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**University of Southampton**

Faculty of Humanities

Modern Language and Linguistics

**Language Policy and Language Ideologies in Mexico**

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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# University of Southampton

## Abstract

Faculty of Humanities

Modern Languages and Linguistics

Doctor of Philosophy

Language Policy and Language Ideologies in Mexico

by

Jesahe Herrera Ruano

This thesis aims to explore the language ideologies that underpin Mexican language policy and are reproduced in Mexican society. Language ideologies are conceived as beliefs, assumptions, conceptions, and perceptions about people's own, and others' linguistic forms and language practices. Studies of language policy and language ideologies have focused on official documents and public discourses to identify ideological orientations. However, I set out to understand the construction and implementation of Mexican language policy under specific language ideologies that are reproduced in society through people's valorisation of different linguistic forms and language practices in their daily lives. I focus on the life of three families in the city of Tepic in which at least one of its members belongs to groups that are considered linguistic minorities in Mexico. I use a qualitative methodology and an ethnographic approach to gather data and carry out my case studies. To analyse and interpret the data I use narrative analysis and qualitative content analysis. My findings reveal the construction and reproduction of specific language ideologies in the life of my participants that are influenced and framed by the construction and implementation of Mexican language policy, which is also linked to globalisation processes and neoliberal economic order. This work can be of use to other public sectors and language policy makers to engage with the understanding of language diversity beyond what is visible and recognised for the creation of new political mechanisms that guarantee linguistic human rights and social justice for all inhabitants in the country. Moreover, the methodology and interpretation of this research data can also be extrapolated from the specific context of this work and applied to others where people are confronted with different possibilities and constraints because of their language practices.



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# Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Jesahe Herrera Ruano

Title of thesis: Language Policy and Language Ideologies in Mexico

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signature: .....Date: April 2024





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# Chapter 1 Introduction and rationale

## 1.1 Introduction

This research examines what the language ideologies are that have shaped and continue shaping Mexican language policy, and how these ideologies are reflected and reproduced in the perceptions and valorisation of different linguistic forms and language practices Mexican society. My work explores how these language ideologies and national language policy are the result of language interrelationship to socio-historical, political, and economic global conditions. Furthermore, by focusing on people whose language potential is seen as linguistic deviance by the majority population in Mexico, my work highlights the impact of language ideologies and language policy on the perceived valorisation of people's language practices along with how these language practices and language perceptions influence their lives. In this sense, through the interpretation of this study's findings my research also seeks what can be extrapolated from the specific context of this work and applied to other where people confront with different possibilities and constrains because of their language practices.

## 1.2 Rationale

Over the past four decades we have witnessed major geopolitical changes around the world accompanied by the rapid development of communication technology (Parkin, 2018; Vertovec, 2007, p. 6). Such changes and technological developments are contributing to the creation of new ways of economic, social and political relations that are part of larger processes associated with globalisation (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). The concept of globalisation refers to the interconnection of the world, where any change in any location will have a consequence with different dimensions in other places (Blommaert, 2020; Giddens, 1990).

The result of these geopolitical and technological changes as part of the globalisation process is the intensification of diversity or 'superdiversity' at every level around the world: social, ethnic, cultural and economic (Blommaert, 2013, 2020; Vertovec, 2007, 2010, 2011). The complexity brought by this new diversity is currently affecting the study of language and society (see Arnaut et al., 2016b; Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2013; Castells, 2009, 2010; Coupland, 2010; García et al., 2017b; García & Wei, 2014; Pennycook, 2007, 2010; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012) that has driven the attention to multilingualism and multilingual speakers. This 'multilingual turn' (May, 2014c) has raised questions about the dominance of societal monolingualism in language studies, and the state-managed of language and culture policies. These policies are linked to conceptions and assumptions about

## Introduction and rationale

language, that can be defined as language ideologies. These language ideologies are present at micro, meso and macro levels and determine how individuals and societies respond to language practices, language uses and language speakers.

In the context of state-managed language policies, the most common ideology is “one language one nation”, where speaking another language than the ‘national’ one creates a problem of otherness (Bauman et al., 2003; Blommaert, 1999; Kroskrity, 2000; Shohamy, 2006). For example, historically in Latin American countries language policy has been used to imposed standards of linguistic and cultural homogeneity that seek to assimilate those who communicate differently (Hamel, 2013a). As a result, even when there are new efforts in modern governmental policies to promote language diversity, these kind of language policies meet strong resistance from society (Hamel, 2013a, pp. 609-610).

Language policy and planning in Mexico gives evidence of this common ideology. After the independence from Spain, speaking Spanish was recognized and legitimated in the country as a sign of national identity (Villavicencio, 2010, pp. 726-727). Indigenous people, and all those who did not take part in the one-language-one nation hegemony were oppressed. However, in 2001, after more than 170 years, Mexico was recognised in its Constitution as a pluricultural and multilingual country (Secretaría de Gobernación, 2001). In 2003, as a result of this new statement in the Mexican Constitution, the indigenous languages spoken in the Mexican territory were recognised as ‘national’ languages in the General Law of Linguistics Rights of Indigenous Communities (Cámara de Diputados H. Congreso de la Unión, 2003). But, have these changes in Mexican language policy had a real impact on people’s lives?

I worked on a study about language vitality and endangered languages in my state, Nayarit, Mexico from 2012 to 2014 (Herrera Ruano, 2014; Santos, 2014). The study measured the language vitality of four indigenous languages spoken in the state through the analysis of language use and people’s attitudes. According to participants’ answers, it is evident many indigenous people in the study felt that their indigenous language has a lower status than Spanish, since Spanish is the language used in education, government, and public services in Mexico. Moreover, there are other people in the country that face similar situations due to their language practices. Through other research projects in which I participated (Herrera Ruano et al., 2021) and personal experiences, I have identified more people in my locality, such as the returning migrants and the hearing-impaired<sup>1</sup> who can be seen as ‘other’ and that problematised the one-language-one nation hegemony promoted by Mexican language policy.

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term “hearing-impaired” as an umbrella term to talk about people with any degree of hearing loss.

As explained before, new technologies and ‘superdiversity’ brought by globalisation have changed reality for most people in the world, but at the same time they have raised questions about established ideologies and their consequences. For example, how do these changes touch people in Mexico that have been excluded before because they do not communicate in the ‘national’ language? One way to explore this is through the exploration of language ideologies and their construction through people’s life trajectory and their family relations. Family Language Policy (FLP) brings together language policy studies and child language acquisition to answer questions related to language practices, beliefs and management from the perspective of the family, including the question of how multilingualism develops from the perspective of the family unit (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). I consider the analysis of FLP is relevant to understand the construction of language ideologies and individual linguistic trajectories, because of the role of the family in language acquisition.

### **1.3 Research questions**

Everything I have described up until here has shaped this project. My main aim in this research is to examine how language ideologies and language policies impact on individual subjects whose language practices are seen as a linguistic deviance by the majority of the population in Mexico. To illustrate this, my analysis focuses on the lives of three families which represent a sample of the Mexican linguistic diversity and part of the population of the city of Tepic, Nayarit, Mexico. In family one all members identify themselves as indigenous, in the second family one of its members is hearing-impaired, and the third family include members that are returning migrants. I focus on the life of these families and their members because indigenous people, migrants and the hearing-impaired are considered minority populations in Mexico and in consequence their language practices are seen as a linguistic deviance by the majority population, but also because I want to highlight the diversity in Mexico’s population and the diversity in family constitution.

My work explores what are these families’ members perspectives on the possibilities and constraints caused by their language practices in their life experiences as individuals and as families. These perspectives will give me insights about the language ideologies they have faced, they continuously face, and they have constructed for themselves, as well as the impact of these language ideologies and Mexican language policy on the perceived valorisation of their language practices along with how these language practices and language perceptions influence their lives. My research is therefore guided by the following questions:

- What are the language ideologies found in my participants’ narratives, that reflect public perceptions and valorisation of their linguistic forms and language practices?

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- How are the language ideologies found in my participants' narratives, which are constructed through their individual trajectory and family language policy, linked to, and influenced by Mexican language policy?

According to these questions the objectives for my research are:

- Identify the language ideologies in my participants' narratives that reflect the public perceptions and valorisation of their diverse linguistic forms and language practices.
- Analyse how the language ideologies in my participants' narratives are constructed through their individual trajectory and family language policy, linked to, and influenced by Mexican language policy

I hope that by completing my case studies with three families in the city of Tepic, accomplishing these objectives and answering these research questions my thesis may contribute to a better understanding of how language ideologies and language policy impact in the life of people, especially in the life of those with non-conventional or officially recognised language practices.

## **1.4 Outline of sections and chapters**

This chapter has presented the rationale of the study and the research questions, aims and objectives of the project. The second chapter presents the literature review about the main themes in the research: language and globalisation, language ideologies and language policy. The chapter explores how the concept and the study of language have been shaped by language ideologies, its interrelation to global changes and reproduction by language policy. The third chapter describes the contextual background of the study. The chapter briefly describes the history of Mexico, its demographic composition and linguistic diversity. Then it provides the context of the city of Tepic and a focus in the linguistic landscapes of the city. The fourth chapter provides the theoretical approaches of my methodology, the techniques for gathering data, the participants, and the description of the analysis and interpretation of data. The fifth chapter describes the findings and discussion from data collection. The chapter explains to what extent data collected answers my research questions and it relates my findings to my theoretical and contextual framework. Finally, the sixth chapter presents the main conclusions of the research. The limitations of the study are also discussed, and I suggest possible areas for further research.

## Chapter 2 Theoretical framework

### 2.1 Introduction

As stated earlier, major geopolitical changes in the world in the last forty years, as well as the accelerated development of communication technology, where the internet, laptops, smartphones and streaming TV, for example, give us access to information and content from around the world, are diversifying and changing economic, social and political relations (Parkin, 2018; Vertovec, 2007). Such changes and developments are part of larger processes associated with globalisation (Appadurai, 1996; Blommaert, 2010), the interconnection of the world, where any change in any location will have a consequence with different dimensions in other places (Blommaert, 2020; Giddens, 1990). This has resulted in the intensification of diversity or ‘superdiversity’ of societies at every level: social, ethnic, cultural and economic (Blommaert, 2013, 2020; Vertovec, 2007, 2010, 2011) bringing such complexity that has raised questions about our own assumptions and construct of society as well as the way we understand the world (Pérez-Milans, 2020). In language studies, for example, ‘superdiversity’ has driven the attention to multilingualism and multilingual speakers questioning about the dominance of societal monolingualism in language studies, and the state-management of language and culture policies (May, 2014c).

In this chapter I seek to review the change of perspective in the study of language and society as a consequence of globalisation processes. The chapter explores how the concept and the study of language have been shaped by language ideologies, its interrelation to global changes and reproduction by language policy.

#### 2.1.1 Globalisation

The world has not become a village, but rather a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways.

**(Blommaert, 2010, p. 1)**

The late 1980s marked great geopolitical changes around the world, more specifically the end of the Cold War changed patterns of human mobility, rising and diversifying migration practices (Arnaut, 2016, p. 53). These new migration practices have also been greatly impacted by changes in economic and technological infrastructure that have resulted in an intensification of diversity at every level—ethnic, social, cultural, and economic—in societies throughout the world (Blommaert, 2013;

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Vertovec, 2007, 2010, 2011). These geopolitical, economic, and technological changes are part of larger processes associated with globalisation.

Globalisation is a contested term with diverse definitions (see de Sousa Santos, 2006; Giddens, 1990, 2013; Kotz, 2002; Litonjua, 2008; Mathews et al., 2012; Yeldan, 2012) that generally refers to different processes that are transforming the world in a more integrated and interdependent place (Steger, 2020).

Globalization refers to a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch, and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant.

**(Steger, 2020, p. 13)**

According to Steger (2020), these set of social processes refer to global economic, political, cultural, and environmental conditions that interconnect the world beyond any existing borders and boundaries, changing and transforming forms of human contact. As the result of this interconnection, any change in any location have a consequence with different dimensions in other places (Blommaert, 2020; Giddens, 1990).

While I was writing this thesis, for example, the world was undergoing a health crisis, the coronavirus (or COVID-19) pandemic originated and spread from Wuhan, China, to many other parts of the world. Global stock markets were affected, as well as transportation and production facilities having effects in the global economy (Blommaert, 2020). According to Blommaert (2020) 'mobility' was addressed as the key issue to contain the crisis. 'Mobility' is a defining feature of globalisation (see below for more discussion). All measures to control the epidemic included restrictions on mobility and contact. Such restrictions on mobility had effects in other areas like the environment and culture. Pollution levels around the world fallen and people started adjusting their behavioural patterns (Blommaert, 2020). Social distancing, panic buying, working online and racism to Asians were some cultural effects from this pandemic, that also were, unsurprisingly, spread and distributed in the media system. The online media world was behind the 'coronavirus culture', leading to many memes, shout-outs and conspiracy theories on social media, as well as reliable information and intense discussions about it (Blommaert, 2020). Communication technologies, the Internet and social media are central in the world interconnection as it will be further explained.

For all these reasons explained above, the coronacrisis illustrates the contemporary globalisation system (Blommaert, 2020). Next, I will explain with more detail the different concepts presented in the coronacrisis example to expand my explanation about globalisation.



### 2.1.1.1 Neoliberalism, inequality, and language

Although the world has been connected in diverse forms through history (as in the construction of colonial empires), globalisation, as explained before, refers to new ways of connections that have been allowed in great part because geopolitical and economic changes around the world, and because of the development of technologies and media expansion (Giddens, 1990). The transformations involved in globalisation processes have given rise to new structures for social order at different levels that aim to accomplish the ideal of worldwide interdependency. In money markets, for example, 'neoliberalism' has been used as an economic theory and as a collection of economic and social policies to establish a new global economic order (Bowles, 2005; Holborow, 2012; Yeldan, 2012). Although there have been many factors in the 1970s and 1980s that contributed to the establishment of neoliberalism as a hegemonic world order, globalisation has been a primary and necessary precondition to the spread and flourishing of neoliberalism (Cerny, 2014).

First known as 'capitalism without borders' and originated in the United States and the United Kingdom, neoliberalism promotes the free international movement of goods, services, capital and money around the world placing limits on governments and giving more economic control to the private sector, allowing free market and trade mechanisms to promote economic efficiency and the interconnection and integration of the world economy system (Cerny, 2014; Holborow, 2012; Kotz, 2002). Under neoliberalism, countries take specific economic, political, and social actions that allow its economic growth. These actions are usually imposed to countries by international institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to embrace globalisation (Holborow, 2012; Yeldan, 2012). Almost all nations around the world have adjusted their policies to embrace neoliberalism, sometimes voluntarily and others in response to coercive pressures (Harvey, 2005).

In this sense, we need to take into account that broadly speaking neoliberalism and globalisation have become ideological concepts constructed around a system of ideas and strategic policies about how the world is or should be integrated to consolidate economic development (Yeldan, 2012), but this is not necessarily constructed in a reality. The current free market imposed by the neoliberalism governance structure has brought economic growth and social inequalities within states and all around the world (Hobsbawm, 2007, p. 3). Even with a free market, most people do not have the economic means to access products, information or technology to belong to the globalised world (Blommaert, 2010). Globalisation is not homogenous and it creates a fragmented and uneven distribution of resources (Appadurai, 2000). For some, globalisation processes represent prosperity, but an obstacle and marginalisation for others (Blommaert, 2010; de Sousa Santos, 2006; Pitkänen-Huhta & Hujo, 2012).

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In the late twentieth century the differences in the distribution of resources and economic development resulted in the distinction of the Global North and the Global South regions of the world. This division is mainly based on economic development of countries through the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century, where the North represent the powerful and high-income countries that are usually located in the Northern hemisphere, like the United States and the European Union; and the South are the lower and middle-income countries, including countries in Africa and Latin America, that depend of their political and economic relations with the North (Castells, 1996; Horner & Carmody, 2020; Nef & Robles, 2000; Sheppard & Nagar, 2004; Wallerstein, 1974). Beyond geographical borders, this divide is also associated with other historical factors like slavery, industrialisation and colonialism, since many of the countries in the Global North used to be empires, and many countries in the Global South were colonised countries (Horner & Carmody, 2020). The North and South framing has been challenged by globalisation and neoliberalism economic order with the increasing of heterogeneity and inequalities within many countries in both regions, something that has led to some researchers to believe that the power and wealthy differences between the North and the South are not really divided in these two regions, but instead coexist in all corners of the world (Horner & Carmody, 2020; Sheppard & Nagar, 2004). However, there is still a gap between the North and South that is interrelated to economic, political and ideological class structures that are reproduced by the economic global order (Horner & Carmody, 2020).

Economic and social inequalities were highlighted by the consequences of the coronavirus pandemic explained above. For example, as a preventive measure for the spread of the virus in Mexico, all schools of all educational levels were closed. To continue with the education plans Mexican government established different educational policies that were implemented around the country and supervised through Mexico's Ministry of Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública [SEP]). Communication technologies, such as virtual platforms, digital resources and social networks were used to continue classes from home in all education levels; moreover, an especial television program for basic education levels (elementary and middle school) was created to be broadcast on most open channels (Navarrete Cazales et al., 2020). However, for different reasons, these measures left out many students from the Mexican education system. Data about the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic show that around 1.2 million students, from the total of 54.3 million enrolled in the Mexican education system, did not finish the 2020 school year mainly because their school closed permanently, and because the lack of electronic equipment or access to internet connection (Irepan Hacha & López Paniagua, 2021). Also, more than 5.5 million students did not continue their education because the lack of economic resources (Irepan Hacha & López Paniagua, 2021). While educational exclusion and abandonment problems in Mexican education have existed before the pandemic, applied measures to stop the spread of COVID-19 exposed the seriousness of these and

other situations in education institutions as consequences of economic inequalities, like the deficiencies in availability of technology and connectivity to digital media in Mexico (Navarrete Cazales et al., 2020). The use of technology, especially information and communication technologies, is a characteristic of the globalised world, and even considered a need to belong to it as explained before. For some scholars, this educational inequality is another consequence of neoliberal economic policies implemented by Mexican government (Irepan Hacha & López Paniagua, 2021) .

In addition to what is described above, it should be stressed that language has taken a central role in globalisation and the global economic order (Heller, 2003, 2010). According to Heller (2003), language is now a marketable commodity, it has become a part of the symbolic capital that we can mobilise in the economic market. Moreover, the expansion of markets has required language to manage, produce, construct and develop relations in the production of resources and in the service industries (Heller, 2010). Therefore, on one hand language plays a key role in the production and reproduction of the world economic and social order (Heller, 2010), and on the other hand, consequently, the value attached to linguistic forms and language practices is linked to political and economic conditions of this world order (Gal, 1989; Heller, 2010; Irvine, 1989). English language specifically has been associated with trade and lucrative businesses in the global market, characterising it as the language of globalisation and in consequence idealising English as a necessary language to participate in the globalised world (Mufwene, 2010; Piller & Cho, 2013). Globalisation has contributed to the spread of English and other major languages in a major scale and speed than in any other moment of human history (Mufwene, 2010). The value attached to some linguistic forms and language practices is informed by language ideologies that underlie national policies, as it will be discussed later (see section 2.2).

### **2.1.1.2 Mobility**

Steger (2020) identifies four qualities or characteristics of globalisation that stand out in the most influential definitions of the term: *creation and multiplication, expansion and stretching, intensification and acceleration, and the subjective plane of human consciousness*. According to the author, the first quality describes how globalisation involves the construction of new social networks and activities that are created and multiplied beyond traditional political, economic, cultural, and geographical boundaries (p.9). The second quality refers to the expansion and stretching of social relations, activities, and interdependencies, like those that emerge in today's financial markets that have allowed the presence of private organisations and movement of products around the world (p.10). Third, the intensification and acceleration of social exchanges and activities means that these are getting faster because distances are shrinking dramatically, something that has only been possible because of technological development (pp. 11-12). Finally, Steger (2020) states that

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globalisation processes do not only occur in the objective material level, with this quality the author makes reference to how people construct a sense of belonging to a global whole when they become aware of globalisation processes, social changes and the construction of interdependence relations around the world (p. 12).

All of the above described as globalisation qualities imply different kinds of 'mobility'. Mobility of products, information, technology and jobs throughout the world is a defining feature of globalisation (Yeldan, 2012) and this has resulted in the creation and multiplication, expansion and stretching, intensification and acceleration of social relations, activities, and interdependencies described before. Even people's awareness of globalisation processes implies the mobility of information and ideas. This has led to the conclusion that globalisation processes consist in a series of global mobilities that include commodities, people, capital, information and technology in different dimensions (Kellerman, 2020).

Human migration is one form of people's mobility that has been greatly affected by globalisation processes. As explained in the previous section, distribution and access to different resources have resulted in social inequalities that together with geopolitical changes in the late 1980s and especially the end of the Cold War, have affected people's mobility and resulted in new migration flows and new patterns of human mobility (Arnaut, 2016, p. 53; Blommaert, 2010, p. 14). Before these changes, migration was a well-regulated phenomenon and the profiles of 'migrants' were defined and predictable (Blommaert, 2013, p. 4), but not anymore.

The quantity of people migrating has steadily grown, the range of migrant-sending and migrant-receiving areas have increased, and there has been a radical diversification not only in the socio-economic, cultural, religious, and linguistic profiles of the migrants, but also in their civil status, their educational or training background, and their migration trajectories, networks, and diasporic links.

**(Arnaut et al., 2016a, p. 1)**

Communication technologies have facilitated migrants' movements, they provide the necessary information about routes, job opportunities or assistance (Aleshkovski, 2017; Castles, 2011). Moreover, emigration used to mean the complete separation of your home, but communication technologies now allow immigrants to stay connected with their origins and their communities, while they are away in a new host country (Arnaut et al., 2016a, pp. 2-3).

Different kinds of mobility imply different regulations, so while information, for example, moves freely across national borders, people and objects usually have specific requirements to move around (Kellerman, 2020). Thus, even when human mobility is crucial in the labour market of the

globalised world, countries have sought to control and manage this mobility according to their interests (Castles, 2011). Well educated and qualified migrants are easily welcomed in developed countries to meet the needs of their labour deficits, while the ones who do not meet their qualifications are excluded (Aleshkovski, 2017; Castles, 2011). These inequalities promoted by migration restriction policies have not stopped nor controlled human mobility and there is a continual growth of irregular migration, where immigrants enter and stay in the countries of destination breaking the law (Aleshkovski, 2017). These kinds of actions, where the marginalised strive for a place in the global spheres of power, are defined by Appadurai (2000) as “grassroots globalisation” or “globalisation from below”. This kind of globalisation challenges the idea that there is only one way to belong and succeed in the globalised world (Appadurai, 2000).

On the other hand, people do not only migrate looking for jobs or a better economic income. According to Castles (2011), social inequalities produced by globalisation processes have led to an increase of violence in some regions and people has been forced to flee their homes. In addition, the increase of production and transportation of resources seeking a major economic benefit under neoliberal policies have caused an accelerated environmental degradation that have mostly affected the poorer regions of the world and resulted in people displacement due to climate change (Castles, 2011, pp. 313-314). Over the last decade, these global trends of inequalities, technological development, violence and climate change have persisted, and mobility is still perceived as a chance of a better life and prosperity, consequently the number of people moving across and behind borders continues increasing (United Nations Development Programme, 2020). Therefore, new human mobility and migration flows are another example of the “grassroots globalisation” or “globalisation from below”, where the marginalised look their way to succeed in the globalised world.

According to Aleshkovski (2017), Mexico is the country which supplies the largest number of irregular immigrants in the world, and at the same time receives about a million of irregular immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean that pass through its territory seeking to reach the United States, perceived as one of the strongest economies of the world. Therefore, Mexico and the United States have tightened their immigration policies. In response to these policies and refugee management in the United States and Mexico, immigrants have created new ways of organisation and mobility, the migrant “caravanas”, a social movement emerged in the early 2000s (Wurtz, 2020, p. 931). The idea of these *caravanas* is to march together to protect themselves traveling through Mexico, where immigrants confront risks of police abuse, gang violence, environmental hazards and organized crime (Wurtz, 2020, p. 931). In December 2018, there were more than 9000 migrants from North Central America participating in the *caravanas* that entered Mexico that year, they were organised via social networks on the Internet and received lots of attention by the mass media (Torre & Mariscal, 2020). In recent years, the phenomenon of *caravanas* has continued, political and economic conditions in

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Central and South America continue to be critical, migration patterns continue changing and the numbers of migrants that try to cross Mexico continue rising (Fredrick, 2023). Similarly, in Europe, massive migrations have created a migrant crisis in the European Union (Evans, 2020; Haq et al., 2023). These situations have raised attention about the risks of mobility that immigrants face, and also about their access to human rights, asylum protection and dignified work as a key issue in migration policies (Wurtz, 2020).

As explained above, human mobility is linked to political, economic and social conditions and there is a need for states to improve its management, since migration demands specific responses for the immigrant's well-being, a well-managed migration policy can allow the states to solve these problems and take advantage of migration as a source of development (Aleshkovski, 2017). The disruption of human mobility produced by the COVID-19 has illustrated the relevance of these kinds of policies about mobility and immigration responses. Countries implemented limitations and restrictions on their borders for undetermined time. Furthermore, it is expected that the economic consequences of the pandemic may push new waves of immigration that will challenge states and their migration management again (United Nations Development Programme, 2020). Research on the topic also predicts the rise of anti-immigrant prejudice and politics based on stereotypes and nationalist claims (O'Brien & Eger, 2021).

Given the above, even when mobility of products, information, technology and jobs throughout the world is a defining feature of globalisation (Yeldan, 2012), human mobility brought as a result of it has been restricted according to how it might benefit the host states (Escalante, 2015, p. 181). Diversification of this human mobility and the emergence of new migration patterns reemphasise Appadurai's notion of "grassroots globalisation" or "globalisation from below", where inequalities resulted from globalisation processes cause a reaction in the places and people that are affected by these processes, and they, the marginalised of the globalised world, will respond with other actions to stop global spheres of power and promote social equality (Mathews et al., 2012).

In reference to these different types of mobility, Canagarajah (2021b) distinguishes three types: *geographical*, *spatial* and *social*. Canagarajah (2021b) considers migration as part of 'geographical mobility' that he characterises as the action of moving across different places. He defines 'spatial mobility' as the spatiotemporal terrain on which geographical mobility occurs, and 'social mobility' as the mobility through the class structure (pp. 570-571). What we need to highlight, according to Canagarajah (2021b), is that these three mobilities are connected to each other differently in Western and South epistemologies. Under a Western epistemology mobility is assumed to guarantee social progress. People, things, and semiotic resources move through space toward a desired end point performing geographical and social mobilities (Canagarajah, 2021b) (see Figure 1). It seems to

be the idea that submerges human migration described before, were people look to move spatially to a new geographic location expecting to improve socially, accessing a higher place in class structure.

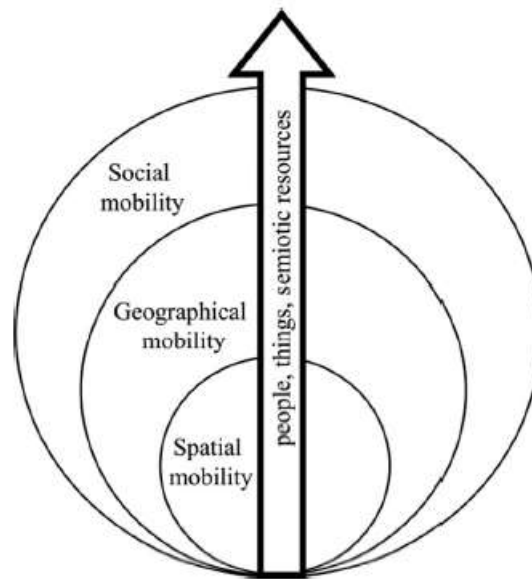


Figure 1. Western mobility epistemology (Canagarajah, 2021b, p. 578)

Canagarajah (2021b) proposes a Southern orientation in the understanding of mobility, where spatial, geographical, and social mobilities are negotiated for equilibrium by people, things, and semiotic resources (p. 578) (see Figure 2). In his proposal, even when progress is desirable, it is balanced with other interests allowing heterogeneity. This implies a change of the idea that social improvement is going to be reached only because you are localised in a space that would bring you access to better social conditions, because, as it has been described earlier, access to resources is not determined by space under neoliberal structure.

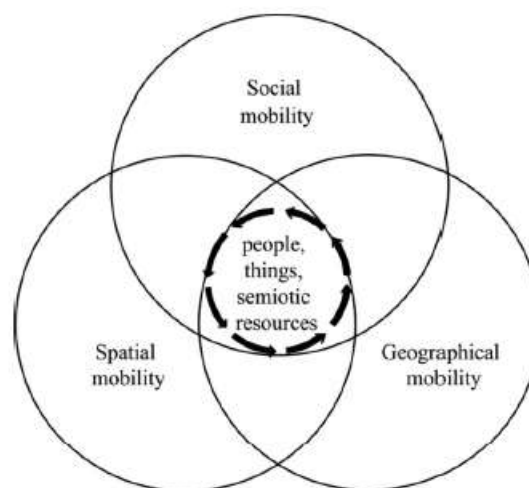


Figure 2. Southern mobility paradigm (Canagarajah, 2021b, p. 578)

Furthermore, the differences between West and South epistemologies are relevant in the nexus of mobility and language since the construct of language has been influenced by Western epistemology of mobility, creating a hierarchical status for languages. Certain languages, like in the case of English, are more efficient and economical for market and mobility, while other languages are threatened, and their speakers marginalised (Canagarajah, 2021b). This hierarchical status of languages is explained by Blommaert (2016) as *orders of indexicality* that are constructed ideologically and renegotiated when people move from place to place (see section 2.1.3 for further discussion).

For all of the above, as stated by Blommaert and Rampton (2011) mobility is now a central concern in the study of language, language groups and communication, bringing a paradigm shift in the field. This paradigm shift is also related to multilingualism, language ideologies and political structures (Blommaert, 2016) as will be discussed in the following sections.

### **2.1.1.3 Micro and macro relations**

Beyond human mobility, globalisation is about a world of objects in motion (as it has been mentioned before), and according to (Appadurai, 2000), these objects in motion co-occur in a world of structures. The structures apparently stable, like organisations, and other social forms, are characterised by various flows of ideas, objects, persons, ideologies, goods, images, technology, and discourses that move through them. For example, human mobility through nations explained above; where countries, nations and borders are stable structures, but their inhabitants are in constant mobility. However, these various flows are not spatially consistent, they flow at different speeds, and they are in a relation of disjuncture:

By this I mean that the paths or vectors taken by these kinds of things have different speeds, axes, points of origin and termination, and varied relationships to institutional structures in different regions, nations, or societies.

**(Appadurai, 2000, p. 5)**

The disjunctures (Appadurai, 2000) refers are another interpretation of the world interconnection and the inequalities created as a consequence of it. To the author, local problems are the manifestations of the disjunctive flows in other parts of the world. For example, the restrictions of mobility because of the coronavirus pandemic differ in every country and in the different localities of each country, and they have had different economic, political, and social effects in different levels in each place.

However, it is necessary to highlight that globalisation processes do not just concern to big structures like countries, nations or the world economic system; globalisation processes also influence our



personal lives and other structures in a more micro level (Giddens, 2013). These micro and macro structures around the world are changing as part of the world interconnection. The nation, the family, work, tradition, nature are not the same, since they are facing changes that have never existed before (Giddens, 2013, p. 26), as the coronacrisis exposed.

Considering all above, I, therefore, conclude that the concept of globalisation is used to refer to historical geopolitical and technological changes that have resulted in the interconnection of the world under one economic order. This economic order is imposed to allow the mobility of products, information, technology, and jobs through the countries; however, this mobility has also extended to other objects like ideologies, discourses, images, and others, intensifying social changes and creating complexity and inequalities around the world that organisations and states have tried to manage unsuccessfully. Local problems and actions that oppose to an uniformization of the world allow us to see the relevance of location, and how when even the world becomes a complex network of villages under global structures, each village is also an autonomous place. To capture this complexity, Vertovec (2007) has proposed the term 'superdiversity'. In the next section I will explain the concept and its importance in the study of language in this globalised world.

### **2.1.2 Superdiversity**

As explained in previous sections, one of the most salient consequences of globalisation processes is the change in human mobility patterns. Migration has become more complex, now it does not belong only to big, cosmopolitan or 'global cities', it includes smaller provincial places (Arnaut et al., 2016a). Mobility and migration are not only changing places, but they are also changing people's lives and relations. Vertovec (2007) uses the term 'superdiversity' to underline the diversification in migration, the complexity and dynamics of globalisation, focusing on migrants' human capital as well as the responses of authorities, services and residents from the receiving places. In addition, the term 'superdiversity' takes into account the emergence of new media and technologies of communication and how they affect the way people live (Arnaut et al., 2016a).

Blackledge et al. (2018) argue that 'superdiversity' is not new. The authors highlight that mobility and migration, as well as the variable dimensions implied in the term of 'superdiversity' have existed for a long time in the world, especially in the Global South. However, the intensification and reconfiguration of mobility in the Global North, and Europe in particular, have made the phenomena more noticeable. Nevertheless, Blackledge et al. (2018) also consider 'superdiversity' can offer a new perspective to new complex social realities. In this sense, while Vertovec's work focuses on the social conditions that arose in Britain since the early 1990, his ideas point out the necessity to consider the effects of superdiversity in different social dimensions around the world. Vertovec's 'superdiversity'

suggests, for example, a necessary change in social categorisation, since this 'diversification of diversity' questions and challenges the macro-theories of multiculturalism and identity policies, as well as their understanding of society built it around ideas of ethnic and culturally distinct groups (Arnaut et al., 2016a; Arnaut & Spotti, 2015). These changes in social categorisation are needed to the understanding of modern society under globalisation, and to accomplish this it is required to look at lower levels of social organisation, meso- and micro- (Arnaut et al., 2016a).

This, I believe, is the paradigmatic impact of superdiversity: it questions the foundations of our knowledge and assumptions about societies, how they operate and function at all levels, from the lowest level of human face-to-face communication all the way up to the highest levels of structure in the world system.

**(Blommaert, 2013, p. 6)**

According to Blommaert (2010), superdiversity is driven by mobility, complexity and unpredictability, and the concept has also marked a paradigmatic change in what we know about society. Moreover, this new understanding of society, the complex relations in communities and the problems of group identification highlighted by superdiversity, have marked a change in language studies (Arnaut et al., 2016b; Blommaert, 2010, 2013, 2015b). Blommaert (2010) takes up the concepts of 'time' and 'space' to explain how language use is now less predictable and much more complex in society nowadays, and how globalisation is creating new and complex markets for linguistic and communicative resources. For example, in migrants groups language maintenance is supported by technology when it is used to have contact with their place of origin, and it can also generate new forms of language innovation and linguistic resources (Blommaert, 2010).

Blommaert (2015b) considers that a postnational approach and the reconfiguration of 'community' in language studies are the fundamental changes brought by superdiversity in this area. Globalisation processes have changed the nation-structure, nations have lost some of the economic power, the new flows of objects and products and the development of communication technologies are creating new cultural, economic, and political regions are transcending national boundaries (Giddens, 2013) (see 2.1.1). Using the term 'anachronistic state', Blommaert (2015b) explains how the nation-state is an ideological construction that have sought to define spatial, political, historical, social, cultural and linguistic limits to societies; however, thanks to globalisation processes and technological development, societies are breaking these limits and transcending its borders. This has resulted in a postnational approach in language studies that questions fundamental assumptions about the distribution of languages in specific spaces, language users, and their characteristics. Moreover, superdiversity has also reconfigured the meaning of 'community'. There are new forms of and criteria for membership in 'communities', traditional norms and conventions of communities are

being confronted by the “online” world and new forms of communication, communities are mobile, strategically deployable, relative to specific orientation and scales, and dependent to context (Blommaert, 2015b). As in the example of migrants’ communities before, people can belong to a community in which is not present physically but continue having contact to it through technology.

In the following section I would focus on the changes in the understanding and studying of language, as a consequence of globalisation processes, focusing me in the ‘multilingual turn’ (May, 2014c).

### 2.1.3 Language and multilingualism

Historically language used to be seen and assumed as something fixed and stable that ‘belonged’ to a specific ‘speech community’; that speech community was a group of people who lived in one specific place, at one time, and shared social and cultural knowledge that allowed them to interact and communicate easily between themselves through clear roles and conversations where people knew what to expect from each other (Blommaert, 2013, pp. 6-7). This traditional idea of language is an ideological construction (see section 2.2 for further discussion) with significant power in different domains (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, p. 25). The traditional notion of language has been revised in response to social and cultural changes (like the ones explained above) resulted from globalisation processes, and nowadays the term of superdiversity has highlighted the relevance of the ideas that oppose those assumptions of fixedness and stability of language, as well as the ideas of the existence of different languages that we can name, and that such languages are bounded with specific communities (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, pp. 24-25). Blommaert (2015b) argues that the changes in the nation-state structure brought by globalisation processes (see 2.1.1) have great implications in our perceptions of sociocultural communities, language users, their characteristics, and dynamics (p. 1).

Pennycook (2010) introduces a discussion about the conceptualization of language, and local practices, challenging the traditional idea of the conceptualization of languages as systems of communications used by people in different contexts. He claims a view of languages as local practices whereby languages are a product of the deep social and cultural activities in which people engage (p. 1). From this perspective languages are local because they are not just pre-given entities that may be used in a context or a specific location, languages are embedded in their speakers, their histories, cultures, places, and ideologies. Furthermore, languages are practices, they are everyday activities consequence of these local perspectives. Pennycook’s view of language as a local practice redefines this attempt to fit concepts and meanings in close entities. From this point of view, language practices find their meaning in relation to the locality where they are enacted and interpreted. I will try to explain this with another example of the COVID-19 pandemic with the use of

expression 'You are coronavirus' said to an Asian man and woman in Nairobi (<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-51770856>). The word 'coronavirus' emerged in Wuhan, China to name the virus of COVID-19, but after the virus generated a pandemic affecting many of our daily life activities (as explained earlier), the word is now charged with the histories, culture, places and ideologies from each person that uses it. Maybe the person who used the expression relates the COVID-19 with negative effects in his own life, given the origin of the virus he is now racist to Asians and attacks them with the most negative thing he can think of in current times, a word originated to name a disease that has changed our world.

Other scholars share Pennycook's idea for the need of a new understandings of language beyond fixedness and rule-governed stability, and they have provided other terms to refer to these language practices: 'polylingual languaging' (Jørgensen, 2008), 'polylinguaging' (Jørgensen et al., 2011; Jørgensen & Møller, 2014), 'heteroglossia' (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Rampton, 2011), 'translingual practice' (Canagarajah, 2013), 'translinguaging' (García & Wei, 2014; Jaspers, 2018); and 'metrolinguism' (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015). Such terms challenge global structures and normativity in the concept of language highlighting how the norms of linguistic forms are changing and becoming less predictable and complex in these new superdiverse contexts (Blommaert, 2010).

Blommaert (2010) states then we can see two paradigms to the study of language. The first paradigm is the one established by the first sociolinguistic studies, the "sociolinguistics of distribution", where language is a resource that moves in a horizontal and stable space in chronological time. Under this paradigm, sociolinguistic studies do a 'snapshot' in time and space where other stratification variables, as class, gender, age, etc. can take place. The second paradigm is the "sociolinguistics of mobility". In the last decades, studies of language have entered a new paradigm where language is not in place, it is in motion, and it moves to spatiotemporal frames characterised by social, cultural and political distinctions (Blommaert, 2010). This paradigm establishes the concept of 'space' as vertical, not horizontal, layered and stratified.

Every horizontal space (e.g. a neighbourhood, a region or a country) is a vertical space, in which all sorts of socially, culturally and politically salient distinctions occur.

**(Blommaert, 2010, p. 5)**

Those distinctions are explained by Blommaert as 'indexical' distinctions, which project linguistic differences and define normative use of language according to their order (orders of indexicality). Then, when people move from one space to another, they are located in a particular indexical category because of their language use (Blommaert, 2010, p. 6). For example, it has been observed than in some contexts identified marginal languages forms can acquire new forms of prestige in a

different space (Heller, 2003); like the expressions used in English hip-hop lyrics that do not follow the language norms, but such expressions are accepted in popular culture and widely spread around the world (Pennycook, 2010). However, according to Blommaert, these indexical potentials are organised in polycentric systems, where any localisation will have a normative validity (Blommaert, 2010). The higher scale of each polycentric level will be characterised by “uniformity” and “homogeneity” of the language practices, while the lower levels will be characterised by “diversity” and “variation” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 35). In this sense, the stratification of scales and polycentricity proposed by Blommaert is still normative and maintains the dominance of certain groups and specific language practices (Canagarajah, 2013).

In his research about migrants in English-dominant communities, (Canagarajah, 2013) shows the complexity of the scales proposed by Blommaert. His study describes how migrants adopt different strategies to communicate with English speakers, and how instead of focussing on correct language use, migrants hold to their own language norms and focus on intelligibility (p. 161). This means migrants do not only move from one scale to another when they change from one space to other; instead, they have the agency to negotiate their place in these scales and indexical orders through their own languages and the acquisition of new semiotic resources (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 172; 2018).

The ideas discussed by Pennycook (2010), Blommaert (2010) and Canagarajah (2013) are part of the new discourse that visualises new communicative practices resulted from the intensification of globalisation phenomena (Canagarajah, 2018; Faist et al., 2013). Furthermore, this increasing focus on complex and superdiverse linguistic contexts has been coined as the “multilingual turn” in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, where multilingualism is the new norm for linguistic analysis (May, 2014b, p. 1).

Driven by globalization, and what (Vertovec, 2007) has described as “superdiversity,” critical applied linguists have increasingly turned their attention to the dynamic, hybrid, and transnational linguistic repertoires of multilingual (often migrants) speakers in rapidly diversifying urban conurbations worldwide.

**(May, 2014b, p. 1)**

However, despite the new and increasing interest in it, multilingualism, like globalisation phenomena, is not new, but it is now receiving more attention because the intensification of diversity has problematised the monolingual normativity that has underpinned the study of language (May, 2014b, p. 2). For example, even when it has been observed that a “monolingual bias” (the assumption of monolingual speakers as the norm to measure language knowledge and use) has framed second language acquisition (SLA) and TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other

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Languages), those working in these areas continue ignoring multilingualism or perceiving it in deficit terms (May, 2014a). According to May (2014a), the resistance to change in SLA and TESOL is related to the control of the discipline knowledge. Changes in classification and framing of knowledge lead to changes in power distribution, structure and control principles; it determines “who controls, and what counts as, disciplinary knowledge” (May, 2014a, p. 15). Academic disciplines are organised in communities of professionals, associations, researches and others, that have established hierarchies and rules to determine what is accepted, valued or legitimated in their object of study (Bernstein, 1990, 2000). Then, the maintaining of the notion of language as something fixed and separated from social processes, based in cognitivism theory in language studies, corresponds to the attempt to maintain a perceived scientific status and the seriousness of the linguistic discipline (Block, 1996, 2003; Long & Doughty, 2003, p. 869; May, 2014a, pp. 16-20).

On the other hand, beyond the maintenance of a status in scientific knowledge, the homogenous and autonomous notion of language is also linked to wider politics of nationalism and nation building (Auer, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; May, 2012, 2014c). The nationalist ideology served as a nation-forming ingredient and it took a major role in the organisation and the expansion of empires imposing a linguistic form for its government and organisation (Blommaert, 1999; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Mar-Molinero, 2006). This nationalist ideology accepts the language that is legitimated and imposed by a political unit as the theoretical norm against any other linguistic practice in their territory (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45). As a consequence of the power relations in the language discipline (described above) and its link to the nation state ideology, the traditional notion of language continues holding considerable prestige and power in the governmental structure of nations and several domains within them, such as in education and immigration policies (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, p. 25). For this reason, even when sociolinguistic work has often challenged the traditional notion of language, and that globalisation processes, mobility and superdiversity have highlighted the need of a revision of the concept, as well as the revision of the notion of language groups and communication, the ideological homogenisation of language seems still to dominate language sciences (Blommaert & Rampton, 2016, pp. 24-25). For example, Spanish language served as a nation-forming role in Latin America, even with the presence of many linguistic groups in the territory (Mar-Molinero, 2006). Until today, those who speak other languages are expected to learn and communicate in Spanish in Latin America countries, which is commonly the national language. Even when modern governmental policies promote language diversity, they meet strong resistance from society (Hamel, 2013b, pp. 609-610). I consider this resistance to accept language diversity is the product of language ideologies and the dominance of the nation-state paradigm, as well as the globalisation processes. In Mexico, for example, people can speak different languages, different

varieties, but only the use of Spanish, the dominant language, gives them access to public services, education, or work.

Given the above, linear and uniform models of language knowledge, where learning a language is visualised as a progressive process and organised in different 'levels', are still supported by national and supranational authorities which used them in testing methods and applied them in the fields of immigration, labour and education (Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 12). However, superdiversity has also challenged these established patterns of language knowledge and learning:

'Superdiversity' offers a new look to language and its use by people, what used to be qualified as 'exceptional', 'aberrant', 'deviant' or 'unusual' [...], is in actual fact quite normal.

**(Blommaert, 2015b, p. 2)**

In the look for a new way to talk about language that responds to these challenges brought by globalisation phenomena, mobility and superdiversity, the term "linguistic repertoire" has been revised and reconstructed in sociolinguistics, suggesting this term as a better way to understand linguistic practices and as a better way to address language in academic, social, and governmental structures. These ideas will be analysed in the next section.

### **2.1.3.1 Linguistic repertoires**

The term linguistic repertoire is a common concept in sociolinguistics, first conceived by Gumperz (1964) to refer to the way people communicate with each other in a speech community, including all linguistic, cultural and social variables described by Hymes (1972) as "means of speaking". Gumperz coined the term questioning the traditional notion of language when he noticed in his fieldwork that people used a huge diversity of linguistic resources to communicate and that they do not simply follow the rules and "pure" forms of language in the speech community (Rymes, 2014, p. 1). After these first conceptions, the term linguistic repertoire has been used to describe the complete set of resources a subject knows and uses to communicate with others, but it is no longer tied to a speech community, it is now located in the speaker and their experiences (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2015a, 2017; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015; Rymes, 2014).

According to Blommaert and Backus (2013) a linguistic repertoire is always in construction and tied to each individual life experiences:

Repertoires are individual, biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of actual human lives.

**(Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 8)**

Moreover, Blommaert and Backus (2013) distinguish four competence levels to language resources: maximum, partial, minimal and recognizing competence. These four competence levels reflect what individuals can perform with their resources, since the recognition of language sounds or scripts to the mastery of productive and receptive skills in a variety of genres, registers, and styles. This means no one is capable of performing in a maximum competence for every act of language, resources of each language achieve different competence levels in the different social domains (Blommaert & Backus, 2013, pp. 17-19). For example, some people can read a language, but they are not capable of having a conversation in the same language.

I consider the conception of linguistic repertoires from Blommaert and Backus (2013) is especially useful in the context of globalisation, mobility and superdiversity, because a life story gives us insights about how individuals experience globalisation changes, how mobility has influenced their life, and how their individual experiences reflect the world's superdiversity in the construction of their linguistic repertoire. For example, transnational students, students with living and educational experiences in Mexico and the United States (Zuñiga & Hamann, 2009), are usually identified with limited competence in English or in Spanish in the Mexican or the American Educational Systems. However, from the repertoire perspective they are not deficient or limited in one language or another, they have acquired different linguistic resources in each language, in different moments, according to their living experiences and they have developed different competence levels in those linguistic resources. Following Blommaert and Backus (2013), along with two co-workers I analysed the linguistic trajectories, repertoires and competences of three transnational university students (Herrera Ruano et al., 2021), according to our data, we agree with the idea that linguistic trajectories are not linear, progressive or static, and that linguistic resources and their competence levels are acquired according to life experiences and encounters with language. We conclude the students developed the maximum competence levels required for their academic life, but the fact that they did it under different circumstances and moments that are not part or differ from the ones proposed and expected in both educational systems -Mexican and American- they confronted those ideas that classified them as outside the norm.

The construction of a linguistic repertoire in each individual's life trajectory highlights the role of the spatiotemporal 'context'. When we refer to a spatiotemporal 'context' this includes the consideration of historical, geographical, political, cultural and social conditions that embed communication practices occurring in a specific time and space, and to how all together shape the meaning of those communication practices (Canagarajah, 2018).



Treating spatiality as significant means understanding every practice as situated, holistic, networked, mediated, and ecological, thus integrated with diverse conditions, resources, and participants. Spatiality does not mean that we abandon all considerations of order, pattern, or norms, but reformulate them beyond abstract, homogeneous, and closed structures.

**(Canagarajah, 2018, p. 33)**

The spatial orientation considers spaces as “active, generative, and agentive”, so it involves semiotic and spatial resources in communication practices (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 33).

People speak, point, gesture, sign, write, draw, handle object and move their bodies, in a variety of combinations or aggregates, within diverse social and material contexts.

**(Kusters et al., 2017, p. 220)**

Given the above, linguistic repertoires are described as multimodal, where the different ‘modes’ of language work together to construct meaning (Kusters et al., 2017). In this sense, Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) coined the term ‘spatial repertoire’ to explain how the individual linguistic repertoire and the spatiotemporal context participate in meaning construction. Such meaning construction explains why some communication practices are understood in some places in specific moments, but they cannot be understood in others or in different times (Pennycook, 2017; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015).

Kusters et al. (2017) use the term ‘semiotic repertoires’ arguing for a holistic perspective which include signed languages, gesture studies and multimodality research. Since studies on language mostly focus on spoken language users, ‘semiotic repertoires’ take into account inequalities and power differences in accessibility to resources because the lack of literacies, objects and some uses of the senses (Kusters et al., 2017). In their review, Kusters et al. (2017) distinguishes three different ‘semiotic repertoires’: the ‘communal’ that is shared with others, the ‘personal’ that include all the individual resources, and the ‘spatial’ that is embedded in the setting where the communicative activity takes place. Using this notion as point of departure, Canagarajah (2021a) analyses how ‘semiotic repertoires’ become resources under the light of New Materialism. He demonstrates how semiotic objects acquire meaning only when they are materialised in communicative activities, and they make meaning in the diverse semiotic repertoires (communal, personal and spatial) for successful communication (Canagarajah, 2021a). His analysis also highlights the role of language ideology in the framing of the communicative activity (Canagarajah, 2021a, p. 17), this topic will be discussed further in the following section.

In an attempt to summarise the relationship between language and globalisation, discussed here, I will use a personal example. I have a nine-year-old son who one day, two years ago, when he was waiting for me in my mother's house became impatient and started to send me WhatsApp messages from my mother's mobile phone (see Figure 3). To my surprise the text was in English. My son was learning to read and write in Spanish, and he knew some words in English, but he was not able to write complete sentences in English. So, when I got to my mother's house, I asked him, "How did you write those messages in English?"; he replied, "I just used the translator."



Figure 3. My son's message.

As a consequence of globalisation, the new generation's access to technologies and resources is from a very young age. My son watches many videos, uses expressions from other Spanish countries and knows there are different ways and sounds that people use to communicate, he loves to explore on the Smart TV language configuration and hear how people speak in other places. His messages also reflect other characteristics that accompany globalisation such as inequalities and mobility, because he can access technology, information, and the internet, something not all the children of his age can have. It also reflects superdiversity: his life and communication forms are different from mine when I was his age. Through those experiences, he is constructing his personal linguistic repertoire according to what resources he can access, and he has taken agency in deciding what resources he wants to use. The message shows multimodality, he communicated through an app, and he used a translator to change the communicative practice and it only makes sense to me in that particular moment, implying a spatiotemporal context. The use of my mother's mobile phone helps him to construct the meaning of his message: he was very impatient, and he wanted everyone to note it. Finally, I do not know why he decided to text me in English, because I just use Spanish resources to

communicate with him, but since he knows I am an English teacher, that I speak, read, and write in English, I am aware he knows I would understand his message, however I still wonder how he has constructed the idea that using English will help him to get a rapid response from me.

All described above in this section has helped to explain the transformation of the world through globalisation processes and its repercussions in the economic and political level. Moreover, the section has presented the interrelationship of language and globalisation. While scholars have not agreed on the scale, evolution or impact of globalisation, they convey in its 'multidimensionality', concluding that it can be said that no areas of social life escape of it (Steger, 2020). In this sense, we can also say that even when not all the nations of the world are considered part of the globalised world, all of them and their citizens are affected by globalisation processes as the rest of us.

## 2.2 Language ideologies

Who or what determines which norms we should obey, and why?

**(Taylor, 1990, p. 10)**

Language ideologies are typically understood as conceptions about language, language varieties, language use and its users, they are considered a fundamental part of communicative praxis (Rosa & Burdick, 2017) and a key element in sociolinguistic research (Blommaert, 2005). The development of the study of language ideologies has emphasised the macro and micro relations existing in language practices (Blommaert, 2016; Kroskrity, 2000) where language structures are linked to cultural contexts, and shaped across interactional, institutional and political-economical levels (Rosa & Burdick, 2017). Research on language ideologies has led to the conclusion that ideas about language are never only about language or about language at all (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Woolard, 2020).

One of the most referenced and influential concept of language ideologies comes from Silverstein (1979) who defines linguistic ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). Silverstein's conception of language ideologies considers language structure and patterns of speaking as a base that allows us to identify and analyse social activities and cultural ideas from language users. However, his formulation focuses in the explicit awareness of linguistic structures and function, and not so much on how the rationalizations or justifications of these linguistic structures and functions are constructed in a less conscious level by language users, both of these levels are considered language ideologies in more recent work on the topic (Woolard, 2020).

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During the 1980s, the studies of language ideologies focused on situations of language contact and their links to social inequality and domination (Woolard, 2020). For example, (Irvine, 1989) describes the existence of a dialectic relation between social differentiation and linguistic differentiation mediated by a culture of language and society. These differentiations are not arbitrary. The role of a person or a social group in society, their degree of participation, mobility and shift in social and economic categories are connected to the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas of their members -their language ideologies-, as well as their history.

The following studies on language ideologies were focused on the critical analysis of scholarly linguistic theories (Woolard, 2020). Taylor (1990) edited a book that discusses the influence of ideologies in language and in studies about language, challenging the claim of an ideological neutrality and explanatory autonomy in academic linguistics.

The study of language ideologies has taken place in linguistic anthropology (see Blommaert, 1999; Gal & Woolard, 2001; Kroskrity, 2004; Kroskrity, 2000; Schieffelin et al., 1998; Woolard, 1998; Woolard, 1992; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Scholars who work in the area of language ideologies take different stands on the conception of ideologies (neutral vs. critical), on how they are explicit or implicit in discourse, and in what ways they are integrated as systems (Woolard, 2020).

The development of the field of language ideologies has disrupted a range of presumptions about the nature of language, like the conception that linguistic forms are objective phenomena that should be studied apart from ideas about them (Rosa & Burdick, 2017). In fact, a focus on language ideologies is central to understand language practices and meaning of linguistic signs.

[L]anguage ideologies approaches locate the meaningfulness of linguistic signs in relation to other signs in particular historical, political-economic, and sociocultural contexts, and interrogate from what perspectives a given sign comes to take on particular value.

**(Rosa & Burdick, 2017, p. 104)**

According to this claim, since meaning of linguistic signs and the given value of language practices represent a particular point of view that emerge in a specific context, we can state that any understanding of language is ideological (Blommaert, 2005; García et al., 2017a; Rosa & Burdick, 2017; Woolard, 2020). This premise that any view of language is ideological has led to a paradigm shift in the study of language in society along with the reconsideration on analytical categories as language, dialect, sociolect, bilingualism, etc. (Blommaert, 2005, 2016; García et al., 2017b). Scholars have critically explored power relations established in naming, validating, categorising, documenting languages, and have questioned who determines linguistic normativity (Taylor, 1990). Furthermore, globalisation and superdiversity have highlighted the relevance of these ideas because they have

problematized the foundations of our knowledge and assumptions about societies (Blommaert, 2013) (see 2.1.1).

Under these ideas, language ideologies play a key role in the study of language and society. A focus on language ideologies serves to illustrate how individuals and communities have come to understand language in the way they have, how language and language varieties are constructed by individuals and communities, how these constructions establish their boundaries and interact with existing language policies, how historical conditions have resulted in dominant ideologies, the role of language in social differentiation, as well as the construction and reconstruction of identities in social interactions (García et al., 2017a).

del Valle and Meirinho-Guede (2016) highlight the relationship between language and power in the concept of language ideologies. This relationship explains how some language ideologies are spread as unquestionable truth, and are used to produce and reproduce social and political models in institutionalised spaces (del Valle & Meirinho-Guede, 2016). While research has characterised various language ideologies in diverse areas, there are some specific language ideologies that have been used and are still used to reproduce current social and political orders described before (see 2.1.1.1.), as the one language-one nation ideology, a standard language ideology, and a neoliberal language ideology.

The nation-state framework utilises language as part of their tools to determine who belongs or does not belong to the nation-state, as well as a marker to classify or categorise people and their economic status, transforming language in a symbol of power, identity, loyalty and belonging (Wright, 2016). The one language-one nation ideology is then used to characterise the belief that the use of one single language will favour the construction of an identity marker that will bring unity and harmony to a nation-state (Piller, 2015, 2016). This language ideology has been identified in the construction of the language policy of different nations, such as in Mexico (see section 3.2).

The emergence of the nation-state as a political unit at the end of the nineteenth century under the idea of a “closed and finite society” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 31) along with the imposition of ‘national’ languages, as part of the reproduction of the one language-one nation ideology; establishing the rules and laws for language use, determining how people in the nation should speak and write, establishing what is right and wrong, correct and incorrect, have been a key principle to the interpretation of language as a “finite, frozen, stagnated and rule bound” system (Shohamy, 2006, p. 26). Consequently, the traditional idea of language (see section 2.1.3) still has considerable power in different domains within the nation-state structure, like in education, immigration, government and policy (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011).

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In spite of the descriptions of language as open, personal and dynamic, the views and practices held by most linguists, applied linguists, teachers, students and the public at large is of language as a closed and finite system with fixed and well-defined boundaries.

**(Shohamy, 2006, p. 23)**

Moreover, linked to this interpretation of language as a rule bound system, a standard language ideology refers to the idea of the existence of an homogenous language, that is based on the written form of the language, it is superior to any other ways of speaking, it is the language of upper social classes, and it is imposed and maintained by dominant groups and institutions (Lippi-Green, 2004; Piller, 2015). The dominant groups in this definition make reference to racial and economic stratification, where the social and political power is hold by white people and upper-middle classes; and, on the other hand, institutions are defined as organisations of social and structural importance to continue the established social structures in a community, including, for example, the educational system, the news media, the legal system, and religion organisations (Lippi-Green, 2004, p. 294). A standard language ideology is used as a criteria to judge a person's linguistic resources in a named language, as 'correct' and 'acceptable' or 'incorrect and 'unacceptable' (Lippi-Green, 2004; Paffey, 2014).

While a standard language ideology is also linked to nation-building periods, globalisation processes, mobility and 'superdiversity' (see section 2.1) have changed the linguistic phenomenon of standardisation across and beyond nation-states borders (Paffey, 2014). In his study on global Spanish, Paffey (2014) shed light on how institutions like the RAE (*Real academia Española*) constructs its authority and uses it to maintain and spread the standard language ideology in the use of Spanish around the world.

New language ideologies have also emerged from globalisation processes (see section 2.1.1). The spread of English language through neoliberal structures (see section 2.1.1.1) has resulted in a neoliberal language ideology. This ideology refers to the belief that English language is a global language that gives people access to social, labour, and economic advantages (Piller & Cho, 2013). This neoliberal language ideology, along with the commodification of language, highlight the links of language to all social activities and its active role on them for the construction of social order (Heller, 2010). This neoliberal language ideology and the commodification of language, for example, influence on the assigned value of linguistic resources in the labour market, as well as in the decisions of language policy and planning at different levels (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; Heller, 2003, 2010) (see the following section 2.3).

Neoliberalism and globalisation processes have also brought changes in the ideological foundation of the role and understanding of language in many settings. Main changes have been observed on the commodification of language, linguistic activism and language imperialism (Woolard, 2020).

Although, commodification of language has been widely observed within late capitalism (Heller, 2010), under neoliberalism and globalisation processes language has been redefined as a measurable skill or “skill sets” with different value for the labour market (Cameron, 2000; Heller, 2003; Woolard, 2020). Moreover, the distribution of linguistic resources under globalisation processes is redefining the relationship between language and identity, resulting in the commodification of authenticity (Heller, 2003; Woolard, 2020). Cultural products, like music, crafts, and dance, become emblematic and their authenticity gains exchange value in the economic system, where language sometimes play a role in the production and distribution of its value (Heller, 2003). Regarding linguistic activism, research has revealed that activists have spread the understanding of language as a measurable object of planning that needs expert intervention; but at the same time, they have had positive effects on envision language as a performative practice driven by human activity, not only as an inherited patrimony (Woolard, 2020) (see Urla, 2012). Finally, under linguistic imperialism the debate revolves around the imposition of global languages, as English, and the appropriation of these languages by speakers of other varieties questioning language authenticity and sometimes affecting the dynamic indexical orders (Woolard, 2020).

Since language ideologies depend on semiotic and social processes, Woolard (2020) describes the main theoretical tools that have been honed to analyse these processes under two main groups: *indexicality* and *semiosis beyond indexicality*. First, *indexicality* refers to the association of an object to something in the context where it occurs, like when we associate particular linguistic forms with specific speakers and contexts which they have occur (Woolard, 2020). Under indexicality Woolard (2020) categorises: *indexical order*, *enregisterment*, *indexical field*, and *indexical inversion*. *Indexical order* explains that there is an established order of linguistic forms available for all social participants that allow them to interpret their world and positioning themselves socially. Moreover, this order is dynamic, participants may use different linguistic forms to move to different indexes and project specific associations (Blommaert, 2016; Woolard, 2020). Linked to indexical order, *enregisterment* is a process that associates complexes of linguistic features with types of speakers and types of speaking contexts, characterising these features as typical styles or registers of a language variety (Woolard, 2020). Speaker’s self-awareness of stylistic variation has led to the theorisation that indexical meanings can be mobilised as an *indexical field* (Eckert 2012 cited in Woolard 2020), where the speaker’s multiple positions in indexical order are guided by ideological moves and the speaker’s own stance to position and claim membership in different communities of practice (Woolard, 2020). Finally, under indexicality, Woolard (2020) refers to *indexical inversion* as a process of changing the

value indexed for previously indexed linguistic forms, something that may be unnoticed because is driven by ideology, making this reconstruction accepted as something inevitable. On the other hand, for *semiosis beyond indexicality* Woolard (2020) make reference to semiotics concepts used to the study of language ideologies that move beyond indexicality. Under this group, first we find the concepts proposed by Gal and Irvine (1995); (Irvine & Gal, 2000): *iconization/rhematization*, *erasure* and *fractal recursivity*. *Iconization*, named later *rhematization*, refers to the attribution of the character of speakers to linguistic forms, speakers are characterised according to how they supposedly sound (e.g. elegant, lazy, relaxed) (Woolard, 2020). However, iconic resemblances imply that not all characteristics or qualities are shared between two or more speakers, so *erasure* means overlooking, ignoring or even eliminating linguistic forms, characteristics, and speakers that are not suitable for the iconic image (Woolard, 2020). Along with these two processes, *fractal recursivity* refers to establishment of contrastive sets to generate meaning of linguistic forms (e.g. simple and complex, masculine and feminine) and the process through such contractive sets are projected into multiple social domains at different scales (Woolard, 2020). Taking account of context, the concept of *chronotope* frames language use in time and space (Woolard, 2020). Based on the work of Bakhtin, chronotopes express how meaning and value of linguistic resources are historically and spatially configured, language use always implies the social stratification of linguistic forms at that moment and that space where they are used (Blommaert, 2015a). Along with the notion of chronotope, Blommaert (2015a) discusses the term of *scale* to point out that time and space are not unitary notions, meaning and value of linguistic resources differ between language users and across geographical and social spaces (Blommaert, 2015a, 2021). Finally, Woolard (2020) describes *qualia*, a term that has been recently used to analyse the abstract qualities attributed to iconized linguistic forms (e.g. softness, redness, lightness) that is construed within an ideological system (or ideological field).

As discussed above, language ideologies refer to much more than conceptions about languages, they embody the links between linguistic and social forms and imply power relations. The analysis of language ideologies implies theoretical tools that consider semiotic and social processes. Moreover, language ideologies underpin language practices and construct the notions and beliefs about these practices at institutional, national, and global levels (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). For example, as has been discussed above, the assumption that language is something fixed, stable and empirically objective that undergird language studies has been linked to wider politics of nationalism and nation building, resulting in language policy that ensures that particular types of ideology of language are put into practice as opposed to others (Shohamy, 2006). Nevertheless, as has been discussed earlier, globalisation processes, mobility and superdiversity (see 2.1). are challenging the structure of the world, such as the organisations of nation-states, that along with a new paradigm in language studies



(see section 2.1.3), question the role of language policy as a tool for manipulation, creating and perpetuating unifying and homogenous ideologies to maintain the nation-state structure (Shohamy, 2006). Language policy has then served as a means to provide structure and order to nations, and at the same time language policy has been used to ensure that ideologies of uniformity, cohesion and control are maintained in them (Shohamy, 2006). This topic will be discussed further in the following section.

## 2.3 Language Policy

‘Why do individuals opt to use (or cease to use) particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do those choices influence - and how are they influenced by - institutional language policy decision-making (local to national and supranational)?’

**(Ricento, 2000, p. 208)**

Language policy is a policy mechanism used by political entities -like nations- to manage all aspects of language and its use in society (Johnson, 2013; Shohamy, 2006; Wright, 2016). This policy mechanism operates in different forms and directions, from official documents and laws to unofficial or covert mechanisms that emerge in different levels of society (Johnson, 2013; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004, 2009). Globalisation processes, mobility and superdiversity (see section 2.1) have brought a renewed interest in language policy from a critical perspective, questioning the definition of language and the political and ideological forces that have guided language policy in nation-states (Shohamy, 2006).

Ricento (2000) identifies three phases in the development of language policy as a field of inquiry characterised by macro sociopolitical events, epistemological paradigms, and the strategic ends for which research in language policy has been and is conducted (Hornberger, 2006; Ricento, 2000). The first stage, emerged in the early 1960s, is focused in the formation of new nations and the predominant belief that language problems could be solved through language planning (Ricento, 2000). Language planning is a term that refers to a body of ideas and regulations that intend to control language behaviour in one or more communities (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Shohamy, 2006). Some scholars argue language planning subsumes language policy, others argue language policy subsume language planning (Johnson, 2013, p. 3; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Schiffman, 1996). The boundaries between language policy and language planning are not clear (Shohamy, 2006), sometimes both terms are used as synonyms, and others language policy and language planning are used together because they constitute one field of inquiry (Hornberger, 2006). For this research I use the term language policy for simplicity, but I am aware of the role of language planning in the field.

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The second phase identified by Ricento (2000), in the 1970s and 1980s, focused on language contact and the resulted social, economic, and political effects. Scholars questioned and critiqued the effects of the descriptive models they had developed, realising of the complexity and ideological laden implied in sociolinguistic constructs (Ricento, 2000).

[I]t became apparent that language choices could not be engineered to conform to 'enlightened' models of modernity; linguistic behavior was social behavior, motivated and influenced by attitudes and beliefs of speakers and speech communities, as well as by macro economic and political forces.

**(Ricento, 2000, p. 203)**

Ricento's third phase in language policy research is characterised in the mid-1980s and continues to the present day. This phase has been influenced by postmodern theories, especially language ecology and human rights that respond to new macro political changes in the world. Language policy research is now integrating work in language ideology, ecology and agency to provide a more complete explanation of language behaviour in micro and macro levels (Hornberger, 2006; Ricento, 2000).

Language policy research has also led to classify policies in various types in the literature. According to their origin language policy can be "top-down" or "bottom-up". Language policy is "top-down" when is developed at the "top" in a macro level, by some authority, and it is "bottom-up" when is developed in a micro level, for and by the community that impacts (Johnson, 2013, p. 10). Despite this, these terms are relative, while for some in a specific situation language policy can be considered "bottom-up", the same language policy can still be "top-down" for others (Johnson, 2013, p. 10). For example, in contexts of language shift, when communities take the decision to take action for the revitalisation of their language practices, some members of the community can interpret this decision like a "top-down" policy, depending on their role in the community.

Language policy can also be "explicit" when is officially documented (written or spoken policy texts: national laws, declarations, language standards, curricula, texts and others) and it has an official status of a policy, or "implicit" when they occur without official policy texts (Johnson, 2013, p. 10; Shohamy, 2006, p. 50). Similarly, Schiffman (1996) refers to "overt" and "covert" language policy, where "overt" refers to explicit and formalised policy, overtly expressed in policy texts, and, on the other hand, "covert" that refers to implicit, informal, grass-root and latent language policy occurring without or regardless official texts (Johnson, 2013; Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006). For Shohamy (2006), "covert" language policy refers to policy that has been intentionally hidden by policy creators,

not openly shown. Following this idea, Schiffman (2010) also notes that “covert” language policy can be hidden for either collusive or subversive reasons.

There is another distinction about language policy in law and in practice: “de jure” and “de facto” language policy. “De jure” language policy refers to policies that emerge from laws, while “de facto” are the policies that emerge from reality or practice (Johnson, 2013, p. 11). All the types of language policy described here are developed across different levels and they can overlap in different directions, this means that for example, there can be “top-down” and “covert” language policy or other combinations (Johnson, 2013).

Another common classification for language policy is the “corpus” vs “status” that refer to the distinction between decisions about the structure of language (corpus), and decisions about language use and choice (status) (Shohamy, 2006, p. 48). In the integrative model of language policy and planning goals from Hornberger (2006), she also includes the “acquisition” type that refers to the decisions that look to influence the allocation of users of language (Hornberger, 2006, p. 28).

Even when it has been demonstrated that language policy is not able to control all language practices (Baldauf, 1994; Shohamy, 2006), it is a tool used to manipulate language behavior and practice by those in authority (Shohamy, 2006). For example, the most common language policy in most nation-states consists in the imposition of national languages, these national languages are aligned with national state ideologies and they are used to construct a feeling of belonging and group solidarity in the nation-state society (Shohamy, 2006, p. 51). To achieve this kind of manipulation of language behavior there are different mechanisms, or policy devices, that are used overtly and covertly as means of affecting, creating and perpetuating language practices (Shohamy, 2006, p. 57). Based on the framework proposed by Spolsky (2004) where he identifies: *beliefs*, *practice* and *manage* as the three components of language policy, Shohamy (2006) considers the mechanisms, or policy devices that affect language practices lie between ideology and practice in a bi-directional flow (see Figure 4). Since language is ideological, these mechanisms are ideological, too, and they affect language perceptions, people’s behavior and the *de facto* language policy (Shohamy, 2006, p. 55).

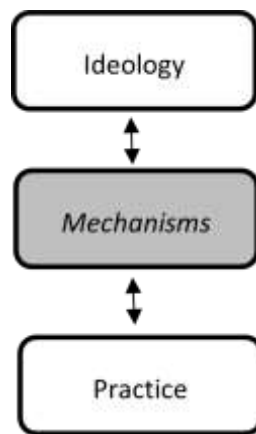


Figure 4. Ideology-mechanism-practice (Shohamy, 2006, p. 54)

Ideology affects language practice through these mechanisms, and at the same time it is through these mechanisms that language practice can affect ideology (Shohamy, 2006, p. 56). The mechanisms include: rules and regulations, language educational policies, language tests, language in the public space, as well as ideologies, myths, propaganda and coercion (Shohamy, 2006, p. 58) (see Figure 5).

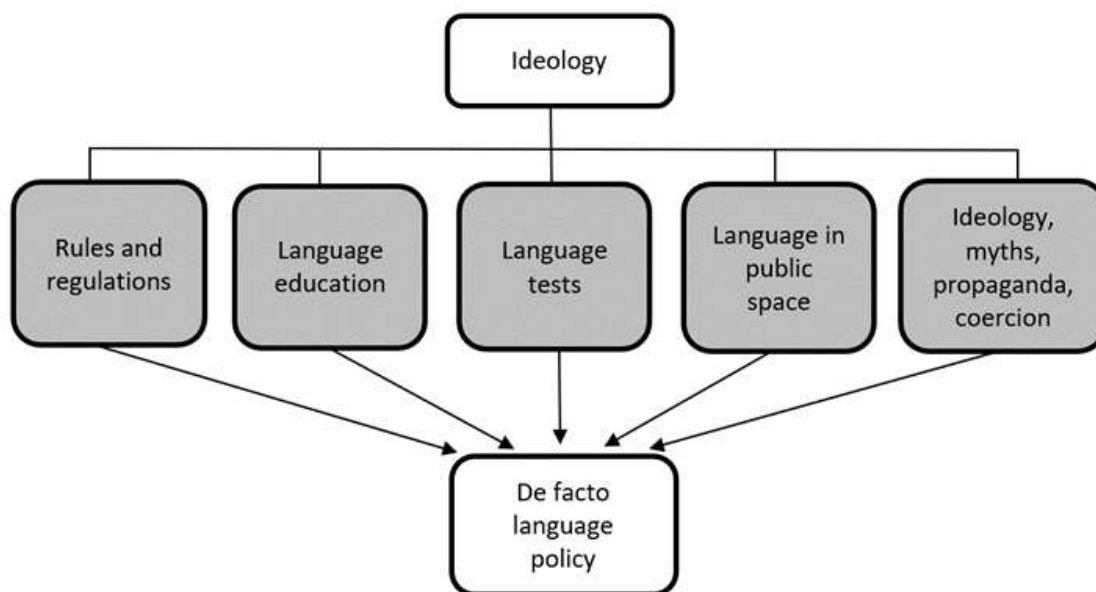


Figure 5. List of mechanisms between ideology and practice (Shohamy, 2006, p. 58)

All the mechanisms act in different contexts and levels, and they can interact and overlap. The first mechanism, rules and regulations, refers to policy documents, language laws, officiality, nationalization, language academies and citizenship laws used by central authorities to impose language behaviors in political and social entities as well as global and international groups, like nation-states or the United Nations (UN) (Shohamy, 2006).

Language education policies refer to the mechanism that create the de facto language practices in educational institutions determining the language of instruction and decisions about foreign or second languages in the educational system. They are imposed by political entities and in a top-down manner, but they are also used in a bottom-up manner to negotiate or introduce other language practices (Shohamy, 2006).

Even when language tests can be considered as part of language education, (Shohamy, 2001); Shohamy (2006) considers language tests are a social and political instrument, not only a pedagogical tool, with a great impact on education and in social order, and she refers to them as a set of mechanisms that are imposed by groups in power to affect language priorities, language practices and criteria of correctness to all students in all schools (Shohamy, 2006, p. 93). Language tests are also used in the context of immigration, citizenship, and asylum. In a number of countries it is required to pass language tests in national and/or official languages to enter the country, to obtain residency, citizenship or asylum (Shohamy & McNamara, 2009).

Those tested are not aware of how influential this mechanism is in affecting the view of which languages count and which do not, not least the effect of the language on the scores they obtain on the tests and the consequences it has on their lives.

**(Shohamy, 2006, p. 55)**

Language in the public space refers to all language items (public signs, advertisements, documents, pictures and images, etc.) that are found in a variety of contexts in the environment, such as the streets, shopping centres, schools, offices, and others (Shohamy, 2006, p. 110). The language items in the public space are a mechanism used for the transmission of symbolic messages of legitimacy, relevance, and standards of languages practices, and in consequence, the presence or absence of these language items in the public space communicates a message (intentional or not) of which are the valid or relevant language practices in that context (Shohamy, 2006, p. 110).

Finally, ideology, myths, propaganda and coercion are considered other mechanisms that influence how people decide to use language. Ideology in this context refers to beliefs about language based on the political nation-state construction that considers language is the main marker of national identity (Shohamy, 2006, p. 130). In the same view, myths originate from ideologies and refer to the shared knowledge and beliefs that people have about languages, for example, the importance of certain languages or the importance of using language correctly (Shohamy, 2006, p. 130). Ideologies and myths are spread by propaganda, when certain beliefs are promoted by media or language in the public space (Shohamy, 2006, p. 131). Furthermore, coercion refers to an strategy that involves persecution for those who do not use specific language practices according to the given ideology, it

can take the shape of laws but it generally implies the denial of opportunities or access to certain opportunities because people's language practices (Shohamy, 2006, p. 132). It is not clear how these mechanisms are different from the beliefs and ideologies that inform all the other mechanisms.

As outlined above, language policy is a dynamic and complex process that emerge from language ideologies and that has a reciprocal relation to language practice (Shohamy, 2006). In that sense, if language ideologies are at the core of language policy, it could be said that language policy deals with the regulation of language ideologies and not so much on the regulation of local language practices, and in consequence, when language policy makers insist on controlling language behaviour, they are just promoting an ideology that sees language as a system that can be controlled (Pennycook, 2017).

To account for current ways of constructing language policies, we need to make salient the linguistic ideologies that form and are formed by such policies and to consider other ways of thinking about diversity.

**(Pennycook, 2017, p. 128)**

As discussed above, language policy is central for political entities; however, language policy happens in many domains. Language management can be observable in any domain where there are efforts to modify the language practices or beliefs of its participants by some authority, such as in schools, families, workplace, and so on (Pennycook, 2017; Spolsky, 2009). Since one of the objectives of this work is to analyse how family language policy influence the construction of the language ideologies expressed in my participants' narratives (see section 1.3), I will focus on the family domain and the field of family language policy in the next section.

### **2.3.1 Family language policy**

Family language policy (FLP) is defined 'as explicit (Shohamy, 2006) and overt (Schiffman, 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members' (King et al., 2008, p. 907). Following this definition, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) highlights this planning is not just explicit and overt, it is an attempt at practicing a specific language use pattern, including literacy practices within the home and among family members (p. 352). Expanding these definitions, (Fogle, 2013) claims family language policy also implies implicit and covert processes that are used to validate language practices and literacy practices over others in the home (p. 83).

Family language policy is a field of research that explores de relations between private domains and public spheres (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013) to determine what are the 'impacts of social, economic and political forces on family language practices' (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020, p. 174) and identify the language ideologies that inform the decisions on these contexts (Pennycook, 2017).

Within a family, there are rules and norms for speaking, acting and believing. Making rules and decisions on what language(s) to practice and encourage, or to discourage or abandon, depends largely on the beliefs and values that family members ascribe to certain languages.

**(Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020, p. 175)**

In a macro level, language policy is designed to modify or influence social processes and social structures, like nation-states or institutions; however, family language policy is 'based on the individual family's perception of these social structures and social changes' (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 352). There are internal and external factors that influence the formation of this family perception that define the construction of family language policy (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). To explain these factors, Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) provide a model adapted from Curdt-Christiansen (2009); (Curdt-Christiansen, 2014), based on Spolsky (2009)'s model of language policy and language socialisation theory (Duranti et al., 2011; Lanza, 2007) that explains the interaction of family language policy and the macro level (see Figure 6).

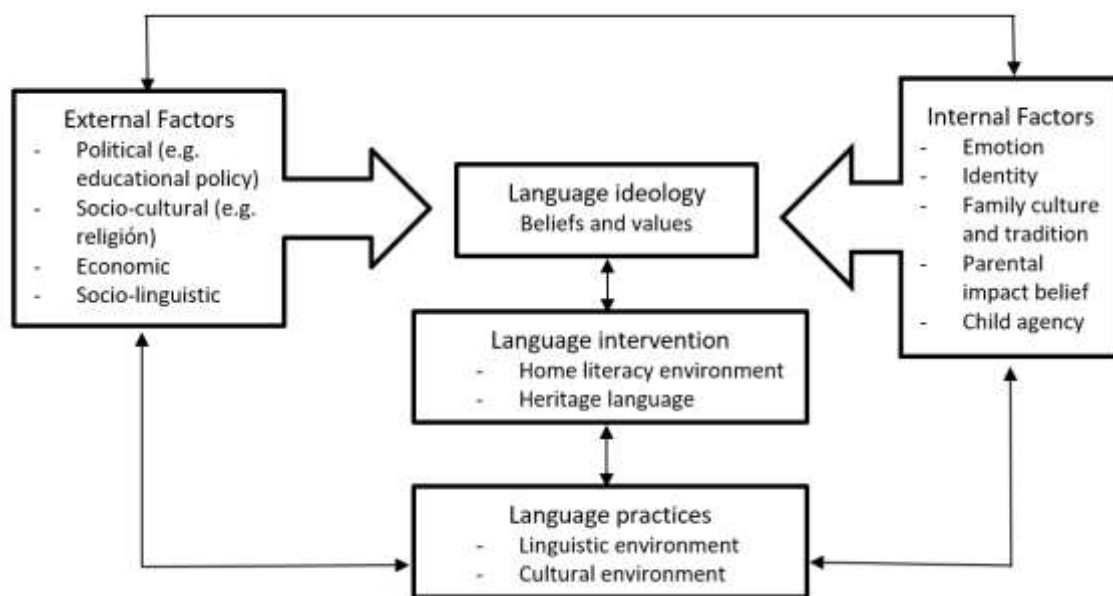


Figure 6. Dynamic model of family language policy (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020, p. 176)

The inner core of Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020)'s model represents the three components of family language policy: language ideology, language intervention, and language practices. The two main factors that influence the language ideologies and that guide language intervention and language practices in family language policy are divided in external and internal factors. As is shown in the model, language ideologies represent the beliefs and values that determine the decisions of caregivers on language intervention, represented by home literacy environment and the role of heritage language in the family. Then, language practices of family members are defined by the linguistic and cultural environment where they develop their everyday life, that are constructed by

## Chapter 2

these inner ideologies, the explicit efforts of caregivers on language intervention, the external factors that surround the family domain and the internal factors of the family members (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

External factors refer to the family's perceptions of the political, socio-cultural, economic, and socio-linguistic environment that surround it, influencing decisions about language at home (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). For example, about political factors, if the language used for education is not the same to the language used at home, caregivers may perceive that their home language is a problem that prevents the family for education purposes that could lead to the decision to stop maintaining the family's heritage language. In the same way, the family's perception of the symbolic cultural value, economic value, and socio-linguistic value of their language practices will influence their language ideologies and in consequence their language practices (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

Internal factors are considered the personal factors that are perceived as important and valuable to create family ties, including: emotion, identity, family culture and tradition, as well as parental impact beliefs and child agency (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). About the emotional factor, the use of particular language practices can invoke emotional reactions that make family members feel "closer" when they interact to each other (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020, p. 177). In the same way, the rest of the internal factors describe the construction of a family relation. Identity refers to the self-perception as a member of a family; and the family culture and traditions are those practices to which a family stays attached that may or may not be consistent with those practices of the community where they live (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020, p. 177). Parental impact beliefs are the ideas that parents have constructed through their own life experiences about what is better for their children's linguistic and educational development, as well as the ideas about their own capability and responsibility for raising monolingual or bilingual children (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020; De Houwer, 1999). Child agency refers to the children's decisions about the linguistic and cultural practices in their families and the actions they take to accomplish them (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

If we look at the arrows that point the directions of each component in Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020)'s model of family language policy, we can observe how external factors influence each individual's internal factors, and that at the same time both external and internal forces influence the language ideologies that sustain family language policy. Furthermore, similar to Shohamy (2006)'s model of ideology-mechanism-practice for language policy (see Figure 4 in section 2.3), there is a bilateral relation between the components in the inner core, where language ideologies intend to affect language practices of family members through language intervention, and at the same time it



is through language intervention – the mechanisms used here -- that language practice can affect language ideologies. Finally, language practices are in a bilateral relation with external and internal factors, and this relation highlights micro and macro relations showing how this domain, as well as other domains, compete for space in the mainstream society and sociological ideologies (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

Family language policy has been mostly studied in migrant families, where parents make efforts to maintain their home language while living in a new country (see Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2014; King et al., 2008). However, more recent studies focus on different contexts and transnational families (see Hirsch & Lee, 2018; Hua & Wei, 2016; Nelson et al., 2023; Nelson et al., 2022; Smith-Christmas et al., 2019). These studies on family language policy have highlighted the role of the family domain in society, and they have shown that decisions about language are always contextualised and shaped by external forces in any domain (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). I consider Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020)'s is useful to reflect the different factors and interactions that coexist in any family language policy, but at the same time I believe it does not reflect the complexity of the relations, decisions, experiences of families, nor their language practices, since it seems family language policy research is still focused on the traditional idea of language as bounded systems linked with bounded communities and territories. Families are different, and they are constantly reconfigured in response to each member's experience. For example, in a study that I developed with two colleagues that examined the relationship between transnational linguistic trajectories and family language policy for three families in the Mexico-US return migrant context (Nelson et al., 2022) our findings support the idea that language practices in the family are continuously reconfigured to respond to cultural and linguistic environments, but these practices are also subject to the experiences of each member of the family allowing for example for greater children agency in family language policy according to the context.

In conclusion, family language policy, as nation-state language policies, is also guided by language ideologies that are constructed by external and internal forces and influenced by internal mechanisms and the linguistic practices of its members. The language ideologies of the inner core of family language policy compete with the language ideologies that emerge from other social domains and those that are constructed in the mainstream society and macro levels.

## 2.4 Summary

In this chapter I have set out the theoretical framework for the research reviewing some of the relevant literature on language and globalisation, language ideologies and language policies. As stated before, globalisation refers to different processes that have created an interconnection across

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the world, where any change in any location will have a consequence with different dimensions in other places. This interconnection is directly linked to a neoliberal economic order that has brought social inequalities around the world. Furthermore, globalisation processes have changed mobility patterns of products, objects, and people. New mobility patterns of people have resulted in 'superdiversity', that refers to the diversification of diversity at every social level and questions our knowledge and assumptions about societies constructed around nation-state borders and ethnic and cultural distinct groups.

Through the chapter I have explored the role of language in globalisation processes and the evolution in language studies as a consequence of the same processes. In addition, I have explored how language ideologies are in the core of language use, language management, and language practices, permeating social structures at different levels, like the global order, the nation-state, and the family. By focusing on the construction of language ideologies through the life of different individuals, it is hoped this present study will help broaden understanding on how people's ideologies are influenced by social structures at different levels.

The next chapter provides the contextual framework of the study.

## Chapter 3 Contextual framework

### 3.1 The research site: Mexico and the city of Tepic

In this section I set out the context of my case studies located in the city of Tepic, the capital city of Nayarit State on the west coast of Mexico, where I was born, grew up and currently live. First, I will give a brief overview of Mexico and its population as a starting point and next I will explore the demography and linguistic profile of Tepic population. Finally, I describe the construction of Mexican language policy in order to contextualise my data collection and analysis.

#### 3.1.1 Mexico: an introduction

The *Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (United States of Mexico) is a country with a great diversity of languages and ethnic groups. It is situated partly in North America, and partly in Central America, because of its borders (The United States on the north, Guatemala and Belize on the south). Mexico's territory covers an area of 1, 972,550 sq. km. and it has a population of 126, 014, 024 inhabitants (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2020).

Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards diverse indigenous civilizations lived in today's Mexican territory. These indigenous civilizations were oppressed and some of their languages and ethnic groups vanished when Mexico was ruled as a Spanish colony from 1521 to 1821 (Escalante Gonzalbo et al., 2008). The 300 years of the Spanish colony had a great impact in the construction of the current Mexican nation. Within the first 50 years of Mexican independence, Spanish became the most spoken language in Mexico and was imposed as the official language of the country (Terborg et al., 2007, p. 141). The linguistic diversity in Mexico was viewed as an obstacle for the nation construction and an only Spanish education policy was used to eliminate indigenous languages across the territory (Wright Carr, 2010). The imposition of Spanish resulted in social inequality for those who did not speak or communicate in the official language; moreover, along with the oppression of indigenous population, the growing power of upper social classes promoted by the 30 years in which the country was governed by a single president led to the war of Mexican Revolution in 1910 (Escalante Gonzalbo et al., 2008; Wright Carr, 2010). In 1917 a new Mexican Constitution was published. It included ideas from as free public education, freedom of religion, and control of church power and wealth. This constitution remains as the basis of the current constitution and many other laws of the Mexican legal system (Escalante Gonzalbo et al., 2008). Education policy focused on elimination of illiteracy and the first steps were taken to create a bilingual educational system for the conservation and preservation of the country's indigenous languages (Wright Carr, 2010) (see section 3.2). After

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Mexican Revolution, Mexican government focused in the industrial development of the country; however, this industrialisation process was accompanied by other conflicts such as the increased migration of people to the cities, high rates of unemployment, social inequality, inflation, drug trafficking and official corruption (Escalante Gonzalbo et al., 2008).

In 1994, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional [EZLN]) began a rebellion against the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed in 1992 with the United States and Canada by the Mexican government. NAFTA was perceived by EZLN as a political action that would continue encouraging social inequality in Mexico, especially to indigenous groups. The government and the EZLN entered into negotiations and the talks resulted in the San Andrés Accords, bringing back into discussion the preservation of indigenous languages and bilingual education for indigenous communities at a national level (Escalante Gonzalbo et al., 2008; Terborg et al., 2007). After this, in 2001, Mexico was recognised in its Constitution as a pluricultural and multilingual country (Secretaría de Gobernación, 2001). In 2003, as a result of this new statement in the Mexican Constitution, the indigenous languages spoken in the Mexican territory were recognised as 'national' languages in the General Law of Linguistics Rights of Indigenous Communities (Cámara de Diputados H. Congreso de la Unión, 2003).

Recognition of indigenous languages as part of Mexican language diversity has represented a big step in the defence of linguistic rights in Mexico. However, in the following sections I would argue that the focus on indigenous languages has neglected the recognition of other linguistic practices and the diversity of the Mexican population. To explore my claim, I have carried out empirical case studies in the city of Tepic, which I introduce in the following section.

### **3.1.2 The city of Tepic**

Politically, Mexico is organized as a democratic, and federal Republic, composed of 32 states, including Nayarit which is located on the west-central coast of Mexico (see Figure 7). The state of Nayarit is divided into 20 municipalities with Tepic as its capital city, located in the centre of the state (see Figure 8).



Figure 7. Nayarit location (Map adapted from INEGI. 2016)

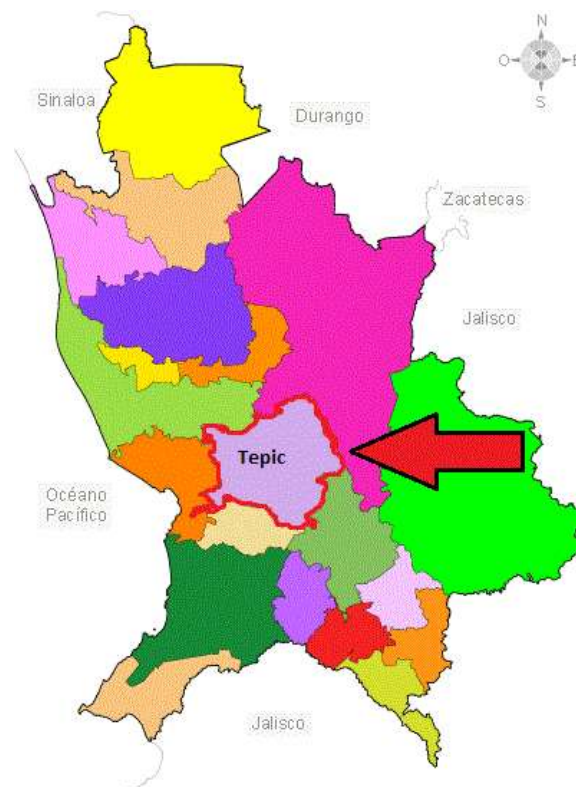


Figure 8. Tepic location (Map adapted from INEGI, 2015)

Tepic has the largest population in Nayarit, with a total of 425,92 inhabitants (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2020). There are 637 schools for elementary and middle education in Tepic (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2010), and a

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total of 24 schools of higher education (Sistema de Información Cultural SIC México, 2021). The *Universidad Autónoma de Nayarit* (Autonomous University of Nayarit [UAN]) founded in 1969 and the *Instituto Tecnológico de Tepic* (Technological Institute of Tepic [ITT]) founded in 1975 are the two largest public institutions of higher education in Tepic. Despite a wide range of educational centres in Tepic, a total of 14.7% of the population do not have access to education, that represents 62,591 inhabitants of the municipality of Tepic (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2010).

There are 77 medical units in Tepic, but the percentage of people without access to health services is 24.2%, equivalent to 103,183 people. The lack of access to social security affects 44.0% of the population, that is, a total of 187,542 people. And, 20.6 % of the population, that is, 87,816 people in Tepic, live in conditions of poverty (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2010).

According to the national Census, there are 69,069 people over the age of three who speak an indigenous language in Nayarit and there are more than 30 different indigenous languages spoken in the state (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2020). However, there are only four indigenous languages that are identified with the geographical region of Nayarit: Huichol (Wixárika), Cora (Naáyeri), Tepehuano (O'dam) and Mexicanero (Náhuatl) (Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas [INALI], 2008). This reflects how the idea of language as something linked to specific communities and territories continues in different levels, as it has been discussed in section 2.1.3.

More specifically, in the municipality of Tepic, Census data shows that more than 91% of people speak Spanish and around 12,635 people identify themselves as indigenous. At least 9,460 of the city's inhabitants speak an indigenous language, and the most spoken indigenous languages are Huichol (Wixárika), Cora (Naáyeri), and Tlapaneco (Me'phaa) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2020). According to the Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas [INALI] (2008), the Tlapaneco (Me'phaa) language is spoken in the state of Guerrero, not in Nayarit. The presence of other indigenous languages in the city of Tepic, which are not commonly related to its territory, is another example of the consequences of the globalization processes discussed in Chapter 2.

All Mexican Census data is collected by different means. It could be collected by phone, through a website questionnaire, or directly by a Census taker who register information on paper on a technology device that shows the interview questions. There is a special questionnaire to communities in situation of vulnerability, that according to the Census criteria they are communities with less than 1,300 dwellings with more than 40% of indigenous language speakers, or with low

Human Development Index (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2021). The Census questionnaire is answered by one person that provides all the required information about him/herself, his/her home and all the people he/she lives with. You must be at least 18 years old to answer. It is not specified if this questionnaire is translated or applied in other language than Spanish.

From 2000 to 2010, the migration rate to Tepic maintained a steady growth (Consejo Nacional de Migración [CONAPO], 2013). Regarding immigrants' origins, a total of 61,925 people who live in Tepic were born in another Mexican state, and 3,811 people of the Tepic population were born in a different country, a total of 90% of them were born in the U.S. (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2010). As a consequence of the dynamic of Mexico-US immigration over the years, it is common to know people who have family living in the U.S. or that have lived in that country for several years. There is a growing demographic in Mexico of families with lived experiences in Mexico and the U.S. (Zuñiga & Saucedo, 2019). There is also the presence of other foreign people who have settled in the city, and it is visible through the linguistic landscape (see section 3.1.3). However, there is no specific information on foreign languages spoken in the city.

Finally, in the City of Tepic, there is a total of 16,467 people who are restricted in their ability to communicate or are hearing impaired (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática [INEGI], 2020). Nevertheless, there is not specific information about how many of these people are identified as hearing-impaired, and there is no information about how many people can communicate in Mexican Sign Language (LSM).

### **3.1.3 Linguistic landscape in the city of Tepic**

Linguistic landscapes refer to “language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces” (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009, p. 1). Language in the public space can provide evidence of the people who live in a place, their story and identity (Blommaert, 2013). I have taken some pictures of parts of the linguistic landscape of the city of Tepic; the following images give evidence of the people and the languages that are present in it.

There are spaces that reflect the presence of indigenous population living in the city of Tepic. There are special places where indigenous people sell their handy crafts (see Figure 9) and in the centre of the city there is a Wixárika restaurant (see Figure 10). The owners of the restaurant are a Wixárika family, they sell traditional Wixárika food, and their workers also belong to the Wixárika community. The restaurant also has a small library with some books about the Wixárika community and about the different indigenous communities in the state. The place is also used to teach the Wixárika language and to celebrate different cultural activities that promote indigenous languages in the

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state. The Wixárika ethnic group generally stands out among the other ethnic groups that inhabit Mexico, due to their traditional costume, and the colours, figures and materials they use in their handicrafts.



Figure 9. Indigenous art market corridor<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> All photographs taken by myself.





Figure 10. Indigenous food restaurant sign

In Figure 10, next to the indigenous food restaurant sign written in Wixárika, there is also a store sign in English. It is common to see signs in English or that use English and Spanish in the city (see Figure 11). Moreover, there are some businesses that have been founded by foreign people that have come to live to Tepic with signs in other languages. One of the most well-known of these businesses is a French bakery (see Figure 12 and Figure 13). The owners are a French chef and a Mexican woman from Tepic city. They have two stores in the city.



Figure 11. Barber shop sign



Figure 12. French bakery sign



Figure 13. French bakery

There are American companies that are well-known around the world established in the city, such as Sam’s club, Wal Mart, Carl’s Jr, KFC, Burger King and others, that form part of the landscape in the city (see Figure 14). The presence of global brand names make reference to connections on a local, regional, and global scale.



Figure 14. American company sign

Nayarit is characterized by maintaining a high rate of people who go to live permanently or temporarily in various parts of the United States (Consejo Nacional de Migración [CONAPO], 2020) and this is also reflected in the linguistic landscape of the city of Tepic. There are different currency exchange businesses around the city (see Figure 15) and offices that offer legal services for the American and Mexican government (see Figure 16).



Figure 15. Currency exchange business



Figure 16. Legal services for immigrants' office

Finally, the graffiti in the city also shows different language forms that can reflect the backgrounds of their authors or the presence of these language forms in the city (see Figure 17 and Figure 18).



Figure 17. Graffiti in English

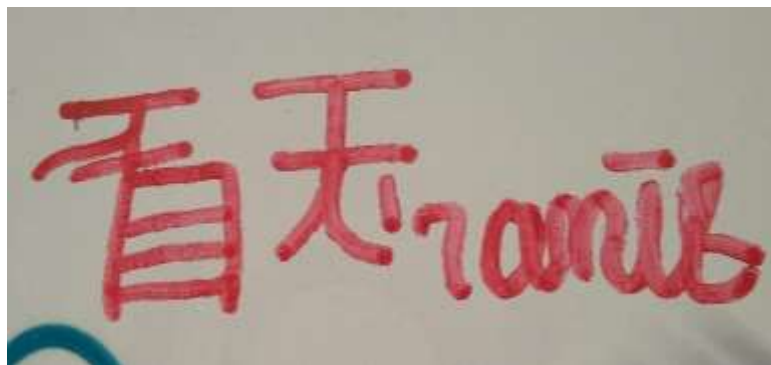


Figure 18. Graffiti in Kinji

These examples of the linguistic landscape in Tepic show some of the linguistic diversity of the city. While the study presupposed linguistic diversity because of Census data, the linguistic landscape reinforces the presence of this diversity with the use of Spanish, English, French, Wixárika and Kinji in business signs and graffiti. It should be understood that it is not my goal to examine the linguistic landscape of the city, but rather to use these examples in order simple to legitimise the linguistic diversity where I have developed my case studies, and to reflect in my results if language in public space contributes to the construction and reproduction of language ideologies, as it has been discussed in Chapter 2.

### 3.2 Mexican language policy

There are several examples of countries and contexts with an explicit preference for monolingualism, where monoglossic ideologies about languages are reproduced in state-managed language and

cultural policies (Fuller, 2018; Shohamy, 2006) (see Chapter 2 for more discussion). For example, historically in Latin America, national language policy has been used to impose standards of linguistic and cultural homogeneity that seek to assimilate those who communicate differently (Hamel, 2013b). As a result, even when there are new efforts in modern governmental policies to promote language diversity, these kinds of language policies meet strong resistance from some parts of society (Hamel, 2013b, pp. 609-610).

In his own interpretation of the ideologies that have informed the historical construction of language and cultural politics in Latin America, Hamel (2013a) proposes three ideological orientations: monoculturalism/monolingualism, multiculturalism/multilingualism and pluriculturalism/plurilingualism. These ideological orientations correspond to phases in history, but according to Hamel, all three can be found today (see Figure 19). First, Hamel (2013a) explains, monoculturalism/monolingualism was developed in the colonial period and reinforced after Independence. This ideological orientation denied indigenous populations the right to exist, they were ignored. Then, in the beginning of the twentieth century, multiculturalism/multilingualism challenged the monoculturalism/monolingualism ideological orientation acknowledging the existence of ethnic minorities but defining language diversity as a problem or “the Indian problem”. The existence of indigenous and other ethnic minorities is seen as a barrier to national unity. They exist, they have the right to exist and to use their languages, but their bare existence and the language diversity they bring with it, is also defined as a problem. Finally, pluriculturalism/plurilingualism as an ideological orientation is based on an enrichment perspective where language diversity is recognized and valued as an asset and potential cultural capital for the nation. Pluriculturalism/plurilingualism is grounded in, amongst other things, the theoretical foundations of intercultural education (Monsonyi and Rengifo 1983 cited on Hamel, 2013).

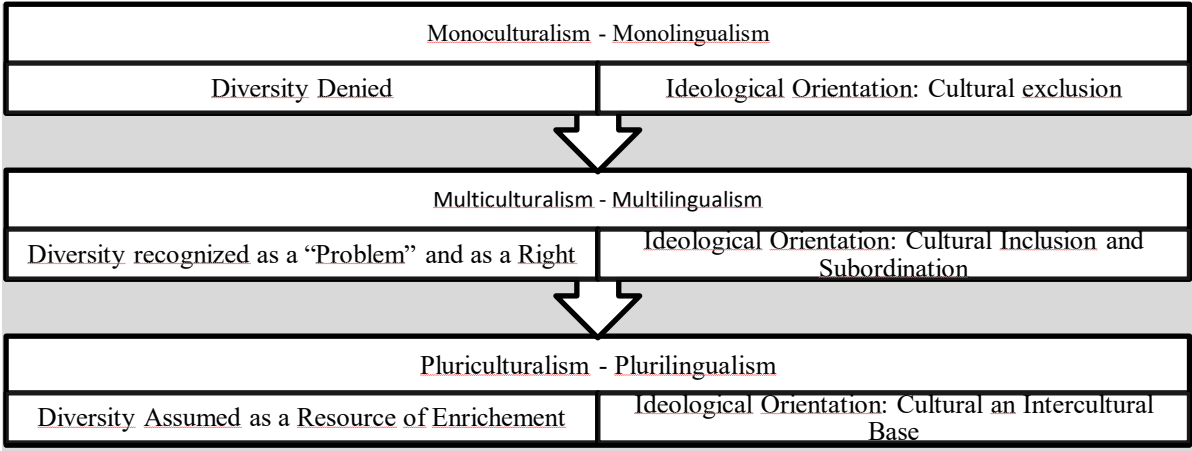


Figure 19. Ideological orientations in language and cultural policy (Hamel, 2013, p. 611)

About Mexico, Warman (2003, cited in Terborg et al., 2007) argues that, from a historical perspective, Mexican language policy falls into three main styles: incorporation, integration and participation. Incorporation policies seek the incorporation of indigenous people into the nation as a whole. Formulated by the non-indigenous population they want indigenous populations to replace their indigenous traditional values with the ones of the nation, for example, replace their indigenous languages with Spanish. Integration policies develop actions that together with education seek to enhance social and cultural development for indigenous populations. Under these policies, education is considered necessary for the integration of indigenous people into national life, for example, teach Spanish to indigenous people so they can replace their languages by it. In both, incorporation and integration policies indigenous people are forced to make the “correct” decisions. From a different perspective, participation policies seek to attain the full potential of the indigenous population. In these policies, the government, the indigenous communities and Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are all actively involved to promote and integrate indigenous knowledge into national life. For example, implementation of bilingual and bicultural school programmes that allow indigenous people to maintain their indigenous languages and learn Spanish at the same time. According to Terborg et al. (2007), there is some evidence that at the present time, policy making with regard to the indigenous population in Mexico is in this third stage of participation. However, Spanish maintains a higher status than any of the indigenous languages. More than 80% of Mexicans consider Spanish an important marker of the national identity, and 89% feel proud of being speakers of Spanish (Moreno de Alba, 2003, pp. 74-81).

Although most language policy research in Latin America and Mexico focuses on the relation of Spanish or Portuguese to indigenous languages, there are other languages involved in Mexico’s language diversity. Foreign immigrant groups live in different parts of Mexico. Although, most immigrant groups are linguistically assimilated into Mexican society, some have conserved their traditions. Some examples are: the Italian colony in Chipilo near Puebla, the Japanese community in Mexico City, and the Mennonites who emigrated from the United States speaking a German dialect (Terborg et al., 2007, pp. 136-137). Moreover, English has a special place in Mexico’s language diversity, thanks to the border between Mexico and the United States, their political and economic relation, and to the spread of English due to globalisation (see Chapter 2). The English language has been taught in Mexican public schools since the 1960s. French is the second most taught foreign language in Mexico and other languages such as German and Italian are also taught in the country (Pérez López et al., 2012). There is also a growing interest for Asian languages. In the city of Tepic, for example, there is a collaboration program between the Autonomous University of Nayarit and other Korean universities and organizations, which have allowed the creation of an undergraduate study

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program, as well as other Korean language and culture courses in which teachers from that country participate and come to live to the city of Tepic.

According to Terborg et al. (2007), the emergence of Mexican Language Policy can be divided in four stages: pre-hispanic Mexico, the Colony, the Republic, and the present day. In the first stage, pre-hispanic Mexico, the nation was linguistically dominated by the Mexicas, and in consequence their language Nahuatl or Mexica was introduced as a lingua franca. When Spaniards arrived to Mexico, the Mexica or Náhuatl language dominated communication between Indian authorities and the Spanish conquerors. This language was the first to receive recognition as a general language because of its high number of speakers and because it was the most widespread geographically. As the Spanish explored other territories, they discovered that the people dominated by the Mexicas spoke other languages and some of them were also recognized as general languages (these languages included: Otomí, Maya, Mixteco, Zapoteco and P'urhépecha). Some researchers claim that upon the arrival of the Spanish, around 180 languages were spoken in Mexico (Pellicer, 2010, pp. 626-630).

In the second stage, the Colony, castilianisation was the main language policy, proclaimed by Royal decrees. Learning Spanish was identified with education and evangelisation (Terborg et al., 2007). Nevertheless, when the Colony began, the missionaries, in particular the mendicant orders, did not follow the Royal decrees, they believed that people could only achieve a true understanding of the word of God through their first language (p. 140). The language that received more attention was the Mexica or Náhuatl and some of the most important grammars and dictionaries of Náhuatl were produced in this period until all indigenous languages were definitely prohibited by the Spanish Crown (Pellicer, 2010; Terborg et al., 2007).

In the third stage, the Republic, after Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, the need of building a new country arose. The new government leaders imposed a one language-one nation ideology, persistent to the present time, and Spanish became the most spoken language in the country (Terborg et al., 2007, p. 141). After this, Spanish language spoken in Mexico underwent great innovations and changes. The need to preserve 'pure' Spanish, like the one spoken in Spain, or to admit the new way of speaking from Mexicans was debated. In the end, the Mexican variety of Spanish was recognized and legitimated in the country as a sign of national identity (Villavicencio, 2010, pp. 726-727). Those who did not want to take part in the one-language-one nation hegemony were oppressed. Consequently, integrationist policies prevailed in the new Mexican nation with the objective of the inclusion of indigenous people into 'civilisation' (Hamel, 2008, p. 302; Terborg et al., 2007, p. 141). According to Hamel (2008), during the century from independence (1810) to the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) indigenous organization and communities suffered a devastating



destruction, there was a severe reduction of the indigenous population and Spanish became the majority language in Mexico (Cifuentes, 2002 as cited in Hamel 2008).

After the Mexican Revolution, a new national ideology based on the Mestizo approach emerged in Mexico. This consisted of understanding that the symbiosis of the main pre-Hispanic cultures, Mexica and Mayan, as well as the European inherited ones, constructed the new prototypical Mexican citizen (Hamel, 2008, p. 303). Hamel (2008) states this new ideology allowed Mexico to distinguish itself from Spain, the United States, and other Latin American countries. Moreover, the new ideology enabled Mexico to forge a solidarity with the rest of the American countries and contrasted them to Europe. And simultaneously, Mexico could establish bonds of solidarity with the other Spanish speaking countries, building a barrier against the United States' cultural and linguistic hegemony (p. 303).

Finally, in the present moment, Spanish is the *de facto* official language of government in Mexico, and the first language of 90% of the Mexican population (Terborg et al., 2007, p. 122) even when the country has one of the largest population of speakers of indigenous languages, as already said before. Since the early 1980s with the formation of civil associations a renewed interest in the destiny of indigenous people and their languages has arisen (Iturralde, 2003, p. 58 as cited in Terborg et al., 2007). As a result, Mexico has been looking to establish a multilingual official language policy.

The development of the current Mexican language policy is the result of diverse national and international protests and social mobilisation calls through the years (Morris, 2007). Since 1953, seeking to achieve equal opportunities for linguistic minorities, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) has promoted basic education in the "mother tongue" or vernacular language, referring mainly to the language people first learn. In 1996, The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (UNESCO 1996) was approved in Barcelona. And in 2003, the UNESCO published the report *Education in a Multilingual World* obliging all countries to recognise linguistic plurality (Morris, 2007, p. 60). According to Morris (2007), Mexican language policy has also been influenced by the Convention of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples by the International Labour Organization (OIT) in 1989, and its ratification in Mexico in 1990 (Anaya, 2004 as cited in Morris, 2007), which promoted preservation and promotion of the languages of indigenous groups (Morris, 2007, p. 60). Article 28 of the Convention (No. 169) on Indigenous and Tribal People in Independent Countries published in Mexico on January 24, 1991 states the following:

1. Siempre que sea viable, deberá enseñarse a los niños de los pueblos interesados a leer y a escribir en su propia lengua indígena o en la lengua que más comúnmente se hable en el grupo a que pertenezcan. Cuando ello no sea viable, las autoridades competentes deberán

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celebrar consultas con esos pueblos con miras a la adopción de medidas que permitan alcanzar este objetivo.

2. Deberán tomarse medidas adecuadas para asegurar que esos pueblos tengan la oportunidad de llegar a dominar la lengua nacional o una de las lenguas oficiales del país.
3. Deberán adoptarse disposiciones para preservar las lenguas indígenas de los pueblos interesados y promover el desarrollo y la práctica de las mismas.

### **(OIT, 1991)**

English translation

1. Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong. When this is not practicable, the competent authorities shall undertake consultations with these peoples with a view to the adoption of measures to achieve this objective.
2. Adequate measures shall be taken to ensure that these peoples have the opportunity to attain fluency in the national language or in one of the official languages of the country.
3. Measures shall be taken to preserve and promote the development and practice of the indigenous languages of the peoples concerned.

In 1992, a revision of articles 4 and 27 of the Mexican Constitution was published. The new articles gave official recognition to the multilingual and multicultural characteristics of the modern Mexico, and they gave to governmental agencies the responsibility for language preservation and maintenance (Terborg et al., 2007, p. 142). The article 4 stated:

La Nación mexicana tiene una composición pluricultural sustentada originalmente en sus pueblos indígenas. La ley protegerá y promoverá el desarrollo de sus lenguas, cultura, usos, costumbres, recursos y formas específicas de organización social, y garantizará a sus integrantes el efectivo acceso a la jurisdicción del Estado. En los juicios y procedimientos agrarios en que aquellos sean parte, se tomarán en cuenta sus prácticas y costumbres jurídicas en los términos que establezca la ley.

### **(Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas UNAM, 2009)**

English translation

Mexican Nation has a pluricultural composition originally sustained by its indigenous people. The law will protect and promote the development of their languages, culture, uses, customs, resources and specific forms of social organization, and it will guarantee their members effective access to the jurisdiction of the State. In agrarian trials and proceedings in which they are parties, their legal practices and customs shall be taken into account under the terms established by law.

The revision of article 27 focused on the protection of the lands of indigenous groups.

The San Andrés Accords, as a result of the negotiation between the indigenous Zapatista Army's (EZLN), that began a rebellion in 1994 -as explained in section 3.1.1, and the government of President Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000), looked to established a new relation with indigenous people (Hamel, 2008, p. 307; Terborg et al., 2007, p. 142). In the field of language policy, these agreements established that indigenous peoples are granted the right to use and preserve their languages, and to achieve this, the State in turn will grant bilingual and intercultural education for them (Hamel, 2008, p. 307; Morris, 2007, p. 61). In consequence, in 2001, under the government of President Vicente Fox, Article 2 of the Mexican Constitution was amended recognizing the origin and customs of the indigenous groups (Morris, 2007, pp. 60-61). The article 2 stated:

La Nación Mexicana es única e indivisible. La Nación tiene una composición pluricultural sustentada originalmente en sus pueblos indígenas que son aquellos que descienden de poblaciones que habitaban en el territorio actual del país al iniciarse la colonización y que conservan sus propias instituciones sociales, económicas, culturales y políticas, o parte de ellas. La conciencia de su identidad indígena deberá ser criterio fundamental para determinar a quiénes se aplican las disposiciones sobre pueblos indígenas. Son comunidades integrantes de un pueblo indígena, aquellas que formen una unidad social, económica y cultural, asentadas en un territorio y que reconocen autoridades propias de acuerdo con sus usos y costumbres. El derecho de los pueblos indígenas a la libre determinación se ejercerá en un marco constitucional de autonomía que asegure la unidad nacional. El reconocimiento de los pueblos y comunidades indígenas se hará en las constituciones y leyes de las entidades federativas, las que deberán tomar en cuenta, además de los principios generales establecidos en los párrafos anteriores de este artículo, criterios etnolingüísticos y de asentamiento físico.

**(Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas UNAM, 2009)**

English translation

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The Mexican Nation is unique and indivisible. The Nation has a multicultural composition originally sustained by its indigenous people, who are those descended from populations that inhabited the current territory of the country at the beginning of colonisation and who preserve their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, or part of them. The awareness of their indigenous identity must be a fundamental criterion for determining to whom the provisions on indigenous peoples apply. Communities that belong to an indigenous group are those that form a social, economic, and cultural unit, settled in a territory and that recognise their own authorities in accordance with their uses and customs. Indigenous people have the right to self-determination that shall be exercised within a constitutional framework of autonomy that ensures national unity. The recognition of indigenous people and communities shall be made in the constitutions and laws of the federal entities, which shall take into account, in addition to the general principles established in the preceding paragraphs of this article, ethnolinguistic and physical settlement criteria.

The article also establishes the right to health, education, justice, and other human rights for indigenous people.

In 2003 the General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Communities was published (Cámara de Diputados H. Congreso de la Unión, 2003) and the National Institution of Indigenous Languages (INALI) was created. The purpose of the General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Communities is to regulate the recognition and protection of the individual and collective linguistic rights of indigenous people. The Law defines indigenous languages as those languages that have been inherited from the people existing in the national territory before the establishment of the Mexican State that are recognised as systems of communication. Article 4 states:

Las lenguas indígenas que se reconozcan en los términos de la presente Ley y el español son lenguas nacionales por su origen histórico y tendrán la misma validez, garantizando en todo momento los derechos humanos a la no discriminación y acceso a la justicia de conformidad con la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos y los tratados internacionales en la materia de los que el Estado Mexicano sea parte.

**(Cámara de Diputados H. Congreso de la Unión, 2003)**

English translation

Indigenous languages that are recognised in the present Law, as well as Spanish, are national languages because of their historical origin and they will have the same value, guaranteeing human rights all the time, no discrimination and access to justice according to

the Political Constitution of the Mexican United States and international agreements on the subject to which the Mexican State is part.

The General Law of Linguistics Rights of Indigenous Communities also specify the rights for speakers of indigenous languages.

Although a legal framework has been created to support and defend linguistic rights in Mexico, as it has been explained, government and institutions have not been successful in moving beyond the policy conceptualization stage (Figueroa, 2012; Morris, 2007). The General Law of Linguistics Rights of Indigenous Communities gives the governments of states and municipalities the responsibility to create the conditions for any indigenous language to be valid in the access of public services and information (Cámara de Diputados H. Congreso de la Unión, 2003). The Constitution of the state of Nayarit in article 7 states:

Nuestra composición étnica plural, integrada por Coras, Huicholes, Mexicaneros y Tepehuanos se sustenta en los pueblos y comunidades indígenas que los integran y a los cuales les asiste el derecho a la libre determinación expresada en la autonomía para decidir sobre sus formas internas de convivencia y organización social, económica y cultural; en la creación de sus sistemas normativos, sus usos y costumbres, formas de gobierno tradicional, desarrollo, formas de expresión religiosa y artística y en la facultad para proteger su identidad y patrimonio cultural.

**(Congreso del Estado de Nayarit, 2017)**

English translation

Our plural ethnic composition is integrated by Coras, Huicholes, Mexicaneros and Tepehuanos, it is based on the indigenous people and communities that are part of them and which have the right to self-determination expressed in the autonomy to decide on their internal forms of coexistence and social, economic and cultural organisation; in the creation of their normative systems, their uses and customs, forms of traditional government, development, forms of religious and artistic expression and in the power to protect their identity and cultural heritage.

In reference to the language of the indigenous communities, the same article later states:

El desarrollo de sus lenguas y tradiciones, así como la impartición de la educación bilingüe estará protegida por la Ley la cual sancionará cualquier forma de discriminación.

English translation

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The development of their languages and traditions, as well as the provision of bilingual education will be protected by law, which will sanction any form of discrimination.

The Constitution of the state of Nayarit does not mention anything else about linguistic rights or speakers of other languages. It only focuses on the four indigenous groups identified in the state.

Furthermore, the lack of knowledge about the linguistic situation in the states and the lack of financial resources has limited government actions (Figueroa, 2012). Research on vitality of indigenous languages in Mexico have documented the continuity of language shift in many indigenous communities (Santos, 2014; Terborg & García Landa, 2011). For example, in 2012, exploring the linguistic vitality of the Cora language (Naáyeri) in the indigenous community of Santa Teresa Nayarit for my master's degree, I spent some time in the community, and realised how difficult it is to live in Mexico without speaking Spanish. In my results I describe how people explain they do not have access to public services in their language and how they feel the necessity to learn Spanish to get better economic opportunities (Herrera Ruano, 2014), confirming that even when there are efforts to promote language diversity in governmental policies, the monolingual ideology remains in the nation-state structure, since only Spanish allow you to participate in Mexican society.

In addition, the Mexican education system continues promoting castilianisation to indigenous people (Hamel, 2016). The *Dirección General de Educación Indígena* (General Department of Indigenous Education [DGEI]) is part of the Mexican Federal Ministry of Education since 1978 and it manages the “bilingual and intercultural” program of indigenous schools in Mexico. These schools are supposed to cover the same curriculum as the general monolingual system of the rest of schools in Mexico, but at the same time they must incorporate indigenous knowledge systems that allow the maintaining of indigenous languages and indigenous ethnic identity in indigenous communities (Hamel, 2016). However, the lack of teacher training and the tendency to consider Spanish as a more valuable linguistic resource continues with castilianisation of indigenous people in schools (Figueroa, 2012; Hamel, 2016). For example, in my fieldwork in Santa Teresa I observed that people learn Spanish at school, not at home, and that the majority of teachers that worked in the school did not speak any indigenous language (Herrera Ruano, 2014). These are not the only problems the indigenous schools deal with, the school curriculum is focused on literacy, but the majority of indigenous languages in Mexico do not have literacy systems. Moreover, there is a general treatment of indigenous languages and indigenous people as equal, that result in assumptions such as all indigenous language speakers can understand each other or that any indigenous language speaker can teach any indigenous language. The Mexican education system is formed under the idea that language is fixed and stable and that it ‘belongs’ to a specific ‘speech community’, it does not consider global changes or ‘superdiversity’ (see Chapter 2). For example, Santa Teresa, the community where I did fieldwork, is

identified as a Cora or Náayeri community, but there are people who live there who do not identify themselves as Cora, there are people of other indigenous communities and people who do not identify as indigenous. This diversity is not considered in the school curriculum. More recently, with one co-worker, I review the emergence and development of Mexican bilingual education system and we argue that this system, as well as other similar ones in different countries, are challenged by the processes of globalization and mainly by superdiversity. Using examples from the city where we live and what we have been able to observe in the classroom from our own experience as researchers and teachers, we raised the issue that classrooms cannot be identified only as monolingual or bilingual, since globalization processes is transforming these and other spaces in more heterogeneous and multilingual spaces (Herrera Ruano & Parra Gutiérrez, 2022).

In 2020, the *Dirección General de Educación Indígena* (General Department of Indigenous Education [DGEI]) changed to *Dirección General de Educación Indígena Intercultural y Bilingüe* (General Department of Intercultural and Bilingual Indigenous Education [DGEIIB]). In addition to being in charge of the bilingual education system for indigenous people, this Department of the Mexican Ministry of Education (SEP) now is also in charge of educational services for the Afro-Mexican population, migrants and agricultural workers (Diario Oficial de la Federación, 2020). There is no information about how the integration of these other minorities should be in schools.

As it has been described above, most of the legal framework that has been created to support and defend linguistic rights in Mexico is focused on indigenous languages, mostly because of the history of the country. However, there are other languages that also take part of Mexico's linguistic diversity, as it has been described in the previous sections.

Mexican educational system has also worked for inclusion of people with disabilities that include other linguistic minorities. Mexico was the first Latin American country to institute a school for hearing impaired, it was founded in Mexico City in 1861. However, when the oralism philosophy that emphasises the mastery of spoken language by deaf people through lip reading and through speaking by speech therapies emerged in Europe in the twentieth century, the Mexican school for the deaf closed in the 1960s (Rodríguez & Weeke, 2019). The medical-rehabilitative paradigm that emerged from this concept of oralism continues until today. From a medical point of view deafness is considered a disability, and as a consequence various treatment for deafness, such as cochlear implants, have been developed, affecting the lives and education of hearing-impaired people in different ways (Rodríguez & Weeke, 2019). In 1970, the Mexican Ministry of Education (SEP) created a Department of Special Education to address the needs of deaf children and children with other disabilities opening especial schools, which then were turned into Multiple Attention Centers (CAMs), in which children with any type of disability were to be taught. The change in special

education schools was part of the National Agreement for Modernization of Basic Education, that aimed to decentralise the Mexican education system, making state governments directly responsible for providing basic public education (Gómez-Zaldívar, 2014; Rodríguez & Weeke, 2019). Even when CAMs still exist, hearing impaired children, and any other children with a disability can also attend any public school, since education reforms in Mexico have sought to ensure equal quality education for everyone, regardless of gender, ethnicity, cultural background, or disability status (Secretaría de Educación Pública [SEP], 2022). Moreover, Mexican sign language (MSL) was recognised as a national language in 2011 in the General Law for the Inclusion of People with Disability (Cámara de Diputados del H. Congreso de la Unión, 2011). Article 14 of this law states:

La Lengua de Señas Mexicana, es reconocida oficialmente como una lengua nacional y forma parte del patrimonio lingüístico con que cuenta la nación mexicana. Serán reconocidos el Sistema Braille, los modos, medios y formatos de comunicación accesibles que elijan las personas con discapacidad.

**(Congreso General de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 2005)**

English translation

Mexican Sign Language is officially recognised as a national language, and it is part of the linguistic heritage of Mexican nation. I will also be recognised the Braille System, the accessible modes, means and formats of communication chosen by people with disabilities.

As the article states, the General Law for People with disability also recognises different modes of communication for people with different disabilities. All the Law is based on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) (UN, 2006).

There have also been great efforts to establish English as a second language in Mexico through Mexican educational system, mostly in response to globalisation processes (Herrera Ruano, 2022; Secretaría de Educación Pública [SEP], 2017) and Mexico's neoliberal agenda (Puón Castro, 2021). The English teaching program PNIEB (*Programa Nacional de Inglés en Educación Básica*) emerged in 2009. The program established the teaching of English from Kindergarten to High School in all the schools around the country. However, in the report *Diagnóstico Ampliado S270. Programa Nacional de Inglés para Alumnos en Educación Básica* (Secretaría de Educación Pública [SEP], 2015), some of the problems identified in the implementation of the program are stated. According to this report, it was necessary to adapt the syllabuses of the program to the context of each state in Mexico. But the main problem that created obstacles for the successful function of the program was the lack of English teachers. There are not enough trained teachers with the required proficiency level of the language for the total of schools in the country. The report did not give any information about the



students' language learning outcomes or the proficiency level of English they have achieved in the program.

Through the years, management of PNIEB has changed. In 2013, the program was replaced by the *Apoyo para los procesos de estudio de una segunda lengua (inglés)* (Secretaría de Educación Pública [SEP], 2014). The program continued with national coverage, but the government states could decide to participate on it "voluntarily". In different states the program was suspended or reduced for several administrative and implementation problems (Ramírez-Romero & Sayer, 2016). Then, the National English Program (*Programa Nacional de Inglés, PRONI*) was introduced by the federal government in 2015 (Diario Oficial de la Federación, 2015). The aim of the program was the implementation of second language (English) courses in elementary public schools. Nowadays, the program is still in effect.

Through the implementation of these English programs, Mexican governments have tried to make English language learning more accessible to all Mexicans. However, research shows Mexican English programs have faced various challenges that have not allowed them to fulfill their purposes (Herrera Ruano, 2022). To give some examples, there is the shortage of teachers, the lack of teacher training, teachers' low competence in English, lack of knowledge of the curriculum, inability to implement the programs in rural areas, among others (Izquierdo et al., 2021; Millán Librado & Basurto Santos, 2020; Ramírez-Romero & Sayer, 2016; Ramírez-Romero et al., 2014; Sayer, 2015a). Furthermore, these English programs have been designed and implemented as part of the response of Mexican government to globalization processes and neoliberal policies, where English language is identified as a need to belong the new globalized world (Puón Castro, 2021; Sayer, 2015b) (see Chapter 2).

In sum, the legal framework that aims to support and defend linguistic rights in Mexico addresses specific linguistic minorities through official documents and laws that impose national languages. Moreover, Mexican education policies impose the acquisition of English a second language.

As it has been described in section 2.3.1, family language policy is informed by language policy mechanisms in macro structures, like the global economic order, nation-states and institutions. While the research in the area on family language policy in Mexico is relatively new, research on language shift and maintenance in indigenous communities has given some evidence of how indigenous families manage the acquisition and use of indigenous languages in the home domain (Herrera Ruano, 2014; Pfeiler et al., 2014; Santos, 2014; Terborg et al., 2007). Work on family language policy of Mexican transnational families has highlighted the role of parental beliefs and educational experiences in shaping and reconfiguring family language policy (Nelson et al., 2022; Pérez Báez, 2013). In recent research on the topic, my co-workers and I focus on Mexican multilingual young adults' perspectives of their families' language policy. Our data show how

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globalization processes impact these young adults' linguistic trajectories and the construction of their families' language policy (Nelson et al., 2023).

As described above, although there is no specific legal document to encompass the Mexican language policy, it operates through the implementation of different types of policies and mechanisms described in section 2.3. Mexican language policy, as I have explained, has emerged as a consequence of diverse historical and political events in the global and national levels, and it has been adapted to the values and interests from those groups in power positions resulting in social inequalities and oppression for those who do not belong to these groups. Mexican language policy has been mostly constructed and implemented through different official documents and laws that impose national languages, as well as education policies that reflect the imposition of English as a second language and the alignment of Mexican government to neoliberal policies. The imposition of specific national languages makes invisible other language practices that are present in Mexico's linguistic diversity. All together has resulted in the establishment of Spanish as the *de facto* official language in Mexico. Finally, studies on family language policy in Mexico also give evidence of the influence of globalisation processes and education policies in families' language management.

### 3.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a brief account of Mexico and the development of its language policy, as well as the city of Tepic as context for my case studies. I have presented what I consider the most relevant demographic data and some examples of the linguistic landscape in the city of Tepic to give the profile of the population and set the context of the participants of my case studies. I have also described the history and construction of Mexican language policy through diverse historical and political events that have happened not only in Mexico, but in other places around the world. At a political level, Mexico has constructed a legal framework that supports and defends linguistic rights, but examples described in this section show how this legal framework has not have many effects in education or social levels because Spanish is the *de facto* official language of the nation.

The next chapter provides the methodology of the study.

## Chapter 4 Methodology

Previous chapters have provided the theoretical basis for this research and have outlined the contextual environment where the case studies are developed. This chapter develops the research design of the study. First, the aims and research questions are outlined. Then, the overall methodology approach is described, including who the participants are, and how data was gathered and analysed.

### 4.1 Research aims and questions

As stated in Chapter 1, this research examines what the language ideologies are that have shaped and continue shaping Mexican language policy, and how these ideologies are reflected and reproduced in the perceptions and valorisation of different linguistic forms and language practices in Mexican society. To achieve this aim, I have carried out case studies focused on the life of three families and their members in the city of Tepic. In one family all members identify themselves as indigenous people; in the second family one of its members is deaf, and the third family includes members who are returning migrants from the US. I focus on the life of these families and their members because indigenous people, migrants and the deaf are considered minority populations in Mexico and their language practices are seen as a linguistic deviance by the majority population. In this sense, I consider participants' experiences with language and their perspective on the valorisation of their own linguistic forms and language practices allow me to identify, and make explicit, the implicit language ideologies in which the majority Mexican population live immersed. Furthermore, through my case studies I want to highlight the diversity in the Mexican population, the diversity within Mexican family constellations, as well as Mexican language diversity.

Considering the understanding of language in interrelationship to social-historical, political and economic global conditions (see Chapter 2), the construction of Mexican language policy and the characteristics of the city of Tepic (see Chapter 3) where my participants live, my work explores what these families' perspectives on the possibilities and constraints caused by their linguistic forms and language practices in their life experiences are as individuals and as families. These perspectives give me insights about the language ideologies they have faced, they continue to face, and they have constructed for themselves. Furthermore, participants' narratives shed light on how these language ideologies are related to broader structures, like Mexican language policy, and how these relations influence on the perceived valorisation of their linguistic forms and language practices. Finally, all this allows me to identify what language ideologies are reflected and reproduced in Mexican society through my participants narratives. My research is guided by the following questions:

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- What are the language ideologies found in my participants' narratives, that reflect public perceptions and valorisation of their linguistic forms and language practices?
- How are the language ideologies found in my participants' narratives, constructed through their individual trajectory and family language policy, linked to, and influenced by Mexican language policy?

### 4.2 Methodology approach

My research is qualitative. Qualitative research consists of a variety of methods and approaches that document human experiences about one's self or others for the study of social life (Saldaña, 2011). Under this umbrella of methods and approaches I use an ethnographic approach such as in-depth interviews and observation to gather data and carry out case studies in the city of Tepic with three participant families. To analyse data, I use narrative analysis and qualitative content analysis.

A case study is an in-depth investigation about a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context (Schoch, 2020). Case study research focuses on one or a small number of a specific event, person, thing, organisation or unit that is selected according to the phenomenon that is going to be explored (Schoch, 2020; Yin, 2018). The selection of cases in this study was based on the language backgrounds of the participants and their living location. I use the family structure as a unit to limit my cases.

The combination of an ethnographic approach and linguistic analysis for gather and interpreted data was determined for the objectives of the study. This combination distinguishes 'linguistic ethnography' approach. Linguistic ethnography is part of a growing body of work from researchers who share this commitment to use the combination of ethnography and linguistics in ways that help them to understand language use in the complexities of modern life (Shaw et al., 2015; Tusting, 2019).

[L]inguistic ethnography generally holds that to a considerable degree, language and the social world are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity.

**(Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2)**

While linguistic analysis can provide accounts of meaning-making processes, ethnography approaches add more attention to the role of the researcher, the participants' emic perspectives, and a sensitivity and openness to complexity and uncertainty (Rampton et al., 2004; Shaw et al.,

2015; Tusting, 2019). It can be said that researchers use this combination to resist the rigour of linguistic analysis and embrace the openness of ethnography (Shaw et al., 2015), something that nowadays is more relevant in the new paradigm of language studies discussed in section 2.1.3.

Linguistic ethnography views language as communicative action functioning in social contexts in ongoing routines of peoples' daily lives. It looks at how language is used by people and what this can tell us about wider social constraints, structures and ideologies. It achieves this by investigating the linguistic sign as a social phenomenon open to interpretation and translation but also predicated on convention, presupposition and previous patterns of social use. Because the sign is the basic unit of meaning, linguistic ethnographers are keen to understand how it is interpreted within its social context.

**(Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 27)**

Accordingly, new developments in narrative analysis emphasise the use of ethnography to investigate, not presuppose, the contextualisation of meanings in local interactions (Baynham & De Fina, 2017; De Fina, 2021).

Data gathering consisted of oral and signed (where necessary) in-depth individual interviews to get linguistic biographies (Brannen, 2019; Busch, 2017; Pavlenko, 2007) of different members of the families. Some family interviews developed in the style of a focus group, where participants co-constructed their personal experiences and their family relations through the description of their life trajectory. This involved inviting the participants to tell their life stories, followed by questions to elaborate on aspects about the focus of the study. I also used observation and notes taking to take account of the context, circumstances, and landscapes of the interviews.

To analyse data, I use narrative analysis (De Fina, 2009, 2021; De Fina & Georgakopolou, 2008; Pavlenko, 2008) and qualitative content analysis (Selvi, 2019) to identify and categorise language ideologies found in my participants' narratives, that reflect public perceptions and valorisation of their linguistic forms and language practices. To identify language ideologies, I examine my participants' life trajectories and identify all the moments where they make reference to language, conceptions about language, language varieties, language use and its users. Through narratives I also explore how participants' linguistic trajectories are related to socio-historical, political, and economic global, national, and local conditions. This data information gives me insights about the influence of globalisation processes, Mexican language policy, family language policy and specific individual experiences in the construction of my participants' language ideologies. Qualitative content analysis allowed me to identify and classify language ideologies found in the narratives, as it will be further described.

#### 4.2.1 Participants

To carry out my case studies I looked for participants that belong to considered minority linguistic groups in the city of Tepic, like indigenous, transnational, and hearing-impaired people. The final participants in the study are three families that were selected because of their language practices and background stories. They are all acquaintances. I know some of the family members because of my work (colleagues, students, events participants) and because they know other friends of mine.

In family 1, the Pérez<sup>3</sup> family, the member I know is my work colleague, we are both teachers in a BA programme in the university where I work, and before the interviews for this research I knew some other members of his family because they participated in some workshops and educational events at the same university. The Pérez family is a family of six members: Adrián, the father; Rosa, the mother; Paulina, the first daughter and first child; Miguel, the first son and second child; Ángel, the second son and third child; and Estela, the second daughter and fourth child. All the family members identify themselves as indigenous. They belong to the Wixárika group, also known as Huichol. The parents are divorced. All the children are adults now. They do not live together, but they usually spend time together when they go from Tepic to their town of origin at the weekends, where they celebrate their indigenous rituals and traditions. All the family members claim to have language resources in Wixárika and Spanish.

In family two, the García family, I know one of their relatives and I have met them because he introduced me to the rest of the family. There are four members in the family, Pedro, the father; María, the mother; Oscar, the first son and first child; and Melisa, the daughter and second child. Oscar is hearing impaired; he has a profound hearing loss from birth. He did not learn Mexican sign language in early childhood, and nor did any of the family members because Oscar received a cochlear implant, and it was expected that with it he would be able to listen and to speak. However, Oscar's cochlear implant did not work. Some years later, Oscar and her mother took some Mexican sign language lessons when he was about eleven years old, but Oscar and María say they did not learn much. According to the mother all the family can communicate with Oscar with what they call "normal signs". María also says the younger sister is the one who better understands her son, and that even though Oscar does not hear, speak, or communicate in Mexican sign language, he has developed social skills, he has friends, he has a job, and he has started a family.

In family 3, the Sánchez family, one of the members was my student. The girl I know from this family was left under the care of her grandmother when she was around two years old, and their parents

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<sup>3</sup> All the names and family names I used to refer to my participants are pseudonyms to protect their identity.

went to live to the U.S. Each of their parents started a new life and a new family in the U.S. in different places. She just maintained contact with her mother, who rarely came to Mexico to visit her. When she was 18 years old her mother took her to live with her in the U.S. She acquired some language resources in English, she left her mother's home, got a job, and became a U.S. citizen. After around six years, she decided to come to live with her aunt's family in Tepic to go to the University. Her aunt, her uncle and her four cousins received her in their house, and she is considered another member of their family. Then, the Sánchez family is a family of seven members: José, the father; Mariana, the mother; Sofía the first daughter and first child; Luis, the first son and second child; Ana, the second daughter and third child; Adriana, the third daughter and fourth child; and finally, Alejandra, that is Mariana's niece.

I am using the perspectives of these participants because since their language practices are diverse within the family, not only in Spanish, I consider their experiences allow me to identify the language ideologies that surround them, as well as the ones they have constructed for themselves and their families through their life trajectory. Moreover, their life experiences in the Mexican context also let me get some insights of the influence of Mexican language policy in their experiences with language. In Appendix A, I describe each family background with more detail.

Research work with people with whom the researcher has a prior relationship bring some advantages and disadvantages, and it has led to a discussion in social sciences about objectivity of data. When researchers conduct research with populations of which they are also members, with whom the researcher share an identity, language, and experiential base, researchers take an 'insider' role that may allow them to be easily accepted by participants (Asselin, 2003). However, it has been discussed that this 'insider' perspective can influence positively or negatively the researcher's perspective and her interpretation and analysis of data. In that regard, Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that being an 'insider' or an 'outsider' is not the core ingredient to accurately and adequately represent participants experience, there are other aptitudes and abilities that are necessary to develop the researcher work. Furthermore, these authors consider it is restrictive and overly simplistic to be locked into the dichotomy of being part or being out of a group, since there are multiple ways to relate with others and beyond these relations, we need to remain reflexive as researchers.

The intimacy of qualitative research no longer allows us to remain true outsiders to the experience under study and, because of our role as researchers, it does not qualify us as complete insiders. We now occupy the space between, with the costs and benefits this status affords.

**(Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 61)**

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Roiha and Likkanen (2022) explore familiarity in interviews to show how a prior relationship between the researcher and participants can affect the way interviews are developed and data is generated. The authors focus on ethnographic interviews where the interviewer and the interviewees have an established prior relationship to illustrate how this relationship helps to build rapport with participants and that the shared story between the interviewer and the interviewees reduce the power distance between them, it helps to co-construct the interview talk and frames the talk in the lifeworld, away from institutional or professional restricted contexts.

[A]cquaintance interviews may offer access to research material that would be difficult to obtain without an existing relationship of trust between the researcher and the participants.

**(Roiha & Likkanen, 2022, p. 6)**

As mentioned before, in the present study the researcher has a prior relationship with all participants, although all relationships vary. I have been in close contact with some of the participants, with others I have just interacted once or twice before the interview, and some participants introduce me other participants in professional or lifeworld contexts. As a result, I have better acquainted with some participants than others. I consider this previous relationship helped me to construct rapport and trust with participants during their interviews.

Accordingly, my positionality as a researcher was flexible and collaborative. My data collection was not restrained by a strict practice, need or context. Since my participants chose the interview location and format, this positionality allowed me to respond to specific circumstances and issues which arise during the research. For example, I did not plan to develop family interviews in a way of a focus group, but this opportunity was presented by my participants, and I adapted to it. This was especially useful when I interviewed my hearing-impaired participant and her sister acted as an interpreter. Furthermore, taking this researcher positionality also allowed me to take an unbiased stance for my research. Using a biographical approach emphasised my participants' own perspectives and experiences with language, so instead of position myself as an outsider or insider and take an epistemological position during data collection I committed myself to be reflective and adopt an open perspective to my participants information. In the following section I describe the process of data collection with more detail.

### **4.2.2 Data collection**

Data was collected through in-depth interviews and observation. In the interviews I used linguistic autobiographies (Pavlenko, 2007), I asked participants to tell me their life and I asked questions to



focus on the acquisition and development of their language resources, as well as their different experiences with language in different spaces. In some moments I also asked questions to go deeper in some parts of the story. I also conducted interviews in a style of focus group with two families. All this helped me to construct the biographical story of each individual and the whole family in both cases.

The conduct of research involving the participation of human beings implicates a variety of ethical concerns, therefore, to recruit my participants and be able to gather data, I followed all the protocols of the University of Southampton. Before recruiting my participants, I filled in my Ethics application form at the University's Ethics and Research Governance Online system (ERGO) to be approved for the Faculty Research Ethics Committee. The form included the research project details, information of possible participants, the process of recruitment, contact, participants' information consent, research procedures, participants' anonymity and data protection, and potential risks. I accompanied this form with the information sheet of the project, the consent forms and the questions guide for the interviews. I used three different consent forms. One consent form was for the first person I contacted personally to invite the whole family to participate in the research, who would act as a family gatekeeper. If the whole family accepted to participate, the family gatekeeper would sign this form and contact me to let me know the decision. The other two consent forms were individual. They were given to each participant to sign it before the interview. There were two because one was for participants under 18 years old. All documents were in Spanish for participants, but I also upload an English version for its approval in ERGO system.

Since data gathering implied face to face interviews and there were restrictions to work this way in that moment because of the COVID-19 pandemic, I had a meeting online with the head of the department of Health and Safety at the University of Southampton and I also completed a risk assessment form to ensure there were not any health risks for participants. After all these requirements were met, I began to recruit my participants.

I chose possible participants based on their language practices and background stories. I first met those who acted as a gatekeeper for each family individually to invite them to participate in my project in an in-person meeting. I presented them the participant information sheet from the project, talked to them and explained their participation. Then, I gave them some time to talk about it with the other members of their family. Finally, I met them again and we set details for the interviews. Only one of the original possible participants did not accept to participate. In this family my contact used to be my student, I understand that the data I collected is very personal and that could have influenced her family decision. I looked for others to complete the cases I wanted to present in my

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research following the same steps. Fortunately, I found another family that accepted to participate almost immediately.

Gathering data took almost a year, from July 2021 to May 2022 because each interview depended on participants' time and availability. I interviewed all the Pérez family members individually in Spanish in different moments. In the García family, I interviewed the mother individually in Spanish, and then I have an interview in the style of a focus group with the mother, her son, and her daughter. In this family interview Melisa, the daughter, acted as an interpreter for Oscar since the whole interview was also developed in Spanish. Pedro, the father, did not have the time to participate in any interview. Despite the lack of material for Pedro's narrative analysis it was possible to reconstruct parts of his life trajectory, his part in the construction of the García family, and get information about his language practices through the interviews with the other members of the García family. In the Sánchez family, I first interviewed Alejandra individually in Spanish, and then I conducted a family interview with her and all the other members of the family also in Spanish. Only in the García family and the Sánchez family there were participants under 18 years old, who were always accompanied for their parents or guardian during their participation.

I decided to follow the format of linguistic autobiographies for interviews because biographical approaches are especially used to address individual perspectives on identity constructions, language and emotions, fears, and desires in the use of particular linguistic forms, as well as language attitudes linked to language ideologies or discourses about language (Busch, 2015a, 2015b, 2017). Since they emphasise the perspective and experiencing of the speaking subject, biographical approaches have contributed to the understanding of linguistic repertoires as reflecting individual life trajectories (Busch, 2012, 2017). According to Busch (2012, 2017) we can approach and observe how people experience language, their language attitudes, linguistic ideologies or feelings, through first person accounts, as in language biographical approaches. At the beginning of the interview, I just asked participants to tell me their life stories and if they did not know how to start, I followed my interview questions guide first asking: when and where were you born? what is your place in your family? how do you remember your childhood? After this, participants usually start talking and focus on telling me their stories. Sometimes I asked questions to get more detail of specific life experiences or topics, and when it was necessary to get participants' attention again into their life story because in some moments during the interviews, participants told subplots and stories that were related to different people or to different topics. I took account of these subplots and stories in transcriptions because they could also provide information about the significance of these stories in the participant's life.

The family interviews that were developed in the style of a focus group were not really planned as such. The first interview in this style was with the Sánchez family. After I interviewed Alejandra

individually, she gave me a date and time to interview her aunt. When I arrived at the appointment all the Sánchez family was waiting for me. They sat all together around a table, and they said they were ready for the interview. After everyone signed the consent forms, I review the main objectives of the research and I prepared the digital camera and the voice recorder. Mariana and José began telling their life story explaining how they met and how they started the family. They introduced the life story of each one of their kids, as well as Alejandra's story and how she came to live with them. In some moments the children also participate constructing the stories.

The second family interview in the style of a focus group was with the García family. I knew I would need an interpreter to communicate with Oscar, but actually it was the mother who suggested all the setting of the interview. After I interviewed María individually, we planned another meeting with her children. In this second interview I focused on Oscar and Melissa's life stories. María and Melissa helped me to construct Oscar's life story and they interpreted my questions and his answers when it was necessary.

The participants were given the opportunity to choose their interview location. The interviews were then conducted at either the participants' home, their workplace (after work), and public places. This resulted in more casual conversations than a formal interview. Face-to-face interviews were recorded in audio and video. After data analysis I erased audio and video files to protect my participants' identity, how it was stipulated in my participant information sheet. Interviews were usually preceded by informal exchange conversations, sometimes short, sometimes longer, that I take into account for data interpretation. Along with the interviews I use observation and note taking to take account of the context, circumstances, and landscapes that surround us.

Then, the interviews were transcribed. I used the interviews to construct the individual linguistic trajectories and the family background. The narratives of the interviews are the basis for the identification and analysis of language ideologies and the influence of language policy in the participants' life trajectory and construction of their own language ideologies. The data from the observation and note taking are also used to make interrelations between the individual linguistic trajectories, the narratives and the context of the study.

### **4.2.3 Data analysis**

I use narratives to examine and explore my participants' life trajectories. Then, to analyse data, I use narrative analysis (De Fina, 2009, 2021; De Fina & Georgakopolou, 2008; Pavlenko, 2008) and qualitative content analysis (Selvi, 2019).

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Originated in the work of (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), narrative analysis is a technique that allows us to explore everyday lived experience across different socio-spatial areas, and the construction of articulations between the micro and macro-levels embedded in conversation narratives (De Fina & Georgakopolou, 2008, p. 382). Lately, it has become one of the most important methodological tools to study new linguistic and complex realities under different theoretical influences (Baynham & De Fina, 2017).

The 'narrative turn' (Bruner, 1991; Riessman, 1993) in social sciences promoted an anti-positivist and poststructuralist position on research focusing on people's own voices and storytelling, leaving behind the attention to stories conceived in structural terms (Baynham & De Fina, 2017). Recent developments in narrative analysis have also been influenced by the sociolinguistics of globalisation paradigm (Blommaert, 2010) that responds to new social relations and forms of communications as a result of globalisation, mobility and complex societies (see Chapter 2). In response, under this paradigm, one key strand of narrative analysis has focused on new understandings of how people index and negotiate space, discourses and identities (Baynham & De Fina, 2005, 2017; De Fina, 2021).

Another theoretical influence to consider on narrative analysis comes from the view of language as local practices (Pennycook, 2010) (see section 2.1.3), where narratives are embedded within specific contexts of interaction and communication, and they are used to varied purposes with different effects (Baynham & De Fina, 2017; De Fina, 2021; De Fina & Georgakopolou, 2008). According to Baynham and De Fina (2017), in this tradition researchers consider the need for ethnographic approaches to data in order to describe the different types of storytelling practices performed by migrants, translocal individuals and groups, as well as to understand the value systems, categories of belonging and social representations that underpin narratives.

Studies of narratives with data generated from interviews and focus groups have been used to throw light in the area of identity and language experiences and on language ideologies (Baynham & De Fina, 2017). In the area of second language and intercultural studies, researchers use life stories as a kind of research on narratives of personal experience, where current developments have highlighted the role of the interviewer in the co-construction and interpretation of unspoken presuppositions and ideologies in narrative accounts of conflictual events in the life of narrators (Baynham & De Fina, 2017).

[N]arrative proves an invaluable resource for researchers interested in how people make sense of their social worlds and work with and against others to construct them.

**(Baynham & De Fina, 2017, p. 42)**

Therefore, I chose to use narrative analysis because it does not just give account of a sequence of events and their consequences in a story; this approach constructs the relationships to space, time, objects, people, and discourses of those events in the story, the micro and macro relations that frame the meaning of these events for people who live them. Then, since from a language ideologies perspective local language practices are linked to broader historical and institutional interests (Kroskrity, 2004), narratives, as they have been described, provide a space where these relationships, beliefs and assumptions are more explicit and can be identified, as some studies have shown (see Patiño Santos, 2018; Razfar, 2012).

The first step after conducting the interviews was transcription. The transcriptions were based on the Jefferson system of transcription notation (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013; Jefferson, 2004). The Jefferson system provides some symbols that help to identify details of the verbal performance in the written transcription. All transcriptions were done by myself. Doing transcriptions provided me a clear focus in detail on the narratives before the analysis and interpretation process. The excerpts from the narratives that I present in the thesis do not follow the Jefferson system of transcription notation. I decided to avoid using many symbols that could confuse the reader. The use of specific symbols is described in Appendix B.

When collecting data, I gave participants all the time and space they needed to complete their narratives. This resulted in interviews with different lengths and the transcription process required more time than expected. Additionally, even following a system, it is difficult to include all the details implied in oral face to face communication, like pauses or verbal crutches. I made ten transcriptions in total, eight for individual interviews, and two for the family interviews in the style of a focus group. When I did the transcriptions, I changed all participants' names by pseudonyms, and I omitted the name of specific places, people they mentioned and any other type of information that could be used to identify them to protect their identity.

When all transcriptions were finished, I checked them for consistency and then I used NVIVO to store the transcriptions and to identify the emergence of language ideologies on the narratives. I selected excerpts from the narratives that make reference to language, conceptions about language, language varieties, language use and its users and I categorised the excerpts under the code of language ideologies. I first categorised 53 excerpts under this code. Then, I used qualitative content analysis (Selvi, 2019) to categorise these excerpts according to their similarities and differences, the context in the overall story and the literature review about language ideologies. This process implied inductive reasoning for careful examination and constant comparison (Selvi, 2019). After rereading and analysing my data, I identified 46 core excerpts that make reference to language ideologies. I categorised these excerpts into three different language ideologies: the one language-one nation

ideology, a standard language ideology and a neoliberal language ideology. To explain my analysis with more detail I provide an example of the process in Table 1.

Table 1. Example of data analysis process

<b>Step 1. Narrative analysis: identify language experience</b>	
<p>Excerpt: 1      Participant: Rosa      Family: Pérez</p> <p>“Yo fui a la escuela a la edad de doce año, once, doce año[s], por primera vez mi papá me dejó ir... y este, pues yo definitivamente no entendía nada de español, incluso en el primer año que hice, pues, supuestamente no pasé porque no... no hablaba, con trabajo yo recuerdo que salí el año conociendo, pronunciando, como tres palabras en español y pues para mí se me hacía imposible, yo no le entendía nada a mi maestro, sí hacía lo que él ponía en el pizarrón, hasta eso tenía bonita escritura, pero no podía leer, no podría pronunciar, no podía dialogar; hasta en el segundo año, ya este como que me empecé yo a tener más confianza con los compañeros, este... me reunía más en los juegos, este como que eso me ayudó a aprender más el español.”</p>	
<b>Step 2. Qualitative content analysis: classify and examine language experience</b>	
Type of language experience	The excerpt describes the participant’s first contact with other language (Spanish) and how she acquired linguistic resources in Spanish.
Context	Spanish instruction at school. Castilianisation of indigenous people.
Similarities and differences to other excerpts	Her husband had a similar experience. Her children also describe they acquired Spanish linguistic resources at school.
Reasoning	The participant needed to learn Spanish to access education, then it is necessary to acquire linguistic resources in Spanish to participate in social life and access public services in Mexico.  Castilianisation: first language policy in Mexico, according to the literature reviewed, imposition of Spanish acquisition to indigenous people so they can replace their languages by it.
Language ideology	In conclusion, this excerpt expresses the language ideology of “one language – one nation”

I also created other codes to classify excerpts of narratives under other categories and themes that do not directly refer to language but do refer to the other main themes related to the research: globalisation and language policy. I included related subthemes from my literature review (see Chapter 2): language and multilingualism, linguistic repertoires, superdiversity, family language policy and Mexican language policy. This process of data organisation and analysis allowed me to construct links between the different excerpts from the narratives and themes related to the research.

Moreover, the process allowed me to interpret the relationships to space, time, objects, people in those events described by my participants in their narratives. All this information was completed by adding my notes and observations from the video records, contexts, and informal conversations with participants.

The video records from the interviews were especially useful when I had the family interview with the García family and they used signs to communicate to Oscar, so I was able to add the description of the signs in the transcription. Moreover, there were moments where feelings came to surface during the interviews, and they were reflected in participants’ reactions, movement, and gestures that I was able to capture in video and helped me to data interpretation. After data analysis I erased audio and video files to protect my participants’ identity, how it was stipulated in my participant information sheet. Results are described in the following section.

**4.2.4 Results**

Data collection and analysis resulted in the construction of each participant’s individual linguistic trajectory, the description of the family history and background, and the coding of participants’ narratives under three main topics: language and globalisation, language ideologies and language policy.

The construction of each participant’s linguistic trajectory allowed me to identify the acquisition and developing of their linguistic resources over their lifetimes. The description of the linguistic trajectories of my participants in each family can be found in Table 2, Table 3, and Table 4.

Table 2. Family Pérez linguistic trajectories

<b>Pérez Family</b>	
<b>Family member</b>	<b>Linguistic trajectory</b>
Adrián (father)	Early socialisation in Wixárika; acquisition of Spanish resources at school and outside school when he was around 10 years old.

	<p>Development of linguistic resources in Wixárika for literacy.</p> <p>Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Wixárika in different domains. He did not report the acquisition of other linguistic resources.</p>
Rosa (mother)	<p>Early socialisation in Wixárika; acquisition of Spanish resources at school when she was around 12 years old. She continued acquiring and developing her linguistic resources in Spanish at school and outside school. Development of linguistic resources in Wixárika for literacy. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Wixárika in different domains. She did not report the acquisition of other linguistic resources</p>
Paulina (daughter)	<p>Early socialisation in Wixárika and Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish resources at school. Acquisition of linguistic resources in Wixárika for literacy. Continue using linguistic resources in Wixárika for teaching the language and in Wixárika rituals and traditional domains. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains. She did not report the acquisition of other linguistic resources.</p>
Miguel (son)	<p>Early socialisation in Wixárika and Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish and Wixárika resources at school. Continue using linguistic resources in Wixárika for teaching the language and activism, in Wixárika rituals and traditional domains. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains. Acquisition of linguistic resources in Náayeri (Cora).</p>
Ángel (son)	<p>Early socialisation in Wixárika and Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish and English at school. Continue using linguistic resources in Wixárika rituals and traditional domains. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains.</p>
Estela (daughter)	<p>Early socialisation in Wixárika and Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish at school. Stop using and developing linguistic resources in Wixárika in adolescence. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains. Develop linguistic resources in Wixárika in adult life. Continue</p>



	using linguistic resources in Wixárika for activism and in rituals and traditional domains.
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Table 3. García family linguistic trajectories

<b>García Family</b>	
<b>Family member</b>	<b>Linguistic trajectory</b>
Pedro (father)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish resources at school. Continue developing linguistic resources in Spanish in his life. Development and acquisition of sign language to communicate with his hearing-impaired son.
María (mother)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish resources at school. Continue developing linguistic resources in Spanish in her life. Development and acquisition of sign language to communicate with her hearing-impaired son. Acquisition of some linguistic resources in Mexican sign language.
Oscar (son)	No language for early socialisation. Acquisition of Spanish resources at school. Development and acquisition of sign language to communicate with his family. Acquisition of some linguistic resources in Mexican sign language.
Melisa (daughter)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish resources at school. Development and acquisition of sign language to communicate with his family. Acquisition of linguistic resources in English at school. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains.

Table 4. Sánchez family linguistic trajectories

<b>Sánchez Family</b>	
<b>Family member</b>	<b>Linguistic trajectory</b>
José (father)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish resources at school. Denies the acquisition of linguistic resources in

	English while living in the US. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains.
Mariana (mother)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish resources at school. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains. She did not report the acquisition of other linguistic resources.
Sofía (daughter)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish and English resources at school. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains. Continue acquiring and developing linguistic resources in English at university level.
Luis (son)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish and English resources at school. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains.
Ana (daughter)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish and English resources at school. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains.
Adriana (daughter)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish and English resources at school. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish in different domains.
Alejandra (Mariana's niece)	Early socialisation in Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish resources at school. Acquisition of linguistic resources in English at school and outside school while living in the US. Continue using and developing linguistic resources in Spanish and English when she came back to Mexico and study university level. She has been going to the US on several occasions to work for some time since she came back to live in Mexico. She continues developing her linguistic resources in Spanish and in English in different domains.

Even when some of the linguistic trajectories are similar, there is a lot of diversity between them.

Each participant's life story allowed me to construct the family history and background. Each family story and background are fully described in Appendix A.

Narrative analysis resulted in the coding of different excerpts that make reference to the main topics of the thesis. I coded 82 excerpts under the theme of language and globalisation. All these excerpts make reference to different globalisation processes, and I organised them under four subthemes: globalisation, language and multilingualism, linguistic repertoires and superdiversity. I also identify excerpts that make reference to mobility that I coded under globalisation, along with all references that refer to technology development and use. Then, as explained before, I coded 46 excerpts under language ideologies that then classified under three subthemes: the one language-one nation ideology, a standard language ideology and a neoliberal language ideology. Under the code of language policy, I coded 26 excerpts and organised them under two subthemes: Mexican language policy and family language policy. I can not specify the exact number of excerpts under each subtheme, since these excerpts usually overlapped, and I sometimes classified them under two or three codes. The software of NVIVO allowed me to explore relations and intersections between codes.

Finally, to interpret these results I focused on the excerpts of the narratives that refer to language ideologies and their links and relations to the other codes and the narratives as a whole, the linguistic trajectories of the participants and the families' history and background. I present these narrative excerpts to illustrate how the language ideologies emerge in my participants' narratives. I also use some narrative excerpts to describe the links between my participants' language ideologies, their life trajectories and relevant socio-historical, political, and economic global, national, and local conditions that they have lived. All the excerpts are presented in Spanish and then I provide an English translation. Sometimes, I add some information needed to understand the excerpt in parentheses. The use of other symbols in the excerpts are explained in Appendix B. My findings resulted from the described process of analysis and interpretation of data will be discussed in the next chapter.

### **4.3 Summary**

This chapter has described the steps followed in this research to select the participants, gather, analyse, and interpret data. It includes the description of the methodological approach, and it looks to explain why it was chosen to answer the research questions. It also includes a description of the participants, how I made contact with them, their profile, and my position as researcher because of my relationship with the participants. The methods and approaches to gather data are described, as well as all the steps to analyse and interpret data.

## Chapter 4

Findings of the study are presented and discussed with reference to the literature review and contextual framework in the following chapter.

## Chapter 5 Findings and discussion

In this chapter, I present the findings from an analysis and interpretation of my data, and I discuss to what extent these findings answer my research question (see section 1.3) and relating them to my theoretical and contextual framework. I explore which are the language ideologies that reflect public perceptions and valorisation of different linguistic forms and language practices in Mexico which emerge when carrying out case studies in the city of Tepic. To achieve this aim, I present and analyse the narratives of my participants, who I described in Chapter 4 and Appendix A. The findings show that the interviews provided very rich data about participants' experiences with language. I explore these participants' experiences with language to identify and make explicit the implicit language ideologies in which the majority Mexican population live immersed. My data analysis considers social-historical, political, and economic conditions interrelated to language and language understanding (explained in Chapter 2), as well as the influence of Mexican language policy (see section 3.2) in the construction of my participants' ideologies and language practices.

### 5.1 Talk about language: language ideologies and the value of linguistic forms and language practices.

As presented in Chapter 1, the first objective of this thesis has been to identify the language ideologies in my participants' narratives that reflect the public perceptions and valorisation of diverse linguistic forms and language practices in Mexico. Narrative analysis revealed that participants have different beliefs, assumptions, conceptions, and perceptions about their own, and others' linguistic forms and language practices. These beliefs, assumptions, conceptions, and perceptions are language ideologies (see section 2.2) that were manifested in different moments when participants were describing their life and talked about languages. In the following sections I focus on presenting and analysing the core narrative excerpts where these language ideologies are manifested.

All my participants' conceptions about languages are related to three main language ideologies that have also been identified in diverse societies: the "one language-one nation", a "standard language", and a "neoliberal language" ideologies. In the following sections, I describe the emergence of these language ideologies in my findings.

### 5.1.1 The one language-one nation ideology

The one language-one nation ideology refers to the belief that the use of one single language favours the construction of an identity marker that brings unity and harmony to nations (Piller, 2015, 2016). This language ideology has been identified in the construction of the language policy of different nations, such as in Mexico (see section 3.2). The one language-one nation ideology emerged in my participants' narratives when they talk about the acquisition and use of Spanish linguistic resources.

As has been described (see section 3.2), Spanish is the *de facto* official language in Mexico, but there is a legal framework that recognises Mexican indigenous languages and Mexican sign language as national languages. As part of this legal framework, the Mexican Federal Ministry of Education manages indigenous schools that aim to maintain indigenous languages across the country. However, the Pérez family's narratives confirm that these indigenous schools continue castilianisation of indigenous people. In the Pérez family, all family members acquired linguistic resources in Wixárika in early childhood and then they acquired linguistic resources in Spanish at school at different ages. Adrián and Rosa, the parents, began their formal education when they were older than is expected in the Mexican education system, where children begin kindergarten at 3 years old, and elementary school at 6. To access formal education Rosa and Adrián faced different challenges. Adrián needed to go out of his community of origin, and to learn Spanish. Rosa, on the other hand, was not allowed to go to school by her father, and she did not have any linguistic resources in Spanish when she started her education.

Excerpt: 1 Participant: Rosa Family: Pérez

“Yo fui a la escuela a la edad de doce año, once, doce año[s], por primera vez mi papá me dejó ir... y este, pues yo definitivamente no entendía nada de español, incluso en el primer año que hice, pues, supuestamente no pasé porque no... no hablaba, con trabajo yo recuerdo que salí el año conociendo, pronunciando, como tres palabras en español y pues para mí se me hacía imposible, yo no le entendía nada a mi maestro, sí hacía lo que él ponía en el pizarrón, hasta eso tenía bonita escritura, pero no podía leer, no podría pronunciar, no podía dialogar; hasta en el segundo año, ya este como que me empecé yo a tener más confianza con los compañeros, este... me reunía más en los juegos, este como que eso me ayudó a aprender más el español.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> All the interviews and transcriptions were done in Spanish. I present all the original transcriptions of the narratives and then my translation into English.

## English translation

“I went to school when I was twelve years old, eleven, twelve, for the first time my father allow me to go... and well..., I definitely did not understand anything of Spanish, even the first year that I studied, well, supposedly I did not pass the year, because I did not speak [Spanish], I hardly remember I finished the year knowing and pronouncing around three words in Spanish, speaking Spanish seemed impossible for me, I didn't understand anything to the teacher, yes, I copied everything he put on the board, I had good calligraphy, but I couldn't read, I couldn't pronounce, I couldn't chat; until my second year, I felt more confident with my classmates, well...I would join them to play, this helped me to learn more Spanish.”

When Adrián and Rosa had their children, they taught them Wixárika. All the Pérez family children say they learned Wixárika with their parents, and all of them remember using Wixárika language to communicate with each other in early childhood. Nevertheless, all the Pérez family children also comment Spanish was always present in their lives, as Paulina explains:

Excerpt: 2      Participant: Paulina      Family: Pérez

“Yo desde que yo tengo memoria... hablo las dos, las dos lenguas, no sé en qué momento mi mamá nos empezó a hablar en español o en wixárika pero desde que yo recuerdo siempre- - Siempre lo hemos entendido [...]”

## English translation

"For as long as I can remember... I speak both, both languages, I don't know when my mother started to speak to us in Spanish or Wixárika but for as long as I can remember we have always understood each other, sometimes we don't speak it (Wixárika) because of the context [...]."

Moreover, all Pérez family members describe school as having an important role in the development of their linguistic resources in Spanish. Adrián's and Rosa's children started school at the expected age (3 years old) and followed an expected educational trajectory in the Mexican educational system. Like their parents, the Pérez children also had to move from place to place to access and complete their education trajectory; moreover, even when they studied in the bilingual system, they say that school always favored teaching and learning Spanish. Miguel, for example, says how he learned Spanish at school.

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Excerpt: 3      Participant: Miguel      Family: Pérez

“Yo aprendí español sí este... pues prácticamente desde el preescolar, yo recuerdo que en el preescolar ya...yo ya, bueno, un poco me recuerdo, yo ya dominaba el español, o sea, ya hablaba el español, en el rancho ahí de donde es mi papá, ahí es una comunidad casi monolingüe del wixárika, entonces muchos niños no hablaban español, pero en el preescolar ya nos enseñaban español... ya nos enseñaban, en aquel tiempo mmh... ya era como umhh... bueno lo hacían muy necesario, ¿no?, el español, entonces nos enseñaron español de muy pequeños.”

English translation

“I learned Spanish... well, practically since kindergarten, I remember that in kindergarten I already.... I already, well, I remember a little, I was already fluent in Spanish, that is, I already spoke Spanish, in the town where my father is from, the place is almost a monolingual wixárika community, so many children did not speak Spanish, but in kindergarten we were taught in Spanish... we were taught, at that time mmh... it was like umhh... well it was make it necessary, right? , Spanish, so we were taught Spanish from a very young age.”

As bilingual teachers, Rosa and Adrián experienced different changes in Mexican educational policies. Rosa, for example, explains that when she started to work in the bilingual system, the aim was to teach Spanish to indigenous children. It was some years later that this changed.

Excerpt: 4      Participant: Rosa      Family: Pérez

“[...] cuando yo llego, por primerita vez, cuando empiezo a trabajar, trabajo como castellanizadora, entonces era-era al revés, era-era como dejar a un lado su lengua y meter el español, entonces este ya después a los años se dio cuenta (el gobierno) que no estaba resultando y era ese.. era a nivel nacional, entonces cuando nos vuelven a capacitar y nos dicen “no, ahora van a partir a este del contexto del niño, rescatando todos sus cultura, sus tradiciones, sus costumbres”, así fue como entonces empezamos a trabajar”

English translation

“[...] when I arrived, for the first time, when I started to work, I worked teaching Spanish, then it was the other way around, it was like leaving aside their language and introduce Spanish, then after a few years (the government) realised that this was not working and that was at a national level, so when they trained us again they told us "no, now you are



going to start from the context of the children, rescuing all their culture, their traditions, their customs", that's how we started to work then."

However, even when Rosa talks about a change in the bilingual education system, Adrián and Rosa's children had similar experiences to their parents at school, where they acquired their linguistic resources in Spanish. Furthermore, nowadays some of the Pérez family children also work as bilingual teachers and they continue reproducing castilianisation practices. Paulina says that sometimes bilingual and intercultural education is not possible because the majority of indigenous people in some communities are Spanish speakers, as well as other teachers in the bilingual system.

Excerpt: 5      Participant: Paulina      Family: Pérez

"[...] las mamás de ahí [de la comunidad] ya no lo hablaban, incluso yo llegué hablándoles, saludándolas y me dijeron 'ay, eres - eres huichola, ¿verdad?', me dijeron ¿eda? 'sí, soy huichola y podemos hablar y... como tú quieras' 'ah' me- le digo 'si les da pena hablar en español'... porque a veces iba la supervisora o así, le digo 'háblenme en wixárika, yo les entiendo', 'ay' dice 'maestra, es que aquí no hablamos', 'pues vamos empezando' les decía yo ¿eda? , y ya me decía 'ah, bueno' y así a veces sí, sí me hablaban en wixárika pero era muy, muy, muy, muuuu poco, muy poco... y este pues aquí (la escuela bilingüe donde trabaja actualmente) mis compañeras no lo hablan, ah, sí tengo dos que sí lo hablan, como saludarnos, preguntarnos cosas personales y así, muy poco, muy poco."

English translation

"... the mothers there (in the community) they didn't speak it anymore, even I arrived talking to them, greeting them and they told me oh, you are - you are Huichol, right?', they told me, right? 'yes, I am Huichol and we can speak it and...like you want' 'ah', I said, 'if you are embarrassed to speak in Spanish'... because sometimes the supervisor would come or so, and I said 'speak to me in Wixárika, I understand you', 'oh' she said 'teacher, we don't speak here', 'well, let's start to do it' I said to them, 'oh', right? and she would say 'ah, well' and so sometimes yes, they spoke to me in Wixárika, but it was very, very, very, very, very little, very little... and here (the bilingual school where she currently works) my partners don't speak it, oh, I have only two partners who speak it, like greeting each other, asking us personal questions and so on, very little, very little".

Paulina has also faced other challenges when she has tried to teach Wixárika to her students. She has been criticized by her colleagues for using Wixárika in her classes. Even when bilingual education promotes learning and use of indigenous languages.

Excerpt: 6      Participant: Paulina      Family: Pérez

“me dicen ‘por qué les estás enseñando a cantar en huichol (wixárika) si todavía no se saben... no saben hacer su nombre, no saben este no se saben los números, ¿por qué mejor no les enseñas canciones con los números o con las vocales (en español)?’, le digo ‘pues eso sí lo hago, sí lo hago, pero es más fácil dejárselos de tarea y que en su casa lo repasen’ le digo ‘entonces yo aquí no pierdo ni cinco minutos en enseñarles una canción, en lo que se forman...en lo que salimos, en lo que yo salgo a entregarlos, o en la bienvenida...’ me dicen ‘pues yo no estoy de acuerdo’, le digo ‘bueno, yo respeto tu manera de trabajar’- pero la escuela... es bilingüe, es indígena, bueno es de educación inicial, entonces yo le digo ‘bueno, pues yo respeto tu... y lo tomo en cuenta’ le digo ‘pero hasta ahí’, pues yo lo sigo haciendo porque aparte yo nada más tengo una niña... dos niños que son indígenas, una niña y un niño, entonces como que también dicen ‘pues ni siquiera tienes niños indígenas, ¿para qué?’ entonces, entonces yo digo ‘bueno, pues nimodo, pues así me tocaron y así lo voy a hacer’. Y sí entra como un poquito de controversia, pero este pues como yo les digo ‘yo respeto tu idea y la tomo en cuenta y ya hasta ahí’.”

English translation

"They tell me 'why are you teaching them to sing in Huichol (Wixárika) if they still don't know... they don't know how to write their name, they don't know the numbers, why don't you teach them songs with the numbers or vowels (in Spanish)? I say 'well I do that, yes I do, but it is easier to leave them homework and let them review that at home' I say 'then I don't waste even five minutes teaching them a song, while the children line up...while we go out, while we finish classes and we are waiting for their parents to pick them up from school, or at the welcoming when they arrive to school..' they tell me (her colleagues) 'well I don't agree', I say 'well, I respect your way of working' - but the school... it is bilingual, it is bilingual, it is a bilingual school. ... is bilingual, it is indigenous, well it is an early education school, so I say 'well, I respect your... and I take it into account' I say 'but that's all', so I keep doing it because I only have one girl... two children who are indigenous, one girl and one boy, so they also say 'well, you don't even have indigenous children, what's the point', so I say 'well, that's the way I was assigned and I'm going to do it'. And there is a little bit of controversy, but I say, 'I respect your idea and I take it into account and that's it'".

On the one hand, these narrative excerpts give evidence of the continued reproduction of one language-one nation ideology through castilianisation in indigenous schools for the assimilation of the indigenous population to national life. And, on the other hand the narratives give evidence that the idea that language is linked to specific people, communities, and territories continues to be

reproduced in Mexican education policies (see section 2.1.3). In the same way, there is an assumption that indigenous communities continue being monolingual only in an indigenous language or bilingual only in indigenous language and Spanish, ignoring globalization processes and their consequences (see section 2.1.1).

Narratives in the Pérez family, also give evidence of mobility and social inequalities confronted by my participants when they were looking to improve their living conditions accessing education. Since Rosa and Adrián began to work they struggled to maintain and take care of the family, they had to leave their children with other family members, or they sent their children to live in boarding schools while working. In some indigenous communities around Mexico, there are boarding schools that, in addition to classes, offer food and lodging for children who live in more remote areas and must leave their homes in order to be able to study. According to Adrián this had an impact in the acquisition and development of their children's linguistic resources in Wixárika.

Excerpt: 7      Participant: Adrián      Family: Pérez

“[A] cada quien nos mandaban a diferentes lugares de las comunidades, pues ¿cómo llevar uno a sus hijos o cómo estar juntos?, porque no podíamos nosotros este juntarnos o estar en una escuela, o nos mandaban cada quien por diferentes partes, ahí es donde batallábamos, los dejábamos en las escuela albergue, donde les daban comida, hospedaje, todo, estudio, ahí los dejábamos, por ejemplo, estaba uno acá en LB (nombre de comunidad), estaba otra allá en...en...SMO (nombre de municipio), más para abajo, no sé cómo se llama el...está otra escuela albergue, ahí mandábamos a nuestros hijos, a nuestras hijas a la escuela este albergue, porque ahí les daban estudio, les daban hospedaje y comida y entonces este pues ahí los mandábamos mientras nosotros trabajábamos en diferentes lugares porque no íbamos en-no nos mandaban la pareja completa, como que cada quien este-ahí fue donde perdieron el lenguaje de nosotros, ya nomás porque ellos eso les hablaban los maestros en su lenguaje o los maestros hablaban puro español, pues claro, ellos ya se impusieron, también los mismos alumnos también se impusieron, ¿por qué? porque en aquel entonces los maestros no querían hablar el lenguaje de ellos, o sea, el wixárika, como que les daba vergüenza o no sabían, no sé qué pasaba.”

English translation

“[B]oth of us were sent to different places in the indigenous communities, well, how could one take your children with you or how could the family be together? Because we couldn't get together or work at the same school, they sent us to different places, that's where we struggle, we left our children in boarding schools, where they gave them food, housing,

everything, study, we left them there, for example, one of the boarding schools was here in LB (community name), there was another in...in...SMO (name of municipality), further down, I don't know what it's the name of the place...there's another boarding school, we sent our sons to that school, our daughters to that boarding school, because that's where they studied, they gave them housing and food and then we sent them there while we worked in different places because we didn't go to-they didn't send us together, like each one-that's where our children lost our language, just because the teachers didn't speak to them in their language or the teachers spoke only in Spanish, of course, they imposed themselves, the same students also imposed themselves, why? Because at that time the teachers didn't want to speak their language, that is, Wixárika, as if they were ashamed or I don't know, I don't know what was going on.”

Moreover, when the Pérez family moved to Tepic, an urban context, they began to use their linguistic resources in Spanish more frequently. All their daily activities were in Spanish and the family started to use more Spanish at home. In that moment, Ángel was starting High school and he describes how he perceived all in his family began to use more Spanish in the following narrative excerpt:

Excerpt: 8      Participant: Ángel      Family: Pérez

“[E]n el lapso de la preparatoria y la universidad es cuando tuve menos...o sea, lo utilizamos menos (el wixárika) porque el contacto con mi mamá o con mis familias pues era únicamente en las ceremonias cuando realmente se hablaba....en wixárika, porque el trato en la casa cada vez iba siendo menos en wixárika, este por las ocupaciones de-de mi mamá, de mi papá, de nosotros, que eran por lo menos cada fin de semana estábamos juntos todos, no estábamos entre semana, entre semana era muy difícil, aun cuando vivíamos en la misma casa.”

English translation

“[B]etween High school and university time is when I had less... that is, we used it less (Wixárika) because the contact with my mother or with my families, well, it was only in the ceremonies when they really spoke... in Wixárika, because living in the house was less and less in Wixárika, this because of the occupations of-of my mother, of my father, of us, at least every weekend we were all together, it was hard to be together during the week, it was very difficult, even when we lived in the same house.”

The increase in the use of Spanish in the Pérez family was also perceived by Estela, who noted that only her mother and father continued using Wixárika to communicate at home, especially when they expressed some feelings, like when they were angry, as she describes:

Excerpt: 9 Participant: Estela Family: Pérez

“[T]odos hablábamos español ya, mi mamá y mi papá siempre se comunicaron en lengua (wixárika), o sea, más cuando de repente estaban enojados [...]”

English translation

“[W]e all spoke Spanish already, my mom and dad always communicated in the (Wixárika) language, that is, even more when they were suddenly angry [...]”

These excerpts from the narratives in the Pérez family also highlight how Spanish is widely used in Mexico, and there are only a few spaces for indigenous languages. These divisions of spaces for language use are also projected in the distinction of different kinds of people that inform ideas of language differentiation (Gal, 2005; Irvine & Gal, 2000). This is also reflected in participants' narratives, for example, when Miguel explains how he uses his linguistic resources in Spanish and in Wixárika with different people.

Excerpt: 10 Participant: Miguel Family: Pérez

“[...] si estás... si estás con personas adultas este... pues a veces es más difícil lo haces más consciente así, como que sabes que tienes que hacerlo en una sola lengua, cuando son personas jóvenes es de manera inconsciente, o sea, ellos o uno, pero con personas adultas sí sabes que es más importante hablar en wixárika, con los jóvenes no es, no... o sea, no tengo esa consciencia pues de tengo que hablar wixárika, con los adultos soy...sí soy más consciente en eso, tiene que ser wixárika porque, si los conoces y saben-sabes que ellos son monolingües, o sea, que no hablan español pues lo haces, si no los conoces también empiezas a hacerlo así, empiezas a hacerlo en wixárika, si ya los conoces y sabes que son bilingües eeh, como la que mejor se nos acomode”

English translation

“[...] if you are... if you are with adults this... well sometimes it is more difficult, you make it in a more conscious way, like, you know that you have to do it in only one language, but when you are with young people it is unconsciously, that is, they or you, but with adults you know that it is more important to speak in Wixárika, with young people it is not, no.... I mean, I don't have that consciousness that I have to speak Wixárika, with adults I am...I am more conscious about it, it has to be Wixárika because, if you know them and you know that they are monolingual, that is, that they don't speak Spanish, you do it, if you don't know them you also start to do it that way, you start to do it in Wixárika, if you know them and you know they are bilingual eeh, whatever, in the way that suits us better”.

The way Miguel explains the relevance of using Wixárika language to communicate with adults that belong to this ethnic group is similar to what Hill (1998) identifies as a discourse of nostalgia and respect in the use of “pure” forms of Mexicano language in communities of central Mexico.

Even when Wixárika is part of the Pérez family ethnic origin, roots and heritage, the use and development of linguistic resources in the family has been decreasing in each generation. The spaces and the language practices that involve the use of the family members’ linguistic resources in Wixárika are their rituals and traditional ceremonies, and in consequence, the acquisition and maintaining of linguistic resources in Wixárika in the Pérez family have been determined by each member’s role and participation in these rituals and ceremonies. This also gives evidence of language shift in the family which goes unnoticed. Similar to results reported in other studies with indigenous families, while children are considered bilingual by their parents, in reality these indigenous children’s linguistic repertoires are limited to certain genres, impacting next generations (Nava, 2016). Further evidence of this is that as they described, Rosa and Adrián’s children are not fluent speakers of Wixárika, and as a result there is a lack of transmission of Wixárika to the next generation of the family. Estela, Paulina, and Ángel have not taught Wixárika to their children.

More evidence of the reproduction of one language-one nation ideology emerges in the narratives of the García family. In the García family, after Oscar was diagnosed as hearing-impaired, and was selected to receive a cochlear implant, doctors asked Oscar’s parents, María and Pedro, not to allow Oscar to learn sign language, because, they claimed, he would learn to hear and to speak in Spanish after he got his cochlear implant. In that moment, along with regular school, Oscar was attending the Multiple Attention Centre (CAM) in Tepic, where he was learning Mexican sign Language, but the doctor’s opinion was crucial in his parents’ decisions to get him out of the centre, as his mother narrates:

Excerpt: 11    Participant: María    Family: García

“[...] fue la doctora P (last name)<sup>5</sup>, está una otorrino del Seguro Social, fue lo que me dijo ‘¿sabes qué? Sácalo, no les conviene tenerlo en el CAM, porque hay muchos niños con síndrome y con más discapacidad, entonces, el niño, fuera de aprender, lo que hace es solo imitar a los demás. Entonces, en lugar de querer esforzarse por hablar, no, o sea, ya se lo limitan a las señas’.”

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<sup>5</sup> The names of other people have been deleted to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

## English translation

"It was Dr. P (last name), an otolaryngologist from the Mexican Social Security Institute, who told me 'you know what? Take him out of the Multiple Attention Centre (CAM), it is not convenient to have him in the CAM, because there are many children with Down syndrome and with other disabilities, then, the child, instead of learning, what he does is only imitate the others. So, instead of wanting to make an effort to speak, he doesn't, I mean, they limit him to signs'."

The narrative excerpt highlights the impact of oralism in the medical-rehabilitative paradigm and the impact of this medical-rehabilitative paradigm in Oscar's life. The doctor's words "they limit him to signs" seem to be loaded with an absolutely negative ideological charge towards sign language, as if using signs to communicate is completely wrong, something that should not happen, because the "correct" practice is to communicate orally. Moreover, the doctors and parents considered that Oscar had to learn to hear and speak in Spanish in order to be assimilated into national life. Even when there is a recognised Mexican sign language, this was not considered as an acceptable option for Oscar. These ideas are related to the term *ableism*, sometimes referred as *disablism*, defined as prejudice and discrimination toward individuals classified as disabled, privileging a nondisabled perspective that promotes inferior and unequal treatment of people with disability (Nairo-Redmond, 2020).

Since Oscar's cochlear implant did not work for him, when his parents took him out of special education school and denied him access to sign language on medical advice, Oscar was left without access to any recognised language, no sign language nor spoken language. María, Oscar's mother, also says that even if Oscar could communicate in sign language, this is not relevant, since almost nobody knows sign language, not even teachers at school. This gives evidence that the one language-one nation ideology represses language diversity, since people perceive that acquiring linguistic resources in Spanish is more useful and relevant than any other linguistic resources in other languages. In consequence, María also says, she and her husband still have hope to find a cure for their son's hearing loss someday.

Furthermore, even when Mexican sign language has been recognized as a national language in Mexico (see section 3.2), María and the García family do not know that. María mentions she would like Mexican sign language to be recognized as a language so consequently her son Oscar could develop in wider society.

Excerpt: 12 Participant: María Family: García

“[Y]o digo, a ver, si lo hicieran como un idioma (la lengua de señas) estaría bien, ¿eda? porque al final de cuentas, ahí entonces sí estuvieran haciendo algo para que fueran inclusivos los lugares, para que el país fuera inclusivo.”

English translation

"[I] mean, let's see, if they did it as an official language (Mexican sign language) it would be fine, right? Because at the end of the day, then they would be doing something to make the places inclusive, to make the country inclusive."

Even when there are efforts to make sign language more visible at Mexican national level, for example using Mexican sign language interpreters in some government activities, the García family has not had any experience that makes them feel sign language is officially recognised in public space. If we look at the space in the city of Tepic, for example, the linguistic landscape does not give any evidence of the presence of Sign language users (see section 3.1.3). At least, I did not find any evidence. Furthermore, this narrative excerpt also gives evidence of the assumption that Spanish is the only official language in Mexico, reproducing the one language-one nation ideology.

In the Sánchez family, the one language-one nation ideology emerged when Alejandra talked about her living experiences in the US. Alejandra explains she could not continue her studies when she arrived in the US because she did not know English.

Excerpt: 13 Participant: Alejandra Family: Sánchez

“[...] y me acuerdo de que ya me llevaron con un **conselor** ahí y ya me acuerdo que me hablaba español. Y ya me explicó, ‘a ver, ¿qué quieres, tú qué quieres hacer?, ¿qué quieres estudiar? A ver’, porque me vio que estaba frustrada y ya le dije, ‘no, pues es que quiero. Yo ya quiero ir a la Universidad’. Y ya me dijo, ‘bueno, aquí es diferente que en México, aquí tienes que tomar las materias básicas, un tiempo, tienes que tomar matemáticas, tienes que tomar inglés, sobre todo tú que estás empezando y pues ahorita ya no puedes ir a **high school** con los demás chicos, porque tú ya tienes 19 años, ya no puedes estar con ellos’. Y yo ‘pero ya la hice’. ‘Sí, pero pues, es que, pues se tienen que revalidar algunas materias y otras las tienes que volver a tomar y para eso es el **college**. Entonces, pero tú no puedes venir todavía porque pues no vas a comprender las matemáticas o las materias básicas, porque no sabes inglés’.”



English translation

"I remember that they took me to a **counselor** (uses the word in English while talking in Spanish) there and I remember that he spoke in Spanish to me. And he explained to me, 'let's see, what do you want, what do you want to do, what do you want to study? Let's see', because he saw that I was frustrated and I told him, 'No, I want to. I already want to go to university'. And he told me, 'well, here it is different than in Mexico, here you have to take the basic subjects, for a while, you have to take math, you have to take English, especially since you are just starting and now you can't go to **high school** (uses the word in English while talking in Spanish) with the other kids, because you are already 19 years old, you can't be with them'. And I said, 'but I already did it (study High school)'. 'Yes, but, well, you have to revalidate some subjects and you have to retake others and that's what **college** (uses the word in English while talking in Spanish) is for. So, but you can't come here (to study) because you won't understand math or the basic subjects, because you don't know English'."

The one nation-one language ideology is a central aspect of national identity in the US, where the use of English and English only is important for social cohesion (Piller, 2015). Consequently, assimilationist language policies have been used in education and social policy to replace different languages spoken in the country with English (Piller, 2015; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). However, despite these policies, according to Census data, in 2019 there were 67.8 million people in the U.S. who speak a language other than English. Moreover, among several languages like Chinese, German or Dutch, Spanish language has the largest number of speakers with 41.8 million people. (Dietrich & Hernandez, 2022).

Similarly to Alejandra's experience in the U.S., there is a growing number of students in Mexico with scholar experiences in the U.S. that confront different challenges in the Mexican educational system, since Spanish is the language of instruction (see Herrera Ruano et al., 2021; Tacelosky, 2021; Zuñiga & Hamann, 2008; Zuñiga & Hamann, 2009; Zuñiga & Saucedo, 2019).

Alejandra's experience in the United States and those experiences of other transnational students in Mexico confirm that the ideology of one language-one nation is present in different countries and is reproduced through different mechanisms such as educational policies. Moreover, schools also have a key role in the construction and reproduction of a standard language ideology, as it will be discussed in the following section.

### 5.1.2 A standard language ideology

The standard language ideology refers to the idea of an homogenous language, that is superior to other ways of speaking, it is based on written language and the language of upper social classes, and it is imposed and maintained by dominant groups and institutions (Lippi-Green, 2004; Piller, 2015). This ideology emerged in different moments when my participants talked about the languages they and others know and use.

In the García family, María considers Oscar does not know how to read and write in Spanish, and she believes the family's 'natural' signs are more valuable for Oscar than Mexican sign language, because these signs have allowed Oscar to socialise in wider society.

Excerpt: 14 Participant: María Family: García

“Y, pues, ya, salió de la secundaria, pero yo, insisto, sin saber leer ni escribir, porque pues finalmente los pasan (se refiere a que solo pasan de grado a los estudiantes que tienen alguna discapacidad) y el apoyo realmente que les dan, nada más es así (se refiere al apoyo que se brinda a estudiantes que tienen alguna discapacidad y asisten a la escuela), o sea. A lo mejor sí va a terapias, pero no, no ha sido lo... y acá no le gustó (se refiere a las clases de lengua de señas mexicana), ya no quiso ir. Entonces por lo mismo, porque nos acostumbramos todos a, a nuestras señas cotidianas ya, él ya se comunica, no tiene problemas para comunicarse con nadie, este, de hecho, conoce gente que nosotros ni conocemos, tiene amigos que nosotros ni sabemos.”

English translation

“And, well, then, he finished Middle school, but I insist, he didn't learn to read and write in Spanish, because at the end the teachers only pass them from grade to grade, the support they receive at school is like that, I mean. Maybe he receives therapy, that has not help and he did not like sign language classes, he didn't want to go anymore. So, because of it, because we are used to, everyone, we are used to our everyday signs, he can communicate, he doesn't have any problems to communicate with anybody, so, in fact, he knows people we don't even know, he has friends we even don't know.”

María says Oscar does not know how to read and write in Spanish because he does not follow standard Spanish rules when he writes, for example, when they communicate through text messages in WhatsApp. María also thinks this is because sign language does not follow the same grammar and syntax rules as Spanish.

Excerpt: 15 Participant: María Family: García

“Pues...tanto así no, o sea, se comunica de manera medio cortada este por WhatsApp y eso, pero ellos por ejemplo (las personas sordas), no usan los conectivos, este por ejemplo, pone: ‘voy comer’, él no va...no dice ‘yo voy a comer’ o ‘voy a comer’ o sea, los conectivos no los utilizan, casi nadie de ellos, este y él es más...mmhh se le dificultó más porque nunca lo-o sea, en la primaria nunca lo enseñaron a leer, ni a escribir”

English translation

"Well...not so much so, I mean, he communicates in a half-cut way via WhatsApp and so on, but they for example (hearing-impaired people), they don't use connectors, for example, he says: 'I eat', he doesn't...he doesn't say 'I'm going to eat' or 'going to eat' I mean, they don't use connectors, almost none of them, and he is more...mmhh he had more difficulty because they never taught him to read or write in elementary school."

When I asked Oscar if he knows how to read and write in Spanish, according to his sister Melisa, who helped me to interpret the interview, he considers he has limited knowledge of literacy in Spanish. Melisa perceives this is because he cannot understand or use connectors and conjunctions, following Spanish grammar.

Excerpt: 16 Participant: Oscar (interpreted by Melisa) Family: García

“[D]ice que...más o menos, o sea, más o menos... en-osea, entiende pero más o menos, o sea, por ejemplo, si nosotros le mandamos mensajes diciéndole que nosotros... emhh con conectivos, por así decirlo, o sea, más así, no los va a entender.”

English translation

“[He says] that... more less, I mean, more less...in-I mean, he understands but more less, I mean, for example, if we send him text messages telling him that we... emhh using connectors, so to speak, I mean, more like that, he is not going to understand.”

Since Oscar did not learn to speak in Spanish, he was sent to school to learn to read and write in Spanish. Mexican education policies guarantee public education for everyone regardless of gender, ethnicity, cultural background, or disability status (see section 3.2). However, as María commented, teachers are not trained to deal with hearing impaired students, or any other kind of diversity.

María and her daughter Melisa also talked about gender-inclusive language and compare it to accessible language. According to their narrative they believe the word “inclusive” refers to “accessible”, that means any person can access to communicate with others in different ways, like hearing impaired people communicate through sign language.

Excerpt: 17    Participants: María and Melisa    Family: García

María: ay no que hasta inventaron la palabra de...de... ¿qué? ‘todes’... y que eso es ser incluyente o...o sea, o inclusivo-pues no, no es nada que ver, o sea, no es la palabra, no es la palabra la que te hace ser inclusive, sino en sí todo el ambiente y el entorno

Melisa: si quieres ser incluyente, aprende señas

English translation

María: “oh no, they even invented the words of ..of...what? ‘todes’ (all)..and that is being inclusive oh..I mean, inclusive – not really, it’s nothing like that, I mean, it’s not the word, it’s not the word that makes you being inclusive, it’s all the environment and all around.”

Melisa: “if you want to be inclusive, learn sign language.”

This comparison of “inclusive” and “accessible” language has been a popular topic in social media (see <https://glotopolitica.com/2019/09/26/por-que-la-lengua-de-senas-no-es-el-verdadero-lenguaje-inclusivo/>) and was brought up by María and Melissa when they were talking about how people are more interested in other languages or linguistic forms, but not in sign languages.

The standard language ideology also informs the belief about the existence of ‘good’ language and ‘bad’ language (Lippi-Green, 2004). This belief emerges in the Pérez family, for example, when Paulina, the oldest daughter, talks about the Spanish used by her grandparents:

Excerpt: 18    Participant: Paulina    Family: Pérez

“[M]is abuelos ya grandes, ya, este yo supongo que empezaron a hablar español, porque yo recuerdo que no lo hablaban bien no lo hablaban bien, pero pos nos entendíamos ¿eda?”

English translation

“[M]y grandparents were older, yes, I guess they were older when they began to speak Spanish, because I remember they did not speak well, they did not speak well, but we could understand us, right?”

Paulina’s grandparents did not attend school, so they did not acquire their linguistic resources in Spanish in this formal institution, and Paulina perceived their Spanish was not correct. Moreover, different generations tend to use different linguistic forms. However, Paulina highlights that she

could understand when her grandparents speak Spanish, and that this seems more valuable than speaking the language fluently and ‘correctly’.

Similarly to Paulina, Miguel also evaluates the use of his grandparents linguistic resources in Wixárika and Spanish:

Excerpt: 19 Participant: Miguel Family: Pérez

“[M]i abuelo era más competente en.... un poquito más competente en español, pero mis dos abuelas- ellas siempre preferían la lengua materna, la lengua wixárika, este solo yo escuchaba que ellas hablaban español como cuando hablaban con otras personas mestizas del pueblo, este preferían, pues, hablaban español, pero ellas su lengua preferente siempre fue la lengua wixárika porque tenían menos competencia en el español, este, siempre le batallaban, este, y mi abuelo siempre fue también como, pues más... más que mis abuelas siempre fue también más-o sea, fue más competente un poquito más que mis abuelas, será por su... porque siempre andaba buscando (buscando trabajo), ¿no?, fuera (fuera de la comunidad) y... y pues siempre mis abuelas hablaban más en wixárika que en español.”

English translation

"[M]y grandfather was more proficient in.... a little bit more competent in Spanish, but my two grandmothers-they always preferred their mother tongue, the Wixárika language, I only heard them speak Spanish when they talked to other mestizos in town, they preferred, well, they spoke Spanish, but their preferred language was always the Wixárika language because they were less competent in Spanish, well, they always struggled, well, and my grandfather was always also more... more than my grandmothers, he was always more - I mean, he was more competent a little bit more than my grandmothers, maybe because of his... because he was always looking for (looking for work), right? , outside (outside the community) and... and well, my grandmothers always spoke more in Wixárika than in Spanish."

Miguel’s perception of the language of his grandparents is based on their use. He considers his grandfather was able to speak better in Spanish because he needed to use the language more. However, the use of the term of “mother tongue” in Miguel’s narrative excerpt is what deserves better comment. The concept of mother tongue is often mentioned in political institutions especially in relation to education (Pennycook, 2002) (see UNESCO, 1953, 1996). Moreover, the concept is not only associated to the first language that is acquired by a person, but it also invokes the idea of motherhood, nurturing, affection and belonging (Dal Negro, 2011; Mills, 2004), assigning it a higher status when is compared to other languages a person learns later in life (Dal Negro, 2011). The

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mother tongue is also linked to the one language-one nation ideology. This link emerges from the idea that it is only possible to have one single mother tongue, in the same way, you can only have one single nationality, both linked to specific territories and communities (Dal Negro, 2011). Even when Miguel has knowledge of linguistics and this could be the reason why he uses the term of “mother tongue”, is the way he gives significance to the term that highlights this comment.

In the Sánchez family, the standard language ideology emerges when Alejandra talks of her perceptions about her mother’s and brothers’ use of English and Spanish while she was living with them in the U.S. When she evaluates her mother’s and brothers’ linguistic forms and language practices, her evaluation is based on formal and informal genres, considering “formal language” is the one you learn at school.

Excerpt: 20 Participant: Alejandra Family: Sánchez

“Sí sabía hablar inglés (mi mamá)], pero **broken**, pero sí se, sí se podía comunicar. No era un inglés muy fluido, pero si era un inglés funcional. Mis hermanos, sí hablan español, pues pudiera decirse que un español pues no tan formal, pero un español que también es muy funcional y, pues, bien.”

English translation

“Yes, she can speak English (my mother), but **broken** (uses the word in English while talking in Spanish), but yes she, she could communicate. It was not a very fluent English, but it was a functional English. My brothers, yes they can speak Spanish, but we can say it is a Spanish not so formal, but an Spanish that is also very functional, and, good.”

Since Alejandra is now an English teacher, she has similar perceptions about her students’ use of English. For Alejandra, the most important thing is to communicate, it does not matter if your linguistic forms or language practices do not follow normativity rules.

Excerpt: 21 Participant: Alejandra Family: Sánchez

“yo trato de que mis estudiantes no digan, no digan las cosas perfectas. O sea, que, por decir, ellos se frustran y se enojan porque alguna palabra no la pronuncian bien y les da pena. Entonces yo siempre trato de hacerles ver que en la vida real eso no importa. Yo siempre les digo, quizá, sea mi visión que tengo y siempre les digo ‘bueno, lo que importa es que comuniquen’ y ya cuando dicen algo todo, todo, así todo como **broken**, así, cuando me van a decir, según ellos, un párrafo de algo que ellos hicieron, una descripción, descripción o algo y luego se cohíben un poco y ya dicen ‘es que está mal, maestra’, y ya. Entonces le digo ‘a ver, ¿por qué está mal?’, ‘pues es que yo sé que está mal’ y luego ya les

digo 'a ver, léelo' ya que los lee y ya, pues lo leen en inglés y, entonces, yo les digo en español '¿quisiste decir esto, esto, esto?', 'sí, maestra', 'entonces, entonces no está mal, porque comunicaste y yo te entendí qué querías decir, transmitiste al mensaje, ¿verdad? Entonces no está mal, probablemente, sí haya, de acuerdo a la regla, esto y esto y esto, pero en la vida real, no, a ellos (otras personas que hablan inglés) no les va a importar eso'."

English translation

"I try so that my students don't say, don't say things perfectly. mean, they get frustrated and angry because they don't pronounce some word correctly and they feel sorry for it. So I always try to make them aware that in real life that doesn't matter. I always tell them, perhaps, it is my vision that I have and I always tell them 'well, what really matters is that you communicate your message' and when they say something, everything, everything, like **broken** (uses the word in English while talking in Spanish), like that, when they are going to tell me, according to them, a paragraph of something that they did, a description, description or something and then they get a little embarrassed and already say 'it's wrong, teacher', and that's it. So I tell them 'let's see, why is it wrong?', 'well, I know it's wrong' and then I tell them 'let's see, read it' they read it and that's it, well, they read it in English and, then, I tell them in Spanish 'did you mean this, this, this?', 'yes, teacher', 'so, then it's not bad, because you communicated and I understood what you wanted to say, you gave the message, right? So it's not bad, probably, there is, according to the rule, this and this and this, but in real life, no, they (other people who speak English) are not going to care about that'."

The perceptions of Paulina, Miguel and Alejandra about other people's linguistic forms and language practices also give evidence of 'the language subordination process' (Lippi-Green, 2004). This process is promoted by institutions, like schools, where the superiority of a standard language is valorised and all the other forms that are not considered standard are devaluated. However, participants' evaluation comes second when communication is accomplished in some contexts. For Paulina it is more relevant that she was able to communicate with her grandparents and for Alejandra it is more relevant that her students develop confidence and fluency in the language they are learning.

On the other hand, a standard language ideology also emerges in the Pérez family's narratives when they evaluate their linguistic resources in Wixárika. However, since indigenous languages are mostly oral languages, the standard way of speaking Wixárika is not based on written language, it is based on oral fluency. As explained before, all the Pérez family members say they usually use their linguistic resources in Spanish in all their everyday activities, and their linguistic resources in Wixárika have

been left to use at home in some family gatherings and for traditional rituals in their town of origin. Consequently, the Pérez family children's linguistic repertoire in Wixárika is limited to certain contexts and genres, and this is reflected in their perception of their linguistic forms and language practices. Estela, the youngest daughter describes her linguistic repertoire in Wixárika in the following narrative:

Excerpt: 22    Participant: Estela    Family: Pérez

“Hasta el día de hoy, yo no puedo... no he tenido como esa facilidad de entablar una conversación con alguien (en Wixárika), puedo decir frases, puedo comunicarme pues sí como-como completando unas frases, pues, palabras, combinando pero no de... de chorrillo, pues, así como un diálogo como tal, no, lo pienso todavía porque sí me cuesta como... como pronunciarlo y darle el énfasis, la entonación a cada una de las palabras, eso sí me cuesta todavía, pero sí lo entiendo y lo pienso, y lo pienso y lo escucho, o sea, dentro de mí lo escucho pero hora que lo pronuncio no lo pronuncio igual, no lo pronuncio igual (igual que antes).”

English translation

“Until today, I can't... I haven't had that facility to start a conversation with someone (in Wixárika), I can say phrases, I can communicate, I can communicate as if I were completing some sentences, well, words, combining them but not in... fluently, well, as if it were a dialogue as such, no, I still think about it because it is difficult for me to... how to pronounce it and give it the emphasis, the intonation to each of the words, that's still hard for me, but I do understand it and I think on it, and I think on it and I listen to it, that is, inside me, I hear it, but when I pronounce it, I don't pronounce it the same, I don't pronounce it the same way, I don't pronounce it in the same way (than before).”

Estela expresses her frustration about not pronouncing Wixárika in the same way as before, because she says when she was a little girl, she remembers she used to speak Wixárika fluently. Estela's older sister, Paulina, says she can speak Wixárika, but when she reads aloud in Wixárika her father always says she needs to practice more. And Ángel says he is able to understand Wixárika, but that he speaks it “*medianamente*”, that is “moderately”. Ángel says “*me defiendo*”, or in English “I can get by”, to explain he is able to understand and use the language when necessary. Miguel, on his side, is confident about his linguistic resources in Wixárika. Even when he recognizes there are some words he does not understand in Wixárika when he and his family visit their town of origin for traditional celebrations, Miguel says he is fluent in Wixárika, and he can read and write in Wixárika language, too.



Following this belief of the existence of an homogenous language, based on a written form, there have been efforts by the Mexican government and the INALI (*Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* - National Institute of Indigenous Languages) to develop writing systems and the normalisation of the alphabets of indigenous languages (see <https://site.inali.gob.mx/Micrositios/normas/>). This process of “full languageness” (Blommaert, 2010) aims to give indigenous languages the same language status as Spanish. However, since indigenous languages are traditionally oral languages, having a written form sometimes does not imply the use of this language form to communicate in different ways. In this case, for example, even when some of the Pérez family members know how to read and write in Wixárika, these linguistic resources are not used to communicate to others, they are only used in their work as bilingual teachers and in different activities to promote Wixárika language.

About other linguistic resources in the Pérez family, Ángel mentioned he studied English for some time, he considers he was good at it, except for pronunciation.

Excerpt: 23    Participant: Ángel    Family: Pérez

“lo que me costaba más ahí pues era la pronunciación, este y ya lo demás en cuanto a las combinaciones de palabras y todo eso buen pues sí se me facilitaba, pero a la hora de pronunciar era...era muy malo”

English translation

"What was difficult for me was the pronunciation, everything else like word combinations and all that, well, it was easier, but when it came to pronouncing it, I was...I was very bad".

The standard language ideology is also used to justify discrimination on the basis of language (Lippi-Green, 2004). In the Pérez family, for example, all members described discrimination experiences for being indigenous, and for being identified as indigenous for using their linguistic resources in *Wixárika*. When Estela, the youngest daughter, was about 12 years old, she decided she would not use her indigenous language anymore, she did not want to be recognised as indigenous.

Excerpt: 24    Participant: Estela    Family: Pérez

“ya entro a la secundaria dije ‘ay, no, no quiero que nadie sepa, es más, ni voy a hablar. Ni voy a hablar (*Wixárika*) ni que nadie se entere’ porque sí fue muy... me acuerdo que en varias ocasiones hasta me agarra-o sea, las niñas me agarraban de las greñas afuera de la escuela y los niños también, me apedreaban, me acuerdo... entonces este eh, pues te quedas con ese trauma de decir, entonces lo que yo digo, lo que yo hablo y cómo lo hablo o como visto (por eso me tratan mal)”

English translation

“When I began Middle school, I said ‘oh, no, I don't want anyone to know, in fact, I'm not even going to talk about it. I'm not even going to talk or let anyone know’ because it was very... I remember that on several occasions the girls (from school) even grabbed me - I mean, the girls grabbed me by the hair, outside the school and the boys too, they stoned me, I remember... so this eh, you are left with the trauma of saying, then what I say, the way I talk and how I talk or how I wear (that's the reason they are mean to me).”

Even when all the Pérez family members talked about discrimination experiences for speaking their indigenous languages and being identified as indigenous, only Estela explicitly talked about her own decision to stop using Wixárika at some point in her life.

In the García family, María also talked about discrimination experiences. When Oscar went to school, some parents did not want their children to be friends of her son because he is hearing impaired, and he is labelled as disabled. Based on these experiences, María is now worried about Oscar's son, who is three years old, and is acquiring Sign language resources with his parents since she believes this prevents him from learning to speak. Oscar's wife is also hearing-impaired, she communicates through Mexican sign language. Unlike Oscar, his wife acquired Mexican sign language in early childhood, and she has been teaching to Oscar. María's grandson does not have any hearing problem, and consequently María thinks he should not focus on learning Sign language, he must learn to speak in Spanish first or he will become confused.

Excerpt: 25    Participant: María    Family: García

“[P]or lo mismo, hacemos el esfuerzo de pagarle la guardería (a su nieto) pues junto con él (Oscar), por lo mismo, porque si (el niño) se desarrolla en un entorno totalmente cerrado con ellos (sus padres sordos), pues ¿cuándo va a empezar a hablar? porque nosotros (mi esposo, mi hija y yo) a veces no estamos en todo el día, yo me voy a trabajar, y los otros dos días salimos ella (Melisa) y yo porque tenemos cosas que hacer y entonces él (el niño - su nieto) va a aprender nada más a gritar, y a emitir sonidos guturales y ese tipo de cosas por lo que oye y lo que ve, porque él (el niño-su nieto) sí escucha y todo, pero necesita desarrollarse en un ambiente convencional para que también él, así como todo, como cuando él (Oscar) iba al CAM (Centro de Atención Múltiple - Escuela de educación especial) que tienden a imitar, pues por imitación él (el niño – su nieto) también va a empezar a comunicarse con los demás, entonces pues para mí sí es como que fundamental ¿eda? que también tenga ese entorno convencional, no? normal ¿eda?, porque ¿quién dicta la normalidad, eda?”

English translation

“[T]hat is why, we make an effort to pay the nursery (to her grandson) with him (Oscar), because this, because if he (the child) develops in a closed environment only with them (his hearing-impaired parents), when is he going to start speaking? Because we (me, my husband and my daughter) sometimes we are not at home all day long, I go to work, and the other two days when I don’t work, she (Melisa) and I go out because we have things to do, and then he (the child- her grandson) is going to learn only to scream and to emit guttural sounds and that sort of things, because that is what he hears and what he sees with his parents, because he (the child-her grandchild) can hear and everything, but he needs to develop in a conventional environment, so that he also, like everything, like when he (Oscar) used to go to the CAM (Multiple Attention Centre – Special Education School) that they tend to imitate the others, well for imitation he (her grandson) is going to start to communicate in the same way, then for me is fundamental, right? That he also has a conventional environment, right? Normal, right? Because who establishes normality? Right?”

It is common that bilinguals and multilinguals are compared to their monolingual peers, and to be considered, for example, that simultaneous bilingualism (when infants and toddlers are exposed to two languages before they are old enough to consciously understand their input comes from two linguistic resources) cause delay in language developmental progress (Paradis, 2007). However, research on the subject has demonstrated that differences between bilinguals and monolinguals are not indicative of language development progress differences, instead these differences are indicative of how patterns in acquisition of linguistic resources of bilinguals and monolinguals are simple diverse (Paradis, 2007). This vision of language development that is determined by our life trajectory and the access to linguistic resources through it goes accordingly to the concept of linguistic repertoires that has been discussed before (see section 2.1.3.1). Furthermore, bilingual and multilingual acquisition is also determined by many factors that are not controlled by individuals and that can interact in a complex way, like the status of languages in the social environment, the particular sets of norms established for speakers and language use situations, as well as the amount of input an individual receives; factors that also apply to *bimodal bilingualism*, bilingualism that involves a signed language and a spoken language (van den Bogaerde & Baker, 2009).

María’s narrative excerpt not only demonstrates her concern about how the acquisition of two languages at the same time can affect language proficiency in her grandson's acquisition of Spanish based on the idea of the existence of a standard language, but it also manifests other ideas about the status and usefulness of Sign languages. In a study about language acquisition of hearing children of

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deaf parents in Mexico, Cruz-Aldrete (2019), in accordance with other studies about the topic, concludes that the bilingualism of bimodal bilinguals is devalued in comparison to other bilingual or multilingual speakers. She explains that, in one hand, this is because signed languages are often considered minorized languages with a lower social status than oral languages, and, on the other hand, because the acquisition and development of oral linguistic resources by bimodal bilinguals is pretty different to their monolingual or bilingual peers since the amount of input they receive in their oral language is much lower in comparison with them. Moreover, Cruz-Aldrete (2019) highlights these bimodal bilinguals tend to be classified as deficient in Spanish at schools in Mexico, similar to transnational or indigenous language speakers.

At the end of the excerpt, Maria contradicts herself by questioning who is the one who dictates the rules about normality and deviance, since in this situation she is the one who is deciding that it is better for her grandson to learn to speak Spanish even discriminating sign language and its users.

In the same family, Melisa told me of two discrimination experiences. One, where people assumed she knows Mexican sign language because her brother is hearing impaired.

Excerpt: 26    Participant: Melisa    Family: García

“[H]ay una compañera de danza, N (nombre), es maestra y... la otra vez me preguntó ‘oye, tú sabes lengua de señas’, y yo ‘no’, y ya luego me dijo, ‘¿cómo no? si tu hermano...’ y yo dije ‘sí, pero yo nunca lo aprendí, porque pues sé que nos comunicamos por señas, o sea, básicas que tanto tú como yo y como él las saben...”

English translation

“[T]here is a classmate in dancing class, N (name), she is a teacher and... the other day she asked me ‘ey, do you know sign language?’, and I said ‘no’, and then she told me, ‘why not? If your brother...’ and I said ‘yes, but I never learned Mexican sign language, because I’m aware we communicate using signs, I mean, basic signs that you, and me, and him knows’...”

And another where it seems that people assumed anyone who does not speak can understand sign language.

Excerpt: 27    Participant: Melisa    Family: García

“Y dice, ‘es que quiero aprender (lengua de señas mexicana) porque tengo esta niña que es autista, sí escucha y sí habla pero no quiere hablar, no habla con nadie y... quiero aprender señas’, yo le digo ‘sí, pero...’, yo me acuerdo que le dije...’pero es que está bien que quiera

aprender señas, pero ella, la niña...que ella aprenda señas y que la niña no quiera hablar, no quiere decir que la niña sabe señas, porque ella habla y escucha y no quiere, pero ella no sabe, la niña', le digo 'es que si tú aprendes señas no te va a servir de nada con la niña porque ella no sabe'"

English translation

"And she says, 'I want to learn (Mexican sign language) because I have this student, an autistic girl, she can hear and she can speak, but she doesn't want to speak, she doesn't speak to anybody and...I want to learn sign language' I tell her 'yes, but'...I remember I told her...'but it is fine that you want to learn sign language, but her, the girl...that you learn sign language and that the girl doesn't want to speak, it doesn't mean that the girl knows sign language, because she can speak and she can hear and she doesn't want, but she doesn't know, the girl', I tell her, 'if you learn sign language it's not going to be useful for you with the girl because she doesn't know sign language'"

Since the García family do not relate with other people who communicate in Mexican sign language, only Oscar's wife and her mother, they consider this language is not valuable for them; additionally, Sign language is linked to disability. I believe these are also the major reasons that inform María's intervention in her grandson's language acquisition and development to prevent the child learning Sign language. These experiences faced by the García family denote the lack of information about Sign languages in wider society. The ideologies confronted by Melisa reproduce ideas of language homogeneity and the idea that specific linguistic forms are used by specific people.

In the Sánchez family, Sofía, the oldest daughter talks about Alejandra's language use when she came to live with her and her family. Alejandra used to talk on the phone in English or use English at home, something that was funny for her.

Excerpt: 28      Participant: Sofía      Family: Sánchez

"Pues, bueno, yo me acuerdo porque, pues no estábamos acostumbrados a escuchar a alguien que hablaba diferente o en otro idioma. Y se nos hacía muy chistoso cuando la escuchábamos hablar por teléfono con mis tías que vivían allá y siempre nos andamos riendo y la arremedábamos."

English translation

"Then, well, I remember because we weren't used to listen to someone that speak differently or in other language. And we thought it was very funny when we listen to her

“speak on the phone with my aunts that lived there (in the U.S.) and we were always laughing and we imitate her making fun of her.”

Sofía’s narrative highlights why people with diverse linguistic forms and language practices feel discriminated by others, if people use linguistic forms that are considered deviant by the majority they will be bullied about it.

Despite all this, participants’ narratives also show they are aware that language is not homogenous. When participants talk about the languages they know, they tend to describe what things they are able to do in the named language: speak, read, write, understand what someone says, or having a conversation in the language. Participants do not interpret language as something finite and rule bound, they consider they know a language because they are able to understand or to use the named language in diverse forms. This idea agrees with the recent paradigm in language studies that has coined the term of linguistic repertoire to describe the set of resources a person knows and uses to communicate to others (Blommaert & Backus, 2013) (see section 2.1.3.1). According to my participants’ conceptions, the most salient and useful resources are the ones that allow them to communicate with others in the spaces and practices they are involved in, and this may imply different types of linguistic resources for each individual.

Differences in the Individual linguistic repertoires can be observed, for example, in the Pérez family. All family members say they have linguistic resources in Wixárika, but they are not able to do the same things with their linguistic resources. Rosa, the mother, says all her children know Wixárika to different levels, some of them, she believes, can speak it more than others, but she considers all of them can understand the language.

In the Sánchez family, Alejandra says that a person can never say that they know a language, because in reality they never finish learning and acquiring linguistic resources. When Alejandra talks about her future plans, she uses her own experience to describe her lack of specific linguistic resources and vocabulary in English, and that she needs to study to keep learning and knowing more about the language.

Excerpt: 29

Participant: Alejandra

Family: Sánchez

“[S]iento que, siento que estoy corta, a lo mejor, eh, todavía siento que, aunque sea español o inglés, siento que son lenguas, cualquier lengua que nunca terminas de aprender. Entonces, yo creo que me falta mucho, entonces la verdad sí me gustaría, no sé, es mi, no he hecho el plan, pero si tengo en mente un día pedir como un permiso o algo (se refiere a pedir permiso en el trabajo) y poder irme y tomar, como, no sé, algún diplomado o algo que en un país no necesariamente tiene que ser en Estados Unidos, pero de donde se habla

inglés, pues, para que pueda mejorarlo, porque no es lo mismo, este, utilizar el inglés, así, funcional, que puedas necesitar en la calle al inglés académico. Entonces quisiera, como estar en una, en un ambiente donde se pueda desarrollar un inglés más académico. Eso ese es mi plan, eso es lo que quisiera hacer un día y pues, claro, estudiar una maestría, eh, pues también, así, aquí, pero antes de eso como que quisieran, no sé, irme como, yo sé que ya no estoy estudiando, pero como si fuera como un intercambio y quedarme y hacer como un diplomado o algo, pero donde pueda mejorar, porque siento que todavía tengo, tengo muchas, no conozco muchas palabras. No conozco mucho, como venía en un examen "Use of English", siento que todavía me faltan muchas frases, muchas cosas que no puedes traducir literalmente y que me falta conocer eso, mucho. Siento que todavía me falta mucho, mucho."

#### English translation

"I feel that, I feel that I'm short, maybe, uh, I still feel that, even if it's Spanish or English, I feel that they are languages, any language you never finish learning. So, I think I still have a long way to go, so I would really like to, I don't know, it's my, I haven't made the plan, but I do have in mind one day to ask for a leave at work or something and be able to go and take, like, I don't know, a diploma course or something in a country that doesn't necessarily have to be in the United States, but where English is spoken, well, so that I can improve it, because it's not the same, this, to use English, so, functional, that you might need in the street as academic English. So I would like, like to be in an, in an environment where I can develop a more academic English. That's my plan, that's what I would like to do one day and then, of course, study for a master's degree, uh, well, also, like this, here, but before that I would like to, I don't know, go, like, I know I'm not studying anymore, but I would like to take an exchange and stay and do like a diploma course or something, but where I can improve, because I feel like I still have, I have a lot, I don't know a lot of words. I don't know a lot, like I saw in a test "Use of English", I feel like I'm still missing a lot of phrases, a lot of things that you can't translate literally and I still don't know that, a lot of things. I feel like I'm still missing a lot, a lot."

Alejandra's personal experiences and encounters with language as a transnational have made her conscious of how and why she has developed her own linguistic repertoire. Alejandra's life experiences in two different education systems made her aware that linguistic trajectories are not linear or progressive (see section 2.1.3.1), and now she knows she has control in acquiring the linguistic resources she needs.

On the other hand, in the García family the description of their “natural sign language” gives evidence of multimodality of linguistic repertoires (Kusters et al., 2017)(see section 2.1.3.1). Oral linguistic resources are the most privileged in linguistic repertoires being the main focus of language studies, but they are not the only type of linguistic resources that are used to communicate. Additionally, I consider the linguistic forms and language practices used by the García family are a good example of ‘semiotic repertoires’ and their holistic perspective to explain how we reach successful communication (Canagarajah, 2021a; Kusters et al., 2017). When María, the mother, talks about knowing Mexican sign language, she says she and other members in the family have a few linguistic resources in it and only Oscar’s wife knows this named language. However, she does not consider this relevant because the family use a “natural sign language” to communicate with her son, Oscar. María explains why she considers they know a natural language in the following excerpt, adding some signs while she is talking.

Excerpt: 30            Participant: María            Family: García

“Le digo un lenguaje natural, porque si tú tienes sed y está alguien de lejos y le vas a encargar una, ¿cómo le haces la seña? ¿cuál sería tu seña para pedir? (se dirige a la entrevistadora y ella hace una seña como si fuera a beber de un vaso de agua) Ajá, sí, osea, pizza, simplemente, ¿cómo agarras una rebanada de pizza? (hace la seña) ¿cómo agarras un sándwich? (hace la seña) Osea, muchas de las palabras son lenguajes que utilizamos en la vida cotidiana todo mundo, aun cuando podemos emitir sonidos, ¿verdad?”

English translation

"I call it a natural language, because if you are thirsty and someone is far away and you are going to ask for some water, how do you make the sign? what sign would you use to ask for it? (she turns to the interviewer and the interviewer makes a sign like if she is drinking from a glass of water) Aha, yes, that is, pizza, simply, how do you get a slice of pizza? (she makes the sign) how do you grab a sandwich? (she makes the sign) I mean, many of the words are languages that we all use in everyday life, even when we can make sounds, right?"

María also says that Mexican sign language is too vast, and she seems to think that then it is impossible to know the language, because there are so many variations on it.

Excerpt: 31            Participant: María            Family: García

“[Y]o por ejemplo me sé el abecedario, los días de la semana, pero hay muchas...el lenguaje manual pues es otro...otro idioma. Este...por ejemplo, que ‘carne’ puedes hacer así (hace una seña), que ‘leche’ este yo te lo puedo decir de manera con el abecedario, pero hay por



ejemplo 'leche' (hace una seña), o sea, o...otras señas que 'carne' (hace una seña), o sea, hay otras señas específicas para cada palabra, el lenguaje es muy extenso”

English translation

“[M]e, for example, I know the alphabet, the days of the week, but there are many...the manual language is another...another language. So...for example, 'meat' you can do like this (she makes a sign), or 'milk' I can tell you using the alphabet, but there is, for example, 'milk' (she makes a sign), that is, or...other signs for 'meat' (makes a sign), I mean, there are other specific signs for each word, the language is very extensive”

The excerpts from María's narrative show how she underestimates the value of their linguistic forms and language practices. When María describes how easy and natural results for her to communicate with her son Oscar with their natural signs, and then she explains how complex Mexican sign language is, her narrative suggests that María believes their linguistic forms are not in the same level of complexity as Mexican sign language, and then their so-called “natural sign language” cannot be really called or be considered a language. These perceptions are then also related to the standard language ideology. And, I believe these perceptions have been constructed because the García family does not know much about Sign languages because they have been influenced by the medical-rehabilitative paradigm that looks for a cure for deafness.

According to these narratives, when my participants talk about how they or others know a language, they consider that knowing a language means having linguistic resources that allow us to understand and use the named language, or to communicate with others. Also, languages are vast and infinite, and it seems impossible to know it all, we can only continuously acquire more linguistic resources from different genres or domains that can be useful to accomplish certain activities in the named language. My participants are aware that language is not homogenous, and that language practices are complex.

Accordingly, there are two kinds of beliefs within standard language ideology. On the one hand, participants consider linguistic forms must follow language rules established by formal institutions, like literacy taught in school. In the case of indigenous language, oral fluency has been established by its users as the norm. And on the other hand, participants accept other linguistic forms that do not follow language rules, as long they are used to accomplish communication. However, this depends on the context and purpose of communication. Even when both kinds of beliefs are opposites, they seem to coexist without conflict in the participants; possibly, because they are not aware of it, or because they do not make their beliefs explicit when they engage in language practices with others. The standard language ideology is also linked to the conflict of the traditional ideological

construction of language and its revision under new social and cultural complexity brought by globalisation processes (see section 2.1.3).

### 5.1.3 Neoliberal language ideology

The neoliberal language ideology has emerged from globalisation processes (see section 2.1.1) and it refers to the belief that English is a global language that gives access to social, labour, and economic advantages (Piller & Cho, 2013). This ideology emerges in my participants' narratives when they talked about their interest in other languages.

In the Pérez family, Miguel, for example, when he talked about his future plans, he mentioned his interest in learning English. Miguel considers it is a necessity to learn English if you want to study a PhD, and he also mentions his interest in learning other indigenous language.

Excerpt: 32                      Participant: Miguel                      Family: Pérez

“Mmhh bueno, el... pues mmhh por necesidad alguna...digamos que el inglés ¿no?, el inglés como necesidad académica y es algo que pienso retomar porque este lo abandoné. Retomar el aprendizaje del inglés porque seguro lo voy a ocupar si...o sea, el doctorado que-que casi todos los doctorados te piden inglés y sí me gustaría porque sí sé que hay literatura muy buena y que sólo está en inglés y... emh... pues ya he explorado la lengua, un poco la lengua náayeri y se me ha hecho más fácil porque se parece mucho al wixárika en muchos aspectos y es algo que yo... que yo me he propuesto, también aprender el naaáyeri como... como una tercera lengua este y...pues practico cosas de repente también.”

English translation

“Mmhh well, the... well mmhh for some reason... let's say English, right? English as an academic need and it's something I plan to do because I was studying and then I left it. I want learn English again because I'm sure I'm going to need it if... I mean, the PhD that-that almost all PhD programmes ask you English as a requirement and I would like to because I know that there is very good literature and that it's only in English and... erm... well, I've already explored the language, a little bit of the Náayeri language and it's been easier for me because it's very similar to Wixárika in many aspects and it's something that I... that I've set, also learn Naaayeri as... as a third language and... Well, I suddenly practice things too.”

Miguel's interest in Náayeri language is because his partner is Náayeri, and she speaks the Náayeri language. Paulina, Miguel's older sister, has a similar situation with her partner, who speaks a different language. Paulina's husband is a transnational, he and his family have been coming and

going to and from the United States and he has acquired linguistic resources in English. Paulina says she and her husband want their children to be trilingual and speak Wixárika, Spanish, and English. However, she says since she does not use Wixárika language at home their children only speak Spanish, they do not even understand Wixárika, and they have more linguistic resources in English because they also studied the language at school. Likewise, Estela, the youngest daughter in the Pérez family, has a daughter who did not learn Wixárika. Estela's daughter speaks Spanish and has acquired linguistic resources in English at school.

Excerpt: 33            Participant: Estela            Family: Pérez

“Y a mi hija, definitivamente, yo nunca le enseñé, a mi hija yo ya la metí, por esta necesidad de mi trabajo, yo ya la metí a una escuela a los 9 meses a un CENDI (Estancia infantil – nursery), un CENDI que se realizó aquí en T (city), PF (nursery name), donde a ella obviamente le enseñaron pues a... o sea, todo un contexto totalmente diferente, mi hija salió a los tres años hablando inglés en vez de hablar ¡español!”

English translation

“And to my daughter, definitely, I never taught my daughter, I take her in, because I have the need for my work, I take her to a school at 9 months to a Cendi (nursery), a Cendi here in Tepic, PF (nursery name), where teachers taught her to...I mean, a very different context, my daughter finish the nursery stage at three years old speaking in English instead of Spanish!”

In the García family María and her daughter Melisa talked about the necessity to speak English nowadays. María describes English as a universal language.

Excerpt: 34            Participant: María            Family: García

“[A]unque bueno, el inglés es ya lo llaman como universal ¿eda?, porque en cualquier parte del mundo es como de...el inglés ¿veda?, es como básico”

English translation

“[A]lthough well, English is now is called like universal, right?, because everywhere in the world is like...English, right?, it's like something basic to know.”

In the Sánchez family, Alejandra says that to speak more than one language brings more opportunities based on her own experience with English language.

Excerpt: 35 Participant: Alejandra Family: Sánchez

“El inglés o no necesariamente el inglés, pero cualquier otra lengua, este, que sepas a extra de la materna siento que te abre puertas y te abre oportunidades porque, en mi trabajo, pues como era **part time**, aquí en México (cuando regresó), en, este, mi trabajo que conseguí, pues era en M (cable company) y era **customer service** en, pues por teléfono, entonces, siento que, que (el inglés) sí me abrió puertas y que fue beneficioso para mí.”

English translation

“English or not necessarily English, but any other language, I mean, any other language you know besides your mother tongue I feel it opens you doors, and it opens you opportunities, because in my job, because it was **part time** (uses the word in English while talking in Spanish), here in Mexico (when she came back), in, that, the job I got, it was M (cable company) and it was **customer service** (uses the word in English while talking in Spanish) in, well, by phone, and I feel like English opened doors to me and it was beneficial for me.”

These narratives give evidence of the role of English as the language of globalisation in the neoliberal economic system, resulting in the idea that English brings social and economic advantages that have influenced language policy and planning of nations (Ricento, 2012, 2015) (see section 2.1.1.1). This so-called neoliberal language policy has served to spread the English language around the world (Piller & Cho, 2013) and I believe the construction of Mexican language policy also gives evidence of the influence of this ideology (see section 3.2).

## 5.2 Language ideologies and Mexican language policy

My participants' perceptions of language have originated in personal life experiences with languages in different contexts and domains, like at home or school. However, these experiences are also influenced by Mexican language policy. The second objective of this thesis has been to analyse the links and influence of Mexican language policy in the construction of my participants' language ideologies (see Chapter 1). These links and influence will be described below.

### 5.2.1 Interrelations of Mexican language policy, trajectories, and FLP

As described in section 3.2, Mexican language policy has been constructed under the nation-state ideology and has been historically established through official documents and laws, as well as through unofficial or covert mechanisms. Spanish, 68 recognised Mexican indigenous languages, and Mexican sign language have been declared national languages. However, language education policies have promoted *de facto* language practices in Spanish around the country, and they have imposed

the teaching of English as a second language in the Mexican educational system. This is reflected in my participants' narratives.

In the Pérez family, all family members have experienced different changes in Mexican educational policies while they were studying or while working in the bilingual system. However, all family members have also had the same experiences, the reproduction of castilianisation practices at indigenous schools. When I specifically asked to members of the Pérez family, if they had noticed any change or improvement in their life as a consequence of the modifications in the Mexican Constitution and the recognition of their language as a national language, they considered there is no great change. Estela for example, believes that personal actions and organisations' activities have had a major impact in the promotion of indigenous human and linguistic rights, rather than any Constitutional change.

Excerpt: 36                  Participant: Estela                  Family: Pérez

“yo creo que más que... sí, sí puede ser eso (las modificaciones a la constitución) y sí ha influido, pero yo pienso que lo que ha influido más, ha sido las actividades que se han hecho, las acciones que hacen, que han hecho los jóvenes y por ejemplo los profesionistas (la organización de jóvenes profesionistas indígenas)”

English translation

“I believe that more than...yes, yes it could be that [the amendments to the Constitution] and yes it has influenced, but I believe that what has had the greatest influence, it has been the activities that have been taken place, that the young people have done, for example, the professionals (the organization of young indigenous professionals)”

Adrián, her father, also considers the recognition of their rights and their language in the Constitution has not had great impact in their social situation, mainly because bilingual education for indigenous people keeps reproducing castilianisation. Adrián has a strong opinion about the role of the government in bilingual education implementation and the reproduction of Spanish instruction in indigenous schools:

Excerpt: 37                  Participant: Adrián                  Family: Pérez

“pues mire, que si el gobierno quiere que seamos partícipes, que seamos partícipes en su programa de educativo, pues que-que respete nuestro lenguaje, que también los maestros que estudian...o sea, que trabajan, o sea, en nuestras comunidades, que sean bilingües, eso es lo que yo recomendaría. [Que] nos lo respete el gobierno, que difunda nuestra cultura, nuestro escrito, nuestra forma de hacer las cosas, que así como nosotros hemos respetado,

la...todo tipo de comunicación, que también así respeten lo nuestro, tanto lo escrito, también lo hablado, porque es el chiste de que hagamos un intercambio pero en común acuerdo, que porque somos humanos, si alguien cometió un error, pues corregirlo de buena manera, que eso haga el gobierno, que todos los maestros que sean bilingües, que trabajen en nuestra región, eso sería mi punto de vista, que todos los maestros que trabajen en nuestra región de nosotros los 'huicholes', que ustedes nos dicen malamente, que sean bilingües, que hablen tanto en lenguaje materna, como el español, que también lo escriban, no nomás que lo hablen, ese sería mi...pues mi propuesta para que el gobierno se preocupe también de que las cosas vayan de manera bilingüe, de manera organizada [...]"

English translation

"Well, look, if the government wants us to participate, to be participants in its educational program, then they should respect our language, that the teachers who study...that is, those who work, that is, in our communities, they should be bilingual, that is what I would recommend. [That] the government respects us, that it promotes our culture, our writing system, our way of doing things, in the same way that we have respected, the... all types of communication, that in the same way they also respect what is ours, both written and spoken, because the main point is that we make an exchange but in common agreement, because we are human, if someone makes a mistake, well, correct him/her in a good way, that the government do that, that all the teachers were bilingual, that those who work in our region, it's my point of view, that all the teachers who work in our region, of us 'Huicholes', as you call us incorrectly, that they were bilingual, that they spoke both languages, in their mother tongue and in Spanish, that they also write it, that they do not only speak it, that would be my.... that would be my proposal, so that the government could monitor that things are going in a bilingual way, in an organised way [...]"

This narrative excerpt from Adrián about Mexican bilingual education is largely influenced by his individual linguistic trajectory and by his family's experiences in this educational system (see Appendix A). Moreover, his comments express different socio-historical relations among indigenous people and Mexican government. First, Adrian mentions government "should respect our language", with this expression it seems that to him the government is offending indigenous people by not complying with the legal agreement to provide bilingual education for these communities. Moreover, in Spanish he uses the word "lenguaje" to refer to Wixárika language. In Spanish there is a distinction between the words "lengua" and "lenguaje", but both terms are translated to English as "language". In Spanish "lengua" refers to the linguistic system and "lenguaje" refers to the human faculty to express and communicate with others. When Adrián uses the expression "nuestro lenguaje", I

believe he is imposing a distinction between me and him, since I am “the other”. I also wonder if he is aware of the lexical distinction between “lengua” and “lenguaje”, and if he intentionally uses this word to express the differences between Spanish and Wixárika. Does he consider Wixárika is not a language system? Or does he use “lenguaje” to express a lower social status of Wixárika than Spanish? Or does he just use the word to express my or his “otherness”? Adrián then focuses on express that teachers in indigenous communities have to be bilingual and he explains this is a way in which government can express respect for indigenous communities. He further compares how indigenous people have respect for governmental actions, making reference to how they have learned to speak, read and write in Spanish, so now they, the indigenous people, expect the same from the government to their languages. When he focuses again on bilingual teachers, he expresses territorial ideologies when he mentions “our region”. For example, according to the National Institute of Indigenous Languages (*Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas [INALI]*) there are only four indigenous languages that are spoken in the state of Nayarit (Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas [INALI], 2008). However, as explained in section 3.1.2, there are other indigenous languages that are spoken in the territory. Globalisation processes are raising attention to the increase of diversity and to how languages are not just found in their traditional territories, as explained in Chapter 2.

Moreover, in this narrative excerpt, Adrián expresses that we, “the others” who are not indigenous, call indigenous people that belong to Wixárika culture “Huicholes”, and that this is incorrect. The name “Huicholes” was given to them by the Spaniards, but they call themselves Wixárika or Wixaritari (in plural) and they want to be recognised by this name, not by the name it was given for them by others. Then, Adrián states that all the teachers who work in Wixárika communities have to be bilinguals and when Adrián describes what he means by bilingual, he explains that teachers have to speak both languages, “in their mother tongue and in Spanish, that they also write it, that they do not only speak it”. In Adrián’s visualisation of bilingualism there are two different languages. When he refers to Wixárika language he refers to it as “mother tongue”, and it seems Adrián does not consider Spanish can also be a mother tongue, too (for more description about Mexican bilingual education see section 3.2). When Adrián expresses that teachers must speak and write in Wixárika, I believe he considers written language is important for the status of the language, and since he participated in the process of normalisation of the Wixárika writing system, it is more relevant to him.

Finally, when Adrián says “the government could monitor that things are going in a bilingual way”, I believe he expresses his displeasure because the government does not really enforce bilingual education as such. Although, there is a especial Department that manages a program of bilingual and intercultural education for indigenous people in the Mexican Federal Ministry of Education since

## Chapter 5

1978, there are many factors that that have influenced and affected the ability of these schools to achieve their goal of developing a balanced bilingualism between the indigenous language and Spanish (see section 3.2). Adrián and Rosa experienced the beginning and development of bilingual education in Mexico along with their children, and they have been able to account and experience the different factors that have affected these schools and the reproduction of castilianisation in them, as described in 5.1.

Regarding people with disabilities, data show they are usually invisibilised and marginalised in wider society. The García family is now aware of this, but only because their own life experience. María says, some time ago it was even difficult to see people with disability on the streets, but perhaps this is because she became aware of it until her son was diagnosed as hearing impaired.

Excerpt: 38            Participant: María            Family: García

"[...] era súper raro, porque no los sacaban (no sacaban a la calle a las personas con discapacidad) y así te puedo comentar que a lo mejor todo tipo de discapacidades, porque no veías tú en restaurantes, nosotros que siempre salíamos mucho, este decíamos 'bueno, ¿por qué si hay muchos niños con discapacidad, no se ven en ningún lado?', la gente no los sacaba, o sea, la gente no... no... no podías convivir con ellos porque no sabías cómo convivir con ellos, ni cómo hacer que ellos convivieran con los demás, o sea, ¿cómo los integras?"

English translation

"[...] it was very strange, because they didn't take them out (they didn't take people with disabilities out to the street) and so I can tell you that maybe all kinds of disabilities, because you didn't see them in restaurants, we always went out a lot and we used to say "well, why if there are so many children with disabilities, you don't see them anywhere?" "People did not take them out, that is, people did not... you could not... you could not live with them because you did not know how to live with them, or how to make them live with others, that is, how do you integrate them to society?"

Since people usually ignore and invisibilise disability, people react in different ways to it. Even when conditions of social inclusion are promoted in different spaces, the García family lived experiences where they were singled out or stigmatized because Oscar is hearing impaired, as Melisa describes in the following excerpt:

Excerpt: 39            Participant: Melisa            Family: García



“muchos como que no saben (sobre las personas sordas), bueno, por ejemplo yo cuando estaba más en la primaria, ehh...pues estábamos en la misma primaria (mi hermano y yo) pero ya él... él a veces ya cuando estaba en la secundaria iba a mi primaria porque como estaba el director, teníamos un director ya grande y como Oscar pues siempre hizo amigos y se hacía amigo de todos, entonces (María interrumpe para decir el nombre completo del director) entonces lo dejaban entrar, entonces a veces él saliendo de la secundaria, o así, se iba y me rec- y ahí se esperaba hasta que yo salía pero muchos umhh tenía compañeros de ‘hey, tu hermano no escucha’ o así, porque no saben del tema pues, de que hay personas que no escuchan y pues como no hay como que se vea mucho eso, ya después ya más grande tuve una compañera que...que sí sabía hablar señas pero porque creo que eran su prima, o algo así, no escuchaba tampoco y... iba como en primero, me acuerdo, la niña y no escuchaba y estaba en la escuela, bueno, no sé si te dije (se dirige a su mamá) pero había una niña que no escuchaba, pero no todos saben sobre...sobre el tema, no, son... no saben que hay gente que no escucha.”

English translation

"Many people don't know (about hearing-impaired people), well, for example, when I was in elementary school, ehh...we were in the same elementary school (my brother and me) but he.... sometimes when he was older and he was studying in high school in another school, he went to my elementary school after classes because the principal was there, we had an older principal and since Oscar always made friends and became friends with everyone, so [María interrupts and say the full name of the school's principal] then people at school let him in, so sometimes he came to my elementary school after high school, or like that, he would go and wait for me until I finish classes, but many of the students, umhh, I had classmates who said ‘hey, your brother doesn't hear’ or something like that, because they don't know that there are people who don't listen and that's not something we see a lot, and later on, when I was older, I had a classmate who... who did know how to communicate using signs but because I think she had a hearing impaired cousin, or something like that, she didn't listen either and... she was like in first grade, I remember, the girl and she didn't listen and she was at the same school, well, I don't know if I told you (she speaks to her mom) but there was a girl who didn't listen, but not everyone knows about...about the topic, no, they are... they don't know that there are people who don't listen.”

Melissa's narrative excerpt also highlights the lack of information about hearing impaired people. Moreover, this lack of information is also reflected in Oscar's experiences at school. As described

before (see section 3.2), although there are centers focused on special education for students with special needs, Mexican educational policies have also established that any child, regardless of gender, ethnicity, cultural background, or disability status have the right to attend any public school. Oscar attended a public school, but according to María, he did not learn to read and write in Spanish. Even when Mexican schools are promoted as social inclusion spaces, María believes teachers and staff are not trained to work with students with disabilities. Oscar's educational trajectory has been difficult, and it has confronted him with situations where he has been unable to meet the expected standards at school, as María describes in the following excerpt:

Excerpt: 40            Participant: María            Family: García

“En la primaria lo reprobaron una vez en tercero, se me hace, por la cuestión de que no supieron cómo calificarlo, pero en el CREE (Centro de Rehabilitación y Educación Integral donde Oscar asistía a terapia del lenguaje para su implante coclear) primero me dijeron que sí, ‘ah, no hay problema’, pero después ‘es que no hubieras permitido que lo reprobaran’ y les digo, ‘pero si yo les pregunté a ustedes, yo no quería verme de esa mamá de no, cómo creen que lo van a reprobar, que no sé qué. Hay que ser realistas, entonces, por eso yo les pregunté a ustedes que como veían, que, si estaban de acuerdo y me dijeron que sí’ ya, cuando lo reprueban, ah, me salen con que ‘es que no lo hubieras permitido’, este, no, pues, que eso, este, me hubieran dicho antes.”

English translation

"In elementary school they failed him once in third grade, I think, because they didn't know how to grade him, but in the CREE (Center for Rehabilitation and Integral Education where Oscar attended to speech therapy for his cochlear implant) first they told me, ‘ah, no problem’, but then ‘you shouldn't have allowed them to fail him’ and I tell them, ‘but I asked you, I didn't want to be the mother who says no, how do you think you are going to fail him, I don't know what’. We have to be realistic, so, that's why I asked you what you thought, if you agreed, and you said yes, and when they failed him, ah, they told me 'you shouldn't have allowed it', no, no, well, that, well, you should have told me before".

In this excerpt from Maria's narrative, we can highlight how the lack of knowledge about hearing impaired people, their needs, and forms of social inclusion was also present in the medical specialists who treated him. Nowadays, Oscar continues studying high school in a special education school.

The García family also showed lack of knowledge about any legal framework that protect and promote human rights for people with disabilities. The García family does not know that Mexican sign language was recognized as a national language in 2011. However, the family's ignorance of this

fact might be because the recognition that gives Mexican sign language the same official status as Spanish and all recognised Mexican indigenous languages is not stated in the Mexican Constitution. It is stated in the General Law for the Inclusion of People with Disabilities.

As a consequence of the continuing migration between Mexico and the United States, there are many people in Mexico with transnational experiences between these countries, as in the case of the Sánchez family. In many communities, especially those rural communities where work is scarce, people traditionally immigrate to the United States to work, as Mariana, the mother in the Sánchez family explains.

Excerpt: 41                      Participant: Mariana                      Family: Sánchez

“[...] casi la mayoría de mis hermanos nacimos en ranchos diferentes (ríe) en ranchos diferentes y, pues, o sea, lo que, lo que la, allá, allá casi, casi toda la gente pues como no hay mucho, mucho de que no hay mucho trabajo entonces la mayoría se va, pues, a Estados Unidos, emigran se van y, y pues así, o sea, la gente, la gente la mayoría a eso se dedica [...]”

English translation

“[...] almost all of my brothers and sisters were born in different towns (she laughs) on different towns and, well, I mean, what, what the, what the, over there, over there almost, almost all the people because there is not much, there is not much work so most of them go, well, to the United States, they emigrate and, and, and so, I mean, the people, most of the people dedicate themselves to that [...]”

Further, Mariana explains that when people go to the United States, sometimes they have support networks that provide them with jobs. This is the case of José, the father in the Sánchez family. He says he went to work to the United States when he was 17 years old and stayed there for about seven years. When I asked him if he learned English, he said no, because there were was no time, since he needed to work.

Excerpt: 42                      Participant: José                      Family: Sánchez

“No. Le digo que va uno a trabajar. Casi no, no, no, había chanza de:: de decir, a la escuela y luego como que hay, hay tiempo que no, que usted, como que no le gusta, como que no le llama a uno la atención, yo veía a otros muchachos que, que hacia la lucha por aprender y a mí nunca me llamo la atención de decir ‘ah, voy a ir a la escuela o esto’. Y aparte que no tenía así familia, pues, que me apoyara porque tenía que traer porque tenía que pagar renta, se paga renta, se paga todo.”

English translation

“No. I tell you that one goes to work. Almost no, no, no, no, there was no chance to go to school and then it's like there is, there is time that you don't, that you, like you don't like it, like it doesn't get your attention, I saw others who, who struggled to learn and it never got my attention to say ‘ah, I'm going to go to school or this’. And besides, I didn't have any family to support me there, I had to pay rent, you pay rent, you pay for everything.”

People with transnational experiences can acquire diverse linguistic resources in English. When José was telling me that he did not learn English, Alejandra, who acquired linguistic resources in English while she was in the United States asked him how he did to communicate with people who do not speak Spanish while he was there, and he explained there were many people who spoke Spanish and that there were other people who helped him when necessary.

Excerpt: 43 Participant: José Family: Sánchez

“Porque hay mucho mexicano ahí en D (American city), casi, y luego por los primos, ahí donde trabajé con mi padrino A (name) todos, todos hablan inglés.”

English translation

“Because there are many Mexican there in D (American city), almost, and then because of the cousins, there were I worked with my godfather A (name), everyone, everyone spoke English.”

The increasing of the number of Spanish speakers and other language speakers in the United States, that has also been mentioned before, could be considered further evidence of the increasing diversity at every level around the world, as the consequence of globalization processes (see section 2.1).

Additionally, as a result of Mexican education policies, in all participant families, new generations (children and in some cases grandchildren) have acquired linguistic resources in English at school. Although the English language is not recognized as a national language in Mexico, education policies have established the teaching of English as a second language in Mexico through a especial program from Kindergarten to High School in public and private schools around Mexico (see section 3.2). This English program faces many obstacles in achieving its objectives, but, on the other hand, English maintains a high status among the country's linguistic diversity. Alejandra's life experience is a good example. Alejandra was born in Mexico, she received public basic education in Mexico, this means she learned to read and write in Spanish and studied from Kindergarten to High School in the Mexican educational system. Then she went to the United States, acquired linguistic resources in

English, and when she came back to Mexico, she started her college education and got a job that involves the use of her English linguistic resources. Even when Alejandra's linguistic rights as an immigrant, a person with two nationalities, with linguistic resources that do not belong to any language recognised as a national language in Mexico, are not guaranteed by any law in Mexico, she has not faced any difficulties because of it, since her linguistic resources have a higher status in the country. However, this does not mean all transnationals or returnees acquire linguistic resources in English while in the US, as in the case of José, or that they all are able to use linguistic resources in English when they come to Mexico. Studies shows that transnational children face different educative and social challenges at school when they arrive to Mexico, as it has been described before.

In sum, although there is a legal framework created to protect linguistic rights in Mexico, Mexican education policies work as a mechanism that continues promoting Spanish as the *de facto* language and reproduces the one language-one nation, standard language ideology, and neoliberal language ideologies. These ideas are supported by my participants' narratives and the reconstruction of their trajectories and family language policy.

Even when families have different linguistic resources, external and internal factors raise the need for the use of Spanish for family interaction. As explained before (see Section 2.3.1), following Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) model, external factors refer to the political, socio-cultural, economic, and socio-linguistic environment that surrounds the families and influence their acquisition and management of linguistic resources. For all the participant families, even when Spanish, 68 indigenous languages and Mexican sign language are *de jure* languages in Mexico, recognised as national languages in Mexican law, these external factors are dominated by Spanish. First, in reference to socio political factors concerning individual's rights, resources, access to education, civil activities, and political decisions, there is a need to speak in Spanish for people living in Mexico to access them, since Spanish is the *de facto* language of the country. Second, in socio-cultural factors Spanish is the language that represents Mexican culture, even when there are other languages spoken in Mexico. Third, regarding socio-economic factors, speaking Spanish in Mexico provides access to work that brings earnings and salaries to people. And fourth, the socio-linguistic factors that provide resources about the preference for a particular language, since all the surroundings establish Spanish as the main language in Mexico, parents usually prefer their children to learn Spanish rather than any other language, as has been discussed before (see Chapter 3 for further description of contextual framework), and as my participants' narratives have shown. On the other hand, internal factors (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020) refer to personal factors that are perceived as important and valuable to create family ties, including: emotion, identity, family culture and tradition, as well as parental impact beliefs and child agency (see section 2.3.1). These factors

influence the construction of family relations and the feeling of closeness or belonging to the family. In the Pérez family these internal factors are based on Wixárika and Spanish. Family members usually use Spanish to interact with each other, but when they practice their traditions, they use Wixárika. For the García family the internal factors are based on Spanish, their own family sign language, and on some Mexican sign language. Family members use a combination of language resources in Spanish, their own family sign language, and Mexican sign language to interact with each other at home. María's narratives showed little or weak convictions of parental responsibility for interventions related to the acquisition and development of Spanish or Mexican sign language resources for her children. She continuously reproducing these weak convictions with her grandson, because she considers the child will acquire oral linguistic resources in Spanish at school, since he does not receive enough input in this language at home. The only one explicit action described in the family in respect of child agency was when Oscar decided to quit his Sign language classes. In the Sánchez family all members use Spanish to interact with each other and Spanish has been and continues being the home language between the generations in the family.

The inner core of FLP represents language ideologies, language intervention, and language practices (see section 2.3.11). Language ideologies represent the beliefs and values that are going to determine the decisions of caregivers on language intervention, and language practices refers to language use in family's everyday life (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). For the three participant families we can observe the reproduction of the "one language-one nation", a "standard language" and a "neoliberal language" ideologies. There is also evidence of some explicit actions made by the parents in terms of language intervention for the acquisition and use of different linguistic resources. In the Pérez family, Rosa made efforts to try that their children continued using Wixárika language at home asking them to speak to her only in Wixárika, and using Wixárika to communicate with Adrián, this did not change her children language practices in Spanish. Although Miguel mention how they use Wixárika language to speak to other adults from their ethnic group. In the García family, there is a key role of the medical profession who diagnosed Oscar and prevented the family from learning Sign language, considering this will affect his oral language development if doctors were to find a cure for his hearing impairment. In consequence, Oscar is the one who must adapt himself to his environment, since the city or society do not bring him the facilities to do it. In terms of the families' language practices, in all thee there is a dominance of Spanish. Even when some of the family members have language resources in different languages, external and internal factors encourage the use of Spanish for family interaction.

Since, family language policy is based on the perceptions of the family about social and national structures (see 2.3.1), the analysis of my participants' family language policy also gives evidence of how Mexican language policy is constructed under the nation-language ideology and a standard

ideology, giving little place for diverse linguistic forms and language practices that are outside the accepted norms, or that are different to Spanish grammar and syntax structure taught at school. Moreover, Mexican education policies that promote foreign language teaching have privileged English language, because it is linked to economic and social benefits to people since it is perceived to be the language of globalisation. This is reflected in my participants' narratives when they make reference to the neoliberal language ideology.

The narratives of my participants raise different questions regarding who can be considered a speaker of a language, and about the linguistic human rights of all people whose linguistic forms and language practices are not recognised in language policy. In this sense, if someone can only understand a language, but not speak it, like the Pérez family children, can they still be considered Wixárika speakers? Or, if Oscar is not a Mexican sign Language user, and he does not communicate with any other language recognised in Mexican language policy, what are his linguistic rights? Why are English resources that are not acquired in Mexican schools not recognized as part of Mexican linguistic diversity? What happens to all the people whose linguistic practices are not recognized in law?

### **5.3 Summary**

In this chapter I have presented my findings and I have offered answers to my research questions to some extent (see section 1.3). In relation to my first question the data suggest that there are three main language ideologies that inform public perceptions and valorisation of different linguistic forms and language practices in Mexico: the one nation-one language ideology, a standard language ideology and a neoliberal language ideology. Moreover, in relation to the second research question the data reveals that participants' have constructed and reproduced these three main language ideologies in their language practices because their life experiences and the interrelation of these experiences with the experiences of their families, that are also linked and influenced by Mexican language policy, mostly through education policies and Spanish instruction. Participant experiences are also framed and influenced by global conditions resulted from globalization processes that have informed the construction of Mexican language policy.

In the following chapter I will give my conclusions in relation to my research questions and my findings based on an analysis of my findings from my data and an understanding of the theoretical principles underpinning my research.





## Chapter 6 Conclusions

This final chapter begins by looking back over the thesis and to its overarching aims and assumptions. This includes an outline of the research questions, methodology, and a summary of the findings in relation to the theoretical and contextual framework. The limitations of the research will also be briefly discussed, as well as some areas for further research.

### 6.1 Research questions, research methodology and findings

This research derived from three areas: language and globalisation, language ideologies and language policy (Chapter 2). Globalisation concerns the interconnection of the world as a result of major geopolitical and technological changes under a neoliberal political and economic system. The interconnection of the world has increased diversity at all levels and the resulted complexity of all this has raised questions about our understanding of society. In language studies, this complexity has questioned the dominance of monolingualism in the construction of our understanding of language. In the monolingual paradigm, language is finite, rule bounded and linked to specific societies and territories. Consequently, when states look to manage languages, language policies are constructed under these conceptions and assumptions about languages. These assumptions are what we consider to be language ideologies, which are reproduced at macro, meso and micro levels.

In many countries, the most common ideology is “one language-one nation” that looks for language homogeneity and confronts language diversity. The construction of Mexican language policy gives evidence of this ideology that is reproduced nationally across the country (see Chapter 3). Looking to explain how the language ideologies underlying Mexican language policy are interrelated to global processes and reproduced in people’s experiences with language, I developed three case studies in the city of Tepic. I wanted to give voice to those who are not represented in formal language policy or that are not socially recognised and named when people talk about language diversity in Mexico, and I chose my participants based on this. My participants consisted of three families. The first family identify as Wixárika. The legal framework to protect linguistic diversity in Mexico is based on the recognition of Mexican indigenous languages, and I chose this family to find out if there is a real change in public perceptions about the value of indigenous languages. The second family includes a hearing-impaired member who has acquired some linguistic resources in Mexican sign language, but who does not consider himself a user of this language because he communicates with his family through what they describe as a “natural” sign language. I wanted to include this family to understand how is the life of a person whose linguistic forms and language practices are not recognised by the law and are not shared with wider society. Moreover, including someone with a

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specific disability can give some insights to language policy makers about the treatment to others with disabilities. The third family includes transnational members, specifically those who are returnees from the US. According to Mexican education policies, English is taught as a second language in the country, and English is recognised as an international language, so I wanted to know what happens with people who have linguistic resources in English in Mexico, but acquired them outside the educational system, and whether their English linguistic resources are recognised and valued?

My research was then guided by two research questions. The first question:

- What are the language ideologies found in my participants' narratives that reflect public perceptions and valorisation of their linguistic forms and language practices?

looks to find out my participants' experiences with language in wider society, in different spaces and moments of their life that reflect other people's ideas about my participants' linguistic forms and language practices.

The second question:

- How are the language ideologies found in my participants' narratives, constructed through their individual trajectory and family language policy, linked to and influenced by Mexican language policy?

looks to link my participants' experiences with language and their family language policy to Mexican language policy. I specifically want to highlight how my participants' language ideologies have been constructed by the underlying language ideologies in Mexican language policy.

To accomplish this, I employed qualitative research methodology and an ethnographic approach (Chapter 4), by gathering data through linguistic biographies and using narrative analysis and qualitative content analysis. My findings show the emergence of three ideologies in my participants' narratives: a "one language-one nation", "standard language", and "neoliberal language" ideologies. According to my data, these ideologies are interrelated. Mexico was constructed by the "one language-one nation" ideology (see Chapter 3) and the assimilation of different languages and cultures into a Mexican identity through the teaching of Spanish (see Hamel, 2008, 2017). Teaching of Spanish in formal education, through schools, has constructed a "standard language" ideology and, the idea of English as the language of globalisation has been reproduced through Mexican education policies constructing a "neoliberal language" ideology in society. At the same time the "one language-one nation" ideology is based on the idea of the existence of a "standard language" that has been used as the basis of the construction of school curricula in the Mexican education

system. Moreover, implementing English learning as a school requirement because this language is considered a commodity and a necessary skill for the global labour market is part of Mexico's political actions acquired by the incorporation of the country in the neoliberal economic system (see Puón Castro, 2021).

At the same time, these ideologies are also interconnected and reproduced at different levels. At a macro level the "one language-one nation" ideology is found in different nations around the world because it is believed it is important for social cohesion. My data confirm this since Alejandra's experiences in the US also give evidence of the "one language-one nation" ideology in this country (see 5.1.1). On the basis of this ideology, it is common that we link specific countries with specific languages as part of their national identity. After independency from European empires, Latin American countries imposed nationalist language policies to accomplish linguistic and cultural assimilation (Hamel, 2013a), Mexico being such an example. Social cohesion was necessary for the construction of the nation and the construction of a Mexican identity, and this also allows the nation to establish bonds around the world with other Spanish speaking countries (see 3.2).

The "one language-one nation" ideology is also reproduced at a meso level, within Mexican society, and at a micro level, in families and individuals as my data show. In Mexican society, Spanish is the *de facto* official language in the country, it is the official language for the government, the language use by people in their daily life, and the language use for instruction in education. My data confirms that castilianisation continues in bilingual schools for indigenous people as other research has shown (see Despaigne, 2013; Hamel, 2017; Herrera Ruano & Parra Gutiérrez, 2022). With this statement I do not mean to deny personal or collective initiatives that exist in different parts of the country for the teaching of indigenous languages, even in my data Paulina mentions her personal efforts as a teacher in the bilingual system. I just want to emphasize that there is enough evidence that shows that bilingual system continues the teaching of Spanish and that the maintenance and development of indigenous languages spoken in the country has been largely neglected. Moreover, my data also show that it is common that when people do not acquire linguistic resources in Spanish at home, they acquired them at school. In the Pérez family, Rosa and Adrián only acquired linguistic resources in their indigenous language with their family and community, and then accessed to linguistic resources in Spanish for the first time when they went to study at school. In the García family, Oscar acquired literacy resources in Spanish at school at some level.

I argue then that multilingual initiatives in Mexican language policy, like the promotion of bilingual education for indigenous people, as well as the recognition of indigenous languages as national languages, also emerge from a "one language-one nation" ideology. Mexico's 68 recognised national indigenous languages are linked to specific territories and communities, and language planning is

organized under this idea. For example, in the last national census more than 30 different indigenous languages that are spoken in the state of Nayarit were identified, but officially, only four indigenous languages that are spoken in this state are recognised (see 3.1.2). Following the “one language-one nation” ideology, bilingual education for indigenous people in Nayarit offers education only in the four indigenous languages that are identified with the geographical region of the state: Huichol (Wixárika), Cora (Naáyeri), Tepehuano (O’dam) and Mexicanero (Náhuatl). Moreover, since all public education in Mexico seeks to ensure equal quality education for everyone, regardless of gender, ethnicity, cultural background, or disability status, any child can study in any public school, whether part of the bilingual system or not. This means that indigenous schools can receive students who do not identify themselves as indigenous, and in the same way, any public school can receive students who identify as indigenous. Furthermore, this also means students with other characteristics and linguistic diversity, as transnational students with educational experiences in the US, as well as students with a disability, for example, a hearing impaired with knowledge of Mexican sign language or a family sign language, such as Oscar, can attend to any school in any of both systems. In consequence, Mexican schools are more diverse than it is expected by the education system and this higher than anticipated diversity results in teachers resorting to only Spanish for education, as explained above, and as it has been described in my findings (see 5.1.1).

My data also give evidence of the differences in the access and distribution of resources and economic development. Narrative’s excerpts in the Pérez family describe their struggles to access to education and employment, and how mobility to get access to these resources influence in their family relations and access to linguistic resources. Similarly, the narratives in the Sánchez family also describe social and economic inequalities in different parts of Mexico. As many transnationals or returnees have described in different research work, Pedro decided to go to work to the US because of the lack of employment and economic development in his town. Alejandra’s biological parents also went to live to the US for the same reason. Located in the Global North, the US is considered a powerful and high-income country with a strong economy. On the other hand, narratives in the García family do not only give evidence of the lack of access to resources, but also about the non-existence of these resources for the development and social integration of people with disabilities. For example, there are no places to learn Mexican sign language in the city of Tepic; moreover, medical staff who treated Oscar was not informed about Sign languages and it even seemed they considered that it is not possible for people to communicate through signs. Furthermore, according to the García family experiences in education institutions, schools and teachers are not trained to work with students with disabilities. This lack of training in educational institutions results in the lack of access to education for many people with disabilities, consequently, in general people with disabilities have a lower educational level than their peers. According to the National Association of

Universities and Higher Education Institutions (*Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior [ANUIES]*), only 5% of people with disabilities in Mexico obtain a bachelor's degree (<http://www.anui.es/noticias/ies/slo-5-de-mexicanos-con-alguna-discapacidad-obtiene-grado-de>). The lack of academic training to people with disabilities also means that they cannot access many types of jobs and in consequence there is a high unemployment rate for people with disabilities in Mexico (INEGI, 2021). Finally, the narratives of this family also highlight the stigmatization of people with disabilities and invisibilization of the existence of people with disabilities in wider society.

At a micro level, individuals and families also reproduce the “one language-one nation” ideology. Since this ideology is constructed by relating languages to specific spaces, as in the construction of nations at a global level, people construct similar spaces in their life and distinguish and differentiate people according to their linguistic forms and language practices. This is reflected, for example, when Miguel explains how he uses his linguistic resources in Spanish and in Wixárika with different people. In addition, all members of the Pérez family say they only use Wixárika in their ceremonies and rituals. Estela also says that Rosa and Adrián always used Wixárika to communicate to each other when they all lived together in the same house. However, the Pérez’s narrative give evidence they also use Wixárika in other spaces and moments, like when Paulina says she teaches songs to her students. The García family only uses their natural sign language to communicate with Oscar. The García say they do not interact with others who use sign language, only Oscar's wife who is also hearing-impaired and her mother who knows Sign language. Oscar said he only has a friend who is also hearing-impaired and use Mexican sign language. In one of the excerpts from her narrative (see 5.1.2), Melisa is very specific when someone asked her if she knows Mexican sign language and she emphasizes that she is not a Sign language user, she only knows the Sign language she uses with her family. In addition, during the interview with the family in the style of a focus group, all the time Maria and Melisa communicated with me in Spanish, they only used their Sign language to translate the questions to Oscar, but they did not involve him in the rest of the conversation. In the Sánchez family this construction of spaces and differentiation of people according to their language practices and linguistic forms is reflected when Alejandra speaks in English on the phone with their family in the US, but she only uses Spanish with all the Sánchez family members. Communication technologies, the Internet and social media are central in globalization processes allowing the interconnection of the world. Talking on the phone becomes another space in which Alejandra can make use of her English linguistic resources. Finally, this language ideology, “one language-one nation”, was also reproduced in the interviews with participants, since none of them or me used other linguistic resources to communicate, we only used our linguistic resources in Spanish. Except

for the moments when Sign language was used with Oscar, and when Alejandra said some words in English.

“Standard language” ideology emerges in experiences of discrimination. These experiences of discrimination are not only experiences that my participants have suffered because of their linguistic forms and language practices, they are also experiences where my participants have discriminated against others because of their linguistic forms and language practices. The existence of a “standard language ideology” is manifested in the belief that there is *good* and *bad* language, and people use this ideology to justify judgments about other people that have more to do with other personal characteristics, such as race, national origin or ethnicity (Lippi-Green, 2004). Under this ideology, it does not matter if people are able to communicate successfully, their linguistic forms and language practices attribute them specific characteristics that people use to judge them. The “one language-one nation” ideology is linked to a “standard ideology”, and they are used together in a macro level to characterize different nationalities. In the US, for example, the growing number of Spanish speakers is influencing societal linguistic practices and affecting policies and economic and cultural decision making in the country (Mar-Molinero, 2006). Some cities and more than 30 states have declared English as the official singular language as a strategy in response of the increase of Latino immigrants, especially Mexicans, that are considered to constitute threats to national security (Chavez, 2020). Furthermore, studies have shown that despite being considered a global language, Spanish spoken by Latinos in the United States is stigmatized because it is considered not to follow the standard form (Mar-Molinero, 2006).

In a meso level, a “standard language” ideology reproduces the idea of one “correct” form of language in society, and it has constructed a hierarchy in Mexico that continues to keep all people who do not speak Spanish, people who do not only speak Spanish, and people who speak ‘non-standard’ varieties of Spanish, in a lower social status, because of their linguistic forms and language practices. Evidence of this is the reproduction of castilianisation in bilingual indigenous schools, Spanish only instruction in Mexican schools, as well as a general use of Spanish in Mexican government, institutions, and society in general, as described above. Although there are other recognised national languages in Mexico, only Spanish remains as the *de facto* official language of the country. Furthermore, the Spanish spoken by indigenous people in Mexico has long been a source of mockery and discrimination (<https://zapotecoxidza.com/pueblos-indigenas-de-mexico/>). As explained in section 3.2, the imposition of a nationalistic language policy and standardised linguistic forms for the construction of Mexican nation and Mexican identity, has resulted in a strong resistance from society to the new efforts to promote language diversity in the country (Hamel, 2013a).

In the micro level, families and their members also reproduce a “standard language” ideology. In my data, participants judge their own and others linguistic forms and language practices. Their judgement is not only based in the idea of the existence of a “standard” and “correct” form of language, but it is also based on the time and the space where the linguistic resources are used, as well as the purpose of their use. For example, Oscar linguistic resources in Spanish are useful and valued when he uses them to send written messages to his family on the phone; however, the same linguistic resources do not have the same value at school, like in the time when he failed the school year. Similarly, the linguistic forms and language practices in Spanish of Paulina and Miguel’s grandparents were useful and valued to communicate, but they are described as “not correct”. Moreover, Alejandra described her mother’s English as “broken”, but she considers her students’ “broken” English is correct when they accomplish communication. More examples of the reproduction of this “standard language” ideology emerged when participants judged their own linguistic forms, like when Ángel said he has a bad pronunciation in English, and when Estela explains why she believes she is not able to speak Wixárika correctly. Estela decided to stop using Wixárika when she was about 12 years old, because she did not want to be recognised as indigenous. In the García family, María and Melisa showed rejection of new linguistic forms that have emerged recently to integrate new gender ideologies to Spanish linguistic forms. In addition, María is concerned that her grandson would not be able to acquire “correct” Spanish because the child is in contact with his parents who communicate in Sign language.

A “neoliberal language” ideology privileges the knowledge of English. This ideology emerges from neoliberal economic system that has managed to impose English in different domains of global life (Piller & Cho, 2013). Countries have imposed language policies to English learning as school requirement and as a medium to accomplish academic excellence as part of their neoliberal agendas (Piller & Cho, 2013; Puón Castro, 2021), as in the case of Mexico. As explained before, English is considered a commodity and a necessary skill for the global labour market. In consequence, nowadays, people link English language with ideas of economic and social progress. In a macro level, a “neoliberal language” ideology has influenced in the spread of English around the world (Piller & Cho, 2013). In Mexico, this ideology has been reproduced in Mexican education policies that have imposed English learning as a requirement for all the education levels. Research has shown that Mexican society reproduces this idea that English bring social and economic progress (see Nelson et al., 2023). My data show that my participants also consider English a commodity and necessary skill. Miguel says he wants to study English because he desires to pursuit a PhD, and English language knowledge is usually a prerequisite to enter a postgraduate program in Mexico. María and Melisa expressed their interest in learning English because they considered it a necessity. In the case of Alejandra, according to her experience, she considers her linguistic resources in English helped her to

get a job in Mexico. Furthermore, participants' narratives also give evidence of the Mexican policies that have imposed English learning in education. Estela and Paulina, for example, say their children have acquired linguistic resources in English at school.

I am aware that from a different interpretation of my data, other language ideologies that emerge in the narratives of my participants can be identified, such as the "mother tongue" ideology (Dal Negro, 2011); however, I consider all of them underlie and are linked to these three language ideologies: a "one language-one nation", "standard language" and "neoliberal language" ideologies.

My findings also confirm how social and national structures are reproduced in family language policy. Although families have built and established specific spaces for the use of their linguistic resources that are different than Spanish, since all surroundings establish Spanish as the main language in society, parents prefer their children acquire linguistic resources in Spanish so they can interact in wider society. Regarding the internal factors that influence family language policy, in the Pérez family identity is a key factor in the maintenance of their linguistic resources in Wixárika. All family members have different linguistic resources in Wixárika and all of them use them as an identity marker. Moreover, these linguistic resources have become a commodity. The Pérez family linguistic resources in Wixárika are used by them to identify themselves as authentic members of the Wixárika culture. They have constructed a business (a restaurant and cultural center), and they do linguistic activism for the promotion and maintenance of indigenous languages under this image of authentic indigenous people. When I was setting up my interview with Paulina, for example, she asked me if it was necessary for her to wear her traditional Wixárika costume during the interview, but I explained that it was her decision because the interview was only for my research, and it will not be exposed for anyone else. In the end, she did not use her traditional costume. In the García family, the creation of their own sign language has become an identity marker. This "natural" sign language is also based on the family linguistic resources in Spanish and the semiotic resources available when they are involved in language practices. Since the family is not related to other Mexican sign language users, except for those who are part of their extended family, the García family also use their own sign language to distinguish themselves from other sign language users and to avoid the link between sign language and disability. In the Sánchez family, all their language practices are developed in Spanish. Alejandra's linguistic resources in English are visualised as a commodity for the labour market. In families' language practices, it is possible to observe, that similarly to how the families' members do it in their daily life, they differentiate the use of their linguistic resources according to the family member, the space and time of interaction. Rosa and Adrián talk to each other in Wixárika, but they usually talk to their children in Spanish because this is the preferred language used by Paulina, Miguel, Ángel and Estela. Alejandra does not use her linguistic resources in English with Mariana and José, or any of their children. In the García family, their "normal" signs are only used to interact to



Oscar. Families' language practices seem to contradict some of the beliefs expressed by the participants. For example, the Pérez family's activism for the maintenance and preservation of indigenous languages, and the family's actions to promote the instruction in Wixárika in bilingual schools, contradicts the fact that Paulina, Ángel and Estela do not use Wixárika with their children, and their children have not accessed the acquisition of linguistic resources in Wixárika. Similarly, María and Melisa talk about how everyone should know sign language to integrate hearing-impaired people into society, but they are not interested in interacting with other hearing-impaired people, and Maria does not allow her grandson acquires sign language because she fears it will interfere with his acquisition of linguistic resources in Spanish. These facts also highlight the pressure from external factors for the use of Spanish for all families. Furthermore, these contradictions allow to visualise that language policies can not be rigid and absolute, they are flexible according to the situation and can change and be reconstructed through time.

Regarding the construction of language ideologies through individual trajectory, my findings show that indeed each trajectory is linked to and influenced by Mexican language policy. It is possible to identify these links and influence through the different generations in each family. How parents and children, and now in some cases grandchildren, have accessed and acquired their linguistic resources, as well as how they have developed and now use all their linguistic resources in their language practices, reflect the imposition of nationalistic, standard ideologies, and neoliberal policies.

In sum, my data and my findings give evidence of how the "one language-one nation" ideology, the existence of a "standard language" ideology, and the imposition of a "neoliberal language" ideology have informed and constructed Mexican language policy, and has a result, these ideologies are reflected in people's language experiences, reproduced in Mexican society and manifested in people's perceptions and valorisation of their own and others' linguistic forms and language practices.

My data and findings confirm that language policies are ideological and even when they are not able to control all language practices, they affect people's language perceptions and behaviour and have some effect on people's language practices (Shohamy, 2006). Moreover, my work identifies the mechanisms that inform the *de facto* language policy in Mexico. Shohamy (2006) identifies five different mechanisms: rules and regulations, language education, language tests, language in public space, and ideology, myths, propaganda, coercion (see 2.3, Figure 5). I reviewed the different rules and regulations about languages in Mexico, language education and language in public space in Chapter 3, and I interpret how they influence my participants' perceptions about language in my findings. In my data, the most referenced mechanism was language education, and participants'

perceptions about languages are mostly informed by the mechanism of ideology, myths, propaganda, coercion. I did not find any reference to language tests as a language policy mechanism in Mexico.

My findings, also highlight how multilingualism and linguistic repertoires work in the real world (see 2.1.3). My participants' linguistic forms and language practices and their life trajectories show how people communicate beyond oral resources, and they have shown how language is multimodal. However, my findings also show that even when people are aware of this, they continue reproducing pre-established practices and existing ideologies that are spread by institutions, such as schools, linked also to national interests, as part of a neoliberal system. In consequence, linguistic diversity continues being the basis for inequality through stratification (Piller, 2016) and orders of indexicality driven by language ideologies (Blommaert, 2016; Woolard, 2020) (see section 2.2).

As has been discussed before, even when linguistic diversity is a characteristic of human language, it is still considered a problem for national unity. In this sense, I believe that even when there have been changes in Mexican language policy to recognize Mexican language diversity, much work is still needed in order to accomplish the guarantee of human linguistic rights for everyone. In recent years, the term social justice has been used to describe a new approach to achieve a more equitable set of conditions in a society, through economic redistribution, cultural recognition, and political representation (Piller, 2016). To shed some light on this issue, my study analyses Mexican language policy and language ideologies from a decolonial perspective focusing on people's voices and the new paradigm in language studies, that questions traditional understanding of language, as well as the hegemony of knowledge from a Euro-American perspective. My research brings data that can inform specific areas that need to be addressed to guarantee linguistic human rights and social justice for all the inhabitants of the country.

The limitations of the study created by the particular scope, methodology, and personal linguistic resources will be discussed in the following section, as well as some areas for further research.

## **6.2 Limitations of the research and further research**

One limitation of the study is the particular scope of it. While the selection of my participants seeks to represent the voices of those who are considered linguistic minorities in Mexico, my case studies focus on only three minorities: indigenous people, hearing-impaired, and transnationals.

Furthermore, since the study takes place in the city of Tepic, while my participants are considered linguistic minorities in Mexico and in the city, they may not necessarily be a minority in other spaces. However, participants' life experiences give rich data for the aims and objectives of the study. The interviews gave me all family members' perspective about their life trajectories and encounters with

language, and it was very useful to understand the differences between generations, as well as the evolution of the family's language practices. I only worked in form of a focus group with the Sánchez and the García family. I would like to have the opportunity to work in a focus group with the Pérez family, too. And, at the same time, I would like to have had the opportunity to interview all the Sánchez and the García family individually. However, the Sánchez family has more members under 18 years old, who needed to be interviewed with an adult present; moreover, these participants were not interested in further participation.

Reaching possible participants was not an easy task because the cases I wanted to explore and the information I wanted to get. The COVID-19 pandemic restrictions delayed this step of the study. Moreover, my methodology approach to collect data consisted in in-depth interviews with participants with different linguistic resources. However, I only have linguistic resources in Spanish and English. All interviews were in Spanish. With all the participants I could communicate in Spanish, but with Oscar I needed his sister to help me to interpret our interview. This fact limited my interaction with Oscar, I did not even try to communicate directly with him, and I was not able to go deeper in his narrative. Also, I could not interview Oscar's father, because even when the family accepted to participate in the study, he was not available. The data I gather about Pedro was through Maria, his wife. Finally, some interviews provided more data than others because some participants went further into the topics of interest of this research than others.

From my experience doing this research project, I have identified a great lack of knowledge about sign languages. This has consequences in the life of hearing-impaired people. As data has shown, not all hearing-impaired people acquire recognised sign languages, main reasons are the medical paradigm that inform families' and caregivers beliefs about the treatment for deafness and because there are not many places to acquire the language. In my data, Oscar faces more challenges for social integration in comparison with the members of the other families. None of the other participants with diverse linguistic resources face problems to participate in wider society because they also speak Spanish. This also reflects the fact that much of the language diversity that exists in Mexico is invisibilised because it goes unnoticed since people acquire linguistic resources in Spanish to participate in wider society; however, this additionally implies that this diversity is not recognised in Mexican language policy either. Consequently, this research has opened up questions about the linguistic human rights of all people whose linguistic forms and language practices are not recognised in language policy which need to be further explored and investigated.

My research sheds some light on some of the consequences of the imposition of a neoliberal policy in Mexico, especially in the educational system and the marginalisation of specific linguistic forms and language practices. Other consequences of these neoliberal policies need more exploration, as

## Chapter 6

the commodification of Mexican indigenous languages in the global market, as well as the construction of processes of “full languageness” and ideological contention that aim to give these languages the same status as Spanish in Mexico.

Finally, analysing language policy and language ideologies through the voices of people invites to other researchers in the area to involve different perspectives in their work, and to visualise and integrate what has been overlooked before.

## Appendix A Participants backgrounds

Here I describe each participant and family constellation backgrounds. All names used are pseudonyms and I have avoided using specific details that can lead to their identification.

### A.1 Family 1: The Pérez family

The Pérez family is a family of six members: Adrián, the father; Rosa, the mother; Paulina, the first daughter and first child; Miguel, the first son and second child; Ángel, the second son and third child; and Estela, the second daughter and fourth child (see Figure 17). They all identify themselves as indigenous from the Wixárika (huichol) group and they all have linguistic resources in Spanish and Wixárika.

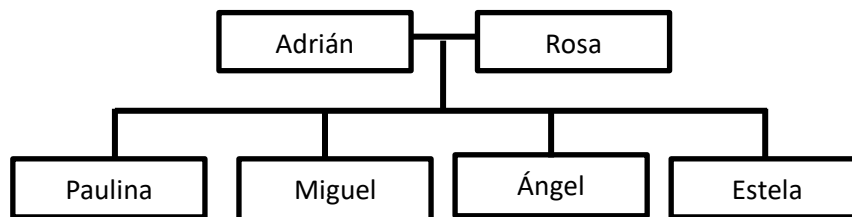


Figure 17. Pérez family structure

Rosa is from a small Wixárika community in the North of the state of Nayarit. Her family used to move from place to place until they established themselves in a town. In that town Rosa started school when she was 12 years old even against his father wishes, who wanted her to stay at home helping her mother. The school was far from Rosa's home, in the other side of the town, where all the teachers and the children only spoke in Spanish. Rosa only spoke in Wixárika and she did not understand anything. In her second year at school Rosa started to learn some Spanish playing with her classmates. The third year at school Rosa learned to read and write in Spanish, and after this her father did not allow her to go to school anymore, he said Rosa knew everything she needed to know, and he needed her to work at home with her mother and in the field with him. Rosa still wanted to study so she took her opportunity escaping from home with some relatives who said they could help her. She only said goodbye to her mother. Rosa arrived at a hostel in a small town in Jalisco with her relatives where she could stay and study. It was difficult for her to convince the principal at school to accept her, since she was about 17 years old, and she was trying to enter Elementary school with children around 8 and 10 years old. She studied there for two years. Then, Rosa asked for economic support in the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs (Instituto Nacional Indigenista [INI], currently National Institute of Indigenous Populations [Instituto Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas, INPI]) to continue studying. She moved to Nayarit again, she finished Elementary school and then she moved

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again to a hostel in another town to continue studying Middle School. After a while she could not stay in the hostel anymore and she asked the principal to help her to find a job. She moved with a family to Tepic where she worked doing housework and taking care of the children. The family helped her to continue studying. One of her relatives told Rosa about an opportunity to take a special course to work as a teacher. She accepted and left her work to go to study in the state of Chihuahua for six months. Rosa had just studied two years of Middle School, but after those six months she got a job as a kindergarten teacher in a Wixárika community in the state of Jalisco. Rosa started to work and continued studying during the vacation in a special program for teachers. She could only finish Middle School and High School because she met Adrián at work, they got married and she had her first child.

Adrián is from a small Wixárika community in the state of Jalisco, he left his community in order to study, and when he was around 22 years old and finished Middle School, he was invited to work as a teacher. Adrián met Rosa at work, they used to work in the same school in a small town of Jalisco. In the first five years of marriage, their four children were born: Paulina, Miguel, Ángel, and Estela. They lived all together around six years, and all the time Adrián and Rosa only communicated in Wixárika at home with their children, all of their children acquired language resources in this language. However, since Rosa and Adrián usually worked in different indigenous communities in the state of Jalisco and Nayarit, they decided to leave their children under the care of Rosa's parents in another town. Paulina, Miguel and Ángel stayed with their grandparents for around four years, their grandparents also used Wixárika to communicate with them, but at school they started to acquire language resources in Spanish. After this time, Paulina, Miguel and Ángel had to move to a hostel in another community to continue their education. Then Paulina went to live with Rosa in the place she was working in and stayed with her. Estela was the only one who accompanied Rosa all the time; she lived with her in all the different towns where she worked. Miguel and Ángel then moved to another hostel in Tepic to finish Elementary school. Rosa could only see Miguel and Ángel about once or twice a month.

Adrián then moved to Tepic, he and other people from different indigenous communities started a settlement in the city. Rosa eventually could come to work to Tepic, and she could spend more time with all her family. Paulina started Middle School in Tepic. Miguel and Ángel stayed in the hostel until they finished Middle School, but now they were able to see their family every weekend and when they finished school, they went to live with them. Estela continued studying Elementary School in Tepic, too. The family stayed together. Rosa could continue working and studying and she finished university level. Adrián also finished university, but then he decided to quit his job as a teacher to dedicate himself to music and to translate texts between wixárika and Spanish. Rosa worked sometime in the Dirección General de Educación Indígena (General Department of Indigenous

Education [DGEI]) that is part of the Mexican Federal Ministry of Education (see section 3.2), but then she came back to teaching. Eventually, Rosa and Adrián got divorced, but they stayed in touch, and they maintain contact, because they usually spend much time with their children. Now, Rosa is retired, Adrián is a musician, and all the children are grown up, they all finished university, they all started their own families, but they spend much time together because they are all involved in their Wixárika traditions as well as with promotion work of their culture.

## A.2 Family 2: The García family

The García family is a family of four members: Pedro, the father; María, the mother; Oscar, the first son and first child; and Melisa, the daughter and second child (see Figure 18). Oscar is hearing-impaired and is the only hearing-impaired member in his family.

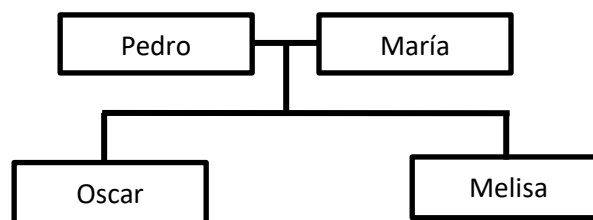


Figure 18. García family structure

María was born in Tepic. Growing up in a loving family, she went to school, and she started to work from when she was a child helping her family in different businesses they had. She was not forced to work, she enjoyed working and learning different skills while she earned some money. When she finished High School, she started to work. In High School she met Pedro, and they got married a few years later. Then her first son, Oscar, was born. María and Pedro did not notice anything strange about Oscar's development until he was around two years old, and he went to the nursery School. The nursery school teachers told María that at that age Oscar should be able to say some words, but he did not say anything. María and Pedro then took Oscar to the doctor, and they discovered Oscar was hearing impaired. The doctor suggested that Oscar used some hearing aids, but they were not helpful for him.

After this, Oscar went to his normal nursery School in the mornings, and in the afternoon, he attended a special education school where he was referred to a special governmental program to receive a cochlear implant. While Oscar was taking the tests required for his cochlear implant, the doctor suggested María take Oscar out of the special education school, because they were teaching Oscar to sign, and the child was not making any effort to speak. Then María decided to take Oscar to a regular school, not a special education school, because the child should be integrated with the others, like any other child without a disability. Continuing with Oscar's medical tests, doctors discovered his hearing impairment was the result of a deformation in his inner ear and for this

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reason it was almost sure that the cochlear implant would not help him to hear. Either way, the doctors told María and Pedro, they wanted to get Oscar the implant hoping it would help him to hear. Oscar received the cochlear implant when he was three years old. As part of the cochlear implant protocol doctors asked María and Pedro that Oscar did not learn sign language, because he would learn to listen and to speak after he got his cochlear implant. However, as the doctors expected, the cochlear implant did not work for Oscar. A few years later, the cochlear implant broke down and since the government change there was no more support for the people who had entered this especial program.

When Oscar was around 6 years old, Melissa was born. Melissa and Oscar grew up together and until today, María says she is the only person who can communicate well with Oscar, and the one who knows him best. She went to the same Elementary school where Oscar studied, and she says she was always tagged or pointed out like “the girl with a hearing-impaired brother”. She has studied dancing since she was a little kid, and she usually travels with María to different cities around Mexico and the world where both participate in special events in a dancing group.

Oscar took sign language classes when he was around eleven years old, but he did not like them. Oscar asked his mother to take him out of this class, because he was not learning anything, since all his other classmates just talked to each other using sign language because they already knew it. Through this experience, Oscar’s family learned some sign language, but María says they use “normal” signs to communicate with Oscar.

At school Oscar finished Elementary School and Junior High, but according to María he did not learn to read or write in Spanish correctly. He even failed one year in Elementary School and then the teachers just pass him from one year to another. In Junior High Oscar met a girl who was also hearing impaired. She came from another state in Mexico, she knew Mexican sign language and they became a couple. A little time later, the girl got pregnant, and Oscar and she tried to run away together. María and Pedro found them and helped them. Oscar and the girl went to live with María and Pedro, and then they got married. They had a baby boy who is three years old, and they are expecting their second child. Oscar’s son can hear, and he has learned some signs to communicate with his parents. However, María and Melissa intend that he speaks and do not use sign language, because they are afraid he will not learn to speak and only use sign language to communicate.

Oscar has been leaning more Mexican sign language with his wife, he started to work, and he returned to school. Oscar and his wife are studying High School level studies in a special education school. Even when Oscar described he lived some difficult moments while he grew up, because people used to make fun of him because he is hearing impaired, he says he is happy. María says that even when Oscar cannot hear or speak, he always finds a way to communicate with others and



accomplish what he wants or what he needs, she believes Oscar does not need to know Mexican Sign Language, he just needs his abilities to communicate with others because almost no one in Mexico knows sign language.

### A.3 Family 3: The Sánchez Family

The Sánchez family is a family of seven members: José, the father; Mariana, the mother; Sofía the first daughter and first child; Luis, the first son and second child; Ana, the second daughter and third child; Adriana, the third daughter and fourth child; and finally, Alejandra, that is Mariana's niece, but she and her husband José consider her another of their children (see Figure 19).

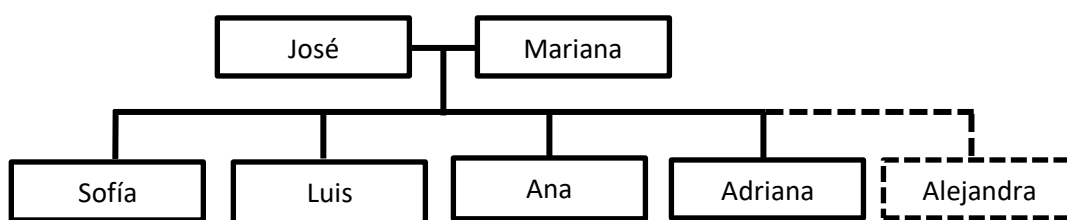


Figure 19. Sánchez family structure

Mariana and José are from a small town in the state of Jalisco, Mexico. They say they had a similar life while they grew up. Both came from big families, in each of their families there were ten children. Their parents were farmers and cowboys, herdsman who used to travel from town to town with their families looking for work. Since there is not much work in their hometown young people usually go to work in the U.S. Actually, when José was 17 years old, he went to live and work to Colorado in the U.S. with some relatives and friends. He stayed there for seven years. He says he never learned English, because he did not want to and he did not have the necessity to do it since a lot of people speak Spanish, and because other relatives who used to live and work with him spoke English and help him when it was necessary. On the other hand, Mariana also wanted to go to work in the U.S., but when she was 19 years old, she married José and her plans changed.

Mariana and José moved to Tepic two and a half years after they got married. Their two older children, Sofía and Luis, were babies when they arrived in Tepic. They did not plan to stay to live in the city, but in Tepic they got access to health services, job opportunities, social security, and education opportunities, something they did not have in their hometown and that they realised they needed to raise their children. In the next few years, Ana and Adriana were born, and then Alejandra came to live with them.

Alejandra is Mariana's niece. When Alejandra was around two years old, she was left under the care of her grandmother, because her parents went to live to the U.S. She grew up with Mariana and her other aunts and uncles. Alejandra's parents started a new life and a new family in the U.S., apart

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from each other, in different places. Alejandra only maintained contact with her mother, who used to contact her by phone and rarely came to visit her to Mexico. Alejandra's mother always talked to her about the day she will take her to live with her to the U.S., so when Alejandra turned 18 years old, her mother told her that the moment to live with her in the U.S. had come. Alejandra always wanted to go with her mother, but at the same time she loved her life with her grandparents, her aunts, and her uncles, and she wanted to stay in Mexico to continue studying, because she wanted to go to the university. Despite this, Alejandra's mother settled everything and took Alejandra with her.

Alejandra never felt welcome by her mother in the U.S., and she believes that her mother only took her to live with her because she felt bad about leaving her with her grandparents when she was a little girl. After a month living in the U.S., Alejandra asked her mother to take her to school. Alejandra's mother took her to an English school for Latinos. After a while Alejandra asked her mother to take her to another school, because she wanted to go to the university. Alejandra was very disappointed when a counsellor explained her that she needed to learn English first and take some classes before entering a university in the U.S., but she wanted to study, so she stayed in a new class to learn English. After six months in her new school Alejandra's mother decided that she would not drive her to school anymore, she told Alejandra that by that time she should have learned to speak English, so it was not necessary to continue studying. At that moment Alejandra could understand English, but it was difficult for her to communicate. Without her mother support Alejandra had to get a job and study at the same time to try to accomplish her dream to go to college. Nevertheless, Alejandra's relationship with her mother was more difficult every day and she left her mother's house. Alejandra struggled to pay the rent and her other expenses, and she had to drop out of her studies, university had to wait. After a few months she received some help from a co-worker, Alejandra got a second job, and she went to live with her co-worker and her family. Then, Alejandra became a U.S. citizen, and she continued learning and practising English at work.

During all the time that Alejandra lived in the U.S., she maintained contact with Mariana and José. Mariana always insisted that Alejandra should come to live with her and her family in Tepic, she could study and work with their support. When Mariana and Alejandra met in their hometown after Alejandra's grandfather died, it was clear for Mariana that there was something wrong in Alejandra's life, it was evident for her that Alejandra was not happy in the U.S., and she insisted that she should come to live to Tepic. After Alejandra returned to the U.S., she took the decision, she made a plan to go back to Mexico and finally accomplish her dream to study at the university. After around 6 years living in the U.S. Alejandra arrived back in Mexico in 2013. After spending some time with her grandmother and her aunts and uncles in the small town where she grew up, Alejandra arrived in Tepic to prepare herself to go to the university and she stayed to live with Mariana and José, and their children, where she became another member of the core family.

## Appendix B Transcription conventions

Spelling: Spanish (Mexico) and British English

Punctuation: Capital letters are used for proper names. Where is needed for understanding some letters and orthographic corrections are made using brackets. Apostrophes are used for abbreviations e.g. don't, haven't.

“text”	=	Indicate when the excerpt begins and ends
[...]	=	Indicates the participant was talking about other topic
...	=	A brief pause
(text)	=	Insert extra information about the context of the excerpt
‘text’	=	Indicates the enclosed speech was deliver by someone else or the participants using those words
<b>Text</b>	=	words in a different language than Spanish
-	=	Pause to correct participant's speech
::	=	Indicate sound elongation



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