

**ENDANGERMENT OF A TRANSNATIONAL LANGUAGE:
THE CASE OF SAN LUCAS QUIAVINI ZAPOTEC**

by

Gabriela Pérez Báez
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Acknowledgments

It is unlikely that I would have come to know about San Lucas Quiavini, and certainly thought of devoting the last eight years of my life to studying language use in San Lucas had it not been for two people: my mom and Dr. Felipe Lopez. One day, my mom gave me a clipping from a magazine telling the story of a young man from San Lucas who had immigrated to Los Angeles in his mid-teens. The article put a great deal of emphasis on the fact that when this young man emigrated to Los Angeles, he had little Spanish skills, and told the story of someone who was determined to do whatever it took to get an education. That involved learning Spanish and English and getting a GED. He did. Then he went to college. Then he went to graduate school. Along the way, he became an advocate of indigenous rights and focused on the preservation of his native language: San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec. He teamed up with Dr. Pamela Munro of the Department of Linguistics at the University of California, Los Angeles and together they co-authored the *Dí'csyonaary X:tèe'n Dii'zh Sah Sann Lu'uc* (San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec Dictionary) in 1999. Felipe now holds a Doctor of Philosophy degree from UCLA. His determination, his pursuit of equality for indigenous people and his efforts to preserve his language were deeply inspirational to me and greatly motivated me to become a linguist and undertake the research I present in this dissertation. I am forever grateful to Felipe for this, and to my mom for thinking of sharing Felipe's story with me.

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Abbreviations

XII CGPV	XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000
ANA	anaphoric
CONAPO	Consejo Nacional de Población
COP	copula
DEF	definite (aspect)
DIM	diminutive
DIS	distal
HAB	habitual
INI	Instituto Nacional Indigenista
INEGI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
LA	Los Angeles, California
PERF	perfective
REL	relative pronoun
SLQ	San Lucas Quiaviní
SLQZ	San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the factors determining maintenance and shift of an indigenous language of Mexico in a transnational setting. The language is San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec, a variety of Valley Zapotec (Otomanguean) spoken indigenously in San Lucas Quiaviní, Oaxaca. Since the 1970s, there has been large-scale migration from San Lucas to Los Angeles, where an estimated 30% to 50% of the San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec speaker base now lives. The focus of this study is the impact of emigration on the vitality of Zapotec in San Lucas, in the context of regular and sustained contact between the two linguistic communities. The hypothesis tested and confirmed is that language choices among migrants affect language choices in San Lucas, thereby destabilizing the domains of Zapotec use in the native community.

As an indispensable ethnographic foundation for the research, sociolinguistic profiles ('community profiles') of the two communities, elaborated during long site visits, are provided. Data from participant observation, interviews and censuses are presented to show that in San Lucas the language remains vital while in Los Angeles there is an ongoing shift towards Spanish and English. Since the San Lucas and the Los Angeles communities maintain regular contact, SLQZ is considered in this study as a transnational language. Shuttle migration explains that language choices among immigrants have a negative impact upon the stability of domains of Zapotec use in San Lucas. In their interaction with Los Angeles

relatives, San Lucas residents accommodate to their usage by shifting to Spanish even at home, which would otherwise be a Zapotec-only domain. In describing language use and attitudes special emphasis is placed on parent-child communication. In Los Angeles there is a notable decrease in the transmission of Zapotec. Recordings from Los Angeles children show much lower competence and production skills when compared to those from their counterparts in San Lucas.

The context of transnationalism and the social networks bridging the two communities account for the shift away from San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec in Los Angeles, which has a backlash effect of compromising the vitality of the native language even in its original site of San Lucas.

Chapter 1. Introduction

This study centers on the impact of migration on the maintenance prospects of an indigenous language of Mexico, spoken in San Lucas Quiaviní (abbr. as SLQ in what follows), located in the Central Valleys region of the southwestern state of Oaxaca. The community of speakers of SLQ Zapotec (abbr. as SLQZ in what follows) is small, estimated at around 2,500 individuals with about 1,700 residing in San Lucas itself. Emigration from San Lucas to the United States, and more precisely to the Los Angeles, California metropolitan area, began in 1968. In its first 20 years, emigration was small scale and involved almost exclusively men. At the time, migrants would shuttle back and forth between California and San Lucas spending a few years in each locale, and migration initially was mainly temporary. This changed over time and after the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (Pub.L. 99-603, 100 Stat. 3359, November 6, 1986), women and children progressively participated in emigration. Also, over time, the patterns of migration increasingly involved permanent migration. In light of the changes in migration trends and of estimates which suggest that 30 to 50% of the SLQZ speaker base now resides in Los Angeles (Lopez and Runsten 2004), I initially hypothesized that large-scale migration is a determining factor of language endangerment, the primary supporting argument for this hypothesis being that current migration trends have resulted in a decrease in population in the home community and therefore in a reduction in the SLQZ speaker base. This hypothesis proved difficult to

substantiate given that, to date, the language remains vital in San Lucas. I proceeded then to modify the hypothesis based on data collected in the course of this research that is indicative of a shift away from SLQZ among immigrants in Los Angeles. The modified hypothesis, and therefore the operating hypothesis for this dissertation is as follows:

Language shift away from SLQZ and towards Spanish and English can be attested in the immigrant community. The language choices that immigrants are making affect language choices in San Lucas Quiavini and, as a result, the stability of the domains of SLQZ use in the home community is being altered.

1.1 Research motivation and rationale

In this section I provide an overview of the state of indigenous languages in Mexico. The rationale for this dissertation is highlighted below in terms of addressing the situation of languages with a small speaker base, which are therefore at risk, in the context of a modern globalized society. By addressing their particular circumstances, this study contributes to updating the existing literature on endangered languages.

A well-known estimate of the extent of language endangerment is Krauss' (Hale et al. 1992) whose calculations warn that 90% of the world's languages will either be extinct or almost, within the next 100 years. Krauss attributes these grim figures to "*outright genocide, social or economic or habitat destruction,*

displacement, demographic submersion, language suppression in forced assimilation or assimilatory education...[and] electronic media bombardment" (1992:6) leading children to become language shift agents as they cease to learn a given language. Krauss expresses concern over the presence of any or all of these factors in nine countries which together account for 3,500 to 6,000 of the world's languages. Country number seven in his list is Mexico.

The diversity among Mexico's indigenous languages makes for an extremely complex scenario in which language endangerment cannot be defined solely on the basis of a number of speakers or the rate at which children learn a language. The Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) in its 2000 Census sets the population of speakers of indigenous languages over five years of age at 6,044,547, and that of children under five years of age living in households headed by a speaker of an indigenous language at 1,233,455. Both figures combined represent approximately 7.5% of the total population of Mexico reported by the 2000 Census to be 97,483,400 inhabitants. Critical to an assessment of language maintenance prospects is the size of the minority (Wölck 2003), and specifically the minority population percentages in light of linguistic diversity. This 7.5% segment of the population comprised of speakers or potential speakers of indigenous languages does not represent a unified ethnic and linguistic community, but is rather comprised of a wide array of ethnicities and languages. Garza Cuarón and Lastra (1991) list 58 indigenous languages spoken in Mexico, while the 2000 Census lists 85, and the Ethnologue (2005) lists 291. More importantly, 7.5% of Mexico's

population breaks down into dozens of languages that are mutually unintelligible and even genetically unrelated. These figures reveal the existence of dramatically small linguistic minorities facing the overwhelming dominance of Spanish, spoken almost universally in Mexico. In this context, it is no surprise that indigenous languages in Mexico are, at best, “at risk”, and all too often “disappearing” or worse.

The terms I have used above are from Grenoble and Whaley (2006), whose work is relevant to the case of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec due to their focus on the size and vitality of a language’s speaker base.

*A language is **at risk** when it is vital (being learned and used by people of all different age groups) without any observable pattern of a shrinking speaker base, but it lacks some of the properties of a safe language. For example, it is spoken in a limited number of domains or has a smaller number of speakers than other languages in the same region.*

*A language is **disappearing** when there is an observable shift towards another language in the communities where it is spoken. With an overall decreasing proportion of intergenerational transfer, the speaker base shrinks because it is not being replenished. Disappearing languages are consequently used in a more restricted set of domains and a language of wider communication begins to replace it in a greater percentage of homes. (2006:18; bolding is my emphasis)*

I draw attention to the notions of decrease of intergenerational transfer and speaker base reduction and posit that in cases of intense emigration, the exodus has these two damaging consequences. The 2000 U.S. Population Census reports that 407,073 individuals self-identified as “Hispanic American Indian”, to mean a member originally from an indigenous community in a predominantly Spanish-

speaking country. Huizar Murillo and Cerda (2004) point out that the 2000 US census suffered from problems of undercounting, and advise that this figure should be considered as a “*minimum estimate*” (p. 283). With that in mind, and despite not having exact figures available of the number of Hispanic American Indians of Mexican origin living in the US, it is evident that emigration out of indigenous communities in Mexico is sizable. The authors also indicate that the majority of Hispanic American Indians are from Guatemala and Mexico, and belong to the Mayan, Mixtec, Triqui, P’urépecha and Zapotec ethnic groups. The study of migration and language maintenance in the community of speakers of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec thus represents a first step towards understanding migration as a threat to the survival prospects of Mesoamerican languages.

1.2 Research procedures and outcomes

I begin this dissertation with a discussion of the research methods I have followed in testing this hypothesis. My approach is innovative in that it does not only look at a threatened indigenous language in the home community or at an immigrant language in the host community. Rather, this study considers both, the home and the immigrant community, and in doing so, it goes beyond existing literature on the topic of endangered languages. As such, this study required and involved field research both in San Lucas Quiaviní and in Los Angeles. Further, this research required significant discovery work along the lines of Garvin’s (1978) ‘discovery procedure’. In other words, the first field work periods in each locale

were devoted to learning about the home and the immigrant communities, following the tripartite model of sociolinguistic field research (Wölck 1985). Chapter 2 explains in detail how this method was implemented, breaking down the objectives and procedures in each field site, and elaborating on the implementation of a social network analysis to understand how language choices in one community influence language choices in the other.

Following the tripartite model of sociolinguistic field research, and based on data collected during the discovery phases, detailed ‘community profiles’ were developed for both the San Lucas and the Los Angeles communities. These are presented in Chapters 3 and 5 respectively and provide all the necessary data for the discussions on language attitudes and language choices in San Lucas (Chapter 4) and in Los Angeles (Chapter 6). In the latter chapter, I analyze language use in dyads among members of nuclear families. The data indicate that SLQZ-speaking parents of US-born children engage in a shift to Spanish and English. In addition, data show that this shift also occurs among immigrant SLQZ-speaking children shortly after arrival in Los Angeles. Chapter 7 reports on the findings from a comparative analysis of narratives from children raised in San Lucas and from children raised in Los Angeles. The linguistic data obtained, showing differences in lexical access as well as morphophonological and word order errors, are illustrative of lower SLQZ competence among Los Angeles children.

The question that follows is whether the decrease in use of SLQZ in Los Angeles and the apparent decrease in competence in the language among Los

Angeles children may be “exported”, so to speak, to the home community of San Lucas, thereby affecting the vitality of the local language. Chapter 8 is a description of the transnational social networks that enable the two communities to remain in contact and in a position to influence each other. The focus is on the way that San Lucas residents respond to the presence in the home community of children with limited competence or no competence in Zapotec. While it is not possible to predict that the vitality of Zapotec in San Lucas is compromised, it is possible to show that the domain of Zapotec use is affected as Spanish and sometimes English are brought into this domain in order to accommodate children who are not active speakers of SLQZ.

In the course of this research, unexpected findings were made. For instance, I expected to find that early immigrants – all adults – were quick to shift to Spanish upon arrival to Los Angeles to facilitate their becoming part of the larger Spanish-speaking Mexican immigrant community. However, I did not expect to find that this shift away from SLQZ was reversed to some extent as a result of the increasing SLQZ-bilingualism rates among immigrants arriving in Los Angeles in the late 1990s and onwards. Also, based on the initial assumption that adults generally shifted to Spanish upon arrival in Los Angeles, I expected to find a clearer pattern of language shift away from SLQZ among most families of immigrants, and a more decisive role of parents in determining the language choices of their children. However, I found a considerable number of families where parents claim to speak SLQZ and where children appear to be more active than expected in determining

their personal language choices. An important challenge I faced in analyzing data was that variables varied widely from family to family. Sets of variables such as date of arrival in Los Angeles, length of stay in Los Angeles, cycles of emigration, return and re-emigration, education experience, to mention but a few, were almost unique to each family and generalizations were difficult to articulate. This challenge was overcome by the combination of interview and participant observation data from which larger overarching variables could be defined.

In summary, this dissertation is a detailed description of a language shift scenario never before described: that of a transnational language. As such, it is an exploration into the mechanisms through which migration can constitute a factor of language endangerment.

Chapter 2. Research Methods and Theoretical Background

The research I have conducted on San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec included seven periods of field work, five of which were conducted in San Lucas (2002, 2003, 2004, 2007 and 2008) and two in Los Angeles (2007 and 2008). The first was a five-week stay in San Lucas in 2002 spent on evaluating the vitality of the local language. However, the only previous information about San Lucas Quiaviní that I could access was limited to one brief article on the migration experience of *buny San Luc* 'people from San Lucas' (Lopez and Munro 1999), Hulshof's (1991) work in San Lucas during the 1980s, and reported data from a community member. I decided that the research needed an ethnographic approach and that I had to start out by becoming acquainted with the community. The goal of the first field trip became that of amassing the necessary knowledge about San Lucas Quiaviní that would allow me to assess the vitality of the local language and/or identify any factors that may be affecting it. The method selected to proceed with the initial research was Wölck's (1985) tripartite model of sociolinguistic field research. In this chapter, I elaborate on the rationale for selecting this particular method and provide details on the implementation of this approach. I include a description of the research conducted over the seven field periods.

2.1 Implementation of the Tripartite Model of Sociolinguistic Field Research in San Lucas Quiaviní

The Community Profile (CP) was first proposed in Wölck 1976 as an alternative to quantitative models of informant selection in dialectology studies and later as a *“useful compromise between the standard demographic method of prestratified probabilistic random sampling...and the often arbitrary and biased, though usually more personalized procedures of “informant” selection characteristic of nearly all traditional linguistic field work”* (Wölck 1985:32). Since then, the CP has been implemented in the study of a wide variety of sociolinguistic topics including correlates between social factors and language use (Wölck 1975 a and b, 1985), language maintenance and shift (Dweik 1980, Mudmarn 1983, Moelleken 1985), language attitudes (Wölck 1972 a, 1976, 1986) and second language development (Escobar 1980). The community profile is defined in Wölck 1985 as *“strongly ethnographic”* in acknowledgement of the fact that each community has particularities in its social structure and that no one set of factors is necessarily valid for more than one community. In Wölck 1985, the CP is incorporated into a Three Level Sample method. At its core is a case study obtained following participant observation as practiced in anthropology studies, followed by the CP and spot checks.

2.1.1. Case study. The Three Level Sample method was particularly well suited to the study of the community of San Lucas Quiaviní, and provided a methodological goal to the initial field period. Thus, a case study was undertaken

over a five-week fieldwork period in the summer of 2002, during which time I conducted research as a participant observer. I resided in a house in SLQ where I benefited from the constant company of a member of the community who assisted me as a guide during the five weeks. My guide was instrumental in this phase of the study as she introduced me to a number of SLQZ families whose daily life I was able to observe. More importantly, I was invited by women to participate in their daily chores, allowing me to witness the use of the SLQZ language in various situations, such as the family at home and outside the home, the casual interaction on the streets of SLQ among members of the community, and the commercial interaction both at the market of Tlacolula, the main commercial town in the Tlacolula Valley where San Lucas is located, and in local SLQ commercial venues. In addition, I was invited to attend working sessions of the *xtisy* 'town council' whose members provided valuable insight into the social and political structure of SLQ.

2.1.2. Community profile. Following the initial five-week field period in 2002, a CP was drafted. The data categories that emerged as relevant in the CP were very much in line with those general categories listed in Wölck 1976 as occurring in most profiles: demographic information, occupational distribution, political structure, education, religion, associations, residential composition and communications. This preliminary San Lucas CP made evident, for example, the correlation between Spanish-only education and an increase in SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism in San Lucas. More importantly for the purposes of this dissertation is

the fact that the CP revealed the importance of emigration as a factor that could potentially affect language vitality in San Lucas Quiaviní. The San Lucas CP became the core content in Pérez Báez 2004 and the basis for reports on the vitality of SLQZ and language planning for its community of speakers in Pérez Báez 2005, 2006 and 2008. Further, and following the Three Level Sample method, it was used to provide the criteria for the design of an interview schedule subsequently conducted in San Lucas Quiaviní.

2.1.3. The term ‘community’. At this point, it is important to clarify what is meant by the term ‘community’. In this particular section, Section 2.1, the term ‘community’ refers to the population living within the boundaries of the San Lucas Quiaviní township. However, local governmental practices warrant defining this term more precisely to refer to the group of individuals who are listed in the local San Lucas Quiaviní registry. As such, these individuals have rights and obligations as defined by the local government. For instance, male members of the San Lucas Quiaviní community, by virtue of the fact that they are registered with the local authority, assume the life-long responsibility to participate in *tequio*, a form of communal sweat equity through which men provide free labor for community maintenance and improvement projects, and in the *cargos* system. This responsibility must be fulfilled regardless of whether an individual is in San Lucas or in Los Angeles. Therefore, the term ‘community’ must be extended to cover not only those residing within San Lucas boundaries, but also to those who have emigrated to Los Angeles but who continue to be bound to San Lucas Quiaviní by

virtue of their legally defined membership. The term 'community' becomes more complex in trying to define the relationship of children born in the US to San Lucas migrants from the San Lucas Quiaviní community.

Implementation of the Tripartite model of sociolinguistic field research, allowed for the definition of the 'term' community to evolve over time as this doctoral research evolved from its focus on San Lucas Quiaviní to a larger population that incorporates immigrants in Los Angeles and their children. I shall mirror this evolution throughout this chapter. I thus use the term 'community' in Section 2.1 in a narrow sense to define those living within the boundaries of the San Lucas Quiaviní township as this is the population I observed and surveyed during the field research periods of summer 2002, 2003 and 2004. I will make it clear in the remainder of this chapter how the definition of the term 'community' is expanded to the wider sense that is used in the remainder of the dissertation.

2.1.4. Community sample. As the CP was drawn from research based on participant observation, special care was necessary to avoid any bias. The survey was designed to test the community's attitudes regarding the vitality of SLQZ, its survival prospects and the need to dedicate efforts towards maintaining it. Additionally, it served as an instrument to begin investigating the impact of factors such as Spanish-only education and migration on language vitality. Finally, the survey fulfills the demands of sound sociolinguistic methods by working directly with a selection of members of the community that ensures "representativeness" vis-à-vis the community as a whole (Wölck 2004). In line with decades of

sociolinguistic research as explained in Wölck 1985, and the Three Level Sample method described above, an ethnographic approach was taken in the implementation of the community survey. Such a qualitative approach was favored over a quantitative one for a number of reasons. In particular, the use of a written questionnaire to be distributed among members of the community in theory could have allowed me to survey a larger and randomly defined population sample. However, a written format was unsuitable in this case given that there is virtually no literacy in the local language in SLQ. A questionnaire, therefore, would have had to be written in Spanish, placing too much emphasis on the respondent's literacy skills in Spanish as a 2nd language, skills which they may possess with varying degrees of confidence. The pressure to use Spanish in written form could have distracted participants from the topics at hand, and would have certainly discouraged many, especially women and the elderly –including some members of the *xtisy* 'town council' from participating in the survey. Further, a random population sample would have had to make use of administrative population records. As has been pointed out (Labrie 1996), using population records to generate a random population sample is not compatible with the need to maintain anonymity, a condition that was paramount for this research from the beginning.

For a qualitative survey to ensure such representativeness, it needs to rely on the community profile, as targeted segments of the population would need to be identified and approached for participation in the survey. Under the qualitative

approach chosen, and based on the community profile, 14 respondents were selected based on the following criteria:

- a) *Respondents should be above age 21.* This follows from the fact that decisions about children's education, their introduction into the work force, and their potential migration, are made by parents. The study of attitudes among children and teenagers is relevant to the survival of SLQ. Yet in order to make such a study truly effective, it is necessary to understand first the social and behavioral structure within which the children are raised. Hence, the need to concentrate on the adult/parenting population.
- b) *Generation and age.* This criterion is independent of the above and perhaps of relevance to the study only as a reflection of cross-generational differences in the respondents' experience of language conflict. For this study I avoided creating arbitrary brackets for respondent classification. Instead, in the survey a respondent's age was second to membership within a generation, as the latter could be used to gauge language use patterns and attitudes in relation to characteristics common to his or her generation. For example, greater levels of bilingualism among people in their mid- to late twenties might not be a correlate of the age bracket but rather of the fact that schooling has been present for roughly the life span of such individuals; greater interest in having children learn Spanish may not be a function of parents' age, but rather of their own experiences of childhood hardship perceived as the result of their own lack of command of Spanish. The survey therefore interviewed members of the

community including respondents without children, parents with school-age children, parents with children in young adulthood, and elderly respondents.

c) *Gender*. Special care was taken to obtain equal gender representation in order to reflect the marked gender role differences in the community. While precise equal representation was not possible, the sample included 8 men and 6 women.

d) *Migration*. It is nearly impossible to find in SLQ someone who does not have at least indirect experiences related to migration. However, relevant to obtaining data on attitudes towards the phenomenon of migration and its effects on use of SLQZ was whether respondents' experiences were as migrants themselves or as relatives of a migrant.

e) *Status within the community*. The CP revealed that the social structure of the SLQ community represents the most viable domain for continued use of the local language. Respondents representing various segments of the social makeup of the community were selected with a variety of roles and responsibilities within the community, following the need to identify 'who's who' in the community as explained in Wölck 1985.

2.1.5. Interview format. A number of considerations were made in defining the interview format. It was mentioned earlier that a written questionnaire was not suitable as a survey tool in this study despite its potential for providing a wider statistical coverage of the community. Further, and perhaps of greater importance,

is the thought that structured interviewing might give respondents more latitude to provide greater insight than could otherwise be elicited through a fill-in questionnaire. In addition, a conversation style interview is compatible with the community's style of communication which is exclusively oral and which takes place within the context of building and maintaining relationships. As such, this method allowed me to establish a stronger rapport with individual members of the community and as a result, a better understanding of their thoughts, their decisions and their concerns. Interviews ranged from half an hour to one hour depending on the respondent's time available. All interviews were audio taped with the respondents' prior consent. The interview schedule translated into English is presented in its entirety in Appendix 1. The community survey was implemented in the summer of 2003. The results were interpreted to devise language maintenance initiatives in San Lucas proposed in Pérez Báez 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2008, one of which was implemented in 2007.

2.1.6. Spot checks. Wölck 1985 proposes the implementation of spot checks after a survey is conducted, "to avoid errors of misrepresentation...and to resolve problems of inconsistency or indeterminacy" (Wölck 1985:59). A third field period was conducted in the summer of 2004. The primary topics of research were, again, Spanish-only education and migration as factors of language shift. The survey had made it evident that these topics required more attention. The spot checks allowed me to test the relevance of these factors among San Lucas residents outside my 14-person sample.

Results from the survey data and spot checks are reported in Pérez Báez 2004 and 2006. An important product of the three field periods was a description of domains of use of SLQZ and Spanish, and an understanding of the prestige that SLQZ enjoys in San Lucas. Also, the data collected suggest that Spanish-only education in San Lucas has promoted a dramatic increase in SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism rates but does not seem to affect the widespread use of SLQZ in the community. They also made it evident that the primary factor of interest of subsequent research should be migration. Therefore, the research moved towards incorporating San Lucas migrants living in Los Angeles, CA. The data collected between 2002 and 2004 are included in Chapters 4 and 5 of this study, supplemented by data collected in 2007 and 2008.

2.2 Profiling the immigrant community in Los Angeles

Following the first three field periods in San Lucas Quiavini, I redirected my research towards learning about the migration flow between San Lucas and Los Angeles. The initial research included consulting existing literature on the topic. Hardeman 1987 and Hulshof 1991 report on a decade and a half of emigration to Los Angeles, explain the criteria for participation in migration and provide some basic estimates on the number of immigrants in Los Angeles by the mid to late 1980s. Lopez and Munro 1999 provide additional factors involved in motivating emigration, and provide some brief accounts of migrants' experiences. Finally, Lopez and Runsten 2004 provide some estimates of the number of immigrants in

Los Angeles. Informed by this literature and by my knowledge of the San Lucas Quiaviní community, I was able to formulate two initial hypotheses on the relevance of migration as a factor affecting the vitality of SLQZ:

- (i) Intergenerational transfer of SLQZ in Los Angeles is decreasing in favor of Spanish and English
- (ii) Given the close relationship that immigrants in Los Angeles maintain with San Lucas, the fact that children in Los Angeles speak little to no SLQZ affects the domains of SLQZ use in San Lucas and forces the introduction of Spanish and even English into an otherwise SLQZ-only domain

2.2.1. Case study and community profile. The conditions in which I was to begin the research in Los Angeles were significantly different from the conditions prevalent when I initiated research in San Lucas. By the time I initiated work in Los Angeles I had significant information on San Lucas, and reports by San Lucas interviewees about migrants' life in Los Angeles. In addition, I had a working hypothesis (cf. Section 2.2). Nevertheless, I considered that a discovery phase similar to the initial participant observation phase conducted in San Lucas was necessary in Los Angeles for several reasons. First, the social networks in operation in the immigrant community in LA are different from those in San Lucas due to the geographic and environmental differences and the contrasts between urban and

rural living. Second, the dynamics of social and even family interaction are also significantly different as well, due again to the urban life style of LA residents, and also to the employment demands placed on immigrants from San Lucas, primarily on men. Third, knowledge that children in Los Angeles have decreased SLQZ competence was based on reports and some observations of my own in San Lucas, but needed to be researched more carefully.

Thus, participant observation over a one-month field period in Los Angeles was conducted in January 2007. I once again resided with a family from San Lucas who included the young woman who had been my main contact in San Lucas during the three field periods there. The household included also three children who provided me with the opportunity to observe language use in the family context and begin probing into the criteria for language choices and identifying the domains of use of SLQZ, Spanish and now also English. The role of education in motivating language choices, and the relevance of children's own language choices and language attitudes became evident as I participated in the life of this family.

I extended my research beyond the host family to families of relatives and friends of my host family as well as families who meet in the context of community events such as basketball games and music rehearsals. In addition, I initiated contact with individuals who I knew from San Lucas and who had emigrated, and with relatives of families I had become acquainted with in San Lucas. Following this first Los Angeles field trip, I was able to draft a CP of the immigrant community.

A detailed CP for the Los Angeles community is presented in Chapters 6 and 7 of this study. The CP includes data from the 2007 field period in Los Angeles supplemented by data obtained through a survey conducted in 2008. I now turn to the particulars of this survey.

2.2.2. Defining the “immigrant community”. In a narrow sense, the community of immigrants living in Los Angeles would be defined as those born in San Lucas Quiaviní, listed in the municipal records as members of the community with full rights and obligations and living in Los Angeles at the time the research was conducted. This narrow sense is problematic for two reasons. First, it excludes US-born children of immigrants and by doing so, prevents any generalization regarding language use patterns that involves the children, whether US- or SLQ-born, as they interact with their parents, their siblings, and other children of migrants from San Lucas. Second, a narrow definition excludes those who have become relatives of migrants but who are not themselves speakers of SLQZ or are from San Lucas. Such would be the case of spouses and in-laws who become close kin of San Lucas emigrants as the result of exogamous marriages.

I therefore define the term ‘immigrant community’ to include those who were born in San Lucas Quiaviní and who have emigrated to Los Angeles, as well as their children living in Los Angeles, whether SLQ or US-born, and their relatives living in Los Angeles, even if they are not from San Lucas and do not speak SLQZ. Thus far, the term “community” as it refers to San Lucas Quiaviní encompasses those born in San Lucas and who by virtue of being registered with the local

administration have life-long rights and responsibilities as defined by the local government. Given the aforementioned definition of “immigrant community”, many of the members of the immigrant community belong to the San Lucas Quiaviní community; hence the justification for defining a larger “transnational community”.

2.3 Surveying the transnational community

Guided by the hypotheses outlined in 2.2 and based on the information obtained in Los Angeles in 2007, several research goals were outlined:

- (1) First, a description of the domains of use of SLQZ, Spanish as well as English in Los Angeles, was necessary. Consequently, factors involved in language choices needed to be identified as well.
- (2) A better understanding of children’s acquisition and use of SLQZ in LA was necessary. It was understood that SLQZ transmission in Los Angeles had decreased dramatically. However, null transmission of SLQZ to children was found not to be the norm and the more prevalent situation is that of children acquiring passive knowledge of the language and some active competence. Thus, subsequent research would seek to make an assessment of language competence in Los Angeles.
- (3) An understanding of the ties between San Lucas and the immigrant community was necessary in order to understand whether language

choices among immigrants and the decreased SLQZ competence among their children could affect the vitality of SLQZ in San Lucas.

Item (2) required linguistic elicitation based on guidelines that were different from those followed in the survey portion of the research. I describe the linguistic elicitation methods along with the data results and analysis in Chapter 8 in order to maintain the focus of this chapter on the survey methods.

2.3.1. The transnational community of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec speakers. To address point (3) in section 2.3 above, I consider SLQZ as a transnational language and study both the community of origin in San Lucas Quiaviní and the immigrant community in Los Angeles. Levitt and Schiller 2004 advise that:

“The lives of increasing numbers of individuals can no longer be understood by looking only at what goes on within national boundaries. Our analytical lens must necessarily broaden and deepen because migrants are often embedded in multi-layered, multi-sited transnational social fields, encompassing those who move and those who stay behind. As a result, basic assumptions about social institutions such as the family, citizenship, and nation-states need to be revisited.” (Levitt and Schiller 2004:1002)

The concept of transnationalism has been defined in social anthropology as *“the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement”* (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994). The community of speakers of San Lucas has maintained its relations between the home and the immigrant communities in a variety of ways including travel, phone communication and by mailing goods from one community to the other. At the cultural level, events are carefully recorded

through photography and, especially, video recordings, and these media are then shipped from one community to the other to maintain family and friends abreast of social happenings. At the economic level, remittances are regularly sent from Los Angeles to San Lucas to finance the construction of homes and the creation of businesses. Furthermore, migration from San Lucas to Los Angeles is not always a permanent move, and it is common for migrants to return to San Lucas, sometimes permanently, although often migrants return for a number of months or even years and later re-emigrate.

Figure 2.1. *The transnational community*

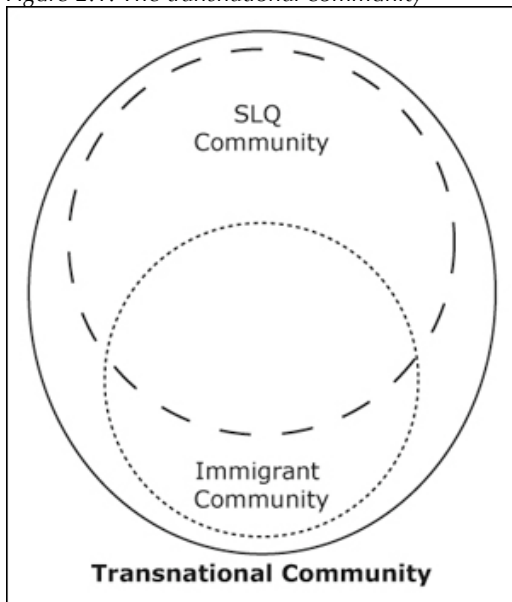


Figure 2.1 provides a graphic illustration of the interaction between San Lucas Quiaviní and the immigrant community to create a transnational community. This term allows us to adequately consider those individuals who have lived in Los Angeles at some point in their lives, and who at the time of the research were living

in San Lucas Quiavini. Adequately accounting for these individuals is essential to this study. As it will be explained in Chapter 8, the greatest impact on SLQZ domains of use in San Lucas is the result of the presence in San Lucas, whether for short or long stays, of children and adults who have lived in Los Angeles at one point or another.

The transnational nature of the community of SLQZ speakers gives validity to the second hypotheses presented in section 2.2: given the tight relationship between the San Lucas and the Los Angeles communities, the fact that children in Los Angeles speak little to no SLQZ impacts the domain of SLQZ use in San Lucas and forces the introduction of Spanish and even English into this domain. Thus two surveys were designed to be conducted, one in Los Angeles and one in San Lucas. The Los Angeles survey was designed to research the domains of language use at play in the linguistic environment of SLQZ speakers, and to investigate the level of contact that families have with relatives in San Lucas. Thus the Los Angeles survey was intended to address research objectives (1) and (3) as listed in section 2.3. It was conducted in April 2008. The corresponding field research in SLQ was scheduled for October 2007 to coincide with the annual Patron Saint Festivities, a time when many migrants living in Los Angeles return to San Lucas Quiavini. A second trip to San Lucas was later added, and spot checks were conducted in October 2008. The San Lucas survey was designed to investigate whether the domains of language use in San Lucas, as described in Chapter 5, are affected by contact with relatives who reside or have resided in Los Angeles. For this research

across borders to be effective, it needed to be conducted transnationally, of course, but within social networks (cf. below). In other words, interviewees in Los Angeles and in San Lucas needed to be related. Additionally, interviewees in San Lucas could also be returnees. I engage in an overview of social networks and provide further details of participant selection in section 2.4.

2.4 Surveying transnational social networks

The concept of social networks has been utilized in the social sciences with a variety of purposes. In social psychology, for example, Milardo 1988 explores family relationships based on a social networks approach. Mitchell 1969 and 1986 contribute to defining network analysis by using this method in the study of interpersonal relationships in Central African rural societies (Mitchell 1969) and of homeless families in Manchester, England (Mitchell 1986). More relevant to linguistics is the use of the concept of social networks in the study of language choices and language variation and change. Gal 1979 was in its time, an innovative ethnographically grounded study of German and Hungarian bilinguals in which she correlates social networks, rather than age, with patterns of maintenance of Hungarian vs. shift to German. Studies on language variation and change conducted in Belfast also favored the use of social networks over social class as variable (Milroy and Milroy 1977, 1978; Milroy and Milroy et al. 1983; L. Milroy 1987). In these studies, social networks are considered to be more reflective of an individual's identity as one is more likely to define oneself as belonging to a

particular social network, rather than to a particular social class. The concept of social class is also rejected in favor of a social networks approach in Bortoni-Ricardo 1985. In her study of rural Brazilians who migrate to an urban environment, Bortoni-Ricardo considers that the socio-economic characteristics of these migrants are relatively homogenous and that stratification of this community on the basis of socio-economic variables makes no contribution to her study of the Caipira dialect and changes among the immigrant community. Li Wei 1994 also implements a study of social networks in the analysis of language choices and code-switching in the Chinese-English bilingual community of Tyneside in Great Britain.

The study of San Lucas Quiaviní and its daughter community in Los Angeles is, similarly to the aforementioned studies, also a study of a multilingual community and its language maintenance and language shift patterns. However, it is not my intention to use the concept of social networks to explain the mechanisms behind the use of one language or another. The motivations behind the acquisition and use of Zapotec and Spanish in San Lucas are relatively easily explained following an analysis of the relationship between San Lucas and neighboring communities and the establishment of Spanish education in the town. Quite conversely, the motivations behind language choices in the daughter community of Los Angeles are much more complex requiring, in my view, much more fieldwork than what has been conducted for this study. I do provide in Chapters 6 and 7 insight into correlations between arrival in the US and language

choices and provide detailed descriptions about language choice of particular dyads within the nuclear family. I do so to describe language use, rather than to explain it. The goal of this study and its use of the concept of social networks, then, is to confirm the second hypothesis presented in section 2.2, that is whether the home and the daughter communities of SLQZ speakers influence each other in their language choices, and I use the social networks model to explain how the home and the daughter communities interact, thus enabling influence from one community to the other, and to show the direction in which such influence is exerted.

2.4.1. The surveys. One survey was designed and adapted into two versions, one for San Lucas and one for Los Angeles. The survey is included in its entirety in English in Appendix II. The format followed was that of an interview schedule rather than a questionnaire, for the same reasons specified earlier, that is that a conversation is more in line with the communicative style of the community of speakers of SLQZ than a questionnaire would be. Further, a more conversational format would allow interviewees the flexibility to expand, or not, on particular subjects following their own communicative interests. The two surveys have some subject areas and questions in common. Relevant to the analysis of social networks are questions related to family life, marital status, number of children, place of birth of children, housing conditions with a focus on family members living in a household, and on the relatives with whom children live. Relevant to the transnational nature of the community of SLQZ speakers were questions in both

surveys regarding migratory experience, including whether interviewees themselves had emigrated or not, the number of relatives who have migrated and the particulars of the migration pattern (permanent migration vs. a pattern of migration, return migration and re-emigration). Along the same lines, questions were asked about the level of contact between family members in San Lucas and in Los Angeles, with a focus on reports of Los Angeles children's abilities in SLQZ. Language socialization was an important topic in both surveys in order to identify the language choices that parents make with regards to the language in which their children should be socialized. In addition, San Lucas interviewees were asked to comment on the language socialization decision made by their relatives in Los Angeles.

2.4.2. Participant selection. The population sample for the surveys included 19 heads of households or parents in Los Angeles and eight in San Lucas. In both locations, all participants were over 18 years of age. In the Los Angeles group a number of variables were relevant for the selection process. Large-scale migration to Los Angeles has occurred since the 1970s. Thus, it was necessary to recruit participants in Los Angeles that represent early, mid-range and recent migration. The immigration status of the participants is quite irrelevant to my study and was not discussed in the interviews at all and, therefore, was not a variable in the selection process. The main condition that the SLQ participants needed to fulfill was that of having close relatives residing in Los Angeles. In this group I also sought participants who had lived in Los Angeles and had chosen to return to SLQ, and

participants who were hosting relatives from Los Angeles at the time of the interview. As mentioned earlier, the San Lucas interviews were conducted in October 2007 to coincide with the Patron Saint festivities for which many Los Angeles residents return to San Lucas. This provided good opportunities to observe language choices. However, it also meant that San Lucas residents were busily involved in the festivities. As a result, I was not able to conduct more than eight interviews. The San Lucas sample may seem small. However, this sample is valid for two reasons. One, it is a sample that is supplemented by the 14 interviews conducted in 2003 and by participant observation over a number of years. Two, and as a result, it is a sample carefully selected by the transnational nature of the families themselves. As mentioned above, participants were either returning migrants or were hosting returning migrants at the time of the interview. Third, data from these interviews was supplemented with data collected a year later when I attended the festivities in October 2008, this time as a guest of the sponsoring family.

Now, getting back to the social networks approach to this study, I provide an overview of the participants I interviewed and the transnational social networks to which they belong. Following Institutional Review Board guidelines, I will refrain from providing any identifiers for these individuals. Table 2.1 lists the social networks of Los Angeles interviewees and Table 2.2 lists those of San Lucas interviewees. The individuals in both tables are of course related in some way, and their relations are listed in the last column. Interviewees from Los Angeles are

identified by number while those from San Lucas are identified by a letter. In addition to the seven families interviewed in San Lucas, I have added coding for two more San Lucas families. The first is the letter H to represent the family that has hosted me in all of the five field periods in San Lucas. This family was not keen to participate in the actual interview but was very supportive of my observation work throughout the years. This family is crucial to the social networks approach I take in this study, as several of its children were among the interviewees in Los Angeles. Thus I have observed this family's transnational communication over several years and in several contexts including phone conversation, visits of LA relatives in San Lucas, and emigration of San Lucas members to Los Angeles. The second code is M to represent members of the family of the sponsor of the 2008 Patron Saint festivities. I expand on this in Chapter 4. The relevance of this Los Angeles based family is the recent travel of several of its members to San Lucas to celebrate the festivities, which represented an opportunity to further observe the interaction of Los Angeles and San Lucas residents and their language choices. The M coded is marked following the interviewee's number in the first column.

As can be seen in Table 2.1, the primary social network studied was that of the children of my host family's matriarch. Additionally, a social network linked to San Lucas interviewees was studied. These two social networks overlap to a great extent as there is some degree of kinship relationship through the members of family M.

Table 2.1. Social networks of Los Angeles interviewees

Interviewee	Children born in LA	Children born in SLQ	Children living in LA	Re-emigration / Travel to SLQ	Kinship relations with other interviewees
1	Y	N	Y	Y	5, 9, 12, 17, 18 Z, D,
2	N	Y	Y	Y	3
3	Y	N	Y	N	2
4	N	Y	Y	Y	5, 9, 12
5	Y	N	Y	N	1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12 Z, D
6	Y	Y	Y	Y	9
7M	Y	Y	Y	Y	1, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18 Z, D
8M	Y	N	Y	Y	1, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18 Z, D
9	Y	N	Y	N	1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 17, 18 Z, D
10	N	Y	Y	Y	-
11	N	Y	Y	?	-
12	Y	N	Y	Y	1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 17, 18 Z, D
13	N	Y	Y	Y	7, 8, 14
14	Y	N	Y	Y	13
15	Y	N	Y	?	-
16	N	Y	Y	Y	-
17M	Y	N	Y	Y	1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 18 Z, D
18M	N	N	N	Y	1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17 Z, D
19	Y	N	Y	N	H

Table 2.2. Social networks of San Lucas interviewees

Interviewee	Has relatives in LA	Has hosted LA relatives	Has hosted LA relatives traveling with children	Has visited LA	Has emigrated to LA and returned to SLQ	Has emigrated to LA and returned to SLQ with children
A	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
B	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
C	Y	-	-	-	-	Y
D	Y	Y	Y	Y	-	-
E	Y	-	-	-	Y	-
F	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-
G	Y	Y	-	-	Y	Y
H	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Z	Y	Y	Y	-	-	-

Notes: A dash indicates that the question is not applicable to the interviewee or that the information is not available.

Table 2.2 lists several families in addition to interviewee D and family Z. Interviewee H is the mother of interviewee 19, for example. The Los Angeles relatives of interviewee A were surveyed in San Lucas in the context of an extended stay. I group these two interviews under code A in keeping with the fact that other return migrants were interviewed in San Lucas and considered part of the San Lucas population sample. These include interviewees C, E and G. The networks of interviewees B and F were only documented based on reports by the San Lucas interviewees themselves, as the Los Angeles relatives were either not available or not willing to participate in the survey.

2.4.3. Overcoming methodological challenges. The surveys included questions intended to probe into language attitudes in both communities. In both LA and San Lucas, interviewees were asked to identify situations in which one language or another would be more appropriate. Los Angeles interviewees were asked questions intended to identify their own attitudes towards SLQZ, Spanish and English, as well as their perception of language attitudes held by other groups with which SLQZ speakers are in contact, particularly Anglophones and Hispanics (see Appendix II section 5). Some examples follow are offered in Table 2.3 below. San Lucas residents were asked to comment on the language choices made by the Los Angeles community and especially on language choices by relatives when they return to San Lucas. In both communities, questions were asked about children's abilities to learn more than one language and whether multilingual children enjoyed any advantages or faced any challenges as compared with monolingual

children. Further, in both communities, interviewees were asked whether they felt SLQZ was at risk of becoming extinct. For this last point, questions were often improvised to incorporate language and arguments presented by the participants themselves.

Table 2.3. Questions on language attitudes – transnational survey

a.	What language or languages do you think children in Los Angeles should be learning?
b.	Why? <i>Discuss and take into consideration responses regarding the need for children to learn SLQZ.</i>
c.	Do you think they should learn Zapotec?
d.	How would children learn Zapotec if they live in Los Angeles?
e.	What would knowing Zapotec do for children who live in Los Angeles?
f.	What would happen if children in Los Angeles did not learn English?
g.	Should the school be the one to teach children English, or do parents need to teach their children also?
h.	Do you think children in Los Angeles should learn Spanish?
i.	What would knowing Spanish do for children who live in Los Angeles?
j.	Who should teach children Spanish?
k.	What do you think Americans think if they hear someone speak Spanish?
l.	What do you think Americans would think if they hear someone speak Zapotec?
m.	What do you think Mexicans in Los Angeles think if they hear someone speak English?
n.	What do you think Mexicans in Los Angeles think if they hear someone speak Zapotec?

Two important considerations were made in designing the survey: the possibility that interviewees might modify their answers due to the researcher’s presence –the observer’s paradox (Labov 1972), and the relative value of reported behavior. The impact of the observer’s paradox in this study was of great concern given that many of the interviewees had known me prior to the implementation of the surveys, and some had known me for several years, and were familiar with my interest in language maintenance and even with a language planning project I conducted in San Lucas Quiaviní in 2007. To manage this potentially serious

problem I included in both surveys questions about a third party –my daughter– and her SLQZ learning abilities. Most language attitudes questions I asked directly about members of the SLQZ-speaking community were later asked about my own three-year old daughter, to seek to either confirm or contradict previous answers. The presence of my daughter during all three field periods (2007 and 2008 in SLQ and 2008 in LA) and her evident acquisition of SLQZ also prompted spot-check type comments in the two communities that confirmed that the expression of positive attitudes towards SLQZ was independent of any possible desire to provide answers that would please my interests in language preservation.

Table 2.4. Questions on language attitudes using a third party – transnational survey

a.	I would very much like for my 2yr. old daughter to learn Zapotec. What do you think of that?
b.	What do you think I should do to get my daughter to speak Zapotec?
c.	Do you think she can learn it eventhough she wasn't born in San Lucas?
d.	Do you think she can learn it even though neither I nor her father were born in San Lucas?
e.	Do you think she can learn it even though she can only come to San Lucas every so often?
f.	What do you think that knowing Zapotec will do for my daughter?
g.	What do you think Americans in the United States would think if they hear my daughter speak Zapotec?
h.	What do you think Americans in the United States would think if they hear my daughter speak Spanish?
i.	What do you think Mexicans in the United States would think if they hear my daughter speak Zapotec?
j.	What do you think Mexicans in the United States would think if they hear my daughter speak Spanish?
k.	So would you recommend I try to get my daughter to learn Zapotec?

With regards to reported behavior, the issue was similar: interviewees could potentially report a given degree of use of SLQZ that they felt would please me. This was an issue in Los Angeles, and was a minor concern in San Lucas. Nevertheless, in both cases I resorted to two strategies to try to overcome this potentially serious problem. By the time I conducted the surveys I had known most

interviewees for at least a year. Thus I was able to compare their survey answers with notes about their language use that I had made in previous years. Also, given the tight social networks at play in many cases, I benefited from interviewees' natural tendency to report on the language use of relatives who, lucky for me, were in turn interviewees in the survey. Given that I followed a social networks approach in my participant selection, it was often the case that interviewees would turn out to be neighbors or close relatives and, inevitably, interviewees would mention other interviewees in order to illustrate language maintenance or language shift trends. Thus, I was able to cross-reference individuals' own reported behavior with other community members' reports on a person's behavior.

The surveys are undoubtedly not without flaws. The data, nonetheless, are reliable, as they have been drawn from various sources—a diversity of respondents in San Lucas and Los Angeles, through various research methods—participant observation and surveys, and over a period of six years and seven different field stays. The results of this research are presented in the chapters that follow. Chapters 4 and 6 are detailed community profiles of the San Lucas and the Los Angeles communities, respectively. Chapters 5 and 7 describe each of these communities' language attitudes and language choices. Chapter 9 elaborates further on the process through which the Los Angeles community is influencing language choices in San Lucas.

Chapter 3. Community Profile of San Lucas Quiaviní

The relevance and validity of community profiles (CP) was discussed at length in Chapter 2. This chapter, Chapter 3, constitutes the community profile (CP) of San Lucas Quiaviní based on data collected during five field seasons conducted between 2002 and 2008. The purpose of this ethnographic description is to provide the necessary knowledge of the community prior to the description of language use in SLQ in Chapter 7. In this chapter, mention will be made of emigration as it is relevant to providing a synchronic view of San Lucas. Note that a detailed discussion of emigration and of the Los Angeles immigrant community is provided in Chapters 5 and 6. The San Lucas community profile coupled with the profile of the immigrant community in Los Angeles is necessary in order to understand how transnational social networks serve as conduits through which language choices in Los Angeles may affect language choices in San Lucas Quiaviní.

3.1 Geographic location and history

San Lucas Quiaviní is located in the Central Valleys region of the southwestern state of Oaxaca. The Central Valleys, shown in Figure 3.1 are an inland area some 1500 meters above sea level, surrounded by mountains that rise upwards of 3000 meters. San Lucas is one of 25 *municipios* 'municipalities' of the *distrito* 'administrative area' of Tlacolula de Matamoros shown in Figure 3.1. San Lucas is located at an elevation of 1,730 meters above sea level, at the foot of the

hills that mark the southern border of the district to the South. As shown in Figure 3.2, SLQ borders to the North on Tlacolula de Matamoros the *cabecera municipal* ‘administrative center’ and the Ex-hacienda de Alférez; to the West on San Bartolomé Quialana and to the East on Santiago Matatlán.

Figure 3.1. Map of the state of Oaxaca



The current location of the community is not its original one. SLQ was originally settled over the hills southwest of its present location. One account states that the settlement was moved downhill in search of a better source of water. A more politically-critical version points to an effort by the colonial administration to secure greater control over the Zapotec communities by concentrating all settlements within the valley and within reach of the Tlacolula-based

administration. San Lucas is considered to have been founded in 1587, according to Martínez Gracida (1882 via Lopez and Munro 1999) and records from the Secretaría de Gobernación (via Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía).¹

Figure 3.2. Map of the district of Tlacolula de Matamoros



¹ There are two accounts of the etymological origin of the word Quiavini. The word refers to Dàany Gyibni (~ Quyibni) 'Quiavini mountain' the mountain at the foot of which the town is located. Lopez and Munro (1999) state that *gyahmni*, as the town's name is pronounced in the local Zapotec variety, refers to a type of precious stone. The Archivo Histórico de Localidades of the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) indicates that the word Quiavini is a compound formed around the root *gya* 'stone', and that carries the meaning 'stone that cries', possibly referring to water that filters through a porous boulder at the top of Quiavini mountain. Knowledge of the history of the community in general light and detailed accounts seem to only be available from members of the older segments of the population.

3.2 Local government and social structure

San Lucas is governed by a *pristen gueizh* 'mayor' nominated and elected by a majority vote of community members over 18 years of age. Elections are held following *usos y costumbres*, a system independent of state or federal elections systems. Nominations as well as elections are made at a town meeting where hand votes are counted. Until recently, nominees were members of the community with most seniority within the *sistema de cargos*, the local co-operative administration system, having fulfilled a greater number of functions in the local governmental and administrative system. The election system has shifted since the 90s, and fluency in Spanish along with education and Spanish literacy, are now considered a must for any aspiring major sometimes even over seniority.

Decisions in SLQ are made by the mayor in consultation with the *xtisy* 'town council' comprised of senior members of the community each with various functions. Members of the town council are those with greater seniority within the *sistema de cargos* regardless of their Spanish skills or level of education. *Xtisy* members serve with no monetary compensation, often creating a burden on their ability to fulfill other duties such as tending crops. The *xtisy* meets Monday through Saturday from 8 pm to about 10 pm in the municipal building. In addition, *xtisy* members may often be required to dedicate daytime hours.

As in many indigenous societies in Mesoamerica, *zeiny lai* 'sweat equity' plays an important role in communal life. Under this system, male members of all families must volunteer their time and labor in activities that benefit the

community. The system has adapted to compensate for those men who have emigrated from SLQ. While absence from the town does not exempt men from fulfilling their obligations, they are given the opportunity to either assign a younger male to replace them, or to hire *mozos* ('male laborers') to fulfill their duties.

3.3 Family and communal life

The community of San Lucas Quiaviní is, in rough terms, a rather conservative society where sociocultural practices do not change easily or without resistance. Gender roles, while evolving due to emigration, are strongly enforced to the point where girls are often not permitted to attend school in order to train them in the tasks that they will be expected to carry out in adulthood. The community's sociocultural practices reflect the syncretism between pre-Hispanic and colonial cultural practices, and more recently practices adopted and shared by immigrants in the United States. As such, the San Lucas society is a complex one. This section provides an overview of sociocultural aspects of the community of San Lucas Quiaviní that are relevant to this.

3.3.1. Marriage and childbearing. People may marry as early as in their teen years, although emigration may be delaying the average age mark. Marriage is predominantly endogamous. It is socially preferable for a couple to marry in church, although the more common process is for a couple to engage in cohabitation and later celebrate a Catholic wedding. The 2000 Census shows 23 couples living together as domestic partners. According to the 2000 Census,

women 12 years and older have an average of 2.5 children, a decrease from the average 3.2 children per woman reported in a 1984 analysis of the 1980 census. These averages are a good representation of family size as women with one or two children are those recently married and engaging in family planning, while middle-aged women seemed to have families with three or four children, and families with as many as 6 or 7 children are common.

It is common for several generations of a family to live together. According to the 2000 Census, households in San Lucas have an average of five occupants. As women join a man in marriage or co-habitation, the woman becomes a member of the husband or partner's family and moves to his family's home. In some extreme cases, a woman may be discouraged or even prevented from even visiting her own parents' home. Among less conservative individuals, a couple may choose to build a house separate from the man's family home, but this is not common and is not very well accepted. It is thus common for children to be raised by parents and grandparents, and to interact regularly with aunts, uncles and cousins.

3.3.2. Gender roles and the division of labor. Work and social activities in SLQ are strongly divided by gender and marital status. Daily activities such as work in the fields and cooking are shared following patterns of distribution of labor common across indigenous societies in Mesoamerica. Food preparation and all peripheral activities such as serving food and washing dishes are strictly tasks carried out by women. Raising infants is also primarily a woman's responsibility. Women are assisted in their chores by girls who are little by little taught the various

household chores from washing dishes and clothes, to making tortillas and cooking.

SLQ is a society based on subsistence agriculture and most families own land. The most important crop is corn, for which the land is plowed and prepared in early summer. Other crops such as squash and beans are also common. Some plots are destined to the production of maguey, the key ingredient in the production of the Oaxacan liquor mezcal. Agricultural work is done mostly by men. Boys are introduced to agricultural work and to herding from an early age, and it is common to see pre-teen boys herding even bulls. Women do participate in working the land and can be seen weeding and maintaining the crops. This may be the case of women tending the family's land if men in the family have emigrated, or of women working as day laborers to assist other San Lucas land owners.

Administrative and governmental functions are currently carried out by men, although women are more and more visible as they fulfill obligations on behalf of male family members living in Los Angeles, for instance, by serving as members of committees. Participation in the *tequio* 'sweat equity' system designed to provide manpower in the development of the town's infrastructure, is almost exclusively the responsibility of men over 18 years old almost exclusively. Women only participate under special circumstances, as would be the case for widows stepping in for their deceased husbands. The gender division of labor has loosened as a result of emigration as it became more common for all adult male members of a family to emigrate. Yet gender roles are firmly grounded in community life and lead

to such decisions as limiting a girl's education to only elementary school and expecting girls and young women never to be alone, whether on the streets or in the home.

3.3.3. Religion and the Patron Saint festivities. The large majority in SLQ is Catholic, although there is a small number of protestants. SLQ has a Catholic church in the town's main square as well as a small Catholic chapel called El Calvario. There is no resident priest, but rather an itinerant one who serves a number of towns in the area. There is no regular Sunday mass, and arrangements need to be made for weddings, funerals and other religious events. The church functions are one more venue for communal participation. A member of the community must serve as treasurer in charge of collecting and accounting for monetary donations to the church. Of interest is the manner in which donations are made: US dollar bills are placed between the fingers of saint statues, a practice which reflects the impact that migration has had on the community.

Every year, the Patron Saint of San Lucas is honored with a days-long, community-wide celebration. The *mero día*, the day in which the Saint is revered, is October 17. This marks the beginning of the celebrations, which can last until the end of the month and just before All Saints Days celebrated on November 1st and 2nd. A key community figure of the Patron Saint Celebrations is the *mardom*. The *mardom* is a senior male member of the community designated by his peers to be the primary sponsor of the celebrations. The role of a *mardom* is a duty, and one of great honor and prestige. The duties of a *mardom* involve covering the costs of

certain expected elements of the celebration such as mass at various times during the year and during the period of celebration, church decorations including elaborate candles, and a music band.²

The annual celebration dictates to a great extent the cycle of migration, as it is common for emigrants-to-be to schedule their departure from San Lucas right after the Patron Saint festivities. Also, anyone planning to return to SLQ will also make an effort to do so in time for the festivities. Some may even make the journey back to SLQ specifically to participate in the celebrations, regardless of their immigration status in the US and despite the possibility of facing an onerous and risky return to California.

3.3.4. Institutions. Since 1998, the state of Oaxaca has allocated funds to support the social welfare program Oportunidades ('opportunities'), formerly known as Programa de Educación, Salud y Alimentación (Progresá). This is a community development program intended to foster the role of women in promoting higher standards of living in highly marginalized areas. Participating families receive modest scholarships to ensure that their children, especially girls, will attend school. Families may receive food supplies for pregnant and nursing women, as well as for children under the age of five. All payments are made to women, who

² The *mardom* dictates the degree of involvement of community members in the various events that he is charged with. He summons members of his extended family to his house to assist with all levels of organization, from cooking for all those involved, to making trips outside San Lucas to purchase candles, bread, and other necessary items, and communicating with the *cabildo*. The *mardom* is also the one to select the women who will participate in the *calenda*. The *calenda* is a stunning event in which women, dressed in a version of the local traditional female outfit designed for the celebration, carry a large flower arrangement during a procession and eventually deposit the flower arrangements in the church during mass the day after the *calenda*. The *calenda* begins in the afternoon of the Friday following October 17, and takes a designated route through the town, along which there are several stops where women dance with the flower arrangements on their head. Men practice strength and balance pirouettes as they make large cloth balloons twirl to the rhythm of the music. This procession goes on until the wee hours. Additional events which may or may not fall under the responsibility of the *mardom*, including smaller processions, a community dance night, a fair and *gal rgyet guan* 'rodeo'.

have to travel to Tlacolula and often invest a full day to claim such payments. In exchange for the subsidies, participating women are expected to get regular health checkups and attend free health information sessions. Some are assigned the task of disseminating this information among other women in the community.

Participation in Oportunidades seems to be yielding positive results, although it has also created tension between advocates of practices such as vaccination and clinical pre-natal care, and conservative women who resent the pressure to discontinue centuries-old health practices. At the governmental level, health matters are addressed by the Comité de Salud, a committee of five men from the *cabildo* with whom the clinic and the Oportunidades group collaborate.

The Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) was established in 1948 as an entity of the federal government to handle matters related to the indigenous peoples in Mexico. On July 5, 2003, the INI was transformed into the Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas (CDI). The local centers representing these institutions are the Centros Coordinadores Indigenistas (CCI). The CCI has managed a number of projects including an assistance program for women seeking to purchase cattle, and *Mujeres Indígenas*, a gathering of women for the purpose of fostering project initiatives. The CCI was also intent on promoting the continued use of the Valley Zapotec languages by emphasizing the role of women in language transmission.

3.4 Services

According to the Consejo Nacional de Población (CONAPO), SLQ is designated as a highly marginalized community. Table 3 below may provide better insight into the services available to SLQ residents by the time the 2000 Census was conducted. According to the *cabildo*, running water and electricity including street lighting have been available in SLQ since the 70s. Work on the installation of public underground sewage began in early July 2002. Most homes have running water, although water is only supplied on alternate days, thus requiring homes to store water in wells and water tanks.

Table 3.1. Housing, services and amenities

Total inhabited dwellings	390
<i>Private homes with some form of sewage system</i>	31
<i>Private homes with electricity</i>	376
<i>Private homes with running water</i>	378
<i>Private homes with a radio and/or tape-recorder</i>	353
<i>Private homes with television</i>	283
<i>Private homes with VCR</i>	162
<i>Private homes with telephone service</i>	4

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática

Availability and quality of other services has improved in the last five years. For example, before 2002, telephone service was limited to home-based phone service businesses who had one to three lines available to the public for a fee. During my last visit to San Lucas in October 2007, most families I interacted with had a residential phone line. In addition, cell phones are common in San Lucas.

3.4.1. Housing. Prior to the emigration flow that began in the late 1960s, houses were primarily made out of reed and palm leaves or adobe and roof tiles. These houses have been replaced by brick houses in the last two to three decades. This is a reflection of the flow of remittances sent by emigrants to their families back home. Indeed, housing is one of the target expenses that emigrants seek to cover while working in the United States. Building costs reportedly range from US\$20,000 to US\$40,000. Masons can be found in town, but all materials are purchased in and transported from Tlacolula, increasing costs significantly. Given that migrants may only be able to send a few hundred dollars at a time, planning for the construction suffers, resulting in further cost increases and in construction projects that last for years.³

Most homes nowadays have radios, stereos, televisions, VCR and DVD players. Some homes feature satellite dishes as well. A few homes have washing machines although they are in the minority as clothes are generally washed by

³ Homes are designed to have an altar room, a rectangular room that may be used for sleeping and eating, with a wide cement shelf on one end meant to serve as an altar. The altar is used to display religious iconography, votive candles and fresh flowers. It is desirable to have as large as possible an altar room. Altar rooms as well as any other room in the house may have a tile floor, but it is still very common to find brick rooms with dirt floors. Rooms are usually not connected in this style of housing and one must step outside in order to access any other room. Brick homes usually feature walls and metal doors over two meters high, and few or no windows overlooking streets. This is to preserve family privacy. "California" style housing, as it is called in San Lucas, has emerged in the last five years. Some homes now feature layouts of the type common in United States apartments. That is floor plans where the living/dinning room is central, with the kitchen adjacent to it and bedrooms built around it. A key difference is that in this new type of floor plan, one does not step outdoors to go from one room to another. Other features may include modern kitchens with cabinetry, counter space with inset sinks and stoves. These newer designs can be built alongside other types of construction inside one single piece of land where more than one family might live, and which might be itself fenced in by the tall wall and metal door. Around 2006, a house was built on Francisco I. Madero street, ranch style, with a low knee-high white fence and a front lawn to replace a brick house surrounded by a tall wall and metal door. Kitchen design varies widely from home to home. Some homes still feature brick fire pits at floor level in a separate room covered with a thatched roof. Perhaps the most common kitchen design is that of a room separate from all others, built with reed and palm leaves, with one or two fire pits.

In 2002, the not-for-profit Amigos de las Americas carried out a mud-and-brick-stove building project intended to replace fire pits. The stoves were brick cubes outfitted with air ducts, cooking holes at waist level and a smoke exhaust. Some of the homes that did not benefit from such a project have devised their own mud-and-brick stoves as well. Some houses nowadays may have gas stoves in addition to fire pits. Refrigerators are also now more and more common, and also a reflection of the remittances flow that San Lucas receives. Bathroom amenities also vary widely. Latrines are still very common, as are, nowadays, tile bathrooms with toilets connected to the public sewage system, sinks and showers. Public bathrooms were built in the late 1990s to provide toilets and sinks to the community at no charge. This was accomplished through a collaboration between the Los Angeles community and the federal government.

hand. As mentioned at the beginning of section 4.4, home phone lines and cell-phones have become quite common since about 2005.

3.4.2. Health. As in many indigenous cultures in Mesoamerica, in SLQ the legacy of pre-Hispanic health practices is still present. While allopathic medicine has made its way into the community, there is considerable resistance to giving up indigenous practices. In cases where a patient might seek medical assistance, this is often supplemented by rituals such as a *gal racreizh*, a process through which a patient is cleansed from the effects of a moment of fear that may have caused a health problem. It is believed that unless the patient is liberated from the effects of fear, the body will not be liberated from its malady. Practices of this type are a social event and require that family and friends participate.⁴

A health clinic, Clínica rural #36, has been in operation in SLQ since the mid-nineties. This clinic is run by the state health agency, the Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia and manned by a head doctor who works regular business hours, a resident doctor living on-site, a nurse and a number of *promotoras*. A *promotora* is a woman from the SLQ community who through the state-run program Oportunidades volunteers to assist at the clinic by performing clerical work and some basic medical duties. It is difficult for the clinic to have steady volunteer help, given how protective the community is of their women. In the past,

⁴ In SLQ, there are a number of *buny ni rsiyac*, or practitioners of traditional medicine, with varying skills. There is no *ni rciyets* or specialist in bone and muscle ailments. There are still practicing *wzhyses* 'midwives' in San Lucas and they continue to be sought after for deliveries as well as pre and postnatal care. For some, *wzhyses* remain the preferred choice for care among expecting mothers over services provided by the local health clinic. However, certain traditional birthing practices are not as favored nowadays. For example, SLQ used to have a temazcal bath, where water at high temperature is mixed with herbs to produce therapeutic steam baths used in particular in the treatment that women traditionally would receive following the birth of a child. This treatment is no longer practiced, and as a result, the bath went out of use and was demolished around 2002.

all doctors have been men, and the idea of a San Lucas woman being alone in the clinic with a male doctor was not well received. At the time of the 2007 and 2008 field research seasons, both doctors were female doctors. This change might be helpful in building trust between patients and medical staff. In San Lucas, women rarely undergo gynecological exams, and those who do routinely require that gynecological exams be done by a female medical practitioner.

One or two pharmacies have been in operation in the community on and off since 2000. At the time of the last field season in October 2008, no pharmacy was in operation. The public health does have an inventory of medicines to provide to patients free of charge, but medicines not available at the clinic need to be purchased in Tlacolula. Between 2005 and 2008, a couple of medical offices and a dentistry provider opened shop in San Lucas but closed within a year or two. It appears that among those who chose to consult an allopathic doctor, they consider those practicing in San Lucas less trustworthy, and therefore choose to consult doctors in Tlacolula and Oaxaca City.

3.4.3. *Transportation and communication.* San Lucas is located 9 kilometers from Tlacolula and 39 kilometers from the state capital, Oaxaca City. Lopez and Munro (1999) report that the first road linking San Lucas to Tlacolula was a dirt road built in 1969, and that until at least 1990, San Lucas had no paved roads. By 2002, a small portion of a paved road linking San Bartolomé Quialana and Tlacolula de Matamoros could be used to ease one's way to San Lucas. Also, a portion of two streets were paved, Benito Juárez which leads to the church and the

municipal building, and 20 de noviembre which is orthogonal to Benito Juárez and leads to the church. Between 2005 and 2008, several other streets in the northern part of town have been progressively paved. More notably, the road to Tlacolula was paved entirely in time for the 2008 annual patron saint festivities. San Lucas Quiaviní is now an easy one-hour drive from Oaxaca City, and some 15 minutes from Tlacolula. Buses and collective taxis run regularly between Oaxaca City, Tlacolula and San Lucas, making San Lucas quite accessible.

As has been mentioned twice earlier, home phone lines and cell phones have become common since 2005. Thus, texting is becoming a popular practice among youngsters. As far as print communications, there is no sale or distribution of newspapers or magazines in San Lucas. Any such materials can only be purchased in Tlacolula. A computer and internet center opened for a brief period in 2004. More recently, since 2006 a center has opened in the former rural school across from the municipal building. It offers about ten computers with internet access. Computers and software are configured with a Spanish language interface.⁵ Home computers are not widely available. San Lucas receives radio and television signals from a number of stations and channels providing mainstream programming in Spanish. Soap operas are widely watched, especially by women. However, TV sets and VCR/DVD players have an important role in disseminating cultural practices transnationally. Video cameras are widely available in San Lucas, and are used to record social events such as weddings, baptisms and other festivities, including of course, the annual patron saint festivities. Tapes are reproduced and

⁵ I did not research what language is used by users as they email or chat.

sent to emigrants in Los Angeles through courier services available in Tlacolula, or with people from San Lucas traveling to Los Angeles.

3.5 Tlacolula de Matamoros

As mentioned in section 4.1, SLQ borders to the North with Tlacolula de Matamoros, which is the administrative center of the Tlacolula valley, as well as its commercial hub. Tlacolula is home to over 13,000 inhabitants including significant percentages of Mixes, Mixtecs and Zapotecs, and while it used to be a Zapotec speaking town, this has changed rapidly over the past 20 years to make it mostly a Spanish-speaking town. As the administrative center for the 25 towns in the Tlacolula valley, Tlacolula houses government and utilities offices. Thus, San Lucas residents are often required to travel to Tlacolula to make utility payments and make any arrangements such as obtaining documents and voter registration cards widely used in Mexico as identification cards.

Tlacolula has several banks, a Western Union office and a number of other money transfer and currency exchange businesses. There are a dozen or so internet shops as well. There are a number of elementary, junior high and high schools, as well as trade schools in Tlacolula attended not only by local students, but also by commuters from the surrounding towns. Some two-dozen SLQ children attend school in Tlacolula. There are numerous doctors' offices and dental clinics, as well as small hospitals and public health clinics, which are often favored by San Lucas residents over services provided in their home town.

3.6 Commerce

Given the proximity of SLQ to Tlacolula, SLQ residents do most of their shopping there. The Sunday market attracts vendors from all surrounding Zapotec towns, and along with them, a great diversity of products. The market is also open with a reduced number of vendors Monday through Saturday. Aside from the market, Tlacolula offers a wide array of stores and services including small grocery stores, hardware stores, photo and video services, video rentals and internet shops.

SLQ has a growing number of businesses owned by San Lucas residents. There are numerous small grocery stores and a once-a-week market, with produce vendors, a meat and sausage stand, a cheese vendor and a bread stand. There are a couple of bakeries that sell fresh bread daily. Prepared food is available through a few small restaurants, including a pizzeria. Service businesses have cropped up in San Lucas since 2005, including rental of tables, chairs and tarps for parties, video recording, live music and D.J.-ing. There are also a two brass bands that can be hired for special occasions. A currency exchange business was scheduled to open towards the end of 2008. In addition to these businesses, there is person-to-person trade that may involve trading animals, Avon products, chocolate, etc., as well as services such as masonry, large-scale cooking for parties, laundry and other house chores, and agricultural work, as well as fulfilling an emigrant's duties to the community. Several times a week, vendors drive into SLQ selling everything from corn and alfalfa to mattresses and bed frames. Trucks drive into town regularly offering to buy discarded aluminum cans.

Fabric, sewing, crocheting and knitting supplies, aprons and other supplies needed to make San Lucas style women's clothing are widely available in Tlacolula, as are shoes and sandals for both men and women. Some such supplies are also available in San Lucas at the Thursday market. A few women in the community have home businesses sewing dresses of the style worn by young girls in SLQ, sold as a set with a matching apron. Many San Lucas women are skilled in hand-embroidering *gamizh gyia* which are women's T-shape blouses with embroidered flowers around the neck line. A new trend in design emerged around 2003 and now the flowers can also be crocheted.

3.7 Education

San Lucas currently has three state-run schools: *pre-escolar* 'kindergarden', *primaria* 'elementary school' and, since 1995, a *telesecundaria* which is a junior high school or middle school where teachers are assisted in their lessons by televised instruction. There is no other educational institution in San Lucas, and anyone wishing to attend further instruction must do so in Tlacolula, Oaxaca City or elsewhere. It is also the case that some families will choose to send their children to Tlacolula for elementary and middle school education. While some families may go the extra length to send their children to schools outside San Lucas expecting better instruction there, school attendance among San Lucas children is sparse overall (see below). This is the case despite the availability of scholarships provided through programs such as Oportunidades (cf. 3.3.4), and the fact that

education is mandatory through elementary school. The primary reason is the cultural expectation that children, especially girls, should join their parents in assisting and learning about the various family chores (cf. 3.3.2).

Table 3.2. Education statistics for San Lucas Quiavini

Category	Individuals	Relevant Percentages
Total Population	1769	-
Population 15 years and older with no formal education	411	23% of total population
Population 15 years and older having completed elementary school	73	4% of total population
Children ages 6 to 11 (elementary school age)	207	-
Children ages 6 to 11 who do not attend school	9	4% of children ages 6 to 11
Children ages 12 to 14 (middle school age)	129	-
Children ages 12 to 14 who do not attend school	16	12% of children ages 12 to 14
Children ages 6 to 14	336	-
Children ages 6 to 14 who do not attend school	25	7% of children ages 6 to 14
Average number of years of school attendance	3.29	-
Population 15 and older illiterate in Spanish	417	34% of population 15 and older 24% of total SLQ population
Male population 15 and older illiterate in Spanish	119	24% of male population 15 and older
Female population 15 and older illiterate in Spanish	298	41% of female population 15 and older

Source: *II Censo de Población y Vivienda, 2005. Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática*

Table 3.2 presents some basic statistics on school attendance and literacy. Only 4% of San Lucas residents have attended elementary school. This statistic should be put into context, and it should be clarified that the current elementary school has only been in operation for some 30 years. Thus, only individuals under the age of about 30 have had access to elementary school in their own community. At present time, and despite incentives and the status of elementary school as mandatory, 4% of children ages 6 to 11, the age range of expected elementary

school attendance, are not attending school. The percentage of children not attending middle school is 12%, according to the population count of 2005. As far as attendance beyond middle school, numbers dramatically dwindle. The 2000 census reports that only four individuals have completed high school. This is likely to have increased since then, and unfortunately the population count of 2005 does not provide any relevant statistics. I do not expect a dramatic increase in this area, however. Among residents in San Lucas there used to be one person with a professional degree, a doctor. She left San Lucas for Los Angeles in late 2008 leaving San Lucas with no residents with a college degree, but has since returned.

A final note on literacy should be added to this section. Census data provides literacy rates for Spanish only. 34% of the population ages 15 and older is illiterate in Spanish. This amounts to 24% of the total population being unable to read and write in Spanish. Illiteracy is double among women versus men. In the population ages 15 and older, 24% of men and 41% of women are illiterate. San Lucas Quiaviní has virtually no literacy in the local Zapotec variety. I will discuss this point in detail in Section 5.4.3.

3.8 Population and migration

San Lucas Quiaviní is classified as a *localidad urbana* ‘urban locality’ and a *cabecera municipal* or ‘administrative center’ by the INEGI. In the most recent population count of 2005 conducted by the INEGI, San Lucas was reported to have a total population of 1769 inhabitants. However, the 1990 census shows a

population of 2,156 inhabitants, the highest population count ever reported for San Lucas. The point I wish to make here is that the San Lucas population has decreased by close to 20% in only 15 years due to emigration to the United States, and specifically to Los Angeles, California. Table 3.3 shows population figures since 1900.

Table 3.3. San Lucas Quiavini population figures 1900 - 2005

Year	Source	Total Population	Population Change*	Male Population	Female Population
1900	Census	992		491	501
1910	Census	1005	1.3 %	510	495
1921	Census	835	- 16.9 %	404	431
1930	Census	830	- 0.59 %	388	442
1940	Census	974	17.3 %	469	505
1950	Census	1064	9.2 %	514	550
1960	Census	1208	13.5 %	597	611
1970	Census	1188	- 1.7%	578	610
1980	Census	2127	79%	1052	1075
1990	Census	2156	1.4%	1050	1106
1995	Count	2088	- 3.2%	971	1117
2000	Census	1941	- 7 %	845	1096
2005	Count	1769	- 8.9 %	763	1006

Sources: Archivo Histórico de Localidades, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (<http://mapserver.inegi.org.mx/AHL/realizaBusquedaurl.do?cvegeo=202330001>).

A preliminary note before the analysis is necessary to address some peculiarities in the data in Table 3.3. There are three points in time at which San Lucas population is reported to have decreased. I will not attempt to explain the decrease in numbers in 1921 and 1930 as this explanation is outside the scope of this study. I have no explanation for the dramatic increase of 79% in population between 1970 and 1980. I can speculate that the increase in SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism could have been a factor motivating an increase in the rate of responses to the census survey among San Lucas residents. After all, the total

population figures for 1980 and all subsequent survey years are consistent with each other. However, the unexplained jump in population between 1970 and 1980 does not affect the analysis in this section or the relevance of emigration and population decline in San Lucas considering my focus on large scale migration after 1980 as I explain below.

Emigration to Los Angeles began with a few individuals making the journey in 1968. A detailed history of migration is provided in Chapter 6 which focuses on the immigrant community of Los Angeles. Suffice it to say that by the mid-1970s, some 80 individuals from San Lucas had emigrated to Los Angeles. These were all men with the exception of three women. At the time, only men emigrated, and families could only participate in emigration if at least one male family member over the age of 18 remained present at home. Emigration increased after the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) which allowed eligible immigrants in the United States to regularize their migratory status. The highest population figure for San Lucas Quiaviní is of 2,156 residents reported in the 1990 census.

Subsequently, the SLQ population has progressively declined. Table 4.3 shows a decline of 3.2% between 1990 and 1995, of 7% between 1995 and 2000, and of 8.9% between 2000 and 2005. Overall, in the 15 years between 1990 and 2005, the San Lucas population has declined by 18%.

3.8.1. Population decline by sex. Men have historically emigrated in much larger numbers than women and children. Table 4.4 shows that the male population in San Lucas declined by 27.3% between 1990 and 2005. Further, the

difference between the number of women and men in the community increased from 1.1% in 1980 to 13.7% by 2005. This meant that at the time of the second population count in 2005, there were 243 more women than men in San Lucas. After 1986 women and children began to emigrate to Los Angeles. Table 3.4 also shows that the female population declined from 1106 individuals to 1006 between 1990 and 2005. In other words, the female population has declined by 9%.

Table 3.4. Population decline by sex

Year	Total Population	Male Population	Female Population	More women than men	Differential in %
1900	992	491	501	10	1%
1910	1005	510	495	15	1.5%
1921	835	404	431	27	3.2%
1930	830	388	442	54	6.5%
1940	974	469	505	36	3.7%
1950	1064	514	550	36	3.4%
1960	1208	597	611	14	1.2%
1970	1188	578	610	32	2.7%
1980	2127	1052	1075	23	1.1%
1990	2156	1050	1106	56	2.6%
1995	2088	971	1117	146	7%
2000	1941	845	1096	251	13%
2005	1769	763	1006	243	13.7%

Sources: Archivo Histórico de Localidades, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (<http://mapserver.inegi.org.mx/AHL/realizaBusquedaurl.do?cvegeo=202330001>).

3.8.2. Population decline by age groups. Table 3.5 shows population changes by 5-year age groups. There are two crucial observations to be drawn from this data. First, the group with the greatest population decline is the group ages 25 to 29 with a decrease of 58% over a period of 15 years. This is an important age group as it represents prime age for marriage and childbearing. While I do not have data specific to the time in the life of individuals when these events take place, based on my observation I consider that the bulk of emigrants in this age group left

San Lucas to provide for children, and in the case of men, for a wife back in San Lucas. It is also likely that in this age range, couples might emigrate together along with their children. On that note comes the second and more dramatic observation: San Lucas Quiaviní has seen its child population decrease dramatically. Between 1990 and 2005, the population ages 0 to 9 decreased 45%. This decrease may be the result of two phenomena reflective of the above comment regarding the population decline in the 25-29 age group. One, San Lucas natives are emigrating at an age conducive to forming couples which are primarily endogamous. These individuals in turn bear and raise children in Los Angeles and not in San Lucas. Two, increasingly, fathers who might have emigrated alone are increasingly arranging for their wives and children to emigrate to Los Angeles.

Table 3.5. Population decline by age groups

Age groups	1990	2005	Population change in numbers	Population change in percentage
0-4	223	124	- 99	- 44.4 %
5-9	296	163	- 133	- 45 %
10-14	263	204	- 59	- 22.4 %
15-19	250	179	- 71	- 28.4 %
20-24	169	140	- 29	- 17.2 %
25-29	189	79	- 110	- 58 %
30-34	148	105	- 43	- 29 %
35-39	129	95	- 34	- 26.4 %
40-44	90	108	18	20%
45-49	85	91	6	7 %
50-54	83	96	13	15.6 %
55-59	59	43	-16	-27.1%
60 <	172	285	-113	65.7%

Sources: Archivo Histórico de Localidades, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (<http://mapserver.inegi.org.mx/AHL/realizaBusquedaurl.do?cvegeo=202330001>).

One focus of this study is on the impact that the population decline in San Lucas has on the language maintenance prospects for San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec.

More specifically, it focuses on the demographic segments of the population leaving San Lucas and settling in Los Angeles: individuals of childbearing age and children themselves. In Chapter 5 and especially Chapter 6, I present data regarding the language choices that emigrants are making in Los Angeles. In Chapter 7, linguistic data is presented to illustrate decreased competence in San Lucas Zapotec among children in the immigrant community. These various segments of the study will be brought together in Chapter 8 to show the impact that migrants have on language choices back in San Lucas itself, and in Chapter 9 I relate current emigration trends in San Lucas to a decrease in speaker base in San Lucas, to formulate a language endangerment scenario brought about by San Lucas' developing transnational nature. First, I move to Chapter 4 where I describe language use in San Lucas Quiavini.

Chapter 4. Language Use and Language Attitudes in San Lucas Quiaviní

Parallel to the various segments of the San Lucas community profile (CP) in Chapter 3, this chapter elaborates on the linguistic environment in which SLQ residents function. The linguistic environment can be compared to a continuum of language use with the domain of use of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ) at one end, the domain of Spanish at the other end, and a bilingual SLQZ-Spanish domain in between. Following Fishman's (1972) definition of domain as the situations requiring one language variety or another, the situations that comprise each of these domains are described in the sections that follow.

4.1 The domain of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec

Over the five-field periods conducting research in San Lucas Quiaviní (2002 to 2008) I was able to observe the use of SLQZ in numerous San Lucas families in addition to my host family. Without question, SLQZ is the primary language of use in San Lucas Quiaviní and the only motivation to switch to Spanish is for the purpose of accommodating a non-SLQZ speaker. Table 4.1 shows that since 1995, the percentage of SLQZ speakers among residents of San Lucas ages five and older has remained steadily around 98%. Monolingualism remains sizable at 15% according to the 2005 population count.

Table 4.1. SLQZ Language use among San Lucas Quiavini residents 5 years and older

Year	1995	2000	2005
Total population	2088	1941	1769
Population 5+ years	1853	1717	1588
SLQZ speakers 5+ years	1826 (98.5%)	1679 (97.78%)	1563 (98.42%)
SLQZ monolinguals 5+ years	211 (11.4%)	373 (21.8%)	236 (14.9%)

Sources: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000, Conteo de Población y Vivienda 1995 and 2005, Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática.

4.1.1. Language use in family interaction. Family interaction among San Lucas residents is exclusively conducted in SLQZ. In interviews conducted with seven target families in October 2007, all interviewees confirmed they speak San Lucas Zapotec with family members, relatives, neighbors and overall, with San Lucas residents. One San Lucas interviewee states:

(1) *[Aquí] todo el mundo habla Zapoteco, aquí en mi casa siempre Zapoteco, con mi niño siempre Zapoteco.*

“[Here] everyone speaks Zapotec, here at home it’s always Zapotec, with my son, it’s always Zapotec.”

Interviewees also confirmed that children are exposed from birth to SLQZ and are socialized in the language exclusively until they begin attending pre-school when Spanish is introduced. During interviews and in casual conversation, community members state that children in San Lucas are “born” speaking Zapotec, to emphasize the dominance of the local language in children’s upbringing.

Over the years, I have documented two exceptions to this practice. The first was in a family I met in 2002, whose two older children attended school outside San Lucas. These children eventually shifted to Spanish in their interaction with each other, and subsequently began to address their toddler sister in Spanish. The

toddler continued to be addressed in SLQZ by her parents and all other relatives. This case is the only one I know in which children born and raised in San Lucas shift to Spanish in the context of family interaction. In other cases in which children from the same family attend school outside San Lucas, siblings continue to interact in Zapotec, and in the home, SLQZ remains the language of family interaction.

The second exception I have found is not as unique, and involves San Lucas residents born elsewhere. Such is the case of families based on exogamous marriages. In such cases, it is a given that the couple will have used Spanish as primary language of communication and will have maintained it as such as they married and formed a family. In my interview sample, two such families are included. In these cases, the language of family interaction and child upbringing is Spanish. Nevertheless, the children are socialized in the local Zapotec language by other relatives, primarily grandparents, and by other children in school. More importantly, families with children born in Los Angeles incorporate Spanish into their home language repertoire. Among the seven families interviewed in San Lucas, three reported using Spanish at home. All three families had children born in Los Angeles. In two cases, the parents indicated they shifted to Spanish as the language of parent-child interaction while in Los Angeles, to help their children learn the language. Later, they maintained their language choice even after moving to San Lucas permanently, the motivation being the idea of helping their children maintain their competence in Spanish. In one case, these decisions led the parents to choose Spanish in their interaction with a second child born in San Lucas. In

another case, the child was also exposed to English in the home as an uncle chose this language to address the child. In both cases, however, the children were actively acquiring SLQZ, primarily by their interaction with other relatives, notably grandparents, and with other children in the community. (2) is a statement by a San Lucas couple with one LA-born and one San Lucas-born child about their language choices at home.

(2) *El ochenta por ciento del tiempo [hablamos en] Zapoteco y el veinte por ciento en español...Es muy importante como para la escuela aquí que van entonces les enseñan español entonces si ellos entienden español se les hace más fácil aprenderse lo que les enseñan.*

“Eighty percent of the time [we speak] Zapotec and twenty percent in Spanish...It is very important for school, when they go they are taught Spanish so if they understand Spanish it is easier for them to learn what they are being taught.”

In the third case I documented, the use of Spanish that resulted from the presence of an LA-born child had somewhat different motivations. In this case, the 10-year old child was in San Lucas for an extended stay several months long, but with the knowledge that the child would return to Los Angeles. The child was in San Lucas with his mother, and they continued to speak Spanish to each other as they had always done in Los Angeles. The child had some passive bilingual skills but reportedly had no production skills when he arrived in San Lucas, about four months before the interview. The mother’s sister, an SLQ resident who has never emigrated, and who is SLQZ-Spanish bilingual, generally spoke to the child in Spanish, stating that she accommodated to his limited SLQZ skills. However, she

recognized the child's improvements in his SLQZ competence and willingness to learn and actively use the language. The primary agent of SLQZ socialization in this case was the grandmother, an SLQZ-monolingual. The child attended school, but reportedly did not socialize with the local children much and preferred to socialize with other LA-born children present in San Lucas, with whom he spoke in English.

4.1.2. Language use in the community. I begin this section by making the same assertion as above: San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec is the language of community interaction. And, as in the family, the only motivation to shift to Spanish is to accommodate for a non-SLQZ speaker. All community matters are conducted in Zapotec, including town meetings, regular meetings of the *xtisy* 'town council', and of course, informal interaction between SLQ residents.

In public interactions, shifting to Spanish is primarily a matter of situational shift, thus a temporary shift limited to the interaction with an outsider. These shifts can be regular in certain contexts. Examples include the interaction with school teachers, health clinic staff, and outside vendors and visitors. It is important to state that the presence of a non-SLQZ speaker does not necessarily exclude the use of SLQZ in their presence. Thus the non-SLQZ speaker may be addressed in Spanish, but even in this person's presence, SLQ residents may continue to address each other in SLQZ. As a participant observer, I was given minimal accommodation even during my first field season when I was only starting to acquire Zapotec skills. Thus, I would be addressed in Spanish by confident bilinguals, minimally and for

very specific reasons, but otherwise all interaction around me was strictly conducted in SLQZ.

4.1.3. Prestige of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec. Despite the status of SLQZ as minority language, and its small speaker base relative to the speaker base of Spanish, with which it is in contact, San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec is the community's prestige language. Most interviewees in the 2003 and 2007 interviews overtly expressed their appreciation for SLQZ. Now, to test whether this reported appreciation was genuine or motivated by my presence and my known interest in language preservation, I involved my three-year old daughter, Olivia, and her incipient SLQZ skills.

Olivia has joined me in two field seasons in San Lucas and two field season in Los Angeles between the ages of 18 months and 3 years. I initially presented Olivia as an eager learner of SLQZ, motivating SLQZ speakers to address her in Zapotec, rather than Spanish as was the immediate tendency. In subsequent visits I presented her as an incipient speaker the language, and Olivia obliged by exhibiting her SLQZ comprehension and production skills. A dominant reaction among interviewees, as well as other community members who volunteered comments on the matter, was to praise us, outsiders interested in SLQZ, as a means to critique emigrants whose children do not develop SLQZ competence or even loose previously acquired competence. (3) and (4) are comments related to the fact that Olivia is learning Zapotec:

(3) *Mi mamá dice que es muy bonito que ella aprende Zapoteco y es de otro lado, dice mi mamá 'qué bonito que la gringa habla Zapoteco y es gringa'.*

"My mother says that it is very nice that she is learning Zapotec even though she is from somewhere else, my mom says 'how nice that the gringa speaks Zapotec and yet she is a gringa.'"

(4) *Y para la gente, cómo se sorprenden, porque, ¿te imaginas? dices que vienes desde Nueva York, llegas en San Lucas y tu niña habla perfectamente, ¡wow!*

"And people, how they must be amazed, because, can you imagine? you say that you come all the way from New York, then you arrive in San Lucas and your daughter speaks perfectly, wow!"

I explored language attitudes towards SLQZ by presenting Olivia as the subject of judgment by groups with which SLQZ speakers are in contact in Los Angeles. Specifically, two interviewees considered that Olivia's multilingual skills would be appreciated in the United States. Further, three interviewees, stated that overall, they tend to react negatively towards Spanish-speaking outsiders, and that they have great appreciation for anyone from outside San Lucas speaking at least some Zapotec while in San Lucas. The most interesting comment regarding the status of SLQZ in San Lucas came from a participant who I interviewed in Los Angeles. At the time of the interview, this young woman had been living in Los Angeles for three years. Prior to migrating to Los Angeles, she had been my primary contact in San Lucas over three field seasons. This participant specifically stated that in San Lucas it is embarrassing to speak Spanish. As a highly competent SLQZ-Spanish bilingual, this young woman was my primary Zapotec teacher and translator during my first field season. I therefore asked her if she was embarrassed

to talk to me in Spanish, and without hesitation she stated that, indeed, having to speak to me in Spanish was a cause of embarrassment:

(5) *Aquí [en Los Angeles] no más es donde hablan español. Ya en San Lucas los niños que van en la escuela, a veces ni en la escuela no hablan español. Yo creo que es lo contrario. Aquí vienen y les da pena hablar Zapoteco en frente de muchas personas y allá les da pena hablar español. A mí me pasó eso...En San Lucas es así, si hablas español, muchas gentes te quedan mirando o te critican, te dicen que '¿por qué estás hablando eso?*

“It is here [to Los Angeles] where they speak Spanish. But in San Lucas, children when they go to school, and actually, even in school they do not speak Spanish. I think it is the opposite. When they come here they are ashamed to speak Zapotec in front of others and over there they are ashamed to speak Spanish. That’s how it was for me...That’s how it is in San Lucas, if you speak Spanish, lots of people stare at you, and they will criticize you and say to you “why are you speaking that?”

Data on language use and language attitudes point to two observations.

First, there is great appreciation for the use of SLQZ in San Lucas itself, which carries along criticism for the shift away from SLQZ in the daughter community of Los Angeles. Second, along with the prestige that SLQZ enjoys in San Lucas, the community has rejected use of Spanish to a great extent and avoided interaction with Spanish speakers to the extent possible. This is an attitude that is rapidly changing, however, as will be evident from the data to be presented in subsequent sections of this chapter, and more importantly, in Chapter 9 where I elaborate precisely on the changes in language choices and language attitudes in San Lucas as a result of its transnational nature as a community.

4.2 Dialectology in the Valley of Tlacolula

Interaction between San Lucas residents and residents from other Zapotec towns in the Tlacolula Valley does not belong entirely to the domain of SLQZ use. This is due to the dialectal diversity in the valley. In this section I present an overview of dialectology in the Zapotec family of languages, and provide a sketch of dialectal variation in the Valley of Tlacolula.

4.2.1. Zapoteco: a malleable label. The term *Zapoteco* ‘Zapotec’ has been used in Mexican society as an all-encompassing linguistic term to designate any and all Zapotec languages. As late as 1990, the Mexican census groups all Zapotec languages under the *Zapoteco* label. This approach is beneficial to those eager to improve the image of the state of indigenous languages in Mexico, as it allows for statements suggesting a six-figure population of *Zapoteco* speakers in the country. Some acknowledgement of the dialectal variation among Zapotec languages has been made since 1995 when the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI) added 5 categories of Zapotec languages in addition to the overarching *Zapoteco* label. Thus in documents produced for the Consejo Nacional de Población, Zapotec languages are broken down into the following categories: *Zapoteco*, *Zapoteco de Ixtlán*, *Zapoteco del Istmo*, *Zapoteco del Rincón*, *Zapoteco Sureño* and *Zapotec Vallista* (Valley Zapotec). The classification has changed slightly over the years but has yet to contribute to the understanding of dialectal variation among Zapotec languages. The 2000 Census listed the categories and corresponding speaker-base counts listed in Table 4.2. This table

exemplifies precisely the misleading use of the label *Zapoteco* and the uselessness in continuing to use the label *Zapoteco* in addition to other presumably more specific labels.

Table 4.2. Population 5 years and older who speak a census-defined Zapotec variety

Language	Population 5 years and older who speaks an indigenous language
Zapoteco	421796
Zapoteco de Ixtlán	1848
Zapoteco Vijano	1
Zapoteco del Rincón	19
Zapoteco Vallista (Valley Zapotec)	3179
Zapoteco del Istmo	644
Zapoteco de Cuixtla	4

Source: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000, Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática.

4.2.2. The family of Zapotec languages. In the linguistic literature, it is widely accepted to use the term Zapotec to refer to a complex family of languages belonging to the Zapotecan branch of the Otomanguean stock. The study of Zapotec languages, and recognition of the dialectal variation among them, dates back to Fray Juan de Córdova's 1578 *arte y vocabulario de la lengua zapoteca* (Cordoua 1578 a and b). A very useful overview of studies on Zapotec languages and their classification is Smith-Stark 2003 which covers among other works, early descriptions such as *Doctrina* by Leonardo Levanto (1776), *Catálogo* by Lorenzo Hervás (1800) and Belmar's 1905 classification of eight varieties of Zapotec, as well as more recent analyses including Rendón (1995), Fernández de Miranda (1995) and Suárez (1990).

The analysis of Zapotec languages varies widely in the terminology used to refer to them and in the number of distinct languages that are claimed to exist. At

one end of the spectrum, Suárez (1990) provides a classification based on three groups of Zapotec languages. Kaufman (p.c.) identifies the following 5 “virtual languages” (or dialect areas): northern, central, southern, Papabuco, and western (Lachixío).” Under this classification, San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec would be considered a variety of central Zapotec. At the opposite end of the spectrum is the categorization generated by the Ethnologue (Grimes et al. 1996) which identifies 58 distinct languages based on intelligibility surveys. The Ethnologue classifies varieties spoken in the Northwestern part of the Tlacolula District as belonging to the language *San Juan Gelavía Zapoteco* (code ZAB). San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec is not listed in the dialects for the language, but is presumably a variety of it based on the geographic distribution reported for San Juan Gelavía Zapotec. In my study, I refer to San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec as a variety of Zapotec as I am not in a position to claim the status of it in any given classification.

4.2.3. Intelligibility among varieties of Zapotec in the Valley of Tlacolula.

Recent work on Zapotec varieties in the Valley of Tlacolula group SLQZ with San Juan Guelavía Zapotec and Tlacolula de Matamoros Zapotec and treat them as varieties of Tlacolula Valley Zapotec (Munro 2003, Lillehaugen 2006). However, no dialectology studies have been conducted within the Valley of Tlacolula. Thus this section is limited to an overview of intelligibility reports by speakers of SLQZ obtained during my field research. I offer these native-speaker reports as a means to convey the relatively limited range of intelligibility perceived by San Lucas residents which can result in the use of Spanish among speakers of Zapotec

varieties. Figure 4.1 shows a close-up view of the District of Tlacolula highlighting the two degrees of intelligibility as per SLQ resident reports. According to the seven interviewees in my 2007 survey as well as members of the 2002 *xtisy* 'town council', speakers of SLQZ, are able to understand and converse with speakers from San Bartolomé Quialana which borders San Lucas to the West, Santa Ana del Valle, and San Juan Guelavía, as well as with residents from San Marcos Tlapazola, located in the southwestern region of Tlacolula de Matamoros. For a recent health information and dissemination project⁶ Dr. Irma Angelina Lopez Hernández, a medical doctor and native speaker of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec judged the following varieties to be mutually intelligible with SLQZ: Magdalena Teitipac, San Juan Teitipac, San Marcos Tlapazola, San Bartolomé Quialana and San Sebastián Teitipac. These towns are shown in Figure 4.1 typeset in black next to a black dot. A lesser degree of intelligibility is reported with varieties from Teotitlán del Valle, Santa Cruz Papalutla and Santiago Matatlán all shown in grey next to a grey dot. San Lucas residents generally report that SLQZ and Mitla Zapotec are mutually unintelligible. The community of San Pablo Villa de Mitla where this variety is spoken is identified with a cross in grey.

⁶ This project was funded by the Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas, who made it possible for Dr. Lopez and I to record and reproduce three CDs with health care information recorded in San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec, and deliver a set of CDs to each household in San Lucas Quiaviní and five neighboring communities, free of charge.

Figure 4.1. Intelligibility in the Valley of Tlacolula based on SLQZ native speaker reports



4.3 The domain of SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism

San Lucas speakers see a limited range of use of their language. Thus, interaction with residents of other Zapotec towns in the Valley of Tlacolula is not a situation that falls cleanly within the domain of use of SLQZ. Rather, it marks the transition from the domain of SLQZ to the domain of SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism as SLQZ speakers will use Zapotec or Spanish to speak to other Tlacolula Valley residents based on their judgment of language intelligibility. Of course, only bilinguals are able to make this sort of situational shift. The bilingual population in San Lucas Quiavini has increased dramatically in the last 35 years as shown in Table 4.3. In 1970, less than half the population of San Lucas was bilingual. In contrast, bilingualism rates have been above 75% in the population five years and older

since 1995. This increase in population can be traced back to the availability of Spanish-only education in San Lucas. I now turn to this topic to show the correlation between school attendance and bilingualism rates, all the while showing that SLQZ is not excluded from the school setting, making it part of the SLQZ-Spanish bilingual domain.

Table 4.3 Monolingualism and bilingualism rates in the population 5 years and older in San Lucas Quiaviní

Year	1970	1980	1995	2000	2005
Total population	1188	2127	2088	1941	1769
Population 5+ years	-	-	1853	1717	1588
SLQZ speakers 5+ years	988	1867	1826	1679	1563
Percentage	-	-	98.5%	97.78%	98.42%
SLQZ monolinguals 5+ years	567	795	211	373	236
Percentage	-	-	11.4%	21.8%	14.9%
SLQZ-Spanish bilinguals 5+ years	421	1042	1610	1297	1310
Percentage	-	-	86.8	75.5%	82.5%

Sources: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1970, 1980 and 2000, Conteo de Población y Vivienda 1995 and 2005, Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática.

Note: Data in cells marked with a – was not available from the INEGI at the time of inquiry or could not be calculated due to unavailable data.

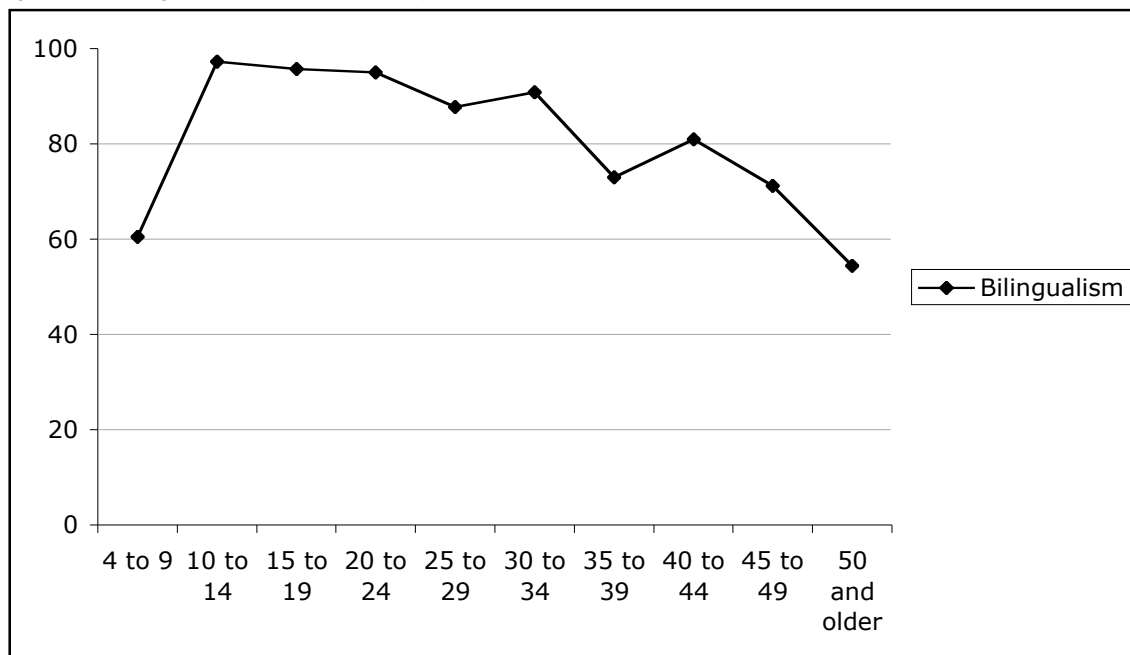
4.3.1. Bilingualism and education. As mentioned in section 4.7, San Lucas Quiaviní has access locally to *pre-escolar* ‘kindergarden’, *primaria* ‘elementary school’ and, since 1995, a *telesecundaria* which is a junior high school or middle school where teachers are assisted in their lessons by televised instruction. At all levels Spanish is the language of instruction. School teachers are Spanish-monolinguals, with the exception of some pre-school teachers who might be speakers of other indigenous languages, or even Zapotec varieties other than SLQZ.

Table 4.4. SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism rates in San Lucas Quiavini

Population groups	Total SLQZ speakers	SLQZ-Spanish bilinguals	Percentage
5 to 9	223	135	60.5 %
10 to 14	224	218	97.3 %
15 to 19	187	179	95.7 %
20 to 24	120	114	95 %
25 to 29	131	115	87.7 %
30 to 34	109	99	90.8 %
35 to 39	111	81	72.9 %
40 to 44	105	85	80.9%
45 to 49	94	67	71.2%
50 and older	375	204	54.4 %

Source: XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda, 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática

Figure 4.2. Bilingualism as a function of Spanish-only education



A correlation can be identified between bilingualism rates and population groups according to their access to Spanish only education. Table 4.4 shows bilingualism rates by age groups. Figure 4.2 presents this same information in graph format. Note that bilingualism levels spike to a 97.3% of the population ages 10 to 14, the age group more likely to include children who have completed elementary

school. According to the 2000 Census, out of 229 children ages 10 to 14, only 6 are reported not to have elementary schooling. This is equivalent to a 2.6% and shows an almost 1:1 relation between attendance to primaria and bilingualism in the community.

Despite the effective role of schooling in increasing bilingualism rates in San Lucas, I not consider the school setting to belong to the domain of SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism and not to the domain of Spanish. As mentioned earlier, all teachers all Spanish speakers and all have the mandate to use Spanish as language of instruction. The elementary school is perhaps the most exclusive of all three schools towards the use of SLQZ and of local cultural practices. For example, a uniform is enforced and girls are specifically scorned for wearing the local dresses, aprons and *bai* 'shawls'. In terms of language use, children are generally required to speak Spanish in the classroom, not only to the teacher but to their classmates as well. I have obtained reports during interviews and casual conversation, of punishments that children might receive for speaking SLQZ in the classroom. These may include payment of one peso per offense, and even a ruler smack in the hands of the offender. Nevertheless, these measures do not seem to deter children from speaking their native language. Those interviewees who reported having been punished at some point also indicated that the punishment had no negative effect and that they persisted in their use of SLQZ in child interaction. Further, once outside the classroom, all interaction between children is conducted in Zapotec.

Teachers in preschool and *tele-secundaria* are more inclusive of SLQZ in the classroom and the curriculum itself. In pre-school, teachers may use the local language as a medium to transition to Spanish-only education. Teachers may be speakers of an indigenous language. Since 2002, there has been a steady presence of teachers who are speakers of a Zapotec variety, although not necessarily one that is intelligible to speakers of SLQZ. The school has no teachers from San Lucas and, to my knowledge, there are no trained teachers from SLQ at all, much less among the preschool staff. In addition to the fact that there is close to no attendance in higher education among San Lucas residents, there is a widespread resistance to the idea of having San Lucas trained teachers in the local schools. The reasoning behind this is that a teacher who is a speaker of the local language would not be able to maintain the necessary language discipline to maintain the Spanish immersion environment which the schools attempt to foster.

Teachers in the *telesecundaria* also state overtly that they have the responsibility to develop their students' Spanish skills but express a commitment to do so without harming the vitality of the local indigenous language. Two of the teachers have developed projects that foster inclusion of SLQZ in the school curriculum. In 2003, one of the teachers had a school newspaper project based on bilingual contributions by the students in both Spanish and SLQZ. For the SLQZ portions, the students developed a story in SLQZ, which was set in writing with the assistance of the *San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec Dictionary* (Munro and Lopez 1999). This project was suspended due to a lack of funds to secure a supply of paper and

photocopying services. A similar but more ambitious project was initiated by another one of the *telesecundaria* teachers a couple of years later. This teacher's students generated a vast collection of short stories and poems most of which had an SLQZ and a Spanish version. The students involved in this project now constitute the Colectivo Literario Quiaviní. Some exposure has been given to the collective's works in that some of the students have made oral presentations of their work in San Lucas and elsewhere. A selection of these texts now written in the simplified SLQZ orthography proposed in Munro et al. (2007) has recently been published (Chávez Peón y Lopez Reyes 2008). Thus, while the language of instruction in San Lucas schools is Spanish, the school systems itself does not belong to the Spanish domain. Rather, it is part of the bilingual SLQZ-Spanish domain.

4.3.2. Services, commerce and employment. Services in San Lucas generally involve Spanish-monolingual providers. However, some strategies have developed to foster inclusion of SLQZ in the delivery of services. I will focus here on services provided by the health clinic. Since the clinic has been in operation in the early nineties, the doctors have been invariably Spanish monolinguals. By 2002, the nurse assisting the medical staff has been a speaker of Mitla Zapotec. This variety of Zapotec is considered by SLQZ speakers not to be intelligible to them (cf. section 4.2.3). Reportedly, the nurse has learned enough SLQZ to be able to assist SLQZ-monolingual patients. In addition, *promotoras* who are community women who volunteer their services in the clinic as part of a federal social

assistance program called Oportunidades, are often present in the clinic. These *promotoras* are SLQZ-Spanish bilingual and can serve as translators as well. *Promotoras* are also required to attend health information sessions that are mandatory for all community women involved in Oportunidades. At these sessions, health information is provided in Spanish by the nurse or doctor, with translation assistance by the *promotoras*. There are contexts within the health care system, however, that remain problematic for SLQZ monolingual speaker. Aside from the health care information sessions, health care had only been available by way of brochures printed in Spanish, which are inaccessible not only to monolingual SLQZ-speakers, but also to bilinguals who might not be Spanish literate. A 2007 health information access project I conducted through funding by the Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas made health information topics available in SLQZ audio format. I collaborated with the Dr. Irma Angelina Lopez Hernández who is an SLQZ-speaker and medical doctor in developing the content. Dr. Lopez recorded 3 audio CD volumes each covering general health topics such as diabetes and hypertension, as well as more specific topics related to women's and children's health. Sets of three CDs were delivered free of charge to all households in San Lucas Quiaviní. The context of private medical consultation remains, however, dependent on Spanish competence. Monolingual SLQZ-speakers need to bring a relative who is able to translate from them, which, reportedly, deters some from seeking medical services. I should clarify that services are available from traditional doctors in the community and are provided in SLQZ by native San Lucas residents.

Commerce through local San Lucas vendors is of course conducted in Zapotec. Some outside vendors regularly sell in San Lucas at the Thursday or Sunday market, and intermittently on other days. Depending on the origin of the vendor, transactions may be conducted in Spanish or Zapotec. During the annual Patron Saint festivities, providers of joy rides and other fair attractions are generally Spanish speakers, however. Also, for special occasions, two local San Lucas brass music bands are available to play traditional music. However, often DJs and dance music bands are hired from outside San Lucas and MCs perform in Spanish only. Members of the various town's committee are often required to make use of their bilingual skills as they handle matters in SLQZ with the town's residents all the while interfacing with school teachers, health clinic staff, utilities providers, contractors from outside San Lucas as in the case of workers of Mixe origin who were employed for recent sewage upgrades, and the state and federal administrative offices in Tlacolula and Oaxaca. Outside San Lucas, some services in Tlacolula itself accommodate for Zapotec speakers. Notably currency exchange bureaus and money wiring offices are often staffed with speakers of a Tlacolula Valley Zapotec variety. However, as Tlacolula has shifted away from Zapotec, Spanish is dominant and commerce transactions are primarily conducted in Spanish.

Jobs available in San Lucas are varied. Agricultural work is available assisting local land owners in plowing, planting, de-weeding and harvesting. Construction work is also available from families receiving remittances that are

spent in home building and improvement. Women may find work as cooks for special occasions, or assisting in house chores such as washing clothes. A few find work manning small stores. All such employment-related interactions are of course conducted in SLQZ. However, employment is often sought in Tlacolula, where women can work as domestic employees and men can work as masons, for instance. In these cases, Spanish is required.

4.4 The domain of Spanish

The previous section made it evident that Spanish becomes necessary, not surprisingly, in the interaction between San Lucas and other towns in the area, especially Tlacolula de Matamoros. Yet this interaction remains part of the bilingual SLQZ-Spanish domain. And in San Lucas itself, Spanish use is mostly contained within that bilingual domain. There are some exceptions related to religion and education which I discuss in this section.

4.4.1. Church. Religious rituals are a vital part of cultural activity in San Lucas Quiavini. An analysis of religious practices in the community would be complex and is outside the scope of this study. However, I wish to point out that while home rituals are conducted in SLQZ, mass is exclusively conducted in Spanish. The community does not have a resident priest, but rather an itinerant priest. Mass is not conducted in San Lucas regularly, not even on Sundays when the church mandates believers to attend mass. Thus, arrangements must be made for the itinerant priest to deliver mass at special occasions such as weddings,

baptisms, funerals and the yearly Patron Saint festivities. And again, the mass will be delivered exclusively in Spanish. I have observed monolingual SLQZ speakers avoid mass, but conduct their own prayers outside of the mass celebration, which are said in Zapotec.

4.4.2. Tlacolula schools. A notable environment in which Spanish dominates is that of schooling outside San Lucas, primarily schooling in Tlacolula. Interviewees consulted in San Lucas in 2003 and 2007 report that San Lucas children who are schoolmates in Tlacolula schools interact with each other in Spanish in the school setting. Furthermore, some of these children maintain their language choice in San Lucas itself where they can be heard conversing in Spanish. In section 4.1.1 I reported on the case of siblings who shifted to Spanish in all of their interaction, including socialization of their toddler sister. Based on my observations since 2002, I suspect that this case is unique or rare at most, and the use of Spanish among students of Tlacolula schools is limited to classmate interaction. Nevertheless, the overt use of Spanish in San Lucas by this group of children is noteworthy in that it suggests an important change in language attitudes from shame associated with speaking Spanish reported in section 4.1.3 to overt acceptance and use of Spanish as a marker of membership in the group of Tlacolula students.

4.4.1. Literacy. In Section 4.3.1 I characterized the school environment as part of the SLQZ-Spanish domain. However, the literacy skills they develop are in Spanish. It should be noted that San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec had no orthographic

system until one was proposed in Munro and Lopez 1999. An effort was made by the authors to make the dictionaries in which the orthography was used for the first time available to the San Lucas community. Volumes were provided free of charge to the health clinic, the schools and the local government office, and were sold at a modest charge in the community. Interviews I conducted in 2003 revealed that the dictionaries were given little use. Interviewees including the town council members at the time reported not being able to understand the orthography. Some interviewees even considered the dictionary data to be erroneous. A common complaint was that tone was not marked in the orthography, a decision at odds with speaker's perception of the relevance of this phonological feature for effective communication in their language. One interviewee specifically judged that the dictionary data was false and that it represented an attempt by the authors to trick the community. The only effort to use the dictionaries to promote literacy in SLQZ to my knowledge is the school newspaper project undertaken by a *telesecundaria* teacher. A handful of issues were produced which included a couple of stories written by the students in Spanish, with an SLQZ translation. Students wrote their SLQZ texts by consulting the dictionary almost word by word.

The orthography proposed in Munro and Lopez 1999 is particularly challenging in its representation of vowel phonation. SLQZ is described as having six vowels each with four phonation types: modal or plain, creaky, checked or post-glottalized and breathy. Further, as is the case with other Zapotec languages, SLQZ vowels may be long or short as a result of the language stress patterns. In the

orthography, phonation type is represented as well as vowel length which in combination with diphthongs reportedly can produce a vowel complex of the shape CCGVVVCG where G stands for a glide. The combination of multiple vowels, the use of *Vh* to mark breathiness, and the numerous diacritics needed to mark the sixth vowel, vowel creakiness and glottalization make for visually intimidating words such as *rchyèeezhy* 'sneezes' or *rguìì'dy* 'irrigates'. Thus any writing required in San Lucas from record keeping to street signage is done in Spanish with the exception of some signage in the *telesecundaria*.

A simplified orthography was proposed in Munro et al. 2007. The primary difference in this orthography is the fact that it does not mark vowel phonation contrast or vowel length. A word such as [loh:] 'face' which was written as *lohoh* previously, is now represented as *lo*. While this certainly makes for a more accessible system visually, it fails to allow for crucial lexical contrasts to be expressed in the orthography. For example, no orthographic distinction is made between numbers 13 and 15 in the language. In the 1999 orthography, 13 was represented as *tsèè'iny* and 15 as *tsèè'iny*, to show the differences in vowel phonation and length. The simplified orthography represents both words as *tseiny*. Another remarkable example is the lack of orthographic distinction in the deictic words 'here' and 'there'. 'Here' was originally represented as *rèè'* and 'there' as *rèè*, to show contrastive glottalization. In the revised orthography, both 'here' and 'there' are represented as *re*. Thus, the simplified orthography is used alongside the 1999 orthography, which is used as a pronunciation guide in Munro et al. 2007

and in linguistic analysis as the one performed on the stories written by the Colectivo Literario Quiaviní in Chávez Peón y Lopez Reyes 2008.

The more recent more expanded efforts to foster writing in SLQZ in the *telesecundaria* setting initially used the 1999 orthography. Eventually, one of the co-authors of Munro et al. 2007 consulted with the writing group and introduced the simplified orthography which is now the only system in use by this group. The group, despite its fluctuating membership, is prolific and promises to be the origin of a generation of youngsters able and interested in SLQZ literacy. Should this interest and effort continue, literacy may become part of the SLQZ-Spanish bilingual domain as bi-literacy becomes more widely practiced, significantly impacting the domain of Spanish in SLQ.

4.5 The domain of English?

Some 35 years ago, San Lucas Quiaviní was a community with close to 50% monolingualism. Nowadays, San Lucas can be characterized as a bilingual community whose members navigate from a well defined SLQZ-domain to a relatively limited domain of Spanish, through a bilingual domain motivated by contact with neighboring towns. The contact situation for San Lucas residents now includes English as well, as a result of emigration trends which have intensified over the past 20 years. Signs of this addition to the linguistic environment is the introduction of Saturday English classes for elementary school students. More importantly, English becomes present as emigrants return to San Lucas and is one

of the expressions of the influence that the emigrant community has on language attitudes and possibly language choices in San Lucas Quiaviní. Thus, I will limit this section to recognizing the increasing presence of English in San Lucas and move to the presentation of the community profile of the daughter community of San Lucas emigrants living in Los Angeles in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5. Community Profile of the Immigrant Community

It is estimated that 30 to 50% of SLQ's inhabitants have left for Los Angeles. Thus, language vitality in San Lucas cannot be evaluated without due consideration of the particulars of the Los Angeles community and its impact on language use in the home community. Language attitudes and language choices in the Los Angeles community of SLQZ speakers must be understood, especially as they are exported back to San Lucas Quiaviní. This chapter begins with an overview of the history of migration out of SLQ and leads into an ethnography which serves as the first half of the community profile of the migrant community in Los Angeles. The second half devoted to language use and language choices among migrants is presented in Chapter 6.

5.1 History of emigration

Early migration out of Zapotec communities from the Central Valleys of Oaxaca was internal to Mexico and dates back to the early 1900s, with the primary host community being Oaxaca City (Clarke 2000). Other host communities are documented, including Mexico City, Veracruz, the northern states of Sinaloa and Sonora, and to Tapachula in the southern state of Chiapas (Hulshof 1991). San Lucas residents migrated little, and their only internal migration destination was Tapachula, for temporary work during the coffee season (Lopez 1999). Temporary migration from San Lucas to the United States took place in small numbers during

the Bracero Program instituted by the United States and Mexican governments on August 4, 1942. As part of this program, Mexican farm workers were sought out to work the fields in the United States to alleviate the labor shortage during World War II. About a dozen men from San Lucas participated in the Bracero Program as temporary migrant workers with stays in the United States of about 3 months, after which time they would return to San Lucas. The Bracero Program lasted 22 years and ended in 1964.

According to Hulshof 1991 and Lopez 2004, this early migration experience is not considered to have impacted the current large-scale migratory flow. Rather, the path of migration from San Lucas to Los Angeles was paved by the emigration in 1956 of three people from Tlacolula de Matamoros who, once settled, assisted migrants from other Tlacolula District communities including San Lucas Quiaviní. The first man to migrate from SLQ to Los Angeles did so at the end of 1968 (Lopez 2004). Two years later, he assisted two brothers and a brother-in-law in emigrating.

5.2 Demography

Lopez and Runsten (2004) report that by the mid-1970s, some 80 people from San Lucas were living in Los Angeles. Based on a local census count Hardeman (1987) estimates that by 1986, 58% of the population in San Lucas had a relative in the United States. Lopez and Munro (1999) report that SLQ records of financial contributions to the community between 1994 and 1997 indicate that around 60% of such contributions were sent from the United States by emigrant

men. This translates into an estimated 90% of the SLQ population having relatives in the United States. Lopez and Runsten 2004 estimates that over 800 people from San Lucas reside in Los Angeles.

Beyond these estimates, there are no census data to quantify the rate of emigration and the size of the Los Angeles community. The 2005 Censo nacional de población y vivienda reports 18 individuals over the age of 5 residing in the United States. Nothing could be further from reality. Data from Mexico's 1990 and 2000 census, and from the 1995 and 2005 Censos nacionales de población y vivienda, do show that the San Lucas population is declining. Many demographic variables involved in current SLQ population figures, including, internal migration, birth and death, the number of returnees, and even a portion of emigrants who, despite their absence, are considered by their family members to be part of the household and are reported to census takers as such. Nevertheless, as shown in Table 5.1, a cumulative population decline of 18% is documented in San Lucas in the period between 1990 and 2005, with the rate of decline between 2000 and 2005 having increased almost three-fold compared with the decline between 1990 and 1995.

Table 5.1. Population decline in San Lucas Quiavini

Year	1980	1990	1995	2000	2005
Total Population	2127	2156	2088	1941	1769
Decline since previous count	-	-	3.2%	7.1%	8.9%

Sources: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1990 and 2000, Censo de Población y Vivienda 1995 and 2005, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.

5.2.1. Participation in migration by sex. Hardeman 1987 states that the participation of families in the migration flow was dependent on the number and age of a male family members, the rationale being that males would undertake the journey to California and it was of significant importance for at least one more male to remain in San Lucas to tend the family's land. The author estimates that by 1986, 203 of 348 SLQ families had a family member in the United States, amounting to one third of SLQ men between the ages of 15 and 45 being in California. Specifically, 1 in 3 families with a son ages 15 to 45 participated in the migration flow; 2 in 3 families with 2 or more sons in the same age range were engaged in migration; almost 100% of families with 3 or more sons had family members in the United States. Hulshof 1991 states that in most families participating in migration, the father remains in SLQ, while the sons aged 15 and over migrated. Lopez and Munro (1999) report that in 1994 61% of San Lucas men over the age of 18 were in the United States, according to the then San Lucas mayor Juvencio García who analyzed records of monetary contributions made to his administration. A similar count taken in 1997 by the then mayor Lorenzo Morales, indicates that 57% of the town's adult males had left San Lucas.

Undoubtedly, emigration was initiated by men and remains a journey undertaken primarily by men. Table 5.2 shows population figures and breakdowns by sex, showing a decline in both male and female population, and consistently showing a smaller population of men in the community. Of the approximately 80 SLQ people residing in Los Angeles in the mid-1970s, there may have been only 2

or 3 women. I interviewed one of the first three women to migrate to Los Angeles, Mrs. N. She made the journey from San Lucas in 1977, in the company of two other women, one of whom was the first female immigrant making her second journey to Los Angeles. Mrs. N stated that at the time she migrated, no women intended or were allowed to emigrate. Her decision to emigrate was received as a shock by the family and community. Mrs. N was able to remain firm in her decision because, as she reports, she had previously emigrated to Mexico City and had acquired a significant degree of independence from her family as a result. Mrs. N states that for many years after her arrival in Los Angeles, few women left San Lucas. Mrs. N's journey was possible because she would be under the care of her father who already resided in Los Angeles.

Table 5.2. San Lucas Quiavini population figures

Year	Total Population	Male Population		Female Population	
1986	2230				
1990	2156	1055	48.9%	1106	51.2
1995	2088	971	46.5%	1117	53.5%
2000	1941	845	43%	1096	56.5%
2005	1769	763	43%	1006	56.8%

Sources: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1990 and 2000, Conteo de Población y Vivienda 1995 and 2005, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.

Hulshof 1991 reports null participation of women in internal or international migration due to an overprotective attitude towards women in SLQ. This has changed and women nowadays emigrate in larger numbers. Lopez (p.c.) indicates that the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 through which

millions of undocumented immigrants were able to regularize their status in the US, motivated women to migrate to Los Angeles. In the population sample I surveyed, in addition to Mrs. N, the only one who emigrated to Los Angeles in the 1970s, 6 women report having arrived in the mid to late 1980s, 3 arrived in the 1990s and 7 arrived within the last 5 years. Hulshof also reports that in her study, households headed by women were unusual and that even in cases where the father needed to migrate, the family would be left under the care of a male relative. This has also changed. Of the 7 interviews I conducted in San Lucas, 5 of the interviewees were female heads of households. In my interactions with the SLQ community since 2001, I can count at least 9 homes headed by women. As shown in Table 5.3, by 2000, 23.6% of households were headed by women, and in 2005, this was the case in 30% of homes. These figures suggest that the requirement for a male to remain in the home in SLQ is no longer so, thus facilitating migration for men.

Table 5.3. Heads of household by sex

Year	Total number of inhabited households	Number of households headed by a man	Number of households headed by a woman
1986	348		
1990	352		
1995	382		
2000	398	304	94
2005	377	263	114

Sources: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1990 and 2000, Conteo de Población y Vivienda 1995 and 2005, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.

Women now may have greater control over the home. This could also be a sign that women have acquired a greater degree of independence from men,

leading to a greater number of women leaving for Los Angeles. As shown in Table 5.2, there is a decline in the female population of San Lucas, which results in a greater presence of women in Los Angeles. Most commonly, women migrate at the request or under the sponsorship of a male relative, and with the means provided by him. Thus a man may send for his wife, as in the case of 9 of the 19 interviewees I surveyed in Los Angeles, or a brother will provide the financial means for a sister to emigrate as in the case of 2 of the interviewees. This allows families to reunite in Los Angeles – children are usually not left behind in San Lucas – and for new families to form.

5.2.2. Participation in migration by age. Lopez (personal communication) reports that in its early stages, migration to Los Angeles was undertaken only by male heads of households with children and in their thirties or older. Researchers Hardeman (1987) and Hulshof (1991) indicate that at the time of their study the age of migration by men was between 15 and 45. As shown in Section 3.8.2 and Table 3.5, the age group 25-29 shows the greatest population decline between 1990 and 2005 at 58% suggesting that this is the group with highest emigration rates. Based on my observations and on comments by community members and by the *telesecundaria* teachers, emigration is also common among late teenagers. The age group 15-19 shows a decline of 28% between 1990 and 2005, the third highest after the 25-29 group and the 30-34 age group which has declined by 29%. The 15-19 age group also exhibits a higher rate than the group 20-24 which has declined by 17%.

Table 3.5 shows that the age group of children 9 years and younger has declined by 45%. I do not interpret this figure to indicate that this age group is an important sending group. Rather, as I state in Section 3.8.2, this is likely to be related to emigration in the 25-29 age group whose members, as they emigrate, are likely to raise families in Los Angeles rather than San Lucas.

5.3 Migration patterns

Migration from San Lucas to the United States has seen a mix of return migration, re-emigration and permanent migration. Hardeman 1987 reports migrants often returning to San Lucas either for short yearly stays or alternating 2-year stays in Los Angeles and 1-year stays in San Lucas. Hulshof 1991 reports migrants returning in the Fall around the peak harvest season and the patron saint festivities. Returnees would stay in San Lucas for anywhere from two months to two or three years after which time, they would re-emigrate. I would add, based on my observations and interviews that events such as weddings and funerals, or the illness of a parent or spouse, can motivate migrants to return to San Lucas.

Both Hardeman 1987 and Hulshof 1991 describe migrants as either engaging in re-emigration (circular migration in their own terms) or not migrating at all. This dichotomy no longer occurs according to the reports I obtained in interviews both in San Lucas and in Los Angeles. In the Los Angeles sample, with the exception of one very recent arrival whose long term plans have not been defined, all respondents and their spouses have made Los Angeles their permanent

place of residence. The average length of stay in Los Angeles is 13.5 years, with the shortest stay in the US so far being 3 years, and the longest being 31 years.

Re-migration was documented in a number of ways. Most members of the surveyed households have traveled back to San Lucas, mostly for occasional short stays although visits can be as short as a week or as long as several years. 2 families report having returned to San Lucas as a family for extended stays, 7 years in one case, and 2 years in the other. At least two men report having re-emigrated several times during a period of 4 or 5 years in one case, and of 10 years in the second case. These two men were young husbands and fathers at the time they first emigrated, and left behind in San Lucas a wife and young children, 2 in one case, 4 in the other. In the latter case, the wife became pregnant at each of the man's 4 visits to San Lucas, and he was away in Los Angeles and absent for the birth of each of his 4 children. In both cases, since the family has managed to migrate to Los Angeles together, no household member has returned to San Lucas, nor does any member currently have plans to visit.

Not only have migration patterns changed, but the family conditions have loosened up allowing for men to emigrate independently of the number of other men remaining in the home. As mentioned above, 30% of homes in San Lucas are headed by a woman. In my observations over the years, I have become well acquainted with at least 8 women who were heads of households with either no men present, or with only young male children in the home. As mentioned in section 5.2.2, it appears that a prime age for emigration is their late teens as they

finish *secundaria* 'middle school', or in their mid- to late twenties once they become or are about to become fathers.

5.4 Classification

For the purposes of this study, I classify migrants in three categories: early immigrants, mid-range immigrants and late immigrants. I use the term early immigrants to refer to those who emigrated to Los Angeles prior to the passage of IRCA in 1986. Consequently, mid-range immigrants are defined primarily by the fact that they emigrated after the IRCA law was passed. In trying to develop a meaningful classification I needed to categorize separately those immigrants who emigrated late enough to have received Spanish education in San Lucas and who are likely to have arrived in the US as SLQZ-Spanish bilinguals. Also, I sought to somehow identify those immigrants who have emigrated under tighter border control and immigration laws. The relevance of this last variable is that as immigration control grew stricter, patterns of emigration, return migration and re-emigration gave way to a pattern of permanent settlement in Los Angeles. There is, however, no chronological point to define such a group. I therefore define the category of late immigrants as those defined by the two aforementioned conditions and, somewhat arbitrarily, having emigrated for the first time after the year 2000.

5.5 Community life

According to Lopez and Munro 1999, the immigrant community in California has found residence in the greater Los Angeles area, especially in West Los Angeles, Santa Mónica, Culver City, Venice and the San Fernando Valley. Most of the interviews I conducted were in homes located in the first three areas, although my population sample includes residents of Inglewood, Downtown Los Angeles and as far as Bakersfield as well. The concentration of the community is enough to allow for fellow *buny San Luc* 'people from San Lucas' to run into each other on the bus, mostly along the Venice Boulevard lines. In areas such as Santa Mónica, there are contiguous apartment buildings almost fully occupied by San Lucas families. In contrast, for *buny San Luc* who live in other areas meeting up with relatives or other San Lucas families may involve over a half hour car ride or bus rides of over an hour. Thus close relatives who would see each other almost daily in San Lucas might not see each other for months in Los Angeles. The frequent social interactions that take place on the streets in San Lucas rarely occurs in Los Angeles. Even in areas of high concentration of San Lucas families, the level of interaction on the streets cannot be compared to that which occurs in San Lucas. A number of factors affect the degree of use of SLQZ on the streets of Los Angeles, all of which will be discussed in Chapter 7. Suffice it to say here that the level of dispersion in Los Angeles results in decreased social interaction among *buny San Luc* as compared to the regular and frequent interaction in San Lucas itself. In San Lucas, some 1700 inhabitants in 377 homes occupy an urban area of 1,603 km²

(247 acres) (INEGI), and frequently cross paths exchanging at least a basic greeting. Frequent interaction results in frequent use of SLQZ and of various forms of socio-cultural expression such as the greeting word *chan* and the observance of respect norms based on age that are acknowledged in greetings. Such greetings are greatly in disuse in Los Angeles where situations that would require such greetings do not occur with the frequency they occur in San Lucas.

5.5.1. Work sphere - Aside from the limited participation in the Bracero program and a few exceptions thereafter, SLQ immigrants have not been engaged in the U.S. agriculture sector as they considered that farmworkers were easily targeted by immigration authorities (Lopez 2004, Lopez 1999). San Lucas immigrants have instead found work in the restaurant industry in and around Los Angeles since migration to this city began in the late 1960s. In my survey, 16 of the 19 interviewed families report having one or more household members working in a restaurant (in two cases I do not have employment information, in one case, the interviewee worked in restaurants for many years but has pursued a different line of work for some 10 years now). Work in the restaurant industry is relatively stable, especially as compared to work in agriculture. As Lopez and Runsten (ibid) report, immigrants can find entry level jobs as janitors and dishwashers, and, over time, can move up to various cook jobs including that of chef, or work the floor as buspersons or waiters.

Employment among men is virtually at a 100% rate. In my sample, all male adults of the interviewed families were employed. Women, however, appear to

have much lower employment rates. Among interviewed families, only six women were employed; among those currently not working, only four have worked in the past. Within the SLQ community, there remains a strong tendency for women not to work once they marry, and certainly once they have children. Among those women currently working, two have young children, one woman is single and has no children, and the other three women have children in their late teens or older, most of whom are already married. Those women who worked in the past arrived in the US single and worked at the time of their arrival and until they married or had their first child. Women who are married or have children with them at the time of their arrival in the US do not generally work. Women, as men, may find employment in the restaurant industry. Among those interviewed women who are working or have worked in the past, five have found employment in restaurants as janitors, cooks or waitresses. Women also have other lines of employment available to them, including housecleaning, babysitting, elder care and even pet care.

Questions regarding salaries and household incomes were not included in the interview schedule as they are sensitive questions which bear no relevance to the larger topic of language and migration. However, two important points emerged during the research which must be mentioned. First, employment in restaurants offers a certain flexibility that allows adjustment of the work schedule to accommodate for income needs and time off if needed. For example, if more income is needed, an employee may seek to work double shifts at their workplace

or may seek a second job. This is an important strategy in order to overcome low wages as restaurant jobs are paid primarily at the minimum wage which is \$8 an hour since January 2008, but was only \$6.75 from 2002 to July 2005 when the first of two increases went into effect. Taking on double shifts or two jobs is common among unmarried men whose primary motivation is generating income. However, this is not uncommon among married men with families, and may translate into scenarios where a father is mostly absent from the home if he works 12 to 16 hours five, six or even seven days a week. Second, it is relatively feasible for restaurant employees to arrange to take an extended leave from work while ensuring that the job will be available for them upon return. These two conditions are favorable to those interested in returning to San Lucas, for short- to mid-term stays, as they are able to increase their work hours and secure the income necessary in order to pay for travel expenses, and may even be able to retain their current work, eliminating the risky prospect of returning to the US without employment.

Job-hunting for both men and women in any one of the sectors mentioned above is done by networking within the SLQ immigrant community. Lopez and Munro (1999) does mention that in the early stages of migration out of San Lucas, migrants experienced abuses at the hands of those already settled in Los Angeles. The authors report that this quickly ended and a social network emerged and served a number of purposes, job-hunting being one of them. Lopez and Runsten (2004) report that a common way to obtain an entry level job is indeed by temporarily replacing a fellow *buny San Luc* while he is on leave. Under this

arrangement, the more senior employee trains his replacement, and in this manner, the early arrival gains experience, the more experienced migrant secures his job, and in the end, both might be able to stay at the same restaurant. Job hunting through networking often times leads to cases where a restaurant might be fully or at least partially staffed by *buny San Luc*. In my research, about half the men and one woman reported working or having worked with fellow *buny San Luc*.

5.5.2. Living arrangements. Different living arrangements are made according to an immigrant's particular situation. A new arrival is usually housed by the nearest of kin, be it a parent, child, sibling or spouse. Uncles and godparents may also offer this type of assistance. The SLQ hierarchy of kinship relations dictates who should provide lodging to a recent immigrant. Thus an immigrant mother will be housed by her oldest son, a young man by an older brother, a young woman by her sister. Depending on the relationship, the recent arrival may or may not need to contribute to rent and other living expenses. This is especially the case when the recent immigrant is young and of school age, as the relative may encourage attending school instead of working.

Sharing arrangements prevail after an immigrant is established in a job and earning an income and even among long-time settled immigrants. Lopez and Runsten (2004) explain this as a strategy to reconcile low wages and high rents. I would add that this is also an adaptation of the San Lucas practice of living in extended family arrangements. As such, it is common to find two or more related families sharing an apartment or house along with all utilities and other household

expenses. This does not preclude, however, cases where one apartment is occupied by one single family.

5.5.3. Community organizations – Despite the 40-year-long history of the Los Angeles community of San Lucas Quiaviní immigrants, there is little in the way of community-wide organizations. Lopez (personal communication) considers this to be partly due to the fact that for the first 20 years, SLQ migrants were almost exclusively men who saw their Los Angeles experience as a temporary one. Thus, the formation of an SLQ daughter community was a slow process. The first attempt at motivating community organization came about in 1996 when the *Organización de San Lucas Quiaviní*, was created and officially recognized as a liaison body between San Lucas Quiaviní and the immigrant community, as well as a representative of the immigrant community to the Mexican Consulate in Los Angeles. The primary goal of this organization was to raise funds to support infrastructure development projects in San Lucas through the *Dos por uno* program of collaboration with the Mexican federal government. Through this program, every dollar migrants provided was matched by the state and federal governments via the intervention of the Mexican Consulate. Through this program, the *Organización* headed by an 11-member board raised close to US\$22,000 to build public restrooms in San Lucas. The funds were raised over a period of 3 years by organizing dance parties around the Patron Saint's festivities and selling admission tickets. The bathrooms were built, but tensions arose within the immigrant

community and with the San Lucas government over the need for this project, that lead to the dissolution of the *Organización*.

In the last few years, other informal types of organization have emerged around basketball playing and around the Patron Saint festivities. A basketball team composed of San Lucas emigrants was formed to represent the town in tournaments held in Los Angeles parks. In 2004, an arrangement was made to allow San Lucas immigrants to worship the Patron Saint at a church in Santa Mónica and the first celebration reminiscent of the San Lucas festivities was held. The celebration was limited to one Sunday in October and did not involve a dance party or any other events. In 2005, two volunteer *mardom* sponsored the celebration mass. *Mardom* in San Lucas are elected to sponsor the yearly celebrations, a responsibility they need to fulfill as part of the *cargos* system (cf. section 3.4). *Mardom* in Los Angeles are volunteer who take on the task of caring for the Patron Saint image and sponsoring the mass but are not recognized by the San Lucas Quiaviní community in the sense that their function is not considered to fulfill a *cargo*. The 2005 and 2006 celebrations proceeded with only one *mardom* in order to avoid some problems that emerged the first year from the involvement of two *mardom* at once.

Two additional activities have been created around these celebrations. A winds and percussion children's music band was created to perform at the Patron Saint's festivities, but has performed in other events as well. Also, and in keeping with practices in San Lucas, a basketball tournament now takes places around the festivities each year. This tournament was shaped into a fundraising strategy to

support the basketball tournament held in San Lucas. The 2007 tournament raised US\$3000 used to provide prizes to the winning teams in SLQ, including a \$1000 prize to the winning team. With a similar objective, but without the participation of the larger community, a group of youngsters also raised around \$3000 to fund prizes for the participants in the San Lucas rodeo competition.

This is the extent to which community organization among the SLQ immigrants has evolved. It appears that social interaction within the community is fragmented into extended family units. At this level, social gatherings are very frequent, with some celebration or another being held most weeks, including baptisms, first communions or confirmations. Funerals bring about important gatherings, in which the response, again, of the extended family and not necessarily of the larger community, are expected. Interestingly, the *quince años*, a coming of age celebration in honor of young women turning 15, has been an important celebration within the immigrant community for some 15 or 20 years, much as it is in most of Mexico's mestizo population. In San Lucas, *quince años* celebrations were non-existent until 2009 when reportedly a *quinceañeara* party took place in the town for the first time.

5.6 Summary

The present immigrant community includes women and children, and entire families have reunited in Los Angeles. Nevertheless, men continue to be more likely to emigrate than women and it is often men who enable women and children to emigrate. Young emigrants in their late teens and early twenties are likely to

marry within the immigrant community and raise families in Los Angeles although as will be discussed in Chapter 6, this does not entail that their children will be raised with SLQZ as their primary language.

Overall, the immigrant community has maintained many elements of life in San Lucas such as living in extended families, and playing basketball as a primary leisure activity. However, it is only recently that the immigrant community has engaged in forms of cultural expression that originate in San Lucas. For instance, it is only in the last five years that initiatives such as the children's music band and the celebration of the Patron Saint Festivities have been carried out. In addition, social interaction within community members is hampered by distance and work schedules. Therefore, much is lost in Los Angeles of life in San Lucas Quiavini. A crucial factor affecting the immigrant community's ability to recreate San Lucas life in Los Angeles is the fact that community initiatives in Los Angeles are not generally recognized by the San Lucas government. For instance the role of the *mardom* in Los Angeles, a role that in Los Angeles is shared and less onerous than in San Lucas, is not considered by the San Lucas government to fulfill an individual's role in the *cargos* system. As I shall discuss in detail in Chapter 6, this distinction is of relevance to immigrants' language choices as it extends to categorizing Los Angeles children as not being part of the San Lucas community and therefore not necessarily part of the community of speakers of SLQZ.

Chapter 6. Language Use and Language Attitudes in the Immigrant Community

In order to understand the language choices that have been and are being made by members of the San Lucas daughter community in Los Angeles, we must analyze the community at its various stages of formation in the context of the linguistic environment of bilingual Los Angeles. Despite the fact that, as stated earlier, census data is not available, the community profile in Chapter 6 provides enough data to show that the SLQ daughter community started out as a small social network with few exchange units and therefore with low density. While this has changed and the network density has increased as larger exchange networks have formed, the immigrant community remains significantly less dense than the SLQ community. At its origin, the daughter community was comprised almost entirely of men, with the exception of 3 women who migrated in 1977, almost 10 years after the first man from SLQ arrived in Los Angeles. Around that time, the SLQ immigrant population amounted only to some 80 individuals (Lopez 2004). Hardeman (1987) estimates that by the 1980s, two thirds of San Lucas men ages 15 to 45 were in California, and still at that time, immigrants were primarily men as women only began to migrate after the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 (Lopez p.c.). The population sample of 19 families I interviewed in Los Angeles is a reflection of this, as all surveyed women, with the exception of Ms. N introduced in section 5.2.1, migrated to the United States after 1986. For at least the first 20 years, the

community was small, comprised mostly of men who, as Hulshof 1999 reports, were engaged in a pattern of return migration and re-emigration and were mostly not permanent immigrants. Considering the migrant selection process described in Hardeman 1987 and Hulshof 1991 in which families in San Lucas had to keep a male family member at home, the family structures that could be found in Los Angeles during the first half of the community's history was limited to brothers, cousins, uncles and nephews and to a lesser extent fathers and sons. The group of immigrants did not include nuclear families or extended families in a way that could reproduce the social network in San Lucas. Further, the group's composition was in constant flux given that many migrants returned to San Lucas after just a couple of years in the United States (Hardeman 1987, Hulshof 1991). The group at its origin was so small and had such little cohesion that support from one member to another could not be guaranteed outside small exchange networks based on the aforementioned kin relationships. In fact, Lopez 1999 states that at the beginning, jobs were sold and not simply offered to a fellow *buny San Luc* in need. In contrast with the dense social network in San Lucas, the group of immigrants in Los Angeles was a small and loosely defined community, in close contact with much larger populations, in particular Hispanic immigrants.

6.1 Language contact

At the time SLQ men began to migrate to Los Angeles, over half the population of San Lucas consisted of monolingual Zapotec speakers. The 1970

census reports 57.4% Zapotec monolingualism in the population 5 years and older (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática 1970). Among men, who were almost exclusively the ones migrating, the rate of Zapotec monolingualism was lower at 38.5%. In other words, in the population apt to migrate in the 1970s, about 4 out of 10 people were reported not to speak Spanish. Among the 19 immigrants I surveyed and their families, 11 interviewees responded that upon arrival in Los Angeles, they were either monolingual Zapotec speakers or spoke Zapotec primarily and had little or insufficient knowledge of Spanish. Consider the fact that a primary school was opened in the late 1970s, thus early migrants were primarily people who had had little to no exposure to Spanish(-only) education. (6) is an interview excerpt that illustrates this point. (7) is another report of the linguistic repertoire early immigrants had upon arrival to Los Angeles.

(6) Q: What languages did you speak when you arrived in Los Angeles?

A: *Laag Dizhsa*
"Same, Zapotec"

Q: Did you learn Spanish here in Los Angeles?

A: A
"Yes"

Q: Why do you think you chose to learn Spanish first rather than English when you arrived (in Los Angeles)?

A: *Tyen queity niadya scwel ren. As chu ra xcunyada rgwe, rgwe dixtily, nii guc bia dixtil. Chu ruala liebr ni ca dixtily lainyi.*
"Because I did not go to school. Then, my sister-in-law spoke Spanish, that's why I learned Spanish."

(7) Q: When you arrived in Los Angeles, what languages did you speak?

A: *Dizhsa.*
"Zapotec."

Q: Did you speak Spanish?

A: Te bichizhyi
"Only a little bit."

These aforementioned figures in combination with estimates of the growth of the immigrant community allow us to make a number of observations as to the language contact scenario encountered by migrants, how it compared to the language contact situation in San Lucas itself, the strategies that early migrants developed in order to cope with the changes in their new situation, and the impact of such strategies on the community as it expanded and developed into a social network of greater density.

In the 1970s, the SLQ group of migrants consisted of a few dozen men who were to coexist with and even become part of the larger community of immigrants from Mexico and other primarily Spanish-speaking countries. According to the Los Angeles Department of City Planning, in 1970, the city of Los Angeles had a total population of 2,811,801, of which 519,842 or 18.5% were categorized as Hispanic-Latino by the Los Angeles Department of City Planning. It should be noted that prior to 1980, the category Hispanic-Latino was not defined by language use, but by whether a respondent had a "Spanish surname". Thus this 18.5% is not strictly equivalent to a population of Spanish speakers. Yet if we consider that this population was likely to be undercounted due to mistrust of census workers by

undocumented residents and to other common problems in census counts, it is reasonable to estimate that in at least 10% of the population of Los Angeles and potentially in as much as 20% of the population, Spanish was part of the makeup of the household either as a language of active use or as a heritage language. Thus, early immigrants departed from a linguistic environment in which they had little to no need to incorporate Spanish into their linguistic repertoire, and in Los Angeles they became part of the greater population of Hispanic immigrants. As such, they were expected to be proficient in the majority language of the host community, as illustrated by the comments in (8) and (9).

(8) *Tyen chi ria dyen, o rica ra zhinya scwell rgwe ra buny Dixtily chu, na para ygwinia lari dizh, nii.*

“Because when I go to the store, pick up my daughters from school people speak Spanish, then I have to speak to them, that’s why.”

(9) *[Cuando llegué] sí era más importante aprender español que inglés como te digo, para preguntar para una cosa, por ejemplo, si tu sales y no sabes para preguntar, te quedas como...qué voy a hacer, cómo voy a entrar aquí. Para responder a una gente que encuentras, por ejemplo, si te preguntan y no sabes qué contestar...Porque a todos partes a donde quieras, necesitas uno saber a comunicarse en español, por ejemplo para un trabajo. En cambio en mi pueblo, no, osea, nadie hablaba en español en ese tiempo.*

“[When I arrived] yes it was more important to learn Spanish than English, as I mentioned to you, to ask questions, for example, if you go out and you do not know how to ask for something, you’re like, ¿what am I going to do, how will I manage to get in there? In order to answer to people you might run into on the streets, for example, if they ask you and you don’t know how to answer...Because everywhere, wherever you are, you need to be able to communicate in Spanish, for example for a job. Back home in my town, no, I mean, no one spoke Spanish at the time [I left for Los Angeles].”

Indeed, Spanish is considered by migrants as an absolute requirement to obtain jobs and generate the income they seek. This perception is confirmed by the fact that 17 of the 19 participants in my survey who commented on the issue (two respondents did not do so) stated that knowledge of Spanish is an absolute necessity in Los Angeles. (7) is a statement by an immigrant who arrived in Los Angeles in the late 1970s. The quote is in response to the question whether English was necessary in the 1970s in order to find work.

(10) *Donde trabajaba era pura gente de Tlacolula y con español era suficiente.*

“I worked (at first) with people from Tlacolula and Spanish was enough to work there.”

Given this environment, early migrants sought to incorporate Spanish into as many domains as possible in order to become active bilinguals by immersion. In doing so, Spanish was quickly introduced into the home and family domains in the life of immigrants from San Lucas. Consider (11).

(11) *Cuando yo llegué no entendía muy bien español ni hablar, pues acá aprendí más español, sí, sobre todo en el trabajo. Porque cuando llegué acá, mi hermana sabe que yo no sé muy bien español y hablaba puro zapoteco, y ya mis sobrinos...que ya están grandecitos me hablaban en puro español ahí me ayudaron a mí también. y en el trabajo más que nada, porque ahí cuando trabajé puro en español, ahí casi no trabajaba de San Lucas, puro de otro pueblo, y puro en español, ahí fue cuando aprendí más en español.*

“When I arrived here I did not understand Spanish, nor could I speak it, and it is here that I learned Spanish, yes, especially at work. When I arrived here my sister knew that I did not know much Spanish, that I only knew Zapoteco and my nephews, who are now grown, would speak to me only in Spanish, so they

helped me. And also at work, especially, because when I worked there it was all in Spanish, there were not many from San Lucas but from other town and everything was in Spanish, that is when I learned most of my Spanish.”

In the following sections I describe language use in key domains of daily life of immigrants. I will place special care on illustrating the level of contact between the three languages – SLQZ, Spanish and English – present in the linguistic environment of immigrants from San Lucas.

6.2 Language use in the work sphere

As mentioned above, Spanish is considered an absolute necessity in the workplace. Yet the domains of employment and work relations are shared by the three languages that make up the SLQ immigrants’ linguistic environment. First, use of SLQZ is necessary in an individual’s search for work, as jobs are obtained by networking primarily within the community of immigrants from SLQ. In addition, because jobs are obtained by word of mouth within the community of immigrants from San Lucas, it is often the case that several speakers of SLQZ will work together, allowing for the use of the language in the work place. The language may also be used at work with employees from other parts of the Tlacolula Valley, provided their language and SLQZ are mutually intelligible. As reported by interviewees in my sample population and in Lopez 2004, it can often be the case that an entire kitchen might be fully staffed with people from San Lucas, and in such cases, SLQZ is the language used among employees even as they discuss work matters.

Second, Spanish is recognized as *lingua franca* among immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries, whether they are Spanish monolinguals or bilingual speakers of an indigenous language. Given the diversity in the origin of immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries working in Los Angeles and their dominant presence in the restaurant industry, Spanish is usually the *lingua franca* in the workplace (see (10) above). Situations in which SLQZ and Spanish can share a particular work domain vary. Some interviewees report being welcomed as speakers of an indigenous language by Spanish monolinguals, while others express great resentment towards the discriminatory treatment they are made to endure at the hands of Spanish monolinguals, in particular those of Mexican origin. Independently of the relationship between speakers of indigenous languages and Spanish monolinguals, Spanish is undeniably *lingua franca* in the restaurant industry, especially in the kitchen environment, and is recognized as such by immigrants from San Lucas.

English has of course a role in the work domain, one that is much more limited than Spanish but that can potentially be of greater economic importance. Immigrants from San Lucas do not need to know English in order to become employed in restaurants. However, less demanding yet better paid jobs as buspersons or waiters require a certain command of English in order for the employee to interact with English-speaking customers. In my survey, however, only three respondents out of 19 families surveyed listed English as an employment requirement. These were women interested in work as nannies or in house

cleaning. These jobs are in the repertoire of employment opportunities for SLQ women who are often able to work in Spanish-speaking households. Yet women are aware that without English skills, they are left outside a large job market within the English-speaking population. Male respondents did not list English as a job requirement although they are the ones who are most likely to learn English in the workplace and benefit directly from their acquired skills.

To summarize, SLQZ is a networking requirement in the job-hunting experience and can sometimes be useful in the work environment. English is unnecessary for job hunting purposes and only optional for employment. Spanish is an absolute employment requirement. A case in point is the extreme scenario in which an SLQ woman might find employment as nanny with a San Lucas family with the requirement that she be a competent Spanish speaker to care for the children in Spanish.

6.3 Language and children's education

In 1967, then Governor of California Ronald Reagan signed Senate Bill 53, which allowed the use of languages other than English as media of instruction in public schools. Thus, by the time immigrants from San Lucas began to raise children in Los Angeles, bilingual education was well established in the California school system. I consider the availability of bilingual education a significant factor behind the use of Spanish in parent-child communication in households headed by SLQZ-speaking parents. I posit that language policies in the school system and

parental language choices fed into each other in the early days of the formation of the SLQ daughter community in Los Angeles to favor Spanish to the detriment of the use of SLQZ.

Children of SLQZ-speaking parents, whether raised with SLQZ or Spanish in the home, were considered by the school system speakers of languages other than English and channeled into programs for Limited English Proficient (LEP) children within the public school system. Given the country of origin of this particular population, Mexico, children were assigned to Spanish-based programs. Consequently, Spanish was perceived by parents as the means for their non-English-speaking children to succeed in the school system. Mrs. N's older child began school in Los Angeles in the late 1980's. She comments that while at the beginning she used SLQZ with him and her other two children, she eventually shifted to Spanish to prepare her older son for his entry to school. The US-born child was indeed a Zapotec speaker in early childhood as he had spent a couple of years in SLQ with his family before returning to Los Angeles to settle permanently. According to the parent, the child shifted to Spanish over time, influenced by its regular use in the school. Reportedly, from then on, the household became primarily a Spanish-speaking household and the younger child was raised as a Spanish speaker from birth.

The above scenario was prevalent in Los Angeles and among immigrants from SLQ well into 1990s, and remained so at least until 1998 when Proposition 227 (passed on June 2, 1998 and added to Part 1 of the Education Code of the State

of California) essentially terminated the practice of bilingual education in California. Proposition 227 stated that *“all children in California public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English. In particular, this shall require that all children be placed in English language classrooms.”* Proposition 227 established that English Learners were to be *“educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one year.”* Sheltered English immersion is defined in Proposition 227 as *“an English language acquisition process for young children in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with the curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning the language.”* Proposition 227 thus eliminated the role of Spanish as medium of instruction. Spanish remains, however, a medium of socialization in the school environment in the interaction of Spanish-speaking students, especially among those of recent arrival to the United States from Spanish-speaking countries. Thus, the language remains an asset especially for those children who attended the Spanish-only school system in San Lucas. Speaking Spanish will allow a recent arrival to make friends with other Spanish speakers, and therefore the language remains the medium of entry to important social groups in the school environment. Consequently, socialization in Spanish in LA, and Spanish education in San Lucas, remain desirable among families as strategies to prepare children for their first year of school in Los Angeles.

English clearly enjoys a much more prominent and favored role than Spanish in California schools. Exposure to the language, and children’s fast

language acquisition capabilities, lead children of SLQ parents to quickly favor English not only in the school domain, but in the domain of peer interaction, and even sibling and parent-child interaction. Children from San Lucas or LA-born children raised in early childhood with SLQZ by immigrant parents are quick to shift to Spanish or English through their interactions with schoolmates. Thus Zapotec has virtually no presence in the school domain aside from minimal discussions about heritage languages. In my interviews, I did uncover cases in which SLQ-speaking children were asked by a teacher about heritage languages spoken at home, and were praised and encouraged to maintain Zapotec in their linguistic repertoire. Equally, I received reports of parents being instructed by a teacher not to speak Zapotec to their children to avoid “confusing” them. Overall, for the purpose of children’s integration into the school environment, parents of SLQ-born immigrant children encourage their children to become Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals and in the case of LA-born children, parents support Spanish-English bilingualism at the exclusion of SLQZ. In the school environment, Spanish-English bilingualism was once promoted, but is nowadays disapproved at the institutional level in favor of educating children as English monolinguals.

Before closing the topic of language and children’s education, I wish to mention a case in which I suspect that a difference in a child’s experience in the school system could have contributed to a difference in language production skills. This is the case of two sisters, the older of which attended bilingual education for two years before it was phased out. The younger sister never attended the bilingual

system as she began her schooling in an English-only system. Both sisters have the same input from the parents who address them in Spanish but use Zapotec in adult conversation. Both sisters have positive attitudes towards the language. However, the younger sister has active skills in SLQZ while the older sister is a passive bilingual with very limited production skills. While this dissertation focuses on language use and language choices in the home and community settings, I do wish to mention that the impact of education and especially of language policies within the education system language use and attitudes should be studied in future research. Children's experience in school is likely to provide explanations about the language choices that children of immigrants from San Lucas are making. Further, this may contribute to the study socialization environments of bilingual children, and in particular to the interplay between parental input patterns and their relation to family-external factors such as schooling (De Houwer 1995, 2007 and 2009).

6.4 Language use within the family

As we have seen, language use in the school is clearly defined. While Spanish had an important role prior to the 1998 adoption of Proposition 227, the school is nowadays intended as an English-only domain. In the work-domain, the space allotted to each language is also fairly well delimited. Zapotec, Spanish and English coexist, but each language seems to have well defined roles, with English being optional, Spanish being a requirement, and with Zapotec usually able to

coexist alongside Spanish despite the dominant role of the latter. In contrast, language use and language choices in the family domain is constantly in flux, and it is often the case that within one and the same family, different individuals will develop different language skills and will make different language choices. However, there are identifiable patterns of language use that favor Spanish and English over Zapotec. As done in previous subsections, a historic overview of language in the family domain of early immigrants will help understand current language choices.

6.4.1. Language use among close adult relatives. At the point where families began to form or reunite within the Los Angeles community of SLQ immigrants mostly in the 1990s, Spanish had been established in the community as a requirement for work and a medium for entry into the school system. As mentioned in section 6.1, in the 1970s and 1980s, migrants of recent arrival, especially women, had limited to no Spanish skills or confidence in any skills they might have possessed. So upon arrival in Los Angeles, immigrants were taught Spanish in immersion environments developed by means of introducing Spanish in as many domains of language use as possible, including the family domain. To illustrate this, I will relay the experience of a woman and her younger brother who arrived in Los Angeles almost 20 years ago after their father and all her older brothers were already settled in Los Angeles. In San Lucas, Ms. T, as I will refer to this female interviewee, attended middle school in Spanish-dominant Tlacolula. Nevertheless, she reports that she had no confidence in her Spanish skills, and that

she had much trouble understanding Spanish both in school and in her interaction with Spanish-speaking fellow students. When she arrived in Los Angeles, her brothers insisted on speaking to her in Spanish to help her improve on her skills.. Ms. T comments that she felt so embarrassed by her poor Spanish skills that she was unable to shift away from SLQZ in her interaction with her brothers. Ms. T maintained Zapotec as the primary language in her interaction with her older brothers and at present addresses them all in Zapotec. Yet, she considers that her older brothers were her primary Spanish language teachers, as they often corrected her mistakes and encouraged her to speak it. Her younger brother followed his brothers lead and to this day interacts with all of them in Spanish. He has gone on to marry a Spanish monolingual woman and is raising three children as Spanish-English bilinguals. Twenty years later, in this family of early migrants, Ms. T's father addresses all of his now middle-aged daughter and sons in Zapotec. There is a split among siblings and either Zapotec or Spanish is used depending on the particular speaker-addressee pairing in a given communicative act. (12) is an excerpt from the interview with Ms. T.

(12) *Entonces ya cuando llegué aquí, trataban de hablar conmigo en español pero a mí me daba pena porque yo no sabía hablar el español muy bien, pero como se dieron cuenta de que no quize hablar español decidieron hablarme en zapoteco. Pero con mi hermano más chico se quedaron en español.*

"So when I arrive [in Los Angeles, my brothers] tried to speak Spanish to me but I was ashamed because I didn't know Spanish very well, but then they realized that I didn't want to speak Spanish and they decided to speak to me in Zapotec. But with my younger brother they stuck to Spanish."

In a similar way, one other female interviewee reported having learned Spanish with nephews she lived with upon arrival in Los Angeles (see (11) above) and two other women stated their SLQ-born Zapotec-Spanish bilingual husbands were their primary Spanish language teachers. These and other similar cases recorded in my survey data involve early to mid-range migrants. The data also includes the case of two sisters, both of whom I consider to be recent migrants, and both in their early to mid-twenties. The older of these two sisters has been in Los Angeles for 6 years, while the younger arrived less than a year ago. They come from a family in San Lucas where Zapotec is the primary language in the home domain, and one in which indigenous practices are strongly rooted as the mother is a midwife and a traditional doctor. The sisters attended high school in a Spanish-only school in Tlacolula and are competent SLQZ-Spanish bilinguals. While in San Lucas family interaction would have been conducted in SLQZ, in Los Angeles these two sisters have chosen to conduct their interactions primarily in Spanish.

This last case of language shift among adult immigrant siblings could suggest that shift to Spanish among adult immigrants in Los Angeles continues. Participant observation I conducted in Los Angeles suggests, however, that language shift among close immigrant adult relatives (siblings, spouses, or other more distant kinship relatives living in the same household), was prevalent among early immigrants but has now subsided. Among my surveyed population, cases of language shift among adults as a means to assist a newcomer to adapt to local language use were reported by four interviewees including Ms. T. All but one of

these cases corresponded to families with more than 19 years in Los Angeles who therefore belong to the early wave of immigrants. All other participants interviewed report that they regularly use SLQZ with other adult immigrants from San Lucas, especially close relatives, and this interaction between adult relatives is indeed the primary domain of use of SLQZ among immigrants as illustrated in (13) and (14).⁷

(13) Q: Here at home, with your husband, what language do you speak?
A: *Nazh Dizhsa rweën*
“We speak only Zapotec”

(14) Q: On any given day, what language do you speak with your husband?
A: *Dizhsa.*
“Zapotec.”

Q: And with lia Dorr (the nanny)?
A: *Cwën Dizhsa.*
“In Zapotec.”

This should not be taken to mean that adults in Los Angeles are not shifting from SLQZ to Spanish. The distinction to be made is that of shift that is promoted by an established Los Angeles resident for the perceived benefit of a newcomer, and language shift as a result of an individual’s personal language choice. Of course, in the latter case, the choice is made under the influence of other people’s language use. Thus, an additional distinction needs to be made in that in the latter case, the influence may be implicit and not necessarily explicitly prescribed as was done by Ms. T’s older brothers.

⁷ Use of SLQZ in some families might be “behind doors”. I discuss this in detail in section 6.6.

Table 6.1. shows the difference in language shift influence as I see it having occurred over time: the linguistic environment present at the time of arrival of early immigrants lead them to explicitly communicate to subsequent immigrants the importance of acquiring Spanish. Over time, a prescribed language choice was not necessary as established language use in the SLQ immigrant community and in the extended Hispanic community in Los Angeles was dominant enough to implicitly motivate language shift among recent SLQ immigrants.⁸ I will point out that language shift by implicit influence among adults in the late immigrant group tends to occur outside the home domain. Thus I will limit this subsection to describing language choices among adults in the home domain, and will discuss those choices made outside the home in section 6.6 devoted to language use in the community.

Table 6.1. Pathways of language shift influence

	Pathway of influence	Manner of influence
Early to mid-term migrants	From established migrant to newly arrived close relative, primarily with self-reported low or null Spanish skills	Explicit: established migrant facilitates a newcomer's shift to Spanish
Late migrants	No particular targeted individual or population	Implicit: influence is exerted by example

An important factor in this evolution of language shift influence is the rise of

⁸ There may be one more variable involved in the decision by established immigrants to shift to Spanish in their interaction with other recently arrived siblings: the degree to which these siblings had a close relationship. Recalling the fact that for families to participate in migration, the family had to have at least one male son 15 who would be the one to migrate. This entailed that migration would more likely occur in large families. Further, it could be the case that if the immigrant son(s) was among the older children in the family, his absence would mean that his younger siblings would grow up without much contact with him and might not have a close relationship. I believe that in cases where the established immigrants and their newly arrived siblings did not have a close relationship, it would be easier for a shift to Spanish to occur in their interaction. I made this observation late during my research and therefore have no data to support or deny a hypothesis based on this observation. Participant observation of the diachronic interaction of adult immigrants in LA indicates that nowadays Zapotec prevails as the language of adult communication even in cases where siblings might have not grown up together.

Zapotec-Spanish bilingualism in San Lucas. As stated in section 6.1, Spanish-only education is available in San Lucas Quiaviní since the 1970s. As shown in Table 6.2, since the establishment of mandatory primary education in Spanish in San Lucas, the rate of Zapotec-Spanish bilingualism in the population 5 years and older has doubled from 41.6% to 82.5% while the rate of SLQZ monolinguals has gone from 57.4% to 14.9%. I extrapolate these figures to extract the language abilities of immigrants to Los Angeles over time. While in the 1970s, the pool of SLQ emigrant candidates was divided almost evenly between bilinguals and monolinguals, the pool of candidates by 1995 was primarily Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals. As documented in the 2000 census, the bilingual population is concentrated in the generations having or having had access to Spanish-only schooling over the last 30 years, that is in the population ages 9 to 30 (cf. Table 4.2 in Section 4.3.1). In older age groups, bilingualism decreases and the largest number of monolinguals, as is often the case, is found among the older population.

Table 6.2. Bilingualism rates in the population 5 years and older in San Lucas Quiaviní

Year	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2005
Total Population	1188	1911	2156	2088	1941	1769
Population 5 years and older	988	1867	1933	1853	1717	1588
SLQZ Monolinguals 5 years and older	567 57.4%	795 42.6%	387 20%	211 11.4%	373 21.8%	236 14.9%
SLQZ-Spanish Bilinguals 5 years and older	411 41.6%	1042 55.8%	1450 75%	1610 86.8	1297 75.5%	1310 82.5%

Sources: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000, Censo de Población y Vivienda 1995 and 2005, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.

Thus, the more immigrants arrived in Los Angeles with Spanish skills, the less it was necessary for established immigrant relatives to prescribe language shift

to newcomers, and the domain of adult communication in the home reverted to being for the most part a domain of SLQZ use. In my population sample, 15 respondents residing in Los Angeles reported using Zapotec with other SLQ adults in the home, i.e. with a spouse, a sibling or a sibling-in-law. The three cases where respondents use Spanish with their spouse include two cases of exogamy where the spouse is not a native speaker of SLQZ and a case where the SLQ-born spouse was raised from early childhood in Spanish-speaking Tlacolula and shifted to Spanish early in life. I do not have a response from the remaining two interviewees, but based on my observations, they both follow the pattern of Zapotec use with adult relatives. In an interesting roundabout way, the presence of a Spanish-only educational system in San Lucas Quiaviní has enabled speakers of Zapotec living in Los Angeles to reclaim the domain of adult interaction in the home for their native language.

6.4.2. Language use in parent-offspring communication.⁹ In the previous section I claim that the practice of prescribing shift to Spanish among adults has subsided due to the increase in bilingualism among late immigrants. However, there remains a strong tendency by adults to enable children to acquire Spanish. This is consistent with early immigrants' practice of prescribing language shift, as the rationale remains the same: to help those with limited to no Spanish skills become competent in the language by incorporating Spanish into as many domains as possible, including the home domain. Of course, this is not the only factor

⁹ I use the word offspring and not child because at the time the research was conducted, four families in the population sample had children over the age of 18. Nevertheless, most of the analysis centers on the interaction between parents and their offspring as these were infants and young children, which is when parents were faced with the need to make language choices in this domain.

involved in the language choices made by parents and their children. I discuss also socialization beliefs as well, especially as they relate to bilingual education. Further, I show, that children play an important role in distilling language attitudes external to the home domain, and realizing such attitudes in their own individual language choices. All these variables— parents’ socialization beliefs, community-wide language attitudes, children’s place of birth and time of arrival in the US if applicable, endogamy vs. exogamy, travel, and an individual’s own traits such as self-confidence or lack thereof —make for a very complex interaction of factors in a multilingual environment characterized by passive and active use of SLQZ, Spanish and Zapotec, and rich in code mixing, code switching, accommodation and shift by stages.

The best means to describe parent-offspring communication is to present case studies that allow for a transparent view of the variables at work. In the following pages I offer 4 case studies selected as the most representative within the surveyed population and providing the best platform to make an informative comparison across the sample. The first case I present is one I call the case of *Prescribed language shift*, where I relate back to the early immigrants’ practice of prescribing shift to Spanish, and the resulting adoption of such shift patterns by late immigrants despite the change from monolingual Zapotec to Zapotec-Spanish bilingual repertoires in the immigrant population. In the second case I highlight the role of exogamy in language shift. The third case is one in which time of arrival of a father enables the use of English in father-offspring communication. In all three of

these cases, the outcome is language shift away from Zapotec and in favor of Spanish and English. Thus, I present a fourth case in which I highlight the particulars of families who have maintained Zapotec in some or all domains of family life— adult interaction, and more importantly, parent-offspring and sibling interactions— and where Zapotec coexists with Spanish and English in the home domain.

6.4.3. Prescribed language shift. Recall the history of immigration from San Lucas to Los Angeles detailed in section 6.1 and the demographics of early immigrants described in section 6.2. Given these historic conditions, there are no families— at least to my knowledge —that were raising school-age children in Los Angeles in the 1970s. There are few cases of families raising children in Los Angeles in the 1980s, one of them being Mrs. N’s family. Recall Mrs. N who arrived in Los Angeles in 1977 and is one of the first three women to emigrate to the United States. As described in section 6.3, Mrs. N. raised three LA-born children, the oldest born in 1980. Mrs. N reports that her language of choice in communicating with her two older children during their early childhood was Zapotec. This was especially so given that before they reached school-age, the family moved to San Lucas where they resided for about two years. Thus the children were socialized in Zapotec. Mrs. N recalls that the older son was a competent speaker of the language considering his age. However, upon return to the United States, and as the older son reached the age in which he would enter school, the parents made a conscious decision to interact with the son in Spanish.

The rationale was that the parents had the responsibility of preparing the child for his entry into the bilingual education system by creating a Spanish language immersion environment at home. As the child became a competent Spanish speaker, the shift from Zapotec to Spanish became permanent and dictated the language choices in parent-offspring communication for the two younger children.

Now, as stated in section 6.4.1, the urgency to teach Spanish to non-Spanish speakers within the community and especially within the family subsided as Zapotec-Spanish bilingualism rates increased in San Lucas. Further, Spanish lost some of its relevance as a means for children to ease into the school environment as bilingual education was eliminated in the state of California. Nevertheless, socializing children in Spanish continues to be a community-wide practice among mid-range and late immigrant parents. Among the families I surveyed, six families including Mrs. N's, speak Spanish in parent-offspring communication.

Table 6.3. Factors involved in shift to Spanish in parent-offspring communication

	LA-born children	SLQ-born children	Mother's time of immigration	Father's time of immigration	Children in bilingual education	Spanish as important as (or more than) English
Family 1	3	0	Early	Early	1	Y
Family 3	2	0	Mid-range	Early	0	Y
Family 5	3	0	Mid-range	Early	1	Y
Family 9	1	0	Late	Late	0	Y
Family 12 (Mrs. N)	3	0	Early	Early	2	Y
Family 19	2	0	Late	Late	0	Y

These six families can be considered to comprise a category of families of LA-born children who see that it is to the advantage of the child to be socialized in Spanish. Indeed, in addition to the variable related to the place of birth of the

offspring, the only other variable with significant frequency in this group of families relates to the perceived importance of Spanish in Los Angeles as illustrated in (15).

(15) *Por orita que ya es puro latinos, por todos lados ya hablan español. Si mis niños van a hablar puro inglés y zapotec no van a entender otros idiomas, porque acá ya es puro latino.*

"Because now it's all latinos, and Spanish is spoken everywhere. If my children only speak English and Zapotec they will not be able to understand other languages, because here it's all latinos."

For the families in Table 6.3, Spanish is as important as English. In fact, for at least one family, it is more important to speak Spanish in Los Angeles than it is to speak English. Spanish is considered by this population as the language of the host community, and just as in San Lucas children are socialized in the community's majority language— San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec —children in Los Angeles are socialized in the majority language, or at least in one of the majority languages of their community of residence. This is thus a simple case of shift to a dominant language of the host community occurring within the 1.5 and second generation children of immigrants. By shifting to Spanish, non-English speaking parents are able to socialize their children in a majority language. If English were the only perceived majority language, many immigrants from San Lucas, in particular most women, would be hard-pressed to assist their children enter a majority group in the host community. But with whatever Spanish skills possessed at the time of arrival in Los Angeles, or acquired in Los Angeles by the time of birth of the first child, an immigrant parent is able to socialize the child in a majority language.

6.4.4. Exogamy and language shift. Marriage in San Lucas Quiaviní is almost exclusively endogamous and cases of exogamy are few. In Los Angeles, the community remains primarily endogamous, but exogamy is more likely to occur as the community is in close contact with a diversity of people. Cases of exogamy in San Lucas result in bilingual socialization of children in Zapotec and Spanish. In Los Angeles, however, exogamy is equivalent to shift away from Zapotec and socialization of children in Spanish or as Spanish-English bilinguals in the home.

Consider Family 4 listed in Table 6.4 below. The father is a late immigrant who engaged in re-emigration with three stays in Los Angeles before 2005 when he brought his wife and two children. The family has not returned to San Lucas since 2005. The mother is a native speaker of Mixe who grew up in Tlacolula as a Mixe-Spanish bilingual. Once married, she moved to San Lucas and became a very competent speaker of SLQZ mainly through her interaction with her mother-in-law. While in San Lucas, the children were reportedly addressed in Spanish by both parents, but were socialized in SLQZ by the rest of the family, and their interaction with other children, especially in school, was in Zapotec. The mother in her interview and in previous conversations commented that the children were competent speakers of SLQZ in San Lucas but that in Los Angeles they became Spanish-English bilinguals:

(16) *Ahí [en SLQ] si hablaba [yo] puro en zapoteco, por eso no hablaban [mis niños] ni un poquito de español. [Mi hija] unos cuantos que entendía pero el niño no... Es que como estamos solos [en Los Angeles] y casi ya no, él (mi marido) siempre me habla en español. A veces si platicamos entre nosotros, pero los niños como que casi ya no les habla.*

“Back there [in SLQ] I only spoke Zapotec, that’s why my children didn’t even speak a little Spanish. My daughter could understand a little [Spanish] but not my son...Now since we are alone [in Los Angeles] and rarely, [my husband] almost always speaks to me in Spanish. Sometimes we do talk he and I [in Zapotec] but with the children he rarely speaks Zapotec anymore”

The mother continues to speak Zapotec frequently as it is the language of choice for her in her interaction with relatives on her husband’s side and maintains Mixe in her interaction with siblings who also reside in Los Angeles. The language of choice at home, for parent-to-parent communication and parent-child communication, as in San Lucas, remains Spanish.

Table 6.4. *Shift to Spanish in parent-offspring communication in cases of exogamy*

	LA-born children	SLQ-born children	Exogamy	Mother’s background	Mother’s language(s)	Father’s background	Father’s language(s)
Family 4	0	2	Y	Mixe	Mixe Spanish SLQZ	SLQ	SLQZ Spanish
Family 12 (Mrs. N)	3	0	Y?	SLQ	SLQ Spanish	SLQ	Spanish SLQZ English
Family 17	2	0	Y	US	English Spanish	SLQ	SLQZ Spanish English
Family Oa	1	0	Y	Oaxaca City	Spanish	SLQ	SLQZ Spanish English
Family Ob	3	0	Y	Guadalajara	Spanish	SLQ English?	SLQZ Spanish English

Note: Languages are listed in the following order: Mother Tongue (L1), 2- language (L2) and 3- language (L3) to indicate order of acquisition. It may be that this correlates with the level of competence the speaker might possess in each language, but no evaluation was made of this as it is not relevant to the present analysis.

Mrs. N's family, family 12, is an interesting case in which the father, of San Lucas origin, was raised in Tlacolula with Spanish as L1. While his marriage is technically endogamous, linguistically it can be considered exogamous. His interaction with his wife has been in Spanish from the beginning of their relationship. It should be noted that his wife spent some four years in Mexico City as a child and by the age of 12 when she arrived in Los Angeles, was an SLQZ-Spanish bilingual. Nevertheless, she considers Zapotec as L1 and Spanish as L2 and, as mentioned in Section 6.4.2.1, she initially socialized her two older children in Zapotec. Remember, too, that the family moved to San Lucas with their two young children, and during that time, the children were socialized in Zapotec by the mother, relatives and the community. It is likely that if the family had resided in SLQ permanently, the children would have grown to be SLQZ-Spanish bilinguals. However, upon return to Los Angeles, the family shifted permanently to Spanish, and the children grew up to be Spanish-English bilinguals.

This case shows that linguistic exogamy is compatible with children's acquisition of Zapotec in San Lucas, but in Los Angeles it is a strong predictor of shift away from Zapotec. I have added to Table 6.4 two families coded Oa and Ob, to indicate that the data was obtained through participant observation and not through interviews. These two families further strengthen this claim which applies even in the case of Family 17 where Spanish is not the native language of either parent. The father is a native speaker of SLQZ, while the mother, US-born and raised, is a native speaker of English for whom Spanish is an L2.

6.4.5 English in father-offspring communication. In six of the families in the surveyed sample, English was reported by interviewees and observed by me as a medium of communication between fathers and offspring. This is illustrated by the comments in (17).

(17) Q: Do they ever speak to you in English?

A: *Queity rgwenedirëng naa Ingles. Nazh Dixtily cwën Dizhsa rczrëng ygwerëng*
“They don’t speak to me in English. Only in Spanish and Zapotec they want to talk.”

Q: They do speak to your husband in English, right?

A: *Aa.*
“Yes.”

In my data, as shown in Table 6.5, English is used in this domain exclusively by fathers, with the exception of Family 17 in which the mother is a US-born English native speaker. Overall, SLQZ women who emigrate to Los Angeles as adults rarely learn English. In the population I surveyed, even women who have lived in the US for over 20 years still do not consider themselves to be speakers of English. Only one female interviewee considers herself a competent speaker of English. She does not have children although she does have conversations with nieces in which the nieces address her in English and she may switch between Spanish and English in the conversation. But, again, in the domain of parent-offspring communication, English appears to be available only to fathers to the exclusion of SLQ-born mothers, as shown in Tables 6.5 and 6.6.

Table 6.5. English in father-offspring communication

	LA-born children	SLQ-born children	Mother's language(s)	Mother's year of immigration	Father's language(s)	Father's year of immigration	English in parent-offspring comm.
Family 1	3	0	SLQZ Spanish	1989	SLQZ Spanish English	Before 1989	Father only
Family 2	0	3	SLQZ Spanish	2004	Spanish SLQZ English	Before 1993	Father only
Family 5	3	0	SLQZ Spanish	1997	SLQZ Spanish English	1992	Father only
Family 7	1	1	SLQZ Spanish	1994	SLQZ Spanish English	1978 ?	Father only
Family 8	2	2	SLQZ	1993	SLQZ Spanish English	1978 ?	Father only
Family 17	2	0	English Spanish	US-born	SLQZ Spanish English	1978	Father and mother

Note: Languages are listed in the following order: Mother Tongue (L1), 2nd language (L2) and 3rd language (L3) to indicate order of acquisition. It may be that this correlates with the level of competence the speaker might possess in each language, but no evaluation was made of this as it is not relevant to the present analysis.

Table 6.6. Linguistic repertoire in families where English is used in parent-offspring communication

	Language of communication between father and offspring			Language of communication between mother and offspring		
	English	Spanish	SLQZ	English	Spanish	SLQZ
Family 1	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Family 2	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Family 5	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Family 7	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Family 8	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Family 17	Y	Y	N	Y	?	N

There are a number of observations to be made with regards to the use of English between fathers and their children. In the families listed in Tables 6.5 and 6.6, fathers and their offspring code-switch between Spanish and English and both the father and the offspring can dictate the language to use at any given time. In all cases, it is a language added to the interlocutors' linguistic repertoire and I venture to say that in parent-offspring communication, English does not facilitate language

shift. By this I mean that language shift away from Zapotec in any of the families listed is likely to have been done in favor of Spanish and not in favor of English, and that the use of English in father-offspring communication is not done to the detriment of the use of Spanish. Further, I speculate that the onset of use of English between fathers and offspring occurred once the children began attending school. At the time of the interviews I did not think of including questions on this specific point. Yet, based on my observations, especially of families 1, 5, 7 and 8, Spanish is dominant over English in father-offspring communication. English, however, is often dominant in sibling interaction. I mention sibling interaction briefly immediately below in section 6.5, and delve into the topic in detail in section 6.4.5.

6.4.6. *SLQZ maintenance in parent-offspring communication.* In my sample, maintenance of SLQZ was documented as being of two kinds. The first includes cases where after emigration to the United States, parents and at least one SLQZ-born child maintained active use of Zapotec in their interaction. The second kind includes cases where the parent might continue to use SLQZ to address their passive-bilingual children who in turn use Spanish to address the parent. In all documented cases, within the same family there are different language choices depending on the parent-offspring pairing. It may be the case, for example, that Zapotec is used actively between parents and one of the children, but Spanish will be the language of communication between the parent and another one of the children. The family of the interviewee who provided (18) is a case in point.

- (18) Q: What language do you speak to your children in?
 A: *Cwën Dizhsa.*
 “In Zapotec.”
- Q: What language or languages do your children speak to you in?. When you speak to your older daughter, what language does she respond to you in?
 A: *Dizhsa.*
 “Zapotec.”
- Q: And your son?
 A: *Dixtily.*
 “Spanish.”
- Q: What about your two younger daughters?
 A: *V., Dixtily, N. Dixtily.*
 “My third daughter, Spanish and my youngest daughter Spanish too.”

These combinatory language choices can be very perplexing. Table 6.7 illustrates different language choices according to different dyads within one single family, the same family referred to in (18) above.

Table 6.7. *SLQZ maintenance in the family*

Family	Offspring information		Father – offspring communication		Mother – offspring communication		Family type (time of arrival)
	Place of birth	Age at time of arrival in the US	Father’s preference	Child’s preference	Mother’s preference	Child’s preference	
8	SLQ	11	SLQZ	SLQZ	SLQZ	SLQZ	Mid Term - 1995
	SLQ	<1	Eng	Eng	Sp	Sp	
	LA	-	Sp, Eng	Sp, Eng	SLQZ	Sp	
	LA	-	Sp, Eng	Sp, Eng	SLQZ	Sp	
13	SLQ	5	SLQZ	SLQZ	SLQZ	SLQZ	Mid Term - 1988
	SLQ	3	SLQZ	Sp	SLQZ	Sp	

Note: Languages are listed in no particular order.
 Symbols: -, not applicable; <1, child was under a year of age.

In family 13, the daughter, unlike her brother who is also SLQ born and only two years younger than her, has maintained active use of Zapotec in her

interactions with both her mother and father. She is now married and has a daughter who, at the time of the interview was just under one year of age. Mrs. P commented in her interview that she strictly speaks to her daughter in Zapotec, although her husband, also SLQ-born, speaks to her in Spanish. Yet, her brother does not make active use of SLQZ at home, or elsewhere for that matter.

There are two variables that we can extract from the data collected from Los Angeles interviewees who maintain SLQZ to some degree. First, all families either moved to or reunited in Los Angeles during the Mid-term and Late phases of migration. This suggests that while using Spanish in parent-offspring communication can be established in families regardless of their time of arrival in the US, maintenance of SLQZ is found among families that arrived or reunited after the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). A second important variable is that in all but one case, families who have maintained SLQZ in parent-offspring communication have children who were born in San Lucas. With one notable exception, the second child of Family 8 (see Table 6.7), all SLQ-born children in these families are reported as being socialized in Zapotec from birth. Thus, SLQZ has been documented as maintained in parent-offspring communication among certain families who migrated to Los Angeles with SLQ-born children after 1986.

6.5 Language use among the children of migrants

Language choices among children encompass Spanish and English primarily. Table 6.8 shows language use in child sibling communication as

reported by their parents during interviews. Note that by “child sibling” I refer to children under the age of 18, but also to the offspring of early migrants, some of whom are now over the age of 18. Note that Table 6.8 includes reports from only 13 families. This is because the relevant data was not available in the case of three families, one interviewee has no children and two families only have one child. The data in Table 6.8 is offered to provide a quick reference of children’s language use patterns, although, in and of itself, it does not provide much insight into the motivations for such choices. Nor does a diachronic view of families’ history of arrival in the US. Children of early immigrant parents can be found distributed in the Primarily Spanish and in the Primarily English categories. Children of mid-range to late immigrant parents are found distributed in all of the first three categories.

Table 6.8. Language use in sibling communication by family and as reported by parents

Language	Family	Family Type by time of arrival in the US	Number of children	Children’s Place of Birth	Age at time of arrival in the US
Primarily Spanish	Family 1	Mid Term	3	LA, LA, LA	-
	Family 3	Mid Term	2	LA, LA	-
	Family 13	Mid Term	2	SLQ, SLQ	5, 3
Primarily English	Family 2	Late	3	SLQ, SLQ, SLQ	10, 7, 5
	Family 4	Late	2	SLQ, SLQ	6, 5
	Family 8	Mid Term	4	SLQ, SLQ, LA, LA	11, <1
	Family 12	Early	3	LA, LA, LA	-
	Family 17	Early	2	LA, LA	-
Spanish and English	Family 5	Mid Term	3	LA, LA, LA	-
	Family 7	Mid Term	2	SLQ, LA	5 mos, -
	Family 11	Late	4	SLQ, SLQ, SLQ, LA	13, 11, 4, -
Spanish, English and Zapotec	Family 6	Late (re-emigration)	4	LA, SLQ, LA, LA	-, 3, -, -
	Family 10	Late	4	SLQ, SLQ, SLQ, SLQ	12, 9, 6, 3

Perhaps the best generalization to be made is that once a child is of school age and receiving instruction in English, the child will favor English over Spanish and Zapotec in child communication. The relevance of this generalization is that it not only applies to US-born children— and in this category, a preference for English is expected—but it applies to SLQ-born and raised children belonging to the group of late immigrants. In other words, children who were socialized in Zapotec in San Lucas Quiaviní and conducted family interactions in Zapotec, can shift to English in the domain of sibling interaction within only a year or two after arrival in Los Angeles. Such is the case of a boy whose story of language shift is told in (19).

(19) *Llevo conociendo un muchacho que está aquí en la banda de música de mis hijos, tenemos una banda de música. El chavo llegó aquí como a los 13 años...y cuando él llegó él hablaba en español pero hablaba también en zapotec pero él prefería hablar en español. Yo lo veía, le hablaba en zapotec, y como que, bueno veías en su rostro la tensión, pero me respondía en español y yo le dije a su mamá, “¿no habla en zapotec?” “no, todos hablan, pero no quiere hablar”. Y lo que he visto en él últimamente es que yo le hablo en español a veces y él me responde en inglés.*

“I know a young guy who plays in the music band with my sons, we have this children’s music band. This young guy arrived here (in Los Angeles) at around age 13 and when he arrived he spoke in Spanish but he also spoke Zapotec, although he preferred Spanish. So whenever I would see him I would speak to him in Zapotec and you could see the tension in his face, and he would answer in Spanish and I asked his mother, “doesn’t he speak Zapotec?” “Oh no, [all of my sons] do but he doesn’t want to speak it”. And what I have seen in him lately is that I will speak to him in Spanish and he answers in English.”

Only two families in my sample are reported to have children who use Zapotec in sibling interaction. In both cases, children utilize all three languages in their linguistic repertoire— Spanish, English and Zapotec.

6.6 Language use in the community

Sections 6.4 and 6.5 above have been largely devoted to language use at the microsociolinguistic level. I have detailed language choices and the factors that motivate individuals to make such choices. In this section I zoom out and describe observed and reported language use in the community of immigrants from San Lucas Quiaviní living in Los Angeles. By community-level use of Zapotec I refer to language use in gatherings of immigrants from San Lucas and/or their children, whether these be organized as in the case of family or community-wide events such as parties and basketball tournaments, or casual as when people visit each other's homes, or even accidental as when people run into each other on the streets, which happens frequently in areas of Santa Monica.

A distinction that I find to be relevant in describing language choices at the community level is whether the encounters between SLQZ speakers take place in private versus public settings. Consider (19), a response to the question .

- (20) Q: Where and when is Spanish more appropriate?
A: *En la calle, en la tienda, en el mall, porque a veces, encontramos a alguien, dice mi esposo "qué van a pensar, qué estamos hablando"*
"On the streets, at the store, at the mall, because if we run into someone, my husband says "they are going to wonder what we speak"."

I justify this distinction based on reports by ten interviewees stating that oftentimes, a greeting in SLQZ made to a fellow *buny San Luc* in a public place such as the street or the bus, is answered in Spanish as stated in (20) and (21).

(21) *Como me ha pasado a mí pues, he visto a varias personas. Cuando llegué, los veía yo en el bus o a veces en la calle, y yo como estoy acostumbrada a hablarlo, les hablaba y me contestaban con español ¡y es gente de mi pueblo!, ¡de mi pueblo! Les digo pues a veces kali weu, kali cheu les preguntaba yo pues, y me contestaban con español y me sorprendí, y le dije a mi esposo, ¿pero porqué, le digo, porqué hacen eso?*

It's happened to me, I've seen many people do it. When I arrived I would see people on the bus and sometimes on the street, and since I was used to speaking [Zapotec], I would speak [Zapotec] to them and they would reply in Spanish, and they are from my town! From my own town! I would say to them *kali weu, kali cheu* I would ask them and they would answer back in Spanish, it was so unexpected and I told my husband "but, why do they do this?" I say."

(22) Q: A lot of people have told me, and I think you have mentioned this too, that sometimes they have run into other San Lucas people on the bus and when they greet the other person, the other person responds in Spanish. How do you feel about that?

A: *Nzhab rzienya, tyen cuana rtilori yweri Dizhsa gula a byalazri Dizhsa.*
"I feel bad, because I think they are ashamed to speak Zapotec or they forgot Zapotec."

Q: Why do you think they do it?

A: *Tye rtilori.*
"Because they are ashamed."

Q: What are they ashamed of?

A: *Tyen racbe.. tyen rinydiag stuzh ra buny ni nu lainy bas rgweri dizh.*
"Because they are aware...because other people who ride the bus listen them speak."

Encounters in public settings constitute the less likely domain of SLQZ maintenance, with the family/home being the most likely domain for maintenance of the language. A schematic rendition of individual and family language choices as they constitute patterns of language shift at the community level is presented in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9. Continuum of language maintenance to language shift at the community level

SLQZ Maintenance to Shift	Adult	Parent to children	Children to parent/siblings	Families exhibiting pattern
SLQZ Maintenance	Y	Y	Y	6, 10, 16
Adult SLQZ use; some SLQZ transmission	Y (SLQZ in private only)	Y	N	7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 18 (2)
SLQZ use among adults only (no transmission)	Y (SLQZ in private only)	N	N	3, 4, 5, 9, 12, 15, 17 (1, 19)
Total Language Shift	N	N	N	-

The results from the 19 surveys conducted show two clusters of 7 families. The first cluster corresponds to the pattern where adults confidently address each other in SLQZ, and in fact Zapotec is considered to be the language with which interaction between fellow adult buny San Luc should be conducted, both in private and public settings. Within this pattern of language choice, parents address their children in Zapotec. In this group of families, maintenance of SLQZ and even transmission is carried out by the parents. But as indicated in the Siblings and Children columns, such generational transmission of the language is not resulting in language reproduction among children. In fact, with the exception of the older daughter of Family 13 who actively uses SLQZ in her interaction with her parents, all of the children in these families are passive bilinguals who choose to address their parents in Spanish or English.

Transmission that results in language reproduction was documented in three interviewed families. Two of these families are of late arrival. Family 10 was reunited in Los Angeles in 2004 and the age of the four children in this family ranged from 3 to 10 years old at the time they migrated. Thus, significant child

socialization in Zapotec took place in San Lucas before emigrating. In the case of Family 16, the six offspring migrated over time, and in all cases arrived in the United States as late teenagers or young adults over the age of 16. Thus, their entire socialization took place in San Lucas exclusively in Zapotec. The mother, the last member of the family to emigrate, arrived in Los Angeles in December of 2007 and her interaction with her children is exclusively conducted in Zapotec. Family 6 has a history of re-emigration having returned to San Lucas in 1996 with a 2-year old LA-born child. During the 5 years in San Lucas, a second child was born, and both of these children were reportedly socialized in Zapotec during that time. Upon re-emigration to Los Angeles, the family maintained use of the language. At the time of the interview, the family reported use of both Zapotec and Spanish in parent-child interaction, and I observed that the children are active users of Zapotec. In sibling interaction, the children make use of Zapotec, Spanish and English. Thus in essence, in my population sample, only Family 13 has carried out transmission of SLQZ in Los Angeles that resulted in active bilingualism in one of their two children. Otherwise, the patterns observed in the surveyed population suggest that no transmission that results in active bilingualism is taking place in Los Angeles among families headed by SLQZ-speaking parents. The three cases of language transmission resulting in active use of SLQZ by the offspring are cases where socialization in the language occurred entirely or partially in San Lucas. Further, the families in which language transmission efforts are documented is as large as the number of families that have chosen not to engage in SLQZ transmission. This

is seen in the second cluster of seven families where language maintenance occurs exclusively among adults. Parent-offspring interaction occurs in Spanish or English. In most cases surveyed, children acquire passive knowledge of SLQZ by being exposed to adult interaction in SLQZ but have little to no opportunity or motivation to develop any active use of the language.

The questions that follows is, how representative are the patterns identified in the surveyed sample, of the rest of the community? For the reasons explained in Chapter 2 devoted to methodology, this research is qualitative in nature. However, I can confidently state that the two clusters of seven families identified in the surveyed data are representative of the language choices of the families across the community. I base this assertion on my observations, and on multiple comments from interviewees I have documented, stating that indeed in Los Angeles, children are no longer making active use of SLQZ, and comments are evenly divided between recrimination towards parents for not teaching their mother tongue to their children, and expressed helplessness at the perceived resistance by children to speak or even to make the effort to understand SLQZ. (23) is an interviewee's comment on the matter. The data in Table 6.9 is consistent with observations by interviewees of language choices amongst their peers, which suggests that the data is indeed representative of the community overall.

- (23) Q: I have noticed that a lot of people, once they have their children, they do not speak to them in Zapotec, they only speak to them in Spanish. Why do you think they do that?
- A: *Rilua ti queity queityru rcazdi ra mniny ygwe Dizhsa, nazh Ingles rgwe ra mniny. Nii negza xtada ra mniny rgwe Ingles.*
“I think because children don’t want to speak Zapotec, they only speak in English. That is why the parents of the children speak English as well.”

This, and comments as in (24) made by five interviewees stating that SLQZ is only spoken in Los Angeles by adults, not by children, points to a decline in use of SLQZ across the community of immigrants from San Lucas, occurring within the second generation– children of immigrant SLQ-born parents.

- (24) *Sí, gente grande, gente mayor, si vamos a un party, siempre hablamos zapoteco...pero entre los niños, veo que ya no, hablan puro inglés.*

“Yes, adults, older people, if we go to a party, we always speak Zapotec, but I see that children don’t (speak it), they only speak English.”

More dramatically so, children born in San Lucas who are generation 1.5, shift away from Zapotec, both in their interaction with other children in the immigrant community, and even in their interaction with siblings, as documented in Table 6.8. Note that in Table 6.9, with the exception of the three cases noted under the category of SLQZ Maintenance, no children are documented, whether by reports or by my own observations, as being active users of SLQZ in child interaction. I should also clarify that, in the category SLQZ Maintenance, the offspring of Families 6 and 10 utilize Zapotec in addition to Spanish and/or English in child interaction, and even in sibling interaction within the home (remember that

the offspring in Family 16 are all over 17 years of age and while their interaction falls within sibling interaction and/or adult interaction, it does not exemplify child interaction). It must be considered, therefore, that in Los Angeles, SLQZ is generally not actively used by children. Indeed, in seeking for linguistic data to evaluate Zapotec skills among children in order to support– or invalidate –this statement, I asked children between the ages of 12 and 14 to narrate the *Frog Story*. Only two children were willing to oblige. In all other cases, children expressed their lack of confidence in their ability to produce the narrations. In San Lucas, there was no resistance on the part of the children, and I obtained seven narrations without a problem. I delve into a detailed comparison of the narrations in Chapter 7, yet I thought it necessary to comment on the experience gathering these data as another indicator that children in the Los Angeles community of immigrants from San Lucas are no longer active users of SLQZ.

Getting back to the question of whether the data in Table 6.9 is representative of the community as a whole, I do consider that the pattern of minimal maintenance in private documented in families 1 and 19, is underrepresented in my data. The lack of representatives in this category is most likely due to the selection criteria for survey participants, which targeted parents, and in fact included mothers primarily, and with one exception, did not include childless adults in general. Nevertheless, this category should be considered as one that is likely to find numerous representatives in the community. Remember that ten respondents commented that they have experienced resistance from fellow

adult *buny San Luc* to speaking SLQZ. Thus, I expect that among late teenagers, and primarily among childless young adults, there exists a pattern of minimal SLQZ maintenance characterized by use of the language in private settings only and when the language is absolutely necessary, for example, when calling San Lucas, but who otherwise choose to speak Spanish as much as possible. Family 1 listed in Table 6.9 exemplifies a case of minimal maintenance. The parents speak SLQZ with each other and with other close relatives in private only, and choose to shift to Spanish in public venues such as the street, the bus and the store. Family 19 is an example of even more extreme shift. The parents reportedly speak to each other in Zapotec, but the mother, for instance, has shifted to Spanish in speaking to her sister with whom she spoke in Zapotec in San Lucas a few years back. Among reports of this type of shift are included two comments by young adults who state that friends of theirs from back in San Lucas, with whom they always interacted in Zapotec in the past, have chosen to address them in Spanish once in Los Angeles. (25) is one such example.

(25) *Sí, amigas, amigas más que nada. Tengo dos, casi yo, les hablo en zapoteco y ellas me contestan en español...apenas se vinieron.*

“Yes, my friends especially [do it]. I have two friends, I speak to them in Zapotec and they answer back in Spanish...and they just arrived [in Los Angeles]”

There are two groups of individuals who I expect would fall into the category of Minimal Maintenance in Private. The first group being comprised of

late teenagers and young adults who migrated to Los Angeles as children. As such, these individuals would have shifted to Spanish and English during their childhood and adolescence, and currently, as they enter adulthood, they are set in a pattern of behavior that restricts Zapotec to the intimacy of parent-offspring interaction and possibly phone calls to San Lucas if at all. The second group is likely to also be comprised of teenagers and young adults who, unlike the first group, are late immigrants, who arrived in Los Angeles after 2000. These individuals arrive to the United States as Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals following their schooling in San Lucas and possibly in Tlacolula (as in the case of the mother in Family 19). For these individuals, a shift to Spanish is a most available means to become part of the large Spanish-speaking population in Los Angeles immediately upon arrival.

To summarize, the collected data shows limited to no active skills in SLQZ among children. While a cluster of seven families was documented as cases where parents actively use SLQZ in their interaction with their offspring, there is no SLQZ transmission in Los Angeles that results in active use of the language by children. Language maintenance is thus restricted to adults, and can be further restricted to adult use of SLQZ in private settings only. Language shift is likely to be occurring also among adults, as young adults primarily in their twenties restrict the use of SLQZ to private and occasional interactions, such as phone conversations with elderly relatives in San Lucas.

6.7 Language attitudes

As mentioned in sections 6.1 and 6.2 of the previous chapter, and in earlier sections of this chapter, the Los Angeles community of immigrants from San Lucas began as a very small group, primarily comprised of men engaged in migration, return migration, and in some cases re-emigration. Thus it was a group that constituted a loose social network faced with the pressure to assimilate into the larger Spanish speaking population. In contrast with the relative isolation from the Spanish monolingual community in which San Lucas residents lived at the time migration to the United States began, in Los Angeles San Lucas immigrants were most exposed to a well established and growing Spanish-monolingual population. This presented *buny San Luc* with two challenges: to fend against discrimination and to ensure their place in a work sphere where Spanish is *lingua franca*.

6.7.1. Discrimination, identity and language shift. By the late 1980s, emigrants from Oaxaca were one of the largest groups migrating to the United States. Velasco (1992) ranks Oaxaca eighth among Mexican states of origin of immigrants to the US, while Cornelius (1992) ranks Oaxaca first. By both accounts, Oaxacan immigrants have a strong presence in the United States, and especially in California, popularly known as *Oaxacalifornia*. Oaxaca, however, is one of the two Mexican states, along with Chiapas, with the largest indigenous populations in Mexico. Thus, while the Oaxacan population is large in numbers in a city such as Los Angeles, it is assumed that people of Oaxacan origin are of indigenous origin. This assumption is often accompanied by a tendency to classify the person in

derogatory terms such as poor, uneducated, etc. and by the discriminatory attitudes against indigenous populations that have been prevalent in Mexican society. The especially derogatory term *oaxaquita* has been commonly used by Spanish monolingual immigrants from Mexico to categorize immigrants from Oaxaca. It is a most pejorative term that causes a great deal of apprehension among Oaxacan immigrants. Lopez and Munro 1999 provide an account of early migrants who denied their Oaxacan origin in order to avoid being referred to as *oaxaquitas* and considered easy targets of discriminatory treatment such as the well documented abuses suffered by Mixtecs working in the agricultural industry, at the hands of their employers (Hurst 1987, Kelly 1990, Nagengast et al. 1992, Zabin et al. 1993).

Consider (26):

(26) Cuando yo llegué aquí, casi todos los jóvenes que yo conocía negaban ser oaxaqueños, porque hay una gran discriminación hacia los oaxaqueños dentro de la comunidad mexicana.

“When I arrived, most youngsters I knew denied being from Oaxaca, because Oaxacans are strongly discriminated against within the Mexican community.”

Since immigrants from San Lucas have not participated in the agricultural industry in any significant numbers but rather have worked in the restaurant and catering business in urban Los Angeles, their exposure to organized abusive practices has been minimized. Nevertheless, immigrants, especially those of early to mid-term arrival, felt the pressure to avoid being identified as being Oaxacan and of indigenous origin. In response to this, individuals often claimed a state other than Oaxaca as place of origin. Of utmost relevance to our study is the fact that

early to mid-term immigrants from San Lucas upon arrival in Los Angeles set out to acquire the necessary skills in Spanish, not only to ensure access to jobs (cf. sections 6.1 and 6.2), but to emulate the speech of Spanish monolinguals. This is documented in Lopez and Munro 1999 and Lopez and Runsten 2004 as well as in the interviews I conducted in Los Angeles. Five of the interviewees reported witnessing cases where fellow *buny San Luc* avoid use of SLQZ, something which they attribute to a sense of shame on the part of the witnessed individuals to speak the language. Two other interviewees expressed their own insecurities in using the language themselves in public places. (27), (28) and (22) earlier illustrate this.

(27) *Yo creo porque les da pena hablar. Piensan que hay personas que lo escuchan y dicen "no pues, ya está en...este...ya estás en una ciudad, ya no estás en el pueblo"...Yo creo que vergüenza les ha de dar.*

"I think that's because they are ashamed to speak it. They must think that if other people hear them speak it they will say, "no, look, you are now in the city, you are no longer in your village". I think it is shame that they feel."

(28) *Porque les da vergüenza. En mi opinion, es que ellos piensan que la gente que está alrededor de ellos les haría burla por hablar el zapoteco. A veces me preguntan "¿oyes y tú de dónde eres?", "pues soy de allá", "¿hablas otro idioma?", "sí, hablo zapoteco", "oh, entonces tú eres indi?", "sí, soy india mexicana", les digo. A mí, no tengo por qué negar lo que soy...Yo sé que sí, que [otros] no le van a decir que soy india, por ese motivo que la gente se burla de ellos, pues sí, se burlan sobre todo.*

"Because they feel shame. I think that they feel that people around them will make fun of them because they speak Zapotec. Sometimes people ask me, "hey, where are you from?", "I'm from such and such place", "do you speak another language?", "yes, I speak Zapotec", "oh, so you are an Indian then", "yes, I am a Mexican Indian" I say. I, I have no reason to deny who I am. I know [others] will not say they are Indian because people will make fun of them, yes, especially because they will mock them."

Under the circumstances that I describe, it is tempting to claim that under the prestige differential between San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec and Spanish in Los Angeles, speakers of the language have engaged in a process of de-indianization and subsequent latinization in which language shift is the primary marker of success in this process. This is indeed the analysis suggested by one interviewee who has resided in Los Angeles since 2003. He is an active speaker of SLQZ who displays positive attitudes towards the language and who commented that the importance of speaking Spanish in Los Angeles is due to the fact that:

(29) *Yo diría que porque es nuestra lengua. En México es lo que habla uno.*

“I would say that [children should learn Spanish] because it is our language. In Mexico that’s what we speak.”

While the process of de-indianization is clearly underway, as evidenced by the language use patterns shown in Table 6.9, it is a process that has affected sectors of the community of immigrants from SLQ to different degrees and it does not necessarily entail that SLQZ is a language of low prestige as I explain in the following paragraphs.

6.7.2. Language and membership in the San Lucas Quiaviní society.

According to the *usos y costumbres* (local practices of government and group membership) in San Lucas Quiaviní, an individual who is born in San Lucas and registered with the local authorities retains all civil rights and obligations regardless of their participation in emigration and even after having acquired US citizenship

and renouncing Mexican citizenship. Consider the case of the 2008 *mardom*, the sponsor of the annual patron saint festivities. Every year, a senior male member of the community of San Lucas is elected to fill this prestigious post in local society, an honor that the elected individual cannot decline under any circumstances. In 2008, the elected *mardom* was a gentleman who has resided in Los Angeles for over thirty years and holds US citizenship. As mandated by local practices, the *mardom* engaged in all the necessary expenses and travel to fulfill his responsibilities.

A member of the San Lucas Quiaviní community remains accountable to the community and its authorities for the term of his or her life. The LA-born children of SLQ-immigrants do not have such commitment or attachment to San Lucas, as they are not born in the town and are generally not registered with the municipal authorities. They could certainly be entered in the municipal records, should their parents choose to do so, and would then acquire the rights and responsibilities of a San Lucas-born child. During my research I did not investigate whether any parents of LA-born children had chosen to register their children as members of the San Lucas community. However, based on my interaction with interviewees, their history of travel to San Lucas or lack thereof, and comments from a community activist, I suspect that it is unlikely that LA-born children are registered as members of the San Lucas society.

As a result, the immigrant community in Los Angeles is comprised of two types of members: those who are also members of the San Lucas Quiaviní

community and those who are not. In other words, the distinction is between those born in San Lucas who remain *buny San Luc* and those born in the United States. This difference in community membership is reflected in the language use and language attitudes of each group as well as in the attitudes by SLQ-born individuals towards each group's language choices. Adult members of the San Lucas Quiaviní community who reside in Los Angeles maintain use of the language among themselves despite a preference to do so in private settings (cf. Table 6.9). This is not the case among LA-born children (cf. 6.4.3 and Table 6.3). (30) illustrates this.

(30) *Yo creo que la gente en San Lucas dice, bueno, ya nació ahí, pues...ya ahí no hablan más zapoteco, ya puro español, estos niños allá nacieron, osea, ya no, como que ya no lo ven como de San Lucas.*

"I think that people in San Lucs think "well, s/he was born there [in Los Angeles], therefore they no longer speak Zapotec, only Spanish, those kids were born there" and see them like not belonging to San Lucas"

The pattern of language shift away from SLQZ is accepted somewhat passively by immigrants as their LA-born children are considered to be part of the host community. Yet their lack of native competence in SLQZ is seen with a certain degree of regret and perhaps even disdain by interviewees both in Los Angeles and in San Lucas as (31) shows.

(31) *Luego aveces cuando es la fiesta, llegan al pueblo, y a veces sus hijos no se pueden comunicar con sus papás, porque ya ve que gente mayor que está ahí no habla español. Como sus abuelitos, por ejemplo el abuelito de mi esposo, su abuelita ya son gente de edad y no hablan, no hablan ni el español.*

“When it’s time for the Patron Saint festivities, people go back to the village and sometimes their children cannot communicate with the grandparents, because, as you know, the elders there do not speak Spanish. Like their grandparents, for example, my husband’s grandfather, or his grandmother, they are of age, and they don’t speak, they don’t even speak Spanish.”

LA-born children are considered to be so much a part of the host community that there is the perception that they are inherently Spanish speakers and therefore parent-child communication can only be conducted in Spanish. (32) and (33) illustrate this.

(32) Q: Why is it important for children to learn Spanish, here in Los Angeles, here in the United States?

A: *Ti chile ygweneri danön dizh o chile ygwenezeri stuzh ra mniny ni rgwe Dixtily dizh.*

“So they can talk to us or be able to speak to other children who speak Spanish.”

(33) *Las mamas que no pudieron estudiar o que no pueden aprender el ingles pues solamente hay una forma, el españolde comunicarse con ellos (sus hijos) y dejan de lado el Zapoteco.*

“Those moms who didn’t go to school or weren’t able to study English can only communicate with them (their children) in Spanish and push Zapotec aside.”

Immigrant children constitute an intermediate group as they are members of the San Lucas community but their upbringing is partially or mostly occurring in the United States. This fact separates them from children raised in San Lucas yet they are still considered *buny San Luc* and their choice to shift away from SLQZ is

met with criticism by both residents of San Lucas, and immigrants in Los Angeles. Earlier in (19), I included an excerpt of an interview relaying the case of an immigrant boy who has shifted away from SLQZ and towards Spanish and more recently English. The interviewee considers scenarios like this one to be the result of a reprehensible lack of appreciation for SLQZ.

6.7.3. *Language prestige and the prestige of multilingualism.* In section 4.1.3 I presented arguments to show that SLQZ is a language of implicit prestige in San Lucas Quiavini. Here I argue that an important segment of the adult immigrant population from San Lucas maintains positive attitudes towards their mother tongue. Also present in San Lucas is an appreciation for multilingualism and for an individual's ability to function in different language environments and be the one to accommodate to monolinguals. Here I argue that the same attitudes are present at least in the adult population of immigrants from San Lucas.

The difficulties in obtaining honest and/or accurate responses to direct questions about language attitudes are well known and documented. Following the described methodology, and rather than asking speakers to rate the languages in their environment in subjective terms, or making direct questions as to their feelings towards one language or the other, I use third party reports and indirect questions to gauge an individual's language attitudes. Questions regarding the importance of learning Spanish rather than English in the United States elicited comments about the importance of being able to speak to the large Hispanic population and not only to the Anglo population. Even with regards to LA-born and

immigrant children learning English in school, eight Los Angeles interviewees stated that children should learn both languages in order to be able to address those in Los Angeles who are monolingual in one or the other language.

(34) *Hay gente que habla español y así no habla el inglés ni el zapoteco, entonces cómo se comunicarían con la gente. Yo pienso que sí, que deberían de hablar también español, para que, pues aquí es puro español e inglés también. En todas partes donde va uno, si no hablan el inglés, pero hablan español.*

“There are people who speak Spanish and don’t speak neither English nor Zapotec, so then, how are they going to communicate with people? Yes, I think that they should also speak Spanish, so that, because here it’s all Spanish and also English. Everywhere you go, if someone doesn’t speak English they will speak Spanish.”

The same consideration towards monolingual speakers of a language is afforded to those relatives in San Lucas who are SLQZ monolinguals. While a shift away from SLQZ was documented in most families in my population sample, seven interviewees stated that SLQZ should be maintained among immigrants and their children in Los Angeles to accommodate to relatives residing in San Lucas who are Zapotec monolinguals, and especially to grandparents.

(35) *Mi mamá me dice que le platique yo, le hable yo en puro zapoteco pa' que pueda comunicarse con él. [Ella] no habla español.*

“My mother says I should say everything to him, I should speak to him only in Zapotec so that she can communicate with him. She doesn’t speak Spanish.”

Further supporting my claim are evaluatory comments made by interviewees with regards to children in Los Angeles who do maintain active use of SLQZ. Ten

interviewees praised children who are trilingual SLQZ-Sp-Eng speakers, for their ability to speak confidently and appropriately in three distinct language communities as is done in (36).

- (36) Q: How do you feel when they speak to you in Spanish?
A: *Us rzeinyzaca. Chiru us ryulaza rwerëng Dizhsa, tyen rgwenerëng xnana Dizhsa.*
I feel really good. Then, I like it when they speak Zapotec, because they speak to my mother in Zapotec.

Without a prompt on my part, such multilingual children were described by interviewees using terms such as *bright*, *smart* and *intelligent* as in (37).

- (37) *Su tía es tan diferente, puro zapoteco, puro zapoteco...Te imaginas, trajo a sus niños acá, no sé a qué edad, pero dice que chiquitos, y llegaron acá con puro zapoteco y ahora ya tienen no sé cuántos años, pero siguen hablando zapoteco...[su hijo mayor] habla re bien, bien listo, bien listo.*

“His aunt is very different, [she speaks] only Zapotec, only Zapotec...Can you imagine, she brought her children here (to Los Angeles) I don’t know at what age, but they were little, and they came here only knowing Zapotec, and they are now, I don’t know how old, but they are still speaking Zapotec...[Her older son] speaks really well, he’s very smart, very smart.”

In addition, I elicited language-attitude data using questions regarding my own daughter’s socialization in SLQZ during two field sessions in San Lucas and two field sessions in Los Angeles. 15 of the 19 interviewees responded with praise for my daughter’s acquisition of Zapotec, and without exception, all interviewees belonging to families in which SLQZ transmission to children did not take place went as far as encouraging me to support my daughter’s learning, giving me advice

as to how to continue my daughter's instruction, and were quick to engage in enthusiastic conversation in Zapotec with my daughter. We can add other data including the fact that among interviewees who reported having worked with other *buny San Luc* confirmed that SLQZ was used in the work place, regardless of the presence of Spanish monolingual employees. The data collected through interviewees and participant observation suggest that, in a synchronic view of the community, there is significant appreciation for SLQZ among immigrants from San Lucas. Such data does not make viable a claim that SLQZ enjoys no prestige among immigrants or that attitudes towards the language among its speakers are negative.

6.8 Summary

This chapter gives a detailed description of language attitudes and choices in the immigrant community from San Lucas Quiaviní. To close this chapter, I integrate elements of this and the previous chapter to illustrate those factors involved in motivating a decrease in the use of SLQZ within the immigrant community. The main element to highlight from Chapter 6 is the fact that the immigrant community remained a small community with constant migrant flow for some 20 years, from 1968 when the first immigrants arrived and until the effects of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986 could be felt. During this phase of early migration, the social networks were only incipient and of low density. Further, immigrants had limited skills in Spanish at the time. A

combination between the nature of the low density network and a need to develop skills in the host community's *lingua franca* led early immigrants to favor the use of Spanish over Zapotec. Adults of late arrival to the United States are no longer under pressure to shift to Spanish upon arrival given that they are largely SLQZ-Spanish bilinguals. However, many continue to promote a shift away from Zapotec and towards Spanish in parent-child communication.

It has been documented that speakers of SLQZ have faced discriminatory treatment by Spanish monolinguals (Lopez and Munro 1999, Lopez and Runsten 2004). Such conditions motivated behavior allowing immigrants to pass as Spanish monolinguals of *mestizo* background, including their denying to be of Oaxacan origin and shifting away from SLQZ (c.f. Section 6.7.1). However, the data presented above suggests that immigrants have maintained the same language attitudes that give SLQZ implicit prestige in the home community of San Lucas.

The next point that needs to be explained is the preference given to Spanish by children, both LA- and SLQ-born. I explain that LA-born children grow up as speakers of Spanish as their primary language as a result of their status as non-members of the San Lucas Quiaviní home community. The status of immigrant children as San Lucas children raised in Los Angeles could possibly also motivate language shift among them, although I do not have sufficient data to support this point. The most important factor motivating a decrease in the use of SLQZ is likely to be the school system.

In closing, it is important to highlight the relevance of this study in understanding that, as in the case of SLQZ adult speaker base, attitudes towards a minority language can remain positive even in the context of language-based discrimination and other community-external factors motivating language choices that disfavor the use of SLQZ.

Chapter 7. Language Shift in the Immigrant Community

As part of the ethnography of the daughter community of San Lucas Quiaviní based in Los Angeles, Chapter 6 included a detailed discussion on the language choices among members of the community. The data presented indicates that San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec remains the language of choice among adults. However, transmission of the language has decreased and was only reported in about half of the surveyed families. Further, cases where the use of SLQZ by parents results in active use of SLQZ among their children is limited to families whose children were socialized in San Lucas either entirely or partially. Thus, virtually no active bilingual children are being raised in Los Angeles.

To complement the interview and participant observation data presented in the previous chapter, Chapter 7 includes linguistic data that suggests that Los Angeles children, even those born and socialized to a degree in San Lucas, have a lower level of competence in SLQZ as compared to the children born, raised and living in San Lucas. Section 7.1 provides a brief sketch of the language to provide the foundation for a comparative analysis of child narratives collected in San Lucas and Los Angeles, presented in Section 7.2.

7.1 A sketch of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec

Documentation and analysis of SLQZ began over a decade and a half ago as a result of the desire of a member of the daughter community, Felipe Lopez, to

generate appreciation for the language and protect it from extinction. Lopez began a collaborative effort with Pamela Munro at the Linguistics Department at the University of California, Los Angeles which has generated great interest among linguists and resulted in numerous descriptive and theoretical works on the language. Among these is the first dictionary of the language (Munro and Lopez 1999), a two-volume trilingual Zapotec, Spanish and English publication. Additional collaborations between Lopez and Munro have produced work ranging from narratives of the immigration experiences lived by some SLQZ speakers (Lopez and Munro 1999 and forthcoming) to discussions on the challenges in developing a standardized orthography for Valley Zapotec varieties (Munro and Lopez 2003), and the translation of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights into SLQZ (Lopez and Munro 1998). A textbook has been written in English and used in college-level courses at universities in California and Mexico City (Munro, et al. 2007) and a Spanish version is currently underway. Munro alone has numerous publications and presentations ranging from descriptive work on aspects of the structure of SLQZ (Munro 2002) to the particulars of lexicographic work in SLQZ (Munro 1996) and the challenges that the complex phonology of the language present in the context of the development of an orthographic system (Munro 2003).

Various master's thesis and doctoral dissertations have been devoted to different aspects of SLQZ. Among these are Lee 1996 and subsequently Lee 2008 where the author discusses syntactic and morphological properties of the language

that are problematic for accounts of verb movement within the Minimalist theoretical framework. Galant 1998 engages in a comparative analysis of Spanish and SLQZ constructions. Lillehaugen 2006 is a detailed description of the syntax and semantics of spatial descriptions in Tlacolula Valley Zapotec, and includes data from San Lucas Quiaviní. In her dissertation, Lillehaugen argues for the classification of body part terms used in locative expressions as prepositions, and not nouns. In the following sections I present a brief sketch of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec, summarizing some of these works and my own research.

7.1.1. Phonology and orthographic representation. SLQZ, as is the case of other Zapotec languages, is described as having a fortis/lenis consonantal distinction. The consonantal phonemic inventory is in Table 7.1. The data in the table is adapted from the description of the consonantal inventory of SLQZ in Munro and Lopez 1999 and features the orthographic symbols used in Munro et al. 2007.

Table 7.1. Orthographic representation of the SLQZ phonemic inventory of consonants

	Labial	Den-alv	Alv-pal	Retroflex	Velar
Fortis stop	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>c/qu</i>
Lenis stop	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>g/gu</i>
Fortis affricate		<i>ts</i>	<i>ch</i>		
Fortis fricative	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>j</i>
Lenis fricative		<i>z</i>	<i>zh</i>	<i>zh</i>	
Lenis nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ng</i>
Fortis nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ng</i>
Lenis lateral		<i>l</i>			
Fortis lateral		<i>l</i>			
Flap		<i>r</i>			
Trill		<i>rr</i>			
Glide	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

In Munro and Lopez 1999, SLQZ is described as having vowels a, e, i, o u and a sixth vowel *ë* (high back to central unrounded vowel). This sixth vowel is reported as being rare and dependent on individual variation but consistently present in affixes. Each vowel is described as having four phonation types: 1) modal or plain, 2) creaky, 3) checked or post-glottalized and 4) breathy. In the orthography proposed in Munro and Lopez 1999, the various phonation types are represented, but in the more recent system proposed in Munro et al. (2007), no orthographic distinction is made. Ten diphthongs are recorded for SLQZ. The vowel and diphthong inventory allows for complex syllable nuclei. Munro and Lopez (1999) describes the fullest syllable template as CCGVVCG¹⁰ and reports the existence of up to 33 different vowel complex patterns.

Syllables may bear high, low, rising or falling tone, which according to Munro and Lopez (1999) interact with the vowel complex. Tone in SLQZ, unlike in most other Zapotec varieties, is described as not being phonologically contrastive, but rather predictable by the vowel phonation and number of vowels occurring in any one of 33 major vowel complex patterns documented for SLQZ, as well as by their phonological environment. Thus, the orthographic representation of SLQZ in either one of its proposed versions (Munro and Lopez 1999 and Munro et al. 2007) does not feature tone marking.

7.1.2. Typological features. Following is a brief overview of typological features of SLQZ that are relevant to this particular chapter. SLQZ exhibits the typical Zapotec VSO word order, and allows for preposing of a number of parts of

¹⁰ In this representation C is a consonant, V is a vowel and G is a glide.

speech under certain conditions. According to Munro and Lopez (1999), SLQZ exhibits the following aspectual markers: habitual (*r-*), perfective (typically *b-* but also *gw-*, *gu-*, *w-* and *n-*), irrealis (typically *y-* but also *g-*, *c-*, *ch-*, *il-*, *ily-*, *in-*, *iny-*, *l-* or *qu-*), progressive (typically *ca-*, but also *cay-* or *cagy-*), definite (*s-* or *z-*), subjunctive (*n-*) and neutral (*n-*, *m-* as well as cases with no overt marking). Person agreement is realized through a system of 18 pronominal subject clitics. This system includes a complex set of six third person clitics, which distinguishes animals from humans, holy people or entities, reverential, respectful and formal forms of address, and proximate vs. distal deixis.

Possession is marked on most nouns by the prefix *x-*. There is, however, a class of nouns whose referents are alienably possessed (e.g. *yu* 'house') as well as a class of nouns whose referents are inalienably possessed that include body part terms (e.g. *ru* 'mouth') that do not require the prefix. Nouns are typically not marked for number, although the proclitic *ra-* may be optionally used as a marker of plurality. They may also be diminutivized by suffixation of *-e*. Nouns may be modified by adjectives described as having attributive functions following a noun as a modifier, as well as predicative functions occurring with or without a copula. As is the case not only among Zapotec languages but also across Mesoamerican languages, SLQZ utilizes body part terms as relational nominals, (e.g. *lo* 'face'). These are described in Lillehaugen 2006 and Munro and Lopez 1999 as one of two types of prepositions used in SLQZ, the second type being a set of borrowed Spanish prepositions, which includes *cwën* 'with' and *par* 'for'.

7.2 Comparative analysis of child competence in San Lucas and Los Angeles

The demographic data presented in Chapter 3 has shown that the community of San Lucas Quiaviní is experiencing a decline that amounts to 30% and possibly even as much as 50% of its population. This represents a sharp decrease in the speaker base of SLQZ in the home community. This point is followed by interview data that is suggestive of a significant decline in the intergenerational transmission of SLQZ in the Los Angeles daughter community, and of minimal active use of the language among its children. The linguistic data presented in this section is illustrative of lower competence in SLQZ among children in Los Angeles as compared with that of children born, raised and living in San Lucas. This comparative study constitutes a first approach, exploratory in nature, at evaluating the SLQZ production skills of children belonging to the immigrant community in Los Angeles.

7.2.1. Elicitation procedures and parameters. In rough terms, the research presented in this section was intended to compare the language production skills of San Lucas and Los Angeles children. The elicitation was done using the picture book *Frog, where are you?* by Mercer Mayer (1969). Participating children were given the story to browse, and then, with the picture book in front of them, the children were asked to narrate the story panel by panel in SLQZ. The children had control of the storybook at all times and were able to set their own narrative pace.

Initially, the intention of this exercise was to compare the production skills of children by age brackets. For example, to compare narratives by children ages 4-5, prior to their attendance at elementary school, ages 9-10 when children are midway through elementary school, and finally children in their early teens after they have attended elementary school. The purpose behind this initial plan was to identify any patterns of acquisition of SLQZ or shift away from it as potentially related to the education experience of children. This initial approach had to be modified for two reasons. First, education experience as a variable in the Los Angeles community is very difficult to measure given variables including number of years in LA schools vs. number of years spent in SLQ schools and whether a child attended bilingual school or English-only programs. Second, young children in San Lucas, where elicitation was first done, were rather timid and often unwilling to participate in the task. Thus, the population sample for this exercise was modified to include only children attending 2nd grade in the SLQ secondary school (*secundaria*), which comprises ages 12 to 14. Seven narratives from children in San Lucas were analyzed.

In Los Angeles, I sought participants from the pool of interviewed families as well as outside this group. Two narratives from children ages 12 to 14 were obtained.¹¹ The limited number of Los Angeles participants was due primarily to the fact that in all but these two cases, either the children or the parents considered the child I tried to recruit to lack the necessary SLQZ skills to produce the narrative.

¹¹ An additional two children provided narratives but the children were much younger than the 12-14 age group from San Lucas whose narratives were used in this comparative study.

It is possible that resistance to participate might also be due to a general, community-wide resistance to being recorded, which is especially prominent in the Los Angeles community. However, the resistance to participate occurred in cases where enough trust existed between the family and me, and where judgment of the child’s SLQZ skills seemed accurate. While this particular experience is anecdotal, I consider it worth mentioning as another indicator of the reduced active use of SLQZ among children in Los Angeles and to illustrate the difficulty in recruiting participants for this study.

The population sample in San Lucas, as mentioned earlier, included seven participants, all aged 12 to 14. The profiles of these children are relatively homogenous in that all children were born and raised in San Lucas and have never emigrated. They all belong to families whose only language of interaction is SLQZ. Thus these are all native speakers of the language. All are SLQZ-Spanish bilinguals and have attended Spanish-only school in San Lucas from preschool through elementary school and into middle school. The profile of the Los Angeles participants is schematized in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2. Continuum of language maintenance to language shift at the community level

	LA1 Child	LA2 Child
Family	6	7
Age (at time of narrative)	14	13
Place of birth	LA	SLQ
Migration	Emigrated to SLQ from ages 2 to 5 Re-emigrated to LA in 2001	Emigrated to LA at the age of 5 months where she permanently resides
Exposure to SLQZ	From birth	From birth
Parent to child language	SLQZ, Spanish	SLQZ, Spanish
Child to parent language	SLQZ, Spanish	Spanish with mother Spanish, English with father
Child to siblings language	SLQZ, Spanish, English	English, some Spanish
Relatives to child language	SLQZ, Spanish	Spanish, English

An important variable present in the two profiles is the fact that in both cases, the parents of these children have chosen to transmit the language to their children, and actively use it when addressing them. However, this level of SLQZ input has not been sufficient for these children to develop language competence comparable to that of San Lucas children. Child LA2 is representative of Los Angeles children in that her family is characterized by maintenance of SLQZ among adults and transmission of the language from parent to child. This is a pattern of language use exhibited by seven families in the surveyed population sample. Also representative of Los Angeles children is the fact that while Child LA2 is regularly addressed in SLQZ by her parents, she chooses to speak Spanish and English to address her parents (cf. Sections 7.4 – 7.6). Child LA1 had five years of socialization in San Lucas Quiaviní. His attitude towards SLQZ is very positive and he uses the language actively, yet his competence is not at par with that of SLQ children.

As mentioned earlier, albeit briefly, variables related to the child population in Los Angeles are very difficult to control. Some children are born and raised in Los Angeles where they may have had access to bilingual education, but many entered the school system after bilingual education was eliminated by Proposition 277 which passed in 1998. Some children have immigrated from San Lucas and the number of years spent in Los Angeles can vary widely. Finally, the SLQZ input that children receive varies widely, as adults make individual choices as to the language or languages they will use to speak to a child. For example, while parents

might have chosen to address a child in SLQZ, close relatives might choose English or Spanish. Conversely, children with comparable input, as would be the case of siblings, might develop different degrees of competence in SLQZ. Thus, the data I present in this section is not intended to establish correlations between features found in the data and any one social variable or to make any claims regarding bilingual language acquisition. The data has a limited purpose: to analyze the SLQZ language production skills of children from the Los Angeles community, and compare it to the skills of San Lucas children to show that even in cases where parents are engaged in SLQZ language transmission, children do not develop the same level of competence as children in San Lucas do.

7.2.2. Differences in lexical availability. Wölck 2005 points out that lexical errors in bilinguals have greater social impact than errors in syntax, phonology and morphology. This section includes data showing differences in lexical availability, as defined in Mackey 1970 and Wölck 2005 and documented in the narratives of Los Angeles children. Personal and momentary availability are the most relevant types of lexical availability in this analysis. Personal availability is determined by a person's active vocabulary in a target language; momentary availability is the *"inability of the speaker to find the appropriate term in the intended language at the very moment of the utterance"* (Wölck 2005:4).

The first notable difference between the SLQ and the LA narratives is the length of the recording. LA narratives were about twice as long as SLQ narratives. This was due to the fact that LA children had to consult with their mothers to obtain

lexical items such as animal terms, and, in the case of Child LA2, obtain full SLQZ translations of her Spanish descriptions. Table 7.3 lists recording lengths as well as the number of instances a child asked for input from other native SLQZ speakers in the room. Note that while all the San Lucas children had access to other native speakers at the time of their recording, none asked for help.

Table 7.3. Length of narrative and requests for lexical input

	SLQ1	SLQ2	SLQ3	SLQ4	LA1	LA2
Recording code	SLQ22m	SLQ23f	SLQ24f	SLQ25m	LA1m	LA2f
Narration time	3m19s	2m23s	2m43s	2m29s	5m32s	6m32s
Request for input	0	0	0	0	5	18

Examples (38) and (39) below correspond to panel 1 of the stimulus. Note that child LA2 who provided example (38) interrupts her narrative twice and switches to Spanish to request from her mother the clauses that follow the instances of code switching. (39) is an example of fluid narrative by a child from San Lucas.¹²

(38) Gu teiby mniny-i *que ... ¿cómo se dice? ...* r-ap teiby rran-e
 PERF one child-DIM *who ... how do you say? ...* HAB-have one frog-DIM
 'There was a little kid who ... how do you say? ...he had a little frog

qwën te becwe ... *¿cómo se dice? ...* nu lany teiby biedr
 with one dog.DIM ... *how do you say? ...* exist stomach/inside one glass
 and a dog ...how do you say?... it's in(side) a jar.'

¹² In (1) and any other examples in this section, language directed by speakers to their mothers, whether that entails codeswitching or not, is marked in italics. In cases of Spanish switches, given that the focus is on SLQZ, I limit the representation of Spanish code switches to transcriptions and free translation to English. Also note that all examples are coded with the acronyms LA or SLQ to indicate whether the example was provided by a Los Angeles child or by a San Lucas child respectively. The numbers following the acronym refer to the recording file as indicated in Table 7.3 and earlier in the population sample description. The letters *f* or *m* at the end of the coding of each SLQ recording stand for *female* or *male*. No claim is made, however, as to correlations between gender and linguistic traits found.

(39) Teiby mniny-i chiru b-zhiel-i teiby rran qwën teiby becw-e
 One child-DIM then PERF-find-3DIST one frog with one dog-DIM
 'A little kid with his dog found a frog

chiru b-luar-i ni lany teiby tula butei
 then PERF-put-3plDIST REL stomach/inside one um bottle
 then they put him inside a, um, bottle.'

Examples (40) and (41) correspond to panel 4 of the stimulus. (40) was produced by child LA1 and (41) was produced by a San Lucas child. Note that in (40), child LA1 requests input from his mother but does so in SLQZ. In contrast, child LA2 as shown in (38) above, code switches to Spanish to make her requests. In (40) as well as in examples that follow, I use an asterisk to indicate instances of ungrammaticality as per native speaker judgments.

(40) Tu la nde ... *buga guecyi lany laty gu baxat
 who name this ... PERF.get-stuck head.3DIS stomach/inside place PERF.exist toad
 'How do you say this? ... Its head got stuck where the toad used to be.'

(41) becw-e b-gutiegu-i guecy-i lany guidy-i
 dog-DIM PERF-put-3DIS head-3DIS stomach/inside plastic-3DIS
 'The dog put its head inside the plastic (container)

as g-ugag guecy-i lany-i
 then PERF-get.stuck head-3DIS stomach/inside-3DIS
 and his head got stuck inside.'

(38) and (40) are two of many instances – 5 for child LA1 and 18 for child LA2 – where Los Angeles children had difficulty and sometimes were unable to come up with lexical items in SLQZ. It can be argued that the difficulty in producing certain lexical items may be due to the fact that these children have simply not acquired them because their referents are not part of their environment

and daily life. Certainly, in the analysis of Frog, where are you? narratives I have not engaged in testing acquisition of lexical items prior to the elicitation task. However, given the lexical items that Los Angeles children ask from their mothers, it is unlikely that these items have never been in the SLQZ input these children have received during their lives, or that they have not encountered the respective referents in their Los Angeles environment. In the case of animal terms, for example, both Los Angeles children asked for the SLQZ word for ‘bee’. Bees cannot be argued to be inexistent or even uncommon in Los Angeles.

Los Angeles child LA1 also asked her mother for help with verb forms referring to common every day events such as sleeping, saying, falling or running. Examples are in (42) to (45). Again, it is unlikely that this child who has been addressed in SLQZ regularly by her parents since birth, would not have heard and learned these verb forms. In fact, the speaker uses *cazhuny* ‘is running’ unassisted in narrating panel 12 as shown in (46). She later has trouble recalling the same lexical item in panel 16 as shown in (45). Note that in (45) the speaker is given the venitive form of the verb ‘to run’, *zezhuny*. However, the speaker originally asked her mother for the progressive form of the verb, *cazhuny* ‘is running’.

(42) Mniny rze ... *no...* mniny ... *¿está durmiendo, cómo se dice? ... oh...*
 Child ? ... *no ... child ... ‘is sleeping’, how do you say that? ... oh ...*
 ‘The kid ... no ... the kid ... ‘is sleeping’, how do you say that? ... oh ...

nigyesy-i qwën becw-e.
 asleep.3DIS with dog-DIM
 he is sleeping with the little dog.’

(43) ¿cómo se dice está diciendo?... ca-buzh-ëm ca-buzh-ëm "rran cali nu x-rran-a, rran?"
how do you say "is saying"? ... PROG-say-3 PROG-say-3 from where exist POSS-frog-1 frog
 'How do you say 'is saying'? ... is saying, is saying, "frog, where is my frog, frog?"' (LA2:6b)

(45) becw-e [speaker motions, mother provides 'biab'] biab ru bentan
 dog-DIM PERF.fall mouth/edge window
 'The dog fell out the window.'

(45) bzëiny ... ¿cómo se dice está corriendo? ... bzëiny rzh ... ¿cómo?
 deer ... *how do you say "is running"? ... deer HAB.(run) ... how*
 'The deer ... how do you say "is running"? ... the deer (runs) ... again?

ze-zhuny re qwën mniny-i qwën becw-e
 VEN-run there with child-DIS with dog-DIM
 took off running from there with that child and the little dog'

(46) becw-e ca-zhuny lo manyser
 dog-DIM PROG-run face/on.top bee
 the little dog is running ahead of the bees

7.2.3. Morphophonological errors. The first example of morphophonological errors to discuss is in (40) above which I repeat in (47) for convenience. Child LA1 uses *b-* as perfective prefix in **buga* 'got stuck'. SLQZ has relatively large inventories of allomorphs for its aspectual prefixes. In the case of the perfective aspect, the prefix *b-* is a widely occurring allomorph, but vowel-initial roots require the prefixes *gw-*, *gu-* and sometimes *w-*. Native speakers confirm the unacceptability of **buga*. The correct perfective form of the verb as provided by native speakers is *guga* as shown in (48) provided by an SLQ child, or its variant *gugag*.

(47) Tula nde ... *b-uga guecy-i lany laty g-u baxat
 who.name this ... PERF-get.stuck head-DIS stomach/inside place PERF-exist toad
 'How do you say this? ... Its head got stuck where the toad used to be.' (LA1:5)

(48) Parizy gwe becw xte-ni g-uga lany teiby [...] biedr.
 So PERF.go dog POSS-ANA PERF-get.stuck stomach/inside one jar
 As a result the dog got himself stuck inside the jar (SLQ23f:4)

In (49) child LA2 places the possessive marker *x-* on the body part term *guecy* ‘head’ to produce **xquecyëm*. In SLQZ, as in other Zapotec languages, body parts are inherently possessed. Therefore body part terms do not take the possessive marker *x-*. The word **xquecyëm* in (49) is ungrammatical as confirmed by native speaker judgments. (50) and (51) show the grammatically correct use of the body part term *guecy* ‘head’.

(49) * x-quecy-ëm a b-dia lany biedr (LA2:X)
 POS-head-3PROX already PERF-come.out stomach/inside glass
 ‘His head went into the glass jar.’

(50) As b-iabag becw-i lad bentan tanza nu butei guecy (SLQ24:X)
 Then PERF-fall dog-3DIS between window because exists bottle head
 ‘Then this dog fell off the window because it had a bottle on its head.’

(51) Chi b-riely-ëm ru bentan, chu b-iab-i (LA1:X)
 When PERF-fall-3PROX edge/mouth window then PERF-fall-3DIS
 ‘When he fell off the window, then he fell off

chu bla ni nu guecyëm
 then PERF.break REL exist head.3ANIM
 and then what he had on his head broke.’

Similarly, child LA2 produces **bxyecwëng* as a third person proximate possessive form of *becw* ‘dog’. Native speaker judgments confirm that this form is unacceptable. Lopez (p.c.) reports that there are two correct possessive forms of the noun ‘dog’ in SLQZ. According to two native speakers over the age of 40, the conservative form in the third person is *xyecwëng*, and an innovation, dating back some 10 years (Lopez, p.c.) is *xpecwëng*. The conservative form is illustrated in (53)

and the innovation is in (54). In both cases, the pronoun used is not the third person proximate but the third person distal. The difference in pronoun use does not have morphophonological consequences on the syllable to which the possessive pronoun affixes.

(52) mniny-i b-iab lany nyis qwën *b-x-yiecwëng
 child-DIS PERF-fall inside/stomach water with ?-POSS-dog-3
 'That boy fell in the water along with his dog.' (LA2:18)

(53) chicyru gwe xiecw-i gu-ndu guecy lany guidy
 then PERF.go POSS.dog-DIS PERF-put head stomach/inside plastic
 'Then his dog went to put his head inside the plastic.' (SLQ25m:9)

(54) Chu chi w-bany-i bragueli chu b-gwi-i qwën x-pecw-i
 then when PERF-awaken-3DIS next.day then PERF.see-3DIS with POSS.dog.DIS
 'Then when he woke up the next day, he and his dog looked.' (SLQ23f:3)

7.2.4. Word order errors. Example (55) below shows a departure from the preferred word order of noun phrases which in SLQZ is N Mod. As per native speaker judgments, the word order Mod N in **bdo bez rran* in (55) is ungrammatical. The preferred word order for this noun phrase would be *rran bdo bez* 'baby frogs'. This is reflected in (56) where a San Lucas child follows the N Mod word order in *rran bichi* 'small frogs'.

(55) *Mniny a bzhiel tyop rran qwën zyienydan bdo bez rran (LA2:X)
 child already PERF.find two frog with many baby newborn frog
 'The kid has found two frogs with many baby frogs.'

(56) Nu zyenyan **rran bichi**, ni na zhiny-ri ricy (SLQ23f:X)
 Exist many frog small, REL COP offspring.3pIPROX there
 'There were many little frogs, who were their children.'

7.2.6. Differences in grammatical complexity. (57) illustrates the use of a semantically simpler descriptive strategy where events across three panels are expressed by simple independent clauses in a sequence. This strategy is consistent with it being preferred by speakers with non-native competence. In (58), an SLQ speaker makes use of anaphoric connectors to relate the same events.

- (57) a. mniny-l a ca-cwatslo dets gyag
 child-DIS already PROG-hid back/behind tree
 'That child was already hiding behind the tree.' (LA2:13)
- b. mniny-l ca-buzha steby
 child-DIS PROG-yelling again
 'The child was yelling again.' (LA2:14)
- c. mniny nu guecy guecy guecy bzëiny
 child exist head head head deer
 'The child is on the deer's head.' (LA2:15)
- (58) a. As r-zhuny mniny-l b-yepy guecy teiby gyia
 The HAB-run child-DIS PERF-climb head/on.top one tree
 'Then that child ran and climbed on a tree
- tyen z-ënal dami mniny-i
 because DEF-follow owl child-DIS
 because an owl was chasing that child.' (SLQ22m:13)
- b. As zicy ca-gw-i mniny-i deibya nezi, ca-buzha-ëm
 Then thus PROG-see child-3DIS all directions PROG-yell-3PROX
 'And so the child was looking in all directions
- per nyec r-zhiel-ëm rran
 but did.not.even HAB-find-3PROX frog
 he was yelling, but he didn't find the frog.' (SLQ22m:14)
- c. Chi b-diedya teiby bzëiny lany-i
 when PERF-exit one deer stomach/inside-DIS
 'When the deer came out, from inside
- mer mer guecy bzëiny-i w-beb-ëm
 exactly exactly head/on.top deer.DIS PERF-climb-3PROX
 he climbed right on top of the deer's horns.' (SLQ22m:15)

7.3 Observations

My investigation into differences in production of SLQZ between SLQ born-and-raised San Lucas resident children and Los Angeles children is very much exploratory in nature. Therefore its contributions to the larger doctoral project are rather limited. Nevertheless it provides two important elements to this dissertation. One, it represents a first glimpse at the SLQZ production skills that Los Angeles children may have, and it provides a first data set as a basis to guide a more detailed study of the topic. This is essential in terms of applying a (second) language acquisition framework within which to place such future research. Two, this exploratory work represents the first step towards exploring attitudes towards SLQZ among Los Angeles children. The fact that all but two children I approached for the study declined to participate on the basis that their skills were insufficient suggests that not only should production skills be analyzed structurally, but also linguistic confidence should be considered in future work as affecting the active competence of these children.

Chapter 8. The Impact of Transnational Migration on Language Use and Language Attitudes in San Lucas Quiavini

Language shift has been widely documented in immigrant communities of speakers of what constitutes a minority language in the host community. Research on immigrant languages include numerous studies by Joshua Fishman starting with his early works on Yiddish (Fishman 1965) as well as other immigrant languages in the United States (Fishman 1966), notably Puerto Rican Spanish (Fishman 1971). Haugen (1967, 1969) describes the case of bilingualism among Norwegian immigrants in the United States. More recent research can be found in Zentella 1997a also on Puerto Rican Spanish in New York and Zentella 1997b more generally on Spanish in New York, the various articles in García and Fishman 1997, and Clyne 2001 on immigrant languages in Australia, to mention but a few. Thus shift away from SLQZ in the daughter community of Los Angeles is, in and of itself, not extraordinary. The patterns of language shift that this community is experiencing, however, are noteworthy for two reasons. First, the community is shifting primarily to Spanish in a context where Spanish is stigmatized in spite of it being widely spoken. In 1986, English was established as the official language of the State of California by referendum. Subsequent legislation has been adopted against the use of Spanish, including Proposition 277 which in 1998 banned

bilingual education in California public schools (cf. section 6.3). Zentella 1997c reports on a myriad of public displays of disapproval and even intolerance towards the use of Spanish in the United States. Zentella (p.c.) has pointed out, for instance, Governor A. Schwarzenegger's suggestion in July of 2007 that Spanish-speaking immigrants "*got to turn off the Spanish television set*" in order to learn English, a statement he made despite his understanding that such a comment is "*the politically incorrect thing to say*". Second, the language shift patterns in the daughter community are being "exported" to the home community given the close ties it maintains with the home community. It is this latter point that is of relevance to this study and the focus of the remaining of this chapter.

In this chapter, elements discussed in previous chapters are revisited to show the mechanisms through which language choices in the immigrant community are "exported" to the home community of San Lucas Quiavini. Specifically, I refer to language use patterns in San Lucas (cf. Chapter 4) as they are affected by language choices in Los Angeles (cf. Chapter 6) and reproduced in San Lucas by visiting migrants.

8.1 Mechanisms of transnational influence

Patterns of migration between San Lucas and Los Angeles were initially characterized as patterns of return migration. As explained in Chapter 6, early migrants often alternated between Los Angeles and San Lucas (Hulshof 1991). These patterns evolved and gave way to permanent immigration to the United

States, primarily after the passing of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 and especially in cases where entire nuclear families were being raised in or emigrated to Los Angeles. Family 10 from the 19 Los Angeles families interviewed, is a case in point. The father emigrated to Los Angeles some five times with stays in San Lucas of various durations. In 2004, he enabled his wife and four children to emigrate to Los Angeles. He and his family currently have no intention to return to San Lucas.

Despite these more common patterns of migration, return migration remains common to this day, as does travel to San Lucas for brief visits. Return migration may be motivated by family hardship in San Lucas including the need to manage family land or life stock, or cases of illness and death. Family 6 in the interview sample is illustrative in that the parents returned to San Lucas with their then only child born in Los Angeles. The family remained in San Lucas for five years where two more children were born. In 2001, the entire family re-emigrated to Los Angeles where a fourth child was born. The family plans to stay in the US permanently. Shorter stays of a few months are also common as in the case of Family 1. The parents wished to be married according to San Lucas tradition and spent four months with their two LA-born children in San Lucas in 2004. It should be noted that these types of visit entail a great deal of effort, financial burden and potential risks to those without migratory documents. Meeting these challenges in order to enable travel to San Lucas is an expression of the strong ties that exist between the home and the daughter communities. For the two parents of Family 1,

for example, their 2004 stay in San Lucas entailed putting on hold the father's employment, being without an income for the four months, and incurring tremendous expense and risk upon return as the parents were undocumented at the time. These multi-months stays can also be motivated by family distress, but other motivations exist: celebrating a special occasion such as a wedding, as I just explained, attending the annual patron saint festivities, or a man's interest to find a wife in San Lucas. Short vacation-type visits of under a month in duration are common among documented emigrants and their children, whether LA- or SLQ-born, especially towards the end of October when the patron saint celebration takes place.

In 17 of the 19 surveyed families, instances of return to San Lucas of one or more members of the nuclear family in all of the patterns described above were documented. The only two couples that have not returned to San Lucas at all are of recent arrival having been in the US for less than six years. In both cases, however, close relatives of these two couples have returned to San Lucas at least once. It is to the frequent return of emigrants to the home community that I now turn, as I discuss the language choices that returnees make, and their impact on the language choices that San Lucas residents make when in contact with returnees.

8.2 Language choices of returnees and visitors

Variables of relevance in the analysis of language choices are age of returnees, place of birth, length of stay in San Lucas, language repertoire and the

presence and particulars of travel companions. As in the case of emigrants in LA, the age of a returnee's interlocutor may also be a factor affecting his or her language choices. With regards to age, perhaps the simplest variable to discuss, it is useful to categorize returnees in the same two groups referred to in Chapter 7 in the context of language choices in Los Angeles: SLQZ native speaking adults and their offspring. However, in this section I will focus on children under the age of 18 given that the data I have collected on this particular issue refers to children in this age group, with the exception of a young man who was in his twenties at the time I met him in San Lucas. Here, I also make mention of a loosely defined group of young adults to which I alluded in Chapter 7. This is a group of SLQZ native speaking adults that are more susceptible to language shift than older adults. I have not surveyed this group specifically, and do not have criteria to establish age or any other variable as defining of this group. It would be, however, a mistake not to talk about this group as it is evidently a group of agents of language shift.

8.2.1. Language choices of adult returnees and visitors. Adult returnees are expected to adopt the linguistic and cultural practices of the community and they generally do so. Thus, adult returnees will readily use SLQZ with relatives and community members as an interviews confirms in (59).

- (59) Q: When you are in San Lucas, do you speak Spanish or just Zapotec?
A: *Xnana, cwën ra xfamilia rgwinia Dizhsa*
"My mother, with all of my family I speak Zapotec."

Adults who have learned English – usually men – may, however, be asked to speak it with children. Children in San Lucas display great interest in learning English. English has been taught scantily in the local middle school for several years now, and Saturday English classes were instituted in elementary school starting in the 2008-2009 academic year. Thus it may be the case that an English speaker will be asked by a child to occasionally speak a few words of English with him or her.

In the loosely defined group of SLQ-born SLQZ-native speaking young adult returnees, language choices include Spanish and English to a greater extent than among older SLQ-born adults. The seven participants from San Lucas I interviewed report that young adult returnees are often seen on the town streets speaking to each other in English. (60) is an example. The extent to which they speak English might be limited to colloquial expressions and curse words. English is thus used to define a group of individuals who share the migration experience. This use of English is seen with disapproval by community members as illustrated in (60) and (61). All seven interviewees in San Lucas described this group's use of English in negative terms and as a sign of arrogance. Another interviewee concurs in (62) and expresses a concern shared by other interviewees regarding the impact that this linguistic behavior has on the community, and specifically on SLQZ monolinguals.

(61) Q: Your brother still likes to speak Zapotec eventhough he has lived in Los Angeles?

A: *Sí*
"Yes"

Q: He speaks English and Spanish too?

A: *Aquí no habla, solo cuando sale. Cuando sale, o sea va a Tecolutla, habla español. Allá en Los Angeles habla inglés pues. Aquí no habla; sólo cuando aparecen sus amigos en la calle. Hay algunos que le hablan en inglés y el les contesta en inglés. Porque hay unos que son bien presumidos, que ya se fueron a Los Angeles y cuando regresan y andan en la calle hablan puro inglés.*

"He doesn't speak it here, only when he is out. When he goes out, when he goes to Tlacolula he speaks Spanish. Over in Los Angeles he speaks English. He doesn't speak it here, only when his friends show up on the street. Some [guys] speak to him in English and then he answers in English. Because there are some [guys] who like to show off that they went to Los Angeles and when they come back they go around speaking English."

Q: Eventhough they are from San Lucas?

A: *Sí. Mi hermano no, cuando está aquí habla en zapoteco.*
"Yes, but not my brother, when he's here he speaks Zapotec."

Q: Why do you think those guys do that?

A: *Eso es por que ... son presumidos, ya se sienten como los de allá, pues, por eso*

"Because they like to show off, they want to be like people from over there (from Los Angeles), that's why."

(61) *[Cuando vuelven hablan] Hasta ingles. Yo creo que es por presumir, para que la gente de San Lucas mira que tú estás más arriba. Lo miran más elegante. Pero pobrecitas las personas que no hablan hasta español, cómo sufren, porque ¿te das cuenta? no te entienden, ni saben lo que estás diciendo.*

"[When they go back they speak] Even English. I think that's just to show off, so that people in San Lucas will look up to them. They (the returnees) think it's more elegant. But I feel sorry for the people who don't even speak Spanish, they really suffer, because, do you realize this?, they don't understand, they have no idea what you're saying."

8.2.2. Language choices of returnees or visitors when accompanied by

children. Adults who bring children along during a visit to San Lucas will maintain use of their language or languages of choice for family interactions in Los Angeles. Thus, the same patterns of maintenance of SLQZ or use of Spanish from Table 6.9 (cf. Chapter 6) for parent-offspring and offspring-parent dyads are replicated in San Lucas. This is illustrated in (62) which is a continuation of the quote in (59) repeated here for the sake of coherence.

- (62) Q: When you are in San Lucas, do you speak Spanish or just Zapotec?
 A: *Xnana, cwën ra xfamilia rgwinia Dizhsa, as ra zhinya nu gwelli Dizhsa nu gwel Dixtily.*
 “My mother, with all of my family I speak Zapotec, with my children sometimes I speak Zapotec and sometimes Spanish.”

Table 8.4 is adapted from Table 6.9 to show the patterns of language use of those interviewees who have traveled to San Lucas with their children. I have eliminated the distinction between use of SLQ in public vs. private settings as this distinction is not relevant in San Lucas.

Table 8.4. Language choices of returnees or visitors traveling to San Lucas Quiaviní with children

Patterns of SLQZ Use in Los Angeles and in San Lucas		Parent to Child	Child to Parent	Child to Child	Families
Maintenance of SLQZ	In LA	Y	Y	Y	6, 16
	In SLQ	Y	Y	Y	
Adult Maintenance - Partial SLQZ Transmission	In LA	Y	N	N	2, 7, 8, 13(!), 18
	In SLQ	Y	N	N	
Adult Maintenance Only - No SLQZ Transmission	In LA	N	N	N	1, 12, 17
	In SLQ	N	N	N	

During their stay in San Lucas, Spanish and English are spoken in parent-child and in sibling communication by families from Los Angeles. These language choices have two consequences. First, English, and especially Spanish, are introduced into the domain of family interaction in San Lucas. This domain which, without the presence of the returnees and their offspring, would be a domain of SLQZ exclusively, becomes open to the active use of Spanish and English. Second, the multilingual environment generated by returnees motivates accommodation strategies among SLQ relatives and community members in general that tend to accommodate to the returnees' language abilities, thereby spreading the use of Spanish and English in the community.

8.3 Community response to visiting or returning children

This section is an overview of the language choices that SLQ community members make when faced with the presence of children returnees and visitors. I focus on the choices made by relatives hosting these children for two reasons. One, the population interviewed and observed in San Lucas Quiaviní was comprised specifically of relatives hosting or having hosted child returnees or visitors. Two, I wish to describe the response of those directly in contact with these children as the linguistic environment in their homes is altered. Before initiating this portion of the discussion, it is first necessary to understand how these children are viewed by their San Lucas relatives and what the current community-wide attitudes are towards multilingualism and language use. As mentioned in Section 6.7.2, LA-born

children of emigrants are not considered to be members of the San Lucas Quiavini community. This is due to the fact that these children are generally not registered with the municipal authorities and as a consequence have no rights or responsibilities *vis à vis* the community. SLQ-born children are members of the San Lucas community by birth. However, once children emigrate to Los Angeles, they are not considered to be culturally and socially a part of the community. The interviews I conducted in San Lucas Quiavini were not originally designed to uncover the criteria that define the cultural and social status of SLQ-born children living in Los Angeles. However, interviewees did volunteer comments on the matter some of which are included in Section 6.7.2.

8.3.1. Linguistic environment in homes hosting visiting children. To recall, a condition for Los Angeles children to be active users of SLQZ seems to be socialization of the child in San Lucas for some substantial amount of time. Further, it is the case that even children who are socialized in San Lucas shift away from SLQZ to favor Spanish and English almost exclusively shortly after emigrating to Los Angeles. Such is the case of the 3 SLQ-born children of Family 11. These children emigrated at ages 4, 11 and 13. Within five years of their arrival in Los Angeles, the second child, currently 16, shifted to English almost exclusively, after a period in which he transitioned away from SLQZ by favoring Spanish. None of the three children agreed to provide a narrative of *Frog, where are you* as they did not consider themselves speakers of the language.

Such a scenario produces the assumption among San Lucas residents that children in Los Angeles, regardless of their place of birth and upbringing, are not active speakers of SLQZ. This, in combination with the high rates of bilingualism in San Lucas – 82.5% of the population 5 years and older in 2005¹³ – induces people to accommodate the linguistic profile of the visitor. Thus bilingual relatives hosting the child will generally address him or her in Spanish. During my five field stays in San Lucas I have witnessed this linguistic behavior many times. It is in fact this visible linguistic choice pattern that brought about this study on the impact of migrants' language choices on the home community. These observations are confirmed by reports from four interviewees who state that they shift to Spanish when addressing a visiting child. I cannot pin point what the precise motivation for this is. It may be as a response to the child's non-native competence in SLQZ and to simply enable communication with them. The tendency to accommodate to the children's skills may be related to the perception that Los Angeles children are not members of the San Lucas community. One interviewee also suggests that speaking to visiting children in Spanish is a reaction to a child's rejection of SLQZ and of any efforts to teach the language to them as in (63).

¹³ Source: Censo de Población y Vivienda 2005, Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática.

(63) Q: Have your sister's children ever come (to San Lucas from Los Angeles)?

A: *Uno nada más ya vino*
"Only one has come."

Q: The one who was born here?

A: *El que nació allá. Pero, habla español y este. Él si se porta muy bien, y como su abuelita si entiende un poco el español, pero le dice a mi hermana que por qué no le enseña a hablar zapoteco para que así entiende todo.*

The one who was born there (in Los Angeles). But he speaks Spanish. He is nice and since his grandmother speaks Spanish, but she tells my sister to teach him Zapotec so that he can understand everything.

Q: And when he came, did he learn Zapotec?

A: *Sí, un poco nada más, es que como él tampoco quiere aprender zapoteco, por eso.*
"Yes, just a little bit, but that's because he doesn't want to learn Zapotec. "

Q: What did he do when you tried to teach him Zapotec?

A: *"¡No!", dice, "no quiero con ese zapoteco". Sí. Es que como ellos nacieron allá, pues no sé por qué no quieren hablar zapoteco.*
"“No!” he says, “I don’t want that Zapotec”. Yes. It’s because they were born over there, but I don’t understand why they don’t want to speak Zapotec.”

Monolingual SLQZ speakers unable to accommodate to the child are dependent on the child's skills in SLQZ to be able to communicate with him/her. The 17.3% SLQZ monolinguals in San Lucas are primarily comprised of adults over the age of 50. As such, grandparents of visiting children are often faced with the challenge of communicating with a grandchild without a shared language. In the best-case scenario, a visiting child might have SLQZ comprehension skills that will allow the grandparent to speak to him/her. As stated in Section 6.6, children in Los Angeles often have passive skills in the language. Among surveyed families from

Los Angeles, about two thirds of children have comprehension skills either by input from parents addressing them in SLQZ or at least by exposure to adult conversation in the language. However, the existing degree of communication between grandparent and grandchild is considered insufficient and causes great grief in the community. An illustration of this is in (61) above and in (62) below. In the also common cases in which a visiting child has no passive SLQZ skills, the grandparent is excluded from much of the family interaction involving the visiting children.

- (64) Q: How do grandparents, your parents for example, when someone like your nephew comes, someone with whom they can only speak Spanish?
A: ...*A veces se ponen triste porque no entienden el español, ¿quién les va a explicar?*
...Sometimes they get sad because they don't understand Spanish, who's going to help them understand?

Families hosting visiting children thus see their linguistic environment radically altered. English, and more importantly Spanish, are introduced into the home domain. First, the visiting relatives continue to make use of these languages with their children and make little to no effort to make greater use of SLQZ with them during their stay in San Lucas. Second, and as a result, visitors induce hosting relatives to shift to Spanish, a behavior that would otherwise not occur in San Lucas homes.¹⁴ Third, of greatest consequence is the fact that the prestige of SLQZ as discussed in Section 4.4 is dramatically compromised by the fact that Spanish is a condition for a meaningful communication with visiting children.

¹⁴ In section 4.1.1 I mention some cases of shift to Spanish in SLQ homes, but the cases are so few that they are negligible in the context of this chapter.

8.3.2. Linguistic environment in homes hosting returning children. The primary distinction between a visiting child and a child returnee is whether their stay is for a predetermined amount of time or whether it is indefinite. For example, a child may be visiting for two to three weeks to attend the patron saint festivities, or for four months, as in the case of the Family 1 children who spent four months in San Lucas for their parents' wedding. In another scenario, a child might be in San Lucas the same four months but without knowing ahead of time when they will return to Los Angeles or whether they will return at all. Under these conditions I would consider a child to be a returnee. There are clearer cases of child returnees who return for two years as in the case of Family 12, or for five years as in the case of Family 7.

The process of adapting to the presence of a child returnee is similar to that of adapting to a visiting child. Bilingual SLQZ-Spanish speakers will accommodate to the child and address him in Spanish. There will be, however, an expectation on the part of the community that the child will acquire SLQZ and children do acquire the language to an extent. This gives monolingual SLQZ speakers greater motivation to address the children in SLQZ and become active in socializing the child. In addition, children are intensely socialized by other community children, especially in the context of school interaction.

Such was the case of Family A from San Lucas. The San Lucas home comprised an SLQZ monolingual (grand)mother and her SLQZ-Spanish bilingual younger daughter. The older daughter returned to San Lucas from Los Angeles with

her 10 year old son for a total of about four months. At the time of their arrival and even at the time of my interview with them a couple of months later, there was no date set for their return to Los Angeles, although there was an expectation that they would eventually return. In this case, the grandmother set out to teach SLQZ to her grandson who, according to his grandmother and aunt, made in turn considerable gains in learning SLQZ. At the time of my interview, the grandson could converse with the grandmother to a degree that satisfied the grandmother.

Similar cases of SLQZ acquisition include Family 12 and Family 7 interviewed in Los Angeles. Recall from Section 6.4.4 that Family 12 arrived in San Lucas with young LA-born children who became competent speakers of the language over a period of about two years in San Lucas. The family subsequently re-emigrated permanently to Los Angeles. The children shifted to Spanish as they entered the then bilingual educational system. Family 7 returned to San Lucas with one young LA-born child. The family had two more children during the five years of their stay in San Lucas. All three children became competent SLQZ speakers during that time. In 2001, the family returned to Los Angeles where they continue to use SLQZ in daily family interaction.

Even when a child returnee acquires SLQZ, the use of Spanish and sometimes English continues. In fact, these languages become a permanent feature of the home linguistic environment. Consider the case of Family C interviewed in San Lucas (c.f. Section 4.1.1). The parents married and spent two years in Los Angeles where their first son was born. The parents report that they addressed the

child in Spanish while in Los Angeles. The family subsequently returned to San Lucas where they intend to live permanently, and had a second child. Both children are growing up as speakers of SLQZ. However, upon arrival from Los Angeles, the parents continued to address the older child in Spanish, and as a result, the younger child is also socialized in Spanish by the parents.

Family G interviewed in San Lucas is a similar case. The parents met in Los Angeles where they married and had a daughter. They returned to San Lucas with no set plans to re-emigrate to Los Angeles. At the time of the interview, the daughter was already attending nursery school in San Lucas. The father reports speaking Spanish and English to his daughter, as shown in (65). He also indicated that the child is addressed in Spanish by the mother, in English by the mother's brother, and in SLQZ by the grandmother.

(65) *Nosotros le hablamos en español, su abuelita en dialecto, mi cuñado en inglés...[su mamá] le habla en los dos (español y zapoteco), [y yo] en los dos o en los tres.*

"We speak to her in Spanish, her grandmother speaks to her in Zapotec, my brother-in-law in English...[her mother] speaks to her in both (Spanish and Zapotec), [and I speak to her] in both, or in the three languages"

8.4 Monolingual San Lucas Quiaviní becomes multilingual

San Lucas Quiaviní was largely monolingual at the time emigration to the United States began. The 1970 census indicates a 57.4% monolingualism in the

population 5 years and older.¹⁵ Although it is not stated in the census statistics, it is likely that bilinguals were mostly men who worked outside San Lucas in places such as Tlacolula, Oaxaca City or Mexico City. Interviewees both in San Lucas and in Los Angeles commented that at the time, Spanish monolinguals inspired great fear in the community to the point where both children and adults would hide if a Spanish monolingual approached them. These fears have subsided to some degree as Spanish has become more widely known in the community. However, the presence of a Spanish monolingual continues to cause reactions of withdrawal despite current bilingualism rates at over 80% of the population, as illustrated in (66).

- (66) Q: Do you think people [in San Lucas] would see me differently if I only spoke Spanish and didn't make an effort to learn Zapotec?
A: *Sí, hay algunos que van a ver diferentes, como algunos que no entienden el español, si usted le habla sólo ven, pues, no hablan, sólo, ni hablan ni, ya se van pues, ni, este, ni contestan sus palabras.*
"Yes, some people would see you differently, since some people don't understand Spanish, if you speak to them they just stare, see, they won't talk, only, they don't even talk, they leave you see, they don't even answer to you."

Nowadays, an appreciation for multilingualism is evident. More specifically, there is great admiration for those who have the multilingual skills to accommodate to others in a variety of settings. Multilingual children are considered to be very intelligent and smarter than children with a smaller linguistic repertoire. For example, terms such as "smart" and "intelligent" were used by relatives to describe

¹⁵ Source: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1970, Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática.

the son of Family 7 in Los Angeles, and the grandson in Family A interviewed in San Lucas. There is great importance attached to a Los Angeles child's ability to speak SLQZ and communicate with an elderly monolingual relative, all the while being able to function in bilingual Los Angeles. This was explicitly stated by seven LA interviewees and by all seven San Lucas interviewees. Conversely, the fact that few LA children acquire SLQZ skills is considered reprehensible, especially its impact on grandparent-grandchild communication as has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter. (67) is an example of this where the interviewee comments on how proud her parents are to know that relatives in Los Angeles are competent in Spanish and English and able to succeed in Los Angeles all the while regretting the divide between non-SLQZ-speaking children from Los Angeles and San Lucas relatives who are not proficient in Spanish. Note that (64) presented earlier is part of the response shown in (67) here. (68) is a similar example.

(67) Q: How do grandparents, your parents for example, when someone like your nephew comes, someone with whom they can only speak Spanish?

A: *A la vez se sienten contentos porque como ellos trabajan allá, pues, y este, como su papá y su mamá pues, este, se fueron a trabajar allá y mandan dinero, como aquí no trabajan de dinero, pues, y este, ellos se sienten orgullos de que ellos aprendan, que trabajen, para, este, para poder trabajar, este ganar, un poco caro, pues. A veces se sienten triste porque no entienden el español, ¿quién les va a explicar?*

The feel happy at the same time because they went to work there (in Los Angeles), see, and, well, like his dad and mom, see, they went to work there and they send money back, since it's difficult to earn money here, see, and they (the grandparents) feel proud that they (the relatives in Los Angeles) are learning, and working, that they can work and earn money, because things are expensive, you see. Sometimes they get sad because they don't understand Spanish, who's going to help them understand?

- (68) *Rrillua us triesti per as chiru rrilua as gwenagui par San Luc.*
“I think it is very sad, but then I think it is good for San Lucas.”

It is possible that the value assigned to multilingualism also contributes to the tendency to accommodate to non-SLQZ speaking children visiting. It is certainly the primary factor motivating the permanent use of Spanish and in some cases English in homes hosting child returnees. Further evidence of this in San Lucas is parents' insistence in supporting Spanish education and to request that English be taught as a subject in school. In less than 40 years, the community of speakers of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec has become a transnational community with 30 to 50% of its population currently residing in Los Angeles. The predominantly SLQZ monolingual community is now favoring and fostering multilingualism and is incorporating Spanish and sometimes English in the home domain which until recently, was an SLQZ-only domain.

Chapter 9. Summary and Conclusions

This dissertation is devoted to the study of changes in language use in the community of speakers of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec. It is the result of extensive field research conducted both in San Lucas Quiaviní where the language is spoken indigenously, and in Los Angeles where an immigrant community of speakers of the language has settled. As such, this dissertation is primarily a descriptive work. It is, however, more than just a contribution to the literature on language endangerment limited to providing a detailed description of one more language contact and language conflict scenario. Rather, the work I have presented here contributes to the sociolinguistic literature in three different areas: by contributing to the formulation of universals on language attitudes and status in language contact situations, by re-emphasizing the relevance of qualitative methods of sociolinguistic research and, especially, by employing a transnational approach to the study of an indigenous language at risk. In this final chapter I elaborate on these three points and make recommendations for future research.

9.1 Contributions to sociolinguistic research methods

The methods implemented in this study were explained in detail in Chapter 2. The main point to emphasize here regarding research methods is that the work on San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec could only have been conducted through the implementation of a qualitative method. There are several reasons for this. First,

this study was conducted by one single researcher, traveling back and forth between San Lucas Quiaviní, Los Angeles and New York State, with modest external funding. With no additional research personnel the only other tool available to run quantitative research would have been a written questionnaire. Therefore, the second reason for not taking a quantitative approach is the lack of literacy in SLQZ and the mistrust towards written forms of documentation among people from San Lucas both there and in Los Angeles. Given these two critical issues, using a written questionnaire would have been fruitless. Further, given the distrust, the use of a written questionnaire could have potentially created negative sentiments among the community towards the researcher which, without a doubt, would have resulted in minimal to no participation both in San Lucas and in Los Angeles. The third reason for favoring a qualitative method in this study is the fact that oral interviews, as opposed to questionnaires, are very compatible with the communicative practices of the community of SLQZ speakers. Using guided conversation as a medium of research allowed me to be perceived by my participants as more personable and consequently, as trustworthy. Participants felt at liberty to expand on topics that they considered of relevance, thereby providing copious data for analysis. Also, a conversation could be more easily built around the busy schedule of my participants. Women in San Lucas, for example, had no problem engaging in conversation with me while making tortillas, for example. Women in Los Angeles were able to tend to their children, feed them or even play with them while they chatted with me. Had participants' involvement depended on

devoting time to answer a questionnaire, as mentioned earlier, no participation could have been secured for this study.

Certainly there are drawbacks associated with taking a qualitative research approach. Notably, data becomes difficult to code and compare. The data collected in both San Lucas and Los Angeles required a significant and time consuming transcription and coding effort to put them into an analyzable format. It was also the case at times that the conversation flow controlled the exchange and questions went unaddressed or unanswered. This was a more difficult hurdle to overcome and required some follow-up calls to Los Angeles participants, and also spot checks onsite in San Lucas. In this sense, the tripartite model of sociolinguistic field research was especially well suited. The initial discovery that it calls for allowed me to acquire the necessary knowledge to be able to design appropriate interview schedules. The spot checks provided the opportunity to address any data gaps.

Despite these drawbacks, it is clear that the only appropriate approach for this research was a qualitative approach leading to the use of ethnographic description in the investigation of factors of language shift and language endangerment. By following such an approach, this study follows in the footsteps of seminal work initiated by Gal (1979) and later work with an ethnographic and qualitative orientation, including Dorian (1981), Kulick (1992) and Hill and Hill (1986). In this study of the transnational community of speakers of SLQZ, the detailed description serves to escape the tempting but banal conclusion that

migration is a language shift predictor. Rather, as Kulick states, to say that a “social change “causes” shift is to leave out the crucial step of understanding how that change has come to be interpreted by the people it is supposed to be influencing” (1992:9). Precisely, the method implemented in this study brings to light the process through which the members of the community of San Lucas Quiaviní have gone from being a relatively insular community to become a transnational one, and in the process, have gone from being largely monolingual to seeking to become bilingual and even trilingual.

9.2 Contributions to the formulation of contact linguistics universals

Sections 4.1.3 and 6.4.1 show that in San Lucas and among adults in Los Angeles, attitudes towards San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec are overall positive. This is in line with Wölck’s (2003) proposed universal regarding language status and evaluation. Wölck reviews research on contact between Black English and ‘Standard’ US English, Low German and Standard (High) German, and his own research of Peruvian Quechua in contact with Spanish. In these studies, speakers of minority languages have been asked to rate themselves, their language, and the speakers and language with which they are in contact, according to certain evaluative criteria. Wölck points out that “the minority language always ranks high on the *affective* scale; it and its speakers are rated as stronger, more beautiful, more industrious, more responsible, smarter than the majority language/speakers” (2003:32).

While I did not specifically implement a ‘semantic differential’ technique as Wölck describes, the data that emerged from the interviews I conducted show high appreciation for SLQZ among its speakers. In San Lucas, the appreciation is generalized to adults and children alike. Even children who are punished in the classroom for speaking Zapotec defy this degree of pressure and continue to speak it certainly on school grounds, but also in the classroom. In Los Angeles, SLQZ remains the language of communication among adults even despite the trend among children in the immigrant community to favor Spanish and English over Zapotec. I have no data to weigh in on the second part of the proposed contact linguistic universal, that majority languages are evaluated by speakers of minority languages following instrumental institutional values. Nevertheless, the case of the transnational language community of speakers of SLQZ is in line with the first part of the proposed universal that “minority languages evoke more positive personal affective reactions” (Wölck 2003:37).

9.3 Language endangerment in a transnational context

This dissertation seeks to contribute to the sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological literature by presenting an updated view on language endangerment in the context of transnational communities defined nowadays by ease of travel and affordable telecommunications that enable regular and sustained contact of communities across borders. Data presented in this study show that migratory movements of speakers of languages at risk have an impact on the use of

the language in question in more ways than the obvious alterations to its population of speakers. Through the sustained contact between the home and the immigrant community, a shift to Spanish is being introduced to San Lucas Quiaviní. In particular, a decrease in intergenerational transfer of the language in Los Angeles is motivating language shift in San Lucas, as if the interruption in language reproduction were originating in San Lucas itself.

The implications are two-fold. First, this scenario calls for an evaluation of the direction that trends in language use among speakers of SLQZ will take. Second, as the approach to the topic of language endangerment is revised and updated in this study, future research on the topic also needs to be rethought. I leave this second issue for the section that follows and concentrate here on the first point. Note that I am purposely avoiding the use of the word 'predictions' in talking about changes in language use in San Lucas over time, and that is because of the widely acknowledged difficulty in predicting the outcome of any given language contact situation. As Wölck (2003) emphasizes, "*there are no safe prognoses in this complex field of human behavior*" (2003:34). Nevertheless, there are observable generalities across cases, and even high probability correlations that validate taking a look into the future of a language such as San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec.

Until now, the maintenance of SLQZ has been characterized by a significant degree of isolation and a clear division of the domains of use of SLQZ vs. Spanish. In Fishman's (1972) proposed model of stable bilingualism, a minority language benefits from having a domain of use that is separate from and exclusive of the

majority language. Based on the data presented in this dissertation, the case of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec has aligned so far with Fishman's model. However, this may change as the community of speakers of SLQZ goes from being largely monolingual to being largely bilingual and, especially, as the domain of use of SLQZ progressively incorporates such dominant languages as Spanish and English. Following Fishman's model, we would expect that the change in the distribution of domains of use in San Lucas will lead to language shift and language endangerment.

Wölck 2003 states, following his research on Quechua, that the fact that domains of Spanish use became incorporated into the Quechua domains to become shared domains, offset the decrease in monolingualism among Quechua speakers. However, insertion of one language into the domain of another in the Quechua case is in the direction of the minority language entering a majority language domain. In the case of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec, the direction of this movement is reversed and it is the majority language (or languages in cases where English is part of the language repertoire) that is entering a domain previously reserved for Zapotec. Therefore, use of SLQZ is unlikely to benefit from a 'co-existent' (Wölck 2003:34) form of bilingualism in this respect.

Other factors are now coming into play, notably the integration of SLQZ in the middle school curriculum of studies, and in health care. These could be signs of domains of Spanish being opened to SLQZ, much in the way that Quechua entered domains of Spanish use. While the degree to which this is happening in

San Lucas is relatively minimal, the fact that this began to occur rapidly, in the last three years or so, could suggest that an expansion of SLQZ into domains of Spanish use could occur relatively quickly in San Lucas. An interest in developing community-wide SLQZ literacy efforts could be thwarted by a resistance to move from an oral to a literate culture, and also by a perceived sense that the SLQZ orthography may not enhance the ability of SLQZ speakers to communicate effectively with other Valley Zapotec speakers given the complex dialectal diversity in the area. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to see the interplay between the language shift patterns brought about by the presence of migrants in San Lucas, and other trends seeking to expand the domains of use of SLQZ. The case of this language, therefore, affords great potential for future research to which I shall now turn.

9.4 Suggestions for future research

Much can be learned from continued longitudinal studies in San Lucas Quiaviní. To give a quick segue to the last point stated above, research conducted in San Lucas every three to five years could shed light on the impact that changes in the composition of the domains of language use will have on the vitality of SLQZ. What one may learn from the evolution of the SLQZ case will contribute to the study of bilingualism, contact linguistics and language endangerment. Focusing on the issue of language endangerment in the context of a transnational language, future longitudinal studies could serve various purposes. First, they would allow us

to follow up on the language shift trends in San Lucas motivated by visiting migrants. Second, if emigration from San Lucas to Los Angeles continues, we may be able to better assess the impact of population loss in San Lucas on the vitality of its local language. This is especially important as data presented here show that the number of children growing up in San Lucas has decreased by about 40% since 1990 (see section 3.8.2). Third, if emigration slows down and return migration increases, the impact of population loss will decrease, but the threat of a surge in language shift patterns may become a sudden concern as regards the maintenance of SLQZ. At the time this dissertation is being written, we are in a worldwide economic crisis that is being compared to the Great Depression of the late 1920s. Research institutions are busying themselves trying to assess whether migration patterns are being affected by this crisis, which is unlikely to be resolved in the near future. Should the recession in the United States lead immigrants from San Lucas to return to their home community, an investigation of resulting language choices should be conducted soon.

Future research motivated by this dissertation, as mentioned earlier, can make immediate contributions to the study of the social aspects of bilingualism. The surveys conducted for this study focused on the role of parental language choices under the assumption that parents determine language choices for themselves and their children. However, data gathered through participant observation in Los Angeles suggest that children have just as much, if not more, say in determining the languages to be included in their linguistic repertoires and of

their domains of use. In this study, it was made clear that adults favor the use of SLQZ amongst themselves and, in about half the participants surveyed, SLQZ is the language of parental choice in parent-child communication. Nevertheless, language choices among children are not reflective of adult choices and, as illustrated in Chapter 7, have led to decreased to no active competence in SLQZ among the children of immigrants from San Lucas. More knowledge about the language attitudes among the children of immigrants and their resulting language choices is needed to make a more complete inventory of the factors to be considered in the evaluation of language maintenance and language prospects of SLQZ. Furthermore, this same information is lacking in the literature on language endangerment. Yet it is relevant not only because of the role of children's language choices in determining continued or interrupted language reproduction, but also because children in their early years -- from three to five years, for example -- may make language choices based on factors that are completely different from those considered by adults as they make their own choices. I doubt that a three-year old child resists speaking his or her heritage language on the basis of social prejudices against it as older children are likely to do. Perhaps, instead, children's language choices are driven by innate tendencies related to their own cognitive and social development and these are in turn reinforced or suppressed, as the case might be, by parents' own considerations. This complex relationship can constitute an area of cross-disciplinary research in developmental and social psychology, linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics that could make important contributions to the

understanding of language shift. To this it would be essential to add a thorough study of language use and attitudes as well as identity among older Los Angeles children with a scope as large as that afforded to the study of language use and attitudes among adults in this dissertation.

For those of us interested in the preservation of minority and/or endangered languages, the aforementioned areas of research have the potential to provide knowledge that can be directly applied to the development of better language revitalization and planning strategies. The role of children as agents of language shift and the gains to be made from our understanding of it were described above. Beyond planning for a language to have a presence in media or institutional support to motivate its use, mediating language socialization of children of a minority or endangered language seems a promising avenue for revitalization and maintenance efforts. Regarding migration as a language endangerment factor, the San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec case brings to light the importance of including immigrant communities in any revitalization efforts. While efforts to expand the domains of use of SLQZ and to curtail current language shift trends in San Lucas are needed, it is primarily in the immigrant community of Los Angeles that reversing language shift efforts are needed.

Appendix I

Interview Schedule: San Lucas Quiavini*

1. Attitudes towards community and community membership**

Goal: To identify elements of life in SLQ with high affective value to members of the community. The intention is that such elements will drive future language revitalization projects.

- 1.1. Have you always lived here in SLQ?
- 1.2. While I am here in SLQ, what do you think I should learn about San Lucas, what should I do or see before I leave?
- 1.3. Would you ever think of living somewhere else? Where would that be?
(Adapt for those who have migrated and come back.)
- 1.4. What would you expect to find there?
- 1.5. What do you think you would like about that place?
- 1.6. Do you think there might be things you would not like?
- 1.7. Do you know anyone who has been there? What was their experience?
- 1.8. If you left SLQ, is there anything you would miss?
- 1.9. When I leave SLQ, do you think there is something I would miss?

2. Daily life

Goal: To identify likes and dislikes of life in SLQ and whether these are related to language use. Follow up later in language use.

- 2.1. What are things you like to do? I.e. go to the market, to the *cerro*, collect flowers, work in the fields, embroidery, go to church. *(Adapt according to data obtained above)*

* This survey was conducted in San Lucas Quiavini in Summer 2003.

** Questions were asked in Spanish and are presented here in their English translation.

- 2.2. What are things that you do not like about San Lucas?
- 2.3. What could be done to change those things? Who should do that?

3. Language use

Goal: To identify patterns of language use, in particular as they relate to language prestige and outlets to improve living standards.

- 3.1. When you do the things you like (2.1.) do you use 'idioma'? Do any require that you use Spanish?
- 3.2. Do you speak 'idioma' at home with your family?
 - 3.2.1. Do you speak it with family members who don't live in SLQ?
 - 3.2.2. Is there someone in the family who doesn't speak it?
- 3.3. When and with whom do you use it outside the home?
- 3.4. Does everyone in SLQ speak 'idioma' well? What about children and teenagers, do they speak it well?
- 3.5. Do you speak Spanish? With whom and when?
- 3.6. Do you ever hear people mixing Spanish and 'idioma'?
- 3.7. Do you speak English? With whom and when?
- 3.8. Do you speak any other language? With whom and when?
- 3.9. When you go to the market, do you use Zapotec or Spanish to make your purchases?
- 3.10. When you meet with people from other towns in the valley, do you speak 'idioma'? Who do you understand/not understand well?
- 3.11. Are there things that you can say in SLQ that cannot be said (easily) in another language like Spanish? For example?
- 3.12. Are there things that can be said more easily/only in 'idioma'/Spanish/another language? For example?
- 3.13. Do you think I should learn 'idioma'? (adapt according to previous data)
What are the most important things I should learn to say?

- 3.14. Do you think 'idioma' will always be spoken here in SLQ? What would happen if people here stopped using the language? Can you imagine how SLQ would be without 'idioma'? (*Refer to towns where Zapotec is extinct.*)
- 3.15. What should be done to make sure no one forgets how to speak 'idioma'?

4. Community membership

Goal: To identify a hierarchy among those factors that determine a person's status as a member of the SLQ community.

- 4.1. *What makes a person be a member of the community?*
- 4.1.1. Place of birth and residence
 - 4.1.2. Parent's place of origin
 - 4.1.3. Language use
 - 4.1.4. Responsibility to the community
 - 4.1.5. Land ownership and use
- 4.2. *What is expected of a woman who belongs to the community?*
- 4.3. *What is expected of a man who belongs to the community?*
- 4.4. What jobs/duties do you and your family have?
- 4.5. What other jobs do people in SLQ do?
- 4.6. What jobs would be useful to have in SLQ?
- 4.7. If those jobs were available in SLQ, would you/people still migrate?
- 4.8. When people from SLQ go elsewhere, what jobs do they hope to find?
- 4.9. What jobs/duties do you think/hope your children will have?
- 4.10. What skills would they need to get those jobs?
- 4.11. What do you think could be done to bring those jobs here to SLQ? Who should do that?

5. Geography

Goal: To evaluate the level of interaction between members of the SLQ community and other Zapotec towns in the Valley.

- 5.1. Do you ever go to other towns in the Valley (and why)?
- 5.2. What language do you speak when you go there?
- 5.3. Do people from other towns ever come to SLQ (and why)?
- 5.4. What language do they speak when they come here?

6. Schooling

Goal: To identify the relationship and possible effects of the availability of schooling in SLQ and the increase in bilingualism.

- 6.1. How old are your children?
- 6.2. Are they going to school?
- 6.3. What grade are they in?
- 6.4. What are they learning in school?
- 6.5. Is everything taught in Spanish?
- 6.6. Do the teachers speak 'idioma'? Do you think they should?
- 6.7. Do the children get to speak any 'idioma' in class?
- 6.8. What is the most important thing that children need to know in/about Spanish/English?
- 6.9. Do you think that there should be some things in school taught in 'idioma'?
- 6.10. Do you think that if they only learn Spanish in school, children will forget how to speak 'idioma'? Why?
- 6.11. When you were a child, was there a school already in SLQ?

7. Family

Goal: To identify the typical family structure and its relation to the use of SLQZ, and to begin investigating the possible impact of migration in family composition, language use and attitudes.

- 7.1. Composition of the respondent's family
- 7.2. Family members' place of residence (SLQ, Oaxaca City, Mexico City, Los Angeles)
- 7.3. Do you know all the members of your family? (emphasis on migrants)

Appendix II

Transnational Interview Schedule*

1 Nuclear family**

- a. Are you married?
- b. Do you have children?
- c. Without mentioning their names, what are your children's ages?

2 Language use in the nuclear family

- a. What languages do you speak?
- b. How did you learn each language?

- c. What language do you speak with your husband/wife?
- d. Why do you choose to speak that language?

- e. What language do you speak with your children?
- f. Why do you choose to speak that language?

- g. What language does your husband/wife speak with your children?
- h. Why does s/he choose to speak that language?

3 Children's language socialization

Some improvisation had to be made here based on participant's input, and in order to obtain as much data as possible related to beliefs regarding child language acquisition and language attitudes among parents. Also adjusted to the specifics of the LA participants.

- a. What languages are important for people in San Lucas to speak?
- b. What is each language good for?

- c. How do children learn Zapotec in SLQ?
- d. How do children learn Spanish in SLQ?
Engage in a discussion about Spanish only education including the issue of monolingual Spanish speaking teachers vs. speakers of other indigenous languages vs. teachers from within the community.
- e. Do you think children should learn English in SLQ?

* This survey was conducted in San Lucas Quiavini in October 2007 and in Los Angeles in April 2008.

** Questions were asked either in Zapotec or Spanish based on participants' preference, and are presented here in their English translation. Some questions were adapted to each location.

4 Migration

- a. Have you lived in Los Angeles?
Skip in the case of LA participants
- b. If yes, when and for how long?
- c. If yes, who did you live with?

- d. Has your husband/wife lived in Los Angeles?
- e. If yes, when and for how long?
- f. If yes, who did s/he live with?

- g. Have your children lived in Los Angeles?
- h. If yes, when and for how long?
- i. If yes, who did they live with?

- j. Do you have other relatives living in Los Angeles?
- k. Without mentioning their names (e.g. using kinship terms), could you tell me who they are?
- l. How long has each of your relatives lived in Los Angeles?
- m. Without mentioning names (e.g. using kinship terms), could you tell me who your relatives live with at home?
- n. Without mentioning names (e.g. using kinship terms), could you tell me how long each person has lived in Los Angeles?

5 Language socialization in the immigrants' setting

- a. What language or languages do you think your relatives' children in Los Angeles should be learning?
- b. Why?
Discuss and take into consideration responses regarding the need for children to learn SLQZ.
- c. Do you think they should learn Zapotec?
- d. How would children learn Zapotec if they live in Los Angeles?
- e. What would knowing Zapotec do for children who live in Los Angeles?

- f. What would happen if children in Los Angeles did not learn English?
- g. Should the school be the one to teach children English, or do parents need to teach their children also?

- h. Do you think children in Los Angeles should learn Spanish?
- i. What would knowing Spanish do for children who live in Los Angeles?
- j. Who should teach children Spanish?
- k. What do you think Americans think of those who speak Spanish?

- l. What do you think Americans would think if they hear someone speak Zapotec?
- m. What do you think Mexicans in Los Angeles think of those who speak English?
- n. What do you think Mexicans in Los Angeles think of those who speak Zapotec?

6 Shuttle migration

This segment is intended to find out if those who have lived in Los Angeles, including the participant and any other relatives mentioned in previous sections, have traveled back and forth between San Lucas Quiaviní and Los Angeles. Rather than spelling out questions, I included below reminders to myself as to the issues that need to be investigated about each relative.

- a. Has the participant traveled back and forth between SLQ and LA?
- b. Have any of the relatives mentioned above traveled back and forth between SLQ and LA?
- c. What have been the languages at use when returning to SLQ?
- d. What have been the languages at use when returning to Los Angeles?
- e. Pay special attention to the question of languages spoken to children by parents and by other relatives.
- f. Pay special attention to the question of language(s) spoken between children and older relatives, and any issues of communication breakdown as a result
- g. Pay special attention to the question of language spoken among the children themselves.
- h. Pay special attention to the relationship between language and the school setting as it affects children.
- i. Inquire about the socialization of children in either setting, i.e. who were their friends? Did they have child relatives? What languages did they use in their interaction.

7 Hypothetical scenario of language socialization

The next block of questions is intended to discuss further the issue of language socialization in a context outside their own family

- a. I would very much like for my 2yr. old daughter to learn Zapotec. What do you think of that?
- b. What do you think I should do to get my daughter to speak Zapotec?
- c. Do you think she can learn it even though she wasn't born in San Lucas?
- d. Do you think she can learn it even though neither I nor her father were born in San Lucas?
- e. Do you think she can learn it even though she can only come to San Lucas ever so often?
- f. What do you think that knowing Zapotec will do for my daughter?

- g.** What do you think Americans in the United States would think if they hear my daughter speak Zapotec?
- h.** What do you think Americans in the United States would think if they hear my daughter speak Spanish?
- i.** What do you think Mexicans in the United States would think if they hear my daughter speak Zapotec?
- j.** What do you think Mexicans in the United States would think if they hear my daughter speak Spanish?
- k.** So, would you recommend I try to get my daughter to learn Zapotec?

8 Language endangerment

Do you think it is possible that one day no one in San Lucas will speak Zapotec?

(This section needed to be improvised to prompt the participant to communicate his/her beliefs about language endangerment and its relation to migration.)

Appendix III

Sample Transcript: Transnational Interview, Los Angeles*

Q: I know you live with your husband, your daughter. What's the age of your daughters?*

A: *L. nu ... tsenyabtap (but meant tsëda) ...es catorce, L. nu tsenyabtap. As A. nu tsë ias.*

L. is...nineteen...that's fourteen, L. is nineteen. And A. is 10 years old

Q: What year did you arrive in Los Angeles?

A: *Absenya gai schi marz...pero es noventa y cuatro.*

I arrived on March 5th...but in 1994.

Q: When did your husband arrive?

A: *Queity nandia.*

I don't know.

Q: Did he arrive before you?

A: *(Nods)*

Q: Since you arrived in LA, have you returned to San Lucas?

A: *Teiby gwelizy.*

Only once.

Q: For how long?

A: *Chon xman.*

Three weeks.

Q: Did you take your daughters back when you visited San Lucas?

A: *Aji.*

Yes.

Q: Did your husband also go back to San Lucas with you then?

A: *Aji.*

Yes.

Q: Were your daughters born here in Los Angeles?

A: *L. guly Meji.*

L. was born in Mexico.

* Interview was conducted in April 2008.

** Questions were asked in Zapotec and are presented here in their English translation.

Q: Aside from your husband and daughters, what other relatives of yours live in Los Angeles?

A: *Nu ra xa pryema, chona xa pryema nu ruc. As nu teiby bzyana. As nu tyop bela ruc.*

I have cousins, I have three cousins here. I have one sister. And I have two brothers here.

Q: How were things for you when you arrived in Los Angeles? Did you look for work or were you busy caring for your first daughter?

A: *Teabag quety nguilya zeiny. Tyen bculua L.*

I did not look for work. Because I was caring for L.

Q: What languages did you speak when you arrived in Los Angeles?

A: *Laag Dizhsa.*

Same, Zapotec.

Q: Did you learn Spanish here in Los Angeles?

A: A.

Yes.

Q: What about English, did you learn it here (in Los Angeles) too?

A: *Te bichizhyi.*

Only a little bit.

Q: Why do you think you chose to learn Spanish first rather than English when you arrived (in Los Angeles)?

A: *Tyen queity niadya scwel ren. As chu ra xcunyada rgwe, rgwe dixtily, nii guc bia dixtil. Chu ruala liebr ni ca dixtily lainyi.*

Because I did not go to school. Then, my sister-in-law spoke Spanish, that's why I learned Spanish.

Q: How old was L. when she arrived in Los Angeles?

A: *Gai beu.*

Five months.

Q: What language did you speak with her during the five months that you had her in San Lucas?

A: *Laag Dizhsa.*

Same, Zapotec.

Q: Did you change once you were in Los Angeles? Did you speak to her more in Spanish or just in Zapotec?

A: *Nazh Dizhsa.*
Only in Zapotec.

Q: And now you speak to them in...?

A: *Roploti.*
Both.

Q: When do you think you began to speak Spanish to your daughters?

A: *Chi gunia ra cunyada, xcunyada ni rgwe nazh Dixtily, nazh chiru zicy, nazh Dizhtily a rgwinia ra zhinya.*
When I lived with my sister-in-law who only speaks Spanish, so then I spoke to my daughters just in Spanish.

Q: Whenever you have been back in San Lucas, how did you feel being there?

A: *Reinyag.*
Different.

Q: What do you like (about San Lucas)?

A: *Rata. Ryulaza rya Bac. Ryulaza ryaza lo nya. Ryulaza rdia lad cai. Ryulaza rias liaz xbiada. Ryulaza ragwa ques, ques. Ryualaza ragwa molly.*
Everything. I like going to Tlacolula. I like going to the fields. I like being out on the street. I like to go to my aunt's house. I like eating cheese, string cheese. I like eating mole.

Q: Is there anything you do not like (about San Lucas)?

A: *Rata ryulaza.*
I like everything.

Q: When you are in San Lucas, do you speak Spanish or just Zapotec?

A: *Xnana, cwën ra xfamilia rgwinia Dizhsa, as ra zhinya nu gwelli Dizhsa nu gwel Dixtily.*
My mother, with all of my family I speak Zapotec, with my children sometimes I speak Zapotec and sometimes Spanish.

Q: Here at home, with your husband, what language do you speak?

A: *Nazh Dizhsa rweën.*
We speak only Zapotec.

Q: When your children were in San Lucas, did they try to speak Zapotec?

A: *Rgweagrëng Dizhsa chi gureng San Luc.*
They did speak Zapotec when they lived in San Lucas.

Q: Who did they speak Zapotec with?

A: *Cwën ra xa pryema.*
With my cousins

Q: Did your daughters speak to you in Zapotec or in Spanish?

A: *Dizhsa, as chu spanyol na.*
Zapotec, and also Spanish.

Q: In San Lucas, who did your daughters play with?

A: *Sobryena, zhiny bela.*
My niece, my sister's child.

Q: Did they speak Zapotec with your mom and your family?

A: *Nazhbag Dizhsa rwëng. Tyen xnana queity rgwebieb Dixtily.*
Only Zapotec. My mother does not speak Spanish.

Q: Many people have told me about youngsters who go back from Los Angeles to San Lucas and will be speaking Spanish or English there. What do you think people from San Lucas think about this?

A: *Rrillua us triesti per as chiru rrilua as gwenagui par San Luc.*
I think it is very sad, but then I think is good for San Lucas.

Q: And what do you think people think if these same youngsters were to speak Zapotec?

A: *Us rcyetlazri. Rcyetlazrëb tyen rgwerën Dizhsa.*
They are very happy. They are happy because they speak Zapotec.

Q: When you were living in San Lucas, before moving to Los Angeles, did you need to speak Spanish or was Zapotec sufficient?

A: *Cwën Dizhsa. Ni na, ni rgwia ladi chicy.*
With Zapotec. That's what I spoke there then.

Q: And now being in Los Angeles, why did you think you needed to speak Spanish?

A: *Tyen chi ria dyen, o rica ra zhinya scwell rgwe ra buny Dixtily chu, na para ygwinia lari dizh, nii.*
Because when I go to the store, pick up my daughters from school people speak Spanish, then I have to speak to them, that's why.

- Q: It is obviously important for your children to learn English here. Why is it important for them to learn Spanish, here in Los Angeles, here in the United States?
- A: *Ti chile ygweneri danön dizh o chile ygwenezeri stuzh ra mniny ni rgwe Dixtily dizh.*
So they can talk to us or be able to speak to other children who speak Spanish.
- Q: And why do you think it is important that they speak Zapotec?
- A: *Tyen ni na ni zyopnën lazhën, chu danoën rgweëni chu rcazëng ygwer ra zhinyën Dizhsa.*
That's what we bring from our village, and we speak it and want to speak to our children in Zapotec.
- Q: So, your children learned English in school. In terms of Spanish, did they learn it at home or at school?
- A: *L., chi bsalo rni L. nazh Dizhsa rgwe L. Chu gwe L. scwell rëicy gucbe L. roploti. Gucbe L. Dixtily cwën Ingles. As A. zëicyag, tyen riarëng scwell ni na Ingles cwën Dixtily.*
When L. began to speak, she spoke only Zapotec. Then she went to school, there she learned both. She learned Spanish and English. A., same. Because they go to a school which is in both, English and Spanish.
- Q: What language do you like your daughters to speak to you in?
- A: *Dizhsa.*
Zapotec.
- Q: How do you feel when they speak to you in Zapotec?
- A: *Us rzeinyzaca. Chiru us ryulaza rwerëng Dizhsa, tyen rgwenerëng xnana Dizhsa.*
I feel really good. Then, I like it when they speak Zapotec, because they speak to my mother in Zapotec.
- Q: Do they ever speak to you in English?
- A: *Queity rgwenedirëng naa Ingles. Nazh Dixtily cwën Dizhsa rcazrëng ygwerëng.*
They don't speak to me in English. Only in Spanish and Zapotec they want to talk.
- Q: They do speak to your husband in English, right?
- A: *Aa.*
Yes.

Q: Did he learn English here in Los Angeles?

A: *Tyen gweëng scwell. Gweëng scwell xte ra bangual.*
He went to school. He went to school adult school.

Q: So your daughters know three languages. Do you think it is confusing for children to be taught several languages?

A: *Rrilua tebag.*
I don't think so?

Q: A lot of people have told me, and I think you have mentioned this too, that sometimes they have run into other San Lucas people on the bus and when they greet the other person, the other person responds in Spanish. How do you feel about that?

A: *Nzhab rzienya, tyen cuana rtilori yweri Dizhsa gula a byalazri Dizhsa.*
I feel bad, because I think they are ashamed to speak Zapotec or they forgot Zapotec.

Q: Why do you think they do it?

A: *Tye rtilori.*
Because they are ashamed.

Q: What are they ashamed of?

A: *Tyen racbe.. tyen rinydiag stuzh ra buny ni nu lainy bas rgweri dizh.*
Because they are aware...because other people who ride the bus listen them speak.

Q: I have noticed that a lot of people, once they have their children, they do not speak to them in Zapotec, they only speak to them in Spanish. Why do you think they do that?

A: *Rrilua ti queity queityru rcazdi ra mniny ygwe Dizhsa, nazh Ingles rgwe ra mniny. Nii negza xtada ra mniny rgwe Ingles.*
I think because children don't want to speak Zapotec, they only speak in English. That is why the parents of the children speak English as well.

Q: Why do you think it is important for the children of San Lucas people living in Los Angeles to learn Zapotec?

A: *Tyen nazh Dizhsa rgweën lazhën.*
Because we speak only Zapotec in our village.

Q: What would they use Zapotec for?

A: *Ni na... zicy teiby tradisyon zyopneën ni na per ygwe ra mniny Dizhsa.*
It is...like a tradition that we bring, that is why the children have to speak Zapotec.

Q: So, you know I am trying to have my daughter, Olivia, learn Zapotec. Do you think she will be able to learn it even though I am not from San Lucas and neither is my husband, and I only speak a little bit of Zapotec?

A: *Zacbe Olibyai nieru lagra ni rgweu ygwee Olibyai. Chiru bal ygweneu laëng Dizhsa zacbeëng Dizhsa.*

Olivia will learn it, but Olivia will speak what you speak. Then if you speak to Olivia in Zapotec, she will learn it.

Q: What do you think Olivia will be able to use Zapotec for?

A: *Ti chile ygwe Olibya zienyru dizh zhi.*

So she can speak many languages.

Q: What do you think Americans would think if they heard Olivia speaking Zapotec?

A: *Nari "xi zhaëng rgwëng?"*.

They will say "what are they speaking?"

Q: What do you think Americans think when they hear you speaking Zapotec with your husband and your children?

A: *Nari "xi dizhag rwerëng?"*.

They will say "what language are they speaking?"

Q: Getting back to Olivia, what do you think I should do to help her learn Zapotec once I go back to New York?

A: *Bal yseidyu Olibya gweu Olibya Dizhsa zhi. Rata ni racbeu as gacbe Olibya ni. Per chi chia Olibya scwell bal queityru yni Olibya Dizhsa, tyen arseidy Olibya Ingles skwell. Chu zialaz Olibyani.*

In order for Olivia to learn, you need to speak to her in Zapotec. Everything you will learn Olivia will learn. But when Olivia is going to go to school Olivia will no longer speak Zapotec, because she will learn English in school. Then she will forget it.

Q: Here in Los Angeles, Spanish is used very often. What do you think that all of those who only speak Spanish think when they hear people speaking Zapotec?

A: *Nari "zhiex lazhrëng niaëng nurëng!"*.

They say "They are not in their village!"

Q: Given that so many people from San Lucas are moving to Los Angeles, do you think it is possible that Zapotec in San Lucas will die out?

A: *Rrillua quietyru Dizhsa chu. Rata ra mniny nazh Dixtily, cagweri, chu Ingles na, mas Meijy riari queityru rcazdiri ygweri Dizhsa chi riari San Luc. Nazh ra banguall rgwe Dizhsa.*

I think that Zapotec will no longer exist. All the children they speak only Spanish, as well as English, even if they go to Mexico, they no longer want to speak Zapotec when they go to San Lucas. Only older people speak Zapotec.

Q: Would that be good or bad?

A: *Maly.*

Bad.

Q: My last question, which I forgot to ask you earlier. When you speak to your daughters, and you speak to them both in Zapotec and Spanish, what types of things do you say in Zapotec, and what do you say in Spanish?

A: *Nu gwel reipya larëng "ada ti ydauwëng guet", as queity rdeidya cwen chi rnia Spanyol. Nu gwel rbuzha larëng cwën espanyol. As nu gwel rnia cwën Dizhsa. Per ryalaza tac Spanyol rnia.*

Sometimes I say to them "come to eat" then I am not aware when I speak Spanish. Sometimes I call them out in Spanish. Sometimes I speak in Zapotec, but I forget and I say speak in Spanish instead.

Q: When you scold them, what language do you scold them in?

A: *Cwën Dizhsa.*

In Zapotec.

Q: And when you hug them and tell them you love them?

A: *Nu gwel rgwia Dizhsa, nu gwel rgwia Dixtily.*

Sometimes in Zapotec, sometimes in Spanish.

Appendix IV

Sample Transcript: Transnational Interview, San Lucas Quiavini*

Q: How many people live here at home with you?*

A: *Mi papá, mi mamá, mi hermano, mi cuñada, sus hijos, mi hermana, yo, mi hijo. Somos como 11.*

My dad, my mom, my brother, my sister in law, their children, my sister, me, my son. Were about 11 people.

Q: People in San Lucas generally speak Zapotec? Or do they speak Spanish?

A: *Todo el mundo habla zapoteco.*

Everyone speaks Zapotec.

Q: Here at home, does everyone speak Zapotec? Do they speak it with your son?

A: *Sí*

Yes.

Q: Who are the relatives who have come to visit you from Los Angeles?

A: *Sí, mi hermano, él nada más.*

It's my brother, just him.

Q: Did he come with his children?

A: *Uno nada más, sus hijos están aquí.*

Only one, his children are here.

Q: So his children live here with you?

A: *Sí, viven aquí.*

Yes, they live here.

Q: His children here, are they learning Zapotec?

A: *Sí.*

Yes.

Q: Does your brother still like to speak Zapotec even though he has been to Los Angeles?

A: *Sí.*

Yes.

* Interview was conducted in October 2007.

** Questions were asked in Spanish and are presented here in their English translation.

Q: Does he speak Spanish and English too?

A: *Aquí no lo habla, solo cuando sale. Cuando sale, o sea va a Tlacolula, habla español. Allá en Los Ángeles habla inglés pues. Aquí no lo habla; sólo cuando aparecen sus amigos en la calle. Hay algunos que le hablan en inglés y el les contesta en inglés. Porque hay unos que son bien presumidos, que ya se fueron a Los Ángeles y cuando regresan y andan en la calle hablan puro inglés.*

He doesn't speak it here, only when he is out. When he goes out, when he goes to Tlacolula he speaks Spanish. Over in Los Angeles he speaks English. He doesn't speak it here, only when his friends show up on the street. Some [guys] speak to him in English and then he answers in English. Because there are some [guys] who like to show off that they went to Los Angeles and when they come back they go around speaking English.

Q: Eventhough they are from San Lucas?

A: *Sí. Mi hermano no, cuando está aquí habla en zapoteco.*
Yes, but not my brother, when he's here he speaks Zapotec.

Q: Why do you think those guys do that?

A: *Eso es por que ... son presumidos, ya se sienten como los de allá, pues, por eso*
Because they like to show off, they want to be like people from over there (from Los Angeles), that's why.

Q: Why do they like to speak Spanish?

A: *Por que ellos piensan es mejor que hablen inglés porque si como nosotros que estamos aquí, muchos de nosotros no entendemos inglés, ellos hablan inglés para no entender después. Hay algunos que hablan groserías, por eso hablan inglés.*

Because they think that it is best to speak English because those of us here, most of us do not understand English, they speak English so that we don't understand. Some of them will say curse words, that's why they speak English.

Q: So several of your brother's friends are here (in San Lucas) now?

A: *Sí.*
Yes.

Q: Did your brother just come for the Patron Saint festivities?

A: *Sí.*
Yes.

Q: When did he arrive?

A: *Viene, pero a veces se tarda como 2 ó 3 años y va a ir otra vez, porque hace trabajo del campo.*

He comes, and he'll stay for 2 or 3 years and then he'll go again, because he works in the fields.

Q: So this time, when did he arrive.

A: *Ya son como 15 días.*

About two weeks ago.

Q: So he's going to stay here for a while?

A: *Sí, se va a tardar.*

Yes, he'll stay for a while.

Q: Was this the first time he went to Los Angeles?

A: *No, se ha ido varias veces.*

No, he's gone several times.

Q: And when he goes, does he stay in Los Angeles itself?

A: *Sí, se va a Los Ángeles.*

Yes, he goes to Los Angeles.

Q: When he's here, does he speak to his children in English or only in Zapotec?

A: *No, puro zapoteco.*

No, only in Zapotec.

Q: I am interested in the way children here learn Zapotec. For example, now I realize that people here like to speak Zapotec to Olivia (my daughter) and I am wondering whether they do the same with children here.

A: *Desde que ellos están creciendo les hablamos, les decimos "bebé" pero en zapoteco, les decimos que habla y que va a decir así ... que va a decir mamá y este ... como ellos van creciendo van a estar hablando pero en zapoteco.*

Ya aprende, cuando ya hablan, ya hablan puro zapoteco

As they grow up we speak to them, we say "baby" but in Zapotec, we tell them how to speak and what to say, that they should say "mom" and, uh ... as they grow older they will be speaking but in Zapotec. Then they learn, when they start speaking they will speak only in Zapotec.

- Q: Once children reach the age of 3 or 4, do you think that it would be necessary for children to learn Zapotec in school.
- A: *No, van a ir a la escuela para aprender español. Si salen, es muy difícil si uno habla nada más zapoteco, es muy difícil para salir.*
No, they will go to school to learn Spanish. If they go outside (San Lucas) it's very difficult if one only speaks Zapotec, it's very difficult to go elsewhere.
- Q: So Spanish isn't spoken much here? Only in Tlacolula?
- A: *Sí, aquí no se habla, menos los abuelitos que no hablan español. Sólo nosotros que apenas estuvimos en la escuela, por eso hablamos un poco de español*
Yes, Spanish is not spoken here, especially not among the grandparents who don't speak Spanish. Only those of us who went to school, that's why we speak a little bit of Spanish.
- Q: And now, for example, you know I would like for Olivia (my daughter) to learn Zapotec. What do you suggest I do, do you think she will be able to speak it well one day? Because obviously we can only come once a year, for maybe 3 weeks. Her dad doesn't speak Zapotec, and I speak but not a lot and I sometimes make mistakes. Do you think she will get to speak it?
- A: *Sí creo, su papá es de aquí, no?*
Yes, I think so, her dad is from here, right?
- Q: No, her dad is American.
- A: *¿Sí? ¡Ah! creí que creo que sí ¿no? Porque si usted visita a unos de aquí y allá en Los Ángeles, usted les va a hablar y usted les va a decir que le pronuncien las palabras, si lo va a aprender*
Really, Oh, I thought that ... I thought she will, don't you? Because if you come to visit here and then visit Los Angeles you can speak to them and you can tell people to pronounce words for her, she will be able to learn it.
- Q: And once I'm in New York, what do you suggest I do? Because I live in New York, not in Los Angeles.
- A: *¿Sí? Hijole, sí va a aprender pero si va a venir el otro año cuando ya está grandecita otra vez, le van a enseñar, pues si viene a traerlo, y este le van a decir que hable zapoteco, ¿pero si ella no quiere?*
Really? Gosh, she will learn but if you come back next year, she will be a little older, people will teach her, if you come and bring her, and they will tell her to speak Zapotec, but what if she doesn't want to speak it?

- Q: Well, so far she likes to speak it. Why do you think she might not want to?
A: *Sí, cuando ya habla unos cuantos zapotecos ya puede aprender todo. Como nosotros, a veces, cuando hay algunos pues cuando van a Los Ángeles nadie habla inglés, hacen mucho esfuerzo para aprenderlo.*
Yes, once she is able to speak some Zapotec then she will be able to learn everything. Like us, sometimes, some people when they go to Los Angeles, nobody speaks English, they make a big effort to learn it.
- Q: Do you think it is difficult for children to learn two or more languages?
A: *Pues no creo, porque apenas están creciendo. Cuando van creciendo van aprendiendo.*
I don't think so, because they are just growing up. As they grow up they learn.
- Q: Do you have other relatives in Los Angeles aside from your brother?
A: *Vive mi hermana allí.*
My sister lives there.
- Q: And does she have children there?
A: *Sí tiene, tiene 4.*
Yes she does, she has 4.
- Q: Were they born there?
A: *Tres nacieron allá. Uno nació aquí.*
Three of them were born there, one was born here.
- Q: And do you know whether she speaks to them in Spanish or in Zapotec?
A: *Ellos hablan español y hablan inglés, pero en zapoteco no.*
They speak Spanish and they speak English, but not Zapotec, no.
- Q: Is that so?
A: *Uno nada más, el que nació aquí si habla.*
Only one does, the one who was born here does speak it.

Q: Is the children's father from here? Why do you think they decided to speak to the children in Spanish and English?

A: *Sí, no sé, dice mi hermana que como ellos nacieron allí tienen que aprender inglés porque cuando van a ir a trabajar cuando ya tienen edad después ya saben el inglés porque si habla zapoteco, es muy difícil entender inglés cuando uno ya está grande.*

Yes, I don't know, my sister says that since they were born there, they need to learn English because when they go to work, once they are old enough then they will already know Zapotec, because if they speak Zapotec, it's difficult to understand English once one is older.

Q: And why do you think they need Spanish there?

A: *Pues no sé.*

That I don't know.

Q: And over there in the US, what do you think people will think when they hear my daughter speaking Zapotec? What do you think people think when they hear children speaking Zapotec?

A: *No se qué van a decir.*

I don't know what they might say.

Q: Do you think it's something they'll be interested in knowing about?

A: *No les va a interesar.*

They won't be interested in it.

Q: Do you think Americans would be interested in children speaking Spanish?

A: *Pues creo que no.*

I don't think so.

Q: Más interés porque hablen en inglés

A: *Sí, porque eso, inglés entienden los gabachos van a entender qué es lo que hablan y el español como no lo entienden van a evitarlo. Como nosotros como no entendemos el inglés a veces nos enojamos decimos "¿que porqué hablan eso?", "hablan grosería de nosotros", nada más si los encontramos en la calle y "¿porqué cuando vine ahí?", vamos a decir, "¿porqué cuando me tropecé con él habló inglés qué es lo que dijo?", nos molestamos pues.*

Yes, because that, English, is what Americans can understand, it's what they speak and since they don't understand Spanish they will avoid it. It's like us, since we don't understand English we get mad and we say "why do they speak that?", "they are saying bad things about us", if we run into them on the street, "why when I came by?" we're going to say, "why did he speak in English when I ran into him, what did he say?", we get mad you see.

- Q: Now, do you think it would be good for children in Los Angeles, children like your sister's kids, to learn Zapotec?
- A: *Sí, sí porque cuando vienen aquí sus abuelitos no hablan ni inglés ni español, tiene que aprender zapotec para hablar con sus abuelitos*
Yes, because when they come here, their grandparents don't speak English nor Spanish, they need to learn Zapotec to be able to speak to their grandparents.
- Q: Have your sister's children come to San Lucas?
- A: *Uno nada más ya vino.*
Only one of them has come.
- Q: The one who was born here?
- A: *El que nació allá. Pero, habla español y este... él si se porta muy bien, y como su abuelita si entiende un poco el español, pero le dice a mi hermana que por qué no le enseña a hablar zapotec para que así entiende todo.*
The one who was born there (in Los Angeles). But he speaks Spanish. He is nice and since his grandmother speaks Spanish, but she tells my sister to teach him Zapotec so that he can understand everything.
- Q: And when he came, did he learn Zapotec?
- A: *Sí, un poco nada más, es que como él tampoco quiere aprender zapotec, por eso.*
Yes, just a little bit, but that's because he doesn't want to learn Zapotec.
- Q: How old is he?
- A: *Como 10 años.*
About ten years old.
- Q: How old was he when he came?
- A: *Como 8 o 7 años cuando vino.*
About 8 or 7, when he came.
- Q: What did he do when you tried to teach him Zapotec?
- A: *"¡No!", dice, "no quiero con ese zapotec". Sí. Es que como ellos nacieron allá, pues no sé por qué no quieren hablar zapotec.*
"No!" he says, "I don't want that Zapotec". Yes. It's because they were born over there, but I don't understand why they don't want to speak Zapotec.

- Q: How do grandparents, your parents for example, when someone like your nephew comes, someone with whom they can only speak Spanish?
- A: *A la vez se sienten contentos porque como ellos trabajan allá, pues, y este, como su papá y su mamá pues, este, se fueron a trabajar allá y mandan dinero, como aquí no trabajan de dinero, pues, y este, ellos se sienten orgullos de que ellos aprendan, que trabajen, para, este, para poder trabajar, este ganar, un poco caro, pues. A veces se sienten triste porque no entienden el español, ¿quién les va a explicar?*
 The feel happy at the same time because they went to work there (in Los Angeles), see, and, well, like his dad and mom, see, they went to work there and they send money back, since it's difficult to earn money here, see, and they (the grandparents) feel proud that they (the relatives in Los Angeles) are learning, and working, that they can work and earn money, because things are expensive, you see. Sometimes they get sad because they don't understand Spanish, who's going to help them understand?
- Q: And what do your parents think? I don't know if they know that Olivia (my daughter) is learning. What do you think about her learning?
- A: *Mi mamá dice que es muy bonito que ella aprenda zapoteco y es de otro lado. Dice mi mamá: qué bonito que la gringa habla zapoteco y es gringa. My mother says that it is very nice that she is learning Zapotec even though she is from somewhere else. My mom says 'how nice that the gringa speaks Zapotec and yet she is a gringa.*
- Q: They really think it's a good thing that she's learning?
- A: *Sí.*
 Yes.
- Q: Do you think people [in San Lucas] would see me differently if I only spoke Spanish and didn't make an effort to learn Zapotec?
- A: *Sí, hay algunos que van a ver diferentes, como algunos que no entienden el español, si usted le habla sólo ven, pues, no hablan, sólo, ni hablan ni, ya se van pues, ni, este, ni contestan sus palabras.*
 "Yes, some people would see you differently, since some people don't understand Spanish, if you speak to them they just stare, see, they won't talk, only, they don't even talk, they leave you, see, they don't even answer to you."

Q: I'm almost done. Do you think that Zapotec will always be spoken here in San Lucas or do you think it is possible that one day it will no longer be spoken and nobody will know how to speak it?

A: *No, siempre.*
No, always.

Q: Why do you think it will always be spoken?

A: *Porque desde que son chiquitas las enseñamos que aprenden zapoteco y cuando ya tenemos hijos, cuando ya tenemos nietos desde que quiere hablar, le enseñamos zapoteco. Cuando ya tiene los 6 o 7 años va a ir a la escuela y aprende un poco de español. Sí, nosotros no les enseñamos que habla español, porque hay algunas palabras, no todas las palabras aprendemos en el español, por eso les enseñamos zapoteco.*
Because since they are little we teach them to learn Zapotec and when we have children, when we have grandchildren, since they start wanting to speak, we teach them Zapotec. Once they are 6 or 7 years old they will go to school and learn some Spanish. Yes, we don't teach them how to speak Spanish, because there are some words, we haven't learned all of the words in Spanish, that's why we teach them Zapotec.

Q: There are other towns like Díaz Ordáz, why do you think Zapotec is no longer spoken there?

A: *Allá no lo hablan lo suficiente, lo hablan nada más con los que ya pues, porque como ellos entienden sus palabras como lo pronuncian diferente, como nosotros, por ejemplo hablan español con nosotros porque no entendemos sus palabras. No se entienden nuestro zapoteco y tampoco nosotros entendemos a ellos*
They don't speak it enough over there, people only speak it with those who ... you see, only they understand their words because they pronounce it differently, it's like us, for example, they speak Spanish to us because we don't understand what they say. They don't understand our Zapotec and we don't understand theirs.

Q: One time I was in Santa Ana del Valle and I didn't hear any Zapotec.

A: *Allá creo que no hablan zapoteco allá.*
I think they don't speak it anymore over there.

Q: Why do you think they stopped speaking it? They used to speak Zapotec there, just like in San Lucas. What do you think happened?

A: *Eso si no se.*
That, I don't know.

- Q: Do you think the same thing could happen here?
A: *No, creo que no, porque hay algunos hablan español solo cuando están en la escuela, cuando salen, vienen con sus amigas hablan español. Cuando llegan a su casa hablan dialecto, hablan zapoteco*
No, I don't think so, because those who speak Spanish only speak it when they are in school, when they are out, when they're with their friends they speak Spanish. When they get home, they speak 'dialecto', they speak Zapotec.
- Q: So at home people always speak Zapotec?
A: *Siempre en la casa puro zapoteco. Cuando encuentran a una señora o un señor, le hablan zapoteco, no le hablan español*
At home it's only Zapotec. When they run into a lady or a gentleman, they speak Zapotec, they don't speak to them in Spanish.
- Q: This is almost the last question. Now that so many children leave for Los Angeles, do you think that could make Zapotec disappear here?
A: *No.*
No.
- Q: For example, your sister's children, if she were living here, they would have been born here and they would speak Zapotec. But they are over there, and they don't speak it and when they come here...
A: *Pero cuando crezcan van a hablar.*
Once they grow older they will speak it.
- Q: You think so?
A: *Sí, porque o sea su mamá y su papá es de aquí pues y sus abuelitos hablan con ellos por teléfono y le hablan zapoteco y ellos lo escuchan nada más, pero sí lo entienden, nomás no lo hablan.*
Yes, because their mom and dad are from here, you see, and their grandparents speak to them over the phone and speak Zapotec and they only listen, but they do understand, they just don't speak it.

Appendix V

Sample Transcript: Child Narrative, Los Angeles

- 1 *Gu teiby mninyi que ... ¿cómo se dice? ... rap teiby rrane, qwën te becwe ... ¿cómo se dice que está encerrado? ... nu lany teiby biedr.*
There was a little kid who ... how do you say ... he had a little frog, and a dog ...how do you say... it's in a jar.
- 2 *Mniny rze ...no... mniny ... está durmiendo, ¿cómo se dice? oh... nigyesyi qwën becwe.*
The kid ... no ... the kid ... 'is sleeping', how do you say that? ... oh ... he is sleeping with the little dog.
- 3 *Rrane rdia lany lany ... ¿cómo se dice? ... lany biedr. Mniny a gusti ...¿cómo se dice lo miró?... chu bgwiëm lany biedr chiru bdia rran rran.*
The frog gets out of the ... what do you call it? ... glass (jar). The kid woke up ... how do you say "looked for it"? then he looked at the jar, the frog had escaped.
- 4 *Oh, sí... chu naëm cuan rran xtenëm. Cagwiëm lany xpotëm becwe cagwi lany jarr ...no...cómo se dice que se quedó su cabeza en eso?... As bian guecyëm lany biedr.*
Oh yes ... Then he said, where is his frog. He looked inside his boots, the dog looked inside the jar ... no ... ¿how do you say "its head got stuck inside of that"? ... It slipped his head inside the glass jar.
- 5 *Cagwiëm nez jwer qwën becwe, ru bentan.*
He looked outside along with the dog, at the window.
- 6 *Cómo se dice está diciendo? ... cabuzhëm cabuzhëm , "rran cali nu xrana, rran?,"*
how do you say 'is saying'? ... is saying, is saying "frog, where is my frog, frog?"
- 7 *Becwe [speaker motions, mother provides 'biab'] biab ru bentan the dog fell out the window. xquecyëm a bdia lany biedr. mninyi gues becwe mninyi ... cómo se dice? ... cazhich*
The dog [...] fell out the window. His head went into the glass jar. The boy picked up the dog, the boy ... how do you say this? ... is getting mad.

- 8** *Mninyi nu nez jwer ca ... cómo se dice está diciendo? ... caniëm , "rran cali nu?"*.
The kid is outside, how do you say ... "is saying"? ... he says "where are you, frog?".
- 9** *Mninyi cagwi lany guedy becwe ... uhm ¿cómo se dice estaba parando ahí?... cagwi lany xques manyser.*
This kid is looking inside a hole ... uh how do you say "is standing there"? ... is looking inside a beehive.
- 10** *Chi bdia bziny ... le picó su nariz? ... bdaygyai zhiëm. Becwei caduxne xques manyser.*
A mouse came out ... bit him in the nose? ... bit him in his nose. This dog is barking at the beehive.
- 11** *Xques manyser biab. A mninyi cagwi lany guedy xtën guedy ni na teix gyiag.*
The beehive fell. So the kid is looking inside a hole, the hole on the side of a tree.
- 12** *Te te ... ¿que salió un? ... bdia dam lany gyiag chu xyëm ... ¿y se cayó? ... biabëm. Becwe cazhuny lo manyser*
A a ... that it came out? ... an owl came out of the tree, and fell down? And fell down. The little dog is running ahead of the bees.
- 13** *Mninyi a cacwatslo dets gyag.*
That child is already hiding behind the tree.
- 14** *Mninyi cabuzha steby.*
The child was yelling again.
- 15** *Mniny nu guecy guecy guecy bzëiny.*
The child is on the deer's head.
- 16** *Bzëiny ... ¿cómo se dice está corriendo? ... bzëiny rzh ... cómo? ... zezhuny re quën mninyi quën becwe.*
The deer ... how do you say "is running"? ... the deer (runs) ... again? took off running from there with that child and the little dog.
- 17** *Mninyi a a ... no ... bzëiny a bzal mninyi quën becwe.*
This kid ... no ... the deer has thrown the boy and the dog.

- 18 *Mniny-i b-iab lany nyis qwën *b-x-yiecwëng.*
That boy fell in the water along with his dog.
- 19 *Xyecwëng zub guecyëm mninyi. Ca ca cacudyag ?? tieby rruid*
His dog is sitting on the kid's head. ?? listening to a noise (sentence subject was not produced).
- 20 *"Chizyga becwe," reipy mniny becwe.*
"Silence doggy" said the kid to the dog.
- 21 *Mninyi mninyi mninyi ...cómo se dice... cagwi dets gyag quën becwe.*
This boy, boy, boy ... how do you say? ... is looking with his dog behind the tree.
- 22 *Mniny a bzhiel tyop rran qwën zyienydan bdo bez rran.*
The kid has found two frogs with many baby frogs.
- 23 *Rcyetlaz mninyi zene te rran bichi.*
The boy is happy, he is leaving with a little frog.
- 24 *Chu nai , "xtyozën laad por rran bichi.*
And says "thank you for the little frog!".

Appendix VI

Sample Transcript: Child Narrative, San Lucas Quiavini

- 1 *Teiby mninyi chiru bzhieli teiby rran quën teiby becwe. Chiru bluari ni lany teiby tula butei.*
A little kid with his dog found a frog. Then they put him inside a, um, bottle.
- 2 *Chi gual wxiny nigyeisyri chiru as bcwa rrani scape.*
Then at night they were asleep then the frog escaped.
- 3 *Chi bragwël a wbanyri caru riai chiru.*
Then the next day they woke up, the frog was no longer there.
- 4 *As bzalori cagyilyrini ni na deiby debyta nez cagyilyri ni. Becwe bgutiegui guecyi lany guidyi as guga guecyi lany.*
The dog inserted its head inside the plastic (container) and his head got stuck inside.
- 5 *Briari lad bentan cabuzhri lai quënla quiety rdicai.*
They went out to the window, they were calling, then it wouldn't show up.
- 6 *As biabag becwi lad bentan tanza nu botiei guecy.*
Then this dog fell off the window because it had a bottle on its head.
- 7 *Chiru mninyi rzhichdani danzheb cadiedy becwi gerr ricy.*
Then the little boy was angry because the dog is too much trouble.
- 8 *As briari jwer as cagyilyri ni as becwi medes lo manyser cagwii.*
Instead of looking for the frog the dog was looking at the bees.
- 9 *Aas bzalo mninyi cagyily ni lany guedy chiru becwi medes lo ra manyseri cagwii.*
Then the boy went looking for him inside a hole and the dog in the meantime was watching the bees.
- 10 *Chi, xamodi guc chi bdaugya teiby manyseri mnyny chicyi as becwi lag lo manyseri cagwii.*
Then, I don't know what happened, when a bee bit the boy and at the same time the dog was watching the bees.

- 11 *Chiru a mniny a guchuti lainy trung chiru as becwi ai a bzalza manyser ricy.*
Then the boy went inside the tree, then the dog knocked down the beehive there.
- 12 *Chigual a ra manyseri a cadinal lai mientas mniny a biab lo gyu.*
Then the bees began to chase him and in the meantime the boy fell down to the ground.
- 13 *As a mniny gwe cwe gyia as chiru a teiby many cadinalga lai ricy.*
Then the boy went next to a rock, then an animal was chasing him.
- 14 *Per a mninyi cabuzha rran per quënla queity rdica rran chira a becwi zubgag nigueti.*
But the boy was already looking for the frog but (the frog) didn't show up then the dog was still sitting below.
- 15 *Chi brica teiby bzeny ricy chicyi bzhicyagui as zeï zedinali becwi chiru zicydizy beb becwe guecyi.*
When a deer showed up there then (the deer) got mad and chased the dog but the dog was still sitting on top of its head.
- 16 *As gwei guzali mninyi cuan becwi lany nyis ricy.*
Then (the deer) went to throw the boy and the little dog into the water there.
- 17 *Chicyi biab roptiro lany nyis ricy.*
Then that's when both fell into the water.
- 18 *Chicy nuari lany nyis chiru binydiagri teiby rrwied ricy.*
Then they were in the water, then they heard a noise.
- 19 *As na mniny "chizgaisy" don nai.*
Then the boy said "silence" he said.
- 20 *As bgwiri dets trungui.*
Then they looked behind the tree.
- 21 *Rëicy bzhielry rrani cuan chieli.*
There they found the frog and its spouse.
- 22 *Chu atizyza teibyzy chieli bzhielri cuan zhinyi cuan nu ricy.*
And it wasn't only with the spouse that they found it, but it was also with its children.

23 - *Chiru gucberi xiny quety tula chile gyan rrani ricy chiru bsanri rrani ricy chiru zeneri teiby zhinyi.*

Then they realize why the frog needed to stay there, so then they left the frog there and they took one of its children.

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