

CODE-SWITCHING BEHAVIOR AS A STRATEGY FOR MAYA-MAM LINGUISTIC REVITALIZATION

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Abstract

Since 1991, Fishman has carved out a “new” area of focus for research and linguistic activism—the Reversal of Language Shift (RLS)—within the general field of the Sociology of Language. In this article, I discuss a strategy of RLS employed by educated speakers of Maya-Mam, an endangered language of Guatemala. Less-educated Mam routinely code-switch to Spanish, while educated speakers categorically do not. Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles & Powesland 1975) offers a framework for accounting for this distinctive behavior through consideration of convergence and divergence strategies aimed at constructing positive social identities (Tajfel 1974). I briefly discuss this code-switching behavior, and compare people’s opinions about it as a positive or negative communication accommodation. I suggest that the initiative of Mam teachers in “purifying the language” is supportive of their overall goal of RLS and Mam revitalization.

1 Introduction

Over half of the world’s 6,500+ languages are spoken only by adults who are not passing their native language on to their children (Krauss 1992). Aside from these *mori-bund* languages, an additional 40% are considered *endangered* vis-à-vis their speakers’ socio-economic, educational, and geographic proximity to speakers of major languages

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like English, Spanish, Mandarin, or other regional or area trade languages. Nettle and Romaine (2000) report that as few as 600 languages around the world are considered “safe”.

Scholars from Sapir (1931) to Hale (1992, 1998) have argued that the loss of such minority languages through social assimilation to the encroaching majority groups or by the physical death of minority language speakers deprives the world of a number of treasures, both academic and cultural. While in some sense inevitable and perhaps even “economical” in a Darwinian sense of “only the strong survive”, the demise of minority languages and cultures is indeed considered “loss” by many scholars.¹ Krauss (1992) argues that in the same way that ecological devastation deprives the world of important biological diversity and the products derived from it, so the devastation of linguistic and cultural diversity deprives the academic world of treasures we never knew we had. Hale realizes that his complaint is self-serving, but Crawford (1995) discusses different issues of language death—social justice and the right of minority peoples to their own languages and cultural distinctives—as being just as important as the academic issues.

These issues of language *shift*, *decay*, and *death* fall within the purview of the sociology of language along with issues of language maintenance, multilingualism, language planning, and bilingual education, where the internal aspects of language are not so critically in focus as is the language itself as an entity or cultural object within the larger context of society as a whole.

Since Fishman (1991), the sociology of language, and particularly the field of language maintenance and shift, has been expanded to include a new sub-discipline, the reversal of language shift (RLS), which is conceived to be a purposeful, operational response to the looming demise of minority languages around the world.² Within RLS, scholars and speakers of endangered languages have studied language loss and strategies that have proved effective in helping to restrain it. Of these strategies, those which are adopted and promoted by the speakers themselves are the most likely to have long-term success (Lastra 2001).

In this study I look at code-switching behavior among the Maya-Mam as an indicator of social identity (Tajfel 1974). I discuss Mam social identity, in turn, as a crucial element in the group’s (or a sub-group’s) decision to converge toward or diverge from (Giles & Coupland 1991) the majority Spanish language and culture. I show that less-educated Mam use Spanish-Mam code-switching as a strategy for convergence toward the majority language and culture, while the more formally educated teachers avoid code-switching altogether. I discuss both this convergence (*boundary leveling* in Woolard’s (1988) words) and divergence (*boundary maintenance*) in terms of ideology stemming from the growing realization of the socio-political oppression of the Maya by the Spa-

¹ But, see Ladefoged (1992) who, like Mufwene (2001), says that speakers will determine the future of their language behavior based on what they see as the costs of maintenance vs. the benefits of shift.

² Certainly other processes beside RLS operate on the linguistic/cultural stage comprising the life of a language. Creolization, dialect splits, and language differentiation go on at all times and are worthy of study. Nevertheless, Krauss’s point still stands; 90% of the languages spoken today in the world are in danger of being lost within a generation.

nish-speaking majority—a realization that seems to be accessible to those with several years of university training, but largely ignored by those with less education. Coming full circle, I expand on the practice of divergence as a platform for language maintenance and RLS (Fishman 1991, 2001).

1.1 Sources and investigation

Mam is a Mayan language spoken by as many as 500,000 people in Guatemala's Western Highlands (Godfrey & Collins 1987). The language is further subdivided into six major dialects (Northern, Central, Southern, Western (Tacaneco), Tajumulco, and Todos Santos). Data for this paper were gathered over a number of years among speakers of the Central dialect, centered in the town of Comitancillo, San Marcos, where I lived and worked under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics from 1980 until the late 1990s. Comitancillo has a population of approximately 50,000 people, and the 1991 census claims that the municipality was 98% Mam.

The research that I present here consists of a brief analysis of four narrative Maya-Mam texts elicited between 1980 and 2002 (Appendices 1–4) and the discussion of answers to an attitude survey I gave to approximately 140 Mam speakers during the summer of 2002 (Appendix 5). Finally, I interviewed 12 Mam men and women about their opinions regarding language vitality and code-switching, also during the summer of 2002.

2 Code-switching

Gumperz defines code-switching (CS) as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (1982:59). Hudson additionally calls it “the inevitable consequence of bilingualism ...” (1980:52). It is a term that has included a number of phenomena along a multilingual continuum (see also Thomason 2001:70); at one end is simple borrowing, where L2 is fully incorporated into L1 (see also Haugen 1950); at the other end is language decay and death where L1 is swallowed up by L2 (Knowles-Berry 1987).

Romaine calls code-switching “a communicative option available to a bilingual member of a speech community on much the same basis as switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolingual speaker” (1994:59). This reflects Weinreich (1953) who discusses multiple reasons for lexical innovation in L1. Auer (1995), following Romaine, sees CS as a robust discourse strategy where code-switches (at least for skilled bilinguals) can indicate change of participant, parenthetical comments, or a topic shift, along with other discourse features. He says that access to a second language “provides specific resources not available to monolingual speakers for the constitution of socially meaningful verbal activities” (1995:115).

Knowles-Berry, though, sees the switch to Spanish within Chontal (Mayan) discourse as the top of a slippery slope that has led to Chontal's being “criticized as a mixed or inadequate language” (1987:338). With this waning reputation (perhaps either causing the criticism or pursuant to it—most likely both), parents do not teach Chontal to their

children, fewer people learn it, and it loses more and more ground and is slowly displaced even in the domain of the home, causing a hastened decline toward language death. Fishman considers this transmission of language from parents to children as the most crucial phase in reversing language shift—a stage he calls *inter-generational transfer*.

General stages in language attrition and death are widely agreed upon. Sasse (1992) says that the process starts with L1 speakers becoming bilingual in L2 and employing widespread code-switching. Next, L1 decays as more and more individuals opt to speak L2 in domains previously reserved for L1, and L2 linguistic structures and lexicon lead to a simplified, stylized version of L1. Finally L1 is replaced by L2 in all domains. Others subdivide these three stages, but the general process seems largely self-evident. For a succinct overview of others' similar views, see Winford 2003:258ff.

In communities where people speak more than one language, choices have to be made in literally every circumstance regarding which language is most appropriate for the business or pleasure at hand. When the situation or domain determines language use—for example at home or in church, with friends or strangers—CS has been termed *situational*. When the choice of a language is a statement of the cultural and social values encoded in its use, or, in other words, when language choice is used to define (or redefine) the situation, CS is referred to as *metaphorical* (Blom & Gumperz 1972). Heller writes about metaphorical code-switching between English and French in post-Bill 101 Quebec. In instances like these, speaking French is not merely a language choice; it is a political statement and a stand against what the speaker may well see as a history of linguistic and cultural oppression (Heller 1985, 1988a, 1992, 1995).

2.1 Code-switching and borrowing

In the end, whether code-switching is or becomes an indicator of language vitality or demise will prove to be more a factor of how it is construed by the speakers themselves, rather than by the predictions of scholars, but we still must distinguish between code-switching and borrowing in order to pursue the topic at hand. I maintain that for the Mam data we inspect here, there is a difference—not always crystal clear—between the two phenomena. Yet this distinction between code-switching and borrowing is important, because I claim that more educated Mam do not code-switch (although they do use occasional borrowings), whereas less-educated Mam employ not only widespread borrowing but code-switching as well.

The basic difference between a code-switch and a borrowing is that a borrowing has an L1 history. It was originally introduced by bilinguals, but now even monolinguals recognize it as part of the language, i.e., part of the lexicon of L1—part of a single grammar. Code-switches do not have this history. They show real-time decision making of a speaker who controls two grammars—at least in part. They are brought into the stream of speech consciously, as part of L2—a speaker's second grammar.³ Empirically,

³ There would obviously be a time-lag between when the first users of a borrowed term would have incorporated it into L1 and when other, more remote (either geographically or socially) speakers would pick it up. In this sense, it could be both a borrowing and a code-switch at the same time (for different speakers). But the basic insight is that a *borrowing* is part of L1, and a *code-switch* is part of L2.

whether or not a form is part of L1 or L2 is impossible to distinguish, so scholars have tried to formalize the distinction, albeit with limited success.

Myers-Scotton (1992) claims that borrowing and CS belong on the same continuum. Borrowings start out historically as code-switches or what Poplack calls *nonce* or *one-time borrowings* (1980), which with time and usage become part of the lexicon of L1. Myers-Scotton's first and main heuristic for determining the difference between a borrowing and a code-switch is frequency. Borrowings are oft repeated. Used once, they can be used again; they can catch on, and then spread, often due to perceived "lexical gaps" in the L1, i.e., meanings for which there are no apparent L1 terms. Corollary to their repeatability is the fact that borrowings can occur in widely differing contexts, and they tend to be single words, which would be far more repeatable and versatile than extended phrases. Second, borrowings show a greater degree of phonological integration than code-switches. This is not a water-tight differentiation, however, since it seems self-evident that a Spanish speaker speaking Spanish, for example, would pronounce even clear code-switches to English with a "Spanish accent". This accent (which is plainly a type of phonological integration of Spanish into English) would not make the code-switch a borrowing. Nevertheless, borrowings are more susceptible to being adapted to L1 word and syllable shapes, phonotactics, allophony, and prosodic phenomena than are code-switches. This makes sense, since a certain amount of bilingual skill—certainly including at least minimal phonological convergence toward L2—is involved in a code-switch, whereas borrowings are used by monolinguals as just another item in the language, like the use of the French word *chef* in English. One need not be bilingual in French to incorporate this term into our own lexicon. In fact, most Americans probably neither know nor care where it comes from in the first place. A good example of a borrowing from our data would be the word *plas* in line 15 of Appendix 2, reproduced here as example (1). It comes from Spanish *plaza* 'plaza, town square'.

- (1) Ex tib'aj jun tal netz' mexh-jo
 and on a cute little table-SPEC
 o k'ayini'-y toj plas.
 we sold-EX in plaza
 'We sold (our things) on a little table at the plaza.'

Nouns borrowed into Mam from Spanish lose any post-onset material in the final unstressed syllable of the Spanish form, and generally maintain a CVC word-final syllable shape, ultimate stress, and final devoicing as in example (2):

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------|---|-----------|----------|
| (2) | mula | → | [mulʔ] | 'mule' |
| | calle | → | [kayʔ] | 'street' |
| | tomato | → | [tɔmat] | 'tomato' |
| | domingo | → | [dɔminʔk] | 'Sunday' |

The word *plaza* fits this phonological pattern. Plus, it is oft repeated; the term is known throughout the Mam community by young and old alike.

Third, Myers-Scotton claims that borrowings are characterized by a greater degree of morphosyntactic integration than code-switches. Borrowed roots tend to be affixed and inflected just like any other roots in the language. In Appendix 2, line 2, reproduced here as example (3), the word *t-karr* ‘his car’ is affixed for possession just like any other Mam noun (the word *karr* is borrowed from Spanish *carro*).

- (3) Oxa q-b'aj-a; o xi'-y tuk'a t-**karr** Josué.
 three our-number-EX we went-EX with his-car Josué
 ‘There were three of us; we went in Josué’s car.’

Compare this with Appendix 1, line 3, where the word *vecinos* ‘neighbors’ is brought into Mam lock, stock, and barrel:

- (4) **y no solamente, casi jacula** txi n-q'ma'n
 and not only almost would.be.able go I-say
 ok-qe-x jni'-qe **vecinos** ...
 just-each-AUG all-each neighbors
 ‘and not only me, I could almost say just about all the neighbors, ...’

There is no morphologically marked plural in Mam; the sense of plurality in example (4) is carried by *jni'qe* ‘all them’, which makes its NP head plural even though it is not marked on the noun as such. Plus, as mentioned above and illustrated in (2), if this word were a borrowing, all post-onset material would be lost in the final unstressed syllable. Nevertheless, the Spanish plural morpheme <-s> occurs, even though one would expect [βɛsinn-] if it were a fully borrowed form. The use of *vecinos* with neither phonological nor morphological integration leads us to the conclusion that the word is a code-switch and not a borrowing.

Syntactically, the Spanish strings in Appendix 3, lines 1 and 2 (example (5) below), and again in example (6) (from Appendix 3, lines 10 and 11), demonstrate both Spanish phonological and morphological structure, as well as Spanish word order, rather than Mam.

- (5) W-aj-a tu'n n-yolin ch'in ti'j n-ja'-y.
 I-want-EX that I-speak little about my-house-EX
 ‘I want to tell you a little bit about my house.’

En primer lugar, at kab'a n-ja'-y.
 in first place exist two my-house-EX
 First of all, there are two constructions.

- (6) Ex atzin jun-tl n-okin te **cocina**,
 and as for one-other PROG-serv for kitchen
 and the other one is a kitchen

o quiere decir ja' n-b'ant-e wab'j.
 or wants to.say where PROG-made-DUR meal
 or which means, where the food is prepared.'

These are code-switches, not borrowings. According to Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model (1997), a code-switched string (like the underlined forms in examples (5) and (6) above) will maintain the morphology and syntax of the switched language. She would call *en primer lugar* and *o quiere decir* examples of Embedded Language *islands*, since not only content morphemes are in the L2, but the grammatical morphemes as well (1997:221), even though this *island* is surrounded by the matrix language—L1.

These three characteristics (high frequency and phonological and morphosyntactic integration) of borrowings outlined by Myers-Scotton are largely corroborated by Hill and Hill in their work on Mexicano (1986), and to these I suggest the addition of two more. First, if there is a semantic difference or *enhancement* (a term I use to refer in general to what Winford (2003) further specifies as a semantic *restriction*, *extension*, or *shift*) between a form in L2 and its incorporation into L1, the L1 form is not a code-switch, but a borrowing. For example, in Appendix 1, line 12, the borrowing *lisens* ([lise'ns]) comes from Spanish *licencia* 'license'. In Mam it means 'permission', a semantic shift. The meanings are similar, but certainly not the same. Another example is the word *familiy* ([fa'miliy]) in Mam, borrowed from Spanish *familia* 'family'. In Mam, the word has come to mean 'children,' especially 'very young children.' In fact, the English sense of the nuclear family is not expressed in Mam as such; rather it is subsumed by 'those living in your house' or 'those that you always see'. This is an example of a *semantic restriction* cited by Winford. In both cases above, *lisens* and *familiy* are borrowings by our criteria, not code-switches; they are characterized not only by frequent occurrence and wide usage, and phonological and morphological incorporation, but semantic *enhancement* as well.

A second addition to Myers-Scotton's distinctions between borrowings and code-switches (albeit not unrelated to the morphosyntactic criterion already mentioned), is that it is not uncommon for code-switches to be added on top of L1 forms as opposed to substituting for them, which is more common with a borrowing. In Appendix 3, line 12, (repeated here as (7)), FL says *entonces ex*, which is a doubling up of this kind, where the Spanish word *entonces* and the Mam word *ex* both mean 'and then', and they individually serve the same discourse function of pointing toward what lies ahead in the text.

- (7) Entonces ex at jun q-chuj-a, ja' n-qo chuj-in-i'y.
 so and exist one our-sweat.bath-EX where PROG-we bathe-NONFUT-EX
 'Now then, we have a sweat bath where we bathe.'

If *entonces* were a borrowing and therefore, by our definition, part of the Mam lexicon, we would expect it to substitute for *ex*, thereby obeying Mam syntactic constraints—rather than be followed by it. Nevertheless, it is fairly common in Mam CS for

a code-switched form from Spanish to do double duty with a Mam form.⁴ Since this doubling up on discourse markers conforms to neither Mam nor Spanish syntax, I conclude that *entonces* here is a code-switch, not a borrowing.

By the various criteria set forth here, we can see that there are numerous cases of CS in Appendices 1 and 3, and absolutely none in Appendices 2 and 4. Contrast example (3) with (5) and (6) above. The pattern of Spanish incorporation in examples (5) and (6) and throughout Appendices 1 and 3 where code-switching is extensive (virtually every sentence) is very different from the minimal Spanish incorporated in example (3) and throughout Appendices 2 and 4, where the only Spanish words used are fully incorporated borrowings. The remainder of this paper explores why this is the case.

3 CS as an act of social identity

As mentioned above, Heller shows how the choice of English or French in certain parts of Canada is considered a political statement and a potentially hostile act and not an innocuous search for a common language with which to discuss the weather. McClure and McClure concur, stating that the use or not of “the code-switching register, rather than any specific switch, may be used to convey social information about the speaker ...” (1988:35). Without question, language is the flashpoint of a long history of tension over issues of political and socio-economic power. Heller further reports how the act of speaking French to a Canadian Anglophone in an official transaction is very likely a demand for respect and social reparation after years of English linguistic and cultural dominance. The negotiation of language choice in such a situation may be as innocent as trying to address someone in a language that both can understand, but, more often than not, it hints at issues of far greater import. Whether it is a case of deep political meaning attached to CS or the mere negotiation of a common language, Heller calls for interpretive approaches to the phenomenon (1988b:265). Why do people code-switch? What does it say about the people who code-switch (or refuse to) and what does it say about the societies where CS would either be seen as a positive or negative linguistic strategy? This is what is behind Blommaert’s claim that the study of CS itself is “a type of social historiography, in which the object of enquiry is fundamentally historical in nature” (1992:63). In other words, we cannot hope to explain CS behavior in purely linguistic terms. Rather, we must refer to the specific historical relationship between the people-groups that speak the switched languages and then attempt to tease out the motivations that would promote or inhibit switching between the two codes. It is right here that we can begin to understand the strong opinions and interesting behavior of those who speak both Mam and Spanish. Suffice it to say, there is always a macro-sociolinguistic aspect to CS; Haugen was correct when he said that the use of forms from a second language “always goes beyond the actual ‘needs’ of language” (1953:373).

⁴ Weinreich (1953:34) reports a kind of *reinforcement* where bilingual speakers can indeed double up on function words in speech with a complex construction comprised of one L1 term and one from L2. He does not comment on whether this would be a borrowing or a CS. I suspect CS. If it had been a borrowing, we would expect contrastive meaning (perhaps of focus, emphasis, etc.) with the non-doubled construction. I am unaware in Mam of *entonces* *ex* being a new discourse marker, nor does it have a corollary in Mam which has many options for focus and emphasis—none of which fit this “doubled” construction.

3.1 Studies of language and social identity

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller claim that “language acts are acts of identity” (1985). As we have already seen, language negotiation and CS can often be seen as statements far beyond mere choice of communication medium. The work of social psychologists like Tajfel and Turner (1979) has shed much light on the concept of social identity and how it relates to language behavior. Tajfel and his followers have done a number of fascinating experiments inducing people to become part of trivial groups (1974). For example, in one experiment, people were exposed under laboratory conditions to a quick flash of dots projected on a screen, and they were then grouped according to those who thought they saw a lot of dots as opposed to others who thought they saw just a few. What the experimenters found is that even in these meaningless groupings there was a strong sense of social identity—of “us” vs. “them”. Tajfel and Turner call this “the laboratory analog of ethnocentrism” (1979) and “a remarkably omnipresent feature of inter-group relations”. What is more, decisions made by individuals within the ingroup very significantly favored their own group over the outgroup. Tajfel claims that in any environment with more than one perceived grouping, the creation of an ingroup (and therefore, by definition, a non-ingroup or outgroup) is inevitable, often based not on such trivial amalgamations as the dot counters, but on distrust or even hatred of those not on the inside.

For Tajfel, the formation of groups is based on the following three-part sequence. First, people realize that they participate in certain social categories based on their education, income, dialect, gender, church affiliation, neighborhood, work, etc. Second, the perception by individuals of this category membership together with the positive and negative values held in common with other individuals that participate in the same social category (Tajfel includes these values as a kind of shared experience) determine the social identity of this group which is then compared to the identities of others. This comparison is the third and crucial step in the process. Indeed, “my group’s” social identity assumes the identity of at least one other group over against which my group’s identity exists. In other words, in order to know what something is, we must also know what it is not. This comparison gives rise to perceptions of superiority and inferiority.⁵ And the existence of a social group assumes that members of such a group construct a sense of superiority in some way over those not in the group. If, on the other hand, a group considers itself to be inferior in some way, Tajfel claims that it has several options for amelioration:

1. It can become more like the superior group in some way(s). If an individual can actually join the superior group, Tajfel identifies this situation as ripe for *social mobility*, where people can rise socially as individuals and join the more prestigious group. When the individual cannot join the superior group—usually because of some racial or ethnic characteristic—social mobility is impossible, and the only way for individuals to ascend socially is if the entire

⁵ Although he does not present it as such, Tajfel’s model of group relations is a conflict model where superior groups have a vested interest in subjugating inferior groups. It is only the existence of the “inferior” group(s) that give meaning to the concept of superiority.

group can rise in some way. Tajfel calls this a situation disposed toward *social change*, where the inferior group as a whole (as opposed to just a specific individual) becomes more in kind like the group that is perceived to be superior (even if the superior group continues to reject the inferior group).

2. The inferior group can reinterpret those characteristics considered inferior and celebrate them. This was at the heart of the *Black is beautiful* movement of the 60's and 70's or the *Gay pride* movement of recent years.
3. The inferior group can create new group characteristics which would provide a sense of positive distinction from the superior group. If history is against a group, the group can simply rewrite it and then try to sell the new version to themselves, at least, if not to the wider culture.

3.2 Communication Accommodation Theory

It is these three strategic responses that are reflected in Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles & Powesland 1975, *inter alia*) and later, Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), an extension or enlargement of Speech Accommodation Theory. CAT was put forward as scholars realized how versatile the theory is for explaining not only sociolinguistic style shifting, code-switching strategies, and other linguistic phenomena,⁶ but also for elucidating approach-avoidance strategies in areas as diverse as fashion, advertising, and sales, to mention just a few (see Shephard et al. 2001:41). Indeed, in Giles and Johnson's initial presentation of *Ethnolinguistic identity theory* (another extension of SAT) they acknowledge that their work "draws heavily on the influential theory of intergroup behavior by Tajfel and Turner (1979) called 'social identity theory'" (1987:70).

In CAT terms, Tajfel's first amelioration strategy above is considered *convergence*, while the next two are instances of *divergence*. Divergent accommodation strategies have been less studied than convergent accommodation, although Giles and Coupland say that divergence is really a kind of convergence, the only difference being that the one(s) being converged toward are external to the real-time speaker-hearer situation (1991:80). They define divergence as referring to "the way in which speakers accentuate speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and others" (1991:65). They define convergence, on the other hand, as:

... a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-vocal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze and so on. (1991:63)

⁶ Giles and Coupland have revisited some of Labov's work specifically related to style as a factor of self-monitoring. Their analysis (1991) is that Labov's findings could be recon-structed as "interpersonal accommodation processes". In other words, Labov's interviewees perhaps were responding to cues in the interviewers' speech rather than the supposed formality/informality of the context itself.

Both convergence and divergence are mechanisms for achieving solidarity group-internally and maintaining positive social identity vis-à-vis outsiders. In order to determine whether and how these concepts shed light on Mam speakers' attitudes toward CS as a strategy for convergent or divergent accommodation, I designed a questionnaire that sought to identify opinions about language vitality and code-switching. The entire questionnaire (translated into English) is attached as Appendix 5. The questionnaire and its results are discussed in §3.2.1.

As CAT has been applied to various speech situations, it has been enhanced and extended. An area of special interest to us in the present study is the issue of *typicality*. Typicality refers to a situation in which a speaker converges toward or diverges from a stereotype. It is convergence toward an ideal, not necessarily toward an actual speaker. This is developed in Gallois and Callan's "Stereotypically driven accommodation" (1988), where the speaker's perception of whom he or she is converging toward or diverging from is more telling than the actual convergence facts of the situation. This cognitive/attitudinal aspect of typicality shows the true social psychological core of CAT (Thakerer et al. 1982), and it was to explore these attitudes that I developed the questionnaire seeking native-speaker opinions on Mam language vitality and code-switching behavior. After a discussion of the questionnaire, I return to a discussion of typicality.

3.2.1 An attitude questionnaire

As mentioned, the questionnaire was developed to help gauge people's attitudes on two issues, language vitality and code-switching. Some of the information requested was general in nature (age, profession, sex, religion, plus questions 1–4), and several questions were opinion questions or requests for information that did not lend themselves to easy quantification (questions 5, 11, 13, 15, 19, and 20—see Appendix 5 for details).

Questions specifically about language vitality and prestige are numbers 6 ("Are you ever embarrassed to speak Mam in front of native Spanish speakers?"), 7 (a question about switching languages in "mixed company"), 8 (a question about ranking languages by importance), 9 (a question about requiring university students to learn a Mayan language), 12 ("Do you think it's good for native Spanish speakers to learn to speak Mam?"), and 14 (about the long term survivability of Mam). The questions about code-switching are 16 ("Mixing Mam and Spanish in a single conversation is good or not?"), 17 ("What kind of people mix the two languages?"), and 18 (where interviewees are asked to agree or disagree about specific reasons for CS). Question 7 (mentioned above as a question about language vitality) also deals with CS.

In order to look for correlations between level of education and attitudes, I stratified the interviewees into three levels of education: School teachers (who have had the equivalent of roughly two years of junior college), students in their first of three years of teacher training (hereafter, *trainees*), and people with less than a high school education. This last group ranged from no years of schooling up to nine (grades 7–9 are considered "high school" in rural Guatemala).

I reduced a number of the questions to two-way (yes-no) or three-way (Mam-Spanish-both) answers, and I entered these in matrices to the statistics package, *StatXact-4*. I ran a chi-square test using Monte Carlo methodology, since, although I interviewed over 100 Mam speakers, this is still a relatively small sample of the 60,000+ speakers of Central Mam. I chose a p -value of < 0.01 .

The interviews themselves were conducted in two different ways. I was given permission to attend a local teachers' meeting and to take ninety minutes to discuss (in both Mam and Spanish) the questionnaire and the issues that it was meant to elucidate. I gave the questionnaire out to approximately 60 primary school teachers, and I discussed each question, one at a time, to make sure they were all clear. Although I discussed each question with the entire group and dealt with issues that arose, each teacher answered each question as he or she saw fit, filling out the survey form as I discussed each question.

I handled interviews for the teacher trainees in much the same way. I presented the survey to a large group (approximately 60 students, over the span of ninety minutes), I discussed each question, and I had students give their own answers on the survey form.

For the less-educated Mam, I wrote the answers myself on the survey form based on answers given to me in one-on-one interviews. These interviews lasted approximately twenty minutes each. Some of these people could read but others could not, so I filled out the forms myself while doing the individual interviews. I interviewed 30 less-educated individuals (less than eight years of schooling).

CODE-SWITCHING AND REVITALIZATION IN MAYA-MAM

	Teachers			Trainees			Less educated		
	Mam	Span	Both	Mam	Span	Both	Mam	Span	Both
What do you speak at home?	15	2	2	42	9	10	21	1	6
What do you speak in the street?	8	2	9	15	14	21	12	5	13
What do you speak at church?	5	1	10	10	10	32	2	4	12
What do you speak with your brothers and sisters?	11	2	6	38	7	13	17	3	10
What do you speak with your parents?	15	2	2	43	6	7	20	2	6
What do you speak in the municipal offices?	6	6	4	9	13	34	10	10	10
What do you speak with friends?	6	2	9	9	11	34	11	3	8

Table 1. Raw data from question 4: Language(s) spoken in different domains.

For the questions regarding domains (outlined in Table 1), there were no significant differences among the three groups. The same is true for questions 7 and 8 (Table 2). There were no significant differences among the three groups for these data.

	Teachers			Trainees			Less educated		
	M	S	B	M	S	B	M	S	B
7. If you are speaking Mam with friends and a <i>ladino</i> comes up to you, what language do you speak?	5	8	5	18	15	17	15	13	5
8. Rank languages by importance to you.	4	5	25	10	6	42	5	1	13

M = Mam, S = Spanish, B = Both

Table 2. Questions about language vitality with 3-way answers.

	Teachers		Trainees		Less educated	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
6. Are you ever embarrassed to speak Mam in front of <i>ladinos</i> ?	0 0%	36 100%	6 10.5%	51 89.5%	0 0%	33 100%
9. Should <i>ladino</i> university students be required to learn a Mayan language?	25 83.3%	5 16.7%	37 77.1%	11 22.9%	15 78.9%	4 21.1%
12. Do you think it's good for <i>ladinos</i> to learn to speak Mam?	18 94.7%	1 5.3%	57 100%	0 0%	37 77%	11 23%
14. Do you think Mam will be lost?	0 0%	36 100%	14 24.1%	44 75.9%	4 21.1%	15 78.9%

Table 3. Yes-No questions about language vitality.

Of the questions in Table 3, numbers 12 and 14 proved to be significant with a p -value of < 0.01 . It appears that the clearest opinion towards language vitality is expressed in answers to question 14. Here, teachers, who categorically state that Mam will survive both linguistically and culturally, group significantly against the trainees and less-educated. In question 12, trainees group with teachers vis-à-vis the less-educated. In both questions, teachers and less-educated are significantly different. Nevertheless, I discarded 12 from further comparison because the comments on the “yes” answers to the question were actually quite different in nature between the teachers and the less-educated. Teachers said that *ladinos* should learn Mam because it is a matter of equity and fairness.⁷ The teachers had to learn Spanish; it's only fitting that *ladinos* should learn a Mayan language. Also, teachers felt that it was good for *ladinos* to understand worldview issues and cultural matters available only through language. Less-educated Mam felt that it was good for non-native speakers to learn a Mayan language in order for them to be able to communicate better with the Maya. In other words, the less-educated see language as a communicative tool, whereas teachers tend to see it as a symbol of cultural equality. So, despite “yes” answers on the questionnaire, I considered the additional comments to be such that the answers from the two groups could not be conflated into a single category.

Table 4 shows the raw scores for people's opinions about reasons for CS. People were asked whether or not they agreed with a number of reasons as to why native Mam

⁷ *Ladino* is a Guatemalan term for a Spanish speaker. A *ladino* might be ethnically Mayan, but has adopted Western dress and values and, most importantly, has abandoned his/her native Mayan language.

speakers would code-switch. These answers do not necessarily reflect their own opinions. Rather, their answers represent what they perceive to be the reasons code-switchers have for switching languages. The only significant reason ($p < 0.01$) is the first one, but since these are responses based not on assessment of their own usage, but on what they think others must have as motivation, I do not consider them true indicators of how people actually assess their own reasons for CS. For example, fifteen of the seventeen teachers who responded to this question said that code-switchers would no doubt argue that the lack of sufficient vocabulary in Mam is motivation for using Spanish in a Mam conversation (see row 1, Table 4). Nevertheless, it is clear that the teachers themselves do not agree that this is a legitimate reason, since they use *neologismos* (new word forms) and circumlocutions to avoid CS in their own speech and they generally frown on CS as a linguistic option. They were extremely positive in response to questions 19 (“Is it worth coming up with dictionaries of *neologismos*?”) and 20 (“Do you think people will use these *neologismos* once they are formulated?”).

In addition to these reasons that interviewees responded to, teachers added the following reasons on their own. Three said that people code-switch because they lack interest in their own language. Two more said that most speakers don’t even realize that they are switching. Two trainees added that there was a general lack of interest, while one said that CSers were not well taught in Mam, and that’s why they switch. Finally, among the less-educated, three said that switchers don’t know Mam well; three more claimed that people don’t realize that they are switching; one said that people switch because they don’t investigate how to speak Mam well; one added that the old Mam words are hard to remember; and one claimed that close contact with Spanish speakers causes people to code-switch.

Regarding views concerning CS, the one question that significantly groups trainees and the less-educated against teachers is number 16 (“Mixing Mam and Spanish in a single conversation is good, bad or neither?”). Sixty-eight percent of the teachers rejected the idea that CS was “good”, while almost 70% of both the trainees and the less-educated stated that CS was either “good” or that “it didn’t make any difference”.

In summary, there are two questions in the questionnaire that clearly differentiate groups: Question 14 about language vitality (Table 3) and question 16 about code-switching (see discussion just above). In both cases, trainees and less-educated Mam group against formally trained school teachers. This difference is developed more in §4.

	Teachers		Trainees		Less educated	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
The words don't exist in Mam, so using Spanish is the only way to get our meaning across.	15 88.2%	2 11.8%	16 34.7%	30 65.3%	17 100%	0 0%
Spanish is used to show-off.	4 33.3%	8 66.7%	15 38.5%	24 61.5%	10 58.9%	7 41.1%
Speakers appreciate both languages and want to use them both together.	8 50%	8 50%	33 70.2%	14 29.8%	15 93.8%	1 6.2%
Spanish is more prestigious, so speakers want to use it when they can.	12 66.7%	6 33.3%	21 45.7%	25 54.3%	11 73.3%	4 26.7%
CSers learned to talk using both languages. It isn't their fault.	15 88.2%	2 11.8%	35 72.9%	13 27.1%	15 88.2%	2 11.8%
CS is the actual and modern way to speak Mam.	7 46.6%	8 53.4%	32 64%	18 36%	14 87.5%	2 12.5%
CS speakers are lazy and don't want to do the work involved in finding appropriate Mam forms.	8 53.3%	7 46.7%	23 62.2%	14 37.8%	8 53.3%	7 46.7%

Table 4. Yes-No opinions regarding people's reasons for CS.

3.2.2 CS as stigmatized behavior

Our data show that less-educated Mam code-switch often (note underlined portions in the narrative texts in Appendices 1 and 3). When queried on this, this group says that they are so ensconced in both cultures that it is impossible for them not to code-switch. Questions in the questionnaire aimed at probing subjective judgments on this issue are numbers 16–20, particularly 16 (“Mixing Mam and Spanish in a single conversation is good or not?”) and 17 (“What kind of people mix the two languages?”). A common response by this group to the survey question on whether or not code-switching is good or bad was that “this is the way we learned to speak from our childhood. It is therefore not our fault and language mixing shouldn't be stigmatized.” Almost 70% of

those surveyed who were less educated claimed that code-switching was either good or that it didn't matter one way or the other. This compares to 68.8% of the teachers surveyed who stated that CS is unequivocally bad. Question 18 (Table 4) sought people's opinions as to the reasons why code-switching is so widespread among the Mam. There was a majority opinion across the three groups that CS was due to lexical gaps in Mam, the perceived high prestige of Spanish, and the history of routine language mixing throughout Mam-speaking society.

Despite the generally positive view of CS by the less-educated, CS is nevertheless stigmatized by two salient groups. First, many—perhaps most—monolingual Spanish speakers claim that Mam is not a *real* language at all, but rather a *dialecto* at best, which is what the Mayan languages are called in the national schools. Languages are taught as being national or transnational; dialects are regional. Some people have told me in interviews that the Mam communicate through primal gestures and grunts, “like animals”. Although this is clearly an extreme view, it is equally clear that minority languages in Guatemala are considered less than full languages. Adherents to similar views bolster their claims with the fact that most Mam speakers fluently and frequently code-switch, supposedly demonstrating the inability of the Mam *dialecto* to lexicalize important concepts which must therefore be articulated in Spanish (and often, in not prescriptively acceptable Spanish). If Mam really were an adequate language, they reason (assuming it is a language at all), speakers would not need to resort so often to Spanish to express themselves. So rural Spanish speakers stigmatize CS.

The second group that stigmatizes CS is Mam teachers, who claim that to code-switch is to buy into the idea that Mam cannot be used to articulate complex ideas, philosophies, and technologies. In their minds, code-switching supports the erroneous assertion that Mam is indeed an inferior language.⁸

But if code-switching is stigmatized, why is it so common? The survey and the interviews with code-switchers lead me to suggest that it is due to the sense of convergence to the majority culture. The Mam historically have not had the access to resources that the Spanish speaking majority has had for centuries. Wealth and political power are concentrated in the hands of *ladinos*. Education—especially higher education—is more accessible to *ladinos* than to the Mam; the radio and cable TV beamed into the Mam area are almost exclusively in Spanish, as are the daily newspapers. Many school teachers and other government officials are native Spanish speakers. In view of such a great power mismatch, CAT would suggest that these Mam code-switchers see CS as a convergence toward the trappings of power and prestige. Table 4 shows people's subjective judgments as to why CSers mix Spanish and Mam.

⁸ This sense of inferiority is combated locally by referring to the history of the Maya. Their advanced learning was put into a writing system still seen in various glyph sites throughout Guatemala, Mexico, and Honduras. The Maya were also advanced in agriculture, astronomy, and math. The fact that these technical and cultural advances were expressed via a Mayan language is clear proof of the language's ability to articulate complex ideas.

Yet the CS that they employ is stigmatized by the very people to whom the less-educated Mam would want to converge. In fact, this type of CS is common even when everyone in the audience is a Mam speaker. This shows that CS is an attempt to identify with the people (even though they are not present) that have the power and prestige—the *ladinos*.

They are trying to show to themselves and to those who will pay attention that they have feet firmly planted in both worlds—the Spanish world of power and the Mam world of Mayan values and culture. This straddling of the fence is normally a part of Mam evangelical services. Routinely, the leader will stand at the beginning of the service and speak a little in both languages. He will then ask whether the service should proceed in Mam or Spanish (since he—and those in attendance—are supposedly equally competent in both). The answer is always *los dos* ‘both’. Under the circumstances, CS is the best they can do, since their access to real power is minimal.⁹ Parents have told me that Spanish is the only hope for their children. Land is scarce and very expensive; families tend to be large, and inherited land is not extensive enough to raise the crops needed to sustain life for a family and animals. If their children are to prosper, they cannot rely on the life that Mam alone would give them.¹⁰

3.2.3 Typicality and Mam/Spanish convergence

In total opposition to these less-educated Mam, when Mam teachers speak Mam, they do not code-switch at all. The only underlined portions in Appendices 2 and 4 are borrowings—and even these are rare. Over 50% of these teachers believe that CS is a sign of laziness or lack of interest (see Table 4). Although almost 90% (15 of 17 educated respondents) think that CS can be caused by perceived lexical gaps, many of these same people voiced the opinion that it is up to the individual to purify his or her language and investigate how to say what needs to be said in Mam alone without any recourse to Spanish. In other words, these lexical gaps should be filled, if at all possible, with Mam lexical items.¹¹

⁹ This is reminiscent of Eckert's (2000) claim that women and girls seek cosmetic and symbolic power because they are denied access to real power.

¹⁰ Ed Beach of SIL (in private communication) has told me about a generation of Maya-Tectitec (a language closely related to Mam) who speak neither Spanish nor Tectitec natively. Parents had decided to speak to their children only in Spanish so that they could supposedly help them advance socio-economically, but the parents themselves were not adequate speakers of Spanish. So the children acquired a virtual Spanish-Tectitec creole, rather than native Spanish or Tectitec proficiency. Nils Hansegård calls this phenomenon *semi-lingualism*. Schaengold (in private communication) reports a comparable situation for Navajo, except that these “Navajo creole” speakers are native speakers of English, and speak a very stylized version of Navajo. I expect this is not an uncommon occurrence among minority cultures around the world.

¹¹ What Guatemalan educators call *neologismos* ‘new words’ has become a virtual growth industry among Mayan bilingual educators. This is basically about finding Mayan ways to fill lexical gaps. I’ve seen dictionaries in Mayan languages suggesting words for concepts like computer, carburetor, penicillin, bus, etc. In an interview with the local bilingual school superintendent, he said that there is a protocol for developing *neologismos*. First is function: *iqb'il xjal* ‘carrier of people’ is the suggested term for bus. Second is physical appearance: *txaq sotz'* ‘bat wing’ is a widely accepted Mam term for ‘umbrella’. Third is

So when educated Mam speak Mam without any CS, what are they doing? What they say in interviews is that they are diverging from Spanish. They are tired of being socially and culturally stigmatized, and they are fed up with the *ladino* perception that *ladinos* as a class are superior to the *indios* and that their beautiful Mam language is considered inadequate to the modern age. In an interview with a Mam college professor, he expressed interest in survey question 9 (“Do you think university students should be required to learn a Mayan language as a prerequisite to graduation?”). He told me that he has two answers to that question—one public and one private. His answer for public consumption is that *ladinos* should be required to learn a Mayan language because Guatemala is a plurilingual/pluricultural society and exposure to a Mayan language would give *ladinos* a less jaundiced view of the Mayan world. This can only be good, he said. But his private answer is much darker. He said that *ladinos* would undoubtedly find a way to take advantage of Mayans if they spoke their language. He cited parts of the country where *ladinos* routinely speak a Mayan language, and he said that those were the very parts of the country where the daily wage was lowest. So his real answer to the question is “No! Our language is the one place where *ladinos* can’t go, and let’s keep it that way.”

As stated above, Giles and Coupland claim that divergence is a kind of shifted convergence, with the targets of convergence being located outside the environs of the speech event. Assuming this to be the case, what would these non-CSers be converging toward? It cannot be sustained that they are moving toward a core group of respected Mam elders, since these very elders (like PT in Appendix 1) are among the ones who rampantly code-switch for reasons given in Table 4 above. Rather, they are converging toward a stereotype of what a “typical Mam” should be. A Mayan, after all, should certainly speak a Mayan language. Because the target of this convergence is not an actual social group, Gallois and Callan’s *accommodation to a stereotype* (1988) is highly relevant here, since it is not the case in this type of convergence that accommodation is toward the speech patterns of flesh-and-blood individuals (Giles & Powesland 1975). Rather, these educated Mam are converging toward an ideal, not an actual interlocutor.

4 Is education the big differentiator?

As mentioned in 3.2.1 above, during the summer of 2002, I surveyed three groups of people: Teachers, trainees, and less-educated. What I expected to find was basically a straight line relationship between years of education and divergence strategies of accommodation—that the more education a person has, the less he or she would code-switch. I was surprised to find that it was only the teachers who were so adamant about boundary maintenance and the rosy future of Mam language and culture.

Also, in interviews, educated Mam were careful to avoid CS in talking to me and the others present, whereas all others routinely employed it, whether they were trainees or less-educated. So teacher trainees consistently grouped with those less educated than themselves rather than with teachers.

an illustrative phrase. Finally, if none of these strategies works, the concept is borrowed from Spanish (respecting Mam phonological constraints) and promoted.

One last piece of evidence is the stark contrast documented in Appendices 2 and 4 between two similar texts offered by the same man twenty-two years apart. In Appendix 2, FL gives a talk about his house. At the time he was 23 years old and had been to school for just three years. Virtually every line of his discourse employs CS.

In Appendix 4, FL gives another talk about his house. This time, however, he is 45 years old and has a university education. This time his text has absolutely no CS. Since this is a longitudinal comparison, I attribute his change in CS behavior to be his education, rather than anything else, much of which would have been controlled for, since both texts are offered by the same person. It certainly is not just age. Less-educated Mam of FL's age code-switch routinely. Nor is it contact with me, one who tries to model (albeit unsuccessfully) "pure" Mam with no CS. Many of my Mam colleagues and co-workers speak as in texts 1 and 3, whereas the teachers (irrespective of whether they work with me) are careful to avoid CS, despite the fact that their Spanish is excellent. Indeed, they speak both languages very, very well.

What would cause teachers to be so militant about language vitality and CS as opposed to the other two groups? I suspect it has to do with two things: training opportunities and role responsibilities. First is the training itself. Throughout the first nine years of school (six years of primary school and three years of "basic" education), learning is essentially by rote memory, and oriented to facts, lists, and formulas. After these nine years, students can opt for a professional track, either education, business, or pre-university. These tracks begin with much of the same and gradually give way to more analytical, cerebral pursuits and the formation of informed opinions. It is during this time—during the second half of teacher training—that the more militant and confrontational attitudes of the teachers are formed. A main issue I see in this is that of causation. Earlier in their education, the Mam are learning "how things are"; as they continue their schooling, they come to see their socio-cultural situation not as part of "God's plan" or some kind of predetermined fatalism, a characteristic of Mayan culture (see de Landa 1566 and Martínez Peláez 1970), but as something caused by years of oppression, injustice, and restricted options. This is not an automatic realization; it comes through much discussion and orientation. I have attended many of these sessions where the practical aspects of this history are being considered, discussed, and reacted to. This kind of discussion (sharply politicized) has certainly been true of some of the rural union organizations as discussed by Nobel laureate Rigoberta Menchú (Burgos 1985), but it is discussed in a more systematic and empirical way as Mayan students are taught upper-level university courses by Mayan professors.

Aside from advanced training, once a person becomes a teacher, there are numerous seminars or "professionalization" workshops, further university training and opportunities for *concientización* ('raising of consciousness') where many of these ideas are hammered out.

The second reason I think that teachers group separately from trainees and those less-educated has to do with their role in Mam society. There are clear role distinctions between Mam men and women, and roles among people are also distinguished. Certain men burn limestone, others cut trees for lumber, some are potters, and still others become

traditional priests or folk healers (Redfield 1941). Roles and responsibilities are clear for these distinct tasks. The Mam themselves say, “Each person has his own work”. Some of the Mam are teachers. And these teachers feel a strong responsibility to model and promote a better way for their people—what they consider a way of dignity and respect.¹² In regard to CS, these teachers consider it a capitulation to the oppressors. Interestingly, although they are excellent Spanish speakers, they choose not to mix Spanish and Mam no matter which of the two languages they are speaking. When they speak Spanish, they do so articulately; when they speak Mam, they do so without CS.

I suggest that this militancy bodes well for the long-term viability of Mam vis-à-vis language shift, despite its status as an endangered language. The fact that the Mam themselves are taking up the torch in relation to their own language and culture is a very positive sign.

5 The reversal of language shift

By studying a number of minority languages in different stages of decline and endangerment, Fishman has suggested a Graded Inter-generational Disruption Scale (1991). In a sense, it is an eight-point scale of how viable a language is in specific multilingual situations around the world.¹³ The scale also maps a general strategy for language revitalization. For example, at stage eight, a language is little spoken and must be recapitulated from the memories of aged speakers, from recordings, and from other records in order for it to be learned by adults. At stage seven, there is use of the language only among adult speakers. At stage six, the language is passed down to children who speak it as a first language. At stages five and four, children are formally educated in the language; levels three, two, and one have to do with language use in daily work, higher education, and government respectively. So not only does the scale situate a language on a dimension of viability, but it also indicates steps toward improving a language’s chances for survival.

Fishman says that level six is the critical one for language vitality. If children are not learning the language from their parents in the home, there are two major problems. First, there is no *domain* where the minority language is safe from intrusion by the majority language. Second, children do not have the benefit of adult modeling of the language in daily cultural life. He says that programs promoting language and cultural revitalization must focus on stage six, and all further stages must make “inter-generational transfer” top priority. In other words, using the language in higher education or government cannot substitute for the language not being spoken as a first language by children.

¹² In addition to the linguistic strategies mentioned here, Mayan teachers have adopted Tajfel’s third ameliorative strategy—revisionism—to help create a positive sense of cultural space for their people. Many Mayan teachers deny that their forebears were animists and that they practiced human sacrifice. They reinterpret the *Popol Vuh* in those instances that discuss human sacrifice, or they claim that the text has been altered by outsiders. The *Popol Vuh* is considered by many to be the Mayan Bible, a book filled with history, folk wisdom, and Mayan mythology.

¹³ Fishman recommends RLS whether the predictors of success are realistic or not. He claims that significant progress can be made toward “saving” threatened languages even when the situation looks bleak. Thomason (2001:82) would concur on this point. She points out that speaker attitude is more important than any other factor when it comes to language maintenance.

If children are not learning the language at home from their parents, everything else is tantamount to tidying the curtains in a burning house. That this is self-evident is clear from reports of heavy national investment in programs in Ireland that endorse Irish language prestige and use (Ó Riagáin 2001). Legislation has been enacted to support Irish and the government has promoted it in the schools; it has been used throughout the media and people have looked on it with pride. Nevertheless, for those living outside of the most intimate Irish sectors, only one quarter of those who grew up speaking Irish at home are establishing Irish-speaking homes themselves. Despite the highest of ideals and heavy investment, the majority of the Irish people themselves are largely passing English on to their children—not Irish.

In a situation somewhat similar to that of a number of Mayan languages, Quechua is a minority language spoken by several million people. Although the language seems safe from demise, Hornberger and King (2001) consider it threatened in its homeland—Peru. The percentage of Quechua-speaking monolinguals is falling (from 31% of Peru's population in 1940 to 11% in 1982), while the percentage of Spanish monolinguals is rising (from 50% in 1940 to 72% in 1982). Bilingualism is largely subtractive: i.e., Quechua speakers tend to learn Spanish and then drop Quechua. Although Hornberger and King praise the work of both governmental and non-governmental organizations in trying to help support Quechua literacy efforts and language revitalization programs, they point out that it is the speakers themselves who must ultimately decide whether to save the language or not. The inexorable encroachment of Spanish into the home and family domains puts the long-term future of Quechua on shaky ground. Promotion *for* the language community will never take the place of promotion *by* the language community. Lee and McLaughlin discuss similar findings (and a similar analysis) for Navajo (2001), as does Lastra for Otomí of Mexico (2001). (For another view on whether endangered languages should be “saved”, see Ladefoged 1992 and Mufwene 2003.)

Central Mam seems to be fairly secure at the present time. But the decisions by members of a single generation can bode ill for language maintenance (see note 10). Fishman points out that there is much overlap among stages in the Graduated Inter-generational Disruption Scale (GIDS) and that activities to reverse language shift can and should be taking place all along the scale that would promote language use in general, and, in particular, that would promote the transfer of the language from parents to children. In considering Central Mam in relation to the GIDS, there are a number of important ties.

1. Mam teachers are working to reassemble parts of the language (stage 8), rediscovering words and syntactic patterns from the elderly—or generating new terms that are Mam if at all possible, rather than Spanish. For example, numbers beyond twenty are rarely used and largely unknown by most Mam speakers, even though the Classic Maya had a robust number system. Mam (and other Mayan) scholars are attempting to reconstruct the number system rather than use Spanish numbers, which is what virtually everyone does in day-to-day speech.

2. These same teachers have also established forums where Mam should be spoken with absolutely no CS. This includes local radio announcements, signage (on both private and public buildings and other venues), and in meetings of Mam-speaking teachers. They also try to influence pastors and priests, writers, merchants, and others who they feel are shortchanging the language by mixing it with Spanish. These are basically stage 7 activities where adults are encouraged to speak Mam.
3. Fishman's stage 4 has to do with government schools; stage 4a is the use of the minority language in schools that are under the control of native speakers of the minority language. Local Mam speakers are now the supervisors of bilingual education throughout the area and most teachers in area schools are native speakers of Mam. This has been a stated goal of local teachers—taking responsibility for area schools.
4. Local leaders have promoted the use of Mam on the radio; they are supporting the publication of books and a local newspaper. They are the ones that are the most vocal in support of requiring university students to study and speak a Mayan language (question 9, Appendix 5). These are stage 2 and 3 activities on the GIDS.
5. Mayan speakers have lobbied for the recognition of their languages as official or nationally recognized codes of communication. Although the latest constitution did not grant official status to any language other than Spanish, Mayans were able to include supportive language that recognized the historical and traditional importance of languages other than Spanish. The constitution has been translated into most of the nation's languages and there is provision for translation services in court; and early childhood education is guaranteed in a student's native language. These guarantees look good on paper, but they usually are not carried out. Nonetheless, they give the promoters of RLS a legal leg to stand on, and they represent stage 1 on Fishman's GIDS scale.

5.1 Inter-generational transfer

All of these are important strategies and are supportive of Mam revitalization, but none of them will matter if stage 6 is not respected, that of passing the language on to children in the home. The survey questions on language domain show that across the board, a high percentage of Mam speak only Mam at home and with both older and younger family members (see Table 1).

In a situation like this, it seems reasonably safe to say that Mam will continue strong for another generation—at least in Comitancillo. But as experience in other Mam dialects (Godfrey & Collins 1987) and in multilingual situations around the world (Fishman 2001) has shown, it really takes only one generation to seal the fate of a minority language. That said, it is far easier to maintain a minority language than to resurrect it. This is why Fishman's stage 6 is so critical. Strategies centered around the other stages are supportive of language maintenance, but stage 6 is operational.

Over the last decade or so Mam teachers have been carving out a positive social identity for their own people via various means—through a revisionist history, through a “purified” language, and through advanced education. And they are in the process of defending this newly tailored identity in excellent Spanish to groups across the country and around the world. Whether these strategies will result in the mainstay of RLS—inter-generational transfer—remains to be seen.

5.2 RLS in context

Languages are not maintained in a vacuum. Mufwene points out that in multi-lingual situations, languages are not so much abandoned as deliberate action, but rather as “the cumulative consequence of repeated communicative acts” (2002:387). These acts are benefit-driven. If a person needs English or Spanish or Mandarin to make a living, it is unlikely that the native language will long be able to withstand these major languages’ intrusion into the domain of the home, which will certainly affect a language’s position on the GIDS. So the larger language context is always important. (For an interesting and surprising discussion of the *extension* of language domains, see Hartman Keiser 2003.)

In Guatemala, a number of factors have converged to help promote the possibility of language and culture revitalization:

1. The awarding of the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize to Rigoberta Menchú, a Mayan woman, has brought international attention to the plight of Central and South American indigenous groups. Mufwene considers politics the second bulwark of language maintenance (economics is first).
2. The National Bilingual Education Program has been funded for over twenty years. Well over a million Mayan children have received primary school instruction in their native language. This has heightened interest in native language literacy and literature production.
3. Three national universities have established applied linguistics programs that have helped train hundreds of Mayan teachers and professionals.
4. In 1991, the Academy of Mayan Languages became an autonomous national institution (for details see England 1998:106). This grass-roots organization provides a forum for Guatemalan Mayan people to discuss and to resolve issues related to Mayan life and particularly Mayan languages. Despite many challenges, the Academy has been a focal point for Mayans promoting native language and cultural maintenance.
5. The signing of the Peace Accords in December, 1997 have led to greater respect for human rights (including indigenous rights) throughout the nation.
6. Tourism has become the main motor of the Guatemalan economy, replacing coffee as the nation’s greatest dollar earner. Tourism officials realize that much of what tourists come to see is Maya-related, so the government has a vested interest in Maya language and culture maintenance.

7. Comitancillo, although open to outsiders, is still populated almost exclusively by insiders. One need not speak Spanish at the market or in most churches. Local government offices have Mam-speaking attendants. Mam books are available. A Mam radio station was established in 2002. A monthly newspaper funded by local businesses is in the works. Although Spanish is highly valued, Mam is valued as well.

In other words, there is a support structure for Mayan revitalization. In Mufwene's words, there is the "concurrent mobilization of the political and economic machineries" (2002:390) that enables the good start by Mam teachers to be buttressed by a context in which being Mayan and speaking a Mayan language is benefit-driven, not only politically and economically, but socially and educationally as well.

Perhaps this many-pronged attack—especially since it shows strong initiative by the Mam themselves—will enable the language not only to survive, but also to prosper. Whether this happens, or whether the movement is reduced to an elitist notion promoted by a handful of teachers, will depend on the daily language decisions of the masses.

6 Conclusion

In this paper I have applied the insights of Communication Accommodation Theory to an understanding of code-switching behavior among the Mam. It was found that the Mam masses use CS promiscuously, apparently as a strategy of convergence toward the prestige and power of the dominant Spanish-speaking culture. Mam teachers, on the other hand, avoid CS, claiming that it is a slap in the face of Mam language and society. Rather, they pursue a policy of *Mam only* when speaking Mam—an act which has here been analyzed as a strategy of divergence from the dominating culture and convergence toward an idealized notion of Mayan-ness, an icon of linguistic and cultural egalitarianism among all cultures. The behavior of both groups reflects a concern for positive social identity.

The masses understand that the power structure of Guatemala is oriented toward Spanish. They see that they have been left behind politically, educationally, and economically. Their convergence strategy is an attempt at a bigger piece of the pie. Teachers, on the other hand, have proved that they can be successful in engaging the majority culture—at least in educational terms. They are graduates of the *ladino* education system. They have come to realize that the racist nature and history of Guatemalan society makes social mobility impossible.¹⁴ If change is to come at all it will be community wide in the sense of *social change*, or "a rising tide raising all ships". Their strategy of social change is two-fold. It looks inward toward Mayan culture and attempts to remake it as an equal partner to the dominant culture—witnessed by their ability to speak fluent and unmixed

¹⁴ Anecdotes of this latent and not-so-latent racism abound. In one interview, a Mam teacher told me he was the featured speaker at a university function, but when he showed up in simple dress and dark skin, he was denied entry to the auditorium. He waited patiently outside until the event organizer went to search for him. This same man told me that a Mayan doctor would never be allowed to treat a *ladina*. When all is said and done, "we are still just despised *indios* in the eyes of members of the dominant culture".

Mam. At the same time, it also looks outward in an attempt to promote this equality—in excellent Spanish—to the world beyond the village.

What I’ve described here is basically just one part of the mosaic—the *no CS* strategy of Mam teachers—and how they see a purified Mam fitting into the larger picture of the reversal of language shift.

Appendices 1–4. Abridged texts.

Abbreviations used:

AUG	augmentative	NONFUT	non future
CAUS	causative	PAS	passive
DUR	durative	PERF	perfect aspect
EX	exclusive	PROG	progressive aspect
FUT	future	PUNCT	punctual
IMP	imperative	REC	recently completed aspect
LOC	locative	SG	singular
NEG	negative	SPEC	specifier

Alphabet:

In the appendices that follow, orthographic conventions are largely taken from Spanish, with the following modifications:

b'	implosive bilabial stop
ch'	glottalized alveo-palatal affricate
j	uvular fricative
q	uvular stop
'	glottal stop
k'	glottalized velar stop
ky	palatal stop
ky'	glottalized palatal stop
q'	glottalized uvular stop
tx	retroflexed alveo-palatal affricate (backed <ch>)
tz	alveolar affricate
tz'	glottalized alveolar affricate
xh	alveo-palatal fricative
x	retroflexed alveo-palatal fricative (backed <sh>)

Appendix 1. PT, no formal schooling, 68 years old. Text taped 1982.

1. Entonces n-qo yolin ti'j-jo mejeb'lin ojtxa.
so.then PROG-we talk about-SPEC marriage long.ago
So we are talking about marriage in the old days.
2. Atzin we xi n-li te xhin jaw ti'jin
that me go I-saw when I up grew.up
Now as for me, when I grew up,
3. y no solamente, casi jacula txi n-q'ma'n
and not only almost would.be.able go I-say
ok-qe-x jni'-qe vecinos
just-each-AUG all-each neighbors
and not only me, I could almost say just about all the neighbors,
4. pero manera que mina,
but in.a.way that no
but in a way, no,
5. porque ex ma chin meje-tz-a pues.
because and REC I married-then-EX then
since I am married
6. Entonces atzin te costumbr te t-xmoxin ojtxa;
so.then that the custom when he-convince long.ago
qa ti'j xmoxin pues,
if regarding convincing well
Now then, the custom of when a boy would find a wife long ago, the issue of courting,
7. Entonces ma qo aj q-kanin, como at jun respeto,
then REC we go.home we arrived since there a respect
If regarding the taking of a wife, well then, when we arrived, since there is a kind of respect,
8. nejku aj-tzin q-xi xmoxil pues,
first when-then we-go to convince then
Since there was a kind of respect, first when we would go to take a wife,
9. n-xi q-q'ma'n te q-tata, awo ichin-qo o q'a-qo, te q-nana
PROG-go we-say to our-father we men-us or boys-us to our mother
We men, or more correctly, we boys would tell our father and our mother (that it's time that I look for a wife).

10. Entonces, “Ku txi'y” qa chi,
so.then IMP go if said
Then, “Go,” they would say.
11. Entonces ma n-qo-x-tz
so.then REC PROG-we-there-then
So we would go then.
12. “Ku txi'y qanil lisens tzma ja tuk'a manb'aj,
IMP go ask license to house with father
“Go to her house and ask permission of her father.”
13. qa kub' meje ch'in twutz manb'aj ex-qe txub'aj.”
that down kneel a.little before father and-each mother
That you go a kneel a little (in supplication) before her father and mother and her relatives.

Appendix 2. HL, school teacher, 26 years old, taped in 1992.

1. Jun qlixje, o xi'-y toj jun q-b'e-y k'ayil.
one morning we went-EX in a our-trip-EX to sell
One morning we went on a trip to sell (at a market).
2. Oxa q-b'aj-a; o xi'-y tuk'a t-karr Josué.
three our-number-EX we went-EX with his-car Josué
There were three of us that went in Josué's car.
3. Atzi'n q-b'aj-a, a Julián ex-sin ayi'n-tz-a.
that our-number-EX that Julián and-then me-then-EX
So our number included (Josué), Julián and me.
4. Atzi'n te q-xi'-y, tb'anil-x ch'in n-b'e
that when we-went-EX nice-AUG a.little my-road
te q-kanin Twi'muj.
when we-arrived Twimuj
Now when we went, the road that took us as far as Twimuj was pretty nice.
5. Noq-tzin tu'n-tz-jo te q-xi' ch'il-tz-a
only-then regarding-then-SPEC when we-went little-pues-EX
tu'n q-kanin Triunfo, nya-xix wen b'e
that we-arrived Triunfo not-AUG good road
Regarding this (trip) when we went (from Twimuj) to Triunfo, the road was not very good.

6. Ma nin-x jul, ex-sin manyor quq-x-tz.
quite big-AUG holes and-also much dust-AUG-then
There were big holes and a lot of dust.

7. Te q-xi'-y Txolja, o-taq tz'ok wajxaq
when we-went-EX Txolja PERF-PAST entered eight
tajlal te qlixje,
its count of morning
When we left Txolja (Comitancillo), it was eight in the morning.

8. Ex q-kanin o-taq tz'ok lajaj te qlixje.
and we-arrived PERF-PAST entered ten of morning
And we arrived (at Triunfo) at ten in the morning.

9. Ponix-jo tal najb'il, ja' o qanin-tz-a.
nice-SPEC little place where we arrived-then-EX
The place where we went was very nice.

10. A-tzin t-xilin ulne iky-jo tze'n-ku
that its-essence coming similar-SPEC like-down
b'e n-tzaj xkye tzma-x Twi' Chlub'.
road PROG-come begin at-there Tuichilupe.
The way we went was similar to the road that comes toward us from
Tuichilupe.

11. Atzi'n te q-kanin-tz-a,
that when we-arrived-then-EX
ma nin-x xjal n-k'ayin-taq Triunfo.
very big-AUG people PROG-sell-past Triunfo
When we arrived, a lot of people were selling there in Triunfo.

12. N-we' karr ja'lin,
PROG-stop car now
Now the car stops,

13. ex b'e'x xi' te Julián k'ayil.
and PUNCT went he Julián to sell
and Julián went off to sell.

14. Ex iky-x-jo qe, oxe qe k'ayil
and similar-AUG-SPEC us three us seller
ti'j k'axhjl-a iqin-taq.
regarding merchandise-EX carry-past
And we as well, (being as) the three of us were salesmen of the stuff that had
been brought.

15. Ex tib'aj jun tal netz' mexh-jo o k'ayini'-y toj plas
and on a cute little table-SPEC we sold-ex in plaza
We sold (our things) on a little table at the plaza.

Appendix 3. FL, 3rd grade education, 23 years old, taped 1980.

1. W-aj-a tu'n n-yolin ch'in ti'j n-ja'-y.
I-want-EX that I-speak little about my-house-EX
I want to tell you a little bit about my house.
2. En primer lugar, at kab'a n-ja'-y.
in the place exist two my-house-EX
First of all, there are two constructions.
3. Por supuesto, nya' we-ku'-y n-junal-a
of course not my-personal-EX my-only-EX
Of course, it's not mine only.
4. Sino, casi antza intin-k-xi'y toj ky-ja,
rather almost there I.LOC-put-EX in their-house
Rather, I am there in their house;
5. Toj ja ite' n-tat-iy ex n-nan-iy
in house exist my-father-EX and my-mother-EX
ex también jni w-it'zin.
and also all my-younger.siblings
in the house are my father, my mother and all my younger siblings.
6. Entonces pues, atzin q-ja'y pues, kab'a c-b'aj;
so then as-for our-house-EX then two their-number
So then, we have two houses.
7. Jun repeyar-in t-wutz o repeyar-in pared te
one plastered-NONFUT its-face or plastered-NONFUT wall for
One has its surfaces plastered, or its walls,
8. ex atzin jun mina.
and that one no
and one doesn't.
9. Atzin jun n-okin te k'u'b'l
that one PROG-serve for storage
Now one of them is for storage,

10. Ex atzin jun-tl n-okin te cocina,
and that one-other PROG-serve for kitchen
and the other one is a kitchen
11. o quiere decir ja' n-b'ant-e wab'j.
or wants to.say where PROG-made-DUR meal
or which means, where the food is prepared.
12. Entonces ex at jun q-chuj-a, ja' n-qo chujin-i'y.
so.then and exist one our-sweat.bath-EX where PROG-we bathe-EX
Now then, we have a sweat bath where we bathe.
13. Ex también atzin toj twi' q-jay kykab'il xk'o'n
and also that in roof our-house both tile
toj ky-wi' tok-x
in their-roof affix-there
And also the roofs of both houses have tile installed.
14. O quiere decir que a' xk'o'n, a b'inchin tu'n
or wants to.say that that tile it made by.means.of
tzaqb'aj tx'otx'
clay earth
In other words, the tile is made from clay.
15. Ex at jun q-pila twi'.pe'n,
and there.is one our-sink patio
And we have a sink in the patio,
16. O sea, “agua potable” tb'i twi' pe'n.
or as it were “water potable” its.name patio
Or as it were, (we have) what is called “potable water” (in Spanish) in the patio.
17. Ex atzin q-tx'otx'-a nya' nim, b'alaqa quince ech.
and that our-land-EX not big maybe fifteen cuerdas
And our land isn't extensive, perhaps about 15 cuerdas (about 1 1/2 acres)

Appendix 4. FL, supervisor of teachers, 45 years old, taped 2002

1. Atzin n-ja'-y, ayin Filiberto López
that my-house-EX I Filiberto López
As for my house, I, filiberto López,

2. Atzin n-ja'-y ate ta' toj tnam.
 that my-house-EX LOC is in town
 My house is in town,

3. Tzalu'n toj tnam te Txolja te tnam Chman
 here in town of Txolja in town Grandfather
 here in the town of Comitancillo in the department of San Marcos

4. Atzin ila'y-x ab'q'e n-kub' n-te'n toj n-ja'-y
 that various-AUG year PROG-down I-LOC in my-house-EX
 It has been several years since I've been in my house.

5. Ex ila'-ku n-k'wal-a ja'lin;
 and various-dispersed my-child-EX now
 and I have a number of kids now;

 at qaq ky-b'aj
 there.are six their-number
 there are six in all.

6. Ex atzin q-ja'y nya'-xix t-b'anil, noq-x ch'in
 and that our-house-EX NEG-AUG SG-nice just-AUG little
 And as for our house, it isn't the best, but it's pretty nice

7. Ex ate ta'ye tzalu'n toj tnam.
 and LOC is here in town
 And it's right here in town.

8. Te junjun alumj ite' ja
 for some animals there.are houses
 And there are pens for some of the animals.

9. At jun ky-ja eky'.
 there.is one their-house chicken
 And there's a chicken house.

10. At chujb'il
 there.is sweat.bath.place
 And there's a seat bath.

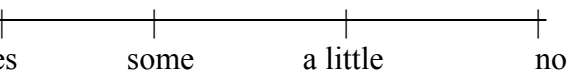
11. ex k-ajwil q-ij noq toj maq'maj a'
 and FUT-serve us-to just in warm water
 and also a (sanitary) service with warm water

12. mo toj xb'ajin a'
or in tepid water
or we could say tepid water.
13. Atzin maq'maj a' noq b'inch-it tuk'a q'ij maq'-te
that hot water just make-PAS with sun heat-it
Now the hot water is heated by the sun.
14. Atzin ja, ja' n-b'ant-e wab'j nya-x q'ilnin
that house where PROG-made-HAB food NEG-AUG expensive
Now the kitchen isn't ornate,
15. qu'n tu'n nim ch'in pwaq t-aj
because since big little money 3SG-want
tu'n t-b'ant jun ja nim
for 3SG.make one house big
because it takes quite a bit of money to build a large house,
16. ex-si'n tu'n t-nim-ix te jun-tl.
and-also to 3SG-big-CAUS it one-other
or even to add on to one that's already built
17. atzin tx'otx' nya'-xix nim t-elnin
that land NEG-AUG big 3SG-dimension
Now as for our land, it isn't extensive.

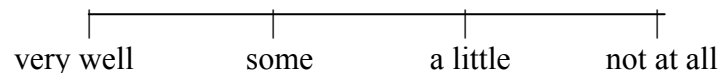
Appendix 5. English version of questionnaire.

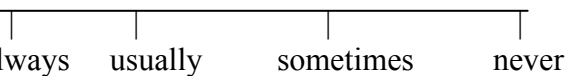
Date: Profession: Religion:

Age: Sex: Birthplace:

1. Do you read and write Mam? 

2. How well do you consider that you speak Spanish?



3. Do you always understand the radio? 

4. What language(s) do you speak at home? _____ in the street? _____ at school? _____
with your siblings? _____ with your parents? _____ at City Hall? _____
with your best friends? _____

5. If you are talking with a friend, what factors determine whether you speak Mam or Spanish?

6. Are you ever embarrassed to speak Mam in front of Latins?

7. If a single Latin comes up to you and your friends who are having a discussion in Mam, would you speak Spanish or Mam?

8. Put a number over each language according to its importance for you personally.

Spanish Mam English Quiché French German Chinese Portuguese

9. In order to be successful academically, you've had to learn Spanish. Do you think that Latins should be required to learn a Mayan language as a requirement for university graduation?

10. Do you think Mam language and culture will prosper or diminish? Why?

11. Do you know any Latins that speak Mam? Do they speak well?

Why did they learn?

12. Do you think it's good or not for Latins to learn to speak Mam?

13. What do we need to promote the use and prestige of Mam?

14. Some futurists say that within 100 years there will only be a few dozen world languages left over from the 6,000 spoken today around the world. Do you think that Mam will be lost? Why?

15. If Mam were to disappear, would you consider this something positive or negative? Why?

16. Mixing Mam and Spanish in a single conversation is good or not?

fine neither good nor bad bad

Why?

17. What kind of people mix the two languages?

18. Tell if you agree or not to the following possible reasons as to why someone might mix Spanish and Mam.

The words don't exist in Mam for a Spanish concept (plane, skyscraper, etc.).

To show-off before others that perhaps don't speak as well.

"Mixers" appreciate both languages and want to speak them both together.

"Mixers" believe that Spanish is more prestigious than Mam and they want take advantage of the perceived benefits of Spanish.

That's the way they learned to talk. It isn't their fault for speaking the way their parents taught them to speak.

CS is actually updated Mam. This is the modern way to speak Mam and it shouldn't be considered bad.

"Mixers" are lazy and don't want to go through the work of investigating how to speak correctly.

Other reasons?

19. Is it worth while to come up with dictionaries of *neologismos*?

|-----|-----|
yes whatever no

Why?

20. Do you think people will use these *neologismos*?

Why?

Other comments.

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