ASALE, under the sponsorship of governments and mostly Spain-based corporations, have become more relevant than ever (Del Valle 2007). In this context, since their public image is central to their effectiveness, they must engage in the constant production of self-representations that are consistent with and useful to their current mission, and that, crucially, include a historical narrative that naturalizes their form and function.

In 1995, Humberto López Morales – who had been appointed ASALE's general secretary the previous year – wrote an essay in which he presented a brief history of the Latin American academies. He described the creation of the ASALE in the following terms:

1951 is a landmark in the history of the academies: Miguel Alemán . . . calls a meeting of academies in his country. On this occasion, on American soil, and under the auspices of the government of one of its largest countries, the Association of Academies of the Spanish Language was born. President Alemán was demonstrating superior discernment. The unity of all was needed to operate with strength among the powerful cultural-political blocks into which the world was splitting. (López Morales 1995: 283)

From here, the plot quickly moved to 1956, to the second conference, held in Madrid, and to the successful sequence of meetings that have kept the association alive until the present. López Morales's story – basically replicated on the ASALE's web page – was one of seamless progress towards a harmonious panhispanic linguistic space. And yet, as the previous pages have shown, the plot is thicker, a lot thicker, and it is the responsibility of historians of the Spanish language to reveal not only the multiple layers of its history but also the ideological roots of historical writing.

Part IV

The making of Spanish: US perspectives

17 Introduction to the making of Spanish: US perspectives

José del Valle and Ofelia García

Introduction

The political history of language in the United States has been described by numerous scholars as a series of explicit political actions that have organized the US linguistic field by affirming the structural dominance of English (e.g. Kloss 1977; Crawford 2004; García 2009). In this scholarly tradition, mostly grounded in structural/functional approaches to language policy and planning (Ricento 2006: 10–23), the marginalization of speakers of languages other than English has received ample attention; however, the role that metalinguistic discourses have played in the constitution of specific regimes of language has been, for the most part, a marginal concern. The theoretical framework embraced in this book offers an opportunity to focus precisely on how representations of language have been deployed in the history of the US and, more precisely, how Spanish was and continues to be a contested discursive site in which questions of national identity, political mobilization, public interest and geopolitical maneuvering are played out. In fact, the present part will show what Arnoux and Del Valle anticipated at the end of [Chapter 9](#), that is, the productive trails that can be blazed by taking national as well as hemispheric and transatlantic perspectives in the analysis of representations of Spanish in the US.

The making of Spanish in the US has always been inextricably linked to the making of “We the people of the United States,” that is, to the construction of the very historical subject envisioned by the Founding Fathers and placed at the center of the politics of national identity. In pursuing the goals stated in the preamble to the Constitution – “form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty” –, US nationalism has regularly implemented language policies and produced metalinguistic discourses which, more often than not, have aimed at establishing and naturalizing English as the essential instrument for the political articulation of the community and as a symbol of the nation. In fact, the view of Spanish in the US that emerges in the next four chapters does indeed sketch a picture of how US nationalism has tended to deal with the language question by associating citizenship with knowledge of

English and by displacing Spanish and other languages to marginal positions through institutional arrangements and discourses on language.

However, the theoretical perspective on the US's linguistic history that we take in this book opens our view to the constitution of, and tension among, multiple linguistic ideologies that compete over the assignment of different values to different languages and varieties. Unquestionably, English – or, rather, certain varieties of English – is privileged as the legitimate language, and others – often portrayed as threats to the health of the nation – are relegated to inferior positions in the linguistic market. Even the various forms of bilingualism which normally result from the coexistence of languages have been imagined as a threat to the desired “perfect Union.” But the ensuing studies (which, except Leeman's, focus on the Southwest and must be followed by further research and equivalent work on California, Florida, the Northeast, new immigrant destinations, etc.) also describe a linguistic field more complex than a simple narrative of victimization would lead us to believe, and confirm that a multifarious and dynamic social formation such as the US cannot but yield an equally intricate metalinguistic universe. Leeman's chapter on the evolution of the US Census's tackling of multilingualism reveals various gradations of state recognition of linguistic diversity and its relation to the constitution of race categories, even within an instrument such as the census organically tied to the nation's scaffolding (it is mandated by Article 1, section 2 of the Constitution). Dubord's and Fernández Gibert's analyses of the Spanish-speaking middle and upper classes in territorial Arizona and New Mexico respectively show these groups' ability to mobilize their agency in defense of their interests, destabilize existing structures of domination and negotiate their participation in the political life of the community. Glenn Martínez's study of how public health organizations created conditions for the deployment of new representations of Spanish further demonstrates the availability of resources to face dominant discourses and confront the disadvantages of structural inequality. In sum, linguistic nationalism based on the defense of English has been neither a homogeneous ideology nor a stable political agenda, and alternative views of the sociolinguistic profile of the nation emerge from our incursions into the historical archive.

The segments of the historical record explored by the contributors to this section also call for broader perspectives as they reveal – even if less directly – the presence of linguistic ideologies linked to processes that, while related to matters of national concern, cannot be simply linked to anxieties over national identity struggles. As we will see, representations of language in the nineteenth-century Southwest or twentieth-century Puerto Rico are the result of US expansionism and the frontier/border conditions created through military occupation and colonialism. Similarly, language debates in the US in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries cannot be fully understood without reference to

the development of capitalism and the different maneuvering capacity of the different social classes to defend their interests (in this regard, the connection with other cases treated in other sections of this volume is evident). Also central to understanding language ideologies in the US are the conditions that led to massive migration from certain countries and the discursive arrangements that construct migration either as part of the nation's condition or as a threat to its very identity. Even dominant Anglo groups, in connection with their interests in Latin America or other geopolitical developments, have at times significantly affected the language-ideological landscape upon recognizing the advantages potentially accrued through knowledge of Spanish.

Historical overview

During the colonial and revolutionary periods, Spanish seems to have been viewed in predominantly instrumental terms. The first recorded use of written Spanish in the English colonies was the 1699 printing of *La fe del cristianismo* (The Christian faith) by Cotton Mather, whose interest in proselytizing went hand in hand with the expectation that communication and commerce with the "Spanish Indies" would eventually increase. This expectation seems to have been constant throughout the colonial period: ads for private lessons in the press of the time and the publication of the first Spanish textbook in 1751 show that there was indeed a market for Spanish as a foreign language among Anglos (García 1993). The situation had not changed much around the time of the American Revolution, when both Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson viewed Spanish as a valuable resource for commercial expansion. In 1787, in a letter to his nephew, the latter suggested: "Bestow great attention on Spanish and endeavor to acquire an accurate knowledge of it. Our future connections with Spain and Spanish America will render that language of valuable acquisition" (qtd. in García 1993: 73).

Spanish does not seem to have played a significant role in the language debates of the revolutionary period and the first few decades of the nation's life. The literature that discusses Benjamin Franklin's concern with multilingualism, which aimed mainly at the influence of a German-speaking community that flourished in parts of the country such as the Midwest well into the nineteenth century, John Adams's failed proposal to create a language academy modeled after the French institution, or Noah Webster's construction of Federal English, shows no evidence that Spanish had any significance in the configuration of the nation (e.g. Crawford 1992; Heath 1976; Simpson 1986).

After independence, the expansion of markets became a US policy priority and was fueled by the ideology of Manifest Destiny and the country's power to control trade by force. A conspicuous result of this policy was the annexation of Texas in 1845, the subsequent two-year Mexican-American War and the

1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, under which the Rio Grande became the recognized boundary between the two countries and Mexico surrendered to the US, in exchange for economic compensations, California and New Mexico (which at the time also included significant portions of Arizona, Colorado and Nevada). In 1854, additional Mexican land would be transferred to the US through the Gadsden Purchase. New Mexico became an organized incorporated territory in 1850 and Arizona established its autonomy, also as a territory, in 1863. They would both be admitted to the Union as states in 1912.

The US's hegemonic intentions towards Latin America had been anticipated since 1823 when the Monroe Doctrine warned European powers that any new colonialist move in the hemisphere would be taken as an "unfriendly disposition towards the United States." In application of this doctrine, the defense of US interests in the Caribbean led to its intervention in the Cuban War of Independence and to the brief but transcendental Spanish-American War of 1898. The Treaty of Paris gave the US control over Cuba, Guam, the Philippines and Puerto Rico. While Cuba gained its independence in 1902, Puerto Rico has remained until the present in a colonial-type relation with the US. During the first few decades after the Spanish-American War, US oversight of the island materialized in different political arrangements. The Foraker Act of 1900 established an appointed governor, an executive council and an elected legislature, and resulted in the creation of political parties that took different stands with respect to the relationship with the US (statehood and independence among others). The Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917 turned Puerto Rico into an organized but unincorporated territory and Puerto Ricans into US citizens. Significantly, these new "citizens" could not participate in the election of their president but could be conscripted and sent to war. In 1948, Puerto Ricans were allowed to elect their own governor and in 1950 president Truman granted the island the commonwealth status (*Estado Libre Asociado*) that has remained to the present in a disputed political field where calls for statehood and independence are also voiced.

These two processes – the Mexican-American and Spanish-American wars – had obvious glottopolitical implications and brought Spanish to the center of political struggles. After annexation, in the Southwest territories of the US both Spanish and English were present in the emerging school system, which paralleled developments in the Midwest with English and German and in Louisiana with English and French (Crawford 1999: 23). However, as we will see in Dubord's and Fernández Gibert's chapters, English progressively became the dominant language and Spanish slowly but surely suffered a significant loss of its instrumental commercial value and a serious disruption of its symbolic status: it went from being the dominant language – when the territories were part of Mexico – to being a subordinate language progressively

inscribed – through Anglo settlement and administrative transition from territory to state – in the body politic of the US.

In Puerto Rico, US language policy was, as described by Frances Negrón-Muntaner, “a complex, often coercive, and desperate process of producing bilingual Puerto Ricans who were to be loyal subjects (later ‘citizens’) of the colonial state apparatus as well as disciplined laborers” (1997: 258). The Language Law of 1902 established the co-officiality of Spanish and English, securing the legal linguistic ground for monolingual English-speaking colonial rulers. Language policy in education aimed for the most part at the (essentially failed) Americanization of Puerto Rico, and was often advanced by pro-statehood Puerto Ricans (Negrón Muntaner 1997: 260–1). The island’s contested cultural and political status has given language a special prominence and led to a profusion of politically explicit metalinguistic discourses: the promotion of English as a strategy to operate within the US, the defense of Spanish as a strategy to counter the effects of US colonialism and the recognition of heteroglossic linguistic repertoires linked to new complex social identities among Puerto Ricans both within the island and in the diaspora (e.g. Negrón Muntaner 1997; Pabón 2003: 89–103).

The Southwest and Puerto Rico exhibit a historical structural analogy: in both lands, the dominance of Spanish was the outcome of Spain’s early modern imperial expansion; and, in both cases, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Spanish speakers saw themselves overrun by yet another process of imperial expansion, now led by the US. Once again, political borders crossed over communities, rapidly creating brand new linguistic markets in which people had to reassess the value of their linguistic possessions.

The Puerto Rican diaspora has been a significant actor in the US’s glotto-political scene throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Soon after citizenship was granted to them in 1917, many Puerto Ricans began to migrate, pushed by economic conditions in the island and pulled by working opportunities in the mainland. World War I, World War II and the post-war years were periods of intense migration that created Spanish-speaking and, in due course, multilingual enclaves of Puerto Ricans mainly in the Northeast. Similarly, Mexican migration to the US has also been constant since the end of the nineteenth century. However, in the case of Mexicans, their status as non-citizens and, in many cases, undocumented immigrants created special circumstances. The legal conditions under which they migrated to the US alternated between periods of official encouragement such as the *Bracero* programs during both world wars and periods of open hostility that even included organized repatriation during the Great Depression. These twentieth-century migrations – to which we must add those of Cubans and Dominicans as well as Central and South Americans – gave Spanish an even greater role in the historical sociolinguistic complexity of the US and resulted in continued

metalinguistic discourses associated with the new conditions for the distribution of resources and for the cultural and political articulation of the nation.

In the 1960s, in an international context that seemed more sensitive to the demands of minorities, a significant cultural change took place in the US under the thrust of the civil rights movement. While ethnic minorities organized to demand equal rights, greater tolerance of ethnic diversity and even pluralist narratives of US history took hold among sectors of American society (Schmidt 2000: 100–15). In the linguistic field, advocacy of the legal recognition of Spanish in education, voting and other government functions grew, and the arrival of mostly middle- and upper-class Cubans after the 1959 revolution led to a successful experiment in two-way bilingual education as these exiles tried to secure their children's acquisition of English and Spanish. The passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968 and its ensuing authorization – supported in great part by Chicano civil rights activists – were hailed as an accomplishment for the Spanish-speaking communities of the US. However, federal and state education laws moved towards a remedial model that would focus on easing the transition to English among disadvantaged students rather than on promoting bilingualism as a social value (Crawford 1999: 36–7).

Despite greater recognition of the US's diversity, essentialist views of the US and the historical discourses that had racialized Spanish, constructing it as a dangerous foreign body within the nation, had not subsided during and after the civil rights movement. A nativist backlash resurfaced – in fact, it had never gone under water – and assimilationist nationalism produced its own historical narratives in order to counter efforts to recognize minorities' simultaneous right to full citizenship and cultural maintenance (Schmidt 2000: 115–29). For nativist and assimilationist sectors of US nationalism – as the immigration of Spanish speakers grew at unprecedented rates towards the end of the twentieth century – Spanish came to symbolize a threat to the nation's identity and viability. These fears resulted in the creation of the US English Foundation in 1983, a "citizens' action group dedicated to preserving the unifying role of the English language in the United States" (www.us-english.org/view/3), and in the introduction of legislation to make English the country's official language. Although efforts at the federal level have thus far failed, English Only laws had been passed by twenty-eight states by early 2007 and three states have banned the use of languages other than English in education (California, Proposition 227, 1998; Arizona, Proposition 203, 2000; Massachusetts, Question 2, 2002) (García 2009). This ideology of fear and threat associated with Spanish has been perhaps best expressed at the beginning of the twenty-first century by Harvard professor Samuel Huntington (2004: 30) in his revealingly titled book *Who Are We?*: "The persistent inflow of Hispanic *immigrants* threatens to divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages . . . There is no *Americano* dream. There is only the American dream created by

an Anglo-Protestant society. Mexican Americans will share in that dream and in that society only if they dream in English” (45).

Despite the persistent ideologies that construct Spanish and Spanish/English bilingualism as dangerous for the nation, the fact is that the US has now become enmeshed in – and has, in many respects, led – global movements spurred by an economy that relies on new information technologies and a large service sector. Spanish, already considered to be an economic asset by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson as well as by the Neomexicano business elites of the nineteenth century, is now promoted by institutions such as Spain’s language academy (RAE) and the *Instituto Cervantes*, which portray it as a highly valued linguistic commodity (Del Valle 2011a). On one hand, Spain and, more recently, Mexico have declared their intention to build a sense of communion with the US’s Spanish-speaking population as a strategy to enter the highly coveted US market. On the other – paradoxically in parallel with the already-mentioned crisis of bilingual education – Spanish is the preferred language other than English among American students at all levels of education. As always, the context is complex and so is the system of competing linguistic ideologies involved in the representation of Spanish. Some of these representations are new and some are not, but in all cases, while responding to present conditions, they all rely on existing discursive matrixes and on the contested memories of a nation always in the making.

Ideologies of Spanish: national identities, expansionism and migration

As stated above, the westward expansion of the US and Anglo settlement in what used to be Mexican territory produced not only a demographic transformation of the conquered lands but also a new linguistic field in which the relative value of Native American languages, Spanish, English and multilingual practices was profoundly restructured. In their respective chapters, Dubord and Fernández-Gibert discuss how the Catholic church focused on language and education in order to secure a space of power within the rapidly changing social structure of the Southwest. The creation of parochial schools, in particular, was well received by the wealthier sectors of the Arizonan and Neomexicano society as they mobilized their resources to constitute a relatively autonomous cultural field that would provide their children with the type of linguistic capital needed to operate in the existing frontier/border conditions. Annexation had resulted in Arizona and New Mexico becoming territories of the US, that is, peripheral and dependent entities within the body politic. In the absence of any credible option for independence, any desire for self-government had to focus on the construction of a path to statehood facing serious roadblocks that ranged from blatantly racist stands to milder opposition from often liberal assimilationist

ideologies (these cases can be productively contrasted with Barrios's discussion in this volume of policies in the Uruguay–Brazil border). As one might expect, the debates surrounding the true exercise of citizenship and the right to statehood included language as one of their principal objects.

On one hand, Dubord and Fernández-Gibert identify discourses that constructed Spanish speakers as anomalies and subjected Spanish to a process of racialization that defined it as the language of non-white Catholics. These discourses were transforming not just the field of linguistic exchanges in the Southwest but throughout the nation: in 1848, Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina said: “We have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race – the free white race. To incorporate Mexicans would be the very first instance of the kind of incorporating an Indian race; for more than half of the Mexicans are Indians, and the other is composed chiefly of mixed tribes” (qtd. in Fernández-Gibert in this volume). More than the classification of Mexicans as belonging to another race, it was the attribution of impurity – “mixed tribes” – that achieved its intended effect, since, through this operation, language became the defining factor and all Spanish speakers, whether they looked white or not, became the object of exclusion. As we will see, this particular ideology of miscegenation as racial impurity was explicitly projected onto language. Fernández-Gibert (this volume) quotes H. S. Wooster, a Justice of the Peace, as saying: “[The population of New Mexico] speak the Spanish language, or try to; but I understand that it is not pure Castilian; it is a sort of a jargon of their own” (qtd. in Nieto-Phillips 2004: 88).

Ghaffar-Kucher (2011) has proposed the concept of “religification,” a process of cultural production whereby religion identification becomes fixed and linked to a certain identity and is used either to mobilize the group or to place it in a particular social position. In the case of Spanish during territorial expansion, the language underwent this kind of identification. As we mentioned above, in the Southwest it was the Catholic church that created parochial schools that enabled the maintenance of written Spanish. In the reproduction of negative stereotypes, the Black Legend's image of Catholic Spain as a repressive, brutal, intolerant and backward society came to be superimposed on the racialization of Spanish speakers. In the national imaginary, the Catholic religion came to be linked in fixed ways to Spanish speakers and their language, and placed in opposition to the benevolent and enlightened Protestantism of the Anglos.

Significant portions of the political class, however, took a liberal position that aimed at equalizing the population through a solid public education system grounded in the English language (the parallels are clear with nation-building processes in Latin America; see Arnoux, Barrios and Valdez in this volume). In sharp contrast with the racist rhetoric that referred to the “mongrel breed known as Mexicans,” assimilationists believed in the incorporation of various

ethnic groups into the social fabric of the nation as long as they gave up their cultures and embraced the principles and values of US nationalism. The path to statehood required this process and Anson Safford, governor of the Arizona Territory, clearly stated it in 1871:

The people of the Territories [acquired from Mexico] have suddenly been transferred from another government to our own. Speaking a foreign tongue, we call upon them to adopt our customs and obey our laws. They are generally well-disposed, law-abiding citizens and have but little needs; they have and will continue to have an important influence in the governing power of the country, and it is essential that they should be educated in the language of the laws that govern them. (*Arizona Citizen* January 14, 1871, qtd. in Dubord in this volume)

Dubord's and Fernández-Gibert's chapters show, however, that Arizonans and Neomexicanos with means did not simply passively accept racist and assimilationist discourses and policies. They responded instead through the mobilization of their cultural and political resources and the production of a discourse of their own. They supported a Catholic school system that guaranteed the maintenance of Spanish and promoted the acquisition of English, and created an energetic Spanish-language printed press that contributed to the constitution of proper Arizonan and Neomexicano public spheres through which to voice and organize strategies of resistance and defend their interests. In their discourse on the Spanish language, they insisted on its commercial value in the context of a foreseeable relationship between the US and Latin America, and envisioned a form of citizenship that did not require abandonment of their cultural heritage (a discourse that, Dubord suggests, foreshadows Renato Rosaldo's more recent notion of cultural citizenship). They also took full advantage of their cultural and political capital in negotiating with the government: Dubord relates how in the 1870s a prominent Tucsonian legislator, Esteban Ochoa, offered support for the governor's plan to establish a public school system – one central agent of assimilation – in exchange for government contracts and linguistic concessions such as the presence of Spanish-speaking jurors and bilingual publication of laws and court proceedings.

The Arizonan and Neomexicano elites' strategies often entailed the fractal reproduction of the very cultural and linguistic ideologies they were trying to counter in their struggle over economic and political prominence. Their defense of Spanish, as we will see in the following chapters, was often grounded in purist ideologies that reproduced class inequality and, especially in New Mexico, in a (transatlantic) historical narrative that linked their culture and language to Europe via a supposedly uninterrupted and untarnished descent from Spain.

In the twentieth century, US nationalism, economic expansionism and the tactics associated with an aggressive geopolitical strategy continued to be the

backdrop against which representations of Spanish came to be produced. However, the economic, political and social context changed in a way that led to constant and significant migration of Spanish-speaking people – Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, etc. – to the US. The presence of Mexican immigrants in the Southwest triggered the reproduction of nativist trends and racist discourses surrounding Spanish that had their origin in the nineteenth-century annexation of northern Mexico. Glenn Martínez, in his chapter, focuses on what came to be known in the 1920s and 1930s as “the Mexican problem,” that is, the perception that the migration of Mexicans was excessive and caused major social disruptions. Mexicans became associated with unsanitary living conditions and high rates of disease, and such biosocial categorization led in turn to the adoption of aggressive protectionist policies such as the creation of the US Border Patrol in 1924 and the organized massive deportations of the Great Depression era. In response to this situation, groups of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in Texas decided to organize themselves and create, through organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the *Movimiento Pro Salud* in order to deal with health issues and, in particular, with the tuberculosis epidemic. Glenn Martínez focuses on the productive role that Ruben C. Ortega, a leading figure of the *Movimiento*, designed during the 1930s and 1940s for the Spanish language, and identifies the conditions that led to his embracing specific linguistic ideologies that valued not only the privileged space of writing but also the possible impact of face-to-face interaction and storytelling, rhetorical practices that were consistent with the community’s traditions. By understanding the target communities and operating in tandem with public health institutions, thus situating his views within the paradigm of modernity, Ortega was able, according to Glenn Martínez, to legitimize his actions and his instrumentalization of Spanish in spaces from which it had been excluded.

Jennifer Leeman’s chapter covers a long period that spans the two hundred years of the US Census. She focuses on the census as a key site for the production and reproduction of linguistic ideologies that construct difference and racialize groups. The census is an unequivocally and highly institutionalized instrument of the state apparatus and, therefore, a privileged object through which to analyze the evolution of official constructions of language in the social world of the US. Leeman’s study of the language question in the census (pun intended) reveals not only the well-known complexity of race in the nation’s history but also the role that language has played in constituting racial/ethnic identities and foreignness. The instability of the criteria on which national identity should be constructed, and the inherently diffuse contours of racial/ethnic categories, are brought to the fore, revealing an inherent tension between a deeply monoglossic dominant ideology – which constructs English as the national language and couples *Latinidad* with Spanish – and multiple points of resistance that destabilize the dominant ideology.

Conclusion

In sum, the four chapters that follow identify sets of metalinguistic discourses surrounding US Spanish and place them in contexts defined by specific political circumstances. We will see how competing configurations of US nationalism, aggressive US expansionism in pursuit of international influence, US market conditions and immigration flows, institutional efforts to make sense of the US's demographic complexity, civil rights advocacy and US–Latin America trade relations are inextricably linked to representations of Spanish as the inherent marker of an inferior race, as the proudly displayed symbol of a venerable culture, as the basis for an autonomous public sphere, as a valuable tool in international markets or as an instrument at the service of public health and progress.

Far from offering – or even trying to offer – a closed or totalizing narrative of the political history of Spanish in the US, this part barely suggests a two-sided project. First, by its very inclusion in the present book, it automatically invites the exploration of continuities and discontinuities between the historical conditions under which discourses on Spanish have operated in the US and those under which they have operated in other parts of the world. Second, it takes a few timid steps towards a fuller historicization of Spanish in the US (California and Florida, among other regions, are conspicuously absent, as are both processes that led to the intense activities of Spanish-speaking intellectual groups within the US and the debates surrounding heteroglossic practices) that focuses not on the evolution of linguistic forms, nor only on explicit language policy and planning, but on how discursive constructions of the language are essential for understanding the nation's history, its efforts to build an identity and its relationship to the rest of the world.

18 Language, church and state in territorial Arizona

Elise M. DuBord

In 1870, Jean-Baptiste Salpointe, Archbishop of the Arizona Territory in the Southwestern United States, wrote a letter to Sister St. John of the St. Joseph Sisters of Carondelet, a French order in St. Louis, Missouri. In the letter, he gave instructions to the group of young nuns who would soon make the difficult cross-country journey in order to establish a Catholic school for girls in Tucson, the first permanent school in Arizona. Bishop Salpointe described the facilities: a parlor, classrooms, dormitory, refectory, kitchen, courtyard and parish church that were being prepared for the Sisters' school and requested that they bring with them "A manual in English and Spanish for children of all grades – our little girls are not all very ignorant" (Salpointe 1870). The Bishop's recognition of the need for English- and Spanish-language teaching materials marks the beginning of what would be a bilingual and bicultural curriculum in Tucson's first Catholic schools in the latter portion of the nineteenth century – including the Sisters' St. Joseph Academy which opened later that year. The Sisters found an eager clientele for both their free parochial schools and their tuition-based academy, although they soon had to compete with the nascent public school system.

Parallel to the Catholic schools, public schools in the territory were also in their infancy; the Territorial Legislature approved the first school law in 1871 and the first permanent public school opened in 1872 in Tucson. Although the vast majority of children at these public and private schools were Spanish speakers of Mexican parentage, the curricula in the two systems varied in their approaches to using and teaching Spanish in the classroom.

At the time, Tucson was the most influential city of the Arizona Territory, yet it was still a relatively small frontier town with nine hundred inhabitants in 1860. By 1880, the year the Southern Pacific Railroad arrived, Tucson had rapidly increased to seven thousand residents. During this time (i.e. 1860–80),

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the ethnic Mexican¹ population proportionally decreased from 70.6 percent to 63.8 percent, a steady decline that would continue into the twentieth century (Sheridan 1986: 3). The US government had acquired northern and central Arizona from Mexico through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and then southern Arizona – including Tucson – through the Gadsden Purchase in 1853.² Anglo settlers were steadily arriving and changing the demographic make-up of the region that had historically been inhabited by Mexicans and Indians. These conditions made for a transitional period in social and public institutions in southern Arizona in the 1870s and 1880s. As the population grew, Mexican and Anglo businessmen worked together, marriages were common between the two ethnic groups, newspapers sprung up in English and Spanish, and the previous social hierarchy, with elite Mexicans at the top, slowly began to shift. This period marked the beginning of Anglos' encroachment in business, politics, high society and education, and Mexican elites' struggle to maintain the sociopolitical status they held under Mexican rule. Historian Thomas Sheridan (1986) describes the 1870s in Tucson as "a decade of demographic and economic expansion" after the railroad arrived, and subsequently, "the eighties were a period of realignment and retrenchment" (50).

The region's Catholic missions were first established under Spanish rule, and the church was essential to the development of this distant frontier land that was relatively isolated from the Mexican state before Arizona's annexation by the United States. After incorporation, Anglo newcomers brought with them ideals of Americanization and westward expansion as a means of justifying their usurpation of the preexisting sociopolitical system. These two disparate traditions simultaneously erected publicly funded schools and private Catholic schools in the 1870s, which allowed for different spaces for language and cultural maintenance and assimilation.

In Tucson, dominant Anglo ideologies that named the English language as an essential tool for Americanization were countered by ethnic Mexicans' strategic practices that created spaces to preserve Spanish in schools and other domains of public life. In the cases of both Anglos and Mexicans, language was an iconic marker of ethnicity and nationality. For Anglos, English was imperative for spreading "American" ideals, and public schools would be the venue for its inculcation. Elite Mexicans responded, defending Spanish as a cultural symbol and economic resource that was maintained through its use in private schools, the church, local business and the press. Focusing primarily on the 1870s and 1880s, the following qualitative analysis examines Spanish- and English-language newspapers, documents from the territorial government, the

¹ I use the terms "Mexican" and "ethnic" Mexican inclusively to refer to individuals with Mexican ancestry born on both sides of the border.

² Present-day Arizona and New Mexico were originally one territory until their division in 1863.

Catholic church and the public school system, and other historical accounts, to demonstrate the roles Spanish and English had in shaping the social landscape of this rapidly changing region. The Spanish language is linked with a Catholic, Mexican heritage and the English language with the taming of the “new frontier,” Americanization and Protestant ideals.

Metalinguistic discourses and language practices in zones of language contact, such as Arizona during the territorial period, expose not only the status of and attitudes toward languages such as Spanish and English, but also the juxtaposition of multiple language ideologies. Language ideologies work to construct and reinforce relationships of inequality (Gal 1989), yet it is possible for less powerful or threatened groups to respond to dominant ideologies with alternative discourses. The exploration of overlapping language ideologies and social hierarchies allows for a historically situated analysis of how ethnolinguistic groups use language as a tool for leveraging status and socioeconomic power.

Catholic schools

As the first bishop of the Vicariate Apostolic of Arizona, which was newly formed in 1868, Salpointe named Catholic education as a central component of his missionary efforts in these new western territories. In letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in France, Salpointe regularly requested funding for establishing and maintaining Catholic schools for the education of Mexican children: “The Mexican, despite his faults, has faith and always demonstrates a good disposition. What he lacks is instruction. As far as the American sector is concerned, although generally protestant, it is in no way opposed to our religion” (Salpointe 1869). Salpointe made little effort to include Anglo settlers in Catholic religious and educational institutions, which were primarily concerned with the formation of Mexicans and Indians. Although most Anglo newcomers were Protestant, Salpointe rightly observed little opposition to the church, particularly in response to the initial establishment of Catholic schools, which were much lauded in both the Spanish and English press. Indeed, the *Arizona Citizen*, an English-language newspaper founded in 1870 by Richard C. McCormick, specifically addressed Mexicans in a special Spanish-language column³ and exhorted them to support Catholic schools through individual contributions. The *Citizen* identified support for Catholic schools as the responsibility of Mexicans because they comprised the largest portion of the population and would benefit most directly from formal education, explaining that Mexicans had:

³ The practice of including Spanish-language articles in the English-language press died out upon the emergence of Spanish-language newspapers, such as *Las Dos Repúblicas* in 1877.

greater need of the fruit of education to improve their condition and alleviate their poverty, fundamental and possible fruit of their lack of industry, in this important duty of every good member of society when its benefits are to their own advantage. (*Arizona Citizen* December 31, 1870)⁴

Bishop Salpointe did not reciprocate this tolerance and support for Catholic schools by supporting the territory's new public schools. On the contrary, he identified Protestant settlers as a threat and public schools as purely Protestant institutions, unfairly supported through territorial funds and a platform for anti-Catholic rhetoric: "If the [public] school teacher is faithful to his promise, he will be satisfied with teaching his students to read and write and do mathematics, but if he wants to talk against the Catholic religion, no one will stop him" (Salpointe 1872). Salpointe goes on to plead for funding for free Catholic schools that would compete with "Protestant" public schools.

The St. Joseph Academy for girls opened in 1870 upon the arrival of seven Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, five of whom were French natives who quickly learned Spanish in Tucson (McMahon 1952). The Academy was intended for students who paid for their tuition, and a parallel parochial school for girls was established to educate the poor, as were Sunday school classes in Spanish and English. Advertisements for St. Joseph's in the Spanish-language weekly, *Las Dos Repúblicas*, announced a course of study that included orthography, reading, writing, grammar, geography, astronomy, philosophy, chemistry, arithmetic, algebra, bookkeeping, French, piano, drawing and painting, tapestry and the making of artificial flowers and fruits (May 18, 1877). Although the language of instruction is not explicitly mentioned, the advertisement of these subjects in the Spanish press suggests a Spanish-language curriculum. The breadth and sophistication of the subjects offered demonstrates that an elite education was offered at the Academy, one that would educate young women to be the stewards of culture and high society in Tucson. Religious instruction for Catholic girls, mentioned in the same advertisement, was integral to their academic and social education. Later reports of the Academy's end-of-term exams paint a clearer picture of the curriculum, listing recitations in Spanish, Spanish geography and Spanish grammar alongside presumably English-language recitations in spelling, geography and grammar, among other subjects (*Arizona Citizen* March 12, 1885). In the English-language press, St. Joseph's promoted a "course of instruction [that] combines all the useful branches of a solid education in the English and Spanish languages" (*Arizona Citizen* December 4, 1886).

In 1874, the San Agustín Parochial School for boys was established. A report from Bishop Salpointe to the *Arizona Citizen* stated, "For the first two years, instruction was given in English and Spanish, but this year I have not been

⁴ All translations from Spanish are the author's.

able to employ an English teacher, and at present, instruction is only given in Spanish” (*Arizona Citizen* January 2, 1875). This early report confirms the prominent status of Spanish in the Catholic school that catered to the needs of Mexican students in contrast with the predominance of English-language instruction and English-speaking teachers in the public schools. San Agustín’s accepted students from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds: “Many of the boys in attendance are the sons of poor people from whom no tuition fees are required. They are however educated with the same care as are those whose parents are in more fortunate circumstances” (*Arizona Citizen* June 25, 1882). Although it is unclear if fee-paying students at the boys’ school were separated from scholarship students, this was the case at St. Joseph’s Academy, where girls from the middle and upper classes received instruction separately from the girls at the free parochial school. This dual system within the Catholic schools allowed elite Mexicans to maintain their differential socioeconomic status, while simultaneously providing a free education for poorer students in competition with the public schools.

Perhaps unintentionally, Bishop Salpointe’s conflation of ethnicity, nationality and religion in his arguments for Catholic schools had created a space for bilingual and bicultural education for Mexican students that would allow them to avoid the assimilationist curriculum found in the public schools. Catholic schools responded to Mexican students’ linguistic, cultural and academic needs and the expectations of their fee-paying parents.

Public schools

While Bishop Salpointe and the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet worked to establish the first Catholic schools in the territory, the Arizona legislature was likewise dedicated to opening public schools. In a presentation at the sixth legislative session of the Arizona Territory in 1871, Governor Anson P. K. Safford (1869–77) called on legislators to support funding for a public school system that would serve the children of the territory. As historian Jed Woodworth (2005) has noted, Safford pitched his argument in favor of public schools as an institution that would benefit all children, without regard for race or nationality. The Governor reasoned that free education was necessary for the formation of all future citizens, suggesting that education was an equalizing force that could erase differences such as material wealth. Yet, Safford exhorted legislators to make educational provisions for the Mexican population, explaining that they must learn English in order to understand the new system of governance under the United States:

The people of the Territories [acquired from Mexico] have suddenly been transferred from another government to our own. Speaking a foreign tongue, we call upon them to

adopt our customs and obey our laws. They are generally well-disposed, law-abiding citizens and have but little needs; they have and will continue to have an important influence in the governing power of the country, and it is essential that they should be educated in the language of the laws that govern them. (*Arizona Citizen* January 14, 1871)

At the time of this address, there were four ethnic Mexicans in the territorial legislature, a small but visible minority in an Anglo-dominated political body. Governor Safford's message to legislators functioned on two levels that appealed to Mexican and Anglo lawmakers and citizens. First, establishing public schools was an important step in integrating the territory into the broader social and political fabric of the nation. If Arizona wanted to put itself on the path to statehood, it would have to adhere to American ideals and institutions. Second, Safford advocated ethnic Mexicans' social and political integration into new institutions; public schooling would serve as a medium for instilling American cultural values, order and the English language. The School Law passed in 1871, and soon after, public schools were established throughout the territory.

Just a month before the sixth legislative assembly, the *Arizona Citizen* published the following special commentary in Spanish about the need for a public school system:

Very soon our Mexican co-citizens will be just as Americanized as the Americans themselves. . . . There is no doubt that [the Mexican legislators] will attend to your own most particular interests, and we trust that they will advance the system of making the most of the youth of our country, procuring a public school where they can go and learn the English language correctly, which is as indispensable for them as is their daily bread. Only in this way will they soon be able to level themselves with Americans in their languages, not only in this but also in all other political and personal matters. (*Arizona Citizen* December 17, 1870)⁵

Here public schooling and learning English are directly linked to Americanization and the assimilation of dominant cultural values. This message encouraged Mexican support for the creation of a Territorial public school system. Anglos often identified ethnic Mexicans as loyal Catholics who would not support public funding for secular education, but the matter was not that clear-cut. Prominent *tucsonenses* (Tucson residents of Mexican heritage) like Esteban Ochoa were influential in the creation of the public school system. Ochoa, one of the four ethnic Mexican legislators referred to above and later, in 1875, elected mayor of Tucson, was known as the father of Tucson's public schools, donating his own land and personal capital toward the creation of the first public school. Sheridan (1986) explains that Ochoa and other Mexican legislators

⁵ This article appeared just weeks before the *Arizona Citizen*'s call for Mexicans to support the new Catholic school through private donations, as was mentioned above.

and businessmen collaborated with Governors McCormick and Safford; the governors not only helped Mexican entrepreneurs get government contracts for freighting business, but also pushed for Spanish-speaking jurors in territorial courts and the bilingual publication of territorial laws and court proceedings. In return, this sector of the Mexican elite supported the introduction of public schools, despite sending their own children to Catholic and other private schools.

The first public school for boys opened in 1872, with John Spring as the first schoolteacher. In his memoirs, Spring (1966) recalled the impossibility of teaching his Mexican pupils only in English as the school trustees had suggested, and regularly used both Spanish and English in the classroom.⁶ At the end of the first term, his pupils received praise in the local press, especially for their accomplishments in learning English:

At the commencement of the term but few had ever attended any school, nor could they speak a word of English. At the examination yesterday the reading in English was excellent and they demonstrated that they understood what they were reading by readily translating English lessons into Spanish. (*Arizona Citizen* June 1, 1872)

Two years later, the *Citizen* again praised the young scholars and Spring's school, where girls had begun receiving instruction with Mrs. Josephine Brawley Hughes in 1873:

The people of Tucson should feel proud of their public schools, and already the good influence is manifest. Boys who have learned to read, write and speak English, if worthy, can readily get employment, and the girls are rapidly improving and will be ornaments to society. Let the good work go on and make education as free to the children of Arizona as the air we breathe. By so doing we shall raise up a people capable of self-government, honest, industrious and self-sustaining. (*Arizona Citizen* June 13, 1874)

Learning English is noted as a mark of educational progress and preparation for boys' becoming industrious members of society. Although the girls in the public school did not study the array of academic and domestic subjects studied at the St. Joseph Academy, their education was similarly deemed to prepare them to be "ornaments" for the pleasure of their families and community. In spite of the trustees' recommendations, the list of books required for Spring's school included *Ollendorff's Spanish-English Grammar* alongside the perennial *McGuffey's Reader*. In addition, the list of books included "Spanish books for those pupils who, at the request of their parents, study the Spanish language" (*Arizona Citizen* January 2, 1875). This brief mention of parental preference and the inclusion of Spanish-language materials suggests an additive model

⁶ This was despite an early legislative directive in 1864 that required teaching in English in any school that received public funding; this was six years before the School Law was actually passed (Weeks 1918).

for Spanish-English bilingualism in the public schools where Spanish was understood to be a resource worth preserving and cultivating while English was acquired. Yet, the structuring of the transitional model that phased out Spanish-language instruction as soon as English was acquired is noted in Governor Safford's description of a new schoolhouse where "boys⁷ in the primary room are taught Spanish and English. In the other rooms English only is taught" (*Arizona Citizen* March 11, 1876). This model did not last for long, and the female teachers who replaced John Spring (at a lower cost to school trustees) did not speak Spanish (Spring 1966).

Educational historian Victoria-María MacDonald (2004) notes that Arizona's public schools had a more "liberal attitude toward bilingualism" than other southwestern states and it was not uncommon for Anglo schoolteachers in Arizona to learn elementary Spanish for use in the classroom. In fact, doing so was often recommended by administrators and in teachers' training institutes (*Arizona Star* January 7, 1892). Although the territorial government did not officially recognize the use of Spanish in public schools, local educational practices allowed for its inclusion. These limited uses of Spanish in the public schools pale in comparison with the bilingual education offered at the first Catholic schools, where Spanish-speaking patrons had greater control over the curriculum, yet Spanish was still an academic resource within the Anglo-dominated sphere of public education.

Sectarian versus secular schools

Soon after Catholic and public schools were established in Tucson, debates surfaced indicating tensions between Catholic private schools and "Protestant" public schools. In a speech before the legislature, former Territorial Governor Richard C. McCormick (1866–9), founder of the *Arizona Citizen* in 1870, commended the work of the Catholic church in developing schools in Arizona, but added the qualification that the church was not responsible for the education of Arizona's children (*Arizona Citizen* August 17, 1872). In the same speech, he quoted US Commissioner of Education John Eaton's urgent call for public schools in the western territories because of high rates of foreign immigration, presumably including both Mexican and European immigrants. Their presence caused anxiety about the importance of "the formation of a character fully in harmony with the sentiments and practices which elsewhere prevail, and which are the glory of our land" (*Arizona Citizen* August 17, 1872).

Public schools would coalesce the youth into a unified group of US citizens who would understand and adhere to American ideals. Foreign elements

⁷ It is unclear why girls did not receive instruction in Spanish as the boys did. It may have been that their teacher Mrs. Hughes simply could not speak Spanish as Mr. Spring did.

and non-Protestants were perceived as a threat to this vision. According to Woodworth (2005), although Mormon settlers also threatened the dominant Protestant narrative, they successfully adapted notions of public education into their communities in Arizona. Their status as unquestionably White settlers also gave them an advantage over Mexicans, whose racial status was suspect. The assimilation and education of Indians was even more problematic than that of Mexicans, because they were perceived as being more “racially” different (Woodworth 2005). In Arizona, Indian children typically attended segregated mission schools and Mormons established public schools in isolated towns separate from other settlers. That left the social integration of ethnic Mexicans and European immigrants as an important project for public school education.

Rooting out religious influences in education, especially in the form of Catholicism, was part of the Americanization agenda in public schools, not only in Arizona, but throughout the United States. An editorial in the *Citizen* praises local progress in public schools, emphasizing their American character and the prohibition of all religious teaching.

The free school is essentially an American institution, wherein children of all nationalities and creeds, can be educated without a sentiment being inculcated that will in the least interfere with the religious belief of any one, and to insure this, all religious teaching in our public schools is prohibited by law, and left where it should be – within the family circle and the several church organizations. (*Arizona Citizen* November 8, 1873)

Non-sectarian education in public schools represented the American ideal of the separation of church and state, although this separation in practice excluded Mexican Catholics from holding teaching positions. Catholicism, Catholic schools and Spanish-language education potentially threatened the broad goals of school reformers to “blunt religious, ethnic, and economic difference and to compress the social distance between various groups, remaking ‘foreign’ elements in the image of Anglo-American Protestants” (Woodworth 2005: 98). An important part of this remaking of “foreigners” was the erasure of languages other than English. Catholic schools not only maintained the religious separation of Mexican Catholics from Anglo Protestants, but also created a space that allowed them to maintain and cultivate a separate ethnolinguistic identity and culture.

Of course, Mexicans in Arizona were not foreigners in the same sense as European immigrants; they had historical ties to the region before US annexation and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had guaranteed their American citizenship. Yet, ethnic Mexicans’ racial background was suspect. The Anglo-American conception of race defined by the “one drop rule” and social hierarchies that linked socioeconomic status to race cast a shadow on Mexican

miscegenation based on a legacy of contact between Spaniards and Indians. Ethnic Mexicans in Tucson, even the elite, were not quite White despite their status as US citizens (DuBord 2010). They lived in a racial limbo where their legal citizenship did not align with social understandings of race (Leeman in this volume). Dominant ideologies that coalesced Spanish, religion, race and nationality highlighted Mexicans' foreignness and prevented their assimilation as true Americans. Both Catholicism and Spanish were racialized in prominent discourses as emblematic markers of difference between Mexicans and Anglos.

In response to these secular attacks on Catholic education, Bishop Salpointe's 1874 report to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith noted the emerging threat of free public schools throughout the territory. He argued again for more Catholic schools and free classes for the poor in response to public education which "has many partisans and apostles who show much zeal for the propagation of ideas of insubordination and disdain for things sacred" (Salpointe 1874a). Salpointe knew the Catholic church could not keep up with the steady growth of public schools in Arizona, and feared the influence of public schools on Catholic children, especially in places where Catholic schools were not available.

Salpointe identified the imposition of public schools as resulting from the Protestant governance of the territory that taxed all property owners, yet did not allow for religious instruction: "It is easy to see all the harm that can result from these [public] institutions. It is not only the absence of an essential element, religious education, that will be felt, but also the hatred and the prejudice as a result of any instructor who would be ill disposed toward the catholic religion" (Salpointe 1874b). Salpointe's anxieties about the denigration of the Catholic church by public-school teachers were echoed by the chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court, Edmund Francis Dunne. An Irish Catholic newly arrived in Arizona, Dunne was vociferous in his devotion to his faith. In a 1875 public speech in Tucson entitled "Our Public Schools: Are They Free For All or Are They Not?," Dunne argued that tax payers (particularly Catholics) should be able to designate public funds to parochial schools in the territory, contrary to territorial law (Gill and Goff 1984). He argued that the Protestant majority used its economic control of public school funds to silence the Catholic minority, which ultimately interfered with the religious and moral education of Catholic children. That same year the legislative assembly had debated the distribution of school funds between public and church schools (Weeks 1918). Legislator A. E. Davis of Mohave County had argued against giving any moneys to sectarian schools: "United church and state, and public schools will be destroyed; united church and schools, and church and state cannot long be kept separate" (*Arizona Citizen* February 20, 1875). The division of school funds did not pass (Weeks 1918), but \$300 was allocated from general legislative coffers to St. Joseph's Academy for the purchase of books (Nilsen 1985).

The ensuing controversy in response to Dunne's speech played out in newspapers throughout the territory in the months that followed. Across the United States, many feared that Catholic schools and Catholics' allegiance to a foreign pope were a threat to American democracy. The local press renounced Dunne's proposition and urged the continued separation of church and state. An unintended consequence of the backlash resulting from Dunne's passionate defense of Catholic schools was the possibility of further marginalization of Catholics, most of whom were, of course, Mexican. Bishop Salpointe sent off yet another letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, emphatic about the need for more Catholic schools:

There is no longer any doubt, the [public] education system, which is said to have been created for the poor, has for its main goal the destruction of all religion and in particular the Catholic religion. Everyday newspapers that are in opposition to us, keep repeating that there should no longer be any sectarianism in the schools and that the clerical influence must be banished if the nations are to make any progress. (Salpointe 1875)⁸

The *Arizona Citizen* responded to Dunne with a lengthy and scathing editorial as copies of his speech began circulating throughout the territory in pamphlet form. The *Citizen* attacked Dunne as an outsider who did not understand the reality of public schools in Arizona, where ninety percent of pupils were Catholic and Catholics throughout the territory (with the exception of the clergy) supported public schools as patrons and as students. Here, public schooling is portrayed as a tool for facilitating tolerance: "Our theory is to make a common central ground, where the children of all nationalities and creeds can come and receive an education in common and learn by contact and association to live and respect each other. This is the American theory" (*Arizona Citizen* May 29, 1875). The paper's response is actually a defense of Arizona Catholics and praises their support of both public and Catholic schools. The editorial likewise applauds non-Catholics' support of Catholic schools. Indeed, a rosy picture is painted of the relationship between Protestants and Catholics. No explicit mention is made in the editorial that the vast majority of Arizona Catholics were ethnic Mexicans, yet the reconciliatory tone toward Catholics other than Dunne and the clergy (who, according to the *Citizen*, were not representative of Arizona Catholics in general) hints at the influential role of Mexicans in the community. It was undoubtedly important to maintain an amicable relationship between Anglo Protestants and Mexican Catholics; they did not want an outsider like Dunne stirring up the desert dust.

⁸ It is unclear if Salpointe's sense of persecution by the English-language press was echoed in the Mexican community; Tucson's first Spanish-language newspaper, *Las Dos Repúblicas*, did not begin publication until 1877.

Spanish as a resource

From the time of the establishment of Tucson's first schools in the early 1870s leading up to the end of the nineteenth century, Spanish was recognized as a linguistic resource for Anglos and Mexicans alike. In this period, there is evidence of the presence of Spanish in public discourse, the maintenance of Spanish among ethnic Mexicans, and Anglo efforts to learn Spanish. Spanish and English had socioeconomic validity and vitality in a variety of contexts, and the local press frequently described the use of both languages in accounts of public speeches celebrating events such as U.S. Independence, Mexican Independence, Columbus Day and school ceremonies, particularly in the Catholic schools.

Spanish-language reading materials were increasingly available in the form of local and regional periodicals, textbooks and literature. After the brief publication of the Spanish-language newspaper *Las Dos Repúblicas* (1877–8), published by Charles “Carlos” H. Tully, the only ethnic Mexican to be superintendent of Tucson's public schools (1891–4), Carlos Velasco began publication of *El Fronterizo* in 1878, which continued until 1914, just two years after Arizona gained statehood. A third newspaper, *La Sonora*, was published from 1879 to 1880 with Ignacio Bonillas as proprietor and Josefina Lindley de Corella as editor in its first year of publication and Carlos Tully and F. T. Dávila in the second (Luttrell 1950).⁹ It is notable that Bonillas and Tully were the only Mexican teachers in Tucson's public schools during this time and both educators contributed to the maintenance of Spanish through their work on Spanish-language newspapers. Spanish-language books and newspapers for sale were available at J. S. Mansfeld Pioneer News Depot, as well as a circulating library of Spanish and English novels (*Arizona Citizen* February 8, 1879).

As an alternative to Catholic and public schools, the Modern School for Boys directed by J. M. Silva and its accompanying Silva School for Young Ladies opened in the late 1870s. Advertisements in both the Spanish- and English-language press suggest these schools offered an education tailored to meet the needs of the children of Tucson's Mexican elites (and a small number of Anglos) with a bilingual, bicultural curriculum. Subjects taught at the Silva School for Young Ladies included English and Spanish grammar, arithmetic, geography, history of Mexico and the United States, letter writing and urbanity (*El Fronterizo* December 2, 1879). Not only was Spanish included in the curriculum, but also Mexican history, a necessity for these bicultural citizens of the borderlands. Exam results from the Modern School for boys reveal that the subjects taught were English, Spanish, writing, arithmetic, Castilian grammar,

⁹ Unfortunately there are no known existent copies of this periodical.

geography and doctrine, and all the pupils listed had Spanish surnames (*El Fronterizo* December 28, 1879).

Both of Silva's schools also advertised in the *Arizona Citizen*. The text of an ad for the School for Young Ladies reads: "The teaching will be conducted on mutual principles including reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar of both languages, with a grammatical and logical analysis, descriptive and political geography, history of America, and universal history, religion, good manners and urbanity" (*Arizona Citizen*, No title, December 6, 1879). Clearly, Principal Silva was trying to reach out to both Mexican and Anglo families. The similarity between the curriculum here and in the Catholic schools begs the question as to why parents would choose to send their children here rather than to the Catholic schools. Was it for religious, educational, or socioeconomic reasons? Regardless, the Modern School and Silva School provided other venues for the education of the future leaders of the *tucsonense* community and select Anglo elites. A limited number of Anglo surnames, such as Goodwin and Scotts (the same surnames as Arizona's first governor and a legislator respectively) were listed on the school roll (*Arizona Citizen* March 2, 1872). Although unconfirmed, this is likely another case of elite politicians who supported public schools but sent their own children to private institutions.

In addition to Silva's schools, other private schools were founded in Tucson by ethnic Mexicans, including Manuel Uruchurtu's night school (*El Fronterizo* December 21, 1879) and Manuel Vasabilbaso's night school, which advertised in both *El Fronterizo* (April 4, 1884) and the *Arizona Citizen* (March 22, 1884). The *Citizen's* announcement of Vasabilbaso's arrival in Tucson from Sinaloa, Mexico describes him as "A Spanish Teacher" who "desires to get up a class for business and professional men." Carlos Tully also advertised Spanish lessons at Schaben's Lodging House that used a "[m]ethod of instruction [that] is easy and practical" (*Arizona Citizen* August 28, 1880). This aggregate of Mexican-established schools suggests not only that ethnic Mexicans were working to maintain and cultivate the Spanish language, but also that Anglos were investing their time and money in learning Spanish.

The high valuation of Spanish is evidenced in the *Citizen's* recommendation that "[e]very merchant and minor" purchase a locally-sold book of "English-Spanish vocabulary of all the most useful and necessary terms used in commerce, trade, mechanics, mining, etc" which was recommended for "[e]very merchant and minor" (*Arizona Citizen* January 24, 1880). In a similar vein, a letter to the *Arizona Star* that advocated learning Spanish to facilitate commerce throughout the Americas was met with enthusiasm by the paper, which, in turn, celebrated the growing importance of Spanish over French and German in public schools and colleges (*Arizona Star* July 16, 1891). The Spanish language was perceived as a commodity to be acquired and utilized for socioeconomic advancement. Leeman (2006–2007) has suggested that this

kind of focus on the practical applications of language study, particularly when related to facilitating commerce, represents a commodification of Spanish that is not necessarily linked to an increase in prestige.

The Spanish language clearly had an important role in the socioeconomic make-up of southern Arizona, but there was little consensus about a strategy for its maintenance among ethnic Mexicans and acquisition by Anglos. A brief debate about teaching Spanish in the public schools began in *La Sonora* with a call for Spanish to be established as a regular part of the curriculum. The *Arizona Citizen* responded ("Spanish in the schools," December 6, 1879) by saying that it would "be beneficial to all the children of this community to know Spanish and English both," yet argued that it was too time-consuming to learn spoken languages in school. The *Citizen* suggested that American (i.e. Anglo) children learn Spanish more effectively outside of school – without an indication of how this might be accomplished – "while the children of Spanish speaking parents will know and speak Spanish anyhow, and we are sure none of them are so unpatriotic as not to wish their young people to know the language of the country they live in." Here, learning English is named as an indicator of loyal citizenship for Mexicans, and learning Spanish as desirable, although not requisite, for Anglos because of its instrumental value. The mere presence of this debate suggests that Spanish had linguistic capital; its erasure was not assumed, least of all by Mexicans, despite the lack of a deliberate plan for its maintenance.

Responses to assimilation

As the Anglo population in Tucson grew from 168 in 1860 to 2,023 in 1880, an increase from 18% to 29% of the total population (Sheridan 1986: 133), ethnic Mexicans felt a need to defend their status vis-à-vis increasingly powerful Anglos. Although elite Mexicans maintained their status and influence in Arizona longer than they did in other parts of the Southwest, the threat of their socioeconomic displacement was seemingly imminent. In 1877, an author using the pseudonym "Quivira" penned a battle cry against Anglo influences in a defense of "*nuestra raza y nuestra lengua*." This author calls on the ideological linking of race and language in his defense of ethnic Mexicans' esteemed heritage. This contrasts dramatically with dominant linguistic ideologies, which used language as a powerful racializing characteristic that defined Mexicans as being categorically different from Whites (Leeman in this volume). Quivira named Latin Americans as the architects of a Christian civilization who must adopt the industrious habits of Anglos yet maintain their own cultural heritage in a battle between the races. The way to do this was to defend "[o]ur customs, our faith, our language, activity, industry, education, [and] to take part in politics, to influence the legislature, and name elected officials; these are the

arms with which Latin civilization must defeat Saxon civilization” (*Las Dos Repúblicas* August 22, 1877).

This call to action was, in effect, a call for “cultural citizenship” (Rosaldo 1997), in other words, ethnic Mexicans’ active sociopolitical response to institutionalized inequalities in this ever-changing milieu. It is through the maintenance of language, religion and culture that Quivira sought sociopolitical strength for Mexican citizens. This thread was picked up some three years later by “Pitiquito” in *El Fronterizo* in response to an article in *La Sonora* that commended the good work of the public schools in educating children from the neighboring state of Sonora, Mexico. Pitiquito critically attacked the public school as an institution whose goal was the assimilation of Mexican children through the degradation of their religion and language:

What is it that they teach them in the public school? To scorn their parents’ religion and even forget their own language, whose teaching is banned in the said establishment. Therefore, if this is what happens, what the public school is really doing to our youth is demexicanizing it for the benefit of their country; representing it, so to speak, in the role of the buffoon. (*El Fronterizo* February 29, 1880)

The Spanish-language press and private schools that served the Mexican community rapidly identified a need to defend and preserve the Spanish language. A few years after its establishment, an announcement for Silva’s Modern School in *El Fronterizo* indicated that advanced literature courses in Spanish would address the needs of young people in Tucson, “to perfect their ability to read well in their own language, correcting vices against the rules and purity of the language that are committed when reading and speaking Castilian” (January 6, 1882). The purity of Spanish was threatened if the language was not formally taught in schools; its status could diminish to that of an oral language, corrupted by Spanish speakers from lower socioeconomic classes and in constant competition with the English language for domains of use. It was the responsibility of elite Mexican families to insure their children received instruction in their language, religion and culture as part of their self-preservation and strength. These three pillars of society were conjoined in their essence; the protection of one implied the protection of the others.

Progress on the frontier

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of westward expansion in the American consciousness. The nation looked west and dreamed of open, empty frontier land just waiting to be tamed by adventurous settler families, who would adhere to Protestant ideals and the American way of life (Brady 2002). Yet, the diversity in Arizona actually included Mexicans, Indians, Chinese, Mormons and new European immigrants (Gordon 2001;

Woodworth 2005; Meeks 2007; Benton-Cohen 2009), who were often erased in the public imagination. Still, Arizonans from diverse backgrounds wanted to set the territory on track for statehood. It was not until 1912 that New Mexico and Arizona would become the last two states in the continental US to join the Union, numbers 47 and 48 respectively. This delay, as compared with other Western states (for example, California was admitted in 1850 and Colorado in 1876), was in large part because of the non-Anglo majority. From the Anglo perspective, Spanish-speaking Mexicans were particularly problematic because they did not easily accept the American model of assimilation, as witnessed in their persistent maintenance of language, religion and culture (Woodworth 2005).

Yet, the figurative erasure and minimization of Mexicans in Tucson was necessary for the plan for westward expansion and Anglo settlement. Anglo pioneers would bolster the economy and spur even greater immigration. In 1882 C. W. Beach, an outsider who had not visited Tucson in a decade, chronicled the two sides of Tucson, Mexican and Anglo:

[W]e found the same old adobe casas, the Mexican with his burro, the Senorita with rebozo, gracefully thrown over head and shoulder, . . . the broad-brimmed hatted hombre from Sonora, . . . and all the characteristics which go to continue a genuine Mexican town, but aside from all this, we found a large city, full of bustle, vigor and enterprise. Large buildings of commerce and adobe, energetic Americans directing the movement of a healthy business . . . We found elegant stores, churches and school structures, a magnificent courthouse receiving its finishing touch, and at least a half-dozen stately, well-kept hotels, two newspapers, the *Star* and *Citizen*, full of life and health from cause of liberal and justly deserved support. (*Arizona Citizen* September 3, 1882)

Beach portrays the Mexican side of Tucson as a picturesque throwback that gave the city a unique flavor, but little else. Industry and progress are unequivocally defined as the fruit of Anglo endeavor. The Spanish-language weekly, *El Fronterizo*, is erased from the landscape, as are Mexican entrepreneurs, such as Leopoldo Carillo, whose desert oasis, Carillo's Gardens, was at the center of Tucson's high society.

The Arizona Territory was in the business of advertising itself as a potential destination for Anglo settlers in government publications such as *The Resources of Arizona* (Hamilton 1883), which favorably described the territory's geography, industries, transportation, schools, churches and other institutions. In this publication, Hamilton depicts Tucson as "a relic of the past which has been rudely awakened from the slumber of centuries by the rush and roar of modern civilization" (44). In contrast, he describes the sound of the "mellifluous chatter of *la lengua Castellana*" that defines the Mexican neighborhood of Barrio Libre (45, italics in original). Here, Spanish is diminished to a rich-sounding language that – as in Beach's description above – gives Tucson a unique character, yet is separate from Anglo progress.

In the local press and recruiting publications, religious and educational institutions were often cited as twin signs of civilization and progress. Throughout *The Resources of Arizona*, Hamilton (1883) commends Arizona's progress in establishing schools and churches as civilizing forces on the frontier, describing the priorities of "the western pioneer [who] first builds a school-house and afterwards a church" (221). Likewise, the opening of the first Presbyterian church in nearby Florence, Arizona was motivation for meditation on the importance of both churches and schools on the frontier, "These two institutions are considered requisite and necessary by the civilized and educated American and with very great and good reason" (*Arizona Citizen* January 4, 1878).

Although churches and schools are often mentioned in conjunction in this context, the conjunction appears in tandem with the discourse of the secular nature of public schools that emphasized the separation of church and state as an essential American characteristic. Catholic schools in Arizona may have been included among signs of progress in the territory in the Spanish-language press but, in the English-language press, gains made in public schools were signs of 'true' American progress. In 1883, Thomas Bicknell, editor of the *Boston Journal of Education*, visited Tucson's public schools and declared that the success of public schools could be measured by the decrease in parochial schools (*Arizona Citizen* May 12, 1883). A decline in parochial schools meant not only increased Anglo control of the school curriculum, but also a decline in legitimate domains for the teaching and maintenance of Spanish.

Conclusions

The decades of the 1870s and 1880s brought a rapid shift in the numeric and hierarchical balance between Mexicans and Anglo settlers in southern Arizona. As the total population steadily grew, both Mexican and Anglo elites mobilized in order to establish new institutions. Ethnic Mexicans were initially successful in controlling some local resources in education, the church, business and politics, yet the slippery slope of Anglo hegemony would prove virtually unstoppable moving into the twentieth century. Discourses on the place of English and Spanish in Tucson are nestled into debates over national identity, public and private schooling, the separation of church and state, and the settlement of the "new" frontier. Simply stated, it was never just about language.

As I have argued elsewhere (DuBord 2010), elite Mexicans in Tucson marshaled their cultural and institutional resources in order to distinguish themselves from more intensely racialized lower socioeconomic classes and to secure a valued source of linguistic capital in any border context: bilingualism. Spanish – a particular form of the language purified by the filters of institutionalized education – was, therefore, an asset that even some Anglos coveted.

However, Anglo domination of the late nineteenth-century “frontier” tended to produce a discourse of degradation of Mexicans and their social and cultural institutions, and, in this context, the ideological representation of Spanish as unpatriotic, an impediment to assimilation, and essentially un-American. This linguistic ideology coexisted with one of Anglo modernity that was linked to the English language. Establishing English as the language of the territory was imperative for Anglo’s economic and political control; conversely, delegitimizing Spanish and Spanish speakers as outdated relics reinforced Anglos’ newly gained authority and Mexicans’ increasing socioeconomic exclusion. The Anglo narrative that named Spanish as old-fashioned, quaint and from a nearly forgotten past was strategically constructed in an attempt to insert the territory in the national imaginary of the United States.

Ethnic Mexicans responded to these dominant language ideologies by defending Spanish as a marker of their stately cultural heritage, and a language of commerce, public life and education. Their maintenance of Spanish in private schools, the press and other public spheres countered dominant narratives of Anglos’ westward expansion and settlement by defining Spanish as both historically and contemporarily legitimate. By not accepting the linguistic and cultural assimilation promoted in public schools, elite Mexicans rejected the utopian notion of state-sponsored education as an equalizing force on the frontier. In order to retain their authority, Mexicans embraced and protected their ethnolinguistic heritage and additive bilingualism as essentially valuable resources.

19 The politics of Spanish and English in territorial New Mexico

Arturo Fernández-Gibert

History and socio-demographics of New Mexico

This chapter will study the relative roles of Spanish and English in New Mexico during the territorial period (1850–1912) by examining a corpus of texts printed in the pages of the Spanish-language newspapers published at the time within the territory. The main source is *La voz del pueblo*, one of the most representative for several decades. At the time of the United States' invasion of Mexico's north, between 1846 and 1848, New Mexico was by far the most populated territory among those conquered by the US. At first, change of citizenship did not entail an immediate change of language, culture and way of life for Neomexicanos.¹ However, once the territory became a state in 1912 and fully integrated in the Union, Spanish suffered a slow but continuous decline – even though the Hispanic-origin portion of New Mexicans continued to be the largest in the state.

New Mexico was first populated by Spanish settlers in 1598, immediately after the expedition of Juan de Oñate established a cohort of six hundred around the upper course of the Rio Grande. Spanish early knowledge of the land was the result of the expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Hernando de Alvarado in 1540–2. The first Spanish colonies spread north of El Paso del Norte between Socorro and San Gabriel along the Rio Grande. Santa Fe was established as the capital of the new territory in 1610. During the first century under Spanish rule, New Mexico slowly emerged as a modest community, but the Pueblo Indian revolt of 1680 resulted in the abandonment of almost the entire province, as Spaniards retreated south to El Paso (Perrigo 1979: 36–41). Just before the uprising, New Mexico's non-indigenous population probably numbered no more than 2,500 people, forming a poor, but not destitute, colony (Kessell 2002: 110–11). The re-conquest by Diego de Vargas between 1692 and 1696 fully reestablished the colony, which grew in numbers throughout the eighteenth century following a new policy to defend northern New Spain from

¹ Throughout the pages of Spanish-language newspapers, including *La Voz del Pueblo*, the terms applied to the Hispanic-origin population of New Mexico are *neomexicano* – the most common –, *nuevomexicano* and *hispano-americano*.

the pressure of England and France. In the early nineteenth century, official figures estimated the population of New Mexico at 35,750 (*Exposición* 1812: 6 qtd. in Carroll and Villasana 1942: 216). Pedro Bautista Pino, the representative of the New Mexico province at the Spanish parliament convened at Cadiz in 1810–12, reported in his *Exposición* the isolation and backwardness that New Mexico suffered:

The province does not have nor has been able to have even now what other provinces of Spain have as far as public institutions: it is so far behind in this respect that even their names are unknown. Primary school is restricted to those with the means to pay teachers so they are able to teach their children: even in the very capital [Santa Fe] it has not been possible to fund a teacher to make teaching public. (*Exposición sucinta y sencilla de la Provincia de Nuevo Mexico: Hecha por su diputado en Córtes Don Pedro Baptista Pino con arreglo a sus instrucciones* 1812: 18–19, facsimile edition in Carroll and Villasana 1942: 228–9)

By 1812, New Mexico had been the northernmost colony of the Spanish Empire for more than two centuries. Once Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821, the short-lived Mexican sovereignty over this land barely changed the nature of this sparsely populated, isolated territory. By the arrival of the United States' Army of the West in 1846 the territory was inhabited by perhaps some 50,000 people. Antonio Barreiro, a Mexican official, painted a somber portrait of New Mexico in his report:

The scarcity of books, particularly those basic ones that contribute in generalizing ideas, is another obstacle that impedes enlightenment, and no less is the enormous distance at which this place is located, and the lack of communication it has with the interior of the [R]epublic. (Ojeada sobre Nuevo-México, que da una idea de sus producciones naturales, y de algunas otras cosas que se consideran oportunas para mejorar su estado, é ir proporcionando su futura felicidad. Formada por el Lic. Antonio Barreiro, Asesor de dicho Territorio 1832: 29, facsimile edition in Carroll and Villasana 1942: 291)

The change of sovereignty was followed by the slow arrival of Anglo American settlers. At first, the lack of natural resources and the hostility of the nomadic Indian peoples who surrounded the main settlements, still very active until the 1870s, made New Mexico unattractive to potential new settlers. However, when the railroad connected Las Vegas, Albuquerque and Las Cruces, the most populated towns in the 1880s, the arrival of newcomers from the East increased greatly. The total population of New Mexico more than doubled between 1890 and 1910 ([Table 19.2](#)).

Between the first European settlements and 1846, Neomexicanos had lived isolated and far from cultural centers and educational institutions that might have provided means of endowment. In a mainly rural society, based on agricultural labor, there were very few schools in the Spanish and Mexican periods. After 1848, schooling expanded, although rather slowly. Until the passage of

Table 19.1 *Schooling and illiteracy in New Mexico, 1870–1910*

Year	Schooled population (6–20 years old)	Illiterate persons (over 10 years old) (%)
1870	1,89	78.2
1880	4,755	65.0
1890	23,620	44.5
1900	28,672	33.2
1910	64,342	20.2

(US Census Bureau 1897, 1913)

Table 19.2 *Persons who can't speak English in New Mexico, 1890–1910*

Year	Total population (over 10 years old)	Can't speak English	Percentage
1890	85,462	59,778	69.9
1900	105,454	53,931	51.1
1910	185,205	60,239	32.5

(US Census Bureau 1897, 1913)

the public education law of 1891, most schools in the territory were private. The ones with more students were supported by the Catholic church, and their role in the education of the Spanish-speaking population was very important (see also Dubord in this volume). Catholic schools provided the only opportunity for the first generations of Neomexicanos not just to become literate but to do so in their own language. The data from the Census confirm New Mexico's progressive path to literacy (see [Table 19.1](#)). It is likely that the data have missed a number of Neomexicanos who were literate in Spanish, but not in English. Although information on knowledge of English was available only from 1890, the Spanish-speaking population of New Mexico was quite large, and probably in the majority on the eve of statehood in 1910 ([Table 19.2](#)).

Education, literacy and the press

New Mexico's path to literacy and modernity, as in all Western societies, needed the development of a school system that prepared citizens to fully participate in the political and socioeconomic arenas (several chapters of this book deal to

some extent precisely with this topic). The first efforts towards that end came from the Catholic clergy newly arrived in the territory soon after the American takeover. The first Archbishop of Santa Fe, Jean Baptiste Lamy, initiated the establishment of parochial schools in the main towns of New Mexico: a school for boys in Santa Fe (1851); a school for girls, *La Academia de Nuestra Señora de la Luz*, later to be the Loretto Academy, also in the capital (1853); and schools established by the Sisters of Loretto at Taos (1863), Mora (1864), Las Vegas (1869), Las Cruces (1870) and Bernalillo (1875). Higher education was brought about by the Christian Brothers with the opening in 1859 of a school for young men, *El Colegio de San Miguel*, later known as St. Michael's College (Meléndez 1997: 45). In the next decade, Archbishop Lamy recruited the Jesuits, led by the Reverend Donato Maria Gasparri, a native Italian, to found institutions of higher education outside of Santa Fe. Gasparri opened the doors of the Jesuit College in Old Town Las Vegas in 1877. Two years earlier, he had established a Catholic press there and had become the first editor of *La Revista Católica*, a weekly that would be in circulation for almost a hundred years (Vollmar 1939). Most of the Neomexicano editors who made the birth of the Spanish-language press possible were educated in these Catholic schools and colleges in the decades preceding the period 1890–1910, the peak of the Hispano printing movement. According to a report delivered by the Territorial Delegate in Washington, D.C., Antonio Joseph, in 1889, there were 342 schools in New Mexico; of this total, 143 were conducted exclusively in English; 92 offered instruction in both English and Spanish; and 106 were conducted completely in Spanish (Larson 1968: 172). This fact may help explain why, at the turn of the century, there was a large readership of Spanish-language papers in the territory.

Empowered by their educational gains, Neomexicanos managed to produce and sustain a booming Spanish-language press for decades bridging two centuries. The arrival of the railroad in 1879, the growing number of a literate population, and the import of better technology made this possible. In the 1880s, thirteen papers were published exclusively in Spanish, and in 1890 alone, forty-four more started up (Meyer 1996: 8). Some of the most significant were: *La Revista Católica* of Las Vegas (1875–1918), moved to El Paso in 1918 (to 1962); *El Tiempo* of Las Cruces (1882–1911); *El Boletín Popular* of Santa Fe (1885–1908); *La Voz del Pueblo* (1888–1927), founded in Santa Fe and moved to Las Vegas in 1890; *El Nuevo Mexicano* of Santa Fe (1890–1958); *El Independiente* of Las Vegas (1894–1928); and *La Bandera Americana* of Albuquerque (1895–c. 1938), to name only the ones with the longest time in circulation (Stratton 1969: 36–7; Meléndez 1997: 249–50).

The development of the Spanish-language press was encouraged and actively supported by prominent members of the Neomexicano community who believed the intellectual progress of their community was linked to the

advancement of their native soil and their sons. The wealthier Hispano families, who from an early date sent their children to the best Catholic schools of the territory, thought to secure a better future for New Mexico by launching the publication and circulation of thousands of newspapers. Education, literacy and the press were inextricably connected in the last decades of territorial New Mexico.

The prevalent ideology produced by the Neomexicano elite, represented by press entrepreneurs, made literacy a requirement for material, political and cultural advancement. This ideology, once the readership was developed, was constantly reproduced in the Spanish-language press. Hispanos had the civic duty to educate the young, participate in the material gains the Anglo American society afforded and defend their own political rights, while preserving a Spanish-language culture of their own. Literacy was, according to this ideology, a requirement for citizenship, especially considering the reality of the future state. An editorial of *La Voz del Pueblo* emphasized the importance of education and the printing press on the way to prosperity:

Finally, we hope that the long-suffering Neo-Mexicano people . . . wake up from the lethargy in which they have slept for so many years, and appreciate the intrinsic value of a sound and genuine education, and that they recognize that newspapers and literature are generally the most secure paths toward science and prosperity. (Editorial, *La Voz del Pueblo*, November 14, 1891)

Neomexicano editors believed that literacy in Spanish was desirable and sustainable over time, even in the new state. The Hispano editors defended the maintenance of the vernacular as the natural way to reach their readership. Despite the increasing political weight of the Anglo American newcomers, Neomexicano production, circulation and reading of Spanish-language newspapers created an *imagined community* (Anderson 1991) that reconnected Neomexicanos to the outside world while helping them preserve their language and culture (Meyer 1996: 14–15). This imagined community of Spanish-language readers made the native sons of New Mexico thrive: “Today, with full satisfaction, *La Voz del Pueblo* announces without fear of contradiction that the progress of literature in New Mexico is in an era of certain ascendancy, the people have come to recognize the incalculable utility of the press for the development of a country” (*La Voz del Pueblo*, January 4, 1896). The optimism reflected in this editorial would last for decades in which thousands of Spanish-language newspapers reached every corner of New Mexico. This imagined community formed by Neomexicanos in every town of the territory was made possible by a predominantly Catholic school system and a large number of Hispano editors and their printing presses, which would become bastions of the preservation of the Spanish language and Nuevomexicano culture.

Language and the quest for statehood: racializing language

Before the railways reached New Mexico in 1879, the Spanish-speaking population was so large that Anglo Americans who wanted to succeed in any sphere of public life had to learn Spanish.² However, as the turn of the century approached, the increasing number of Anglo American settlers from the East triggered an intense debate in the press on the future of New Mexico. By the late 1880s, while they were still a majority and could control the crafting of a constitution in their own terms, native Neomexicanos voiced a desire for self-government, which translated into a demand for statehood. New Mexico's quest for statehood lasted several decades, and was always met with overtly racist opposition, whether from US Congress or public opinion, often expressed in the Anglo New Mexican and eastern press. Even before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the Mexican-American War in 1848 was signed, there were voices rejecting the idea of incorporating any Mexican territory under the US government. In a speech before the Senate in 1848, Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina firmly opposed annexing any parts of Mexico:

I know further, sir, that we have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race – the free white race. To incorporate Mexico, would be the very first instance of the kind of incorporating an Indian race; for more than half of the Mexicans are Indians, and the other is composed chiefly of mixed tribes. I protest against such a union as that! Ours, sir, is the Government of a white race. The greatest misfortunes of Spanish America are to be traced to the fatal error of placing these colored races on an equality with the white race. That error destroyed the social arrangement which formed the basis of society. (qtd. in Weber 1973: 135)³

These overtly racist arguments – which prevented New Mexico from becoming a state during the first few years of American rule – would prevail for a long time, advancing the idea of “impurity” at all levels. In this view, Mexicans (= Neomexicanos) are of a “mixed” race (Spanish + Indian + African), not of a pure race like Americans (= “pure” Anglo-Saxon race), and even speak a

² Prominent members of the influential Santa Fe ring – a clique of lawyers, politicians and land speculators –, such as lawyers Stephen B. Elkins and Thomas B. Catron, adopted “the language and habits of the country in order to accomplish the objects of their ambition (Meyer 1996: 47, quoting from Rosenbaum 1981: 27).

³ On the opposite side, in 1850, Senator William H. Seward of New York supported statehood for New Mexico on the grounds of the capability of its population to self-government, because New Mexicans had a long history of colonization: “They are a mingled population, marked by characteristics which resulted from the extraordinary system of colonization and government maintained by Old Spain in her provinces. . . . The Anglo-Saxon colonization left the aborigines of this Continent out of its sympathy, and almost out of its care. It left them barbarous and savage; and they still remain so. . . . On the other hand, the peculiar civilization which the colonists of Spain carried into her provinces . . . operated successfully in winning the Indians to Christianity and partial civilization” (qtd. in Nieto-Phillips 2004: 57).

“mixed” language that does not even deserve to be called such, since it really is a “patois,” or a “dialect” at best.

This was a perception deeply rooted in the American mind of the Southwest, as illustrated in 1902, when a congressional delegation representing a subcommittee of the Committee on the Territories conducted hearings involving Neomexicanos and Anglo Americans to assess whether New Mexico – and other territories such as Arizona – deserved to be admitted as a state. To determine whether its people merited or were prepared for self-government, the delegation inquired into their ability to speak English and their racial identity (Nieto-Phillips 2004: 85). When non-Neomexicanos or “American” witnesses described the Spanish-speaking people of the territory, they used the terms “Mexicans” or “natives.” When a Justice of the Peace named H. S. Wooster, a native of New York, gave his impression of New Mexico’s population, he put it as follows:

Q. The population over there [Las Vegas] is, as we all understand, principally Spanish? A. Chiefly Mexican. By that we distinguish the Spanish-speaking people from the others; there is some Spanish and some Indians, and a mixture of people. Q. And they speak what language? A. They speak the Spanish language, or try to; but I understand that it is not pure Castilian; it is a sort of a jargon of their own. (qtd. in Nieto-Phillips 2004: 88)

Around 1890, as more Anglo Americans settled in the territory and the enacting of a public education bill approached, the language representations filling the pages of the press became more abundant. From the English-language papers of the States and even of New Mexico, many supported compulsory teaching of English in the public schools and the requirement of English fluency to serve in public posts, vote, and be a juror in the future state. It was evident to many supporters of statehood, both Hispano and Anglo, that the new political status would not be granted by Congress without legislation that established a compulsory public education system whose medium of instruction was English.

As early as 1889, a poem written in *corrido* or *romance* style echoed the Neomexicano sentiment, provoked by what was perceived as a proposed proscription of Spanish in public instruction and its limitation in government:

Beautiful Spanish language / Do they want to proscribe you? / I believe there is no reason / For you to cease to exist. / . . . When the Mexicano understands / Well his mother tongue / Very easily he will learn / The language of the government / We’ll pray to the Eternal one / For Him to give us wisdom / And that the day will come to us / When we’ll be able to speak English / ’Cause, gentlemen, it is only fair / That we learn to speak it / And always give a place / To the national language / It is just and rational / But I’ll give you a reminder / In order to praise Saint Paul / Do not disrespect Saint Peter. (“El idioma español” qtd. in Arellano 1976: 37)

The poem, written by Jesús María Hilario Alarid (1834–1917), shows an early disposition to acquire English, “the government language,” as long as Spanish is also preserved. On many occasions, Spanish-language papers printed poems, letters or essays defending Spanish as an integral part of the Neomexicano community.

During the 1890–1 twenty-ninth territorial legislature, on February 17, 1891 the Republican majority passed the public education law, “An Act Establishing Common Schools in the Territory of New Mexico and Creating the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.” Although the act did not prohibit the teaching of Spanish, it clearly mandated the use of English in all instruction. It did not make any provisions for the instruction of Spanish as a subject either. In response, the Spanish-language press overwhelmingly supported the maintenance of the teaching of Spanish (along with English), and opposed a language requirement to enjoy all the rights of a citizen of the new state.⁴

Every time a proponent of disenfranchising Neomexicanos on the basis of their ethnicity or language competency voiced his racial slant in the English-language press – which was immediately echoed in New Mexico – there was a firm response published in the Spanish-language newspapers:

Continuing this flow of diatribes . . . [the editor] throws his dirty drivel to the descendants of Spaniards and Mexicans, . . . saying: “it is generally acknowledged that there is but one race on the Earth enabled by nature to manage and rule over the destiny of Man – the pure Anglo Saxon race”. . . In another editorial paragraph he says: “What right or privilege can any man or men demand to exercise the right to vote in an English-speaking country, who, while keeping themselves attached to the language of their ancestors, make no effort to learn English, have no ambition to learn it, refuse to teach their children any other thing except their native patois or dialect?” In conclusion, the little paper refers to the natives of New Mexico as “a mix of descendants of Castile, Aztec, Sioux and Ethiopian. (*La Voz del Pueblo*, June 2, 1906)

The *Carlsbad Current*, the paper that printed the inflammatory letter quoted by *La Voz del Pueblo*, was published in a south central area of New Mexico in which the Anglo population was in the majority, and the conditions of the Mexican minority were probably much worse than the average living conditions of the Neomexicano elsewhere in the territory. The long editorial in *La Voz del*

⁴ Article 21 of the 1910 Enabling Act (the model constitution for New Mexico) read: “ability to read, write, speak and understand English sufficiently without the aid of an interpreter shall be a necessary qualification for all State officers and members of the State legislature.” After Neomexicanos united against political disenfranchisement, the framers of New Mexico state constitution struck out this article and added a new one, stipulating that “[t]he right of any citizen of the state to vote, occupy office or be a member of a jury shall never be limited or forbidden for reasons related to religion, race, language or color, or the inability to read or write English or Spanish” (Gonzales-Berry 2000: 173–4).

Pueblo defends the position of most Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico of the time:

But the truth is that, in the *Current*, malevolence, ignorance, and presumption speak. . . . “What right or privilege, it says, can we have to exercise the right to vote – men who have clung to the language of our ancestors[?]” Is it really such a great crime, deserving disqualification as a citizen, to have preserved intact through three centuries of isolation the sweet language of our fathers? . . . We have never been in contact with a civilization higher than ours. Such a civilization doesn’t exist. Our civilization is the civilization of Christ, the one planted on this soil by our ancestors, long before the Pilgrims stepped on Plymo[u]th Rock. (*La Voz del Pueblo*, June 2, 1906)

This editorial illustrates the arguments employed by *el pueblo nativo* in the pre-statehood era, especially as the quest for admission into the Union approached: 1) Neomexicanos were the native, legitimate owners of their land (after all, they had been there for three centuries); 2) Neomexicano society, culture and language (civilization) were as legitimate as, if not more legitimate than, Anglo American; 3) Neomexicanos were rightly entitled to the same privileges of the American political system as the Anglos in the territory and eventual state; 4) Neomexicanos were very proud of possessing a culture and a language of their own that could be traced back to their ancestors in Spain; and 5) Neomexicanos were not willing to buy into the “blame the victim” argument printed in the *Current*, that is, their “backwardness” is due to their unwillingness and inability to learn from contact with a more advanced society and culture, i.e. Anglo-Saxon.⁵

The offensive linguistic discrimination Neomexicanos systematically suffered from the US Congress and American public opinion was firmly contested by the Spanish-language papers. Because language was so connected to Neomexicano identity and ethos, editors expressed the general feeling of disappointment found in the territory, and underscored what they perceived to be the main cause of Congress’s rejection of New Mexico on the rugged road to statehood: there were too many Spanish-only speakers in the territory:

The State Issue. The majority of the Senate Committee on Territories has presented its report opposing the Admission of New Mexico and Arizona. THERE ARE TOO MANY WHO SPEAK SPANISH IN THESE TERRITORIES FOR THEM TO BE GOOD STATES... ON WHAT THE OPPOSITION TO NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA IS BASED. Washington, Dec. 10. – Senator Beveridge, president of the Senate Committee on Territories, presented the report of the majority of the Committee against the “Omnibus Bill” for the admission of Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico as states, . . . it is opposed because a vast majority of New Mexico is

⁵ As the ethnic slurs quoted above show, this attitude stemmed from Anglo prejudice traceable to the pervasive Black Legend, “the accumulated tradition of propaganda and [H]ispanophobia according to which Spanish imperialism is regarded as cruel, bigoted, exploitative, and self-righteous in excess of the reality” (Gibson 1958, in Powell 1971: 136–7).

of Spanish descent and Spanish-speaking only, and many of these Spanish-speaking citizens in both territories don't understand the American institutions . . . Of the Spanish American people they say that they are too apathetic and too indifferent to the American institutions for them to learn the language of the country. And to prove that, they draw attention to the fact that the native population needs an interpreter now just as when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, more than 50 years ago. (*La Voz del Pueblo*, December 13, 1902)

The editor summarizes the three arguments repeatedly advanced by opponents: an overwhelming Spanish-speaking majority, lack of English-language competency, and lack of appreciation or understanding of the American institutions. In the language of the report presented before Congress, these three topics were inextricably intertwined. As it turned out, the 1902 push for statehood failed. In the Anglo American imagination of the turn of the century, the combination of negative stereotypes about race, language and political indifference was vaguely applied to the native inhabitants of New Mexico, producing a rejection that would be surmounted only a decade later.

As the struggle for admission intensified, the leaders of the statehood movement, both Neomexicanos and Anglo Americans, not only increasingly characterized the native inhabitants of New Mexico as "Spanish" and not "Mexican," but also tried to vanquish all "Mexican" traits from the population, underscoring the "Spanish" legacy of the Nuevomexicanos. Since the 1880s, a more idealized image of the Southwest, and particularly of New Mexico, was emerging in the literature of Anglo American writers, including residents such as Charles F. Lummis and Lebaron B. Prince. Neomexicanos had then begun to change their strategy to cope with increasing Anglo immigration from the States by refocusing their own past, so that it would be seen in a brighter light, and, above all, perceived in the minds of the newcomers as more acceptable and compatible with their own values. Romanticized ideas about New Mexico's colonial past were being produced to attract more settlers, investors and capital from the East.

This image was first promoted by New Mexico's Anglo American residents. In 1882 Lebaron Bradford Prince, New Mexico's chief justice, indignantly responded to a letter written by a Trinidad, Colorado resident, published in the *New York Times*, in which he stated that the admission of New Mexico as a state would be "simply detestable" because "about two thirds of the population of the Territory is of the mongrel breed known as Mexicans – a mixture of the Apache, negro, Navajo, white horse-thief, Pueblo Indian and old-time frontiersman with the original Mexican stock" (qtd. in Nieto-Phillips 2004: 74). In his response, Prince denied any racial mixture between the "Spanish" and "Indian" races and insisted that the Hispanic element of the land possessed "pure" Spanish blood: "They are fit representatives of the land of the Cid, and successors of the historic discoverers and conquerors of the soil" (Nieto-Phillips 2004: 74).

The ideological product of romantic versions of New Mexican history has been called “Hispanophilia,” defined as the belief “that Spain’s past embodied virtues such as idealism, sacrifice for the greater good, generosity, piety, gentility, ‘manliness,’ and benevolence toward ‘inferior’ (that is, Native American) peoples” (Nieto-Phillips 2004: 147). As this historian notes:

The idealization of all things Spanish . . . did not of necessity translate into an abiding affection for all persons of “Spanish” descent . . . Hispanophilia was indeed the underpinning of the “fantasy heritage” that Carey McWilliams described in his landmark book *North from Mexico* in 1949, the product of the Anglo tourist’s desires and historical imagination, and it could not have been created or embellished without a degree of collaboration, or cooperation, on the part of “natives.” Yet it was no less a tool that Nuevomexicanos plied to rhetorically reclaim a means of control over their declining political fortunes, land base, and language. (Nieto-Phillips 2004: 147–8)

Neomexicanos aligned themselves with at least some of the tenets of Hispanophilia. They chose to distance themselves from the “Mexican” label and embraced the term “Spanish” (in English) or *Hispano-Americano* (in Spanish). To illustrate this shift in self-denomination, the motto of the weekly *La Voz del Pueblo*, which originally (1888–95) read “EL ABOGADO DEL ESTADO DE NUEVO MÉXICO” [the advocate for New Mexico state], changed first to “SEMANARIO DEDICADO A LOS INTERESES Y PROGRESO DEL PUEBLO NEO-MEXICANO” [a weekly devoted to the interests and progress of the New Mexican people] (from 1895) and then, from 1903, to “SEMANARIO DEDICADO A LOS INTERESES Y PROGRESO DEL PUEBLO HISPANO-AMERICANO” [a weekly devoted to the interests and progress of the *hispano-americano* people].

Early in the twentieth century, Neomexicano public figures increasingly used historical imagery containing Spanish epic actions or characters, linking their audience with the glorious past of their ancestors. As if to go deeper into a heroic past, political leaders sometimes even referred to Spain’s pre-Columbian era. Campaigning for the territorial delegate to Congress, Octaviano Larrazolo – who later in his political career would become New Mexico’s first Hispano Governor in 1918 and later US Senator – gave a passionate speech in which he claimed to be “accurately reminiscing about historical events, stating that our fathers had been the brave soldiers who fought against the Muslim domination in Spain for seven centuries and later crossed over the seas, planting in these regions the banner of the Cross and civilization” (*La Voz del Pueblo*, November 3, 1906).

Bonding heritage, identity and language was common in Neomexicano discourse. In February 1911, just after the state Constitution had been approved, Spanish-language newspapers across New Mexico published the long speech that Aurora Lucero, the daughter of *La Voz del Pueblo* editor Antonio Lucero,

had given at the territorial school contest in Las Vegas, in which she defended the inclusion of Spanish in the schools of the new state. Her words gave voice to the Neomexicano discourse favoring language and cultural rights at a crucial moment in their history. Under the title “Defensa de nuestro idioma,” it read in part:

In the Territory of New Mexico . . . on the occasion of its admission as a state, a . . . problem arises that is discussed in each hamlet, in each village, and in each town. “Will the Spanish language continue to be taught at our public schools?” . . . In New Mexico . . . English is the official language, the national language, the language in which a great many social and business transactions are made; while Spanish is the language of Spanish Americans, the language of the Cortez, De Soto and of Coronado and for more than three centuries has been the language in the territory’s homes. . . . In the Act by which New Mexico is enabled to be a state, passed by Congress, it is provided that no person will be eligible for the legislature or public employment of such a state except those who speak, read and write English correctly. . . . Let’s consider now the commercial importance of Castilian. . . . it is the language of all the nations that exist south of the United States, and all those peoples form an unlimited field of action for the American energies and entrepreneurial spirit. . . . This language is the language of our fathers, it is ours, is and will be in the future that of our children and of the children of our children; it is the language that those who discovered the New World gave us as their legacy. We are American citizens, it is true, . . . but we don’t need, because of that, to deny our origin, nor our race, nor our language, nor our traditions, nor our History, nor our ancestral past, because we are not ashamed of them or will ever be ashamed; on the contrary, we are proud of them. (*La Voz del Pueblo*, February 25, 1911)

Aurora Lucero summarized well the Neomexicano reasons to defend their ancestral language: Spanish was an intellectual asset, a valuable resource in an internationalized economy and the vernacular and historically legitimate language of the Neomexicano community (Fernández-Gibert 2005, 2010). Whether built on a heritage myth or not, the defense of the Neomexicano people implied the defense of the Spanish language.

Throughout the territorial period, language ideologies played a key role in the shaping of modern New Mexico. Hispano community leaders had facilitated the development of a great degree of Spanish-language literacy by supporting institutions of education adapted to the needs of the native youth, maintaining the use and teaching of Spanish while also promoting instruction in English. They accomplished the advancement of their own people by creating the conditions for their self-expression and representation. The boom in the Spanish-language press from the 1880s also created a public sphere and legitimate conditions for the Spanish language and its speakers, giving Neomexicanos a political and linguistic authority that allowed them to enter modernity on their own terms.

The language issue became so heated that both Republican and Democratic Hispano legislators agreed to avoid the political disenfranchisement of

non-English-speaking Neomexicanos and struck out the clause that was going to prohibit the use of Spanish in government. They inserted instead a new article calling for the publication of all legal notices in both Spanish and English and affirming that “[t]he right of any citizen of the state to vote, occupy office or be a member of a jury shall never be limited or forbidden for reasons related to religion, race, language or color, or the inability to read or write English or Spanish” (Gonzales-Berry 2000: 174).⁶ In the new state, however, the citizen privileges for Neomexicanos would not include an education policy focused on Spanish-language maintenance or bilingual education, an important issue that did not resurface until 1967 in the wake of national legislation (Gonzales-Berry 2000: 184).

When the political and demographic landscapes of the territory had changed, and after the New Mexico Assembly – where only one third of its representatives was Hispano – had approved a State Constitution, President Taft signed the Enabling Act admitting Arizona and New Mexico as separate states on June 20, 1910.

Conclusion

When explaining the title of his edited volume *Regimes of Language*, Paul V. Kroskrity reminds us that “‘Regimes’ invokes the display of political domination in all its many forms, including what Gramsci (1971) distinguished as the coercive force of the state and the hegemonic influence of the state-endorsed culture of civil society” (1999: 3). On the eve of statehood, a double linguistic regime was at play in New Mexico: on one hand, the dominant regime of an Anglo American political system and society established through English-language monolingual schooling and literacy; on the other, the subordinate regime of the minoritized (minority-perceived) Spanish-speaking Neomexicano community, which possessed a double literacy transitioning towards English monolingualism. Anglo New Mexicans were producing a discourse that aimed at the future integration of diverse peoples in the name of progress – although allowing the most external, less threatening traits in order to maintain the appearance of diversity for the sake of the constructed and controlled image of the “land of enchantment” – and full incorporation into the American fold. The subordinate Hispanos would be, over time, dispossessed of the most defining, specific traits – the Spanish language, the communal conception of property, land and resources – and left with an idealized past that would be impossible to regain. In due course, in a process that has been described

⁶ This article – which has been invoked to present New Mexico as a “bilingual state” until now – was renewed in 1931 and again in 1943, but eventually eliminated from the constitution (Gonzales-Berry 2000: 173).

as neocolonialism or internal colonialism (Barrera 1979), they would be the object of multiple folklore studies, art collectors and tourism literature that only intensified their subordinate, dependent position in the imagination and real world of Anglo New Mexicans (Read 1922; Campa 1946; Espinosa 1953; Lea 1953).

Once social and cultural discourse was no longer controlled by Neomexicanos in the new state, Anglo New Mexicans would dictate which discourse or representation was legitimate. Irvine and Gal defined *erasure* as “the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible” (1999: 38). The Spanish-language literature and Neomexicano cultural agencies and practices, throughout the twentieth century, would be rendered invisible by the Anglo New Mexican discourse, deleting, over time, the core of their Spanish-language ethos.

The once prevalent language of Neomexicanos, probably perceived earlier as “natural” and “anonymous,” that is, unmarked by ethnicity, became gradually more “ethnic” and “marked” (Woolard 2007: 135–40). State-controlled education would impose English-language monolingualism and detach individuals from their ancestral cultural roots and a shared sense of community. As Alfred Arteaga has said, the United States “espouses a single language ethos [and] it strives very actively to assert a monolingual identity.” As a consequence, “being ‘chicano’ [or Neomexicano] is a process of continual remaking, a discursive process that is always negotiated within the context of the circumscribing discursive practices of the United States” (1994: 13, 16).

The politics of Spanish and English in New Mexico have been complex. Since 1846, and during a good part of the territorial period until about 1880, Neomexicanos remained a numerical majority, forming a cohesive – if diverse and class-divided – Spanish-language society in which cultural representations were controlled by their authorized agents in an oral, performance-based culture (Briggs 1988). From the 1880s and the arrival of increasing numbers of Anglo American settlers, the public space for social and political representation became contested, because Neomexicanos’ linguistic and cultural practices in their vernacular began to compete with Anglo American ideologies of language. The Neomexicanos’ positive self-representation, based on their Spanish heritage, helped them to construct an identity that bound history and culture in a way that reinforced the vernacular. As the quest for statehood intensified around the turn of the century, the political pressure to impose English as the only language of the new state triggered a defensive reaction from Neomexicanos. The Constitution guaranteed public education for all citizens of the state, but the Spanish-language pupils were soon in a system that assured the Americanizing mission and, eventually, abandoned the teaching of languages other than English.

Nevertheless, the oldest Hispanic people of the United States would remain throughout the twentieth century a demographically important group and a noticeable political voice, retaining part of the social, entrepreneurial and land ownership power. Neomexicanos were the earliest example of a Hispanic people who managed to write in their own language and produce their own political representations within the United States' hegemonic presence in their land.

20 Public health and the politics of Spanish in early twentieth-century Texas

Glenn A. Martinez

Introduction

A longstanding paradox in the history of US language policy is the apparently simultaneous restriction and promotion of the Spanish language in the first half of the twentieth century. An era of dynamic transformations in language ideologies spurred by waves of immigration to the US from Asia and Latin America, two world wars and the Great Depression, the early twentieth century witnessed a remarkable and unprecedented turn towards monolingual policies and monoglossic ideologies (Del Valle 2000), succinctly summarized in Theodore Roosevelt's now famous dictum: "We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language" (qtd. in García 2009: 165). Notwithstanding the turn towards restriction-oriented language policies, which ushered in language testing as part of the naturalization process (Pavlenko 2002), policy scholars and historians have also pointed out the existence of promotion-oriented policies, especially towards Spanish, during this era. García, for example, notes that "open attacks against Spanish speakers in the United States were surprisingly accompanied by what appeared to be Anglo efforts to help the Spanish speaking community" (1993: 77–8). In contrast, Heinz Kloss, while describing the passage of a Texas law in 1918 that "introduced the regulation that all teachers in public free schools should teach in English only and should use only English textbooks" (1998: 228), also notes that a 1927 provision "allowed Spanish to be taught in the elementary schools of those counties directly located on the Mexican border" (p. 228). This paradox has left language policy scholars and historians with a variety of unanswered questions. What social and political conditions influenced the implementation of divergent, and sometimes contradictory, language policies? What ideological underpinnings motivated and rationalized these flexible positions during the first half of the twentieth century?

In this chapter, I will turn to the politics of language in a rarely studied institution within language policy research in order to answer these questions and to shed light on the dialectics of restriction and accommodation of the Spanish language in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century. America's public health institutions consist of federal, state and local

governmental agencies working in tandem with charity organizations, schools, churches and health providers with the purpose of preventing disease and protecting health at the population level. In this chapter, I will argue that the discourses that emanated from public health institutions during the early twentieth century were critical in determining the direction of language policies that affected Spanish in Texas and other parts of the US Southwest. In particular, my argument is that the discourses of public health in early twentieth-century Texas instrumentalized Spanish and rendered its public use and promotion an essential part of the protection of the health of the population.

Public health could achieve this function, I argue, because of its central role in America's pursuit of modernization. The US modernization project was closely linked to what David Harvey has referred to as the project of modernity, which

amounted to an extraordinary intellectual effort on the part of Enlightenment thinkers "to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to their inner logic." The idea was to use the accumulation of knowledge generated by many individuals working freely and creatively for the pursuit of human emancipation and the enrichment of daily life. The scientific domination of nature promised freedom from scarcity, want, and the arbitrariness of natural calamity. (1990: 12)

As the frontline institution for the application of scientific discovery, America's public health institutions were responsible for safeguarding the health of the nation through the widespread diffusion of medical technologies such as vaccinations and through the enforcement of strict hygiene and sanitation standards. The twentieth century ushered in a triumphant era for public health where scientific discoveries in biology and the refinement of quantitative methods in epidemiology promised a swift end to the diseases that had plagued humankind for centuries. In 1855, British physician John Snow published his landmark essay on the London cholera outbreaks that cemented a precise method for detecting the route of transmission of infectious disease and the possibility of intervening to contain its spread (Gordis 2009). In 1882, German pathologist Robert Koch discovered the *tubercle bacillus*, the bacterium that causes tuberculosis, which, for the first time, made it possible to prevent the spread of that disease (Daniel 1997). These two late nineteenth-century developments bolstered the role of US public health institutions in protecting the health of the population and in pressing forward in modernity by applying scientific discovery to the betterment of humankind.

As one of society's most important agents of modernization, public health institutions held enormous sway in the development and implementation of public policy. Such influence, furthermore, could from time to time conflict with and stand counter to the ongoing – and seemingly inexorable – hegemony of English. In this chapter, I will describe one such conflict in Texas where

the discourse of public health created a new instrumental role for the Spanish language at a time when other non-English languages were disparaged and even outlawed. I will describe how the legitimization of Spanish in this context was justified through a logic of scientific rationality that harmonized with the project of modernization, even as it constrained the hegemonic force of the monolingual policies and monoglossic ideologies that prevailed in the early twentieth century.

Public health and biosocial categorization in Texas

The dawn of the twentieth century brought to Texas and the entire US Southwest a migration from Mexico that historian Rodolfo Acuña has characterized as “one of the largest mass migrations of people in the history of the world” (1988: 188). The Mexican Revolution, combined with the rapid industrialization of the US Southwest, created unique conditions for peasant Mexicans to venture northwards in search of employment, and for upper-class Mexicans to escape the violence of the Revolution. The presence of large numbers of lower-class Mexicans in cities and towns across the Southwest quickly led many established residents to complain about the “Mexican problem.” Carey McWilliams reported that a total of fifty-one articles on the Mexican problem had appeared in popular publications in the Southwest between 1920 and 1930 (1968: 206). The articles examined by McWilliams list delinquency, poor housing, illiteracy, and disease rates as the fundamental indices of the Mexican problem, which clearly underscored the perceived negative social consequences of migration from Mexico and gave credibility to those who argued in favor of a restrictionist immigration policy for Mexicans.

As noted by McWilliams, unsanitary living conditions and high rates of disease were central to the public discussions of the Mexican problem. The prevalence of infectious disease, and of tuberculosis in particular, among Mexicans was cause for alarm among many politicians and health officials. As early as 1915, Dr. Ernest A. Sweet of the US Public Health Service reported to the *Brownsville Herald* that death rates from tuberculosis among Mexicans were seven times greater than the state average (*Brownsville Herald* 1915: 2). The article goes on to report that “Dr. Sweet calls special attention to the ‘frightful housing conditions which prevail and these are sufficient in themselves to fully explain the high death rate recorded.’ . . . Within such tenements filth and squalor prevail” (1915: 6). The alarm was so great that by 1940, the Texas State Department of Health commissioned the State Health Officer, Dr. George W. Cox, to prepare a report entitled *The Latin American Health Problem in Texas*. According to this report, infant mortality rates were excessive, and diarrhea and tuberculosis were disproportionately reported as the cause of death among Latin Americans. The death rate due to tuberculosis, for example, was twice as

high as the state average in counties with sizeable Latin American populations (1940: 6).

The excessive prevalence of disease in Mexican communities quickly led to what Rose (2007) calls a biosocial categorization of Mexicans in Texas and throughout the Southwest. I define biosocial categorization as the social positioning of a group based on biological events that are largely, and circularly, determined by social forces and processes (Farmer 1999: 14). Mexicans were constructed as diseased, dirty and disorderly, and this construction became a barometer of their social positioning. The view of Mexicans as disease carriers introduced a new construal of their racial otherness, a construal with new and different consequences and ramifications. The racialization of Mexicans began shortly after the incorporation of Mexican territory into the US. According to Menchaca,

within a year of the Treaty [of Guadalupe Hidalgo]'s ratification, the United States government violated [its] citizenship equality statements and began a process of racialization that categorized most Mexicans as inferior in all domains of life. I define this process of racialization as the use of the legal system to confer privilege upon Whites and to discriminate against people of color. (2001: 215)

Within this process of racialization, Menchaca describes how the legal system was used to deny citizenship status to Mexicans and to strip them of land tenure rights. The racialization of the early twentieth century that associated Mexicans with dirt and disease, however, presented new variations on this theme.

As early as 1929, Dr. Benjamin Goldberg published an article in the highly reputable *American Journal of Public Health* in which he argued that the indigenous genetic stock of Mexicans makes them more susceptible hosts for tuberculosis and that the ongoing urbanization of Mexicans in the Southwest, but especially in Chicago, would insure that infections among the Mexicans would have a negative impact on the health of entire communities.

The Mexican of tomorrow will bring to our towns and cities dangers which will strain the resources of the local and national public health agencies to the utmost. We have discussed the subject of tuberculosis in primitive races merely to bring out the ravages among the Mexicans as they go through the process of urbanization. We have tried to indicate that in this process the Mexican will not be like the Indian, for he will not suffer alone; he will be infected and in turn will broadcast tuberculosis in the community. (Goldberg 1929: 278)

The discourse of biosocial categorization thus propped up restrictionist and nativist rhetorics and, as I will show next, led to an intimate complicity between public health and immigration officials both at the border and in cities with large Mexican populations.

The major impact of the biosocial categorization of Mexicans in the early twentieth century occurred precisely at the border. The creation of the US

Border Patrol in 1924 was but one strand of the US strategy to tighten border security and control the “problem” of immigration from Mexico. Another important strand was the inclusion of the US Public Health Service (USPHS) at all ports of entry along the US–Mexico border. A 1926 article in the *Laredo Daily Times* describes in detail the role of the USPHS at the border.

Every precautionary method is observed by the department of the U.S. Public Health Service to protect the public against any disease-carrying person entering the United States through this port of entry. The U.S. Public Health Service maintains a full force of health workers at Laredo, including physicians, nurses, inspectors, inspectresses, quarantine guards, disinfectors, and fumigators. A health examination is made of all persons entering the United States at this port to prevent the introduction of any contagious or infectious disease and aliens who may be physically or mentally defective. (1926: 6)

Public health surveillance at ports of entry throughout Texas oftentimes led to the closure of the border. The discovery of a case of typhoid fever, tuberculosis or Spanish flu would immediately trigger a closing of the border and a citywide quarantine. The significance of public health surveillance on the border has been insightfully described by Stern:

By making admissibility into the United States dependent on standards of health and cleanliness, the USPHS merged medicalization with the politics of social and racial labeling . . . the quarantine also left its marks, as the external borders of nation became intimate frontiers for Mexican border-crossers whose memories of unidirectional or circular migration came to include humiliation as their naked bodies were showered with chemicals, their hair sheared, and their baggage fumigated and often ruined. (2005: 80)

A second impact of the biosocial categorization of Mexicans was the use of public health institutions to carry out deportations of Mexicans residing in the interior of the country. In Los Angeles, for example, the responsibility for identifying candidates for repatriation was located in the Deportation Section of the Los Angeles County Department of Charities – the entity responsible for all public medical facilities in the county. The purpose of the deportation section was “to identify and then deport any undocumented Mexican receiving county-sponsored medical aid” (Molina 2006: 136). According to Molina, this single deportation section was responsible for deporting over thirteen thousand Mexicans between 1931 and 1933.

The end of the Great Depression and the onset of World War II marked the end of forced repatriation and of public health surveillance at the border. The combined forces of New Deal policies and increasing political mobilization on the part of Mexican American organizations would lead to the eventual demise of these practices (Molina 2006; Sánchez 1993). Yet the end of forced repatriation and border health surveillance would not curtail the efforts of public health institutions to control the spread of tuberculosis among Mexicans. Instead, the

change in politics led to a shift in tuberculosis control strategies where health-motivated deportation and gate-keeping gave way to greater efforts in health education and promotion within Mexican communities.

Biosocial categorization and the *Movimiento Pro Salud*

In 1929, a group of seven established Mexican American organizations convened in Corpus Christi, Texas to establish the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). LULAC was formed in the context of a demographic shift, spawned by immigration restrictions and deportations, in which larger proportions of Mexican-origin peoples claimed US citizenship. As noted by Márquez (1993), this demographic shift paved the way for a more assimilated political leadership in Mexican origin communities. Leaders such as Alonso Perales and Gus García, for example, practiced law in San Antonio before forming the League. For the first time, this second generation of Mexican Americans were organizing and mobilizing political forces to create a national organization that would advocate for equal access and opportunity. From the outset, the goal of LULAC was “the complete assimilation of Mexicans and their acceptance as equal citizens by Anglo society” (Gonzalez 2000: 103). In aspiring to equality in mainstream Anglo society, Lulacers worked diligently and committed themselves unabashedly to shed the scourge of biosocial categorization through the acceptance and adoption of a thoroughly American cultural identity. Some Lulacers “believed that a complete assimilation into the American social mainstream must be accomplished and that Mexican Americans should ‘encourage the conglomeration and blending of races at the expense of distinction. Do as the Gringos do if at all possible. Talk the English language in your homes’” (Marquez 1993: 23). Lulacers felt that if they continued to act like Mexicans, they would continue to be treated like Mexicans. They felt that in order to demand a change from Anglo society, they should meet them halfway.

But even though Lulacers adopted English as the official language of the organization and limited membership to United States citizens, they did not advocate a complete abandonment of Spanish. As Mario García (1989) points out, “Spanish symbolized more than culture for Lulacers; it served as a practical tool . . . LULAC could not enforce its own rule that English be used as the organization’s official language” (p. 44). While the official policy was never changed, Lulacers in councils with Spanish-dominant members routinely conducted official League business in Spanish. Furthermore, Lulacers in all councils used Spanish regularly as a way to inform their communities of activities and services sponsored by the League.

The use of Spanish as a bridge to the community would turn out to be one of the defining features of LULAC’s strategy for dealing with the growing epidemic of tuberculosis in Mexican communities throughout Texas. The

Movimiento Pro Salud was an attempt to respond to health disparities in Mexican communities through collaborations and partnerships with local and state public health organizations. While the *Movimiento Pro Salud* was an initiative spearheaded by state public health organizations such as the Texas Anti-Tuberculosis Association (later the Texas Tuberculosis Association), the role of Lulacers in its advancement throughout the state should not be underestimated. Lulacers formed committees and sponsored health fairs in cities and towns throughout the state. Health fairs were weeklong events that brought in guest speakers from state and local public health organizations and that touched on a variety of topics in the prevention of disease and the protection of health. In partnership with the Texas Tuberculosis Association, for example, Lulacers in San Antonio sponsored the first Latin American Health Week in 1934. The agenda for the meeting included sessions on "Health from the religious point of view," "Health and the home," "Health and the community," "Tuberculosis day," "Disease prevention day," "Health in the schools," and "General health and clean up day." Lulacers also supported the *Movimiento* through the procurement of financial resources designated specifically for health promotion work in Mexican communities. LULAC leader Alonso Perales served as a key promoter in San Antonio for the sale of National Tuberculosis Association Christmas Seals. Lulacers also lobbied the county division of the Texas Tuberculosis Association to pursue activities that were inclusive of Mexican communities. Finally, they lobbied municipal government to develop and enforce policies and ordinances that would promote the health of Mexicans in the city.

The *Movimiento Pro Salud* soon extended beyond San Antonio and grew into a state-wide initiative. The foremost proponent of the *Movimiento Pro Salud* in Texas was Ruben C. Ortega. An ordained Methodist minister educated at Wesleyan College in San Luis Potosí, Mexico, Ortega immigrated to El Paso, Texas to escape the violence of the Mexican Revolution. While serving as an instructor at the theological school of the Methodist church in El Paso, Ortega observed first-hand the unmet health needs of large numbers of Mexicans throughout the state. In 1918, he began working as a health educator in Mexican communities along the border. By 1920, he had secured a position on the staff of the Texas Anti-Tuberculosis Association. In 1941, he was named Director of Latin American Health Education at the Association. By 1947, he had been named Secretary of the Texas Tuberculosis Association and served as a translator for the National Tuberculosis Association.

During his thirty-year career in public health, Ortega developed a unique approach to health education. Ortega insisted that health messages must be transmitted in Spanish in a way that people could understand. His commitment to culturally attuned health education led him to considerably diversify his didactic repertoire. In the 1930s, Ortega began publishing the *Boletín Pro Salud*, a Spanish-language periodical dedicated to issues of health and hygiene. In

1939, he wrote the screenplay of and was cast in the lead role in the Edgar Ulmer film *A Cloud in the Sky*. Secondary sources suggest that Ortega also completed a Spanish-language novel entitled *Bienvenida al Sanatorio*, an instructional piece designed to dispel fears of sanatorium treatment among Mexicans. This document has not yet been found.

Ortega's health education strategy was almost as varied as his didactic repertoire. During the 1930s and 1940s, he regularly traveled across Texas giving public lectures and hosting film screenings to crowds as large as six hundred people. Ortega also talked to school children, conducted door-to-door house calls to meet individually with families, and visited high schools and colleges around the state, meeting with Spanish students in order to engage future generations in health promotion work.

Ortega believed in the power of education to reduce the burden of disease among Mexicans. He believed that accurate information transmitted in a way that is understandable would lead to changed behaviors among the Mexicans of Texas. Yet, his concern for accurate and culturally attuned health education was balanced by his equally insistent demand for justice and equity in the distribution of health services. Ortega fought vigorously to increase access to hospital care and medical technologies for Mexican victims of tuberculosis. He also criticized discriminatory treatment – upon and after admission to the hospital – which included linguistic isolation. Madsen (1964), for example, notes that in south Texas “hospitals would enforce strict rules prohibiting Latin nurses from speaking Spanish on the premises” (93–4).

Drawing on Ortega's 1941 address to the National Tuberculosis Association entitled *Health Education for Spanish-Speaking People in Texas*, on the screenplay of the 1939 film *A Cloud in the Sky*, and on selected newspaper articles written between 1930 and 1954 from the English- and Spanish-language press, I will now turn to Ortega's work. My analysis will focus on the way in which Ortega instrumentalized the Spanish language in order to reach his audience, and how this tactic served to counter the biosocial categorization that had been used to hand over a generation of people into the throes of death by tuberculosis.

The *Movimiento Pro Salud* and the instrumentalization of Spanish

Ortega's approach to the tuberculosis problem was radically different from the one previously taken. Whereas, before the incursion of the *Movimiento Pro Salud*, deportation and exclusion had been the primary means of tuberculosis control, the *Movimiento* identified language and culture as sites where tuberculosis control could take place. This use of language constituted an

instrumentalization of Spanish that at once legitimated the subordinated language and redeemed the pathologized body of the Spanish speaker. The use of Spanish in public places, the printing of Spanish pamphlets and posters, and even the production of Spanish-language films were celebrated by mainstream English-speaking society because of their ultimate benefit to the health and well being of all. By “instrumentalization,” I mean that Spanish acquired a practical and legitimate purpose that was seen to benefit society as a whole. The use of Spanish, rather than being an aberrant and unwanted interruption in the march towards modernity, had, through the work of Ortega, become a tool that helped to achieve the modernist project. Ortega himself displayed his allegiance to the creed of modernity in his 1941 address. He stated, “We, as the servants of the Biblical parable, have been sent out in the highways, streets, and public places to invite the people to enjoy the banquet that the scientists had prepared for suffering humanity. We have even at times forced them to come” (p. 2).

The instrumentalization of the language was achieved through the extension of print culture in Spanish and through the recognition of and respect for oral and storytelling rhetorical practices in the community. In his 1941 address, Ortega recalls that “the necessity of literature in Spanish was obvious. A series of pamphlets on different health subjects was prepared to be distributed free, either before or after the lectures” (p. 4). Using English health education traditions as a model, Ortega developed a new genre of writing in Spanish that would inform, educate and entertain Spanish speakers on health and hygiene issues. While samples of the pamphlets have not been preserved, we do know their titles from secondary sources. A 1938 article in San Antonio’s *La Prensa* lists titles such as *La Mosca* and *Esos Muchachos*, which suggest that the pamphlets adopted multiple perspectives in communicating health information. As mentioned previously, Ortega also authored a novel and wrote a periodic news bulletin for Spanish-speaking communities. The use of print materials was meant to be an aid to Spanish-speaking communities of all types around the state. While the poorest and most marginalized communities were in all probability largely illiterate, health officials assumed that community members who were literate could use the materials for didactic purposes. A 1938 article in *La Prensa* encourages community members to “prepare a program of recitals and readings of pamphlets that will be sent freely to anyone who requests them” [*arréglese un programa de recitaciones y lecturas de los folletos que enviaremos a toda persona que los solicite*]. But Ortega was very much aware of the problem of illiteracy in Spanish-speaking communities and the need to communicate health information in alternative modalities. The medium of sound films proved to be a very useful resource in his efforts. He writes – in his address – that “a lecture illustrated with a modern sound picture constitutes a treat to the public” (4). A 1936 article in *La Prensa* announces that “to ensure better understanding

of the issue of tuberculosis, a film will be shown [*para mayor comprensión de los temas acerca de la tuberculosis habrá proyecciones de películas*]. The health fairs and meetings conducted by Ortega, furthermore, were referred to in the Spanish-language press as “cultural meetings” [*reuniones culturales*] (*El Continental* 1935), “cultural talks” [*pláticas culturales*] (*La Prensa* 1942), and “cultural films” [*películas culturales*] (*La Prensa* 1942).

The instrumentalization of Spanish had effects that transcended its legitimized use in the public sphere, however. Through the instrumentalization of the language, Ortega was able to shift responsibility for health education and promotion in Spanish-speaking communities to society as a whole. In his 1941 address, Ortega explicitly defines what he perceived to be the only viable strategy for stamping out tuberculosis. “The only way to achieve success in stamping out tuberculosis by 1960 is by defending the present young generation from tuberculosis and this can be done by teaching them how to care for themselves. This means education” (p. 3). While he certainly placed responsibility on the Spanish-speaking community to “care for themselves,” he identified the education of the public as the responsibility of society as a whole. He drew on current and future language professionals in the community to foment a commitment to health education among Spanish-speaking people. Teachers were often called on to assist in Ortega’s health promotion efforts. An article in the *Kerrville Mountain Sun* in 1932 indicated that “the teachers of the Mexican school will be called on to help in the observance of Public Health Week among the Mexicans.” A 1941 article in the *Laredo Times* notes that “conferences will be held at various schools for the teachers of Laredo’s schools and students enrolled in University classes.” Students in Spanish classes at the high school and college levels were also called on by Ortega to engage in the health promotion and education movement. Ortega would meet with select Spanish classes at the college level or assemble all Spanish students in the high school auditorium. The information available suggests that he spoke to the classes about tuberculosis, about the need to provide health education in Spanish, and about the materials available for health education. A 1944 article in the *Port Arthur News* suggests that he held screenings of the film *A Cloud in the Sky* for Spanish students as well. The targeting of Anglo students in Spanish classes at the high school and college levels represents a forceful response to the waning interest in Spanish language education at the time (cf. García 1993). Ortega’s presentation demonstrated a very tangible and practical use of the Spanish language in students’ own communities.

Finally, the instrumentalization of Spanish in Ortega’s health education movement allowed him to focalize Spanish as the defining characteristic of the group and move away from geopolitical nomenclature such as Mexicans, Latin Americans, or Latins. This was an extremely important objective for him. In the opening lines of the film *A Cloud in the Sky* we can see how this naming

strategy was used to construct a vision of the Spanish speaker as an integral part of the nation.

More than one and one half million citizens of the United States claim Spanish as their mother tongue. Their happy spirit in the face of toil and hardship enriches our land. They bear more than their share of the crushing burden of tuberculosis. This story is dedicated to them, in the hope that it will speed the day when our whole nation shall be free of man's ancient enemy: tuberculosis.

The use of Spanish as a defining characteristic, and the erasure of geopolitical descriptors, allowed Ortega to revisit the old discourses of exclusion and reconfigure the Mexican as part of the nation. Spanish speakers in this opening line are referred to as citizens. Their characteristics and spirit constitute a national treasure. This was Ortega's fundamental message. In an enlightened, modern society it is not possible to allow infectious disease to crush an entire group of people. The society that lets this go on will certainly be crushed itself. Ortega drives this point home eloquently in his 1941 address. "This is not the task of Texas alone; it is a national task," Ortega contends:

Please do not say that because these people are Latin Americans you have nothing to do with them. These people have contributed to making this state great; they have contributed to the enrichment of this nation; they have spent their lives in lines working for ten cents or less per hour, and after they get sick nobody wants to help them. Let us save them too. (p. 7)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that America's public health institutions played an important role in the ideological construction of Spanish in the early twentieth century. I have argued, more specifically, that public health efforts to contain the spread of contagious disease on behalf of society as a whole engendered an instrumentalization of Spanish that imbued the language with a practical and legitimate public purpose. This instrumentalization of Spanish led to the celebration of the public use of the language and to the rationalization of its presence within mainstream institutions.

The instrumentalization of Spanish within public health discourse contrasts sharply with the monoglossic ideologies of language that dominated public discourse during the early twentieth century. The analysis of public health discourse presented in this chapter, however, provides important clues that aid in the historical interpretation and elucidation of this enigma. In fact, I would argue that the historical narrative provides coherent answers to the questions raised at the beginning of this chapter.

What social and political conditions influenced the instrumentalization of Spanish through public health discourse? The instrumentalization of Spanish

in the early twentieth century cannot be understood apart from the racialization of Mexicans – as dirty, diseased and disorderly – and the use of this racialization in a systematic exclusion from the nation. The humiliation of chemical baths at the border and the trauma of forced repatriation were conditions for the emergence of this new linguistic ideology that promised to sanitize the representation of Mexicans. The *Movimiento Pro Salud* was a reaction to the inhumane treatment afforded to diseased Mexicans during the 1920s and early 1930s which proposed a new strategy for addressing the excessive rates of disease in the Mexican community. Language and culture would prove to be the bridges that would allow health information to flow freely into the heretofore isolated communities, and access to this information would, in turn, lead to changes in health behavior. It was this approach that would open the doors of mainstream public health organizations and agencies to the use of Spanish in protecting the health of all Texans.

What ideological underpinnings motivated and rationalized the instrumentalization of Spanish in the early twentieth century? I have argued that public health institutions were uniquely positioned to promote the instrumentalization of Spanish in the early twentieth century. Given their privileged position to apply scientific knowledge and discovery, public health institutions were revered in the national imaginary as those institutions that would release the nation steadily from the shackles of the past and move it into the freedom and autonomy of the future. Public health institutions would be the ones to eradicate age-old disease and apply scientific advances to improve life expectancy and the quality of life. They were thus essential agents in America's project of modernity able to challenge and override dominant monolingual policies. I argue that it was precisely the role of public health institutions as agents of modernization that made the instrumentalization of Spanish possible.

21 Categorizing Latinos in the history of the US Census: the official racialization of Spanish

Jennifer Leeman

Since the late twentieth century, scholars, demographers, bureaucrats, politicians and journalists have paid increased attention to the nature of Latino identity. In particular, there have been discussions about whether “Latino” or “Hispanic” is a better term, about who should and shouldn’t be labeled with either term, about whether Hispanic/Latino is a racial or an ethnic identity, and about whether the use of any term promotes political and social empowerment or instead contributes to ongoing racialization and marginalization.¹ In critical examinations of official classifications of “Hispanic origin,” researchers have investigated the relationship of phenotype, race, socioeconomic status and nation – among other constructs – to Latino identity (e.g., Gracia 2000; Martin Alcoff 2000; Rodríguez 2000; Rumbaut 2006). In contrast, the ideological role of language has been left largely unexamined. For example, despite the fact that a growing percentage of Latinos in the US are either English monolinguals or English-dominant bilinguals, a link between Spanish and *Latinidad* remains taken for granted, highlighting a need for studies which explore the language ideologies embodied in the official categories.

Running parallel to conversations about the nature of Latino identity have been highly charged debates about immigration and its effect on the nation. Because recent decades have seen an increase in the overall number as well as the proportion of immigrants who are from Latin America, apprehension about immigration has tended to focus on this population. However, throughout the history of the US, a recurring reaction to periods of increased immigration has been public discourse portraying the most recent immigrants as inherently different from those of earlier generations, as well as an accompanying anxiety about their ability and willingness to assimilate. While certain themes recur and echo through history, concerns about immigration are historically situated. Thus, while immigration debates often center on immigrants’ impact on national identity, changing understandings of the complex interrelationships of

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¹ In this chapter, I use the terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” interchangeably.

language, race and nation shape the ways in which such concerns are articulated at any given historical moment. At the beginning of the twentieth century, nativists portrayed certain immigrants as racially inassimilable. In the early twenty-first century, anti-immigrant discourse tends to foreground linguistic difference, which is then deployed in the racialization of minority language speakers in general and speakers of Spanish in particular (Cameron 1997; Schmidt 2000; Urciuoli 1996; Zentella 1997).

The US Census is a key site where these two concerns come together. For one, through the inclusion – and often implicit definition – of social categories, the materials and practices of census-taking play a crucial role in institutionalizing specific ideologies of national identity, national belonging and social difference, as well as in the circulation of these ideologies in the public sphere (Anderson 1991; Kertzer and Arel 2002; Urla 1993). Although census categories depend on subjective, historically situated, culturally specific understandings, the official status of census materials and their air of objectivity have particular power to lend legitimacy to the ideologies they reflect and articulate. In this way, the US Census Bureau simultaneously reproduces and legitimates specific constructions of Latino identity while also naturalizing those constructions. In addition to their discursive impact in the definition of categories, censuses are also a primary producer of statistical data, which are used to quantify and assess social groups' relative standing and progress according to a wide range of social and economic criteria. Data regarding the percentage of the population that is foreign-born, from Latin America, or of Hispanic origin, as well as statistics on the language use and English ability of immigrants, are frequently deployed in comparisons among various groups of immigrants and in assessments of immigrant assimilation. Further, censuses have far-reaching material consequences, as they are closely linked to government and private policies that assign differing privileges, rights and protections to different groups (Urla 1993).

The current US Census Bureau classification system asks all persons residing in the US to specify whether they are of Hispanic origin and then to identify themselves by race, choosing one or more categories from the list of five races officially recognized by the US Office of Management and Budget (OMB) – American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; Black or African American; Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander; White – and a “Some other race” checkbox and write-in space (see Figure 21.1). The instructions for the race question on the 2010 form explicitly noted that “for this census, Hispanic origins are not races.”

However, the Census Bureau's use of a Hispanic-origin question as the primary means of Latino categorization is relatively recent: the two-question classification was tested with a sample in 1970 and adopted for the 1980 decennial survey. Prior to that, the Census had used a wide variety of different classificatory mechanisms, including the designation of a “Mexican” race

→ **NOTE: Please answer BOTH Question 5 about Hispanic origin and Question 6 about race. For this census, Hispanic origins are not races.**

5. Is this person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

☐ No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin

☐ Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano

☐ Yes, Puerto Rican

☐ Yes, Cuban

☐ Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin — *Print origin, for example, Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.* ↗

6. What is this person's race? Mark ☒ one or more boxes.

☐ White

☐ Black, African Am., or Negro

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native — *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe.* ↗

☐ Asian Indian ☐ Japanese ☐ Native Hawaiian

☐ Chinese ☐ Korean ☐ Guamanian or Chamorro

☐ Filipino ☐ Vietnamese ☐ Samoan

☐ Other Asian — *Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.* ↗

☐ Other Pacific Islander — *Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.* ↗

☐ Some other race — *Print race.* ↗

Figure 21.1 Hispanic Origin and Race questions from the 2010 US Census

category, the tabulation of the “Spanish mother tongue population,” and the identification of “persons of Spanish surname.” The use of so many different classifications, sometimes at the same time, demonstrates the ambiguous and historically unstable status of Latinos within US racial hierarchies (Nobles 2000, 2002; Rodríguez 2000). The present chapter examines the relationship of the US Census’s changing classification and representation of Latinos to evolving ideologies of language and analyzes the historical intertwining of language, race and nation in the 200-year history of the US Census. I situate these changes within shifting ideologies of group difference, particularly the trend away from biology-based accounts of social characteristics and towards culture-based accounts, changing uses of census data throughout US history, and the growing importance of English in constructions of US national identity. By adopting a historical approach to the analysis of language ideologies

(Blommaert 1999), and critically examining both the historical use of the language questions in the classification of Latinos and the ideological place of language in the race and Hispanic-origin questions, I seek to demonstrate the discursive role of Spanish in the portrayal of US Latinos as racial Others unable or unwilling to assimilate to the dominant culture.

Mother tongue and racial classification

Since 1790, the US government has conducted a decennial survey of the population, as mandated in Article 1, Section 2 of the US Constitution. The primary original purpose of the enumeration was the apportionment of Congressional representation, but census data are now put to a wide range of official and private uses, including civil rights protections, distribution of public resources and targeting of advertising campaigns. Over the years, questions have been added, eliminated and modified, reflecting the evolving salience and import of various social categories. Every US census survey ever conducted has categorized inhabitants by race, a classificatory system that highlights the centrality of race in the nation's social, economic and political life (Nobles 2000, 2002; Omi and Winant 1994). In contrast, for the first one hundred years the surveys of the general population did not include any language questions. The first inquiries about language were introduced in 1890, and all surveys since that time, with the exception of the 1950 survey, have included questions about language. However, the focus and formulation of the language questions have varied, sometimes addressing English language ability, sometimes mother tongue and sometimes current household language use. Further, in some years the questions were asked of all people, in others only of the foreign-born (see Table 21.1).

The changes in language questions provide insights on the evolving ideologies of language, including the growing importance of linguistic uniformity in the construction of the nation. Although monolingual ideologies have roots that reach back to the colonial period, they coexisted with, and were restrained by, other ideological positions that were more accepting of linguistic diversity (Heath 1981). Pluralist ideology was perhaps strongest at the time of independence and through the nineteenth century; rather than language or culture, American national identity and distinctiveness from Britain was constructed around political principles, filtered through the lens of racial exclusion (Stratton and Ang 1998). The Naturalization Act of 1790 limited naturalization to "free White persons"; by the mid nineteenth century, property requirements for voting had been abolished, with "universal suffrage" limited only by race and gender, and the US was confirmed as "a White man's country" (Painter 2010: 107). This was a period in which language was considered primarily an individual, rather than a national, characteristic, which correlated with widespread

Table 21.1 *History of US Census language questions*

Year	Language question
1790–1870	None
1880	“Language spoken” (Indians only)
1890, 1900	Whether able to speak English. If no, language spoken (individuals over age 10)
1910, 1920	Whether able to speak English. If no, language spoken (total population) Mother tongue (foreign-born, native-born of foreign or “mixed” parentage)
1930	Whether able to speak English. If no, language spoken (foreign-born only) Mother tongue (foreign-born only) (tabulated for foreign-born Whites only)
1940	“Language spoken in home in earliest childhood” (5% sample)
1950	None
1960	“What language was spoken in his home before he came to the United States?” (25% sample; foreign-born only)
1970	“What language, other than English, was spoken in this person’s home when he was a child?” (15% sample)
1980–2010	Does this person speak a language other than English at home? (Long form only*) If yes, specify the language and “How well does this person speak English?” (Answer options: Very well, Well, Not well, Not at all)

* The long form decennial questionnaire, which was sent to a sample of the population, was eliminated after the 2000 census. It was replaced by the American Community Survey, which is administered continuously.

tolerance regarding multilingualism; it was not unusual for jurisdictions with large numbers of German, French or Spanish speakers to offer publicly funded bilingual education (Leibowitz 1984; Pavlenko 2002).

The 1890 introduction of a question about English speaking ability coincides with a shift in US language ideologies towards an increased importance of language in the national imaginary. The growing prominence of English in the construction of the US reflected, in turn, apprehension regarding the closing of the frontier, trepidation about the assimilability of inhabitants of the recently annexed Southwestern territories, and anxiety regarding increased immigration from southern and eastern Europe (previously a much greater proportion had come from northern Europe). These fears were fueled by an upswing in racist thinking which emphasized genetic explanations for a wide range of social characteristics, often framed national identities in terms of “stock,” “blood” and genetic make-up, and increasingly embraced eugenics.² Race was also central in debates about the potential effects of US expansionism and annexation of

² It should be stressed that, although national identities were conceived as race-based, and distinctions among European groups were considered to be racial, these intra-White differences were understood to be less significant than differences between people classified as White and those considered non-White.

Mexican, Caribbean and Pacific lands on the racial identity of the nation. In this period, American history and destiny were increasingly seen as tied to Anglo-Saxon racial identity (rather than culture or political traditions), and the connection between national identity and English was also tightening. In 1906, knowledge of English was made a requirement for US naturalization, simultaneously reflecting and reinforcing the status of the US as an English-speaking nation.

In the early years of the twentieth century, both the number and the percentage of southern and eastern European immigrants continued to rise. At the same time, anthropologists, psychologists, criminologists and psychometricians were increasingly interested in racial taxonomies of the world's peoples. Researchers and policymakers sought to describe and quantify the intellectual, moral and social characteristics of different national-origin groups, and to use those data to justify a wide range of policies, from educational reform to forced sterilizations to immigration restriction. In 1907, the US Senate's Immigration Commission, also known as the Dillingham Commission, was formed and began gathering data on the "quality" of different (White) immigrant groups and the degree to which they were assimilating.

Senator William P. Dillingham, the commission's chair, introduced a successful Senate amendment calling for the 1910 Census to include a question on race (in addition to the existing "color" question). Noting that the Bureau of Immigration had already added such a question in order to distinguish among different peoples arriving from a single empire, Dillingham argued that adding a race question to the census would provide further data not just about immigrants but also about their children. As a result of protests from some Jewish groups who felt that the new question conflated race and religion, the question was changed (Perlmann 2001). Thus, the 1910 census collected data on the mother tongue of the foreign-born, and of the native-born of foreign parents. However, the desire to classify by race was clear in the choice of language data to collect: as "an index of racial character and origin, mother tongue has a significance greater than that which attaches to language spoken" (US Census Bureau 1913: 1266). The hereditary or racial understanding of language can also be seen in the fact that native-born children were assigned the mother tongue of their foreign-born parents, regardless of the language that these children actually spoke or reported. The Census also mirrored and maintained the hegemonic two-tier racial hierarchy; intra-White racial differences were seen as less enduring than color-based racial differences. The possibility of assimilation is reflected in the limitation of the mother tongue question to the first generation born in the US; subsequent generations would be subsumed within the general White population. In contrast, people of Asian, African and Native American descent were permanently marked as Other, with difference passed from generation to generation indefinitely.

The Dillingham Commission's report, published in 1911, called for restrictions on immigration from southern and eastern Europe, arguing that "new" immigrants demonstrated higher rates of negative traits such as criminality, mental defects, dependence on charity and the tendency to live in urban areas. In addition, the 41-volume report concluded that these same immigrant groups were failing to assimilate, at least in part because of a lack of desire to do so, a claim foreshadowing complaints about Latin American immigrants a century later. The report also included an extensive *Dictionary of Races and Peoples* authored by Daniel Folkmar, which was based on a two-tiered taxonomy of racial difference. First were the "chief divisions or basic races of mankind," identified as "Caucasian, Ethiopian, Mongolian, Malay, and American" but also referred to with the color terms White, Black, Yellow, Brown and Red. The subdivisions among these races were explicitly based on linguistic criteria but they were simultaneously portrayed as genetically linked to intelligence, morality and temperament, demonstrating a racialized conception of language.

The *Dictionary's* discussion of racial classification is not purely theoretical; instead it is oriented towards practical application in the classification of immigrants and their offspring. Folkmar justified the use of language, rather than head shape, as a primary indicator of race by considering expediency:

It is not merely because it is most convenient and natural to call a man English, Irish, or German according to the language spoken by him or by his ancestors in the old home; this is also the classification that has the sanction of law in immigration statistics and in the censuses of foreign countries. In no other way can figures be found that are comparable as to population, immigration, and distribution of immigrants. While it is well to find a classification by physical characteristics insisted upon in the able works of Kipley, Deniker, and others, it is manifestly impracticable to use such a classification in immigration work or in a census. The immigrant inspector or the enumerator in the field may easily ascertain the mother tongue of an individual, but he has neither the time nor the training to determine whether that individual is dolichocephalic or brachycephalic in type.

Offering up mother tongue and physical characteristics as the two possible methods of racial classification, Folkmar discursively constructs language as a hereditary trait, one imbued with the social and moral trappings of race. Folkmar's applied interests, as well as the influence of the Dillingham Commission's anti-immigration agenda and the Census language questions, are also highlighted by his service as special advisor to the Census on the preparation of the 1910 mother tongue reports, published in 1913.

The 1913 Census report lent additional support to nativist forces. In the discussion of the increased percentage of residents who did not speak English,

the report portrayed “new immigrants” as inherently inassimilable, rather than considering length of residence:

The rapid increase in the non-English speaking element of the foreign-born white population is a fact of very considerable social consequence. The explanation, of course, is to be found in the character of recent immigration. (US Census 1913: 1265)

This notion that people of certain races could not be assimilated was a common trope of media coverage of immigration, as well as official policy. For example, Asians were marginalized and denied a wide range of civil, political and property rights, including the possibility of naturalizing as US citizens – which was limited to Whites, Indians and people of African birth or descent. In addition, the US citizenship of women who married “aliens ineligible for naturalization” was subject to revocation. Despite the legal and social barriers to assimilation, Asians were then framed as *unwilling* to assimilate.

In the decade leading up to World War I, not only was national belonging predicated on knowing English, but knowing another language or speaking English with an accent increasingly was seen as suspect (Pavlenko 2002), and immigration was seen as a danger to the linguistic as well as the racial future of the nation (Bonfiglio 2002). Bilingualism was delegitimized and perceived as evidence of divided loyalties or of a failure to assimilate. In order to promote language shift among the children of immigrants, numerous states officialized English as the sole language of instruction, and limited or outlawed bilingual education; even second-language education for monolingual English speakers was forbidden in some places (Schmid 2001).

The first decades of the twentieth century saw the tightening of immigration restrictions, thanks in part to eugenicists working in the Public Health Service, which oversaw the inspections of potential immigrants arriving at Ellis Island. Eugenicists also testified before Congress about the “inferior stock” and social undesirability of southern and eastern European immigrants, using Census data to make their case (Lombardo 2000). Nativist forces were eventually successful in their push for immigration restrictions; the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 imposed strict nationality-based quotas and reduced the total number of immigrants admitted. These laws were specifically designed to reduce immigration from groups that might negatively affect the American gene pool. Aliens ineligible for citizenship were not permitted to immigrate (with exceptions for family members of people already in the US), thus extending earlier race-based exclusions of Asians. The 1924 law, which remained in effect until 1965, mandated the calculation of quotas based on the number of people of each nationality group recorded by the 1890 Census. Thus, eighty-seven percent of the slots were reserved for immigrants from northwestern Europe and Scandinavia, with Germany, Great Britain and Ireland at the top of the list, which greatly reduced the immigration of the “inferior” White races.

Table 21.2 *History of Latino classification in the US Census*

Year	Survey questions and data tabulations
1930	"Mexican" race category ("all persons born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico, who [are] not definitely White, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese")
1940	Persons of Mexican birth or ancestry classified as White unless "definitely Indian or some race other than White"
	Tabulation of "White Spanish mother tongue population"
1950, 1960	"Spanish surname" (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas)
	Puerto Rican birth or parentage (New York, New Jersey & Pennsylvania)
1970	Spanish or Hispanic origin (5% sample only)
	Tabulation of "Spanish surname" (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas)
	Puerto Rican birth or parentage (New York, New Jersey & Pennsylvania)
	Spanish language (remaining 42 states and DC)
1980, 1990	Is this person "of Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent?"
2000	Is this person "Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?"
2010	Is this person "of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?"
	Explicit instruction: "for this census, Hispanic origins are not races"

(US Census Bureau 2002, 2010).

Neither White nor non-White

The status of Latinos in US racial hierarchies historically has been ambiguous and shifting, and this is reflected in the multiple and continually evolving classification mechanisms used by the Census Bureau (see [Table 21.2](#)).

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which marked the end of the US war with Mexico, ceded over half of Mexican territory to the US and promised citizenship to Mexican nationals living in the annexed land. These new citizens did not fit neatly into the existing racial order; they were seen as racially different from the dominant White population as well as from those classified as non-White: Blacks, Indians and Asians. On one hand, the Treaty's conferral of citizenship on Mexican nationals in the ceded territory served as the basis for a subsequent 1896 federal court decision allowing Mexican immigrant Ricardo Rodriguez to become a naturalized US citizen; given that only Whites were permitted to naturalize, the case established the legal Whiteness of Mexicans and Mexican Americans (Gross 2008). However, "legal Whiteness contradicted the social definition of Mexicans as non-White" (Gómez 2007: 83), and Mexicans were subjected to varied forms of racialized subordination including segregated and substandard schooling and public accommodations, jury exclusions and inferior labor conditions. This racial ambiguity and the conflict between legal and social understandings of Mexicans' racial status are also reflected in a series of miscegenation trials; in some cases Mexicans were arrested for marrying Whites, and in others, for marrying Blacks. The court records from

these cases reveal a complex combination of factors used to ascribe racial identity, including skin color, national origin, ancestry, economic status and social interactions (Gross 2008).

After the expansion of the US into the Southwest, the dominant racial discourse portrayed Mexicans as a “mongrel” race, the impure product of a mixture of the Spanish – who themselves were potentially racially suspect – and the native Indians. In the nineteenth century, this portrayal was alternately put to use in shaping public opinion in favor of the annexation of Texas, against Mexican immigration, and against the occupation of a greater portion of Mexican territory. At the turn of the twentieth century, anti-Mexican rhetoric increasingly framed Mexicans’ perceived social problems and faults – such as ignorance, filth, indolence, criminality and the propensity to become public charges – as hereditary (Ngai 2004; see also Glenn Martínez in this volume). Mexicans were portrayed as inherently inferior and unfit for self-government, and opposition to statehood for New Mexico was frequently couched in racial terms. Language was mentioned explicitly and it was often discursively linked to racial difference in the portrayal of Mexicans as unworthy of enfranchisement. For example, an editorial in the *Cincinnati Commercial* argued against New Mexico statehood by claiming that New Mexico had 80,000 people who did not speak English, “aliens to us in blood and language” (Gómez 2007: 72). Senator Albert Beveridge, Chair of the Senate’s Committee on Territories, mounted a campaign against statehood, conducting whistle-stop hearings throughout the territories and making a spectacle of witnesses who could only testify in Spanish. The committee’s report, like the hearings, focused on issues of race and language (Gómez 2007).

Calls for restriction on Mexican immigration that framed the “Mexican problem” in terms of fertility and other characteristics that were portrayed as genetic echoed the racialized nativist discourse of the time. Nonetheless, despite the racial animus and institutionalized racism directed towards Mexicans, when Congress passed the immigration restriction acts of 1921 and 1924, Mexicans and other Latin Americans were not subject to the nationality quotas, at least in part because US agricultural businesses wanted to maintain a source of inexpensive labor and lobbied against the elimination of Mexican immigration. Moreover, because the judiciary had deemed Mexicans “White” and “eligible for naturalization,” they couldn’t be excluded on the basis of racial ineligibility, as Asians were. However, in periods of high unemployment and increased anti-Mexican sentiment, immigration officials used other means, such as arbitrary application of visa requirements, to limit Mexican immigration (Ngai 2004).

In the 1920s, large numbers of Mexicans entered the US, escaping from the violence and economic turmoil associated with the Mexican Revolution and its aftermath. In response to the increase in the number of Mexicans and

Mexican Americans in the US, together with the intensifying racist understanding of difference, the Census Bureau added a “Mexican” race category to the 1930 decennial survey. The official definition of the category was “all persons born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico, who were not definitely White, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese” (US Census Bureau 2002: 59). Unlike the mother-tongue-based racial classification, which was designed to distinguish among Whites,³ the new category classified Mexicans as a distinct non-White race, which was consistent with the social construction of Mexicans. As we saw above, recording language-defined race (mother tongue) only for immigrants and their native-born children constructed assimilation into the general White population as complete by the third generation. For non-White groups, racial status was enduring through the generations. The Census Bureau’s new definition of the Mexican category seemingly introduced a new level of racial difference; Mexicans were to be classified as non-White, but because the official definition depended on being “born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico,” it would not apply to the third generation, thus statistically eliminating the permanence of the White/non-White distinction. In such a scenario, non-White persons would have White offspring, a prospect that flew in the face of contemporary ideologies and practices of racial identity.

The official racial status of Mexicans was not “just” a philosophical or intellectual issue; given the centrality of Whiteness in determining civil and property rights, the legal and material implications were tremendous. This being so, the Mexican race category was protested by the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). Similarly, the government of Mexico and the US State Department expressed their objections. The Mexican category was eliminated for the 1940 survey and enumerators were instructed to record Mexicans as White “unless they were definitely Indian or some race other than White” (US Census Bureau 2002: 64). At the same time, another change was made: a five percent sample of the entire population, regardless of place of birth, were now asked to specify their mother tongue, defined as the “Language spoken in home in earliest childhood.” Thus, the Census’s reporting of data for the “White Spanish mother tongue population” – an early official construction of what would later become the “Hispanic-origin” category – included many people whose ancestors had been in the US for three generations or longer. On one hand, this extended language-based distinctions among Whites beyond the

³ Although, in theory, language-based distinctions could be used to make racial distinctions within all of the “major” races, in practice it was only used to differentiate among Whites. The Census bureau did not tabulate or report the data for other races, explaining that “other races speak one characteristic language – Spanish for the Mexicans, Chinese for the Chinese, Japanese for the Japanese” (US Census Bureau 1933: 341).

second generation. On the other, it classified Mexicans and other Latinos in the same way as European immigrants and their descendents.

Despite the similarity of their Census classification, the social, political and legal treatment of Mexicans was not the same as that of White ethnic groups. Mexicans and Mexican Americans were subjected to segregated schooling throughout much of the Southwest and California; in the 1930s and 1940s, ninety percent of all south Texas schools were segregated (Gross 2008). Their official White status notwithstanding, Mexican Americans were discriminated against in voting and juries, often excluded from public facilities or sent to the “Colored” section, and subjected to inferior labor conditions and pay (García 2009). Moreover, numerous government agencies continued to classify Latinos as non-White under the rubric “Mexican” or “Latin American”; as late as 1954 the Texas Department of Health used the racial designations W, M and C – for White, Mexican and Colored (Gross 2008). The interplay of language and race is striking in the signage of Jim Crow-era public facilities in the Jackson, Texas county courthouse where one restroom was unmarked and the other bore two signs: “Colored men” and “Hombres aquí” (Olivas 2006). Nonetheless, in some cases Mexicans’ official White status made it more difficult to secure legal protections from discrimination: in a series of cases alleging race-based jury exclusions of Mexicans, the courts repeatedly ruled that because Mexicans were White, convictions of Mexican defendants by all-White (Anglo) juries did not constitute a violation of the 14th amendment equal protection guarantees. In such cases, the courts maintained that “Mexican” was a nationality rather than a race, while simultaneously equating “Americans” with Whiteness (Gross 2008). The racialized construction of Mexican Americans as inherently “foreign” is also evident in the mass expulsions of native-born citizens of Mexican descent together with Mexican immigrants (US Commission on Civil Rights 1980), “repatriations” which took place as late as the 1950s.

The linguistic origins of Hispanic origin

The second half of the twentieth century saw dramatic changes in the politics of race and ethnicity, and the politics of racial and ethnic classification. Thanks to the civil rights movement, courts were increasingly willing to recognize racial discrimination, providing minority groups with greater legal recourse with which to seek remedies. In addition, there were a number of key legal rulings finding that discrimination against Latinos constituted a 14th amendment violation, regardless of whether or not “Mexican” or “Hispanic” was considered a race. In this context, official statistics were needed to provide documentation and quantification of inequities, as well as to implement protections. In addition, the social and political implications of the chronic undercounting of minorities – including underallocation of public resources, as well as political

representation – came to the fore. Further, in a climate of increased ethnoracial pride, for many the existence of a distinct census category and official statistics constituted a formal recognition of group identity. Together, these factors led Hispanic leaders to call for social and economic data about the Hispanic population.

With the removal of the Mexican race category in 1940 and the elimination of the mother tongue question for the 1950 survey,⁴ the Census did not have any categories that could be used to gather demographic, economic, educational or employment data specifically for the Latino population. Instead, the Census Bureau tabulated the number of persons with “Spanish surnames” and used this as a surrogate. In 1960, a mother tongue question was reintroduced, this time asked of a twenty-five percent sample and limited to the foreign-born. The Census Bureau used these data in conjunction with surnames and place of birth to identify the Hispanic-origin population. In some areas of the country, (native- as well as foreign-born) people were classified as being of Hispanic origin if the head of the household or the head’s spouse reported “Spanish mother tongue” (Choldin 1986). The fact that different techniques were used in different states and territories points to the ambiguity of Hispanic origin, and to the fact that the choice of any one technique reflects a specific ideological construction and results in the inclusion and exclusion of different segments of the population. As a result, the Census Bureau began experimenting with new methods for identifying the Hispanic population: a fifteen percent sample was asked to identify their childhood language, five percent of the population was asked to report whether they were of Spanish or Hispanic “origin” and Spanish surnames were again tabulated, for the sake of comparison.

Pressure to collect economic and social statistics for Hispanics eventually resulted in Congress passing Public Law 94–311 in 1976. Among other provisions, the law officially acknowledged racial, social, economic and political discrimination against “Americans of Spanish origin or descent,” mandated that various federal agencies collect and disseminate statistics on the social, health and economic condition of this population and instructed the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to collaborate with federal agencies to develop a government-wide program to do so. In addition, the law mandated that the Census Bureau utilize Spanish-language questionnaires, bilingual enumerators and other such methods as deemed appropriate to address “the needs and concerns of the Spanish-origin population.”

⁴ The removal of the mother tongue question was likely related to the post-WWII decline of the eugenics movement and societal reluctance to construct differences among Whites as racial, as well as to the consolidation of the White/Black binary. In addition, strict limits on immigration, together with language shift to English among the children of immigrants, led to a reduced salience of language and linguistic diversity.

In 1977 OMB issued Statistical Directive No. 15, which established the official categories to be used by federal agencies. These consisted of four races (American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian or Pacific Islander; Black; and White) and two ethnicities (Hispanic and Non-Hispanic).⁵ Despite the official distinction between race and ethnicity, the definitions of all the categories make reference to “origins” (Yanow 2003). This, together with the fact that there are not any other officially recognized ethnicities, illustrates the similarity of these two levels of difference and the construction of Hispanic origin as an enduring trait. Moreover, the OMB guidelines allow agencies to combine the race and ethnicity categories in a single question in their data collection and reporting, which likely reinforces the ambivalent and contradictory constructions of Latino identity in the public imaginary.

Since 1980, the Census Bureau has asked the Hispanic-origin question of the entire population and, given that – in accordance with OMB guidelines – Hispanics can be of any race, instructs respondents to answer both the Hispanic-origin question and the race question. Official definitions notwithstanding, many people apparently consider Hispanic origin to be on par with the officially defined race categories. The mismatch between Latinos’ own sense of their racial identity and the official categories is reflected in the fact that since 1980 the percentage of Latinos who chose the “other race” category in response to the race question rose from about 33% in 1980 to 44% in 1990 and 47% in 2000 (Logan 2003).⁶ In order to encourage Latinos to choose among the OMB-sanctioned race categories, the Census Bureau added the phrase “For this census, Hispanic origins are not races” to the note on the 2010 decennial survey instructing respondents to answer both the Hispanic origin and the race questions. Nonetheless, 37% of Latinos still reported “Some other race,” making this the third-largest response category.

Just as respondents vary in their interpretations of the ethnic and racial identity labels, activists, demographers and scholars do not agree about the nature of Hispanic or Latino origin, nor what the preferred classification method might be. On one hand, some argue that making Hispanic or Latino a race category is desirable, as this would formally recognize Latinos’ status as a

⁵ Statistical Directive 15 was modified in 1997 to allow individuals to “check more than one box” in response to the race question. In addition, “Hispanic” was changed to “Hispanic or Latino,” “Black” was changed to “Black or African American,” and “Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander” was separated from the “Asian” race category, increasing the number of officially recognized races to five.

⁶ In the 1970 and 1980 surveys, those persons who reported Hispanic origin and self-identified as “Other race” were officially reclassified as White (Gibson and Jung 2002). In more recent censuses, Hispanic-origin responses to the race question (e.g., “Hispanic,” “Mexican,” “Colombian”) have not been reclassified. However, in order to make Census data compatible with agencies that only include the five OMB race categories (i.e., do not offer an “other race” category), the Census imputes these responses to other categories (Hattam 2005).

racialized minority. On the other hand, proponents of maintaining the ethnic designation stress the internal diversity of Latinos, as well as the inequities that exist among Latinos identified with different races. Others call for the elimination of ethnoracial classifiers, arguing that the labels serve to constitute the groups they purport to identify, and thus reinforce ideologies of difference and discrimination. However, that is extremely unlikely, given the social and legal importance of Census Bureau statistics in tracking the material effects of such inequities, among other uses (see Martín Alcoff 2000 and Haney López 1998 for a full discussion). Nonetheless, some changes are likely to be introduced for the 2020 administration of the decennial survey, and the Census Bureau has been conducting research on fifteen alternatives for the race and ethnicity questions. These alternatives, which were field-tested with approximately 450,000 households as part of the 2010 Census, include combining the Hispanic origin and race questions into a single question allowing multiple responses.

The construct of “Hispanic origin” is closely linked to the Spanish language both in Census Bureau documents and in wider public discourse. In some cases, language is mentioned explicitly, in others, its traces run just below the surface. For example, Public Law 94–311 referred to the Americans who “identify themselves as being of Spanish-speaking background and trace their origin or descent from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Central and South America, and other Spanish-speaking countries.” This definition implies that individuals of Spanish origin may not speak Spanish themselves, but are linked to the language in their “background,” suggesting a hereditary link. The 1990 Census assertion that “a person is of Spanish/Hispanic origin if the person’s origin (ancestry) is Mexican, Mexican-Am., Chicano, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Ecuadoran, Guatemalan, Honduran, Nicaraguan, Peruvian, Salvadoran; from other Spanish-speaking countries of the Caribbean or Central or South America; or from Spain” (US Census 1988: 51, as cited in Oboler 2000) links Hispanic identity to national identities – national identities which the definition discursively links to Spanish. Not only does this definition fail to officially recognize the racial, cultural and linguistic diversity within the nations included (many of which include large indigenous and immigrant populations who may not speak Spanish), but it also doubly reinforces the “foreignness” of people classified as of Hispanic origin. First, they are permanently linked to other countries regardless of how many generations their ancestors have been in the US (as is also the case for people grouped in nationality-based racial categories such as Chinese or Korean). Second, because the national imaginary constructs languages other than English as un-American, the definition of Hispanic origins based on Spanish language renders people so categorized as less American.

This ideological coupling of *Latinidad* and Spanish language is also evident in the Census Bureau’s description of the questions included in the 2010

decennial census. The explanation for the current Hispanic-origin question reads as follows:

Asked since 1970. The data collected in this question are needed by federal agencies to monitor compliance with anti-discrimination provisions, such as under the Voting Rights Act and the Civil Rights Act. State and local governments may use the data *to help plan and administer bilingual programs for people of Hispanic origin.* (www.census.gov/2010census/about/interactive-form.php; emphasis added)

From race to choice: threatening languages at the turn of the millennium

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act overturned the national-origin quotas and led to increases in overall immigration, particularly from Asia and Latin America, as well as increases in the number of undocumented immigrants, especially from Mexico and Central America. As was the case at the start of the twentieth century, the arrival of large numbers of people speaking languages other than English and perceived as inherently different from the native population was met with anxiety. In addition, the ideological linking of English to American identity has endured and been consolidated: the US is imagined as a historically monolingual nation, and languages are perceived to exist in a state of eternal competition. As a result, languages other than English are seen as inherently foreign and a threat to national identity, as well as a personal liability. However, thanks to the civil rights movement, the end of the twentieth century saw substantial changes in both the legal status and the dominant discourse norms regarding race, ethnicity and language. Racial discrimination is no longer legal, and it is generally considered unacceptable to make public claims regarding presumed biologically based differences among groups. In addition, cultural characteristics have gained ground as the ideological basis of inequalities among groups, which has led to new discourses of marginalization. The perceived mutability of cultural attributes has led to the responsibility for socioeconomic subordination being placed on those who “choose” not to adopt the cultural values and behaviors that would lead to socioeconomic success. At the same time assimilation has come to be constructed as dependent on willingness or desire to adopt the dominant culture.

This emphasis on performative, rather than biological, traits is also reflected in dominant language ideologies which frame language largely as a matter of personal choice, and not as a racial characteristic or a political issue. This can be seen, for example, in the common trope that immigrants *refuse* to learn English; a June 2007 CBS / New York Times poll found that sixty-two percent of those surveyed think recent immigrants do not try to learn English “within a reasonable amount of time.” The notion that language is a matter of choice undergirds courts’ frequent unwillingness to recognize linguistic discrimination

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a. Does this person speak a language other than English at home?

☐ Yes

☐ No → *SKIP to question 15a*

b. What is this language?

For example: Korean, Italian, Spanish, Vietnamese

c. How well does this person speak English?

☐ Very well

☐ Well

☐ Not well

☐ Not at all

Figure 21.2 Language questions from the 2010 American Community Survey

(Cameron 1997; Gross 2008). Despite the ascendance of the language-as-choice ideology, the Hispanic-origin category continues to cast Spanish as a physical or hereditary trait, as was discussed in the previous section.

The Census Bureau's current language question reflects several elements of the dominant language ideologies. The two-part question addressed to a sample of the population was introduced in 1980, the same year that the Hispanic-origin question began to be asked of the entire population. The first part of this question asks respondents to report whether they "speak a language other than English at home," thus emphasizing a performative linguistic identity (see Figure 21.2).⁷ Those who answer affirmatively are then asked to specify the language and to report their English ability, implicitly portraying the use of another language as a danger to English. A key purpose of this question is to quantify respondents with limited English proficiency in order to determine which jurisdictions must provide non-English voting materials, as dictated by the federal Voting Rights Act. However, many individuals with limited proficiency in English may not report speaking another language *at home*, for example if they live in mixed-language households or in group quarters such as nursing homes or prisons. In order to more accurately identify such individuals, so as to provide them federally mandated language services, the question of English ability could be

⁷ The Census Bureau's current language question was included on the decennial long form (a longer survey sent to a sample of the population) from 1980 to 2000. After 2000, the Census Bureau replaced the decennial long form with the American Community Survey, a sample-based survey which contains many of the same questions but is administered continuously.

asked of all respondents, with those who report limited English ability then asked to identify the language(s) they speak.

The focus on home use of non-English languages and the lack of questions about ability in other languages discursively reserve the public domain for English. In addition, the questions, and the monolingual ideologies that shape them, impact the kind of data produced, which iteratively reinforce those same ideologies. For example, as a result of language shift (itself a consequence of monolingual ideologies), many adult bilinguals no longer speak non-English languages in their homes; thus, they are not included in tabulations of the English ability of speakers of other languages. The exclusion of such bilinguals results in an elevated percentage of speakers of other languages reported as having limited English ability, a percentage used by English-only advocates to “demonstrate” the “threat” of non-English languages. As I have discussed elsewhere, the Census Bureau’s definition of households where no adult speaks English “very well” as “linguistically isolated” fails to take the linguistic environment or community language knowledge into account.⁸ Instead, the monolingual ideology presupposes the public language of the entire nation to be English. (For an in-depth discussion of the language ideologies reflected and reinforced in the current language questions, see Leeman 2004.)

Racializing Spanish: from mother tongue to Hispanic origin and home language use

This chapter has shown the key role of language in the history of the Census’s racial classification system, highlighting connections to societal ideologies of language, race and nation. Specifically, I documented the historical construction of language as an index of race in the US Census surveys, in ideologies of difference and in movements to restrict immigration, and I demonstrated the Census’s gradual transition to a more performative understanding of language. This transition, together with a strengthening of the ideological bond between US identity and English, has meant that nativist movements have largely shifted from framing new immigrants as racially inassimilable to portraying them as linguistically un-American. Whereas language was once seen as a racial indicator, it is now commonly represented as a question of personal choice, and those who “choose” to speak languages other than English seen as refusing to assimilate. Nonetheless, this evolution from hereditary to performative understandings of language is incomplete; language continues to index particular ethnoracial identities, allowing linguistic discrimination to step in as a surrogate for racial discrimination. Nowhere is this ideological duality of language more apparent than in the case of Latinos. On one hand, Hispanic

⁸ The Census Bureau stopped using the term “linguistic isolation” in 2011.

origin is constructed as a quasi-racial category, one inextricably linked to the Spanish language. On the other hand, “choosing” to speak Spanish suggests an unwillingness to learn English or to assimilate to dominant culture or US values. In effect, Spanish is inscribed on Latino bodies, rendering them inherently inassimilable and permanently Other.

By adopting a historical approach to the analysis of the Census’s classification of Latinos and situating those changes within changing societal ideologies regarding language and its relationship to race and nation, I hope to have shed new light on the various classificatory mechanisms and on the discursive role of Spanish in the racialization of Latinos. Whereas early twentieth-century censuses cast Spanish mother tongue as a hereditary indicator of intra-White difference, the current race, ethnicity and language questions construct Spanish as the language of Latinos, regardless of whether or not they actually speak it, while also imagining a rejection of English. The current ideological duality of Spanish that is both reflected and reinforced by the Census contributes to the racialization of Latinos and their portrayal as inassimilable Others.

Part V

The making of Spanish beyond Spain
and the Americas

22 Introduction to the making of Spanish beyond Spain and the Americas

Mauro Fernández and José del Valle

Introduction

The apparent ragbag nature of this last portion of the book has already been discussed in [Chapter 1](#), where Part V's marginality – its brevity and uneven internal coherence – was explained as an outcome of the book's ultimately conventional structure, which suggests a historical narrative that reproduces traditional chronologies and geographic arrangements. While self-reflexively acknowledging the instability of the conceptual foundations of the volume's organization – e.g. the continuities suggested by the sequential chronological empty grid or the natural separation of Iberian and American arenas – this part also makes an argument that it is precisely the formal oddity of this last section that ends up bringing to the surface some of what we consider to be the most productive lines suggested in this project for thinking Spanish as a historical construction. In fact, “beyond” – doubling back and then turning on itself again – takes us *beyond* the merely geographic denotation of “Iberia and the Americas,” affirms the existence of alternative forms of organization and calls for a search for new – maybe even more revealing – narratives: the defense of Judeo-Spanish in Salonica at the beginning of the twentieth century, fascist Spain's discursive realization of their dream of *Hispanidad* through the affirmation of language in Equatorial Guinea, and the Filipino elite's emotional attachment to Spanish. Among the numerous spaces that could have taken us “beyond” (e.g. Gibraltar, the Mariana Islands, Morocco, Oran), these popped up in the – often serendipitous – process of planning this project. Yvette Bürki will walk us through modern representations of Judeo-Spanish, a language whose origin is usually traced back to the expulsion of Jews from the Iberian kingdoms at the end of the fifteenth century and whose history runs parallel to the resulting Sephardim diaspora. Susana Castillo Rodríguez will review the presence of Spanish in Equatorial Guinea in two specific periods directly linked to Spain's faltering post-imperial efforts to engage in modern colonialism in Africa. Finally, Mauro Fernández will revisit elite discourses on the role of Spanish in the constitution of Philippine identity, complexly

intertwined with colonialism, Philippine independence, Enlightenment thought and twenty-first-century globalization.

Representations of Judeo-Spanish in a diasporic context

After their expulsion from the Iberian kingdoms in 1492 and 1497, Sephardic Jews received a particularly favorable welcome in the Ottoman Empire, in whose cities they settled in great numbers, and continued, generation after generation, to pass their Hispanic tongue on to their children. One of those vibrant Sephardic urban centers was Salonica, the Ottoman Empire's second city in importance after Constantinople, and, for centuries, home to one of the largest Sephardic communities in the world. It is estimated that 120,000 Jews expelled from the Iberian kingdoms in the fifteenth century converged and permanently settled in Salonica. Synagogues carried the names of Iberian regions (Cataluña, Castilla la Vieja, Aragón, Córdoba), place names included the likes of "Agua Nueva," and the winds that on several occasions pushed terrible fires into the town were known as "Tramontana" (like the one that blows in Spain's northeast). For centuries, the Jewish community was a majority in the city and, according to Elkan N. Adler, still in 1898 more than half of Salonica's population were Jews: "three quarters of the trade is in their hands. All the boatmen in the port are Jews, and on Saturdays no steamer can load or discharge cargo. Porters and shoeblacks, bricklayers and silk hands, are all Jews" (Adler 1905: 142). Even after the occupation of the city by Greek troops in 1916 and the massive arrival of Greek settlers, Jews continued to be the largest group – around 90,000 out of 350,000 (Abastado 1918: 87).

In this period, Judeo-Spanish (also known as Ladino or Spaniolit) was still the vernacular language of the Sephardim, and was used not just at home but in all spheres of social life. It was used, for example, in prayer and preaching ("Indeed, the amount of Ladino introduced into the service was quite astonishing" (Adler 1905: 142)), and had also entered new literary genres such as novels and plays that were growing in popularity. It had even been used to translate French classics such as Molière and Racine (Romero 1992: 270–82), and Adler (1905: 147) was surprised to find, in the library of Volo's synagogue, a history of France written in Ladino. Another important sign of the language's vitality around 1900 was the thriving Jewish press. In the cities with a large Sephardic population – Salonica foremost among them – there were a total of fourteen newspapers, including seven dailies. Three of them were written in French and four in Ladino (Besso 1962: 646; Romero 1992: 176–98). In 1916, an American journalist wrote: "[Ladino] has been called the Esperanto of the Salonicans. For the small shopkeeper, the cabman, the waiter, it is the common tongue. In such an environment it sounds most curious. When, in a

Turkish restaurant, you order a dinner in the same words you last used in Vera Cruz, and the dinner arrives, it seems uncanny” (Davis 1916: 125–6).

The backdrop to efforts to use the language in all cultural domains is, on one hand, the Enlightenment’s association of language cultivation – which we would now refer to as standardization – and progress and, on the other, the emergence of modern nationalism and its conception of the nation-state. In such a context, the Jewish people debated over two currents that represented different manifestations of nationalist ideology: on one hand, political Zionism and its demand for a land in which to develop the ideal Jewish nation, and, on the other, assimilation into the nation-states in which they lived. For Sephardic Jews in the Ottoman Empire, it was a matter of either becoming Turks (or, as the empire collapsed, Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian, etc.) or remaining part of a stateless nation while continuing to pursue the creation of a state of their own. Sam Lévy’s proposal for the technical and ideological elaboration of Judeo-Spanish, analyzed here by Bürki, can be understood precisely as an attempt to overcome the constraints of this dilemma. In his view, Sephardic Jews were already a nation by virtue of possessing their own language. Therefore, instead of migrating in search of a land of their own – and in compliance with a basic tenet of nationalism –, they ought to focus on consolidating Judeo-Spanish as the national language of Ottoman Jews, that is, as a full-fledged instrument for the articulation of the community and as the agreed-upon symbol of its identity (a symbolic status that it would have to share with Hebrew). In practical terms, the task was to turn the vernacular into a cultivated language and to strengthen its status in the multilingual context of the Ottoman Empire, where it had to coexist with not only Hebrew, Greek and Turkish but also French, which had spread from the schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and was acquiring lingua franca status in the realm of business.

Bürki’s project studies the tension associated with two long linguistic controversies: one between detractors and supporters of Judeo-Spanish and another, among the latter, on the best course of action in pursuit of linguistic cultivation (Bürki 2010a). In this volume, she focuses on a specific point in the long polemic: a series of lectures delivered by Sam Lévy at the beginning of the twentieth century – when Salonica was still part of the Ottoman Empire – in which he presents and defends his program for the elaboration of Judeo-Spanish and its symbolic construction as the national language of Ottoman Jews. The lectures were published in *La Época*, a Salonica newspaper that had been founded by his father and of which Sam Lévy was editor. The Sephardic press was not only a venue for the technical elaboration of Judeo-Spanish – a lettered domain to which Judeo-Spanish writers had to adjust – but also the main forum in which the controversies over the value of elaboration unfolded (Bürki 2006).

Representations of Spanish in colonial and post-colonial contexts

The presence of Spanish in Equatorial Guinea results from a process of colonization in which few Spaniards were actually present and where little mixing with the local population took place. As in most African colonies in the region, a very small number of settlers arrived in what is now Equatorial Guinea: of these, some came to establish plantations, some as merchants, some as civil servants and others with the military and the church. In 1845, when the first attempt was made to found a Spanish Catholic mission, there were only two Spaniards and one Mexican in Santa Isabel (presently Malabo and known at the time as Port Clarence), “an all-English little town” in the words of the Spanish consul in Sierra Leone. The town had about 600 inhabitants, almost all blacks who came from the continental coast. There were a few freed blacks from Jamaica who had arrived with the first Baptist missionaries, thinking that Fernando Po (now Bioko), the island on which the town stood, was a British colony, and some natives of the nearby Portuguese colonies. The prevalent language seems to have been English, in all likelihood a pidginized variety which is nowadays known as *pichinglis* by its speakers.

Spain had received this island, as well as the island of Annobon, from Portugal as a trade-off in a border agreement in South America (the agreement was reached in the *Tratado de San Ildefonso* in 1777 and ratified a year later in the *Tratado de El Pardo*). Although Spain coveted land in those territories in order to position itself favorably in the economy of the slave trade, the expedition sent to effectively occupy the island failed and no new efforts were made until 1843, when Juan de Lerena was sent to explore the economic potential of the region. Testimonies from the middle of the nineteenth century reveal a multilingual scenario in which the inhabitants of the region (the island of Corisco in particular) “speak a little Portuguese, English, and French besides their own tongue” (Guillemar 1852: 78–9). Portuguese was spoken in Annobon – or rather a Portuguese-based creole called *fa d’Ambo* – and English was well entrenched in Fernando Po, where the British had settled between 1827 and 1843 as if the island were theirs.

In 1858, a Royal Decree established the first colonization plan. In its preamble, the decree stated: “Now that the civilized world turns its attention to the little-known African continent, it is not right for Spain to allow its national religion not to be practiced, its flag not to be raised, its language not to be spoken, its customs not to be observed in its own domains – so advantageously situated on those coasts” (Royal Decree of December 13, 1858). While these words undoubtedly reproduce a leitmotiv of Spanish colonization, we know that, in this context, “national” religion is not only opposed to the “darkness of paganism” but also – maybe mainly – to Anglicanism. Similarly, Spain’s language, flag and customs are defended against mainly English, the Union Jack and

five o'clock tea. And yet, the mid-nineteenth-century efforts to "nationalize" the African colonies were a complete failure, and, after 1868, the eagerness to convert locals to the "true" religion faded. In a lengthy report written in 1873, governor García Tudela argued for the withdrawal from those territories in which "it is not far-fetched to claim that with time all natives will speak English" (qtd. in García Cantús 2004: 657).

In her chapter, Castillo Rodríguez discusses, first, how, during the period of the Spanish missions – even after the arrival in 1883 of the Claretians, who engaged in an educational quest linked to evangelization – English did not disappear and its presence remained a concern to Spain's colonization project. She shows that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the top of the social pyramid was occupied by *fernandinos*, a well-off group descended from families from Sierra Leone and Monrovia and loyal not to Spain but to the British. She shows how the tensions between church and state – perhaps between plans designed in the metropolis and their difficult implementation in the field (on this topic see Firbas in this volume) – seem to have been a factor in Spain's failure to define a role for the Spanish language in the African colony. The situation, however, had changed significantly several decades later, during the second period discussed by Castillo Rodríguez: the Francoist dictatorship. A series of articles extracted from the magazine *Ébano* – published by Spain's fascist party *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S.* – reveal the presence of an energetic discourse that – assuming Spanish as the essence of Spanishness – constructed the promotion of the language not only as a practical requirement of colonization but also as a strategy for the realization of the Francoist national Catholic project. Further research will tell the extent to which – keeping in mind the existence of multiple families within Francoism – Falange's project became actual government policy and native Guineans were incorporated into the fascists' interpretation of the panhispanic project (for further discussion of Panhispanism see Arnoux and Del Valle in this volume).

The case of the Philippines shares with Equatorial Guinea the colonial origin of the presence of Spanish and the language's position in sociological and political confrontation not only with native tongues but also with English. However, while Spanish is still official in Equatorial Guinea, it lost that status in the Philippines with the Constitution of 1987. The official languages are Filipino and, "until otherwise provided by law," English. In spite of this loss, Spanish has not ceased to play an important role in how Filipinos represent their own identity. The very same Constitution that did away with its official status encouraged its promotion – as well as Arabic's – and was translated into Spanish besides the most important regional languages and, again, Arabic, which has symbolic importance in the southern Muslim islands. The role of Spanish as a marker of Filipino identity is particularly noticeable among the upper classes, which often express in various ways a nostalgic memory of the old colonial tongue. A good

example of this sentiment was provided by the former Filipino president Gloria Macapagal when she was awarded in April 2010 the *Don Quijote de la Mancha* International Prize. The prize (now discontinued) was given in Spain to people and institutions that had best contributed to promoting Spanish culture and language. President Macapagal was honored for having reintroduced Spanish – even if just as a creditless elective subject – in her country’s school system – from which it had been absent since 1987. In justifying the award, the jury claimed that the Philippine government had recognized “the growing importance of Spanish as a language of global communication.” However, in contrast with the global hopes expressed by the jury, Ms. Macapagal, in a statement given to the Spanish newspaper *El País* – owned by the media conglomerate PRISA, which sponsors the prize through its Santillana Foundation –, invoked the value of Spanish as her ancestral language, as one associated with family and local traditions: “My mother spoke Spanish. My husband’s family speaks Spanish. These are the reasons that have inspired me to issue a directive to promote the teaching and learning of Spanish in the educational system” (Rodríguez Marcos 2010).

To be fair, the Philippine government’s directive did contain elements of the discourse that identifies Spanish as a valuable international language, and the Philippine press highlighted the economic advantages of incorporating Spanish to Filipino youth’s linguistic repertoire (on top of the already widespread knowledge of English). It was believed that Spanish would offer two strategic advantages: first, it would make them more competitive against Latinos in the US market, the main destination of Filipino migrants; second, it would constitute an asset *in situ*, in the Philippines, at call-centers and other sites of Business Process Outsourcing (BPO), a rapidly growing sector in which people who know Spanish have higher salaries. These reasons were, as we can see, deeply pragmatic and in no way linked to identity.

And yet, on the occasion of the award ceremony, in contrast with the image of global Spanish invoked by the jury, the Filipino president chose to highlight the fond memories of Spanish, to present it as the ancestral language, to express her longing for her mother tongue. In the Philippines, Spanish is not simply the language of the home – which it used to be among the upper classes – but the language of their first Constitution and the language of culture for those who forged the nation, for the heroes of the fatherland such as José Rizal, and for its poets. This linguistic and cultural yearning may be on the verge of reaching a truly collective dimension aided by the intervention of agents – such as the Cervantes Institute – who operate in the interests of the promotion of Spanish in international linguistic markets (Del Valle 2007). One day in October 2007 the advertisement panels in Manila’s subway cars were covered with poems in Spanish. It was the beginning of an ad campaign called *Berso sa metro* (metro poetry) that developed an idea promoted by Manila’s Cervantes Institute. The

goal was to showcase, in front of the million passengers who ride the subway, the best Filipino poets in Spanish, with a translation into the national language, Filipino. Riders suddenly found themselves in front of stanzas written not only by Balmori, Rizal, Palma, Victoriano, etc., but also by distinguished Spanish and Latin American poets such as San Juan de la Cruz, Gabriel Celaya, Pablo Neruda and Calderón de la Barca. The campaign was a huge success – to which its continuity bears witness – and, in 2010, received an important prize in public institutional relations. The poems were widely discussed on platforms such as Friendster and Facebook. Passengers took pictures and even copied them and distributed them through an SMS. It is surprising that the campaign was possible at all, and that it was “free” – the Light Rail Transit Authority offered the space, which is usually rented for \$6,000 per day, in exchange for Spanish classes for their employees. It was presented as a promotion of reading, “spearheaded by the Instituto Cervantes in collaboration with the Light Rail Transit Authority, the Metrostar Express, the National Historic Institute and the Committee for the Filipino-Spanish Friendship Day.” But, obviously, the goal was not to promote reading in general or reading in English, but to encourage reading in Spanish and Filipino. “Español: *bahagi ng ating kultura*” [part of our culture] reads a sign in the Cervantes Institute’s main quad in front of which many of the thousands of students who visit like to have their picture taken.

Mauro Fernández traces the origins of the linguistic ideologies from which these emotional attachments emerge. In his chapter, he reviews the historical processes through which Spanish, a colonial language, came to be represented not only as a marker of distinction for the local elite in colonial times but, interestingly, as an instrument of progress associated with independence and modernization for the Filipino lettered class. As before, against the backdrop of Enlightenment linguistic theories, ideologies of progress were grounded in language (see chapters by Arnoux and Barrios in Part III, and Bürki in this part), and Fernández presents how Spanish was selected by Filipino *Ilustrados* in their pursuit of the construction of an independent modern nation. He carefully follows the twentieth-century struggle between English, massively promoted by the US and presented as the true language of progress, and Spanish, viewed through the new colonial gaze as the language of religious and political tyranny (for similar associations in the US see Del Valle and García in this volume). And yet, Fernández shows the resilience of Spanish as a soft spot in Filipinos’ image of themselves, as a resource ready to be mobilized in face of the new challenges and opportunities offered by globalization.

Conclusion

As we approach the end of the book, the exercise of making sense of Part V, of trying to discern internal dialogues as well as lines of contact with and

divergence from the rest of the volume, may suggest new forms of structuring the project as a whole and even possible future reincarnations of it. The effort may lead – hopefully *will* lead – to the highlighting of particularly egregious gaps and to the production of a new conceptual landscape through which to map an object as diffused as “the political history of Spanish.”

23 The status of Judeo-Spanish in the Ottoman Empire

Yvette Bürki

In this chapter, I analyze the status of Judeo-Spanish in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, a time of major changes in the Sublime Porte, whose multi-ethnic and multilingual structure had made the survival of Judeo-Spanish possible. These changes would force the Sephardim to adapt to new sociopolitical circumstances and engage in a public discussion of language as both a means of communication and a symbol of identity. The dispute developed into a full-fledged language-ideological debate (Blommaert 1999), with Sephardic intellectuals using the press as a privileged forum for the deployment of their arguments. A most significant contribution was the series of opinion pieces published in the Salonica newspaper *La Época* between 1901 and 1902, whose staunch defense of Judeo-Spanish, under the guidance of its editor-in-chief Sam Lévy, exemplifies one of multiple positions that were taken with regard to Judeo-Spanish and to how it should be seen in the context of changing cultural and political ideologies.

Judeo-Spanish: historical background

Birth and development of Judeo-Spanish

Judeo-Spanish – a modern glottonym whose use is limited to scientific circles – has been given a number of names by its speakers that clue us in to its ethnic-religious origins and its geographical provenance: *jidió*, *judesmo*, *españolit*, *ladino*,¹ etc. Some of these names refer us back to Spain, but, although Judeo-Spanish is a Hispanic language variety, it developed and spread outside the Iberian Peninsula under specific historical conditions. It has been spoken and written, in various degrees, by Sephardic communities of the Eastern Mediterranean basin and North Africa (a variety known as *Haquetia* or *Haqutia*).

After the mass exodus from the Iberian Peninsula following the edict of expulsion of the Jews from Castile–León in 1492 (Portugal following suit in

¹ For the purposes of this article, I shall use Judeo-Spanish and Ladino interchangeably.

1497), the Sephardim headed in various directions: some went to the South of France, others to North Africa and still others to central and northern Europe, setting up flourishing communities in Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg and London. But most Sephardim took the road east, to Italy and, above all, towards the land of the growing Ottoman Empire, where Sultan Bajazet II (1447–1512) welcomed them with open arms as non-Christian Westerners (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 8). The Jews from the Iberian Peninsula settled in major cities: Istanbul, Salonica, Izmir, Edirne, Sofia, Plovdiv, Monastir, Sarajevo and others, some of which became Sephardic centers *par excellence*. This was the case with Salonica, where the majority of the population was Sephardic. The political and social circumstances of the Ottoman Empire of the time, which included within its vast territories a number of ethnic-religious groups coexisting independently of each other (Veinstein 1993: 350), were conducive to the survival of minority languages. Governed according to the principles of *dhimma*,² the various nations that lived within the Sublime Porte, being non-Islamic minorities, could maintain their own institutions, religion, customs, identities and, of course, language. The Ottoman Empire was undoubtedly a multilingual and multi-ethnic mosaic.

Cut off from the Iberian Peninsula and in contact with the languages of their new surroundings (first Turkish and then others such as Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian and Greek), the various peninsular dialects carried by the Jews from their regions of origin (Aragon, Castile, Catalonia, etc.) underwent in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a process of koineization in which Castilian turned out to be dominant (Minervini 2008; Penny 1992). By the seventeenth century, the characteristic features, both oral and written, of what we know as Judeo-Spanish (Minervini 2008: 38) had already taken shape as it became the lingua franca of the Mediterranean Jewish world, used for business, at the synagogue, in education and in general community life (Minervini 2008: 35). In the eighteenth century, Judeo-Spanish would show the first major signs of literary creativity (Hassán 1995: 121).

On the subject of writing, it should be noted that, before the expulsion, it was usual among the Sephardim, as happened with other Jewish languages and dialects, to write the Romance language of their region in *Aljamiado*, that is, using characters from the Hebrew alphabet (Hassán 1995: 118). This practice, imposed by the traditional Jewish education system, would remain among the Levantine Jews who spoke Judeo-Spanish.

² By *dhimma* one can understand the legal status *dhimmi*, meaning non-Muslim who lived in the Ottoman Empire. According to this, the non-Muslims were considered second class citizens, subject to a number of taxes, receiving in exchange certain concessions such as the free practice of their community life, their religion and traditions and their language (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 2–3).

Western influence

Judeo-Spanish would continue to enjoy robust health throughout the nineteenth century and up to the beginnings of the twentieth,³ although it would undergo some fairly important linguistic changes. Such transformations in the structure of Ladino are closely linked to sociopolitical changes that the Ottoman Empire was undergoing at the time and that would affect the literary output as well as the way its own speakers saw it as a vernacular language.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was hit by a major crisis due to a number of factors that included the collapse of its outdated structures and the growth of strong separatist nationalist movements among its minorities. These structural and political problems, in addition to pressure from European powers, led the Sublime Porte to open up to the West and implement modern social and political measures modeled after those prevalent in Western countries. This process, known as the Tanzimat [new order]⁴ reforms, took place between 1839 and 1876 (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 68) and involved a new concept of citizenship that legally turned all people residing in the Ottoman Empire – regardless of their ethnic-religious origins – into citizens for all legal purposes. That meant, linguistically, learning Turkish regardless of ethnicity and religion.⁵ This new concept of citizenship, known as pan-Ottomanism (Weiker 1992: 120) or Ottoman patriotism (Levy 1994: 103), was an attempt by the Ottoman Empire to redefine, at least in theory, its political tradition as a pluralistic Muslim state in order to encourage the loyalty of all subjects. It was expected that it would restrain the emergence of nationalistic movements and counter political objections from some European states that seriously threatened its existence (Levy 1994: 103–4).

Opening up to the West would also end up facilitating intellectual exchange between the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire and their European counterparts, both Sephardim and Ashkenazim. The ideas of the Haskala, which designates the different Jewish Enlightenment movements, penetrated and caught on among men of letters from the Ottoman Sephardic communities and played a key role in the process of secularization and social renewal – materially, culturally and ideologically. In this regard, we have to mention both the decisive role played by French Jews on a material, educational and cultural level and

³ For information on when Judeo-Spanish was at its peak, see Schmid 2008.

⁴ Under the title of Tanzimat reforms we include the program of reforms begun by the Ottoman Empire after the post-Napoleonic France model. Its aim was the Europeanization and administrative centralization of the Empire, as well as the modernization and secularization of the whole state apparatus (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 68). The reforms were to culminate in the drawing up of a Constitution, which never saw the light of day.

⁵ However, the Turkish language could only be officially imposed with the creation of the Turkish State and the introduction of Kemal Atatürk's education reforms in 1928.

the movement led by the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* in the fields of literature and ideology (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 106–9).

The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and French culture

In accordance with the ideology of the Jewish Enlightenment, it was felt that, in order to achieve a change in mentality that allowed for the modernization of Ottoman Jewish society, the first step was educational reform. This belief led to the creation of a series of schools sponsored by European Jewish organizations and philanthropists that followed modern Western models, which caused a cultural revolution in the Sephardic world. Schools subsidized by these entities – such as the Lipmann in Salonica (1856) (Nehama 1978: 663), the Camondos in Istanbul (1858) (Fresco 1993: 77), the Italian schools like the Dante Alighieri⁶ schools (1901) (Bunis 1996: 230), those of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* (1903),⁷ and the French schools, sponsored by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (1862)⁸ – were set up for the Sephardic population, using modern programs in Western languages of culture in order to modernize, westernize and bring progressiveness to the Jewish communities in the East.

Of all the Western-type schools, it is unquestionably those of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, an institution set up by French Jews in 1860, that grew the deepest roots and had the most significant effect. In its heyday, the Alliance subsidized 183 schools with a total of 43,700 students across the Ottoman Empire (Levy 1994: 113–14), acting as a real hothouse for the Western, especially French, way of life. Not surprisingly, most members of ideologically progressive and modern groups in early twentieth-century Sephardic society were educated in schools belonging to this French Jewish institution (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 85). In the case of Salonica, after several attempts failed because of opposition from conservative rabbis (Nehama 1978: 666–7), the first school of the Alliance was inaugurated in 1873 (Molho 1993: 253).⁹

Thus, through an intricate network of secular schools (including schools for girls), the traditional Sephardic world was opened not only to the culture and literature of France but also to its language, in which most subjects were taught.

⁶ Italian schools in Salonica opened earlier. The first Italian-language school was established in 1856 thanks to the financial support of Solomon Fernández y Cassuto. It would receive funding from Rome three years later (Nehama 1978: 692).

⁷ The *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* was a society similar to the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, established in Germany in 1901. Its focus was mainly Palestine, where it opened its first kindergarten and established a network of Jewish schools with German as the language of culture (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*; Bar-Chen 2005: 89). In Salonica the first school of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* was established only in 1910 (Molho 1993: 267).

⁸ The first school of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* was established in Tetouan (Morocco).

⁹ All in all, the Alliance opened nine schools in Salonica between 1873 and 1910 – three for boys, five for girls and one mixed. The first school for women opened in 1874 (Molho 1993: 262).

As a result, the Sephardic elite – the line of intellectuals, editors and publicists in the Eastern Jewish communities – would adopt French as the language of culture *par excellence*.

Neo-Judeo-Spanish

The presence of Western culture also meant coming into contact with new kinds of text production hitherto unknown in the Empire. New literary genres were introduced – the novel, theater, poetry and styles of journalism – which revolutionized the Sephardic literary conventions in Judeo-Spanish, producing a veritable boom in publishing: translations of French, Italian, Russian and Hebrew novels, poetry, historical works and scientific tracts, and a huge quantity of long- or short-lived periodicals, came out in Ladino from the second half of the nineteenth century in the various Sephardic communities in the East. This massive production of texts and the corresponding expansion of registers and styles went hand in hand with a process of linguistic standardization. They used the resources they had at hand: French was the first reserve for linguistic elaboration, but other languages, such as Italian and modern Spanish, also played a part. Although often overlooked, they also exploited the possibilities of the Judeo-Spanish system itself by producing neologisms by analogy and derivation. Following Romero (1992: 23), this modern Judeo-Spanish, re-Romanized by the influence of languages of culture – particularly French – is normally referred to as *neo-Judeo-Spanish*. Other scholars, such as Sephiha (1973: 26), underlining its strong French influence, have named it *Judeo-Fragno*l.

It is during this dynamic period in the linguistic and literary history of Judeo-Spanish that there appears, particularly in the pages of the press, a controversy surrounding the language, its identifying value and its potential – with regard to both style and medium – as a vehicle of communication in a modern society. It is clear that this is a debate which, as we will see in the coming pages, is closely linked to the various cultural and political projects circulating among the enlightened Sephardim and which, in a wider sense, participates in the political developments and relationships within Sephardic society, as part of first the Ottoman and secondly the Jewish world.

The Judeo-Spanish press

The importance of the Judeo-Spanish press in spreading modern ideas from the final third of the nineteenth century onwards is undeniable.¹⁰ The scholars,

¹⁰ For information on the importance of the press in the cultural, literary and linguistic world, see Romero 1992: 179–219, Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 110–15 and Abrevaya Stein 2004.

or Maskilim, in the East, educated in *Alliance* schools and generally in possession of higher education diplomas from European universities, took it upon themselves to bring the masses towards modernity and progress in its various guises. And they chose to do it by using the language of the majority: Judeo-Spanish.¹¹ The Judeo-Spanish press became therefore the broadest and most appropriate channel through which to disseminate knowledge, culture and European and Hebrew literature (in the form of serialized translations). But it was also a vital platform for the propagation and exchange of the various political ideas and ideological stands that prevailed within Sephardic communities. As Benbassa and Rodrigue put it, in the Judeo-Spanish press “every trend was represented and reflected the politicization of the communities” (1995: 112).

La Época, published in Salonica – which was not only the Jerusalem of the Balkans but the center of publishing in Judeo-Spanish –, was one of the many newspapers that engaged in the language debate and gave voice to a number of linguistic ideologies.¹² From the moment of its creation, *La Época, Revista comercial y literaria*, founded on November 1, 1875 by Sa'adī Šemuel Haleví, was an avant-garde newspaper. It promoted progress and Westernization, particularly that of a French stamp. Its greatest exponent was the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, and it entered into heated debate with the conservative wings of Salonica Judaism (Nehama 1978: 713–14). However, the newspaper was characterized, at the time that concerns us, by its defense of Ottoman Judaism in the face of European Jewish nationalist movements, holding up Judeo-Spanish as the standard and linguistic symbol of Sephardic (rather than Jewish) Ottomanism. It was the anti-Zionist Sam Lévy (Šemuel Sa'adī Haleví), the son of the newspaper's founder and editor-in-chief, who headed and defended this position, through the pages of *La Época*.

Language and politics identity, modernity and empire

The encounter with Western cultures and languages, the new role played by Turkish as the language of all Ottoman subjects, the return of Hebrew as the absolute Jewish language and the recognition of “*vero español*” as the language of their ancestors created a heated controversy among Sephardic intellectuals that came to be known as “the language question.” This controversy, which unfolded in hundreds of newspaper articles, lasted – with more intensity in some periods than in others – from the 1870s until just a few years before World War

¹¹ It is only from the 20th century onwards that Frenchification also reached the petite bourgeoisie, meaning tradespeople and craftworkers (Schmid 2007: 18).

¹² For information on the ideological differences between the most representative and longer-lived newspapers in Salonica, *La Época* and *El Avenir*, see Bürki 2010a, 2010b.

II (de Vidas 1991–6: 156; Romero 2010: 436) and, broadly speaking, revolved around two groups of questions. The first directly concerns Judeo-Spanish. What is its status? Should it be preserved, modified, or abandoned in favor of a different language? And if so, which (Bunis 1996: 227)? The second deals with the status of other languages. Which other language(s) is/are able to perform an identifying role and also be effective as an instrument of communication for the Sephardim as citizens of the Ottoman Empire?

Eminent Sephardic intellectuals like anti-Zionist Abraham Danon (Edirne) (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 107), Alexander Ben-Guiat (Izmir) (Bunis 2011: 247) and journalist Sam Lévy (Salonica), whom we shall discuss at length in this chapter, had demanded the protection and promotion of Judeo-Spanish as the mother tongue of the Ottoman Jews.¹³ Also, Abraham Cappedon (Romania and Sarajevo) had defended a similar idea regarding language even before becoming a committed Hispanophile through the influence of Spaniard Ángel Pulido¹⁴ (Schmid 2010). It should be noted that, even among those who banked on Judeo-Spanish as the language of culture for the Sephardim, the writing system became a topic of discussion: should the *Aljamiado* be maintained or should the Latin alphabet be adopted?

There was also a powerful group of Sephardic intellectuals educated in Western schools, particularly the *Alliance*, who denied Judeo-Spanish the status of a language able to meet all the needs of the modern world, and demanded that it be abandoned in favor of other languages of culture. In addition to French, Italian and to a lesser extent German (Bunis 1996: 228–31), two other languages connected to the history of the Sephardim were discussed as possible vehicles of communication: Hebrew and Spanish.

It was because of the Haskala movements that Sephardic intellectuals came into contact with the enlightened Ashkenazim, who spread nationalist Jewish ideas. With them came the introduction of Hebrew as a living language among the enlightened class (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 107). From the final third of the nineteenth century onwards, various associations were set up to spread the Hebrew language and culture, among them *Doršei Lešon Šion* [Friends of the Language of Zion] in Istanbul and the Salonica society Cadima, with nationalist tendencies (Benbassa and Rodrigue 1995: 108–9). However, Hebrew, apart

¹³ For a detailed analysis of the Sephardi intellectuals and publishers who advocated the propagation of Judeo-Spanish as the language of the Eastern Sephardim in this period see Bunis (2011).

¹⁴ Senator Ángel Pulido was a strong supporter of the Sephardic cause in Spain and the “discoverer” of the Ottoman Sephardim. At the beginning of the 20th century he launched a campaign to help economically those Jews with a peninsular origin and award them Spanish nationality. Pulido, author of the famous book *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* (1905) is probably the Spanish figure who contributed most to spreading the idea that Judeo-Spanish is a corrupted form of Old Castilian.

from certain exceptions such as in Bulgaria, never achieved real acceptance among the population (Şaul 2001: 149).

Also, the Sephardic modernization movement resulted in Spaniards “discovering” the Jews with a peninsular origin, who, in turn, “realized that this country called Spain was a current reality and not merely a historical vestige” (Díaz-Mas 1997: 209). Because of this new mutual recognition – while the majority rejected the idea (Romero 2010: 445;¹⁵ Bunis 1996: 229) – some Sephardic intellectuals and publicists of the stature of Yosef Calvo (Vienna), José Estrugo (Izmir) and Eliyahu Torres (Salonica) proposed replacing Judeo-Spanish with modern Spanish (Bunis 1996: 229).

Finally, the fact that the Tanzimat reforms had given Ottoman Jews the status of citizens of the Empire introduced the need to adopt as the language of the Jewish Ottoman community Turkish, a language which, until then, had been poorly learned and not widespread among the Sephardim (Rodrigue 2001: 309). In the period under discussion, the status of Turkish as one of the languages of the Sephardim of the East was not the source of any controversy because – as numerous newspaper campaigns of the time that supported learning Turkish¹⁶ show – there seemed to be general agreement on the urgent need to learn the language of the Empire (Romero 2010: 450; Lochow-Drüke 2007: 60–4). The thorny question was whether it should be adopted together with Judeo-Spanish or instead of it.

The following quote by Sam Lévy illustrates the assortment of views around the issue of language, which, as we have already mentioned, circulated among Sephardic intellectuals and were reflected in the newspapers of the time:

Some years ago, a great debate arose in the Jewish press in the East on the subject of Judeo-Spanish. All the newspapers written in this *jargon* gave their opinions on the matter. The question was not resolved, as is always the case when there is free discussion, and they found themselves necessarily divided in opinion on a number of points: some people believed the corrupted language should be abandoned; others demanded that it be replaced with French or Italian; others suggested keeping it, but writing it in Latin

¹⁵ Strong opposition to the idea of adopting Spanish as the language of the Eastern Sephardim could be found in the article by Isac Ferrara published in Istanbul’s newspaper *El Tiempo* (August 11, 1904, 974c–975c) brought to light by Romero (2010: 447–9). (In citations of newspaper articles, the letter following a page number indicates the column, from right to left.)

¹⁶ As evidence, we can cite the numerous articles *La Época* and *El Avenir* published in 1901 and 1902 as part of this pro-Turkish campaign. “La Lingua Turca” [The Turkish language] (*El Avenir*, July 10, 1901, 321a–322a; *El Avenir*, July 31, 1901, 357a–358a), “Llamada a nuestros hermanos por la propaganda de la lingua turca” [A call to our brothers to publicize the Turkish language] (*El Avenir*, August 6, 1902, 1a–1b), “Propaganda por la Lingua Turca” [Publicity for the Turkish language] (*El Avenir*, September 3, 1902, 8a–8b), the cycle of lectures given by Sam Lévy in Istanbul and Brusa, published in *La Época* (May 17, 1901, 4a–4c; May 24, 1901, 4a–4c; June 7, 1901, 4a–4c; August 15, 1902, 9a–9c; August 22, 1902, 9a–9c), and León Mošé Saporta’s article defending Turkish (*La Época*, April 18, 1902, 5a).

letters. There were even some who suggested replacing it with Turkish. (*La Época*, May 30, 1901, 4a–4b)

In what follows, we focus on the defense of Judeo-Spanish as the language *par excellence* of the Sephardic Ottomans in the newspaper *La Época* through a series of articles published between 1901 and 1902.

The status of Judeo-Spanish

In a number of opinion articles and, particularly, in a series of lectures he delivered in the Sephardic communities of the Ottoman cities, Sam Lévy categorically defends Judeo-Spanish as the language destined to be the normal vehicle of communication for the Sephardim of the East. In his Istanbul lecture he clearly states *La Época*'s position regarding Ladino and calls not only for its preservation but also for its elaboration into a language functional at all communicative registers: "Unless I am very much mistaken, *La Época* was for the idea of perfecting Judeo-Spanish, respecting its originality and its writing, teaching it in schools, writing or translating even classic works, and bringing it little by little to the level of a living language" (*La Época*, May 30, 1901, 4a–1b).

In the same vein, numerous articles in *La Época* react against the application of the derogatory term "*jargon*" to Judeo-Spanish. For example, passages from an article by Andi Loev – originally published in the Viennese newspaper *Die Welt* – explain the reasons why the language of the Sephardim cannot be classified as a simple jargon:

"Jargon" is the language of a people, mauled in the mouth of a foreigner. For example, German in the mouth of a Russian who had spent a short time in Germany; French in the mouth of an Englishman who had dwelt in France for a spell.

But to call a language passed in the East from father to son, which developed and took shape naturally – Judeo-Spanish, for example –, a *jargon* would be unjust and unreasonable.

These so-called *jargons* maintained many old expressions which were lost in more modern languages, because of the solidarity of those who spoke it and the state of isolation in which the Jews lived for many centuries.

The Jews in Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia and even Wallachia – all those whose grandparents were exiled from the orchards of Spain – have not yet stopped speaking the language of their forefathers. The language is, in reality, mixed with foreign words, but still maintains the form that was used in Spain. (*La Época*, December 20, 1901, 1b–1c)

For this author the label is unfair and unreasonable when applied to Judeo-Spanish, since jargons are defective uses of languages as spoken by foreigners. In contrast, Judeo-Spanish is a naturally developed modern language that has

been passed down from generation to generation and still maintains its Spanish essence despite being lexically “mixed” due to its isolation from other Hispanic varieties and long contact with other languages.

In another lecture delivered a year later in Bursa, Lévy, referring to the charge of laziness leveled at the Sephardim for their limited knowledge of Turkish, spoke at length on the historical legitimacy of Judeo-Spanish:

Arriving from Spain, the Jews brought with them a very rich literary baggage: their languages were among the purest; there were among them highly praised writers, orators held in high esteem in their native countries.

However, Turkish literature had not yet undergone the honorable development that we see today. So it was natural that our grandparents would be unwilling to give up their mother tongue, which they knew so perfectly, in order to use an incipient language. To give some idea of the perfect knowledge the Jews from the East had of the Spanish dialects a century after being exiled, some Spanish travelers arriving on the Turkish hills on the Mediterranean were glad to hear the little Jewish children speaking Spanish more purely than the inhabitants of Madrid, Seville or Aragon . . . The Spanish language, after developing among the children of Israel to reach its highest level, began to get corrupted, particularly at the seaports where there were people of all nationalities. (*La Época*, August 15, 1902, 9b–9c)

Lévy not only praised the perfection and literary richness of Spanish compared to the incipient Turkish language of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but also pointed out that it was the mother tongue of the Sephardim of the time, who spoke it as purely as – if not more purely than – the inhabitants of Spain themselves.

Judeo-Spanish: a national language for Sephardic Jews

In *La Época*, Judeo-Spanish was given the status of the language of the Sephardic people in the East. Loev, in the article already mentioned, refers to its value as long as Hebrew does not spread throughout the community: “But much time has still to pass before the majority of Jews are ready to use the Holy Tongue. Until such time, the popular dialect, Judeo-Spanish, will serve for a significant part of the Jewish nation as a national language” (*La Época*, August 15, 1902, 9c). It is a clear assertion of the identity of the Sephardic nation, a “people” who share a common historic, cultural, ethnic and linguistic heritage (Gardt 2004–2006: 369). And, precisely because language is, from the nineteenth-century nationalist viewpoint (Fishman 1973: 4), an essential element of the identity and solidarity among the Jews of the Ottoman Empire, Loev states: “It is in our nation’s interest to defend these dialects from the disdain and hostility of the ignorant. The language question is linked to the question of Jewish solidarity. Voices must be raised against the falsified arguments of

the enemy: down with the insulting word ‘jargon’!” (*La Época*, December 20, 1901, 1c).

In the same line of argument, those Sephardim who do not identify with Judeo-Spanish are represented as ungrateful children because they deny their Jewish nature and their language, in other words, their condition as Sephardim: “It is lack of knowledge and dignity that makes Jews in certain circles look upon the parents’ language with contempt. It is lack of self-esteem that makes Israel hate itself” (*La Época*, December 20, 1901, 1c). In the same tone, in one of his controversial articles on Judeo-Spanish addressing the editor of Istanbul’s *El Tiempo*, David Fresco, Lévy says: “Open your eyes, Mr. David Fresco, and you will see that Judeo-Spanish is not only not doing us any harm, it is actually contributing to some extent to the preservation of the national character of the Jew in the East” (*La Época*, June 28, 1901, 4c). In sum, *La Época*, with Sam Lévy at the helm, defended Judeo-Spanish as a formative element of Ottoman Judaism.

The organic evolution of Judeo-Spanish

As we just saw, *La Época* emphasizes that it was the twin circumstances of isolation and coexistence with other peoples – after the Sephardim’s expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula and settlement in Turkish territories – that led to the separation of Judeo-Spanish from modern Spanish. Lévy highlights these facts on a number of occasions in order to explain the differences between standard and Sephardic Spanish. Interestingly, in deploying his arguments, he draws from the authority of comparative and historical grammar, according to which, languages – like all living organisms – change according to laws as well as socio-historical and spatial conditions that are independent of human will:

The difference of opinion among the various writers arose because all of them, taking up their pens, looked inwards at themselves or their immediate surroundings, not at the general public or at the needs of the people. A writer who speaks French or Italian, or who has friends from Latin countries, would find it only natural that the Jews in the East should speak like the Italians or French; another writer who had a relative in the civil service, imagining that all his other relatives could be in the civil service, would suggest adopting Turkish as the mother tongue; still another journalist, wanting to get his readers worked up or in order to show off would not hesitate to demand the suppression of Judeo-Spanish, forgetting that if we expressed ourselves in German, he could no longer produce such resonant phrases.

None of them takes the philological point of view, using the study of languages, which is a simple science that shows us that no language has ever obeyed the will of one man, or of hundreds, or indeed of thousands, but [each language] has always followed the laws of nature and the economic, climatic and material needs of mankind. (*La Época*, May 30, 1901, 4a)

Unlike so many others who look at Judeo-Spanish subjectively, without understanding the nature of language, Lévy, who had read arts at the Sorbonne (Lévy 2000: 87–99) and uses his scientific legitimacy to advance his position, sees the changes in Judeo-Spanish as following a natural and irreversible linguistic evolution. And this, as we see it, is one of the touchstones in Lévy's argument. In his Bursa lecture, the Salonica journalist returns to the same question even more explicitly:

using arguments taken from my linguistic studies, I tried to show that although the old dialect we brought from Spain had undergone fairly radical changes, it was not on the verge of disappearing. Quite the opposite, in fact; obeying well-defined philological laws, Judeo-Spanish – like that centuries-old tree that looks so uncared for – far from dying, started to grow new, strong blossoms, because they were taking root in a rich and fruitful linguistic terrain. (*La Época*, August 15, 1902, 9a–9b)

As we can see, Lévy anchored his position in linguistic science and suggested that Judeo-Spanish had developed, like all languages, according to the laws of change and the socio-historical conditions in which its speakers happened to live. Furthermore, he felt that, at this stage of its life, it was strong enough to continue being perfected and enriched.

A program for the elaboration of Judeo-Spanish

And what better proof of the language's fertility than the fruits it had begun to bear, made evident by the considerable increase in its literary and journalistic output? The language, according to Lévy, was mature enough for the next stage, institutionalized cultivation:

In the space of a few years we saw, in the main cities of the East, the birth of newspapers written more or less in Judeo-Spanish, a large number of translations and creative works: novels, stories, romances, poetry and so on began to appear. Not long ago people began to talk about the composition of a grammar, vocabulary and of minor classics in Judeo-Spanish. (*La Época*, May 10, 1901, 4b)

The development of Judeo-Spanish writing is in no way surprising to Lévy because it is similar to the experience of Jewish dialects derived from other languages. Only a few years earlier, there had also been doubt about the possible literary development of Yiddish, and yet “today libraries house more than 6,000 works in ‘Polish’ [i.e. Polish Yiddish], including books on science, philosophy, history and theatre. The same thing will inevitably happen with Judeo-Spanish” (*La Época*, June 21, 1901, 4c).

Crucial to the continued health of Judeo-Spanish is the fact that not only are more and better works being produced but also more people are reading them: “Getting back to the people: How many readers did the newspapers have ten or fifteen years ago, and of these, how many understood? The number rose in

giant leaps, and quality went up at the same rate” (*La Época*, May 30, 1901, 1b–1c). What is more, Judeo-Spanish had young, educated speakers, which Lévy was able to see for himself, even outside Ottoman territory:

Today most readers in Judeo-Spanish are young people of good class, among whom there are many who know two or three languages very well, speak Turkish fluently, English like a gentleman and French like a Parisian. I have personally had the opportunity to meet young Jews in European cities from Turkey, Bulgaria and even Hungary, dressed in the latest fashions, with flawless elegance and speaking Judeo-Spanish with real pleasure. (*La Época*, June 7, 1901, 1a)

As can be gathered from the passages above, Lévy, while accepting that Judeo-Spanish is a diachronic product of Spanish, does not classify it as a dialect of the latter. Instead, he grants Judeo-Spanish, in its current form, an autonomous status. He suggests taking a number of measures to organize and normalize it, so that it can actually function as the language of the Ottoman Sephardim and once and for all liberate itself from the stigma of being considered a jargon. In his Bursa lecture, Lévy insists “upon the need to organize our language, to give it rules, a vocabulary; to write those small preparatory scholarly works in it, in order to take Judeo-Spanish up to the level of an established language, though not completely like pure Spanish, which would be utopian” (*La Época*, August 15, 1902, 9a–9b). In fact, he summarizes the points of a linguistic program that he had sketched out on previous occasions:

Achieving this calls for no sacrifice, or hardly even any effort. It would be enough to simply support the work of the newspapers, help the production of literary works, and teach basic notions of Judeo-Spanish to minors in schools so that they do not feel contempt later on for this *jargon* that some see as so vulgar and dishonorable. (*La Época*, August 15, 1902, 9a–9b)

To Lévy, Judeo-Spanish is an obvious case of “language by elaboration” (Kloss 1967: 47). In his program the basic points of all linguistic planning are clearly laid out. Following Haugen (1966), these points can be summarized as follows:

a) Linguistically:

formal development: preserve the Hebrew script as a symbol of Judaism.¹⁷

functional development: produce a grammar and a dictionary that form a basis for preparation of schoolbooks and increase literary production.

b) Socially:

teach the language in schools not only to create uniformity according to the criteria of a Judeo-Spanish grammar and a dictionary, but also to create

¹⁷ However, Lévy was not always of this opinion. On the contrary, in other articles published in *La Época* in the previous century, Lévy strongly advocated a change to the Latin alphabet (see Romero 2010: 442–3).

a positive attitude among young speakers that values their language and ensures its transmission to coming generations.

Two languages for the Turkish Sephardim

Sam Lévy, unlike other Sephardic intellectuals such as David Fresco, editor of Istanbul's newspaper *El Tiempo*, supported the idea of maintaining Judeo-Spanish alongside Turkish instead of replacing it with the language of the Empire. He spoke clearly about the two languages in his Bursa lecture:

Five or six years ago, in keeping with its identity as a national and patriotic newspaper, *La Época* set for itself the task of making our fellow Jews in Turkey appreciate the need for them to learn the language of the country . . .

For this reason, for the last three years, on all the visits to the districts and surrounding provinces, representatives of *La Época* have been asking community leaders for permission to give public addresses in favor of spreading the Turkish language among our brothers. Last year, I happened to be doing my part in Izmir, Constantinople and Haidar-Pasha. In this last neighborhood, there were some unintentional misunderstandings, which on this occasion it seems appropriate to discuss, since today's explanations fit perfectly within the scope of this meeting.

Reading the advertisement for the lecture on the usefulness of the Turkish language which I was due to give in Haidar Pasha, certain gentlemen understood that I was going to demand the replacement of Judeo-Spanish – as if simply demanding it would be enough – and pronounce a verdict condemning to death the language that we have spoken for so many centuries. Such was neither my mandate nor my intention . . . Many of those present at the meeting must have been shocked when I did not insult our mother tongue . . .

With reference to the Turkish language, I demanded that its study be absolutely compulsory in all our schools; that, in the most advanced colleges, the programs must be based on the language of the country; and that certain areas of secular knowledge be taught in it. (*La Época*, August 15, 1902, 9a–9b)

Sam Lévy was indeed a committed Ottomanist, and, in his opinion, only both languages together, Judeo-Spanish and Turkish, could be used to define the symbols of identity of the Ottoman Sephardi.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have described and situated the defense of Judeo-Spanish made in *La Época* – led by its editor-in-chief Sam Lévy – in the context of what was known at the time as the language question: a controversy surrounding the status of Judeo-Spanish that arose among Ottoman Sephardim in response to the socio-historical changes undergone by the Sublime Porte in the first half

of the nineteenth century. Sam Lévy favored Judeo-Spanish as the Sephardic language *par excellence* and based his defense on a four-point argument:

- (a) it is the offspring of a language – Spanish – with a rich linguistic and literary past, which is, in turn, connected to the cultural origins of the Sephardim;
- (b) Ladino, like any living language, evolved as a result of organic changes and socio-historical conditions that affected its speakers in the Ottoman lands;
- (c) this independent evolution was beginning to bear fruit and, at the end of the nineteenth century, Judeo-Spanish was at its peak because of the enormous amount of written output and number of speakers, particularly young people;
- (d) as a result of this, Judeo-Spanish was ready to take the definitive step towards its establishment, alongside Turkish, as the language of culture for the Ottoman Sephardim: the institutionalized cultivation of its use in schools.

Sam Lévy was not wrong. Paradoxically, the controversy surrounding the status of Judeo-Spanish took place precisely at a time when the language was indeed at its peak. However, under pressure from the strict pan-Ottomanism imposed by the new Turkish State and from nationalist politics in the new States which arose after the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, and strained by the absence of a standardizing center due to new waves of migration that led the Sephardim to settle outside Ottoman territories, Judeo-Spanish could not reinstate itself among its speakers, who confined it definitively – like a *jargon* – to domestic usage, where it ended up drifting off to sleep forever.

24 Language and the hispanization of Equatorial Guinea

Susana Castillo Rodríguez

In this chapter, we focus on the Spanish territories in Equatorial Guinea¹ during the colonial period. The analysis aims at highlighting changes in language use, function and representation that took place in two different periods: the arrival and settlement of the Catholic missions (1848–1917) and the colonial government under the Francoist regime until the designation of Equatorial Guinea as a province of Spain (1939–58).

In the first phase, language was seen as the instrument of evangelical colonization *par excellence* and discussions of its role in education became the site of an ideological battle over the recognition of Spanish ecclesiastic authority. At first, priests who were engaged in linguistic colonization learned and translated the vernaculars and eventually, as they became concerned about the prominence of English, pleaded for a mandate to make native speakers learn and use Spanish. These policies resulted in a hierarchical linguistic pluralism in which Spanish was the official language of administration, religion and education. Meanwhile, the colonial government did not recognize or speak to the use of vernacular languages in domestic domains. Only Spanish and English were implicated, even recognized, in administrative pronouncements such as royal orders.

Under the Francoist regime, church and state concurred on a policy that promoted Spanish as the instrument of a cohesive National-Catholic project and of the “Spanish Nation’s imperial reconstruction” (*la Hispanidad*). Distant Equatorial Guinea was manipulated at opportune moments and became a fundamental and symbolic geopolitical site for the elaboration of the Fatherland, with Spanish acting as the cultural operator.

Historical synopsis

The colonial history of Equatorial Guinea can be said to unfold in four periods. The first began with explorations by Portuguese sailors in 1469 and ended with

¹ Until decolonization in 1968 the territory was known as “Spanish Guinea” in English and as “Guinea Española” in Spanish.

the Treaty of El Pardo between Spain and Portugal in 1778. With this treaty, Spain received the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon, and additional tracts along the coast. In turn, Spain ceded to Portugal the territory of Sacramento and the Island of Santa Catalina. The second period – from 1827 to 1900 – is characterized by limited Spanish exploitation of the African territories. France, Britain and Germany capitalized on this lull, sent colonists to Equatorial Guinea, and divvied up the last crumbs of the “African scramble.” The third period, inaugurated by the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1900), opened up a new phase of colonial exploitation that included the continental interior. Negotiations with France left Spain with a mere twelfth of the African West Coast territories, which aggravated the imperial malaise that followed the loss of the American colonies in 1898. Despite that, work on plantations of cacao, wood, palm oil and coffee was intensified, and infrastructures and per capita income increased during the first third of the twentieth century (Sundiata 1974; Díaz 2005). In the fourth period of colonial interdependency (1939–58), Franco actively pursued a policy that made use of Equatorial Guinea as a reinvigorating motor for Spain’s exhausted post-war economy. This stage of exploitation endured for twenty years while the African continent began to ripple with the turmoil and current of independence. With the law of provincialization of July 30, 1959 the Equatorial province was divided in two (Fernando Po and Rio Muni) and gained access to the same rights as the other Spanish provinces. In 1963, it became an autonomous region and, five years later, declared its independence.

The establishment of the missions

On October 28, 1827 the British explorer William Fitzwilliam Owen arrived at the Island of Fernando Po (now Bioko) and founded Port Clarence. He brought with him a party of several hundred, including European mechanics, laborers – or “settlers” – from the liberated Africans of Sierra Leone, and troops to encourage reluctant volunteers to work (Lynn 1984). The island quickly came to be populated by British traders, former black slaves and Protestant clerics. Britain’s flag (the Union Jack), clothing, currency, commodities, manners and language ruled the social and political life on the island until the Royal Order of December 30, 1845 issued by the Spanish Queen, Isabella II, urged the Baptist missionaries to leave in order to safeguard “the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman faith” (Pujadas 1968: 40). In 1846, consul Guillemard de Aragón requested the recognition of the Catholic authority in Annobon, Corisco and Fernando Po, and, the same year, Fathers Usera and Del Cerro arrived in Fernando Po to establish the first Spanish Catholic mission, promising action to match the rhetoric. Their work lasted only a couple of years, however, as their return to Spain was hastened by yellow fever. Furthermore, it was not until 1858 that the last of the British clergymen left Bioko. Even that departure was only temporary.

In 1870, following the guarantees of freedom of worship promulgated by the Spanish Constitution of 1869, the English Primitive Methodist church was authorized to return to the island. Meanwhile, the North American Presbyterian Missions arrived when the British were absent. After 1860 they expanded through the island of Corisco and specifically in the continental region of Río Muni.

The protracted scarcity of Spanish missionary activity extended through 1855, when the Spanish government, driven by the fact that foreign missions were effectively taking possession of the territories, decided to send the priest Martínez y Sanz to found the Apostolic Prefecture in Fernando Po (Martínez y Sanz 1859). One year after Martínez y Sanz's brief stay, the Jesuits arrived in Fernando Po under the command of José Irisarri, whose own prompt return was precipitated by the 1868 revolution in Spain² as well as by the terrible climatic conditions and health problems. Between 1858 and 1866, four Royal Orders politically and economically endorsed the expansion of the missionary churches on the islands of the Gulf of Guinea.³ Even though the Jesuit missions lasted fourteen years (1858–72), they do not seem to have taken specific actions on language. Spanish missionaries focused rather on establishing the limits of their vicariate. The most significant actions in that period were the foundation of religious schools and the establishment of Catholicism as the sole official creed in Spain's West African territories (Unzueta y Yuste 1947). Finally, a group of Claretian missionaries arrived in Santa Isabel on November 13, 1883, where they were joined by Conceptionists in 1885, laying down the human infrastructure for the Catholic evangelization of the islands.⁴

The native languages and the (uncomfortable) presence of English

Catholic missions enjoyed governmental protection from the very beginning. Since they were invested with the “legal power of government employees who had official obligations to fulfill” (Fernández 1962: 30), priests were entrusted not only to convert and evangelize but also to colonize and *españolizar* [hispanicize]. Their duties included populating the island of Fernando Po and creating schools and churches as embodiments of Spanish authority. Even as

² In 1868 a revolution known as *La Gloriosa* or *la Septembrina* broke out in Spain. This revolution was to overthrow Isabella II. From then until 1874, Spain lived under the *Sexenio Democrático*.

³ The Royal Decree of December 13, 1858 included in its preamble the proposal from the Government to take measures for the colonization of the African territories. Subsequently it allocated 6,000 pesos per year to the Jesuits (Beltrán y Rózpide 1901). As Unzueta y Yuste maintains, the Royal Order of November 11, 1862 cut out that allowance (1947: 183).

⁴ Ultimately, the interior continental region (Río Muni) would be colonized by the Spaniards around the beginning of the twentieth century.

the missionaries gained control over the territory (Creus 2002), they prioritized their evangelical work, strategically recognizing the indelible contract between language and religious conversion. That is to say, Father Juanola stated in 1887 that “[t]he first task of the missionary must be the study of the language!” (Fernández 1962: 181), although language had in fact always been part of the Jesuit and Claretian curriculum. Many missionaries were professors of classical languages and the Claretians, founded in Catalonia, used Catalan on a daily basis. Moreover, the study of language, a condition of production of missionary practice, became a *habitus*, eventually intellectualized, naturalized and incorporated by the priest (Bourdieu 1993). Missionaries cast themselves as contemporary apostles, which had linguistic ramifications. From the beginning, the pioneer missionary and linguist Jesuit Father Usera (1810–91) stated the condition *sine qua non* of linguistic and apostolic work: “The Lord did not send the Apostles to preach to the world without bestowing the gift of languages on them... [Language was] the wise instrument that the Divine Providence had chosen for the vocation of preaching” (Usera y Alarcón 1985). He was also the first missionary to publish a grammatical essay on the language of the Ñano, or Cruman, *Ensayo gramatical del idioma de la raza africana de Ñano, por otro nombre Cruman* [Grammatical essay on the language of the Ñano African race, also known as Cruman] (1845), a linguistic work that was followed as early as 1848 (and into the mid twentieth century) by Jesuit, Claretian and Protestant missionaries, who published grammars, dictionaries, catechisms, and missals in Bubi, Fang (Pámue), Benga and Combe (Kômbé). Some of them were bilingual editions, while others were fully written in vernacular languages.⁵ These publications formed the backbone of a practical strategy to facilitate daily communication and to obtain the political favor of the indigenous people. In 1865, the Jesuit Father Irisarri wrote in support of such outreach: “Once we have learned their languages we will compose a vocabulary and a dictionary and we will translate some religious prayers, the Apostles’ Creed, the commandments of the Decalogue and other parts of the Catechism into their languages” (Fernández 1962: 162). Irisarri believed that the development of daily social relationships necessitated relegating Spanish to the background.

Nevertheless, in order to become the prevailing ecclesiastic authority, the Spanish had to linguistically colonize Equatorial Guinea. Missionaries, convinced that Spanish was a superior, more elaborate, more complex language, advocated for its establishment as the official language of instruction and preaching. The distribution of social classes (colonists and natives) and of interactional spaces – on the one hand, the church, the schools and the

⁵ See, for example, Usera y Alarcón 1845, 1848; Mackey 1855; Salvadó y Cos 1891; I. Vila 1891; Bolados 1900; Pérez and Sorinas 1928; Aymemí 1928; Zarco 1938; Barrena 1957.

administration, where the colonial language was required and, on the other, the familial, domestic and social settings, where the vernaculars were used – resulted in a diglossic space with a dividing wall that prevented, in that period, Spanish from undergoing contact-induced changes.⁶ Aware of this linguistic pluralism but confident of the higher position of Spanish, missionaries were determined to consolidate their power and that of the colonizing language in order to redouble, in turn, their mission's authority. They were also the first social agents to engage in a covert policy of acculturation and assimilation (Creus 1995, 2007), which was inherited and expanded upon by the Francoist regime, as we will see below.

The Spanish language, however, encountered a significant obstacle: the early and wide spread of English and the influence of the Anglican missions in the religious, political, linguistic and daily life of the colony. Father Armengol Coll illustrated this situation, with regard to Fernando Po, in 1890:

In addition, the dominating spirit in everything was English: commerce, garments and, above all, the language, everything was English. The beautiful language of Castile was banished in such a way that in order to go shopping for essential commodities our brothers needed to bring a Spanish-English dictionary, or risk coming back without having reached an understanding with the storekeepers. (qtd. in Pujadas 1968: 105)

The Royal Order of 1845 had had little practical impact, and the result was the dominance of English, the “official” character of Spanish, and the vernacular domestic space. The constant struggle between the two languages vacillated, ebbed and flowed. The spread of English on the island of Fernando Po and the simultaneous marginalization of Spanish were symptomatic of the failure of hispanization. In 1884, Catholic missionaries blamed colonial governor Antonio Cano for being against the officialization of Castilian as the instrument of education (Fernández 1962: 92). An official document from the Historical Section of Great Britain's Foreign Office reads:

English and Spanish are both spoken at Santa Isabel, but English has been the common speech of the coast peoples since the British occupation. Trade or pidgin English is used as a *lingua franca* not only between whites and blacks, but also between natives with distinct languages of their own. . . . Some of the Annobonese speak English, but Spanish is taught by the missionary fathers. . . . The government of the colony has taken no census of continental Guinea, . . . Spain has never succeeded in asserting her effective dominion over the country. She occupies only a fringe of the seaboard and strips of territory along the navigable rivers of the interior, and, for the most part, the

⁶ This multiglossic situation (Schiffman 1993) perseveres into the present. Regarding the linguistic culture of Equatorial Guinea, Spanish is the official language (high prestige) and the mother tongues (Bubi, Fang, Benga, Combe, Bisio, Annobonés, Pichi, among the most used) are the low-prestige languages used in informal, interpersonal communication. For language contact and variation in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, see Lipski 1990, de Granda 1991 and Quilis and Casado-Fresnillo 1995.

real rulers of the tribes decline to recognise her authority. (Great Britain. Foreign Office 1920: 5–6)

The British authorities continued to make the most of their historical and geopolitical riches. During the first period considered here, 1848–1917, when Fathers Juanola and Irisarri recognized the need to use the vernacular, linguistic colonialism was a vexed project.

It was clear that the educational policy of the colonial government had no hispanicizing effect on the people of Fernando Po. Only a few children went to the Spanish mission schools, in spite of the obligation established by the Governor's Order to learn Spanish under penalty of a fine for non-compliance. Most of the children attended Protestant schools and "the more wealthy members of the mixed classes, being descended from Anglicised parents, prefer to send their children to Lagos or Sierra Leone to be educated; or, if they can afford to do so, to England" (Great Britain Foreign Office 1920: 6). English was the *lingua franca* in no small part because it had permeated educational life as well.

Numerous letters were exchanged among the colonial government, the peninsular authorities and the missionaries, in which the latter repeatedly complained about the lack of effective intervention and the merely formal officialization of the colonial language. In 1894 Father Coll addressed a letter to the governor of the colony, Mr. Puente Basabe, in which he underscored the symbiotic relationship between mission and language, and emphasized that missionaries would be the main agents of linguistic success: "Once Catholicism takes root in the colony, we will succeed in putting an end to the onerous anomaly of a Spanish colony where English thus far predominates" (qtd. in Fernández 1962: 317). Here he maps a shift in linguistic strategy. As the missionaries' anxiety over the predominance of English rose, their interest in the vernacular languages ebbed and they increasingly insisted upon the officialization of Spanish.

Gaspar Pérez, a Claretian father working around 1895, likewise discussed the linguistic difficulties faced by the colonial mission. Although he knew, worked and prayed in Benga, Pamue and other languages, in this letter he regretted the absence of Spanish:

The island of Fernando Po above all has been held captive by the negro English of Sierra Leone. . . . those English negroes completely thwart the action of our Catholic missionaries, who have the double mission of producing children of Spain and good children of the Catholic church, and in both cases they are terribly put out by the negro Englishmen. They maintain the English language in the island and they are a tremendous obstacle to the introduction and propagation of our Castilian language; and thus, hard as our missionaries might work, Castilian is not and will not be spoken there; the English language is the one that stands out, particularly in Santa Isabel, and the Protestant missions extended all around the island. It is a fact that all those negro English have an enormous hatred for Spain; they also instill that hatred and scorn towards Spain in the

Bubis they teach. . . it seems that those who rule our country are determined to work in favor of England and to ruin Spain in Fernando Po, because if they were filled with patriotic spirit, if not Catholic spirit, they would force Protestants to teach in Castilian and not in English. (qtd. in Fernández 1962: 674)

Pérez implicitly references what was seen as corrupted English (known as pidgin then)⁷ and the oligarchy of Fernando Po (the Fernandinos), a community whose superior social and economic status was a socio-psychological threat to the Spaniards (Sundiata 1972).

In 1894, Father Coll took the initiative of consulting Puente Basabe about the prohibition of English in schools and religious services. The governor replied: “Given that Protestantism is being tolerated in this Colony and that the Protestant sect has no liturgical language other than English, the Pastor is allowed to preach in English; but in schools there must be Spanish, obligating the Governor to monitor the observance of this requirement” (qtd. in Fernández 1962: 692). As previously mentioned, the Spanish Constitution of 1869 recognized freedom of worship. Read in glottopolitical terms, this was seen by the Claretians as an obstacle to linguistic colonization. In a letter of 1883 Father Miguel Coma lamented the devastating effect Protestant schools and English had on the Spanish language. “The damn law of freedom of worship has brought too much damage to this island!” (qtd. in Fernández 1962: 69).

Spanish authorities, frustrated by the outlay of funds and the seemingly unstoppable spread of English, accused the missionaries in “a tendentious and openly slanderous” way (Pujadas 1968: 239) of having allowed the diffusion of English and its complete dominance in the island. A Royal Order sent in November 1903 by Spain’s Minister of the State read:

With great amazement and dislike from the current authorities in the island, and especially from this Center, we have learned that the majority of the colored landowners and wealthy people speak only in English; that their likes, hobbies and customs are all English; that inside their houses they flaunt pictures of Queen Victoria and the current King of England; that they disdain to learn Spanish and teach it to their children; that most of them, after having stayed more than ten years in the island, need interpreters when they have to deal with personal matters in the offices of the General Government; and that they pose in all their habits as foreigners, which is highly detrimental to Spain’s Sovereignty, which must be considered by all the inhabitants of the island as the only ruling law there. (Pujadas 1968: 240)

As evidenced by the above passage from the 1903 Royal Order the language question was at the center of political preoccupations. Spain’s sovereignty was being undermined. The prestigious and emergent social class of Fernandinos identified with English and all the trappings of the British crown (e.g. the Union

⁷ He also reproduces the racialization of language by referring to “negro English,” literally “denigrating” English rhetorically and undermining its authority in the minds of his readership.

Jack, the photographs of Queen Victoria). In so doing, they wove themselves a British identity within the Spanish domain, a process of acculturation that seriously disrupted Spain's control over her colonial subjects.

Religious and educational policies

Educational policy from 1848 to 1907 amounted to a series of relatively ineffective and critical decrees and orders. In 1868, the government proclaimed that it was taking over control of education, judging that the missionaries' project of assimilation was not working. In practice it was the missionaries who, as before, implemented the government's education policy, albeit now with funds that were being punitively cut from the budget. Ultimately the missionaries complained about the failed officialization of Spanish and, in turn, asked for more funds.

The government had long financially supported missionary education in Equatorial Guinea. For example, in the Royal Decrees of July 6, 1857, December 13, 1858, August 2, 1862 and November 26, 1862 funding was granted to the Jesuits for building and running schools in all islands of Equatorial Guinea (Unzueta 1947: 420; Álvarez 1948: 27–8). In 1868, the Spanish revolution promised to extend liberal principles to the colony and that educational administration would be turned over to the state. Indeed, the state undertook control of education and proceeded to regulate it after November 12, 1868 through a decree signed by the Minister of Overseas Affairs, López de Ayala.⁸ Educational funding was mobilized explicitly for the colony's hispanization. The Spanish authorities could not accept that, despite all the financial support received by the religious order,⁹ English continued to dominate and (per the Royal Decree of December 17, 1869) that “not a single native or Bubi has been conquered for civilization, being all of them the same as twelve years ago” (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 183).¹⁰ As a result, public subsidy for the

⁸ The “*Exposición*” (the opening page) of the Royal Decree on November 12, 1868 (*Gaceta de Madrid*, November 13, 1868) ruled that the failure of colonization must result in a new colonial formula based on private initiative and the freedom of worship.

⁹ The budget ranged from 6,000 pesos reales assigned in 1858 to 208,123 pesos in 1887 (Yglesia de la Riva 1947: 158). In 1901 the missions of the Immaculate Heart and the Conceptionist Order received an amount of 100,000 pesetas (Beltrán y Rózpide 1901: 162).

¹⁰ The Royal Decree's rhetoric obliterates some facts that help us to consider this statement: in 1844 Quir and Yegue, two Crumans of Fernando Po, were baptized by Excmo. Sr. Patriarca de las Indias (Patriarch of the Indies) and educated by Father Usera y Alarcón. They helped him with the grammatical essay on the language of the Nāno, or Cruman (1845) and the Cruman-Spanish dictionary published in *Memoria de la isla de Fernando Póo* (1948). The King and Queen of Spain adopted them as Felipe Quir and Santiago Yegue (names of Catholic saints), while at the same time the Crumans were introduced to Court as a demonstration of the colonization project.

missions was withdrawn. However, once again the reality in the field thwarted the administration's desires.

In 1872 the Royal Decree of October 26 acknowledged that "the colonial systems employed during thirteen years have been completely ineffective and it is necessary to alter the means and to take new paths" (Beltrán y Rózpide 1901: 152). Once more the system was deemed a failure, and, in 1885, the Deputy of the missionaries in the Gulf of Guinea wrote: "The missions and the schools will only succeed through the application of the Royal Orders regarding the Spanish language and the religion of the state" (Fernández 1962).

The situation seems to have remained basically unchanged over the following decades. The arrival of Angel Barrera, acting governor of the Guinean territories in 1906, did nothing to change the difficult relationship between missions and the colonial government. Barrera sent a letter to Father Coll exhorting him to take immediate action to promote language spread and love for the Fatherland (Fernández 1962: 618). He also complained that "in spite of their efforts and best wishes to spread our language, our civilization and our religion, the progress of the missionaries has not been great so far" (Barrera 1907: 25). The prompt reaction was the officialization of education in Spanish by Decree:

BE IT KNOWN: In order to disseminate and spread our beautiful Castilian language amongst the natives of these territories, I provide that:

Art. 1 The instruction of the Spanish language is mandatory in all these territories.

Art. 2 In the Protestant missions, passages from the Bible will be read out in Spanish to the natives who attend. In such missions there should be a Spanish interpreter for this purpose.

Art. 3 It is strictly prohibited to write contracts with natives and other public and official documents in any language other than Spanish.

Which is published for general information and compliance.

In Santa Isabel de Fernando Po, May 24, 1907.¹¹

We can see that government-formulated linguistic policies were adopted in three essential spheres – education, religion and administration – in order to consolidate political control over the colony and build national and cultural identity.

The transition from the missionary period to that of the colonial government under Franco's dictatorship was relatively calm. Throughout the reign of Alfonso XIII (1886–1931), including the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera

¹¹ Official Bulletin of Spanish Territories of the Gulf of Guinea, June 1, 1907; Decree of the General Government, February 24, 1926 (published in the Official Bulletin June 15, 1926).

(1923–30), domestic policy suffered from a permanent crisis. The Second Republic (1931–6) was a brief break before the events that led to the Civil War in 1936. Equatorial Guinea was too distant to be of political concern and a burden on public funds. Subsequently interventions were directed towards the colonization of the continental zone and the consolidation of a plan for the exploitation of natural resources.

Linguistic hispanization in the colonial newspaper *Ébano*

We now turn to a series of articles entitled “Transcendental Problems”¹² that appeared between December 10, 1939 and February 7, 1940 in the magazine *Ébano*,¹³ published in Equatorial Guinea by Spain’s fascist party *Falange Española Tradicionalista de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*.¹⁴ Two of them were signed with the initials HR and HER, which in all likelihood belonged to Heriberto R. Álvarez, Director of Education in Equatorial Guinea from 1943 to 1949. He was likely collaborating with the newspaper from Spain before he moved to Equatorial Guinea. Acting as Director of Education, Heriberto R. Álvarez reformed the education system and founded the *Patronato Colonial de Enseñanza Media para Indígenas* [Colonial Board of Secondary Education for Indigenous People].¹⁵ His “revolutionary” method was envisioned as progressive and he was accused of “trying to subvert the established order by educating negroes” (de Castro y Ndongo 1998: 171).

In this series of articles, language was hailed as a valuable instrument of colonization:

Without a doubt, one of the most influential instruments in the colonization of a people is language.

Rome would have never been the most extensive empire of the first centuries had it not imposed its language – and with it its culture and civilization – on its provinces and colonies.

Spain, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries possessed the largest domain, would have been unable to scatter its sublime ideas and culture and its Christian civilization throughout the world had it not taught and spread the beautiful language

¹² On December 24, 1939 it was titled “Transcendental Issues.”

¹³ Microfilms of *Ébano* from 1939 to December 23, 1969 are held at the National Library, Madrid, Spain. The Library of Congress (USA) catalogues *Ébano* from 1943 to 1991, with several consecutive periods, and keeps the last issue, published on November 19, 2001 by the Spanish-Guinean Cultural Center in Malabo (Equatorial Guinea).

¹⁴ In 1967 it became *Ébano, diario de la región ecuatorial* and changed its name again in 1973 to *Unidad de Guinea Ecuatorial*. It closed in 1975 because it ran out of paper (Darias 2001).

¹⁵ In 1948 he published *Historia de la acción cultural en la Guinea Española*, a very comprehensive description of the school system in Equatorial Guinea from 1868 to 1948.

of Cervantes throughout its vast dominions. And Spanish America would not speak today this language of poets; and the Philippines, despite all, would not maintain – as if it were a priceless treasure – our culture, generously spread by missionaries and conquerors.

And, Albion? How could it maintain its empire today, had it not tied with the bond of language – pure or adapted – so many different lands?

The author undoubtedly underscores language's instrumental role in the project of colonization and cultural assimilation of the African people. The ideas embedded in these articles are consistent with Álvarez's thesis of using Spanish as a way to implement the "civilizing action of our Fatherland in the Equatorial African territories" (1948: 22). He rejected the inferiority of blacks and stated that the inferior development of their intellectual capacity was due to the environment. He concluded by affirming that, if we assume that colonization is a civilizing act, Spain had a responsibility to improve the spiritual, social and physical conditions of its colonies (Álvarez 1948: 19–23). The officialization of the colonial language was conceived as the key to assimilating the *Other* and instilling a particular set of spiritual beliefs (Catholicism) and culture (customs, ethics). *La españolidad* [Spanishness] was then made explicit in slogans and lead articles in *Ébano*, a cascade of which was published immediately after the end of the war – collated with H. R. Álvarez's articles. Natives were called Spaniards and children of Spain and a further claim was made: "As we said the other day, one of the more efficient means to obtain the material and spiritual possession of a people is their domination through *language*" (*Ébano*, December 24, 1939).

It is worth noting that the author blamed Spaniards for not committing to acting as linguistic models through the generalized use of Spanish. He argued that "the first thing they [Spaniards] do is to learn, not Bubi or Pamue – which we would praise rather than condemn – but *spickin inglis*¹⁶ [*sic*] as a permanent language of communication with the natives" (*Ébano*, December 24, 1939). The rejection of *spickin inglis*, "this conglomerate of random words called language," was repeatedly expressed in the article of December 31, 1939, and the point was made that, if a teacher uses their students' language or dialect, he will become the pupil and will lack the necessary authority to teach. Therefore, a call to arms was issued exhorting the readership to speak Spanish:

¹⁶ Currently known as "Pichi," it is an English-lexifier Atlantic creole spoken in the Island of Bioko (formerly Fernando Po). In the course of its history, this creole has been denominated Broken English, Pidgin, Pichinglis, Fernando Po Krio and Fernando Po Pidgin English. The history of Pichi dated back to 1827, when merchants from Great Britain populated the island of Fernando Po with people from Freetown (Sierra Leone) (Yakpo 2010).

Never speak another language or a dialect other than Spanish in public. Thus you do for Spain the work that Spain needs. (*Ébano*, December 24, 1939)

SPANIARD, by speaking your language you identify yourself as a son of Spain. (*Ébano*, December 24, 1939)

[C]ompel and spread, in our national Territory and in all those countries regarded as children of Spain, the use of our most beautiful language; it is obvious and natural that here in our colony we not only encourage but compel Spaniards and Spanish Natives to use Spanish publicly because by doing so we will do for Spain what the Caudillo [i.e. Franco] wants for Spain. (*Ébano*, December 24, 1939).

Language is one of the essential exponents of culture; when you promote “Spanish,” you work for civilization and Hispanic culture. (*Ébano*, December 31, 1939)

Native, are you a good Spaniard? . . . Then always use this language. (*Ébano*, January 7, 1940)¹⁷

The discourse of Falange was ideologically grounded in traditionalism, in claiming Spain’s rightful place as the spiritual axis of the Hispanic world and in defending its political and economic rights in Africa (Banciella and Bárcena 1940). The language was cast as an army that spread throughout the world and its destiny therefore epitomized all hopes of imperial restoration from that time forth. The goal then was to reimagine the past and construct a historical context where Spain would be re-centered inside the history of civilization. J. M. Cordero¹⁸ wrote in 1941 that *Falange*, with an eye to participating in the great projects of the world, had reinforced these objectives by defining Spain as a “*Unidad de destino en lo universal*” [unity of destiny within the universal]. The third point in Falange’s program states: “The Willpower of the Empire . . . constitutes Spain’s historic peak. [The Empire] claims a preeminent place in Europe for our Fatherland, rejecting international isolation and foreign mediation, and signals a specific mission for Spain with respect to the Hispanic World” (Cordero 1941: 85). Cordero’s rhetoric called for an imperialist renaissance of that “Hispanic World” in Latin America and Africa.¹⁹ And so did *Ébano*, whose line of thinking aimed at scattering throughout the world

¹⁷ In these quotes, the addressee may be at times difficult to identify; they map an ambiguous target and a diverse readership into which all can potentially read themselves. The division of “in public” and the implied domestic sphere echoes the diglossic historical situation.

¹⁸ He was a eulogist of Falange’s, imperialist and colonist thinking. As a head of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos – the ideological and political think-tank for Franco’s regime – he published a section entitled “Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos” in 1946 (Suárez, 1997).

¹⁹ Rodríguez mentions that among the 27 points of Falange’s political program is the sentiment of brotherhood with Spanish America with whom “we [Spain] held out the unity of culture and economic and political interest” (2000: 178)

“the beautiful language of Cervantes,” “its sublime ideas” and “the incalculable overflowing treasure of our culture”.²⁰

Four and a half centuries ago three caravels set sail from a small Spanish port to establish one of the strongest and truest historical ties, the spiritual unification of Spain and the lands of the Americas. . . . Today as we commemorate the Spanish-speaking states and the date of October 12, we greet the nations from across the Atlantic. . . . Today, Spain – by embracing the young nations that she nurtured with her blood, endowed with her wisdom, and educated with her beliefs – is again ready with new vitality to shake herself free of everything exotic and trans-Pyrenean that burdened her shoulders, and is ready to take the position of spiritual leadership she deserves. . . . [Spain’s mission is] to tie that tradition with the present along the wide path of the fruitful and imperial Spain. (Editorial. *Hispanidad*, October 10, 1943).

As we see, these imperial aspirations go hand in hand with a historical discourse in which Spain is thought to be not unlike the great empires of Rome and Great Britain, inasmuch as their strategies of linguistic imperialism were also a means to unify and consolidate political power.²¹

The past is then remembered with nostalgia and pride, with epithets and hyperbolic expressions that glorify the project of colonization: Spanish – “Our harmonious way of talking,” “the beautiful Castilian of Cervantes,” “our sonorous Spanish language” – represents “the Hispanic Community’s Empire during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.” *Ébano* – likely through H. R. Álvarez’s articles – reclaimed in linguistic terms what “rightfully belongs to her [Spain]: namely, the spiritual empire over people that she engendered for the sake of the Catholic faith, for civilization and culture” (*Ébano*, November 4, 1943). Such manifestations of the patriotic ideology directed efforts “to civilize and conquer most parts of the world” (*Ébano*, December 17, 1939).

Equatorial Guinea was at that time the most important colonial dominion (almost the only one) in which one could artificially and symbolically project ties of kinship, emulating what had been done with Spanish America and the Philippines. The native was taught that speaking Spanish translated into being a good Spaniard. In doing so he could recognize himself as having an identity and as taking part in the national project. Francoist Spain held on to the hope that their “spiritual power” and the “stabilization” of Spanish would result in the hispanization of the natives, thus confirming the greatness of the Hispanic community and the national Catholic project.

²⁰ See the articles “Hispanidad,” “Rights of the Spanish Language,” “Defense of Spanishness” and “The Spanish Colonizing” (*Ébano*, October 10, 1943, November 4, 1943, March 16, 1944, May 11, 1944 respectively).

²¹ This idea is rooted in the work of Ramiro de Maeztu, an ideologue of Franco’s dictatorship, specifically *Defensa de la Hispanidad* (1941).

Conclusion

The efforts to impose Spanish in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became the cornerstone of Spain's civilizing action as well as the pathway to international trade in Africa. Nevertheless, this process began (in the period from 1858 to 1917) with a fundamental impediment: the presence of British and American Christian missions on the island of Fernando Po. Protestant and Presbyterian missionaries were a challenge to Spanish Catholic authority and a threat to the linguistic colonization of the West African territories. Although Catholic missionary work triggered the design and implementation of overt linguistic policies, the colonial government's intervention in favor of the use of Spanish in schools, church and administration would become the turning point for Spain's patriotic and civilizing mission and for the consolidation of its geopolitical power in Africa.

In the second phase studied in this chapter (1939–58), the reconstruction of Spain under Franco coincided with renewed linguistic interventions in Equatorial Guinea. Spanish was envisioned as the principal means for the construction of the *Patria Española Nacional Católica* [Catholic Spanish Fatherland] in its African territories and said to be endowed with a nurturing nature that, beyond its communicative value, created emotional ties with the natives. The representations of Spanish produced by *Ébano* were instrumental in the construction of an image of the natives as Spaniards, as children of the Fatherland. The linguistic colonization of Equatorial Guinea would ultimately be a resounding success; the colony was exploited as a crucial and symbolic foundation for the Fatherland. John Lipski would deem it “*hispanidad*’s best-kept secret” (2000).

25 The representation of Spanish in the Philippine Islands

Mauro Fernández

The Spanish language, object of affection and desire

For many people in the Philippines, the Spanish language still inspires a kind of nostalgic affection as the language of their own ancestors. Why this should be (aside from considerations such as the added advantage in the context of a global market of a people's being able to speak Spanish as well as English) is a question worth trying to understand. Where does this sense of regard for the Spanish language come from, and how has it changed over time?

From the earliest years of the Spanish presence in the Philippines, Castilian was held in high esteem among the upper classes. The ability to speak the language was considered a mark of distinction and refinement, as evidenced by the first Spanish manual for Tagalog speakers (Pinpin 1610). In a kind of prologue epistle to his countrymen, the author of the manual advises his readers that since they enjoy imitating the Spanish in their habits and dress, in their use of weapons and even in their way of walking, they ought also to learn the language. Otherwise, he warns, they will be as corpses (*bancay na nga cayo*), all façade, and Spaniards in appearance only. Were anyone ever to come among them and speak to them in Spanish, they would be left gaping back at him in slack-jawed stupidity (*totongag tongag na sa hahangal*). Being able to speak “*Castila*,” Pinpin says, is like the flesh; all the rest, the money-bought riches and honours, merely skin.

This seems to have provided sufficient motive, at least for the local elites, to try to learn Spanish and to incorporate a substantial number of Spanish words into the indigenous languages of the region, words which were subsequently adopted also by people lower down the social scale, since it was seen as the thing to do. Spanish acted as a marker of social distinction, similar to English nowadays (Wolff 2001), which means that its use was, though by no means general or pervasive, probably more widespread than previously thought. Most sources agree, though, that at the end of the nineteenth century, towards the end of the colonial period, most ordinary people in the Philippines – with the exception of Manila and a few other areas – did not know how to speak Spanish.

By this time, a native *intelligentsia* had developed in the Philippines, comprising *criollos*, Spanish *mestizos* and, in particular, Chinese-Filipino *mestizos*. Wealthy and European-educated, these were the *Ilustrados*, the “Enlightened Ones.” They were not separatists (not openly, at least) but they did dispute the colonial status of the archipelago and campaigned for the islands to be given a similar legal status in relation to the metropolis to that of any of the Spanish provinces. This included, at a minimum, parliamentary representation in the Spanish *Cortes* (Parliament), equal status in the eyes of the law, and freedom of expression and association. The *Ilustrados* gave rise to a group called the Propaganda Movement and its main organ of expression, the magazine *La Solidaridad*, the first issue of which was published in Barcelona on February 15, 1889. One of the recurring themes in the magazine during its seven-year existence was the need to teach Spanish to the native population. The very first issue featured an editorial entitled “La enseñanza del castellano en Filipinas” [The teaching of Spanish in the Philippines], prompted by the publication a fortnight earlier of a ministerial decree in which Becerra, the Minister for Overseas Affairs, stated to the Governor General of the Philippines the urgency of the need to stimulate the propagation of Spanish across the archipelago. In fact, however, this new edict was only one among a host of similar but fruitless statutes that had been introduced since the arrival of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain, as Becerra’s most recent legislative effort acknowledged and regretted.

The new mandate was greeted with skepticism by the *Ilustrados*, who believed that it would prove as ineffective as all its predecessors. They blamed this lack of success on the religious orders which, according to them, had prevented the common people from learning Spanish in order to preserve their own privileged role as intermediaries between the colonial authorities and the indigenous population, since their members were virtually the only Spaniards in the Philippines who knew how to speak the local languages.

The obstructionist endeavors on the part of the friars had already come to the attention of the Spanish government. The subject features prominently in the report produced in 1864 by Patricio de la Escosura, who had been sent as King’s Commissar to the Philippines to investigate problems on the ground. In his report on the teaching of Spanish, Escosura (1882 [1863]) shows himself to be a staunch defender of the policy of propagating Spanish as a way of strengthening the sense of (Spanish) national identity among the population. He was guided in this by the idea – very much of its time – that linguistic unity was essential for good government. He also highlights the failure of numerous measures undertaken in accordance with this “higher purpose” (Escosura 1882: 5) and the consequent lack of proficiency in Spanish among the indigenous population, even in the city of Manila, a circumstance which he views as “an insurmountable obstacle to the advances of civilization among the natives, and

a barrier which, if no powerful hand destroy it, will prevent this country for all time from ever reaching the same level as the peninsular provinces of the Kingdom" (Escosura 1882: 6).

This was the familiar strategy of linguistic integration and assimilation that grew out of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment in Europe and, following some earlier moves in that direction, became an established policy of the Spanish government under the Bourbons (see Medina, and Medina, Del Valle and Monteagudo in this volume). Before the advent of this new perspective, government legislation had been confined to promoting Castilian via the path of least interference, teaching it only to those who came forward voluntarily and making sure that they should suffer no hardship or expense because of it. The first attempt to make the teaching of Spanish general throughout the colonies, during the reign of Philip IV, stated that the undertaking should be carried out using "the gentlest possible methods," with the aim of helping the natives understand the teachings of Christianity and to assist them in various different ways "in relation to their government and way of life." In contrast, in keeping with the homogenizing, scientific spirit of the Age of Enlightenment, it was political rather than religious objectives that lay behind the mandatory use in the eighteenth century of Castilian as a medium of instruction, for it was through languages such as Spanish, this unique repository and conveyor of knowledge and civilization, that the national space would be united.

By the mid-nineteenth century, Spain had already lost most of its colonial empire. Still influenced by the continuing prevalence of Enlightenment ideas, however, Escosura perceived in the native languages of the Philippines the fundamental cause of the people's backwardness. His position was not unlike that of the intellectuals of the French Revolution in relation to the regional languages of France, which they perceived as mere cradles of fanaticism and superstition. In very similar terms to theirs, Escosura writes: "as long as the Indian continues to use his primitive language, it will be next to impossible for him to shake off entirely the concerns, superstition, false beliefs and childishness that typify the savage state" (Escosura 1882: 6).

The real blame for the failure of Spanish law to bring civilization to the Indians of the Philippines, Escosura suggests, did not lie with the natives: they were capable of learning languages, were not rebellious or disobedient, listened to their missionaries and did not despise the Spanish settlers (Escosura 1882: 9). The reason, therefore, had to be found "in ourselves who have not looked after their education properly" (Escosura 1882: 11). The "ourselves" in question, Escosura explains more precisely (albeit amid an effusion of praise), referred to the members of the religious orders who ran the parishes, who had convinced the authorities that, if the natives did learn Spanish, they would use it to undermine the foundations of the colony and come out against Spanish rule.

Escosura challenges and refutes this idea, proposing in its place a series of measures to encourage the spread of Spanish. Some of these measures were implemented immediately, while others followed later on, among them the creation of a state-run teacher training college and the opening of schools in every town, with Spanish as the compulsory medium of instruction. The legislation did not touch on the religious sector, since from the friars “little should be expected in this matter, which is not to deny for one moment their apostolic zeal, their desire for the common good, or the important services to religion and the motherland which they have offered in the past, still offer and may offer in the future” (Escosura 1882: 18). This is also why Escosura appears reluctant to make any further recommendations beyond his suggestion that the bishops and archbishops be advised of the need to ensure the implementation of these measures by their parish priests, a directive intended mainly to “neutralize the opposition of the religious orders and prevent them from obstructing the teaching of Castilian: but on no account, respectfully, to persuade them to contribute to its instruction as they ought” (Escosura 1882: 19).

As to whether or not Escosura was justified in his assessment of the role of the religious orders, in general terms it would seem that he was. Of course, not all religious orders were the same, but the pages devoted by the Augustinian Martínez de Zúñiga in his book *Estadismo* (1893 [ca.1803]) to justifying why Castilian should not be used in preaching are indicative of the sort of thing that was happening only a short distance from Manila. Whether the prejudice imputed to the friars was exaggerated or not, the *Ilustrados* of the late nineteenth century shared the impressions recorded by Escosura; indeed, they went further than he had, finding his *Memoria* to be somewhat diffident in its account of the situation. In harmony with their anticlerical liberal peers in Spain, the *Ilustrados'* opposition to the religious orders in the Philippines represented one of the most important aspects of their cause, not only because of the friars' attitude to the teaching of Castilian, but also on the basis of the powerful and often abusive role they played in the way the economy was run and life in the colony organized. The pages of *La Solidaridad* abound with charges of this type against the religious orders and demands for their immediate expulsion from the country.

Spanish liberals and Philippine *Ilustrados* were therefore *ad idem* regarding both the diagnosis and the cure: the Philippine Islanders could not speak Castilian and that gap in their knowledge placed a serious bar on their progress; the cure consisted in making primary education through the medium of Spanish available throughout the territory (the situation in Equatorial Guinea offered comparable views and tensions; see Castillo Rodríguez in this volume). They also agreed on who and what were to blame for this situation: namely, the friars and their boycott of the enlightened legislative efforts of the colonial government (*Superior Gobierno*). Feeling on the subject was so strong, in fact, that the

teaching of Spanish and the opposition it met with among the religious orders became one of the main narrative threads in José Rizal's novel, *El filibusterismo* (*The Reign of Greed*), a book of extraordinary significance in the formation of Philippine national consciousness.

How many people actually spoke Spanish?

It is possible that this view of the friars' opposition has been somewhat overstated. Compulsory Spanish-medium primary education was introduced by the Spanish government in 1863. Even allowing for an imperfect implementation of the measure, therefore, one would think that by 1890 there should have been a substantial number of young adults in the Philippines capable of understanding and making themselves understood in Castilian. In some areas, schools would still have been using the local languages for teaching, whether because of the religious boycott or simply because it made more practical good sense to the teachers to do so. Elsewhere, in a practice condemned repeatedly by the *Ilustrados*, children were taught to memorize their lessons but not to understand them. Finally, there were, of course, the children who received no schooling at all, simply because the population of the islands was not concentrated enough to ensure the system reached everybody in the country and, moreover, Spain did not even have effective control over the whole territory.

Nevertheless, from 1863 onwards, following the foundation that year of the teacher training college in Manila and the network of schools in every town across the islands, with the acquisition of Castilian now a stated objective of the government, school attendance made compulsory and Spanish-language textbooks in widespread use (supplemented, at times, by texts in the local languages), the number and spread of speakers with some degree of fluency in Spanish must have increased considerably.

There are reasons, therefore, to question the reliability of certain data that have been presented as incontrovertible facts, such as the often quoted statement in Whinnom's work that "after three hundred and fifty years of Spanish occupation less than 10 per cent of the population spoke Spanish" (1954: 131). Whinnom does not name his source, but a reasonable guess would be that the claim is based on an assumption contained in the 1903 Census (Philippine Commission 1905 (vol. 5): 401), the first to be taken following the occupation of the islands by the United States. In fact, though, the census of 1903 did not ask respondents what languages they spoke or understood. That question was asked in the 1918 Census, and the number of people recorded as knowing how to speak Spanish was calculated at 753,463 out of a population of 10 million. It seems likely, however, that this was a very conservative estimate (Rodao 1996), based on the omission from the count of speakers of "broken Spanish," which the organizers of the 1903 Census had previously acknowledged as acting as an

oral *lingua franca* among the population (Philippine Commission 1905 (vol. 3): 648).

More important than the number of Spanish speakers is what their social status was. In 1908, the then Director of Education for the Philippines, David Barrows, observed that very few people of social influence spoke English, whereas all of them spoke Spanish – which, paradoxically, now had more speakers and students than it had had prior to the US occupation (Barrows 1908: 29–30).

Less than a decade later, the position of the English language had been boosted greatly: by 1914, there were eight thousand qualified native English-medium teachers in the Philippines (Barrows 1914: 60). Yet Spanish still retained its privileged position in society. So much was clear to Henry Jones Ford, a professor from Princeton who had been sent to the Philippines on a “fact-finding mission” by the American President, Woodrow Wilson. Ford reported that “the Filipino gentry speak Spanish and the masses speak native dialects which are not low languages, but are refined and capable instruments of thought” (1916: 213–14). Indeed, he said, Spanish was more widely spoken now than it had been when the Americans first arrived (1916: 216–17). Beyond the circles of people close to the American officers, the English spoken was so strongly accented by Spanish that “one could hardly recognize as English what purports to be such” (1916: 217). He also made note of the role played by local languages in combination with Spanish, but not with English (1916: 217). All of this led Ford to the conclusion that the US government had failed in its aspiration to make English the common language of the Philippines (1916: 217–18).

In light of this, it may be necessary to reconsider the widely held belief that almost no one in the Philippines used Spanish. Data produced by the US administration itself would seem to undermine the idea even further: for example, in the 1903 Census, eighty percent of schoolchildren in Manila were recorded as able to understand Spanish. Behind the apparent objectivity of these numbers lies the possibility of an ideological interpretation or narrative with its own agenda, as illustrated by the hint of satisfaction apparent in lines such as these, extracted from the introductory essay to the 1939 Census: “[in] another generation, unless there is a decided increase in the use of Spanish, the persons able to speak it will have dropped to about one percent of the total population” (Commission of the Census 1939, vol. 1: 330).

Taking their lead from the liberals in Spain, the *Ilustrados* had made a cause out of highlighting what an intolerable affront it was to the people of the Philippines that the masses remained incapable of speaking Spanish. American colonial discourse thus found the ground before it already prepared. Adopting the same rhetoric as the *Ilustrados*, all the Americans did was offer the people a new solution: Spain had failed to equip Filipinos with a common language,

so now the Americans would do so properly; this time, though, that language would be English.

The resistible rise of English in the Philippines

The idea that a common language – Spanish – was necessary in order for progress to occur and to banish superstition was a key feature of the prevailing linguistic ideology of the late nineteenth century. The indigenous languages of the Philippines had no place in this view of progress. Although many in the Propaganda Movement lived in Barcelona or had done so in the past, and had therefore had the opportunity to witness first-hand how Catalan nationalism (or “Catalanism”) was developing and the role that Catalan now played in a number of cultural and scientific areas, the experience did not induce them to adopt a similar attitude in relation to the native languages of their own country. A comment in the Sabadell newspaper, *El Catalanista*, describing Becerra’s edict as “*tontería*” [nonsense] was countered in *La Solidaridad* with the argument that regionalism had never resulted in anything good and that, even if the native languages and dialects were to disappear from the Philippines, they would not take with them the islanders’ sense of national identity (February 24, 1889; vol. 1: 38). The *Ilustrados* were intent on promoting Castilian as the national language, at the expense of the indigenous languages if necessary; for therein, as they saw it, lay the key to the progress and civilization they craved so badly. Their sense of Philippine identity did not include encouraging the use of the country’s indigenous languages. Certain members of the group did make some effort to cultivate the local varieties, by setting up newspapers, writing poetry and even producing grammars, but there is no evidence to suggest that they had any plan in relation to their role in the future. One possible exception to this was Apolinario Mabini, who, as an alternative to the first Constitution, which was written in Spanish and passed into law in Malolos in 1899, proposed a version in which Tagalog was named as the official language, with the addition of English envisaged at some point in the future. Tagalog was also named as the official language in a provisional constitution created in 1897 by the leaders of the Katipunero rebellion against Spanish rule in the Philippines, and acted as a *lingua franca* among insurgents as the revolt spread to the other provinces. However, neither Andrés Bonifacio, the leader of the Katipunan, nor any of the other rebels belonged to the elitist *Ilustrado* group.

The need for a national language other than English or Spanish only began to emerge during the period of US occupation, and did not become a real issue until the 1920s. This growing awareness is evident in Manuel Quezon’s complaint that almost as soon as he left Manila his speeches would need to be translated, since neither Spanish nor English (still at an incipient stage in its development) could guarantee successful communication throughout the national territory.

The Commonwealth Constitution produced a short time later, in 1935, as part of the transition towards independence promised by the US, provides for the necessary steps to be taken for the creation of a national language “based on one of the existing native languages.”

In 1898, though, people had not yet started thinking in those terms and the only possible national language in anybody’s mind was Spanish. Had the *Ilustrados* managed to take control of the situation following the success of the Katipunero revolt, it would have given them the opportunity to carry out their Spanish language expansion program, just as others had done in the new Hispanic American republics. The whole course of the country’s history was changed, however, by the decision of the US to intervene in the Philippines. In the Treaty of Paris negotiations that took place at the end of the Spanish-American War, the defeated Spanish government relinquished its colony to the US in exchange for 20 million dollars. From that moment on, the Americans saw themselves as the legitimate rulers of the archipelago state – distant from the US mainland, but so close to China and Japan.

The arrival of the US in the Philippines saw the emergence of the English language as the vehicle and bedrock of a new civilizing endeavor. The local elites were quick to fall into line in relation to politics and the economy; some even entertained the fantasy that the Philippines might end up becoming a new state of the Union. In the cultural battle, however, they put up a stronger fight. The members of this class – *criollos* and *mestizos* – were all profoundly hispanicized and used Spanish, not only as a cultural language, but also in their domestic and social lives. They spoke Spanish, studied Spanish and read the same Spanish-language newspapers and periodicals. All of the *Ilustrados’* writings from the end of the nineteenth century were in Spanish. In 1903, the number of newspapers in Spanish was double that in English according to the census carried out that year (Philippine Commission 1905 (vol. 4): 400). What is more, the readership of some of the English-language publications was confined exclusively to the American population (Retana 1908: 171).

The attitude of the elites towards Spain, the defeated power, was one of rejection or, at best, ambivalence. The same could not be said of their attitude to the Spanish language, though, which they had made *their* language: following the model established by the Hispanic American republics, they regarded Spanish as the most important defining element of their Hispanic-Filipino identity. In 1910, in an attempt to add his own voice to the conversation on the notion of *Hispanidad* – the ideology of a global Hispanic cultural identity (see Arnoux and Del Valle in this volume) – Joaquín Pellicena, a Spanish journalist based in Manila, coined the term “Coloniberia” to describe this imagined Hispanic community of which the social elite in the Philippines considered themselves a part (1910: 128). Around the same period, in his *Memoria Comercial* [Commercial

report], the Spanish Consul in Ilo-Ilo, Juan Estrada, mentioned the increasing robustness of Spanish, observing how “despite enormous effort and expense on the part of the US, the fact is that the enlightened sectors of society are still thinking and reading in Castilian, and the youth are still being taught in our language in spite of everything” (Estrada 1911: 17–18).

In complete contrast to this perception of the growing strength of Spanish, official reports insisted on the rapid progress being made by English, which the authorities, from very early on, represented as the most widely used language in the archipelago. Its expansion, it was claimed, was due not only to the efficacy of the new education system and its civilizing mission, but also to the fact that Filipinos all wanted to learn the language.

Another area of conflict was, naturally, the question of the official language. The Malolos Constitution, which heralded the short-lived independent republic of the Philippines in 1899, established Spanish as the official language with provisional (“*por ahora*” [for now]) and limited effect, applying only in relation to acts of public authority and judicial matters (art. 93). However, this constitution was not recognized by the new government. Language, in particular, was one of the areas in which the American administration wished to make an impact by creating a sense of regard and loyalty towards English. For that to happen, English would have to be the official language. The first civil governor of the American period, William H. Taft, made his case in the following terms before the Senate Committee of the Philippines in 1902: “One of our great hopes in elevating those people is to give them a common language and that language is English, because through the English language certainly, by reading its literature, by becoming aware of the history of the English race, they will breathe in the spirit of Anglo-Saxon individualism” (qtd. in Tupas 2008: 52).

The “Introduction” to the 1903 Census described a happy future already approaching over the horizon, in which “the tribal distinctions which now exist will gradually disappear and the Filipinos will become a *numerous and homogeneous English-speaking race*, exceeding in intelligence and capacity all other peoples of the tropics” (Sanger 1905: 40; emphasis added).

American plans did not progress as quickly as the administration had expected. The erosion of Spanish as the official language took place gradually, amidst a series of drawn-out disputes and minor legal measures that rarely led to immediate results. Despite repeated statements announcing the removal of Spanish as an official language, Castilian retained its status in the 1935 Constitution (though with preference granted to the English version of the text in cases of doubt). The 1973 Constitution established English and Filipino as the two official languages, but a subsequent amendment restored Spanish to their number on a temporary basis, until such time as all the early documentation in Spanish could be translated into English. It was finally deprived of its status as an official language under the 1987 Constitution.

In the area of education, everything happened much more quickly. There was some argument, both in the Philippines and in the US, over what the most suitable medium of instruction for primary education was. The debate involved not just Spanish and English, but also the indigenous languages of the archipelago (Pineda Tinio 2009). The discussions had scarcely any impact on the new regulations that emerged; however, its promulgation was quick and resounding: the 1901 School Act (Act No. 74 of the Philippine Commission, January 21) established English as the sole language of instruction in state schools and, to ensure the new act was implemented as quickly as possible, the US government sent over numerous contingents of North American teachers to lay the foundations of the new system of state education in English. The most famous of these detachments were the 500 “Thomasites,” so-called after the ship that brought them to the Philippines. The group that traveled on the *Thomas* was not the first or the last: in 1903, the number of American teachers in the Philippines stood at 2,000; fifteen years later, it was 6,000.

In non-state schools, especially those run by the religious orders, classes continued to be taught in Spanish for some time. Gradually, though, there too the change to English began to take place in compliance with the demands of the Department of Education. The Jesuit Ateneo de Manila University also yielded eventually and, finally, the centuries-old university of Santo Tomás (founded by the Dominicans in 1611), which held out until 1926, at which point it, likewise, was forced to make the change in order to avoid losing its students. English had prevailed as the only medium.

There still remained, however, the issue of Spanish as a school and university subject, and that battle took longer to resolve. Following the failure of various earlier attempts, the teaching of Spanish was not reintroduced until after independence, with the passage of the Sotto Act in 1949 (Republic Act No. 343, February 26). The original bill envisaged Spanish as a compulsory subject for pupils in all private and state secondary schools, but the final act left it as an optional subject, which schools were obliged to offer their students. This revision of the terms of the original bill, together with the fact that it was barely enforced anyway, led to a second attempt in 1952, in the form of the Magalona Act (Republic Act No. 709, June 5). Magalona provided for the compulsory study of Spanish for two consecutive years at all universities and state and private colleges. In 1957, the Cuenco Act (Republic Act No. 1881, June 22) doubled the requisite number of Spanish credits for pedagogy, law, trade, humanities and foreign service. In 1967, in the face of unrelenting pressure from students, the number of credits was lowered to twelve (Republic Act No. 5182, September 8). In 1987, to the almost unanimous acclaim of the country's students, the new constitution enacted by the government of Corazon Aquino stated specifically that the promotion of Spanish should be “on a voluntary and optional basis” only (art. XIX, section 7), thereby abrogating all earlier

legislation concerning the compulsory teaching of the language. Most centers proceeded to dismantle their Spanish departments, and only a few now offer the language as an optional subject to students.

Among the elite sectors of Philippine society, there was an element staunchly in favor of the English-based model of education. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera was a case in point: unequivocally pro-American and the most prominent intermediary the US had with the Philippine side during the early years of occupation, Pardo de Tavera's reasoning was pragmatic as well as ideological. He regarded as utopian the idea of creating a national language based on the indigenous varieties, and he was opposed to their use as a medium of instruction in schools and universities. English, in his opinion, represented the most practical solution for the purpose of engendering a sense of equality among the people. The arguments presented by Pardo de Tavera echoed those used in the past to demand the use of Spanish as a teaching language. Spanish, however, was no longer an option in that respect: the US administration, understandably, had no desire to reintroduce it and their best argument against such a move was the point made repeatedly by the *Ilustrados* that scarcely anybody in the Philippines actually knew how to speak Spanish anymore because the religious orders had barred the mass of the population from learning the language and reserved it for the elites studying at the colleges and universities that were under their exclusive control. The new public system of education for all could only be in English. English had made the breakthrough, therefore, and was bolstered by the kind of discourse that depicted it as "the language of democracy and of liberty, in which is neither spoken nor written any idea which may be utilized for oppression, or for the imposition of religious principles of any sort" (Pardo de Tavera 1920, qtd. in Mojares 2006: 187).

The fact that this statement appeared as part of an article published in Spanish and in a Spanish-language paper, *El Ciudadano*, is indicative of the dominance the language still had in the cultural sphere. Years later, Pardo de Tavera's famous "El alma filipina" [The Filipino soul] (first published in 1906) and two more of his essays were translated into English and published alongside nine others that disputed his ideas, the authors of which believed that the soul of the Filipino people was becoming more and more diluted by the steady encroachment of the English-based education system (Hilario and Quirino 1924). For Pardo de Tavera, though, the development of the Philippine soul had more to do with the future than with tradition, in which he perceived only backwardness and superstition. As he states elsewhere, in an essay entitled "El legado del ignorantismo" [The legacy of ignorantism], the progress the Philippines had craved for so long comprised the following elements: "the democratic form of the Government, the English language, the lay schools, coeducation, and Anglo-Saxon civilization" (1921: 6). So profound was his

regard for the English language, in fact, that he went so far as to claim that “in English, it is known, no obscene literature is found” (1921: 7).

This notion of the superior democratic aptitude of English was one of the most common clichés of colonial and pro-American discourse in the Philippines; but it also had plenty of detractors.

Literary resistance and Filipino identity

Resistance to English featured prominently in Philippine literature in Spanish, whose Golden Age coincided exactly with the American occupation. The most passionate avowals of *hispanismo* came from the country’s writers, many of them Filipino nationalists who declared that Spanish would never disappear from the Philippines. It could be said that resistance to colonialism was manifested during this period through the combative literary use of the Spanish language.

The much-referenced article by Whinnom (1954) concerning the demise of Spanish in the Philippines was written in reaction to what Whinnom considered the “extravagant ideas” of the politicians and writers in the Philippines who continued to proclaim their devotion to the Spanish language. In his view, Filipino Hispanists were “guilty of so many nonsensical affirmations, so many wild exaggerations, and so much partisan passion, that one can obtain only the most distorted view of the situation from reading their contribution to the discussion,” and therefore felt it would be useful to point out “the incontrovertible facts of the case” (1954: 130).

However, the *hispanista* writers in the Philippines to whom Whinnom objected were not speaking from the perspective of the present situation, but on the basis of a memory of the past which they perceived as the “precious legacy of our history,” the “secret of our social and cultural development,” the “undeniable heritage of our souls, hearts and understanding,” all bound together by a language that “for Filipinos, represents the blood of their history and the key to their future destiny” and that was now in danger from “the wretched, strident tongue” which the Americans “forced down their throats.” These ideas, which Whinnom describes as “extravagant,” were part of a tradition that began with efforts early in the twentieth century to prevent the Spanish language from being swept away by English. The arguments being put forward now were the same as those which had inflamed the discourses of a generation of *hispanista* writers before them: 350 years of “coexistence” and “shared history”; the fact that Rizal, the country’s greatest national hero, had written in Spanish; that the first constitution of the Philippines was written in Spanish; that the earliest documents in Philippine history were in Spanish, etc. The conclusion that emerged from all this evidence was that the Spanish language formed an essential part of

Filipino identity. From the very start, the debate revolved around the question of what constituted Philippine national identity. Even though they were in the minority numerically, therefore, the hispanicized elite capitalized while they could on whatever power they still had left within the legislative organs of the state, to defend their point of view. The remobilization of their efforts around 1950 coincided with the attempt to ensure the Magalona Bill was passed and compulsory Spanish reinserted into the education curriculum.

The literary work produced around this time echoes and addresses some of the arguments that were put forward. In 1922, Eduardo Martín de la Cámara published an anthology of poetry in Barcelona, entitled *Parnaso Filipino. Antología de poetas del archipiélago magallánico*, in the prologue to which he informs the reader: "the poets are Filipino, but the poems are Castilian." Their number, naturally, included the most acclaimed names in Philippine literature: Cecilio Apóstol, Fernando María Guerrero, José Palma and others besides. Not only do they write "in Castilian" but, in the case of several of them, they also write "about Castilian." The language itself as poetic theme is named in the title of one of the poems, "Elogio del castellano" by Claro María Recto, with Spain or aspects of "Spanishness" featuring in the titles of a number of others. In the body of the poems, invocations of Castilian and praise for the language abound.

These writers and others like them were not motivated by nostalgia for the colonial Spanish past: they were Filipino nationalists who identified in the Castilian language a refuge and a defense against the forces threatening their Hispanic-Filipino identity (a productive comparison can be made with *hispanismo* in the Dominican Republic; see Valdez in this volume). The role of Castilian was best expressed by Fernando María Guerrero, one of the greatest poets of the period, in his compelling sonnet entitled "Caución a Hesperia" [Surety to Hesperia], which ends with an invitation to laugh at those who warn of signs that Spanish is declining, for, as his poem reminds the reader, history has granted Spain "just priority of time and language." When Guerrero was writing his poem in 1913, there was not yet a sense among the *hispanista* elite that the disappearance of Spanish from the islands was something imminent. That realization came upon them only gradually with the onset of a number of important changes: the emergence of the first generation of graduates from the University of the Philippines; the recruitment of native Filipino journalists by the *Philippine Free Press* (at the time still bilingual in English and Spanish) and other, exclusively English-language, newspapers; the steady closure, one after another, of the last remaining Spanish media outlets; rising circulation figures for English-language titles, far outstripping those of Spanish books; and the decision by the University of Santo Tomás to remove Spanish as the medium of instruction in order to avoid losing its students.

In 1920, a wealthy industrialist of Spanish lineage by the name of Enrique Zóbel established an annual prize for the best unpublished work of writing in

Spanish by a Filipino author. The story of how this award evolved over time is a vivid reflection of the changing fortunes of Spanish in the Philippines (Brillantes 2001). In its first year, the prize failed to attract a single submission. In subsequent competitions, during the first phase of its existence – interrupted in 1942 by the Japanese invasion of the archipelago – the number of entries each year ranged between four and twelve. In 1928, the press published remarks by various commentators lamenting the low level of participation: “the honor of winning is no longer enough, nor even the prospect of 500 *pesos* to entice men of the pen to write work for the sole purpose of entering it for competition,” wrote *La Vanguardia*. As an exception to this, the 1930 competition was very well subscribed – owing, perhaps, to the publicity derived from the controversy in the press surrounding the previous year’s, which had seen one judge after another resign his position on the jury. On several occasions, no prize was awarded: no winner was named in 1921 or in 1923 or, following its revival after the war (in 1953), in 1956, 1958 or any of the years from 1967 to 1973; by the latter stages, there were no writers in Spanish left, with the exception of the odd isolated work that would surface from time to time, as they still do to this day. The organizers were thus forced to try a new approach: the idea of a literary prize was replaced by that of an award for the person who over the course of the year had contributed most to the conservation of the Spanish language in the Philippines. Since then, the prize has been presented to writers in English, Spanish-language professors, politicians and English-language columnists, in addition to the occasional wealthy businessman as a way of encouraging him to part with some of his fortune for the promotion of Spanish.

At the time the prize was first announced, there were already fears over the future of Spanish in the Philippines, but nobody outside of the American administration seriously expected the end to come so quickly. Nevertheless, although Castilian was still the dominant language, there were already a number of Filipino writers producing work in English. The list of reporters employed at the *Manila Times* newspaper around 1920, for example, reveals a preponderance of Filipino-Spanish surnames: García, Almoalla, Escoda, Bautista, Benavides and de la Llana, to name just a few.

In 1920, Fernando Zóbel (brother of Enrique) announced a journalism contest with the following theme: “The Castilian language in the Philippines: its mission, past, present and future, and its importance in relation to the whole world.” The titles of some of the articles submitted for the competition reflect growing concern among *hispanista* elements of the literary media and their defensive response of laying claim not only to the language, but to the whole history of Spain: “Respectful of all, without hate, ill will or injustice,” “The legacy of Isabella the Catholic,” “Cervantes,” “From Felipe descended,” “Language is the vehicle of the thoughts of the people – Rizal,” “We will not be absorbed,” “Castilian as our national language,” “Castilian should be preserved

forever in the Philippines, not as just one of the official languages but as the first among them,” “Castilian will not die.”

Gradually, nevertheless, the status of English as the primary language became more and more established. In 1932, the winner of the previous year's Zóbel prize, José Teotico, expressed in a column in the *Excelsior* newspaper his unreserved acceptance of the English language, adding only that he hoped Spanish would be maintained alongside it as an “international language,” and that Filipinos would not allow the opportunity to learn to speak it properly pass them by. By around 1940, nobody spoke of the primacy of Spanish anymore; the only remaining hope was that it should be prevented from disappearing.

As acceptance of English became more widespread, pro-Hispanic discourse began to take on a more conservative edge, emphasizing the strong ties between homeland, language and the Roman Catholic religion. A good illustration of this new focus is the book *Fe y Patria* [Faith and homeland] (1966), a collection of speeches, conference papers, and articles in defense of Spanish and Hispanism by José María Delgado, vice president of the Philippine Academy of the Spanish Language and Philippine ambassador to the Vatican. He was also President of *Solidaridad Filipino-Hispana*, which he founded and whose launch was covered by the conservative Spanish newspaper *ABC* (September 8, 1962). The report in *ABC* highlighted that the event – which was attended by no less than the President of the Philippines, Diosdado Macapagal, accompanied by his wife – included a screening in Spanish of Anthony Mann's *El Cid*; while not an inherently conservative film, it nonetheless represented a significant choice under the circumstances.

The new culture of conservatism was in some ways the antithesis of the *Ilustrados* who came before it. The authors of this latest period of pro-Hispanic activism were in fact attempting to carry on their legacy. This, at least, is how they were viewed in the context of the new independent Philippine state which no longer looked upon the country's Spanish past as some kind of privileged inheritance. The same was true of the US legacy in the region, a situation symbolized by the fact that it was Tagalog, not English, that the mayor of Manila used in his speech to welcome the United States president, Lyndon B. Johnson, on his visit to the country in 1966.

The conservatism of the writers who converged on *Solidaridad Filipino-Hispana* and organizations like it, such as the *Sociedad de Escritores Hispano-Filipinos* [Society of Hispano-Filipino Writers] or the *Liga de Filipinistas* [Filipinista League], was so marked that even the Francoist Spanish ambassador, Mariñas Otero, commented that

the Fil-Hispanic writer finds himself pigeonholed by his public and by his own idiosyncrasy into a locally unpopular style, mentality and political direction; he is what one might call a “right-wing” writer, something which only adds to the sense of alienation

from his country and countrymen while other writers thoughtlessly reckon their compatriots' writings in Castilian "less Filipino," despite their radical nationalism. (1974: 74)

The belief that Spanish would not disappear from the islands received its final crushing blow in 1987, with the repeal of the legal compulsion to study the language. Hegemonic nationalist discourse had long since ceased to use Spanish to defend its cause; the force of that argument was now focused on promoting Filipino as the national language.

The debate surrounding the role of Spanish and the Spanish colonial past in Philippine national identity is not over yet, though. As we saw in the introduction to this part (see Fernández and Del Valle), Spanish has recently been put back on the curriculum in state-run schools, on the basis of the combined argument of its usefulness as an international language and nostalgic remembrances of the past. The advantages perceived in reclaiming the country's Hispanic ties would seem to be greater right now than has been the case until very recently. This connection transcends – and sometimes consciously avoids – the purely Spanish aspects of the region's colonial legacy, emphasizing instead the broader "Hispanic" character still present in the cultural memory of its inhabitants. It remains to be seen whether this resurgence of Hispanic consciousness is merely a passing phase or if, on the contrary, it will become a permanent part of the national discourse and a further layer of Filipino identity, just as the *Ilustrados* hoped it would.

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