BILINGUALISM EMBRACED, TOLERATED, OR DISCOURAGED?

Jitka Crhová
Language School
Tijuana, Mexico

Dr. Jitka Crhová has been working at the UABC since 1992. Currently she has been teaching English in general courses, post-graduate courses and in the B.A. program in the Language School, Tijuana campus. Certified by Cambridge University (C.O.T.E.) and UCSD San Diego (ELT). Her PhD (Romanic Languages, Linguistics) was granted by the Palacky University, Czech Republic. In 2004, she published the book *Atitudes Towards the Language* (for UABC-CEC/Museo-Pacmyc, ICBC). Her field of interest is sociolinguistics.
jcrhova@hotmail.com

This paper was presented at the 38th Annual State Conference of Catesol (California Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) in San Diego California in April 2007.

Key words: bilingualism, linguistic diversity and its historic antecedents, bilingual education in Mexico, bilingual education in our region of the US-Mexican border, the case of Tijuana, different treatment for different bilingualisms, desirability of bilingual education of border population based on a sample.

The title of the paper, as you can see, alludes to the fact that bilingualism is treated differently depending on the particular type of bilingualism in question. During my practice as a language teacher at UABC University in Tijuana, I have noticed that social acceptance is the factor that conditions the desirability of an individual to learn or maintain a language. The implementation of a concrete language policy tends to promote certain languages, while the acquisition or maintenance of others is in reality being discouraged.

Bilingualism is a tricky concept, one about which language experts continue to argue incessantly. For some, a "real" bilingual person would only be the person who grew up in two languages and has full command of those languages. However, in this definition, one can argue with the qualifier *full* and ask what is meant exactly by "full command." How would that term be defined? And then, there is the question as to whether or not there even exists a person who does have full command of all stylistic registers for each language. Could we find such a specimen among ourselves?

Now, there is a different position--the other extreme--claiming that any knowledge of another language will make you bilingual. The problem here, of course, is that if we were to contemplate and take into account as evidence of bilingualism any and all knowledge of different language varieties or dialects, of two or more linguistic codes, etc, then we would hardly have any monolinguals left!

While the specialist may argue about the theoretical delimitation of who is a true bilingual, the classified section of any local (Baja Californian) newspaper could indicate with precision, to the great envy of any linguist, that for the job of executive secretary a person needs to be 80%, 90%, or 100% bilingual. In our teaching practice, we are frequently asked by our students: "Teacher, what's my percentage of English?" Needless to say, we can't ever give them a straightforward figure.

In our research carried out in 2002 and published in 2004, when examining attitudes towards languages spoken in our region, languages such as

Mixtec and Kumayaay, Spanish and English, we use the term bilingual for “a person able to sustain a longer conversation in the language of our interest”, and in many cases we would receive a self-referral comment or other indicator from our research subjects as well. The main focus of our attention was a person’s attitude towards a language, towards bilingual education, etc. The actual language proficiency of either the bilingual or monolingual speakers of Spanish in our study was not at all the crucial point of our concern or inquiry.

The multicultural character of Mexico is contemplated in the Constitution of the country. Mexico is a country with one of the highest degrees of linguistic diversity in the world. The material distributed by the Secretary of Public Education based on figures from 1997 states that Mexico occupies the second position in the world in this area with 62 languages spoken on its territory (it is preceded by India with 65 and followed by China with 54). It is estimated that, before the arrival of Spaniards, some 170 languages were spoken and that at the end of the 19th century that figure had dropped to approximately 100. Of course, like any figures, these have to be taken with discretion in that classification criteria tend to vary and depend largely, among other things, on how the person who does the classification delineates what is a language and what is a dialect. Thus, the most accurate answer to the question of how many languages are spoken in Mexico would be “many” (as quoted by Suárez, 1995, p. 39). Speaking of dialects and attitudes, what caught my attention shortly after my arrival to Mexico, was the common practice of labeling any indigenous language as a “dialect”, reserving thus the term “language” for the international languages that

have an official status, such as Spanish, English or French. It goes virtually without saying that such a practice, widely spread across many Latin American countries, has no linguistic justification whatsoever. As the term “dialect” is always subordinate or inferior in its connotation to the term “language,” the analogy can easily be drawn that by labeling Mexican vernacular languages as “mere” dialects or “primitive” languages, the attitude towards a language variety and its speakers is negatively perceived and reflected, even though such an attitude is perhaps subconsciously acquired and presently being perpetrated as a habit learned in and through the ruling system.

Despite Mexico’s linguistic richness, the majority of the indigenous languages are fragmented into numerous linguistic varieties spoken by few people. Only two languages, *nauhuatl* and *maya* are each spoken by more than a million of people. Yet according to the Mexican census report (2000), only about 7% of the population older than 5 years of age reports speaking some kind of indigenous language. Again, this figure may be imprecise as it has been documented, for example, that people often conceal their ability to speak an indigenous language in an official government census due to fears of discrimination, etc. (see Claudia Parodi, 1981). What is clear is that the percentage of vernacular language speakers in Mexico has diminished steadily in recent decades. For example, in the 40’s, 15% of the Mexican populace was comprised of indigenous language speakers who used their indigenous language as their first and only language of communication. Nowadays, the majority of the

people who can speak an indigenous language are also bilingual in Spanish (81.5%).

Today, the list of the vernacular languages spoken in Mexico is still long, but it does not reach even half the number of languages spoken before the arrival of the Spaniards. During the long existence of superimposition of the colonizer's language, many autochthonous languages have become extinct and many more are disappearing at present day by day. Linguistic diversity is aiming more and more towards linguistic homogeneity. This present day state of affairs has its historical antecedents. Prior to the Colonial Époque the indigenous population was not a homogeneous bloc. *Nahuatl* was the official language of the Aztecs and was at that time considered as a language of prestige. The Aztecs, of course, instructed the tribes they dominated in their language. During the Colonial Era, the missionaries instructed the indigenous elites in Catholic religion, which was accompanied by the Castilian language, or Spanish. During the period of Mexican Independence from Spain, the official government policy was to "assimilate" the indigenous person and turn him or her into a Mexican citizen. Nevertheless, some ties with the Pre-colonial period were nourished during the struggle for independence and by the newly independent Mexican state because they served to strengthen a newly sprung sense of nationalism and identity for Mexicans as a unique people who are culturally diverse and "mixed race" (or "mestizo").

All of this glorious past is recalled at this point only as a historical reminiscence and not as a vivid legacy of the indigenous and *mestizo* population

that is still among us. Under Porfirio Diaz's rule, multilingualism was considered to be an obstacle to progress. In the 19th century, under the leadership of Ignacio Ramirez, the first bilingual educational program finally appeared. And, a new bilingual and bicultural model began being promoted in the mid 20th century by the National Indigenous Institute. Unfortunately for bilingualism, this model has recently been replaced by an *intercultural* theory and model. The idea of cultural and linguistic integration is based on the premise that problems could be eliminated by suppressing differences. This notion originated because of the fact that a multiplicity of languages and cultures no longer seemed sustainable for the official policy makers as an approach was perceived to have been proven as wrong. Today, as it's well known, the bilingual/bicultural or more precisely bilingual/intercultural education is only a myth, and if indigenous language speakers maintain their language today and moving forward, it will not be the result of a government policy or national educational program initiative.

Baja California is linguistically diverse like the rest of the country of Mexico, but there's something special about it. It is Baja California's geographical position that makes it, along with the other border states, unique. The direct juxtaposition of a totally industrialized and developed country (the United States) with a so called "third world" country implies a whole series of socio-economic, cultural, educational, as well as linguistic, problems. Mexican border cities, such as Tijuana (in Baja California), Nogales (in Sonora), Ciudad Juárez (in Chihuahua), Nuevo Laredo or Matamoros (in Tamaulipas), are marked by a strong "maquiladora" (assembly plant) industry presence. This industry has contributed

to the radical transformation that these cities have undergone in the last 30 years or so. Border cities, such as Tijuana and San Diego, Cuidad Juárez-El Paso, and Matamoros-Brownsville, are labeled as “twin” cities (Margarita Hidalgo, 1993). In each of these U.S. “twin” cities the Mexican presence is noticeable, as well as the American presence in their respective counterparts.

These contacts, namely, the cultural and linguistic ones have also raised some worries. There has been a concern about the influence of English on Spanish and at a time, the necessity to “protect” the Spanish language was felt. For that purpose, organizations like “Comisión para la Defensa del Español Fronterizo” (i.e. Border Spanish Defense Board) were founded in 1981. Its’ ephemerons existence is just another proof that you can’t impose someone’s will upon reality.

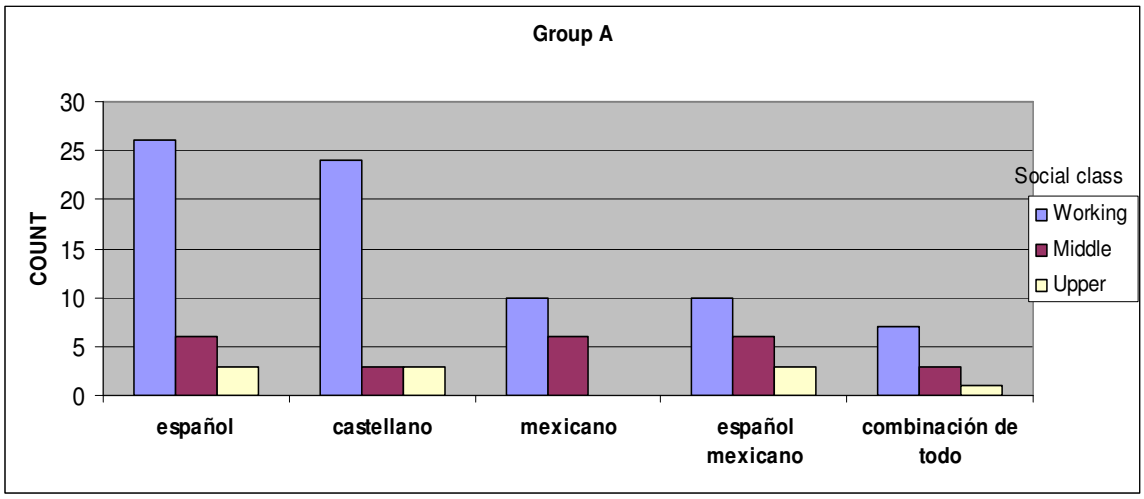
Living in a language contact situation can bring Mexican border residents some occasional troubles. Their fellow citizens from central and southern part of Mexico often call them “pochos”, the term they use despectively referring to a person who can’t maintain the two languages apart, and it is falsely believed that everybody in Tijuana speaks Spanglish. Besides being targeted as *pochos*, which is yet another reflection of the eternal antagonism center-periphery, border residents *themselves* feel (perhaps the arguments of the fellow citizens are very convincing, or perhaps language stereotypes have found a fertile soil here), that there’s something *wrong* with their variety of Spanish.

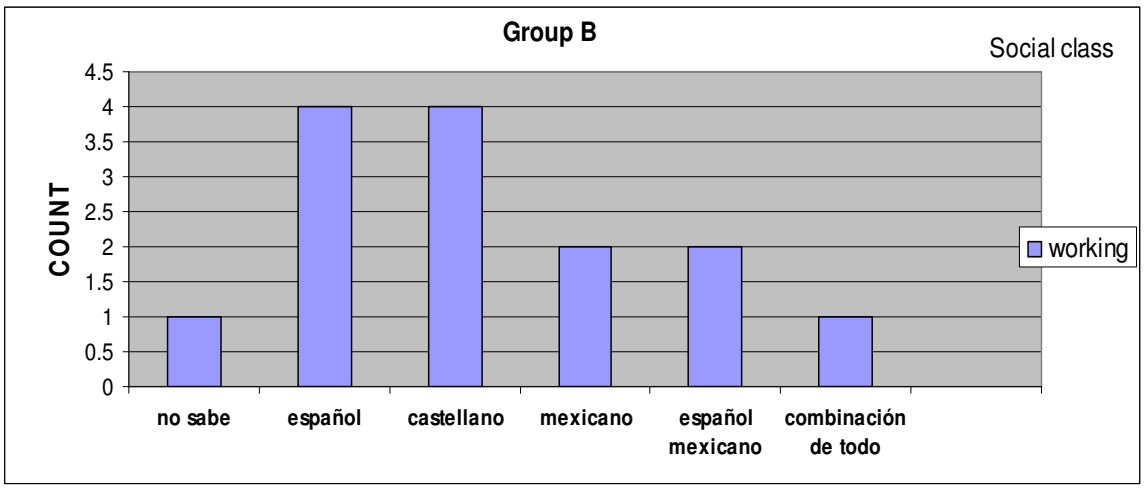
Spanish, similarly to English, is a language of colonial heritage with a rich spectrum of linguistic variants. This linguistic diversity and the usage of a certain

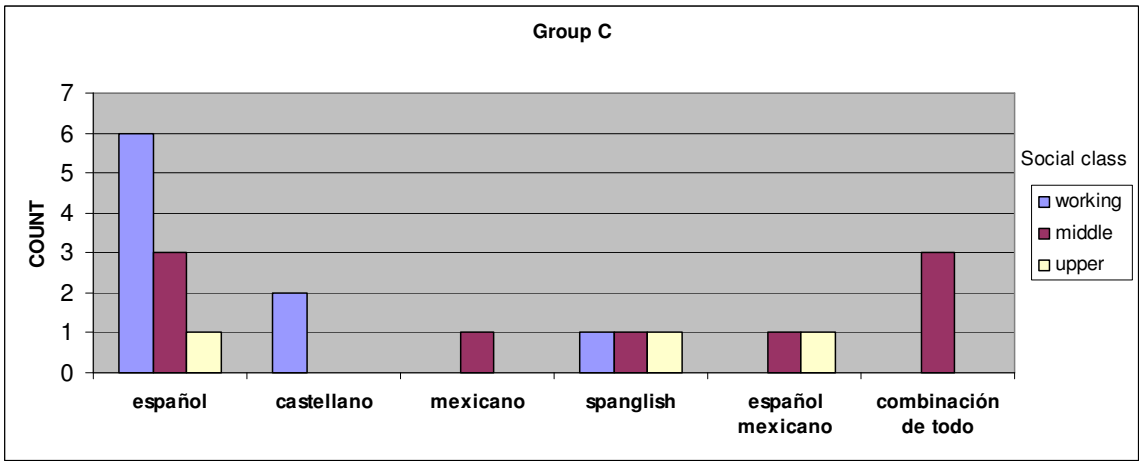
variety over others trigger attitudes towards the language spoken by others and one. People have strong feelings about what is “correct”, what’s the norm, and subsequently, who has a “franchise” for the *correct* and more *prestigious* Spanish, or should I have said C*astilian?*

The majority of population perceive language norm as something very distant and unreachable. Informants from our sample of Tijuana’s, basically monolingual population, presented a considerable degree of linguistic insecurity regarding the correct usage of their native language compared to Mexican-American bilinguals who felt more confident as far as the “correct” usage of their native language. Also, when asked to label the language they use, interesting data was revealed. The following graphic shows language preferences of three groups: group A is formed by 100 Tijuana’s respondents, basically monolingual speakers (self referral), group B is formed by 14 indigenous Mixtec and Kumayay and Spanish speaking bilinguals, and group C by 21 Mexican Americans (majority bilingual in English and Spanish, according to their auto referral comments).

Figure 1. *Language variant of Spanish spoken by group and social class*







(Crhová, 2004, p. 133)

The majority of our Tijuana's (group A) sample was very hesitant while deciding to name the language their interview was carried in. Working class tends to prefer the denomination "español" (39.1%), middle class sample seems to favor three denominations: "español", "mexicano", and "español mexicano" with equal frequency (23.8%) while the upper class prefers to label their language variety as "español", "castellano", and "español mexicano" (30% for each one). Bilingual Indigenous-Spanish speakers refer to the major language frequently as "castilla", option not chosen by any other group, with the same frequency as "castellano". Interestingly enough, none of Tijuana's informants claimed he would use "spanglish". Logically, the option "spanglish" was chosen by the informants from the sample of Mexican-American residents. Working class respondents from the group C give preference to denomination "español" (66%), while middle class sample favors with the same frequency "español" and "una combinación de todo" which is followed by the option "spanglish" (both working class and middle class mark this option with the same frequency, 11.1%. In the upper class, with the same percentage (33.3%), three language denominations prevail: "español", "spanglish" and "español mexicano". The fact that it took the respondents some time to label their language, or that they refer to it as *combination of all*, proves together with their auto-evaluation on the *correctness* of their Spanish, that they feel insecure in its usage. Interestingly, the insecurity concerning the proper usage of Spanish seems to be pronounced in Tijuana's sample (group A), where 16 % of the respondents are convinced their usage of Spanish is "wrong", 22% think their usage of language is "regular" and 62% claim

they use their language in a “correct” way. The Mexican American respondents seemed to be more confident in their “correct” usage of the Spanish language. The language variant spoken by them is labeled as “correct”, 100% cases, by both upper and middle class and in 88.9% by working class samples. Besides, 14.3% of females and 20% of males of the border residents’ sample reported the language variety used by them would be *combination of all*. Besides, the fact that the groups do not agree in their most frequent choices for a language denomination, and that a considerable amount of border residents would call the language they use daily *combination of all,* or in some cases can’t even give a name to the language they were using during the interview, just confirms the existence of the linguistic insecurity phenomenon.

Our border residents are, in their majority, monolingual speakers of Spanish. Indigenous languages are also spoken in the territory of Baja California, but at much lesser degree compared to the national average. The Census (2000) reports approximately 1.2% of our state residents speak some indigenous language. The majority of them are Mixtecs coming from the states of Oaxaca, Guerrero and Puebla. They have migrated to the north mainly for economical survival. In Baja California, they are concentrated in the San Quintín area. Another significant Mixtec population can be found in Tijuana, mainly in Obrera neighborhood. The Mixtec migrants usually stay in touch with their places of origin. This link is being constantly strengthened by new migrants’ arrivals. Mixtec migrants, and indigenous population in general, because of their cultural features and ethnic condition suffer frequent discrimination. 71.4% of our

bilingual indigenous-Spanish speakers reported having felt discriminated at occasions when using their mother tongue. Also, common practice of referring to indigenous languages as “primitive” perpetuates dangerous language stereotypes, and besides of misleading, it nourishes feelings of superiority/inferiority of certain language groups (and its users) over others.

Mixtec language is a complex, tonal language, with several varieties. Its’ codification and norms of usage are being defined by Mixtec Language Academy, which was founded in 1997 and has its local chapter in Tijuana. As a result of the dialectal diversity and the ongoing diaspora of the Mixtec population, the native languages are used less and less, especially by the young people; nevertheless, Mixtec is in stable situation, classified as “live and resistant”. Mixtec language has also its strong presence in the state of California.

On the other hand, the autochthonous indigenous languages from the Yuman group are in critical situation. The isolation and a very reduced number of speakers puts them in a situation of tremendous linguistic fragility. When we speak about the vernacular indigenous Baja California languages, we mean the following: 1) Paipai, 2) Kumeyaay, 3) Kiliwa, 4) so called Cochimí, and 5) Cocopa. All the above mentioned languages have few speakers left, for example Kiliwa, with four adult speakers is a moribund language, as it is no longer passed to children. Yuman languages are also spoken in the US side of the border. Kumayaay is the most numerous of this language family, having approximately one thousand members in Baja California, from which about four hundred, according to personal testimony (Iraís Piñón, 2002) are speakers of the language.

We were quite fortunate to interview three members of the Kumayaay community in San José de la Zorra, municipality of Tijuana with concentration of Kumayaay population. Their previous experience with "haiku"[1] visitors tells them they better keep their distance.

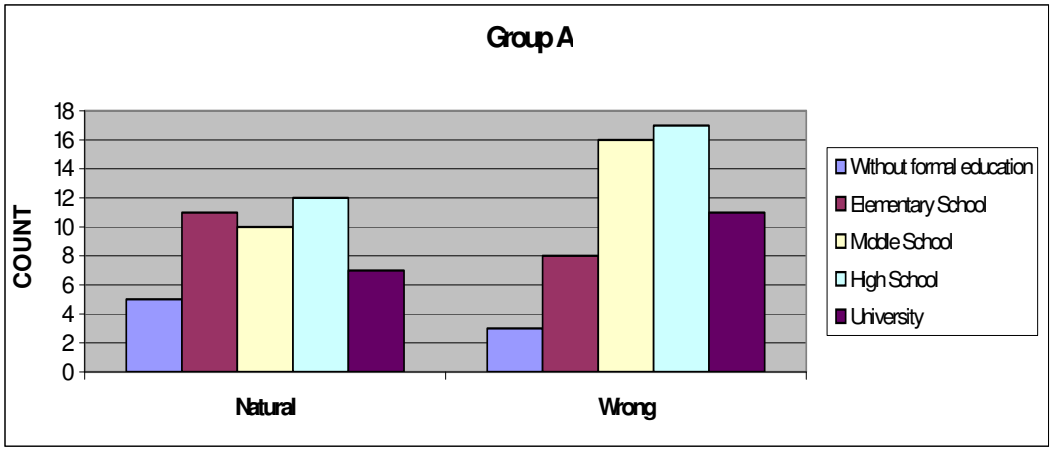
All diverse native indigenous groups, vernacular or coming from other parts of the country, together with Americans, Chinese, Russians and their descendents, Italians, and lately Japanese and Korean people, all the rest of population- mestizo migrants coming from different parts of the country form a part of rich linguistic diversity of our region.

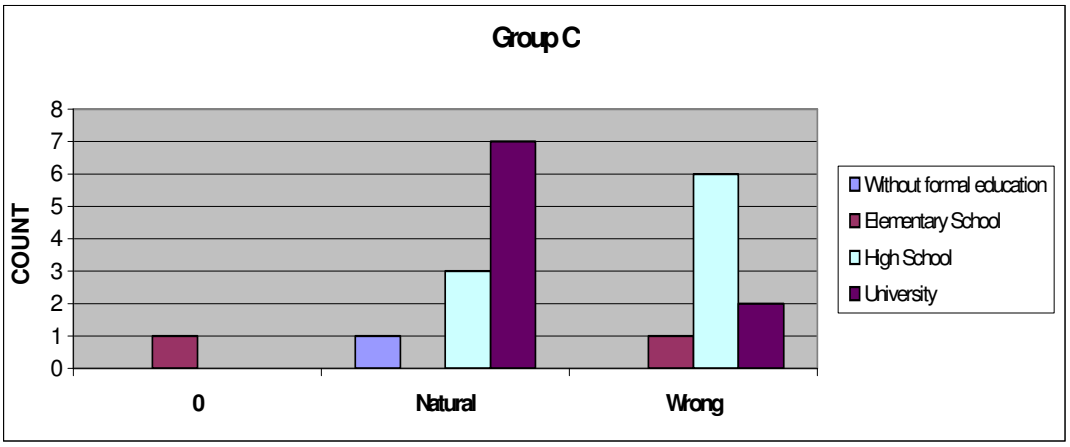
When languages live side by side for a long time, syncretic forms, merges of two originally different language forms will definitely appear. Indigenous languages left their presence in Spanish spoken in America. Many studies have been done on Spanish- indigenous code-switching and code-mixing. Jane and Kenneth Hill in their book "Hablando mexicano" (1999), describe the influence of Spanish on Nahuatl, also called "mexicano", in a bilingual community in La Malinche area in Mexico. I have adopted their term "syncretic" language as it implies linguistics creativity and is less charged compared to others destined to label the same phenomenon. In our Baja Californian region, the case of Spanish-English syncretic language, Spanglish, previously mentioned, and inclusion of linguistic elements from English to Spanish, is being closely observed. Syncretic languages and syncretic language forms trigger attitudes of purists, who would view these forms as corruption of the pristine forms of a given language. Language is a live organism, it's not static. It undergoes constant changes, which

[1] Haiku is a Kumayaay term for a non-member of the group, Mexican or a foreigner.

will remain unnoticed even in most updated dictionaries. Contrary to what might be expected, our border residents do not have a tendency to emit a negative judgment when syncretic forms appear. The tolerance towards code-switching is substantial in Tijuana and San Diego's residents and is perceived as something natural due to the contact situation between the two languages, and logically more pronounced in the sample of Mexican-American residents, as you can observe in the following graphic.

Figure 2. *Tolerance to code-switching and a degree of education of informants between groups A and C*





(Crhová, 2004, p.141)

Bilingual Education

The fact that Mexico is officially a multilingual country does not necessarily mean that a large percentage of the population is bilingual, regardless of the theoretical delimitation of the concept. It is my impression that in Mexico (and perhaps elsewhere, we have two different kinds of bilingualisms: one that is encouraged, and the other that is tolerated. The children of linguistic majorities/elites are encouraged to become bilingual, usually in prestigious international languages, such as English and French. Their native tongue is usually the official language of the country (or, in case of Mexico, a language treated as the official language but without a legal status), so even though these children do not become bilingual, their place in society is secured, while children of linguistic minorities are under constant pressure to become bilingual. The success in society is possible only through a good command of the official language. The parents of children of linguistic minorities usually wish their children learned their mother

tongue, but sometimes they opt for the majority language at the expense of their own.

Bilingual programs in indigenous languages and Spanish could be classified as *transitional*, as they are designed for a limited amount of time and the students receive their education in their native languages only until they master the majority language. Officially in Mexico, bilingual, indigenous-Spanish education concludes in the sixth grade, but in practice, as reported by bilingual teachers, it concludes in the third grade, or even sooner, whenever children become fully proficient in Spanish. These bilingual schools are public and funded by the government. Their educational programs are often redesigned and under a public lens. Bilingual schools usually struggle because of few educational materials or their dubious quality. The example of a teaching material with strange educational implications appears in continuation. A simplified world, world detached from social reality is being presented in a translation from Tzotzil:

"Here goes Tino with his cow

Tino is happy

He has a very good cow"

(Cifuentes, 1980, p. 49, translated by the author of the article).

Bilingual education, or intercultural bilingual education, as it's called at present, in indigenous languages in Baja California as elsewhere in Mexico faces numerous problems: the quantity of bilingual teachers is diminishing, in the same classroom we would have children speaking different indigenous languages placed together, in a Yuman autochthonous area, we could find a bilingual

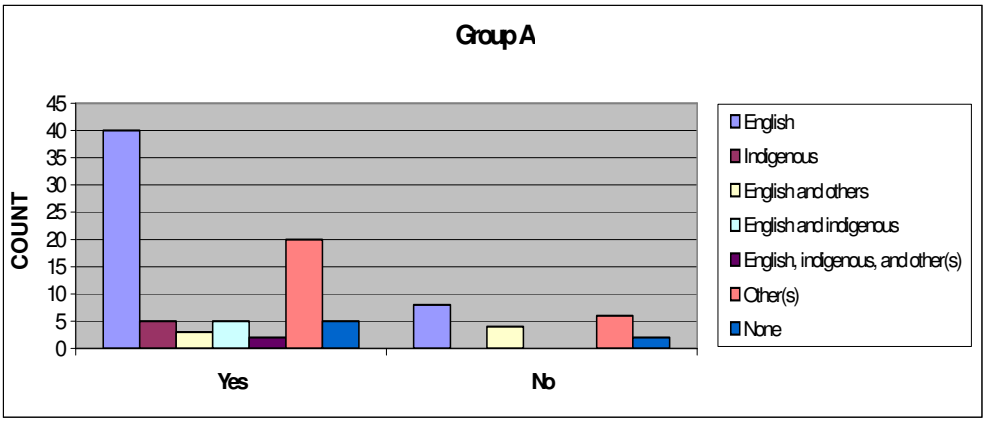
indigenous-Spanish teacher, but speaking different language than is used in the community, even though from similar linguistic affiliation, etc. As far as I know, in these bilingual schools children learn individual words, and the real responsibility to teach native languages becomes a task for community leaders. It is them, respected elders, like Theodora Cuero from the Kumeyaay nation, who are responsible for passing the language to younger generations.

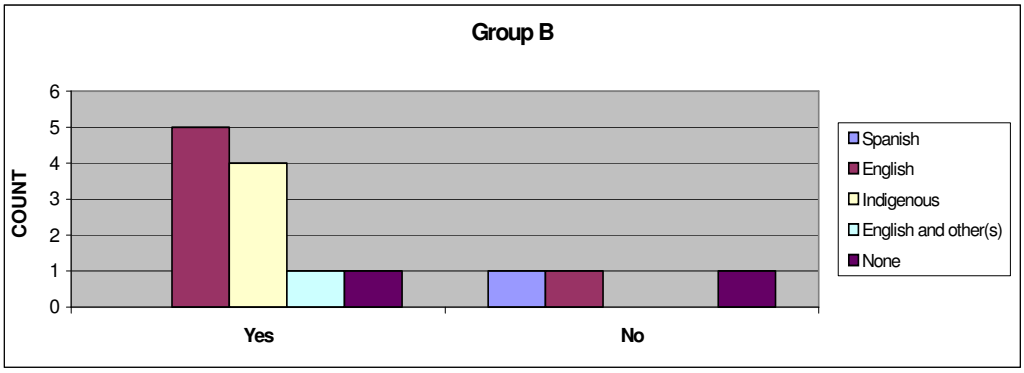
In the Anglo-Saxon context, bilingual education is defined as the use of two languages as a media of instruction (see Brisk, 2005, p. 8). In Tijuana, many schools carry the name *bilingual*, even though English is taught only as a subject. Perhaps the label "bilingual" fits more to their commercial purposes. The type of bilingualism promoted in these schools is *additive*; language proficiency in the mother tongue not being threatened. Bilingual programs with the international language (namely English) and Spanish curricula are promoted throughout all educational degrees from Kindergarten to postgraduate levels.

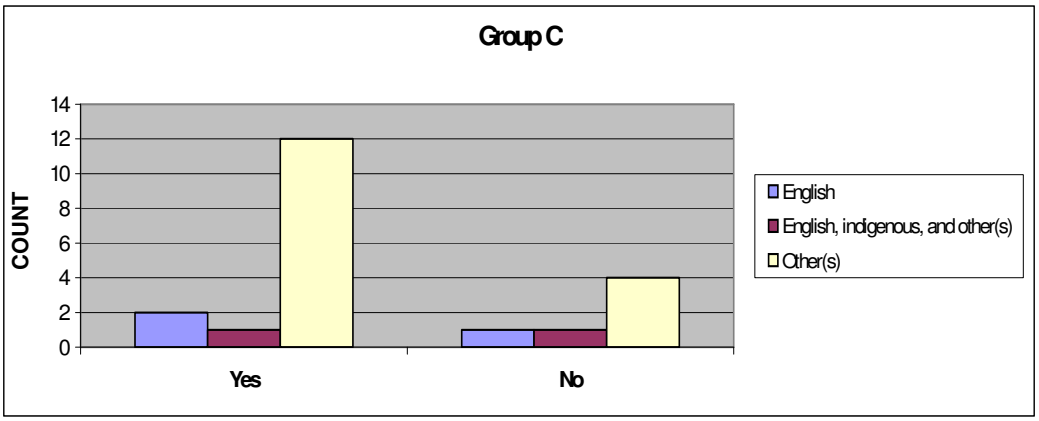
As political scenarios are gradually changing, including more individuals of diverse ideological and ethnic backgrounds in decision making, more attention is paid to intercultural issues and hence bilingualisms. The desire to learn an indigenous language, pronounced by our informant was, in some cases, just a figure of speech, discursive figure that reflects our informants' self-awareness on politically sensitive topic- indigenous bilingual education. Perhaps our respondents felt it was politically correct to show an interest in learning an indigenous language because, later in the interview, many of those who wanted to learn indigenous languages, when asked specifically which languages they

would like to learn, they were not very consistent with their initial language choices as shown in the following graphic.

Figure 3. *Relation between "would you like to learn a native language?" and "what languages would you like to learn?*







(Crhová, 2004, p. 139)

As one could observe, the majority of our informants from groups A and B, really want to learn English.

Although our informants from an indigenous sample favor bilingual education and 100% of them would like to have their children educated in bilingual schools. Taking into account that bilingual programs, in indigenous language-Spanish, hardly "raise" any bilinguals, we would expect the task to be completed in the family. The following graphic exemplifies the shift towards the use of Spanish in *home domain* of our informants from group B. Informants' native tongues are indigenous, as marked below the graphic.

Figure 4a. *Language used in home domain (with parents)*

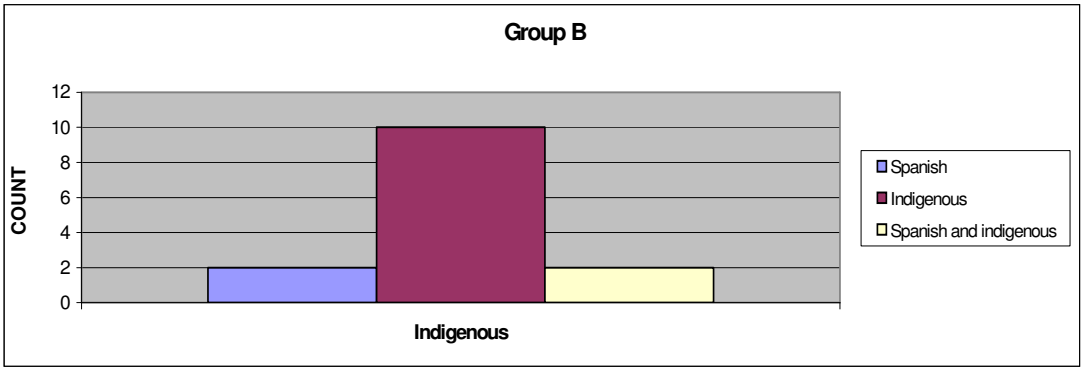
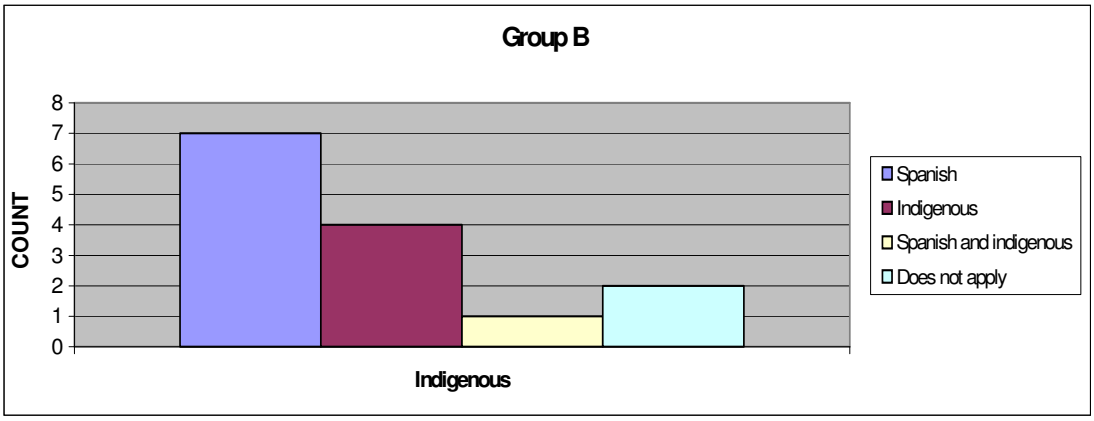


Figure 4b. *Language used in home domain (with children)*



(Crhová 2004, p.140)

While our informants from this group speak to their parents predominantly in their native languages, with their children they switch to Spanish. This shift towards Spanish usage marks a general tendency. It sounds kind of obvious that compared to the promotion and emphasis given to English, the native languages lose their grounds. The following table indicates some changes perceived by our informants.

Table 1. *Recent changes perceived by our informants regarding the social acceptance of English (in the U.S. Spanish) and the indigenous languages*

	Indigenous languages				English		Spanish in the U.S.
		GROUPS A B C			GROUPS A B		GROUP C
Spoken more/less especially among YOUNG PEOPLE	+	15%	21.4%	4.8%	86%	57.1%	52.4%
	-	79%	78.6%	76.2%	9%	19%	38.1%
	EQUAL	3%	0%	9.5%	5%	14.3%	0%
	DOES NOT KNOW	3%	0%	9.5%	0%	0%	0.5%
Promoted more/less by the GOVERNMENT	+	29%	28.6%	0%	67%	42.9%	28.6%
	-	64%	28.6%	76.2%	21%	28.6%	57.1%
	EQUAL	0%	14.3%	9.5%	5%	14.3%	14.3%
	DOES NOT KNOW	7%	28.6%	14.3%	6%	14.3%	0%
Emphasized more/less in SCHOOL	+	18%	50%	4.8%	74%	42.9%	47.6%
	-	72%	50%	61.9%	12%	28.6%	38.1%
	EQUAL	2%	0%	9.5%	11%	28.6%	4.8%
	DOES NOT KNOW	8%	0%	23.8%	3%	0%	9.5%
Raises more/less interest among UNIVERSITY GRADUATES, INTELLECTUALS, AND WRITERS	+	43%	35.7%	38.1%	76%	35.7%	85.7%
	-	44%	42.9%	3.3%	6%	14.3%	14.3%
	EQUAL	0%	0%	9.5%	10%	14.3%	0%
	DOES NOT KNOW	13%	21.4%	14.8%	8%	35.7%	0%

(Crhová, 2004, p. 128).

Regarding the acceptance of indigenous languages, English (in Tijuana) and Spanish (in San Diego), it's interesting to document changes and attitudes towards the minority languages in wider social context as perceived by our informants. Official Census data have already indicated that indigenous languages are being used less, especially among *young people*. Those directly affected by the consequences of government politics, group B informants, give proportionately similar responses in favor of mayor and minor *government* promotion of their languages, therefore we can hardly speak of a significant

change. Nevertheless, in the generally pronounced “indifference” (see group A and C figures), group B respondents value the most positively of the there groups the government actions. As far as the major emphasis on indigenous languages and the inclusion of the topic in *school*, the majority feels skeptical there is a real change. The most interesting data that reflect change were obtained when we implored whether indigenous languages raised more interest among university graduates, intellectuals, and writers. Mexican-American informants gave the most favorable responses in this respect. Also, pronounced change regarding Spanish is a phenomenon raising high interest especially among university graduates, intellectuals, and writers, was reported by the C group informants. This significant change in promotion of Spanish was perhaps caused by the increasing importance of the Chicano literature production, even though written mainly in English.

Attitudes of individuals belonging to different groups change when the members of these groups interact. Better understanding and appreciation of minority cultures (through their languages) and minority languages (through their cultures) can originate changes in people’s attitudes. It has been documented that bilinguals have more divergent and creative thinking, more cognitive control of linguistics processes, and increased communicative sensitivity. Bilingualism can bring better understanding among different groups and foster multiculturalism, combat racism, etc. To be a bilingual implies a number of communicative, cultural, cognitive, and personal advantages and it should be promoted regardless on the kind bilingualism.

REFERENCES

Blanc, M. (1999). The Societal Context: Bilingualism, Societal. En B. Spolsky (Ed.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Educational Linguistics* (pp. 31-36).

Brisk, M.E. (2005). Bilingual Education. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of Reseach in Second Language Teching and Learning (*pp. 7-24). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Cifuentes, B. (1980). Comentarios sobre educación bilingüe y bicultural. In *Indigenismo y lingüística. Documentos del foro "La polítical del lenguaje en México"* (pp. 45-52). México, D.F. : UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas,

Crhova, J. (2004). *Actitud hacia la lengua.* Mexicali, B.C.: UABC, Centro de Estudios Culturales- Museo: ICBC: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes.

De Bot, K., Lowie, W. & Verspoor, M. (2005). *Second Language Acquisition.* Londres; Nueva York: Routledge.

Hidalgo, M. (1993). Problemas lingüisticos de la frontera norte de México: conceptos fundamentales para su estudio. En H. Polkinhorn et al.(Eds), *Signos abiertos: lenguage y la sociedad en la frontera México- Estados Unidos* (pp.25-49).Mexicali, B.C.- Calexico, CA: Editorial Binacional.

Hill, J.H.& Hill, K.C.(1999). *Hablando mexicano: la dinámica de una lengua sincrética en el centro de México.* México, D.F.: Centro de

Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social. (Originalmente publicado en inglés: S*peaking Mexicano. Dynamics of Syncretic Language.* Tucson 1986).

Parodi, C. (1981). *La Investigación lingüística en México (1970-1980).* México, D.F.: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas.

Suárez, J. (1995). *Las lenguas mesoamericanas.* México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social- Instituto Nacional Indigenista.