

IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY IN DISCOURSE:
LANGUAGE SHIFT AND BILINGUAL SCHOOLING IN TLAXCALA, MEXICO

by

Jacqueline Henriette Elise Messing

Copyright © Jacqueline Henriette Elise Messing 2003

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2003

UMI Number: 3089987

Copyright 2003 by
Messing, Jacqueline Henriette Elise

All rights reserved.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3089987

Copyright 2003 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA ®
GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Jacqueline H. E. Messing entitled Ideological Multiplicity in Discourse: Language Shift and Bilingual Schooling in Tlaxcala, Mexico

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Susan U. Philips
Susan U. Philips

April 7, 2003
Date

Norma Mendoza-Denton N M-D
Norma Mendoza-Denton

Apr 7 03
Date

Jane H. Hill
Jane H. Hill

Apr 7 2003
Date

Norma Gonzalez
Norma Gonzalez

4/7/03
Date

Elsie Rockwell
Elsie Rockwell

4/7/03
Date

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

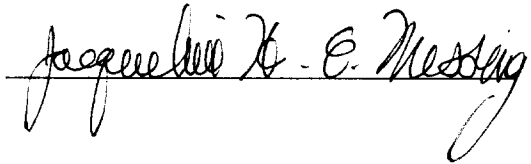
Susan U. Philips
Dissertation Director Susan U. Philips

April 7, 2003
Date

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This dissertation has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this dissertation are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgement of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the copyright holder.

SIGNED: 

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge support from the following institutions: Department of Anthropology, UA Graduate College, SBSRI, Fulbright Foundation, COMEXUS, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS-Mexico City), Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala, and the Spencer Foundation.

I am grateful to my committee with whom I've had the pleasure to work for many years, for the wonderful courses they teach, their feedback on my writing, and their constant intellectual challenges. I thank my chair Susan Philips for her advising over almost a decade, for support during fieldwork, and for her close reading of and detailed feedback on every aspect of the dissertation as it was being written. I thank Jane Hill for her support of my research in the Malintzi area, for first telling me about the new bilingual school which eventually brought me to Contla, and for many many insightful comments on drafts of the dissertation, including assistance with Mexicano transcription and translation. I am indebted to Norma González for her strong support of this interdisciplinary project since its inception, for her feedback, and for teaching me a great deal about ethnography through our work in BARA. I am grateful to Norma Mendoza Denton for her interest in my research, her feedback and for providing an important perspective on the use of technology in ethnographic work. I thank Elsie Rockwell of the CINESTAV-IPN (Mexico City) for her interest and support, and for offering a plethora of background information on the history of Contla, and education in Tlaxcala and Mexico. I offer deep thanks to the late Daniel Nugent for all he taught me about Mexico, ethnographic endeavors, and about teaching; the mark of his influence on this research and this text will be clear to the reader. I thank Luis Moll and Norma González for their inspiring collaborative research projects of which I was fortunate to be a part; these experiences were ultimately instrumental in the design of my dissertation research. To the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude for support throughout many years. I particularly wish to thank Tim Finan, Diane Austin, Mamadou Baro, Jim Greenberg, and Drexel Woodson for many informative and lively exchanges that have enriched my research, writing and thinking. I am grateful to Terri McCarty for her interdisciplinary anthropology and education seminars and her interest in this project.

Mil gracias a José Antonio Flores Farfán for challenging me to reconsider the nature of bilingualism, and for his feedback on and support of my work both during fieldwork and since then. I am grateful to José Antonio, Elsie Rockwell, and their respective families for their hospitality in Mexico City during fieldwork, and for the good food and books which were always in abundance during my stays. In Tlaxcala there are a number of people to whom I wish to express my deep gratitude. Señora Esperanza Fernández Sarmiento opened her Apizaco home to me in 1993 as part of an educational homestay, and since then she and her family have continually offered their friendship and practical assistance during my visits; thank you to Josefina Cortés Fernández for making the first contact for me in Contla. *Un profundo agradecimiento* to Nieves Vasquez Ahuantzi for offering me a place to live and so much more during my stay in Contla. I thank Vicente, Julia, Fernando, Vicente, and Angelita Roldán, and *Nievetsin's* children for opening the way to understanding life in Contla. In the schools I wish to thank Desiderio Lopez Marcos, Ramos Rosales Flores and his family, Josefina Cuapio Taxis and her family, and all of the teachers at the Contla and San Isidro schools for their interest in this research, their insights and questions, and for involving me in so many of their activities and family celebrations. I thank Refugio Nava Nava at the UAT for his interest in and support of this research. Thanks to Norbert Francis for his suggestions prior to pilot research in 1996.

A special note of thanks to the Spencer Foundation for the opportunity they offered me through financial and professional support at a key time; thanks to Jay Bratz for organizing fellows' meetings which propelled my work forward. I am grateful to the participants of our 2001 small group workshops: Suzanne Gaskins, Elizabeth Mertz, and Michael Silverstein, and to fellows Leslie Moore, Andrea Lawson Kortenhoven, and Karthryn Howard.

I am blessed with wonderful friends who have been my life-line throughout this long process. I thank my good friend and colleague Hortensia Caballero-Arias for her support, comments and insights throughout many years. I thank Sophie Frishkopf, my infallible cheer-leader, for her friendship, ideas & for her assistance with logistics while I was in the field. To Amy Zucker and Shoshana Green Jacobson I am thankful for their friendship throughout this process. I thank my friend Jonathan Furst for computer and video assistance during fieldwork. For our lively exchanges of ideas, and for their feedback on parts of the dissertation as it was being written, I thank my friends Elea Aguirre, John Bormanis, Karen Coelho, Luciana Fellin, Kathe Managan, Laura Mazow, Leslie Moore, Diane Riskedahl, Krisna Ruelle, Lynn Saul, Char Ullman, Marcela Vasquez-León, and our dissertation writing group (2001-2002). I thank Donna and PJ at the Providence Institute for their wonderful yoga classes that helped keep me focused as I wrote this dissertation. For technical support of all sorts thank you to Lourdes Hasson, Dirk Harris, Jodi Perin, Angélica Poveda, Jacobo Ramirez and Debra Ramchandani.

I wish to thank Dell Hymes and Joshua Fishman, who through their writings first inspired me to go into the field of linguistic anthropology.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my parents for their support – *À Denise, ma mère qui a lutté tant pour que sa fille parle français, et ne soit pas «trop Américaine»*, teaching me about language & identity from the start, and to my father, Dr. Simon D. Messing, whose example of ethnographic work has always been an inspiration.

DEDICATION

For my parents *avec un grand merci*

To the two women who paved the way for me in Tlaxcala,
Señora Esperanza Fernández Sarmiento de Cortés
Doña Nieves Vasquez Ahuantzi de Calderon

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	10
ABSTRACT.....	11
1. INTRODUCTIONS.....	14
ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING.....	17
MEXICANO AND SPANISH: PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE.....	23
LANGUAGE SHIFT.....	26
IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY: DISCOURSES OF LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, MODERNITY.....	31
THREE DISCOURSES: IDEOLOGICAL AND DISCURSIVE STANCES.....	32
SALIR ADELANTE.....	33
SALIR ADELANTE AND THE SIMULTANEITY OF EXPERIENCE.....	37
MENOSPRECIO.....	39
PRO-INDÍGENA.....	41
CONCEPT OF CULTURE.....	42
BILINGUAL SCHOOLING AS A SPECIAL SITE FOR IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY.....	44
SCHOOLS IN MEXICO.....	48
‘CIVILIZING’ RURAL MEXICO THROUGH EDUCATION.....	50
THE DISSERTATION.....	52
2. METHODS	
STAGES OF RESEARCH AND BUILDING CONFIANZA.....	54
FIELDWORK TRAJECTORY.....	55
CHOOSING A FIELD SITE: WHY CONTLA?.....	57
METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION.....	60
METHODS.....	61
REFLEXIVE MARKERS: “¡INVESTIGANDO LA INVESTIGADORA!”.....	65
3. AGENCY, STRUCTURE, AND IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY IN CONVERSATIONS ABOUT SCHOOLING: THE TEACHER TRAINING WORKSHOP	
SCHOOLING AS A DISCURSIVE SITE FOR IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY.....	67
DIALECTICS BETWEEN AGENCY AND STRUCTURE.....	69
SPEECH SITUATION: NEW TEACHER TRAINING COURSE.....	76
COURSE FOR LOS ASPIRANTES.....	78

TABLE OF CONTENTS -Continued

Setting	79
Participants.....	79
Ends.....	81
Keys	82
Instrumentalities.....	82
Norms.....	83
Genres	83
PRESENTATION OF DATA: CURSO DE INDUCCION A LA DOCENCIA (COURSE OF THE INTRODUCTION TO TEACHING)	83
Speech event #1 – Inaugural speeches.....	84
Speech event #2 – Interview sequence	92
Speech event #3 – Informal introduction to course	94
Speech event #4 – Formal introductions.....	116
THREE DISCOURSES	125
CONVERSATIONAL STYLE AND ORATORY	127
CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	128

4. LANGUAGE USE AND LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION	131
LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY	132
PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE	134
MEXICANO LANGUAGE USE IN CONTLA.....	135
IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE.....	137
LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGY AS A FIELD OF INQUIRY	138
IMPLICITNESS OF LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES	140
PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH – A SYNCRETIC WAY OF SPEAKING.....	141
MARKING RESPECT LINGUISTICALLY: HONORIFIC SPEECH	142
IDEOLOGIES OF RESPECT AND PURISM.....	144
AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS AND SCHOLARS: PRESENTATION OF ‘HABLANDO MEXICANO’	145
USE OF MEXICANO IN SPANISH: CULTURALLY SPECIFIC TERMS	147
MEXICANO NAMING PRACTICES.....	149
COMMUNITY VOICES: DATA ANALYSIS.....	149
Mónica	150
Esther	152
Iris and Alberta	167
Iris – second interview	169
Don Pablo.....	171
Jímena	178
Carolina and Lidia.....	181

TABLE OF CONTENTS -Continued

Miguel and Ana.....	188
Arturo.....	193
Juán.....	197
Carla.....	201
Raúl.....	206
Ursula and Felipa.....	208
BILINGUAL SCHOOL TEACHERS AS SOCIOLINGUISTIC KEY INFORMANTS.....	210
CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	210
5. LANGUAGE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE MALINTSI	
INTRODUCTION.....	212
RECURSIVITY AND LOCAL REPRODUCTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION.....	213
NATIONAL HOMOGENIZING FORCES: INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND THE NATION.....	216
RECURSIVITY IN LOCAL DISCOURSES: FOUR VOICES.....	222
Don Luis.....	222
Doña Paulina.....	226
Maestro Eustalio.....	229
Maestra Rosa.....	231
CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	233
6. THE POLITICS OF INDIGENOUS-BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN MEXICO AND REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT (RLS) POSSIBILITIES	
IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY AND THE SPACE BETWEEN AGENCY AND STRUCTURE.....	235
CONFLICTOS LINGUISTICOS (LINGUISTIC CONFLICTS).....	237
THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF CASTILIANIZATION.....	240
LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION AND SCHOOLS.....	241
FROM “LINGUISTIC CONFLICT” TO “IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY”.....	244
SCHOOLS AS LOCAL AND NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.....	245
EVERYDAY LIFE IN TLAXCALA SCHOOLS.....	246
INSTANCES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION.....	250
AGENCY AND STRUCTURE REVISITED: TEACHERS IN TLAXCALA.....	256
CONSTRAINTS ON TEACHERS.....	258
TEACHER PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUAL SCHOOLING AND CONSTRAINTS.....	258

TABLE OF CONTENTS -Continued

MULTIPLE TEACHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND IDEOLOGIES OF
TEACHING264
TEXTBOOKS AND ORAL TRADITION267
MULTIPLE TEACHER RESPONSIBILITIES: OUTSIDE SCHOOL
LABOR UNIONS.....268
ECONOMIC DEMANDS270
SUMMARY OF TEACHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND CONSTRAINTS.....270
RISKS POSSIBILITIES IN TLAXCALA: RIPPLE EFFECTS
ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE REVITALIZATIONS.....273
CONCLUDING REMARKS.....273

7. CONCLUSIONS.....275

APPENDIX A: EMPLOYMENT AD - BILINGUAL EDUCATION TEACHERS280

APPENDIX B: HUMAN SUBJECTS AUTHORIZATION.....282

REFERENCES283

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE 1. Map of Study Area13

FIGURE 2. Factors influencing the use of Mexicano in Contla.....137

ABSTRACT

This study is based on participant observation and ethnographic fieldwork in Tlaxcala, Mexico and looks at language use and linguistic ideology in several Mexicano speaking communities undergoing language shift in the Malintsi (Malinche) region of Central Mexico. Many Tlaxcalans expressed conflicting feelings about teaching Mexicano to their children, while some actively avoid transmitting the indigenous language.

I suggest that there is ideological multiplicity that surfaces in discourses of language, identity and progress. This multiplicity is organized through three discourses that have local, regional, and national expressions, these are: the pro-development meta-discourse of *salir adelante*, or forging ahead, and improving one's socioeconomic position; *menosprecio*, the denigration of indigenous identity; and third, the *pro-indígena* or pro-indigenous discourse that promotes a positive attitude towards indigenous-ness. The analysis of discourse offers a productive means for understanding the semiotic resources speakers employ as they orient towards and against particular identities through discourses they create and tap into. Using recorded data collected during field research, I analyze "naturally occurring" and elicited speech, and interviews conducted with local people on language use, ideology, shift, and bilingual schooling.

The study of bilingual schooling offers an important site for the study of ideological multiplicity. Bilingual-indigenous schools in Tlaxcala as both community and nation-state institutions are a nexus for the discursive emergence and local reformulation of ideologies of language, identity, modernity, and the nation. I consider

the politics and possibilities of language revitalization through the school system, focusing on the dialectics between agency and structure, as local communities and teachers interact with the national system. Despite the tremendous structural and ideological constraints on bilingual teachers, several are dedicated “language promoters.”

In this dissertation I suggest that focusing on ideological multiplicity, surfacing in and through discourse, can begin to address the question of how and why speakers shift their ideologies and their languages.

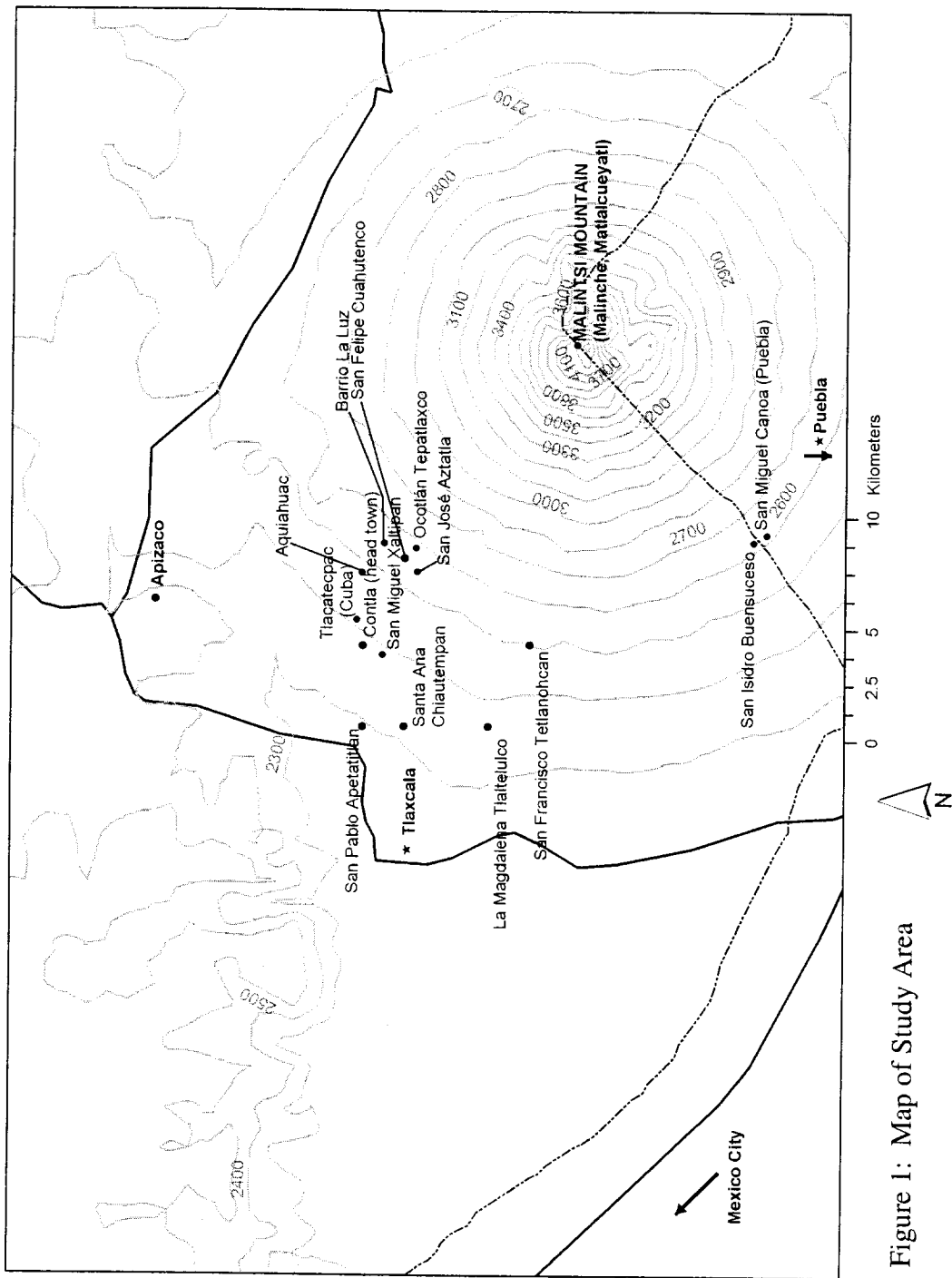


Figure 1: Map of Study Area

1. INTRODUCTIONS

Under the bright blue Tlaxcalan sky, the air is full of the smell of toasted corn and a wood fire, and in the backyard of a factory owner's large two-story house several women are pressing and cooking tortillas, in preparation for the day's festivity – San Bernardino Contla's annual feria (festivity) in which guests from out of town come and share in a feast of mole with their compadres (ritual kin), close friends, and colleagues. Mole, chilmolle in Mexicano, is the traditional dish served in every household; it is a thick brown colored sauce, made with numerous ingredients including dried chilies, chocolate, dried fruit and nuts. “¿Un taquito?” (A taco for you?), asks Doña Blanca, gesturing to the freshly made tortilla in her hand – “que sea, con sal (even if it's just with salt)” she offers in Spanish, having just switched from speaking Mexicano to her comadrita (ritual kin), who has been hired to help Blanca prepare for her son-in-law and daughter's (the factory owners) large feast. On this day I alternate between watching and helping, constantly shifting between my identity as the notebook and recorder-toting ethnographer, and the woman who spends a year living in Mexico.

Around the world the preparation and sharing of food bring people together. In Tlaxcala, corn and its associated Mexicano terminologies are at the center of daily food preparation. In this way the Mexicano language and local traditions continue to coexist in the syncretic way that is characteristic of the past thirty years in Malinche region (Hill & Hill 1986). As a woman I was always welcome, and sometimes expected to be involved with food preparation. Women taught me whatever I wanted to learn to make, and on

this particular day laughed with me at my tlacoyos gringos (filled corn patty, made by an American) – misshapen from lack of experience.¹

The sound of cumbia music resonates from a nearby radio, mixing with the occasional squawking of chickens in their pen, as they let out their protests to all the outdoor activity. I do what I can, stirring the mole which is in a large clay pot sitting on a wood fire, in a covered corner of this house’s second, outside kitchen. These rust colored clay pots have been manufactured in Contla for centuries, and gave the town its name Contlan, “place of pots” in Mexicano. The large pots sit on people’s rooftops until they are put to use for large feasts, such as the patron saint holiday, weddings, birthdays, or funerals. The women make tortillas for several days prior to the event, and put them into large chiquihuites (baskets) and table-top size chiquipestles (tortilla-size baskets), covered with the cloth napkins that women have painstakingly embroidered and crocheted into colorful floral patterns, often in conversation, or while watching a telenovela (soap opera) at night.

Upstairs inside the house, guests are slowly gathering, well-dressed and coiffed in a Tlaxcala urban style, they sit down at the long table, set with knives and forks. Their main meal is served by waiters hired for the day – a plate of chicken, where mole sauce has been poured over the top. The knives, forks, and plates being used are indexical of the high socioeconomic status of this household, and contrast with the usual bowls of mole, served with a chicken piece, and eaten with a tortilla and/or a spoon in most Contla households. This symbolic description of part of an important social obligation in

¹ Alan Sandstrom’s (1991) book “Corn is our blood” has shown the centrality of corn to Mexicano speaking people’s throughout central Mexico.

the lives of Contla residents offers a glimpse into social transformations as a result of increasing industrialization in this indigenous Mexican town.

This is a story about Tlaxcala – *Tlaxcallan* - the land of the tortilla.² About Mexicano and Spanish at the turn of the 21st century, and about the spaces they still occupy in daily life, and in people’s hearts and imaginations, in this industrial corridor three hours away from Mexico City, where an ancient textile industry flourishes in both people’s homes and factories. This dissertation is about Tlaxcalan people’s ideologies of language, identity, and modernity based on ethnographic fieldwork in San Bernardino Contla and San Isidro Buensuceso³ (in another part of the state); these are two communities that differ greatly in terms of language shift and traditions. This dissertation attempts an untangling of multiple and conflicting ideologies produced in and through Tlaxcalan discourses in these communities and their bilingual schools. These ideologies are patterned, and emerge in the local, regional and national discourses that I have identified as: (1) *salir adelante* [forging ahead], improving one’s socioeconomic position; (2) *menosprecio* [under-appreciation], denigration of indigenous identity; and (3) *pro-indígena* [pro-indigenous], promoting a positive attitude towards indigenous people. As this dissertation will show, these three discourses are closely interconnected, and form a part of speakers’ meta-discursive practices, through which ideologies are expressed, shared, and contested. The purpose of my research was two-fold, to: 1) To study language use, linguistic ideology & language shift in two Mexicano communities. 2) To

² Throughout this dissertation I use Spanish and Nahuatl phrases in italics, with the English translation following in parentheses.

³ These are the full names; following local convention I will refer to them simply as “Contla” and “San Isidro.”

consider the question: Can language revitalization take place in bilingual schools, in Mexico? More specifically, my research objectives were to discern: What *spaces* does Mexicano occupy in Tlaxcala? What are people's *ideologies* of language? Can schooling work to *revitalize* native languages? What is *bilingual-bicultural education* in Mexico?

ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

During sixteen months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted between 1996 and 2002 in two Tlaxcalan communities and schools I lived in Contla, a semi-rural county of 35,000 people in which *Mexicano* (the Nahuatl language) has been largely replaced by Spanish except in the older generation. I compared this context to that of the remote town on another side of the Malinche volcano, San Isidro Buensuceso (pop. 5,000) where children are still being socialized *in* and *through* both languages (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986); the language is still in daily use by speakers in of all generations, most of whom are bilingual (Francis 1997).

“Syncretism” is the concept that Hill & Hill (1986, Hill 1999) use to describe the cultural and linguistic milieu in Puebla and Tlaxcala in the 1970s, in their extensive sociolinguistic and ethnographic survey of this Mexicano community. In this region of central Mexico, complex repertoires of identity (Kroskrity 1993, Messing 1995) have been symbolically represented by switching between Mexicano, Spanish, and, occasionally, a second indigenous language. The Mexicano spoken locally includes Mexicano along with Spanish loan words and grammatical constructions that have been incorporated into the indigenous language - most often these are prepositions and

conjunctions; Spanish language numbers, and various other lexical items have been borrowed into Mexicano, and have been adapted to Mexicano grammar (i.e. *de*, Spanish 'from' becomes *den* in local syncretic Mexicano speech). The heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981) is replete with linguistic ideologies that speakers use as explanatory systems. Hill (1985, 1992) writes that most speakers hold Mexicano to be the language of intimacy, politeness and respect, and that, conversely, the colonial language is associated with power, social distance, wage labor and rudeness (Hill & Hill 1986). Group solidarity can be expressed through an elaborate system of honorifics, and four-levels of polite speech, which provide a linguistic resource unavailable in Spanish. Today these honorifics are heard, and most of these language/culture associations are still common but others have fallen out of use among younger Spanish dominant Tlaxcalans (see chapter four for further discussion).

The Mexicano community in this region of Mexico straddles the states of Puebla, and Tlaxcala, which is the smallest state in Mexico. The anthropologist Hugo Nutini (1968, 1976) has described the Mexicano speaking community that lives along the skirts of the Malinche volcano (known also as *Malintsi* locally) as forming part of a bounded cultural area.⁴ The state is part rural and part semi-urban; rural areas have maintained a mix of traditional life and modern services and technologies. A century old textile industry has accounted for most local employment opportunities, in the form of both

⁴ In this dissertation I suggest that this region has notable cultural and dialectal differences that have not been previously detailed, and require further study. I suggest that the San Isidro/Canoa/San Pablo del Monte region forms a cultural area that is distinct from the county of Contla, despite the fact that they, along with San Francisco Tetlanohcan have been considered part of a greater Malinche cultural area. Dialectal research within these regions should be undertaken, and will illustrate a degree of linguistic difference that is itself salient to speakers/residents.

formal factory work, consisting mainly of production of yarn from raw materials, and informal work in households weaving blankets on large wooden looms. Many have also migrated to the neighboring city of Puebla, to Mexico City, or in fewer cases the United States in search of employment; a Canadian government temporary worker program has attracted a few residents as well. The railroad, improvements to local roads, and a major national highway running through Tlaxcala are factors leading to a population increase over the past thirty years in the city of Apizaco, and the capital Tlaxcala city (Nutini 1968, 1976, Nutini & Isaac 1974).

San Bernardino Contla de Juan Cuamatzi is a densely populated county in close proximity to the small textile city of Santa Ana Chiautempan, the state capital of Tlaxcala, and the large city of Apizaco. *Contla de Juan Cuamatzi*, often referred to as simply “Contla” has eleven sections (the county’s political division) consisting of both official neighborhoods and politically incorporated towns which offer rich opportunities for comparison. The center of the county, the *cabecera* or head town is named San Bernardino Contla, and the other sections are the towns of San Miguel Xalitpan, San Jose Aztatla, Ixtlahuaca, Ocotlan, and San Felipe Cuahutenco; Official neighborhoods are Xopantla, Cuba, Aquiahuac, and Barrio la Luz. The two main roads in town are on a North/South orientation and begin at the base of the Malinche mountain’s slope, and rises up towards the top passing through all the neighborhoods and towns. Apart from these official towns and neighborhoods are other socially salient divisions that correspond to both the religious office-holding (sodality) sections named *parajes* (in Spanish) (Chick

1981), and neighborhood names associated with family names and lineages.⁵ There is an association between people and the land on which they and their families live and/or cultivate; there is a connection between geography, identity and language, the main distinction being between *centro* (town's center) and *monte* (the mountain/ mount). There is an ideology held by some that being from the towns in the higher elevations of the county ("*Ser del monte*") implies indigenoussness, marked by greater use of Mexicano and poverty. An informant explained that the term *monte* "*es una palabra que encierra la discriminación*" (is a term that encloses discrimination).

I first chose to do research in Contla because I was informed that there was a new bilingual school there (Jane Hill, personal communication). During pilot research in Contla, many people told me that Mexicano was not spoken anymore in Contla, and that I should visit San Isidro to hear the "legitimate Mexicano" (cf. Hill & Hill 1986). Several people pointed me towards San Isidro as an ideal site for an anthropologist; there Mexicano is heard by speakers of all ages in many contexts. My observations in Contla suggested that the reality was more complex, i.e. that use and understanding of Mexicano varies by micro-region, but also by family. After considerable time my interviewees began to speak of their conflicted feelings about teaching the ancestral language to their children.

My secondary site of San Isidro was chosen for several reasons. The use of Mexicano there is considered particularly strong among members of all generations. I

⁵ For example, the Cuamatzis live mainly in the section of Contla known as Cuamatla, the Tetlalmatzis in Tetlalmatla, etc. Family names in Contla are primarily in Mexicano, one of its distinguishing features compared to other Mexicano speaking regions of the state; there is currently a research project at the state university studying the variety and meanings of these names.

wanted to maintain a comparative perspective between Contla and San Isidro and their bilingual schools, all part of the same sub-system of indigenous education for the state of Tlaxcala. I wanted to observe how the children, teachers, and visiting parents interacted in and with both languages in the school, in which most of the official materials were provided in Spanish; this would also provide a point of comparison with the Contla school.

Socioculturally, Contla and San Isidro are very different. I observed differences in, for instance, commonly seen women's dress, and customs such as weddings, funerals, and Day of the Dead observances. Religious rituals in homes are also celebrated differently. Geographically and economically San Isidro is a more remote mountain town, with few wage labor opportunities locally; many residents work in the much larger San Pablo del Monte (a half an hour bus ride down the mountain), or in the very large state capital of Puebla (One to 1 ½ hours away by bus).

San Isidro residents rely on a primarily agricultural economy, as well as a regionally renowned, small-scale, mechanized embroidery trade, and many residents migrate to the metropolis of Puebla (cf. Hill 1991). There is more Mexicano spoken there than in other parts of the state of Tlaxcala. This town appears to many Tlaxcalans as being more markedly "indigenous" or "traditional" and therefore of greater appeal to anthropologists, and anyone in search of what has been referred to as an "authentic indigenous culture" within the state. Many San Isidro residents of all ages speak a Spanish that shows phonological and lexical interference from Mexicano, which tends to be more true of some members of the older generation in Contla, whose first language

was Mexicano. The sense of “menosprecio” is less in San Isidro, or at least, it appears to have affected the domains of language use less. Therefore, in popular local discourse, there is the sense that it represents (to a certain degree) what “life used to be like” in other regions, such as the Contla *municipio*. There is an evolutionary ring to these descriptions, as if San Isidro is preserved because of its geographic isolation. Contla on the other hand, has seen an industrial boom, and, in this popular local discourse, has all but lost its San Isidro-like qualities. After initial fieldwork I recognized that San Isidro represented a cultural area quite noticeably distinguishable from Contla, and more similar to towns in the state of Puebla, such as San Miguel Canoa, which is separated from San Isidro only by a shallow canyon (*barranca*).

Residents of San Isidro see themselves as different from Contla residents, and the dialectal difference is something they notice. Doña Isabel, a woman in her sixties in San Isidro explained that “*No hablan claro allí [en Contla]*” (They don’t speak clearly there [in Contla]), referring to the speaking of Mexicano. Therefore, while the San Isidro and Contla variants of Mexicano are mutually intelligible, the dialectal differences that exist, along with general ways of speaking and identity differences, this is enough to give pause to speakers, and prevent them from communicating in Mexicano with speakers from other parts of the Malinche region.⁶

In this dissertation I have chosen to use the term “Tlaxcalan,” which reflects a locally salient identity category, in favor of the term “Nahua,” which has often been used by anthropologists. Friedlander (1975) posits that identity can be ascribed from the

⁶ On local dialectal variation see for instance Hill & Hill (1986b) Variable developments of modern Mexicano –axca, IJAL 52:404-410.

outside, and suggests that an “Indian identity” had been artificially constructed and imposed by American anthropologists working in Mexico. Indeed, the creation of the identity category of “Indian” is a direct result of Colonialism (Bonfil Batalla 1992). The inhabitants of Tlaxcala are renowned in Mexico for their support of the Spaniard Hernán Cortés and his conquest of the Mexica’s (Aztec) Tenochtitlan, which is today Mexico City. There is a historical and contemporary perception of the Tlaxcaltecs as traitors, which will occasionally surface in conversations with people from outside the state. During the initial phase of the colony, Tlaxcala enjoyed at least a degree of special status as an independent republic. Today these regionalist differences are still reflected in people’s perceptions.

MEXICANO & SPANISH: PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE

Widespread Nahuatl language use in Tlaxcala can be documented throughout the colonial period, the Spanish language not taking hold until the late eighteenth century (Elsie Rockwell, personal communication). By the time of the 1990 census about eight percent of the population of Mexico considered itself “indigenous,” determined by census takers through people’s self-identification as speakers of one of the roughly fifty languages spoken in Mexico (Flores Farfán 1999, Lastra 1986, Suarez 1983). Nahuatl, part of the Uto-Aztecan language family and known by its speakers as Mexicano, has roughly one million speakers who live in various parts of central and southern Mexico. There is evidence that serious language shift and loss is occurring in this region (Flores Farfán 1992, Garza Cuarón and Lastra 1991, Hill and Hill 1986). Here I wish to explore

the elements which constitute this shift: economics, geography, as well as indigenous language promotion both on the national and local level, etc.

Because of widespread stigmatization of speaking Mexicano in the Contla county, I found that the actual degree of use of Mexicano and language shift is very hard to ascertain. As Hill & Hill (1986) have pointed out, the sociolinguistic situation and functional distribution of codes is a complex one. In addition to the problems inherent in discerning actual language ability when the use of the language is stigmatized to some extent by its speakers, the challenge of *describing* and *quantifying* speakers' linguistic knowledge is a large one; Fishman's (1991, 2001) eight-part GIDS (Graded Inter-generational Disruption Scale) scale which attempts to measure the degree of language shift that has taken place, can be of some use here – in the Malintsi I encountered Mexicano speakers at every level of his continuum. However, part of addressing this difficult question must involve a problematization of the notion of *bilingual*, a category conceived of within a European sociolinguistic context, which is denotationally limited for use in describing indigenous, post-colonial contexts (Messing In press); The concepts of semi-speaker (Dorian 1977) and quasi-speaker (Flores Farfán 1999) are more helpful here, as we seek to find qualitative ways of describing the linguistic knowledge of speakers in relational terms (relational among speakers) rather than trying to attempt to quantify linguistic knowledge that is so situational, context-bound, that I don't believe is statistically measurable. There are recent reconceptualizations of Ferguson's (1959) notion of diglossia as involving more than two functional codes, thus allowing for a sociolinguistic recognition of linguistic multiplicity and hetero-glossia (or poly-glossia)

(cf. Catalan sociolinguists writing on this topic, including Aracil 1986, Ninyoles 1972, Pujolar 2001, Valverdu 1987, 1988).⁷ Part of this movement away from static concepts of diglossia, bilingualism itself, and what is too often considered *language conflict* (see Chapter six) involves a position that *expects* heteroglossia (Hill 1993).

Among the younger residents of Contla, there is often a stigma attached to speaking Mexicano. Unless Tlaxcalans know me, there is laughter and embarrassed, sidelong glances when the language is spoken or mentioned during a conversation otherwise in Spanish. Many people appear to be insecure about speaking Mexicano. Many Mexicano speakers in the state of Guerrero today think of themselves as *cuatrerros*, speakers that make mistakes (Flores Farfán 1999), an idea echoed by my interviewees who mostly see themselves as “half-speaking” (*medio hablar*), and as one speaker figuratively put it, many local speakers *medio lo mastican*, or “sort of half chew it [Mexicano].” Countless times I have heard people, mostly under forty-five, tell me: “*lo entiendo pero no lo puedo pronunciar*” (I understand it but I can’t pronounce it). I have observed a great disparity between *perceived* communicative competence in Mexicano and actual ability, for instance, when children or adults laugh at the punch line of a joke that someone has just told in Mexicano.

The most salient factors predicting the *learning* of Mexicano in Contla include: the age of the person – among older residents, sixty and above, the likelihood is greater that they will understand or speak Mexicano in certain contexts; the family a person comes from and their communicative competence (i.e. the presence of a parent from

⁷ I am grateful to José Antonio Flores Farfán for discussions on this topic.

another state often means an interruption in transmission of Mexicano to the younger generation); the individual speaker's linguistic identity orientation (some families have a great degree of variation between children who seek to learn the language- from a grandparent for instance, and others who reject it partially, or completely).

Factors influencing the *use* of Mexicano in Contla in day to day speech are variable and dependent on the context, including: there is a greater likelihood that one will hear Mexicano in private contexts, rather than public ones – exceptions include occasional symbolic events that will be detailed in future chapters; the relative linguistic security the speaker feels in speaking Mexicano with the given interlocutors; the context must be one of *confianza* (mutual trust), and may be one of habit (where certain speakers have the custom of speaking together in Mexicano); the speaker must be certain that his/her interlocutor understands Mexicano (this is a very individual and subjective decision); there is a great tendency for speakers to be of the same generation, and it is quite notable that cross-generational communication in Mexicano takes place in very restricted contexts (usually a Mexicano dominant grandparent with a younger relative).

The retreat of Mexicano to certain spaces and times in Contla daily life are a direct result of years of discrimination which have been internalized, and which surface in the discourses to be analyzed in this dissertation.

LANGUAGE SHIFT

According to Ethnologue,⁸ there are 6,500 living languages in the world, and a total of 6,000 of these languages of which fifty-two percent are spoken by fewer than

⁸ Statistics from Ethnologue can be found on the website of the Endangered Languages Foundation (UK) website.

10,000 people, twenty-eight percent by fewer than 1,000 people, and ten percent by fewer than 100 people. Clearly the situation is dire. Swadesh in 1948 called for a study of “the sociology of obsolescent languages” in which he stated that ethnologists and linguists should focus on the social causes of language death through attention to language attitudes. Hill (1978) has pointed out that most of the literature in this area has been linguistic in nature, focusing on the structural aspects of language contact.⁹ The cause of language shift and loss has long been seen as languages coming into contact with each other (Weinrich 1953), and many scholars focus their research on the interaction between these contact languages through the analysis of such processes as borrowing, linguistic transfer (interference), simplification, overgeneralization, grammatical convergence, and sometimes code-switching (Silva-Corvalan 1995, cf. Dorian 1989). These processes are seen to lead to the displacement of one language by another, ultimately leading to language death if the number of speakers is small. The language contact research is often framed in terms of languages, rather than speakers. For instance, Thomason and Kaufman’s work (1988) identifies common assumptions about language change motivated by contact that rely entirely on structural phenomena, concluding that “any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language” (Ibid. 1988:14). Despite this linguistic reasoning for the result of language-mixing, Thomason and Kaufman describe language shift as “a social fact with linguistic implications” (Ibid.:212), without themselves taking up these socio-cultural aspects of contact situations.

⁹ Wexler (1981) and Appel and Muysken (1987) do briefly discuss social causes motivating language change.

From an anthropological perspective it is the *speakers* of languages that we should consider, rather than talking about languages themselves; it is humans who are losing their communication codes and related identities in societies where complex social, historical, economic, and political factors affect language ideologies, and consequently language use and linguistic socialization of the next generation (cf. Kulick 1992). Brody (1995:133) points out that language contact “is always social and political, because it is speakers of languages who actually come into contact.” We must focus attention on actual speakers of the languages because they are the agents in the sociolinguistic situations in which language contact and loss take place (Woolard 1989).

In the case of indigenous languages, many of them have ultimately been threatened with extinction, having fatally suffered from their contact with colonial languages, or are now endangered. Many languages have already been lost, thus cutting off communities from ties with their ancestors through rituals in their languages, and diminishing the linguistic and cultural diversity of the world (Krauss 1992, Woodbury 1993).

Fishman (1991) has suggested that language shift be explained according to physical, social and cultural dislocations; I will consider various theories of Reversing Language Shift (RLS) in chapter six. Garza Cuarón & Lastra (1991) trace the social causes for threats of language obsolescence in Mexico through a look at the country’s pre- and post-conquest history. They posit that the dominance of Spanish language media in Mexico has a widespread negative effect on the use of minority Indian languages.

The most promising means of accounting for processes of linguistic change is through a focus on the social *processes* of language shift. Gal has suggested that it is not social changes themselves, such as colonialism, industrialization, or migration that motivate or explain linguistic change culminating in obsolescence, but rather that the focus should be on *how* the social change itself affects how speakers *use* their languages in different contexts (Gal 1979). To this Kulick has added a key question: “*Why and how do people come to interpret their lives in such a way that they abandon one of their languages?*” (Kulick 1992:9). Considering how speakers incorporate social change into their lives must play a role in shaping and assimilating language change. Social changes causes speakers to reevaluate their self-concepts in relation to their social world.

Language shift and loss must be viewed as a fundamentally *social* process in which individuals react to social changes that in turn affect their linguistic ideologies, language use, and social identities (Gal 1979, Kroskrity 1993). In the past, linguistic analyses have too often privileged the structural effects of language shift (cf. Dorian 1989) rather than actual speakers (and their ideologies) as agents in the sociolinguistic situation in which language contact and loss take place (cf. Woolard 1989b). Because of the close connection between identity and language (Fishman 1977, Messing 1995) both must be seen as part of cultural change itself, which affects individuals’ interpretations of their lives in such a way that they change their communicative practices. I wish to further our understanding of shifts in the use of Mexicano and related language ideologies in the context of the Tlaxcalan people’s colonial history and contemporary political economy.

This dissertation studies the process of language shift from a multi-disciplinary perspective. Comparing two linguistically different communities along with their bilingual schools will elucidate a synchronic moment in a critical period of language shift, which is a special type kind of language change. Insight into impending shift can be found in “synchronic heterogeneity,” or, instances of code-switching in multilingual contexts. Bilingual code-switching, Gal suggests, should be considered a unique chance to see linguistic change in action, the intermediate stage of language shift, prior to language obsolescence (Gal 1979). For Gal (1979:2) the most promising means of accounting for the processes of linguistic change is through a focus on language shift “as an instance of socially motivated linguistic change.” This focus on the *process* of language shift, through an ethnography of a bilingual region in Austria provided a reply to earlier unsuccessful attempts to account for linguistic change through correlations between the health of a language, and a generalization of the presence or absence of specific factors or events; Gal’s work prompted further attention to speakers.

In this analysis I ask: What are the ideological messages that children receive so that (as several mothers told me) children insist that their relatives speak to them in Spanish, rather than Mexicano? Syncretism, (of Mexicano and Spanish, and of traditional cultural patterns with more “modern” ones) has been a strategy employed by the Mexicano speaking community to weather centuries of racism (Hill & Hill 1986, Hill 1999) (See chapter four for further discussion).

IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY:
DISCOURSES OF LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, MODERNITY

In this dissertation I suggest that the sociolinguistic situation in the Malinti region is characterized by an ideological multiplicity in which language is related to identity and socio-economic progress.

Philips (1998a:8) has shown that “ideologies are constituted and enacted in social practices” such as discourse, and that ideological diversity can be studied through analysis of discourse that is “socially ordered by various kinds of power struggles between dominant and subordinate social forces” (Ibid.), in the case of my research – ideological struggles between ways of approaching *salir adelante*, improving one’s socioeconomic condition through particular ideological and discursive stances. My work builds on Philips’ (1998a, 1998b) and others’ (cf. Gal 1998, Jaffe 1999, Mertz 1998) work on looking to discourse for the analysis of ideology and ideological diversity; I find that in the description of my field site, where the ideologies are systematically multiple, the term *multiplicity* (cf. Gal 1998) is preferable to *diversity*, although the analytic ties to Hymes’ concept of a speech community as an *organization of diversity* are similar, as I explain further below.

A person’s “linguistic presentation of self” (Gal 1979:13) and culture itself is emergent in discourse (Bucholtz & Hall 1996, Hill 1995a, Philips 2000, Sherzer 1987, Silverstein & Urban 1996, Urban 1991), and in the following chapters I will analyze instances of naturally occurring speech (both conversation and narrative) and elicited interview data. The analysis of “naturally occurring” and elicited recorded speech offers

great insight into ideological diversity and multiplicity; ideologies are formed, played out, and also contested in and through actual language use (Hill 1995, Philips 1998, 2000, Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998). Bakhtin's (1981) idea that our everyday speech is "populated" with the words and intentions of others, is also a key analytic concept to the description of ideological multiplicity in discourse. My perspective is that the analysis of micro-level speech practices should not be separated out from macro-level concerns, but rather each informs the other (Giddens 1984, Philips 1993 [1983]).

This ideological multiplicity in the Malintsi surfaces in everyday situations, through the local, regional and national discourses that I have identified as: (1) *salir adelante* [forging ahead], improving one's socioeconomic position; (2) *menosprecio* [under-appreciation], denigration of indigenous identity, too often stigmatized; and (3) *Pro-Indígena* [pro-indigenous], promoting a positive attitude towards indigenous people. As the dissertation will show, these three discourses (cf. Foucault 1972, 1978) are closely interconnected, and form a part of speakers' meta-discursive practices (cf. Bauman and Briggs 2000).

THREE DISCOURSES: IDEOLOGICAL AND DISCURSIVE STANCES

Speaking an Indian language in Mexico is the primary marker of an indigenous identity, marked as different from a Mexican-mestizo identity. Twentieth century shifts in the social identities and languages of Mexican indigenous peoples need to be taken in the larger context of the fifteenth century conquest of the "new world" indigenous peoples, a colonial situation that placed native peoples and languages in a subordinate, often sub-human position. In this study it will be important to consider the stigmatization

of indigenous people and their languages in Mexico through the notion of “backwardness” which is opposed to “modernity” in the popular discourse of Mexican Mestizos. Images of the ancient Indians that lived in what are now archeological sites are celebrated in tourism advertisements, but contemporary living Indians, who can “pass” as non-Indian until they speak their native language suffer a stigmatized identity. For some students at the Xochitekali school in Contla, an inability to speak “proper” Spanish, and evidence of poverty are a marker of being *indígena* (indigenous) and contrast with a goal of *salir adelante* - to “forge ahead,” improving one’s education, training, and, consequently, socioeconomic situation. One mother told me that her daughter wanted to buy an expensive brand of shoes for her graduation because she did not want to “look Indian.” In this example, the symbolic resources employed by this girl show that language may be the primary symbol of identity, but that others are important and may be called upon as well (Mendoza-Denton 1996). Multiple language ideologies abound in Tlaxcala, where one can encounter flyers from English schools in the cities with such slogans as: “*Se libre. Si hablas ingles el mundo escucha*” - Be free. If you speak English the world listens.¹⁰

The three discourses I describe in detail below have been named according to locally salient terms that I heard constantly during fieldwork.

SALIR ADELANTE

The discourse of *salir adelante* is a meta-discourse of development, existing throughout Latin America; it is very much about a search for modernity, and improving

¹⁰ This slogan is from a flyer from a chain of English language schools named “Harmon Hall” with two locations in the state of Tlaxcala.

one's socioeconomic position through forward motion, most often through increased education. All speakers of Spanish in Mexico, (and much of developing Latin America) tap into this discourse in one form or another; for example, in Venezuela the variant of *salir adelante* is *echar pa'lante* (contracted form of *echar para adelante*) "to throw/push forward." In Mexico, as part of a national ideology concerned with developing Mexico into a "modern," "first world" nation, the discourse of *salir adelante* has national, regional and local expressions.¹¹ In the past decade, Contla has seen the industrialization of its artisan-based textile industry, and a desire for "modern" goods has accompanied the surge of factory-based employment. To achieve desired personal and economic progress, many indigenous people in Tlaxcala believe that the past must be shed in order to embrace a new order.

I asked some of my interviewees to explain what was meant locally by *salir adelante*, a term which I had heard so much in everyday talk. Here I offer three local definitions of this term, after which the discourse is named. The first stresses the socioeconomic aspects and personal aspects of bettering one's life circumstances and the second stresses the same with a gendered perspective. The third offers a *pro-indígena* interpretation of *salir adelante*.

(1) *Salir adelante, para mi salir adelante es este, llegar a, a estar mejor en el sentido de subsistencia. Porque lo podemos aplicar en diferentes contextos ¿no? Por ejemplo, salir adelante en el trabajo, es ir venciendo los obstáculos que tienes. Lo mismo en nuestra vida, salir adelante es superar algunas carencias, algunos obstáculos que tiene uno. Así como le decía, de chiquitos nosotros vivimos en el rancho, sin luz eléctrica, sin carreteras, nada de la tecnología. Vivimos con agua de manantial, cuando era... traer leña, y bueno, nosotros como niños andábamos*

¹¹ For additional reference to the salience of *salir adelante*, and in an educational context in Mexico, see Bradley Levinson's work (1996, 2002).

con guaraches. Bueno, estaban los zapatos rotos pero ya traíamos zapatos ¿no? Esa era una gran diferencia. Por ejemplo hasta hace un año, cuando íbamos al pueblo de donde yo soy nos íbamos en autobús. Pero no, hoy ya podemos ir en nuestro propio carro. Eso es salir adelante, dejar algunas situaciones atrás, mejorar las cosas, ya sea en el trabajo o en otras cosas. Eso es para mí salir adelante.

Salir adelante, for me salir adelante is um, to arrive at, to be better in the sense of subsistence. Because we can apply it in different contexts, no? For example, salir adelante at work, is to go on conquering the obstacles that you have. The same in our life, salir adelante is to overcome some deficiencies, some obstacles that one has. Just as I was telling you, as children we lived on the ranch, without electric light, without highways, not a trace of technology. We lived with spring water, when it was... to bring wood, and well, we as children would walk around with guaraches [sandals] That was a big difference. For example up until a year ago, when we went to the town where I am from we went by bus. But no, today now we can go in our own car. That is salir adelante, to leave some situations behind, to better things, be it at work or in other things. That for me is salir adelante.

(2) Pues salir adelante se maneja mucho en este país! [risa] Como estamos en, se puede decir que en un estado crítico, difícil por la situación económica, por las situaciones que se dan a nivel país, los sucesos que pasan y todo eso. Entonces eeh, pues salir adelante para nosotros sería lograr lo que tú te has propuesto. Por ejemplo ahorita, mi salir adelante sería que mis hijos logren sus objetivos. Como mujer pues llegar a ciertas metas, pero ya como mujer. Eso es salir adelante.

Well salir adelante is used a lot in this country! [laughter] Since we are in, one can say that we are in a critical state, difficult because of the economic situation, because of the situations that occur at the country [national] level, the events that happen and all that. Therefore eeh, well salir adelante for us would be to reach [the goal] that which you have proposed yourself. For example now, my salir adelante would be that my children reach their objectives. As a woman well I can arrive at [achieving] certain goals, but [?] as a woman. That is salir adelante.

(3) Para mí salir adelante.... Algunos dicen que, a lo mejor salir adelante es... hay muchos tipos de significado, en cada caso, en cada persona. Pero para mí salir adelante es hacer algo por mí, algo que me llegue a destacar como persona, porque de qué sirve que salga adelante, si soy un buen médico pero no sé valorar lo que es mi cultura, mi lengua. O sea, aunque tengo un título de maestro o de doctor o licenciado, de lo que sea, pero sino saber valorar para mí eso no es destacar. Obvio se destacará en todo, pero yo creo que una persona para destacar o salir adelante debe ser un gente interdisciplinaria, o sea que debe saber de todo. Saber tratar todo tipo de cuestiones, intentarlo. Eso es salir adelante.

For me salir adelante.... Some say that, most likely salir adelante is... there

are many types of meanings, in each case, in each person. But for me *salir adelante* is to do something for myself, something that brings me to distinguish myself as a person, because what good does it do if I *salir adelante* [go forward], if I'm a good doctor but I don't know how to value what is my culture, my language. That is, although I have a degree as a teacher or a doctor or a lawyer, whatever it may be but without knowing how to appreciate, for me that is not distinguishing oneself. Of course one can distinguish oneself in everything, but I think that for a person to distinguish themselves, or *salir adelante* s/he should be an interdisciplinary person, that is who knows a lot [about a lot of things]. S/he knows how to deal with a lot of issues, to try them. That is *salir adelante*.

Salir adelante in this last example can only be accomplished, or should be accomplished as a part of the valuing of local culture and identity. These discourses illustrate how local language ideologies are driven by a historically stigmatized identity, and a desire for an easier life economically.

Salir adelante is very related to education, depending on schooling and training to move forward; the title of a speech by then president of Mexico Ernesto Zedillo “*El País Sólo Puede Edificarse Sobre El Sólido Cimiento De La Educación*” (the country can only build itself up on the solid cement of education) (Zedillo 1997) illustrates this. The forward motion implied in this discourse –*adelante* (forward) -is a cultural flow (Hannerz 1995) that is opposed to a backward flow, which would be towards a historical Tlaxcala and its language, which so many Tlaxcalans view as negative, surfacing through the discourse of *menosprecio*. In Tlaxcala the desire for modernity and its related cultural and linguistic symbols is coupled with a fear that Mexicano has no place in such a “modern” world. Where is there room for the past in the ‘modern’ present and future? (Bonfil Batalla 1994, Garcia Canclini 1993, 1995).

Linguistic issues are converted into economic ones as some Tlaxcalan teachers choose to teach their ancestral language, a language imbued with symbolic capital

(Bourdieu 1982) in the face of secondary schools that teach English, which has potential economic capital; for local bilingual school teachers knowledge of the language can convert into potential economic capital. Language ideologies favoring the teaching of English over Mexicano conflict with ideologies that support the bilingual program in the schools. The “linguistic market” (Bourdieu 1977, 1991c) in Mexico consists of Spanish, and also English, possessing greater symbolic and potential economic capital than the many indigenous languages. These linguistic ideologies can pit the symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991) of ancestral languages against the economic capital of colonial or dominant languages, such as in Tlaxcala.

SALIR ADELANTE AND THE SIMULTANEITY OF EXPERIENCE

The discourse of *Salir Adelante* is discursively approached through one of the following two discourses of language, identity and economics: *menosprecio* or *pro-indígena*. One of these two orientations may dominate over the other in Malintsi residents’ talk – but because identity, language and racism is an area of great ambivalence and complexity (cf. Hill 1993), the discourses intermingle, as well as dominate each other in different contexts, even for the same individual; this variability points to an affective element.

The importance of studying affective sites has been called for by Bhabha (1994) and González (1992, 2001). Bhabha points to the importance of attending to these affective sites, which he sees as the junctures of social categories of ethnicity, race, class and gender. Consider for instance:

race, gender, class, sexual minorities, the underclass, youth.
[which]...must not merely be seen as conceptual categories for

understanding the workings of the hierarchy of power; nor are they simply signs of social differentiation. They are also the affective sites of political discrimination, cultural contestation, social disjunction, and “subaltern” solidarity that have been crucial in forming the historic memories and psychic identities of minority communities.
(Bhabha 1994:237-238)

In a similar vein González (1992, 2001) has stressed the importance of the *affective dimension* of growing up as member of a minority (or minoritized group [McCarty 2002]), a perspective that is helpful to further our understanding of the conflicts that arise for speakers, surfacing in *menosprecio* and *pro-indígena* discourses, in their ideological responses to *salir adelante*. In her attention to such affective sites, González (1992, 2001) has described “the emotion of minority status” as a part of “subalterity,” which stress both the internal-psychological and external-historically constituted, affective input on children as they are socialized. In the Malintsi, we can see an example of this historically constituted experience with discrimination towards indigenous-ness, an identity for which the Mexicano language has become iconic in a *menosprecio discourse*. Indigenous peoples’ identities and languages have been denigrated, in the Malintsi and elsewhere, which is similar to racist feeling directed at U.S. Mexicans, therefore González’s analysis is instructive for the Mexican context as well: “For the Mexican-origin child, the issue of language and linguistic input is complicated by hegemonic structures that inhere in minority status” (2001:54) and “the cultural legacy of the area is fraught with ambiguities” (2001:57). As González describes for the U.S. Mexican context, each household, and each child has a different experience; particularly in the individual discourses presented in Chapter four, the reader shall see some examples of this “simultaneity of experience” (Messing 1995, building on Zavella 1992). The

experiences that children have and the ideological stances that they choose continually are the “interpretative filters” that “give local meaning to global economic and social changes” (Mertz 1989: 114) and ultimately affect language shift. The ideological multiplicity that belies the three discourses constitutes a “simultaneity of experience,” and the *pro-indígena* discourse involves an alternative competing discourse to that of *menosprecio*.

MENOSPRECIO

Menosprecio discourse is produced by Malintsi speakers, in Spanish conversation, to denigrate the local identity and/or language. Any resident of this region might produce this discourse, with the exception of speakers who are trying to fight local racism, and do so by adopting a *pro-indígena* stance, surfacing in *pro-indígena* discourse. The ways in which racism surfaces discursively is a topic of much recent academic interest (cf. Hill 1993, 1995, 2000, Van Dijk 1994), as part of a larger attempt to address the linguistic and discursive elements of social inequality (Philips 1999, 2003).

An interviewee described local discrimination and *menosprecio* as a matter of language, but also of class:

Pienso que la causa primordial [de desplazamiento] es la falta de uso, y además la discriminación que sufre uno en, en las ciudades o con la gente que tiene dinero, entonces el hablar una lengua en México, la lengua indígena es, es estar marcado. Como digamos etiquetado, de ser un, un ser de menor valor porque esa es la concepción que tienen los, la gente que no habla una lengua indígena tienen esa idea, de que los hablamos una lengua de algún pueblo [?], somos inferiores. Y bueno eso pues hace que no, que no lo use uno, en diferente contexto al que uno es originario.

I think that the primordial cause [of language shift] is the lack of use, and furthermore the discrimination that one suffers in, in the cities and with the people who have money, so that speaking a language in Mexico, indigenous language is, is to be marked. As if let's stay labeled, of being a, a being of less value because that

is the conception that they have the, the people who don't speak an indigenous language have this idea, that those of us who speak a language from some town [?], we are inferior. And well that makes that we don't, that one doesn't use it, in a different context than the one from which one originates.

In this *mestizo* nation Indian identity is primarily marked by language - whether or not the speakers are fluent in the native language - and many denigrate the idea of an indigenous identity (Bonfil Batalla [1987]1994). But among those for whom speaking Mexicano conjures up images of their grandparents' or great-grandparents' generation, Mexicano can be seen as part of a tradition that is already lost. Indigenous people in Mexico are too often stigmatized due to poverty, or for speaking what are referred to as *dialectos*. Skin color is often commented upon, and is used as a means of address, particularly in markets when someone tries to get your attention. To many Mexicans, the color of someone's skin alone is considered an insufficient marker of Indian identity, although pale skin is often valued; pictures of pale skinned *guëro* (pale) models abound. To insult each other, I have heard children accuse classmates of being "from Zacatlan," a town that they say is full of "Indians, speaking with accents, who are barefoot, and poor."

Mexicano as the ancestral language is imbued with the symbolism of Mexicano identity, and can be called upon (through language use) as a symbol of identity and an icon of the speakers of the local language (Irvine and Gal 2000). Therefore, indigenous languages like Mexicano can become stigmatized along with their speakers in the face of the dominant colonial languages, which often have ties to employment, potential economic capital and power. Hill & Hill (1986) point out that a stigmatized identity produces a situation in which people are either embarrassed to speak Mexicano (the linguistic insecurity previously mentioned), or unwilling to speak for reasons of linguistic

purism, because they cannot produce “*legítimo Mexicano*” – legitimate Mexicano, which is perceived to be too pure a form of language to contain any traces of Spanish.

Indigenous languages elsewhere are also too often viewed as backward,” giving rise to an attitude that the next generation is prevented from advancement, or *salir adelante*, if young people learn or speak the language (Zepeda & Hill 1991).

PRO-INDÍGENA

This discourse is produced by only certain Malintsi residents who wish to counter the hegemonic *menosprecio* stance; *pro-indígena* discourse seeks to invert the stigma that is associated by many with indigenous-ness, and refocus local identity as a marker of prestige, rather than denigration. Speakers use a *pro-indígena* discourse to communicate that it is possible to have *salir adelante* without *menosprecio* – to be able to better one’s socioeconomic condition and also value the local language and historical identity. This discourse emerges mainly with people who are working to revitalize the public visibility of Mexicano through educational programs, such as symbolically bilingual events at the Contla school, and public radio programs.

Hill and Hill (1986) discuss an ideology of “*legítimo Mexicano*” (legitimate Mexicano), in which speakers’ purist ideologies encourage speech which is completely Mexicano, without its syncretic elements from Spanish. In post-1994 Mexico, images of sub-comandante Marcos, the leader of the Zapatista movement in Chiapas are used in a way that indicates the spread of a Pan-Indian identity in Mexico (which had its roots in an earlier period). In Friedlander’s (1975) experience with Mexico City Nahuatl-speaking intellectuals, the indigenous language becomes symbolic and Nahuatl poetry venerated,

“like a prized possession indicative of a past and a process of conquista and resulting culture change.” In Mexico City and other urban areas this attitude gave rise to the political movement of *indigenismo* – indigenismo; the indigenous and non-indigenous promoters of this movement (cf. Caso 1958, de la Fuente 1958, Villa Rojas 1971) espoused a profoundly pro-indigenous attitude that sought to promote and save all elements of indigenous culture in all parts of Mexico. Principally an urban movement, some members sought to promote the very bilingual education that would later promote the teaching of Spanish through bilingual schools (see chapter six).

CONCEPT OF CULTURE

My work is inspired by Hymes’ concept of a speech community as “an organization of diversity,” and his call for theory emphasizing “diversity of speech, repertoires, [and] ways of speaking” (Hymes [1972]1986:40). I will, however, call attention to dimensions of power and identity which are less explicit in the Hymesian tradition. Hymes’ work on the Ethnography of Communication was an important predecessor to the study of linguistic ideology. An emphasis on multiplicity in the social context is also critical for Rosaldo (1989), who advances a concept of culture as heterogeneous and fluid, with a focus on cultural border-zones as dynamic:

A renewed concept of culture thus refers less to a unified entity (“a culture”) than to the mundane practices of everyday life. [...] Ethnographers look less for homogeneous communities than for the border zones within and between them. Such cultural border zones are always in motion, not frozen for inspection. In the present postcolonial world, the notion of an authentic culture as an autonomous internally coherent universe no longer seems tenable, except perhaps as a “useful fiction” or a revealing distortion. In retrospect, it appears that only a concerted disciplinary effort could maintain the tenuous fiction of a self-contained cultural whole. (1989:217)

This concept of culture as heterogeneous and fluid is important to the study of multilingual communities. Taking the perspective that speech communities are organizations of diversity permits us to expect heteroglossia rather than considering it exceptional or rare.

In Tlaxcala, multiple ideologies of language mediate the heteroglossia. These language ideologies serve as explanatory models and are an important part of the process of language socialization in multilingual societies in general, teaching children to make sense of the linguistic pluralism in the world in which they live. Metapragmatic commentary¹² (Silverstein 1979, 1981) and *ideologizing* in language use (Philips 2000) surfaces through these three discourses, with particular emphasis on the interplay between the meta-discourse of *salir adelante*, and how people approach their forward cultural flow (Hannerz 1995) towards greater modernity – through a *pro-indígena* and/or *menosprecio* stances, assumed through their talk as they call upon these discourses.

Linguistic ideology has been defined by Irvine (1989:255) as “the cultural...system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests.” Unlike conceptualizations of “language attitudes,” a focus on ideology calls attention to varying dimensions of power and identity in communities, and offers an alternative to a static, apolitical sociolinguistic view of diglossia as governed by *status* differences; it is important to see language use in actual practice as connected to, and governed by ideologies of language.

¹² Silverstein, building on Jakobson, has termed the commentary made by native speakers about their language “metapragmatics” (Silverstein 1979, 1981).

BILINGUAL SCHOOLING AS A SPECIAL SITE FOR IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY

The study of schools, particularly bilingual schools in Mexico, as both community and nation-state institutions offers an important site for the study of ideological multiplicity.¹³ Bilingual, indigenous schools in Tlaxcala are a nexus for the emergence and local reformulation of ideologies of language, identity, modernity, and the nation.

Bilingual education in Mexico differs from U.S. programs due to the nationalization of Mexican educational programs. In Mexico, one must distinguish between two types of bilingual education: One, efforts to Castilianize children monolingual in a native language (similar to transitional bilingual education in the U.S.); and two, attempts to revitalize native languages in bilingual, or formerly bilingual, communities such as Contla (Modiano 1984, Varese 1983). Despite centralized Spanish language education, some language teaching materials are produced by the government's *Dirección General de Educación Indígena* (DGEI – the General directorate of indigenous education) (Guzmán Gómez 1991); others are produced by local communities. But funds are restricted on the national and local level, particularly during the current economic crisis, and therefore materials do not exist for each language and dialect spoken in Mexico. In Contla, for instance, teachers have access to a Mexicano primer that was produced for Castilianization of speakers of the Puebla dialect; they do not use it because it is in a different dialect of Mexicano than their own. The bilingual programs existing in Mexico contest national linguistic policies through their teaching of indigenous

¹³ For a discussion of the use of the concept “site” in contemporary linguistic anthropology see Philips (2000).

languages, in a country whose Castilianization ideology has dominated since the conquest. Spanish is the official language, and the language of schooling since the 1930's post-Revolutionary process of state formation led to the creation of a centralized educational bureaucracy. Revolutions often focus on effecting social change through education (Vaughan 1994), and in Mexico post-revolutionary schools also in turn contributed to the idea of a centralized state (Nahmad 1981, Rockwell 1994). Any attempt at public bilingual education in Mexico explicitly contests institutionalized linguistic policies.

Contla and San Isidro have one bilingual elementary school each. Most schools in Tlaxcala are monolingual in Spanish. In eight of Tlaxcala's public elementary schools, there has been an unusual grassroots effort in the past decade to add a bilingual element to the required national curriculum taught in schools across Mexico. Seven of these schools teach Nahuatl, and one teaches Otomí (the second indigenous language spoken in one region of this state). Given the rarity of attempts throughout Mexico to challenge or alter the standardized national curriculum, I have been interested in the motivations for the creation of these programs in this region. In Contla, where language loss is more advanced, the goals of a bilingual school such as the *Escuela Xochitekali* differs markedly from in a town like San Isidro, where children are still being socialized (at home and at school) to use both languages.

For the purposes of comparison, observations were conducted in a secondary school site in San Isidro. But despite the bilingual competence of its students, Mexicano is not consistently used as the primary medium of communication during the school day

(Francis 1997).

Ethnographic research on schooling in Tlaxcala (Rockwell 1994, 1996), and elsewhere (Levinson & Holland 1996) describes schools as sites in which state ideologies are locally negotiated between parents, students, teachers, and administrators. A national curriculum is something that can indeed be modified, as the school in Contla has shown. The teachers are the agents who undertake this negotiation. In Mexico, educational and linguistic policies may dictate curriculum but they cannot dictate the form of teachers' presentation of required material. Teachers in Tlaxcala develop their own Nahuatl curriculum units; such a linguistic negotiation in the classroom level was already in evidence in the 1930's (Hernández 1987). Following authors that challenge the "steamroller view" of the state (Joseph & Nugent 1994, Vaughan 1994, Williams 1977), I see a complex *negotiation* between state imposed hegemonic ideologies through schooling, and the local reformulation of education.

The study of bilingual education in Mexico is very political and controversial. Many urban intellectuals simply dismiss bilingual education as part of an insincere governmental "pro-indigenous" agenda, meant to appease indigenous communities in the wake of the 1994 Zapatista uprising (Collier 1994; Hayden 2002). Nationally, officials produce much discourse proclaiming the virtues of a bilingual, intercultural education. Some do place their hopes with the educational system. I am told that in a Mexico City Amerindian linguistics class, the dozen graduate students always had a dozen opinions when the topic of bilingual education and revitalization surfaced. There is a dismissal of education and the whole governmental educational system by some intellectuals outside

the field of education, because it is a large bureaucracy that has been charged with teaching Spanish, rather than revitalizing native languages, for many decades. In national public discourses, such as in newspaper reports, teachers can be seen as incompetent, lazy, corrupt, overly politically active (stopping traffic in the capital with their demonstrations); I found that most of the teachers I met were overburdened and underpaid, and that some still undertook projects to create materials for teaching Mexicano in their classrooms.

My fieldwork was motivated by the desire to see what “really happens” in rural Tlaxcalan bilingual schools. The reality I found is complicated, observing that Nahuatl study only happens in isolated instances within a highly regimented school schedule, and at certain symbolic events during the school year. But what of the teachers who spend hours creating their own textbooks, vying with each other for recognition by the national SEP (educational secretariat), or simply seeking funds to reproduce and distribute these texts to their local colleagues? These teachers are indeed challenging both local and national systems, but at some point they *become* the system itself. I am interested in the complications, and also in *why bilingual education only happens in isolated instances, and what can be learned from these ideological multiplicities*. It is this understanding that can inform the development of locally relevant curriculums, which might take place both in *and* out of schools. School serves as a site for the emergence of ideological multiplicity, since they are both national and local institution; Teachers and local townspeople are the agents who negotiate this multiplicity.

The post-modern epoch has highlighted the necessity of explicit theories of power to social analysis. The relationship between state power and individual resistance to this power has been a central concern in both anthropology and in education, although scholars do not agree on the nature of this relationship. Work by Gramsci (1971), Althusser (1977), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Williams (1977) has stimulated debate on the social interaction of state power, agency, ideology, and practice (cf. Calagione & Nugent 1992, Hall 1986, Joseph & Nugent 1994, Philips 1998a) - including the role of education (Willis 1977, Levinson, Foley & Holland 1996). In order to emphasize linguistic practice I join these perspectives on power to work from ethnography of communication tradition (Cazden 1985[1972], Philips 1993[1983]) in which a focus on *language use* is primary.

SCHOOLS IN MEXICO

Education in Mexico has been central to the government's project of homogenization of indigenous peoples and mestizos, to create a national 'imagined community' of Mexican citizens (Anderson 1991, Vaughan 1994). However, local people involved in promoting bilingual programs are engaging in what Gramsci (1971) considered as a transformist hegemony (Alonso 1994) through their rejection of the government's plan for a homogeneous, monolingual nation. Language and the fostering of a monolithic national identity were bound together since Mexico began its post-revolutionary state formation, including the project of national schooling. Education in Mexico was seen as having the role of "civilizing" peasants and indigenous people, to transform them through schooling into nationalist, technologically skilled workers and

creating a level playing field for citizen employment (Vaughan 1982, Brice Heath 1972); this was done through language teaching.

In Mexico teachers have traditionally been seen as “missionaries,” bringing literacy to outlying communities, furthering the government’s goal of “civilizing” and transforming rural people into nationalist, technologically skilled workers (Bonfil Batalla 1987, Brice Heath 1972, Vaughan 1997). Classrooms that were built to foster Spanish literacy then become the sites of contestation and articulation of local and national ideologies, when Tlaxcalan teachers begin to teach the local stigmatized indigenous language. Bilingual education in Mexico began in the post-revolutionary period of state consolidation of power, and subsequent educational centralization along with other state structures. The ultimate nation-state goal of *Castellanización* (Castilianization) was to bring indigenous people into the national political and economic system (by being able to vote, and later on, work in factories) by teaching them Spanish. The consequences of the institutionalization of this ideology as a language policy is being felt in this century as more and more speakers shift languages, and children no longer speak the languages of their parents’ families. Although Castilianization can be traced back to the arrival of Spanish colonizers, it is the formation of the Mexican state that led to the centralization of a national educational system, with the goal of fostering homogeneity under a singular language and national identity (Brice Heath 1972, Patthey-Chavez 1994). The process of post-revolutionary state formation began the downturn in the speaking of native

languages in Mexico, and helps us to understand the ideological multiplicities that underlie the post-colonial Mexican heteroglossia.¹⁴

'CIVILIZING' RURAL MEXICO THROUGH EDUCATION

Any discussion of policy concerning Indians must take into account the Mexican Revolution and agrarian reform, for the Revolution caused the breakdown and finally the dissolution of former economic, social, and political structures that had prevailed before 1910, thus allowing the cooperative participation of all social segments of the nation. Eventually the bloody phase of the Revolution came to an end and gave way to its institutional stage. It was then that the state undertook the immense task of formulating a program designed for the peasants. (Nahmad 1981:51)

The post-revolutionary period can be seen as the beginning of the effects of processes of state formation on local peoples, and on popular local responses in Mexico. In 1911 the 'Law of Rudimentary Education' was passed, legally giving all Mexicans access to public education. The successive consolidation of power led to the creation of educational bureaucracies. Action schools which were created to teach technical skills to illiterate indigenous populations came about in the 1920's.

The creation of the *Secretaria de Educación Pública* (SEP) in 1926 was the idea of Vasconcelos, who viewed education as part of the process of "civilizing" Indians and peasants, who he viewed as a "homogenized mass of sickly, lethargic, superstitious pariahs" who needed to be transformed "through schooling into literate, sober, clean, scientific, market-oriented, and patriotic farmers." (Vaughan 1994:105-6) This

¹⁴ There is an inattention to language that I have found common in the educational history of Mexico literature (cf. Castillo 1965, 1966, Villa Lever 1991). There is a systematic ignorance of language as an important and differentiating factor. The portion of the Mexican population that, by not being fluent in Spanish, was automatically excluded from national educational programs is erased from these discussions. Language is only mentioned by those who study language in an educational context, as their primary focal point (c.f. Aguirre Beltrán 1982, Brice Heath 1972, King 1994, Patthey-Chavez 1994, Varese 1983).

ideologically racist beginning to the public educational bureaucracy in Mexico certainly indicates that respect for indigenous languages was not at the forefront of governmental priorities. By the 1930's there was an increase in bureaucratic control over education, with the goal of making it centralized around the country. The project of modernization through education has its roots in this period of consolidation of state power, with the goal of promoting a scientific, economically productive nation of Mexican citizens. This policy did not distinguish between *mestizos*, indigenous peoples, and European-origin peasants.

The important *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (INI) was later established in 1948, and soon after the *Dirección General de Educación Indígena* (DGEI) – two institutions that were interested in safeguarding the pluralism of the linguistic and cultural heritage of Mexico.

While it is clear that the revolution was the catalyst for major structural adjustment, the perspective in the above quote places the government in the primary position as the main agent of change. Joseph and Nugent (1994:22) suggest that any study of the changes that occurred in Mexico during the first part of the twentieth century need to take into consideration both the process of state formation, *and* local forms of consciousness. Focusing on local or regional peoples and their experiences, both during and in the decades following the revolution, could lead to a perpetuation of the strict dichotomy of central power versus local realities, but following Joseph and Nugent's suggestion - both points of view can be taken simultaneously. Calagione and Nugent (1992) argue for more complex analyses that go beyond the "accommodation versus

resistance” approach to the study of peasants, by trying to combine the positive features of both. Similarly, looking at education as providing a means of governmental control, while *also* taking into account local goals for schooling, and resistance to governmental programs, presents an example of an analysis that can benefit from this interactional perspective. Vaughan (1994, 1997), and Rockwell (1994, 1996) also propose to view the revolution relationally and processually, promoting a view of this history as a co-creation between rural people (“actors” with “agency”) and the state (and its agencies).

THE DISSERTATION

Since...it is impossible to present the whole of a culture simultaneously in a single flash, I must begin at some arbitrarily chosen point in the analysis; and since words must necessarily be arranged in lines, I must present the culture ... not with a network of words but with words in linear series. -Bateson’s Naven (1958)

Indigenous communities can no longer be studied as if they were isolated, separate from the nation state, and the world (Urban & Sherzer 1991). In addition to a local perspective on language use and ideological multiplicity, in this analysis I will observe the ways in which local people engage with and are affected by schools, and the broader sociopolitical factors at work in institutions such as the Tlaxcala state educational unit and the Secretariat of Education (at the national level). There are four levels of analysis important historically & today, dealt with in this dissertation: Local (2 municipalities [counties] & their small towns); Regional (The state of Tlaxcala); National (The nation-state of Mexico); Global (Decline in use of indigenous languages).

Beginning with making tortillas in Tlaxcala and shifting to a review of the literature that prompted my research, in this chapter I have given a panorama of the

themes that will be analyzed in this dissertation through the lens of Tlaxcalan people's discourses. This interdisciplinary work will address chasms, coincidences and interconnections between ideology and practice, and attempts a disentangling of the many ideologies of language and schooling held by Tlaxcalan families, teachers, and students.¹⁵ This is a linguistic anthropological study of the patterning among language use and ideologies which also seeks to highlight many of the ambivalences that surface within this patterning (cf. Bhabha 1994). The tapestry of discourses analyzed here consists of a constant inter-weaving of ideologies that surface, and are reformulated and reinterpreted by speakers in and through their talk.

In this setting, ethnographic fieldwork is the best approach to understanding complex linguistic and educational ideologies and practices, because it is long-term relationships with families, teachers, and schools that enable an outside researcher to make the kind of distinctions that lead to recommendations for language revitalization. In the second chapter I deal specifically with field research and data collection during multiple stages of research.

¹⁵ See Wortham (2001, 2002) for recent statements on the emergence of the field of the "linguistic anthropology of education."

2. METHODS: STAGES OF RESEARCH & BUILDING CONFIANZA

This chapter provides an outline of the methodologies that directed my research in Tlaxcala, Mexico. Fieldwork was conducted in several phases over a span of seven years, with the main period of research lasting thirteen months. The goal of these multiple stages of research and the gathering of different types of data was to offer a multi-faceted picture of the ideologically complex Tlaxcalan sociolinguistic situation, and how this ideological complexity surfaces in and through indigenous schooling. The original research questions that I proposed for my dissertation, prior to fieldwork focused on determining the domains of language use in both communities, and in each of their bilingual schools in the communities of San Bernardino Contla and San Isidro Buensuceso. My original research goals were two-fold, to: 1) Study language use, linguistic ideology & language shift in two Mexicano communities. 2) Consider the question: Can language revitalization take place in bilingual schools, in Mexico? More specifically, my research objectives were to discern: What *spaces* does Mexicano occupy in Tlaxcala? What are people's *ideologies* of language? Can schooling work to *revitalize* native languages? What is *bilingual-bicultural education* in Mexico?

The data I collected consists of eighty hours of both naturally occurring speech and elicited interviews (primarily audio, but also video), and fieldnotes of observations. My research was conducted over a long period of time because of the need to spend sufficient time in the field to understand an ideologically complex situation. My understanding of the issues at hand only began to develop after I had built sufficient *confianza* with local people.

FIELDWORK TRAJECTORY

I first visited Tlaxcala in 1993 as a Spanish teacher leading a student trip; each student was placed with a family for a short-term homestay. The very large family in which I was placed in Tlaxcala's largest city of Apizaco became good friends, and I spent several vacations with them there prior to envisioning my later dissertation research. My previous experiences there included working in the family's retail egg business (at the front counter), as well as participating in social functions such as family birthday parties, *posadas*, and assisting in the preparations for a wedding. These experiences gave me a perspective on the state of Tlaxcala which highlights the divisions in the social landscape between Indigenous and mestizo communities that are often geographically close. By car Contla and Apizaco are twenty minutes apart, and by bus close to an hour; however the worlds of a city dominated by middle-class merchant families could not be further apart ideologically from a Mexicano town on the Malintsi.

In 1996 when I conducted one month of pilot research in Contla, I commuted from my friends' home in Apizaco. And when I began my fieldwork in late 1998, I was fortunate that their extensive social network –based on a family with thirteen adult siblings and a female head of household- extended out to Contla through friends of someone's boyfriends' family, who lived there. This is how I found the family that offered me a place to live, free of charge, in exchange for tutoring their daughter English on a weekly basis. Ironically, I came to learn and study Mexicano, but was asked to teach English. I lived in Contla, at the beginning of the Malintsi slopes, for a year, and have spent time in the same house during subsequent follow-up research.

Doing this research over a period of time allowed for the necessary time to build the *confianza* (mutual trust) necessary for people to talk about their ideologies of language and identity, which eventually surfaced in the discourses I have identified as *salir adelante* [forging ahead], improving one's socioeconomic position; *menosprecio* [under-appreciation], denigration of indigenous identity, too often stigmatized; and *indigenismo* [pro-indigenous], promoting a positive attitude towards indigenous people. Discussing the use of Mexicano, and the indigenusness of which this language is indexical, are very sensitive subjects for many people. They are not topics that residents of Contla usually mention around casual or professional acquaintances from outside the region. These multiple stages gave me a better chance at understanding a complex sociolinguistic situation, with its multiple layers of ideologies and identities part of a history of tremendous discrimination.

I began with a broadly framed project which became more specific through fieldwork experiences. However, from my vantage point now, I recognize the advantage of beginning with a broader project that becomes more specific as I became more and more socialized into local life. After a few months of living in Contla and traveling to San Isidro weekly, I realized that there was so much diversity within the *municipio* (county) of San Bernardino Contla that I might spend all of my research energies there. Contla's eleven sections (the county's political division) consisting of both official neighborhoods and politically incorporated towns offered rich opportunities for comparison.

CHOOSING A FIELD SITE: WHY CONTLA?

My main fieldwork research question was to discern the patterns of language use and linguistic ideology in Contla and in San Isidro, in the contexts of these two towns in different Mexicano regions along the skirts of the Malintsi volcano, and then in the contexts of the bilingual schools. I was curious about how much linguistic and social change had taken place since Jane Hill and Ken Hill had conducted their ethno-linguistic research, primarily undertaken in the 1970's and early 1980's (cf. Hill & Hill 1986, and others cited below). Hugo Nutini's ethnographic work in Contla made some mention of language shift as well (Nutini 1968, Nutini & Isaac 1974).

The pilot research I conducted in 1996 was instructive, because it showed the strength of the presence of Mexicano in San Isidro and its neighbor, Canoa, Puebla; San Isidro and Canoa are two twin towns separate by geographically by a *barranca* (canyon) and politically by the modern-day states of Tlaxcala and Puebla.

During this pilot research, discerning the sociolinguistic situation in Contla proved to be more slippery. At first, some people in Contla told me "there is no more Mexicano here," while others said, "only very old people speak Mexicano." But I was cognizant that as an outsider, and a foreigner to boot, I could not expect local people to trust me enough from "day one" in order to explain what they really thought about the use of their ancestral language; This belief was particularly reinforced by my having heard racist comments about "Indians" during the times I studied in Spain along with upper-class students from a private university in Mexico City (1989), and later worked in Mexico City (summer 1991). Reminiscent of my own maternal grandparents' negative

attitudes towards the displaying of their knowledge of Alsatian Yiddish outside spheres of confidence, I realized that in Tlaxcala knowledge of an indigenous language probably was not something that one, very often, would readily admit or display in “mixed company.” Trust –*confianza* – must be first built.

I also observed, during this pilot research, a few moments in Contla life that contradicted the explicit metapragmatic statements I mentioned above. For instance, climbing into a bus at its check-in point (a van transportation network has connected all of the Malintsi towns since the late 1980’s), the driver was speaking to a passenger seated next to him, while they awaited their departure time. Both were young men in their early twenties, and I was the only passenger. One asked the other, in Spanish, “do you ever speak Mexicano?” The other replied, “with my grandmother.” At that point I could not understand the rest of the conversation because they switched into rapid Mexicano. This was my first clue that the sociolinguistic situation in Contla was not going to be a matter of tracing functional codes, neatly and scientifically assigned to their respective situations or social contexts.

The complexity of the Contla sociolinguistic situation was also indexed in the fact that so many people, early on, expressed their advice that I should go to San Isidro, because this is considered to be the center of Mexicano speaking universe in the state of Tlaxcala. San Isidro is the local icon of Mexicano *authenticity*, both among those who speak of Mexicano with disdain –a stance characterized by the *menosprecio* discourse-, and among those who tend towards a more *pro-indígena* stance. In these Tlaxcalan’s eyes, there was no doubt about it, San Isidro was where this *gringa* anthropologist should

be sent, and indeed where many other visitors in search of Mexicano/Nahua ethnolinguistic authenticity had been sent.

When my fieldwork time finally arrived in late 1998, I moved first to the city of Apizaco, into my friends' home above their egg business [explained in Chapter 2 on Methods], and then later into a house in Contla which became my research base. Moving in to share a house with a woman in her early seventies, herself a fluent speaker of both languages, I began to understand the social geography of the Mexicano language; *Who the interlocutors are* is the crucial factor within the social context in order to determine which language will be used. Doña Blanca, like so many others, strongly denied that she was a good speaker of the Mexicano language; my observation of her fluency in conversations, in her case not with family members, but with friends of her own generation, contradicted her self-observation.

After months of field research, and mainly by getting to know certain families and individuals well, especially bilingual school teachers – who were socialized in making Mexicano public, rather than keeping it sheltered in the familial sphere – I was able to observe family interactions and public exchanges, and then in the final stage of research, to interview people with greater *confianza* (trust).

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

- Participant Observation 1993, 1996, 1999-2000, 2002
- Social networking & informal interviews (Phase I)
 - -Snowball technique
 - -Flexibility
- Study of Mexicano
- Formal interviews (Phases II & III)
- Work with a language revitalization group: forging connections
- Follow up research trips (3-4 weeks each)
- Data collection
 - -Fieldnotes
 - -Taping of “naturally occurring speech” in multiple settings (audio & video)
 - -Printed material related to language & schooling
- Discourse Analysis
 - -Narrative & conversational structure
 - -Bakhtinian voice analysis
 - -Meta-discursive practices
 - -Semiotic processes (i.e. indexicality, iconization, fractal recursivity, erasure)

METHODS

My methods of data collection included:

Participant observation: During the primary phases of fieldwork I lived in Contla. At first the person with whom I lived and her extended family, and the Contla school were my primary sources for meeting local residents. Many parents visit school during the day, and I made many contacts in this way. I observed in Contla's school four days a week, and once a week in San Isidro's school. These observations were in multiple classrooms (grades 1-6), the playground, the director's office and school-wide meetings.

In addition to day-to-day observations in both communities (although primarily in Contla) I attended many life-cycle (i.e. weddings, quinceañeras, communions, funerals) and ritual-cycle (saints' days, blessing of new seeds) events, as well as public dances and cultural events at the *Casa de Cultura*. I also attended school and educational events (teachers' conferences, union rallies, state-wide meetings, historical assemblies, school parades, sports events, graduations, local poetry & dance events), at which I took notes or recorded (audio and/or video). I wrote daily fieldnotes on all aspects of the project. As part of my commitment to the importance of taping "naturally" or "socially occurring speech" in multiple settings I recorded eighty hours of audio, and ten hours of video.

Social networking and informal interviews (Phase I): Daily conversations offered opportunities for me to meet many people through the school, through what Bernard

(1994) refers to as the snowball technique.¹ Because of the local interest in languages, and the seemingly odd idea of a *gringa* coming to learn their indigenous language, many conversations spontaneously started after I explained my reasons for being there; these mainly consisted of people asking me questions about my studies, project, and linguistic background. Conversations surfaced in which people asked me about life in the U.S., and they told me about local life, the importance of learning English, the varied status of Mexicano in their communities, and the socioeconomic realities of making a living.

Formal interviews (Phases II & III): I began my formal interviewing in the eighth month of my year of fieldwork, once I had established a rapport with people who became interviewees. I completed twenty-nine formal interviews across a range of the two municipalities (but primarily Contla) including families, teachers, students, the then mayor of Contla, educational supervisors, a local ethnohistorian, a *curandero*, members of the family I lived with, and other townspeople. Six teachers were interviewed twice, once in 1996, and then again four years later.

Questionnaires: Several questionnaires were used, one long and one short version, and one specifically for teachers (which consisted of the same language use and ideology questions in addition to questions about their teaching experiences).

'Speaking Mexicano' Book presentation: I was the principal organizer for the presentation of the Spanish translation of Hill & Hill (1986) in Contla.² This event, held

¹ This method involves working through one's social networks in search of research support and information, and is very useful in early stages of fieldwork; it is particularly culturally appropriate in small-town Mexico.

² It is customary in Mexico to celebrate the publication of a new book through its official presentation and discussion by colleagues in the field.

in Contla's *Casa de Cultura* brought together the authors, translator, and numerous academics with local teachers, and a large local audience to discuss the book within the context of the current status of Mexicano. This meeting prompted the creation of a local committee on the preservation of Nahuatl which has sponsored several language revitalization workshops, and has encouraged several teachers to seek advanced education in this area. The taped discourse from this event offers a site for rich local metapragmatic discourse in this rare exchange between the various participants all interested in similar issues. Taking part in the event offered me closer ties with local language promoters (Fishman 1991).

Language study: A working knowledge of Mexicano acquired in the field, helped me to have a closer connection to my consultants, for instance, seeing that younger Contla residents did understand Mexicano when they laughed at a joke told in Mexicano by an older relative. The University classes I audited on occasion also offered a site for metapragmatic analysis, including attitudes towards the various types of Mexicano studied, from local Tlaxcalan varieties to "Classical Nahuatl." Further study of Nahuatl after the primary phase of fieldwork has informed data analysis.

Data Analysis: The analysis of field-notes and transcripts from selected recordings of conversations, meetings and interviews, across various social contexts (cf. Briggs & Bauman 1992) forms the basis for the writing of my dissertation. My work seeks to pay equal attention to levels of "micro analysis" (transcripts of face-to-face communication) in the Duranti & Goodwin (1992), and Gumperz & Hymes tradition, and to the "macro level" - the larger sociopolitical context in which the speech is produced.

The close analysis of transcripts elucidates how ideologies and identities can be projected, created, and challenged through talk (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 1982), particularly in the three types of discourses and interviews. The analysis of discourse offers much insight into ideological diversity and multiplicity. Ideologies are formed, played out, and also contested in practice - in and through actual language use. For me a micro/macro approach includes methodological attention to looking at actual language use through several forms of analysis of talk, such as narrative analysis (elicited or “naturally occurring”) and Bakhtinian voice analysis (cf. Hill 1995), as well as, for example, phonological and lexical analyses, types of discourses, and speech levels³ (Irvine 1989, Hill & Hill 1986, Philips 1991, 1998a) should these be of interest in the particular sociolinguistic context.

It was of both methodological and analytic importance to me to combine the study of naturally-occurring speech with that of elicited interview data.

Curriculum analysis: I obtained copies of several texts used in Tlaxcala, both official and locally produced, compiled either by local teachers – as is the case with the Nahuatl texts, or the National Educational Secretariat (SEP). The analysis of official and school texts, and teachers’ commentaries on these written documents, provides rich examples of teacher, student, and national institutional ideologies.

Permissions: Research was conducted with official sponsorship through the Comisión Mexico-Estados Unidos (COMEXUS), and with affiliation with the

³ Silverstein suggests that it is the segmentable forms of language that are the most likely to be subject to metapragmatic commentary; see also Hill (1998).

Autonomous University of Tlaxcala (UAT), and the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios en Antropología Social (CIESAS) in Mexico City.

REFLEXIVE MARKERS: “¡Investigando la investigadora!”⁴

This quote is from an instance when people I knew commented over dinner that I was observing them the way that Oscar Lewis observed people to write his insightful ethnographies of the Mexican family, in the way that I was going to eventually write about them. Indeed, one of the greatest challenges of fieldwork is to live one’s life in a new place at the same time that one is gathering data about the people we study. As my dinner companions implied but didn’t state, anthropologists are *metiches*, busybodies. As I reviewed my recordings, I came across my asking someone at the end of a taped interview “Is there anything else you want to tell me, anything you wish to add?” The interviewee, someone I had had lengthy conversations with, replied laughingly: “¿*Me deja comer mi taco?*” (Do you let me eat my taco?), and much laughter ensued.

Doing fieldwork as a single woman in a semi-rural, “traditional” setting was at times challenging. It was made clear to me, either implicitly or explicitly, that I was challenging local gender roles by living alone, by having traveled so far from home and family, for the purpose of work. At the beginning I was constantly warned to be cautious when out alone, particularly in the evening. After a short period of time I realized that people were being over-protective of me, as they would be with their own daughters and sisters, and I realized that short of entering an all-male cantina, I was safe. It is clear to me that although I spoke with and interviewed many men and women, the women were

⁴ “Investigating the investigator.”

more likely to begin to talk with me about their lives than men were, unless I knew them for a long period of time. Indeed, the spheres of gender-segregated activities were just about all open to me as an outsider, since this outsider identity seemed to transcend gender, and permitted my entry, but I was most welcome with the women, and spent a lot of time talking with them for instance over food preparation, particularly for special events. As someone once said to me in the field: “*Un hombre naturalmente se acopla más con los hombres, y la mujer con las mujeres*” (A man naturally fits in more with men, and a woman with women).

Fieldwork is a strikingly emotional experience, as we come to build a daily life during our research, through the relationships we build with those who socialize us into local ways of being at the same time that we are studying them. As social anthropologists we can no longer think of ourselves as objective social scientists engaged in research based on laboratory-like metaphors, as graduate schools of anthropology trained their students in past decades (Simon D. Messing, personal communication). As the movement grows encouraging ethnographers to consider our impact in the field, and to locate ourselves within our texts (Behar & Gordon 1996, Clifford & Marcus 1986, Marcus & Fischer 1986, Rosaldo 1994) perhaps there will be more attention paid to the emotional dimension of fieldwork as a key resource for learning about the cultures we study, particularly in the study of language, identity and ideology (see Chapter 4). I believe that a key factor in learning to understand the organization of linguistic and ideological patterns in these Tlaxcalan communities has been the multiple stages of research.

3. AGENCY, STRUCTURE, AND IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY

IN CONVERSATIONS ABOUT SCHOOLING:

THE TEACHER TRAINING WORKSHOP

SCHOOLING AS A DISCURSIVE SITE FOR IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY

La idea es, este, te decía, es este formar [maestros] independientemente del nivel, formar un docente crítico [pause] que... Que no sea el viejo concepto del maestro de que se le, se le vierte... lo convertimos en una, en una cajita que le metemos conocimientos, lo teórico, y que posteriormente va ir a poner en práctica en su campo de acción. Aquí lo que ves, lo que se pretende con este nuevo este nuevo Curso de Inducción a la Docencia es formar a personas críticas, personas que se... que vayan al campo, vayan a observar, vean que deficiencias, que anomalías, que incongruencias encuentran con los docentes ya establecidos. Regresen con nosotros para que aquí en mesa redonda sean discutidos estos estos errores—llamémosles de esa manera, esas desviaciones.

The idea is, um, I was telling you, is um to form [teachers] independently of the level, to form a *critical teacher* [pause] that... that shouldn't be the old concept of the teacher that one one pours in... we convert him in an, in a little box that we place knowledge, theory, and that later [s/he] will be able to put into practice in his field work. Here what you see, what is suggested with this new this new Course on the Introduction/ Induction to Teaching is to form critical people, people who.. who go to the field, go to observe, see what deficiencias, what anomalies, what incongruences they encounter with the already established teachers. They come back with us so that here in a round table these these errors can be discussed – let's call them in this way, these deviations. [Recorded interview]

In this chapter I will consider the ideological multiplicity of Tlaxcalan indigenous communities on issues of language, identity and modernity as they surface discursively in the context of a teacher training course. The three discourses will be marked in the text through special formatting according to the following transcription key:

Salir adelante discourse	SMALL CAPS
Menosprecio discourse	<u>underlining</u>
Pro-Indígena discourse	boldface
Inaudible utterance	[X]

As I discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, in Tlaxcala bilingual schooling is a key site for the study of ideologies of language, identity and progress. Conversations can surface here as a new context where meta-talk about otherwise stigmatized, or difficult to discuss issues of identity, and issues regarding moving from poverty into “modernity” is acceptable in a public context (outside the family and networks of trust). Themes that surface in the data to follow include identity and cultural change, the indigenous Tlaxcalan and his/her relationship to the nation-state and to *mestizos*, and how language and education are related to these themes in the context of training a new generation of indigenous teachers.

In the above quote we see the parallel drawn between aspiring teachers and the students in schools analyzed in studies of social and cultural reproduction. The speaker is Fernando, the leader of the course on the introduction/ induction to teaching, and his view is a very Freirian one, in which education is viewed as creating experiential activities through which the students can discover new knowledge for themselves, rather than students being empty vessels into which teachers pour knowledge. However, Fernando is leading a course that is an “inducción,” which is both an *introduction* and an *induction* to teaching, which has its very clear ideological intentions, as the reader will see below. Fernando espouses a very strong *pro-indígena* ideological stance that comes through very

clearly in the discourse below, based on his desire to raise his participants' consciousness so that they will be proud (a *pro-indígena* stance) of rather than denigrate their indigenous roots and language (a *menosprecio* stance). In this way he attempts a reframing of the dominant discourse ideological stance, which is of achieving progress (*salir adelante*) through a *menosprecio* stance. The attempt at social reproduction thus begins with the training of teachers, who in turn train students, and for Fernando these aspiring teachers are to be socialized as *trabajadores de la educación* (educational workers) in such a way that they will themselves espouse a *pro-indígena* ideology, through their teaching.

Talk abounds on themes of Mexicano, and Mexicano in relation to Spanish, to Mexican-ness and indigenous-ness, and to modernity through the discourses I refer to as *salir adelante*[forging ahead socio-economically], *menosprecio*[under-appreciation; denigration] and *pro-indígena* [pro-indigenous]. The dominant discourse here is that of *salir adelante*. *Menosprecio* and *pro-indígena* ideological stances surface through these discourses as potential responses to the discourse of *salir adelante*; below we will see explicit discussion of both stances. Before the presentation of data from the teacher training course, I consider how structure and agency have been conceived of by students of ideology.

DIALECTICS BETWEEN AGENCY AND STRUCTURE

Ideology, as elaborated by Althusser and others, serves as a mediating link between macro and micro issues – between agents and institutions. Marxist work in the 1970's by Althusser (1971), Gramsci (1971) and Williams (1977) marked a shift to a

broader, less mechanistic concept of the state, which included the possibility of its ideological, as well as physical domination over its subjects. These theorists interpretation of the Marxian idea of base and superstructure as more interactive, focusing equal attention on the importance of the ideological superstructure and its connections to the economic base.

Schools themselves have been considered an important site for the study of ideology, as have other nation-state institutions (Philips 1998a). The reasons for a focus on schools and schooling is twofold: schools are institutions that are often representative of nation-state interests, and, because it is people – agents – who make up the institution and bring with them various resources, and interested positions that interact with and contest the state ideologies. Through a study of institutions, ideology can be seen as the connection between the state and its subjects. Through an ethnographic study of communities one can see how local people formulate national institutions into locally relevant ones.

The notion of the school as an ideological state apparatus comes into clear focus in Mexican schools, where one experiences an Althusser-like ideological state presence with the *escolta* homage to the flag ceremony. Daily evidence of hegemonic ideological penetrations of the state (Gramsci 1971) in primary schools is blatant: selected students learn military formations including “homage to the flag” ceremonies (similar to the color guard in the U.S.). Daily, all students in Mexican schools line up, and obeying their teachers’ militaristic commands, march back to their classes after recess. Mondays are “flag day” in which students (across Mexico) must wear white to show respect to this

symbol of the nation. Affection to the nation state and its icons is fostered in this way, and from a very young age. The indigenous school system in Tlaxcala has translated both the national and state anthems into Mexicano, and all students and teachers must learn it.¹ The participants of the teacher training workshop begin as the students begin their schools days, with the *escolta*, the national “homage to the flag” ritual. (The branch of the government charged with educational tasks is the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP), an umbrella unit in charge of, but separate from indigenous education under the Dirección General de Educación Indígena (DGEI).)

Schools have an explicit role in promulgating state ideologies (Althusser 1971, Giddens 1979, Gramsci 1971), and reproducing hegemonic ideologies through the transformation of youth into citizens – and citizens into teachers, in the analysis that follows. For one Contla teacher, the SEP may be interested in raising the educational level across Mexico, with a national illiteracy rate of 12.7% in 1990 (National census, INEGI 1992), but it mainly serves to: “*producir mano de obra barata. Es lo que le interesa para la maquilación y NAFTA*” [produce cheap human labor. This is what interests them for the maquila’s and NAFTA].

Luykx (1999) in her work on Bolivian schools also found that schools were charged with the task of production of citizens. In these views the nation-state is merely responding to the needs created by capitalist production through schooling. Indeed in rural indigenous areas there has been a preponderance of technical schools, *Escuelas Secundarias Técnicas* (secondary schools) because, when the educational infrastructure

¹ This is an example of what we might view this as syncretism or creolization of identities.

was being established, it was assumed that practical, technical knowledge was the most important for indigenous zones that were not receiving many other types of economic development (Vaughan 1997).

Similarly, Bourdieu (1982) and Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) convince us that institutions such as schools serve to reproduce, rather than challenge existing social inequalities.² They believe that social classes are accorded “cultural capital” which is maintained as habitus and passed from one generation to the next, through the socially and culturally reproductive role of schooling. The subjectivity of students, for both cultural and social reproductionists, is dictated by their ideological education whose goal it is to make sure they assume their expected positions in the nation’s socioeconomic class system. For Willis (1977), however, this theory of ideological reproduction through schooling must be challenged, and he offers a perspective of students as agents who can indeed affect their own futures through their work in schools.³

The concept of the state as rigid, omnipotent, and unchanging has been challenged both in sociocultural anthropology and in cultural-educational studies. Some of Gramsci’s interpreters (cf. Hall 1986, Roseberry 1994, Sayer 1994, Trouillot 1990, B. Williams 1989, R. Williams 1977) have responded to his concept of “hegemony,” addressing the idea of individual agency and resistance, for example, student resistance towards a reproduction-oriented education. Raymond Williams states “A lived hegemony is always a process” (Williams 1977:112). In anthropology, emphasis has

² Apart from over-emphasizing class, reproduction theorists conduct research only in Euro-American settings rendering their work useful, but incomplete for an analysis of rural schooling in Mexico, where families have a strong role in decision making.

been placed recently on the need for a theory of power (cf. Philips 1999) capable of conceptualizing the relations between human agents and organized power, such as the state often achieved through ideological domination. Recent anthropological work has focused on popular culture as a key site for the study of power; power is viewed processually as local people and their subjective experiences and resistances to state and institutional domination are studied. Local people's reactions and interpretations of power were described with attention to popular representations such as work and pleasure (i.e. music). The volume "Workers' expressions: Beyond accommodation and resistance" (Calagione, Francis & Nugent 1992) sought to remedy the problem presented in theories of power with the accommodation/resistance dyad, showing the interaction between people's experiences and resistance.⁴ Likewise, anthropological approaches to state-formation call attention to state consolidation of power as a profoundly *cultural* process, with consequences in the material world in which *human actors* are both affected by state power, and have agency in their responses to and interpretations of power (cf. Joseph & Nugent 1994). Corrigan and Sayer (1985) have suggested that the omnipotent hegemonic state is itself a construction, and that popular forms of consciousness and resistance at the "local level" become intertwined with the state's ideologies.

³ Willis' critique is that there is still a reproduction of social class of the "lads," despite their attempts to change the system.

⁴In anthropology, recent emphasis on resistance has its source in that its very existence presupposes human agency. Anthropologists have always looked to local communities with ethnographic interest. Today, many anthropologists consider resistance as the primary expression of human agency, which taps into the Malinowskian love of the study of "the native." The interest in resistance fits into this anthropological romanticism of popular struggle. With an emphasis on a theory of power, this romanticization is channeled into resistance, to analytically highlight the agency of social beings.

In Contla there are many “organic intellectuals” (Gramsci 1971) that choose teaching over the readily available factory work as their employment. Teachers have the potential of being “transformative intellectuals” (Giroux 1988) rather than unthinking dupes of the state. The issue of teacher agency and ideological choices surfaces in the discourse that follows, and in chapter six I take this issue up again.⁵

The reality of school practices, as Rockwell (1996) points out, is often diverse and may contest or reinterpret official state policies that themselves can be inconsistent. Studies of education provide key examples of attempts at ideological domination by nation states on its citizens, and the citizens’ response to the presence of these ideologies. Local schools serves the locus of the convergence of these ideologies and contestations. Parents and other family members, and neighbors are an integral part of the school community. Rockwell suggests that this was true in Tlaxcala historically: “at the everyday level, local culture tinged school life, teachers’ networks sustained it, and peasant children made something of it” (Rockwell 1994:207). In my research it became apparent that the teachers are the principal agents negotiating national and local interests in schools between families, communities, the SEP, and the unions.

Bourgeois (1996), Levinson et.al. (1996), Locke Davidson (1996), and Rockwell (1996) advance the anthropology of schooling by offering critical ethnographies with a more complex analysis of the interactions between state and local interests in schools and communities. In a recent edited volume, Levinson & Holland (1996) attempt to move beyond the idea that teachers and students in these reproductionist views are the dupes of

⁵ On the topic of the transformative role of teachers in U.S. education consider Delpit (1999), Foster (1997),

the state, and lack agency, to advance a more complex vision of interactions between state power and local interests and interpretations of national policies in schools (Levinson & Holland 1996). I find that the papers in this volume ultimately provide compelling analyses of the dialectical relationship *between* institutional structures and human agents.

Rockwell (1996) proposes the Marxist concept of “appropriation” in place of a reproductionist stance that has the school simply passing on national and governmental ideologies to its students. *Appropriation* sees local people as agents, as they transform and incorporate national ideologies into local systems. In Tlaxcala, students, teachers and parents are agents in the everyday life of schools; they constantly react to and interpret local and state ideologies in such a way as to create a local reality (Rockwell 1994). For the teacher I quoted above, a part of this local appropriation of ideology is a recognition that the nation-state has a vested interest in what he teaches his students (first and foremost that they acquire literacy in Spanish and basic math skills), at the same time that it is up to him to present the material in the national, standardized textbooks. He must also comply with the mandate of the bilingual school which, without providing him with adequate materials or training, expects him to teach Mexicano. These constant dialectics between structure and agency that play out in Mexican indigenous schools are the source of the ideological multiplicity that surfaces in the local discourses.

In the following data analysis, it is important to keep in mind the idea that education in Mexico has been infused with an almost magical quality (Vaughan 1997) in

the national project of what is talked about as *salir adelante*, of increasing economic development. Rockwell (1997) also suggests that Mexican public discourse tends to define schools as the transmitters of culture. The national linguistic policy of *Castellanización* (Castilianization) – of teaching Spanish – had the goal of bringing all of Mexico’s speakers of indigenous languages into the national political and economic system; this was accomplished through the education system, beginning in the 1930’s with the centralization of Mexican governmental programs. Part of the attempted reproduction of the social order in and through schools (schooling) is teacher training. This consists of a national program with standardized materials expected to be adapted to local needs; as part of a 1993 educational decentralization mandate individual states can make their own arrangements for teacher training courses, but the materials are still produced at the national level. The coordinators of this Tlaxcala course attempted to make it as local in character as they could through their promotion of discussion of individual participant experiences in their communities. In this data analysis the aspiring teachers are the students.

SPEECH SITUATION: NEW TEACHER TRAINING COURSE

In this chapter I look at the nature of Tlaxcalan ideological multiplicity through an analysis of several instances of an educational event in the department of indigenous education. I analyze four speech events that were part of a larger speech situation (cf. Hymes 1972), the “*Curso de Inducción a la Docencia*,” or, “Course on the Introduction/ Induction to Teaching.” This teacher training course was created to help fill several open positions for indigenous education teachers in the bilingual-bicultural system. In

Appendix A the reader can see the advertisement for the competition for these positions. Those who were chosen on the basis of an oral and written exam, including rudimentary Mexicano knowledge, are the *aspirantes* who attend this training course. The course took place over four and a half months, which is longer than the 2-3 month courses that have been reported as common in other regions of Mexico for indigenous, bilingual-bicultural education (cf. Calvo 1993). Indigenous education teachers seem to receive less training than their counterparts in “general education” something which I have not seen documented, but which local officials told me.

The four instances I analyze include: 1) The formal introductory speeches to the participants in the seminar, the *aspirantes* (the aspiring ones, or candidates); 2) An elicited introduction about the course from the main leader; 3) Informal introduction to the course for several participants; and, 4) Formal small-group introductions of all participants and workshop leaders. The first three took place on one day, and the fourth the next day.

In each of these four speech events, the ideological multiplicity is apparent in the talk about bilingual schooling, and through the topics that are raised in association with this subject. The three discourses (*salir adelante, menosprecio, pro-indígena*) surface in relation to each other, and my analysis in this chapter will show how a formal conversation about bilingual schooling provides a context in which these ideologies of language, identity and modernity surface discursively. Speaker positions of domination and subordination within communities, and between communities and the nation state also become apparent. I chose to focus on this teacher training because of the

explicitness of the exegesis of these topics. Of all the data I gathered during fieldwork, these recordings constitute some of the most concise and illustrative statements of the ideological multiplicity in the corpus of naturally occurring speech. This analysis serves two purposes. It illustrates how the multiple ideologies of language, identity and modernity operate in locally relevant ways to Tlaxcalans, and surface through discourses of *salir adelante*, *menosprecio*, and *pro-indígena* in this professional conversation. *Salir adelante* as a discourse here couples with the *pro-indígena* discourse, as the leaders suggest that one can advance socio-economically and do it in a way that is consistent with local, indigenous ways of life, including the maintenance and transmission of the Mexicano language. This is a proposed change by these Tlaxcalan organic intellectuals (in the Gramscian sense, coming from the local communities rather than urban centers), from a *menosprecio* orientation to one that is *pro-indígena*.⁶

COURSE FOR *LOS ASPIRANTES* (the candidates; aspiring ones)

After a well-publicized search, eight participants were formally chosen, on the basis of written and oral exams.⁷ The full requirements are listed in the reproduction of the newspaper advertisement in Appendix A. The leaders can recommend the top participants to the Tlaxcala department of indigenous education, but it is not entirely up to them. The issue of favoritism in hiring teachers is brought up several times.

⁶ Tlaxcalan organic intellectuals who advance a *pro-indígena* stance, or indigenous orientation, through their work with the indigenous education division are different from, but related to urban Central Mexican intellectuals in their experiences with rural life. See Friendlander (1972) for a description of Mexico City urban *pro-indígena* intellectuals that is still apt today.

⁷ Strict age limitations (18-25) are put on *aspirantes* (something common in Mexican educational institutions); there was a case where one participant was excused once her real age was discovered, after she had attended part of the course. (See appendix A for details on job advertisement.)

Setting⁸

The Course on the Introduction to Teaching was given between August and December 1999, and took place daily during this time. I taped approximately 10-12 hours of this course, took fieldnotes, and interviewed two (of the three) workshop leaders, and a few of the participants. This workshop was held in several locales, but most often in a rented hall, that is part of a public housing project, and close to the state offices of indigenous education, in the city of Tlaxcala. The hall was large and open, with tables and chairs, which were moved around according to the needs of the group. The sessions that I attended were all held in one large group. Flip charts were used by participants to highlight the progress of the group discussions. Participants sat around the long rectangular tables. The event, like all other official educational events in Tlaxcala was declared officially open on the first day, and declared complete in December at a graduation ceremony.

Participants

In the first speech event there are many participants at the public inaugural event. During the course itself, there were eight participants, ranging in age from 21 to 26. They represent the three different Mexicano-speaking regions of the Malintzi volcano in Tlaxcala, including the Contla municipal county, with three from the San Felipe Cuahutenco area, four from San Francisco Tetlanohcan, and one from San Isidro Buensuceso (see map, Chapter 1). Therefore, the *aspirantes* (as they were known and as

⁸ Following the conventions set out by Hymes (1972, 1974), the following information is organized according to Ethnography of Speaking conventions.

I will refer to them here) represented the three main, locally recognized, dialectal regions of the state of Tlaxcala (Contla, Tetlanohcan, and San Isidro).

The three leaders were Fernando, the supervisor of all the schools in the indigenous education system for the state; Carla, an experienced teacher; and Juán, a teacher from the San Isidro pre-school who was considered the most fluent in Mexicano, and therefore the linguistic expert among the three. Of these three leaders, two were Mexicano speakers, and one a speaker of Totonaco, an indigenous language spoken in Veracruz, a neighboring state. Of the two Mexicano speakers, the more fluent of the two (due to daily practice and habit of speaking, more than degree of understanding) was Juán, from San Isidro Buensuceso; I was informed that Juán was chosen on the basis of his very strong and fluent Mexicano.

While my presence was definitely noted, I don't believe that I affected the proceedings to any great degree. This was due in part to the fact that I had known two of the three leaders since 1996; I met them both during my initial pilot research, and both were very strong supporters of the research, because they believe so strongly in the importance of the topic. They were supportive of my research, and gave me permission to attend as many workshops as I wished, and to tape them. Both Fernando and Carla are very enthusiastic about their work, and were excited about the idea of an outsider interested in their language. My presence as a foreign anthropologist did not seem to cause unease, but rather it served to highlight for the workshop leaders the idea that indigenous and bilingual education is so important that an American might actually make it the topic of a dissertation, and travel so far in order to learn about it. The fact that a

researcher from the very country who is pulling the attention of Tlaxcalan (and Mexican) youth towards American culture through pop music, fast food, movies, clothing, and, especially the English language added strength to their argument. Fernando had written me a formal letter of recommendation in support of my research, once my 1996 pilot study was completed. Carla later became part of a Contla language revitalization group, which I discuss in chapter seven.

Ends

During this workshop, participants were given an introduction to teaching, with a particular focus on the introduction to teaching in Tlaxcalan bilingual indigenous schools. They are being socialized into the *magisterio*, (the Spanish/Mexican word for teachers' corps, or 'teachership'). The concept and materials used for this course were a combination of workshop materials and readers prepared by the national DGEI, which were adapted as the three workshop leaders saw fit to this regional training event. The participants, whether they were eventually offered positions as teachers or not, were presented with a certificate having completed the course. This certificate would have value for them as continuing education and professional training on their curriculum vita.

Here the workshop leaders are concerned with the reproduction of what they view as poor teaching style, and misguided goals of teachers; not enough Mexicano is being taught, teachers lack sufficient preparation, they don't always know enough Mexicano, and in general lack strength in their indigenous identity. This is a deficit view of teachers *par excellence* (cf. González, Moll & Amanti In press), one which Rockwell and Mercado (1986) suggest is an unnecessary consequence of teacher training workshops in

Mexico. The workshop leaders see themselves as key to effecting change in this new generation of teachers. In order to interrupt what they view as poor training of teachers, and lack of ability and interest in teaching, they must challenge their teacher-students, the *aspirantes*, to take up the cause of improving bilingual education in Tlaxcala, and education in general. Through the discursive statements of these goals we can see clear evidence of *salir adelante* being addressed through either ideological stances *menosprecio* and *pro-indígena*.

Keys

Certain local norms of speech are apparent in this discourse, which is marked by several levels of Tlaxcalan speech formality; English translations attempt to convey the speakers' formal tones, when the lexical translation itself is insufficient. The first speech event is the most formal, followed by the fourth. Events two and three are more informal and include some joking and laughter interspersed with medium-formal speeches.

Instrumentalities

Most of this workshop was conducted in Spanish. There were symbolic uses of Mexicano during the days that I observed; I heard the group participants use Mexicano for communication only on the day that the teachers were testing the *aspirantes*'s language skills. As a formal context, this event was without sufficient intimacy and solidarity between speakers to warrant more use of Mexicano (cf. Hill & Hill 1986) even if all participants were fluent speakers. This disjuncture between community linguistic ideology and norms, and that of the goal of bilingual education in these schools will be

taken up in a later chapter. The speech register in Spanish can be characterized as formal, to very formal.

Norms

This is not an event that is representative of the local Nahua/Tlaxcalan customs or routinized rituals, but an event that is representative of the culture of an event sponsored by the local directorate general of indigenous education, representing indigenous education for the state of Tlaxcala. This is a regional creation, not a local, small town event, with the interplay between local and national institutions considered at multiple junctures.

Genres

This discourse consists of formal and less formal speeches, conversation between all the participants, and extended narratives by the course coordinators and the educational officials. There is extensive joking, and use of metaphors in the more informal sequences of talk.

PRESENTATION OF DATA: CURSO DE INDUCCION A LA DOCENCIA (COURSE OF THE INTRODUCTION TO TEACHING)

The first speech event in the speech situation analyzed in this chapter is the public, formal introductory speeches to the participants of the seminar, the *aspirantes*. The three discourses surface here, but one predominates: *pro-indígena* is connected to *salir adelante*, as a response to the quoted discourse of *menosprecio* being a barrier to *salir adelante*.

Speech Event #1 Inaugural Speeches

The inaugural speech begins first in Mexicano, then the speaker repeats what he said in Spanish; these are declarative statements to formally open the teacher training course.⁹

....namicoa huan nacate chiqnauí ?. Otitechcoque nican pampa ¿tisque ni tlamachtilyan ¿? itech ¿ ¿ itech in altepetl axan.

Hoy, 16 de agosto de 1999, nos hemos reunido [X] con esta [X] con la finalidad de inaugurar el Curso de Inducción a la Docencia para atender a los pueblos indígenas de nuestro estado de Tlaxcala.

Today, 16 of August of 1999, we have come together [X] with this [X] with the finality of inaugurating the Course on the Introduction/ Induction to Teaching in order to attend to the indigenous towns of our state of Tlaxcala.

?-isque ?-tique ito[calto]?

[Por el momento ?] tenemos honores a la bandera.

For the moment we have honors to the flag.

Aspirante: *Atención ya. Firmes ya.* Attention now. At attention, now.

Jefe: *??-timaske, yeka!*

Firmes, ya!

Firm now!

Saludar, [pause]ya!

Salute, now!

Aspirante leader (female):

Saludar Ya.

Salute now.

[Pause, as they salute]

Paso redoblado, ya! [marching sounds]

doublestep, now!

⁹ The data that follows includes Spanish speech in italics, followed by the English translation, with the exception of this first discourse example, which begins in Mexicano and continues in Spanish.

Escolte a la izquierda, ya!
Escolte a la izquierda, ya!
Escolte a la izquierda, ya!
Escolte a la izquierda, ya!
Escolte a la izquierda, ya!
 Guard to the left, now! [repeated]

[Pause in recording]

Jefe: *Saludar ya! A continuación retiraremos nuestro laboro patria*
 Leader: Salute now! As follows we will withdraw our [native symbol?, refers to flag]

Aspirante leader:
Escolte a la izquierda, ya!
 [marching]
Escolte a la izquierda, ya!
 Guard to the left, now!
Escolte a la derecha, ya!
Escolte a la derecha, ya!
Escolte a la derecha, ya!
Alto, ya!
 Stop, now!
Saludar, ya!
 Salute, now!
 {Firmes ya!} [overlapping speech here]
 {Solid now!}

Head of indigenous education: {*tomatiske, yeka!*}.
Firmes, ya!
 Solid now!

Aspirante leader: *columna por dos, ya!* [marching] *Alto, ya!*
 double column, now! Stop now!

Jefe: *A continuación, el acto social.*
 As follows, the social act

Aspirante leader: *Media vuelta, ya!*
 Half turn, now!

Head: *Presentaremos... a las [merecidas?] autoridades que hoy nos honran con su presencia. [Pause.] Es un honor, de presentar el Profesor [name] representante*

personal del Profesor [name], Jefe del Departamento de Educación Indígena. Brindémoslo con un fuerte aplauso. [Applause].

Tenemos la grata presencia del profesor [name], Sub-Secretario del Trabajo del sub-sistema de Educación Indígena, de la sección perteniente al SNTE. [Applause]. También tenemos la presencia del profesor [name], Coordinador del Curso de Inducción a la Docencia. [Applause] La Profesora [name], supervisora en educación inicial de Educación Indígena. Un fuerte aplauso. [Applause]. Tenemos la presencia del Profesor [name], viene de Educación Física de la Unidad de Servicios Educativos del Estado de Tlaxcala. [Applause].

We will present the [deserving?] authorities that today honor us with their presence. [Pause] It is an honor, to present the Profesor [name], personal representative of the Professor [name], Head of the Department of Indigenous Education. Let's offer him a strong round of applause

We have the honorable presence of the professor [name], Sub-secretary of Labor of the sub-system of Indigenous Education, of the section pertaining to the SNTE [official national teacher's union]. [Applause]. We also have the presence of the profesor Fernando, coordinator of the Course on the Introduction/ Induction to teaching. [Applause]. The professor, supervisor of initial education [pre-school] of Indigenous Education. A strong applause. [Applause]. We have the presence of the profesor [name], he comes from Physical Education of the Unit of Educational Services of the State of Tlaxcala. [Applause].

[Pause]

Bienvenidos compañeros-profesores. A continuación tendremos la inauguración del curso, quién viene ante nosotros, es el profesor [name]. Vamos a recibirlo con un fuerte aplauso. [Applause]

Welcome colleagues, fellow-teachers. Following we will have the inauguration of the course, [he] who comes before us, is the professor [name]. Let's receive him with a strong applause. [Applause].

Next speaker [inaugural speech]: *Gracias. Compañeros, compañeros [X] hoy día se encuentran en un sitio, especial con nosotros [X] del personal [XXX]. Maestras, [X] jóvenes que hoy se [XXXX] a los [fines] de este tan importante, este importante [X] de la Educación Indígena. [Pause] En esta ocasión, estamos entrando a una etapa trascendental, porque hoy inauguramos, el Curso de Inducción a la Docencia, en dónde un grupo pequeño de jóvenes, y digo pequeño no tanto por el número sino por la calidad, dicen que lo chiquito, es lo bueno.*

Hoy estamos entrando en una etapa nueva en que un grupo de jóvenes, va a hacer el Curso de Inducción a la Docencia para permitir que el servicio de educación indígena, sea, pues, eh... vaya creciendo paulatinamente. Hace algunos años, son quince años aproximadamente, Educación Indígena se componía de ocho elementos. Ocho jóvenes, jóvenes adolescentes algunos todavía. Iniciaron los primeros pasos en el servicio de educación indígena del Estado de Tlaxcala. Ahora somos más [X] de cien, y seremos un poco más. Yo creo que lo importante

aquí, es considerar, NO ES DERECHO LLEGAR A EDUCACIÓN INDÍGENA PARA CONSEGUIR UNA CHAMBA [PAUSE], UN EMPLEO O UN SALARIO. LO IMPORTANTE AQUÍ ES QUE LOS QUE ESTEMOS, LOS QUE ESTÁN, LOS QUE LLEGUEN, LLEGARÁN A LOS [X] AÑOS. LO HARÁN POR CONVICCIÓN, DESPUÉS DE HABER PASADO DE LA [BARRERA? X] QUE ES EL EXAMEN DE BILINGÜISMO OBLIGATORIO EN EL EL SUB-SISTEMA DE EDUCACIÓN INDÍGENA.

El sub-sistema de Educación Indígena es algo así como, el, la especialidad de [grandes ciudades? lenguas internacionales?], EL MAESTRO DE INGLÉS PARA PODER ENSEÑAR INGLÉS Y TRABAJAR EN UNA SECUNDARIA, DEBE SABER HABLAR INGLÉS. LOS OCHO COMPAÑEROS JÓVENES, PRESENTES, PASARON [X] LA FINAL PRUEBA DE FUEGO, QUE ES EL EXAMEN DEL BILINGÜISMO. Eso a nosotros nos llena de satisfacción porque queremos dejar atrás las viejas prácticas de la inducción en el que los familiares llegaban sólo porque el pariente estaba en el poder. Hoy ya no es. Confiamos, pues, en la calidad de los jóvenes que están presentes, porque como he dicho, se ha pasado la mitad de la etapa, la primera prueba, la primera prueba de fuego. Puedo [proponer talento?]. Del resto [X] depende de su [vocalidad?] tres veces el curso, más probablemente, en el camino será [X] su desempeño, su entrega, su puntualidad. El himno en Nahuatl poco a poco también es importante. Porque debemos reconocer que los Tlaxcaltecas nosotros distinguimos nuestro [X]... Hablamos con voz bien bien firme, con claridad, es el dominio de la [gente].

En esa virtud me siento muy honrado en primer lugar de tener la representación del profesor [name], Jefe del Departamento de Educación Indígena, quién por la una cita con [X] la Dirección General de Educación Indígena, en Tlaxcala, [XX] en Tlaxcala, tenía una reunión muy importante [X] con el señor Subsecretario de Educación Pública de Tlaxcala. Eso hizo imposible que él estaría acompañándonos, así [a través de?] mi conducto les envía un cordial saludo. Ya tendremos oportunidad de tenerlo en una reunión que realizamos mañana [en la dirección] para que haga la inauguración oficial como miembro del Departamento de Educación Indígena.

En esta virtud maestras, maestros, jóvenes que hoy ingresan a esta importante actividad, quiero permitirme a nombre de la Secretaria de Educación Pública, siendo las diez horas con diez minutos, del día 16 de agosto de mil novecientos noventa y nueve, declarar formalmente inaugurado el Curso de Inducción a la Docencia, deseándoles de corazón que los ocho jóvenes aprueben, y lleguen al final del [camino?]. Muchas gracias jóvenes, y buena suerte a todos. Gracias.

Thank you. Colleagues, colleagues [X] today you find yourselves in a place, a special [place] for us the personnel [XX]. Teachers, young people that today [X] for the goals of this so important, so important [event?] of Indigenous Education. [Pause] On this occasion, we are entering a transcendental stage, because today we inaugurate, the Course on the Introduction/ Induction to Teaching, in which a small

group of young people, and I say small not because of the number but rather for for the quality, they say that what is small, is what is good.

Today we are entering a new stage in which a group of youths, is going to follow the Course on the Introduction/ Induction to Teaching to permit that the service of indigenous education, should be, well, eh... will grow gradually. A few years ago, it is approximately fifteen years ago, Indigenous Education was composed of eight elements. Eight young people, young adolescents some of them still. Now we are more than one hundred, and we will be a bit *more*. I think that what is important here, is to consider, it's not straight [correct] TO ARRIVE AT INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN ORDER TO FIND A JOB [COLLOQUIAL WORD] [PAUSE], A POSITION OR A SALARY. WHAT IS IMPORTANT HERE IS THAT THOSE THAT ARE, THOSE THAT HAVE, THOSE THAT ARRIVE, WILL REACH [X] YEARS [OF SERVICE]. THEY WILL DO IT BECAUSE OF CONVICTION, AFTER HAVING PASSED THE [BARRIER] THAT IS THE BILINGUALISM EXAM, OBLIGATORY IN THE SUB-SYSTEM OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION.

The sub-system of Indigenous Education is something like, the, the specialty of [big cities? international languages?], THE ENGLISH TEACHER IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO TEACH ENGLISH AND WORK IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL, SHOULD KNOW HOW TO SPEAK ENGLISH. THE EIGHT COLLEAGUES YOUNG PEOPLE PRESENT, PASSED [X] THE FINAL TRIAL BY FIRE, WHICH IS THE BILINGUALISM EXAM. That fills us with satisfaction because we want to leave behind the old practices of the introduction [to teaching] in which family members used to arrive only because a relative was in power. Today that's not so anymore. We are confident then in the quality of the youth that are here present, because as I have said, half of the stage has passed, the first test, the first trial by fire. I can [X propose talent?]. The rest depends on your [vocation?] three times the course, more probably, on the path will be your fulfillment, your delivery, your punctuality. The national anthem in Nahuatl little by little also is important. Because we need to recognize that we Tlaxcalans distinguish ourselves our [X]... We speak with [a] voice [that is] very very firm, with clarity, it is the domain of the people.

By this virtue I am, feeling very honored in first place of having the representation for the professor [name], Head of the Department of Indigenous Education, who because of an appointment with [X] the Directorate General of Indigenous Education, in Tlaxcala, [XX] in Tlaxcala, he had a very important meeting with the Mr. Sub-secretary of Public Education of Tlaxcala. This made it impossible for him to be here accompanying us, therefore [through?] my conduct he sent you all a cordial greeting. We will [later] have the opportunity to have him in a meeting that we will do tomorrow [in the office] so that he may do the official inauguration as member of the Department of Indigenous Education.

By this virtue teachers [female], teachers [male], young people that today commence this important activity, I want to permit myself in the name of the Secretary of Public Education, being ten o'clock with ten minutes, the sixteenth of August of one thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine, declare formally inaugurated the Course on the Introduction/Induction to Teaching, wishing you with heart that

the eight young people pass, and arrive to the end of the [path?]. Thank you very much young people, and good luck to all. Thank you.

[Applause; People get up and start leaving]

Master of Ceremonies: *Ibari, no[X]. Tlazokamati Momahuisotsi. Con esto, pues, nos despedimos de todos ustedes. Y vamos a despedirnos de las autoridades con un muy fuerte y caluroso aplauso. Muchas gracias.* [Applause]

[XXX] *Thank you very much* [formal]. With this, well, we take leave of all of you. And we will bid goodbye to the authorities with a very strong and warm applause. Thank you very much. [Applause]

At this point I turn to Carla and ask her:

JM: ¿ya se van?

Carla: Ya, eso fue todo. Ah, sí, y ahorita empezamos ya las actividades con los, con los muchachos. Son ocho nada más. Habían dicho que nos íbamos a la Supervisión, pero este, cómo se llama, pues estábamos mirando que no cabe::mos, o que ya le ocuparon para otra cosa, que ya llegaron todos y que hubo este la oportunidad de reunirse con los maestros.

JM: Pues está bien.

JM : Are they leaving ?

Carla : That's it, that was all. Oh, yes, and now we will begin with the activities with the, with the boys and girls [kids]. There are only eight. They had told us that we were going to be in the Supervisory [office], but um, what do you call it, well we were seeing that we don't fit, or that they were using it for something else, that everyone already had arrived and that there was um the opportunity for us to meet with the teachers.

JM : Well that's good.

Many speeches in Mexico, as in other parts of Spanish-Speaking America have a markedly formal tone to them, characterized by a very formal speech register in Spanish, use of carefully timed long pauses to emphasize certain points, and use of declaratives as key parts of official events, such as “I declare this workshop to have begun,” and “I declare this session to be closed, at this time.” The use of official titles is common as well, as in these instances, and the announcement of each name is followed by applause. This is very common in both indigenous and *mestizo* areas, however, from my

observations I think that in certain indigenous regions formal speeches arising in otherwise informal social contexts are quite common. In the Malintzi region of Tlaxcala, these could be either in Mexicano or Spanish, for example gift-giving and accepting speeches in which several family members are present.

The ideological multiplicity in these formal speeches is marked by sometimes ambivalent and sometimes contradictory attitudes towards Tlaxcalan indigenous language and identity, as well as a strength of conviction that positive progress towards the language maintenance, and general education of indigenous students is possible. The use of Mexicano is symbolic here, and it is the first language uttered in this event. The discourse in SMALL CAPS above is an example of *salir adelante* for this particular group of educational officials – I heard from many teachers and educational officials that too many teachers did not actually speak or want to speak Mexicano in their schools. Therefore for the local DGEI, indigenous education office to achieve its stated goal of improving its quality, it must provide more stringent restrictions in the choice of candidates for teaching posts. In these introductory speeches the main theme is *salir adelante*, as a department of indigenous education and as individuals. There is a subtext of a *pro-indígena* stance that the speakers do not develop, certainly not in the very direct way that the workshop leaders do in the discourse below.

There is an inherent contradiction, to which I will devote substantial attention in a chapter on bilingual education and language revitalization (Chapter 6), which is the contradiction of the actual goals of these indigenous schools; is it language revitalization in Contla? And in San Isidro where the children are all bilingual, is it teaching

biliteracy? When this final speaker poses the question that if an English teacher is required to know English, then why have bilingual teachers in the indigenous sub-system not been required to know Nahuatl, he is making an important parallel that is indicative of a widespread confusion of *what it means* to teach an indigenous language in schools that used to prohibit it, in regions that feel certain ambivalences towards indigenous identities, and by teachers who are trained in the teaching of “Reading, Riting, and Rithmetic.” Another key issue is that Mexicano is usually a private sphere language, rather than a public one. Part of this discussion of teachers’ required linguistic knowledge is the mention of a exam of bilingualism – this is the exam that is applied to aspiring teachers, and consists of an oral exam in Mexicano. As the rest of my data shows in this chapter, there are people in the indigenous sub-system who are aware of the local ideological multiplicity and the structural constraints that the national system tries to impose, and they do a good job in raising the issues for the *aspirantes* to discuss, although they are also particularly critical of teachers’ currently in service.

The speaker in this last speech, the authority who declares the event officially open states that they are entering a transcendental stage, marking the increased growth of the unit in charge of indigenous education. The idea of “service” to indigenous education is raised, invoking the idea of service to the nation through work as a *trabajador de la educación* – an educational worker (cf. Rockwell 1991). This service, to the nation and to the local school system must be taken seriously, as the speaker says, because it is not just a *chamba* (job [colloquial]). The growth of this unit of indigenous education is particularly interesting in Tlaxcala, because the state did not have an official indigenous

education unit until the early 1990's. This speaker is indicating that indigenous education is being taken more seriously now than it was before.

The speaker ends producing an eloquent and inspiring language ideology:

“Porque debemos reconocer que los Tlaxcaltecas nosotros distinguimos nuestro [X]...

Hablamos con voz bien bien firme, con claridad, es el dominio de la [gente].”

(Because we need to recognize that we Tlaxcalans distinguish ourselves our [X]... We speak with [a] voice [that is] very very firm, with clarity, it is the domain of the people.) Local identity is lauded here, firmly locating the educational system in a local social landscape.

Speech Event #2 – Interview Sequence

The second speech event analyzed is an elicited introductory narrative about the course from the main leader, Fernando. Fernando and I were waiting for the participants to return from a break and we used this time for an informal interview. Here Fernando explains to me the goals of the teacher training as he sees them. In the following a *menosprecio* discourse is presented as intertwined with a *pro-indígena* discourse, which is a characteristic of most of Fernando's speeches to this group, as he seeks to train the new “inductees” to his *pro-indígena* ideological stance.

[The quote at the chapter beginning came here sequentially]

Fernando: [...] *La idea es cambiar, cambiar un poquito, eh en mentalidades... en lo que estabamos diciendo ahorita, tal vez ellos ahorita se sientan incómodas con su vestimenta, [XXX] por qué no decirlo? Pero ellos también no tienen la culpa, ellos tienen una idea que, que se les ha sembrado a través de los años, nuestros padres, que también están equivocados al al hecho de decir que, que todo lo indígena pues no sirve.*

Nuestros maestros, que cuando fuimos alguna ocasión nos dijeron, que: no hablaríamos la lengua indígena, porque si no, nos reprobaban. Nuestra sociedad que critica que critica todo lo indígena. Esta es la... idea que se tiene que hacer a

un lado. Ese es el esquema con el que, el que se pretende romper, hacerle a un lado. Superar esos viejos vicios, esas viejas convicciones, de que todo lo indígena es de segunda, de tercera. Cuando que en realidad, eh, viéndolo desde su propia cosmovisión, es de primera para nosotros. Que tiene más valores, que tiene más, eh, cuestiones éticas. Cuando que el el occidentalismo que nos ha ido absorbiendo, nos ha agarrado, como que, como dicen los jóvenes “fuera de onda” que no podemos, que no sabemos asimilarlo todavía. Que nos produce únicamente desequilibrio.

Entonces, esa es la idea Jacqui.

The idea is to change, to change a little bit, eh in mentalities... in what we were saying just now, maybe they now feel uncomfortable with their clothing [XXX] why not say it? But it also isn't their fault, **they have an idea that, that has been planted in them over the years, our parents, that also are mistaken upon upon saying that, that that which is indigenous well it is useless.**

Our teachers, that when we went on some occasion, said to us, that... that we shouldn't speak [among ourselves] the indigenous language, because if not, they would fail us. Our society that criticizes that criticizes everything indigenous.

This is the... idea that must be put aside. That is the plan with which, that which [we] wish to break, to put it aside. overcome those old vices, those old convictions, that everything indigenous is second class, third class. When in reality, eh, looking at it from it's proper worldview, it is first-class for us. That it has more values, that it has more, eh, ethnic issues. When the the Westernism that has been absorbing us, has grabbed us, that, as the young people say “out of it” that we can't, we don't know how to assimilate it yet. That it produces for us only disequilibrium. So, that is the idea Jacqui.

JM: Mmmm....

[Several participants come back from their break – they are all women. They sit and listen to the rest of our conversation.]

Fernando's explanation of the course highlights his goals for “molding” the teacher-students, his principal goal being to get the *aspirantes*, who are all from Mexicano speaking towns, to reconsider what it means to be indigenous, and through his *pro-indígena* stance surfacing in this discourse, he questions the idea that anything indigenous is “second or third class.” As he says, his worldview is that indigenous identity is first class. These comments reinforce the idea of the existence of discourses of *pro-indígena* and *menosprecio* that surface for commentary, particularly in discussions of social

change. Note that the only explicit appearance of education here is through the context of the event.

What began as my interview with Fernando about the course, which took place during the break, blends into an introduction directed at six women, six of the eight participants, and myself. This shift marks the third speech event analyzed, an informal introduction to the course for several participants.

Speech Event #3 – Informal Introduction to Course

In this speech event, Fernando begins to lay out the main themes of the course. He focuses attention on the existence of a governmental “Gran Plan” – a great plan that teachers are supposed to follow. There are many examples here, both implicit and explicit, of how important teacher input is to local education, and he stresses the importance of teacher input, since the teachers are from the communities in question. He questions the government’s goals indirectly and offers an alternative. He’s seen what an unquestioned national education plan can do and he offers an alternative.

Ojalá y con estos, con estas - iba a decir muchachos, pero no los muchachos no están - con esta juventud podemos, este, moldear un poquito, sembrar algo y que... pues sea algo positivo. La maestra Carla, su servidor, el compañero Juan - conozco un poco de su trayectoria - él nos va a ayudar con la cuestión indígena, de lengua indígena que... lo habla muy bien. La maestra Carla es un poquito más técnica, creo que, por eso nos hace bolas con su, con su este con su Nahuatl [joking tone]. Si, si a alguien le toca con ella, ¿le tocó a alguien de ustedes con ella? [he asks the participants].

Hopefully and with these, with these, I was going to say guys, but no the guys aren’t here – with this youth we can, um, mold a little bit, plant something and that... well that it should be something positive. The teacher Carla, your servant [Fernando], the colleague Juan – I know a bit about his trajectory; **he is going to help us with the indigenous question [issue], the indigenous language that... he speaks it very well.** The teacher Carla is a bit more technical, I think that, because of that she confuses us with her, with her, um with her Nahuatl [joking tone]. If, if

someone has been assigned to work with her, has anyone been assigned to her? [he asks the participants].

Participants [all women at this point]: [they shake their heads no.]

Fernando: *¿No? Por eso están aquí.*

Fernando: No? For that you are here. [laughter]

Sí. Luego, este, si, luego dicen que es un poquito más técnica por lo mismo de que ha estado trabajando en las cápsulas esas de radio, eh, Radio Altiplano [Local bilingual radio program.] Sí, es en Náhuatl. Este... pero... pues yo creo que vamos a trabajar con ustedes en ese sentido, de que nos olvidemos un poquito de... de que el indígena no sirve. Porque alguna de ustedes debe de pensar de esa manera y yo lo considero así.

Eh, lo considero así porque ya tene..., imagínense 29 años de experiencia, de trabajar en la, en zonas indígenas. Cuando me inicié como trabajador, hace, estoy hablando de hace 29 años, de 1970, iba yo a las comunidades, y me... me decían algunos padres de familia: “yo te traigo a m’hijo para que aprenda el Castellano, no para que le hables en lengua indígena. No, tienes que enseñarle el Castellano.” Incluso..., erróneamente..., digo erróneamente porque ya a través del tiempo nos vamos dando cuenta de otras realidades.

Erróneamente se había creado por los años de 1975, un Plan Nacional de Castellanización. Eso no llegó aquí a Tlaxcala. Yo estuve como Supervisor de Castellanización. Y fue un un “Gran Plan” [said with sarcasm], pero un Gran Plan para exterminar las lenguas indígenas. Cada supervisor tenía 25 “Castellanizadores,” se les llamaba, entre hombres y mujeres. Teníamos la oportunidad de que llegaba alguien, [reported speech] “A ver, ¿sabes hablar la lengua indígena?” “¿Pues que sí? A ver - pláticame tantito, a ver,” unas cuántas palabras, pudo [XXX]. Así de fácil.

*Mmm. Nos poníamos a trabajar, LES ENSEÑ... TENÍAMOS CURSOS, COMO ÉSTE QUE VAMOS A TENER, DONDE SE LES ENSEÑABA MÁS O MENOS LO BÁSICO PARA QUE FUERAN A CASTELLANIZAR. **Pero traía como consecuencia, eso que les digo: El exterminio de las lenguas indígenas [said with emphasis].** De ahí a que actualmente, mmm, actualmente mucha gente piensa ya, tal vez nosotros hayamos sembrado eso también - con ese plan nacional de Castellanización. Actualmente mucha gente piensa... que no este... no quiere, bueno que, no debe hablar la lengua indígena. Porque, por ejemplo, ustedes las ven por allá afuera ahorita van a decir que son “Marías”. Como dicen en Puebla - de San Miguel, este, bueno, toda esa región de San Pablo del Monte provee de Marías a a este a Puebla.*

Les platicaré de un anécdota de un niño. Ahí en la casa, siempre iba... iba... cada vez que estaba yo allí en el rancho - digo rancho yo a mi pueblito - pues que sé yo, tendrá como 1800 habitantes, ahí apartado de [XX]. Siempre se iba allá a la casa conmigo y se pone a platicar, estoy haciendo alguna cosa, arrancando alguna hierba, él se iba conmigo a... ayudar.

[Someone asks him a question] [...]

Yes. Then, um, yes, then they say that she is a bit more technical because of the fact that she has been working on the those chapters of the radio, eh, Radio Altiplano [Local bilingual radio program.] Yes, it is in Nahuatl. Um... but... well **I think that we are going to work with you all in this sense, that we should forget a bit about... that the indigenous [person] is useless. Because some [one] of you must think in this way and I consider it like this.**

Eh, I consider it like this because I have..., imagine 29 years of experience, of working in the, in indigenous zones. When I began as a worker, it's been, I'm talking about 29 years ago, of 1970, I went to the communities, and they used to say to me, some parents: "I bring you my child so that s/he should learn Spanish, not so that you speak to him in indigenous language. No, you have to teach him/her Spanish." Also..., **mistakenly..., I say mistakenly because over time we start realizing other realities.**

Erroneously it had been created around the year of 1975, a National Plan of Castilianization. That did not arrive here to Tlaxcala. I was a Supervisor of Castilianization [in another state]. And it was a "Great Plan" [said with sarcasm], but a Great Plan to exterminate indigenous languages. Every supervisor had 25 "Castilianizers," they called them, between men and women. We had the opportunity that someone would arrive, [reported speech] "Let's see, do you know how to speak the indigenous language?" "Well, yes? Let's see – converse with me a little, let's see, just a few words," s/he could [X]. It was that easy.

Mmm. We used to get to work, teaching them... WE TAUGHT THEM COURSES, LIKE THIS ONE THAT WE'RE GOING TO HAVE, WHERE THEY WERE TAUGHT MORE OR LESS THE BASICS SO THAT THEY COULD GO AND CASTILIANIZE. **But it brought as a consequence, that is what I tell you: The extermination of indigenous languages [said with emphasis].** From there to that today, mmm, today many people now think, maybe we have planted [idea] that too – with that national plan of Castilianization.

Today many people think... that um... they don't want, well, that, they shouldn't speak the indigenous language. Because, for example, you all, they see you out there right now [in indigneous dress] they're going to say that you are "Marias."¹⁰ As they said in Puebla- from San Miguel, um, well, that whole region of San Pablo del Monte provides Marias to to um to Puebla.

I will tell you an anecdote about a child. There at home, he would always go... go... each time that I was there at the ranch [hometown] – I say ranch about my town – well what do I know, it has about 1800 residents, there apart from [XX]. He always went there to my house with me and started talking, I was doing some thing, pulling up some plant, he went with me to... help.

¹⁰ The term "Marias" is used to describe women from indigenous communities who migrate to large cities and beg their livelihood; in cities such as Puebla and Mexico City women sit on the street, often one per block. They often are wearing "traditional clothing," that is embroidered clothes that urbanites associate with indigenous communities, which is to what Fernando refers here.

[Someone asks him a question] [...]

He continues, with an anecdote revealing a very explicit language ideology:

Sí, les decía [...] y ahí me anda ayudando el chamaquito. Y yo le hablo en lengua indígena, hable y hable en lengua indígena, eh... [pause]. Y me, en eso me cae, me dice: "No me hables eso." Así, así, me dijo: "No me hables eso." "Ah," le digo, "¿Por qué? [He replies:] "Yo no sé." !Si no lo voy a conocer! Desde niño este, hablaba el... el... allá hablamos el Totonaco. [He repeats, mimicing the boy's voice:] "No me hables eso, yo no sé de eso pues." "Ah bueno," ah, yo le seguí hablando... en la lengua materna, en la lengua indígena, y sin darse cuenta, más, ¡pues ya no quiere Jacqui!

Yes, I was telling you [...] and there the guy was helping me out. And I spoke to him in indigenous language, talking and talking in indigenous language, eh... [pause]. And on that he jumps on me, he tells me: "Don't talk that to me." That way, that way, he told me: "Don't talk that to me." "Ah," I say to him, "Why not?" [He replies:] "I don't know." As if I am not going to know him! Since he was a little kid, he used to talk the the... there we speak Totonaco. [He repeats, mimicing the boy's voice:] "Don't talk that to me, I don't know about that, well." "Ah, well," ah, **I continued speaking... in the mother tongue, in the indigneous language**, and without realizing it. More, well Jacqui doesn't want any more!

Fernando here produces a *menosprecio* discourse as being in conflict with what his preferred stance is – the one that surfaces in a *pro-indígena* discourse. The participants, the *aspirantes*, have all returned from their break now, and Fernando introduces me to the group, saying that I am an American, of foreign-born parents who is really interested in indigenous education. This introduction leads him to begin to talk about the educational system in Mexico, comparing it to the rest of the world. He picks up the points he left off before, beginning by framing his speech with a *salir adelante* discourse, critical of the educational system as it was when he was trained as a *Castilianizer*, charged with teaching Spanish to indigenous communities following a national program, for which he holds great disdain.

Fernando: [...]

Lo que sucede con nosotros... ya, este, LES DECÍA ESO ES LO QUE NOS PROVOCA PRECISAMENTE EL SISTEMA EDUCATIVO DE QUE... DE QUE... NOS DICEN EN PRIMARIA, PORQUE AHÍ AHÍ ES LO QUE YO CONOZCO. EN PRIMARIA NOS DICEN “ENSÉÑALE ESO A LOS NIÑOS,” NOS DAN UN “PROGRAMA.” Pero [he says with emotion] ese programa no está adaptado a la realidad de nuestra gente. [pause] Lo que estamos haciendo es prácticamente occidentalizar.

Por si acaso no le entiendan con toda confianza, quiero este, hacer este agregado. Cuando alguna palabra no la entiendan - interrumpen. Me decían hace mucho tiempo cuando yo iba a la secundaria: “El mundo es de los preguntones.” Sí. Y si no preguntan algo, nunca van a salir de... de su duda. Así que con toda confianza interrumpen, ¿Sí?

Les decía, el occidentalismo es la adquisición de nuevos, nuevas costumbres, nuevos conocimientos, pero no, que no están, eh, adecuados a nuestra realidad étnica. Étnica - de nuestra, de nuestra, este, de nuestra tierra, de nuestros... seres. Entonces, nos hemos occidentalizado, que queremos ser como ‘aquellos,’ y queremos dejar de ser como somos. Y lo que se provoca es que ni alcanzamos a ser como ellos, y dejamos de ser lo que somos.

What happens with us... um, I WAS TELLING YOU ALL, THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT PROVOKES THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, THAT... THAT... THEY TELL US IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, BECAUSE THERE THAT IS WHAT [THE CONTEXT] I KNOW. IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL THEY TELL US, “TEACH THAT TO THE CHILDREN,” THEY GIVE US A “PROGRAM.” **But [he says with emotion] that program isn’t adapted to the reality of our people. [pause] What we are doing is practically westernizing.**

Just in case you don’t understand, with complete trust, I want to add this. When some word you don’t understand – interrupt. They told me a long time ago when I was in secondary school: “The world belongs to questioners.” Yes. If you don’t ask something, then you’ll never clarify your doubt. So that, with complete trust interrupt, yes?

I was telling you, westernism is the acquisition of new, new customs, new learning, but no, they’re not adequate to our ethnic reality. Ethnic – of our, of our, um of our land, of our... beings. Therefore, we have westernized ourselves, that we want to be like ‘those people over there,’ and we want to stop being as we are. And what this provokes is that we neither manage to be as they are, and we stop being who we are.

Hay un cuento que de, que de un... muchacho que se fue a estudiar en Estados Unidos. Y como a cuestión de medio año le manda un telegrama a su papá, aquí en México. [He assumes the voice of the boy]: “Papá. Dificultáseme el inglés, olvidáseme el Castellano, ¿Qué hago?” Le contesta el papá rapidito: “Regrésate” - con una grosería de esas muy clásicas mexicanas- “Regrésate, antes de que quedes mudo.”

Eso es lo que nos está pasando a nosotros, ni alcanzamos a llegar a a dominar el occidentalismo, de que nos hacen objeto, ni... y olvidamos lo nuestro.

Nos quedamos en medio, y ahí viene el desequilibrio. El desequilibrio, de que... Bueno, por fin, nosotros ¿qué somos? Y ese desequilibrio nos [trae ?] muchas cosas malas: Vicios, eh, las costumbres esas que tan tan tan tan fácil se nos pegan. Porque hay también una máxima que dice que lo, lo malo es fácil. Se nos pega fácil. En cambio lo bueno es difícil asimilarlo. Es lo que ha venido sucediendo.

ahorita por ejemplo, pues me voy adelantar un poquito, quería hacer con los compañeros también. Los dos varones. [To the other workshop leader he says:] ¿Fueron por los paquetes? [boxes of workshop materials.] Si salen ustedes así con esa ropa a la calle, ¿Qué reacción creen ustedes que podrían despertar? Platiquémoslo con confianza.

There's a story, that of, that of ... a boy who goes to study in the United States. And around half a year [later] he sends a telegram to his father, here in Mexico. [He assumes the voice of the boy]: "Papa. Difficultingme English, Forgettingme Spanish. What do I do?" The father answers him quickly: "Come back" – with one of those swears of those really classic Mexican ones – "Come back, before you end up mute."

This is what is happening to us, we don't manage to learn westernism, which makes of us an object, nor... and we forget what is ours. We remain in the middle, and there comes the disequilibrium. The disequilibrium. that... Well, at the end, we, what are we? And this disequilibrium brings us many bad things: Vices, eh, those habits that so so so so easily stick to us. Because there is also a maxim that says that, what is bad is easy. It sticks to us easily. On the other hand, what is good is hard to assimilate. This is what has been happening.

right now for example, well I'm going to get little ahead of myself, I wanted to do [this] with the colleagues also. The two males. [To the other workshop leader he says:] Did they go for the packages? [boxes of workshop materials.] If you all go out like this with that clothing out to the street, what reaction you think you might rouse? Let's talk about it with trust.

Participant: *No más quedarían viendo, o se reirían de nosotros.*
They would only remain watching, or they would laugh at us.

Fernando: *Eso sería una reacción.* That would be one reaction.

Participant: [Response is muffled by honking of car horns]

Fernando: *Uh, ha. Eso podría ser, otro, otra idea que tuvieran, ¿verdad? ¿Alguna otra?*

Uh, huh. That could be, another, another idea that you had, true? Another one?

[Pause]

Fernando: *Bueno, eso en el caso de ustedes. ¿Y de los compañeros?*

Good, that is in your case. What about the [male] colleagues?

Participant: Les harían burla.
They would make fun of them.

Fernando: Les harían burla. [Mmhhh.] En fin, un sin número de reacciones, ¿verdad? De críticas. ¿Por qué? Porque para ellos seríamos raros. Sin embargo [said with emphasis], nosotros, como dicen, debemos de ser ‘nosotros.’ Si nosotros tenemos una convicción, si nosotros pensamos que queremos trabajar en educación indígena. Si vienen con esa idea, de que nos interesan nuestros hermanos indígenas...[TAPE STOPS]

They would make fun of them. [Mmhhh.] Finally, a limitless number of reactions, right? Of criticisms. Why? Because for them we would be strange. Nevertheless [said with emphasis], we, as they say, we should be ‘ourselves.’ If we have a conviction, if we think that we want to work in indigenous education. If you come with that idea, that our indigenous brothers [and sisters] interest us....[TAPE STOPS]

The mention of disequilibrium as a result of a process of trying to Westernize indigenous communities is quite interesting here, and this type of personal identity conflict is reminiscent of González’ (2001) concept of “subalterity” (see chapters one and four). It is unclear in Fernando’s discourse who the agents are who are attempting this Westernization. He believes that there is a definite alternative to these negative *menosprecio* stances.

When the recording resumes, Fernando begins to tell an anecdote which leads into a long allegorical narrative in which frogs are trying to save themselves and keep from drowning. This tale is an illustration of the discourse of *salir adelante* in which Fernando tries to illustrate for his audience that if people (Mexicans, indigenous people) don’t help themselves, as opposed to working against progress that starts from within, that they will never advance either personally or as a community. This narrative serves as another example for him to tie the *salir adelante* discourse to the need for a *pro-indígena*

orientation. Eventually the issues of vices, and corruption surface as negative community influences that further bar progress. Letting vices like excessive drinking bring you down is counterproductive, he says.

ESTABAN DESCUBRIENDO AL MUNDO CON TODOS SUS VICIOS Y AVANZARON, AVANZARON, AVANZARON Y AL RATITO TENÍAN HAMBRE. Tenemos hambre. Ya se estaba obscureciendo y ahora? Se perdieron. No pues vamos a regresar. [...] ‘Y nosotros no podemos hacer nada y se van a ahogar’, dicen las ranitas pesimistas. No, ‘nos vamos a ahogar.’ NO LUCHARON, SE AHOGARON. Ah pero la ranita sorda creía, veía que estaban gritando los de ahí arriba y creía que le estaban diciendo: ‘SÁLVATE, TÚ PUEDES, HÉCHALE GANAS. HOMBRE, DESDE AQUÍ TE APOYAMOS’. Y TODO LO QUE ESCUCHABA CREÍA QUE ERA APOYO. ELLA NO ESCUCHABA LOS REPROCHES, VEÍA LO POSITIVO DESDE SU PROPIA CONDICIÓN FÍSICA, ASÍ QUE LUCHABA, LUCHA Y LUCHA, PATALEA - YA LAS DEMÁS SE AHOGARON.

THEY WERE DISCOVERING THE WORLD WITH ALL OF ITS VICIOS AND THEY ADVANCED, THEY ADVANCED, THEY ADVANCED AND IN A BIT THEY WERE HUNGRY. We are hungry. It was already getting dark and now? They got lost. No well we’re going to go back. [...] ‘And us, we can’t do anything and they are going to drown,’ said the pessimist little frogs. No, ‘we’re going to drown.’ THEY DIDN’T FIGHT, THEY DROWNED. Ah but the deaf little frog thought, saw that they were yelling from up above and thought that they were saying to him ‘SAVE YOURSELF, YOU CAN, PUT YOUR ‘ALL’ INTO IT. MAN, FROM HERE WE SUPPORT YOU.’ AND EVERYTHING THAT HE HEARD HE THOUGHT WAS SUPPORT. SHE DIDN’T HEAR THE REPROACHES, SHE SAW THAT WHICH WAS POSITIVE FROM HER PROPER PHYSICAL CONDITION, SO THAT SHE STRUGGLED, STRUGGLED AND STRUGGLED, SHE KICKS WITH RAGE – THE OTHERS ALREADY DROWNED.

Through the telling of this allegoric tale of frogs working together towards progress, here Fernando makes the connection between the importance of *salir adelante* and people helping each other to achieve that goal. Therefore, he sees *salir adelante* as involving a struggle, in general, and then as a subtext her is the idea that as educational workers, *trabajadores de la educación* they will need to work together to achieve mutual goals. Here *salir adelante* and *pro-índigena* are very much intertwined as Fernando seeks to raise these young people’s consciousness. This discussion leads into talk on the big issue

of the independence of indigenous communities from the government and its assistance programs; in the study of local responses to international development this theme is a large one.

Note below the discursive coming together of *salir adelante* within a *pro-indígena* discourse below.

La idea es que nosotros tengamos, veamos las cosas desde un punto positivo. Por eso les decía hace un momento, nosotros tenemos que ser... independientemente de las, de la opinión de los demás, que... vamos por la calle, nos critiquen --que raro- a veces las cosas que hacemos y que no y que no se comparte con los demás, pues eso es lo raro. Ahorita ustedes con su vestimenta que ya no se la ponen los demás, va a parecer raro. Sí. Pero nosotros debemos de seguirnos, seguir un camino, que... nos conduzca a lo que nosotros queramos ser, independientemente de prestar oídos o no, de escuchar como la ranita sorda o entender. Hacer de las cosas malas, convertirlas a cosas buenas. Esa es la idea que queremos que este para ustedes, claro, nosotros este, ustedes son una generación nueva que va a entrar a trabajar, eh durante este ciclo de cuatro meses, cinco meses que vamos a estar juntos aquí. Vamos a tener oportunidad de intercambiar todo este tipo de, pues de pensamientos. Vamos a tener la oportunidad de formarnos una consciencia, o bien, la logramos, o fracasamos.

Pero lo que queremos es eso: que posteriormente ustedes se vayan a trabajar bien conscientes de LA NECESIDAD DE... PUES DE SACAR ADELANTE A NUESTROS, A NUESTRA GENTE INDÍGENA. Puesto que al menos yo - no sé aquí la maestra Carla, que también como Tlaxcalteca, como Mexicana - no sé si comparta la idea esa de que, lo único que nos han hecho es ser dependientes. Lejos dicen: “vamos a ayudar al indígena, y... y no sé... si sea positivo también para ustedes, el hecho de que vamos a ayudar al indígena y lo que estamos haciendo es, este, hacerlo dependiente. Porque... no conozco bien el programa este de PROGRESA, pero dicen mis paisanos: [takes on colloquial tone] “No hombre, hora hay que apurarse a hacer niños, están dando dinero a las que tienen muchos niños.” De veras, es lo que he escuchado allá con mis paisanos. “No hombre,” dice “ahora hay que hacer más niños porque de veras están pagando para los que tengan muchos hijos.”

The idea is that we should have, should see things from a positive point. Because of this I was telling a moment ago, we must be... independent of the, of the opinion of others, that... we go on the street, they criticize us –how strange-[sarcastic] sometimes things tha we do and that and that aren’t shared with others, well that is what’s strange. Right now you all with your clothing that others don’t put on anymore, will seem strange. Yes. But we should follow

along, follow a path, that... directs us to that which we wish to be, independently of lending an ear or not, of listening like the deaf little frog or understanding. To make of bad things, convert them to good things.

That is the idea that we wish to be for you all, of course, we, um, you all are a new generation that will begin to work, eh during this cycle of four months, five months that we are going to be together here. We are going to have the opportunity to exchange all of this type of, well thoughts. We are going to have the opportunity to form ourselves a consciousness, we either achieve it, or we fail.

But what we want is that: that later on you all should go to work very conscious of the need to... WELL THE NEED TO SACAR ADELANTE [TO PULL FORWARD] OUR, OUR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE. Given that at least I – I don't know here about teacher Carla, that also as a Tlaxcalan, as a Mexican – I don't know if she shares that idea that, the only they've done to us is become dependent. Far away they say: "let's help the indigenous person, and... and I don't know... if it would also be positive for you, the fact that we are going to help the indigenous person and what we're doing is, um, making him dependent. Because... I don't know well the program um of PROGRESA [national program], but my countrymen say: [takes on colloquial tone] "No man, now we have to hurry up and make children, they're giving money to those who have a lot of kids." Really, it's what I've heard there with my countrymen. "No man," they say "now it's necessary to make more children because really they're paying for those who have a lot of children."

Carla: *Y me cuentan.* And they count me.

Fernando: *Aja, así dicen. "No!" dice, decía una vez a alguno: "Oye, tu no siembras, este, tu parcela." "¿Para qué voy a sembrar? Hay maíz de CONASUPO." Dice un sacerdote, "esos programas de de PROCAMPO no son de PROCAMPO son de PRO-Cantina." ¿Por qué? Porque aquí reciben, este, los señores su... Procampo, ¿adónde se van?*

Uh huh, that's what they say. "No!" [he/she/it] says, would say once to someone: "Hey, you don't plant, um, your [land]." "Why should I plant? There's corn from CONASUPO [government program]." A priest says, "those programs from from PROCAMPO [pro-countryside] aren't PRO-COUNTRYSIDE they are PRO-CANTINA[bar]." Why? Because here they receive, um, the men their... Pro-countryside, Where do they go?

Participant: *A la cantina.* To the cantina [bar].

Fernando: *A la cantina. A los chamacos que, que les dan una beca, también desde hace varios años, una persona por allí, este, un paisano indígena, que desde hace tiempo me fue a pedir: "Oye préstame dinero. Te voy a dar café. Te voy a dar café." Este, allá se cosecha el café. "Te voy a dar café," dice, "préstame dinero!"*

“Sí, cómo no,” le presté el dinero. Hasta la fecha se fue. Nunca me trajo el café. Una vez me le encuentro y le digo: “Oye que pasó, [takes on a strong colloquial accent] ¿ya ni la muelas?” Si dicen que nosotros, este... ustedes dirían los coyotes. Si nosotros los coyotes debemos de, debemos de amolar al indígena. Le digo, “Ahora tú” El es el que me amoló. Me dice, me dice, en su lengua. Dice: “No te preocupes al otro mes le van a dar su beca a m’hijo, te la traigo.” ¿PARA QUÉ UTILIZAN LAS LOS PROGRAMAS? Para sobrevivir. Pero en realidad, no, no sé como vean ustedes, si esté bien esa política que está [insulventando?] el sistema. ¿Compartimos la idea? ¿Está bien o estará mal? [Pause.] Sí, algún otro programa que conozcan ustedes?

To the cantina. The kids that that are given a scholarship, also several years ago, a person out there, um, an indigenous countryman, who since a while had come to ask of me: “Hey, lend me money. I’m going to give you coffee. I’m going to give you coffee.” Um, there coffee is harvested. “I’m going to give you coffee,” he says, “lend me money!” “Yes, of course,” I lent him the money. Until this day he’s gone. He never brought me the coffee. Once I ran into him and I say: “Hey, give me a break, [takes on a strong colloquial accent] If they say that we, um.. you all would say [coyotes ,Nahuatl word for coyotes= mestizos]. If we the coyotes must, must annoy the indigenous person. I say to him, “Now you” He’s the one who annoyed me. He says to me, he says to me in his language. He says: “Don’t worry next month they’re going to give my son his scholarship, I’ll bring it to you.” FOR WHAT DO THEY USE THE THE PROGRAMS? IN ORDER TO SURVIVE. But in reality, I don’t I don’t know how you all see it, if it’s okay this policy that is [?-ing] the system. Do we share the idea? Is it right, or is it bad? [Pause.] Yes, any other program that you all know of?

Several participants: *Las despensas. Por parte del DIF.*

The dispensations [i.e. foodstuffs]. On the part of the DIF (national social service agency)

Fernando: [...] *Y todo es dinero que les está recaudando de los impuestos. Esa es, la labor que debemos emprender nosotros. Esa es la posición que debemos de adquirir como para pensar: ¿qué es lo que está mal, y qué es lo que podemos corregir? Tal vez sería, será una... tarea pues, titá:nica, no sé gra:::nde. Eno::rme. Y que podamos, y que nosotros mismos nos podamos - pongamos a pensar, “uh no, ¿cuándo lo voy a lograr?” [Pause.] Pero si no lo proponemos.... Al menos nosotros, la esperanza mía, de la maestra, del compañero Juán, es que ustedes se lleven una idea bien amplia de lo que podemos hacer. Ustedes lo van a multiplicar - vamos a utilizar la ley del abanico. Viene de un núcleo, se ramifica, las ramificaciones producen más ramificaciones. Y si esto lo hace, se hace a nivel nacional, creo que hay, en algún momento se tiene que lograr.*

Que nosotros los nuevos maestros, independientemente del nivel en que estemos, seamos como dice el comercial, dice el comercial aquel: “seamos del monte, no del montón.” PORQUE SI VAMOS A SER MAESTROS TENEMOS QUE SER

BUENOS MAESTROS. SI VAMOS A SER, DECÍA LA ESCUELA SUMERJILIANA [SUMMERHILL]: SI VAMOS A SER ALBAÑILES, BUENOS ALBAÑILES. CARPINTEROS, BUENOS CARPINTEROS. SI VAMOS A SER CAMPESINOS, BUENO, EN TOTAL, QUE LA RAMA EN QUE NOS DESEMPEÑEMOS LO HAGAMOS BIEN HECHO. ESO ES LO QUE QUEREMOS. [Pause] ¿Algún comentario? ¿Alguna pregunta...? Alguna inconformidad...? Estamos en plena libertad de... plática, de conversación, mientras vienen los compañeros. Es decir, este... algo por ejemplo que allá en su comunidad no les guste, y que, que este viviéndose. Por ahí vamos a partir. Como vamos a tener la oportunidad de ver en en los folletos que se les va a dar. Vamos a partir de... de nuestro, de lo que nosotros conocemos, de la vida. De lo que nosotros conocemos, del entorno educativo. Por eso les les digo, a ver, ahora viene de allá para acá. ¿Qué han visto ustedes que nos les gusta allá en su escuela, y que creen ustedes que se puede cambiar? [Long pause.]

Cualquier experiencia, no sólo en la escuela. En la comunidad, en la familia, todo todo todo lo que ustedes han vivido.

[...] And all of it is money that they're collecting from you in taxes. That is, the labor that we should undertake ourselves. **That is the position that we should acquire in order to think: What is it that is bad, and what is it that we can do to correct it?** Maybe it would be, it will be a... task then, a titanic one, I don't know bi:::g. Eno::rmous. And that we can, and that we ourselves can set ourselves to think, "uh no, when will I achieve it?" [Pause.] **But if we don't propose this.... at least our, my hope, that of the teacher [female], of the colleague Juán, is that you all carry away a very ample idea of what we can do. You all will multiply it – we are going to use the law of the fan. It comes from a nucleus, it branches out, the branches produce more branches.**

That we the new teachers, independently of the level in which are, we should be like the commercial says, that commercial says: **"Let's be from the countryside [the mountain], not part of the crowd."** BECAUSE IF WE'RE GOING TO BE TEACHERS WE NEED TO BE GOOD TEACHERS. IF WE'RE GOING TO BE, AS THE SUMERHILLIAN SCHOOL¹¹ SAID: IF WE'RE GOING TO BE BUILDERS, [THEN] GOOD BUILDERS. CARPENTERS, [THEN] GOOD CARPENTERS. IF WE'RE GOING TO BE FARMERS, WELL, IN SUM, THAT THE BRANCH IN WHICH WE DEVELOP OURSELVES WE DO IT WELL DONE. THAT IS WHAT WE WANT. [Pause.] Any comment? Any question? Any disagreement...? We're in complete liberty to... converse, of conversation, in the meantime [before] the colleagues arrive.

That is to say, um... something for example that there in your community you don't like, and that, that you are living. From there we will depart. How we will have the opportunity to see [this] in in the pamphlets that I'm going to give you. Our point of departure of.. of our, that which we ourselves know, of life. Of what

¹¹ The Summerhill school was a famous British progressive school in the 1950's and 1960's which produced a book based on their teaching philosophy that has circulated quite a bit in Mexican teachers' high schools and universities (Jane Hill, Elsie Rockwell, Personal Communications).

we ourselves know, of the educational milieu/context. Because of this I will tell you, let's see, now it comes from there to here. What have you seen that you don't like there in your school, and what do you all think can be changed? [Long pause.]

Whichever experience, not only in school. In the community, in the family, all all that you all have lived.

Participant: *Bueno, allá he visto que las personas van a pedir eh ayuda para que les den vivienda, supuestamente para las personas más... necesitadas, las que están de más bajos recursos. Y no cumplen. Porque, nada más les dan a las amistades, aunque no sean de bajos recursos, les dan a las amistades esas viviendas, que realmente no, no lo necesitan mucho.*

Well, there I have seen that people go to ask for eh help so that they [office]gives them, supposedly for the persons that are most... in need, those that are of the lowest [economic] resources. And they don't honor their obligations. Because, they only give their friends, although they aren't of scarce resources, they give to their friends these living [expenses], that actually don't don't need it that much.

Fernando: *O sea que el programa de vivienda no es este... para quién lo necesita.* That is that the livelihood program is not um... for those who need it.

Participant: No.

Fernando: *sino que se adecua... a la política muy a la mexicana de que... prácticamente, es como siempre, el favoritismo clásico de nosotros.* But rather they adapt... to the very Mexican policy that... practically, it's like always, the classic favoritism of ours.

Participant: *Al compadre, a las familias.* To the compadre [ritual kin], to the families.

Participant: *A los parientes.* To the relatives.

Fernando: *[X] Sería bueno que las fueran anotando para que en su momento, en su momento podamos, este, ampliar esos temas en el transcurso del... Anótenlo, por favor.*

[X] It would be good that you go on noting [taking notes] so that in its moment, in its moment we can, um, develop these themes in the duration of the... Take note of it, please.

Fernando here establishes his power over these participants as the main person who will decide who among those who finish the course will obtain a position, one can see him

exercising this when he asks them “¿compartimos la idea?” – “do we share the idea?” despite his requests for the group to offer its opinions and reactions to what he is saying.

In the ensuing conversation, several people begin to respond, and bring up examples of favoritism, local corruption of governmental aid, and conflicts over land tenure. During this time Fernando asks the female participants if he can “tutearlas” – speak to them using the “tú” pronoun. They are still waiting for the two male *aspirantes* to arrive with the materials. During Fernando’ lengthy speeches, and the ensuing talk Carla has been quiet, until she adds her opinion about external over-protection of local communities.

Carla: *Este... yo creo que Uds. estaban hablando de una cosa muy importante – la la la sobre-protección. La sobreprotección que nos han... hemos dado y nos han dado. Entonces es difícil y es con algo que nos vamos a enfrentar y... tratamos nosotros de cambiar mente, empezando con lo que vamos a luchar. Empezábamos por nosotros. Empezando, o sea nuestro [X]. YO CREO QUE SI ES UNA GRAN BATALLA, PERO LA PRINCIPAL BATALLA VA A SER CON NOSOTROS. CAMBIEMOS NOSOTROS ANTES DE CAMBIAR. YO CREO QUE HACIENDO UN CAMBIO EN NOSOTROS, ESTAREMOS AYUDANDO AL MEXICANO. Por un lado, por el otro estaban hablando de la cuestión de la leche, y que este, que porque aquí. Y que, este, o sea está mal distribuido. Pero yo creo que hasta... por un lado algo, que a ustedes va tocar hacerle en su en su en su trabajo, algo con lo que nosotros tenemos que, a lo que tenemos que luchar. Entonces no siempre, no todas las comunidades tienen al alcance un recurso económico para para conseguir la leche. Entonces ¿dónde está el alimento [X] ?*

Yo creo que todo esto ustedes saben, o no sé, alguna de ustedes.... No, no fuimos criados con leche [Participants: Mmmhmm]. Entonces, ¿por qué estamos desconociendo, dándole más importancia a un litro de leche, a un un atole bien preparado. Queda bien por fuera y tiene lo mismo, la misma consistencia y beneficio que la leche, pero siempre... Y es que es un alimento de que estamos estamos olvidando, lo estamos echando hacia... como que ya no sirve, y haciéndonos este... pues de la leche. Claro, nosotros no podemos negarle a las personas de que si quieren tomar leche, sí. No, más que nada, hacerles hacer concientizarlas de, de que debemos reconocer, darles el el el papel que deben tener nuestras [X]

Que está equivocada, de que está equivocada; no he dicho nada.

Carla: Um... I think that you all have been talking about a very important thing – the the the over-protection. Over-protection that we have given ourselves and that has been given to us. So it's difficult and it's with something that we are going to confront and... we try ourselves to change our minds, beginning with what we want to struggle for. We used to begin with ourselves. Beginning, or rather our [X]. I THINK THAT YES IT'S A BIG BATTLE, BUT THE MAIN BATTLE WILL BE WITH OURSELVES. LET'S CHANGE OURSELVES BEFORE WE CHANGE. I THINK THAT MAKING A CHANGE IN OURSELVES, WE WILL BE HELPING THE MEXICAN. On the one hand, on the other they were talking about the question of milk, and that um, that why here. And that, um, it's badly distributed. But I think that until.. on the one hand something, that you all will end up having to do in your in your in your job, something with which we have to, to which we have to fight/struggle. So not always, not all communities have within their reach an economic resource in order to to obtain milk. So, where is the [X]?

I think that all this you all know, or I don't know, some of you... **We weren't weren't raised with milk.**

Participants: Mmmm.

So, why are we not recognizing, giving more importance to a liter of milk, to a well-prepared *atole* [corn gruel beverage]. It remains left out and it has the same, the same consistency and benefit as milk, but always... And it's an [nourishing]food that we are are forgetting, we are throwing it away... what is this that it is not still useful, and making of ourselves um... well of the milk. Of course, we can't negate it to people if they want to drink milk, yes. No, more than anything, to make them, conscious of of that we should recognize, give them the role that they should have our [X] That it's wrong, that it's mistaken; I haven't said anything.

Participants: [Laughter].

“*haciéndonos este... pues de la leche*” [making of ourselves um... well of the milk]

[...]

Participant: *Más que nada vamos a tratar de valorarnos, a darnos valor.*
More than anything let's try to value ourselves, to give us courage/value.

Carla: *Pero el papel, el papel que ocupa el atole, yo creo que no no no no debe cambiarse, no debemos perderlo ni permitir que sea, al contrario trabajar por su existencia. Es diferente.*

But the role, **the role that *atole* occupies I think that it should not not not not be changed, we shouldn't lose it nor permit that it be [lost], on the contrary work for its existence. It's different.**

Participants: [Several people speak at once.]

Carla: *Es parte de la misma, de los mismos cambios que estamos viviendo no, también nos hemos acostumbrado a ser [XXX] [traffic noises]*

It's part of the same, of the same changes that we are living, no, we've also gotten accustomed to be [XXX] [traffic noises]

RECORDING STOPS AND BEGINS AGAIN.

Fernando: *...ver a los indígenas, pero no. Por cuestión de convicción. Que ellos se sienten parte de la cultura mexicana y vienen y nos dicen, "hombre, ¿pero por qué están renegando de su misma cultura, por qué reniegan de su orgullo, por qué reniegan de su lengua?" ¿por qué renegamos de tantas cosas?" Que bueno que Jacqueline está haciendo este estudio del sistema, y ojalá en otra ocasión tenga la oportunidad de conocer a otras personas que... Personas [que podrían ayudar mucho tanto en la formación?] en lo personal, en la formación. En muchas cosas que pues, inclusive [en la zona rural], con los mismos compañeros. Alguna conferencia, pero personas que realmente no vienen por la cuestión de de lucirse sino de por la cuestión de verdad de aportar, y entre ellos tenemos a Jacqueline.*

...to see the indigenous people, but no. Because of their conviction. That they feel part of the Mexican culture and they come and they tell us, "man, but why are you denying [renouncing] your very culture, why are you denying your pride, why are you denying your language?" why do we deny/renounce so many things? How good that Jacqueline is doing this study of the [educational] system, and hopefully on another occasion she has the opportunity to meet other people who... People [who could help a lot as much in the training?] [as] in the personal, in the training. In a lot of things that well, including [in the rural zone?], with our same colleagues. Some conference, but people who don't actually come with the idea of showing off but rather for the matter of really contributing, and among them we have Jacqueline.

When the male participants arrive, Fernando offers the following summary of his previous comments to the group, that they have missed:

Fernando: *Bueno, pues ahora sí ya que estamos completos, éste va a ser nuestro tipo de trabajo. Acérquense un poquito. [Pause.] Ya, ya estuvimos platicando, mientras los los esperábamos, so::bre... la importancia... de... [long pause] sobre la importancia de que, de, de... no sólo de creernos, sino de crecer nosotros mismos.*

Platicábamos con las compañeras de la reacción que despertaríamos, o despertarían con el hecho de ir con el traje que tenían puesto. Que fueran por la

calle. Pues, muchas, muchas ideas, tal vez unos dirían, “estos son miembros de un balet folclórico,” que “son danzantes,” son, este... “ah, mire estos locos.” [Pause.] “Esos cuates están fuera de onda [voice takes on a colloquial quality].” No sé, muchas este conjeturas que se podían hacer.

Pero, este... creo que, en resumen, si nosotros queremos ser trabajadores de educación indígena debemos estar conscientes, de que debemos de prestar oídos sordos [with emphasis] a ese tipos de comentarios. [Pause.] No quiero repetir lo que les dije y les conté, en otra oportunidad lo haremos con ustedes, de un cuento que les platiqué aquí a las... muchachas. Pero que viene más o menos de acuerdo a nuestra... a lo que vamos a tratar.

Antes de dar inicio a la actividad del día de hoy, ya es un poquito tarde... Eh... quiero decirles que vamos a trabajar de la siguiente manera. [Pause] ¿El papel?? No está otro folder por ahí, eh?

Good, well now yes we are complete [as a group], this is going to be our type of work. Come a bit closer. [Pause.] We’ve already already been conversing, while we were waiting for you, about...the importance... of.. [long pause.] about the importance of, of, of.. not only to believe in ourselves, but to ourselves grow.

We were conversing with the colleagues [female] about the reaction that that we would awaken, or that they would awaken with the fact of going with the suit [indigenous clothing] that you have on. If you were to go on the street. Well, many, many ideas, maybe they would say to us, “those are members of a folkloric ballet,” that “they are [native revivalist] dancers,” they are, um... “ah, look at those crazies.” [Pause.] “Those dudes are out of touch [voice takes on a colloquial quality].” I don’t know, many um conjectures that could be made.

But, um...I think that, in sum, if we want to be indigenous education workers [“trabajadores de la educación”] we should be conscious, that we should lend deaf ears [with emphasis] to this type of comment. [Pause.] I don’t want to repeat what I said to you and what I told you about, at another opportunity we will do it with you all, of a tale that I told here to the... gals. But that comes more or less in accordance to our... to what we’re going to deal with.

Before I initiate to the activity for today, it’s already a bit late... Eh... I want to tell you that we are going to work in the following manner. [Pause. Carla asks him a question] The paper? No it’s in another folder there, eh?

Carla: *No. Digo, no. No. I mean, no.*

Fernando: *Sí yo le traje, nada más que este... lo dejé por ahí. Vamos a tener dos sesiones de trabajo. La primera, llegamos a las nueve. Estamos hasta las once y media, a las once y media tenemos media hora de receso. Para poder salir a tomar un refresco, lo que les guste*

Yes I brought it, only that um... I left it somewhere. We’re going to have two work sessions. The first, we arrive at nine. We’re here until eleven thirty, at eleven thirty we have half an hour of recess. To be able to go out and get a soda, whatever you like.

From these speeches we see that Fernando seems to believe change is possible, social change in general, and specifically through education and indigenous educational reform. In other words, *salir adelante* is possible and best achieved through a *pro-indígena* orientation. This *pro-indígena* stance places into question the ambivalence in indigenous areas such as his home town in Veracruz, where his young friend told him “no me hables *eso*” – “don’t speak *that* to me.” In this example the indigenous language Totonaco is not even mentioned, but objectified as a thing not worthy of respect, but of *menosprecio* (under-appreciation). This is an instance where Fernando’s use of reported speech comes at a discursive juncture of great emotional charge, and which helps him make his point to his young audience. Fernando wants to create an identity crisis of sorts for these aspirantes, to cause them to critically question the *menosprecio* stance he assumes that they arrive with.

Reported speech surfaces in many instances in the above data, and is used to illustrate the voices of the *menosprecio* discourse, the voices of denigration that are heard in this local region. In this way these voices are quoted for the purpose of being refuted, and offering an alternative: a *pro-indígena* stance.

Part of the discourse of *salir adelante* is that Mexico’s citizens as a nation, and in Tlaxcala, historically poor indigenous Tlaxcalans must rise to the occasion, work hard, accept their identities and thus move forward. When Fernando says “*lo que sucede con nosotros*” (What happens with us) he is invoking a national discourse in which the nation and local community problem’s are discursively about to be offered up for commentary; this is a sort of formulaic preamble indicating that a talk of *salir adelante* is about to

follow. In this case Fernando began to discuss the National Program that the SEP gives to teachers, one which he credits with trying to Westernize young students. For him Westernization is:

En primaria nos dicen enseñale eso a los niños, nos dan un “Programa.” Pero [he says with emotion] ese programa no está adaptado a la realidad de nuestra gente. [pause] Lo que estamos haciendo es prácticamente occidentalizar. ..., el occidentalismo es la adquisición de nuevos, nuevas costumbres, nuevos conocimientos, pero no, que no están, eh, adecuados a nuestra realidad étnica. Étnica - de nuestra, de nuestra, este, de nuestra tierra, de nuestros... seres. Entonces, nos hemos occidentalizado, que queremos ser como ‘aquellos,’ y queremos dejar de ser como somos. Y lo que se provoca es que ni alcanzamos a ser como ellos, y dejamos de ser lo que somos.

In elementary school they tell us, “teach that to the children,” they give us a “Program.” But [he says with emotion] that program isn’t adapted to the reality of our people. [pause] What we are doing is practically westernizing. ...westernism is the acquisition of new, new customs, new learning, but no, they’re not adequate to our ethnic reality. Ethnic – of our, of our, um of our land, of our... beings. Therefore, we have westernized ourselves, that we want to be like ‘those people over there,’ and we want to stop being as we are. And what this provokes is that we neither manage to be as they are, and we stop being who we are.

Thus, to move forward in education and socioeconomic development what is required is to accept oneself, one’s identity personally and then make sure that national curriculum be adequately adapted to reflect local rather than “western” ways. When Fernando mentions “our ethnic reality” he is invoking a particularly local lexicon, often advanced by the local branch of the national teacher’s college – la *Universidad Pedagógica Nacional*. The identity juxtaposition in this quote, between “us” and “those people over there” is an opposition that I deal with in chapter five. Fernando’s conclusion is that they end up betwixt and between, “nos quedamos en medio, y ahí viene el desequilibrio” (we remain in the middle, and there comes the disequilibrium). This disequilibrium of identity is part of the hybridity that Homi Bhabha (199?) suggests is caused by modern identity mixes,

such as an indigenous identity within the context of a post-colonial Spanish/mestizo identity, and a component of the linguistic ambivalence that Hill & Hill (1986) also noted in Tlaxcala.

The *aspirantes* are in an awkward position as they compete with each other, although there was a Latin American *compañerismo* (camaraderie among colleagues) in the group. Favoritism in hiring was an underlying theme brought up by several speechmakers. The question of who becomes a teacher and why is raised - is it because of a true sense of pedagogic obligation to the young generation, to work on *salir adelante* through schooling; a lot of comments were also made about favoritism in hiring in the past.

As *trabajadores de la educación* (educational workers), public servants from the nation-state's perspective (c.f. Rockwell 1991), and as *profesionistas* (professionals) to their fellow townspeople, worker-teachers both accommodate and resist dominant ideologies in both home/community and school/national contexts. As Fernando puts it to them in this next example that establishes a *pro-indígena* response to the need for *salir adelante*, the goal of teachers, at least for this new generation of teachers, as he sees it, is:

LO QUE QUEREMOS ES ESO: QUE POSTERIORMENTE USTEDES SE VAYAN A TRABAJAR BIEN CONSCIENTES DE LA NECESIDAD DE... PUES DE SACAR ADELANTE A NUESTROS, A NUESTRA GENTE INDÍGENA. PUESTO QUE AL MENOS YO - NO SÉ AQUÍ LA MAESTRA CARLA, QUE TAMBIÉN COMO TLAXCALTECA, COMO MEXICANA - NO SÉ SI COMPARTA LA IDEA ESA DE QUE, LO ÚNICO QUE NOS HAN HECHO ES SER DEPENDIENTES. LEJOS DICEN: "VAMOS A AYUDAR AL INDÍGENA"

(WHAT WE WANT IS THAT: THAT LATER ON YOU ALL SHOULD GO TO WORK VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED TO... WELL THE NEED TO [SACAR ADELANTE] TO MAKE PROSPER OUR, OUR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE. GIVEN THAT AT LEAST I – I DON'T KNOW HERE ABOUT TEACHER CARLA, THAT ALSO AS A TLAXCALAN, AS A MEXICAN – I DON'T KNOW IF SHE SHARES

**THAT IDEA THAT, THE ONLY THEY'VE DONE TO US IS BECOME DEPENDENT.
FAR AWAY THEY SAY: "LET'S HELP THE INDIGENOUS PERSON.)**

These examples of the intertwining of the *salir adelante* and *pro-indígena* discourses places much hope in the work of these teachers for social change, and from within the communities themselves. This discussion leads into a consideration of government programs intended to help rural and indigenous communities. It is interesting that the government programs are criticized explicitly, but the critique of the educational system is far more implicitly stated. Other people discussed PROCAMPA with me, as an example of a more recent government program meant to help rural, land-holding peasants improve productivity on their land that did not exist when he was a young man (see also Sesia-Lewis 2002).

The dialect between structure and agency is at the core of these conversations, in which we see very clearly how much agency there is at the local level, despite the strongest of centralized, universal educational bureaucracies. "*Por eso les digo, a ver, ahora viene de allá para acá*" Fernando says above, "This is why I tell you, let's see, now it comes from there towards here," referring to the creation of curriculum based on local experiences in today's educational world. He invites them to be from the mountain, not of the the crowd, "*seamos del monte, no del montón.*" (See chapter 5 for a full discussion of the symbolic use of the term *monte* as an index of indigenusness equated with "backwardness" in discourses of *menosprecio*.)

Carla's discussion of atole is a fascinating example of cultural change and how it is perceived. *Atole* in Spanish, or *atolli* in Mexicano, is a hot, ground-corn based drink that translates as 'corn gruel.' Atole can be "de masa" (corn meal and water-based), or

“de leche” (corn, or powdered corn and milk based). Carla has chosen this food because atole as well as milk are symbols of cultural identity. As she points out, new customs and norms of nutrition come in along with other, outside cultures into Tlaxcala. She questions which norm dominates in her community, and which one *should* dominate. Atole consumption and type of consumption symbolically marks distinctions between rural and urban, and between indigenous and mestizo; it is a staple in “traditional” areas, and usually served with tamales (*tamalli* in Mexicano) for special festivities such as birthdays or town festivals. I observed a difference between cities and rural areas in Tlaxcala in terms of the degree of use of corn-based atole, versus that made of half-corn and half-milk. As with tortillas, a factory-produced option is available, but less desirable in rural areas where women (and occasionally men) prepare labor-intensive fresh foods. Atole traditionally made by boiling freshly ground corn with water, and in urban areas with milk; atole is also sold in packets of powder. (Maize tortillas are available to be purchased in either machine made, plastic wrapped units, or hand made of recently ground corn). Atole is a lovely example chosen by Carla of a symbol of culture change, because it raises the question of the use of milk and of electricity; without cows or refrigerators milk was not as common a staple until electric refrigerators were in widespread use in the Malinsti area, in the past decade or two (depending on the family). Carla may also be alluding to the fact that governmental nutritional programs have stressed the importance of milk in communities where drinking cow’s milk had not been customary (and where there may be some degree of lactose intolerance).

There are many instances of self-reproach in the preceding data, which I see as a part of a *salir adelante* discourse of being part of a developing nation, trying to come to terms with how the country and its citizens should best proceed; is it through government assistance, education, local control of resources? And what about corruption within the institutional structures? Here Fernando espouses a *pro-indígena* take on all of these issues, in which local communities take control for themselves.

Speech Event #4 – Formal Introductions

The fourth speech event analyzed is the formal small-group introduction of all participants and workshop leaders. This took place on August 20, the day following the discourse analyzed up until this point. The *aspirantes* and three workshop leaders all call upon the discourse of *salir adelante* to explain their reasoning for wanting to take this course, and compete for a teaching post. Fernando picks up the previous day's talk by saying that the development of professional life is part of one's identity (personality):

Fernando: *SE FORTALECE NUESTRA PERSONALIDAD POSTERIORMENTE NUESTRO DESEMPEÑO DE LA VIDA PROFESIONAL. Aunque tenemos las relaciones, las listas de quienes son ustedes, todavía no nos conocemos bien. Tal vez sea necesario iniciar, mientras llega la hora de receso, iniciar con las presentaciones para que nosotros nos conozcamos un poquito más y sepamos como somos, como pensamos, que pretendemos, como decimos, etc, etc.*

Lo que nosotros creemos que nos interese y que en el momento pues creemos sirva como para identificarnos un poquito. Así ¿cómo empezamos, primero las damas o primero los caballeros?

Male participant: *Primero las damas.*

Aquí no se practica la dedocracia, la democracia. Primero las damas. Empezamos por nuestra anfitrióna. Nuestra invitada que nos honra con su presencia, [to JM:] para que te conozcan las compañeras.

OUR PERSONALITY IS MADE STRONGER AFTER FULFILLMENT OF OUR PROFESSIONAL LIFE. Although we have the relationships, the lists of who you all are, we still don't know each other well. Maybe it is necessary to begin, before the recess hour arrives, to begin with the introductions so that we can get to know each

other a bit more and so we know what we are like, how we think, what we intend, how we tell [it], etc. etc.

What we think interests us and that in the moment well that we think will be useful to identify ourselves a little. So, how to we begin, first the ladies or first the gentlemen?

Someone says: First the ladies.

Here we don't practice *dedocracia*¹² [but] democracy. First the ladies. We begin with our hostess. Our guest who honors us with her presence, [to JM:] so that they can get to know you the colleagues.

At this point I introduced myself briefly to the group, explaining that I was a graduate student doing research on the use of Mexicano and on bilingual education, that I lived in Contla, I had begun doing research in 1996, and that I was pleased to be given the opportunity to sit in on their course intermittently with my other school and community research. The *aspirantes* began to go around the room and introduce themselves.

Participant 1: *Yo soy.... Y vengo a participar en este curso indígena. ¿Qué más digo?* [pause]

I am... I come to participate in this indigenous course. What else should I say?[pause]

Fernando: *Eh... A ver, Si me permite, como para que tenga un [X] básico te voy a interrumpir tantito para que lo hagas un poquito más sencillo. Un servidor de ustedes. Como les digo a la juventud. Díganme el Maestro Fernando, con eso. Quiero ser su amigo eh para que haya suficiente confianza de ustedes para mi, y de aquí para allí/allá. Un servidor, el Maestro Fernando, me dicen [nickname]. Soy oriundo del estado de Veracruz, pero por cuestiones escalafonarias llegue aquí a Tlaxcala hace 14 años, llevo 29 años de servicio ya, próximamente me voy a retirar para hacer otras cosas, dejarle el camino a la juventud. Me he desempeñado aquí como Supervisor de Zona de Primarias. Y no sé si todavía lo siga siendo pero estamos en proceso de ver todavía las cosas. ACTUALMENTE, SE NOS COMISIONÓ PARA COORDINAR ESTE CURSO, PARTICIPAR CON USTEDES, Y PODER FORMARSE FORMAR CONSCIENCIA DE DE DE TRABAJO, DE SOLIDARIDAD DE... PARA QUE SALGAMOS ADELANTE. Así que estoy a sus órdenes. [Sigue...] [X] trajo la idea, de donde eres, que estudios tienes, que piensas que vas a hacer. Esa es la idea.*

¹² *Dedocracia* is a Mexican term that replaces the “demo” in the word democracy with “dedo” the word for finger; this term refers to the propensity in Mexicano politics at the national level for choosing political candidates (and sometimes the winners) by naming them through “finger pointing” (*dedazo*) on the part of powerful politicians, rather than voting them into office.

Fernando: Eh, let's see, if you permit me, so that you have a basic [X] I'm going to interrupt a bit so that you do it a little more simply. [I'm] a servant of yours [Routinized speech]. [{I'm} at your service.] As I tell the youth. Call me Teacher Fernando, that's it. I want to be your friend eh so that there is sufficient trust on your part with me, and from here to there. A servant, the Teacher Fernando, they call me [nickname]. I hail from the state of Veracruz, but for hierarchical reasons [promotion] I arrived here in Tlaxcala 14 years ago, I have done 29 years of service already, soon I am going to retire to do other things, to leave the path to the youth. I have carried out [the duty] of Supervisor of the Zone of Primary schools. And I don't know if I still continue to be but we're in the process of still seeing things. AT THE MOMENT, THEY HAVE COMMISSIONED US TO COORDINATE THIS COURSE, TO PARTICIPATE WITH YOU ALL, AND TO BE ABLE TO FORM CONSCIOUSNESS OF OF WORK, OF SOLIDARITY OF... SO THAT WE MAY SALIR ADELANTE [MOVE FORWARD]. So I am here at your service. [Continue...] [X] brought the idea, where are you from, what studies do you have, what do you think you want to do. That's the idea.

Participant 1 (Female): *Yo soy de San Felipe, de Cuahutenco. Mi nombre es [X]. Y vengo, TENGO LA IDEA DE PARTICIPAR EN ESTE CURSO PARA SUPERARME, Y APRENDER DE TODO LO QUE USTEDES NOS ENSEÑAN, PARA QUE YO PUEDA DESEMPEÑARME COMO PROMOTORA O MAESTRO, Y... SEGUIR ADELANTE, SEGUIR SUPERÁNDOME. Mis estudios nada más son de bachillerato.] Sí, pero estoy dispue.... Estoy dispuesta a seguir las normas, las normas que ustedes nos impongan en en este curso.*

I am from San Felipe, from Cuahutenco. My name is [X]. And I come, I HAVE THE IDEA OF PARTICIPATING IN THIS COURSE IN ORDER TO BETTER MYSELF, AND TO LEARN FROM EVERYTHING THAT YOU ALL TEACH US, SO THAT I CAN DEVELOP MYSELF AS A PROMOTER OR TEACHER, AND... SEGUIR ADELANTE

[CONTINUE FORWARD] to continue bettering myself. My studies only are [a] high school [degree]. Yes, but I'm read... I am ready to follow the norms, the norms that you all impose on this course.

Fernando: [name] *para que te identifiquemos, y luego...*
[name] so that we can identify you, and then...

Participant 2 (female): *Yo me llamo [X] y vengo del barrio de La Luz de San Felipe Cuahutenco, y mis estudios nada más son de bachillerato. Y este, DESEO [OÍR?] APRENDER MÁS DE ESTA LENGUA [PAUSE] INDÍGENA PARA TAMBIÉN ASÍ ENTENDERLOS A LOS QUE LA SEPA, Y SEGUIR ADELANTE, EN ESTE PROGRAMA.*

I am named [X] and I come from the neighborhood of La Luz of San Felipe Cuahutenco, and my studies only are [a] high school [degree]. And um, I WISH [TO HEAR?] TO LEARN MORE OF THIS INDIGENOUS [PAUSE] LANGUAGE TO ALSO BE ABLE TO THAT WAY UNDERSTAND THOSE THOSE WHO KNOW IT, AND SEGUIR ADELANTE [CONTINUE FORWARD], IN THIS PROGRAM.

Participant 3 (female): *Este, mi nombre es [X] y también vengo de San Felipe Cuahutenco, y este vengo aquí a participar al al curso o al curso de [X] de Inducción para ADQUIRIR MÁS CONOCIMIENTOS Y PODER TRANSMITIR DESPUÉS A A LOS NIÑOS. Y este... también y este... proponiendo otras este... formas de trabajo, o sea, para que los niños este... tengan interés de aprender, motivarlos... Y también mis estudios nada más son de bachillerato.*

Um, my name is [X] and I also come from San Felipe Cuahutenco, and I COME HERE TO PARTICIPATE IN IN THE COURSE OR THE COURSE OF [X] OF INTRODUCTION TO ACQUIRE MORE KNOWLEDGE AND BE ABLE TO TRANSMIT LATER TO THE CHILDREN. And um... also and um... proposing other um... forms of work, or, so that children um, have an interest in learning, to motivate them... And also my studies are only [a] high school [degree].

Participant 4 (female): *Mi nombre es [X] y vengo de San Isidro Buensuceso y también VENGO CON LA IDEA DE..., LA MISMA DE LOS COMPAÑEROS DE APRENDER MÁS DE UDS., TRATAR DE HABLAR MEJOR EL EL DIALECTO, Y ASÍ PODER [APLICARLO?] A LAS DEMÁS PERSONAS [PAUSE] Y DE SALIR ADELANTE.*

My name is [X] and I come from San Isidro Buensuceso AND I ALSO COME WITH THE IDEA OF..., THE SAME AS THE COLLEAGUES TO LEARN MORE FROM YOU ALL, TO TRY TO SPEAK BETTER THE THE DIALECT, AND TO THAT WAY BE ABLE [TO APPLY IT?] TO OTHER PEOPLE [PAUSE] AND TO SALIR ADELANTE.

Participant 5 (female): *Me llamo [X]... y soy de San Francisco Tetlanohcan. Mi... propósito ES ADEMÁS DEL NÁHUATL Y SEGUIR UN CURSO, SEGUIR ADELANTE Y APRENDER A ENSEÑAR A LOS JÓVENES, A LOS NIÑOS*

My name is [X]... I am from San Francscisco Tetlanohcan. My...goal is APART FROM NAHUATL AND TAKING A COURSE, SEGUIR ADELANTE [TO CONTINUE FORWARD] AND LEARN TO TEACH YOUNG PEOPLE, CHILDREN.

Participant 6 (female): *Mi nombre es [X]. Soy de San Francisco Tetlanohcan del barrio [X]. Este... Puedo decir que tengo, bueno yo tuve la oportunidad de estudiar y tengo la licenciatura aquí en el en el departamento de Sociología y trabajo social en Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala. ESTE, MI TEMA PRINCIPAL ES APRENDER, ESTUDIAR EL NÁHUATL. Yo, este, conozco unas palabras, entiendo unas palabras, pero se me dificulta al [soltarlo?]hablarlo, entonces, este, espero que que [X]*

My name is [X]. I'm from San Francisco Tetlanohcan from the neighborhood of [X]. Um...I can say that I have, well I had the opportunity to study and I have a licenciatura [B.A.+] here in the in the department of Sociology and social work at the Autonomous University of Tlaxcala. UM, MY PRINCIPAL THEME IS TO LEARN, TO STUDY NAHUATL. I, um, know a few words, understand a few words, but it gets hard for me while [uttering?] speaking it, therefore, um, I hope that [X]

Participant 7 (male): *Mi nombre es [X]. Soy de la comunidad de Tetlanohcan, municipio del mismo. El propósito eh... esperar la primera prueba o el examen, y en esta segunda que viene para mí sería... me siento un poco nervioso de hecho, pero les agradezco a mis abuelos que me hayan inducido un poco de Náhuatl, y más que nada, quisiera... tengo la inquietud de poder asimilar más, y rescatar esos valores que hoy en la actualidad, es la lengua prácticamente. Para mí se está deteriorando. El propósito es sacarla a flote.*

My name is [X]. I am from the community of Tetlanohcan, county of the same. The goal eh... to await the first test or exam, and in this second [one] that comes for me will be... I feel a bit nervous in fact, but **I am thankful to my grandparents that they have induced in me a bit of Nahuatl, and more than anything, I wish... I have the uneasiness of wanting to assimilate more, and rescue these values that today in the present time, is the language practically. For me it's deteriorating. The goal is to set it afloat.**

Participant 8 (male): *Mi nombre es [X]. Soy originario de San Francisco Tetlanohcan, del barrio de [X]. Mi... los estudios de preparación que tengo son Preparatoria, y MI PRINCIPAL MOTIVO POR EL CUAL ESTOY ACÁ ES POR LA CONVOCATORIA QUE SALIÓ, y pues, yo lo único, bueno lo único que quiero [X] aquí es aprender más... sobre Náhuatl. ...que, pues a mí me parece interesante. Por desgracia mis padres ya no me [enseñaron? despertaron?] mucho como para... pero, pues estoy en la predisposición de, de aprenderlo.*

My name is [X]. I originate from San Francisco Tetlanohcan, from the neighborhood of [X]. My... the preparatory studies that I have are high school, and MY PRINCIPLE MOTIVATION FOR WHICH I AM HERE IS BECAUSE OF THE CALL FOR JOBS THAT CAME OUT, and well, the only thing, well the only thing that I want [X] here is to learn more... about Nahuatl. ...that, well to me it seems interesting. By misfortune my parents already didn't [teach? awaken in?] me much in order to... but, well I am with the predisposition of, of learning it.

Carla: *Soy del municipio de del municipio de Juan Cuamatzi, de Contla, del cual me siento muy orgullosa de haber nacido allí. Y si tuviera la oportunidad de volver a nacer y me preguntaran donde quiero nacer: en el mismo lugar y con la misma gente. Bueno...este mmmm. Ustedes decían que quieren aprender, pero pues más que aprender vamos aquí a intercambiar lo poquito [sepamos?]. Que en mi caso lo poco que yo sepa, con mucho gusto lo pongo al alcance de ustedes, y... espero ser más que... conductora, ser su compañera de... de este curso. Que no nos veamos como que la persona allá entre nosotros, que venimos a aprender acá, no. Todos somos un grupo por igual. mmmm... tengo 15 años en el servicio, del cual*
(0)

I am from the county of from the county of Juan Cuamatzi, from Contla, **of which I feel very proud to have been born there.** And if I had the opportunity of being re-born and they asked me where I want to be born: in the same place with the same people. Well...um...mmmm. You all said that you want to learn, but well

more than learn we're going to here to exchange the little [that we know?]. Which in my case the little that I know, with much pleasure I put it within your reach, and... I hope to be more than.. leader, to be your colleague of... of this course. Let's not see each other like the person over there among us, that comes to learn here, no. We are all a group on equal [terms]. mmmm... I have 15 years [experience] in the service, of which (0)

Fernando: *¡Yo les invito al pastel!*
I'll invite you all for the cake!

[laughter]

Carla: *la verdad sí, me apasiona. Yo sí soy una... **Me apasiona el estar en la educación indígena**, lo que no me gusta es trabajar, pero bueno. [laughter] Este... y pues les digo con toda confianza, si algo, en algo podemos servirles aparte de lo del, lo del curso, con muchísimo gusto, y me pueden llamar únicamente Carla, y háblenme de tú por favor. A mi me gusta ser sincera, me gusta mucho este... para aprender rápido me gusta mucho el relajo, este... me gustan mucho las bromas, y pues espero que no no molestarlos a ustedes, por que de repente, a lo mejor me paso de la raya, pero no lo hago con la intención de molestarlos, sino que pues [un ponerlo] un poquito de alegría en el momento. Esa es mi intención.*

The truth is yes, I am passionate about it. I yes am a... **I am passionate about being in indigenous education**, what I don't like is to work, but okay. [laughter] Um... and well I tell you with complete trust, that if something, with something we can serve you apart from the, the course, with much pleasure, and you can call just Carla, and call me with "tú" please. I like to be sincere, I like a lot um... to be able to learn quickly I like *relajo* [joking/goofing] around, um... I like jokes a lot, and well I hope that I won't annoy you all, because, sometimes, maybe I cross the line, but I don't do it with the intention of bothering you, just that well [a to put] a bit of happiness in the moment. That is my intention.

Juán: *Bien, un servidor, este... Juán, muy conocido por [X]. **Originario muy orgullosamente de San Isidro Buensuceso. Somos hablantes de la lengua Náhuatl. Tenemos 18 años de servicio, en el Subsistema de Educación Indígena, en la cual ahorita estoy laborando como Director de la Escuela de [X], de allá de San Isidro, es pre-escolar. Tengo la normal pre-escolar y estamos en la mejor disposición de colaborar con ustedes. Nos dieron la comisión, y al mismo tiempo también tenemos la comisión de la elaboración del libro Náhuatl; entonces estamos en la mejor disposición de estar con ustedes y, y pues esa es nuestra comisión de de seguir rescatando más nuestra cultura indígena, y, lógicamente, el respeto mucho a nuestra lengua materna: el Náhuatl. Entonces ese es mi trabajo, mi deber, en este Subsistema de Educación Indígena. Quiero desearles que pues sean bienvenidos todos y de lo mejor.... ADELANTE.***

Good, a servant [routinized: I am your servant], um... **Juán, better known as [X]. Hailing very proudly from San Isidro Buensuceso. We are speakers of the Nahuatl language.** We [I] have 18 years of service, in the Subsystem of Indigenous Education, within which I am now laboring as Director of the school [X], from there of San Isidro, it is [a] pre-school. I have the *Normal* [teachers' 5 year high school] in pre-school and we are in the best disposition to collaborate with you all. They gave us the commission, at the same time we also have the commission to elaborate the Nahuatl [text]book; **so we are [I am] in the best disposition to be with you all and, and well that is our commission of of continuing to rescue more our indigenous culture, and, logically, the respect to our mother tongue: Nahuatl.** Therefore that is my work, my duty/obligation, in this Subsystem of Indigenous Education. I want to wish you that well you are all very welcome all of you and [we wish you] the best.... *ADELANTE [FORWARD]*.

Fernando: *Muy bien [X,X,X,X, says names of several participants], a ver a ver - déjame acordarme, no pues, no... [laughter] [X,X,X,X] Bienvenidos.* Very good [X,X,X,X, says names of several participants], let's see let's see – let me remember, no well, no... [laughter] [X,X,X,X] Welcome.

Participants: [low] *Gracias*
[low] Thank you.

Fernando: *Quiero eh... aprender un poquito en lo que decían de que vienen a aprender. No. No, vienen a aprender. Vienen a compartir con nosotros sus experiencias. Aunque ustedes piensen, “¿Bueno, qué experiencias puedo tener yo si nunca he trabajado?” No, no, no. Ustedes vienen a decirnos sus experiencias acá; lo que ustedes saben, sobre lo que han observado, para que ustedes nos despierten el -¿Cómo diríamos? el tema. Y entonces lo abordamos, y vamos a tratarlo juntos. No se trata de que... llegue el maestro Juán, y se trae su montón así [¿] de libros. Y, a ver, vamos a tocar este tema.*

Por ejemplo, inicialmente confieso con la Maestra Carla de que estábamos iéndonos por ese lado. Consultamos una serie de libros, enciclopedias y esto y esto les vamos a dar a los jóvenes. Cuando, creo que estuvimos dándonos cuenta estábamos equivocados. Ya analizando bien los documentos, nos damos cuenta de que, ¡no! Se trata de que ustedes vienen a trabajar aquí con nosotros para que ustedes, su propia concepción, sea la que... la que desarrollemos.

¿Qué es lo que entienden por... ser trabajador... ser este... trabajador de educación indígena?, ¿cómo quieren ser? ¿cuándo lo van a hacer? ¿En qué forma escoger [?]? Eso es lo que vamos a tratar durante un periodo, un periodo regular de aquí a diciembre.

Vamos a a, vamos a salir a [receso?]. [X] Les diré. Vamos a estar aquí 10 días trabajando. Por las tardes haremos investigaciones. No quisimos estar de mañana y tarde con ustedes. No, porque en la tarde irán a hacer algunas investigaciones sobre las dudas que queden este, acá. Nosotros no somos lo

'sabelotodo.' Oh, [mocking tone] 'que el maestro Fernando como ya esta viejo, ya tiene 29 años de servicio, no 15.' ¿Sí?

I want to eh... to learn a little bit of what you said you come to learn. No. No, you aren't coming to learn. You come to share with us your experiences. Although you all think, "Well, what experiences can I have if I have never worked?" No, no, no. You all come to tell us your experiences here; that which you know, about what you have observed, so that you can awaken for us the... How would we say it? the theme. And then we take it up, and we are going to deal with it together. It isn't a question of... the teacher Juan arrives, and he brings his big pile like this [X] of books. And, let's see we're going to touch on this theme.

For example, initially I confess to teacher Carla that we were heading in that direction. We consulted a series of books, encyclopedias, and this and this let's give to the young people. When, I think we had been realizing that we were wrong. Analyzing well the documents, we realized that, no! It's a question of you all coming to work here with us so that *you all*, your own conception, be the one that... that we develop.

What is it that you understand by... to be a worker... to be um... an indigenous education worker? [trabajador de la educación indígena] How do you want to be? when are you going to do it? [X] I will tell you. We are going to be here ten days working. In the afternoons we'll do research. We didn't want to be morning and afternoon with you all. No, because in the afternoons you will go to do some research on the doubts that remain um, here. We aren't the 'know-it-alls.' Oh, [mocking tone] 'the teacher Fernando since he's already old, he already has had 29 years of service, not 15.' Yes?

Participants: [laughter and overlapping comments]

Note the way that both Fernando and Carla claim and deny authority in this way; there is a constant dialectic between the workshop being open-ended and participant-centered in form, when actually a very strict *pro-indígena* agenda and approach to education is being promoted.

Fernando: *No, no, no. Tal vez yo si pudiera decirles: "No, es que tú te vas a ir a trabajar así y así y así y así y así." Pero vas, van a ir a cometer los mismos errores que yo cometí. ¿Sí? Van a ir con una personalidad no propia, sino que con la mía. Y no se trata de eso. Es una nueva generación y esa generación tiene que ir mejor que la que la que yo represento. Pues que dicen que, nosotros somos, somos herederos de... toda una la:rga fila de conocimientos. Pero ustedes van a tener más porque van a vivir todavía después. Entonces de eso se trata.*

Eh, vamos a salir a nuestro receso, espero que tengamos la misma hora 11:32. -Cuarto para las 12! [laughter] [low comments]

A las 12:00 nos vemos aquí nuevamente. Vamos a repartir los materiales, a ver dónde.. para saber de que manera lo hacemos porque faltan unos—eh, no están completos así que vamos a ver, como como nos organizamos. Nada más tenemos seis juegos, y somos ocho. Así que pues, los esperamos a las 12:00, por favor. ...[y] vamos a hacer reparto de materiales, revisión, organizacion, todo.

No, no, no. Maybe yes I could say to you: “No, it’s that you are going to go to work in this way, and this way and this way and this way and this way.” But you go, you all will go and make the same mistakes that I made. Yes? You all will go with a personality that is not yours, but rather mine. And that’s not in question. It’s a new generation and that generation has to go better than that one that one which I represent. Well they say that, we are, we are heirs to... a whole *lo:ng* line of knowledge. But you all are going to have *more* because you are going to live even later. So that is what’s in question.

Eh, we’re going to go out to our recess, I hope that yo have the same time 11:32. –Quarter to 12! [laughter] [low comments]

At 12:00 we’ll see each other here again. We’re going to pass out the materials, let’s see where.. to know in which way we do it because we’re missing some – eh, they aren’t complete so that we’re going to see, how how we organize ourselves. We only have six sets, and we are eight. So that well, we await you at 12:00, please. ...[and] we’re going to talk about materials, going over, organizing, everything.

The discourse of *salir adelante* is invoked by all participants, after Fernando has modeled an introduction for the participants. Some of the themes brought up by the *aspirantes* that are related to *salir adelante* in their introductions are “superarme” (to better myself), “desempeñarme” (to fulfill myself), and to improve their language skills. Discussion of language included participants saying they wanting to learn the language better to understand speakers, and to learn the *dialect* better. The *aspirante* who says that she knows a few words of Nahuatl but has difficulty pronouncing or uttering it is verbalizing a feeling that is widespread among many, but not all, speakers in their 20’s in Mexicano parts of Tlaxcala. This is the level of linguistic knowledge that Flores Farfán (1999) has discussed as a passive knowledge of the indigenous language that might still be revitalized with greater ease.

Pride in local identities is evident in Carla's introduction, as well as in the introductions by the two aspirantes who mentioned their families, one that thanks his grandparents for having taught him some Nahuatl, and another who speaker of the disgrace that his parents did not teach him the language. Juán in his introductory speech clearly states that he is a speaker of Nahuatl – he is the only one to make such a statement, and he is the one charged with the linguistic aspect of the course. From my observations, being from San Isidro Juán holds symbolic capital of having the strongest indigenous roots and capacities, within the worldview of this small group; he is also working on one of the two attempts to write the official Nahuatl textbook for the state (as the neighboring state of Puebla has already done).¹³

The importance of individual input about the *aspirantes* communities is raised here, as Fernando says “you are coming here to share your experiences with us.” These experiences, rather than the books that he and Carla consulted will form the basis of the course. He asks them to consider what it means to be a *trabajador de la educación*, and to realize that their knowledge is part of a heritage that constitutes a long lineage of knowledge.

THREE DISCOURSES

Most of the important issues related to the ideological multiplicity of language, identity, and modernity in Tlaxcala I want to raise in this dissertation come up in these transcriptions of the speech events, the official introduction to the introduction to teaching course. Fernando's passionate speeches are designed to instigate his

¹³ Note that there is only one textbook, and at least three dialects are spoken in Puebla.

interlocutors, the aspirantes, to begin social change from the bottom up, through their work as teachers in their communities, but are also designed to set up criteria for the ultimate successful placement of only 2-3 *aspirantes* in teaching posts.

The three discourses surface in Fernando speeches, and in the others' reactions to his speech as well. From his speech, it is clear that the formation of teachers is a very political issue for Fernando, one which connects to *salir adelante*, moving away from corruption, and changing the "cultural flow" towards *menosprecio* in favor of movement towards a *pro-indígena* stance. The four identities that are invoked here are a pan-indigenous, a Tlaxcalan, a Mexican, and a teacher identity. All four have been described and connected to issues of language and progress. In Tlaxcalan communities teachers serve as role models, hope-givers and, in the course leaders' view, *pro-indígena* lesson givers, all in the name of national service. At the end, Fernando provides an implicit critique of texts as not being congruent with the local, lived reality of indigenous people from communities different than the ones depicted in the books, often part of the government's "Great Plan" for education.

The many symbols of indigenusness that are being deployed in this discourse, and in others that I observed, serve to index certain identities. They can be useful for people who try to orient either *towards* or *away from* a particular identity, a point which the leaders are very aware. Symbols of the nation-state such as the flag, national and state anthems and homage to the flag ceremony are an integral part of schooling. Performances of these rituals in both Spanish and Mexicano show that the two languages themselves are used as identity symbols. Fernando wants his new teacher-trainees to

physically embody a strongly marked indigenous identity through wearing traditional clothing, which is possible because this clothing is a readily available and locally understandable symbol. However, none of the workshop leaders don this attire for this occasion.

Like Fernando, the Secretaria de Educación Pública (SEP) is aware of a certain need for improved student self-esteem, or the promotion of positive self-image in Mexico's native communities, but they have packaged this. The result is a packet of materials distributed to all schools under the sub-system of national indigenous education (DGEI, *Dirección General de Educación Indígena*). While this action shows recognition of indigenous community self-*menosprecio*, this becomes a top-down attempt to universalize the experiences of Mexico's indigenous communities without any real relevance to geographically diverse local communities, and also assumes a homogeneous Pan-indigenous identity, which does not exist in Mexico. The fact that the leader of this workshop is such an adamant proponent of a *pro-indígena* orientation and ideological stance makes him a likely choice for this workshop by the local indigenous education officials (see Chapter 6 on the politics of bilingual education). There is no contending the dominance of the *pro-indígena* discourse in these speeches.

CONVERSATIONAL STYLE AND ORATORY

There is a certain marked lexicon used by many teachers in the indigenous sub-system. Each of these is indexical of a particularly local context. The term "lengua indígena" (indigenous language) is used by many teachers and educational bureaucrats in Tlaxcala. The teacher training and professional development texts that come from the

DGEI all use this term, because it is meant to encompass all Mexican indigenous languages. In Fernando's case, this usage allows him to draw a parallel between his own experiences as a speaker of the Totonaco language (in his community in the neighboring state of Veracruz), to the experiences of the members of the Mexicano and Otomí communities with whom he works. A related term "zona indígena" (indigenous zone or sector) is used by government organizations such as the SEP to refer to indigenous portions of Mexico; it is a term that tends towards the idea of geographic isolation. The use of "étnia" (ethnic [group]) as discussed above, is another term that forms part of this lexicon.

As I have mentioned above, Fernando's anecdotes are replete with reported speech, in most instances showing the emotion of an important event; I have indicated these by the use of quotation marks in the text.

The linguistic style of the discourse is one that is marked by varying degrees of formality. The most formal register marks the tone of the first set of official inaugural speeches, and then the register becomes more relaxed when the participants are together in their small group. In speech event #4, during the second day's formal introductions, the talk is characterized by a medium level of formality. Joking conversation appears at various points in the more informal parts of this discourse.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As far as the outcome of the *aspirantes* course, the bureaucratic powers of the indigenous educational office made the final choice. In the end, one of the participants chosen was not a fluent speaker of Nahuatl, pointing to the conflicting nature of the

ideologies here; the leaders had emphasized the importance of language, and spoke of the importance of leaving favoritism aside in this competition, but when all was said and done they did not choose all the finalists according to language skills.

I plan to interview the *aspirantes* in the future. On subsequent trips to Tlaxcala I have run into two of the participants, who seemed very open to talking about their experiences with the course.

A focus on the analysis of subjectivities of local people - of teachers, students and communities who make up the daily fabric of life in rural Tlaxcalan schools will open up possibilities for both understanding the ethnographic reality of schools with an eye toward the goal of heritage language teaching, and an illustration of the type of counter-hegemonic relationship that Williams saw as possible between subjects and nation-state ideological institutions. A particular focus on the teachers is fruitful because they are the ones who do the negotiating of Tlaxcalan ideological multiplicity. This focus on ideological multiplicity and teachers' negotiation focuses the analysis on agents, and not primarily on schools as such, a theme I develop further in Chapter six. The locus of analysis needs to be the agents whose ideologies, interests, and labor move through institutions as they maneuver through their communities in the work of daily life.

The analysis of discourse allows us to see how multiple ideologies of language, identity and progress are called upon by speakers in particular positions to meta-discursively interact with each other. The ideological stances and discourses of *menosprecio* and *pro-índigena* have surfaced here in relation to each other, as responses to *salir adelante* – progress for rural, indigenous communities, through education.

In the next chapter I will focus specifically on ideologies of language in San Bernardino Contla, and San Isidro Buensuceso.

4. LANGUAGE USE AND LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I showed how the Aspirantes (aspiring teachers) and course leaders espouse an ideology in which Mexicano is something to be valued, at the same time that the workshop participants agreed that the prevailing local attitude towards the use of the Mexicano language at the present is one of *menosprecio*, or *desprecio*. For this reason the leaders of this teaching workshop opted for a *pro-indígena* stance.

In this chapter I will describe the various domains of uses of Mexicano and Spanish in Tlaxcala, and illustrate the multiple linguistic ideologies that I encountered in the Malintsi region through individuals' discourses from interview data. There is a diversity of opinions (both implicitly and explicitly expressed) on the appropriateness of language use in the Mexicano regions of Tlaxcala; even within one individual's speech there is multiplicity, a "simultaneity of experience" (see chapter 1). As part of my goal to describe the organization of ideological multiplicity in this speech community, I have attempted to pull apart the complex strands of thought and practice that are woven together to comprise this diversity. I will introduce themes as they surface in the data, then explicitly discuss them after the presentation of data, organized through the perspectives of individual speakers and their families. This major part of the chapter will include sociolinguistic and ideological case-studies, describing a number of individuals' language use, and their ideologies of language, along with analysis. The speakers whose words and experiences I share with my readers below were chosen because their experiences are either representative of others' opinions – somehow common to the

community – and in some cases unique, but in all cases they are particularly articulate and insightful descriptions of the life experience of being a speaker of Mexicano and Spanish, and/or a member of a family in which Mexicano is present, in the Malinche region of Tlaxcala at the end of the twentieth century.

LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY

In the last chapter I wrote of *pro-indígena* and *menosprecio* orientations as two approaches to *salir adelante* that surface and are negotiated in discourse. This chapter focuses on ideologies of language as intertwined with related themes of identity and indigenous, Mexicano-ness, or Tlaxcalteca-ness and, always, as they are connected to questions of economics.

At the intersection of language and identity is where people constantly shift and rework their view of their lives as Tlaxcaltecs, as residents of the regions of Contla and San Isidro, remembering their past, with the ever present socioeconomic *luchas* (struggles) and as they imagine their futures and how they wish them to be. This intersection of language and identity (both ideologies and spoken) rushes to the surface in the discourse below.

Key to this analysis is a view of language, identity and ideology as fundamentally interconnected. In this way my work builds on Gal and Irvine's research on semiotic processes in linguistic ideology. The ideas that Gal & Irvine have jointly developed offer a focus on linguistic differentiation that helps us to understand the interconnectedness of boundaries between speakers of various varieties, their identities and ideologies.

Consider for instance:

As part of everyday behavior, the use of a linguistic form can become a pointer to (index of) the social identities and the typical activities of speakers. But speakers (and hearers) often notice, rationalize, and justify such linguistic indices, thereby creating linguistic ideologies that purport to explain the source and meaning of the linguistic differences. (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37)

This conceptualization helps advance the idea of seeing ideologies of language as emergent through the well-recognized link between language and identity, breaking down dichotomies between the Social and Linguistic, and encouraging the analysis of related articulations of local, nation-state and global processes. In particular, the concept of fractal recursivity is very important in a study of social differentiation that in so many communities of the world is marked linguistically; in the next chapter (chapter five) I will focus attention on this. I find Gal and Irvine's work particularly instructive because the analysis of levels of implicitness and explicitness of language ideologies is encouraged (cf. Philips 1998b), and the ideological perspectives of both native speakers and scholars are on equal ground. I have found that metapragmatic commentary about whole languages is very common in multilingual societies (Messing 2002b); There is the idea that one must make sense of the sociolinguistic diversity, on the individual, family, and community levels, as well as nationally.

Language, identity and ideology are connected in the Malintsi region in ways related to speakers' experiences with racism, surfacing through discourses of *menosprecio*. To understand how these negative experiences ultimately affect language use and ideology, through identity we must focus attention on what González (1992, 2001) has called "the emotion of minority status:"

Because of a history of economic deprivation and second class citizenship, the child is a receptacle for a greater number of ambivalent messages from

a greater number of caregivers. The filtering out process becomes exponentially complex...the process of the construction of self through the exploration of affective parameters, is not only an internal, psychobiological endeavor, but an external historically constituted, and particularistic process. (González 1992:145-146)

This description will help us understand the ideologically multiple perspectives of some of the people whose voices are heard in this chapter.

PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE

The Mexican census for the years 1990 and 1995 found that in Tlaxcala between twenty-three and twenty-seven percent of the state population over age five are speakers of an indigenous language (INEGI 1997). Of these “speakers,” ninety-two percent are in Nahuatl-speaking communities, three percent Otomí and just under three percent Totonaco. Other languages represented by a small number of speakers (less than one percent) include Zapotec, Mixtec, Mazatec and Maya (no dialects are specified), and a category “other.” Of interest to this study in particular, are the data that list the eleven municipal counties in Tlaxcala that have a significant percentage of people in the census category of “speakers of indigenous language.” The top three counties are as follows:

San Pablo del Monte (where San Isidro is located)	35.83%
Contla	18.73%
Santa Ana Chiautempan (nearest county to Contla)	6.97%
(INEGI 1997:21)	

These numbers, showing the percentage of those who are designated as speakers of an indigenous language by the government, according to their place of residence, corroborate the locally held belief that there are more speakers in the San Pablo and San

Isidro region. I also suggest that public officials asking questions about indigenous language use in Contla will not be given complete responses, due to the widespread local reticence of admitting linguistic competence. Nutini and Isaac (1974:295) points out the difficulties in calculating the number of indigenous language speakers, and that the census data for 1960 reported only 50% of the indigenous language speakers, as compared with their own findings from research among Puebla-Tlaxcala Nahuatl speakers.

MEXICANO LANGUAGE USE IN CONTLA

There are various factors that influence the use of Mexicano in Contla, in day to day speech. These are variable and dependent on the context. However, there is a greater likelihood that one will hear Mexicano in private, intimate contexts, where there is a great degree of trust (*confianza*). Such contexts include families, fictive kin relationships (*compadres*), and in some cases, religious sodality (*cofradía*) meetings. In some of the smaller towns on the Malintzi in the Contla county, such as San Felipe Cuahutenco and Ocotlan they have a tradition of having town meetings in which the male head of household, and very occasionally the female head of household attend town meetings; these meetings take place in both languages. With the exception of these sites, the language of meetings in public – outside of people’s homes - is most often in Spanish. Communication with or among older members of the community can often be in Mexicano, if interlocutors know each other well. Sometimes Contla residents will use Mexicano with people who hail from the state of Puebla and are Mexicano-dominant speakers.

In the bilingual school system Mexicano conversations take place occasionally among individuals, however no “official” conversations are held in Mexicano; speakers use Spanish to communicate and Mexicano plays primarily a symbolic role (which is discussed further in chapter 6).

In addition to the requirement that the communicative context be one of *confianza* (mutual trust), it is also a question of habit where certain speakers have the custom of speaking together in Mexicano. A speaker must be certain that his/her interlocutor understands Mexicano, which is a very individual and subjective decision. There is a great tendency for speakers to be of the same generation; It is quite notable that cross-generational communication in Mexicano takes place in very restricted contexts, for instance, usually a Mexicano dominant grandparent with a younger relative.

Finally, the ideological stance or orientation to which an individual or family may subscribe, whether it is *pro-indígena* or *menosprecio*, or a combination of the two affects language use. See Illustration 2 for a summary of factors influencing the use of Mexicano in Contla.

Private/Intimate contexts favored
Linguistic security of speaker
Interlocutors in speech context <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There must be sufficient <i>confianza</i> (trust) • Habitualness of Mexicano usage favored • Knowledge <i>or perceived</i> knowledge of M
Endogamy vs. Exogamy
Intra-generational vs. intra-generational
Family & Individual Orientation (<i>Menosprecio</i> or <i>Pro-Índigena</i>)

Illustration 2. Factors influencing the use of Mexicano in Contla.

IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE

As I lived in Tlaxcala, and then later, as I began analyzing the data collected for this dissertation, the ideas of *ideology* and *practice* seemed very separate to me for a long time.¹ How else could I understand and explain Contla residents' explicit statements that a) they are not good speakers of Mexicano, and b) very few speakers still remain, when my observations showed otherwise. First, I could understand that some people, having possibly suffered great discrimination, would not want to admit knowledge of the language, because they did not want to fly the flag of indigenous identity, at least to an outsider. But why would a teacher at an indigenous bilingual school, who espoused a

¹ I thank Susan Philips, and Karen Coelho for many helpful conversations regarding ideologies and practices. I thank Jane Hill for our instructive conversations on the topic of ambivalence in linguistic ideology in the Mexicano regions.

clearly proclaimed *pro-indígena* stance, who spent hours organizing workshops for her fellow teachers to produce curriculum in Mexicano, why would this individual then not speak Mexicano to her children? It seemed that ideology and practice were irreconcilable, until I began to see the multiple ideologies *inherent* in the practices, as well as the explicitly verbalized ideologies. Ideology and practice must be seen as inextricably linked, and in the discourse excerpts that follow below, the reader will experience the ideological multiplicity that surfaces therein.

About the patterns of use of Mexicano and Spanish in Tlaxcala, Hill and Hill say: “There are many ambivalences and complexities of this differentiation” (1986:104). Contradictions such as I have just described are inherent in the ideologically multiple sociolinguistic situation that I describe in this chapter.

LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGY AS A FIELD OF INQUIRY

In Tlaxcala, multiple ideologies of language mediate the heteroglossia. These language ideologies serve as explanatory models and are an important part of the process of language socialization in multilingual societies in general, teaching children to make sense of the linguistic pluralism in the world in which they live (Messing 2002). Ideologies of language use are most salient in multilingual societies where metapragmatic commentary (Silverstein 1979, 1981) and *ideologizing* in language use (Philips 2000, 2000) abounds. The analysis of “naturally occurring” and elicited recorded speech (both conversation and narrative) offers great insight into ideological diversity; ideologies are formed, played out, and also contested in and through actual language use (Hill 1995, Philips 2000, 1998a, 1998b, Schieffelin et.al. 1998). My perspective is that the analysis

of micro-level speech practices should not be separated out from macro-level concerns, but rather each informs the other (Giddens 1984).

Language ideologies are ideas about languages and talk, often expressed in talk about talk produced by speakers in particular interested positions, and can be seen by some scholars as linking language with social structure (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). Linguistic ideology has been defined by Irvine (1989:255) as “the cultural...system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests.” Woolard’s (1989) study of Catalan language attitudes combined a political and historical perspective with research on language attitudes, led to the development of an explicit language ideology concept (Woolard 1992). This field of inquiry highlights the historical and political dimensions of language use, especially the official discourses of nation-state apparatuses. The surge of recent interest in ideology for linguistic anthropologists represents a move from a more socio-psychological study of “language attitudes” in diglossic communities (where languages of differing “prestige” are spoken)² to “ideologies of language.” The shift to studying “ideology,” by nature of the term itself, implies attention to the historical, political, and economic factors that shape power in social life (cf. Philips 1999). As anthropologists we need to look at these issues in terms of *power*, rather than *prestige*. Attention to power problematizes the notion of linguistic status by requiring that one look at the social context of the hierarchies of linguistic forms, and their uses in these specific historical contexts. Unlike

² Ferguson developed the concept of diglossia, which was later extended by Gumperz (cf. Ferguson, Charles (1959) “Diglossia” *Word*, XV: 325-340; Fishman, Joshua (1975) *Sociolinguistics - A brief introduction*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers).

conceptualizations of “language attitudes,” a focus on ideology calls attention to varying dimensions of power and identity in communities, and offers an alternative to a static, apolitical sociolinguistic view of diglossia as governed by *status* differences; it is important to see language use in actual practice as connected to, and governed by ideologies of language.

IMPLICITNESS OF LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Philips (1995) has pointed out that many researchers, in their writing on the content of the ideologies, view language ideologies as implicit; therefore the researchers see themselves as fulfilling the role of providing metapragmatic analysis by elucidating these ideologies to their readers. However, little attention is paid to speakers’ “process of ideologizing in language use” (Ibid:28), which directs attention to the metapragmatic dimension, and its relation to the pragmatic. Philips suggests that metapragmatic analysis does have a lot in common with speech practice and interpretation by native speakers, showing that there is “theory in [language] use” (Philips 1991:372). An emphasis on native speaker meta-pragmatic analysis highlights the “multisidedness” of language ideologies, in which they are a site of language use and, very often, a site in which metapragmatic commentary takes place (Philips 1998b). Attending to multisidedness addresses the implicit and explicit dimensions of these ideologies, and can be achieved through a methodological commitment to looking at linguistic structure and practice as integrated. A focus on language use sheds light on the contexts in which linguistic ideologies are socially produced, and in which they surface for native speaker

commentary.⁴

PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

A SYNCRETIC WAY OF SPEAKING

Jane Hill and Kenneth Hill's joint and individual work based on a decade of sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological research in the Malintsi region of the states of Puebla and Tlaxcala, including a part of the San Bernardino Contla county, is very extensive and relevant to this study (cf. Hill & Hill 1986, 1999, J. Hill 1985, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1998, K. Hill 1985). The book "Speaking Mexicano" (Hill & Hill 1986), translated as "Hablando Mexicano" (Hill & Hill 1999) is considered the most extensive ethnolinguistic study of an indigenous community in Mexico. This study includes thorough ethnographic background on Mexicano communities along the skirts of the Malintsi, along with linguistic and sociolinguistic descriptions of Mexicano language usage, including discussion of code-switching, the social implications of language choice, integration of Spanish loan words through syntactic convergence and the process of language shift and loss.

Much of Hill and Hill's analysis holds true today. I will here highlight some of the most relevant points to my own work. Hill and Hill make the case that speakers in the Malintsi region have survived years of cultural and political infiltrations by integrating elements of Spanish into their Mexicano speech. They describe Mexicano as

⁴ An important issue to note here, with regard to my data collection of speech indicating implicit linguistic ideologies is that my analysis is informed more by analysis of speech in Spanish than speech in Mexicano, for the practical reason that at the moment my linguistic skills are stronger in Spanish than in Mexicano. Studying the implicitness of ideologies from an analysis of discourse in Mexicano is a future goal.

syncretic speech (which is an alternative to some views of "mixed languages") reflecting and honoring the linguistic purism the researchers found in these communities. The syncretic Mexicano included Spanish loan words and grammatical constructions - most often these are prepositions and conjunctions, for instance *de* (of, from) and *que* (that), but also includes numbers, and various lexical items in a Spanish that has been adapted to Mexicano grammar. Syncretism is a topic that has captured much attention, and some debate in cultural anthropology (cf. Stewart & Shaw 1994). The definition of syncretism used by the Hills can be explained by stressing the "mixed" nature of all utterances, and in the Malintsi region the "syncretic project" that speakers undertake is to draw on grammatical items that are "more Mexicano" towards items that are "more Spanish," and in this way each language affects the other (J. Hill 1999).

Mexicano speakers draw on Spanish as a linguistic resource in ways that reflect the symbolic power attached to this colonial language and the power relations between linguistic groups. The use of Spanish as a power code by some Malintsi speakers is then imbued with meaning that indexes social distance, money, economic exchanges, urban regions, obscenity, drunkenness, and is a marker of evil in myths. Loans from Spanish into Mexicano are markers of power (usually for men). Mexicano is conversely associated with intimacy and respect, as well as a marker of Mexicano identity (Hill & Hill 1986).

MARKING RESPECT LINGUISTICALLY: HONORIFIC SPEECH

Marking respect to one's interlocutors is of utmost importance in the Malintsi region. While Spanish has only two levels of politeness or respect marked by *Tú* and

Usted (cf. Brown and Levinson 1978), Mexicano has four; for a review of these levels see Hill and Hill (1986) as well as Nava Nava (2003). In Contla, honorifics such as *-tsin* are used with people's names, and certain nouns, for instance, *sohua-tsin-tle* is the word for woman with an honorific, without it, it would be simply *sohuatl*, which would be considered a rude utterance. One can see that with these levels of linguistically marked respect a Mexicano speaker would find Spanish a very rude language, with only two options for marking social distance and respect. Among fluent speakers of Mexicano, the *Saludos* or, ritual greetings between *compadres* (fictive kin) are a commonly heard example of daily talk between people in their communities which involves honorifics usage, because such *compradrazgo* (fictive kin) relations require a certain level of respect in speech. Hill and Hill also identified a distinction between 'narrow honorific' and 'broad honorific' speakers, that is; is the extent to which speakers use all four levels of polite speech; this determination can be useful in determining levels of communicative competence among Mexicano speakers.

Among the younger generations in Contla, the respect communicated through the usage of honorifics has been all but lost, along with the language, among younger generations. Although, I have an interesting videotaped example in which a child is playing soccer on the school patio; in his efforts to get the ball from his classmate Luis he uses the honorific/affectionate form of his name, calling out "Luis-ca-tsin" ('repected Luis,' or 'dear Luis'). This example is instructive in that it shows that young children who are not considered actual "speakers" of Mexicano still have sufficient linguistic

knowledge and competence so that the usage of an honorific might serve as a linguistic resource.

IDEOLOGIES OF RESPECT AND PURISM

Hill and Hill (1986) discuss an ideology of “*legítimo Mexicano*” (legitimate Mexicano), in which speakers’ purist ideologies encourage speech which is completely Mexicano, without any trace of its syncretic elements whose source is the Spanish language. There is a discourse of nostalgia about earlier times, which includes greater use of this type of legitimate Mexicano (Hill 1998). The reader will note that several of the interviewees that I quote below use this expression “*legítimo Mexicano*,” showing that the ideology is still relevant for today’s generations of speakers who also feel that the language spoken today is inferior to that which was spoken in the past because Spanish has been mixed in. *Legítimo Mexicano* can best be understood as “unmixed” speech, and below you will see speakers refer to “mixed speech,” which indexes this purist ideology. For a discussion of Nahuatl purism in other regions see Flores Farfán (in press).

The ideologies regulating the use of the *o:me tlahto:l* (two languages) through the associations of Spanish with with power, social distance, and rudeness, and of Mexicano with intimacy and politeness is still the case today, but to a lesser extent among semi- and quasi-speakers. I hasten to point out that I believe there to be a marked cultural and linguistic difference between the San Isidro Buensuceso/San Miguel Canoa region where Hill & Hill concentrated their efforts and the region of the San Bernardino Contla county where I focused my research efforts. Future research in these areas will show if these

differences in dialect and ideology account for this seeming difference between “then” and “today.”

My own view is that the role of respect in social relations in the Malintsi region is so strong that speakers of Mexicano see themselves as exhibiting great respect for their languages, and their ancestors by not wanting this language to be “tainted.” Picking up on the idea of the many ambivalences in the sociolinguistic and ideological multiplicity in the Malintsi region, in this chapter, I follow Hill & Hill’s assertion that:

The people of the Malinche are not naïve about these ambivalences and complexities. The problem for the scholar is not to reveal the nature of their structural position, but to come to as profound an understanding of it as they themselves have developed. Only if we fully understand the practices which they have developed to manage their situation will we be able to make recommendations which will enhance the constructive effects of these practices and minimize their destructive impact when this is present.”
[Ibid.:53-54]

AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN NATIVE SPEAKERS & SCHOLARS:

PRESENTATION OF ‘HABLANDO MEXICANO’

In June of 1999 I helped to organize a presentation of the Spanish translation of Hill & Hill (1986) in San Bernardino Contla; to ‘present’ a new book is an academic tradition in Mexico, and the translators wished to take advantage of my presence in Hill & Hill’s fieldsite to organize this meeting. The event brought together numerous academics with local teachers, and a large audience (roughly seventy people attended) to discuss issues of language and culture for over two hours. The meeting prompted the creation of a local committee on the preservation of Nahuatl, with which I was involved. A monograph could be written on the basis of an analysis of the this event, which was

both video and audio-taped. Here I would like to offer one of the attendees reactions, recorded in one of my interviews after the event.

Arturo tells us that today less respect exists for the Mexicano language than before, thus showing a degree of language shift and cultural change since the 1980's. His opinions on the current sociolinguistic situation are described further below:

Lo que pasa es que está hablando de hace veinte años, y hace veinte años si había esa diferencia. Porque el Náhuatl tenía mucha reverencia y casi todos hablaban con mucho respeto, con bastante respeto. Y el español yo siento que sí era menos. Es decir yo lo vi un poco semejante pero sí sentía que había esa diferencia de respeto más que nada. ... Por ejemplo, si digo un nombre. Teodorahtsi, Tehuatsi.

Más las personas ya... Las personas grandes son las que utilizan todavía un poco lo reverencial. Las personas ya de mi generación y un poquito más atrás o un poquito más adelante, no, ya no. Pero sí se usaba bastante y había un maltrato muy diferente. En español, como dicen, era otro rollo para hablar. Había mucha, mucha reverencia, eso sí estaba muy marcado.

Le digo lo que no me pareció es eso, que utilizaron muchas palabras, demasiado español metieron mucho español, porque había muchas palabras que tienen la traducción en Náhuatl y en español. Y todavía son que se usan y no les pusieron. Entonces ahí como que no fue. Lo están dando demasiada más importancia ahí al español que al Náhuatl.

What happens is that it [the book] is talking about twenty years ago, and twenty years ago there was this differentiation. Because Nahuatl had much reverence and almost everyone used to speak it with a lot of respect, with quite a bit of respect. And Spanish I feel that yes it was less. That is to say I saw it a bit similar but I did think that there was this difference of respect more than anything.... For example if I say a name, Teodor-ahtsi[reverencial]. You[reverential].

More with people already... the older people are the ones who still use the reverential a bit. The people from my generation already and a bit behind or ahead, no, not anymore. But it was used a lot and there was a very different mistreatment. In Spanish, as they say [the authors] it was another issue to speak. There used to be so much, much reverence, that indeed was very marked.

I tell you that what didn't seem [right] to me is that, that they used so many words, so much Spanish they put in a lot of Spanish, because there were a lot of words that had the translation in Nahuatl and then in Spanish. And there are some that they use [in Nahuatl] and they didn't put them. Therefore that wasn't it. They are giving much too much importance there to Spanish than to Nahuatl.

This speaker's last comments illustrate that the ideology of "legítimo Mexicano" is still alive and well today. His is a reaction that others communicated to me as well. This reaction to the book actually proves one of its' authors' main points – that a purist language ideology exists. That is, the very act of publishing, of placing in print Nahuatl words that have been *tainted by Spanish* may be troubling, within a purist framework. The scholarly endeavor of publishing, from the researcher's perspective, speech *as it is recorded*, somehow flies in the face of the respect that some Malintsi residents still feel should be afforded the language.

Overall the reaction to the presentation was very favorable, in particular the idea that so many *gringos* would come to their town, and that the authors would speak such good Mexicano. I believe that many people were impressed by the turnout of their neighbors, which in itself is an indication of the importance of language issues to some members of this community, as well as the importance of organizing academic meetings within the communities that are the objects of study. One question remains, how might revitalization materials be produced that reflect the actual speech usage of the community, if members of the community object to anything but *legítimo Mexicano* appearing in print?

USE OF MEXICANO IN SPANISH: CULTURALLY SPECIFIC TERMS

In Tlaxcala today, in addition to honorific usage with people's names, there are certain Mexicano lexical items with a certain cultural specificity that are used in daily conversation in Spanish. For instance the terms, *Xokoyote* 'Youngest son/child' (kinship term), and *Matepalka* 'One who is prone to breaking things' are often heard.

There are many foods and implements for producing foods that are spoken of in Mexicano. This is a part of the usage of Mexicano that survives regardless of the extent to which residents of the Contla county understand or speak Mexicano. These terms are specific to local culture, the most common of which is food preparation. There often isn't a Spanish equivalent for these terms. Consider for instance, *Nexcomal* 'cornmeal, ground corn for tortillas,' *Nextamal* 'hominy; corn prepared for tamales,' and *Nexcomitl* 'pot for cornmeal.'

In Mexican Spanish people are likely to use a Hispanicized form of the original term in Nahuatl, for example, metate (Sp.) for *metatl*, molcajete for *molcaxitl* because these terms have been phonologically adapted as loan vocabulary. Central Mexican Spanish is replete with words whose origins are in Nahuatl. Consider for the Nahuatl word *papalotl* 'butterfly,' which has undergone semantic extension to mean 'kite' in Mexican Spanish as 'papalote.' Nahuatl *xitomatl* became jitomate, or tomato, and tianguis, 'market' is adapted from *tianquistli*. There are the words that Nahuatl has given the world, such as *xocolatl*/chocolate, *chilli*/chile, *cacahuatl*/cacahuate (peanut), *aguacatl*/aguacate (avocado). The word Mexico itself is a Nahuatl toponym perhaps meaning 'place of the maguey cactus' – *me[tl]-xi-co*, or *me-xi-co* 'maguey-navel-place,' or possibly (but less likely) 'moon-navel-place' (Jane Hill, personal communication).

There is a list of these terms on a plaque in Mexico City's National Palace, the center of Mexico's government. Located in between Diego Rivera's famous murals depicting the history of Mexico from the time of the Aztec until today, this plaque is a

testament to the official pride felt, and importance the Mexican State gives to a historical indigenous identity, through a description of what the Aztec have given to the world.

MEXICANO NAMING PRACTICES

Another category of preservation of Mexicano terms, regardless of which language is being spoken in Contla is that of nicknames (*apodos* in Spanish). For instance, *Cuatepoz*, meaning *cabeza de fierro*, or ‘head of steel’ is a man’s nickname in Tlaxcala, as is *mizto* ‘cat.’ Tlaxcalan family names in the Malintsi area, particularly in the Contla county are recognizable for being Mexicano names, for instance: *Cuamatzi*, *Tetlalmatzi*, and *Xochitiotsin*; Currently there is a project at the Tlaxcalan Autonomous University to study the history of these names

COMMUNITY VOICES: DATA ANALYSIS

The following section is devoted to the presentation and analysis of data, and serves as a qualitative view of sixteen (16) people’s perspectives, who are from various parts of the Malintsi region. The goal is for the reader to get a sense of the patterning of the language socialization, metapragmatics, and ideological multiplicity in these Mexicano-speaking communities.⁵

The people whose voices are excerpted below are those of speakers hailing primarily from all over the San Bernardino Contla *municipio* (county), but also outside it (Tetlanohcan and San Isidro are represented). I chose the citations because I found them either representative or unique to the Malintsi region, and the individual opinions are

⁵ The citations chosen for this chapter represent a selection of from my interview database. For a complete picture of the demographic and qualitative extent of my interviewing, and taping of socially occurring speech, please see chapter two on Methodology.

discussed in relation to each citation.

Mónica⁶

Mónica is a teacher whom I interviewed in Contla in 1996 and 1999, who lives in the center of the Contla municipal county. Mónica is 27 at the time of the interview I cite below. When asked if Nahuatl is spoken in her family, Mónica replies that, yes, but only with her paternal grandparents; she further explains that she understands a few words but is not able to follow an entire conversation. There was a teacher shortage in indigenous education when she was hired, and she didn't receive much training in the language. In her lengthy response to my question, she invokes the discourse of *menosprecio* and discusses language in relation to identity and discrimination, and raises the topic of language shift as well:

J: *¿En tu familia se habla el Náhuatl?*
In your family is Nahuatl spoken?

Con mis abuelos paternos, nada más, porque mi mamá, del lugar que es, no hablan Náhuatl. Es de San Juan Totolac, pero ahí no hablan Náhuatl y aquí en Contla sí. Mis abuelos paternos son de acá de Contla y si hablan el Náhuatl, que ahora también por falta de con quien comunicarse casi no lo practican, lo practican entre los dos, el abuelo y la abuela, pero ya con otras personas es muy difícil, porque nosotros como nietos a lo mejor conocemos algunas palabras, pero no tanto para poder entablar una conversación con ellos. O por ejemplo, mi papá también, más o menos lo aprendió, pero ahora también lo está olvidando por no hablar con ellos, por no tener con quien comunicarse. Gente adulta que lo hablaba puramente va muriendo y nos vamos quedando solamente los que hablamos español. Le digo, no por eso. Es muy grande nuestra misión de que se valore la cultura más que nada. Tenemos aquí a niños que también a veces se rien de las personas de acá de Zacatlan, que hablan 100% el Náhuatl. “No, es un indio,” “es un mal visto,” les llaman de lo peor, y yo creo que eso no debe de ser porque ante todo son personas igual que nosotros, tan humanas como nosotros. Y no debemos mofarnos de ellas, tenemos que respetarlas.

⁶ The names given are pseudonyms, except in the case of Don Pablo, who was interviewed in his official capacity as municipal county president.

With my paternal grandparents, that's it, because my mother, the place she is from, they don't speak Nahuatl. She is from San Juan Totolac, but there they don't speak Nahuatl and here in Contla, yes [they do]. My paternal grandparents are from here from Contla and they do speak Nahuatl, that now also because of lack of with whom to communicate they hardly practice it, they practice [speak] it between themselves, grandfather and grandmother, but already with other people it's very difficult, because we as grandchildren maybe we know some words, but not enough to be able to establish a conversation with them. Or for example, my father also, more or less he learned it, but now also he is forgetting it because of not speaking with them, for not having with whom to communicate. Adult people who used to speak it purely are dying off and we are remaining only those who speak Spanish. I tell you, not for that [reason]. It's very big our mission that the culture should be valued more than anything. We have here children who also sometimes laugh at the people from here from Zacatlan, that speak 100% Nahuatl. "No, he's an indian," "he's looked down upon," they call them the worst, and I think that that should not be because first off they are people equal to us, as human as we are. And we should not make fun of them, we have to respect them.

With this excerpt we see the clear interconnection of language, identity and ideology for Mónica. Locals in Tlaxcala, and often in Mexico (Nugent 1994) have strong regional ties and these are quite often marked by the languages and dialects unique to each state, region, sub-region, county, township, and sometimes neighborhood. Contla, San Juan Totolac, and Zacatlan are all mentioned in this excerpt, and Mónica establishes that people speak Mexicano in Contla, not in San Juan, and then that they really speak it well in Zacatlan, but that those from Zacatlan are teased for having "more Indian-ness" (an idea I raised in the introduction to this dissertation).

Several themes surface here that will re-surface in the discourse samples below: the important factor of the place from which family members hail in determining which languages are used at home; the variability of linguistic knowledge between generations of family members; the complexity in people's responses regarding how much Mexicano people know, speak, and/or understand; the cultural continuation of the linguistic purism

regarding Mexicano that Hill and Hill (1986) first identified; and the role of *valuing the culture* as the primary goal of *local* teachers in national bilingual-bicultural schools (the main theme of chapter six on reversing language shift and schooling).

Esther

Esther is a very insightful university student who was a key informant for me. She both understands, and speaks Mexicano with members of her family, mainly with those who are older than she. From conversations and observations in her house with her extended family, I know that her siblings understand it as well, but are less interested in speaking it than she is. And, with her same age cousins, she does not use Mexicano at all. All of the siblings in this large family hear their mother speak Mexicano with her relatives, and then turn around and speak Spanish with them. In 1999, at the time of this interview, Esther was twenty-six years old, and had just won a national grant to continue her undergraduate thesis work collecting local legends and tales, both in Spanish and Mexicano. Her educational trajectory, like other local researchers I've met from the Contla county, was not a straight path, and she will tell us more below. In the following she raises most of the key themes I wish to discuss in this chapter, and her comments offer an introductory panorama of the sociolinguistic situation in the Malinstsi region. It is interesting to note that Esther, like many of the other interviewees, uses the expressions “hablar de esta manera” (to speak in this way), “hablar así” (to speak like this/in this way) as symbolic of language use, but particularly use of Mexicano.

JM: *¿Y pasando a lo de la lengua, ¿en casa en qué idioma le hablas a tu familia?*
And going on to language, at home in what language do you speak to your family?

E: *Por lo general en Castellano. Yo... o sea, solamente llego a decir unas cuantas palabras llego a hablar en Náhuatl. Le llego a hablar a mi mamá o a mi abuelita, pero es muy poco lo que yo apporto. O sea no, no hablo así. Los que sí hablan muy bien son los abuelos, son los que hablan más bien el Náhuatl. No les contesto en Náhuatl, pero o sea yo, cuando ellos me hablan les entiendo lo que me están diciendo. Ya no hay disculpa, pero ya no les contesto en Náhuatl. sino en castellano.*

Generally in Castillian. I... that is, I only get to say some few words I only get to speak in Nahuatl. I only will sometimes speak to my mother o my grandmother, but it's very little that which I contribute. That is no, I don't speak in this way. Those who do speak very well are the grandparents, they're the ones who speak better Nahuatl. I don't answer them in Nahuatl, but that is I, when they speak to me I understand them what they are telling me. Now there isn't any excuse, but I already don't answer them in Nahuatl. But in Castillian.

JM: *¿Pero ellos siempre te hablan en Náhuatl o a veces?*
But they always speak to you in Nahuatl or sometimes?

E: *Sí, ellos casi por lo regular me hablan en Náhuatl, mi abuelita más porque yo tengo más contacto con ella. Ella sí me habla más en Náhuatl, como sabe que yo le entiendo ella siempre me habla en Náhuatl.*

Yes, they almost regularly speak to me in Nahuatl, my grandmother more because I have more contact with her. She does speak to me more in Nahuatl, since she knows that I understand her she always speaks to me in Nahuatl.

JM: *Ella se siente más a gusto, ¿tú crees? O se siente que se puede expresar mejor, o ¿cómo ves?*

She feels more comfortable, do you think? Or does she feel that she can express herself better, or, how do you see it?

E: *Sí. Lo que pasa es que como ella, desde que nació siempre está aquí, siempre ha hablado en Náhuatl, entonces a ella se le hace más fácil hablar en Náhuatl o desenvolverse en Náhuatl. O sea, rara la vez... yo creo que ella misma ve quién le puede hablar en Náhuatl y quien no.*

Yes. What is happening is that because she, since she was born she is always here, she has always spoken in Nahuatl, and so for her it seems easier to speak in Nahuatl or explain herself in Nahuatl. That is, it's rare the time... I think that she herself sees with whom she can speak in Nahuatl and [with] whom she can't.

JM: *¿Y a tus hermanos? And to your brothers and sisters?*

E: *A mis hermanos también les llega a hablar, pero luego a veces le expresan que no pueden hablar, o sea que les hable en español o en castellano porque pues no le entienden. Pero más que todo ella, como que ve a quién le va a hablar en Náhuatl.*

Porque ya sabes, ella sí conoce la lengua, pues "¿para qué le voy a hablar en éste si ella sabe?" Entonces empiezan a hablar en Náhuatl, no hay necesidad de que cambie a castellano. Solamente cuando... por ejemplo si tú vas allá y te ve, pues empieza a hablar en castellano. Como tu vas...

To my siblings she also sometimes will talk with them, but then sometimes they express to her that they can't speak, that is that she should speak to them in Spanish or [that is] in Castillian because well they don't understand her. But more than anything she, it's like she sees to whom she will speak to in Nahuatl. Because you know, she does know the language, well [she thinks] "for what reason am I going to speak in this one [Spanish] if she knows [Mexicano]? Therefore they start talking in Nahuatl, there is no necessity that she change to Castillian. Only when... for example if you go there and she sees you, well she starts to speak in Spanish. Since you are going....

This interview data establishes several key facts, corroborated by my observations: Some young Contla residents like Esther do understand and speak Mexicano, even when their older siblings speak less than they do. This may be because of affinities between individuals of different generations in the family, or because a child grows up being interested in local tales, or just simply interested in learning more of the language. Another key point is that speakers such as Esther's grandmother themselves make decisions about which language is appropriate to the context, and this includes whether or not the interlocutor is likely to understand them if they do speak in Nahuatl.

This particular speaker, Esther's grandmother, is seemingly not ashamed of appearing "more indigenous" to people she doesn't know, as others in this region can be. Having a positive attitude towards Mexicano and Mexicano-ness in this family might have influenced Esther in her life, but she too felt discrimination, to the point that she did not recognize her own linguistic skills and local cultural knowledge in her university education until she finished her coursework, as we will see below. Exhibiting a "purist

perspective,” Esther describes local speech as “mixed” with each language affecting the other:

Bueno, cuando hablan en español, es que intercalan, ¿no? Hay a veces en que pues el mismo diálogo no, o sea, los niños se dan cuenta. Ellos mismo van metiendo, van metiendo español, lo mismo así, si te pones a hablar con los señores grandes, también. A veces llegan a meter el español, pero sí, sí, sí cuando hablan con personas ya más grandes sí empiezan a meter el Náhuatl. Unas que otras palabras las dicen en español, pero más, más empiezan a hablar Náhuatl.

Well, when they speak to me in Spanish, it’s that they inter-mix, no? There are times in which well the same day the kids realize it. They themselves go on putting in, putting in Spanish, the same here, if you get to speaking with the older men, also. Sometimes they get to putting in Spanish, but yes, yes, yes when they speak with older people they start putting in Nahuatl. One or another word they say them in Spanish, but more, more often they start to speak Nahuatl.

When asked about her observations of Mexicano usage outside her family, in the general community, Esther responds that there are more speakers “allá arriba” – that is, up the mountain, but that others do speak in other parts of Contla, and she suggests age ranges for those who are likely to be speakers. I quote Esther at length here, because I consider her discussion and examples to be particularly insightful and articulate exegeses of the issues I study.

E: Mira, en otras situaciones en que he visto que se habla Náhuatl es cuando salgo y me voy a la escuela o me voy a ver a alguien, vienen a veces las combis, ¿no? o se van hasta allá arriba, pues la gente ... luego viene gente que se van a la mejor al mercado o se va a otros lados y vienes escuchando como se vienen hablando Náhuatl, los vienes escuchando, pero es entre la gente mayor.

Look, in other situations in which I’ve seen that they speak Nahuatl is when I go out and I to the school or I go to see someone, they come sometimes the buses come or they go on up there [up the Malinstsi mountain], well the people... then people come who are most likely going to the market or they go to other parts and you go along hearing how they come speaking Nahuatl, you go along listening, but it’s between older people.

JM: *¿Siempre?* Always?

E: *Siempre entre la gente mayor. Por ejemplo de 45, entre 60 o más viejitos.*

Always between the older people. For example of 45, between 60 or older.

JM: *¿Señoras o señores?* Women or men?

E: *Señores y señoras.* Men and women.

JM: *¿También señores has escuchado?* Men you've also heard?

E: *Sí.* Yes.

JM: *¿Y están yendo para dónde? ¿Para Cuba o para La Luz, o....?*
And where are they going to? To Cuba, to La Luz, or....?

E: *No, no. De que vienen, bueno a la vez de que vienen, o sea de que vienen o que ya se van para sus casa, pues también encuentras, pero yo he visto que llega, son de 40 de 35, hasta de 35. Ya de 35 o de 30 para abajo ya no los escuchas hablando Náhuatl. Ya como que esas generaciones no les... ya no entienden Náhuatl, a lo mejor posiblemente lo entienden pero ya no lo hablan. Pero de 35 para arriba sí, sí lo hablan. Bueno, obvio, dependiendo de la gente que te encuentres, por ejemplo, si tú ves que un viejito te está hablando... yo sé Náhuatl y hay un viejito que me está hablando Náhuatl, pues le contesto Náhuatl. Pero si hay gente que no lo habla y me hablas en castellano, obvio te voy a hablar en castellano.*

No, no. That they come, well at the time they come, that is that they come or that they're already going on their way home, well sometimes you also find, but I have also seen that they arrive, they are about 40 about 35, up to 35. Already from 35 or 30 and on down you don't hear them speaking Nahuatl anymore. Since those generations, already to them, they don't... they don't understand Nahuatl anymore, possibly maybe they understand it but they don't speak it anymore. But from 35 on up yes, yes they speak it. Well, obviously, depending on the person that you come across, for example if you see that an old person is talking to you... I know Nahuatl and there is an old person who is speaking Nahuatl with me, well I respond to him in Nahuatl. But if there are people that don't speak it and they speak to me in Castilian, obviously I am going to speak in Castilian.

We see in this discourse that, as she speaks, Esther shifts her delimitation of the youngest likely age for a speaker of Mexicano, from age forty-five to thirty, and then her own experiences contradict this, because she herself at the time was twenty-six years old and is a speaker of Mexicano, although she considers herself rusty.

In the interview, I go on to ask Esther if she's ever had someone initiate a conversation in Mexicano with her whom she did not previously know. Within the local Contla county sociolinguistic context, my understanding was that this is a highly unlikely situation. She responded that it *could* happen, but that it would be with an interlocuter from the Zacatlan, Sierra de Puebla region, who speaks less Spanish and is more accustomed to public speech in Mexicano. In Contla, the key factor in two speakers speaking to each other in Mexicano is *confianza*, and private contexts are favored. Because the private sphere is favored, it becomes difficult for both locals and outside observers to ascertain the degree of usage of Mexicano, except within their own sphere of *confianza*, of trust and comfort.

In the following excerpt, I ask Esther about what she imagines linguistically for any future children she may have. She calls upon the discourses of *menosprecio* and *pro-indígena* in her response:

[Risa] ¿Cuando yo tenga hijos? Pues sería... yo como... por ejemplo que me interesa rescatar el Náhuatl, pues me gustaría tanto que hablen el español como hable el Náhuatl. O sea enseñarles también que la lengua Náhuatl es también... o sea un riqueza cultural ¿no? Obvio que a lo mejor no lo va aprender bien, pero por lo menos a enseñarle cosas que... por lo primero... ¿cómo te diré? Ser tan desprestigiada la lengua... Darle más valor a la lengua, enseñarle eso. A que se le de valor a la lengua, no a despreciarla. Y obvio que también enseñarles también a hablar.

[Laughter] When I have children? Well it would be... I like... for example that I am interested in rescuing Nahuatl, well I would like for them to speak as much Spanish as to speak Nahuatl. That is to teach them also that the Nahuatl language is also... that is a cultural richness, no? Obvious that it's likely that they won't learn it well, but at least to teach them things that... first of all... How should I explain? to be so discredited, the language... To give it more significance, to teach them that. That one should give value to the language, not to discredit it. And obviously that also to teach them also to speak.

The theme of valuing the language rather than under-appreciating, or denigrating it surfaces here, and serves as a good example of the interplay between the discourses of *menosprecio* and *pro-indígena*, from a Contla resident who is a very keen observer, and who has experienced both the discrimination (*menosprecio*), and the intellectual university response to it (*pro-indígena*).

In the lengthy discourse excerpt that follows, Esther talks about her experience seeing what others in town think of the language, and how it affected her until her final year of university, when she experienced a shift in perspectives, realizing that she had a choice to make in terms of her approach. Once again, this description serves as a particularly articulate and concise summary of what others told me during fieldwork, in which the inter-connections between the discourses of *menosprecio*, *pro-indígena* as responses to *salir adelante* clearly surface. You will see that there are more disfluencies in this segment than those above, an indication that the speaker is trying to explain a difficult, and emotional issue, and she goes about it through multiple linguistic attempts at explanation.

JM: *¿Y te gusta escuchar que lo hablan?* And do you like hearing that people speak it?

Siiií. Bueno hay gente que a lo mejor se avergüenzan de que sus padres hablan el Náhuatl. Porque piensan que es para gente que no está civilizada. Entonces pues a mí me gusta que la gente que habla Náhuatl pues que la hablen, o sea, si se quieren expresar que se expresen. O sea, no es de que les recrimino o que esté discriminando mi lengua, no, al contrario. Y además de que se sigue hablando, ¿no? Pues que siga la lengua, pero te digo hay gente... porque lo he visto, entre mismos paisanos de aquí, de Contla como que ven mal, o sea más los jóvenes ¿no? Como que la generación X, ya como que lo sentimos más. Con eso de que viene... ¿cómo te diré? Las modas más bien del extranjero, que son los gringos, entonces como que valoramos más lo que tienen ellos que lo que nosotros tenemos, nos olvidamos de lo que tenemos, pensamos que eso es cosa para nacos ¿no? O sea la

gente que no se ha civilizado. Tú vas por ejemplo... o por ejemplo, yo lo hablo a veces como que ven mal que una gente que vive por allá arriba, o sea que están cerca de los cerros, o sea, piensan que es una gente que no está civilizada. Los que viven en el centro son los que tienen la... vaya los que están más civilizados y tienen más contacto con la ciudad ¿no? Y los demás que están allá arriba pues no. Hay gente que hasta en la forma de vestir, te das cuenta. O sea la forma de vestir de una persona de lo que es la región de la Malintsi pues es diferente a la que es del centro.

Yeeees. Well there are people that probably become ashamed that their parents speak Nahuatl. Because they think that it is for people that are not civilized. So well I myself like that people who speak Nahuatl well that they should speak it, that is, if they want to express what they should express. That is, it isn't that I recriminate them or that I am discriminating my language, no, on the contrary. And furthermore it's that they keep on speaking, no? Well let the language continue on, but I tell you there are people... because I have seen it, between the very countryside people from here, from Contla, like they look down on, that is, more young people, no? It's like generation X, like we now feel it more. With that that it comes from. How should I tell you? The styles mostly from foreign places, which are the gringo [American] ones, so like we value more what they have than what we have, we forget what we have, we think that that is something for *nacos*⁷ no? That is the people that haven't become civilized. You go for example... or for example, I speak it [Mexicano] sometimes so like they look down on it that a person who lives up there [=up the mountain], that is that they are close to the hills, that is, they think that it is a person that is not civilized. The ones who live in the center are the ones who have the... [that is], those who are more civilized and have more contact with the city, no? And the others that are up there well no. There are people that even in the form of dress, you realize it. That is the form of dress of a person that is from the region of the Malintsi well is different from the [form of dress] that is from the center.

Here, once again in my interviewing, a question about language attitudes yields narrative of the local bilingual situation, that quickly becomes a discussion of discrimination and local desires to *salir adelante* – to become “civilized,” and to adopt styles from outside

⁷ The term *naco* carries a very strong weight in conversation, and the context of its use determines its meaning entirely. Loosely translated, it means a backward, small town nerd, but it indexes someone from a lower class, and/or from a small town setting who is uncouth, or somehow not “savvy.” How “savvy” is construed varies on the speech context, dependent on the speakers, and on their cultural, ethnic, class and regional environment. It is always meant as an insult, and in this case, Esther's usage of the term is an element of a *menosprecio* discourse that she is describing. This particular usage of the term was not one that I came across very often. It is thought that this term may be derived from the word “Totonaco” – the name of an indigenous group and its language in central Mexico, (including Tlaxcala). The deep roots of discriminatory feeling and classism that created and popularized this term, which is akin to an ‘ethnic slur,’ are clear in her discourse.

the local area, in particular from places like the U.S., as part and parcel of improving one's socioeconomic condition. Esther's mention of "generation X" was an eye-opening experience for me, because I had not realized to what extent this term was relevant outside the U.S., and is a further indicator of globalization of U.S. popular culture. The terms "allá arriba" (over there, up there) that Esther uses are indexical of the *monte*, the higher elevations of the Contla county and the greater use of Mexicano, and also, in other speakers' recursive usages, indexical of greater poverty; this is the topic of Messing (2002), which is developed in chapter 5, and therefore not discussed further here.

In the following section I offer another long excerpt from this interview with Esther, in which she describes her own trajectory of shifting from a *menosprecio* attitude to one that is more *pro-indígena* and that offers great recognition and respect for local knowledge, seen through her use of this discourse.

J: *Y qué pasó en la escuela cuando tú estabas chiquita, en la primaria, ¿no recuerdas si hablaban Mexicano alguna vez?*

And what happened in school when you were little, in elementary, do you remember if they spoke Mexicano some time?

Mira, para serte sincera no. O sea, no, como que... no sé, a lo mejor como que no le damos tanta importancia cuando estábamos niños, cuando tenemos 7, 8 años no tenemos tanta importancia a si se habla o no se habla el español. Es más, si yo no tuviese... a lo mejor si yo no hubiese seguido estudiando a lo mejor hasta me daría pena. Lo que pasa es que una... ¿cómo te diré?

Look, to be sincere with you, no. That is noo, like... I don't know, maybe like we don't give it that much importance when we were children, when we were 7, 8 years we don't give that much importance to if Spanish is spoken or not spoken. Moreover, if I hadn't... most likely if I had not continued studying most likely it would even make me ashamed. What happens is that it's a... How can I tell you? [...]

J: *¿Y por qué dices que si no hubiera seguido estudiando que a lo mejor te daría pena? Pasaste por algo para, pues para...*

And why do you say that if you hadn't continued studying that you would most likely be ashamed? Did you experience some so, well so that...

E: *Sí, porque fijate que... no, te digo, es que también dependiendo de los padres que tengo. O sea, porque hay papás que no, no te motivan ¿no? [...] Te digo que depende mucho de la educación que no nos hemos.... O sea, tanto en la escuela como en ... los padres. Por ejemplo si... por ejemplo tu escuchas unos que discrimina la lengua o gente que habla Náhuatl y si lo está escuchando su papá no le dice nada. No le dice nada, no le dice "pues no tienes que hacer ésto" o "tienes que respetar a la gente." No, no les dicen. Entonces allí te están haciendo un mal ¿no? Porque no te enseñan a valorar lo que tienes, ni tus padres ni tus maestros. Entonces por eso te estoy diciendo que a la mejor yo no....*

Fijate que hubo un tiempo en que yo fui tonta ¿no? Porque yo, cuando yo iba a la universidad, yo tenía pena, me daba pena. Me daba pena porque un día nos preguntó, el maestro [X] es un poeta que es de Chiapas. Y va, nos dice "a mi me gustaría, me gustaría que alguien me dijera que sabe hablar en Náhuatl" y todo mundo se quedó, bueno así. Y yo este.... Pues sí me quedé.... [Tape recording stops]

Yes, because you know what... no, I tell you, it's that it also depends upon the parents that I have. That is, because there are parents that don't, they don't motivate you, no? [...] I tell you that it depends much on the upbringing/education that we haven't.... That is, as much in school as in ... the parents. For example if... for example if you hear some that discriminate the language, or people who speak Nahuatl and if you hear your father doesn't say anything. He doesn't say anything, he doesn't say "well you don't have to do that" or "you have to respect people." No, they don't tell them. Therefore there they are doing you a disservice, no? Because they don't teach you to value what you have, nor your parents nor your teachers. Therefore because of that I am telling you that most likely I did not....

You know that there was a time in which I was stupid, no? Because I, when I was going to the university, I had shame, I was ashamed. I was ashamed because one day the teacher asked us, the teacher [X] is a poet who is from Chiapas. And he goes, he says "I would like, I would like for someone to tell me he knows to speak in Nahuatl" and everyone remained, well like that. And I um... well I remained.... [Tape recording stops]

After flipping over the tape, this part of the interview continues:

J: *!Ya! ¿Entonces tú te quedabas pensando que si ibas a levantar la mano o no?*
All set! And so you remained thinking if you were going to raise your hand or not?

Aaajá. Fíjate que.... Bueno te estoy diciendo que depende mucho de la educación que se de. Pero en primaria no te enseñaron, no te enseñaron a valorar lo que tenemos, tantos los maestros como los papas cuando eran niños. Ahí mismo se me quitó el interés en eso, entonces cuando yo llego a la universidad como que ya llegas un poquito más consciente ¿no? Llega esa etapa y te digo, yo me pre..., te digo, nos preguntamos, incluso las Fiestas de San Felipe tampoco lo ví, porque

incluso somos compañeras de generación de todo, o sea...yo creo que hasta de... hemos... somos inseparables.

Uh huh. You know that... Well I was saying that it depends a lot on the upbringing/education that is given. But in primary school they don't teach you, they don't teach you to value what we have, so many teachers like the parents when they were children. Right there my interest in that was taken away, so that when I arrive at the university it's like you arrive a bit more conscious, no? That stage arrives and I tell you, I ask..., I tell you, we asked ourselves, including the Festivals of San Felipe I didn't see either, because, including we are classmates in our generation of [students from San Felipe], that is I think that... we are inseparable [=and yet we don't go to each others festivities.]

J: *¿Y nunca se han hablado? [en Mexicano]*

And you have never spoken to each other [in Mexicano?]

Y nunca, nunca hemos hablado, y no sé, y tampoco les expresamos a los maestros qué es lo que sabemos, ¿no? Y qué es lo que tenemos, sino que hasta después, ya cuando fui saliendo, cuando ya nos enseñaron a valorar lo que tenemos es cuando ya, este... cuando ya empezamos a decir " bueno, sí, sabemos esto" Y es cuando ya nos enseñaron porque no respetan eso.

And never, we have never spoken, I don't know, and we don't express ourselves to our teachers either what it is that we know, no? And what we have, but rather until later, when I already was on my way out, when they taught us to value what we have is when it's already, um... when we start to say "good, yes, we know this" and it's when they've already taught us why they don't respect this.

J: *¿En la universidad, dices?*

In the university, you say?

E: *En la universidad.*

In the university.

J: *¿Y con este poeta de Chiapas nunca levantaste la mano?*

And with this poet from Chiapas you never raised your hand?

E: *Nunca levanté la mano.*

I never raised my hand.

J: *¿Lo tenías para todo un semestre de clase?*

You had him for an entire semester?

E: *Sí. Un semestre, lo tuve 2, 3, semestres.*

Yes. A semester, I had him, 2, 3, semesters.

J: *Y nunca supo que tú...*
And he never knew that you...

E: *nunca supo, nunca expresamos nada. O sea, no sé que pasó, te digo que es un desinterés de parte de nosotros también. Porque te digo teníamos material a la mano, sin embargo no lo hacemos valorar y cuando ya nos dimos cuenta, "cómo es posible, que no hicimos nada en ese tiempo?"*

he never knew, we never expressed anything. That is, I don't know what happened, I tell you that it's a disinterest on our part as well. Because I tell you we had material at hand, nevertheless we don't make it of value/respectable and when we then realized it, "how is it possible, that we didn't do anything in that time?"

J: *¿Hasta que semestre ya empezaste...?*
Until which did semester did you begin to...?

E: *Ya saliendo.*
Already on the way out.

J: *Para la tesis.*
For the thesis.

E: *Para la tesis.*
For the thesis.

J: *Cuando te pusiste a pensar lo que tú querías.*
When you got to thinking what you wanted.

E: *Como para séptimo, octavo ya nos pusimos a pensar Bueno, por qué no rescatar lo que tenemos y que estamos perdiendo. Entonces ya empezamos a hablar, como el maestro que tenemos ahorita como asesor. Empezamos a hablar [ella y una compañera], "¿Qué es lo que tenemos?" y [el asesor] nos dice "Mujeres, ¿porqué no quisieron nada?"*

Like about for the seventh, eighth [semester] we set ourselves to thinking "well, why not rescue what we have and what we are losing." So then we started to talk, since the teacher we have now as an advisor. We started talking [she and a classmate], "What is it that we have?" and [the advisor] tells us "Women, why didn't you want anything [before]?"

J: *¿Cómo qué?*
Like what?

E: *O sea, pues sí, "ustedes tienen" por ejemplo, como te digo, "recopilaciones en Náhuatl, todo eso. ¿Porqué no hicieron eso, difundir lo que tienen? Rescatar toda esa poesía, todos esos cuentos en Náhuatl, y apenas ahorita lo dicen."*

That is, well yes, “you [both] have” for example, as I am telling you, “collections in Nahuatl, all of that. Why didn’t you do that, to disseminate what you have? To rescue all of that poetry, all of those stories in Nahuatl, and only now you tell it.”

J: *¿Y qué dijiste?*
And what did you say?

E: *Pues nada, y ya me quedé ahí. Nunca se nos ocurrió. O sea como que no...*
Well, nothing, and I stayed there. It never had occurred to us. That is like no...

J: *No se valoraba.*
It wasn’t valued.

E: *No se valoraba, vaya. Pues por ejemplo, tú tienes un árbol que da frutos y llega una gente que viene de fuera y tú tienes éste, y ¿porqué no te lo comes? "Pues no, porque aquí lo tengo." O sea, ya te chocó, o sea, no es que te chocó sino porque ahí lo tienes. Ya, lo agarras y ya. Pero viene gente y vas, “yo no tengo de eso y yo quisiera tener de eso,” y es lo mismo que pasa con lo que uno tiene, con la cuestión de cultura ¿no? Con la lengua también. Por ejemplo tú llegas y dices “que bonito, tienen todo esto” O sea, quién dice, dicen los ingleses pues...no tienen una riqueza cultural como lo tiene Contla o como lo tiene el país de México. Una riqueza muy grande y sin embargo los mismos de nuestro país no los valoramos y vienen otras gentes, por ejemplo los ingleses o los... sí, los Estados Unidos, como ellos no tienen otra, del pasado vienen a valorar nuestras cosas, nosotros como lo tenemos pues... 'lo tengo.' Es lo que yo veo.*

It wasn’t valued, you see. Well for example, you have a tree that gives fruit and a person arrives who comes from outside and you have this, and, why don’t you eat it? “Well, no, because here I have it.” That is, you’re already sick of it, that is, you’re only sick of it because there you have it. You take it and that’s it. But people come and you go, “I don’t have any of that and I would like to have some of that,” and it’s the same that happens with that which one has, with the question of culture no? With the language too. For example you arrive and you say “how nice, they have all of this” that is, who says, the English say well... they don’t have a cultural wealth like Contla has it or like the country of Mexico has it. A very big wealth and nevertheless the same ones from our country we don’t value them and others come and, for example the English or the, yes, the U.S., since they don’t have any, from the past they come and value our things, us since we have it well... “I have it.” This is what I see.

Esther’s narrative is moving because she clearly is illustrating her own process of personal change in regards to the views on language and identity, while

contextualizing this in what she sees as an overly common local disregard for the cultural riches. Her experience in the last year of University studies, once working on her own research in her community (along with another Contla student), while she taught at the Casa de Cultura (Contla culture house), is one of great change. We don't hear the same *pro-indígena* discourse from Esther as the other informants, because her 'take' on indigenous-ness is different. When asked, she says she has indeed been told she should better her language skills in Mexicano. For her thesis she's been reading in Mexicano, which is a bit difficult, but doable for her. Regarding language mixing and indigenous-ness she says:

...posiblemente si nos vamos a Zacatlán posiblemente podemos rescatar lo más puro [el idioma] ¿no? Y a lo mejor ya ni eso. Como ya cambiaron los tiempos y ya hay otras cosas entonces pues se va a transformar. Ya no podemos hacer lo mismo como se hacía antes. Entonces [el Náhuatl] era más puro, obvio antes nuestra cultura era más pura, antes que llegaran los españoles. Nuestra lengua era pura sin embargo cuando llegaron ellos pues ya no.

...possibly if we go to Zacatlan possibly we can rescue the most pure [language], no? And most likely not even that. Since now times have changed and now there are other things so then they are going to change. We can't do the same thing anymore like we did before. Then it [Nahuatl] was more pure, obviously before our culture was more pure, before the Spanish arrived. Our culture was pure, nevertheless when they arrived, well then it wasn't anymore.

Creo que en este sentido, vamos, si yo hubiese vivido... qué sé yo... del siglo quince pues yo creo que sí sería indígena. Pero en éste... ya no somos indígenas. ¿Porqué? Porque tenemos una mezcla de español con...somos mestizos.

I think that in this sense, well, if I had lived... what do I know... in the fifteenth century well I think that I would be indigenous. But in this one... we aren't indigenous anymore. Why? Because we have a mixture of Spanish with ... we are *mestizos*.

Language and identity are synonymous to create, for Esther, a *mestizo* identity, rather than an indigenous one, which would imply cultural and linguistic purity. In Esther's case, her orientation is more uniquely 'pro-local history,' rather than offering a full

pro-indígena discourse as do my other informants. She does not seem to connect her experience with that of those from Chiapas, for instance, as others do in the discourse of *pro-indígena*. Her life experiences led her to the belief that local knowledge should be recognized and celebrated, whether or not she considers this knowledge “indigenous.” In particular her work on her thesis, on local legends, led her to a greater respect for her local forms of knowledge and oral history, to which she had previously paid less attention. The concept of “indigenous people” is one that for her has a very particular meaning:

Lo que pasa es que mira, no sé pero... me enredo yo sola. Nomás en cuestión identidad indígena, si tú me dijeras que yo soy indígena, no, no soy indígena. Para empezar indígenas somos los que, eramos los que... o los que estaban anteriormente de la conquista. Ahorita ya no somos. Ahora la cuestión de Chiapas, pues creo que tienen un poco... más bien ellos son los que, pues siguen vivos, los que conservan más, los que se conservan más la cuestión de nuestra cultura. Entonces ellos sí, sí, bueno yo para mí, asignarles esa identidad como indígenas si lo veo, pero no por discriminarlos sino porque ellos llevan un poquito más, ellos tienen más puro, hay más pureza en ellos en la cuestión de la cultura indígena como muy aparte de la sociedad urbana, no es igual. Aquí no llamaría indígena porque ya tenemos contacto, la cuestión esta de la lengua castellana, bien, bien, no nada más en la castellana sino que sabes que el español está mezclado con Vasco, Portugués, Latín todo eso, entonces pues no, no, no... no llamaríamos indígenas. Ellos, sí, porque ellos todavía conservan algo de cultura y de lengua, ellos sí.

What happens is that look, I don't know, but... I get myself all intertwined. Just about the indigenous identity issue, if you told me that I was indigenous, no, no I am not indigenous. To begin with indigenous people we are those who, we were those who... or those that earlier were of the conquest. Now we aren't anymore. Now the issue of Chiapas, well I think that they have a bit... more so they are those who, well they remain alive, those who conserve more, those who conserve more of the issue our culture. Therefore they yes, yes, well for me, to assign them this identity as indigenous yes I see it, but not to discriminate against them, but because they hold a little more, they have a more puro, there is more purity in them in the issue of indigenous culture as far apart from urban society, it's not the same. Here I wouldn't call it indigenous because we already have contact, this issue of the Castilian language, well, well, not only in Castilian but you know that Spanish is mixed with Basque, Portugese, Latin, all of that, then well, no, no,

no... we wouldn't name [us] indigenous. They, yes, because they still conserve something of culture and of language, they yes.

Indigenous authenticity is therefore, in this conceptualization, considered to be related to those regions that are less *mestizo* than Contla, according to Esther's view. This suggests that there is variation in the conceiving of responses to a *salir adelante* framework, and variation in the representations of *pro-indígena* discourses.

Iris and Alberta

These two female teachers were interviewed together briefly in 1996. At the time, Iris was twenty-eight and Alberta in her late forties. Alberta describes the sociolinguistic situation as being:

de hecho aquí en Tlaxcala solamente, si usted se da cuenta, o en algunas cosas que ha investigado con los niños, son personas muy grandes que lo hablan porque ya personas de unos 40 ó 50 años ya lo medio hablan o ya meten español con Náhuatl, entonces son personas muy grandes que hay que estar conviviendo con ellas, con ellas

Actually here in Tlaxcala only, if you realize it, or in some things that you have researched with the children, they are are very old people that speak it because now people of about 40 or 50 years now they half speak or they put in Spanish with Nahuatl, so they are people who are very aged that one should be living/sharing with them, with them

Alberta's statement which I taped in 1996 in my preliminary research is one that I heard repeated several times, particularly when people first encountered me – that the Mexicano language was a part of the life of only older Contla residents, and that others either don't know it, or else *half-speak* it by mixing the two language, in other words using syncretic speech (Ibid.) The other teacher, Iris, joined in, in this first interview I did with her:

Por ejemplo con mis abuelitos sí, yo me acuerdo como lo hablaban, pero ya mi papá y mi mamá ya no, o sea le digo que desde ahí se fue perdiendo porque

nuestros abuelos no les enseñaron a su hijos ya se fue perdiendo, o me imagino que hubo un tiempo en que se debería de desaparecer porque, ¿cómo es posible que de la noche a la mañana el Nahuatl se dejó de hablar? Porque aquí, nadamás por ejemplo en el Estado de Tlaxcala nadamás medio lo mastican – Contla, más arriba - San Felipe, y ya por ejemplo, allá rumbo a San Pablo del Monte, San Isidro...es un lugar que habla Nahuatl y lo habla muy bien.

For example with my grandparents yes, I remember how they used to speak, but now my father and my mother don't anymore, that is I tell you that since then it [Mexicano] starting losing itself because our grandparents they didn't teach their children it already started losing itself, or I imagine that there was a time in which it must have disappeared because- how is it possible that overnight Nahuatl stopped being spoken? Because here, even just as an example in the state of Tlaxcala they just only half-chew it [Mexicano] – Contla, further up - San Felipe, and then for example, over there in the direction of San Pablo del Monte, San Isidro....it's a place that speaks Nahuatl and speaks it very well

Iris takes up Alberta's theme of regionalism and associated language use, within the context of her own family experience. It is interesting to note her question of how

Mexicano could have disappeared so quickly; this question is echoed by other informants. I think that this is a key question, one to which I would respond:

Mexicano *hasn't* disappeared. As a fieldworker I found the patterns of language use a challenge to discern in the Contla area, and apparently the local speakers do as well.

Iris – Second Interview

Iris was thirty-two at time of the second interview in 1999, and we knew each other much better at that point. Iris is the second youngest of nine children. Her father is over sixty, and her mother under sixty; both spoke Mexicano when I met them. Her grandparents died when she was very small, but she has older relatives that sometimes speak in Mexicano with her parents, although she maintained that her exposure was very limited and always passive rather than active. From my observations, I would say that this teacher understands the least among the people I interviewed, although she clearly has some passive competence. This statement is my subjective opinion based on many interactions in multiple contexts, including observations in the school (inside and outside of the classroom), in the teacher's home with her extended family, and interactions in other teachers' homes on special occasions.

During our second interview, in her home while she was watching over cooking food in both her outdoor and indoor kitchens, Iris taught me terms in Mexicano that are used for cooking, to point out the Mexicano that is still present in her daily life. The excerpt that follows is an example of just how difficult it can be to discern the sociolinguistic situation in Contla.

Esto que tu viste la casita donde pones el comal son palabras que todavía son Nahuatl y aunque nosotros no sabemos hablarlo directamente todavía estamos utilizando algunas palabras

This, that you saw, the little house where you put the comal [griddle] are words that are still in Nahuatl and although we don't know how to speak it directly, we are still using some words.

J: [...]cuando escuchas que lo están hablando ¿entiendes algo?

[...]when you hear what they are talking, do you understand something?

Algunas palabras mmm, si y a veces le llegas a entender alguna conversación porque ya no lo hablan bien así. Sino que le meten algunas palabras en español
Some words mmm, yes and sometimes you manage to understand some conversation because they now don't speak it well in this way [in Mexicano]. But rather they put in some words in Spanish

J: Ahh lo que estaban hablando tus papas aquella vez que vine
ahh what your parents were talking about that time I came

Aja entonces le meten español y tu te das la idea de que lo que están hablando nadamas la idea porque no sabes en realidad si es eso pero te das la idea de que o de quien están hablando

Uh huh so they insert Spanish and you give yourself the idea of what it is that they are talking, no more than the idea because you don't know in reality if it is that, but you give yourself the idea of what or of whom they are speaking.

It was difficult to discern if Iris's parents spoke Mexicano from what she told me, as you will see below. When I met her parents on a day previous to this second interview, they were interested in hearing about my research, and told me that they were speakers but not very good ones. This discourse sample below is another example of the ideological complexity that I found in people's contradictory responses to both direct and indirect questions about language use.

J: ¿Y de los mas grandes, ellos sí entienden algo, tú crees un poco más por ser mas grandes?

And the older ones, they do understand some, do you think a little more because of being older?

No creo, la verdad nunca los he escuchado que platiquen así.
I don't think so, truly I have never heard them that they converse in this way.

J: ¿Y tus papas, entre ellos? And your parents, between themselves?
Tampoco. Not either.

J: Ah ellos no se hablan.
Oh they don't speak with each other [in Mexicano].

Sí lo saben hablar, luego a veces en que algunas personas se encuentran en el camino lo hablan.

Yes they know how to speak, then sometimes in which some people run into each other on the road they speak.

J: *¿Y se saludan?*

And they greet each other? [understood: in Mexicano with ritual greeting]

Se hablan, se saludan de esa manera pero con nosotros con sus hijos no lo hicieron. Lo que pasa es que ellos se educaron en el tiempo que si ellos lo hablaban los castigaban mucho.

They speak, they greet each other in that way but with us, with their children they didn't do it. What happens is that they were educated in a time that if they spoke it they were punished a lot.

J: *¿Por la discriminación?*

Due to discrimination?

Por la educación de la escuela, no les permitía hablar así.

Because of the education of the school, it didn't used to permit them to speak in this way.

Iris believes that negative attitudes towards indigenous language in schools was the reason that her parents did not wish to teach their children their language; this is the paradox of Mexican bilingual education today, which will be discussed further in chapter six.

Don Pablo

At the time I interviewed him, Don Pablo was the *Presidente municipal* of Contla, the mayor of Contla and political leader of all of the towns within the Contla county. His election and his office, beginning in January 1999 was considered very good news for the residents of the Contla county's towns, particularly those on the "monte" – from the higher elevations of the town (see Chapter 6 for a discussion of identity and power recursivities between the center of town and the more mountainous regions of this

region.) As a native of San Felipe Cuahutenco, a town of roughly 2,000 people most of whom are fluent speakers of both languages (to a greater extent than in the centers of Contla) I was told that Don Pablo symbolized the ascent to power of the political and economic underdogs of the County – those from the perceived hinterlands rather than from the center (See chapter 5 for further discussion of this issue). Despite the fact that San Felipe had the trend of electing PRD party candidates (The leftist *Partido Revolucionario Democrático* was an oppositional party at the time), he was elected on the ruling PRI ticket (The right-wing *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* was in national power for seven decades, until just recently). Don Pablo is a textile factory owner, and in this interview discussed with me his travels to other parts of Mexico and to the United States regarding his businesses. He also mentions that his children are studying at prestigious universities in Mexico and in Texas.

It was notable that in his official capacity as municipal president, Don Pablo attended the Book Presentation that we organized to discuss the publication of the translation of Hill & Hill's *Speaking Mexicano* (Hill & Hill 1999). As municipal president, I heard that he was hearing his constituents' comments and complaints in *Mexicano*; it was interesting that this fact is what hit the gossip circuits in town, and seemed to impress people as highly unusual, but favorable, for a formal *audiencia* (meeting) to be held in *Mexicano*.

Taking place after the initial part of this interview was over, the interview excerpt below begins with the "stock answer" that many people give when first asked about language usage. This interview was the only one that I did that was undertaken with

someone that I did not previously know, apart from a quick introduction the day of the Book Presentation. I requested an official appointment with the mayor's secretary, and interviewed him in his office. After describing the purpose of my research, and who my institutional sponsors were, I explained that I would ask him the kinds of questions that I was asking the people in his county. Note that as the interview progresses, even in this short discourse excerpt, the more complex sociolinguistic situation unfolds, and the presence of Mexicano in this family surfaces in the discourse. The mentions of Mexicano quickly go hand in hand with discussions of universities and places where Don Pablo had conducted business, which are all indexes of education and business dealings in upper class sites, creating an interesting juxtaposition between the local – iconized by Mexicano, and the national and international – indexing modernity, and success at *salir adelante*.

J: *En casa, en que idioma le habla usted a su familia?*
At home, in what language do you speak to your family?

P: *Bueno, como nosotros le llamamos español o castellano. Es lo que hablamos.*
Well, as we call it, Spanish or Castilian. This is what we speak.

J: *Y a sus hijos, ¿la mayor parte del tiempo les habla usted en español?*
And to your children, the majority of the time do you speak in Spanish?

P: *Mire, de todo. Desde que nacieron siempre les hemos platicado así en español, porque bueno uno de ellos nació en la ciudad de Mexico -dos nacieron en la ciudad de Mexico- y ahí es muy difícil. Pero a temprana edad venimos a vivir en la población de San Felipe Cuahutenco, y bueno, como lo platicamos con mi papá, mi mamá, y con la gente de allí pues estamos muy acostumbrados hablando, este, Náhuatl. Buen, ellos entienden pero no hablan. Hablan, pero muy poquito.*
Look [formal], of everything. Since they were born we have always conversed with them in this way in Spanish, because well one of them was born on Mexico City – two were born in Mexico City – and there it's very difficult. But at an early age we came to live in the town of San Felipe Cuahutenco, and well since we speak it [inferred: Mexicano] with my father, my mother, and with the people from there

well we are very used to speaking, um, Nahuatl. Well, they understand it but they don't speak. They speak, but very little.

J: *Entonces, pero han de entender muy bien?*

So, but they must understand very well?

P: *Sí. Entienden muy bien. De hecho como mi hijo el más grande, como estudió en la Universidad de las Américas, bueno entonces, casi no vivió acá y se adaptó más a hablar español que Náhuatl. Y luego después el otro, que no estudió, bueno llegó hasta la Prepa, él también con sus amigos se hablan español. Y el otro, está en la Iberoamericana en Puebla y pues también casi no lo habla.*

Yes. They understand very well. In fact since my son the eldest one, since he studied in the University of the Americas [private university on outskirts of Puebla City], well then, he hardly lived here and he adapted himself more to speaking Spanish than Nahuatl. And then after the other one, who did not study, well he reached high school, he also with his friends they speak to each other in Spanish. And the other, he's in the Iberoamericana [private university] in Puebla and well he also hardly speaks it.

J: *Ya perdió la costumbre.*

He's lost the habit now.

P: *Y el otro, el más chico está en el Tec. de Monterrey, en Chihuahua y bueno está allá estudiando y por lógica que sale de la escuela o de clases, se pone a platicar con sus amigos. Después se fue a perfeccionar un poquito de inglés en Inglaterra. Se fue a estudiar unos días en el tiempo de vacaciones. Entonces, como eso, no se presta el tiempo para platicar con ellos lo que nosotros pudimos con nuestros papás [p.e. en mexicano]. Y por eso es que lo hemos dejado un poquito de hablar. Yo no lo hablo muy bien, pero aunque sea poquito sí lo hablo. Pero lo entiendo todo.*

And the other one, the youngest is in the Tech of Monterrey [well-known scientific university], in Chihuahua and well he's over there studying and logically when he comes out of school or classes, he gets to conversing with his friends. After he went to perfect his English a little in England. He went to study some days during vacation. So, like that, time doesn't lend itself to conversing with them that which we could with our parents [i.e. Mexicano]. And because of this it's what we have stopped a bit speaking. I don't speak it very well, but even if it's a little bit I do speak it. But I understand everything.

San Bernardino Contla is known for its textile industry, which is both industrialized (factory -based) and artisanal (home-based), and Don Pablo is known as the most important textile business man in town, as the owner of four factories. His social and

economic position, and the nature of his business which involves exporting to other parts of Mexico, to towns on the U.S border, as well as to other countries, places him in a social world that intersects with many people in other places, far from San Felipe, Contla and Tlaxcala. Europe and European languages have great symbolic capital, as we have seen from his comments, and his mention of traveling to Europe is indexical of great economic comfort. There is a juxtaposition in his narrative between being a markedly local citizen as a speaker of Mexicano the local language, and then as being a global citizen because of the travel he does for business.

J: Yo creo que para muchas personas, de lo que yo he escuchado, les impresiona mucho de tener un presidente que es de San Felipe y que puede hablar. Algunas personas me han comentado que usted a veces ha atendido a uno que otro en mexicano. Y yo me estaba preguntando, uy, ¿quién sabe cuántos años ha sido desde que ha pasado esto aquí en donde estamos ahorita [oficina del presidente municipal]? La posibilidad de comunicarse con la gente del pueblo, si es que quieren comunicarse en otro. Pues se puede.

J: I think that for a lot of people, from what I have heard, it impresses them a lot to have a president that is from San Felipe and that can speak [inferred: Mexicano]. Some people have commented to me that you have sometimes attended to one or another person in Mexicano [in official meetings]. And I was asking myself, uy, who knows how many years it has been since this has happened here in where we are now [office of the municipal president]? The possibility of communicating with the people of the town, if they want to speak in another [in Mexicano]. Well they can.

P: Mire lo que pasa es hay mucha gente ya de mucha edad como mujeres y hombres y esa gente llega y habla el Náhuatl, entonces posiblemente ni le entienden el español. Pero para que ellos se sientan contentos y contentas y como soy algo conocido; más bien conocido. Entonces yo tengo que contestarles en Náhuatl. Para que ellos se sientan a gusto y están seguros de lo que yo les digo. Entonces es por eso que yo les contesto en Náhuatl, porque lo hablo. Mezclado, pero trato de hablar lo más que puedo en Náhuatl.

Look [formal] what happens is that there are a lot of people of advanced age, like women and men and those people arrive [here] and they speak Nahuatl, so possibly they don't understand Spanish. But so that they feel happy and since I am somewhat known; actually well known. So I have to answer them in Nahuatl. So that they feel good and are sure about what it is that I tell them. So it's for this

reason that I answer them in Nahuatl, because I speak it. [It's] mixed, but I try to speak the most that I can in Nahuatl.

J: *Ha de ser muy importante para esas personas de poder llegar a su presidencia y poder comunicarse en la manera en la cual ellos se comunican. A usted le gusta escuchar que lo hablan?*

It must be very important for those people to be able to arrive at their presidential office and be able to communicate in the manner in which they communicate with each other. Do you like to hear that it is spoken?

P: *Sí, me gusta. Y porque es una, no se puede decir un idioma porque es un dialecto a lo mejor y muy bonito. Hay, por ejemplo, gente que conozco de por allá, quien habla español, habla inglés y habla el Náhuatl. Y habla algún -mocho pero habla- por ejemplo a lo mejor francés, a lo mejor hasta italiano.*

Yes, I like it. And because it's a, one can't say a language because it's a dialect most likely and very nice/pretty. There are, for example, people that I know from over there [San Felipe], that speak Spanish, speak English, and speak Nahuatl. And someone speaks –all messed up, but he speaks- for example most likely French, and possibly even Italian.

J: *Varias cosas.*

Several things.

P: *Entonces cuando andamos en Estados Unidos de Norteamérica platicamos como si estuviéramos en el pueblo porque estamos más seguros de lo que estamos hablando como uno se sienta contento. ¿Y quién lo juzgue allí? para la gente canija... entonces hablando como uno se sienta contento entonces sí lo hablo yo.*

So that when we are in the United States of Northamerica we converse as if we were in the town because we are more sure that we are speaking in the way that one feels happy. And who judges you over there? For people [who are jerks/difficult]... so that speaking as one feels happy then yes I do speak it.

In the U.S. he can comfortably speak Mexicano without anyone making negative comments; It is interesting to note that his phrase “*platicamos como si estuviéramos en el pueblo*” (we converse as if we were in the town) is directly indexical of “speaking Mexicano,” although he does not say this directly. Don Pablo explains that people are discriminated against for being from small towns. They think one is ignorant and without culture. When asked about bilingual education, he says:

P: *Para mí, que es los padres de familia y la ciudadanía, y si usted se da -a lo mejor usted no, pero yo si me doy cuenta- que donde hay más pobreza, más humildad es donde la gente todavía acepta ese tipo de estudio. Bilingüe. Pero donde ya está más o menos avanzadito como que ignoran, como que se burlan y es por que la gente a veces no quiere.*

For me, what is parents [of students] and the townspeople, and if you realize – probably you don't, but I do realize it- that where there is more poverty, more humility is where the people still accept this type of study. Bilingual [education]. But where it's *already* more or less advanced[w/ softening diminutive] it's like they ignore, like they make fun of [it] and because sometimes people don't want it.

Finally, Don Pablo ends with the idea that one learns to value one's language and culture:

[.....] *Y eso valora cuando ya está grande, porque cuando está uno pequeño pero no. Pero cuando ya es maduro lo habla. Yo por ejemplo lo hablo. No le diré muy bien, pero lo hablo.*

And that is valued when one is already big, because when one is small no it's not. But when one is mature one speaks it. I for example speak it. I won't say very well, but I speak it.

The discourse of *salir adelante*, as related to a discourse of *menosprecio* is very much present and developed in this section. Don Pablo is an example of someone who moves in a world that he refers euphemistically as “más avanzadito” (a bit more advanced), and he has children studying at well-known institutions not only outside the region, but also outside the country. As a textile business man, considered the wealthiest man in town, he has his claim to the world beyond the county of Contla with its Mexicano heritage. Because Mexicano has been so present in his life, it seems that he has not shrugged off this identity, despite the *menosprecio* and discrimination that he briefly mentions above. But rather he has integrated the local language into his business and political life, and has become the first municipal president from the “monte” region of Contla. Like most Contla residents I met who are definitely fluent

speakers of Mexicano, he does not believe he is a “good speaker,” and in part feels that this is due to language mixing.

Jímena

Jímena is a resident of San Francisco Tetlanohcan, a twenty-seven year old teacher that I met in 1996, when I interviewed her for the first time. I conducted a second interview with her in 1999. She understands Mexicano and has been making a concerted effort to practice her verbal skills now that she has, as she expressed it, become more conscious about the importance of the language. Becoming a teacher under the indigenous education system is what motivated her.

Jímena’s parents are both fluent speakers who tried to instill the importance of the language in their children; as we see below, Jímena only became interested later in life. Her husband knows a lot of Mexicano, and Jímena’s mother in law is from Oaxaca and is fluent in Zapotec and Spanish, and has learned sufficient Mexicano to communicate; Jímena’s husband in his family has learned some Zapotec, but is stronger in Mexicano and Spanish.

In the second interview her motivation had grown even further, and here I offer excerpts from both. In this quote from 1996, Jímena laments culture change that has taken place in her town, which up until recent years has been a predominantly Mexicano-speaking town, half way between Contla and San Isidro (if one is able to drive straight around the mountain with a four-wheel drive vehicle).

Jl: *Y ¿piensa que se debe hacer algo para impedir la pérdida del Náhuatl?*
And, do you think something should be done to prevent the loss of Nahuatl?

- J: *Más que nada nosotros mismos debemos forjar eso, que no se pierda, seguir buscando la manera que no se pierda esto porque es muy bonito. Algunos piensan que es denigrante hablar el Náhuatl, o saber esto, el Náhuatl.*
More than anything, we should ourselves we should reinforce that, that it should not be lost, to continue looking for the way that it not be lost because it's very nice/pretty. Some think that it's denigrating to speak Nahuatl, or to know it, Nahuatl
- Jl: *¿Porqué?*
Why?
- J: *Por la educación. Algunos ya se van a la ciudad, ¿somos de pueblo verdad? Y algunos ya se van a la ciudad y llegan y ya no comen los nopales.*
Due to education/upbringing. Some go to the city, we're from a small town, right? And some of them go to the city and they arrive and they won't eat nopales [prickly-pear] anymore.

To “not eat nopales anymore” is a powerful symbol that for Jímena indexes culture change. In this way the prospect of losing the ancestral language due to rejection is like someone rejecting local foods, and therefore, local identities – a cultural *menosprecio*.

When I met up with Jímena again during my main period of field research, she was determined to learn more Mexicano, and put more effort into her teaching of Mexicano in her classroom. Interestingly, one day she came to the Contla school with her hair in two braids, and told me that several people made comments to her, asking her why she had done her hair in this way that day. She relayed to me, “if I wear one braid, no one comments, but when I wore two of them, everyone said I looked like an Indian, and why did I come to school that day like that?” Jímena was playing with the local symbols of indigenusness, and of professionalism and hair braiding, for women, is an important symbol. In the region, the traditional hairstyle for women is two braids, sometimes tied together at the end, and sometimes with bright ribbons woven throughout. But as a teacher, Jímena dressed “professionally,” and for the hair this meant one braid,

or leaving the hair partly loose and partly pinned back, or pulled into a pony-tail. I found it fascinating that she was questioning these symbols actively, as a part of her self-motivated consciousness raising (see Mendoza-Denton 1996 for a discussion of conscious uses of specific personal symbols in constructing identities).

In our 1999 interview, at age thirty, Jímena discussed her language use of late:

Sí, a mi mamá le hablo en Náhuatl porque quiero aprender más, y hay unas cuestiones que le digo mama, “¿cómo se dice esto?” O yo le contesto, porque dice “¿hoy qué vamos a comer?” y le digo “no, no, no pero dímelo en Náhuatl,” entonces a mí si me está interesando el Náhuatl. Que cuando era chiquita siempre me decía: “Ay, aprende.” “Ay no mamá, a mí no me gusta,” o “no le entiendo.” Pero ahora sí, fíjate. Me ha llamado mucho la atención.

[...]

Si yo no lo pude aprender de chiquita porque me negaba siempre, siempre me negué. [...] J: *¿Cómo negarse, en que sentido?*

Ji: En que no lo quieran aprender, en que saben que no porque, no lo voy a escuchar más. En eso. Porque ese era mi problema para mí. “¿Yo hablar eso? No. ¿Qué me van a decir mis amiguitas?” Yo decía eso y si lo recuerdo porque siempre me insistían mis papás. “No, no. A tal lado me van a escuchar hablar, no.” “Me da pena,” o “me da vergüenza hablarlo delante de otra gente que no es de mi familia.” Entonces yo lo tomaba así y yo quiero que ellos [los niños] no lo tomen así.

Yes, to my mother I speak to her in Nahuatl, because I want to learn more, and there are some things that I tell my mother, “How do you say this?” Or I answer her, because she says, “today, what are we going to eat?” and I say to her “no, no, no but tell me in Nahuatl,” so yes, Nahuatl is starting to interest me. When I was little she would always say to me: “Ay, learn.” “Ay, no mother, I don’t like it,” or “I don’t understand it.” But now I do, what do you know. It has captured my attention.

[...]

If I couldn’t learn it as a child it’s because I negated myself always, I always negated myself. [...]

J: To negate oneself how, in what sense?

Ji: In not wanting to learn it, in that they know that because, I won’t be hearing it more. In that. Because that used to be my problem for me. “Me speaking that? No. What are my friends going to say?” I used to say that and I remember it because my parents always used to insist with me. “No, no. In some place they’re going to hear me speaking, no.” “I’m embarrassed,” or “I’m ashamed of speaking it in front of other people who aren’t my family.” So that I took it that way and I want that they [her children] not take it that way.

Conscious of her previous active rejection of Mexicano, Jímena is now becoming what Fishman (1991) calls a “language promoter,” and now challenges her students if they say tap into the *menosprecio* discourse, by telling them “*no me hagas sentir vergüenza porque es una lengua muy bonita*” (don’t make me feel shame because it’s a very pretty language.) Her siblings are less interested than she is in the language, but they come to her if they need some translating.

These comments suggest that some young people may understand and/or speak Mexicano without anyone but their closest family members knowing, keeping this fact from their teachers, neighbors and friends.

For Jímena there is a big difference between the regions of Contla where she works, and San Francisco Tetlanohcan. In Tetlanohcan there is more public use of Mexicano, people greet each other in the streets, and they also, for instance, present offerings during Day of the Dead with Mexicano speeches, rather than in Spanish. She finds that ritual greetings there between *compadres*, or ritual kin, tend to be in Mexicano if the people are older, while the younger *compadres* have the tendency of speaking Spanish to each other.

Jímena’s shift in perspectives is a promising one, because it illustrates that culture change is *not necessarily* uni-directional.

Carolina and Lidia

Carolina is the relative of a teacher who was very interested in my research, and I met her early on in my fieldwork. She and I had many long conversations, usually while she continued her daily labor, as she made her tortillas over a fire in the outdoor kitchen,

or while she heated up lunch over the indoor stove for her family, as they got home from work. In addition to attempting to teach me to make tortillas, Carolina began to teach me Mexicano, and early on she translated a Swadesh 100 word list for me to begin the process, as I recorded her speech. During each conversation one of her children or grandchildren would come by and enter into the discussion. In the transcript excerpts below, from a 2000 interview, her daughter arrives home, hungry from going to her factory job, computer classes, and a long bus commute, and her mother serves her lunch as we discuss who speaks and/or understand Mexicano in their town of San Felipe Cuahutenco.

In our discussions Carolina was always very thoughtful in her responses, and full of good humor, interweaving jokes with her responses to my myriad of questions, and providing many of her own queries as to my research, and more generally, about how people go about their daily lives in the United States. Fifty-seven years old at the time of this interview, she had seen many changes in the generations that have grown up in her town, and as a keen observer of social life, in our conversations she offered much insight, some of which is captured in the taped formal interview which is excerpted below.

About Spanish, Carolina says that as a child she “ya lo medio hablaba” – “I already half spoke it.” Mexicano was her first language. She speaks Spanish to her children mainly, and I have heard her say on occasion that they do not speak Mexicano, while I have seen that they are indeed fluent speakers of the language. She and her husband speak mainly Mexicano with each other, but oftentimes also in Spanish when their children and grandchildren are present. With her siblings and older relatives she

always speaks in Mexicano. Wondering about the ritual greeting in Mexicano, when asked how she greets people on the street in her town, she replied:

C: Por ejemplo, si, si es de mi edad, sí lo normal. Pero si es pues, algo más joven entonces ya, porque ya como le digo sí lo entienden pero no lo pueden hablar bien.

For example, if s/he is my age than, yes what is normal. But if s/he is well, a bit younger, then now, because now as I tell you yes they understand it but they can't speak it well.

For her therefore, “lo normal” what is normal is to speak Mexicano, and to greet people in Mexicano. Others from San Felipe have remarked that they speak Mexicano to those in their generation, no matter what that generation may be – this can include those in their twenties and thirties as well. But, somehow cross-generational communication in Mexicano is less common, unless it is necessitated because there is a monolingual speaker of Mexicano who requires his/her interlocutor to speak Mexicano in order to be understood. Clearly multiple contexts for the language exist that cannot often be observed, because they take place in the intimate familial spheres. The other theme raised by Carolina's statement is that speakers attempt to perceive their interlocutors' linguistic knowledge, in order for a conversation to progress.

I asked Carolina if she and her husband made any linguistic choices for their children when they were small, if they talked about wanting their children to learn Mexicano. She replies:

C: no, pues casi decididamente de que no, dijimos “no les vamos a hablar” porque en aquel tiempo, es lo que le estoy diciendo, cuando se mandaba un niño a la escuela, le agarraba difícil para contestar con el maestro.

No, well almost decidedly that no, we said “we aren't going to speak to them [in Mexicano]” because in that time, it's what I am telling you, when a child was sent to the school, he found it hard to answer the teacher.

J: Aaah.

C: *Entonces ya, desde niños fueron y ya siempre les he hablado en Español.
Entonces casi ya no le hablé nuestro idioma*
So that now, since they were children and always I have spoken to them in Spanish. So that I hardly spoke to them our language anymore

When asked about discrimination, a topic we had discussed in the past, she told me about what people used to say when Spanish became used more prevalently in the past, and then talks about language transmission today:

C: *Hay algunos, los mayores, decía... pues como una cosa de juzgar, “¿qué se cree?, ya no puede hablar en Náhuatl, ya como que ya se cree muy grande” o “no, no sé que es lo que pensaban. Así que deben hablar en Náhuatl, ¿qué es eso de que están hablando en Español, en ese yo no lo entiendo.” [...] No, entonces en eso de que, pos hay algunos familias⁸ que todavía les hablan directamente a sus hijos, pero casi ya no. Entonces lo entienden pero no lo habla.*

There are some, the elders, they used to say... well like something to judge, “what does he think he is? They can’t speak in Nahuatl anymore, now like they think they’re very important” or “No, I don’t know what they were thinking. So they should speak in Nahuatl, what is this that they are speaking in Spanish, in that [language] I don’t understand.” [...] No, so that in that, well there are some families that still speak directly [in Mexicano] to their children, but hardly anymore. So they understand it but they don’t speak it.

J: *¿Y Ud., porqué piensa que se ha perdido? Bueno, me dijo Ud. que por la escuela.*

And why do you think that it has been lost? Well, you told me that it was because of the school.

C: *Aajá. Porque así, pues, más o menos, no sé que es lo que pensábamos, como una persona así, más o menos que viene de gobierno, viene de algún oficina, y por ejemplo que se le vaya a enfrentar Ud., no le puede hablar porque no le puede hablar bien.*

Uh-huh. Because in this way, well, more or less, I don’t know what we were thinking, like a person like that, more or less who comes from the government, comes from some office, and for example that you should have to face them, you can’t talk to them because you can’t speak well.

⁸ The phrase “algunos familias” does not contain a typographical error in the gender agreement between noun and adjective, but rather shows that this speaker speaks a Spanish that is heavily influenced by Mexicano in places, and also that Spanish is her second language.

J: *¿Cómo para resolver problemas?*
Such as to resolve problems?

C: *Eso. No se puede. Entonces ya lo decían, solamente a tal persona sí puede hablar, eso sí sabe hablar con esa persona que viene. Pero uno que no sabe hablar, ¿qué es lo que le va a platicar? En ese razón que no pensaba, pero pues ahora ya ni se piensa de nada. Ahora ya cualquiera puede hablar con el quien sea [risa].*

That's it. It can't be done. Therefore they used to say it then, only to a certain person can s/he speak, that one does know how to speak with that person that comes. But one who does not know how to speak, what is s/he going to speak about? For that reason that I didn't think, but well now nothing [like that] is thought of anymore. Now any old person anymore can speak with whomever s/he wants [laughter].

J: *¿Pero se va a perdiendo el Mexicano poco a poco?*
But Mexicano is being lost little by little?

C: *No, ¡yo por mi lugar no, porque yo lo hablo, lo de siempre!* [risas]
No, I around my place no, because I speak it, the same as always! [laughter]

J: [laughter]

C: *Sí, porque si quiere pos yo le hablo, lo que le estoy platicando yo le hablo en Mexicano, pero pues [...] Dice que Ud. lo está grabando, bueno, está bien, yo lo voy a hablar todo en Mexicano, pero hay algunas cosas que no la va a entender.*

Yes, because if you want well I can speak [it; Mexicano], what I am conversing I can speak in Mexicano, but well [...] You say that you are taping, well, that's fine, I will speak all in Mexicano, but there are some things you won't understand.

Like other outsiders who have come to her town, I need my interlocuters to speak Spanish, because otherwise the then elementary knowledge of Mexicano that I had would not have been sufficient for us to communicate. In the past, government officials came to visit the town, as she says, and if they were not able to communicate with them, they could have serious problems, or possibly not receive types of economic support that the Mexican state has offered some of its rural inhabitants in recent years.

The nation-state only began to reach out to rural citizens after the post-revolutionary period of consolidation of state power, a topic which I will discuss in a chapter on language and education; much has been written on the idea of “bringing the Indigenous people into the national fold, into the national political economy,” and this was done in Mexico through a Castilianizing bilingual education. As Carolina tells us, the school was responsible for a local change in the linguistic climate, which is quite a paradox for today’s recent attempts at bilingual-bicultural education that want to promote a re-valuing of the language’, rather than cultural assimilation through language teaching. In her discourse, the state comes in speaking Spanish, and one better be able to speak with its representative, and make sure that one’s children are able to communicate with the teacher if they want an education.

Nahuatl is still alive today in Carolina’s home, as she said while laughing above. But she is quite aware that the younger generations are not as interested in the local forms of communication:

C: Pues yo pienso, la verdad, como que ya no les gusta. Y como dicen “pues ya no hace falta,” pues yo pienso que ya no, ya no hacen de su parte que lo aprendan, lo dejan. Entonces ya, ahorita todavía en mi generación todavía lo hablo, pero ya, en lo presente ya no.

Well I think, truthfully, it’s like they don’t like it anymore. And as they say “well it’s not needed anymore,” well I think that they don’t do their part anymore, not anymore, so that they learn it, they leave it aside. So now, right now still in my generation I still speak it, but now, in the present, not anymore.

[...]

C con ella sí, como está chiquita pues, hay una cosa que me habla y “oye abue,” y “¿éste cómo se llama?” Y “cómo se dice? ¿cómo se dice?” Y pues ya le estoy pronunciando bien, ya me dice, es como, hace rato me está diciendo “xomotlalli.” Le digo, “ese no quiere decir xomotlalli.” [with emphasis on the correct

pronunciation, aspiration and the final glottal stop:] “xohmotlalli’ ” y pues lo lo hablo y lo hablo y hasta que lo habla bien.

with her [the granddaughter] yes, since she is little well, there is one they that she speaks to me and “hey gram, and “this what’s it called?” and “how do you say? how do you say this?” And so I’m pronouncing it well, now she says to me, it’s like, a while ago she was saying “xomotlalli” [sit down]. I tell her, “that doesn’t mean ‘sit down’.” [with emphasis on the correct pronunciation, aspiration and the final glottal stop:] “xohmotlalli’ ” and well I speak it it and I speak it until she speaks it well.

This anecdote is particularly interesting since Carolina is stressing that her daughter is mispronouncing a simple, commonly heard Mexicano phrase for “sit down;” she is not including the necessary aspiration, a final glottal stop and her general pronunciation is Spanish-influenced rather than phonetically Mexicano.

The interview with Carolina continued as her daughter Lidia arrived home, and I asked Lidia what she thought about the language issue, and if she wanted her future children to speak Mexicano.

J: *¿Y tú cómo ves? Quieres que tus hijos futuros hablen Mexicano o no, es importante para ti o ¿cómo ves?*

And what do you think? Do you want your future children to speak Mexicano or not, is it important for you, or what do you think?

L: *Sí, sí me gustaría, lo que pasa es que ya no es, pues yo ya no lo puedo hablar, así bien. Unas palabras...*

Yes, I would like it, what happens is that it’s not anymore, well I can’t speak it anymore, that well. A few words....

J: *¿Pero has de entender todo?*

But you must understand everything?

L: *Ah, de que lo entiendo sí lo entiendo, pero yo no lo puedo hablar.*

Ah, that I can understand, yes I understand it, but I cannot speak it.

C: *Si yo les hablo en Náhuatl sí me entienden, lo hacen, lo traen o lo que sea, pero no lo pueden hablar bien exactamente.*

If I speak to them in Nahuatl they do understand me, they do it, they do or whatever, but they cannot speak it well exactly.

L: *Ya para que le responda ya no, algunas cosas ya sí.*
Anymore, for me to respond to her no, not anymore, some things I do.

C: *Uno que otro, pero...*
One or another thing, but...

L: *Pero no todo.*
But not everything.

C: *Exactamente.*
Exactly.

This discussion of language ability shows that shift has taken place in this family across the generations.

One striking incident was a conversation that the three of us had in which Lidia told me that her fiancé's parents did not speak Mexicano. Her mother, Carolina, interrupted and disagreed with her daughter, because she knows the fiancé's parents, is of the same generation and knows that they can indeed communicate in the language. Lidia was surprised that she had never heard any evidence of this linguistic knowledge prior to our conversation. The years of discrimination must be very strong and terrible for local families to hide communicative competence in the local, ancestral language, from each other.

Miguel and Ana

Miguel lives in San Felipe Cuahutenco, and he is a teacher in San Isidro Buensuceso, thirty-three years old when this interview was conducted in 1999. By high school he had already decided to be a teacher, and entered "La Normal" – the teacher's high school and college. When he studied in Tlaxcala, the capital, he was made fun of; Because his family names are in Nahuatl and therefore indicate his indigenesness,

people asked him about them, and then ask if he spoke Nahuatl. I have heard that some residents of Contla have changed their family names, translating them to Spanish, to avoid discriminatory remarks by people from outside of the Malintsi area.

In the interview excerpt that follows I wish to highlight once again the complexity of understanding the patterns of language use based on interview data alone. As with most of my interviewees, Miguel and I had spoken many times about language and education related issues; he feels that people in public in the Contla county speak 95% Spanish, and 5% Nahuatl. Within this excerpt the reader will see that Miguel states and restates his thoughts about his own language ability and that of his family, and that these statements are variable, indicating that he has more than one opinion about language use and language socialization. Once I finished the initial part of the interview, I continued with the sociolinguistic questions that follow below:

J: *¿En casa en qué idioma le habla Ud. a su familia?*
At home in what language do you speak to your family?

M: *Aquí, por desgracia [el Mexicano] se está perdiendo y se va perdiendo y no se puede evitar. Lo que pasa es que desde mis papás y los papás de mi esposa, entre ellos se hablan en Náhuatl, pero a nosotros no nos hablaron en Náhuatl. Por consecuencia pues, o sea, sí lo entiendo y lo hablo nada más que como mis papás nunca nos hablaron en Náhuatl, todo lo decían en español, pues es la, no sé, tal vez se deba la, se deba a esa causa que no lo hablo yo con mis niños también. Luego con mi esposa, ella también entiende el Náhuatl, lo habla pero no tanto como nuestros padres, pero sí le entendemos. Y el defecto que tenemos es que nosotros no nos hablamos en Náhuatl y nuestros niños tampoco les hablamos, y ellos, pues la verdad se está perdiendo más, o sea, entre ellos casi ya nada.*

Here, disgracefully it's [Mexicano] being lost and it goes on being lost and it can't be avoided. What is happening is that since my parents and my wife's parents, between them they speak in Nahuatl, but to us, they didn't speak to us in Nahuatl. As a consequence well, that is, yes I understand it and I speak it only that since my parents never spoke to us in Nahuatl, everything was spoken in Spanish, well it's the, I don't know, maybe it's due to the, it's due to that reason that I don't

speak myself with my children either. Then with my wife, she also understands Nahuatl, she speaks it but not as much as our parents, but we do understand it. And the defect that we have is that we don't speak to each other in Nahuatl, and our children don't speak it either, and they, well truthfully it's losing itself more, that is, between us there is hardly anything.

[...]

J: *¿Le gusta escuchar que lo hablen?*
Do you like hearing it spoken?

M *Ah, sí, me gusta. La verdad es que me gusta, nada más como que se me dificulta. Bueno yo siento que se me traba la lengua, no sé. Pero me han dicho “sí lo hablas. Sí lo hablas bien.” Lo puedo también como, casi nunca, ni con mis amigos también. Nada más con dos amigos son los que nos hablamos este, en Náhuatl, los demás puro español. Y cuando los [veo?] también nos hablamos. Can-tonio? Can-otonio? Can-tio? Tlen c-on-chihua moztla? Y todo. O sea, sí lo entiendo, nada más que casi no nos hablamos, nada más unas veces. Pero uno de ellos que de vez en cuando nos volvemos a encontrar, puro, es puro Náhuatl.*

Ah yes, I like it. The truth is that I like it, only that like it is difficult for me. Well I feel that my tongue gets twisted, I don't know. But they have told me “yes you speak it. Yes, you speak it well.” I can also, hardly ever, not even with my friends, also. Only with two of my friends, they're are the ones with whom we speak um, in Nahuatl, the others purely in Spanish. And when I see them we also speak to each other. [In Nahuatl:] Where are you going? Where did you come from? [¿?] What are you doing? and everything. That is, I do understand it, only that we hardly ever speak to each other, only a sometimes. But of them once in a while when we run into each other, only, it's only Nahuatl.

The Mexicano phrases that Miguel speaks here are very common, polite and more informal greetings –where are you going, where do you come from, what are you doing?-and he speaks them with the same fluency as his Spanish speech.

After asking about the *cofradía* (religious sodality) and community tasks, he says:

M: *Ah, una ocasión que yo tuve ahí un cargo, tuve un cargo de ahí de la iglesia, pues también hay de todo, como la mayoría éramos puros jóvenes, pero también hablábamos en Náhuatl. También para agradecer, ya ve que luego aquí se utiliza cuando... Por ejemplo el otro día que fuimos a un convivio, fuimos a entregar un niño, el... que iba adelante de nosotros, el mayordomo es un muchacho que lo*

habla perfectamente, o sea la versión del Náhuatl, y nos [?]-también, lo poco que pudimos porque son unas palabras un poquito más este, más rebuscadas, sí se habló un poco.

Ah, on one occasion I had an assigned job, I had a job there in the Church, well there's also a bit of everything, since the majority we were all young people [men], but we would also talk in Nahuatl. Also to give thanks, you see that here what's used when... For example the other day we went to a gathering[party], we went to offer a child [statue of baby Jesus], the one who went ahead of us, the *mayordomo* [one in charge] is a young man who speaks it [Mexicano] perfectly, that is the version in Nahuatl, and we -also, the little that we could do because they are some words a bit more, um, more uncommon, yes it was spoken a bit.

This young man was about thirty-two years old, according to Miguel's calculation.

About the town of San Felipe, Miguel explains that few speak Mexicano to their families and that most of the young ones, aged 15-20 don't speak it, but that in some families, a few families, Mexicano is spoken between the various members, including the children, and he mentioned three families by name that do, suggesting that there may be others.

Miguel's self-description of his own language use and ability is belied by a linguistic insecurity that he mentioned above when he said he "gets tongue-tied." This linguistic insecurity is one that I believe is common for second languages acquired in the home (cf. Messing 1995), and in the case of the Malintzi region, may connect with the emotion of minority status that is a result of the discrimination so many speakers have felt. Here Miguel talks about the importance of trust, of *confianza* for him to speak Mexicano. This also suggests that more people in this region speak Mexicano than one would at first imagine.

Por eso hay mucha gente, de la que yo conozco, si no saben Español, saben que yo les entiendo en Náhuatl y nos comunicamos. Y cuando entramos más en confianza pues ya me pongo a hablar en Náhuatl. Nomás que luego me dicen "Es que ud. no lo habla muy bien" por la falta de práctica también. O sea, lo hablo pero un poquito mucho, como que luego unas palabras no me salen muy bien, entonces la

situación de que a veces, mejor no lo hablo. Luego les digo "uds. hablan en Náhuatl yo les contesto en Español y nos entendemos" Sí, esa es la...

That's why there are a lot of people, of those that I know, if they don't know Spanish, they know that I understand in Nahuatl and we communicate. And we enter more into *confianza* [mutual trust] well then I get to speaking in Nahuatl. Only that later they tell me "it's that you don't speak it very well" because of the lack of practice also. That is, I speak it but a little bit a lot, like then some words don't come out very well, so that the situation is that sometimes, it's better that I don't talk. Then I'll tell them "you all talk in Nahuatl and I'll answer you in Spanish and we'll understand each other." Yes, this is the....

When asked if he would like his children to learn Mexicano, Miguel replies that there is interest in his family, but that there is not "decisiveness" – not enough of a push to make it happen, and some shame that also stands in the way.

M: Pues sí me gustaría, lo que pasa es que, no nos podemos quitar esa... ¿cómo se diría? esa, ¿cómo decir? Este, esa pena que sentimos tal vez al hablarnos, casi no. Lo que pasa es que a veces siento a veces que aunque yo y mi esposa nos hablemos en Español, eh que diga en Náhuatl ellos también escucharían hablar en Náhuatl y pues, lo aprenderían, quién sabe. Sí, sería lo mejor, o sea, si hay ganas, lo que pasa es que no hay decisión.

Well yes I would like it, what happens is that it's, we can't rid ourselves of that... how to put it? that, how to say it? Um, this shame that we feel maybe as we speak to each other, almost no. What happens is that sometimes I feel sometimes that although I and my wife we speak to each other in Spanish, eh that if it be said in Nahuatl they would also hear speaking in Nahuatl and then, they would learn it, who knows. Yes, it would be better, that is, yes there is the desire, what happens is that there is not decisiveness.

Miguel's very honest statement about a complex situation is reminiscent of Hill and Hill's (1986) mention of the ambivalence in this region when it comes to the use of Nahuatl. Here we see that it is ambivalence, mixed with memories of bad experiences with racist ideas, and a linguistic insecurity as well.

From the remainder of the interview, I learned that Miguel's young children do indeed understand a bit of Mexicano, although he has thought of taking them to San Isidro with him so that they could become speakers as fluent as his students there are.

Miguel 's wife comes in during the interview, and explains that she didn't think her parents spoke it to her in Mexicano as a child. However, she adds that her grandparents definitely spoke it and that they spoke to them as children. This language transmission from grandparents to grandchildren is an important factor to consider in the socialization of Malintsi children.

As conversational exchanges in this region often do, this one ended with joking intertwined with discussion of language use, after Ana, Miguel 's wife talks about how interesting the local men are, and asks me if I have met any men during my research:

A: *Sí, oh aquí los Mexicanos son muy románticos* [risas].
Yes, oh, here the Mexicans are very romantic [laughter].

J: [laughter]

A: *¿No los ha visto? Echan piropos y, echan flores, [risas] ¡le echan flores luego hasta en Náhuatl!*
Haven't you seen them? They throw out compliments and, 'throw flowers,' [laughing], they 'throw flowers' then even in Nahuatl!

J [risas] *¡No me vayan a platicar sus secretos!*
[laughing] Don't go and tell me your secrets!

Part of the oral tradition of this region is to tell stories, and to turn almost any conversational interaction into a potential verbal sparring or joking verbal exchange. Using the idiom "throwing flowers" (*echar flores*), Ana meant giving nice verbal compliments to someone, and in the process explained that men in San Felipe compliment women in Nahuatl as well as in Spanish.

Arturo

Arturo is a resident of San Felipe Cuahutenco, and also a teacher at the San Isidro school. He has worked in the textile industry, weaving at home on the family loom, and

then gone to the northern border of Mexico to work in the stores that sell these items. He studied two years of university in the state capital, before having to drop out. He became a teacher only a few years before this interview, having been recruited through a state incentive program designed to attract Mexicano speakers to becoming teachers (as described in chapter three). The economic capital of his linguistic skills are particularly present to this teacher, who at the time of entry into the educational system was older than his counterparts, in his mid-thirties.

With his buddies from town, they speak purely Mexicano. Arturo has a very positive attitude towards Nahuatl and has trouble understanding why others don't. He listens to the weekly bilingual radio program, and tells me that he has heard songs that have been translated from English into Mexicano, including Beatles' tunes "Yesterday" and "Imagine;" Others had told me about the translation of the "Macarena."

J: *¿Y le gusta escuchar que se habla?*
And do you like hearing it spoken?

A: *Yo lo considero importante. Además como folclórico, como bonito, saber más que otros.*
I consider it important. Furthermore it's folkloric, like pretty/nice, to know more than others.

Arturo's parents always spoke in Spanish with him, and with his siblings, but Mexicano with each other and their parents. Arturo learned to speak Mexicano well because, he explains, he used to go out with his friends and with them spoke Mexicano. He considers that he learned it from his friends as well as from communicating with his grandparents. He had one grandmother who told them "*Uds. puro español, no quiero nada de náhuatl*" ("you all, only Spanish, I don't want any Nahuatl"), and he believes that this is because

her husband, Arturo's grandfather left the state to pursue a teacher's degree. Arturo's interpretation is that his grandmother saw her husband suffer from being labeled as indigenous, and he further explains:

Y pues en esa época es difícil que alguien estudie alguna carrera allá, a nivel profesional. Y lejos, y él estaba estudiando.

And well at that time it was difficult for someone to be able to study a career over there, at the professional level. And far away, and he was studying.

From this statement we see the symbolic importance of local Contla residents leaving their homes to go and pursue a professional career outside the area, and outside the state. It seems that the local reaction of many people undertaking this, to *salir adelante*, was to feel a rejection of the local language and identity, causing residents like his grandmother to adamantly fight to keep her grandchildren from learning the language that would mark them as "different" in their pursuit of socioeconomic betterment. We see thus how important the Mexicano language is as an icon of local identity, one which can be underappreciated, denigrated, (in a *menosprecio* discourse) and/or promoted for being a loved icon of a cherished heritage (within a discourse of *pro-indígena*).

Arturo's other grandmother, rather than being against Mexicano usage, was monolingual in Mexicano, so he had to use Mexicano in order to communicate with her. The theme of the interest of the individual as a factor in learning Mexicano comes out in his statement:

Es curioso, a mí me gustaba mucho conversar con gente ya grande. Con gente o sea mayor de edad que la que tenía yo, y ellos hablaban en náhuatl y yo los escuchaba y fui entendiendo las cosas.

It's curious, I really liked conversing with people who were older. With people that is of an older age like the ones I had, and they would talk in Nahuatl and I would listen to them and I got to understanding things.

This is another instance in which someone learns the Mexicano language better because of personal interest. Arturo told me that his wife understands Mexicano very well, but that she isn't comfortable speaking, he says "*Ella me quiere contestar pero tiene mucha dificultad para hablar. Muy despacito*" (She wants to answer me but she has a lot of difficulty speaking. Very slowly.) He tries to teach his children words and phrases here and there, and they do pick up on it, but he said that they aren't that interested, and that "*les da vergüenza a veces expresarlo. Quien sabe porqué les da vergüenza,*" (they are ashamed sometimes to express themselves. Who knows why they are ashamed.).

When asked about language usage and the San Felipe *cofradías* (religious sodalities), Arturo says:

A: Sí se habla mucho en las cofradías. Ahí también se habla bastante y ahí se puede aprender mucho porque en las confradías se integran con gente ya de edad con gente joven y ahí se aprende bastante y bastantes cosas. [Los jóvenes] escuchan y contestan en español, pero sí se van. O sea se aprende, es un lugar donde se puede aprender porque hay gente de diferentes generaciones.

Yes it's spoken a lot in the *cofradías*. There too quite a lot is spoken and there one can learn a lot because in the *cofradías* one integrates with older people along with young people and there one learns quite a bit and quite a bit of things. Young people listen and they answer in Spanish, but they do go. That is one learns, it's a place where one can learn because there are people of different generations.

This statement suggests that the *cofradías* (religious sodalities) are an important site for inter-generational language socialization of men, and that key sites for language socialization, at least in this town of San Felipe, exist both within and outside of the context of the family. Since from my field experience I know that it is very rare -though not unheard of- for a woman to attend the *cofradía* meetings, there may be other contexts in San Felipe where women are socialized to speaking Mexicano outside the family

context; these may be, for instance, related to food preparation by a group of women before a large festivity.

Juán

Juán is a teacher at the San Isidro bilingual school, age twenty-five at the time of the interview, who is also from San Felipe Cuahutenco. Our interview was several hours long, because Juán was very interested in elaborating on each question that was put to him. His family owns a small general store in San Felipe, and his work has always included his labor for profit job, helping with the family business, and, when time permits, weaving on the family loom. At home his parents always speak Mexicano with each other; his father tended to speak more Spanish and his mother more Mexicano when addressing their children. The siblings tend to speak Spanish with each other, although a couple of them have become more interested in practicing Mexicano as well. Juán considers that he has made a concerted effort to learn to speak Mexicano, because he likes it and because he was motivated by his teacher training course in indigenous language. Juán explains that his wife understands Mexicano to a certain degree, and cannot speak it; He believes that this is due to the fact that his mother-in-law is from another area, although she did have some contact with her grandparents, which gave her some linguistic exposure.

In the following excerpt we see the intertwining of language, identity and progress through the discourses of *menosprecio* and *salir adelante*.

J: *Y pasando a preguntas que tienen que ver con el leguaje. En casa, ¿en qué idioma le habla a su familia?*

And going on to questions that have to do with language. At home, in what language do you speak with your family?

Juán: *Bueno, toda la vida siempre mi papá nos habló en español y mi mamá nos habló en mexicano, siempre. Entonces, el “¿porqué?” yo después me pregunté. Quizás en un principio no me había percatado, no me pregunté del porqué, no me daba cuenta. ¿Porqué me hablan en español por acá y por acá me hablan en Náhuatl? Pero mi papá, la explicación es de que, bueno, él pasó por los tiempos en que la escuela, pues tomaba como obstáculo la lengua Náhuatl. Y eso fue un problema para el aprendizaje o para desenvolverse en la escuela y él no quiso, pensó en que nosotros, pues no tuviéramos ese problema, si pudiésemos adquirir el estudio en la escuela y no tener ninguno de ese tipo de obstáculos y seguir.*

[...]

¿Qué fue lo que me motivó? Lo que me motivó fue un señor de acá, que, él salió adelante a través del estudio también. Y parece, ¿sí le platicué de que hubo una brigada? Bueno mi papá me platica, yo nunca los vi.

[...]

Sí, yo lo empecé a hablar, y bueno ahora que nosotros ya estamos metidos en la educación indígena, yo les he platicado todo, todo sobre la lengua. Todo lo que hemos visto allá y de que en otras partes se habla. Por ejemplo, en el caso de San Isidro, y, bueno, de que la educación indígena se refiere a eso, a rescatar, a promover el lenguaje. Yo siento que [la?] acción de que nosotros no habláramos desde pequeños no era para acabar la propia lengua sino que era para que nosotros siguiéramos o tuviésemos acceso al estudio.

Well, my whole life my father always spoke with us in Spanish and my mother spoke with us in Mexicano, always. So, the “why?” I afterwards asked myself. Perhaps at the beginning I wouldn’t have realized, I didn’t ask myself why, I didn’t realize. Why do they speak Spanish with me over here and over here they speak to me in Nahuatl? But my father, the explanation is that, well, he lived through times in which the school, well it took the Nahuatl language to be an obstacle. And that was a problem for learning or to develop oneself in school and he didn’t want it, he thought that we, we that we wouldn’t have that problem, if we could acquire an education in school and not have any of that type of obstacle and continue on.

[...]

What was it that motivated me? What motivated me was a man from here, who, he *salió adelante* [forged ahead] through schooling too. And it seems, did I tell you that there was a brigade? Well my father tells me about it, I never saw them.⁹

[...]

⁹ Here by a “brigade” Juán is referring to a group of American Quakers who organized a series of work camps in the town of San Felipe Cuahutenco in the 1960’s. Many people in this town, upon hearing I was from the U.S.A. told me about how wonderful this group had been, about the agricultural and manual technologies this group brought. To this day a painting of the Malintsi mountain done by a member of this group hangs in the municipal presidency office of this town. This work brigade was run through the Mexico City office of the Quaker/ Society of Friends church, and records related to this group remain there. The memory of the brigade is somehow intertwined for Juán with idea of *salir adelante*.

Yes, I began to speak it, and well now that we are here in indigenous education, I have talked with them about everything, everything about the language. Everything we have seen there [San Isidro] and that in other parts it is spoken. For example, in the case of San Isidro, and, well, that indigenous education refers to just that, to rescue, to promote the language. I feel that the action that we did speak to each other [in Mexicano] since we were little was not to put an end to the actual language but rather it was so that we would continue on or manage to have access to studying [education].

What is particularly interesting about Juan's discussion here, is that he was commenting on his thought process as he began to think about his own language socialization. I have found that this is the case for many teachers in the indigenous education division, and as a group they are very thoughtful key informants. For Juan, the questions about his parents' language socialization practices have to do with schooling as a part of progress, and in the image of schooling for *salir adelante* as it was at the time, there was no space for Mexicano in the minds of many people. In this moving narrative Juan describes his thoughts on his little daughter's language socialization:

...Y yo también ese momento me llegué a preguntar, bueno viene siendo así, como un poco de orgullo. Lo calificamos como náhuatl, aunque la mayoría de la gente por estos lugares le conoce como mexicano. Solamente dos idiomas o el mexicano y español. Entonces el orgullo es, como decir, este, pues bueno yo quiero que mi hija, la primera lengua que aprenda sea el mexicano. Que no hable una lengua extranjera, que sea el español. Que si lo va a hablar después, a lo mejor hasta el inglés o otra, pero que la primera sea el mexicano.

Pero también me puse a pensar, bueno en este contexto. Aquí, en este entorno los niños no hablan mexicano, o sea no les enseñan el mexicano. Entonces ella va a ser la excepción cuando después entre a pre-escolado o en primaria y bueno, a lo mejor va a ser la excepción, la cosa rara. Algo del estudio se le podría dificultar por el idioma, porque el maestro le va a hablar en español porque todos hablan en español, y bueno no se va a dedicar a una en mexicano. Entonces en ese momento yo pensé que puede tener problemas y pensé en que, bueno, claro que le voy a hablar en español porque no hay de otra. Aquí va entrar en la escuela y su lenguaje va a ser en español, para con los niños también.

... And I also in that moment got to asking myself, well it seems to be like this, like a bit of pride. We qualify it as Nahuatl, although the majority of people in these parts know it as Mexicano. Only two languages either Mexicano

and Spanish. So that the pride is, how to say it, um, well good I want my daughter, the first language that she learns should be Mexicano. She should be speaking a foreign language, even Spanish. If she is going to speak it later, maybe even English or another but the first one should be Mexicano.

But I also got to thinking, well, in this context. Here in this environment children don't speak Mexicano, that is they don't teach them Mexicano. So she will be the exception, the odd thing. Some of her studies might become difficult for her because of the language, because the teacher will speak to her in Spanish because everyone speaks in Spanish, and well s/he is not going to dedicate themselves to one in Mexicano. So in that moment I thought she could have problems and I thought that, well, of course I am going to speak with her in Spanish because there is no other way. Here she is going to enter school and her language is going to be Spanish, for with the other kids also.

Juán experiences teaching students in San Isidro who are very fluent in both languages has caused him to wish the same bilingualism for his daughter, although he sees the obstacles as much larger than the possibilities. Finally, he suggests that not insisting too much on Mexicano learning is also sometimes due to "inertia," that it would be too difficult a step to take.

Regarding his own schooling, Juárez says that for the most part his teachers were from outside the region and did not speak or understand Mexicano. The students did occasionally speak Mexicano with each other. When I asked him what he thought the age range was for speakers of Mexicano in his town, he suggested that he knows some eighteen (18) year olds who speak Mexicano. In his generation of young people in their mid-twenties he says that they all understand Mexicano because their parents speak it, although he stresses that some families do indeed speak more Mexicano at home than others in his town.

Carla

I met Carla in 1996 through the bilingual teachers I knew. She is a woman in her fifties, and a special education teacher by training who has worked in indigenous education for over fifteen years. As someone interested in studying local history and tradition, she was very interested in my research and always supportive of it. After I moved to Contla, we found we had had interconnecting social networks both through educational and ritual kin *compadre* relationships. The interview which is excerpted below was conducted in late 1999, after Carla and I had worked closely together on organizing the Book Presentation and the ensuing revitalization project *Matilahtocan*. We had many long conversations prior to the interview.

Carla is from the very center of Contla, and is very interested in the history of her town. She left Contla when she was a teenager, to go to the city of Puebla to study both secondary school (junior high) and high school. In her interview she described to me the difficulties of being from a small town, and, she realized, particularly being from an indigenous one when she confronted her peers in the city as a migrant student: “you come from a place of Indians” they would say to her. Carla is determined to set any discourses of *menosprecio* on their heads, and is a great promoter of indigenous pride and indigenous rights, both locally, and nationally, such as when she discussed the Zapatista uprising with me. Her discourse is a decidedly *pro-indígena* one, and for her it is the approach one should take when talking of *salir adelante*. Language, identity, ideology and emotion are inextricably linked for Carla, which surfaces in her discussion below.

The reader should bear in mind my discussion above of Gonzalez' (1992,2001) development of the *emotion of minority status* idea, because Carla 's discussion of children's identity formation processes is reminiscent of Gonzalez' work in the U.S./Mexico borderlands, thereby suggesting that there are cross-cultural dimensions to the affective experiences of children who grow up and are socialized as members of societies that are "minoritized" in some way (cf. McCarty 2002), with identities that may be also marked linguistically. Carla spoke to me of the emotional process she believes a child goes through, to rid his/herself of the "complex" (as she phrases it) of being "Indian."

C: Es todo lo que debemos trabajarle a los niños, la cuestión emocional. Porque, qué hace de no... de verdad, emocionalmente hay veces que estamos por los suelos. A mí me traté de... con todo eso que yo pasé, en la cuestión emocional yo entré muy mal. Puede decirse que muy mal, me sentía así, hasta a lo mejor con complejo de inferioridad, o a lo mejor lo sigo teniendo pero, este... no, y a mi, la educación especial me brindó muchísimo en ese aspecto. Y es... y entonces mucho, yo ahora entiendo que muchos niños no han salido por esa cosa de sentirse "No, pues yo soy de...¿cómo voy a llegar hasta esos lugares si yo soy esto y soy el, soy indígena o soy....? No, o sea, hacerle sentir que como indígena "tu vales, tú puedes y tú debes y... y debes eh, eh, llegar hasta lo más alto. Si tus capacidades te lo permiten, adelante." O cuántos niños tiene las capacidades, lo que pasa es que los, los mismos maestros los aplasta... y no les da esa oportunidad de florecer. Cuando el maestro ayuda esos talentos emergen. Y yo siempre les he dicho a mis compañeros lo que pasa...[?] dicen que los niños de los pueblos no, no, no trascienden, lo que pasa es que no... [Tape ends]

It's all that we must work with, with the children, the emotional issue. Because, what makes that it doesn't... trully, emotionally there are times that we are on the floor. I myself tried to... with everything that I lived through, with the emotional issue I entered into it very badly. You can say that very badly, I used to feel that way, even possibly with an inferiority complex, or maybe I still have it, but um... no, and for me, special education offered me a lot in this regard. And it's... and so a lot, I now understand that many children haven't come out of this thing of feeling "No, well I am from... how am I going to make it to those places if I am this and I am the, I am indigenous or I am...? No, that is to make him feel that as an indigenous person "you count, you can do it and you will and.. and you should eh, eh, make it all the way to the highest. If your capacities permit you

adelante, forward.” Or how many children have the capacities, what happens is that the the teachers themselves crush them... and they don’t give them that opportunity to flower. When the teacher helps those talents emerge. And I always have told my fellow teachers that what happens is... [?] they say that children from the towns don’t don’t don’t transcend, what happens is that they don’t.... [Tape ends]

C: *que sigan adelante, o cuántos niños tienen las capacidades, lo que pasa es que los apla.. los mismos maestros los aplasta... Pero, repito, o sea, esos complejos puede uno superarlos... Cuando te, la escuela te ayude, el maestro te ayude...*

Let them go forward [forge ahead], or how many children have the capacities, what happens is that they cru... the teachers themselves crush them... But, I repeat, that is, those complexes one can overcome them... When the school helps you, the teacher helps you...

Regarding linguistic issues, Carla says:

C: *En lo lingüístico, pues es, para mí también es algo, algo que debemos, es algo muy, muy hermoso porque, imagínate. Yo me pongo a pensar ¿cómo es posible que una lengua que mis, los abuelos, tatarabuelos de mis tatatatatarabuelos hablaron y lo conservaron por siglos y en tan poquitos años lo hemos perdido? Y si lo perdemos, lo hemos perdido por muchas cuestiones precisamente por la invasión este... la invasión lingüística, la invasión de los medios de comunicación que siempre te... Ahí en la televisión yo he visto que siempre nos ponen...al indígena lo ridiculizan. Al indígena lo, es a él que lo ponen a hacer los peores papeles. Había un programa donde salía una persona de sexo femenino que era, que siempre salía con su vestido típico, bordado pero nada más para ridiculizarla. Y la verdad a mi me molestaba mucho eso porque...[trails off]*

On the linguistic [topic], well it’s, for me it’s something, something that we should, it’s something very very beautiful because, just imagine. I get to thinking, how is it possible that a language that my, that the grandparents, great-grandparents of my great-great-great-grandparents spoke and they maintained it for centuries and so few years we have lost it? And if we lose it, we have lost it for many issues, precisely because of the invasion um... the linguistic invasion, the invasion of the means of communication that you always... There on television I have seen that they always put us... the indigenous one they always ridicule him. The indigenous one they, it’s he who they make to play the worst roles. There was a program where a person of the feminine sex came on, she was always, she always came out with her typical dress, embroidered but nothing more than to ridicule her. And the truth is that it bothered me a lot that because...[trails off]

J: *¿A dónde?*
Where?

C: *En la televisión, ya lo quitaron, ya lo quitaron.*
On television, they got took it off already, they took it off already.

J: Ah.

C: *Y ella era la criada. Y la verdad a mi me mortifi... una ocasión sí hablé.*
And she was the maid. And truth is it mortifi... on one occasion I did speak up.
[...]

C: *yo creo que por eso se menosprecian las cosas porque no se conocen, no se sabe. Entonces la lengua, precisamente por eso también la menospreciamos porque no sabemos, sobretodo en el Náhuatl que es una lengua tan amplia, tan amplia. Yo luego les digo "¿porqué? ¿cómo es posible que en cuarenta y tanto o cincuenta y tantos años se haya perdido, haya descendido los, haya descendido el número de hablantes?" pero de manera alarmante. Porque... pues imaginemos, hace años todo el estado hablaba Náhuatl, ¡todo el estado! Y ahora simplemente son la falda de la Malintsi.*

I think that because of that they *menosprecian* [under-appreciate; denigrate] things because they don't know them, it's not known. So the language, precisely because of that we also *menospreciamos* [under-appreciate; denigrate] it because we don't know, especially with Nahuatl that is a language that is so full[rich], so full. I then tell them "Why? How is it possible that in forty and some or fifty and some years it has been lost, it has descended the, the number of speakers should have decreased but in an alarming manner. Because... well let's imagine that, years ago the whole state used to speak Nahuatl, the whole state! And now it's simply the skirts of the Malinstsi.

In Carla's own family everyone spoke some Mexicano when she was growing up, and there was also a lot of Spanish. They had workers, hired to work on the family lands, living with them, and they were from the Sierra de Puebla, and were fluent daily speakers of Mexicano. She learned by listening to these conversations, even though her parents did not usually address her in Mexicano. With her grandparents she used Mexicano. As a child it bothered her how the monolingual Mexicano speakers were made fun of in town.

About reversing language shift (RLS) (a topic for another chapter) Carla says:

C: *Sí se puede lograr porque hay muchos que todavía lo saben. Mucha persona joven que lo ha escuchado por lo menos y... en su casa, en el seno familiar que se habla, algunas. Aunque decimos que no, pero hay muchas familias que todavía lo hablan internamente. Entonces los jóvenes...*

Yes it can be done because there are many that still know it. Many a young person that has heard it at least and... in the home, in the bosom of the family that it is spoken, some. Although we say that it isn't, but there are many families that still speak it internally. So the young people....[trails off]

J: *Que lo entienden, luego dicen que no saben nada y luego alguien- mi gran ejemplo es que... y me pasa cada semana me pasa otra vez que alguien dice algo y se ponen a reír -como una broma o una expresión o algo que dicen y que se ponen a reír. Y uno sabe que entienden.*

That they understand it, then they say they don't know any and then someone-my big example is that... it happens to me every week it happens to me again that someone says something and they start to laugh – like a joke or an expression or something they say and they [the young people] start to laugh. And one knows that they understand.

C: *Sí, exactamente. Entonces ahí te estás dando cuenta de que sí, toda... lo que pasa es que se... haciendo el intento de ponerse en práctica, yo creo que sí se logre. Todavía alcanzamos a lograr mucho, te digo, muchas personas lo saben. Pero con eso de que todo mundo se burla y eso de que... ha crecido mucho eso de que... "Ay no, si tú hablas Náhuatl es que eres muy naco, eres de la clase más baja, eres de..." No, y todos queremos aparentar todo menos ser lo que somos. Reconocernos, entonces eso es lo que te hace, que no, ¡ay! Te dicen "No, yo no lo sé" aunque sabes que lo saben o que lo entienden como dices. Pero te dicen "No, no lo sé" y diles "Hablas inglés." Ah! Aunque no lo hablen, pero te... unas palabras pero te dicen "Sí, sí, mejor inglés."*

Yes, exactly. So that there you are realizing that yes, still... what happens is that it's... making the intent to put into practice, I think that yes it's doable. We still manage to achieve a lot, I tell you, many people know it. But with that that everyone makes fun and that of... it's grown a lot that "Ay no, if you speak Nahuatl it's that you are really *naco* (see footnote), you are from the lowest class, you are..." No, and we all want to seem everything but what we are. To recognize ourselves, so that is what it makes you do, that no, ay! They tell you "No, I don't know it" and you tell them "you speak English" Ah! Even though they don't speak it, but you... a few words but they tell you "Yes, yes, better [speak] English."

Carla's sociolinguistic profile is one of a strong language promoter who observes the ethnographic reality around her on a daily basis. Her discussion of children's development, their language socialization and the closely interconnected identity

development raises important points for those of us interested in language revitalization. If local communities such as this one feel that language and identity are intertwined, than any work in revitalization must take into consideration the formation of identities as well, and key to this process, from what Carla tells us here, is the role of emotion, as González (2000) has discussed.

Raúl

Raúl was a thirty-four year old teacher, a resident of San Felipe Cuahutenco, at the time of our interview in 1996. Considered a strong speaker of Mexicano by his colleagues, they often turn to him to aid them in the preparation of curricular materials.

R: Porque por ejemplo con mi mamá, mi papá, este.... hablo el español. Pero cuando llega mi bis-abuela tengo que hablar el Mexicano porque... bueno, ella también entiende el español, pero habla más el Mexicano y tengo que hablar en Mexicano, solamente con ella. Este... y tengo unos amigos, más pequeños que yo en edad, que este... con ellos crecí, y jugué muchos con ellos y ellos hablaban mucho el Náhuatl. Entonces con ellos aunque me encuentre en la calle y cosas así, tengo que hablar en Mexicano, con ellos sí hablo el Mexicano. Sí, amigos míos. Y en mi familia pues nada más con mi bisabuela. [pause] Eventualmente con mi papá o mi mamá, pero casi no.

Because for example with my mother, my father, um.... I speak Spanish. But when my great-grandmother arrives I have to speak Mexicano because... well, she also understands Spanish, but she understands more Mexicano and I have to speak in Mexicano, only with her. Um... and I have some friends, younger than me in age, that um... with them I grew up, and I played a lot with them and they used to speak a lot of Nahuatl. So that with them although we may run into each other in the street and like that, I have to speak Mexicano, with them I do speak Mexicano. Yes, [with] friends of mine. And in my family, well only with my great-grandmother. [pause] On occasion with my father or my mother, but hardly.

Raúl explains that he does not communicate in Mexicano with his wife because she is from Michoacan, and a speaker of Tarascan, or Purépecha. Their toddler has been around relatives that speak Purépecha, Mexicano and Spanish, but the parents speak mainly Spanish with her.

J: *¿Te sientes a gusto cuando hablas o cuando estás hablando Náhuatl?*
Do you feel comfortable when you speak or when you are speaking Nahuatl?

R: *Sí, eh, mi problema es de pronunciación y a veces eso me hace sentirme mal. Si me siento bien, sí. [...] Eeeeh, lo entiendo más que lo hablo. O sea, lo hablo menos pero lo entiendo más.*

Yes, eh, my problem is pronunciation and sometimes that makes me feel badly. If I feel good then, yes. Eeeeh, I understand it more than I speak it. That is, I speak it less but I understand it more.

Raúl feels that his Mexicano could be better, and he thinks that language shift in the region is due to the onset of communications from the outside:

R: *Pero, resulta de que esteee, pues a veces los mismos medios de comunicación hacen que esto se vaya perdiendo y ahorita con... o sea, no nada más yo, yo creo que todos los Mexicanos a raíz del conflicto de Chiapas, como que se le ha dado un poco de más publicidad a la cuestión este... indígena. Que antes no había sucedido ¿sí? Sino todo lo contrario, de, de perder, de hacerlo a un lado. Entonces yo creo que los mismos medios hacen que uno a veces se sienta mal o esteee, no se sienta mal pero lo use menos.*

But, it turns out that um, well sometimes the same means of communication that make it that this [the language] is shifting and now will... that is, not only myself, I think that all Mexicans as a result of the conflict in Chiapas, it's as if it's given it a bit more publicity to the issue of um... indigenous issue. Beforehand this hadn't happened, yes? But rather the contrary, of of loss, of setting it aside. So I think that the very means [of communication] that make us feel badly sometimes or um, doesn't feel badly but uses it less.

Unlike residents of Chiapas for instance, he says, Tlaxcala is very close to major cities and is not cut off from means of transportation as indigeneous communities often used to be, and still are in some places. This geographic condition has affected language use.

His experiences learning Mexicano were mainly with older relatives, and then with his friends who would sometimes get together and they would crack jokes in Mexicano. In the school, Raúl is very committed to working with his colleagues in passing along his knowledge of Mexicano, which they believe is stronger than their own.

In order to make the dream of bilingual education “real,” he believes that more training, both linguistic and pedagogical is needed, and that the parents of his students need to understand better what the goals of a bilingual school are, so that they can be more supportive. This teachers’ extensive narrative on language shift and bilingual education is discussed at length in chapter six.

Ursula and Felipa

In 1996 I met Ursula at the Contla bilingual school because her children were students there. I taped a group interview with several parents in 1996, in which she took part. We remained in touch throughout my later fieldwork, which seemed to interest her a great deal, and then I conducted this interview one day in 1999 at her home; Ursula was thirty-four at the time. Ursula made sure that her mother-in-law, a sixty-three year old woman from Contla, was present. The interview turned into a conversation with the two of them, with occasional comments from her children who would come and check on our progress periodically as we spoke. The interview was conducted in the room where they prepared and sold tortillas every day in their family business.

The interview revealed a pattern of language use very similar to those already discussed above. Ursula understands some Mexicano, but her husband who is the same age understands more than she does, since his mother, Felipa, spoke it a great deal when he was a child. The children who attend the bilingual school have not espoused any of the ideas consistent with the discourse of *menosprecio* while I was observing them. Felipa is from San Miguel Xaltipan, a part of the county in which locals consider there to be a great deal of Mexicano still spoken. She explains that although in this *tortillería*

near the center of Contla, where many expect there to be less Mexicano, older women arrive and buy their tortillas in Mexicano.

This is a fitting example with which to conclude my data examples, because of the importance of the following exchange to my research. Ursula had spoken with me at length about language ideologies in Contla, about the United States where her husband is living, and wanted me to meet her mother-in-law who, as she said, spoke very good Mexicano and would have a lot to tell me.

J: *Y ahora pasando a lo del idioma que saben es parte de lo que estoy estudiando: ¿En qué idioma le habla usted a su familia?*

And now going on to [questions] on the language that ya'all know is part of what I am studying: In what language do you speak to your family?

F: *Pues yo, ahorita como, este de ahorita, de aquí, de ahorita como hablamos.*

Well I, now how, um now, here, now as we are speaking.

U: [facing J] *No, no es la verdad. [to her mother-in-law:] Dígale Ud. la verdad. Habla en Náhuatl. [to J] O sea de hecho, les habla en Náhuatl, no tiene mucho, o sea de hecho cuando yo me vine acá a vivir hablaba en Náhuatl. Pero tiene poco tiempo que dejó de hablarles aquí.*

[facing J] No, that's not the truth. [to her mother-in-law:] Tell her [formal] the truth. You speak in Nahuatl. [to J] That is in fact, she speaks to them in Nahuatl, it hasn't been long, that is in fact when I came here to live she used to speak in Nahuatl. But it's been a little time that she stopped speaking to them here.

F: *No, porque apenas iban creciendo, todos los decía yo así, pero como ya más va creciendo ya no quieren. Decían "ya no hablen usted esa palabra, porque no nos gusta." Que no les gusta y que no pueden decir. Y yo como crecí de eso, así y todo mis papás me hablaban.*

No, because as they were growing up, I used to speak with all of them in this way, but since they are growing up they don't want to. They would say "don't speak to me this tongue anymore, because we don't like it." That they don't like it and that they can't speak. And since I grew up on that, in that way and everything my parents used to speak with me.

This excerpt is very instructive in the vital importance of doing field research over stages of time, getting to know informants, becoming part of the fabric of daily life for enough

time to establish relationships with individuals and families, in order to separate out the realities of local communicative life, from the fictive realities that some researchers may be offered when they are asking about sensitive, and emotionally charged subjects, such as *Mexicano* in the Malintsi communities.

BILINGUAL SCHOOL TEACHERS AS SOCIOLINGUISTIC KEY INFORMANTS

The reader will note that many interviewees quoted above are teachers, and also that several live in parts of the Contla municipio and teach in the San Isidro school. I have analyzed the individuals' commentaries from the perspective that they are residents of the towns from which they hail; their labor identities, as teachers, and in particular as teachers in national bilingual-bicultural schools, has offered them experiences which makes them, in general, more attuned to, and interested in issues of language than the average townspeople or non-bilingual elementary school teacher. It is important to bear these identities in mind – both the labor *and* residential/family identity – and not to privilege one over the other. In my study, Education provides a context for the study of language, one in which ideologies of language and identity more readily surface in public discourses in the Malintsi region.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter I have tried to show how ideological multiplicity surfaces discursively in Malintsi residents' discussions of language use and shift, identity and progress. These speakers' simultaneity of experience includes an ambiguity in and fluidity to their ideologies of language; some have shifted their *menosprecio* stances in

favor of a *pro-indígena* stance. Ambivalence towards Mexicano and its use is the implicit ideology in the above discourse. And among speakers of Mexicano, ideologies of “good speakers” and “proper Mexicano” dominate the discourse.

Many speakers believe that it is necessary to promote a revalorization of language, although it is not clear how they might proceed; this is a topic I explore further in the next chapter.

5. LANGUAGE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE MALINTSI

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I focus on how semiotic expressions of ideological multiplicity in the county of San Bernardino Contla play out in various discursive and meta-discursive (Bauman and Briggs 2000) practices, in relation to speaker identity and place of origin. Through examples of *fractal recursivity*, *iconization*, and *erasure* (cf. Gal & Irvine 1995, Irvine & Gal 2000, Irvine 2002) in Mexicano and Spanish from my data corpus I will highlight ways that residents of Malintsi towns in Tlaxcala construct multiple local ideologies of language, identity and progress through talk, as they seek to define “the self as against some imagined “Other” (Ibid:39).¹

Operating through the discourses of *salir adelante and menosprecio* certain semiotic processes, such as *fractal recursivity*, the semiotic process through which “people construct ideological representations of linguistic differences” (Irvine & Gal 2000:37) are instructive as to the ways in which people in the Malintsi region construct difference. A focus on the linguistic ways that users of Mexicano and Spanish in Tlaxcala, Mexico construct difference ideologically through their discourses sheds light on how these ideologies of difference may contribute to language shift there. Because, as Philips (1998a:8) points out “ideologies are constituted and enacted in social practices” such as discourse, ideological multiplicity can be studied through analysis of discourse that is “socially ordered by various kinds of power struggles between dominant and subordinate social forces” (Ibid.), in this case national homogenizing forces in Mexico that are

¹ A portion of this chapter will be published as Messing (In Press) *Fractal recursivity in ideologies of language, identity and modernity in Tlaxcala, Mexico*. Texas Linguistic Forum 46.

recursively reproduced in a local Tlaxcalan indigenous community experiencing language shift.

My work has been strongly influenced by linguistic anthropological work on connections between language and political economy, and interactions between language and politics in local and national communities advanced by Woolard (1985), Gal (1987), Irvine (1989), Hill (1991,1995a), Philips (1998a,b, 2001) and Silverstein (1998).

Recursivity is of key importance to this analysis because it serves to show the ways in which local people in the Malintzi region reproduce the oppositions between dominant and subordinate groups. Irvine & Gal (2000:38) explain that *fractal recursivity* “involves the projection of an opposition” from one level to another. With recursivity we have a repetitive effect, whereby these oppositions repeat themselves in various place. In the Malintzi locals reproduce, within and between their own communities discrimination regarding class, language and perceived ethnicity that historically they have experienced from outsiders, as speakers of Mexicano living on land that was colonized by the Spanish, later to emerge as the state of Mexico, thus making them citizens of this nation-state. Tlaxcalans are famous for having joined forces with the conquistador Cortés and his army in the defeat of the Aztec of the central valley of Mexico and Tenochtitlan.

RECURSIVITY AND LOCAL REPRODUCTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION

“Monte es una palabra que encierra la discriminación.”

(Mountain is a word that encompasses the discrimination.)

This quote was a key informant’s response when asked to explain what Contla county residents meant when they referred to *centro* (center) and *monte* (mountain), as locals

often do in their conversations. Speakers seemed to me to be indexing something quite specific. His response was that this lexical dyad did not exist as such in Mexicano, but he pointed out, as a resident of a higher elevation Contla town that *monte* was a term used in discriminating against residents of these towns, where Mexicano is said to be more commonly heard and transmitted to children.

San Bernardino Contla's dozen county sections consist of both official neighborhoods and politically incorporated towns which offer rich opportunities for comparison. The *centro/monte* concept is particularly salient because there is an association here between people and the land on which they and their families live and/or cultivate; there is a connection between geography, identity and language, with a principle distinction being the one between *centro* (Contla) and *monte* (the mountain). Nutini (1968) mentions these terms as important in his study of kinship in Contla in the 1960's. There is an ideology that being from the towns in the higher elevations of the county ("*Ser del monte*") implies indigenoussness, marked by greater use of Mexicano and greater poverty. The term *monte* indexes a local identity that is, to those who use it, "subordinate" to the "dominant" one of the *centro*. Local ideologies work semiotically as people map discursively map dominant and subordinate identities onto these local regions. The four speakers whose discourse I will excerpt below are from the towns of San José Aztatla and San Felipe Cuahutenco, two upper elevation Malintsi towns, and Contla, known as the county *cabecera* or head town.

As Don Luis, a resident of Aztatla told me, Mexicano speakers are on the fringes "*ti..pueblerinos ti..ti-cateh, orillas*" (we [are] small town folk, we are on the fringes). In

this example, the opposition that is being indexed consists of an unequal relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous people in Tlaxcala and Mexico, which here is reproduced in Contla in the way that local identities are iconically mapped onto certain towns and sections of the county. The projection of the opposition here is the discrimination felt by indigenous Tlaxcalans from outside communities, which is reproduced within the county studied. The concept of fractal recursivity invites us to consider such social and economic oppositions that can be reproduced in multiple social contexts, semiotically, through language use.

The political and socioeconomic subordination experienced by indigenous communities in Mexico (cf. Collier 1994) consists of linguistic racism, a profound erasure surfacing as widespread ignorance about indigenous languages. For instance, I heard from a medical doctor in a Tlaxcala city that her maid, who was from a rural town, did not speak any Nahuatl, but “*ella ya habla normal*” (she already speaks “normal”). Such examples of linguistic ignorance are bound up with discrimination that is a part of the discourse of *menosprecio*, that is recursively reproduced in Contla usually by those who hold economic and political power, to differentiate themselves from those who are markedly indigenous (i.e. Mexicano speakers). The Mexicano language is an icon of local indigenous identity of which many Contla county residents are proud, while others try to distance themselves from marking themselves as *indígena*, indigenous.

NATIONAL HOMOGENIZING FORCES:
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES & THE NATION

In Tlaxcala and Mexico, as well as in other parts of the world where indigenous communities are living with the legacy of colonialism, the contemporary social world is replete with vestiges of political, economic, religious and linguistic subjugation to colonial domination. In anthropological scholarship in Mexico, the common view from Mexico City was one of *bringing the state to the indigenous communities* in their *regiones de refugio* (regions of refuge) (Aguirre Beltrán 1967), thereby encouraging a view of indigenous people as living in their closed corporate communities far off from urban spheres of influence.²

Anthropologist Aguirre Beltrán (1967) advocated a dualist view of the Mexican people in which the indigenous sector is organized through “traditional economic ways,” in their regions of refuge, which he sees as in opposition to the market economy of the modernized, urban “national culture.” The urban sectors, he believes, seek the modernization of the Indian countryside. This division extends to language domains, separating “lengua vernácula” from “lengua general.”

Only in recent years has the political-economic and socio-cultural connections between indigenous communities and mestizo cities in Mexico been explored, and this work is primarily anthropological (cf. Bonfil Batalla 1987, 1992, 1993, García Canclini 1993, 1994, 1995, 2002), but most often the split between those in power needing to deal with an “Indian problem” is reproduced (cf. Nahmad 1981). In a volume dedicated to the

² Anthropologists in Mexico, such as Manuel Gamio among others have often played a key role in governmental cultural and educational affairs, often through the *Instituto Nacional Indígena*, or National Indigenous Institute.

relationship between indigenous people and the nation-states which have incorporated them into their political systems Urban and Sherzer (1991) point out the importance of shifting anthropological study of indigenous communities from ethnographic studies of communities as isolated social entities, to a recognition of state intervention into these communities and the constant communication, migration and exchange between them. In this volume of relevance to the present study is Hill's (1991) exploration of the discursive penetrations of the large city and state of Puebla into the San Miguel Canoa and San Isidro Buensuceso towns. Work in the area of ethnography and history (Alonso 1994, Roseberry 1989, Calagione, Francis & Nugent 1992, Joseph and Nugent 1994, Caballero-Arias 2003), concurs with this view, and recommends a study of the cultural processes of state formation as a means of seeing the interpenetrations and connections between the state and local communities. In the next chapter I discuss specifically the role that education in Mexico has been viewed as playing in "civilizing" peasants and Indians.

The historical and political economic roots of the national Mexican discourse of *salir adelante* and its Tlaxcalan-Malintsi versions of *salir adelante*, *menosprecio*, and *pro-indígena* discourses become evident as we focus attention on contemporary economic realities and cultural politics in Mexico. Mexican anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla has written extensively and eloquently about these cultural politics in his book *México profundo: Una civilización negada* (Deep Mexico: a negated civilization) (1994[1987]), in which he posits that Mexico is deeply divided, between its post-colonial centers of power and an indigenous nation whose roots are lauded but current reality ignored. Bear in mind that while Bonfil Batalla mistakenly ignores the constant

interconnections between the two worlds he describes, his emphasis on the gulf between rural and urban, between indigenous and *mestizo* cultural spaces in Mexico is very insightful. Consider for instance the following:

*La historia reciente de México, la de los últimos 500 años, es la historia del enfrentamiento permanente entre quienes pretenden encauzar al país en el proyecto de la civilización occidental y quienes resisten arraigados en formas de vida de estirpe mesoamericana. El primer proyecto llegó con los invasores europeos pero no se abandonó con la independencia: los nuevos grupos que tomaron el poder, primero los criollos y después los mestizos, nunca renunciaron al proyecto occidental. No han renunciado a él; sus diferencias y las luchas que los dividen expresan sólo divergencias sobre la mejor manera de **llevar adelante** el mismo proyecto. La adopción de ese modelo ha dado lugar a que se cree, dentro del conjunto de la sociedad mexicana, un país minoritario que se organiza según normas, aspiraciones y propósitos de la civilización occidental que no son compartidos (o lo son desde otra perspectiva) por el resto de la población nacional; a este sector, que encarna e impulsa el proyecto dominante en nuestro país, lo llamo aquí el México imaginario. [bold mine] (Bonfil Batalla [1987]1994:10)*

The recent history of Mexico, that of the last five hundred years, is the history of the permanent confrontation between those attempting to direct the country toward the path of Western civilization and those, rooted in Mesoamerican forms of life, who resist. The first plan arrived with the European invaders but was not abandoned with independence. The new groups in power, first the Creoles [*criollos*] and later the mestizos, never renounced the westernization plan. They still have not renounced it. Their differences and the struggles that divide them express only disagreement over the best way of **carrying out** [*llevar adelante*] the same program. The adoption of that model has meant the creation within Mexican society of a minority country organized according to the norms, aspirations, and goals of Western civilization. They are not shared, or are shared from a different perspective, by the rest of the national population. To the sector that represents and gives impetus to our country's dominant civilizational program, I have given the name "the imaginary Mexico." (Bonfil Batalla [in translation]1996:xvi) [bold mine]

For Bonfil Batalla there is a constant conflict between these two Mexicos – the *México profundo* (deep Mexico) and the “imaginary Mexico.” The dominant classes have created this imaginary urban Mexico in order to continue pursuing the colonial plan that

was never completed, because, he adds, the internal colonial structure of Mexico was never fully reformulated after independence from Spain was won. But rather, post-revolutionary state formation processes in Mexico led to a consolidation of power built on an idea of Westernization and a type of colonial expansion into indigenous regions, that sought to “civilize” them.

The discourse that I have called *Salir adelante* then is the discourse of this westernizing project, which has undergone semantic extension in popular culture, coming to have a wider meaning in Mexico and in Tlaxcala – that of forging ahead and improving one’s socio-economic situation. However, in Bonfil Batalla’s view the indigenous communities, part of “deep Mexico” are merely left to resist. Recent anthropological scholarship has shown that local communities, in Mexico and elsewhere do more than simply resist, but rather both resist nation-state policies, and incorporate them into local life.

Recall the Tlaxcalan discourse of *menosprecio* and the response of *pro-indígena* in light of the following statement from Bonfil Batalla:

Así, los diversos proyectos nacionales conforme a los cuales se ha pretendido organizar a la sociedad mexicana en los distintos periodos de su historia independiente, han sido en todos los casos proyectos encuadrados exclusivamente en el marco de la civilización occidental, en los que la realidad del México profundo no tiene cabida y es contemplada “únicamente como símbolo de atraso y obstáculo a vencer. (Bonfil Batalla [1987]1994:11)

Thus, the diverse national visions used to organize Mexican society during different periods since independence have all been created within a Western framework. In none of them has the reality of the *México profundo* had a place. Instead, it has been viewed only as a symbol of backwardness and an obstacle to be overcome. (Bonfil Batalla [in translation] 1996:xvi-xvii)

The dominant classes, mainly located in centers of power in Mexico have not recognized, but rather have promoted an *erasure* of “deep Mexico’s” populations. Bonfil Batalla captures the cultural climate that I have experienced in urban mestizo Mexico.

To offer another example of racist erasure, from a conversation with a business owner in Mexico City whom I had known for several years prior to beginning research in Mexico. When I visited her store during fieldwork she asked about my reasons for being in Mexico again; She then asked about my specific research, and I explained that I was in Tlaxcala studying Nahuatl and language shift. Her response was: “But that’s not a language. It is just a collection of sounds. It doesn’t have a grammar. Does it?” Even though for a resident of Mexico City it is impossible to avoid encountering Nahuatl place names on a daily basis (in the metro, on street signs), this person clearly had no understanding of Nahuatl as a language worthy of study. The erasure of indigenous-ness such as this one that one can encounter in Mexico is quite profound.

“Deep Mexico,” says Bonfil Batalla, is neither passive nor static, but rather consists of dynamic communities that have resisted the state domination that has plagued them over centuries. In sum, the gulf between *deep Mexico* and *imaginary Mexico* is comprised of cultural, economic and political disequilibriums, which lend themselves to tensions that surface in meta-discursive practices. Mexico consists of a tremendous cultural heterogeneity which is necessarily complex, as Bonfil Batalla (1994:94) also points out. He concludes that cultural diversity and indeed, striving for cultural pluralism should be a national goal, part of dealing with economic crisis, in order to move beyond the existing duality between these “two Mexicos,” through working towards a “real

democracy.” Part of the pluralist nation he envisions is to stop the process of “de-indianization” that he suggests exists in indigenous communities, concurrent with the various forms of resistance that exist; we see in this the interplay of what in Tlaxcala are discourses of *menosprecio* and *pro-indígena*.

The cultural politics I have discussed here, surfaced to general public recognition in Mexico with the surprise 1994 Zapatista uprising. The goal of the uprising was and is to bring attention to the cause of the poorest and most economically exploited state in Mexico – Chiapas (exploited for its wealth natural resources), not coincidentally home to the largest percentage of indigenous communities, and to cause the government to create substantive political and legal changes. One consequence of the consciousness-raising effects of this resistance is the uniting of members of indigenous communities from all over Mexico, creating a pan-Indian movement that has grown since 1994, and surfacing in *pro-indígena* discourses. Zapatista delegations have traveled throughout indigenous communities, making stops in towns like San Bernardino Contla, to ask for support and to spread the word of their experiences with the struggle they are fighting; in 1999 one such delegation came through Contla, and was met by local political activists and politically-involved teachers.

By understanding the roots of the divisions that exist in the Mexican public sphere, and how these divisions between “deep Mexico” and “the imaginary Mexico” often include a mutual mistrust, and a deep racism towards indigenous communities, we can better understand how this racism has been internalized, surfacing in recursive discourses of opposition in the towns in Contla from within and between indigenous communities

themselves. Below, I will analyze narrative and interview discourse from four people who live in different parts of the county of San Bernardino Contla.

RECURSIVITY IN LOCAL DISCOURSES: FOUR VOICES

As the following examples will show, the social differentiation constructed in and through local discourses is recursively reproduced throughout the county, and concentrated around the distinctions residents map out between, and onto *centro* and *monte*. The data analyzed here was chosen because the quotes are representative of a variety of opinions from residents of different parts of Contla.

Don Luis

The first speaker, Don Luis³ is a Mexicano-dominant man in his mid-seventies, who talks about the difficulty of life in the past, compared to today, in a ten minute narrative I taped. Don Luis is an *hornero*, a charcoal maker who has also worked producing *pulque*, a beverage fermented from the liquid extracted by hand from the *agave* plant.

*pos i-tech in nican ca tlahtec, ca miec este pos, bueno de nican to:-ntziliz*⁴
well here in this place[room], I will tell you that, well, well, from here from our...

ti... puebleri:nos ti ti... ti-cateh, este orillas bueno
we are small town folk, we we are on the fringes well

amo ca mas este posibilidad para para ti-vivir-oz-queh amo ca sino que, de lo contrario, pues
there is not much more possibility for us to live, there is not but on the contrary, well

este. Ti-sufriro-ah amo de nin ca, in tlaxcal ca, nada más salir para ce factoria para ce O-calaquiz

³ This name, and all others in this chapter are pseudonyms.

⁴ TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS: *Italics* are used to indicate text in Mexicano or Spanish; *:* is a long vowel marker; **Boldface** is used for emphasis; [] brackets enclose additional information; and <! > encloses utterances said with emphasis.

um. we suffered not from this [hand to mouth motion], tortilla there is, only to go out to a factory for one to enter

ce yeca yocalaquito huan ce 0-q'-pia posibilidad, pos amo solamente hasta ic Santa Ana 0-yahweh

one already went has [work] possibilities, well no only all the way to Santa Ana do they go

..naxan actualmente yen coco:neh ye 0-qui-temoa ninvida, ye 0-quitemoa ninvida, ah
now the youth look for their livelihood, they look for their livelihood

i-tech fábricas tanto fabricas yeca, ompa tequiti-tihue para ye... ye-qui-pia mas ce centavo

in factories so many factories there are today there they go to work to [finally] have a cent

pero anteriormente <! amo !>
but before <! no !> .

Don Luis's narrative,⁵ excerpted here, shows the difficulty of *salir adelante*, of forging ahead and eking out a living in San Jose Aztatla, a town on the upper slopes of the county. The factory work he mentions above is part of a century old textile industry that has increasingly shifted from informal work in households (weaving blankets on large wooden looms) to factory shift labor, consisting mainly of production of yarn from raw materials, and the mechanized production of blankets such as the *saltillo*. As he explains, as a charcoal maker (*hornero*) and *pulque* producer Don Luis is on the economic fringes.

In the following excerpt from the same narrative he explains how much life has changed, tracing this change to a pivotal moment when the fertilizer Guano (bat excrement) arrived on the scene. After that "*miek protección*" (a lot of protection) and "*ayuda*" (help) began to surface, including in the form of government aid. Government

⁵ A preliminary analysis of this narrative was presented at the 2000 meetings of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest, in Puebla, Mexico (Messing & Nava Nava 2000). The transcription and translations of the entire narrative, excerpted here, was a collaborative project between Refugio Nava Nava and myself, with detailed feedback from Jane Hill.

assistance is a form of governmental penetration into local communities that is controversial; some interviewees discussed the importance of *not* relying on the government (see for instance views expressed by Tlaxcalans in Chapter 3, and Bonfil Batalla 1994), but Don Luis considers the availability of this assistance crucial, compared to the greater economic suffering that was commonplace prior to it.⁶

o-huala o-huala-hcic in huano in primero o-huala in huano de fertilizante,
it arrived, the guano arrived, first arrived guano, of the fertilizers

o-hualo in huano, huan yope huan
the guano arrived and then it began

yope, huan yope oh o-huala, in huano, o-t-peh-queh t-chihua in prueba den fertilizante den
it [already] began, the guano arrived, we began to do the test of the fertilizer of

<!guano!> primero o-huala, huan oncan qui-chihu-ilia ay
the <! guano !> first that came, and there it began to happen,

<! Señor den cielo que..ma!> o-surgir-i, o-surgir-i in <!ayuda!>
<! Oh Lord of the sky ye..s !><! help/assistance !> surfaced.

o-surgir-i in este in <!química!> o-surgir-i huan orale axa ye non <!reinar-oa!>
<! Chemistry !> surfaced, and okay now, that <! reigns !> [rules]

Orita yenon reinar-oa de <!utah!> [ompa] cequi cequi colonias este
Now that rules from <! “utah”!> there, some colonies

mayormente ejidatarios qui-pia miac <! protección!>
mainly ejidatarios [land collectives] have much <! protection!>,

qui-maca in gobierno, qui-maca fertilizante quin-tlaxtlahui-ya in
the government gives it to them, gives them fertilizer, pays them

este in Procampo... utah ye cate huan amo o-ni-cala-c ne in Procampo ne amo
[npia?] pero amo

⁶ For a further discussion of the impact of and reaction to governmental programs of *Procampo* and *Progres*a in coffee-producing indigenous regions of the state of Oaxaca, see Sesia-Lewis (2002).

the Procampo [govt. program]..., “utah” very well they are now, and I did not enter into Procampo, since we don’t have [land] but not

por ino siquiera ma-ti-vivir-o-ca, occequi <! qui-pia,!> qui-recibir-oa miec tomin
because of that. At least we lived[survived]. Others <! have it !>, receive much money

millones de pesos den mo-macho-tih-queh mayormente t-qui-ni-lia nica in rancheros

millions of pesos, those that signed up, for the most part, we call them here, the ranchers

Neh amo n-pia tlalmeh neh ni-pobre, amo n-pia, tlale amo n-pia ocachi can
I don’t have lands, I am poor, I don’t have [land], I don’t have more than where

Ni-tequiti-z, ye non [?] x-quit este s'onca zquiera para ma ti vivir-o-ca
To work, for that, look, well at least [enough] in order for us to live

siquiera <S para maS> ti vivir-o-ca.
at least <! in order for !> us to live

Don Luis is thankful to the “Lord in the sky” and to the government for the assistance that has surfaced. Today, “*o-surgir-i in este in química... axa ye non reinar-oa*”

(Chemistry surfaced and now it reigns). As someone whose life has been so profoundly affected by poverty, Don Luis is grateful for the coming of scientific advances, factory labor opportunities, government programs, and also guest work programs in Canada (in which his son has participated), rather than seeing them as problematic. We see the complexity to potential reactions to national development projects, and also the “Westernization project” of Bonfil Batalla’s “Imaginary Mexico.” Don Luis’s is the life of rural poverty that younger generations hope to improve upon, surfacing in discourses of *salir adelante*. Recursive oppositions between old and new, and between indigenous identities within Contla are a part of these discourses.

Doña Paulina

The following three examples of recursivity are excerpts from interviews done towards the end of my fieldwork, after many conversations had taken place with these interlocutors. The questions I asked them here were to remind them of discussions we had previously had on a more informal basis. In the following interview excerpt, the discourse of *menosprecio*, of denigration, surfaces in relation to the distinction between *centro* and *monte*.

The Spanish deictics *aquí/ acá* (here), *allí* (there), and *allá* (over there farther) that these three speakers use in these interviews mark their location on the mountain in terms of the center/mountain distinction, which highlights their identity as a member of a community in a particular location in the Malintsi area. *Aquí* or *acá* is used by the speaker to indicate his/her place on the mountain, referring to the others as *allí* or *allá* (there and over there). To highlight this usage, which shows the local relation of language and identity to place, I have marked these words in boldface.

In example two, this interview took place in San Felipe Cuahutenco (on the upper slopes of the Malintsi), with Doña Paulina, a bilingual woman in her late fifties, who is the grandmother of a student in the Contla school which I was observing. The goal was to capture an anecdote about discrimination that she had told me in one of several earlier informal conversations, about women from the *monte* who went to the river down the mountain to wash clothing. Here she responds to my question.

J: Una vez lo platicamos de que en el monte es diferente que más para abajo del monte. Yo no sé si es porque se habla más Mexicano, a veces acá. Y que a veces ha habido discriminación entre personas [mhhmm] que son, o con personas que

son del monte. Mas antes, [mhhmm] antes cuando las señoras iban al río a lavar, y a...

J: Once we talked about that on the mountain it's different than more below the mountain.

I don't know if it's because more Mexicano is spoken sometimes here. And that sometimes there has been discrimination between people [mhhmm] who are, or with people who are from the mountain. Before, earlier [mhhmm] when the women went to the river to wash, and to...

P: sí, mucho. Eso sí, la verdad, hasta hoy y luego algunos, así de los que me llevo sí los reprocho.

P: Yes, a lot. That's right, truly, up until today and then some, those with whom I get along with I reproach them

J: ah, ¿del centro?

J: Ah, from the center [of town]?

P: sí

P: Yes

J: los con quién Ud. ...

J: those with whom you...

P: sí

P: yes

J: ah, ¿y de qué los reprocha?

J: ah, and what do you reproach them for?

P: Porque este, antes nos discriminaban, mucho. Por... lo que so..., [voice softens]..., como salvajes, así mal nos trataban. Nos dicen... como animales salvajes, como, bueno [mmhmm]. Pero yo creo anteriormente a lo mejor sí, era más diferente ellos que nosotros.

P: Because um, it's that before they discriminated [against] us in, a lot. Because... what [voice softens]..., like savages, that badly they treated us. They call us... like savage animals, like, well [mmhmm]. But I think before, yes, they were more different than us.

J: aah

P: Por el motivo de que ellos lo hablaban más en Español, y nosotros no. Entonces, pues, más todavía teníamos distinción aquí, para ellos, y más que nada pues allí... empezaron, según, ya estaban progresando de antes. Allí empezaron a trabajar la cobija de telar, entonces según ellos estaban de progreso, y aquí no,

porque aquí siempre hay que vender leña, hay q' acarriar agua de allá, entonces por ese por ese distinción nos distinguían así, discriminaciones para nosotros.

P: Because of the reason that they would speak more in Spanish, and we didn't. Therefore, well, we even more [in relation to them] had [a] difference **here** for them, and more than anything, well **there** they began, supposedly, they were already progressing since earlier. **There** they began to elaborate blankets from the loom, then according to them they were in progress, and **here** no, because **here** we always need to sell firewood, one has to carry water from **over there**, so because of that difference they distinguished us this way, discriminations for us.

J: *mmhmm, bien duro, que duro.*

J: mhhmm, very hard, how hard.

P: *sí, es mucho*

P: yes, it's a lot

J: *y ya....*

J: and now...

P: no, pues ahora ya no, ya..., por lo que, este..., luego me dice [son's name] como, como son. Tal vez aquí hasta ya mejoró, mejor aquí que allá. Porque..., este..., [mmhmm] pues aquí ya tiene, ya tiene más que nada, lo indispensable es el agua y servicio,[mmhmm] las calles pues más o menos están todos arreglados. Este, los que es terrazería, a fuerza los mantiene, los repara y allá no.

P: no, well now not anymore, now, for what, um, [son's name] tells me how, how are those from **over there**. Maybe it's even improved already, better **here** than **over there**. Because um, [mmhmm] well **here** there is already, there already is more than anything, the minimum is water and utilities, [mmhmm] the roads well are more or less fixed up. Um, the ones that are dirt roads, of course they maintain them, repair them and **over there** no.

The discourse of *menosprecio* is explicit as Doña Paulina describes the terrible mistreatment of Cuahutenco residents by other residents of their county from the center, who at the time, forty years ago, were all speakers of Mexicano as well. The discrimination felt by indigenous people, from people outside the Contla county is recursively reproduced in these local ideologies of identity and place, and marked by the consistent use of deictic terms in Spanish for “here” and “there” throughout this excerpt. While things have improved to the point that Doña Paulina told me she could now talk to

centro residents about their earlier prejudices, the oppositions between “here” and “there” as differentiated social worlds are still clearly marked in her discourse. For Paulina, “progress” is measured in terms of access to wage labor, roads, transportation, water and other services, and connected to the greater and lesser degrees of speaking *Mexicano*.

Maestro Eustalio

In the third example, Maestro Eustalio is a bilingual speaker in his mid-forties also from Cuahutenco. He is a teacher. In his interview Eustalio explained that for the most part, to this day few people from the center married into families in his town, and that certain *centro/ monte* differences were still observable, including use of *Mexicano*. He described his view of the difference between the head town of Contla and his town:

“Tienen ese complejo los de acá de Contla, quién sabe porque. Pero este, todavía no sienten como, no sé, como algo menos que ellos, los de por ahí arriba, los del monte”

(They have this complex those from **here** from Contla, who knows why. But um, they don’t still feel as if, I don’t know, like something less than them, those from **over there** above, those from the mountain.) In the following interview excerpt he elaborates his perspective on these differences.

J: Luego otras personas me empezaron a platicar de la diferencia entre como lo pusieron ellos el monte y más abajo. Así lo ve usted todavía?

J: Then other people began to talk to me about the difference between, the way they put it was the mountain and below. Do you see it that way still?

E: Sí todavía. Tienen ese complejo los de acá de Contla, quién sabe porque. Pero este, todavía no sienten como, no sé, como algo menos que ellos, los de por ahí arriba, los del monte. [...]

E: Yes still. They have this complex those from **here** from Contla, who knows why. But um, they don’t still feel as if I don’t know like something less than them, those from **over there** above, those from the mountain.

J: *¿Y cree usted que sí se conserve el idioma mejor en la zona de arriba más que en la de abajo?*

J: And do you think that the language is better conserved in the higher zone more than in the lower area?

E: *Pues, yo creo que sí, Bueno todavía se sigue hablando más **allá** arriba que **aquí** abajo.[...]*

*Pero **aquí** en Contla ya no quieren. Yo creo que es una de las situaciones y también, a nosotros nos ven de esa manera, porque pues todavía usamos el idioma, y a veces viene gente de **allá**, vienen en carro y se vienen platicando en Nahuatl. Y nomás que vienen, que hacen así.*

E: Well, I think so, well it's still being spoken more **over there** above than **here** below. [...] But **here** in Contla they don't want to anymore. I think that it's one of my situations on the **way to we**. They see us in this way because we still use the language and sometimes people come from **there**, they come by car and they come chatting in Nahuatl. And only they come, who do in this way.

For Don Eustalio, the *centro/monte* distinction is a “complex” that the people in the center of town have. It is interesting to note that this interview was done in the lower part of the mountain, rather than in the teacher's town; thus Eustalio's deictic references are from the vantage point of the center of town. Therefore, when he says “*a veces viene gente de **allá**, vienen en carro y se vienen platicando en Nahuatl,*” “sometimes people come from **there**, (he refers to coming down the mountain from his town to here – further down the mountain where we were talking), they come by car and they come speaking Nahuatl.” He emphasizes the fact that today many Cuahutenco residents are now able to own cars, and they *drive* down the mountain to the center, at the same time that they are speaking in Mexicano. Eustalio in this example makes the explicit point that one can maintain elements of indigenusness, such as speaking Mexicano, and also own a car – a local symbol of progress, of *salir adelante*.

The importance of the speaker's emphasis on driving a car down the mountain from the *monte* to the *centro* is particularly strong when considered in light of many stories I

heard about life in Contla up until the late 1980's and early 1990's, before the main roads were paved, and before there was regular public transportation from the higher elevation towns to the cities. Prior to this, most people walked up to two hours down the mountain and back, relying on *burros* to carry their loads. The knowledge of how to drive a car, and to own a car in particular are primary symbols of progress in the discourse of *salir adelante* in Contla.

Maestra Rosa

In my last example, Rosa is a teacher who lives in the center of Contla; she is a semi-speaker of Mexicano, in her late thirties. This interview marked the culmination of many prior conversations over a year about language, local ideologies, and education in Tlaxcala. I was curious how she would recapitulate aspects of these conversations while being recorded. Rosa's family is from the *centro*, but she is very dedicated to the teaching of Mexicano; Rosa suggested that the discrimination by those in the center of Contla had as much to do with local land struggles as with language, thereby suggesting another layer of complexity to the recursivity of local relations of dominant and subordinate identities.

J: Entonces ¿cómo ves tú las diferencias dentro del propio municipio de Contla en cuánto a dónde se hablaba más, o... pero también en cuanto a, a, bueno al menosprecio y como...?

J: Then how do you see the differences within the county of Contla proper in terms of where more [Mexicano] is spoken, or... but also in terms of, of well *menosprecio* and how...?

M: Sí, era un menosprecio, eso sí es indiscutible. Eh, Por ejemplo a los de Cuahutenco les decían que eran, eran este... la gente más humilde pero decían más atrasada, más... eh, inculta pues, por el hecho de hablar Náhuatl.

M: Yes, it was a *menosprecio* [denigration], that indeed is unarguable. For example, for those from Cuahutenco, people would say they were um... the most...

eh, humble people, but people would say more backward, more... uncouth[uneducated] well, because of the fact of speaking Nahuatl.

Cuando llegaban acá [centro] pues había un rechazo, pero aparte de solamente la cuestión cultural era un rechazo por cuestiones de tipo político. Porque se vivió un problema político muy como fuerte en años anteriores, después de la revolución con las tierras comunales, y entonces Cuahutenco, este, se le llamaron a los a los de Cuahutenco se le llamaron “los traidores” por un problema de tierras comunales que se dieron a otro municipio. Entonces fue un pleito político también y eso hacía que, este, utilizaran a la lengua Nahuatl o a su lengua Nahuatl como objeto de burla, para burlarse de ellos. Porque no se querían, no solo por el idioma sino era una situación de tipo político.

When they would arrive **here** [centro] well there was a rejection, but apart from only the cultural question it was a rejection because of issues of a political nature, because a very, like strong political problem occurred in earlier years, after the revolution with the communal lands, and then Cuahutenco, um, they called those those from Cuahutenco, they called them “the traitors” because of a problem with communal lands that were given to another county. Then there was a political fight also and that caused that, um they would use the language or their Nahuatl language as an object of ridicule, to make fun of them. Because they didn’t like each other not only because of the language but because it was a situation of a political nature.

The discourse of *menosprecio* is apparent through Rosa’s description of how *centro* residents viewed people from the *monte*, years earlier, and explains that the discrimination was not limited to language use but including local struggles over control of lands. Rosa tells us of local political struggles that took place in the 1940’s, creating tensions that exist still today, that further highlight perceived differences in local identities as dominant and subordinate. Several people recounted the story of the head town of Contla’s residents owning land on the Malintsi that was in the town of San Felipe Cuahutenco, where the residents were not able to own and till their land, but labored them for the dwellers of the *centro*. Eventually Cuahutenco residents expropriated the lands years after the revolution.

Local residents of Contla today live and work together, but are still marked by the memory of discriminations, and of struggles such as this one over control of land between Cuahutenco and the head town of Contla. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, in the year 2000 the first municipal mayor in Contla history from the mountain region was elected; this mayor was from Cuahutenco, and this election was seen as a symbolic victory for many residents of the mountain towns.

All four speakers quoted here share a recursive perspective of Contla as a *cabecera* (head town) in comparison to the surrounding towns, particularly those on the *monte*. They also clearly point to different sources of this differentiation – language is always mentioned as playing an iconic role, as are economics and control over land.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The focus on the semiotic ways that Tlaxcalans construct difference ideologically and semiotically through their discourses helps to shed light on the social processes of change that have affected language shift in the Malintsi region. Struggles between various ways of conceptualizing local identities, such as the *monte/centro* contrast, and concepts of “otherness” are recursively reproduced within the county of Contla, and are belied by residues of past and present discriminations that are part of the consciousness of these citizens of Mexico. These speakers reproduce the contrast, as they comment on it as well as negate it, showing that these oppositions are not binary, but rather, complex.

Analytic attention to *Recursivity* and other semiotic processes provide a highly productive means for understanding the semiotic resources speakers employ as they orient towards and against particular identities through discourses they create and tap

into. Thinking comparatively and cross-culturally about the identities involved in *recursivities* will be highly beneficial to our understanding of how the relationships between indigenous peoples, the nation, and processes of modernization are involved in language shift.

In the next chapter I turn attention to issues of language and education, as they relate to the nation-state through the educational system, and local responses and reinterpretations of addressing language shift.

6. THE POLITICS OF INDIGENOUS-BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN MEXICO AND REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT (RLS) POSSIBILITIES

Mexico as a nation has endowed education with magical meaning. From the moment when twelve Franciscans set foot in the New World in 1524 to evangelize, education assumed a transforming mission in Mexico. (Vaughan 1990:31)

Tlamachtijketl: Nin amatlajkuilo axa timitsititia, omochi keni se konetsitsi tekilt pampa kimakas se paleuilis ipan amapoilijtsino uan tlajkuilolistli ipan nahuatlajtol tech in maseual temachtilyan inin tlaxkalteca tlale. Yenonik kipia in nauatlajtol tlen tikita mottlajtoua ipan se maseual altepetl: Kontlantsinko. (Locally produced Nahuatl text, Flores Vásquez & Romano Morales 1999)

Teachers: I write this book now so that you can see everything (about) how a child works because s/he will give some help on that which was written and [published] on Nahuatl language/words of school-people of this Tlaxcalan land. For that reason the Nahuatl language that you see is spoken in a person's town: Contla.

IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY AND THE SPACE

BETWEEN AGENCY AND STRUCTURE

The topic of bilingual-bicultural, or bilingual-intercultural education in Mexico is a controversial topic. Many anthropologists and linguists are dismissive of bilingual education as a merely empty governmental discourse, meant to appease indigenous communities, particularly in the wake of the 1994 Zapatista uprising. I have been told that in a Mexico City Amerindian linguistics class, the dozen graduate students present always had a dozen opinions when the topic of bilingual education and revitalization surfaced. Because of the size of the educational bureaucracy in Mexico, and its centralization requiring all students from grade 1-6 to use the same texts, many outside the field of education are critical of all public educational endeavors. While Mexico's

constitution (Article four, in particular) contains an eloquent treatise on Mexico as a pluri-cultural nation, in practice the great linguistic and “ethnic” or cultural diversity makes centralized education a great challenge.

This ideology of multiculturalism comes on the heels of an educational system that tried to root out Mexico’s indigenous languages; students who went to school used to be punished if caught speaking their native languages, and bilingual education was based on a transitional model, to teach indigenous communities Spanish. The Mexican government has sponsored bilingual education programs since 1951 through the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI, established in 1948) and then the *Dirección General de Educación Indígena* (General Directorate of Indigenous Education) (DGEI). These two institutions were charged with “dealing with” the pluralism of the linguistic and cultural heritage of Mexico (Modiano 1984). As Vaughan (1990) states in the quote I offer above, in Mexico Education plays an enormous ideological role in the imagining of the Nation (cf. Anderson 1991), which is usually conceived of as monolithic. The DGEI today produces pedagogical materials in multiple indigenous dialects and languages; Several official Nahuatl textbooks exist, for instance for the states of Puebla, Veracruz, and Guerrero, but not yet for Tlaxcala, although an effort is underway at the present to create such an officially sanctioned text (note that the text stands alone, and does not correspond to grade level). It is interesting to note that the DGEI did not arrive in Tlaxcala until 1978, while in other states it began decades earlier. The first DGEI educational endeavor in Tlaxcala was a boarding school in San Pablo Apetatitlan (at the base of the Malintsi, not far from Contla) for indigenous students from multiple states; its

goal was clearly *Castilianization*. The bilingual schools discussed in this chapter did not come about until the early 1990's; now there are a dozen in both Mexicano and Otomí linguistic regions.

One of my research goals was to observe what goes on in the bilingual schools new to the state of Tlaxcala. The reality I found is complicated, observing that Nahuatl study only happens in isolated instances within a highly regimented school schedule, and at certain symbolic events during the school year. However, I also found that there are teachers who spend hours of their own time compiling their own textbooks, and in some cases vying with each other for recognition by the national SEP (educational secretariat) for publication of their text. During my fieldwork I documented three concurrent projects for writing what would become the official state Nahuatl text. These teachers are indeed agents that challenge both local and national school systems, but they are also an integral part of the system itself – whose efforts are not being recognized. The analysis that follows will trace a myriad of ideological stances, both historical and contemporary that belie attitudes of and attempts at schooling in both the indigenous and colonial languages.

CONFLICTOS LINGÜÍSTICOS (LINGUISTIC CONFLICTS)

A dualist perspective of *Indígenas* and the Nation has pervaded the literature on the Mexican sociolinguistic situation. Consider for instance the following description of *linguistic conflict*:

En México, el conflicto lingüístico entre el español como lengua nacional y las múltiples lenguas indígenas representa uno de los grandes problemas sociales que obstaculiza la Constitución de esta nación, es decir, el proyecto de unidad nacional que constituye la base de la mexicanidad. (Enrique Hamel & Héctor Muñoz Cruz 1982:22)

In Mexico the linguistic conflict between Spanish as a national language and the multiple indigenous languages represents one of the great social problems that serves as an obstacle to the Constitution of this nation, that is to say, the project of a national unity that constitutes the foundation of Mexicanness. In the above quote and in other earlier influential sociolinguistic work (cf. Hamel 1987) the view of *language as a problem* (cf. Ruiz 1984)¹ is clear, framing linguistic multiplicities as obstacles to the government project to foster national unity.² Valiñas (1987:120) points out that this idea of an “indigenous problem” arises out of an outsider perspective constructing differences between “us” and “them” in these discourses. By developing a perspective of linguistic syncretism, which by definition pays equal attention to both indigenous and colonial language linguistic resources used by speakers of Mexicano, Hill & Hill (1986) have offered an alternative perspective to the *conflicto lingüístico* in Mexico. Similarly, Flores Farfán (1999, In press) has problematized the notion of conflict, and reframed it as a matter of pluralized contacts and conflicts (“*contactos y conflictos*”) between speakers of a syncretized Mexicano and Spanish, one in which Mexicano is kept alive, in part, through its incorporation of Spanish grammatical forms. Writing about Quechua regions in the Andes, Hornberger (2000) documents a similar type of “ideological paradox.”

¹ Some common perspectives on language policy include: *Language as a Resource*, *Language as a Problem*, *Language as a Right*. (Ruiz 1984) This indicates the differing official ideological stances possible in regards to language, which is often viewed as symbolic of national, cultural or ethnic identity.

² See special issue of *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* edited by Hamel (1997) for a consideration of local agency within the “language conflict” and related to a focus on linguistic human rights.

In the last chapter I presented the anthropologist Bonfil Batalla's perspectives on the split between an Urban, "modernized" Mexico, and the rural and indigenous communities. This is an idea that has been pervasive since the Revolutionary movement of the early twentieth century began to envision a centralized Mexican state that enjoyed a certain degree of cultural, linguistic, and educational -if not economic- homogeneity.

Aguirre Beltrán (1973, 1982) has advocated a dualist view of the Mexican people whereby what he views as the traditional indigenous sector is organized through traditional economic ways, living in *regiones de refugio* (regions of refuge) which Aguirre Beltrán states is in opposition to the market economy of the modernized, urban "national culture." Furthermore, Aguirre Beltrán's position is that the urban sectors should seek the modernization of the Indian countryside. This dualism extends to language domains, separating *lengua vernácula* (vernacular language) from *lengua general* (general language). Indians and ladinos for Aguirre Beltrán are on unequal footing, coexisting in a type of caste system. He views the goal of a modernizing education as that of fostering social evolution, and the eventual erasure of these social categories, through the government's creation of post-revolutionary programs such as the *Casas del pueblo* (community houses), Casa del estudiante indígena (house of the indigenous student), and the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI), the National Indigenist Institute. Similarly, Nahmad (1981) perceives that the "Indian problem" must be remedied through national educational projects, such as bilingual education, in order to bridge the gap between "natives" and the urban population. Flores Farfán (1996)

suggests that *indigenista* ideology actually ultimately increased the assimilation of indigenous communities, through support of *Castilianization*.

THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF CASTILIANIZATION

The principal attempt to deal with the “Indian problem,” and to bring “civilization” to indigenous communities, *Castilianization* came about during the centralization of national education, subsequent to state formation.³ The ideology of fostering homogeneity and a national identity under a singular language, was to be achieved through the institutionalization of *Castilianization* (Brice Heath 1972). This ideology was disseminated through linguistic policies in schools around Mexico, and has been the principal basis for Bilingual-Bicultural Education in Mexico, until the need for language maintenance has arisen as a potential goal of teachers in recent years, such as in Tlaxcala. *Castilianization* rests on the perceived need for explicit encouragement of participation in national culture by all citizens of Mexico, regardless of ethnic or linguistic background; The promotion of bilingualism and language maintenance were not the goals of the original bilingual education programs (Brice Heath 1972, Hidalgo 1994, Patthey-Chavez 1994). Similar to transitional bilingual programs, and enforced language study in native boarding schools in the U.S., the Mexican government sought to accomplish a cultural nationalization through *Castellanización*. The ideological roots of the policy of Castilianization can be traced historically to Ferdinand and Isabella’s unification of Spain under one *language*, religion, and crown in 1492. This unification

³ Corrigan and Sayer (1985) and Joseph and Nugent (1994) point to the importance of the process of state formation, after the Independence of former colonies from their colonizers, because the consolidation of power of new Nation-states often sees the emergence of popular forms of consciousness and also resistance at the “local level” which become intertwined with the state’s ideologies.

affected the ideology of the new colonies as well; The Spanish language was imbued with great meaning, seen as the language of both God and the law⁴ (Brice Heath 1972). This linguistic iconization (cf. Gal & Irvine 1995, Irvine & Gal 2000, Irvine 2002) attached a prestige to Spanish and a denigrating quality to indigenous languages, whose speakers were punished in Castilianizing schools. Looking at the ideological dimension to bilingual education in both Mexico and the U.S., Rippberger (1993) advocates an emic perspective, reflective of local Indigenous identity, and that pluralism and assimilation do not have to be in opposition to one another, as they are in "conflict theory." The legacy of *Castilianization* has been a pronounced cultural alienation of indigenous Mexicans, and in Varese's view, should be reversed through bilingual education (Varese 1983).

LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION AND SCHOOLS

The debate over the efficacy of schools as a medium for both indigenous language maintenance and revitalization programs (Fishman 1991, 1996, Hornberger 1997, McCarty 1998, 1999) deals with the basic question of whether language transmission and fostering positive attitudes towards indigenous language can be addressed through schooling. Can school programming prevent language shift? What is the goal of local schools in Tlaxcala? What is possible within a national standardized system? These were some of the research questions that prompted the observations within the Tlaxcalan indigenous school system.

Regarding the Mexican context, Valiñas (1987) points out that schools have offered indigenous communities an educational experience completely alien to their

⁴ The role of language and education as a tool for cultural conquest and political conquest should be considered, as in Gonzalbo Aizpuru (1990).

cultural reality. Flores Farfán (1999, 2002) has criticized Bilingual-Bicultural Education is being an apparent attempt to foster the teaching of indigenous languages through schools, but that in actuality it has not changed the linguistic conflict by challenging the explicit subordination of these languages to the dominant national language. About schooling he suggests that within Indigenous education

La escuela se ve como la trinchera idónea para luchar por las lenguas, una panacea. No obstante, ni siquiera dentro del ámbito escolar la EBB logra definir una reorientación real de las prácticas y las actitudes lingüísticas. (1999:44)

School is seen as the ideal trench from which to struggle on behalf of the languages, a panacea. Nevertheless, not even within the school context does Bilingual-Bicultural Education manage to define a true reorientation of linguistic practice and attitudes.

As the reader will see below, some of Flores Farfán's criticism is echoed by Tlaxcalan teachers who are within the bilingual system itself; However these same teachers are the very ones who spend much time developing Nahuatl curriculum to supplement the national one. They are within the system, and see its problems, but have little choice, due to their economic circumstances but to continue working within the system. Flores Farfán's critique is well-taken, but I suggest that we look at schools as much as *community* institutions as imparters of a national, standardized curriculum handed down from within a Mexico City office building.

This mistrust of schooling for the purpose of fostering indigenous language use is widespread and understandable, given the history of *Castilianization*, and a legacy of schoolteachers punishing students for speaking their native languages, up until these recent changes in the stated ideology of Bilingual-Bicultural Education. Nava Nava (2003) suggests that true revitalization programs must have an ideological component

that stems from the community itself:

Un verdadero programa de revitalización debe tener un sustento ideológico en la propia comunidad, desarrollarse por los miembros de esa comunidad y sobretodo como práctica comunicativa real. Un proceso de revitalización en una comunidad como ésta no puede ser efectiva sin rescatar los valores locales, los saberes propios de la comunidad y sin echar mano de aquellos quienes tiene mucho que decir: Los ancianos. La revitalización no puede darse en un esquema artificial tipo escolar. La lengua se adquiere al mismo tiempo que se adquiere una imaginaria de vida, Aprender una lengua es aprender una forma de vivir. (Nava Nava 2003)

A real program of revitalization must have an ideological base in the community itself, developed by the members of that community and overall as a real communicative practice. A revitalization process in a community such as this cannot be effective without rescuing local values, the knowledge of the community proper and without those that have much to say: The elders. Revitalization cannot happen in an artificial scheme such as in schooling. Language is acquired at the same time that a [way of] life is acquired, to learn a language is to learn a form of living.

The idea of school as an artificial context, inappropriate for the real language socialization is well-taken; schooling is to a certain degree an artificial context, one that educators have tried to remedy through, for instance, experiential teaching methods. And I agree fully that community members, and indigenous community elders in particular, must serve a key role in language planning and revitalization efforts. The school, however deficient it may be as an artificial space for learning to take place is a Community of Practice, whose members are often extremely dedicated to their work with children, and in this case, their work with fostering positive attitudes towards the ancestral language. The criticisms of schooling that are generated from this debate must be heard and considered, as we look towards multi-layered approaches to RLS.

Considering Mexico's current economic crisis, the constraints of the national curriculum itself, problems of teacher support ranging from training to lack of basic

equipment and services, pressures from a national teacher's union, and governmental attitudes towards indigenous peoples are all external factors that affect what is possible in the school itself. With regards to the maintenance and revival of Mexicano, linguistic issues are converted into economic ones as Tlaxcalan elementary schools choose to teach their ancestral language, a language imbued with symbolic capital in the face of secondary schools that teach English, which has potential economic capital (Bourdieu 1982). Language ideologies favoring the teaching of English over Mexicano conflict with ideologies that support the bilingual program in the schools. Given these constraints, what can the role of the school be in preventing language loss?

FROM "LINGUISTIC CONFLICT" TO "IDEOLOGICAL MULTIPLICITY"

I am interested in the ideological multiplicity that pervades discourses on language and education in Tlaxcala, and in the academic world. The following is an attempt to trace out the main factors in this multiplicity. Through a look at *how and why bilingual education only happens in isolated instances* it is my hope that these teachers' efforts can be recognized as valuable attempts at Reversing Language Shift (RLS), and that alternative language revitalizations might be informed by this analysis.

I have come to believe that we need to recognize schools as both community and national institutions, and thus *recognize both the limitations and the potential* of these Communities of Practice as embedded in their local communities, which can serve as key resources for RLS. In other words, the space between the school and the local community and national system, and between structure and agency, are the spaces in which we find the negotiation of multiple ideologies; The burden of the negotiation of

this ideological multiplicity falls on teachers, as a part of their work as *trabajadores de la educación* (workers in education) and local *maestros* (teachers) (cf. Rockwell 1991). The teachers are the ones who transform the local and national interests into curriculum and actual daily teaching practices.

It is this space between structure and agency that should not be overlooked for RLS potential; Key language promoters exist both within the educational system, and the teachers within the system have resources such as strong ties with local children and families, access to facilities, and some training, knowledge and special interest in the issue of language and education.

While I agree that schools cannot and should not be the *sine qua non* of Reversing Language Shift, I also believe that we should not throw the proverbial baby out with the bathwater and give up on schools, particularly when schools serve as important community institutions in rural Mexico. But rather we should begin to view schools in Mexico in a new light, as being the professional domicile of *key language promoters* (Fishman 1991) and potential collaborators in alternative language revitalization.

SCHOOLS AS LOCAL AND NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

At the local level, the institution of the public school is both a part of a nationwide school system *and* a community institution made up of teachers, students, and parents - all members of the community that constitute this institution, which needs to be located within its local and regional context. The school is thus subject to the ideologies that create these institutions - both national and local ideologies. Examples of Mexican state ideology in the schools can be seen in the translation of the Mexican national

anthem into Nahuatl, and the traditional, militaristic homage to the flag that is a part of every Mexican school day (including in pre-schools). In rural Tlaxcala, the school cannot be studied apart from its greater community. Parents and other family members, and neighbors are also an integral part of the school community. Rockwell suggests that this was true historically: “at the everyday level, local culture tinged school life, teachers’ networks sustained it, and peasant children made something of it” (Rockwell 1994:207). Parental voices are strong in their assent or dissent on such issues as how to force parents to pay their *cooperaciones* (required dues) if they had not done so, to opinions on the construction of a new school building, and a the choice of a new school uniform. Vaughan (1994) also attests to the “highly mobilized rural population” in post-revolutionary Mexico, which gave them negotiating power over their schools.

EVERYDAY LIFE IN TLAXCALA SCHOOLS

In Tlaxcala, as in most of Mexico, the school day begins at 8:00 in the morning (except during the coldest part of winter, in which case it is 8:30am). Students arrive mostly by foot from the surrounding neighborhoods, often crossing through the *Milpas* (cornfields). As they arrive, students greet their friends and play on the outdoor patio that, in the two Tlaxcalan schools in which I conducted my observations, is a multi-purpose playground, outdoor auditorium, and basketball and soccer court. The classrooms, between six and fourteen in number, each have a main door that opens onto the patio. An additional classroom functions as a library, meeting and storage room. The first space one sees upon entering the gate of the school is the main office, consisting of desks, chairs, manual typewriter, Public Address system, a tape recorder, books, gym

equipment, a first aid cabinet, several file cabinets, large wall clock and a Mexican flag in a wooden display case; sometimes there is a television and video-cassette recorder. Maps of Mexico, the official school year calendar, and trophies adorn the office. Bathrooms, separated by gender, are towards the back of the schools. There is a potable water spigot in each school, and often a garden with carefully tended flowers at the entrance. Each school has a lunchroom, one of which was recently built, financed by the national government, the municipal county, and supplemented by parental dues. Each school has one or two teachers per grade (with one classroom per teacher), a director, and a full-time attendant who serves as custodian, typist, and general helper.

The classrooms are basic, built of cement, with windows at the back and electricity. Each contains a chalkboard, moveable desks with built-in chairs, and for the teacher a table, chair, bookcase and locker. There is a broom, mop and pail for the students to take turns cleaning the classroom at the end of each day and week. At the beginning and end of the year the walls are bare; during the school year the walls are decorated by student work, both written and art.

Students, parents, and teachers mill around the school prior to the beginning of the day. At 8:00am (or 8:30am) all students line up in front of their classroom, where their teacher is standing. On all days the students are expected to line up in a straight line and pay attention to the announcements made by the principal and the teachers over the P.A. system. They are led in brief callisthenic exercises from their spots. Finally, they march (similar to a military formation) back to their classrooms, starting with grade six all the way to grade one.

On Mondays, the homage to the flag ceremony (*homenaje a la bandera*) is conducted by students on the patio of the school, and the national anthem and anthem to Tlaxcala is sung, sometimes in Spanish, and sometimes in Mexicano. Students are expected to wear the school uniform at least each Monday for this meeting. Each grade takes turns giving historical information about Mexico; sometimes the students take the microphone. Special themes correspond with special events, such as preparing for athletic, dance or essay contests, or participation in town parades and these are all announced at this morning meeting, by the director, students or teachers. The director, or principal of the school declares each new school year and semester officially open, and likewise, on Monday mornings often encourages the students to arrive on time and focus on their studies.

The school commemorates all national historical holidays (i.e. Independence day, Battle of Puebla day, Beginning of the Revolution), as well as celebrating (to some degree) holidays that are part of the local ritual cycle (i.e. Day of the Dead, Saint's birthdays, Coming of the Spring, Carnival). In addition, most teachers are members of one of the two labor unions (the official SNTE & the dissident Bases Magisteriales), and many take college courses after-school or on weekends at the Universidad Nacional Pedagógica (or UPN, the National Pedagogical University).

The school day breaks at 10:30am with a half-hour recess in which children eat breakfast play sports, talk, and study. Teachers tend to congregate during this time over food, talking about school related issues or joking with one another. At 11:00am the student line up once again and walk back to their classrooms in formation. The school

day comes to a close at 1:00pm, when most of the students and staff leave; some teachers and students stay on for additional work. Most of the official meetings that take place do so during the school day. This time schedule allows school facilities to be used twice in one day, where physical space for schooling is scarce. For instance, the San Isidro school building is used twice, first for the morning turn, and then second time for the afternoon turn.

The use of common space and tasks within the school rotates – school directors, often in conjunction with teachers decide on which grade they will teach at the end of a school year, in preparation for the next. It is common for teachers to stay with the same class for two-year cycles. At the beginning of a school year committees they decide on committees and a course schedule that allows them to use the patio space at different times during the day.

Multiple meetings can take place during a school day. For instance, representatives from the mayor's office may come, to discuss the school's participation in the next town parade. Parents arrive throughout the day, seeking copies of documents, dropping a snack or snack money off, wanting to discuss fundraising and dues collection, or to help with a crafts project. Union leaders may arrive bearing invitations to an after-school meeting later that week, or to an upcoming protest in the state or national capital. It is common for such visitors to speak to the director or go to the classroom of the teacher they wish to speak with, standing in the doorway until the teacher notices their presence and takes a break.

Teachers have complained that it is difficult for them to focus on their classes because of the interruptions, but it is clear to the observer that the school is as much of a community institution as a church, mayor's office, or *tortillería* (tortilla store), and parents in particular feel very much at home coming to the school at any time. Parents help a great deal, for instance with the organization of special events; women help with sewing dresses or costumes, and by cooking food. The social networks at the school are well known, most teachers either come from neighboring communities in the same county and therefore know their students' families, or they develop relationships with the families over the long periods of time that teachers tend to remain within a particular school.

INSTANCES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The official curriculum states that each grade should undertake one half hour of Nahuatl study a week; clearly this is very little. Instances of bilingual education that took place in the classroom as I observed them included the teaching and practice of lexical items, such as colors, parts of the body, and animals, as well as the teaching and memorization of the National and State anthems in their Mexicano translations. Occasionally teachers give students the task of finding out a list of Mexicano words from their families. In some classrooms, teachers take it upon themselves to spend more time than this, but the activities are so restricted that they may not be considered a full bilingual education program.

All of these exercises are striking in their difference from the strongly textbook-based classroom work for the mainstays of the curriculum: the "three R's" as it were –

Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Language use in the classroom tends to include reading aloud as a class group, along with repetition of the text being read.

Memorization of information, including poetry is considered very important. It seems to me that for a teacher to be accustomed to teaching *from the text*, it would be quite challenging to teach without a text to add Mexicano to the classroom content.

In Contla for a couple of years teachers met after school to plan curriculum units in Mexicano. The two teachers who are completely fluent in Mexicano ran the workshop, and offered support to their colleagues. As far as I know this attempt only lasted a few years. After that the teachers used the materials they had developed during this period, and the more interested ones continued on their own. In each school there were at least two teachers who spent more time each week with Mexicano in their classes; they would use the blackboard to put up phrases along with their translations. A Mexicano lesson often involves the teaching and practice of lexical items (especially parts of the body, colors, common objects), the memorization and practice of poetry, and practice of conversational phrases such as in the following example, from the Contla school:

Teacher: *Uds. Se acuerdan cómo nosotros le preguntamos el nombre de alguien. ¿Se acuerdan? Tuvimos que poner los nombres en en Mexicano a cada uno de nosotros. ¿Se acuerdan?*

Several students at once: *¡Sí!*

T: *¿Sí? A ver, alguien se acuerda como como este... le preguntamos a alguien cómo se llama, a ver.*

Student 1 [S1] repeats: *¿Cómo se llama?*

T: *Aha.*

S2: *Ay, esto yo no me acuerdo. Yo me acuerdo de...*

S3: *Quenin tocatyotiya'?*

Teacher [marking pauses to highlight pronunciation]: *Que-nin [pause] ti-mo [pause] to-ca-yo-ti-ya.* *Quenin timo tocatyotiya?*

Several students repeat this at once: *Quenin timo tocayotiya*

Teacher: *¿Quién quiere preguntarle a alguien?*

Students: *!Yo! !Yo!*

Teacher: Do you all remember how we asked someone's name? Do you remember? We had to put the names in Mexicano for each one of us. Remember? Several students at once: Yes!

T: Yes? Let's see, does someone remember how how um... we ask someone what their name is, let's see.

Student 1 [S1] repeats: *¿What's their name?*

T: Aha.

S2: Ay, this I don't remember. I remember...

S3: *Quenin tocayotiya?* [What is your name/ what are you called?]

Teacher [marking pauses to highlight pronunciation]: *Que-nin* [pause] *ti-mo* [pause] *to-ca-yo-ti-ya*. *Quenin timo tocayotiya?*

Several students repeat this at once: *Quenin timo tocayotiya*

Teacher: *¿Who wants to ask someone?*

Students: *me! me!*

The matrix language (Meek, Messing & Hill 1990) here is Spanish in order to practice Mexicano as the 'target language.' The lack of classroom use of the native language in revitalization attempts through bilingual schooling in Mexico has been documented in other regions as well (cf. Calvo Pontón 1992, Hidalgo 1994). The students here have a playful attitude as they guess and practice these expressions, however limited the linguistic goals are. The class goes on repeating conversational phrases for about forty minutes, and spends some time on the idea of constructing honorifics, adding *-tsin* to students' names. In this classroom the teacher has used a lottery game in class, which requires matching pictures to Mexicano lexical items.⁵

In the above example the teacher's way of asking "What is your name" is calqued on the Spanish "*¿cómo se llama?*" ('what are you called?') rather than the locally salient

⁵ Note that the classroom talk is organized through a participant structure (Philips 1972) in which talk, and the control of the floor, is negotiated between teacher and students (constantly alternating between teacher-dominant and student-dominant), something I found common in my classroom observations.

“*Tlen motoca?*” The teacher is a fluent speaker of the local variant of Mexicano, making this choice of phrase puzzling.

The teachers who are most dedicated to the goal of making spaces for Mexicano in the classroom tend to be the ones who are most student-centered regarding Mexicano usage. For instance, they send their students home with the assignment of asking their families for lists of words, expressions or sayings. Teachers have told me that they sometimes bring Mexicano swear words to school, to find out what they mean. The teachers who allot the space in their classroom time for Mexicano on a regular basis, and have a positive attitude about it find that their students will then come to class volunteering new expressions heard at home. The children then socialize each other in this way, since I observed that some students were more interested than others, and some were particularly interested in conversations about Mexicano. Some of them told me that they understood or used Mexicano with certain relatives in their families. An example of a song that students learned for a special event, a contest of dance and poetry within the indigenous education division is:

Y'onic itac ze zitlalli
teretzallan hualquistihuitz
y onic itac no MALLINTZIN
tlacatzallan hualhuetzcatihuitz
la, la, la....

I saw a star
 in the middle of the mountains coming out
 I saw my Malintsi [mountain]
 in the middle of laughing people
 la, la, la....
 [no author/date; capital letters in original]

The local-ness of this song is clear, and serves as an example of the local character of these schools that surfaces within the curriculum.

In San Isidro since the children are all fluent in both languages, the situation is different. They speak Mexicano to each other most of the time, even in class, and they might address their teachers in either or both languages. Teachers address them in both languages, but primarily in Spanish; a common communicative pattern is for a student to address a teacher in Mexicano and the teacher replies in Spanish. A few teachers require them to learn to write Mexicano, giving them writing assignments that correspond to their grade level. There, since students all speak Mexicano, these interested teachers perceive the educational goal to be biliteracy, although they do not have materials to support the teaching of biliteracy,⁶ unless they create them themselves, which a few do (cf. Francis 1997).

My interpretation of these small instances of attempts at bilingual education is that they are more useful *ideologically*, rather than linguistically. By creating a space for Mexicano within a Malintsi classroom, within the nationalized educational system, the students receive a positive message about Mexicano rather than one belied by a *menosprecio* ideology. I have heard the description of teaching, in general, in several countries, to be a matter of “planting a seed” in students’ minds – when, or whether that seed germinates is not knowable. I posit that it is likely that these attempts at bilingual education can be such a seed with some students who may then, on their own, as a few of the Contla teachers’ students have done, begin to spend more time with Mexicano-

⁶ Biliteracy in indigenous communities as an educational goal is itself a complex issue (Hornberger 1989).

dominant relatives because of linguistic interest. Schools are imperfect institutions with great constraints, but also constitute community gathering-places staffed by Gramscian “organic intellectuals,” that can indeed offer a great deal to the work of Reversing Language Shift.⁷

These instances of bilingual education take place within a system that does not support its teachers with sufficient materials and, often, training as well. Calvo Pontón & Donnadieu Aguado (1992) have pointed to a clear contradiction in Bilingual-Bicultural Education in Mexico between that which is formal (what is supposed to happen in schools, according to the discourse) and that which is real (what actually happens in classrooms). Consider for instance the following quote, from their research in bilingual schools in a Mazahua region of Central Mexico:

Si la realidad se presentara de otra manera; es decir, si tanto la educación bilingüe y bicultural como el maestro indígena fueran verdaderos agentes de cambio que lograran la realización del objetivo oficial “impartir educación a los sectores más marginados del país con objeto de lograr su movilidad social y su integración a la vida económica del país,” tendríamos resultados que significarían cambios sustanciales en la estructura del sistema nacional. Es por ello que la divergencia entre lo formal y lo real cobra sentido. (Calvo Pontón & Donnadieu Aguado 1993:173)

If the reality were to present itself another way; that is to say, if bilingual bicultural education were as much as the indigenous teacher true agents of change that managed to achieve the official goal of “imparting education to the most marginal sectors of the country with the goal of achieving their social mobility and their integration to the economic life of the country,” we would have results that would indicate substantial changes in the structure of the national system. It is because of this that there is the divergence between the formal and the real makes sense.

⁷ See Mallon (1995) on teachers in Mexico as local intellectuals, and Giroux (1988) on teachers as transformative intellectuals.

These authors have found that there is a difference between the discourse and the practice of the national system and that, unlike some indigenous teachers, it is not yet a true agent of change. This quote serves to summarize an educational situation that is replete with contradictions, between stated objectives and actual schooling practices, in the region discussed by Calvo Pontón and Donnadiou Aguado, as well as in Tlaxcala.⁸ These contradictions are at some level related to the ideological multiplicity regarding issues of indigenous language and identity, and socioeconomic progress that I have suggested exists in the Malinsti community of Tlaxcala. These small instances of bilingual education must be understood within the context of the structural constraints and ideological multiplicity, thereby making the work of the teacher/language promoters that I discuss in this chapter worthy of recognition.

AGENCY AND STRUCTURE REVISITED: TEACHERS IN TLAXCALA

In the everyday life in schools, rather than being direct ideological pawns of the state, schools consist of individuals who constantly contest and reinterpret state and local interests (Rockwell 1996). Rockwell (Ibid., Ezpeleta & Rockwell 1985) suggests that appropriation (the choosing of elements of culture and integrating them into the educational ideology of a school) is a more suitable and complex concept than a simplistic model of cultural transmission. *Appropriation* sees local people as the agents

⁸ Local teacher and scholar Romano Morales (1999:59) points out that in Tlaxcalan bilingual schools the language has been relegated to cultural events, such as Nahuatl poetry competitions, indigenous story-telling, and the teaching of the national and state anthems in Nahuatl, all of which are corroborated by my observations. He suggests that to remedy the situation of what he terms “ethnic education,” the sixth grade should be taught the alphabet, demonstratives, colors and phrases in conversation – all of this is intended to reaffirm the child’s ethnic identity, rather than to achieve fluency in the language.

of the transformation and incorporation of national ideologies into local systems. Indeed, as I suggest in this dissertation, teachers are not Althusserian dupes of the state, but rather negotiate their goals with their required duties as national workers - *trabajadores de la educación*. The autobiography of a Tlaxcalan rural school teacher in the 1930's and forties, chronicling his education and teaching experiences, reveals the interplay between his obligation to the nation and to his students:

también era importante hablarles de amor a la patria, a sus símbolos y de las buenas intenciones del gobierno de la República en hacer llegar el alfabeto a través de la escuela rural a todos los mexicanos. A eso obedecía mi presencia, para que juntos lográramos hacer de México un país grandioso.

Con cierta facilidad lograba avances en la enseñanza de la lectura y escritura en forma bilingüe (español/ Nahuatl); a veces me inclinaba a la Castellanización para hacerme entender, pero era propiamente un procedimiento más lento que hacerlo simultáneamente.

It was also important to speak to them of love to the father/motherland, to its symbols, and of the good intentions of the government of the Republic, in bringing the alphabet, through the rural school, to all Mexicans. To this my presence obeyed, so that together we would make a great country of Mexico.

With certain ease I achieved advances in the teaching of reading and writing bilingually (Spanish/ Nahuatl); sometimes I was inclined towards *Castilianization* to make myself understood, but that was a slower procedure than doing it simultaneously [in both languages]. (Hernández Hernández 1987:67-8,77)

This teacher illustrates the negotiation that took place, between his national obligations to Castilianize, teaching in Spanish to monolingual speakers of indigenous languages, and his desire to teach the students in the way most appropriate to their learning. Similar types of contradictions are faced by teachers today as well. Teachers are charged with fostering patriotism through the teaching and weekly repetition of the National anthem and homage to the flag. Like other schools in *La República Mexicana* the theme of uniformity pervades Tlaxcalan schools, from the white uniforms worn by the students on

Monday - a day termed *el día de la bandera* (the day of the flag) in all of Mexico, to the military-like formations that characterize the children's marching back to their classrooms.

CONSTRAINTS ON TEACHERS

Popular discourse in Mexico often blames teachers for complaining about jobs that require seemingly little work; in reality teachers' earnings are at the low end of the socioeconomic scale for professional jobs. Indigenous schoolteachers have been blamed as being disinterested in teaching their language, and becoming overly "acculturated," as well as being accused of not being familiar with educational theories that are supposed to "help them" teach (c.f. Modiano 1984). The constraints on teachers need to be considered. After substantial school observations, my field research quickly became focused on learning the details of these overwhelming constraints, which I discuss below. First, I would like to present excerpts from an interview with a key informant to offer a picture of the situation.

TEACHER PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUAL SCHOOLING & CONSTRAINTS

Maestra Lidia has written her own text for bilingual teaching whose introduction I quote at the outset of this chapter. Unlike the official Nahuatl texts from other states, the matrix language of this textbook is Mexicano, which shows a great deal of awareness of teaching methods that place the native language above the colonial one (cf. Meek, Messing & Hill 2000). Lidia spends a great part of her week preparing work for her students in San Isidro that is in Mexicano, and working in community revitalization

attempts, such as a weekly bilingual radio program. In my observations, her classroom has elements of bilingual education on a weekly basis.

The formal interview excerpt below constitutes the single most informative and concise treatise on the realities of bilingual education and RLS through the school system that I have come across in my years of research in Tlaxcala, and for this reason I offer the lengthy excerpt below.

J: ¿Qué ves que podría hacer una escuela bilingüe en ese caso [given local menosprecio]?

Bueno, hablando de San Isidro y también de Contla porque esos son los casos distintos que tú conoces.

L: Bueno, pues una de las condiciones que tenemos y a lo mejor de las encomiendas que nos han dado así políticamente es la revaloración, el fomento para hablar la lengua Náhuatl. Sí, sobretodo revalorarla y, y este, lejos de decirle a los niños “no la hables,” pues este impulsar, bueno impulsar la lengua Náhuatl. Estar constantemente diciéndoles, bueno así casi, casi como “Tu lengua vale, habla.” Y es, forma parte de tu historia, de la historia de tus antepasados, en fin.

*Entonces creo que es una de las situaciones, de los retos bien grandes, pero que tenemos que enfrentarnos también a muchas otras cuestiones. Hay gente que ya no quiere hablar Náhuatl les... Aunque he notado que, de los años que he estado allá, sí ya existe un aprecio entre la gente de hablarla, de... no, ya no hay vergüenza como cuando nosotros llegamos, de no hablar. Ya no hay esa situación del principio “No hablo porque no sé,” “Yo sé hablar más español que Náhuatl.” Creo que ahora ya es una situación de orgullo, lo que yo he notado, el proceso que hacen ellos. De alguna manera, a lo mejor la educación bilingüe ha servido, pero no ha sido, yo creo que muy contundente para, para hacer todo, todo un trabajo en, de revaloración, de recuperación, de, de difusión inclusive. O sea, nos hace falta demasiado, **estamos en pañales apenas** [risas].*

J: What do you see that a bilingual school might do in that case [given local menosprecio]?

Okay, well one of the conditions that we have and maybe one of the tasks that have been given to us politically is revaluation, the fostering of speaking the Nahuatl language. Yes, overall to revalue/revalorize it and and um, far from telling the children “don’t speak it,” well um to promote, well to promote the Nahuatl language. To be constantly telling them, well almost like, like “Your language has value/meaning, speak.” And it is, it forms a part of your history, of the history of your ancestors, that is.

So I think that it is one of the situations, of the rather large challenges, but that we have to also confront many other issues. There are people that don't want to speak Nahuatl anymore they... Although I have noticed that, from the years that I have been over there [San Isidro], yes now there exists an appreciation among the people to speak it, of... no, there isn't shame anymore like when we arrived, to not speak. There isn't that situation from the beginning "I don't speak because I don't know," "I know how to speak Spanish more than Nahuatl." I think that now there is a situation of pride, what I've noticed, the process that they make[go through]. In some way, it's probable that bilingual education has served [a purpose], but it hasn't, I think that very directly in order to do everything, a whole job of, of revaluation, of recuperation, of, of including diffusion. That is, we are missing a too much, **we are barely in diapers.** [laughter]

Lidia goes on to discuss the official discourse of bilingual education on the part of the national educational system. She sees a disjuncture between the official ideology and the practice of bilingual education, because, in her view, echoing social theorists of Mexico, what is really at stake is the incorporation of indigenous communities into the national sphere.

L: Pues lo que pasa es que, creo es que aquí hay otra situación porque se crean planes, se crean proyectos, este, en este caso estuvo muy de moda lo de la Educación Bilingüe Bicultural, ahora es Intercultural. Y son discursos nada más que están ahí en el escritorio y llevan a la escuela, pero en realidad no, no se da en la práctica, o sea, creo que los objetivos son otros. Se persiguen otros objetivos y, y, lo que es la integración ¿no? de las comunidades indígenas a la Vida Nacional.

Como uno de los, recuerdo muy bien, uno de los objetivos que he seguido este... nos estaban este, recalcando cuando yo tomé mi curso de Inducción a la Docencia. Era los alumnos, cuando terminen su educación Primaria tienen que aprender a, un dominio, tienen que lograr un dominio coordinado de las lenguas, este, bilingüismo coordinado, y que tenía que ser la educación sin menoscabar su lengua y bueno, muchos detalles de éstos pero que en la realidad pues no, no son. [...]

O sea, son muchos factores que influyen ahí para que esto se de o no se de. Empezando de quienes nos dan la capacitación. Ellos manejan un discurso pero que en la práctica ello no lo llevan a cabo. Ellos manejan un discurso, pero no están convencidos de ese discurso que manejan, entonces solamente es para justificar porque, pues, necesitamos del trabajo y bueno, como ahí tengo mi oportunidad pues ahí voy, digo que sí hablo Náhuatl, digo que sí voy a comprometerme a estas cuestiones, pero cuando yo llego a la escuela pues ya no se da.

Well what happens is that, I think that here there is another situation because plans are made, projects are created, um, in this case it was very much in style this Bilingual Bicultural Education, now it's Intercultural. **And they are discourses /speeches nothing more** that are here on the desk and they carry the school, but in reality no, it's doesn't happen in practice, that is, I think that the objectives are other ones. Other objectives are pursued and, and, that which is integration, no? of the indigenous communities with National Life. Like one of those, I remember very well, one of the objectives that I have followed um... they were stressing to us when I took my course on the Introduction to Teaching. It was the students, when they finished their primary education they had to learn a, a domain, they had to master a coordinated domain of languages, um, coordinated bilingualism, and it had to be education without underappreciating/denigrating their language and well, [there are] a lot of details about these but that in the reality well no, they're not. [...]

That is, there are a lot of factors that influence there for this to come to fruition or not. Starting with who gives us the training. They handle a discourse but that in practice they don't follow through with it. They handle a discourse but they aren't convinced of that discourse that they handle, so then it's only to justify why, well, we are in need of work and okay, since I there have my opportunity well there I go, I say that I do speak Nahuatl, I say that I will commit to working on these issues, but when I get to school well then it doesn't come about.

Lidia suggests that the situation regarding Bilingual Bicultural Education is multifaceted and while there is a lot of “just discourse,” – speeches about the importance of bilingual education – teachers like her are putting time in to making the goals of bilingual education come true, particularly by encouraging positive attitudes towards Mexicano from *within* the educational institution itself.

Given these tremendous ideological and structural constraints, when asked what might still be possible locally, particularly in light of her own RLS work, Lidia responded:

Pues es, sí es difícil este, tener que articular todo esto en la práctica ¿no? A mí me cuesta trabajo y si yo lo hago es porque estoy convencida de, de... Muchas situaciones me han entrado más en el estudio de esto de las lenguas, de la cultura, de la filosofía indígena. Entonces este, para articularlo me cuesta demasiado, demasiado trabajo, pero, siento que lo que hago a lo mejor es mínimo, pero sé que va a tener ciertas repercusiones en la comunidad, con los alumnos, su bienestar.

*Sin embargo, pues chocamos con muchas, muchas trabas y muchos este, muchas cosas que a mí me ponen en un conflicto. Me ponen en un conflicto porque de momento yo quisiera abarcar más sobre la cultural indígena, más sobre lengua Náhuatl, y los tiempos no lo permiten porque, como decías tú, los libros están en español, tengo que manejar contenidos que se manejan a nivel nacional, o sea, es una educación nacional porque no podemos tener un curriculum aparte ¿sí? Como estamos incorporados dentro de todo el, el sistema nacional, tampoco podemos decir “Queremos tener nuestros propios contenidos, que todo sea Náhuatl.” Entonces eso es un conflicto bien grande y bueno, **tendríamos que buscarnos espacios**. O sea, yo **voy buscando espacios**, voy generando mis propios este, mis propias formas de trabajar con los alumnos, a lo mejor uno o dos días por semana busco otra maneras ¿no? Pero este, siento que es mínimo, es casi nada lo que se está haciendo para lograr realmente lo que se pretende.*

Well it's, yes it's difficult um, to have to articulate all of this in practice, no? It's difficult for me and if I do it it's because I'm convinced of, of... Many situations have entered me further into the study of this of the languages, of the culture, of indigenous philosophy. Therefore um, to articulate causes me a great deal, too much work, but, I feel that what I do possibly is minimal, but I know that it will have certain repercussions in the community, with the students, their well-being.

Nevertheless we confront many many difficulties and many um, many things that place me in a conflict. They put me in a conflict because at times I would like to take on more regarding indigenous culture, more on the Nahuatl language, and time does not permit it because as you were saying, the books are in Spanish, I have to handle content that are taught at a national level, that is, it's a national education because we couldn't have a separate curriculum, yes? Since we are incorporated within a whole, the the national system, neither can we say “We want to have our own contents, so that everything be Nahuatl.” So that is a very large conflict and well, **we would have to look for spaces**. That is, **I am looking for spaces**, I generate my own um, my own ways of working with the students, possibly one or two days per week, I look for other ways, no? But this, I feel that it is minimal, it's hardly anything what is being done to truly reach the goal that that is supposed.

Although Lidia acknowledges the constraints, it is clear that she is going to continue working both within the system that constitutes her work, and outside it (i.e. radio programs). Her textbook was distributed among the Tlaxcalan schools last year, and it will be interesting to see how it has been received, how it has been used in the school. The ideological multiplicity is clear in these discussions of teachers who are locked

into a system that does not serve them, but yet provide them with a context for developing their own relationships with the communities within which they work.

Another key informant whose perspective I would like to include here is a teacher who has run Mexicano workshops with his colleagues, to create their own curriculum units and materials. He gives his point of view on the negotiating of the national system with his goals, as well as his perspective on disjunctures between ideology and practice in this system.

J: *¿Y qué piensas de la educación bilingüe?*
And what do you think of bilingual education?

G: *Pues, por ejemplo, te diré, aquí en nuestro estado es una, un mero este, discurso político porque realmente, bueno, si aquí nosotros no estábamos haciendo casi nada, pues ya me imagino en las demás escuelas. Porque hay veces que tenemos reuniones de maestros y supervisores, o sea, nuestro jefe inmediato a veces nos quiere sembrar la inquietud de bueno, hacer real esto lo que dice nuestra escuela, que somos este Bilingües y Biculturales, hacerlo real. Pero, este, he captado que la mayoría de los maestros, mis compañeros, maestros que trabajan en las diferentes escuelas, como que no quieren asumir el compromiso. El compromiso de hacer este tipo de trabajo.*

[...]

Y en este caso pues, de hecho todos estamos inmersos dentro de esto, lo que es el Subsistema de Educación Indígena, y deberíamos de estar con todo el compromiso del mundo para, para sacar esto adelante y hacerlo real. Pero no es así, muchos de nosotros no, no lo hacemos. O sea, yo he platicado con algunos que otros compañeros que sí, o sea, están en esa posición, en la misma que yo me encuentro, pero hay veces que por falta de organización, por falta de, de, de este, de apoyo sobretodo.

Well, for example, I'll tell you, here in our state it's a, a virtual um, **political discourse** because really, well, if here we were hardly doing anything, well I can imagine in the other schools. Because there are times that we have meetings with teachers and supervisors, that is, our immediate boss sometimes wants to engender within us the concern of well, to make real this that our school says, that we are Bilingual and Bicultural, to make it real. But, um, I have realized that the majority of teachers, my colleagues, teachers who work in different schools, it's like they don't want to assume the responsibility/task. The task of doing this type of work.

[...]

And in this case well, in fact we are all immersed within this, that which is the Subsystem of Indigenous Education and **we should be with all the commitment in the world** in order to, to, forge ahead [sacar adelante] with this and make it real. But it's not like this, many of us, don't we don't do it. That is, I have spoken with some of my other colleagues that do, that is, they are in that position, in the same one that I find myself, but there are times that because of lack of organization, of lack of, of, of um, of support above all.

Gilberto speaks of *hacerlo real*, of making the dream of bilingual education real, and he describes the need for more time and support to make this take place. He is very clear that the stated goal is of great importance and deserves being followed up with a great deal of work and commitment, something that he himself has shown through his additional work, organizing workshops and working groups with this colleagues.

MULTIPLE TEACHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND IDEOLOGIES OF TEACHING

In addition to the constraints on bilingual schooling, the everyday life of teachers is replete with extraordinary responsibilities. Below I will attempt to quantify the tasks that teachers are responsible for as *trabajadores de la educación* – national workers in support of education. Vaughan (1994) has described teachers as “missionaries of the state,” due to their responsibilities in fostering nationalism, and teaching literacy. At the same time they are instructors of dance, physical education, health & hygiene, and art. They organize district competitions in athletics, and poetry recitation, among other things. They belong to labor unions, and take part in political organizing and protests aimed at bettering their circumstances and having their labor recognized. They are seekers of professional development, studying to finish college degrees, Masters degrees, and in some cases even high school, through Teachers colleges, such as the Universidad Pedagógica Nacional (UPN). They are residents in their towns, which often require

substantial community service work, and time spent with *cargos*, or tasks for their religious sodalities.⁹ Finally, some are writers of Mexicano textbooks, and ultimately, negotiators between agency and structure.

Linguistically, as I described in the last chapter, an implicit and explicit ideology of Mexicano language use is that its speakers, particularly in the Contla county, feel that Mexicano belongs to social contexts of intimacy. Mexicano then through schooling is forced into the non-intimate sphere of the school, where speakers may or may not have a relationship with each other outside the school. There may also be a language mismatch between the texts written in so-called “Classical Nahuatl”¹⁰ that teachers can use, and the dialect of Mexicano spoken locally (Nava Nava, personal communication). Additionally, the widespread community *Menosprecio* and ambivalence towards transmitting the ancestral language, and fostering an identity that is markedly “indigenous” to outsiders is something that would make the idea of bilingual distasteful to some people. Indeed, in San Isidro when the local elementary school was created as an indigenous, bilingual school under the DGEI in the early 1990’s, local families chained and locked the front gate, to prevent teachers from opening it. Eventually, teachers managed to negotiate with the parents, explaining that their children would not only learn Mexicano, but mainly literacy in Spanish, and the school was allowed to open.

⁹ Canclini has pointed out that rural indigenous towns in Mexico often have a sense of time that differs greatly from mestizo cities, particularly in the observation and celebration of ritual festivities. I observed a difference in time between the school’s rigid hours and the towns’ more relaxed sense of time.

¹⁰ “Classical Nahuatl” is said to have been the dialect of Nahuatl spoken during colonial times, although this concept precludes any dialectal differences which were extremely likely to exist at the time, given today’s plethora of Nahuatl dialects in Mexico. (See work by Karen Dakin, and Una Canger).

Teachers themselves vary in their opinions towards Mexicano language use and teaching, as data in the previous chapter showed. For Juan, the sociolinguistic situation he has grown up with has marked him so profoundly that he has very mixed feelings about its teaching, and about his own language abilities. Here he describes how he deals with his students and their mothers in San Isidro:

O sea, de que lo entiendo, lo entiendo perfectamente y lo puedo escribir, lo que me hace falta es pronunciarlo, es lo que me hace falta a mi. [...] Lo que sí me han comentado es que yo me comuniqué más con los niños en Náhuatl, eso sí me lo han dicho muchas veces, pero yo lo que hago, luego les digo, "Uds. hablen el Náhuatl yo les contesto en Español y nos entendemos", yo lo entiendo perfectamente No nada más con los niños, lo hago con las mamás. Luego les digo "Uds. saben el Náhuatl, yo les contesto en Español" porque luego hay algunas mamás que saben hablar este, no saben hablar Español puro Mexicano allá en San Isidro, y luego cuando hacemos juntas no van las mamás porque luego dicen "es que yo no voy porque no le entiendo... el Español, no lo entiendo." Y luego les digo "Uds. vayan, hablen, yo les entiendo, yo le entiendo el Náhuatl, no hay problema." "Ah, bueno."

That is, that I understand it, I understand it perfectly and I can write it, what I am lacking is to pronounce it, that is what I am lacking. [...] What they have said to me is that I should communicate more with the children [students] in Nahuatl, that they've told me many times, but what I do, what I tell them, "You all speak Nahuatl and I answer you in Spanish and we understand each other," I understand it perfectly. Not only with the children, I do it with the mothers. Then I'll tell them "You all know Nahuatl, I will answer you in Spanish" because then there are some moms who know how to speak, um, they don't know how to speak Spanish, only Mexicano there in San Isidro, and then when we have meetings the moms don't go because they say "it's that I don't go because I don't understand... Spanish, I don't understand." And then I tell them "You all go, speak, I understand you, I understand Nahuatl, there's no problem." "Oh, all right."

Such profound discomfort in speaking Mexicano is indeed a serious issue if the goal is indeed to be teaching the language. Teacher training instructors have complained to new generations of aspiring teachers (c.f. Chapter 3) that too many teachers have this "problem" or "complex." It is not clear how this is to be overcome. Indeed the training materials that teachers receive in these workshops are based, still, on a Castilianizing,

transitional education model; Consider the following stated goal from Teacher-training manual: “*insistimos en que el maestro haga uso de la primera lengua de las niñas y los niños, para que consolide y refuerce la lengua materna del alumno, antes de aprender una segunda lengua*” (We insist in that the teacher make use of the first language of the girls and boys, so that the maternal language of the student be consolidated and reinforced, before learning a second language). This is not language revitalization. When one adds to this constraints of a short school day, along with a standardized curriculum, it is clear that there is not much space systematically afforded to working with Mexicano.

TEXTBOOKS AND ORAL TRADITION

The textbooks that are free to all students from grades 1-6 in Mexico are the same across the country. Teachers’ interaction with the text is highly ritualized, or “text-based.” Writing in rural Tlaxcalan classrooms can be viewed as formulaic and possibly in marked contrast to the local oral traditions outside the classroom (cf. Rockwell 1992). Pellicer (1997) suggests that the oral tradition should be used as a resource in Mexican educational contexts, a point which is well taken. Some teachers are interested in local oral traditions, having taped older relatives or friends while they tell tales that are part of local legends. Once again our language promoters have a strong sense of the importance of including this element in the classroom, and have on occasion experimented with it.

There are cases where teachers work with non-state sanctioned experimental approaches, such as the Waldorf system, which I observed in a few classrooms. The physical classrooms lend themselves to a variety of classroom organization styles, and I

saw many teachers take advantage of the moveable desks, placing them in a circle, or placing them in groups of four desks at a time to encourage group work. In this way teachers can be as student-centered as they wish, and they can foster group work and address the content of the textbooks in their own unique fashion.

MULTIPLE TEACHER RESPONSIBILITIES: OUTSIDE SCHOOL

LABOR UNIONS

As *Trabajadores de la educación* (educational workers) teachers are members of the official national labor union, the SNTE, *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación* (See Sandoval Flores 1997). A dissident faction within the SNTE is Bases Magisteriales (BM), which although a part of it, its members consider themselves in opposition to the official union; in practice, from the perspectives of some of my interviewees, the SNTE and BM embody two very different movements, one official and the other trying to gain recognition. The politics of teachers' unions have pervaded the social climate of schools in Tlaxcala and Mexico. A good percentage of my interviews with teachers dealt with the divisiveness of the unions, because often times teachers will socialize mainly with members of their own union. The divisions between teachers caused by choice of labor union is considered as an obstacle to teacher rapport and collegiality – *compañerismo*. The smaller the school, the less divisive these political leanings tend to be, but in larger schools the divisions are clear; One can observe groupings of teachers during recess and after school. I observed meetings of both unions, and BM protest marches and strikes in both Tlaxcala and Mexico City, and spoke with teachers at length during these events. For the purposes of this analysis, I focus only on

the relation of the unions to the teachers in the bilingual schools. It was striking that the speeches and posters displayed in these local and national protests did not address issues of concern to teachers within the indigenous educational system; there was a total erasure of linguistic issues. The issues at hand were broader concerns shared by all, mainly ones of economic and political justice and equality, and demands for appropriately trained supervisors at the state office. One of the verses in the anthem of Bases Magisteriales are: "*Combatamos Tlaxcaltecas, La injusticia y la imposición, romperemos las cadenas, con orgullo y mucho corazón*" (Let's combat Tlaxcaltecas, injustice and imposition, we will break the chains, with pride and much heart). As social movements these unions provide an interesting site for the analysis of the interplay between local, regional and national levels.¹¹

At the local level the unions consist of an extra time commitment on the part of the many teachers who take part in the meetings. When teachers miss school because of a general strike, it becomes a point of contention with parents, who come to the school to voice their complaints. Regarding our Language Promoters and the extra time they take in workshops creating bilingual curriculum, the unions have voiced concern that teachers are spending extra unpaid time in the development and adaptation of curriculum and teaching materials. In this particular situation this labor becomes an issue of workers' rights, which should be recognized by labor unions, when teachers are told by labor unions that the extra time spent doing work such as developing Nahuatl curriculum violates their recommendations and contracts.

¹¹ For further analysis of Tlaxcala's BM movement by two local scholars, see Guevara Hernández 1995 and Vergara Garay 1995).

ECONOMIC DEMANDS

Low teacher salaries create the need for most every Tlaxcalan teacher to supplement her/his family income through additional wage labor, exchange, and/or partial subsistence farming. Many families maintain a *milpa*, cornfield, which supplies them with most of the necessary corn for their daily tortillas. Teachers I met have worked as secretaries, crafts teachers, and seamstresses, mainly from their homes. Many men and some women participate in the textile industry, weaving blankets and supplement their income that way, weaving when they have the time. Some teachers bring crafts from another part of the country to sell them locally. Basically, like the other residents of their communities, they are forced to eke out a living in any way they can, despite the status of their positions as “professionals” in their towns.

SUMMARY OF TEACHER RESPONSIBILITIES & CONSTRAINTS

1. Language use: Mexicano language forced into the non-intimate sphere of the school
2. Widespread community *Menosprecio* and ambivalence towards transmitting the ancestral language
3. A Castilianizing model forms the basis of teachers' bilingual education training, rather than a language revitalization model
4. Limitation of school schedule, 4.5-5 hours per day
5. National standardization of curriculum and distributed texts

6. Multiple teaching requirements: Need to foster patriotism, to teach health & hygiene, physical education, arts & crafts, dance, organize graduations & celebrate multiple local holidays
7. Labor union pressures, and time commitments (meetings, strikes & protests)
8. Community time pressures
9. Low salary and need to supplement income through additional wage labor and/or subsistence farming
10. Insufficient Mexicano teaching materials, sometimes incongruent with local dialect; Time and support to work with the materials

This multitude of constraints serve as complicating factors for those language promoters who are interested in fostering the teaching and use of the Mexicano language in their schools. Despite these constraints, some teachers are doing their own work writing textbooks; They constitute a handful of dedicated language promoters.

RLS POSSIBILITIES IN TLAXCALA: RIPPLE EFFECTS

Yo creo que todos debemos poner un granito de arena, todos, para que esto salga adelante, no solo la dirección, es en conjunto, todos vamos a apoyar, "bueno, si yo sé hacer este trabajo, yo te ayudo en esto. ¿Tú, en que me ayudas?" Juntar las ideas que tengamos para poder hacer un trabajo mejor.

I think that we should all put in one little grain of sand, all of us, so that these can move forward, not only the principal's office, it's as a group, we will all support [this], "Well, if I know how to do this job, I help you in this. You, what do you help me with?" To put together the ideas that we have to be able to do better work.

This teacher's comment summarizes the desire on the part of local teachers to make the idea, the *discourse* of bilingual education more of a reality in their schools. The two main themes summarizing my interviewees' comments and observations are *valorar*

(valuing)¹² and *rescatar* (rescuing). The interviewees are clear that the latter may be impossible, but are generally positive that they can have an effect on their students by offering them a positive attitude towards Mexicano – constituting an alternative to a strong *menosprecio* ideology. Dorian (1987), in an article by the same name, has pointed to the “value of language maintenance efforts which are unlikely to succeed” – it is for precisely this reason that these movements can offer an alternative to rampant negative linguistic attitudes in at least some members of the communities undergoing substantial language shift.

In the case of Tlaxcalan bilingual schools and the handful of language promoters who can be found there, they are using their institutions to open a new discursive space for Mexicano in their communities, with or without institutional support. This discursive space is not as likely to exist within the schools who are not charged with consciousness-raising regarding local language issues. A key issue here is that in Tlaxcalan towns with few employment options, young people who are attracted to learning and teaching, and interested in intellectual challenges will continue to be attracted to becoming teachers over the readily available factory labor, some of whom will be also be interested in promoting the Mexicano language, local history and oral traditions, and will be a continuing source of future language promoters.

As a means of RLS the success of these teachers and the actual potential for these bilingual schools may seem minimal, but from my perspective there may indeed be a ripple effect. Like a stone dropped in a large lake – it’s hard to tell just how far the

¹² See Hill (2002) for an analysis of “hyperbolic valorization” a discursive process through which people (language advocates as well as native speakers) connect the notion of value with language.

waves will eventually reach.

ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE REVITALIZATIONS

Clearly, the situation in Tlaxcala differs from, for instance, that of Hawaii, whose Punana Leo revitalization program has been able to integrate family networks and schooling for an over-arching effort to turn the linguistic tides (cf. Kamana: & Wilson 1996; Slaughter 1993). In the U.S. Hinton (1994) and Hinton & Hale (2002) have looked at ways that language immersion can take place for the purpose of revitalization.

In Mexico, based on his research in Guerrero, Flores Farfán (cf. 2002) has designed experimental workshops for children using technologically high-quality videos he has produced (cartoons in Mexico with Spanish subtitles) and books of Mexicano riddles. The video viewings he organizes serve to link a *salir adelante* discourse with a *pro-indígena* one, through the coupling of the native language with recent technologies. The goals of the *taller* (workshop) are to challenge the children to interact with Mexicano, to ascertain how much they understand, and to prompt them to think in a positive light about their native language(s), seeing their grandparents as an important source of valuable knowledge. One of his specific goals for language revitalization is to focus on fostering reactivation of the communication between grandparents and children. Hill (1998b) suggests that the influence of monolinguals in working towards RLS can be a useful one.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This analysis has attempted to focus attention on local agency in the face of structure, rather than the reverse. When one compares the discussion of revitalization as

it exists in the anthropological and linguistic literatures, it becomes clear that the attempts at “*revalorar*” – to foster respect for the language in Tlaxcala is not part of a comprehensive revitalization project. There is potential for *ideological shift* to take place for some students who attend the bilingual schools described in this chapter, in which children become more interested in acquiring some communicative competence with older members of their families at home, but it is highly unlikely that children will learn Mexicano in these programs if the language does not become the primary means of communication. The efforts of the few local language promoters must be recognized, and the constraints placed on them by the national system, but their impact will be minimal if the system itself does not allow for change.

It would be interesting to see what would happen if local language promoters were able to experience some of the innovative language revitalization attempts that are taking place in other parts of the world (cf. Dementi-Leonord & Gilmore 1999, Farfán 2002, Fishman 1991, 2001, Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo 1999, Hinton 1994, Hinton & Hale 2001, Hornberger 1997, Sims 1998). The main task scholars might undertake in favor of RLS is to foster connections between local language promoters and scholars from urban centers with mutual interests and resources. The projects however, must be grassroots in nature, and this requires a great deal of time spent with local communities in order to identify local language promoters, in support of true “language planning from the bottom up” (Hornberger 1997).

7. CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the research that I have undertaken and the analysis in this dissertation I have attempted to use an approach that is theoretically interdisciplinary in my study of language shift and bilingual schooling in Tlaxcala, Mexico. I have considered language use and language ideologies in two Mexicano speaking communities, concentrating on the towns in the county of San Bernardino Contla de Juan Cuamatzi, in the Malintsi region of Central Mexico. I concentrated on the ways in which multiple ideologies surfaced in discourse, in these communities and their bilingual schools as special sites.

Building on work that sees discourse as “ideologically polysemous” (Philips 1998a:117), I have suggested that ideological multiplicity surfaces in and through discourse in the Malintsi region, primarily organized around three speaker discourses: *menosprecio* and *pro-indígena* as responses to the *salir adelante*. Malintsi residents discursively consider local identities and the issue of bettering their socioeconomic condition through these *menosprecio* and *pro-indígena* ideological stances, which are in constant connection and struggle with each other for domination as speakers live out their thoughts and experiences in and through these discourses. Bakhtinian voices surface in the discourse of speakers, echoing the myriad of opinions that exists within this ideological multiplicity. Speakers in this sociolinguistic situation experience a “simultaneity of experience” (Messing 1995) that emerges discursively, and is a product of the unique history of this region and the “subalterity” (González 2001) that resulted from colonialism.

In each chapter the approach to the topic at hand is through the analysis of discourse, and the indexical elements in speakers' talk, seen as embedded in the context that produced this discourse. In Chapter two, I provided an overview of the methods of data analysis that drove the research, focusing on the importance of building *confianza* (trust) to this research, undertaken over several stages. Ethnography and the taping and analysis of both naturally occurring and elicited speech have formed this study, and have provided data that informs the micro/ macro analysis attempted throughout this dissertation.

In Chapter three I presented and analyzed data from a teacher training workshop for aspiring candidates for teaching jobs within the indigenous, bilingual bicultural school system in Tlaxcala. I looked at the dialectics between agency and structure through the lens of this teacher training course as a speech situation, focusing on future teachers who here are students. The data consisted of several speech events within this speech situation. Ideological multiplicity and its organization, through the three discourses was highlighted and discussed.

Chapter four offers a look at language use and linguistic ideology in the Malintsi region. After an overview of patterns of use and common conditions for use of Mexicano, I considered ideologies of language that have been documented for the region (Hill & Hill 1986) and which surfaced in my research. I presented excerpts from sixteen interviews, in which the interviewees describe their language socialization, relative contextual use of both languages, and their ideologies of language. I suggest that language, identity and ideology are inextricably linked, and must be considered in

relational terms, particularly to understand complex sociolinguistic situations such as this one.

Semiotic processes are the focus in Chapter five, and the ways in which speakers employ these processes in discourses in ways that are indexical of social and socioeconomic positioning as it is perceived locally. “Recursivity” (Gal & Irvine 2000) in particular illustrates the ways that Malintsi residents have discursively reproduced discrimination from outside the community, in their conceptualizations of their own communities. I also consider several views on connections between indigenous communities and the nation state.

Chapter six offers my perspective on the ideological multiplicity inherent in the discussion of bilingual education in Mexico. This chapter attempts to connect a historical perspective on bilingual education, and on views of “linguistic conflict” (between indigenous communities and the Mexican nation) in the sociolinguistic literature with what I actually observed during fieldwork in two bilingual-bicultural schools in Tlaxcala. I also try to connect local ideas and attempts at bilingual education to international work on Reversing Language Shift. In this chapter I focus attention on teachers whose interest and commitment in working towards a local revaluing of the Mexicano language, and local culture and history has made them “language promoters” (Fishman 1991). I suggest that scholars must recognize teachers’ efforts. Teachers work within a world of structural constraints of the national and state educational system, constantly reinterpreting that structure, and prove that Tlaxcalan schools are also very much community institutions as well as national ones (Rockwell 1994). It is my hope that an understanding of the

constraints on teachers in teaching Mexicano can be generalized to understanding and potentially ameliorating situations faced by teachers of other indigenous languages in other regions and countries.

In future research, I would like to address the issue of the apparent mismatch between concepts of *revitalization* on the part of linguists, anthropologists, educators and sociologists who work to Reverse Language Shift, and the conceptualizations of local communities undergoing shift such as Contla, where such a concept of *revitalization* does not surface. Rather, in Contla most language promoters and teachers are interested in the idea of ensuring that the young generation have positive attitudes towards Mexicano, in short, to respect it. In this way promoting such an ideological shift from *within* the community itself is likely to have more effect on children, and offer a potential reprise to the weak inter-generational transmission of Mexicano, through relationships between elders and children.

A fundamental question inherent in the scholarly advocacy coupled with grassroots efforts by communities whose languages are undergoing shift, is: what can the role be of an outside researcher? It may very well be that an outsider interested in working towards language revitalization can do more damage than good, despite the best intentions. Then again, I remember many people's surprise that an American would want to go and study their native language, my very presence thereby offering an alternative ideology, that of Mexicano as having sufficient symbolic capital to make it worthy of study by an outsider. How might the efforts of language promoters and scholarly advocates be joined? I don't believe that there is a single answer to this question, but

rather than the issue is as ideologically multiple as the sociolinguistic situation I have just described.

In the future I would like to focus more on youth culture, outside schools, to see what teenagers in particular think about language use, ideology and shift. A shortcoming to this study has been the lack of data on children and youth. Also, I wish to see how, and in what form the three identified discourses might surface in Mexicano speech.

Finally, to return to Gal and Kulick's question (cited in chapter one), regarding *How and why do people come to interpret their lives in such a way that they come to abandon one of their languages?* In this dissertation I have suggested that ideological multiplicity surfacing in and through discourse can begin to address the question of how and why speakers shift their ideologies and their languages. A focus on ideological multiplicity offers insight into how shifts in language use are connected to notions of identity and how progress can be achieved, and that these notions can change over time, thus opening up the possibility that language shift might also be reversed.

APPENDIX A: EMPLOYMENT AD - BILINGUAL EDUCATION TEACHERS

For the employment competition for teachers of indigenous education, this ad appeared in a local paper on June 18, 1999:

Gobierno del Estado de Tlaxcala
Unidad de Servicios Educativos de Tlaxcala
Subdirección General de Educación Básica
Departamento de Educación Indígena

La USET, la Subdirección General de Educación Básica
a través del Departamento de Educación Indígena

CONVOCA

a participar en el proceso de selección de aspirantes
a formarse como profesores indígenas en educación básica

BASES

Primera: Podrán participar en el proceso personal que reúna el siguiente perfil:

- a) tengan entre 18 y 25 años de edad.
- b) sean hablantes de Náhuatl empleado en el Estado
- c) Hablen y escriban el español y lengua indígena con fluidez
- d) Cuenten con
 - Licenciatura terminada en Educación Pre-escolar, Primaria, y áreas a fines como Educación Especial.
 - Bachillerato terminado o en proceso.

(Translation follows)

The Government of the State of Tlaxcala
Unit of Educational Services of Tlaxcala
Sub-directorate General of Basic Education
Department of Indigenous Education

The USET, the Sub-directorate General of Basic Education
through the Department of Indigenous Education

INVITES

participation in the process of selection of candidates
to train as indigenous professors in basic education

REQUIREMENTS

First: [They] will be able to participate in the personal??
process that holds the following profile:

- a) are between 18 and 25 years of age
- b) are speakers of Nahuatl used in the State
- c) speak and write Spanish and indigenous language
with fluency
- d) have
 - Licenciatura [B.A.] completed in Pre-school education,
Elementary, and similar areas such as Special Education.
 - Bachillerato [High school] finished or in process.

APPENDIX B: HUMAN SUBJECTS AUTHORIZATION

Human Subjects Committee

1622 E. Mabel St.
Tucson, Arizona 85724
(520) 626-6721

10 June 1996

Jacqueline Messing, M.A.
c/o Susan Philips, Ph.D.
Department of Anthropology
Haury Building
PO BOX 210030


**RE: CONSTRUCTIONS OF SCHOOL CULTURE AND IDENTITY THROUGH USE OF
LANGUAGE IN A TLAXCALAN SPANISH/NAHUATL BILINGUAL SCHOOL**

Dear Ms. Messing:

We have received documents concerning your above cited project. Since there is no Federal funding involved and no risk to the minor subjects, regulations published by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [45 CFR Part 46.101(b) (2)] exempt this type of research from review by our Committee.

Thank you for informing us of your work. If you have any questions concerning the above, please contact this office.

Sincerely yours,



William F Denny, M.D.
Chairman
Human Subjects Committee

WFD:js
cc: Departmental/College Review Committee

REFERENCES

Aguirre, Elea

2002 *Vestiges of Other Relations: Weaving Our Lives Across A Two-Nation Divide*.
Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

Aguirre Beltrán, Gonzalo

1967 *Regiones de Refugio*. Mexico City.

1973 *Teoría y Práctica de la Educación Indígena*. Mexico City: Secretaria de Educación Pública.

1982 *Lenguas Vernáculas - Su Uso y Desuso en la Enseñanza: La Experiencia de México*. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS). Ediciones de la Casa Chata.

Alonso, Ana

1994 *The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23:379-405.

1995 *Thread of Blood : Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender On Mexico's Northern Frontier*. Tucson: University of Arizona.

Althusser, Louis

1971 *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. *In Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Anderson, Benedict

1991 *Imagined Communities: Reflections On The Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anzaldúa, Gloria

1987 *Borderlands/La Frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Appel, René, and Pieter Muysken

1987 *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold Publishers.

Aracil, Lluís

1973 *Bilingualism as Myth*. *Revista/Review Inter-Americana* 2:521-533.

Astuti, Rita

1995 "The Vevo Are Not A Kind of People": Identity, Difference, and "Ethnicity" among a Fishing People of Western Madagascar. *American Ethnologist* 22(3):464-82.

Bakhtin, Mikael

1981 *The Dialogic Imagination*. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, Transl. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Barth, Fredrik
1969 Introduction. *In* *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. F. Barth, Ed. Bergen-Oslo: Scandinavian University Books.
- Basso, Keith
1996 *Stalking With Stories*. *In* *Wisdom Sits in Places*. Pp. 169-199: University of California Press.
- Bateson, Gregory
1958 *Naven – A Survey of the Problems suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe drawn from Three Points of View*. Stanford University Press.
- Bauman, Richard, and Charles Briggs
2000 *Language Philosophy As Language Ideology: John Locke and Johann Gottfried Herder*. *In* *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics and Identities*. R. Bauman and C. Briggs, eds. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Bauman, Richard, and Joel Sherzer
[1974]1989 *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Behar, Ruth
1996 *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Behar, Ruth, and Deborah Gordon
1995 *Women Writing Culture*: University of California Press.
- Bernard, Russell H.
1994 *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*.: Alta Mira Press.
- Bertely Busquets, María
1998 *Educación Indígena Del Siglo Xx en México*. *In* *Un Siglo de Educación en México*. P. Latapí Sarre, Ed. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económico.
- Bhabha, Homi
1994 *The Location of Culture*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Bonfil Batalla, Guillermo, Ed.
1992 *Identidad y Pluralismo Cultural en America Latina*. Buenos Aires and San Juan, P.R.: Fondo Editorial Del Cehass and Editorial de la

Universidad de Puerto Rico.

Bonfil Batalla, Guillermo

1993 *Nuevas Identidades Culturales en México*. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y Las Artes.

1996 *México Profundo: Reclaiming A Civilization*. P.A. Dennis, Transl. Austin: University of Texas Press.

[1987]1994 *México Profundo: Una Civilización Negada*. México: Grijalba.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1977 *Outline of A Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1977b The Economics of Linguistic Exchange. *Social Science Information* 16(6):645-668.

1982 *Ce Que Parler Veut Dire: L'économie Des Echanges Linguistiques*. [Translated into English As *Language and Symbolic Power*]. Paris: Librairie Fayard.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and J.C. Passeron

1977 *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Bourgeois, Philippe

1996 *Confronting Anthropology, Education, and Inner-City Apartheid*. *American Anthropologist* 98(2):249-265.

Brice Heath, Shirley

1972 *la Política Del Lenguaje en México: de la Colonia A la Nación*. [Translation of The English *Telling Tongues*.] Mexico City: Secretaria de Educación Pública and Instituto Nacional Indigenista.

1972 *Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico - Colony To Nation*. New York: Teacher College Press.

Briggs, Charles

1986 *Learning How to Ask : A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Briggs, Charles, and Richard Bauman

1992 Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2(2):131-172.

Brown, Penelope, and Stephen L. Levinson

1978 Universals *In Language Usage: Politeness Phenomenon*. *In Questions and Politeness*. E.N. Goody, Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brody, Jill

1995 *Lending The 'Unborrowable': Spanish Discourse Markers in Indigenous American*

- Languages. *In Spanish in Four Continents: Studies in Language Contact and Bilingualism*. C. Silva-Corvalán, Ed. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Bucholtz, Mary, and Kira Hall, Eds.
1996 *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self*, Routledge: Routledge.
- Butler, Judith
1993 Introduction. *In Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. New York: Routledge.
- Buve, Raymond
1989 *Agricultores, Dominación Política y Estructura Agraria en la Revolución Mexicana: El Caso de Tlaxcala (1910-1918)*. *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 51(2):181-236.
- Caballero-Arias, Hortensia
2003 *Engaging in Politics: Yanomami Strategies in the Face of Venezuela's National Frontier Expansion*. PhD. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.
- Calagione, John, Doris Francis, and Daniel Nugent, eds.
1992 *Workers' Expressions: Beyond Accommodation and Resistance*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Calagione, John, and Daniel Nugent
1992 *Workers' Expressions: Beyond Accommodation and Resistance*. *In Introduction: Workers' Expressions: Beyond Accommodation and Resistance On The Margins of Capitalism*. Pp. 1-28. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Calvo Pontón, Beatriz
1983 *Un Magisterio Bilingüe y Bicultural : El Caso de la Capacitación Diferencial de Los Maestros Indígenas del Estado de México*. Tlalpan: CIESAS.
- Calvo Pontón, Beatriz and Laura Donnadiou
1992 *Una Educación Indígena Bilingüe y Bicultural? : Capacitación Diferencial de Los Maestros Mazahuas*. Tlalpan: CIESAS.
- Caso, Alfonso
1958 *National Indigenous Institute of Mexico: A Report - Ideals of An Action Program*. *Human Organization* 17(1):27-29.

Castillo, Isidro

1965 México y Su Revolución Educativa. 2 Vols. Volume 1. Mexico City: Academia Mexicana de la Educación.

1966 México y Su Revolución Educativa - Segunda Parte. 2 Vols. Volume 2. Mexico City: Academia Mexicana de la Educación.

Cazden, Courtney

1989 Richmond Road: A Multilingual/Multicultural Primary School in Auckland, New Zealand. *Language and Education: An International Journal* 3:141-166.

Cazden, Courtney, Vera John, and Dell Hymes, eds.

[1972]1985 *Functions of Language in The Classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Chick, Gary

1981 Concept and Behavior in A Tlaxcalan Cargo Hierarchy. *Ethnology* 20:217-228.

Cifuentes, Barbara, and Lucina Garcia

1998 *Letras Sobre Voces: Multilinguismo A Traves de la Historia*. Tlalpan: CIESAS.

Collier, George Allen

1994 *Basta! : Land and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas*. Oakland, Ca: Food First, the Institute for Food and Development Policy.

Cook-Gumperz, J, and J Gumperz

1982 *Communicative Competence in Educational Perspective*. In *Communication in The Classroom*. L.C. Wilkinson, Ed. New York: Academic Press.

Corrigan, Philip, and Derek Sayer

1985 *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Cuellar Abaroa, Crisanto

1975 *la Revolución en el Estado de Tlaxcala, Tomos I y II:*

Patronato Del Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana.

de la Fuente, Julio

1958 *National Indigenous Institute of Mexico: A Report - Results of An Action Program*. *Human Organization* 17(1):30-33.

Delpit, Lisa

1995 *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*: New Press.

Dementi-Leonard, and Perry Gilmore

1999 Language Revitalization and Identity in Social Context: A Community-Based Athabaskan Language Preservation Project in Western Interior Alaska. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 30(1).

Dorian, Nancy

1977 The Problem of The Semi-Speaker in Language Death. *International Journal of The Sociology of Language* 12:23-32.

1987 The Value of Language-Maintenance Efforts Which Are Unlikely To Succeed. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 68:57-67.

1989 Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duranti, Alessandro, and Charles Goodwin

1992 Introduction. *In Rethinking Context: Language As An Interactive Phenomenon*. A. Duranti and C. Goodwin, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards

Language, Society, and Identity.

Erickson, Frederick

1990 Culture, Politics, and Educational Practice. *Educational Foundations* 4(2):21-45.

Ezpeleta, Justa, and Elsie Rockwell

1985 Escuela y Clases Subalternas. *In Educación y Clases Populares en América Latina*. M. de Ibarrola and E. Rockwell, Eds. Mexico City: DIE-CINESTAV (IPN).

Ferguson, Charles

1959 Diglossia. *Word* 15:325-340.

Fernández, Mauro, and William F. Mackey

1993 Diglossia: A Comprehensive Bibliography, 1960-1990, and Supplements. John Benjamins Publishing.

Fishman, Joshua

1967 Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23:29-38.

1991 Reversing Language Shift : Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages. Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

1991b 'Where' and 'Why' Does Language Shift Occur and How Can It Be Reversed? *In Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance To Threatened Languages: Multilingual Matters*.

1999 Handbook of Language & Ethnic Identity. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2001 Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? : Reversing Language Shift, Revisited : A 21st Century Perspective. Clevedon, Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Flores Farfán, José Antonio

- 1992 Sociolingüística Del Nahuatl. Conservación y Cambio de la Lengua Mexicana en el Alto Balsas. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS).
- 1996 Pasado, Presente y Futuro de Las Lenguas Indígenas Mexicanas. Revista de la Universidad Autónoma de Yucatan 11(198):19-26.
- 1999 Cuatrerros Somos y Toindioma Hablamos: Contactos y Conflictos Entre el Náhuatl y el Español en el Sur de México. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS).
- 2002 Iniciativas Lingüístico-Culturales en el Náhuatl Del Alto Basas, Guerrero, México:89-103.
- 2002 Revitalización, Mantenimiento y Desarrollo Lingüístico y Cultural en el Náhuatl del Alto Balsas, Guerrero, México. Mesoamerica 43.
- In Press Nahuatl Purism: Between Language Innovation, Maintenance and Shift.

Flores Vásquez, Maria Del Carmen, and Inocencio Romano Morales

- 1999 Nauatlajtoltsintle - Lengua Nahuatl de Tlaxcala. Unidad de Radio Bilingue Tlaxcala. San Bernardino Contla, Tlaxcala.

Foster, Michelle

- 1997 Black Teachers On Teaching. New York: New Press - W.W. Norton.

Francis, Norbert

- 1997 Malintzin : Bilingüismo y Alfabetización en la Sierra de Tlaxcala (México). Quito, Ecuador: Ediciones Abya-Yala.

Foucault, Michel

- 1972 The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse On Language. New York: Pantheon.
- 1978 The Incitement To Discourse. *In* The History of Sexuality. New York: Pantheon.
- 1982 Afterward: The Subject and Power. *In* Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics. H. Dreyfuss and P. Rabinow, eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Freire, Paolo

- 1985 The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation. Hadley, Ma: Bergin and Harvey.
- 1993 Foreword. *In* Paolo Freire - A Critical Encounter. London: Routledge.

Friedlander, Judith

- 1975 Being Indian in Hueyepan: A Study of Forced Identity in Contemporary Mexico. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Gal, Susan

1979 *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.

1987 Codeswitching and Consciousness On The European Periphery. *American Ethnologist* 14(4):637-53.

1989 Language and Political Economy. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18:345-67.

1991 Between Speech and Silence - The Problematics of Research On Language and Gender (Chapter Four). *In Gender At The Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in The Postmodern Era*. M. Di Leonardo, Ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1998 Multiplicity and Contention Among Language Ideologies. *In Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard, and P. Kroskrity, Eds: Oxford University Press.

Gal, Susan, and Judith Irvine

1995 The Boundaries of Languages and Disciplines. *Social Research* 62(4):967-1001.

García Canclini, Néstor, Ed.

1993 *Transforming Modernity: Popular Culture in México*. Translation of "Culturas Populares en el Capitalismo". Austin: University of Texas.

García Canclini, Néstor

1994 *de Lo Local A Lo Global: Perspectivas Desde la Antropología*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.

1995 *Consumidores y Ciudadanos: Conflictos Multiculturales de la Globalización*. Mexico: Grijalbo.

2002 *Culturas Populares en el Capitalismo*. Mexico City: Grijalbo.

Garza Cuarón, Beatriz, and Yolanda Lastra

1991 *Endangered Languages in Mexico*. *In Endangered Languages* Robins. R. Henry and E.M. Uhlenbeck, eds. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Geertz, Clifford

1973 *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gegeo, David Welchman, and Karen Watson-Gegeo

1999 Adult Education, Language Change, and Issues of Identity and Authenticity in Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands). *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 30(1).

Giddens, Anthony

1979 *Ideology and Consciousness*. *In Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

1984 *The Constitution of Society : Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge:

Polity Press.

Giroux, Henry

1988 *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward A Critical Pedagogy of Learning*. Granby, MA: Bergin and Garvey.

Gonzalbo Aizpuru, Pilar

1990 *Historia de la Educación en la Época Colonial - el Mundo Indígena*. México City: el Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos.

González Chávez, Humberto

1988 *The Centralization of Education in Mexico: Subordination and Autonomy*. In *State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization*. J. Gledhill, B. Bender, and M.T. Larsen, Ed. Pp. 321-43. London: Unwin Hyman.

González, Norma

1992 *Child Language Socialization in Tucson U.S. Mexican Households*. PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

2000 *Telling Tales out of School: Language Ideologies in a Dual Language Immersion Program*. Paper Presented At The AAA Annual Meeting, 2000.

2001 *I Am My Language: Discourses of Women and Children in the Borderlands*.

González, Norma and Elizabeth Arnot-Hopffer

2002 *Voices of the Children: Language and Literacy Ideologies in a Dual Language Immersion Program*. In *The Linguistic Anthropology of Education*, Wortham, Stanton, and Betsy Rymes. Westport, CT: Praeger.

González, Norma, Luis Moll and Cathy Amanti

Forthcoming *Theorizing Practices: Funds of Knowledge in Households and Classrooms*.

Goodwin, Charles, and Alessandro Duranti

1992 *Rethinking Context: An Introduction*. in *Rethinking Context: Language As An Interactive Phenomenon*. A. Duranti and C. Goodwin, eds. Pp. 1-42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gramsci, Antonio

1971 *Selections From The Prison Notebooks*. New York: International Publishers.

Grosjean, Francois

1982 *Life With Two Languages : An Introduction To Bilingualism*.

Gudykunst, William B., and Karen Schmidt

1988 *Language and Ethnic Identity: An Overview and Prologue*. In *Language and*

- Ethnic Identity. W.B. Gudykunst, Ed. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gumperz, John, Ed.
 1982 Discourse Strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 1982 Language and Social Identity: Cambridge University Press.
- Guzmán Gómez, Alba
 1991 Voces Indígenas: Educacion Bilingue Bicultural en México. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista.
- Hall, Stuart
 1986 Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10:5-27.
- Hamel, Enrique
 1987 El Conflicto Lingüístico en una Situación de Diglosia. *In* Funciones Sociales y Conciencia Del Lenguaje. H. Muñoz Cruz, Ed. Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana.
 1997 Introduction: Linguistic Human Rights in a Sociolinguistic Perspective, and Language Conflict and Language Shift: A Sociolinguistic Framework for Linguistic Human Rights. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (127).
- Hamel, Rainer Enrique, and Héctor Muñoz Cruz
 1982 Aspectos Sociolingüísticos de la Educación Para Niños Otomíes. *In* el Conflicto Lingüístico en una Zona Bilingüe de México. Mexico City: SEP/DGEI/CIESAS.
- Hamers, Josiane F.
 2000 Bilinguality and Bilingualism. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hannerz, Ulf
 1995 Cultural Complexity : Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning. New York: New York : Columbia University Press.
- Hayden, Tom, Ed.
 2002 The Zapatista Reader. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books.
- Heath Constable, Hilaria Joy
 1982 Lucha de Clases: La Industria Textil en Tlaxcala. Mexico: Ediciones el Caballito.
- Guevara Hernández, Jorge
 1995 Carisma y Experiencia Fundamental: Los Sujetos Del Movimiento Magisterial de Tlaxcala1993-1994. Manuscript. Tlaxcala: Centro INAH.

Hernández Hernández, Claudio

1987 el Trabajo Escolar de Un Maestro Rural. *In Los Maestros y la Cultura Nacional, 1920-1952*. Mexico City: Sep, Museo Nacional de Culturas Populares, Dirección General de Culturas Populares.

Herrera Meza, Maria Del Carmen

1988 la Lingüística en Tlaxcala y el Valle de Puebla. *In la Antropología en México: Panorama Histórico. la Antropología en el Centro de México*. C. García Mora, Ed. Pp. 311-24, Vol. 14. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología E Historia.

Hidalgo, Margarita

1994 Bilingual Education, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Mexico. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 18(3):185-207.

1994 Mexico's Language Policy and Diversity: Guest Editor's Foreword. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 18(3):179-184.

Hill, Jane H.

1978 Language Death, Language Contact, and Language Evolution. in *Approaches To Language - Anthropological Issues*. W.C. McCormack and S.A. Wurm, eds. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

1985 The Grammar of Consciousness and The Consciousness of Grammar. *American Ethnologist* 12:725-37.

1991 *In Ne:Ca Gobierno de Puebla: Mexicano Penetrations of The Mexican State . In Indians, Nation-States and Culture*. G. Urban and J. Sherzer, eds. Austin: University of Texas Press.

1992 "Today There Is No Respect": Nostalgia, "Respect," and Oppositional Discourse in Mexicano (Nahuatl) Language Ideology. *Pragmatics* 3.

1993 Structure and Practice in language shift. *Progression and regression in language: Sociocultural, neuropsychological, and linguistic perspectives*. Cambridge University Press.

1995 Mock Spanish: A Site For The Indexical Reproduction of Racism in American English. *Language-Culture Forum (Online)*, 1995.

1995 The Voices of Don Gabriel: Responsibility and Self in A Modern Mexicano Narrative. *In The Dialogic Emergence of Culture*. D. Tedlock and B. Mannheim, eds. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

1998 "Today There Is No Respect": Nostalgia, "Respect," and Oppositional Discourse in Mexicano (Nahuatl) Language Ideology. *In Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard, and P. Kroskrity, Eds: Oxford University Press.

1998b Don Francisco Márquez Survives: A Meditation on Monolingualism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 132.

1999 Keywords: Syncretism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1-2).

Hill, Jane, and Kenneth Hill

- 1986 *Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of Syncretic Language in Central Mexico*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- 1986b Variable Developments of Modern Mexicano -Axca. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 52:404-410.
- 1999 *Hablando Mexicano: la Dinámica de una Lengua Sincrética en el Centro de México*. J.A. Flores Farfán and G. Lopez-Cruz, Transl. Mexico, D.F.: CIESAS.

Hill, Kenneth C.

- 1985 *Las Penurias de Doña María: Un Análisis Sociolingüístico de Un Relato Del Náhuatl Moderno*. *Tlalocan* 10:33-115.

Hinton, Leanne

- 1994 *Flutes of Fire: Essays On California Indian Languages*: Heyday Press.
- 2002 [New Resource Book]: Heyday Press.

Hinton, Leanne, and Kenneth Hale

- 2001 *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Hornberger, Nancy H.

- 1988 *Bilingual Education and Language Maintenance: A Southern Peruvian Quechua Case*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hornberger, Nancy H.

- 1989 *Haku Yachaywasiman : la Educación Bilingüe y el Futuro Del Quechua en Puno*. *Bilingual Education and Language Maintenance*. Lima: Programa de Educación Bilingüe de Puno.
- 2000 *Bilingual Education Policy and Practice: Ideological Paradox and Intercultural Possibility*. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 31(2).

Hornberger, Nancy H., Ed.

- 1997 *Indigenous Literacies in The Americas : Language Planning From The Bottom Up*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hymes, Dell

- [1972]1986 *Models of The Interaction Between Language and Social Life*. *In Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes, eds. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- 1972 Introduction. *In Functions of Language in The Classroom*. D. Hymes, C. Cazden, Johns, and Steiner, eds. New York: Teacher's College Press.
- 1974 *Foundations of Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- INEGI, (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática)
 1997 División Territorial Del Estado de Tlaxcala de 1810 A 1995. Aguascalientes: INEGI & Gobierno Del Estado de Tlaxcala.
 2001 Anuario Estadístico Del Estado de Tlaxcala. Aguascalientes: INEGI & Gobierno \ del Estado de Tlaxcala.
- Irvine, Judith
 1989 When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy. *American Ethnologist* 16(2):248-67.
 2002 Style As Distinctiveness: The Culture and Ideology of Linguistic Differentiation. *In Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*. P. Eckert and J. Rickord, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Irvine, Judith, and Susan Gal
 2000 Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. *In Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*: School of American Research Press.
- Jaffe, Alexandra
 1999 Ideologies in Action : Language Politics on Corsica. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Joseph, Gilbert M, and Daniel Nugent
 1994 Popular Culture and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico. *In Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*. G.M. Joseph and D. Nugent, editors, Pp. 3-23. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Kiesling, Scott Fabius
 2001 "Now I Gotta Watch What I Say": Shifting Constructions of Masculinity in Discourse. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 11(2):250-273.
- King, Kendall
 2001 Language Revitalization Processes and Prospects : Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes. Clevedon, UK, Buffalo, N.Y.: Multilingual Matters.
- King, Linda
 1994 Roots of Identity: Language and Literacy in Mexico. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Knaft, Bruce M.
 1994 Pushing Anthropology past the Posts: Critical Notes on Cultural Anthropology and Cultural Studies As Influenced By Postmodernism and Existentialism. *Critique of Anthropology* 14(2):117-152.

Kondo, Dorinne

1990 *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krauss, Michael

1992 *The World's Languages in Crisis*. *Language* 68:4-10.

Kroskrity, Paul V.

1993 *An Evolving Ethnicity Among The Arizona Tewa: Toward A Repertoire of Identity (Chapter Seven)*. In *Language, History, and Identity: Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Kuipers, Joel

1998 *Language, Identity and Marginality in Indonesia*: Cambridge University Press.

Kulick, Don

1992 *Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, William

1972 *The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax*. In *Language in The Inner City*. F. Williams, Ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lastra de Suárez, Yolanda

1980 *el Náhuatl de Tetzaco en la Actualidad*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

1986 *Las Áreas Dialectales Del Náhuatl Moderno*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Launey, Michel

1992 *Introducción A la Lengua y A la Literatura Nahuatl*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Levinson, Bradley A.

1996 *Social Difference and School Identity At A Mexican Secundaria*. In *the Cultural Production of the Educated Person - Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. B.A. Levinson, D.E. Foley, and D.C. Holland, Eds. Albany: State University of New York.

Levinson, Bradley A., D Foley, and Dorothy C. Holland, editors

1996 *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person - Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. Albany: State University of New York.

Lewis, Oscar

1951 *Life in A Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Linde, Charlotte

1981 *The Organization of Discourse*. In *Style and Variables in English*. Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers, Inc.

Locke Davidson, Ann

1996 *Making and Molding Identity in School: Student Narratives On Race, Gender, and Academic Engagement*. Albany: State University of New York.

Longacre, Robert

1983 *The Grammar of Discourse*. New York: Plenum.

Luykx, Aurolyn

1996 *From Indios to Profesionales: Stereotypes and Student Resistance in Bolivian Teacher Training*. In *the Cultural Production of the Educated Person - Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. B.A. Levinson, D.E. Foley, and D.C. Holland, Eds. Albany: State University of New York.

1999 *The Citizen Factory : Schooling and Cultural Production in Bolivia*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Macleod, Jay

1987 *Social Reproduction in Theoretical Perspective*. In *Ain't No Makin It: Leveled Aspirations in A Low -Income Neighborhood*. Pp. 9-22. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Mallon, Florencia

1995 *Peasant and Nation: the Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*. University of California Press.

Mannheim, Bruce

1991 *The Language of The Inka Since The European Invasion*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Mannheim, Bruce, and Dennis Tedlock

1995 Introduction. In *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture*. D. Tedlock and B. Mannheim, eds. Pp. 1-32. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Marcus, George and Michael Fischer

1986 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique : An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mccarty, Teresa

1998 Schooling, Resistance, and American Indian Languages. *International Journal of The Sociology of Language*. 132.

2002 *A place to Be Navajo : Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Indigenous Schooling*. With Fred Bia. Mahwah, N.J. ; London : Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Mcwilliam, Erica

1995 *In Broken Images: Feminist Tales for A Different Teacher Education*. Ny: Teachers College Press.

Meade de Angulo, Mercedes

1992 *Doña Luisa Teohquilhuastzin, Mujer Del Capitán Pedro de Alvarado*. Puebla: Gobierno Del Estado de Puebla, Comisión Puebla V Centenario.

Meek, Barbra, Jacqueline Messing, and Jane Hill

2000 Framing Indigenous Languages as Secondary To Matrix Languages. Paper presented to the Linguistic Society of America.

Mendoza-Denton, Norma

1996 'Muy Macha': Gender and Ideology in Gang-Girls' Discourse About Makeup. *Ethnos* 61(1-2):47-63.

Mercado, Ruth

1992 *la Escuela en la Memoria Histórica Local. Una Construcción Colectiva*. Nueva Antropología 12(42):73-87.

Mertz, Elizabeth

1998 Linguistic Ideology and Praxis in U.S. Law School Classrooms. *In Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard, and P. Kroskrity, Eds: Oxford University Press.

1989 Sociolinguistic Creativity: Cape Breton Gaelic's Linguistic "Tip". *In Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. N. Dorian, Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Messing, Jacqueline

1995 *The Simultaneity of Experience: Multiple Identities and Symbolic Uses of Language Among Mexican-Americans*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

1996 *Ideología Lingüística en la Escuela y la Comunidad: el Proyecto de Una Escuela Bilingüe Español/ Náhuatl en Tlaxcala*. Paper Presented at The Fourth Linguistic Encounter of Northeastern Mexico, University of Sonora, Hermosillo, November 1996.

1997 *School Culture and Language Ideology in a Mexican Bilingual School*. Paper

- Presented at the Annual Meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Seattle, Washington, 1997.
- In Press Fractal Recursivity in Ideologies of Language, Identity and Modernity in Tlaxcala, Mexico. *Texas Linguistics Forum* 46.
- Messing, Jacqueline, and Refugio Nava Nava
2000 Narrative as Locus of Culture: A Method for Contextualizing Language Shift. Paper Presented at The Meetings of The Linguistic Association of the Southwest (LASSO), Puebla, Mexico, 2000.
- Modiano, Nancy
1973 *Indian Education in The Chiapan Highlands*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
1984 Bilingual--Bicultural Education in Mexico: Recent Research. *Contemporary Educational Psychology* 9:254-59, 410-413.
- Moll, Luis, et al.
1992 Funds of Knowledge For Teaching. *Theory Into Practice* 31(2):132-141.
- Muñoz Camargo, Diego
[1892]1948 *Historia de Tlaxcala*. Mexico City
- Nahmad, Salomon
1981 Mexican Colonialism? *Society* 19(1):51-8.
- Nava Nava, Refugio
2003 Variación en el Náhuatl de Tlaxcala: Los Cuatro Niveles de Habla. Master's Thesis. Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), Mexico City.
- Nava Rodriguez, Luis
1978 *Tlaxcala Contemporánea, de 1822 a 1977*. Mexico City: Editorial Progreso.
- Nickel, Herbert
1988 Agricultural Laborers in The Mexican Revolution (1910-1940): Some Hypotheses and Facts About Participation and Restraint in The Highlands of Puebla, Tlaxcala. In *Riot, Rebellion and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico*. F. Katz,
- Ninyoles, R.L.
1972 *Idioma y Poder Social*. Madrid: Tecnos.
- Nugent, Daniel
1993 *Spent Cartridges of Revolution : An Anthropological History of Namiquipa, Chihuahua*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1994 Social Class and Labor Process in The Determination of A "Peasantry" *In* Northern Mexico. *Critique of Anthropology* 14(3):285-313.

Nutini, Hugo

1968 San Bernardino Contla: Marriage and Family Structure in A Tlaxcalan Municipio. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press.

1976 An Outline of Tlaxcaltecan Culture, History, Ethnology, and Demography. *In* The Tlaxcaltecs: Prehistory, Demography, Morphology, and Genetics. M.H. Crawford, Ed. Pp. 24-34. Publications in Anthropology. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas.

Nutini, Hugo G., and Barry L. Isaac

1974 Los Pueblos de Habla Nahuatl de la Region de Tlaxcala y Puebla. A.S.M.D. Hope, Transl. Volume 27. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista y Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Patthey-Chavez, G.G.

1994 Language Policy and Planning in Mexico: Indigenous Language Policy. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 14:200-219.

Pellicer, Dora

1997 Derechos Lingüísticos y Supervivencia de Las Lenguas Indígenas. *In* Las Causas Sociales de la Desaparición y del Mantenimiento de Las Lenguas en Las Naciones de América. A. Herzfeld and Y. Lastra, Eds. Hermosillo, Sonora: Universidad de Sonora.

Perry, Theresa, and James Fraser

1993 *Freedom's Plow: Teaching in the Multicultural Classroom*: Routledge.

Philips, Susan U.

1972 Participant Structures and Communicative Competence: Warm Springs Children in Community and Classroom. *In* Functions of Language in the Classroom. C. Cazden, V. John, and D. Hymes, Eds. Pp. 370-94. New York: Teachers College Press.

[1987]1990 Introduction: the Interaction of Social and Biological Processes in Women's and Men's Speech. *In* Language, Gender and Sex in Comparative Perspective. S.U. Philips, S. Steele, and C. Tanz, Eds. Pp. 1-11: Cambridge University Press.

1991 Tongan Speech Levels: Practice and Talk About Practice in The Cultural Construction of Social Hierarchy. *Currents in Pacific Linguistics: Papers On Austronesian Languages and Ethnolinguistics in Honour of George W. Grace*. Pacific Linguistics C-117.

1998 *Ideology in The Language of Judges: How Judges Practice Law, Politics, and Courtroom Control*: Oxford University Press.

1998b Language Ideologies in Institutions of Power: A Commentary. *In* Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory. B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard, and P. Kroskrity, Eds: Oxford University Press.

- [1983]1993 *The Invisible Culture: Communication in Classroom and Community On The Warm Springs Indian Reservation*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- 1999 Keywords: Power. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 9(1-2).
- 2000 Constructing A Tongan Nation-State Through Language Ideology in the Courtroom. *In Regimes of Language : Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- 2003 Language and Social Inequality. *In A Companion To Linguistic Anthropology*. A. Duranti, Ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Pujolar, Joan

- 2001 *Gender, Heteroglossia, and Power : A Sociolinguistic Study of Youth Culture*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rippberger, Susan J.

- 1993 Ideological Shifts in Bilingual Education: Mexico and the United States. *Comparative Education Review* 37(1):50-61.

Rockwell, Elsie

- 1991 Palabra Escrita, Interpretación Oral: el Libro de Texto en el Aula. (the Written Text and its Oral Interpretation: Textbooks in the Classroom.). *Infancia y Aprendizaje* 55:29-43.
- 1992 Tales From Xaltipan: Documenting Literacy and Orality in Rural Mexico. *Cultural Dynamics* 5(2):156-175.
- 1994 Schools of the Revolution: Enacting and Contesting State Forms in Tlaxcala, 1910-1930. *In Everday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*. G.M. Joseph and D. Nugent, Eds. Pp. 170-208. Durham: Duke University Press.
- 1995 de Huellas, Bardas y Veredas, una Historia Cotidiana en la Escuela. Ed.). *In la Escuela Cotidiana*. E. Rockwell, Ed. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- 1996 Keys To Appropriation: Rural Schooling in Mexico. *In The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. B.A. Levinson, D.E. Foley, and D.C. Holland, eds. Pp. 338. Power, Social Identity, and Education. Albany: State University of New York.
- 1996b Hacer Escuela. Transformaciones de la Cultura Escolar, Tlaxcala 1910-1940. PhD. Dissertation, Centro de Investigación y de Estudios Avanzados Del Instituto Politécnico Nacional (CINESTAV).
- 1997 La Dinámica Cultural en la Escuela. *In La Vigencia de Vygotski hacia un Curriculum Cultural*. A. Alvarez, Ed. Pp. 21-38. Madrid: Infancia y Aprendizaje.

Rockwell, Elsie, and Ruth Mercado

- 1986 *la Escuela, Lugar Del Trabajo Docente: Descripciones y Debates*. Mexico: Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas, Cinvestav-Ipn.
- 1988 *la Práctica Docente y la Formación de Maestros*. *Investigación en la Escuela* 4:65-

78.

Romano Morales, Inocencio

1999 Reintroducción Al Uso de la Lengua Náhuatl Para Alumnos Con Tendencia Al Monolingüismo Castellano en la Escuela Primaria Bilingüe de Tlaxcala. *Maestros y Enfoques: Revista de la Universidad Pedagógica Nacional* 1(2-3).

Rosaldo, Renato

1989 *Culture and Truth: the Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Roseberry, William.

1989 *Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Ruiz, Richard

1984 Orientations in Language Planning. *National Bilingual Education Journal* 8(2):15-34.

Sandstrom, Alan

1991 *Corn Is Our Blood : Culture and Ethnic Identity in A Contemporary Aztec Indian Village*. Norman, Ok: University of Oklahoma Press.

Schieffelin, Bambi, Kathryn Woolard, and Paul Kroskrity, eds.

1998 *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*: Oxford University Press.

Schieffelin, Bambi, and Elinor Ochs

1986 *Language Socialization Across Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sesia-Lewis, Paola

2002 *Confronting Neoliberalism: Food Security and Nutrition Among Indigenous Coffee-Growers in Oaxaca, Mexico*. PhD. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

Sherzer, Joel

1987 A Discourse-Centered Approach To Language and Culture. *American Anthropologist* 89:295-309.

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen

1995 Lending the 'Unborrowable': Spanish Discourse Markers in Indigenous American Languages. *In Spanish in Four Continents: Studies in Language Contact and Bilingualism*. C. Silva-Corvalán, Ed. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Silverstein, Michael, and Greg Urban, Eds.

1996 *Natural Histories of Discourse*.

Silverstein, Michael

1979 *Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology*. In *The Elements: A Parasession On Linguistic Units and Levels*: Chicago Linguistic Society.

1981 *the Limits of Awareness*. Working Papers in Sociolinguistics, Austin, 1981. Vol. Numbers 81-87. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

1998 *Contemporary Linguistic Transformations of Local Linguistic Communities*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27:401-426.

Siméon, Rémi

1997 *Diccionario de la Lengua Nahuatl o Mexicana*. Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno.

Sims, Christine P.

1998 *Community-Based Efforts To Preserve Native Languages: A Descriptive Study of the Karuk Tribe of Northern California*. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 132.

Stewart, Charles, and Rosalind Shaw

1994 *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism : the Politics of Religious Synthesis*. London, New York: Routledge.

Suarez, Jorge A.

1983 *the Mesoamerican Indian Languages*: Cambridge University Press.

Trechter, Sara, and Mary Bucholtz

2001 *White Noise: Bringing Language Into Whiteness Studies*. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*.

Thomason, Sarah Grey, and Terrence Kaufman

1988 *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Urban, Greg

1991 *A Discourse-Centered Approach To Culture : Native South American Myths and Rituals*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Urban, Greg, and Joel Sherzer

1991 *Introduction*. In *Indians, Nation-States and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Urciuoli, Bonnie

1995 *Language and Borders*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:525-546.

- 1996 *Exposing Prejudice : Puerto Rican Experiences of Language, Race, and Class.* Boulder, Co: Westview Press.
- Valiñas, Leopoldo
 1987 *¿Hay Alfabetos Bilingües-Biculturales? Santa Clos y Lo Bilingüe, Dos Mitos Que Nadie Cree.* *In* *Funciones Sociales y Conciencia Del Lenguaje.* H. Muñoz Cruz, Ed. Xalapa: Universidad Veracruzana.
- Valverdu, Francesc
 1980 *Aproximació Crítica A la Sociolingüística Catalana : Balanç Dels Estudis de Sociologia Lingüística Als Països Catalans.*
 1987 *Deus Lengues: Deus Functions?* Barcelona: Ediciones 62.
 1988 *el Fet Linguistic Com A Fet Social.* Barcelona: Ediciones 62.
- Van Dijk
 1993 *Elite Discourse and Racism.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Varese, Stefano
 1983 *Indígenas y Educación en México.* Oaxaca: Centro de Estudios Educativos.
- Vaughan, Mary Kay
 1982 *the State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928.* Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.
 1994 *The Educational Project of the Mexican Revolution: the Response of Local Societies (1934-1940).* *In* *Molding the Hearts and Minds: Education, Communications, and Social Change in Latin America.* J.A. Britton, Ed. Pp. 105-27. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources.
 1997 *Cultural Politics in Revolution : Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Vergara Garay, Felipe
 1995 *Un Punto de Vista sobre el Movimiento de Bases Magisteriales.* Manuscript. UPN-Tlaxcala.
- Villa Lever, Lorenza, Ed.
 1991 *Perspectivas de la Investigación en Educación.* Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara.
- Villa Rojas, Alfonso
 1971 *Antropología Aplicada e Indigenismo en América Latina.* *América Indígena* 31(1).
- Weinreich, Uriel
 [1953]1967 *Languages in Contact.* the Hague: Mouton & Co.

Wexler, Paul

1981 Jewish Interlinguistics: Facts and Conceptual Framework. *Language* 57(1):99-149.

Williams, Raymond

1977 *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Willis, Paul

1977 *Learning To Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. Westmead: Saxon House.

Wilson, William H.

1998 I Ka 'Olelo Hawal'i Ke Ola, 'Life Is Found in the Hawaiian Language'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 138.

Woolard, Kathryn

1989 *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Woodbury, Anthony

1987 Rhetorical Structure in A Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo Traditional Narrative. *In Native American Discourse: Poetics and Rhetoric*. J. Sherzer and A. Woodbury, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1993 A Defense of The Proposition, 'When A Language Dies, A Culture Dies'. *Texas Linguistics Forum* 33:102-130.

Woolard, Kathryn A.

1985 Language Variation and Cultural Hegemony: Toward An Integration of Sociolinguistic and Social Theory. *American Ethnologist* 12: 738-48. *American Ethnologist* 12:738-48.

1989 Language Convergence and Language Death as Social Processes. *In Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. N. Dorian, Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1998 Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry. *In Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard, and P. Kroskrity, Eds: Oxford University Press.

Woolard, Kathryn A., and Bambi Schieffelin

1992 Language Ideology: Issues and Approaches. *Pragmatics* 3:377-385.

1994 Language Ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23:55-82.

Wortham, Stanton

2001 Language Ideology and Education. *Linguistics & Education* 12(3).

Wortham, Stanton, and Betsy Rymes

2002 *Linguistic Anthropology of Education*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Zedillo, Ernesto

1997 *El País Sólo Puede Edificarse Sobre el Sólido Cimiento de la Educación*. México, D.F.: México, D.F. : Presidencia de la República, Dirección General de Comunicación Social.

Zepeda, Ofelia, and Jane Hill

1991 The Condition of Native American Languages in The United States. *In* *Endangered Languages*. R.H. Robins and E.M. Uhlenbeck, eds. New York: St. Martin's Press.