

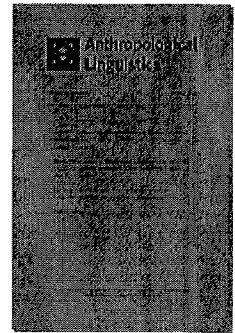
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The Unexpected Role of Schooling and Bilingualism in Language Maintenance within the San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec Community in Los Angeles

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**The Unexpected Role of Schooling and Bilingualism
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Abstract. This article analyzes language shift from San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec to Spanish among adults in Los Angeles, California, and a subsequent language shift reversal. These patterns correlate with schooling in San Lucas. Initially, established migrants assisted Zapotec-monolingual newcomers in learning Spanish by shifting to it in the home domain. This occurred between close relatives such as spouses, parents and their children, and siblings. As Spanish education became available in San Lucas, migrants were increasingly Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals, language shift in the home relaxed, and Zapotec was again favored in adult conversation. This highlights the relevance of plurilingualism in supporting linguistic diversity.

1. Introduction. The community of San Lucas Quiaviní (or San Lucas for short) in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, has engaged in emigration to the Los Angeles, California, area since the late 1960s. This article describes the history of transnational emigration from San Lucas and discusses patterns observed over the years, of shift from the Zapotec variety spoken in San Lucas Quiaviní to Spanish, and of shift reversal, which favored the maintenance of Zapotec among adult emigrants in Los Angeles. Survey and census data point to an unexpected correlation between availability of Spanish-only education in San Lucas and the shift reversal in favor of Zapotec among adults in Los Angeles.

Available literature on education and immigration focuses on education offered to immigrants in their host community and its impact on immigrants' academic performance, especially as it pertains to children in primary and secondary education programs. The study presented here also analyzes the role of education in shaping immigrants' experiences in diaspora, but in contrast with other studies, it focuses on migrants' educational experience in the home community prior to emigration and its impact on language maintenance in diaspora. This article presents data from surveys conducted with parents of nineteen San Lucas families living in the Los Angeles area. Interviews show migrants having different degrees of confidence in their Spanish skills in relation to their time of arrival in the United States and their educational experience prior to emigration. Census data on education and bilingualism in San Lucas correlate with the respondents' self-assessments of their Spanish skills: migrants who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s had limited exposure to Spanish-only education and arrived in the host community with limited confidence in their Spanish skills.

In response, more established relatives would shift to Spanish with newcomers—even as closely related as parents, children, siblings, or spouses for whom Zapotec had until then been the only language of interaction—to provide them with an immersion setting in which to improve their Spanish skills. In contrast, migrants in later years had received at least elementary schooling in Spanish in San Lucas and arrived in the host community as confident Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals. This reduced the need to teach Spanish to newcomers, and allowed San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec (SLQZ) to become once again the language of choice among adults living in Los Angeles.

This article begins with a brief overview in section 2 of the methods implemented over several years of fieldwork leading to this study. A short community profile of San Lucas Quiavini in section 3 and a history of emigration from San Lucas in section 4 provide the context for the analysis of survey and census data on the correlation between education in the home community, bilingualism, and language shift and its subsequent reversal, described in sections 5 and 6. The article closes with a summary, discussion, and conclusions in section 7.

2. Methods. The study presented here is part of a larger study intended to investigate the mechanisms through which migration becomes a factor of language endangerment (Pérez Báez 2009). The research was conducted over seven periods of fieldwork of two to five weeks each in duration, five of which were conducted in San Lucas (2002, 2003, 2004, 2007, and 2008) and two in Los Angeles (2007 and 2008). The research was conducted following the tripartite model of sociolinguistic field research proposed by Wölck (1985). It is based on a detailed community profile of the San Lucas Quiavini community, drafted based on participant observation conducted in the summer of 2002 and expanded during visits in subsequent years. A complementary profile of the Los Angeles immigrant community was similarly drafted after fieldwork in Los Angeles in January 2004. A pilot survey was conducted in San Lucas Quiavini in 2004; based on this, extended qualitative surveys were conducted in April 2007 in Los Angeles with nineteen heads of household or parents and in October 2008 in San Lucas with seven additional parents.

The survey was in interview schedule format with questions organized into nine topics discussed in informal conversation sessions of less than an hour. For reference, the interview schedule is presented in English in the appendix. The author, a native speaker of Spanish with knowledge of SLQZ, conducted all interviews. Respondents had the option of choosing either SLQZ or Spanish for the interview. Ten respondents consented to having the interview recorded. In cases where no recording was made, the respondent granted permission to take detailed handwritten notes and these were transcribed and coded the same day the interview was held. With regard to the recorded interviews, the author was responsible for transcribing interview responses in Spanish, while interviews in SLQZ were generously transcribed and translated by Felipe H. Lopez, a member of the community, native speaker of the language and coauthor of various works

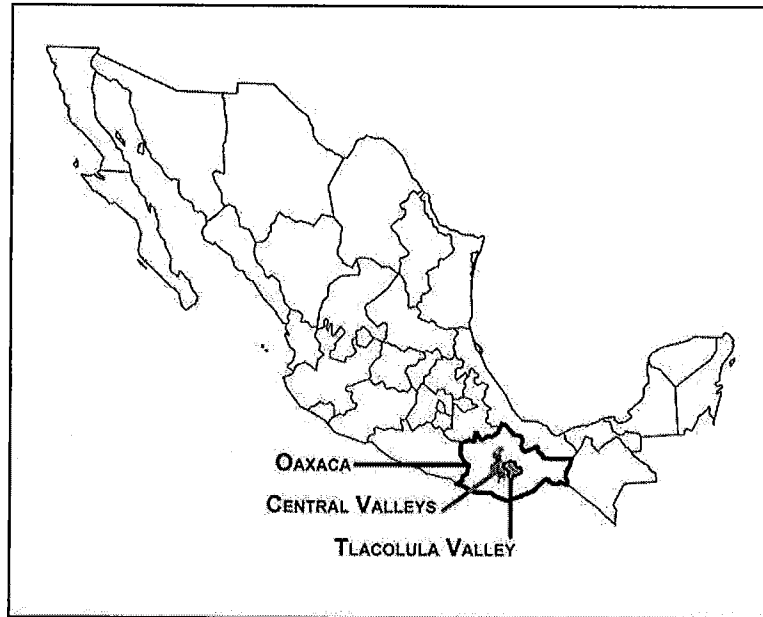
documenting SLQZ. Interview excerpts are included throughout this article in support of the arguments presented. In these excerpts, the question is presented in English to facilitate reading, while the response is provided in the language used by the respondent, followed by a free translation into English.

The primary participant selection criterion was parenthood. All participants with the exception of participant 18 were parents with children in Los Angeles. Participant 18, while not a parent, often cared for nieces and nephews, including a niece who lived with her at the time of the interview. Other selection criteria included time of arrival in Los Angeles, years spent in Los Angeles, and respondent's age. These criteria were established following the community profile as to ensure adequate representativeness. Every effort was made to collect data consistently from the nineteen respondents, but given the informal nature of the conversations, there are occasional gaps in the data. The study is qualitative in nature; it included no statistical analysis. To ensure the validity of conclusions offered here, the analysis of the interview data is supported by census data and ethnographic information.

3. San Lucas Quiaviní and its language. San Lucas Quiaviní is located in the Valley of Tlacolula, in the Central Valleys region of the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca as shown in map 1 below. The local indigenous language is a Zapotec variety belonging to the Zapotecan branch of the Otomanguean stock. Zapotec languages are spoken primarily throughout the state of Oaxaca, with a few varieties spoken in Veracruz, and comprise a language family with highly complex dialectology and a time depth comparable to that of Romance languages (see Smith-Stark [2003] for an overview of Zapotec dialectology studies). They exhibit complex phonological systems in which stress, tone, and vowel phonation interact to create lexical contrast, and a range of morphological and syntactic complexity.¹ For ease of reading, SLQZ is occasionally referred to as Zapotec in this article, but it should be noted that this is not intended as reference to the entire language family.

SLQZ and its community of speakers have received significant attention in the scholarly literature across various areas of inquiry. Migration from San Lucas has been a topic of interest since the 1980s. Hardeman (1987) and Hulshof (1991) focus on the pattern of migration to Los Angeles and its economic impact. López and Munro (1999) and López and Runsten (2004) take a variety of approaches to the migration experience. Pérez Báez (2009, 2013a, and in press) describes language use in the home and the diaspora community with a focus on the impact of transnational migration on the vitality of the language in San Lucas. The structural properties of the language have been analyzed in works by Pamela Munro and a generation of UCLA linguistics students in addition to a number of other scholars. These works include a dictionary of the language (Munro and López 1999) and a collection of textbooks (Munro, Lillehaugen, and López 2007), dissertations (Galant 1998; Lee 1999; Lillehaugen 2006; Chávez

Peón 2010), bachelor's and master's theses, and a vast collection of articles and conference papers.



Map 1. The state of Oaxaca, Mexico.

SLQZ is considered as a Central Zapotec language in the classification proposed by Kaufman (1987–89). More specifically, the language is often referred to as a variety of Tlacolula Valley Zapotec (Munro and López 2003; Lillehaugen 2006; *inter alia*). SLQZ shares characteristics with other languages of the Tlacolula Valley, but also exhibits language-specific features, as is the case of its pronominal system. Munro's (2000) comparison of pronominal systems in San Pablo Güilá, San Juan Guelavía, and SLQZ shows that the latter has twelve contrasting third person pronominal categories with language-specific formality and deictic categories making this pronominal system unique.

In San Lucas, one finds that the local Zapotec language is actively spoken and remains vital in San Lucas itself, as the percentage of SLQZ speakers among residents of San Lucas ages five and older has remained steady at around 98 percent since 1995 and monolingualism remains sizable at 15 percent (INEGI 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010). In Los Angeles, however, there is virtually no language transmission resulting in the development of native speakers of SLQZ among immigrants' children. Further, and as seen in section 4, large-scale migration since the 1970s has led to a significant decrease in the speaker base in San Lucas. In particular, the total child population since 1995 has decreased by 45 percent. Therefore, San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ) is considered in this article as a language at risk and possibly disappearing, using the terms as defined by Grenoble and Whaley (2006; cf. Pérez Báez 2013b).

4. History of migration. The path of migration from San Lucas to Los Angeles was paved by the emigration in 1956 of three people from Tlacolula de Matamoros, the commercial center of the Tlacolula Valley where San Lucas is located, and on which San Lucas borders. Once settled, these early migrants assisted new migrants from other Tlacolula District communities including San Lucas Quiavini. The first man to migrate from San Lucas to Los Angeles did so at the end of 1968 (Lopez and Runsten 2004). Two years later, he assisted two brothers and a brother-in-law in emigrating. Lopez and Runsten (2004) report that by the mid-1970s, some eighty people from San Lucas were living in Los Angeles. The immigration flow increased steadily in the 1980s. Hardeman (1987) estimates that one-third of San Lucas men between the ages of fifteen and forty-five were living in California. Specifically, one in three families with a son aged fifteen to forty-five participated in the migration flow; two in three families with two or more sons in the same age range were engaged in migration; almost 100 percent of families with three or more sons had family members in the United States. In the late 1980s, a change in the demographics is noticeable as women began to participate in migration. Around this time, migration became large-scale. San Lucas records of financial contributions to the community between 1994 and 1997 indicate that around 60 percent of such contributions were sent from the United States by emigrant men (Lopez and Munro 1999). This translates into an estimated 90 percent of the San Lucas population having relatives in the United States. Lopez and Runsten (2004) estimate that over eight hundred people from San Lucas were in Los Angeles. Lopez (p.c. 2008) estimates that at least half the population of San Lucas lives in the Los Angeles area.

Beyond these estimates, there are no census data to quantify the rate of emigration and the size of the Los Angeles community. Data from Mexico's national census shows, however, that there has been a significant decline in population since the 1990s, and therefore a dramatic decline in the speaker base of SLQZ in San Lucas itself and especially in the number of children growing up as native Zapotec speakers. Table 1 shows a cumulative decline of 20 percent in the overall population in San Lucas in the period between 1990 and 2010, with the rate of decline between 2000 and 2005 being almost three times higher than the decline between 1990 and 1995. Among children, the decline since 1995 has been of close to 50 percent in the overall population under the age of ten.

Table 1. Decline in the Overall Population of San Lucas Quiavini

YEAR	POPULATION	DECLINE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR
1980	2,127	—
1990	2,156	—
1995	2,088	3.2%
2000	1,941	7.1%
2005	1,769	8.9%
2010	1,745	0.3%

SOURCES: INEGI (1980, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010).

5. Education and bilingualism among San Lucas Quiavini migrants. Over the forty-year history of emigration from San Lucas Quiavini to Los Angeles, the demographic make up of emigrants arriving in Los Angeles has changed. At the time San Lucas men began to migrate to Los Angeles, Zapotec monolingualism was at 38.5 percent (INEGI 1970). Such being the case, it can be estimated that one in every three San Lucas migrants in Los Angeles may have been a monolingual Zapotec speaker. Among the nineteen San Lucas immigrants interviewed in Los Angeles and their families, nine respondents stated that upon arrival in Los Angeles, they were either monolingual Zapotec speakers or spoke Zapotec primarily and had limited to no proficiency in Spanish. Example (1) is an interview excerpt related to the linguistic repertoire early immigrants had upon arrival to Los Angeles.

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

A: *Dizh sa.*

'Zapotec.'

Q: 'Did you speak Spanish?'

A: *Te bichizhyi.*

'Only a little bit.'

Table 2 provides a synopsis of the responses to the question presented in example (1). The table lists the languages reported by the respondents in the order they provided them. Respondents 1, 7, 8, and 14 indicated that they were monolingual Zapotec speakers at their time of arrival in Los Angeles. Even those who spoke some Spanish listed Zapotec first as the language of highest proficiency at the time of arrival in Los Angeles, with one exception: respondent 4, who is a native speaker of Mixe and learned SLQZ upon marrying a San Lucas resident. Respondents 1, 5, 6, 10, 17, and 18 provided self-assessments of their proficiency in Spanish as limited. Mention of this is included in parentheses in the table. SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism was reported by respondents 2, 3, 4, 9, 12, 16, and 19. No response was recorded for respondents 11, 13, and 15.

Availability of state-run education and school attendance increased in San Lucas gradually from the late 1970s when the *primaria* (elementary school), which provides six years of state-mandated elementary school, was established. Prior to this, a rural school existed, but with limited educational reach. Nowadays, in addition to the elementary school, there is also a *pre-escolar*, which comprises nursery, prekindergarten, and kindergarten and a *telesecundaria*, which provides three years of video-assisted schooling at the middle school level. School teachers have been mostly monolingual in Spanish, with the exception of some preschool teachers who have been speakers of Zapotec languages from the area that are intelligible to SLQZ speakers. In all cases, the medium of instruction is Spanish.

Table 2. Reported Self-Assessments of Language Proficiency upon Arrival in Los Angeles

RESPONDENT	RESPONSE
1	SLQZ (did not know enough Spanish)
2	SLQZ, Spanish
3	SLQZ, Spanish
4	Mixe, SLQZ, Spanish
5	SLQZ, Spanish (but primarily SLQ)
6	SLQZ (and some Spanish)
7	SLQZ
8	SLQZ
9	SLQZ, Spanish
10	SLQZ (and some Spanish)
11	NA
12	SLQZ, Spanish
13	NA
14	SLQZ
15	NA
16	SLQZ, Spanish
17	SLQZ (and some Spanish)
18	SLQZ (and some Spanish)
19	SLQZ, Spanish

As shown in table 3, since the availability of primary education in Spanish in San Lucas, the rate of Zapotec-Spanish bilingualism in the population five years and older has doubled from 41.6 percent to 82.5 percent, while the rate of SLQZ monolinguals has gone from 57.4 percent to 14.9 percent. I extrapolate from these figures to extract the language abilities of immigrants to Los Angeles over time. By 1995, the pool of emigrant candidates was primarily comprised of Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals. As documented in the 2000 census, the bilingual population is concentrated among those who had access to Spanish-only schooling over the last thirty years, that is, in the population ages nine to thirty. In older age groups, bilingualism decreases and the largest number of monolinguals, as is generally the case, is found among the older population.

Table 3. Bilingualism in the Population Five Years and Older in San Lucas Quiavini

YEAR	TOTAL	POPULATION	SLQZ MONOLINGUALS		SLQZ-SPANISH BILINGUALS	
	POPULATION	5 YEARS AND OLDER	5 YEARS AND OLDER	5 YEARS AND OLDER	5 YEARS AND OLDER	5 YEARS AND OLDER
1970	1,188	988	567	57.4%	411	41.6%
1980	1,911	1,867	795	42.6%	1,042	55.8%
1990	2,156	1,933	387	20.0%	1,450	75.0%
2000	1,941	1,717	373	21.8%	1,297	75.5%
2010	1,745	1,637	333	20.3%	1,259	76.9%

SOURCES: INEGI (1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010).

Table 4 shows bilingualism rates by age groups; the percentages that these age groups represent are shown in graph format in figure 1.

Table 4. SLQZ-Spanish Bilingualism Rates in San Lucas Quiavini

AGE GROUP SPEAKERS	TOTAL SLQZ BILINGUALS	SLQZ-SPANISH	PERCENTAGE
5 to 9	223	135	60.5%
10 to 14	224	218	97.3%
15 to 19	187	179	95.7%
20 to 24	120	114	95.0%
25 to 29	131	115	87.7%
30 to 34	109	99	90.8%
35 to 39	111	81	72.9%
40 to 44	105	85	80.9%
45 to 49	94	67	71.2%
50 and older	375	204	54.4%

Source: INEGI (2000).

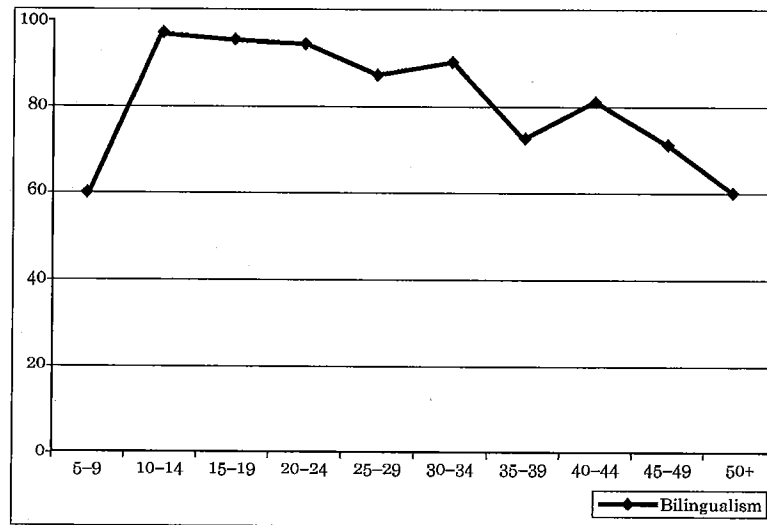


Figure 1. SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism rates in San Lucas Quiavini.

Table 5 below illustrates how the variables of schooling, age, and time of arrival in Los Angeles may have interacted among bilingual SLQZ-Spanish immigrants in Los Angeles. As mentioned earlier in this section, SLQZ-Spanish bilingualism was reported by respondents 2, 3, 4, 9, 12, 16, and 19. Additional details are provided for these respondents in table 5. Respondents 2, 9, and 19 specifically stated in their interview that they learned Spanish in elementary school in San Lucas. Most respondents in table 5 migrated after the year 2000.

Given their ages as listed in table 5, it is clear that most of these respondents grew up in San Lucas at a time when education in San Lucas was available, was mandatory, and was imparted in Spanish only. Respondent 4 is somewhat of an exception, as she learned Spanish in Tlacolula de Matamoros prior to moving to San Lucas. So, too, is respondent 12, who, prior to migrating to Los Angeles, had emigrated to Mexico City where the respondent learned Spanish.

Table 5. Bilingualism and Age at Time of Arrival in Los Angeles

RESPONDENT ARRIVAL	YEAR OF ARRIVAL	AGE AT AT ARRIVAL	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
2	2004	20s	SLQZ, Spanish
3	1998 [†]	20s	SLQZ, Spanish
4	2005	20s	Mixe, SLQZ, Spanish
9	2005	20	SLQZ, Spanish
12	1977	12	SLQZ, Spanish
16	2007	40s	SLQZ, Spanish
19	2002	17	SLQZ, Spanish

[†] = estimated.

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

In the 1970s, the community of San Lucas migrants consisted of a few dozen men who were to coexist with and even become a part of the larger community of immigrants from Mexico and other primarily Spanish-speaking countries. According to the Los Angeles Department of City Planning, in 1970, the city of Los Angeles had a total population of 2,811,801, of which 519,842, or 18.5 percent, were categorized as Hispanic-Latino. It should be noted that prior to 1980, the category Hispanic-Latino was not defined by language use, but by whether a respondent had a "Spanish surname." Thus, this 18.5 percent is not strictly equivalent to a population of Spanish speakers. Yet, if we consider that this population was likely to be undercounted due to mistrust of census workers by undocumented residents and to other common problems in census counts, it is reasonable to estimate that in at least 10 percent of the population of Los Angeles and potentially in as much as 20 percent of the population, Spanish was part of the makeup of households either as a language of active use or as a heritage language. Thus, there was a sizeable community of Spanish speakers in Los Angeles and it is within this community that the early immigrants from San Lucas settled.

Respondents who arrived in Los Angeles in the 1970s and 1980s report that initial employment opportunities emerged through relationships with Spanish-speaking immigrants from Tlacolula de Matamoros. Recall that migration from San Lucas followed the path established by migrants from Tlacolula (see section 4). As the San Lucas community grew in Los Angeles, employment opportunities for men were largely sought in restaurants staffed primarily with Mexicans from a variety of backgrounds, including Spanish-speaking monolinguals as well as speakers of other Mexican indigenous languages who would resort to Spanish as a *lingua franca*. San Lucas immigrants recognize the large numbers of Spanish speakers living in Los Angeles and explain that their presence entails a need to be proficient in Spanish in order to interact adequately within the host community. Children of SLQZ-speaking parents, whether raised with SLQZ or Spanish in the home, were considered by the school system to be speakers of languages other than English and channeled into programs for Limited English Proficient children within the public school system. Given their country of origin, these children were assigned to Spanish-based programs. Consequently, Spanish was perceived by parents as the means for their non-English-speaking children to succeed in the school system. Crucially, there is a culturally recognized relation between a child's place of birth and the child's first language. In San Lucas, the concept of language endangerment is largely unrecognized because it is assumed that children "are born" speaking SLQZ (Pérez Báez 2013a). In other words, it is assumed that the fact that a child is born in San Lucas ensures or entails that the child is a native speaker of SLQZ. The correlate of this in Los Angeles is that the first language of Los Angeles-born children is Spanish.

Given the relevance of Spanish in daily life in Los Angeles, immigrants saw a need to be proficient in it, as illustrated by the comments in (2) and (3). The perception that Spanish is essential in Los Angeles is confirmed by the fact that seventeen of the nineteen participants in my survey who commented on the issue (two respondents did not do so) stated that knowledge of Spanish is an absolute necessity in Los Angeles. Only one respondent explicitly stated that English proficiency is a necessity in Los Angeles and only seven participants even mentioned English as a language of relevance in Los Angeles.

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

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

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

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

6.1. Prescribed language shift. Given the conditions outlined above, San Lucas immigrants who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s sought to acquire Spanish or improve their Spanish competence by incorporating Spanish into as many domains as possible in order to become active bilinguals by immersion. Established migrants would shift to Spanish in interaction with newcomers to provide them with Spanish immersion. In doing so, Spanish was quickly introduced into the home and family domains and language shift is reported to have occurred even among close relatives such as siblings, spouses or a parent and a child. Respondents 1, 7, 14, 17, and 18 specifically reported having learned Spanish in Los Angeles. Table 6 provides a snapshot of the particulars of these and other respondents who did not consider themselves proficient speakers of Spanish at the time of their arrival in Los Angeles. As is shown, most of the respondents in table 6 arrived in Los Angeles before the year 2000 at an age when in San Lucas, mandatory Spanish-only education was not as widely attended as in later years.

Table 6. Profile of Immigrants Not Proficient in Spanish at Time of Arrival in Los Angeles as per Self-Assessments

RESPONDENT	YEAR OF ARRIVAL	AGE AT ARRIVAL	LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT ARRIVAL
1	1989	18	SLQZ (did not know enough Spanish)
5	1997	20s	SLQZ, Spanish (but primarily SLQ)
6	1989	NA	SLQZ (and some Spanish)
7	1992	teens	SLQZ
8	NA	NA	SLQZ
10	2004	NA	SLQZ (and some Spanish)
14	1988	5	SLQZ
17	1982	teens	SLQZ (and some Spanish)
18	1990	NA	SLQZ (and some Spanish)

To the point at hand, respondent 1 reports having lived with her sister upon arrival and having learned Spanish through interaction at home with her nephews, as she states in (4). Respondent 7 specifically indicates that because she did not attend school prior to arriving in Los Angeles, she only learned Spanish in Los Angeles, primarily through her interaction at home with her sister-in-law, as she reports in (5).

- (4) *Cuando yo llegué no entendía muy bien español ni hablar, pues acá aprendí más español, sí, sobre todo en el trabajo. Porque cuando llegué acá, mi hermana sabe que yo no sé muy bien español y hablaba puro zapoteco, y ya mis sobrinos . . . que ya están grandecitos me hablaban en puro español ahí me ayudaron a mí también.*

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

- (5) Q: 'What languages did you speak when you arrived in Los Angeles?'

A: *Laag Dizhsa.*

'Same, Zapotec.'

Q: 'Did you learn Spanish here in Los Angeles?'

A: A.

'Yes.'

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

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

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

Respondent 18 also reports having learned Spanish in Los Angeles, at home, with her brothers. Her experience is described in detail here as it is quite revealing of the family language policy in question. Respondent 18 and her younger brother arrived in Los Angeles in 1990 after their father and all her older brothers were already settled in Los Angeles. She reports that she had no confidence in her Spanish skills upon arrival in Los Angeles and that she had much trouble understanding Spanish both in school and in her interaction with Spanish-speaking classmates. When she arrived in Los Angeles, her brothers insisted on speaking to her in Spanish to help her improve her skills. The same strategy was implemented in the younger brother's case. For respondent 18, the shift was temporary, reportedly because her lack of confidence made her resist the shift to Spanish at home. As a result, she maintained Zapotec in her interaction with her brothers and at present speaks to all of them in Zapotec. Yet, she considers that her older brothers were her primary Spanish language teachers, as they often corrected her mistakes and encouraged her to speak the language. Her younger brother, however, followed his brothers' lead and to this day interacts with all of them in Spanish. An excerpt from the interview with respondent 18 is provided in (6).

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

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

This prescribed language shift trend among close immigrant adult relatives was prevalent in the first twenty years or so of the San Lucas migration history. Among the people I interviewed, cases of language shift among adults as a means to assist a newcomer to adapt to local language practices were reported by four respondents, including respondent 18. All but one of these cases involved families with more than nineteen years in Los Angeles and belonging to the group of individuals likely to have emigrated with less Spanish schooling and less confidence in their Spanish skills.

As time progressed, San Lucas migrants arriving in Los Angeles were increasingly bilingual. As shown in section 5, among respondents in the interviews, six reported having Zapotec-Spanish bilingual skills by the time they arrived in Los Angeles. With one exception, these respondents arrived after 1998 and belonged to the group of individuals growing up in San Lucas with greater exposure to Spanish education. As immigrants were increasingly confident Zapotec-Spanish bilinguals prior to their arrival in Los Angeles, it became less and less necessary for established immigrant relatives to prescribe language shift to newcomers. As a result, the domain of adult communication in the home reverted to being for the most part a domain of SLQZ use. In the population sample, fifteen respondents residing in Los Angeles reported using Zapotec with other San Lucas adults in the home, such as a spouse, a sibling, or a child, as illustrated in (7) and (8). In an interesting roundabout way, the presence of a Spanish-only educational system in San Lucas Quiavini has enabled speakers of Zapotec living in Los Angeles to reclaim the domain of adult interaction in the home for their native language.

(7) Q: 'Here at home, with your husband, what language do you speak?'

A: *Nazh Dizhsa rweën.*

'We speak only Zapotec.'

(8) Q: 'On any given day, what language do you speak with your husband?'

A: *Dizhsa.*

'Zapotec.'

7. Discussion and conclusions. To summarize, this article has described a situation in which migration, language endangerment, and education interact with an unexpected result: compulsory Spanish-only education in the home community has facilitated language shift reversal among immigrant adults living in the Los Angeles, California area, thereby reopening a domain of use for their native Zapotec language in the diaspora. This case study makes an important contribution to various lines of research, including such domains as migration

and education as well as language policy as it relates to the problem of endangered languages.

Before elaborating on this last point, a word of caution is in order. On the surface, the case of San Lucas Quiavini migrants could be interpreted as contradicting the relevance of the use of mother tongues as media of instruction in language endangerment contexts, given that it describes a situation in which education that uses a majority language as medium of instruction facilitated language shift reversal in the diaspora context, in favor of an endangered minority language. I caution readers not to derive such a conclusion from the study presented here for two reasons. First, it is crucial to remember that Spanish education in San Lucas Quiavini has led to a significant increase in bilingualism rates. The effects of the dominance of the national language in San Lucas schooling are already noticeable. For instance, children in elementary school can no longer count in the native base-twenty numeral system and rely on the base-ten Spanish system. More importantly, the ultimate consequences of the rapid increase in bilingualism rates on language vitality in San Lucas are still unknown but are unlikely to be in support of the local language. Second, the language shift reversal facilitated by Spanish language instruction has occurred in a very limited domain among adult migrants and is unlikely to have a positive effect on the vitality and maintenance prospects of San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec. In Los Angeles, the use of SLQZ by adults is not resulting in active use of the language among children (Pérez Báez 2013a, in press). Children of SLQZ-speaking parents generally grow up as Spanish-English bilinguals and when they visit San Lucas, they become powerful agents of shift away from SLQZ and in favor of Spanish. Neither of these two trends is likely to change as a result of the language shift reversal among SLQZ-speaking adults in Los Angeles.

The relevance of this case study is twofold. First, this case study highlights the relevance of the educational background of immigrants in their home community and prior to migration. Literature on education as it relates to immigrants is copious to say the least, too copious indeed for a proper literature survey to be done within a paragraph or two. However, we can point out that works on this subject generally center on the social, political, economic, and cultural context in which immigrants engage in education in the home community, their needs in relation to educational practices in the host community, the institutional responses to such needs, expectations and deviations from such expectations in relation to immigrants' academic performance, and the impact of all these factors on the social integration or marginalization, as the case may be, of immigrants in the host community. For instance, Cortina, in presenting a statistical analysis of the educational background of Mexican youth who enter high school upon emigration to the United States, and specifically to New York City, advocates a careful analysis of the middle school experience of these students in their communities of origin as it impacts the immigrant students' "successful integration into American society" (2009:113). Velasco (2010) investigates the

educational background of Mixteco students in the New York City school system, focusing on the discrepancy between literacy attainment in the home community and the emphasis on literacy in the U.S. educational system. In response, Velasco proposes mediation as a crucial practice to assist students in negotiating the transition into a literacy-heavy U.S. curriculum.

The case study presented here, however, focuses on the mechanics through which the educational experience of an immigrant shapes an individual's relationship with members of the social network from their own home community in the diaspora. As mandatory Spanish-only education became more widely accessible in San Lucas, individuals engaging in migration increasingly did so as SLQZ-Spanish bilinguals. This resulted in what could be characterized as stable bilingualism among adult San Lucas migrants in Los Angeles. This form of bilingualism could be described as one in which individuals were equipped with a language of instrumental value for the purposes of sustaining second-order relations with members of the extended community of immigrants in Los Angeles of Hispanic origin. First-order relations within the family and more broadly within the community of San Lucas migrants continued to be sustained through the use of Zapotec as they are in San Lucas.

As a second contribution, and on the basis of the scenario described, this article joins contemporary efforts to advocate schooling that fosters dynamic bilingualism as described by Bartlett and García (2011), or plurilingualism as described in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (Council of Europe n.d.). The San Lucas Quiavini case described in this article shows the benefit derived from bilingual majority-minority language competence in terms of maintenance of the minority language, albeit in a restricted context. The education model in which the majority language was acquired by the relevant San Lucas residents could be characterized as an additive model of bilingual education where Spanish is to be added to the students' linguistic repertoire. However, considering the language shift trends in the Central Valleys of Oaxaca where San Lucas Quiavini is located, and more broadly in Mexico, the model in which San Lucas Quiavini children are schooled is subtractive in that Spanish is the only language of instruction, local knowledge systems such as the base-twenty Zapotec counting system are all but ignored, and the local Zapotec language has only an emerging presence in the curriculum (Pérez Báez 2012). In a plurilingual model, schooling would focus on the development of students as social agents with linguistic and cultural competence in more than one language, the goal being the development of individuals and their communities as agents able to maintain a local language, culture and knowledge system, all the while developing the competence needed to participate in broader national and international contexts in line with contemporary global interaction.

This last point is not trivial, nor is it gratuitous. In the 2000 United States census, close to half a million individuals self-identified as Hispanic American

Indians—individuals from indigenous communities in countries where Spanish is a national language (Huizar Murillo and Cerda 2004). The primary countries of origin for this population were Guatemala and Mexico, and the ethnic groups most largely identified were Mayan, Mixtec, Triqui, P'urépecha, and Zapotec ethnic groups. The languages spoken by these individuals are indigenous languages that predate Spanish colonization, and while a few have speaker bases in the tens of thousands of individuals, language shift is rampant, making all of these languages at risk or definitely endangered. Pérez Báez (in press) shows how an immigrant community can put its language at risk in the community of origin. Therefore, the ability of speakers of these languages to maintain them in diaspora is crucial to the survival prospects of many indigenous languages of the Americas. This article thus advocates plurilingual educational policies as a means of supporting linguistic diversity in the Americas.

Appendix: Interview Schedule

[Questions were asked either in Zapotec or Spanish, based on participant preference, and are presented here in their English translation. Some comments and remarks about interview procedures are added in square brackets below.]

1. Nuclear family

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

2. Language use in the nuclear family

- a. What languages do you speak?
- b. How did you learn each language?
- c. What language do you speak with your husband/wife?
- d. Why do you choose to speak that language?
- e. What language do you speak with your children?
- f. Why do you choose to speak that language?
- g. What language does your husband/wife speak with your children?
- h. Why does s/he choose to speak that language?

3. Children's language socialization

[Some improvisation was necessary here, based on the respondent's input, and in order to obtain as much data as possible related to beliefs regarding child language acquisition and language attitudes among parents.]

- a. What languages are important for people in San Lucas to speak?
- b. What is each language necessary for?
- c. How do children learn Zapotec in San Lucas?
- d. How do children learn Spanish in San Lucas?

[At this point in the interview I engaged in a discussion with the respondent about Spanish-only education, including the issue of monolingual Spanish speaking teachers vs. speakers of other indigenous languages vs. teachers from within the community.]

- e. Do you think children should learn English in San Lucas?

4. Migration

- a. If yes, when and for how long?
- b. If yes, who did you live with?
- c. Has your husband/wife lived in Los Angeles?
- d. If yes, when and for how long?
- e. If yes, who did s/he live with?
- f. Have your children lived in Los Angeles?
- g. If yes, when and for how long?
- h. If yes, who did they live with?
- i. Do you have other relatives living in Los Angeles?
- j. Without mentioning their names (e.g., using kinship terms), could you tell me who they are?
- k. How long has each of your relatives lived in Los Angeles?
- l. Without mentioning names (e.g., using kinship terms), could you tell me who your relatives live with at home?
- m. Without mentioning names (e.g., using kinship terms), could you tell me how long each person has lived in Los Angeles?

5. Language socialization in the immigrants' setting

- a. What language or languages do you think your relatives' children in Los Angeles should be learning?
- b. Why?
- c. Do you think they should learn Zapotec?
- d. How would children learn Zapotec if they live in Los Angeles?
- e. What would knowing Zapotec do for children who live in Los Angeles?
- f. What would happen if children in Los Angeles did not learn English?
- g. Should the school be the one to teach children English, or do parents need to teach their children also?
- h. Do you think children in Los Angeles should learn Spanish?
- i. What would knowing Spanish do for children who live in Los Angeles?
- j. Who should teach children Spanish?
- k. What do you think Americans think of those who speak Spanish?
- l. What do you think Americans would think if they hear someone speak Zapotec?
- m. What do you think Mexicans in Los Angeles think of those who speak English?
- n. What do you think Mexicans in Los Angeles think of those who speak Zapotec?

6. Shuttle migration

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

- a. Has the participant traveled back and forth between San Lucas and Los Angeles?
- b. Have any of the relatives mentioned above traveled back and forth between San Lucas and Los Angeles?
- c. What have the languages in use been when returning to San Lucas?
- d. What have the languages in use been when returning to Los Angeles?
- e. Pay special attention to the question of languages spoken to children by parents and by other relatives.

- f. Pay special attention to the question of language(s) spoken between children and older relatives, and any issues of communication breakdown as a result.
- g. Pay special attention to the question of language spoken among the children themselves.
- h. Pay special attention to the relationship between language and the school setting as it affects children.
- i. Inquire about the socialization of children in either setting, i.e., who were their friends? Did they have child relatives? What languages did they use in their interaction?

7. Hypothetical scenario of language socialization

[This block of questions is intended to discuss further the issue of language socialization in a context outside the respondent's own family.]

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

8. Language endangerment

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

[This section needed to be improvised to prompt the participant to communicate his or her beliefs about language endangerment and its relation to migration.]

Notes

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Transcription. The orthography used in SLQZ examples follows Munro, Lillehaugen, and Lopez (2007), with some minor divergences vetted by Lopez (p.c. 2008–2009). This

proposed orthographic system does not mark tone, stress, or vowel phonation. Greater detail as to the phonology of the language, pronunciation, and the rationale for the proposed orthography is provided in the pronunciation guides included in the aforementioned source and in Munro and Lopez's dictionary (1999).

1. See Kaufman (1987–89) for discussion of the phonological properties of Zapotec languages. Munro and López (1999) and, more recently, Chávez Peón (2010) provide indepth detail on the phonology of SLQZ. Munro and López (2003) provide a comparative overview of the properties of three Tlacolula Valley Zapotec languages, San Juan Guelavía, Tlacolula de Matamoros, and San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec. Arellanes (2003) provides a detailed analysis of the phonetics and phonology of San Pablo Güilá Zapotec.

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