The Language Situation in Mexico

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This monograph will cover the language situation in Mexico; a linguistically very complex country with 62 recognised indigenous languages, the *de facto* official language, Spanish, and some immigrant languages of lesser importance. Throughout the monograph, we will concentrate on three distinct challenges which we consider relevant for Mexican language policy. The first area of interest is the challenge of the multilingual situation where there is conflict between Spanish and the indigenous languages, most of which are in danger of shift. This situation has many consequences both for education and for linguistic human rights. The second challenge that is discussed is that of foreign language teaching, which is a growing need in the Mexican education system, just as it is for any economically developing nation. In particular, English is in high demand at all levels of education; in turn, this development creates new demands for teaching staff. The third challenge dealt with is Spanish as the language of 90% of all Mexican citizens. While we recognise the role of Spanish as constituting a threat to the indigenous languages, it also plays an important role as a symbol of national identity and has developed a diversity of local varieties. Overall, Mexico has the greatest number of speakers of Spanish in the world and it is a major source of such cultural commodities as films, books, music and theatre. In addition, Spanish itself poses serious educational challenges, with regard to literacy.

Introduction

Mexico is situated between the Gulf of Mexico to the east and the Pacific Ocean to the west. Most of its surface consists of highlands. The climate is dominated by high coastal mountain ranges that create a rain shadow effect, leaving vast areas of desert in the central highlands. Mexico is also a country with a great diversity in languages and cultural groups, as well as tremendous geographic and mineral wealth. Although Mexico is situated on the North American continent, because the southern portion of the country borders on Guatemala and Belize, it has been called Middle America by some (Campbell, 1997: 15).
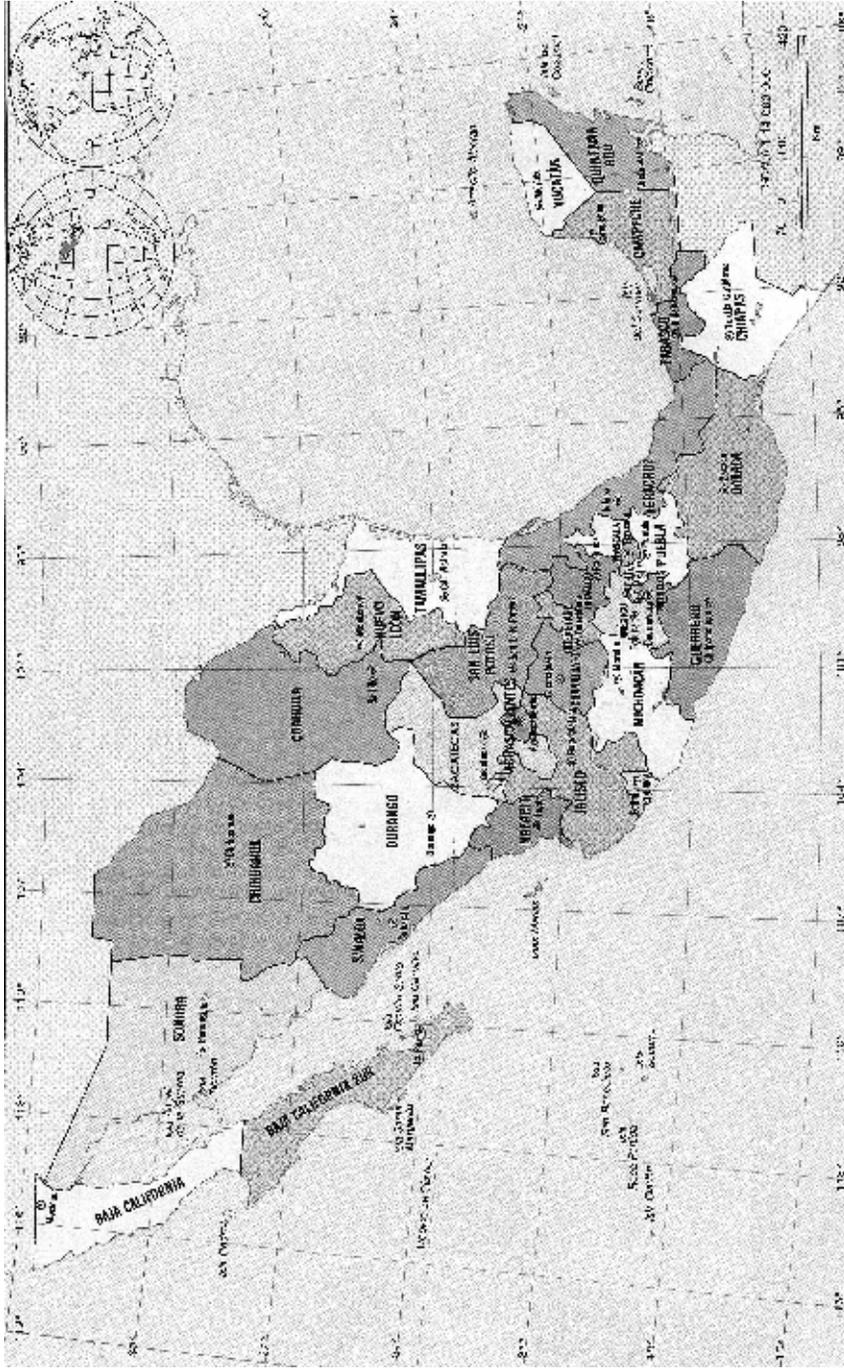
Figure 1 Map of the territory of the Mexican Republic (adapted from Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1997)

The linear distance between the northern border with the United States and the southern border with Guatemala and Belize is more than 2000 km. The *Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (United Mexican States) covers 1,972,550 sq. km (761,600 sq. mi.), a size roughly comparable to the land area of Indonesia or Saudi Arabia. The climate varies from desert to tropical in the coastal regions and from Mediterranean to temperate in the higher central regions. The north is mostly desert, particularly the state of Sonora and the peninsula of Baja California, while arid climates can also be found in other parts such as in the centre of the country. In sum, roughly 12% (240,000 sq. km) of the area consists of arable land.

The capital of the republic is Mexico City, surrounded on three sides by the State of Mexico. In 2006, the country had 103,088,021 inhabitants of whom approximately 20 million live in the capital city.

A large portion of Mexico's industry is located in or near the cities of Guadalajara, Monterrey and Puebla. Each of these cities has over 1 million inhabitants. Other large cities include Chihuahua, Hermosillo, Mexicali, and Tijuana in the north, and Merida, Jalapa, Veracruz, Toluca, Cuernavaca and Acapulco in the south. (See Figure 1.)

To understand the language situation in Mexico it will be helpful to point out some of the political, social and cultural contrasts that exist in the country. Culturally, Mexico is part of Latin America. At the same time Mexico has the largest population of speakers of indigenous languages (ILs) and presents the highest cultural diversity in the Americas, with regard to the number of languages spoken. This region is composed of the countries of South and Central America and also of the Caribbean countries of Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. After Brazil, Mexico is the most populous country in Latin America, and it has one of the most competitive economies, while only Chile and Uruguay occupy higher positions in the Growth Competitiveness Index rankings. (See Growth Competitiveness Index rankings, 2005.)

Partly due to lax environmental laws, Mexico attracts large multinational corporations such as Volkswagen, located in the city of Puebla, about two hours east of Mexico City, where it dominates the local economy. Other giants of the car industry like Ford, Nissan, Chrysler and General Motors also have assembly plants in Mexico. Other major industries include pharmaceuticals, construction, food and beverages, textiles and banking and financial services. Natural resources are central to the Mexican economy. Mexico's oil reserves – administrated by the national company PEMEX (*Petróleos Mexicanos*, Mexican Oil) – are one of the main sources of income in the country. Tourism is also a prosperous sector of the Mexican economy. The diversity of landscapes and the ancient Mesoamerican ruins attract tourists from North America, Europe and Asia. Partly as a result of the prospering economy, there has been progress in tertiary education with at least one official university in each of the nation's 31 states, as well as one of the world's largest universities, the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (UNAM) [National Autonomous University of Mexico]. According to the university ranking published in 'Gaceta UNAM' (03/11/05), UNAM is the most prestigious university in Latin America.

In contrast to other countries in the region, the political system of Mexico has been relatively stable in recent decades. At the same time, it has developed an autonomous position in relation to the United States of America; for example,

the Mexican Government maintained diplomatic and trade relations with the Government of Cuba throughout the Cold War. These facts suggest that, for quite some time, the Mexican political system has been a functioning democracy supported by an effective constitution.

However, on a closer look, and disregarding the state of other nations in the region, things in Mexico start to appear in a different light. For over 70 years, up to the elections in June 2000, a single party, the *Partido Revolucionario Instituci- onal* [Party of the Institutionalised Revolution] (PRI) held power as the Mexican Government, despite persistent rumours of electoral fraud. In the 1988 election, for example, early counts revealed that the candidate for the PRI, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, would lose, but this suddenly changed after a timely failure of the computerised electoral system.

There is freedom of the press, yet it is not unheard of for a reporter to be shot or to become involved in a fatal road accident. In the Mexican provinces there is a history of mass shootings of peasants by soldiers and paramilitary groups, the most well known of which have been the massacres of Acteal (Chiapas, 1995) and Aguas Blancas (Guerrero, 1996). However, the most significant massacre happened in Mexico City (Tlatelolco) in 1968 immediately before the Olympic Games. The actual number of victims of Tlatelolco is still unknown and the persons responsible have never been brought to trial.

Social inequality is a part of everyday life, and the division between rural and urban areas is notorious. In some areas, a full range of modern services may be available, while others, not far away, may lack electricity, running water and/or sanitation facilities. The sociologist, Julio Boltvinik from the Colegio de México (COLMEX),[1] generally divides the population into three strata: *indi- gentes* [extremely poor], *pobres no indigentes* [poor but not extremely poor] and *no pobres* [not poor]. He points out in his research that, in 2004, the Mexican pop- ulation consisted of 41,260,000 persons who were 'extremely poor', 43,737000 persons who were 'poor but not extremely poor' and only 19,142,000 who may be considered 'not poor' – i.e. members of the middle-class (Boltvinik, 2005). One result of this degree of poverty is continuous illegal migration on a massive scale from Mexico to the United States in the north. Other related issues are guerilla activities, general insecurity, organised crime and corruption.

This description of the main sociopolitical characteristics of present-day Mexico provides the reader with the background necessary to understand how language policy and planning decisions have emerged and explains some of the typical local idiosyncrasies which continue to surface.

History

When the Spaniards arrived in Mexico, there were two dominant cultures:

(1)   In central Mexico the Mexicas or Aztecs had established an empire that reached from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean.
(2)   The Mayan civilisation reaching from Honduras in the south to the states of Chiapas and the Yucatan in the north.

Other important cultures, such as the Toltecs, or earlier the Olmecs, had already died out by the time the Spaniards arrived.

The capital of the Aztec Empire was Mexico Tenochtitlan, which covered part

of the territory of the present-day capital, Mexico City. The Aztec Empire was formed through a series of alliances with peoples from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. But among these were different groups that were dissatisfied with the central power in Mexico Tenochtitlan. This was the case with Tlaxcalans in the east of the capital.

The Mayans had not achieved the degree of political unity that the Aztecs had. Both, however, were highly developed civilisations, leaving behind an impressive archaeological record in the pyramids and structures that they built. The Aztec Empire included diverse groups of people who spoke different languages and had distinct cultures. Among these cultures, the most important were the Mixtecs, the Zapotecs who built Monte Alban, and the Totonacs from the state of Veracruz who built El Tajin with its famous Pyramid of the Niches. These archeological sites are present-day tourist attractions. The people in the northern part of Mexico were nomadic and, hence, their cultures did not produce lasting physical evidence.

After the European discovery of the Americas by Christopher Columbus in 1492, Spaniards arrived, attracted to the land, its peoples, and the potential to exploit them. The Spanish conquest began with the islands in the Caribbean. Cuba and Hispaniola (later renamed the Dominican Republic) were established as Spanish colonies from the late 15th century.

Between 1519 and 1521 CE, Mexico was conquered by Hernán Cortez who had already lived in the Caribbean islands for 15 years. From Cuba he started out with a relatively small force of Spanish soldiers, sailing along the Yucatan Peninsula in the east of Mexico. From there he arrived at the present-day port of Veracruz and started on his way to Mexico Tenochtitlan. The Spaniards were beaten at first losing two-thirds of their men, in spite of their weapons and horses, which were very impressive for the Mexicas. If the Mexicas would have persecuted Cortez, then they might not have conquered the empire. But, ultimately it was possible to conquer the whole empire with a small number of soldiers because Cortez was able to arrange an alliance with the Tlaxcalans who, as already mentioned, were dissatisfied with the central power. The conquerors had the added advantage of the unfamiliar diseases that the Spanish brought with them that wiped out up to 90% of the population. (See Cifuentes, 1998: 45; Moreno Toscano, 1981: 350–1.)

The Spaniards were attracted to the wealth of the country, especially in those areas where great civilisations existed, but not to the uninhabited areas or areas where nomadic populations subsisted. Between 1540 and 1549 waves of immigrants from Europe came to the viceroyalty of New Spain, as Mexico was known while it was a Spanish colony. Interest waned after the conquest of Peru until the discovery of mines in the north of New Spain. During the first half of the 16th century after the conquest the indigenous population was decimated. Estimates put the Mexican population at approximately 25.3 million in 1519, 16.8 million in 1523, 2.6 million in 1548, 1.3 million in 1695 and 1 million in 1605 (Moreno Toscano, 1981: 350–1). Cifuentes (1998: 45–6) points out that the decrease of indigenous population at the end of the 16th century led to the extinction of more than a hundred languages.

During the 300 years of colonial rule, a number of insurrections occurred, none of which, however, really endangered the predominance of the Spanish Crown. Some areas were never dominated militarily, but most were converted
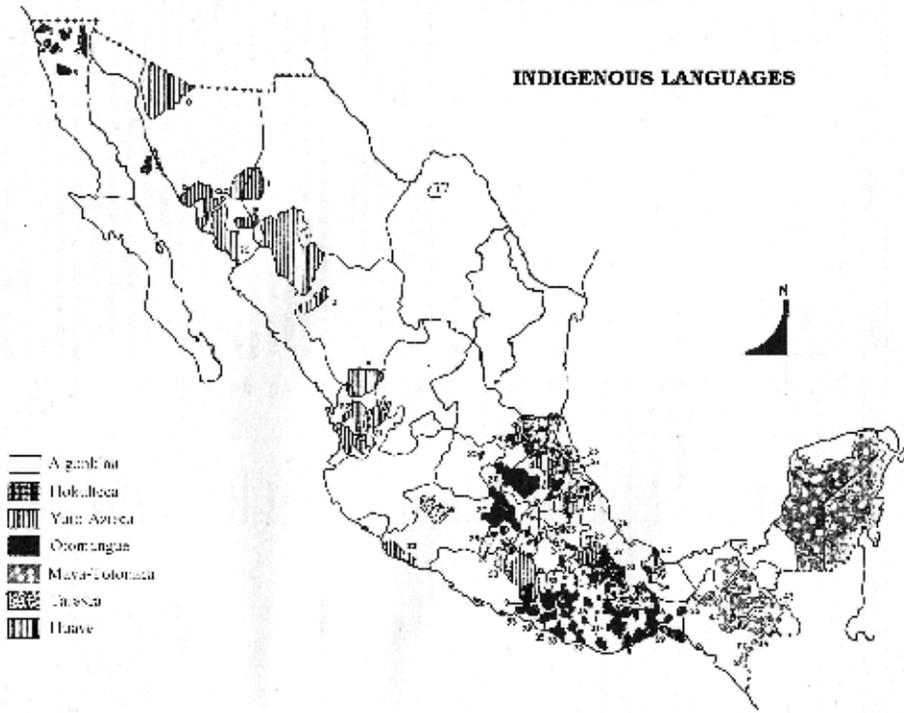
Figure 2 The indigenous languages of Mexico. Adapted from Anaya (1987)

to Christianity by Catholic missionaries. At present only part of the Huichols (see Table 3 and Figure 2 number 21) may be considered as not having been converted. The religion of most of the indigenous people is a kind of Catholicism with pagan influences (see later discussion in religious languages).

With the insurrections of Hidalgo and Allende in 1810, the first popular revolution of importance in Hispanic America took place (Villoro, 1976: 614). Even though both uprisings were defeated and their leaders later executed, the insurrection continued, and in 1821 Mexico won its independence from Spain. In the following decades conflicts of internal and external origin took place on Mexican territory. In 1836, the inhabitants of Texas, led by more recently arrived English-speaking settlers, won its independence from Mexico. In 1845 Texas was annexed by the United States, and the US Government sent troops into these territories. This aggression led Mexico to defend its territory; that interaction was followed by armed conflict between Mexico and the United States lasting from 1846 to 1848. (See Velasco-Márquez, 2006.) In Mexico, this war is known as 'The U.S. Invasion'. In the 'Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo' which ended the war, Mexico lost the northern part of its territory to the United States. The losses included Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah and parts of what is now Colorado, New Mexico and Wyoming. The decadence of the Mexican army became obvious. The two institutions that enjoyed the greatest legal privileges – i.e. the army and

the Catholic Church – were considered responsible for the military defeat. This was the beginning of the debilitation of the church during the liberal revolution from 1855 to 1876. (See Bazant, 1981: 61–79.) Thus, in Mexico at the present time, the government is secular although the majority of the population is Catholic. In 1862 the country was invaded by the French, with the help of Mexican conservatives who subsequently imposed Maximilian of Habsburg as emperor. But French domination ended in 1867 with the execution of Maximilian. Despite these drastic changes in governance, mainstream politics remained more conservative than might have been expected. (See Bazant, 1981: 82–6.)

Among the regional conflicts was the Caste War of Yucatan that started in 1847 with the rebellion of the peninsular Mayans against the dominance of the *Dzules* (white people) (Reed, 1971). The Mayans were defeated, and many fled into the state of Quintana Roo, an uninhabited territory at that time. The movement of the population during this war probably caused Yucatec Mayan to have fewer dialectal differences than can be found among other indigenous groups.

In 1877 Porfirio Díaz, a war hero from the French Intervention, was elected president. His rule lasted for the ensuing 30 years because he was re-elected several times until a win produced by undeniable electoral fraud in 1910 caused public outcry, leading to the Mexican Revolution in 1911 which put an effective end to the Porfirian dictatorship. From 1911 to 1920 Mexico was torn by civil war of which the USA attempted to take advantage on two occasions, sending troops into the country in the hope that the political instability would make Mexico an easy target for conquest. Sporadic conflict continued into the early 1930s when the country began to stabilise under the presidency of Lazaro Cárdenas from 1934 to 1940. He was a member of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI – the Institutional Revolutionary Party) [initially PNR or National Revolutionary Party] that subsequently governed Mexico for more than 70 years.

On 1 January 1994 the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* EZLN) took control of the main municipalities of southern Chiapas. This coincided with the beginning of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the United States, Canada and Mexico, which was widely perceived to encourage social inequality and to bring little benefit to the poorer sectors of the country, and which was perhaps a major catalyst for the rebellion. The element of surprise gave the Zapatistas an advantage over the Mexican Army, in spite of their inferior weapons. This uprising was led by several indigenous groups in Chiapas, in particular the Tzotzils and Tzeltals who are the most numerous ethnic groups in that state. The uprising has been guided by Subcomandante Marcos, whose identity is unknown, but who has probably worked as a professor at the Autonomous Metropolitan University in Mexico City.

Armed combat lasted only 12 days as spontaneous support from the population created pressure for negotiation between the rebels and the government. Moreover, 1994 was an election year, and a year later Mexico became a member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), making the government even more conscious of its image abroad. The governing PRI was in danger of losing its position while the EZLN received increasing sympathy from national and international movements. Both parties agreed to enter into negotiations, which were overseen by the Commission for Agreement and Pacification (COCOPA)

[Comisión de Concordia y Pacificación], an *ad hoc* legislative body. These talks resulted in the San Andrés Accord (see Part IV of this monograph), most importantly introducing the topic of indigenous languages and education into discussions at a national level. When the PRI won the 1994 elections, the new administration of President Ernesto Zedillo opted, in 1995, to surround the region with troops, leaving the EZLN with no military option. Talks also have broken off and the EZLN has carried out various actions that have been noted throughout the world, but has not been able to force the government of Mexico to comply with its demands. After days of fighting, negotiations led eventually to an armistice, but even at the present time some indigenous groups in this region remain armed. However, the Zapatista uprising has led to attention being focused on authentic ethnic groups throughout the country.

Opinions certainly differ concerning the results of this insurrection, but there is no doubt that the events of 1994 had a profound effect on emerging language policy. Before the EZLN uprising, indigenous languages were scarcely mentioned in Mexican newspapers; this changed dramatically after 1 January 1994 (Carbó & Salgado, forthcoming).

Part I: The Language Profile of Mexico

National/official languages

In Mexico, Spanish is the *de facto* official language of the government and the first language of 90% per cent of the population. It is the national language because of its historic and legislative functions and because it acts as a lingua franca for indigenous language speakers (Heath, 1986; Patthey-Chavez, 1994). Recently, the indigenous languages were also recognised as national languages because of their historic origins from before the time of the Spanish conquest. All national languages are part of the national patrimony, and they are considered to enjoy equal rights as far as their usage, diffusion and development is concerned. The *Ley general de derechos lingüísticos de los pueblos indigenas* (The General Law for the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous People) effective from March 2003, established these basic rights for indigenous languages in Article 4. The law states that the majority language and most minority languages would be national languages. (See the comprehensive discussion in Part IV of this monograph.)

Spanish is also an international language. It is the official language of 21 countries (Lacorte, forthcoming) and it is the first language of more than 300,000,000 speakers; i.e. only Chinese has more first language speakers than Spanish. Without any doubt, Spanish will be one of the great regional languages in the immediate future, and it will be more important in the future (Moreno de Alba, 2003: 37–44). Of those people with Spanish as first language (L1), one in three is Mexican. Mexico is the country with the largest number of speakers of Spanish in the world. Spanish is also an important minority language in the United States. In this monograph we will focus only on variables of Mexican Spanish which are often shared throughout Latin America, while general language structure, when referred to, will only include descriptions of typical differences between Mexican and peninsular Spanish.

Over the past 150 years some research has been carried out on Mexican

Spanish in Mexico, but the majority of the linguistic work has been done on indigenous languages. With regard to regional variation, Gynan's (2001: 53–6) monograph on Paraguay draws parallels between Paraguayan Spanish and the phenomenon of American Spanish in Mexico. He points to the lack of a second person informal plural form of the subject pronoun *vosotros* in Mexican Spanish. He also notes that the second person singular informal *vos* does not persist as it does in Paraguay, Argentina and in the north of Guatemala. What this is indicative of is that, in general, it is possible to recognise the dialects of people from different South American countries as well as the regional dialects within polities.

As Company (2005) shows, Mexican Spanish as a dialect may have deviated from the European forms as soon as the 18th century. Since Company's studies are based on written documents, it is probable that spoken Spanish may have moved apart even earlier. Henriquez Ureña distinguished six Spanish dialectal areas in Mexico (cited in Lope Blanch, 1975: 133–5). The first area comprised the states of Baja California Sur, Baja California Norte, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, and part of Tamaulipas. These states, north of the Tropic of Cancer, can be separated from other areas by linguistic features of pronunciation. For example, the deletion of '*y*' in words like '*amarillo*' (yellow) which is pronounced as '*armario*'. The second dialectal area includes the following states: Mexico, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, Queretaro, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Aguascalientes and Zaxatecas. Included are the highlands of Veracruz, Michoacan, Colima, Jalisco, Colima and Nayarit. Within this region Colima, Jalisco and Nayarit show a trend toward forming a new group. The third area is composed of the southern states of Morelos, Guerreo and Oaxaca. Little data exists about the Spanish language in these states. It appears to be similar to the varieties spoken around the Gulf of Mexico but has received greater influence from indigenous languages. The fourth area is the Gulf of Mexico, comprising the lowlands of Veracruz, Tabasco, Campeche and parts of Tamaulipas. One of the best-known phenomena here is the aspiration of some consonants that might be compared to varieties spoken around the Antilles and Cuba. The fifth dialectical area is the Yucatan and Quintana Roo. Here a glottal stop typical of Yucatec Mayan but unknown in Spanish is used. The sixth area, Chiapas, seems to bear greater similarity to Central American dialects than to Mexican dialects of Spanish.

Lope Blanch questions whether these classifications are precise enough to refute the notion of the uniformity of American Spanish. Along with a number of co-workers, Lope Blanch produced the *Atlas lingüístico de México* (1990, 1992, 1994) using mostly phonetic isoglosses. At the present time much research has been done on Mexican Spanish, not only on phonetic phenomena. There are also lexical, grammatical and even orthographic differences in comparison with peninsular Spanish or that of other American countries. In the following section we offer some examples of these differences.[2]

Moreno de Alba (2003) mentions the specific use of prepositions, in particular the preposition 'a' which covers a greater range of functions in Mexican Spanish than in other variants. The following examples provided in Table 1 show some of the variants.

Another variation in the use of prepositions occurs in the combination of '*de*' and '*que*'. Moreno de Alba gives the following example: in Mexico one

Table 1 'a' variants of Mexican Spanish varieties

Mexican Spanish	Peninsular Spanish	English
Problema a resolver	Problema por resolver	A problem to resolve
Televisión a color	Televisión de color	Colour television
Entrar a la casa	Entrar en la casa	To go into the house
Escapar al peligro	Escapar del peligro	To escape from danger

Source: Adapted from Moreno de Alba (2003: 220–1)

commonly hears '*ahí tienes de que*' whereas in standard peninsular Spanish the structure would normally be '*ahí tienes que*'. This phenomenon is called '*dequeísmo*' (dequeism) and is considered 'poor' Spanish. Moreno de Alba (2003: 239) proposes that 'dequeism' can be considered as a syntactic transfer from substrate indigenous languages.

When the Spanish arrived in Mexico, they encountered a considerable quantity of flora, fauna, geographic phenomena and everyday objects that were entirely new to them. The majority of lexical variations observed are from Nahuatl, Yucatec Mayan and Cahita (Yaqui and Mayo). In general the indigenous word was borrowed for the term causing an influx of neologisms in peninsular Spanish for those items that were exported and came to form part of everyday life in Spain. Words that fall within this category include *hule* (rubber), *chocolate* (chocolate), *tomate* (tomato), *cacao* (cocoa), *aguacate* (avocado), *coyote* (coyote) and *petaca* (satchel) (Zamora, 2004). In addition, many words that are unknown or unusual in peninsular Spanish are common in Mexico, giving the Mexican variety a character different from other major varieties. At times the peninsular and the Mexican forms co-exist, as is the case with *cuate* and *amigo* (friend), *guajolote* and *pavo* (turkey), *chamaco* and *niño* (child), *mecate* and *reata* (rope). In other cases the indigenous words have acquired more specific semantic meanings than the Spanish counterpart; e.g. *huarache* and *sandalia*, where the indigenous word denotes an open sandal made of leather while the Spanish term denotes a sandal of any material. Sometimes the indigenous word has replaced the Spanish equivalent completely, as is the case with *tecolote* for *búho* (owl), *ejote* for *judío* (green bean) and *papalote* for *cometa* (kite). Many other indigenous words denote realities which are peculiar to the American continent and hence did not exist in peninsular Spanish: *mezquite* (a hardwood tree similar to the acacia), *zapote* (sapodilla plum), *jícama* (Yam bean), *ixtle* (a native vegetable fibre), *cenzontle* (a native species of bird), *tuza* (groundhog), *pozole* (a soup made with hominy), *tamales* (ground maize and sometimes meat and chili sauce or a sweet filling wrapped in a banana or a maize leaf), *huacal* (a wooden crate), *comal* (ceramic dish or metal hotplate used for cooking tortillas), *huipil* (traditional Indian dress worn by Indian women), *metate* (a flat stone used for grinding corn), among others.

Even within Mexico there is often regional variation with regard to the use of words of indigenous etymologies. The word *jitomate* (tomato), which is of Nahuatl origin, is used in the centre of Mexico including Mexico City, and the word *tomate* is reserved for the green variety of this fruit. The usual term for the

red variety in other regions like Yucatan in the south or Sonora in the north is *tomate*.

Toponyms in Mexico are often adaptations of the original place name in the dominant language of the area. Most common are names of Nahuatl origin like *Oaxtepec*, *Metepec*, *Cocoyoc*, *Nezahualcoyotl*, *Toluca* and *Tlaxcala*. Also the names of mountains like *Popocatepetl*, *Iztacihuatl* and *Citlaltepetl* are of Nahuatl origin. In the states of Michoacan and Guanajuato, however, where the Tarascan Indians resisted the imperialism of the Mexicas, place names are usually of P'urepecha origin, for example, *Huandacareo*, *Janitzio*, *Patzcuaro* and *Tingüindin*. The Yucatan peninsula also displays this tendency to retain original indigenous toponyms, with names like *Uxmal*, *Balamku*, *Tikal* and *Bonampak*, in which the sound represented by the letter 'k' is particularly noteworthy since it does not occur in Spanish (Zamora, 2004).

Nahuatl influenced the Spanish language throughout the entire country, although in different ways in some regions as in the case of the word *tomate*. There are also regional variations resulting from the local indigenous languages. By way of example we would like to present the cases of Yucatan and Sonora. One of the most notable regional markers of the Yucatan dialect is a phonetic variant; the glottal stop in liaison between Spanish words (see also García Fajardo, 1984). This is noteworthy since the glottal stop does not occur in Spanish; when a word ends with the same vowel as the next word begins, the two words are usually pronounced as one. For example 'Santa Ana' is pronounced /Santana/. But in the local variety in Yucatan the two vowels are separated by a glottal stop, i.e. /santa'ana/. In addition the Yucatan variety of Spanish follows a different intonation pattern, placing the stress on the final syllable of the word whereas in the rest of Mexico, and in most other areas of the Spanish speaking world, word stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

Regional variation in the form of lexical differences in Yucatec Spanish is exemplified by some Mayan words like *bakal* meaning the inner part of a corncob, generally called *holote* in Mexico. Another Mayan word is *balche*, a special alcoholic drink from water and honey fermented with the bark of a local tree. There is no Spanish translation for this word. Other words are *box* for standard Spanish *negro* (black), *cenote* for Spanish *dolina* (sinkhole), *chan* for Spanish *pequeño* (small), *chich* for Spanish *abuela* (grandmother), *tuch* for Spanish *ombligo* (navel) (Barrera Vásquez, 1980).

In Sonora, the local variety is marked by a phonetic phenomenon which is striking for speakers of other dialects of Spanish because of the pronunciation of the affricate 'ch' [č] (as in the word *muchacho* (boy, youngster)) which becomes the fricative [š] making Sonoran speech easily identifiable. Lexical differences are often a result of the influence of local indigenous languages, and in the state capital, Hermosillo, these are derived mostly from Mayo and Yaqui. Examples from regional words are *bichi* for standard Spanish *desnudo* (naked), *bitachi* for Spanish *avispa* (wasp), *buki* for Spanish *niño* (child), *kaita* for Spanish *nada* (nothing), *cochi* for Spanish *puerco* (pig) (Mungía Zatarain, 1995). Irrespective of our inability to mention all the lexical variety Mungía Zatarain presents in her article, she states that there is only a reduced influence of indigenous language in the local Spanish variety. There may be some 50 words of this origin in Sonora, and these are used in highly reduced contexts (Mungía Zatarain, 1995: 136).

The mentioned influence of Yucatec Mayan lexicon on the local Spanish variety presented by Barrera Vásquez (1980) is more widespread than is the case in Sonora, which probably reflects the fact that Mayan in the Yucatan is not limited to the lower and working classes but permeates all strata of society.

Mexican Spanish is also much more open to borrowings from the English language than other varieties. Throughout the Spanish speaking world one can hear words such as *filmar* (to film a movie), *beisbol* (baseball), *club* (club), *coctel* (cocktail), *líder* (leader), *cheque* (check (n.)), *sandwich* (sandwich), and so on. In addition to these generally accepted words in Mexican Spanish we can also hear *carro* (car cf. Sp. *coche*), *checar* (check (v.) cf. Sp. *revisar*), *hobby* (hobby cf. Sp. *pasatiempo*), *folder* (folder cf. Sp. *carpeta*), overol (*overall* cf. Sp. *guardapolvo*), *réferi* (referee cf. Sp. *árbitro*) and *closet* (closet cf. Sp. *guardarropa*), to name just a few. These examples would seem to mark Mexican Spanish as one of the least purist variants of the language on an international level.

Attitudes within the speech community toward Mexican Spanish are as diverse as the general linguistic situation in the country. Mexicans are very conscious of the conquest, and one of the most important civil celebrations of the year is that of independence from Spain. They also call the Spaniards 'gachupines' which is a term of abuse. At the same time Spanish is part of the national identity. According to Moreno de Alba (2003: 74–81) 84% of Mexicans consider Spanish an important marker of the national identity, and 89% feel proud of being speakers of Spanish. A degree of complexity is introduced when value judgements as to the best variety of Spanish are requested, since 39% consider that the best Spanish is spoken in Madrid and 29% consider that the best Spanish is spoken in Mexico City (2003: 82–5).

While peninsular Spanish may be considered to have greater prestige, even in Mexico, Mexican Spanish also has some prestige even outside the country. By the initiative of the *Real Academia Española* [The Spanish Royal Academy] in 1875 the *Academia Mexicana Correspondiente a la Española* [The Mexican Corre-sponsal of the Spanish Academy] was founded to include Mexican terms in the dictionary. At the present time, Mexicans take part in the decisions concerning the norms of the Spanish language in the world (see Cifuentes & Ros, 1993). But the work of the Academy is not the only factor in the spread of Mexican Spanish. Mexican writers, including a Nobel Prize winner in the field of litera-ture, are well known throughout the Hispanic world and also internationally. Perhaps the single most important factor is Mexican television production by the two powerful companies *Televisa* and *TV Azteca* whose work can be seen in most countries of Latin America, transmitting colloquial speech forms with their soap operas.

Minority Languages

As previously mentioned, indigenous languages have been considered national languages by the Mexican constitution since 2003. However, they are minority languages because only a small percentage of the Mexican popula-tion speaks any one of them. When the Spanish conquerors came to Mexico, it is estimated that more than 100 languages and dialects were spoken. There are still more than 60 indigenous languages being spoken at present.[3] One

might still talk about 100 languages if certain highly differentiated linguistic complexes were considered as a number of different languages (Diaz-Couder, 1997b).

A linguistic mosaic of different types of indigenous languages exists in Mexico. Some are agglutinative (such as Nahuatl), some are isolating (such as Chinanteco), some are tonal (such as Oto-manguean), and some are ergative (such as the majority of the Mayan languages) (Diaz-Couder, 1997b).

After the conquest in the 16th century, these languages were learned by European traders and missionaries. In the years that followed the beginning of the colonial era, linguistic materials were collected, producing a rich documentation of grammars and vocabularies (Contreras, 1986). During the second half of the 16th century, Catholic missionaries who were learning the ILs carried out extensive studies of languages in Mexico. It was assumed that knowledge of a language would facilitate their work (Arana de Swadesh, 1975: 11). Many documents such as prayer books and catechisms appeared at this time in indigenous languages. The early written grammars were developed following the patterns of Latin and Spanish, but the lack of homogeneity in spelling suggests that standard orthographies were not developed.

Major minority languages

Although it is difficult to divide Mexican indigenous languages into major and minor languages, it makes sense to distinguish them by their vitality and the number of speakers they have. This division is somewhat arbitrary, but there appear to be two major minority languages: Nahuatl and Yucatec Mayan. According to information from INEGI,[4] there were 1,448,936 registered speakers of Nahuatl and 800,291 registered speakers of Yucatec Mayan (INEGI, 2004). Children under five years of age were not included in these numbers. Next in terms of number of speakers are Zapotec with 452,887 speakers and Mixtec with 446,236 speakers. Zapotec and Mixteco are only spoken in Oaxaca,[5] while Nahuatl is spoken in the states of Guerrero, Puebla, Morelos, Verzacruz, Michoacán, Hidalgo and Nayarit. The Yucatec Mayan speaking population is distributed over the peninsula of Yucatan, which includes the states of Yucatan, Campeche and Quintana Roo.[6]

The historical importance of Nahuatl justifies including it as a major language among the minority languages due to its role as a lingua franca for speakers of other indigenous languages. This role still continues in the present day.

Yucatec Mayan is a local language that contrasts with Nahuatl in that it is spoken in a contiguous area with no interruption (see Figure 2). It is not only linguistically coherent, but it is also perceived by its speakers as '*the* language' of the peninsula of Yucatan. Both languages have a long history of literacy that includes many dictionaries and grammars written over the years since the time of the Conquest. As a result there is no dispute as to which language family they belong. Yucatec Mayan is part of the Mayan family and Nahuatl is part of the Yuto-Aztecan family (see the following section on lesser minority languages and Table 2).

The grammar of Nahuatl is not so very different from that of European languages. For example, it is not a tonal language like Chinese or Otomi and, unlike Yucatec Mayan, it is not an ergative language, a phenomenon that makes

Table 2 Mexican indigenous language families, subfamilies and languages

I. Algonkina (Family) 1. Kikapoo
II. Hokalteca (Family) a. *Yuma* **(***Sub-Family***)** 2.   Paipai 3. Kiliwa 4. Cochimí 5. Cucapá 6. K'uumiai
II. Hokalteca (Family) b. Seri (*Sub-Family***)** 7.   Seri
II. Hokalteca (Family) c. *Tequistlateco* **(***Sub-Family***)** 8.   Chontal de Oaxaca
II. Hokalteca (Family) d. *Tlapaneco* **(***Sub-Family***)** 9.   Tlapaneco
III. Yuto-Azteca (Family) a. *Pima* **(***Sub-Family***)** 10.   Pápago 11. Pima alto 12. Pima bajo 13. Tepehuán del Norte 14. Tepehuán del Sur 15.   Tepecano
III. Yuto-Azteca (Family) b. *Taracahita* **(***Sub-Family***)** 16.   Ópata 17. Tarahumara 18. Varohío (Guarijio) 19. Yaqui 20. Mayo
III. Yuto-Azteca (Family) c. *Aztecoide* **(***Sub-Family***)** 21.   Huichol 22. Cora 23. Náhuatl
IV. Otomangue (Family) a. *Otopame* **(***Sub-Family***)** 24.   Pame 25. Chichimeco- Jonaz 26. Otomí 27. Mazahua 28. Matlazinca 29. Ocuilteco
IV. Otomangue (Family) b. *Chinanteca* **(***Sub-Family***)** 30.   Chinanteco
IV. Otomangue (Family) c. *Zapoteca* **(***Sub-Family***)** 31.   Zapoteca 32. Chatino
IV. Otomangue (Family) d. *Mixteca* **(***Sub-Family***)** 33.   Mixteco 34. Cuicateco 35. Trique 36. Amuzgo
IV. Otomangue (Family) e. *Mazateco-Popoloca* **(***Sub-Family***)** 37.   Popoloca 38. Mazateco 39. Ixtateco 40. Chocho
V. Maya-Totonaca (Family) a. *Mayanse* **(***Sub-Family***)** 41 Huasteco 42. Maya Peninsular 43. Lacandón 44. Chontal de Tabasco 45. Chol 46. Tzeltal 47. Tzotzil 48. Tojolabal 49. Chuj 50. Jacalteco 51. Kanjobal 52. Mame
V. Maya-Totonaca (Family) b. *Mixe-Zoque* **(***Sub-Family***)** 53. Mixe 54. Popoluca 55. Zoque
V. Maya-Totonaca (Family) c. *Totonaca* **(***Sub-Family***)** 56. Totonaco 57. Tepehua
VI. (Family) 58. Tarasco (Purépecha)
VII. Huave (Family) 59.   Huave

Source: Adapted from Anaya (1987: 5)*
*We did not change the Spanish written names of the languages. Since some languages
are known by different names, in some cases those names have been added in brackets.
The languages may be localised with the respective number in Figure 2.

the language difficult for Europeans to learn, since many major languages in Europe belong to the nominative-accusative system.

Lesser minority languages

In a linguistic ecology as complicated as that of Mexico, language policy depends on classification and definition; that is, which variant forms of a language are to be considered independent languages and which are perceived to be dialects, because policy must be in accord with the specific conditions under which the variant operates. In this way, the classification may be based only on linguistic criteria, on ideological ones or even on extremely practical criteria used to carry out censuses. For this reason, it is important to list several of the different classifications.

The classifications of the indigenous languages in the 19th century were so imperfect that in the first census of 1895 a lot of made-up languages (like Acmara, Cahuillo and Puctue) appeared, which Manrique[7] ignores. There were other names like Chug, Cocopa and Juava that may actually refer to Chuj, Cucopa and Huave. On the other hand, there existed many different names for the same language; e.g. Nahuatl and Mexicano (Manrique Castañeda, 1997: 44–5). There have been a number of different attempts to classify Mexican indigenous languages. While a consensus exists about the existence of three great language families, the Uto-Azecan or Yutonahuan, Otomangue or Otopame, and Mayan or Mayan-Totonacan, generally the problem is to define what should be considered a family or a subfamily, and which languages should be included in each. In addition, there are some languages that may not belong to any of these families and thus should form their own groupings. Pérez Gonzales (1975) gives an overview of the different ways of handling classifications. In 1864 Orozco and Berra (cited in Pérez Gonzáles, 1975: 30–4) proposed 11 families: Mexicana, Othomi, Huazteca-Maya-Quiché, Mixteca-Zapoteca, Matlazinca, Tarasco, Opata-Tarahumara-Pima, Apache, Seri, Guaicura and Cochimi. In 1901, León proposed 20 families: Nahuatlana, Pimana, Yumana, Seriana, Tarascana, Zoqueana, Totonacana, Zapotecana, Othomiana, Mayana, Huaviana, Athapascane, Matlalzinca, Chinantecana, Chiapanecana, Maratiniana, Chichimecana, Tañoana, Shoshoneana and Coahuiltecana (cited in Pérez Gonzáles, 1975: 35–40). However, Anaya (1987) had only seven families, 18 sub-families and 59 languages (see Table 2 and Figure 2).

Recently proposed changes in the nomenclature for ILs has added to the confusion, as many indigenous groups prefer to rename their languages with the term used in the original language, hence:

- the Otomí of the Mezquital Valley now prefer their language to be known as Hñahñu;
- what was previously known as Huastecan became Tenek;
- Mixtec has become Ñuu Savi;
- Tarascan has become Pur'epecha.

Political disagreements can create problems in nomenclature at a very local level; for example, Ocuilteco (also called Atzinca by Velázquez Vilchis, 2006) is referred to as Tlahuica in the town of San Juan Atzinco, since the speakers in this area have long-standing land disputes with the authorities in the main town of Ocuilan.

However, the degree of mutual intelligibility between Ocuilteco and Tlahuica would probably lead these varieties to be considered the same language.

In 1997 Manrique discussed the problem of deciding under which name a language should appear in the census and why it is sometimes the case that two languages may appear under one name. His division had the purpose of representing the speakers in the census. In many cases, a language with a single name has to be divided into subgroups. For example, Zapotec was divided into eight different languages, Chinantec into 10 languages and Mixtec into six languages.

Within the Hokaltecan family 'Seri is spoken along the coast of Sonora, Mexico, in two main villages, Punta Chueca and El Desemboque, and also in a number of seasonal camps; it was once also spoken on Tiburon Island in the Gulf of California' (Campbell, 1997: 160). At the present time, the language has less than a thousand speakers and may be considered to be an endangered language. Campbell considers it an isolate, but Anaya classified it together with Paipai, Kiliwa, Cochimí, Cucapá and K'umiai in Baja California, and also with Chontal (Oaxaca) and Tlapanec (Guerrero). All of these are endangered languages.

> Of Native American language families, Uto-Aztecan is one of the largest in terms of numbers of languages and speakers, and geographical extent (from Oregon to Panama). Uto-Aztecan is also the longest established and one of the few undisputed language families. (Campbell, 1997: 133–4)

The Yuto-Aztecan (as Anaya calls it**)** group includes languages in the United States (e.g. Shoshoni or Hopi that are not considered here). (Campbell, 1997: 157)

Anaya (1987) divides the Mayan-Totonacan family into three subfamilies called (1) Mayan, (2) Mix-Zoque and (3) Totonaca. The Mayan subfamily of languages, spoken principally in Guatemala, southern Mexico, and Belize, has received relatively more attention from linguists than most other Native American language groups. This is probably due to the importance of the Mayan culture from a European perspective and to the fact that substantial information is available. For example, Bishop Diego de Landa, settled on the peninsula during the 16th century and documented copiously the customs of the Mayan in Yucatan. As a result of this attention, the languages are fairly well documented and their historical relationships are well understood. Also, many grammars, dictionaries, and texts were written soon after first contact with Europeans (more than 450 years ago), and these provide rich resources (Campbell, 1997: 162–4).

According to Romero Castillo (1975: 9), there are more or less five languages in the Mayan family. Some of them may not really be considered to be languages**,** but rather should be called dialects since these classifications are based on structuralist research; for example, Izta, Morpan and Lancandon may be considered dialects of Yucatec Mayan. Two of the Mayan languages **(**e.g. Motozintlec and Cotoque**)** may be considered to be extinct. In Mexico, there are speakers of 11 Mayan languages who live in the southern states of Yucatan, Campeche, Quintana Roo, Tabasco and Chiapas. Chiapas has the greatest number of languages, including Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Tojolabal, Chuj, Chontal, Chol and Lacandon. There are also speakers of Mam, Keckchi and Quiche in Chiapas who emigrated from Guatemala because**,** during the last few decades**,** indigenous people have been persecuted by paramilitary groups there.

Chontal is spoken in Tabasco[8] by 36,000 speakers, and Yucatec Mayan, the largest Mayan language with some 776,000 speakers, is spoken in the states of Campeche, Yucatan and Quintana Roo. Yucatec Mayan is also simply referred to as Mayan and it is the language that gave its name to the whole language group. The four states mentioned are located on the Yucatan Peninsula (see Figure 1) and form a continuous territory together with Chiapas, Belize and Guatemala.

The only Mayan language that is separate from this territory is Huastecan in San Luis Potosi and Veracruz. There are different hypotheses as to why this is the case: The first hypothesis is that Mayans migrated from north to south, and the ancestors of Huastecans separated from the main group and remained in this area. Another hypothesis is that Mayans migrated from south to north and Huastecans separated from the other groups to finally settle in a more northern area. The third hypothesis supposes that a Mayan speaking population initially inhabited the region along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, while other peoples penetrated from the west and separated the Mayan speaking territory into two separate regions.

The Mayan language subfamily may be divided into subgroups, of which Tzeltal and Tzotzil form one with which most linguists would be in agreement; others add Chol to this classification and still others would include Tojolabal, but this classification is somewhat controversial. Speakers of Tzeltal and Tzotzil consider themselves as speakers of the same language and, in spite of grammatical and lexical differences, there seems to be a fair degree of mutual intelligibility between these languages.

Another subgroup is Mayan-Lacandon. This group consists of Yucatec Mayan (or Mayan) and Lacandon in Mexico and the Mopan and the Itza languages in Guatemala. Yucatec Mayan may be considered to be a well-documented language for which grammars and dictionaries were written soon after the first European contacts. As has been stated previously, a rich written documentation in Yucatec Mayan as well as in many other Mayan languages exists (Campbell, 1997: 162–4).

Chol can be classified as a single language in the Mayan family (see Kroeber, cited in Romero Castillo, 1975: 58), but Stoll (cited in Romero Castillo, 1975: 58) has placed it together with Chontal from Tabasco, Tzeltal, Tzotzil and Tojolabal. McQuown (cited in Romero Castillo, 1975: 58) agreed, but Halpern (cited in Romero Castillo, 1975: 58) classified Chol together with Chontal and Chortí. The latter is spoken in Honduras. However, more recently Swadesh *et al.* (cited in Romero Castillo, 1975: 58) have come back to the original position of Kroeber (Romero Castillo, 1975: 58). Nevertheless, Anaya (1987) considered Chol and Chontal as related languages.

The Mixe-Zoquean subfamily also consists mostly of the different dialects of Mixe, Zoquean and Populuca. Of course, the distinction between dialect and language is sometimes even more arbitrary in minority languages than it is in national European languages. The Mixe-Zoquean family has special importance in Mesoamerican prehistory, since a Mixe-Zoquean language appears to have been spoken by the Olmecs, who organised the first great Mesoamerican civilisation. Also Huave in Oaxaca and P'urepecha (Tarascan) in Michoacan are considered isolates that are unrelated to other languages. Kikapoo in Coahuila is a member of the Algonquian language family, originating on the Canadian border.

Table 3 The 1990 Census data for indigenous languages using the language categories as defined by Manrique Castañeda (1997: 57–9)

Language	Speakers	Language	Speakers
Aguacateco	118	Mixteco de la Mixteca Alta	148
Amuzgo	28228	Mixteco de la Mixteca Baja	1813
Cahita	462	Mixteco de la zona mazateca	3
Cakchiquel	436	Mixteco de Puebla	2
Cochimí	148	Motocintleco	235
Cora	11923	Náhuatl	1197328
Cucapá	136	Ocuilteco	755
Cuicateco	12677	Ópata	12
Chatino	28987	Otomí	280238
Chiapaneco	181	Paipai	223
Chicomucelteco	24	Pame	3096
Chichimeco jonaz	1582	Pame del Norte	30
Chinanteco	103942	Pame del Sur	2606
Chinanteco de Lalana	12	Papabuco	19
Chinanteco de Ojitlán	4443	Pima	716
Chinanteco de Petlapa	1	Pima alto	128
Chinanteco de Quitepec	1	Pima bajo	16
Chinanteco de Sochiapan	3	Popoluca	31079
Chinanteco de Usila	676	Popoluca de Oluta	3
Chinanteco de Valle Nacional	22	Popoluca de Texistepec	172
Chocho	12553	Purépecha	94835
Chol	128240	Quiché	918
Chontal	23779	Seri	561
Chontal de Oaxaca	2232	Solteco	51
Chontal de Tabasco	10256	Tarahumara	54431
Huasteco	120739	Teco	107
Huave	11955	Tepehua	8702
Huichol	19363	Tepehuán	18469
Ixcateco	1220	Tlapaneco	68483
Ixil	238	Tojolabal	36011
Jacalteco	1263	Totonaca	207876
Kekchí	1483	Triqui	14981
Kikapú	232	Tzeltal	261084
Kiliwa	41	Tzotzil	229203
Kumiai	96	Yaqui	10984
Lacandón	104	Yuma	26

Table 3 (Contd.) The 1990 Census data for indigenous languages using the language categories as defined by Manrique (1997: 57–9)

Language	Speakers	Language	Speakers
Lamjobal	14325	Zapoteco	380690
Mame	13168	Zapoteco de Cuixtla	11
Matlazinca	1452	Zapoteco de Ixtlán	723
Maya	713520	Zapoteco del Istmo	133
Mayo	37410	Zapoteco del Rincón	19
Mazahua	127826	Zapoteco sureño	16530
Mazateco	168374	Zapoteco vallista	5350
Meco	39	Zapoteco vijano	1
Mixe	95264	Zoque	43160
Mixteco	383544	Other languages	444
Mixteco de la costa	32	Not specified languages	225860

Manrique (1997) offers advice on the classification of indigenous languages for the national census. He based this advice on the structuralist definition of a language which supposes that two different languages are mutually unintelligible for their speakers while different dialects are not. While such linguistic criteria may be the best manner to present languages in the census, this kind of classification ignores sociocultural distinctions and is not without its problems. For example, Mayo and Yaqui appeared to be the same language because they are very similar and presumably speakers of either language would understand speakers of the other. So the speakers of both were subsumed under the name Cahita. But, as we have experienced in our fieldwork (Terborg & Martínez, 1988), people say they do not understand the other language, and other researchers (Moctezuma, personal communication) have shared this experience. This means that the speakers of either Mayo or Yaqui probably do not identify themselves with the other group (Manrique, 1997: 44–5). Nevertheless, this was the categorisation used in a national census. Table 3 presents the census of 1990 and excludes children less than five years old. It uses the names of the languages proposed by Manrique.

When comparing the data in Table 3 with the classifications suggested by Anaya (1987; Table 2), there are many languages that did not appear in those older classifications. Table 3, with the 92 languages proposed by Manrique simply shows one way to manage the census. Of course, there are many languages with fewer than 20 speakers. For example, Opata really should be considered an extinct language along with Chinanteco de Petlapa, Chinanteco de Quitepec, Chinanteco de Sochiapan, Mixteco de la Zona Mazateca, Mixteco de Puebla, Papabuco, Popoluca de Oluta, Zapoteco de Cuixtla, Zapoteco del Rincón and Zapoteco Vijano. The same thing may be true for some other languages.

In addition to the issue of nomenclature of languages, there are further sources of imprecision in the census data. Many speakers of indigenous languages are ashamed of admitting to a minority ethnicity and often try to deny it. In an

Table 4 Numbers of speakers of the principal indigenous languages of Mexico for 1970, 1980 and 1990. (Found on internet 2004 http://www.inegi.gob.mx/est/contenidos/espanol/tematicos/mediano/len.asp?t = mlen10&c = 3337)

	1970	*1990*	*2000*
Total	3,111,415	5,282,347	6,044,547
Náhuatl	799,394	1,197,328	1,448,936
Maya	454,675	713,520	800,291
Zapotecoa	283,345	403,457	452,887
Mixtecob	233,235	386,874	446,236
Tzotzil	95,383	229,203	297,561
Otomí	221,062	280,238	291,722
Tzeltal	99,412	261,084	284,826
Totonaca	124,840	207,876	240,034
Mazateco	101,541	168,374	214,477
Chol	73,253	128,240	161,766
Huasteco	66,091	120,739	150,257
Mazahua	104,729	127,826	133,430
Chinantecoc	54,145	109,100	133,374
Purépecha	60,411	94,835	121,409
Mixe	54,403	95,264	118,924
Tlapaneco	30,804	68,483	99,389
Tarahumara	25,479	54,431	75,545
Zoque	27,140	43,160	51,464
Amuzgo	13,883	28,228	41,455
Chatino	11,773	29,006	40,722
Tojolabal	13,303	36,011	37,986
Mayo	27,848	37,410	31,513
Huichol	6,874	19,363	30,686
Tepehuán	5,617	18,469	25,544
Cora	6,242	11,923	16,410
Huave	7,442	11,955	14,224
Cuicateco	10,192	12,677	13,425
Yaqui	7,084	10,984	13,317
Other indigenous languages in México	91,815	376,289	256,737

[a] Includes: zapoteco, zapoteco de Cuixtla, zapoteco de Ixtlán, zapoteco del Istmo, zapoteco del rincón, zapoteco sureño, zapoteco vallista y zapoteco vijano.
[b] Includes: mixteco, mixteco de costa, mixteco de la Mixteca Alta, mixteco de la Mixteca Baja, mixteco de la zona mazateca, mixteco de Puebla y tacuate.
[c] Includes: chinanteco, chinanteco de Lalana, chinanteco de Ojitlán, chinanteco de Petlapa, chinanteco de Usila y chinanteco de Valle Nacional.
Source: For 1970: DGE. *IX Censo General de Población, 1970.* México, D.F., 1972. For 1990: INEGI. *XI Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 1990.* Aguascalientes, Ags., 1992. For 2000: INEGI. *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000. Tabulados Básicos.* Aguascalientes, Ags., 2001.

Otomi village**,** we were told by an informant that many people say they do not speak the indigenous language, but this same informant was later observed to participate in a conversation in Otomi having apparently forgotten that he had claimed not to speak that language (see also Diaz-Couder, 1997b). Conversely, ethnic pride may lead a speaker to claim the status of speaker, even if his or her command of the IL is minimal (Cienfuegos Salgado, 2004: 166–7).

In Table 4, the data on the principal indigenous languages of Mexico have been brought together to provide an indication of their growth and vitality across three decades. It shows the growth of the indigenous population of five years and older from 1970 to 2000 with data on the 28 most important languages, as determined by the number of speakers. The languages are presented ranging from groups having the largest population to groups having the smallest population. The figures for Zapoteco, Mixteco and Chinanteco include varieties that Manrique (1997: 44–5) considered different languages.

As Table 4 illustrates, there are only 28 languages with more than 10,000 speakers. In purely practical terms, language planning efforts should concentrate on these languages, without entirely disregarding other languages. By language planning efforts, we are thinking particularly of language maintenance programmes, since other programmes, such as literacy planning, are of equal importance in language communities with fewer than 10,000 speakers.

However, it is important not to equate a greater number of speakers automatically with greater language vitality. For example, for Otomi with *c*. 290,000 speakers and for Mazahua with *c*. 130,000 speakers, it seems that language shift is advancing more rapidly than for Yaqui with *c*. 13,000 speakers; this perhaps reflects the greater degree of unity within the Yaqui community. The Yaqui community is highly integrated, while speakers of Otomi are often unaware of the importance of their language. In the village of San Cristobal Huichochitlan, a speaker who was asked to name other locations where the Otomi language was spoken (see Terborg, 2004) could only name some neighbouring villages, but was unaware that the language is spoken in other states of the nation. It is probable that the same limited identification would be evident among speakers of Mazahua. Thus it would be inappropriate to consider a named language to represent a speech community as understood by anthropologists and linguists. On the other hand, the Yaqui community organises its daily life by means of a type of local administration, and the territory where it is spoken is contiguous; strengthening their community ties and identity. Language vitality is necessarily determined by many factors (see Grenoble & Whaley, 1998).

Indigenous languages remain strong in rural areas where communities tend to be poor, isolated and live in an agricultural economy. As public transportation is scarce or non-existent in these communities, it is difficult for these indigenous people to leave and make outside contacts, unless they can find a ride on the back of a van or lorry, and it is difficult for outsiders to enter these communities, except for the few communities located along main roads or railway lines. While this isolation is supportive of indigenous language maintenance, it condemns these people to lives of poverty and isolation from society as a whole. In any case**,** the increasing use of technology, for example, the introduction of mobile phones, may make their integration into the wider community harder to avoid, endangering the preservation of the discourse spaces which permit the maintenance of ILs.

    Some situations cannot be truly defined as rural. Speakers also live in urban
or peri-urban areas or in communities in the urban centre. For example, the
town of Papantla in Veracruz has about 80,000 inhabitants and some 90,000
people live in the rest of the county, the total population of the county includes
some 40,000 speakers of Totonac who may be found both in the town itself as
well as in the surrounding rural area. Similar situations occur in all the towns
in Yucatan, even in the city of Merida with several hundred thousand inhab-
itants. It is quite normal to hear people speaking in Mayan in the towns of
Valladolid, Tizimín, Peto, Izamal and Merida. In all regions with a high density
of speakers of indigenous languages, it is normal to find indigenous languages
in urban centres, as is also the case in many places in Oaxaca and Chiapas.
Even in the central region of the country (e.g. Puebla), there are speakers of
Nahuatl, and in the State of Mexico there are speakers of Otomi and Mazahua
in the peri-urban areas of the capitals, Puebla and Toluca (see Figure 1). In the
south of Mexico City there are still some speakers of Nahuatl in Milpa Alta,
and some decades ago there were speakers of other languages in Xochimilco.[9]
These Nahuatl speakers are traditionally residents of the South of Mexico City.
There are speakers of Nahuatl and other languages in Netzahualcoyotl, **(**a rela-
tively young city of 5 million inhabitants**)**, Texcoco, Ecatepec and other cities
surrounding the capital. In Mexico City itself, there are different barrios where
speakers of an indigenous language may cluster. But most of these people are
also speakers of Spanish**,** and there are few barrios that are distinguished by the
use of a particular indigenous language.
    Not all speakers of indigenous languages in urban centres are originally from
those centres. Migration toward the nearest town from rural areas is common
and in most cities there are indigenous communities. Many are even non-
resident and only go there to work or to beg. Tourist resorts, like Cancun on the
Caribbean coast, attract seasonal workers from indigenous villages. In Mexico
City there are different indigenous communities from the surrounding region,
and from more distant places like Oaxaca or Chiapas. There are even Mexican
indigenous communities in Los Angeles, California.
    Speakers of Mixteco are normally only found in Oaxaca and the South of
Puebla, but on the Mexican side of the US border, near Tijuana, a Mixtecan
community has settled. International and national migration is, in many cases,
a factor that weakens indigenous languages, and, indeed, language shift to
Spanish is on the increase in many indigenous communities. But there are still
some indigenous languages (see Part V of this monograph) that may have a real
possibility of survival for several generations.

Foreign immigrant groups

    In addition to groups of national migrants, such as indigenous people who
leave their territory, there are also groups of foreign immigrants in different
parts of Mexico: speakers of Chinese, English, French, German, Greek, Italian,
Japanese, Lebanese Arabic, and Russian, among others. Most of them are lin-
guistically assimilated into Mexican society, although some of them conserve
traditions they have brought with them as well as their group identity. A well-
known Italian colony is located in Chipilo near Puebla (Zilli Manica, 2002). The
inhabitants of Chipilo still speak a variety of Italian called Veneto (MacKay,

1999; see also Tosi, 2004). In Mexico City there is an important Japanese community composed largely of descendants from an immigrant wave that moved to Mexico between 1920 and 1940 (Misawa, 2001). The Mennonites who emigrated from the United States speaking a northern German dialect provide another example of an immigrant group. While they have communities in states such as Chihuahua, Durango, Zacatecas, Quintana Roo, they maintain a strict isolation from the local society and conserve their language. But little is known about foreign immigration because general statistics from the government are not made available as a matter of policy (see Secretaría de Gobernación, 2006).

It is common for the border area of countries to show certain permeability to language varieties and hence, the border between Mexico and the United States would be expected to show a broad band of permeability and a mixing of English and Spanish. While this band is thicker on the American side of the border, the use of Spanish-English mixtures is less common on the Mexican side. Conversely, deep within the Mexican borders in the tourist zones of the Caribbean coast (i.e. Cancun or Chichen Itza), and other regions (i.e. Acapulco or Teotihuacan), codeswitching and pidginised varieties of English are much more common, since, in these areas, the acquisition of English is considered important in order to maximise revenue from the tourist trade.

Religious languages

The religion of most of the Mexican population is Roman Catholic. Figures indicate that 92% of the population five years old and over who profess any religion are Catholic, and the remaining 8% are largely Protestant. Not included in these figures are those who do not profess any religion, about 3.5% (INEGI, 2004). Latin was historically the formal language of the Catholic Church and was used in most religious rituals. After Vatican II (1962–1965) languages other than Latin were permitted. Consequently, Spanish became the religious language in the most important Catholic ritual, the mass. However, the peninsular Spanish rather than the Mexican variety are used; for example, for the second person plural pronoun the priest does not use *ustedes* but *vosotros* (see the description of Spanish). But this usage seems to be more customary than obligatory, because in some churches the local version prevails (see also Moreno de Alba, 2003: 97–100). It is possible that there are Protestant groups using English since many of them are related to churches in the United States. However, we do not have any information to suggest that English is being used systematically as a religious language.

The Huichol in Nayarit and the Lacandon in Chiapas cannot be considered Christians as they were not converted to Catholicism during the Spanish colonial period (Scheffler, 1992). Most of the other indigenous groups follow a sort of mélange of different, non-monotheistic religions overlaid with more recent Christian practices. People may pray to a god or a spirit; for example, Catholic Mayans in Yucatan give thanks by making offerings to the God of the Rain (Yum Chak) to whom they pray for enough rain to water their corn crops. When the harvest is in, they leave a part of it in the forest for Aluxob (Spirits of the forest) who may become angry if they do not receive a ritual sacrifice. In some cases the cross may be considered a saint but not a symbol. Among the 'mestizos' (Mexicans who are not part of the indigenous population) in the

countryside and the capital, one can visit a market and find altars with objects, not all of which are related to Roman Catholicism (Villa Rojas, 1977).

On the other hand, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has created writing systems to translate the Bible into local languages as a vehicle for introducing Protestantism into indigenous communities. In some way this has given rise to a polemic debate because the SIL has been accused of changing the indigenous culture (see Nolasco, 1989), but at the same time the local language is used in religious rites. In our own experience in Yucatan, we often observed that Protestant groups like Mormons and Presbyterians caused schisms in small communities as converts no longer participated in traditional religious ceremonies. Although these missionaries sometimes encouraged the use of Yucatec Mayan, the profound divisions created in community life might be prejudicial to the maintenance of the language.

There are also the 'Maestros Cantores', a relic of the Caste War of Yucatan from 1847 to 1855. These persons celebrated the mass during this Mayan revolution because they had no priests. Generally, the priests were 'White' and therefore were considered to be among the Mayans' enemies. Thus, the Maestros Cantores sang religious chants in Spanish and Latin when they were acting as ministers (see Reed, 1971; Villa Rojas, 1977). This practice is still continued in the east of Yucatan and in the north of Quintana Roo. There are many rituals in which people may use either Mayan or Spanish. This practice may also be true for most of the other minority languages.

Another interesting case occurs among the Yaqui who moved to Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora. These people have largely adopted the Spanish language, but still celebrate ceremonies of Yaqui origin. Especially during Holy Week, or Easter, they enact a dance that represents the fight between a deer and a coyote. Most of the language used during this dance is Yaqui, which in the case of these people has the status of a religious language. At the same time the language of communication is Spanish.

In general, the determination of what language is to be used for what religious purpose is rather complex, varying from place to place. Rites related to local religions are often celebrated in indigenous languages (see also Moctezuma Zamarrón, 2001; Redfield, 1977; Villa Rojas, 1977). Because Latin has virtually disappeared from religious observances, Spanish may now be considered the most important religious language.

Part II: Language Planning Legislation, Policy and Implementation

When reading Mexican history, it is often the case that the indigenous peoples are notorious only for their absence. Diversely cast as victims or troublemakers, downtrodden and ignorant or Machiavellian and manipulative, the great respect in which the ancient cultures they represent are held only serves as a sad reminder of the disdain and lack of awareness that contemporary Mexico holds for its native peoples. It is difficult to do justice to the complexities that have led to the current situation. Within the constraints of this monograph, we shall attempt to outline the events and policy decisions which have had the greatest impact. Many have undertaken this task previously; this section owes heavy debts to the work of Cienfuegos Salgado (2004), Cifuentes & Ros (1993), Garza

Cuarón (1997), Heath (1986), Lastra (2003), Lara (forthcoming), and Pellicer (1997); any errors or oversights are, however, our own.

From a historical perspective, Warman (2003) conceives of Mexican language policy towards the minority languages as having fallen into three main styles: *Incorporation*, *Integration* and *Participation*. Policies of *incorporation* are typically policies formulated by the non-indigenous population towards the indigenous people. This style of policy making is unilateral, unidirectional and has a single goal – the incorporation of the indigenous people to the nation as a whole – by replacing traditional indigenous values with more widely accepted ones. Policies of *integration* develop from the understanding that education alone is a necessary but insufficient condition to integrate the indigenous peoples into national life. Under this view, educational policy must be complemented with actions to enhance social and cultural development. With integration as a policy in Mexico, governmental attention to the indigenous sector of the population ironically was reduced to a kind of complaints department, especially with regard to land rights (Iturralde, 2003: 57). Both incorporation and integration are paternalistic policies where the indigenous are treated as children who must be guided toward making correct decisions. In the third policy type, that of *participation*, policy making becomes an arena where government, the indigenous communities and NGOs are all actively involved. Relations between the various agencies involved become multilateral and multidirectional and pursue many different goals. Rather than seeking the replacement of indigenous belief systems, the goal is to attain the full potential of their cosmology. Other objectives include the promotion of bilingual and bicultural school programmes, the tolerance of traditional medicine and the exploration of alternative models for agricultural and handicraft production. Ideally, at the present time, policy making with regard to the indigenous population in Mexico is in this third stage of participation. While there is some evidence that this may be so, there is also evidence that the state authorities find these strategies difficult to rationalise and, hence, to manage. (See, for example, the results of the San Andrés Accord elsewhere in this section.)

This section begins with a historic description of language policy in Mexico. This part is presented in four subsections covering pre-Hispanic Mexico, colonial New Spain, the post-independence period and the present day, since it is believed that each of these periods might be characterised by generic language policies. The pre-Hispanic period is usually characterised as the linguistic domination of the Mexicas, with some pockets of resistance. The colonial period shows the conflict between the Castilianisation policy of the Crown and the evangelisation policies of the Church. The period during which independence from Spain was obtained and established is characterised as the concomitant establishment of the hegemony of the Spanish language, in spite of official declarations to the contrary. Finally, present-day policies show a move toward less paternalistic policies and supportive legislation due to internal and external pressure from various agencies and organisations.

Finally, we present a summary of policies toward literacy development both at school and with regard to adult education. The section ends with a listing of the main language planning and policy agencies that operate within Mexico and a description of the actions and goals pursued by these agencies.

Pre-Hispanic Mexico

The language situation in pre-colonial times was dominated by the Mexicas. Their hugely efficient introduction of Nahuatl or Mexica as a lingua franca for commerce and jurisprudence and as the official language of culture, the arts and the education of the elite is amply documented (Aguirre Beltrán, 1983; Cienfuegos, 2004; Heath, 1986). Policies included the relocation of conquered peoples to language areas outside their original speech community and the implantation of Mexicas within areas where other languages were spoken. The fragmentation of speech communities attained through such strategies resulted in the spread of Nahuatl far beyond its traditional territory.

The Mexicas also exercised their linguistic power over the subjugated peoples by naming their languages. In some instances the denominations provided were derogatory; for example, Chontal (outsider) Popolaca (incomprehensible language), Totonaca (rustic) (Wolf cited in Hamel, 1993: 6).

With regard to corpus planning, the Council of Arts and Sciences located in Texcoco played the role of a sort of language academy promoting the linguistic arts and exemplifying the 'purest' form of Nahuatl (Heath, 1986). In Heath's perhaps over-idealistic words, 'when the Spanish arrived in Mexico the solution to the existing linguistic diversity had been found but their very presence made it a problem again' (Heath, 1986: 18).

Colonial times in New Spain

Royal decrees, on the whole, openly favoured Castilianisation as the main language policy. They identified the learning of Spanish with education and evangelisation. This belief notwithstanding, it is probably not true that they believed the indigenous languages to be unsophisticated or primitive, especially in the first century of colonisation when a romantic view of the native was widely held (Guzmán, 1997: 86–90). In fact, during this period some of the most important grammars and dictionaries of Nahuátl were produced. In addition to Nahuatl, grammars were produced for P'urepecha, Zapotec and Mixtec.

The official Royalist policy of Castilianisation was maintained fairly consistently throughout the period of colonisation as is evidenced by the frequent Royal decrees to teach Spanish and to exclude non-speakers of Spanish from government positions (Aguirre Beltrán, 1983; Cienfuegos, 2004; Heath, 1986). Nonetheless, these decrees fell upon deaf ears among the missionaries whose linguistic practices were heavily influenced by the Pentecostal tradition. In particular the mendicant orders believed that true understanding of the word of God could only be achieved in the speaker's first language. This belief, coupled to the economic facts and the shortage of Spanish speakers made Castilianisation an impractical policy and contributed to the fact that, on achieving independence from Spain, an estimated 80% of the population still spoke indigenous languages (Cienfuegos, 2004: 170). For further discussion of this topic, see Part IV of this monograph.

The republic

One could be forgiven for believing that winning independence from Spain, given the demographic characteristics of the speech community, would in fact

benefit the speakers of indigenous languages. However, within the first 50 years of independence, Spanish went from a minority language spoken by around 10% of the population to being the recognised first language of about 70% (Cienfuegos, 2004: 170). How this was achieved is debatable; however, it seems clear that, confronted with a fragmented and linguistically diverse population, it was preferable from the perspective of the new liberal mestizo leaders to impose a one language-one nation ideology and that this ideology, persistent even at the present time, was what created the irony of the political and economic break from Spain while simultaneously embracing the Spanish language.

The consequences of remaining outside the one-language-one nation hegemony were severe – resulting for the indigenous peoples in what has been described as a colonial system within the larger nation. For those who chose not to conform to the national culture, oppression, exploitation, illiteracy and landlessness prevailed (Cienfuegos, 2004: 163–6). The conditions of misery and ignorance that the indigenous population suffered were seen, not as the result of the oppressive system, but as their natural condition. Communal lands were to be divided and redistributed to individual owners. The ultimate objective was the integration of the Indians into 'civilisation' – a clear case of paternalism.

While most of the policies that prevailed throughout this period were integrationist in nature, there were, essentially, two different approaches to the best way to attain Castilianisation in the indigenous population. The direct approach maintained that literacy training should begin directly in Spanish with no reference whatsoever to the student's native language. This approach was believed to be the best option by early heads of the national Ministry of Education, in particular, Torres Bodet and Justo Sierra (Aguirre Beltrán, 1983). The second approach, that Castilianisation was best served by an initial period of literacy training in the native language of the student and that these literacy skills should be applied later to reading and writing in Spanish, found support from the fields of social anthropology and linguistics by important figures such as Manuel Gamio and Maurice Swadesh (Aguirre Beltrán, 1983; Heath, 1986). The indirect approach first came to light from the work of the SIL in various regions of Mexico (see later section on agencies). Ideologically, for one reason or another, direct instruction came to be identified with nationalism and conservatism and indirect strategies came to be identified with left-wing, revolutionary thought.

In conclusion, it should be clear from this discussion that the belief that a particular period is aligned with a particular language policy is an oversimplification. It would seem that language policy in Mexico is a feather in the wind of political change. In post-colonial Mexico it is fair to say that there has been no language policy as such, merely economic policies with linguistic side-effects. This is particularly true of the situation with regard to the Spanish language. In recent times the planning possible within the six-year periods of any particular government is clearly never sufficient since language planning requires much greater time spans – at the generational level – to be effective.

The history of colonial Mexico shows that it is important never to underestimate the power of agents of change at a micro level in the implementation of wider planning activities. Despite the consistently pro-Spanish nature of the Royal decrees, without the support of the monks involved in literacy training they were doomed to failure.

The present

The 500th anniversary (1992) of the discovery of the Americas brought about a re-evaluation of the relationship between the Old World and the New. In the case of Mexico, this translated into a renewed interest in the destiny of the indigenous people, who had in any case become increasingly active in politics at a local level since the early 1980s with the formation of civil associations for the protection of human rights and cultural development (Iturralde, 2003: 58).

Amidst the fervour of ethnic revival, a revision of constitutional articles 4 and 27 was passed and published in January 1992. The revised versions of these articles gave official recognition to the multilingual and multicultural character of modern Mexico and placed the responsibility for language preservation and maintenance upon governmental agencies. Although there was no specific provision for the obligatory introduction of state-level legislation to enable the constitutional initiative, 12 states passed specific laws on the recognition of rights for the indigenous peoples within their territories between January 1992 and August 2001 (when article 4 was revised). Four states, in addition to these 12, had previously introduced specific legislation with regard to the linguistic and social rights of indigenous peoples. It is, nonetheless, fair to point out that the provision of legislation will not necessarily lead to a change of circumstances for the minority language groups without a corresponding change in the attitudes of the wider society.

The San Andrés Accord (Acuerdos de San Andrés)

The San Andrés Accord is the result of a series of meetings held at the beginning of 1996; the document brings together proposals of the federal government and the *Ejército Zapatista de la Liberación Nacional* (EZLN), through the mediation of a legislative body called COCOPA (Comisión de Concordia y Pacificación [The Commission for Harmony and Pacification]). The main aim was the construction of a new relationship between the indigenous peoples, the wider society and the state. The agreements reached were called **'*propuestas conjuntas*'** (joint proposals) to indicate that the federal government intended to consult with the EZLN on constitutional reforms.

The central proposal should have ended the traditionally asymmetric relationship of the indigenous groups with mainstream society – a relationship marked by subordination, inequality, discrimination, poverty, exploitation and political exclusion. The proposed jurisdictional framework contemplates the recognition of both individual and collective rights in the Constitution of the Rights of Indigenous Groups. The rights to be recognised include:

- *Political*: the recognition of an inclusive government and the introduction of more appropriate forms of election to authority.
- *Judicial*: the exercise of internal normative systems for issues such as the election of authorities, the forms of justice to correct failures and self-determination with regard to internal conflicts.
- *Social*: the adoption of more appropriate forms of social organisation.
- *Economic*: the adoption of an appropriate organisational structure for

work, for enjoying one's own resources as well as to increase productivity, employment and self-sustaining economic practices in indigenous communities.
- *Cultural*: to guarantee the maintenance of the indigenous cultures.

The agreements and joint proposals that the members agreed to are:

- The recognition of the indigenous people in the Constitution and the right to self-determination within the constitutional framework of autonomy.
- The expansion of participation and political representation.
- The recognition of political, economic, social and cultural rights.
- The guarantee of access of the indigenous communities to the justice of the state, its jurisdiction, and the recognition of the internal systems of the communities.
- The promotion of cultural manifestations of indigenous communities.
- The protection of educational services and approval and respect for traditional leaders.
- The satisfaction of basic needs.
- The promotion of productivity and employment.
- The protection of migrant indigenous peoples.

The new relationship called for a profound reform of the state, a new social pact in which the autonomy of the indigenous peoples is respected in such a way that the programmes and projects offered by the state would promote the active participation of indigenous people in local government.

Instead of the anticipated reappraisal of the social role and increased autonomy, in August 2001 a further constitutional reform was introduced. The most controversial part of this reform was the relocation of the fourth article's recognition of multilingualism and multiculturalism in an extensively redrafted article 2 that includes the assignment of responsibilities for language and environmental preservation. The reform was almost unanimously rejected by indigenous groups around the country, attracting international attention to the situation.

Perhaps in part to assuage the public outcry, in 2003 a new law was introduced – the General Law for the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous People (henceforth GLLRIP) (*Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas*). Despite its shortcomings, this law is clearly the single most significant language policy in the recent history of Mexico.

The General Law for the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous People (GLLRIP)

The GLLRIP protects the linguistic rights of indigenous individuals and indigenous communities, as well as promoting the use and development of ILs. A brief description of the law follows.

In the articles of the first section of the General Law, the equal status of both ILs and Spanish is recognised. Article 3 states that the indigenous languages are one of the principal expressions of the pluricultural composition of the Mexican nation. Article 7 establishes that indigenous languages are valid and equal to Spanish for use in any matter and activity of a public nature.

The second section addresses the rights of language speakers in Mexico. Article 9, for instance, states that it is the right of all Mexicans to communicate in the language that they speak, without restriction, in the public or private sector and in such matters as social, economic, political, cultural, and religious activities. Article 10 guarantees the right of access of indigenous communities to the judicial power of the state for matters involving the national indigenous language of the community's inhabitants. Article 11 stipulates that indigenous populations are to have access to compulsory bilingual and intercultural education and to an educational system that respects the dignity and identity of peoples, independent of their language. Moreover, the middle and higher educational levels must foment interculturality, multilingualism, and respect for diversity and linguistic rights in their institutions. The inhabitants and institutions of the pueblos and of indigenous communities will be jointly responsible for seeing to it that the objectives of the GLLRIP are carried out, and that they will participate actively in the teaching of languages in a manner appropriate to the community and region.

The strategies needed to accomplish educational and linguistic objectives are stipulated in section 3. For example, the section states that the plans and programmes of the nation, the states and the municipalities will protect, preserve, promote and develop diverse national ILs through the participation of the indigenous population and their communities. Included in programmes of study for basic and normal education are the origin and evolution of national indigenous languages and their contributions to the national culture. The section also states that there will be supervision of public and private education to encourage interculturality, multilingualism and respect for linguistic diversity in order to contribute to the preservation, study and development of national indigenous languages and their literatures.

Article 6 guarantees that teachers involved in basic bilingual education in indigenous communities speak and write the language of the location and know the culture of the indigenous people they are working with.

In section 4, Article 14 creates the National Institute of Indigenous Languages (*Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas*) (INALI) as a decentralised organ of the Federal Public Administration under the direction of the Secretary of Public Education. The purpose of the Institute is to promote, preserve and develop ILs. The INALI pursues the following objectives:

- To design strategies and instruments for the development of ILs nationally.
- To promote programmes, projects and actions which stimulate knowledge of the national cultures and Ils.
- To extend the social domain of national ILs and access to IL learning opportunities.
- To study the preservation, knowledge and appreciation of ILs in public places and through the media.
- To establish programmes to certify and accredit bilingual professionals and technicians.
- To promote the production of grammars, the standardisation of the written form and reading/writing in indigenous languages.

This section also requires that the INALI should be instrumental in research-ing linguistic diversity in Mexico and should help the National Census Commission (INEGI) to design the methodology necessary to carry out this task more reliably. This proposal can be seen as an attempt to overcome persistent problems with regard to the official number of languages and their denomi-nations. It is also possible that more sensitive questions on the census format might uncover more reliable and interesting data.

Article 16 names the representatives who make up the governing body of the INALI, including representatives from schools, institutes of higher education and indigenous universities in addition to the Secretary of Education along with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Public Credit, the Secretary of Social Development and the Secretary of Communication and Transportation. The composition of this body has become a bone of contention – particularly with regard to a perceived over-representation of state authorities – but calls to ensure that the members should also be native speakers of the indigenous languages that they are to represent so that the languages are understandable (Cienfuegos, 2004: 202).

Notwithstanding the discontent with the limitations of legislation to alter social reality, the general law and the subsequent state level legislation that will implement its provisions constitute an important step towards encouraging the active participation of indigenous peoples in all levels of Mexican society. It is no longer unanimously held, for example, that in order to have a voice it is necessary to conform to the social practices and structures of the majority. It is also fair to point out that, currently, those who work in the INALI hold profes-sional qualifications in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics and are well known and respected in their field.

Despite some positive indicators it is also true that the assimilation of indig-enous peoples to mainstream society is advancing inexorably, for example:

(1) The monolingual indigenous population is decreasing, while the number of Spanish/indigenous bilinguals is increasing.
(2) The indigenous migration to urban centres is now more likely to be permanent than temporary.
(3) Many indigenous parents are no longer teaching their native language to their children.
(4) The discourse spaces available to bilinguals do not favour the use of indig-enous languages and new spaces are not being created to encourage their use. (Zimmermann, 1999: 120)

All of these indicators offer little hope for the efforts to preserve indigenous languages. The maintenance of indigenous languages in present-day Mexico is confounded by both internal and external pressures. Internally, it is true that Spanish is the only language that is consistently spoken and guaranteed to be understood throughout the entire country, and hence the ability to use Spanish communicatively brings important socioeconomic benefits. It is also true that the use of indigenous languages and customs is regarded as outmoded and obsolete. This pressure to discard the 'outmoded and obsolete' is encountered daily in the workplace and indirectly from the younger generations who attend schools where indigenous peoples are under-represented and discriminated

against. These same children return to their homes to use this discriminatory policy directly against their own parents and grandparents. Despite these indicators, data from the field (as reported elsewhere in this monograph), show that ILs are in a stronger position than might be expected and, in some cases, are even showing an upturn.

Literacy

The DGEI (Dirección General de Educación Indígena) [General Directorate of Indigenous Education] estimated that in 1978 around 6 million adults in the country were illiterate in Spanish, and 1.2 million indigenous persons were monolingual. In addition, 13 million adults – while technically literate – had not completed primary school, and a further 7 million had not completed secondary education. In other words, at the time two-thirds of the adult population had insufficient levels of education (Source: Official INEA website www.inea.gob. mx). International pressure from, for example, UNESCO, led the government to reconsider its previous policy of hoping that formal schooling would, in the long term, remedy this situation, particularly since it was becoming clear that the children of illiterate parents were at a severe disadvantage when exposed to literacy at school.

Reliable figures for literacy in ILs are scarce; it would seem that there is greater interest in literacy in Spanish. In any case, the main problem with literacy in indigenous languages is one of post-literacy, since beyond basic primers and school textbooks there is usually little available to read; even though there are some writers who are very active, the material they produce does not meet the demand. This situation leads to the perception that the investment involved in learning alphabets and deciphering texts has little payoff.

Ministry of Education (*Secretaría de Educación Pública*) SEP

Within the 2001–2006 National Development Plan, there is a National Reading Programme, available from the Ministry of Education which is designed, in the SEP's own words, to respond to social demands. While the programme is officially declared to be operative in all levels of formal education, adult education is not mentioned in this programme at federal level, and the programme really only deals with the provision of reading materials. The programme also identifies the need to renew pedagogical strategies in the field of language and communication that have traditionally been highly prescriptive and elitist. As an example of best practice, the policy documents push for the creation of mini-libraries in every classroom, which would seem to reflect a traditional Mexican rejection of large public libraries. The programme provides funding for teacher training and development, acquisition of materials such as books, hardware and software for reader training and costs deriving from the distribution of materials (Source: Official website www.sep.gob.mx).

The SEP promotes the development of literacy materials in indigenous languages, but inevitably there is a gap between what is really needed and what is actually produced. Brambila Rojo (2004) points out that society in general holds positive attitudes to the preservation of ILs but that these attitudes rarely go beyond good intentions. Quite fairly, he also calls attention to the fact that there is no well-developed methodology for the teaching of ILs as L2s, such

as the one that exists for the teaching of English and French. However, it is important to mention in this respect, the work being carried out by Hamel *et al.* (2004) in Michoacan, using foreign language teaching methods to make the learning of P'urepecha more communicative, with very interesting results.

National Institute for Adult Education (*Instituto Nacional de Educación para Adultos*) INEA

The National Institute for Adult Education is a decentralised body that offers further opportunities for complementary study and literacy training to that segment of the population over 15 years of age. The Institute was created in August 1981. The INEA follows a philosophy of education for life and the workplace influenced by the philosophy of UNESCO and 'No Child Left Behind' (*Programa Cero Rezago*) policies. In order to increase efficiency in the attainment of objectives within strict budget restraints, the INEA incorporated a strategy of using young Mexicans who were completing their Military Service as instructors in rural and indigenous communities.

The necessary agreements for the operation of this programme were signed in 1996, and from 1997 to 2004 approximately 980,000 people have entered the programme achieving 268,000 certificates of primary and secondary education. According to official figures, the INEA serviced just over 2.5 million people in 2005, of which slightly more than 500,000 obtained a certificate of some kind (Source: Official INEA website www.inea.gob.mx).

INEA offers a relatively complete series of books for working on literacy skills with indigenous peoples in the following 21 languages: Chatina, Chinanteca, Ch'ol, Huasteco, Mazahua, Maya, Mazateca, Mixe, Mixteca, Nahuatl, Otomi, P'urepecha (Tarasco), Raramuri, Tlapaneca, Totonaca, Tojolabal, Triqui, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Zapotec and Zoque.

Agencies

The purpose of the following section is to present and describe the actions and goals of the main agencies of language planning and policy operating within Mexico. In the first place, there are the language academies, the most organised of which is the Mexican Academy of the Spanish Language. However, increasingly one can observe the establishment of academies for indigenous languages, which confront issues rather different from those faced by the Spanish Academy. It is also important to consider the impact of the Summer Institute of Linguistics on the language situation in Mexico.

Mexican Language Academy

The Mexican Language Academy (*Academia Mexicana de la Lengua*, hereafter AML) is parallel to the Spanish Royal Academy (*Real Academia Española*, hereafter RAE). It was created in 1875 with the mission of studying, classifying and proposing words of Mexican origin for the dictionaries developed in the RAE. Previously, the policy was for Mexican correspondents to propose neologisms and words of indigenous origin, but the RAE itself decided whether the words were worthy of inclusion and wrote the final definition. Since the final writers were often unaware of the etymology of the words they were defining, there was frequent confusion and error; for example, the definition for the word

'avocado' made it seem that the edible part of the fruit was the stone and not the flesh. Cifuentes and Ros (1993: 138) identify the major force behind the creation of a separate Mexican Academy as a belief that the purist RAE would hold back the dynamic modernisation that was characteristic of the emerging American nations. That having been said, in general the relationship between AML and the RAE is still very close.

Indigenous languages

Not all of the indigenous languages present in Mexico have official language academies and those that do reflect relatively recent developments. They tend to originate as civil associations from small interest groups, and it is sometimes the case that one language may have three or four academies formed independently on a regional basis. Since they are non-governmental organisations, funding is often a problem, and many tend to peter out as the main actors lose impetus. In this section, those organisations that cover indigenous languages in general are presented first, then those which have arisen for particular languages.

General Association of Indigenous Writers

Organised in 1993, this association is chronologically posterior to many of the individual language academies and identifies its main objective as the unification of criteria in work on revitalisation. The organisation's main objectives are the promotion of reading and the creation of literature in indigenous languages. In view of the above discussion on literacy development, increased production is considered a priority in order to create the necessary incentives to emergent readers. The association currently includes 60 writers from 22 different indigenous languages.

International Indian Press Agency (*Agencia Internacional de la Prensa India*) AIPIN

Organised in October 2005, this organisation, with headquarters in Mexico City, proposes to organise the voice of the indigenous peoples of America and to promote communication via the internet.

Language specific academies

In 2005 the INALI held the first meeting of indigenous language academies. The following academies are those who presented their work at the conference and, hence, can be assumed to be active. Despite these academies being devoted to indigenous languages, they often only have Spanish names.

Academy of Hñahñu Culture (Academia de la Cultura Hñahñu)
This academy started work in 1982 with three ethnolinguists; official status was achieved in 1988. At the time of writing, three more ethnolinguists and bilingual teachers had joined the organisation. The main objectives of the academy are to promote the cultural, linguistic and educational development of the Otomi of the Mezquital Valley, also known as Hñahñu. On an operational level, it offers literacy courses to bilingual teachers, develops textbooks, dictionaries and grammars, and edits musical cassettes to bring the manifestations of Hñahñu culture to mainstream society.

Academy of the Mayan anguage (Academia de la Lengua Maya)

Founded in 1937 by Alfredo Barrera Vázquez, a noted scholar who was bilingual in Spanish and Mayan, this academy goes beyond the usual work in literacy development and works for the use of Mayan in public services throughout the area where the language is spoken, in an attempt to create much needed discourse spaces to encourage the use of the language.

Academy of the P'urepecha language (Academia de la Lengua Purépecha)

Started in 1980, this academy covers four different speech communities, but unfortunately faces severe funding difficulties. The academy produces glossaries and short stories in P'urepecha.

Academy of the Tenek language (Huasteco) (Dhuchum Tsalap ti Tenek)

This Academy was founded in 2001, and it is working on a dictionary and a grammar for the Tenek (Huasteco) language, spoken in San Luis Potosi.

*Working group for the rescue and teaching of the Kiliwa language (*Grupo de trabajo para el rescate y enseñanza de la lengua kiliwa*)*

This group started in 1993 because of its concern for the preservation of the Kiliwa language, currently spoken by only five adults in Baja California Norte. However, the organisation was forced to abandon its efforts due to personal and work pressures. As a result of their work, there are written and audio recordings of this previously undocumented language.

The Academy of the Mixtec language (*Academia de la Lengua Mixteca*)

Organised in 1997, this group holds as its main objective the revitalisation of the Mixtec language and explicitly reserves the right to analyse and study the language within the speech community itself. Since Mixtec is a dispersed language, the academy also has a regional delegation in Tijuana, Baja California. In order to achieve its objectives, the academy carries out extensive work in literary production and promotion and is also working on a standardised orthography and writing system for the Mixtec language.

Other language organisations

In addition to these organisations the following agencies are relatively active in the preservation of specific languages, but have a lower profile in national terms:
- The Nahuatl Academy of the Huasteca (*Academia Náhuatl del Centro Cultural de la Huasteca*).
- The Academy of the Chinanteca Language (*Academia de la Lengua Chinanteca*).
- The Association of Researchers of the Mazateca Culture (*Organización de Investigadores de la Cultura Mazateca*).
- The Centre for the Research and Promotion of Zapotec (*Centro de Investigación y Difusión Zapoteca de la Sierra Juárez*).

While the work carried out by these academies is admirable, standardisation efforts, in particular, experience severe difficulties in practice. Dialectal

fragmentation is considerable within the languages, and hostile attitudes are frequently encountered in the defence of local varieties, making widespread consensus improbable (Crhová, 2004: 77).

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), which in Spanish is known as the *Instituto Lingüística de Verano* (ILV), was founded by William Cameron Townsend in 1936 in Mexico. Not long after, in 1942 **[**Official website: http://www.wycliffe. org**]**, Townsend created the limited company known as the Wycliffe Bible Translators in order to facilitate the production and distribution of the Bibles he was publishing in indigenous languages. SIL has functioned as a non-profit organisation for the study of indigenous languages in Mexico and more recently as an international organisation, SIL International, working with more than 1,200 languages in more than 50 countries [Official website: www.sil.org].

Aguirre Beltrán (1983), in his brief history of the SIL, describes the highlights of Townsend's career, starting with his experiences as a linguist among the Cakchiquels of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala, where he developed the psychophonemic method for teaching monolinguals to read and translated the Bible into their language. Aguirre Beltrán (1983: 224) explains how Moisés Sáenz – a consultant to the Ministry of Education – after seeing Townsend's methods using indigenous language as an instrument of teaching, invited Townsend to work in Mexico. Townsend worked with the Nahuatl people of Morelos. At the same time, President Lázaro Cárdenas passed through Tetelcingo where Townsend was working, was impressed and extended his support to work with other ethnic groups as well. President Cárdenas was also keen to clean up Mexico's image internationally at a time following the international outcry at Cardenas' expropriation of the oil fields, and it seems he felt that a close relationship with the eminent, respected scholar would operate in Mexico's favour. In return for permission to continue with his missionary activities, Townsend wrote a biography of Cardenas (*Lazaro Cardenas: Mexican Democrat,* 1952, George Wahr Publishing Company) that helped to improve Mexico's image abroad. Encouraged by the President, Townsend founded SIL as an establishment for recruiting and training missionary linguists and expanded the work begun with Nahuatl, Mixteco and Tarasco to include Maya, Mazateco, Mixe, Totonaca, Otomí and Tarahumara (Heath, 1986: 170).

Most importantly, previous to Townsend's entry onto the linguistic scene, official work on literacy was carried out indirectly in Spanish, with notoriously poor results. Townsend offered what the Mexican Government – recovering from crisis after crisis – could not; highly trained teachers and supplies of 'pedagogical' material in the native languages of many linguistic groups in a relatively short period of time. This policy resulted in undeniably better results (Bravo Ahuja, 1977: 98). It still remained clear, however, that official policy favoured the literacy skills acquired in the native language so that they might serve as a means to an end, that is, the eventual transfer of literacy skills to the Spanish language (Acevedo Conde, 1997: 194).

The SIL has produced dictionaries and grammars of indigenous languages as well as pamphlets and books to promote the preservation of oral literature and to encourage literacy in indigenous languages. For almost 50 years this

symbiotic relationship survived, each side receiving enough from the other for the sake of convenience, and neither particularly troubled by any downside, but in recent years the participation of SIL in Mexico has met with controversy (Patthey Chavez, 1994: 204).

In 1983, after five years of hot debate concerning the alleged cultural destruction implicit in SIL's work in Latin America, the special agreement between SIL and the Mexican Government was terminated at the request of the Mexican Ministry for Education (Patthey-Chavez, 1994: 204). Visas which had been issued to members of SIL who were active in Mexico were not renewed after this date although the Mexican Government as of the early 1990s began once again to issue visas for volunteers from the organisation, and important work in the creation and revision of dictionaries is still being carried out [Official website: www.sil.org].

National Indigenist Institute (*Instituto Nacional Indigenista*) INI

At the end of Cardenas' presidential period, in 1940, the First Inter-American Indigenist Congress met in Patzcuaro, Michoacan. One of the major outcomes of this congress was the call for the establishment of a National Indigenist Institute whose purpose would be the development of research programmes and the promotion of indigenous populations in the participating nations.

The national institutes loosely affiliated with the Inter-American Indigenist Institute were headquartered in Mexico. The organisation promoted the publication of the journal *América Indígena* (Indigenous American). Regional Co-ordinating Centres focusing on economics, education and sanitation were developed. The first centre was in the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region of Chiapas, chosen for the work done by anthropologists and linguists during the 1940s and the economic needs of the area. The second was among the Tarahumaras of Chihuahua, a state with considerable indigenist concerns. However, the INI, established in 1948, as a subdependency of the Secretariat for Social Development, was not accepted by indigenous groups. The dependence of INI on the government to establish centres and their funding created a struggle between political expediencies and financial realities on the one hand and the ideals of applied anthropologists on the other. The resulting failure of government personnel to co-operate and work for the benefit of indigenous people created a concomitant need for the reassessment of the existing programmes.

This assessment was carried out by Maurice Swadesh in 1956. After visiting communities and evaluating the bilingual method being used in Co-ordinating Centres, he stated that, if the teachers were unprepared to endorse the programme's ideals it would never be successful. He attributed the lack of success in several regions not to the fault of the direct method being used but to the ambivalent attitudes of the teachers toward the teaching method used and to the lack of teachers adequately trained in linguistic skills and in the anthropological assumptions upon which the method was based (Heath, 1972: 144). According to Swadesh, the teachers and residents of indigenous villages did not want reading and writing to be taught in their native languages because it would not give them the opportunity to learn Spanish. Swadesh encouraged the Centres to begin oral instruction in Spanish on the first day of class and

then move toward oral competence in Spanish in order to introduce literacy skills gradually. He feared the mishandling of language policy within the INI, but strongly endorsed the policy of teaching Spanish to the indigenous people without denying them the right to use their native tongues.

Language policy, in the years that followed this reassessment, centred on the direct method and bilingual teaching. The SIL had demonstrated that the indigenous people learned most effectively through a comparative approach, contrasting the sound and grammatical systems of their indigenous speech with those of Spanish.

The pros and cons of bilingual programmes versus the direct method were debated by linguists, not only in Mexico, but in a special UNESCO session held in Paris in 1951. Representatives from other countries decided in favour of bilingual teaching techniques. The use of bilingual techniques was applied by the linguist Kenneth Pike of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the educator Maurice Swadesh and the UNESCO Secretariat Alfredo Barrera Vásquez in the Tarascan Project.

Evaluation of the results of the Tarascan Project led to the continued use of bilingual techniques. The main tenets of the re-evaluation of the method included:

- The first language is an individual's natural means of self-expression, and no other language is adequate to meet the child's expressive needs at home or in the early school years.
- Nothing in the structure of any language precludes it from becoming a communicative tool for modern civilisation.
- A lingua franca or national tongue should not be considered an adequate substitute for the first language unless children know the lingua franca before coming to school.
- The success of bilingual education depends in large part on a consideration of the socialisation processes and expressed needs of the community into which a public formal education system is being introduced.
- Literacy is functional only if there is a need for reading and writing skills among adults accepted as models within the community; an adequate supply of relevant reading materials is necessary to maintain literacy.
- During the child's first or second year at school the national language should be introduced orally; through formal instruction the use of this idiom should be increased gradually until it becomes the medium of instruction (Comas, cited in Heath, 1972: 147).

The crucial concern for socioeconomic unification of the nation was a major issue for indigenous communities within the national community. Whether the INI could accomplish unification without disintegration of Indian cultures was questioned. While scientists are currently aware of the great multiplicity the interdependence of cultural traits had for different indigenous groups, the earlier regional integral approach had not foreseen this.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, INI and government officials accepted the integrative function of indigenous languages, but they only accepted bilingualism as a necessary transition stage to the national language, Spanish.

Law of the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (*Ley de la Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas*) (CDI)

This law, enacted in 2003, effectively replaced the INI – which operated under the orders of the Secretariat for Social Development – with the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (*Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas* or CDI) a decentralised body that is to orient, assess, co-ordinate and evaluate federal policy toward indigenous groups. The first Director General of the CDI was Xochitl Galvez, an Hñahñu native, and postings within the Commission are generally held by native speakers of a variety of indigenous languages. The CDI has regional delegations in 24 states of the Mexican Republic and operates 20 AM radio stations and four FM stations.

Current programmes include:

- indigenous Boarding Schools;
- basic infrastructure for attention to indigenous peoples;
- promotion and development of indigenous cultures;
- indigenous regional funds;
- productive organisation for indigenous women;
- promotion of agreements with regard to justice;
- development programme for the Mayan communities of the Yucatan peninsula.

In conclusion, as mentioned at the beginning on this section, Mexican government policy on ILs and indigenous cultures is ideally at the participation stage of policy development, which should mean that the community is amply consulted before policy decisions are taken and that indigenous people hold positions of power within the decision-making process. The evidence presented suggests that, while some consultation is carried out, the degree of power held by indigenous communities could still be increased.

Within language preservation efforts the actions of the various language academies, with their inherent funding problems, and the work of the INALI have been identified. It is true to a certain extent, however, that the efforts of some academies are limited to the recording of examples of production in the language, which seems rather a fatalistic tendency – i.e. it shows the belief that the language is doomed to disappear and that the only thing that can be done is to document its existence.

The early work of the INALI has concentrated on the production of a reliable catalogue of indigenous languages. While it may be tempting to dismiss this as the same kind of fatalism as the recording of examples, given the context of Mexico and the problems confronted in naming and counting languages, this catalogue represents an important first step toward producing a thorough analysis of the language situation in order to establish a solid basis for policy decisions.

To summarise the main points of this section, the number of languages and territorial extension of Mexico make the job of the language planner somewhat daunting. The 'one language-one nation' ideology predominant throughout the country's history is making the shift to an ideology of respect for diversity

rather difficult to implement. This problem is coupled with a lack of hard data and a surplus of individual opinions (often sadly misinformed) on what would be good for the nation.

On a more optimistic note, key workers in the language planning process are trained in Applied Linguistics and specialise in the field of Language Planning; unfortunately their opinions merely feed into the planning process, leaving the responsibility for the final decision with the politicians.

Part III: Language Spread

Languages taught through the educational system

Spanish has been the language of the educational system for almost 200 years. In the 19th century, a bilingual education programme was introduced in each town. The purpose was to incorporate the indigenous population into the democratic process. A monolingual education programme was established throughout the country; however, the lack of infrastructure in the programme limited the impact on the 80% of the population living in rural areas. This practice favoured the maintenance of many indigenous languages (Alvarado & Velázquez, 2002). But by 1917, coincident with the Mexican Revolution, Spanish became the official language of education and unification in Mexico. Although there have been bilingual schools in indigenous regions since the 1980s (see e.g. Hamel, 1984; Hamel & Muñoz, 1981; Ramírez, 1976) and foreign languages were introduced throughout Mexico from the end of the 19th century. Spanish is the language taught at most schools (except indigenous monolingual ones) at primary, middle and higher levels of education. However, the level of competence of teachers and students varies from school to school, from community to community and from individual to individual. In this section, we will introduce the educational structure in which languages in Mexico have been taught, subsequently focusing on the three aspects that influence decisions on language status and on the attitudes that endorse these languages as added values in education: type of educational system, type of language community and type of curriculum.

Type of educational system

The national educational system in Mexico is structured as shown in Figure 3. It shows that in Mexico City there are two types of educational systems: the system of the Ministry of Education (SEP) for primary and lower secondary education, and the programme of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) for higher secondary and tertiary education. There are both public and private educational institutions, which either follow the SEP and/or the UNAM regulations, which means that private schools are ruled by government educational norms that are set by the SEP in basic, intermediate and high educational levels or by the UNAM in secondary and tertiary educational levels. However, these regulations also apply to other states of the republic up to junior high school level of education. State universities have autonomous local regulations.

Spanish taught to speakers of indigenous languages (SEP Regulations)

In the first system, the SEP, the language taught in all schools is Spanish. Even
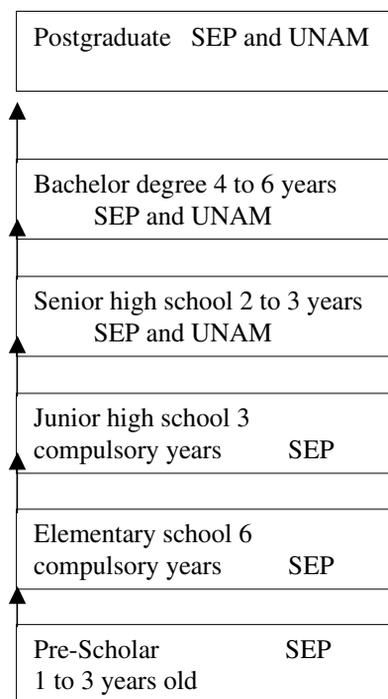
Figure 3 National Educational System in Mexico Adapted from Ornelas (1995) *El sistema educativo mexicano. La transición de fin de siglo.* Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Nacional Financiera, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, pp. 366

the early bilingual rural elementary educational programmes were intended to assimilate the indigenous people into the language and culture of the 'people of reason' through Castilianisation[10] (Ramírez, 1976). Later, bilingual programmes aimed at interculturalism and two-way bilingualism; nonetheless, the results reported by Hamel (1998), Muñoz (1987), Muñoz (2001) and Terborg (1987) show that the implementation of such syllabi failed to integrate the cultural background of the communities with their interactions successfully. In the early 1990s**,** bilingual programmes planned to use indigenous languages as a bridge to Castilianisation, while other programmes used indigenous languages in order to educate indigenous children. However, only the latter produced fragmentary results, partly due to the lack of materials, the lack of teacher development in the approach of the new models of bilingualism and appalling teaching conditions (see Hamel, 2003a, 2003b; Hamel & Carillo Avelar, 2003). The main problem was that the SEP, which had previously promoted Castilianisation was now supporting the use of indigenous languages at school, within a multicultural and multilingual approach. Furthermore, the teaching staff, most of whom maintained their positions, was not convinced of the advantages of interculturalism and blocked the implementation of the new programme (Muñoz, 2001, 2002; Patthey Chavez, 1994; also see a parallel example in Sommer, 1991). None-

theless, the level of Castilianisation varies according to the type of school; i.e. public schools, private schools or rural schools.

In rural schools the teaching of the four skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) is carried out at the primary level. However, the sociocultural environment and the central educational policies have made the learning of Spanish difficult, meaning mainly that the students are left with poor Spanish skills (Hamel, 1983; Hamel & Muñoz, 1988; Terborg, 2004 for examples). At least 2,250,000 students continue their studies through the *Telesecundaria* programme (Telesecondary programme). The *telesecundaria* programme is an educational programme for small communities (5% of the population of Mexico) where it is not possible to build a regular secondary school. The school comprises three teachers one per level of education and three classrooms with satellite receiver dishes, where a 20-minute TV programme is shown and then the teacher reviews the lesson and exercises for the day in 40 minutes. The programmes are produced at the General Office of Educational Television at the SEP and are transmitted through the satellite television official channel, Edusat. In 2003 the educational results of secondary education were evaluated in different areas of knowledge by the CENEVAL (National Centre of Evaluation for Higher Education). The *telesecundarias* reported the lowest level in Spanish at least in Aguascalientes, Mexico City, State of Mexico and Quintana Roo. (Cf. CENEVAL, 2006). Once students in rural areas reach the higher secondary level, they often migrate to urban areas and follow the regular curriculum.

Some of these students have managed to obtain scholarships to study at the Autonomous University of Chapingo (UACH), a rural university offering students education, lodging and food from the secondary to the tertiary educational levels. This university operates under a quota system which requires 10% of total matriculation to be indigenous. Indigenous students live in the university's residences and receive instruction in Spanish. Their grade point averages are under continual review to ensure their permanence as students. Among the efforts to maintain ILs is a support system for the academic progress of indigenous students, which has been designed to strengthen the bonds of indigenous students with their communities. One action taken in this direction is the implementation of Náhuatl and Mixe language courses for university students taught by Náhuatl and Mixe student volunteers (see e.g. University of Chapingo, *Unidad de apoyo académico a estudiantes indígenas* [Office of Academic Support for Indigenous Students], 2003).

There are other indigenous universities that aim to provide intercultural education, but that allow a wider role for Spanish than would seem advisable if maintenance of ILs is a goal. Given this pattern, the first intercultural university in the country, located in the State of Mexico, has started giving university courses in indigenous languages (Portal SEP, 2003), and it may be true that maintenance activities are being phased in slowly. Some students use their ILs, but others neglect them and prefer Spanish. This has been the predominant attitude of many indigenous speakers for years (Terborg, 2004). Although the intercultural universities were created to revitalise and maintain indigenous cultural and linguistic diversity, specialists and speakers of the ILs have found it difficult to implement courses in any language other than Spanish due to the shortage of specialised teachers who combine IL knowledge with pedagogical

skill. The literacy skills of some students are limited and, for certain languages, there is no agreement on a standard variety (Muntzel & Lozano, 2005). Some other university programmes (such as the UPN (National Pedagogical University) education languages programmes and the CIESAS (Centre of Research and High Studies in Social Anthropology) Masters in Indo-American Linguistics) are inclusive; that is, they admit speakers of Spanish or of any Amerindian language. Classes are taught in Spanish and the focus of studies is the description and status, corpus and language-in-education planning of indigenous languages (see e.g. Díaz Couder, 1997a).

Mexico has only very recently started up bilingual programmes that can be evaluated as successful (Hamel *et al.*, 2004). However, considering the lack of human and material resources, the swinging pendulum of policies for and against plurilinguism and multiculturalism, and the ever present negative attitude towards indigenous languages; these few successful efforts are worthy of recognition. They represent the first steps towards an effective symmetric bilingualism. Government policy has, at least superficially, been favourable to bilingual education programmes for the last 10 years. However, as reported by Carbó and Salgado (forthcoming), it remains to be seen whether these efforts convince those in power that further programmes and projects must be implemented to support those already in place. It is also necessary to focus on local needs, so that more realistic policies can be developed.

Spanish taught to Spanish speakers

In public and private schools, students study Spanish for nine years. At the elementary level, children are taught to read, speak and write. Grammar and language use is distributed in a six-year syllabus. The aim is to achieve clear and precise oral and written communication in diverse contexts and situations. Instruction also caters for the use of language as a tool for the acquisition of knowledge inside and outside school as a means to develop students' intellect. In this programme, language is conceived as dynamic and varied, and respect for social and regional varieties of Spanish and indigenous languages is promoted (Portal SEP, 2005). Communicative competence is to be developed within a content-based methodology so language is used for specific assignments in formal or informal situations. In lower secondary grades, the four skills are developed (Portal SEP, 2005). However, the acquisition of writing skills is often difficult for various reasons: large class size, overworked teachers and time constraints. In some private schools, writing is taught as a separate subject. These special courses cover some of the content that will be reviewed in higher secondary school, which gives these students an advantage over students who are not taught how to write at the lower secondary level in urban schools.

Foreign languages taught in urban schools

With respect to the teaching of foreign languages in Mexico, basic French and English are provided at the lower secondary level at the rate of three hours a week. In the 1970s and 1980s, courses usually consisted of grammar exercises and vocabulary, whereas more recent programmes have tried to develop all four skills. Because junior high school teachers were not familiar with this way of teaching, the SEP organised programmes for teacher development

abroad. Pilot programmes for the teaching of English in elementary school in some states of the republic have been implemented. However, a recent study published by Chepetla (2005) reports that, in the State of Morelos, a 12 year pilot programme to include English at the elementary level, with positive results, has met with difficulties due to incompatibility with Central SEP guidelines for English language at junior high level. The English programme designed for junior high by the SEP assumes no prior knowledge of the English language and is not open to changes despite changing local circumstances. The result is that students who finish the pilot elementary school programme interrupt their progress in English on reaching the junior high school level. This might also be the case with other pilot programmes still in process, leaving educational language policies at a dead end.

The *Reforma Integral de la Educación Secundaria* (Integrative Reform of Junior High School Education, RIES, 2005), states that, while they are aware of the existence of these pilot programmes, SEP's main concern is with the quality of English lessons at the secondary level (RIES, 2005:15). Students are required **to** study English at the rate of three hours a week (90 to 100 hours per grade). The programme expects the teacher to emphasise social practices of language through experiential learning in order to achieve learner autonomy. There is also a commitment to supporting those students who come from communities with less schooling and/or lower levels of literacy (RIES, 2005). The Reform offers a general framework for the description of students' levels of achievement and contemplates the possibility of adapting language programmes to the needs of students who already have some knowledge of English. Nonetheless, the RIES establishes that students at this level should reach level A2 in the European Framework of Reference, which might be unrealistic for children with knowledge of English. The need for realism becomes even clearer when the document further states that teachers are expected to have level B1 (threshold level, 350–400 hours of study of language) command of English, making them improbable tutors for children who already exceed this level.

Some private schools offer alternative programmes that are compatible with those of international schools[11] which are called 'bilingual schools'. This term is applied indiscriminately to international schools and to schools that offer a range of language competence in the foreign language with no link with other international schools. 'Bilingual schools' may offer from one hour a day to full immersion in the foreign language (usually English).

Private schools can use an alternative curriculum or a parallel one, as international schools do. In the first case, schools follow the SEP curriculum, but alter the methodology using different pedagogical ideas. In the second case, schools follow both the SEP or UNAM regulations and those of international schools in different countries; e.g. England, France, Germany, Israel, Japan and United States. The main problem with these parallel programmes is that they are not truly intercultural.[12] National and International syllabi run simultaneously but are not mixed. Students usually take the first year of elementary education in the foreign language and then start with the SEP programme the following year. The integration of the two syllabi is not well planned. In the *Colegio Alemán* (German College), for example, objectives which are initially covered in German are repeated later in Spanish, causing disinterest and low

motivation among students. Teachers at the *Colegio Alemán*, for example, come to Mexico from Germany to teach such courses as mathematics or German, with little knowledge of the Spanish language or of cultural of Mexico. Likewise, Mexican teachers teach in the *Colegio Alemán* without knowing German or being knowledgeable about German culture. German teachers are paid by the German Ministry of Education, while Mexican teachers are paid by the SEP, resulting in huge discrepancies between their salaries. The *Colegio Alemán*, as is the case with many of these parallel bilingual programmes, offers programmes up to higher secondary level. However, students seem to experience difficulties in writing in either language at the secondary level.

Some of the students who study in bilingual secondary schools, after taking a teacher training course, may become German, French or English teachers in different educational and professional areas; e.g. international companies like Volkswagen. However, this activity is usually seen by them as complementary to their main professional skills and careers: politicians, lawyers, chemists. Most study in teacher training courses while they are still undergraduates and subsequently work as teachers until they finish their studies. Ironically, few students from the modern language faculties, where teachers are trained professionally, manage to become teachers of German, owing to low proficiency in the language. It would seem clear that, as far as Germany is concerned, the language teaching profession is still underdeveloped. (See García Landa *et al.*, 2004.)

Foreign languages in rural schools

In rural schools, foreign languages are usually taught through the *Telesecundaria* programme. *Telesecundarias* follow the SEP programmes for teaching English, but these programmes are taught through a different modality. However, immigration from Mexico to the USA has raised questions regarding the teaching of Spanish and English to immigrant communities in rural localities. In Puebla, for example, the children of immigrants usually return to Mexico having a high level of English, which is not recognised as an added value in Mexican regular schools. These students are often classified as slow learners due to their poorer competence in Spanish while in Mexico and, on returning to the USA, they experience the same problem since their English skills are also underdeveloped (Smith, forthcoming). Plans are being developed that could help diminish the problems of these children with regard to formal schooling; for example:

- the investment of an additional 8.4 million pesos in migrant children's education (Portal SEP 24 July);
- the development of an integral educational model for migrant labourers with an intercultural approach (27 August 2003);
- the system of standards for evaluating academic competences among immigrant children (18 September 2003);
- the recommendation of a Binational Accord to increase young immigrant's access to higher education (22 October 2003); among others.

However, as Chepetla (2005) has pointed out, these well-intentioned pilot schemes often founder upon implementation.

As may be inferred from the situations described regarding the types of educational systems, there are a few issues that require additional attention. Language-in-education planning is often incongruous on both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of action. It would seem futile to implement pilot language programmes if these are abandoned at further levels of education, or if local needs are disregarded. Educational policies are highly centralised, and local efforts are rarely recognised or supported by the Ministry of Education. New proposals require human and material resources to be able to cope with local needs. Besides incongruent language education proposals, the meaning of 'bilingual schools' needs to be clarified. Discussions and definitions could help institutions to articulate more realistic objectives, giving students an added value in learning languages, beyond the credit for passing the subject. Language competence needs to be defined in accordance with professional demands for those who intend to work in domains where foreign languages are used or for those who intend to follow academic studies. In the case of international schools, regulations could be introduced to encourage more symmetrical development of the languages studied at school to acquire a communicative intercultural competence.

An issue that also needs close attention lies in the motivation provided to teachers of language to become full-time language teaching professionals. Societal attitudes toward the language teacher are negative and dismissive. The availability of fast track, unchallenging teacher training programmes may reinforce the idea that teaching languages is a hobby for native speakers or for job seekers. Language teachers and language teacher trainees should be allowed to experience the language and culture of the language they teach in order to develop their own experiences in different teaching situations to develop their own experiences in different teaching situations.

More support could be offered for academic exchanges for language teachers, nationally and internationally, to broaden their knowledge of different varieties of the languages they teach. This is particularly true for public schools and could have an important impact on the way the language teaching profession is perceived.

The UNAM and State Autonomous Universities Regulations

In this section we will deal with the teaching of languages from a centralised perspective, since most of the documents found dealt with situations and problems reported in research articles and papers localised in Mexico City and the Metropolitan Area. However, a couple of studies have been found that give an account of other situations and realities in such other states of the republic as Puebla, Morelos, Hidalgo, State of Mexico, Michoacán, Baja California Norte, Sonora, Coahuila and Oaxaca. As we said at the beginning of this part of the monograph, state universities have autonomous local regulations that sometimes conflict with the central regulations, simply one more effect of this centralist view of educational policy in Mexico. We will deal with the spread of Spanish, indigenous languages and foreign languages at schools in Mexico City and in other states in the republic.

Spanish is rapidly becoming a language of wider communication; demand is continually on the rise for courses in Spanish as a foreign language for international students. Within the UNAM type of educational system there is an

increasing interest in studying advanced Spanish for university education, as is the case in other universities in different states in the republic.

Spanish taught to foreigners in Mexico

To our knowledge, Spanish is taught at the universities of Coahuila, Sonora, Baja California Norte, Veracruz, Michoacán, Morelos, Mexico State and Oaxaca. These schools offer general courses of Spanish and Spanish for academic or specific purposes. There are also several schools for teaching Spanish as a second language in Mexico. The National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) operates its own Centre for the Teaching of Spanish as a Second language, the CEPE (*Centro de Español para Extranjeros)* [Centre of Spanish for Foreigners]. This centre was initiated in 1921 to cater for the language needs of foreigners who came to Mexico for business or for academic reasons. At the present time, the CEPE has expanded to offer courses in Spanish as a foreign language, as well as literature, history and art for Mexicans and non-Mexicans interested in these fields. It also offers an online teacher's diploma for Spanish teachers. In addition, the CEPE has expanded geographically. At present, the CEPE has several branches in Mexico; i.e. Mexico City (University City and Polanco), Taxco and Morelos. It also has three branches in the USA (San Antonio, Texas; Chicago, Illinois; and Los Angeles, California) and one in Canada (Gatineau, Quebec), where Spanish is taught as a foreign language. The CEPE is currently working on a project to certify Spanish at an international level. At present the only international exam to certify competence in Spanish as a foreign language is that offered by the University of Salamanca in Spain.

Spanish in the UNAM

With respect to the teaching of Spanish at the university level, some steps are being taken through the project *Lenguajes, comunicación e identidad* [Languages, communication and identity] led by Moreno de Alba and Ezcurdia (2005) whose objective is to study the function, acquisition and learning of languages, pointing out the importance of linguistic expression in calling attention to similarities across cultural identities. The project seeks to propose communication, including language learning and teaching models, focusing on indigenous and Mexican Spanish from both theoretical and applied perspectives. Within this framework, the project organised the first symposium on Spanish learning in Mexico in 2005 to enhance studies in the teaching of Spanish at all levels (Báez & Rojas, 2005).

The National Autonomous University of Mexico has the implicit policy of using Spanish for teaching in the junior high, senior high and university levels. Both in the junior and higher secondary as well as in the tertiary levels of education, Spanish is the language used as the language of instruction and interaction in both the public and private sectors. However, there is still no explicit language policy for the teaching of advanced Spanish for specific purposes, which could be very useful for the future professionals and researchers studying at the universities following the UNAM's regulations. Although there are a few universities that have started initiatives regarding the teaching of Spanish at the university level, it still remains to specify the domains in which future professionals might find language barriers (García Landa, 2005).

Spanish taught to speakers of indigenous languages and indigenous languages taught to Spanish speakers

Since it was founded, the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico (now the UNAM) has accepted people from all backgrounds and ethnic origins. However, as previously noted, the language of instruction has generally been Spanish. Some ILs have been taught in the Schools of Anthropology and the Institutes of Philology basically to facilitate describing languages and doing research, but the perception of studying these languages has recently changed (Brambila Rojo, 2003; Hekking, 1995). ILs are now being used for communication, and much of the work done for international languages can be adapted to teach and learn these languages. Unfortunately, ILs do not have the status of international languages, which means that their study is still limited to some specialists and professionals interested in these communities for research purposes and to those who speak indigenous languages at home in a diglossic situation with Spanish or English.

More recently, as a result of the San Andrés Accord (see Part II), there has been an increasing interest in changing the assimilationist and paternalistic policies regulating the rights of indigenous people (Del Val, 1999). The *Project México, Nación Intercultural* [Mexico Intercultural Nation Project] (Del Val & Mendizábal, 2004) is a promising effort in helping to change the status of indigenous languages among university students. This programme was piloted in 2004. The objective is to include an elective subject in all faculties at the UNAM entitled 'México, Nación Intercultural' to increase student awareness that Mexico is not a homogeneous state but rather is a plurilingual and multicultural nation. In this concept of nation, indigenous people play a role in the construction of a new vision of citizenship which respects cultural diversity. The course comprises 16 lessons which focus on the multicultural identity of Mexico in the 21st century.

Foreign languages at high school level at the UNAM

At the secondary level (*preparatoria*),[13] students choose among four foreign language courses for a three-year period: English (chosen most frequently by students), French, German (least chosen) and Italian (second choice). The four skills are taught in the first two years, and reading comprehension is taught during the third year, but students of differing ability are heterogeneously mixed in the language levels, which hinders language development for those who have a higher competence in the language studied. In one programme, sponsored by the *Colegio de Ciencias y Humanidades* (College of Sciences and Humanities) (CCH), students have the choice of reading comprehension courses in English or French for the first two years of study. Most choose English. No third year course is offered in this programme (see *Plan de Estudios del Colegio de Ciencias y Humanidades,* 1996) [Programme of the College of Sciences and Humanities].

Private schools tend to teach English as a foreign language with practically no limit to the hours devoted to the teaching of English, ranging from two hours a week to half day content lessons given in the language. These private schools follow the UNAM higher secondary programme except that some of them also

give four-skills courses during the third year. The sequencing of the teaching contents of foreign languages at this level has just been reviewed. In a few years, the development of the plans will become apparent, together with subsidiary projects such as teacher development courses, reflection on teaching practice and materials design among other areas.

Although the National Autonomous University of Mexico is not a bilingual university, it requires foreign language reading ability in most of the faculties. This language requirement involves taking a reading comprehension test in any of the languages prescribed by each of the faculties. It is unclear whether the regulations have been followed. A survey of requirements in 45 faculties of the university shows that this issue deserves some serious investigation.[14] However, the Coordination of Evaluation and Certification (CEC) of the Centre of Foreign Languages of the UNAM, CELE, reports that the choice of language requirement is commonly narrowed to English as the first choice and French as the second choice (García Landa & Terborg, 2004). Probably the recently created COELE (Special Commission of the Teaching of Foreign Languages) at the National University, whose functions are explained further in Part IV of this monograph, will clarify the situation in the near future (Gaceta, UNAM, 2003).

Meanwhile, study of the language competence in English of first year students (4,690) in institutes of higher education in Mexico City and the surrounding area (González Robles *et al.*, 2004)[15] has revealed deficiencies in the teaching of English at elementary and secondary levels on the basis of the results obtained in a test of English language competence, a modified version of the Nelson English Language Tests (NELD). Revealingly, only 497 students passed the exam, 10.6% of the total sample. The study sampled students attempting to enter nine universities, from both the public and private education sector. The results show a significant difference between the results of private universities and public ones. Of the students who studied in public elementary, junior and senior high schools, 95% failed the test; compared to 89.7% of those who studied in mixed public and private schools and 63.3% who did so in private schools. The differences would seem to be caused by inequalities in such conditions as:

- access to bilingual schools and environments (exchange programmes, travel, extracurricular language classes, English bilingual environments at home, and satellite television);
- type of primary and secondary school;
- quality of language teaching in those levels and schools;
- parental background;
- student marital status; and
- students' gender.

Those with highly educated parents in higher income brackets have a significant advantage over those who have other backgrounds. Students who attend private and public secondary schools where English is very poorly taught are unable to engage in a multilingual work environment.

According to González Robles *et al.* (2004), to date, the teaching of English in

secondary schools in Mexico has been, for the most part, substandard. These authors make a number of recommendations to improve this state of affairs:

- Realistic objectives must be formulated to enable the Mexican education system to produce multicultural and multilingual professionals who can satisfy the demands of a globalised world. This should include the development of programmes which clearly define the level of competence to be achieved at each educational level nationwide.
- Language teaching programmes must be revised and designed to ensure that objectives are achieved and that these objectives are properly articulated between levels.
- A standard must be set against which student competence in English can be measured in terms of their performance at each level.
- The teaching of foreign languages should attain professional standards in three basic competences: linguistic, cultural and pedagogical.
- The infrastructure for the teaching of foreign languages must be upgraded for all levels of education and channels of communication must be established to enable a permanent exchange of information among the different educational subsystems to aid in the development and coordination of integrative educational policies for the teaching of languages, in order to provide more solid, holistic and egalitarian education (González Robles *et al.*, 2004).

Non-Regulation Schools

The third type of educational system is one in which schools and programmes do not attach themselves to either the SEP or the UNAM regulations. Some of these schools may at a later point attempt incorporation to one or other set of regulations due to the higher status enjoyed by incorporated institutions. Within this system are regular schools that offer afternoon language courses for children, youngsters and adults.

Indigenous languages taught to Spanish speakers and other speakers

The INALI (National Institute of Indigenous Languages) reports the existence of 64 non-regulated indigenous languages' schools in Mexico distributed across 14 states: Oaxaca, Baja California, Mexico City, Hidalgo, Quintana Roo, Yucatán, Campeche, Chiapas, Michoacán, Guerrero, Durango, Tabasco, Coahuila and Veracruz. These schools offer courses in ILs in an effort to maintain or revitalise these communities' languages and cultures. Other revitalisation activities include the celebration of traditions, the publication of books about their culture and traditions, as well as the organisation of conferences to resolve community problems. These schools are community based and provide a space to reflect on and discuss cultural problems and needs in order to implement projects that pursue greater prestige for their language and culture.

Teaching Spanish as a foreign language

There are 75 Spanish schools all over Mexico. Morelos is the state that offers

most of the programmes for learning Spanish (25) in combination with the culture and history of Mexico:

- Mexico City offers eight programmes of Spanish as an L2;
- Jalisco offers seven;
- Quintana Roo five;
- Guanajuato and Yucatán have three programmes each;
- Querétaro, Nuevo León, Michoacan, Chiapas each offer two**;** and
- Sinaloa, Coahuila, San Luis Potosí and Veracruz each offer one.

Beginning, low intermediate, high intermediate and advanced language programmes are focused on developing communication skills, and usually include the study of Mexican culture and history. These schools are open all year round; they also organise special intensive summer courses with three to six teaching hours a day. Some courses are one to one or group organised. Courses are tailored to fit student needs. Teachers are college trained or hold an L2 instruction qualification. They are native speakers of Mexican Spanish with experience in Spanish teaching; some are also fluent in English.

Foreign languages

Within the foreign language teaching institutions that are not regulated by the SEP or by the UNAM are those founded by well-known language teaching organisations such as the Goethe Institute, the Berlitz Programmes, the British Council, the *Alliance Française* and IFAL [French Institute of Latin-America], as well as local schools including: Interlingua, Quick Learning, Cultural University Centre and *Canadiense de México (Canadian Institute of Mexico)* and embassies. Except for the Goethe Institute, the *Alliance Française*, the IFAL, and the *Instituto Italiano de la Cultura (The Institute of the Italian Culture),* most of these schools teach English as a foreign language, offering intensive, semi-intensive and regular courses. The range of hours varies, running from one hour a day to four hours per week delivered in a single day (i.e. Saturday classes for people who work or study during weekdays). Some of these schools offer French and English classes for youngsters and adults mainly on weekdays or on Saturdays. Some of these language institutions receive some support from the Ministry of Culture or from such embassies as the IFAL, the *Anglo Mexicano de Cultura (The Anglo-Mexican Culture)*, *El Instituto Italiano de la Cultura* and the *Goethe Institute*. Other courses focus on English for Special Purposes (ESP), such as business English, for example, which is offered by most of the embassy-supported institutions. Other institutions offer technical English for secretaries as well.

Type of language community

The types of social communities determine the domains in which languages are learned and used, but they are also an indicator of their maintenance in public domains and their transmission to future generations. As previously mentioned, Mexico is a multilingual country with a tremendous range of indigenous languages, and heavy internal migration to urban areas as well as international migration to the United States. The specific needs of each community are determined by its activities, its interests and its individual moti-

vations, in which the status of certain varieties of languages is more prestigious than that of others whose use is restricted or limited to less extended social networks. It is the context where activities are carried out that defines which languages are to be learned in each of these communities and how people value the effort involved in learning a language.

As specified before, at the present time, Spanish is the language officially used at schools and services throughout the whole country. Nonetheless, plurilingualism prevails in many communities in Mexico, where Spanish is used in combination with an indigenous language or an international one. Studies in attitudes carried out previously (Hamel *et al.*, 2004; Suárez, 2004; Terborg, 2004) have shown that many ILs are endangered due to language shift. As specified above, many Mexicans consider these languages to be inferior to Spanish or English at home, since learning Spanish or English affords greater social mobility within their communities. However, there are also those who value the use of their IL and promote revitalisation. Those who praise the use of their languages have contributed enormously to protect the status of their language within their communities as well as in the national and international realms (see e.g. Montemayor, 2005). Yet, it is important to understand that this effort is usually eclipsed by the strong presence of international languages.

Due to the international impact of English, middle and upper class parents place high value on learning English at school. Parents send their children to bilingual schools thinking that learning English will be an asset in the future for finding a job (Portal SEP, 29 January 2005). They invest considerable amounts of money so that their children can learn English from early childhood. Depending on the curriculum and on the type of education system that the school follows, children learn basic English most of the time, but in a few schools they become truly bilingual (González Robles *et al.*, 2004). Urban parents from lower economic groups might share the same motivation but they do not usually have the money to pay for private education for their children, although a few may make considerable sacrifices in order to do so.

Therefore, those who study in public schools will probably not learn languages other than Spanish (except for those involved in pilot programmes), and even Spanish may not be fully acquired from pre-school to elementary school. They will begin English or French in secondary school, where they will only learn the basics; a few words and structures with few communicative skills. Although much effort is put into improving the language teaching at primary levels, the students at the higher secondary level still have a very poor command of English, French, German or Italian (the languages taught at the higher secondary level). In many cases, their language level hinders them from reading texts in any language other than Spanish at the university and from obtaining scholarships in foreign countries for academic exchanges. Therefore, only the individuals who have access to private language courses can use these languages for study.[16] Although the university offers foreign language courses, there are still not enough courses for the number of students who study at the university, and the level attained is not higher than high-intermediate, which leaves some students out of the competition for scholarships. Later, students who are excluded from the system, usually at the end of their studies, will look for language courses to pass the 'language test requirement' (reading compre-

hension only) in order to get their degrees. Sometimes they do not get their degrees because they do not pass the language test!

Inequality then continues once the students go to work in the cities, where they face the fact that English is also a requirement for obtaining some of the best jobs. Even if English is not the language of work, it is usually a stipulated requirement. Moreover, some companies invest in employee language training, creating a great demand for commercial schools. Schools such as these usually offer business courses for executives, which are not offered by the university. Other students start studying English while working, hoping to acquire the necessary level of language to obtain a better-paid position. However, there are also good jobs that do not require the use of foreign languages, for instance, knowledge of English might be irrelevant for those who work in the internal commerce of the country or in local services and have other interests. This matter deserves serious investigation.

Another aspect to be considered is migration. Studies are needed to determine the specific language needs of the urban communities. The migrants can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, indigenous migrants, and on the other, embassy staff and other foreigners who work in Mexico. In the first case, indigenous migrants come from different regions and usually speak different varieties of ILs. In fact, there are no elementary urban education programmes that address the special language needs of indigenous children who have migrated from rural to urban regions, nor for those who migrate to the United States (Smith, forthcoming). In the case of the second groups, pressure from parents from different foreign countries to have their children educated in bilingual and bicultural environments has resulted in the creation of international schools in Mexico with the express purpose of meeting their needs. For other communities (including the Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Chinese communities) language education is primarily a domestic activity.

Attitudes towards the status and use of languages function as a filter that encourages or discourages the learning of any particular language. In Mexican contexts, individuals should decide what languages need to be learned to work and live in their own communities. Individuals usually feel pressure to learn Spanish when confronted with urban contexts where Spanish is required for work, but they can also feel the need to learn English if their urban context is affected by international migration or tourism. However, central educational policies offer little possibility of adapting policy to local needs.

Types of Curriculum

Spanish and indigenous languages

The educational system of any country is always one of the language planner's most powerful tools; Mexico is no exception. The objectives of language education in Mexico have always been tied to historical events. First, during the conquest, the main objective of teaching Spanish was to evangelise. Later, after the Revolution, the idea was to unify the country through the learning of Spanish. Currently, the emphasis is on learning to read and write in Spanish. The difference lies in the focus of learning. At the beginning the aim was to increase the numbers of people learning Spanish, but the quality of learning was not an issue. More recently,

and as a result of the evaluation of educational standards worldwide carried out by UNESCO, Mexico, along with other countries in Latin America carried out a special campaign to improve the use and quality of Spanish, specifically students' proficiency in reading and writing Spanish (Alvarado & Velázquez, 2002; Moreno de Alba, 2003). However, internal evaluation of the programmes for teaching Spanish seems to be less common or less thorough (Moreno de Alba, 2003). There is little literature documenting the functioning of Spanish teaching programmes at any level of education. Government officials have been requesting an evaluation of the structural programme for teaching Spanish since 1973. As yet, no public document has been published by the National and Technical Council of Education to account for the results of that programme (Moreno de Alba, 2003). It is not known whether the new programmes have been evaluated.

In the last decade there has been interest in the learning and maintenance of ILs as exemplified in the General Law for the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous People, published in 2003. This interest has been prompted by the political concerns of authorities in an attempt to win votes for political parties but also, and more importantly, due to the interest of local people striving to build a new life without poverty. The early indigenous language programmes intended to Castilianise indigenous people, whereas more modern programmes tend to create a more symmetrical relationship between the language and culture of indigenous people and Spanish. As previously noted, bilingual and bicultural programmes have been very little studied, let alone evaluated (Hamel, 2003b). However, the direct observation of classes in some school contexts in Hidalgo (Hamel, 1981, 1984; Hamel & Muñoz, 1981, 1986), in Michoacan (Hamel, 2003a), in Queretaro (Hekking, 1995) and in Yucatan (Terborg, 1987) confirm that teaching in the indigenous language, even in transitional programmes, has proven to be more effective than teaching in Spanish in rural communities.

According to De Gortari Krauss (1997), the objectives for children of language (Spanish) instruction in the first cycle of elementary education in indigenous languages are:

(1)   The development of oral skills: pronunciation, fluency, communicative effectiveness; coherency of expression during conversation, narrating, expressing ideas, describing, interviewing, discussing and understanding, among other skills.
(2)   The acquisition of reading and writing abilities: learning and practicing the conventions of writing and its formal characteristics (directionality, word separation, space between letters, use of capitalisation, use of punctuation, etc.); and promoting communicative situations through writing so as to expand the social domains of use of the indigenous communities and language**s**.
(3)   The introduction of students to the traditional literature of their ethnic groups.
(4)   The promotion of reflection on the most meaningful formal characteristics of language such as words and syntax using an implicit methodology; that is, with no explicit explanation.

The student objectives in language learning for the first cycle of elementary education in Spanish are:

- Basic: Acquaintance with basic vocabulary through such games as lottery, dominoes and puzzles.
- Initial: Orientation to the learning of oral skills in Spanish.
- Intermediate: Development of previous skills and the introduction of writing.

These three basic objectives are classified under the following three criteria:

(1) Frequency: From common structures to less common ones, according to the communities' needs when interacting with Spanish speaking people.
(2) Difficulty: From simple to complex.
(3) Contrast: Focus on the structural characteristics of Spanish that have little relationship with those of the indigenous languages. (De Gortari Krauss, 1997: 156**)**

Although the contrastive approach has been shown to be inadequate for the teaching of some languages in certain contexts, the contrastive approach is considered adequate by specialists involved in programming the teaching of Spanish as a second language. Due to these specialists' experience in the design of syllabuses for teaching Spanish, their proposals[17] were taken as suitable for every linguistic context in Mexico. However, it is probable that contrastive analysis had proved inadequate in such a multilingual context since the syllabus was implemented in communities with teachers with different backgrounds, languages and levels of study who might not have found contrastive analysis to be the most suitable approach for teaching Spanish to indigenous students, and to speakers of different varieties of the same indigenous languages. Moreover, of a total of 39,000 elementary school teachers who taught at the basic level, 30% had graduated from secondary school, 24% had studied at least basic teacher training and 16% had undertaken lesser studies. It is uncertain what the academic background of the rest 30% is. Besides, according to the *Inventario de Recursos Humanos de la Dirección General de Educación Indígena* [Inventory of human resources of the General Office of Indigenous Education] 3,857 teachers (13.71%) spoke a language different from that of the students.

Some of the problems that this enterprise faces (i.e. determining who has command of the language and what the fundamental criteria for evaluating should be) were reported. The suggestion was that the language communities themselves must decide. Because of this decision, some professionals involved in the use of indigenous languages will have to consider learning a wide variety of regional uses of the indigenous languages in order to establish some criteria, however controversial this might be. The type of language curriculum chosen may offer a clue to the focus of teaching Spanish and indigenous languages in Mexican schools. Information about how these programmes have evolved in Spanish has been scarce and unsystematic. In the 1980s, some studies of the teaching of indigenous languages in schools were undertaken (Hamel & Muñoz, 1982, 1988; Terborg, 2004), and reports by other colleagues (Hamel, 2003; Heath, 1986; Muñoz, 2002; Patthey Chavez, 1994) provide some account of the focus of the teaching of these languages. At the present time, a new proposal is being tested in Michoacan, where students at the elementary level learn contents in P'urepecha and then transfer their abilities into Spanish. Reports about this

project evaluate it positively (Hamel, 2003); however, such practices are scarce and unsystematic.

Foreign languages

The SEP defines the content for the teaching of English and French in public schools. However, incorporated private schools tend to adopt the tables of contents of commercial textbooks as a sort of syllabus, only copied into a different format; i.e. they divide the content of the book into units per month. This practice is also sometimes followed by non-regulated language schools.

The UNAM has a prescribed curriculum for secondary and incorporated schools. However, no prescribed curriculum exists for the university language centres or the incorporated universities. The UNAM only evaluates and supervises the programmes submitted by the incorporated secondary schools and their teachers. It regulates the suitability of programmes and teacher qualifications at secondary and tertiary levels. The Centre for Foreign Languages at UNAM has its own objectives, but they have just been reviewed for the first time since their creation in the 1970s, when a series, GEPUS,[18] was written and published by UNAM to meet the needs of university students learning English, but which was later abandoned due to lack of resources (Emilson *et al.*, 1990). Books for other languages have also been produced, especially reading comprehension courses for university students in English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Russian, but these are only used in the reading comprehension courses of the Centre. Apart from the GEPUS series, there are no textbooks for four skill courses. All courses tend, instead, to use international commercial textbooks, which must be adjusted for appropriate use with Mexican students.

In the case of modern languages in Mexico in the 19th century, the objective was to broaden the culture and vision of higher secondary and university students. However, in the middle of the 20th century, after World War II, the interest in modern languages increased for economic and political reasons. French was gradually replaced by English as the foreign language to be learned in school. The objective, however, was to familiarise the students with basic grammar and vocabulary of the language. Little attention was paid to communication. The focus was still on form, though the audiolingual method remained in use in a few schools. Learning a foreign language was considered a luxury for the sons and daughters of privileged families. It was not until the late 1980s that English in Mexico was seen as the world language, as a part of the framework of globalisation, where English has become the language of international communication. Because of internationalisation, the quality of English language competence has become important. It is this international demand that places English at the centre of education in Mexico. However, it is only very recently that schools have adjusted their curricula to the international framework of reference and trained teachers in both language and methodology. Some universities have even started homogenising English syllabi within this framework without reviewing whether this is suitable for their specific contexts (Estrada Cortés, 2004).[19] Nonetheless, the guidelines of the European framework of reference are being used in an effort to adjust to globalisation. However, the guidelines are taken as mandatory, without evaluating their suitability in the local context. International schools also follow the syllabi of the Ministry of Education of a

specific country for the teaching of languages, among other subjects, without modifying them for the Mexican context.

In fact, English was already important in the 1980s. English was taught as an important language in public junior high schools at the rate of three hours a week (McConnell & Roberge, 1994). All the new programmes and initiatives reported on in the ensuing section illustrate actions that aim to attain an international level of English language competence. It will, however, take a decade to adjust the programmes to international requirements.

In the meantime, according to the SEP, the objectives for the cycle of English and French in higher secondary school are:

(1) First year: Students are acquainted with basic functions, vocabulary and reading comprehension strategies.
(2) Second year: Students are acquainted with basic functions, vocabulary and reading comprehension strategies in contexts different from those of the previous year.
(3) Third year: Students are acquainted with basic functions, vocabulary and reading comprehension strategies in contexts different from the previous year.

As one can see, this rather general structure needs some improvement; the SEP is working on a new proposal (RIES, 2005).

In this revision, it is suggested that teachers use realistic contexts of communication for introducing language functions by introducing models of the type of linguistic production expected, as well as presenting activities to consolidate vocabulary and reading comprehension. The degree of complexity should move from simple to more difficult throughout the different years. Teachers should be given suggestions of the kind**s** of activities to do and what kind of texts to choose. However, an ethnographic study carried out in a secondary school (González Trejo, 2006) has revealed that such issues as motivation, self-**e**steem, attitudes towards the English cultures and languages are not being considered for in-service teacher development programmes.

In higher secondary schools, different foreign language teaching programmes differ in focus in several ways; in the number of hours devoted to studying English, in the contents covered by the programmes; in the language proficiency of the teachers and the students. These discrepancies lead to horizontal and vertical curricular dislocation at all educational levels.

Once students arrive at the university, they are not offered language courses. Language courses are offered at the university for two purposes: the first is to give those who are interested in learning a foreign language the chance to do so in their pursuit of a scholarship; the second is to give students the opportunity to prepare themselves for the language requirement test that is compulsory at the end of their degree courses in most faculties. For some**,** this examination implies reading in a foreign language, which over time has come to mean reading in English; for others, it is compulsory to show the proficiency of one or two foreign languages, usually English and French (García Landa & Terborg, 2004). The Centre of Foreign Language Teaching, CELE, also administers the institutional TOEFL examination, but many students tend not to succeed. The general English programme needs revision, but time constraints and lack of budget make this task impossible. The *Zertifikat Deutsch*

als Fremdsprache (Certificate of German as a Foreign Language), ÖSD (*Österreichisches Sprachdiplom*) [Diploma of Austrian Language) and the DELF (*Diplôme d'études en langue française*) and DALF (*Diplôme approfondi de langue française*) are also offered with more success. Two very recent certifications have been given by the Italian Institute of Culture from the University of Siena and the Chinese Embassy. In the near future Perugia will also offer evaluation of competence in the Italian language (García Landa & Terborg, 2004).

At the present time, there are no explicit internal guidelines for the evaluation of language policy decisions at the UNAM. It was not until 2005 that a Special Commission for Foreign Languages was established to produce general objectives for language learning and their evaluation at the university. At present, this Commission is organising small sub-commissions of specialists in charge of specific areas of certification and evaluation (Report of the Special Commission for Foreign Languages, 2005). The lack of qualified teachers is a central concern for this Commission, but attending to these highly practical problems makes it difficult for the Commission to achieve perspective on the wider issues in language-in-education planning.

As noted in previous sections, the type of language curriculum presently in use lacks articulation. It is not clear what objectives should be reached at each educational level. The framework of reference provides a guide to those involved in education to attain an international language proficiency level for students and professionals to compete in a globalising environment. However, there are still educational gaps to be filled, such as the incongruent planning of syllabi, the repetition of contents, the human and material infrastructure, and the scarcity of research in the field to evaluate the language educational system locally, globally and nationally.

As noted at the beginning of this section, the level of competence of teachers and students depends on the type of educational system, the type of language community and the type of curriculum. The type of educational system also plays an important role in the communities' preferences. The central educational system has always set the terms to favour centralist policies first for the learning of Spanish, and then for the learning of foreign languages, more recently giving special emphasis to the learning of English. Although the central educational system has allowed some independence on the setting of local policies, these have not been supported with infrastructure, thereby causing successful pilot programmes to fail. The efforts undertaken by local communities within the realm of education depend on the current political stance on the added value of learning certain languages. This dependence means that financial support for these projects is usually only forthcoming for short periods of time and in small quantities, to allow politicians to gain votes in their campaigns. In this way, policy has moved from a nationalistic pattern to a plurilinguistic one. Equally, there is a documented history of the implementation of new programmes without evaluating their suitability and without demanding accountability. This history applies to indigenous as well as to international languages.

Language communities associate beliefs, values and traditions to the use of specific languages; the disappearance of a particular language results in the extinction of the culture as well as the language. In the next section, migration will be shown to play a central role in the process of language shift. Rural and

urban language communities mingle as a result of migration. The pressure of work favours the use of Spanish in public domains, whereas the use of indigenous languages is restricted to private domains. Although there have been efforts to include ILs in the media and school, these have been mainly organised on a micro level by small language communities to maintain and revitalise their languages and cultures. Nevertheless, the resources available to those communities are limited in comparison to the resources available to communities funded by the *Alliance Française*, the British Council or *La Real Academia de la Lengua Española* [The Royal Academy of Spanish Language]. Therefore, although revitalisation programmes have a modest impact locally, language policies for the learning of international languages have a greater impact nationally, causing parents to prefer their children to become bilingual in Spanish and another international language (mainly English) than in Spanish and any individual IL. In the case of international migrants, English is even more prestigious than Spanish.

Language curriculum has also been observed to be marked by contradictions. What syllabus designers propose usually reflects a different perspective on teaching than that held by the actual teachers, students, parents and local authorities that work at the chalk-face, and the latter are rarely taken into consideration in national curricular design. Local needs might have been recognised, and some projects for meeting those needs may even have come into existence, but the infrastructure needed for such programmes to become successful is still not in place.

Part IV: Policies and Practices

> A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system. Only when such policy exists can any sort of serious evaluation of planning occur. 'Language policy' may be realised at a number of levels, from very formal language planning documents and pronouncements to informal statements of intent (i.e., the discourse of language, politics and society) which may not at first glance seem like language policies at all. Indeed, . . . policy statements tend to fall into two types – symbolic and substantive, where the first articulates good feelings toward change (or perhaps ends up being so nebulous that it is difficult to understand what language specific concepts may be involved), and the latter articulates specific steps to be taken. (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: xi)

As noted in Part II, in Mexico, language policy falls into the symbolic type more often than into the substantive one. At the macro and meso levels, there is much of the symbolic power entailed in the politicians' and authorities' desire to win votes from a significant percentage of the population, which happens to be made up of indigenous people. At the micro planning level, language communities have enjoyed more positive results, since they have taken an active part in the substantial changes and have seen them prosper. However, it has also been observed that such efforts face economic difficulties that sometimes create a real barrier for the survival of these communities' languages, as demonstrated by the Kiliwa revitalisation project, mentioned in Part II.

This section will describe and discuss how macro and meso level planning in Mexico has led to language death, subject to the desires of those in power (political, educational and economic authorities) whereas those actions taken at the micro level, involving the initiative and work of indigenous people have remained – a development that can be seen as the only way out for the maintenance of indigenous languages.

Initially, language policies in the area of education will be described and discussed. We have decided to approach these policies chronologically since such an approach shows the conflicting views of language policy and planning inherent in the macro, meso and micro levels. As described in the first section, several socioeconomic factors have led to the formation of actual language policies, resulting from language planning and language-in-education planning. This section will try to trace the historical development of those decisions that underlie language-in-education policies, dividing this discussion into policies for indigenous languages, policies for Spanish and policies for foreign languages in chronological order.

In 1596 the Council of the Indies proposed that King Phillip II issue a decree designating Spanish as the compulsory language to be used in communication between the indigenous *caciques* (local indigenous leaders) and the officers of the Spanish Empire, and specifying that the *caciques* would be punished if they failed to comply. However, the King added a handwritten note to the decree in which he stated that Indians could use their own native languages, that they would be taught Spanish on a voluntary basis and that orders would be conferred only on those who spoke the language of the Indians (Zavala, 1997: 70–71).

Later, in 1769, the archbishop of Mexico, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, expressed his ideas regarding the advantages of the Indians using Spanish. In 1770, King Carlos III of Spain decreed that the Indians should use Spanish and stated that Spanish should be used in the public domain and that the indigenous languages should be barred from it (Zavala, 1997: 72). This policy confined the use of indigenous languages to private domains and gave rise to diglossic language communities.

However, during the Reform (1854–1859), this view of the integration of Indian people into the national programme assured the loss of their customs and their language**s** in a progressive assimilation of the indigenous people to the *mestizo* culture and language (Spanish) (Pimentel, 1864). Afterwards, in a new law, Maximilian restored the legal status of **i**ndigenous communities, as well as their right to own land in common (Félix Báez, 1989: 12). In 1902, Justo Sierra, a liberal intellectual, would reaffirm the old need for language unification given the presence of a group of radically different languages, once the Superior Council of Public Education was established (Zavala, 1997: 73).

Towards the end of the Porfirian dictatorship (1877–1880 and 1884–1911), there were some attempts to support indigenous communities:

(1)   In 1905, The Office of Secretary of Public Instruction and Fine Arts (former Secretary of Public Education [Ministry of Education] was founded, and Justo Sierra was appointed director. In 1910, Sierra convened a committee to organise the Third Congress on Elementary Education. The topics dealt with were education uniformity, the situation of indigenous education,

the evaluation of the previous accords and the anti-alcohol campaign (Espinoza Carbajal, 2002).

(2) In 1906, Enrique C. Creel, governor of Chihuahua, promulgated the first law that favoured indigenous peoples. The Creel law attempted to promote the 'civilisation' of indigenous people, their social development, their education, as well as their ownership of property. He proposed that Díaz donate 250,000 hectares of national territory in the Sierra Madre de Chihuahua to the Tarahumaras. However, this law was never implemented (Félix Báez, 1989: 15).

(3) In 1910, Belmar, magistrate of the Supreme Court of Justice in Mexico, promoted the founding of the Indigenous Mexican Society with the sole objective of studying indigenous races and promoting their advancement. The idea was received positively by high ranking functionaries and important persons of the Porfirian political régime. The government praised the project and established a grant of 100,000 pesos annually to instruct indigenous people in Spanish reading, writing and grammar.

During the First Indigenous Congress (30 October 1910), it was recognised that the demands of the indigenous people were far from being met. However, the Porfirian dictatorship, despite initial signs that these measures would be supported, condemned them to repression (Félix Báez, 1989: 16; Zavala, 1997: 73). Díaz was concerned at this point with attracting foreign investment in the mining and textile industries as well as in the construction of railroad and telegraph lines. The sharp about-turn in policy apparently was inspired by his opposition to the rich owners of large estates, increasing their properties and assigning them communal lands that belonged to the locals; once he realised that the rich owners were convenient friends, the pro-indigenous policies no longer seemed so attractive. It is also true that the education of the under-privileged was never a central concern of the Porfirian dictatorship.

Just before the Díaz period came to an end, a Law of Rudimentary Instruction was proposed. The purpose of this law was to offer education to the people, specifically, to the indigenous people. The law was approved in 1911, and the Rudimentary School was created. Its purpose was to teach indigenous people to speak, to read and to write in Spanish, as well as to perform simple mental calculations. The law remained in force for two years, and its specifications were not to be considered compulsory. Rudimentary schools would be developed in regions with high levels of illiteracy. However, some months after this law was enacted, it was discovered that the law would be difficult to implement due to the large population that needed to be included. Besides, a large and complex linguistic plurality (including many dialects) made it difficult to settle on a common language policy. Moreover, the budget was insufficient to the task. The budget was progressively reduced each year, and it was evident that a more integrated educational approach was required. In spite of these problems, by 1912, there were 206 rudimentary schools with 50 students in each. This tendency to provide education to the poor would be intensified after the promulgation of the 1917 Constitution.

Once the 1917 Constitution was promulgated, the Secretary of Public Instruction and Fine Arts officially ceased to exist. Article 3 of the Constitution stipulated that education was to be under the control of each state and district.

Now, Mexico City schools would depend directly on the city council. However, this latter codicil failed to perform its function, and after two years the schools were transferred to the Department of Public Education.

According to Article 7, Section IV, of the 1917 Constitution, public education and its decentralised entities, as well as private institutions with authorisation and official recognition would be expected to 'promote, through the teaching of the national language – Spanish – a common language for all Mexicans, without detriment to the protection and promotion of indigenous languages'.

In spite of the fact that the 1917 Constitution mandated the protection and promotion of indigenous languages, ethnic minorities and their languages were not considered part of national society. None of the articles that dealt with the official language of the Mexican nation mentioned the existence of the languages spoken by the majority of the population at the time of Independence. The transmission of Spanish had been the main goal of education for indigenous populations since then. In planning educational systems, policies did not take into account the ethnic or linguistic diversity of the polity (Nahmad, 1997: 109–15). The fact that Mexico was in turmoil, suffering from severe political instability, might have led to intensive language contact among those involved in war who might have adopted Spanish as a lingua franca. The most important chiefs of Villa might even have had contact with English speaking people for trading in weapons. Those who remained isolated might have kept their languages for their private use. Once the Constitution was proclaimed and the war negotiated to a conclusion, it is probable that some communities had migrated to other places in search of food and work, since most of the land had been devastated by the wars.

The following years were marred by a myriad of contradictory political perspectives that sometimes favoured external international relationships at the expense of internal ones. At times, this balance was inverted, especially during the administration of President Cárdenas. The governments of Obregón (1920–1923), Ávila Camacho (1940–1946), Alemán (1946–1952), Ruíz Cortines (1952–1958), López Mateos (1958–1964), Díaz Ordaz (1964–1970), Echeverría Álvarez (1970–1976), López Portillo (1976–1982), De la Madrid (1982–1988), Salinas (1988–1994), Zedillo (1994–2000) and Fox (2000–2006) have been progressive, opening up to foreign investment in Mexico, with moderate to occasionally obtuse views of local priorities. Presidents Calles (1924–1928), Portes Gil (1932–1934), Rodríguez (provisional president (1932–1934) and Cárdenas (1934–1940) had focused more on local needs. This policy shift implied that, after the 1940s, the process of industrialisation intensified conditions of poverty in the rural zones and caused the rural poor to migrate first to the big cities and later to the USA.

During the period between 1921 and 1940, there was a strong interest in rural education. The period between 1940 and 1958 witnessed the promotion of national unity, which included the unification of syllabi in elementary and normal education, but neglected the significant disparity between rural and urban populations. This neglect gave rise to the Organic Law of Public Education in 1941, the reform of Article 3 of the Constitution and a demographic explosion in urban elementary schools.

Vasconcelos struggled to make access to public education accessible to all Mexican people, who were generalised as *mestizos*. His educational proposal was anchored in three basic elements: the teacher, the artist and the book. Con-

sequently, the SEP was structured into three departments: Academics, Fine Arts and Libraries. Vasconcelos pursued two objectives: to achieve national identity and unity and to abolish illiteracy in Spanish. He also aspired to allocate a shared responsibility for education both to the central government and to the states. As a consequence, a new relationship was established, and accords and agreements were negotiated with state governments in accordance with the economy of each state and their specific situations and results.

In 1923, Corona Morfín, a rural teacher, presented the Secretary of Public Education with a document entitled 'Guidelines for the operation of a peoples' house', which was approved by Vasconcelos. The peoples' house was an integral project that sought to develop a school for the community and a community for the school, so that the rural indigenous school emerged as the result of the co-operation of the whole community; children, men and women. It was to be perceived as something that belonged to them – something in which their collective needs were always present. Many teachers in this programme worked with children in the primary school, with adults in continuing education and with the whole community as advisers. The same textbooks and teaching methodology were used to teach reading and writing to children as were used for adults. Although the project was considered one of the first steps in favor of popular and national education, it was discontinued when the budget was cut from 52 million to 25 million pesos.

During the period from 1924 to 1928, educational policy was determined by the economy, which was considered at the time to be the most important instrument of progress and economic development, as well as the hub of national integration. During President Calles' government, the 'peoples' houses' were turned into rural schools; missionaries became inspectors and supervisors and roles were systematised. Education in general became more practical, and educational objectives were redesigned to make peasants – the rural poor – more autonomous. The number of rural schools tripled, as did the number of cultural missions. This co-operation favoured the development of several campaigns for the benefit of rural and indigenous communities. However, a religious conflict in the middle of President Calles' administration caused most of the schools to close or to work in secrecy. Children stopped attending schools, influenced by their parents' fears that had been triggered by priests.

But the rural school movement continued until 1930. During this time – 1924–1928 – rural schools were supported by the circuit schools and children and adults were Castilianised. The number of rural schools increased from 500 to 700, but after a short period of expansion there was a decline. By 1932 only 64 rural schools remained. The causes for the rapid decline were multiple: lack of resources, badly prepared and under-paid teachers, resistance to the official programmes which neglected local needs and opposition from local and state authorities. The percentage of illiteracy was appalling – 59% of the population was illiterate, and of these 50% were women.

In 1932, the peasants' regional schools were created due to the shortage of teachers. These rural schools brought together the rural and regional normal schools, the agricultural schools and cultural missions with the rural elementary schools. The Mexican Institute of Linguistic Research was founded in *la Cañada de los Once Pueblos*, Michoacán, where the Experimental Station of Indig-

enous Incorporation project (CARAPAN) started. The magazine *El maestro rural* [The Rural Teacher] was edited by the SEP. Several issues of this magazine were devoted to the teaching of ILs.

This perception of regional schools would change radically with the election of Cárdenas in 1934. He openly favoured a social (collectivist) view of education and focused on the working classes, giving the state strict control over elementary education. The education budget – especially for rural education – grew considerably. This change was important because the rural population in 1934 comprised 66.53% of the total population, and 79% of the economically active population was involved in the agricultural sector, the main source of wealth in Mexico at the time. The purpose of school was to transform the reality of the schooled population in order to construct a new society. Article 3 of the Constitution was revised to adapt it to socialist ideals in education. Elementary school was divided into rural (four years) and urban (six years) sectors.

From 1946 to 1952, a democratic perspective was given to secondary and tertiary education. Tertiary education was expected to support economic development for the industrialisation and economic recovery of the country. The objective was to achieve Mexican identity, which presupposed a homogeneous culture and a collective will. In 1947 there was a demographic explosion in the elementary school, which left programmes such as adult literacy, rural schools, indigenous issues and agricultural education uncovered.

From 1958, 1700 children had abandoned their studies after the third year of education. Of every 1000 children who went to school, only 22 obtained the elementary school certificate; however, of those 978 children who abandoned school before the sixth year not all were forced to do so for socioeconomic reasons, but rather because 81% of schools did not offer all the cycles necessary to earn a certificate. They were only able to offer three or four years of education because of a lack of teachers and resources.

As a consequence, an 11 year plan – 'National Plan for the Spread and Amelioration of Elementary Education' – was implemented. This plan was scheduled to be put into practice between 1959 and 1970. It was also the result of an international education policy implemented by UNESCO in order to spread elementary education across Latin-America. This international project would last from 1957 to 1967.

From 1959 to 1982 the large urban demand for elementary education, coupled with severe neglect of rural education, led the federal government to propose the continuation of the Eleven Years Plan and to plan an integral elementary education based on the reform of 1972. This reform covered the entire educational spectrum. A process of 'economic modernisation of education' was initiated in 1982, ending with the state's reform and the signing of the National Accord for the Modernisation of Basic Education (ANMEB) in 1992. This accord gave birth to a new relationship between the Secretary of Public Education (SEP), state governments and the National Union of Educational Workers (SNTE).

Both plans led to an increase in the number of elementary school students to 8 million (63.3% of the population) in 1970 and to 12.6 million (70.2% in 1980). The rural system of elementary schools was restructured. The *telesecundaria* [telesecondary] project (described in Part III) was launched to reach rural areas nationally. Unfortunately, as with so many other projects, budget shortages

coupled with the conflicts left by the social dissent led by university students in 1968 did not allow this plan to come to fruition.

The National Law of Adult Education was approved in 1975, and community courses, which were to take education to the most isolated areas in the country, were piloted. These courses were supported by the National Council of Educational Promotion (CONAFE). Additionally, the Federal Law of Education, that became effective in 1973 and would remain in force until 1993, stated that educational contents and materials were to be the same for all school groups, emphasising the fact that the Secretaries and Education Officials did not support proposals to include indigenous languages as national languages in the Constitution, since the authorities foresaw a danger to national integrity. Rather, they promoted a subrosa paternalistic subjection of the indigenous communities to the national project through their education (De Gortari Krauss, 1997).

In 1978, the General Management of Indigenous Education (DGEI), with normative, evaluative and investigative functions, was created to meet the demand for adequate education to indigenous children. The new Internal Regulation of the Ministry of Education (SEP) proposed an education suitable for the background and context of indigenous people without ignoring the national context (De Gortari Krauss, 1997). However, after some years of educational prosperity, a shortage in the Federal and Social budget materialised, affecting education drastically during Miguel de la Madrid's government (1982–1988). As a result, there were fewer elementary schools and less equipment, resulting in a general decrease in resources for the school age population. Despite these shortcomings, in 1985 the educational policy for indigenous populations was focused on the development of local and national cultures and languages. Bilingual education was implemented in several different ways in rural areas with varying results (Coronado, 1997: 140).

Aubage (1987), on the other hand, argues that, at the time, bilingual education in Mexico disregarded the diglossic situation existing between Spanish and the indigenous languages. Bilingual education considered the learning of Spanish as the sole objective of the educational programmes, converting the learning of ILs into a transitional stage to acquiring the dominant language, without ever asking people if they were interested in preserving their languages or noting that indigenous languages are oral languages. Yet, in July 1993 the General Law of Education recognised that one of the goals was to promote a common language, Spanish, without hindering the protection**,** promotion and development of indigenous languages (De Gortari Krauss, 1997).

In the same year, it was decided, after some research, that children should first acquire their first language and then learn Spanish as a second language. It was also stated that new learning should begin from the children's level of knowledge, according to their cultural background and with bilingual teachers. Some of the problems highlighted by this research were:

- the lack of teaching materials in the children's languages;
- insufficient material for all levels;
- inadequate distribution of the available materials;
- language deficiency among most of the teachers, especially with regard to written skills;

- the linguistic variety spoken by the teachers;
- the teachers' low educational level; and
- the lack of infrastructure (buildings, furniture).

In 1995, the Plan and Programme for Elementary Education was also ratified by law. It sought to construct an adequate curriculum for indigenous children, using a flexible programme which would address both national and local diversity. A functional communicational approach was to be used to teach the first language and Spanish.

This programme aimed to achieve national unification through education. During the first two years, books for the first two cycles of elementary school were written by ethno-linguists and work teams from the General Directorate of Indigenous Education (DGEI) which also supervised the elaboration of the curriculum and elementary school programmes, paying special attention to the stimulation of abilities and basic knowledge. The first versions of the books were piloted, and suggestions from the teachers were considered for modifications (Gortari Krauss, 1997). This tendency became more intense with the social and political events after 1995.

In 1996 the first series of agreements between the EZLN (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*) [Zapatist Army of National Liberation] and the federal government were signed within the framework of a 'Dialogue to achieve peace with justice and dignity' that took place in San Andrés Larraínzar. Some of the agreements were**:** 'to promote and develop indigenous people's languages and cultures, as well as their social, political, religious and cultural customs and traditions' (Document 2, Section 2, paragraph 6); '[to] ratify the right to bilingual and intercultural education of indigenous people' (Section III, paragraph 4).

In Document 3.1, Section 1, the following linguistic rights for indigenous people are specified:

(a) the use of their own languages in declarations and testimony, which should be registered with a translation in Spanish;
(b) the right to ask for interpreters, with their explicit acceptance, who know both the IL and Spanish, who share and respect the indigenous culture and the legal system;
(c) the right to require a counsel for defence with knowledge of the IL and the indigenous legal system.

Despite political discourse, no president since 1997 has defended the linguistic rights agreed upon in the San Andrés Accord. In 2001**,** the initiative to create a 'Federal Law of Linguistic Rights' was proposed (Desmet, forthcoming). However, recognition is not widespread enough to gain actual language rights. Actions must be taken in order to create language domains where ILs can actually be used.

Since 2000**,** however, there has been a boom in the development of bilingual educational programmes for indigenous and foreign languages. This boom might be due to the internal and external pressures on the current social, cultural, political and economic situation in Mexico and in the language communities that comprise it. However, there has also been some interest in developing advanced Spanish skills in reading and writing.

We will now review some of the educational programmes that have been

promoted by the current administration at the Ministry of Education. In 2001 the '*SEPA inglés*' programme was started for the lower and higher secondary levels (264 schools, 38 in Mexico City), a programme coordinated by the Latin-American Institute of Educational Communication (*Instituto Latinoamericano de la Comunicación Educativa*, ILCE) and the Ministry of Education (SEP). This programme is also offered privately by some commercial companies in 10 states of Mexico, and it is also available to employees of the Ministry of Education (SEP), the ILCE and the Electricity Company in Mexico City, Chiapas, Veracruz and Tabasco (Portal SEP, 2003).

During the same year, several programmes and measures were also implemented for the teaching of English as a foreign language:

(1) The Free English programme for 234 6th year basic elementary school children in Tlanepantla, State of Mexico. The programme intends to spur language acquisition at the secondary level to improve levels of achievement, since English language studies has been the second most often failed subject in lower secondary in the country (Díaz, 2004).

(2) A programme for teaching Mexican immigrants in the United States within the framework of an agreement with the Mexican-American Solidarity Foundation. This programme seeks to prevent immigrant children from dropping out of school once they go to the USA (Naciff, 2004).

(3) A programme for learning English in elementary schools in Hidalgo through TIC [Technological and Informatic Communication]. The first phase is to implement these courses in the 6th level through games, songs and interactive programmes to cater to children's motivation to learn the language. In the following phases it will be extended to other grades, including kindergarten (Hernández, 2004).

(4) An educational model for technological secondary education. Curricular innovation, intensification of English language courses from four hours in two semesters to three hours during the first four semesters and five hours in the following semesters. Teacher training and certification, as well as infrastructure (laboratories).

(5) English courses for high school and superior normal school English language teachers (Portal SEP, 2004).

This positive language situation is also encouraging university educational authorities to define their internal language policies regarding foreign languages. In 2003**,** the agreement for the creation of a Special Commission of Foreign Languages (COELE)[20] was published in the *Gaceta*[21] *UNAM*. Its objective is to coordinate the academic entities that are involved in the field of foreign languages at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) – mainly teaching, research, evaluation, teacher development, certification and design – to propitiate and develop beneficial actions that favour intercultural dialogue.

The Special Commission of Foreign Languages is expected to carry out the following functions:

(a) planning and defining mechanisms of co-ordination for the revision and exchange of foreign language teaching programmes and teaching materials;

(b)   proposing research in applied linguistics;
(c)   promoting foreign language syllabus evaluation;
(d)   producing teaching materials;
(e)   submitting policies for the dissemination of knowledge in applied linguistics;
(f)   designing strategies to update and develop academics' knowledge of the cultures of the languages they teach in different schools;
(g)   promoting the training of teachers involved in foreign language teaching;
(h)   counseling academic entities and university departments that benefit from the services of teaching, evaluation, creditation or research in foreign language**s**, in the specific needs of foreign language learning and foreign language requirements, according to their needs;
(i)   revising and evaluating the current language policies involved in the programmes and syllabuses of the different university departments and postgraduate courses;
(j)   establishing criteria for the certification of foreign language teachers;
(k)   establishing criteria for application and evaluation of certification exams for foreign language teachers

This commission has the freedom to design certification examinations for foreign language teachers. It is supported by all the schools, centres and faculties involved in the teaching or certification of foreign languages and these schools, in turn, supervise the commission's actions (Gaceta UNAM, 2003: 641).

Major media language

Radio and TV are the most important means of communication, information and entertainment for the population in general, as reflected in the political, social, educational, economic and cultural realms. The signal is not restricted and hence covers almost the entire population. In Mexico, radio and television are regulated by the Federal Law of Radio and Television and by the Regulations of this Law and those of the Law of the Cinematographic Industry. However, satellite communication is also included because it plays an important role in rural and distance education.

The Federal Law of Radio and Television, published in 1970, in Title 4, Chapter 3, Articles 75 and 76, states:

> Article 75 'In their transmissions broadcasting stations should use the national language. The Department of the Interior will be able to authorise, in special cases, the use of other languages, as long as this other language text is followed by a Spanish unabridged or summarised version';
> Article 76 'In all proof or splicing transmission that is carried out in the stations, as well as during the development of programmes and in lapses no longer than 30 minutes, the nominal letters that characterise the station, followed by the name of the location where it is installed should be expressed in Spanish.'

These articles apply to the use of languages in the media in general. The ensuing section contains the description of each media and the way this law is applied in each of these media.

Satellite communication

A very important satellite communication project is the teleport Edusat (Educational Television Web via Satellite), which was developed between 1994 and 2000 by the federal government. This programme was recently digitalised, permitting the transmission of 24 TV channels. Edusat now covers up to 35,000 receiver stations installed in *Telesecundarias* [Telesecondaries] and other educational and cultural centres in the country, reaching a potential 1.2 million students. These figures bolster the social impact of this system, which is an extraordinary instrument to support teaching in rural areas and more recently for distance education.

Radio in general

Radio transmissions started in 1921; since then it has grown continuously. In Mexico, 99% of the population has access to radio. (*Programa sectorial de comunicaciones y transportes*, 2001–2006) [Sectorial Programme of Communication and Transport].

AM currently has 759 affiliates and 96 licensees, while FM has 387 affiliates and 212 licensees. There are also five affiliates and 11 licensees for short-wave radio stations. Some 130 affiliated stations entered into operation to increase the coverage of radio broadcasting in several cities.

As stated by the Federal Law of Radio and Television of 1970, Spanish is the major language of the media in Mexico. Of the 338 radio stations in the republic, 309 transmit mainly in Spanish (Mejía, 1997). Only a few radio stations transmit in French, German or English with the support of the Ministry of Culture or through Radio UNAM with the permission of the *Secretaría de Gobernación* [The Department of the Interior].

Indigenous radio

In 1978 the National Indigenous Institute (INI) set up their first radio station with programming based on three basic concepts:

(1) *Culture*: manners, customs, habits, knowledge, beliefs, forms of organisation and expression, techniques and abilities, including singing, language, dance, music, ways of working the land, traditional medicine, short stories, myths, legends, sculpture, ceramics, pottery, textiles, clothing and design, food, beverages and ways to prepare them.
(2) *Indigenism*: Active involvement of the indigenous population in problem solving, participating mainly in the process of decision making.
3) *Communication*: The presence of subjects in the communicative process where communities exchange and share experiences, knowledge, and feelings; establish relationships and strive to understand the make up of a social community.

The purpose of this radio station was to contribute to the improvement of the communities and to the strengthening of their cultures. By 1989, the INI had seven broadcast stations distributed throughout the country, with a potential indigenous audience of 2 million people. The broadcasts were transmitted in 14 languages (including regional varieties of Spanish); 90% of the radio station
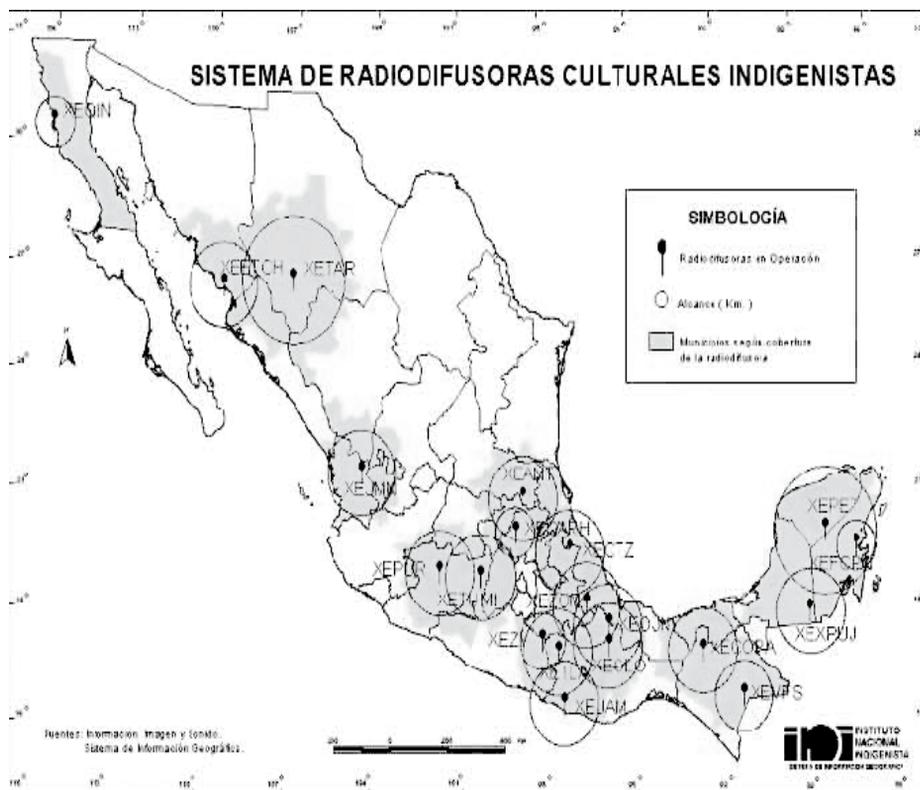
Figure 4 Map of Mexico with the locations of the 20 indigenous radio stations adapted from CDI (2004). The circles indicate the area covered by the signal of the counties that receive a signal. The pin represents the broadcasting stations still in operation.

personnel were indigenous and carried out activities that went from management levels to administrative support (Plascencia, 1988).

The former INI (*Instituto Nacional Indigenista*) [National Indigenous Institute] broadcasting system has now been integrated into the CDI (*Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas*) [National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples). This system was organised in 1979 to provide promotion and diffusion of indigenous cultures and traditions.

At present, the CDI system has 20 indigenous stations. In addition, four experimental low power (FM) stations have been installed as a part of a pilot project to increase the knowledge and management the media by Mayan children from the indigenous boarding schools. Figure 4 illustrates the CDI system which covers 16 states, 954 districts, 31 indigenous languages and Spanish and 22 million potential listeners of which 5.5 million are of indigenous origin (*Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas*) (National Commission for the Development of Idigenous Peoples, 2004).

There are a few indigenous populations who have access to a few programmes

in the local languages. These broadcasts are only available in rural areas (Plascencia, 1988). They have only a small indigenous staff, a teacher or bilingual promoter, and a commentator for each of the 10 languages involved in the programme. For example, *La Voz de la Sierra Norte* [The Voice of Sierra Norte], using the call-letters XECTZ, constitutes a forum for the revival of indigenous culture as well as for the improvement of social conditions of the population. It has time slots for both general and cultural regional information.

Regular TV

Television transmissions were initiated in 1950 and cover up to 96.5% of the population. TV services are offered through VHF (Very High Frequency) and UHF (Ultra High Frequency) bands; however, the location of transmitters and the presence of various topographic obstructions may limit reception. Up to the year 2000, the installation of 1792 transmission points had been promoted to extend the TV service area through affiliates. So far 55% (*c*. 1000) have been installed.

There was an important increase in the number of permits to install and operate educational and cultural stations in both rural and urban communities, many of which lacked this service. The operation of these stations (both radio and television) entails mainly social and cultural functions, constituting a programming alternative to that of commercial stations. However, as these stations are supported largely by state governments, educational institutions and sponsors, and as such are restricted by the limitations imposed by the Federal Law of Radio and Television, they face difficulties in financing their operations, caused by the inefficiency of content production or resulting from specific budget restrictions. Regular TV channels transmit mostly in Spanish. (In certain regions such as the Mayan areas some programming is broadcast in the local language) (Mexicoradiotv, 2006).

Restricted TV

Cable TV began in 1955 in Nogales, Sonora. This service, offered through MMDS technology (Television via Codified Microwaves) received the first licence to distribute its signal in Mexico City and the Metropolitan area in 1988. Ten years later, a public auction was held to assign frequencies to provide restricted television microwave service, making it possible to spread this service to new regions and to complete channel allocation in those regions that received partial service. In 1994, DTH service (Direct TV via satellite) also became available.

Restricted TV transmits some dubbed or subtitled programmes in Spanish and some others in English and German (*Deutsche Welle*) and air**s** some films in Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Polish and Russian, among other languages. Commercials are entirely in Spanish. Those who own a satellite receiver dish can access a wider variety of programmes in virtually all of the languages of the world. Very few TV stations transmit material in indigenous languages.

People from rural areas normally listen to the radio and watch TV in Spanish. Some receive transmissions in local languages. The same can be said for lower class urban families who cannot afford cable TV. Middle- and upper-class families have access to cable television, but very few of them own satellite receiver dishes. However, it is possible that the increasing spread of this service will lower its cost so that more families will have access to it in the future.

Consequences of the current Reform of the Federal Law of Radio and TV

Within the framework of the San Andrés Accord (see Parts I, II), the need to initiate intercultural dialogue and develop indigenous cultures was established, giving indigenous people their own communication media. In order to guarantee this right, a proposal was addressed to the national legislative bodies to create a new law of communication empowering indigenous people to receive, operate and administer their own media. This law should consider:

- the pluricultural character of the nation;
- the right to use indigenous languages in the media;
- the right to replication;
- a guarantee of the rights of expression, information and communication;
- the democratic participation of indigenous communities and peoples before the communication authorities (Montes, 2006).

Given the new Reform of the Federal Law of Radio and TV, indigenous communities will find it difficult to compete with the two Mexican oligopolies:

- Televisa, which transmits 93 of the 100 programmes most widely seen in Mexico; and
- TVAzteca.

Televisa and TVAzteca have recently extended their licences for an additional 20 years, without participating in an auction (Fernández-Vega, 2006). One of the most important changes resulting from the Reform will be to establish a system of public auction to obtain licences. A public auction implies conferring a licence to one of the competitors that participated in the bidding in response to an invitation. The competitor who obtains the licence is the one who clearly assures the best use of a national public benefit, under the principles of equity, competence and transparency (Montes, 2006).

However, in order for a person or group to access the use of a radio or television frequency, that person or group must participate in a public auction in competition with hugely successful enterprises such as Televisa and TVAzteca where they are clearly at an enormous disadvantage. It is believed that the federal, state and municipal authorities are disregarding their constitutional responsibility to establish the conditions allowing the indigenous communities and peoples to receive, operate and administer their own media. This notion was agreed to in the San Andrés Accord as a means to compensate for the history of inequality under which indigenous communities have suffered. It is a reality that these communities will not be able to compete with large consortia under the conditions that have been described. Therefore, the very existence of indigenous community broadcasting is in danger of extinction, and should indigenous communities fail in this effort, the possibility of introducing ILs in important public domains such as radio and TV will disappear. Paradoxically, the success of the large consortia may help to sustain the use of Televisa and TVAzteca Spanish (bland Spanish) internationally.

Motion pictures

In this section we will explore the ways in which language policies are put into practice in the cinematography industry. The Federal Law of Cinematography, revised in 1998, stipulates, in Chapter 1, Article 8:

> Pictures will be exhibited to the public in their original version and, if necessary, they will be subtitled in Spanish, in the terms established by the regulations. Those classified for young audience or as educational documentaries may be dubbed in Spanish for exhibition.

In Chapter IV, Article 19, the law specifies that exhibitors will reserve 10% of total exhibition time in their respective theatres for the projection of national films except as has been agreed to in international accords, in which Mexico has not stipulated restrictions on screen time.

In the same chapter, Article 23 indicates that, to maintain national linguistic identity, the dubbing of foreign films will be done in Mexico, with Mexican or Mexican resident staff and actors living in the country, except for such dispositions as have been made in international agreements (Federal Law of Cinematography, 1998).

Some documentary films have been made by the indigenous communities, but under very basic conditions. This limitation has in fact helped to provide a critical alternative to regular commercial Mexican films in which indigenous people are often represented as the poor, the ignorant and as those whose use of the Spanish language is not standard. These films are popular; the municipal plazas where these Spanish language documentaries are presented are packed; people even ask for screenings at parties and celebrations. The films show experiences from indigenous life and offer a window on the problems and beliefs of indigenous people, leading to positive reinforcement of their values and identity (Becerril, 1988).

The written media

The ensuing paragraphs deal with the written media, specifically newspapers, literature and translation. Written media are becoming increasingly computer-based, an area which provides important business opportunities for Televisa and TVAzteca, the two big Mexican consortia described earlier. At the same time, newspapers and books continue to circulate both in print and in electronic versions nationally and internationally.

Newspapers

In Mexico 151 newspapers, published in Spanish, are distributed in most states. In addition, a number of newspapers are published in indigenous languages; these newspapers usually appear in large indigenous urban communities. Some newspapers have been published in Mayan and Spanish for Maya, mestizo or foreign readers who live in the Yucatan region. Some other publications have appeared occasionally; for example, two newspapers appeared only during the time that Montemayor coordinated the Workshop on Maya Language, and in addition, in 1987 a monolingual newspaper entitled *u yalal maya wiiniko' ob* (The Awakening of the Mayas) appeared as well as a bilingual newspaper entitled *u k'aayil maaya t'aan* (The chant of the Mayan language) was published from 1988 to 1990.

Another example is the magazine *xunaan kaab* (The Mayan Bee), published by the University of Yucatan and Popular Cultures. Publications have been made possible through the support of the INEA [National Institute of Adult Education], INI [Indigenous National Institute], the Institute of Culture of Yucatan and the Regional Yucatan Branch of Popular Cultures (May, 1997).

A few of the Mexican dailies (such as *Excelsior*) publish editions of their papers in English. In the tourist zones in Mexico City, the most famous world newspapers in English, French and German (e.g. *Le Monde,* the *Financial Times* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*) are readily available. Some private university libraries also maintain a corner where some of the better-known international newspapers are available to their students and to visitors for in-library use only.

Literature

As a result of the General Law of Language Rights of the Indigenous People (see Parts I and II), many options have been opened for writers of minority languages in Mexico. These options have usually resulted from the effort of small communities interested in preserving their languages and cultures, supported by such cultural institutions as Popular Cultures, or sponsored by certain associations and commissions, or promoted by Federal, State or Municipal cultural departments – i.e. the SEP, the INAH or the General Direction of Popular Cultures.

Although some ILs were used by contemporary writers before the 1980s, the decade is considered a watershed for the cultural revival – a time marked by the expansive publication of books, pamphlets, magazines and diaries. This period sets the tone for a renewed interest in rural education and a literary movement that would be consolidated in the 1990s. It was in 1993 that the Association of Indigenous Language Writers, with more than 60 members nationwide, was born. This association has created new opportunities for development, validation and recognition of literary creation and has emphasised the presence of new thinkers, philosophers and indigenous leaders who have offered interesting proposals regarding the languages and cultures of indigenous peoples in contrast with the educational structure sustained in Mexico from the 1940s to the 1970s, a period in which Spanish was the only vehicle through which one could hope to participate culturally in the country (Espinosa, 2005; Jiménez, 2006). (See Table 5 for a list of indigenous writers.)

Unlike Mexican writers in Spanish, indigenous language Mexican writers demonstrate a political consciousness from the moment they decide to write in an indigenous language rather than in Spanish. Their political vision contrasts with the aesthetic or personal view of the writer who uses Spanish. In fact, this view is captured in the latest anthologies of indigenous literature.

In 2004, Carlos Montemayor[22] published *La voz indígena. Antología de la literatura mexicana en lenguas indígenas* [The Indigenous Voice. Anthology of Mexican Literature in Indigenous Languages]. This volume was the culmination of a long trip through the State of Oaxaca that started in 1980, when bilingual promoters asked Montemayor to assist in the editing of a set of indigenous texts collected by them in the North Range of Oaxaca. His experience with people who were contributors to and collectors of the material of the anthology made him change his opinion about Mexico. They were part of a Mexico he did not know. Their anger against anthropologists and ethnologists who had approached their com-

Table 5 Contemporary indigenous writers

Language	*Writers*
Mayan	María Luisa Góngora Pacheco, Andrés Tec Chi, Miguel May May, Jorge Echeverría, Santiago Domínguez Aké, Vicente Canché Móo, Feliciano Sánchez Chan, Briceida Cuevas Cob
Chiapanecan	Jacinto Arias, Enrique Pérez López, Armando Sánchez Gómez, Diego Méndez Guzmán, Isabel Juárez Espinosa, Maria Roselia Jiménez
Zapotecan	Macario Matus, Francisco De la Cruz', Irma Pineda, Jorge Magariño, Natalia Toledo, Rosendo Pineda, Andrés Henestrosa, Pancho Nácar, Gabriel López Chiñas
Nahua	Idelfonso Maya
Tarahumara	Dolores Batista
Purépecha	Joel Torres
Chontal	Isaías Hernández Isidro
Otomí	Jesús Salinas Pedraza

To learn about other writers see the website of the Association of Indigenous Language Writers. (SOGEM) http://www.sogem.org.mx

munities with an aggressive and arrogant attitude prompted him to search for writers who had a publishing history of at least 20 years, who had been awarded prizes or who had translated literature into other languages. At the present time, the linguistic vision of indigenous educators strengthens indigenous languages by encouraging indigenous people to let their voices be heard. (Gaceta electrónica del Colegio de San Luis, 2005).

In 2005, Montemayor and Frischmann published *Words of the True Peoples. Palabras de los seres verdaderos*. This anthology launches indigenous literature into the international sphere, since it is a trilingual edition; that is, besides publishing in the original ILs, materials are also published in two languages of wider communication: English and Spanish. This multilingualism allows a wider public to have access to the cosmology, science, philosophy and religion of these indigenous communities.

According to some IL writers, the challenge for the 21st century is to improve the quality of the written texts in ILs (Jiménez, 2001). At the present time, indigenous literature has contributed to a modest but very important distribution of the languages and cultures around the world. As Natalio Hernández, a Nahuatl writer, puts it 'a new time is coming in which the original [indigenous] languages of Mexico will be able to dialogue with other languages, with dignity and respect, to enrich each other mutually' (Jiménez, 2005).

The effect of immigration on language distribution

The effects of migration on the distribution of languages in Mexico can be divided into three periods: colonisation (the period from the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico up to the moment at which Díaz became president of

Mexico); industrialisation (from the beginning of the administration of Díaz to the end of the administration of de la Madrid) and globalisation/glocalisation (from the beginning of the administration of Salinas to the present time).

Colonisation

At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, other people of different origins were also present; i.e. African, English, Irish, Portuguese, among others. It is probable that some of those other ethnicities may have spoken some kind of Spanish pidgin, which may have served to permit communication among them. It is probable that they learned some indigenous languages to communicate with the natives, just as many members of various religious orders did. This process must have led to a diglossic situation between indigenous languages and Spanish at the beginning of the colonial period that gradually morphed into a language shift to Spanish. Around 1826, other Europeans started arriving in Mexico as the result of the '*empresario*' (or entrepreneur) project which was marked by an intensive period of labour importation into the then contemporary agricultural Mexico. The entrepreneur was a special type of land agent, authorised by the government to recruit and settle immigrants who would be entitled to acquire ownership of land from Mexican authorities. A family received one '*labor*' (177.1 acres) if they used the land for cultivation. If they also raised livestock, an additional '*sitio*' (4,428.4 acres) was added to the '*labor*'. If the immigrant married a Mexican national, his holding was increased by an additional quarter of the total. This last fact had a major influence on the learning of Spanish among the foreigners and encouraged the formation and maintenance of family ties in Mexico. The land agent (*empresario*) who brought in the colonists received five '*sitios*' plus five '*labors*' for every hundred families he recruited. When a new town was planned, each settler was given a square block on which to build a home, while the land agent received two blocks. Many of the *empresarios* married into well-to-do families and soon became successful ranchers and entrepreneurs.

One of the factors that made these early immigrants successful was that they tended to come from families of prosperous small farmers who were frustrated by high rents and low prices for their produce. Like the Spanish conquerors, many were second and third sons of the higher classes, denied access to land by the laws of primogeniture. They also owed some of their success to Mexicans who taught them how to raise cattle and how to extract products from this arid land. Because many of the immigrants were educated and skilled people, they were able to provide the leadership for community organisation and development. The colonies also had a sizable number of local Mexican residents who helped the newcomers to adjust to their new surroundings.

At first, these new communities had very dense social networks with much of their interactions being in their native languages: English, French or German. Given the need to learn techniques for cultivating the land and raising cattle, they expanded their social networks to include local people who were speakers of ILs or Spanish in what were often asymmetrical relationships. Immigrants must have lived in a diglossic or triglossic situation, using their native language in the most familiar domains and using ILs and/or Spanish for more public domains.

Industrialisation

As noted in the first section of Part IV, Díaz was interested in taking Mexico from the agricultural underdeveloped world to the industrial developed world. With this idea of progress in mind, he encouraged migration from Europe into Mexico. However, industrialisation also contributed to impoverish the rural regions, which caused internal migration from rural to urban contexts between the 1960s and 1970s; and then to such big cities as Guadalajara, Monterrey and Mexico City in the 1980s. The discussion in this section will be divided into two basic parts: internal migration (from rural to urban) and external migration (from Mexico to the USA or other countries and from other countries into Mexico).

Internal Migration

As speakers of Mazahua, Nahua and Otomí, rural migrants either had not learned Spanish or commanded only a very limited register. As a result, they usually obtained informal, very-poorly-paid jobs (Arizpe *et al.*, 1986: 14–15). This situation led to the spread of Spanish as the language of social mobility, an idea which was dominant in educational policy from the administration of President Díaz to the administration of President Salinas. Policy over this long period emphasised Spanish and even foreign languages over indigenous ones. As a consequence, there has been a language shift from indigenous languages to Spanish.

External Migration

From Mexico to the USA

Although there had been migration to the United States since 1870, that migration pattern increased, first due to the Agrarian Law of 1920 and then due to the Cristero War (1926–1929). In 1929, the USA experienced a severe economic depression, putting an end to legal migration policy to the USA. (Chávez Galindo, 1998). Liberal migration policy was re-opened in 1942, during World War II, with the '*bracero*' [labourer] programme which lasted for 22 years. When the *bracero* programme expired, intense migration of Mexicans to the USA began; that process has grown continually up to the present time (Nolasco, 1989).

From Mexico to other countries

During the Díaz administration (1877–1880; 1884–1911) the well-educated and wealthy Mexican elite migrated to Europe for study abroad, leading to the development of an academic, commercial and political bilingualism among the ruling sectors. It is probable that this enabled communication with foreign investors at that time. Foreign affairs would also have been conducted in English, French and German.

From other countries to Mexico

While there was a continuous internal migration to the larger cities (Guadalajara, Monterrey and Mexico City), groups of migrants from Europe were also settling in the big cities. In 1848, the German community, for example,

founded the 'German Casino', and in 1894 they founded a school that main-
tained German standards for their children. Mexican children were also
accepted into this school. During World War II, the school was closed, but
not expropriated, by the Mexican Government. Other associations were
founded afterwards, and these associations kept in close contact with each
other. According to von Schirmeister (2004), Germans in Mexico define them-
selves as the German speaking community; that is, they created a community
consisting of Austrians, Germans and Swiss. In this sense, they looked with
pride on such institutions as the German Centre, the Patronage of the German
Industry for Culture, a Chamber of Trade and Industry (CAMEXA), a German
College (as well as other German and Swiss colleges), a German Club, a
Regatta Club, a monthly bilingual journal (MITT [*Mitteilungsblatt*] founded
in 1932), a Social Support Association (AASCA) and a house for the elderly
(von Schirmeister, 2004). Around 1905 the school was incorporated into the
Ministry of Education and much later, when junior and senior high schools
were separated in 1925, the senior high school was incorporated under the
UNAM regulations so that students were able to receive both Mexican and
German diplomas. (See *Colegio Alemán*, 2005.)

During the same period, immigration from other European countries – mainly
France, Italy and Portugal – also occurred and contributed to social and cultural
change in Mexico. Language policies were influenced by the decisions of the
parents who sought for a bicultural and bilingual education for their children.
Some of these children subsequently founded bilingual schools – e.g. the *Colegio
Americano* [American College] and the *Moderno Americano* [American Modern]
and the *Liceo Francés* [French Lyceum]. These schools were attended by middle
class students. Some migrants, then, maintained their languages through the
construction of stronger networks among the growing Chinese, French, German,
Italian, Japanese, Lebanese and Portuguese communities embedded in a mainly
Spanish language environment (Kanzleiter, 1996).

Globalisation/Glocalisation

At the end of the 1970s, European immigration to Mexico started to wane.
Some Europeans saw a better economic panorama in their homelands. Others
migrated to more developed countries. Most of the migrants (80%) to Argentina,
Brazil and Venezuela stayed, but some of them remained in Chile, Cuba, Mexico
and Uruguay. Of these, 38% were Italian, 28% Spanish and 11% Portuguese.
However, intra-Latin American migration from Guatemala and El Salvador to
Mexico started to grow until the 1980s, using Mexico as a bridge to reach the
United States. Bridge migration through Mexico started to decline in the mid-
1990s and continued to do so until 2000.

At present, many liberal professionals migrate to other countries because of
better job opportunities. These migrants usually belong to the middle and upper
middle class and have received a bilingual or trilingual education (Spanish and
International languages).

Observing the effects of migration, one can see the importance of social
networks in the shift, maintenance and spread of languages in Mexico. Interest
tends to be an important factor in determining the level of bilingualism in a
community. Interest and attitude towards language maintenance, shift and

spread has mostly been economically determined, but there are strong identity-related elements as well. There has been a shift from a nationalist perspective for preserving a language to a *transnationalist* view, where languages co-exist in a persistent diglossic situation. Foreign and indigenous languages have been used in private domains at home and with the foreign or local language communities they belong to as well as to perform activities within these domains. However, the regional use of Spanish is continuously transformed in its intonation, structure and rhythm by the presence of other languages.

Part V: Language Maintenance and Prospects

This part of the monograph begins by tracing the main historical developments in language maintenance practice, and subsequently looks at current maintenance practices along with some of the factors having the greatest impact on language maintenance. Finally the future of ILs (indigenous languages) in Mexico in the light of these practices is discussed.

Maintenance of indigenous languages

The data presented in this monograph has indicated that there have been many attempts to preserve indigenous languages. These include measures mentioned by Garza Cuarón and Lastra (2000) that include:

(1)   Teaching children to read in their own language, promoted by Lazaro Cardenas in the 1930s with the support of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).
(2)   The first indigenous congress in Patzcuaro in 1940 which proposed the introduction of bilingual education (according to principles subsequently adopted by UNESCO).
(3)   The founding of the National Indigenous Institute (INI) in 1948.

Nevertheless, the majority of activities supporting the maintenance of indigenous languages have come from non-governmental agencies, which receive some of their financial support from the SEP and other government institutions. Often, activities supporting ILs have been carried out by private individuals, in many cases, without any knowledge of the role of linguistics in formal language planning. The System of Indigenous Broadcasting (which belongs to the National Institute for the Development of Indigenous Peoples) reinforces the multicultural character of the Mexican nation, promoting the use of 31 different ILs. Every day, bilingual announcers address local problems by means of community and personal announcements, as well as through programmes that address various topics of concern to indigenous people, provide information capsules, and promote various language maintenance campaigns. In addition, several cultural centres exist for the promotion of indigenous culture; e.g. handicrafts and religious traditions, as well as traditional music and speech. These centres exist primarily in regions where tourism has become important, while in regions that have no local attractions they are less common.

In order to change negative attitudes toward indigenous languages, it is important that there should be interest in teaching them. There are institu-

tions that teach different indigenous languages as second languages, usually in public universities, and usually to adults, but there have been privately organised courses as well. There is also a programme in Merida, Yucatan, for the teaching of Yucatec Mayan to primary school students. These examples represent isolated cases; the teaching of ILs has not yet attained uniform levels of importance nationwide.

Literature in some indigenous languages already has a strong tradition, aside from the ancient codices. There is a substantial literary production in Nahuatl, especially that of Milpa Alta, near the national capital, where authors have written in this language since the 19th century. There is also a considerable literature in Yucatec Mayan, produced since colonial times. Over the last several decades, Mayan writers have made many attempts to resurrect their languages, as may be observed in Part IV. There is also some literature in other languages, including transcriptions from oral traditions. The difficulty, in many cases, is that these literary fragments are not available to a wide audience, since few speakers of indigenous languages can read their own language. For many years the teaching of literacy skills has only been carried out in Spanish; consequently, reading in ILs is not widespread.

The current situation of maintenance and shift

Considering the number of minority languages and dialects in Mexico, and considering language vitality and language shift, relatively few studies have been carried out by linguists, although such studies constitute a necessary prerequisite for future implementation of IL maintenance. In the following section, some insights into the problem and some examples of studies that have been carried out among different ethnic groups will be presented. The transmission of ILs, general attitudes and the possible role of education as factors in the processes of language vitality and shift will also be considered. The maintenance and spread of Spanish to future generations is intimately related to indigenous language shift. Pellicer (1999: 4) points out that, at the time of Mexican independence (1810), only 30% of the population spoke Spanish, while the rest spoke indigenous languages. Throughout the nineteenth century, such languages as Chiapaneco, Chuchona, Comanche, Concho, Guasave, Lipan, Opatata, Pochuteco and Tubar, among others, have disappeared. By the end of the 19th century (1895 census), only 17% of the population spoke indigenous languages while the rest spoke Spanish.

The transmission of Spanish since 1900 has been constant. This fact is reflected in the striking percentages of indigenous monolinguals. At present only 17% of indigenous speakers are monolingual in their languages, while 83% are considered bilingual – that is, they have some knowledge of Spanish. This fact is also reflected in the relationship between indigenous monolinguals and those who also speak Spanish, i.e. bilinguals, as indicated in Table 6 (INEGI, 2001).

The transmission of indigenous languages

A significant cause of IL death has been the reduction or absence of transmission to future generations within the speech community. There are various studies into the shift from indigenous languages to Spanish; of particular interest are the following:

Table 6 Percentages of monolingual speakers of indigenous languages by gender

Principal languages	Average for Men/Women	Men	Women
Total	16.9	12.6	21.2
Amuzgo	46.1	41.4	50.5
Tzeltal	41.4	32.2	50.8
Tzotzil	40.6	29.1	52.1
Tlapaneco	32.0	25.5	38.2
Cora	31.5	24.1	39.3
Chatino	30.3	23.5	36.7
Tojolabal	30.2	20.5	40.1
Chol	29.8	20.6	39.3
Mazateco	25.5	21.1	29.8
Mixe	25.0	19.1	30.5
Mixteco[a]	23.0	17.9	27.6
Tepehuán	19.9	13.5	26.2
Tarahumara	18.0	11.2	25.3
Totonaca	16.4	12.0	20.6
Huave	16.3	14.5	18.2
Huichol	15.5	9.9	20.8
Náhuatl	13.8	9.9	17.6
Chinanteco[b]	13.4	9.6	17.0
Purépecha	12.9	10.1	15.6
Zapoteco[c]	11.0	8.1	13.7
Huasteco	10.0	7.1	13.1
Zoque	9.4	6.5	12.4
Mayan	8.2	6.3	10.2
Cuicateco	7.7	4.5	10.7
Yaqui	6.0	4.7	7.6
Otomí	5.9	3.8	8.0
Mazahua	1.9	0.8	2.9
Mayo	0.7	0.4	1.0

Note: This table examines monolingualism in terms of Spanish. It does not include in the population those who did not specify whether they spoke Spanish or not. It also appears to exclude bilingual speakers of two indigenous languages.

[a] Includes Mixtec, Coastal Mixtec, Mixtec of the Mixteca Alta, Mixtec of the Mixteca Baja, Mixtec of the Mazatec zone, Puebla Mixtec and Tacuate.

[b] Includes Chinantec, Lanana Chinantec, Ojitlán Chinantec, Petlapa Chinantec, Usila Chinantec, and Chinantec of the National Valley.

[c] Includes: Zapotec, Cuixtla Zapotec, Ixtlán Zapotec, Isthmus Zapotec, Zapotec del Rincón, Southern Tapotec, Valley Zapotec, and Viajano Zapotec.

Source: INEGI, 2001

- Mayan (Terborg, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2004).
- Mayo (Moctezuma Zamarrón, 2001; Terborg & Martínez, 1988).
- Nahuatl of Puebla (Hill & Hill, 1986).
- Otomi (Terborg, 2004; Zimmermann, 1992).
- Yaqui (Moctezuma Zamarrón, 2001).

The following examples illustrate the problem of intergenerational transmission and the implications for the survival of ILs in Mexico more generally.

Terborg's study in the community of San Cristóbal Huichochitlán focuses on the Otomi language. San Cristóbal Huichochitlán is one of the 24 villages that form the area of Toluca. It is located in the western part of the State of Mexico (FN), 10 kilometres from the centre of the city of Toluca at 2,680 metres (*c*. 8,000 ft.) above sea level. According to the most recent Mexican census, San Cristóbal has 2,123 inhabitants.

A language use questionnaire to evaluate participant's knowledge of Otomi was read in Spanish to occupants of 25 San Cristóbal Huichochitlán homes and filled out by the researcher, and 168 speakers were found (representing 6% of the total population and nearly 10% of the population over five years of age). Speakers' self-evaluative judgements of their own or others' proficiency were used. The two monolingual Otomi families identified in the village did not form part of the corpus.

As the results in Table 7 demonstrate, Otomi is still a vital language in this community. If adjacent categories are combined, it becomes clear that those people who speak a 'little' Otomi increased to 57.6%, and those who only 'understand' increased to 92.6%. It is important to note that only 7% of the population consists of Spanish monolinguals. This phenomenon suggests that there are few situations in which people may be excluded from conversations occurring in Otomi.

Given the unequal distribution of demographics in the population, the total sample of those surveyed was divided into three 'generational' age groups, identified as A, (5–20 years of age); B, (21–40 years of age); and C (41 and over) representing 42%, 38%, 20% of the sample respectively, to provide adequate group size for comparative purposes, as the objectives of this survey called for a more precise analysis by the age group according to the level of Otomi. This division was necessary because of the high birth rate and low life expectancy within indigenous populations; most of the group members are under 30 years of age; i.e. there are relatively few members over 50 years of age.

Within the group surveyed, no one is completely monolingual in Otomi. For example, only a few people said that they speak a 'little' Spanish and only one 72-year-old woman indicated that she only understood Spanish. Otomi has, as

Table 7 Claims to language competence in Otomi of 168 speakers surveyed according to sex

Otomí	Good	Low	Receptive only	None	Total
Men	41 (53%)	7 (9%)	27 (35%)	2 (3%)	77 (100%)
Women	44 (48%)	4 (4%)	32 (35%)	11 (12%)	91 (100%)
Total	85 (50.6%)	11 (6.55%)	59 (35.12%)	13 (7.74%)	168 (100%)

its main domain, the home rather than public domains. It is probable that many people reserve Otomi for speaking with particular persons, a characteristic that can lead to language shift. Otomi, consequently, seems to be becoming a private language. In addition, younger people do not often speak Otomi among themselves, and older people do not use Otomi when they speak to younger people. There are still some monolingual women, but they are from communities outside San Cristobal. This evidence suggests that the Otomi of San Cristóbal will probably not transmit Otomi to their children, a situation that will influence the future of language use. The only exposure that remains for younger generations consists of overheard adult conversation. To become an active speaker of the language it is necessary to use the language orally as well as to have passive listening skill. Thus, the transmission of Otomi to the next generation is doubtful.

In addition to transmission of the language from one person to another, there is the factor of the economy in the village. The village is not self-sufficient as far as employment is concerned. In the context of employment outside of the village, Otomi speakers were not given job preference, especially for higher paid jobs. In short, one may say that language use within the community is continuously shifting from Otomi toward Spanish. Transmission of the indigenous language to the younger generation is practically non-existent.

Previous research (Terborg, 1989) with another indigenous group, the Mayo in the State of Sonora, has also observed that language use is changing in a similar manner. More than half of the bilingual speakers speak Mayo with older people such as grandparents, uncles and aunts, and parents, while very few (about 10%) speak to these kin in Spanish. Half the sample population use Mayo when speaking to their peers (brothers, sisters and spouses). A change has been occurring in the use of Spanish with children; only 24% of adults spoke to their own children exclusively in Mayo, while 44% spoke to children exclusively in Spanish. The older generations tend to speak in Mayo to their children: no woman under the age of 30 spoke to her children only in Mayo, and only a few spoke in both languages – Mayo and Spanish.

Another study of interest is that carried out on the Yucatan Peninsula (Terborg, 1992). Language shift was studied in two different villages, Xocen and Dzitás. Xocen is a small village with a population of about 1,000 inhabitants, with an unpaved road to the next town, Valladolid, 10 kms away, making travel difficult, particularly during the rainy season. Dzitás is a village with about 5,000 inhabitants and a railway station on the rail line to Merida, the capital of the State of Yucatan. There also were, in Dzitás, good roads allowing for bus travel. In these two villages, two stages of language shift were observed. In Xocen, 29% of the women between 15 and 29 years of age were monolingual in Yucatec Mayan. There were no monolinguals among the men of the same age, a phenomenon that may be identify as the first stage of language shift. In Dzitás, the second stage of language shift could be observed; the majority of the monolinguals in Mayan were older women who had apparently passed through the stage observed among the women of Xocen, but there were no longer any younger women in Dzitás who were monolingual in Mayan. In addition, a change in the attitude of women toward the indigenous language could be observed; as in Dzitás, in spite of being bilingual, the women promoted the use of the national language, Spanish, rather than their indigenous language.

These examples represent three distinct cases of language shift and of the reduction in, or lack of, intergenerational transmission. One can observe how the two stages of language shift are functioning. However, in spite of having only 8% monolingual speakers, Mayan is still strong in some villages and has the potential to be transmitted to the next generation. Contrary to what might have been predicted 20 years ago, Yucatec Mayan has emerged with new strength as can be seen in educational programmes for children in the capital of Merida. The language in these areas serves as a symbol of local identity for its speakers and those who associate with its speakers (Terborg, 1992, 1995, 1996c, 2004).

There are other areas where languages that are observed to be endangered have been studied. Lastra (1999), for example, reports on language shift among the Chichimeco Jonaz speakers in the community of the *Mision de Chichimecas* in the state of Guanajuato. She divided the village into the *Mision de Abajo* and the *Mision de Arriba* to compare the progress of language shift. She found that in the *Mision de Abajo* only 3% of the primary school children speak the indigenous language while in the *Mision de Arriba* 60% of the primary school children speak the language. Within the population under 25 years of age, 30% speak the language, 20% do not speak it and 50% understand or speak very little.

MacKay (1999) has studied Totonaco in the village of Yecuatla in the state of Veracruz. Her study focuses on social and economic factors and their impact on language shift. She reports these factors are working together to promote the speaking of Spanish in the village. Totonaco represents a stigmatised culture and language, and local identity does not depend on the use of Totonaco. The close knit networks in the community favour the use of Spanish.

In contrast to previous reports, Velázquez Vilchis (2006) has found that use of the Atzinca language (Ocuilteco in Manrique's classification) spoken in the State of Mexico is actually increasing among the younger generations. This is a phenomenon of great interest; it may indicate a new wave of transmission to the children of the indigenous community and hence may signify that ILs may enjoy a more promising future than had been previously believed. If the reported information is true this may be another case like the revival of Welsh, as for example reported by Crystal (1997: 119) and Edwards and Newcombe (2005).

Attitudes toward indigenous languages

One of the factors affecting the shift away from indigenous languages is the prevailing attitudes toward the languages and their speakers. When the speaker of an indigenous language acquires some knowledge of Spanish, s/he does not automatically become a citizen who faces no discrimination. Negative attitudes toward indigenous languages continue to function as those attitudes also extend to Spanish spoken with an accent that is recognisable as one associated with one of these languages.

To this end, several different tests, known as matched-guise tests, have been developed. There are problems with such tests (see Saville-Troike, 1982: 170) since they do not always measure attitudes accurately. Nevertheless, the advantage of these instruments is that they can be administered quickly to a great number of subjects. The heart of these tests consists in presenting samples of the speech of several informants and having the subjects react by means of a questionnaire. For one such study (Terborg, 2004), two samples of men giving

directions in Spanish were recorded, one by a native Spanish speaker from the city of Toluca and the other by a speaker with an Otomi accent. The same bidialectal speaker was used for both recordings. The subjects, who were all speakers of Spanish from outside the community, listened to the samples and through several small questionnaires were asked about what they thought the probable employment of the speakers would be. After hearing the two samples, the subjects were asked to implement the following protocol:

> You are in charge of hiring employees for a company. You have to choose the proper job for each of the candidates you have just heard. The company produces electronic apparatus and wants to hire managers, engineers for the machinery, electricians, production workers, labourers, mechanics, delivery truck drivers, watchmen, a gardener, cleaning personnel, and collectors of rubbish from the work area. What job would you assign to each of these two candidates?

The subjects were presented with a sheet with two lists of the aforementioned jobs so that they could choose an appropriate job for the supposed applicants – the speaker with the Otomi accent (OS) and the standard Spanish speaker (SS). This test was administered to 106 subjects. The results showed that 60% of the informants would have employed the SS in one the three highest positions (i.e. manager, engineer or electrician) while only 4% would have employed the SS in one of the lowest three positions. On the other hand, the OS would have been employed by 44% of the informants in the lowest position and only by 5% in the three highest positions. Of the results presented in Table 8, it is particularly difficult to speculate about the case of the driver, since the questionnaire did not specify whether the driver was a private chauffeur or a truck driver.

From the data presented in Table 8, one can conclude that a person who speaks Spanish with an Otomi accent is at a disadvantage with respect to employment opportunities as opposed to a person who speaks standard Mexican Spanish; that

Table 8 Assignation of jobs to the SS (Standard Spanish) and OS (Spanish with Otomi accent) speakers

Occupation	Standard Spanish guise (Percentages)	Spanish with Otomi accent guise (Percentages)
1. Manager	11.32	0.00
2. Engineer	41.51	1.89
3. Electrician	7.55	2.83
4. Mechanic	1.89	4.72
5. Labourer	3.77	22.64
6. Driver	24.53	12.26
7. Watchman	5.66	11.32
8. Gardener	0.94	10.38
9. Cleaner	1.89	9.43
10. Rubbish collector	0.94	24.53

is, the attributes presumed to be associated with standard Spanish include higher levels of education, intelligence and capacity. This presumption is demonstrated by the fact that the majority of the subjects assigned the native Spanish speaker to better-paying jobs that require more training or even a university degree. At the same time, the person who spoke Spanish with an Otomi accent was assigned by most of the subjects to jobs that require little or no training. The majority of the subjects would assign the two speakers to very different types of jobs, suggesting that they do not feel that the two speakers are equal (Terborg, 2004).

Throughout Mexico, attitudes to speakers of indigenous languages vary from open aggression to low intensity negative attitudes – i.e. ignoring their presence if they choose to speak their native language.

The effect of education

In many cases, public education can have an adverse effect on the mainte-nance of indigenous languages. There have been advances in the planning of bilingual education as the objectives of this type of education have changed over time. For this reason, it is difficult to analyse the effect of education on the displacement or maintenance of indigenous languages, since the objectives have not remained constant. When these objectives have changed, teaching has not always kept up with the changes. Monolingual indigenous children have greater difficulty in bilingual schools set up especially for them than bilingual children (Terborg, 1998).

Edwards (1985: 169) argues that the power of education to maintain ethnic identity and the respective languages has always been overestimated. Similarly, with respect to the transition, it is not schooling that leads to proficiency in Spanish.

Our informal observations and those of other researchers suggest that, in many cases, when monolingual children attend a bilingual school, they drop out before finishing the primary grades. Among the possible reasons are that it appears that they cannot take as much advantage of their classes, as they could had they learned Spanish, since the methodology of bilingual schools favours bilingual children at the expense of monolinguals. Many children and adoles-cents learn Spanish even though they do not attend primary school.

One could ask whether it is possible for children to learn Spanish if their own parents do not speak it well. Often only one of their parents has some knowledge of the dominant language and uses it with the children. Contact with the Spanish-speaking population is encouraged. For example, a family from Xocen (Yucatan) sent its three daughters to school in the nearby city of Val-ladolid where the primary school was not bilingual. Their mother had limited receptive knowledge of Spanish, but could not speak it, while their father was relatively competent in Spanish. Nevertheless, when the daughters were in Xocen, they frequently used Spanish among themselves. They even used it with their little brother who spent the entire day with his mother and hence spoke Mayan. On several occasions during fieldwork, people who were proud of speaking Yucatec Mayan said that they only spoke Spanish with their children so that they would not have problems when they went to school.

A similar phenomenon was found in San Cristobal Huichochitlan, where one may say that there is a negative correlation between education and knowledge of Otomi (see Table 9), since as the average number of years of schooling increases

Table 9 Years of schooling of inhabitants over 40 years of age

Years of schooling*	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Men	5	0	2	3	1	1	2	0	1	1	16
Women	10	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	18
Total	15	1	3	6	2	2	3	0	1	1	34

*The first line give the years of primary school completed. Grades seven to nine correspond to grades one to three of secondary school

Table 10 Years of schooling in inhabitants from 21 to 40 years of age

Years of schooling	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Pr	Total
Men	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 3.6%	1 3.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	10 35.7%	1 3.6%	1 3.6%	12 42.9%	2 7.1%	28 100.0%
Women	4 10.8%	1 2.7%	2 5.4%	3 8.1%	2 5.4%	0 0.0%	12 32.4%	0 0.0%	1 2.7%	10 27.0%	2 5.4%	37 100.0%
Total	4 6.2%	1 1.5%	3 4.6%	4 6.2%	2 3.1%	0 0.0%	22 33.8%	1 1.5%	2 3.1%	22 33.8%	4 6.2%	65 100.0%

The first line gives years of schooling. Grades seven to nine correspond to grades one to three of secondary school and Pr refers to at least some years of post-secondary education

(that is, among those aged from 5 to 20), proficiency in Otomi decreases. It is also notable that, among older inhabitants (those over 41 years of age) who have had less schooling, 100% speak Otomi. This fact may be due to a lack of educational opportunities in the past, and the correlation may not be causal, since while the phenomenon is uncommon in many indigenous populations, it is also uncommon in rural Spanish-speaking areas.

The great majority (80%) of those between the ages of 21 and 40 are bilingual Otomi-Spanish speakers, while 20% are Spanish monolinguals. Since this is the sector of the population that can choose which language will be transmitted to the younger generations, this population is of particular interest in understanding the possible relationships between knowledge of Otomi and schooling.

In the entire group (*n* = 65), 12 individuals finished only the third year of primary school or less. These 12 represent 18.5% of the total and include four individuals with no formal schooling at all. The remaining eight are Otomi speakers. Nevertheless, of the people who cannot be considered full Otomi speakers (14), all finished the sixth year of primary school (with one exception; a woman whose L1 was not Otomi who only finished the third year). Of these people, six finished secondary school, and, of those six, one even finished preparatory school (upper level secondary education); that is, among those who did not speak Otomi, none who had no formal education at all, and 90% (of a population of 14 individuals) finished primary school or went further (see Table 10).

Of the Otomi speakers, 25% did not finish primary school – that is, did not reach the sixth year or had no formal education. It is noteworthy that this group consists mainly of women, since the majority of men did finish basic education, independently of whether they were Otomi speakers or not.

The level of formal schooling attained by a member of the population under study correlates strongly with that person's age, since access to formal schooling in the region is a recent development. It is also true, however, that older persons are also much more likely to be Otomi speakers. Nevertheless, there is not necessarily a causal link between being a speaker of Otomi and not having attained a high level of formal schooling. Having said that, the perception of the community is that these two factors are linked and that knowing Otomi has a direct and negative influence on the ability to do well at school. This belief makes parents reluctant to transmit Otomi to their children. It would seem clear from this behaviour that the provision of schooling in Spanish contributes to the process of language shift.

Finally, one can say that, while there is some correlation between language and education, being an Otomi speaker does not prevent one from acquiring formal education or training as long as one has some knowledge of Spanish. However, a causal relationship cannot be said to exist between knowledge of Otomi and lower levels of schooling, since both conditions are more probably caused by external factors such as access to schooling. Nonetheless, the community perceives the existence of such a link, since, in their experience, a person who speaks Otomi probably also has a lower level of schooling than do those who are monolingual in Spanish. This belief may be included among the many factors that are promoting language shift.

In the case of Tzeltal in Chiapas, McCaa and Mills (1999) report on a specific case:

> The parents speak Tzeltal as well as Spanish, although they never attended school and remain illiterate. Their sons, ages 7 and 9, are also bilingual, attend school and are literate. The daughters, aged 10 and 13, are likewise literate and attend school, but do not speak the mother tongue, according to the census enumeration form. If this family is typical, education appears to be the enemy of vernacular languages in Chiapas. (McCaa & Mills, 1999: 118)

The authors have found many similar cases, although age seems to be a determining factor.

It is undeniable, in the light of the previous discussion, that public education is a destabilising factor for indigenous languages which, while it may not have a direct influence on the change of linguistic attitudes among children, clearly it has an indirect influence by forcing the parents to introduce Spanish in the home.

To conclude this section, the impact of practices of language transmission, attitudes and the role of formal education for the maintenance of ILs in Mexico have been discussed. From this analysis, it would seem clear that all of these factors influence the likelihood of language maintenance and language shift, and interact in complex and varied ways within a given speech community.

The future of indigenous languages

Hamel comments that it was almost impossible a few decades ago to imagine:

> . . . that in Mexico, a country of institutionalised indigenism, with the largest state apparatus in Latin America, an indigenous insurrectional movement such as the *Ejército Zapatista de la Liberacion Nacional* (EZLN) would manage to reach a wide audience and achieve recognition, and make significant contributions to national political debate . . . (Hamel, 2000: 2)

At present, EZLN has specific institutions and programmes for indigenous education that support the preservation and development of indigenous cultures and languages, although, for the time being, these are mere statements of intent and have yet to be put into practice.

There is a substantial amount of language policy research that supports indigenous languages, creating an impression that there is interest in maintaining ILs. In spite of the previously mentioned efforts, languages are disappearing, as Otomi in the Valley of Mexico shows. The efforts mentioned have also been criticised as insufficient. It must be made clear that many of these efforts remain isolated, like islands that maintain hope, but in reality they have not contributed much to the maintenance and development of indigenous cultures. Instead of being an engine for the development of the indigenous population, they serve as a means of soothing the conscience of the state. 'It is possible to reproach the Mexican Government for the fact that it openly impedes the advancement of Indians within their own culture, or deny that it has institutions charged with promoting the well-being of indigenous communities'. (Garza Cuarón & Lastra, 2000: 157–8).

Many important questions came to light with the Zapatista movement, since the movement demanded that mestizos be obliged to have at least a basic knowledge of the indigenous language spoken in the area in which they live (Pellicer, 1999: 11). These are fundamental questions for indigenous linguistic rights.

Barriga and Parodi arrive at the following conclusions:

> Up to the present there has been a marked tendency (open or hidden) toward the incorporation of the indigenous population into the dominant society. The decisions have been unilateral, leaving the indigenous citizens out of the decision-making process or only making them believe that they are participants.

Official discourse promotes a bilingual-bicultural policy which is, in essence, a Castilianisation disguised as the teaching of literacy that promotes an asymmetric bilingualism that gradually eliminates aboriginal languages. (Batalla, cited in Barriga & Parodi, 1999: 29)

Lara even goes so far as to state that there is no 'linguistic policy' in Mexico, in spite of the existence of sufficient scientific evidence to formulate such a policy; Lara offers as some of the reasons:

> the lack of a clear idea (. . .) on behalf of many Mexican anthropologists

and linguists of how to use this evidence as the basis for such a policy, (. . .)
and the antidemocratic, authoritarian, paternalistic and corrupt character-
istics of the governments we have suffered under up to the present. (Lara,
forthcoming)

It is difficult, given this panorama, to make any prediction about the future of
indigenous languages. It is probable that many of them will disappear during
the course of this new century simply because they lack vitality. However,
there are languages that, with adequate planning, could have a future, above
all Mayan, Nahuatl, P'urepecha, Zapotec and several languages in the states
of Chiapas and Oaxaca. Considering, however, the political changes that have
occurred, contrary to expectations there may yet be viable actions and goals that
would lead to a plan to maintain such languages.

Prospects in Language Planning

As we have tried to show in this monograph, the language situation in Mexico
represents a highly heterogeneous panorama with many contrasts and contra-
dictions. It may, nonetheless, be true that language planning in Mexico is slowly
acquiring some degree of continuity despite changes in the political arena.

The most important progress can be seen in the field of indigenous languages.
Recent events, including the new law on indigenous language rights (which
elevates ILs to the status of national languages) and the foundation of the
INALI, provide a framework for the coordination of actions to promote minority
language maintenance. Obviously, in the course of achieving this objective
many problems will be encountered and extensive surveys in ethnography of
communication are essential to success.

On the topic of foreign languages, while it is clear that Mexican society
usually considers the learning of foreign languages as an economic and cultural
added value, the promotion of additive plurilinguism could be reinforced. It is
essential that social organisations like the media, schools and families support
the learning of languages with a clearer awareness of the purposes that these
languages serve. Research is needed at the macro, meso and micro level to
inform the public and the authorities of specific language needs in the language
communities, in order to design appropriate syllabi, like the research conducted
by Smith (forthcoming) for the special case of migrants to the USA. Moreover,
it would be advantageous to have documented case studies of locally designed
programmes and their results. The construction of national and local language
policies requires academic networks to cover all aspects of foreign language
teaching which would help to counterbalance the prevailing centralist view of
education in Mexico.

Regarding Spanish, we can see how Mexican scholars, government author-
ities, students and professionals need to develop language skills for specific
purposes. It is usually believed that being native speaker of Spanish is suffi-
cient to become a skilled writer or speaker of the language in different domains.
Therefore, much research is needed in the different linguistic contexts in Mexico
to be able to make informed decisions to improve the teaching of Spanish. Also
we consider that an ecological vision of the interactions between Spanish, inter-
national languages and indigenous languages will be necessary.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. An important Mexican research centre.
2. Also see Barrera Vásquez, 1980; García Fajardo, 1984; Lope Blanch, 1987.
3. The government identifies 62 languages, but linguists challenge this estimate, claiming that the number is probably higher.
4. Instituto Nacional de Estadistica Geografia e Informatica – National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics.
5. There are some areas outside of the state of Oaxaca where these languages are spoken, but they are of lesser importance. Most are settlements with a fluctuating immigrant population like those in California.
6. For Yucatec Mayan, see e.g. Swadesh *et al.* (1991).
7. Leonardo Manrique has been one of the most important descriptive linguists in Mexico for the last few decades, and his work is dedicated to the classification of indigenous languages.
8. Chontal means 'stranger' and is the name that the Aztecs used for groups in Tabasco and Oaxaca. However the two languages bearing this name are not related to one another.
9. Milpa Alta and Xochimilco are districts of Mexico City.
10. Castilianisation was an institutional programme initiated by José Vasconcelos in 1921 during his period as Minister of Education at the SEP. The programme aimed to impose Spanish on indigenous communities through rural schools.
11. International schools are Mexican schools that incorporate international standards into their education curricula so that students of immigrants who study abroad are able to integrate to the culture and academic life of their home countries once they return to their places of origin.
12. The vision of this type of schools is to incorporate the values of both cultures in the curriculum and the school's environment. In addition, these schools are not restricted to the children of immigrants. Some wealthy Mexican families are interested in this type of education and are attracted by the quality of education that children can acquire in these schools. However, they may not share the cultural values and traditions of their home country, causing a conflict in children's identity.
13. The UNAM has a junior high school 'Secundaria 2' [Junior High School, 2] where English is taught as a foreign language at a rate of three hours a week.
14. For example, according to the General Office of School Administration (DGAE) at the UNAM, some of the programmes such as Architecture require a certificate of reading comprehension in English or French from the Centre of Foreign Languages or from the Faculty of Architecture. However, the Faculty's website states that there is no language requirement. Then, when the information was requested by phone,

a spokesperson representing the school authorities said that students should hold a certificate of reading comprehension in any language (Suárez, 2004).

15. The nine universities participating in this study (N = 4,438) were the UPN (National Pedagogical University – 619 students), ITAM (Institute – 194 students), UAM (Metropolitan Autonomous University – 665 students, COLMEX (College of Mexico – 25 students), UVM (Mexican Valley University – 496 students), ENAH (National School of History and Anthropology – 242 students), ITT (Technological Institute of Tlalnepantla – 242 students), IPN (National Polytechnic Institute – 862 students), UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico – 1,093 students).

16. A new exchange programme for Mexican secondary school and university students reported by the Portal SEP in recent years is only for those who have a certain level of English and who can afford to pay certain expenses such as the airfare.

17. (Maria Paz Berruecos, Mariano Díaz Gutiérrez, Joaquín Figueroa, Graciela Murillo and Gloria Ruiz de Bravo Ahuja).

18. GEPUS was a three-book series designed mainly by foreign linguists for Mexican university students, published in 1986 and used at the CELE until 1994, when commercial books were substituted for this series.

19. An exception to this rule is the work carried out by the Autonomous Metropolitan University in Mexico City, where some education specialists have used the framework critically and worked on a syllabus of English for their university. The syllabus is still in the pilot stage; results will be expected in a few years.

20. This commission is integrated by a proprietary adviser, counsellor, consultant and a substitute from the CAAHyA, representatives of professors, appointed by the Coordinator (Elizabeth Luna Traill); an academic representative from each of the following eight entities: *la Escuela Nacional de Estudios Superiores Acatlán*, *la Escuela Nacional de Estudios Profesionales Aragón*, *la Facultad de Estudios Superiores Cuautitlán*, *la Facultad de Estudios Superiores Iztacala*, *la Facultad de Estudios Superiores Zaragoza*, *el Colegio de Ciencias y Humanidades*, *la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* and *el Centro de Enseñanza de Lenguas Extranjeras*; appointed by the director of each of the entities; and three specialists in the Field of Foreign Languages, appointed by the Coordinator.

21. The Gaceta (Bulletin) UNAM is a bulletin of information published by the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) about important events, regulations and decisions taken by the different Chairs of Councils of the University.

22. Carlos Montemayor is a writer and historian who is a member of the Royal Mexican and Spanish Academies of Language. Some of his works as narrator, essay writer and translator are: *Mal de piedra [Stone Evil], Guerra en el paraíso [War in Paradise], Los informes secretos [Secret Reports], La rebelión indígena en México [Indigenous Rebellion in México] and Rehacer la historia [Re-making History]* and his direct translation from Latin of Carmina Burana. In 2001 he co-ordinated the most important anthology of indigenous literature bringing together the work of 32 authors, in 10 indigenous languages (Maya, Tzetzal, Tzotzil, Tojolabal, Nahuatl, Zapoteco del Itsmo, Zapoteco de la Sierra, Mazateco, Huichol and Hñahñu): La voz profunda. Antología de la literatura mexicana en lenguas indígenas. [Deep Voice. Mexican Literary Anthology in Indigenous Languages] Editorial Joaquín Mortiz, México, 2004.

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