

By Speaking, Your Being

Language practices, in particular code-switching, of bilingual Mayas regarding power and identity construction in Sololá, Guatemala.



Sololá

Claudia de Jong & Indy Joosten

By Speaking, Your Being

Language practices, in particular code-switching, of bilingual Mayas regarding power and identity construction in Sololá, Guatemala.

Student Claudia de Jong
Student Number 6256635
E-mail c.e.dejong3@students.uu.nl

Student Indy Joosten
Student Number 6256775
E-mail i.f.m.joosten@students.uu.nl

Supervisor Gijs Cremers

Date 26-06-2020

Wordcount 21593 words



Universiteit Utrecht

Hablo

*Hablo
para taparle
la boca*

al silencio.

Humberto Ak'abal (2004)¹

¹ Humberto Ak'abal is a famous Guatemala K'iche Mayan writer, poet and singer
<http://lavozdexela.com/noticias/10-poemas-para-recordar-a-humberto-akabal/>.

Content

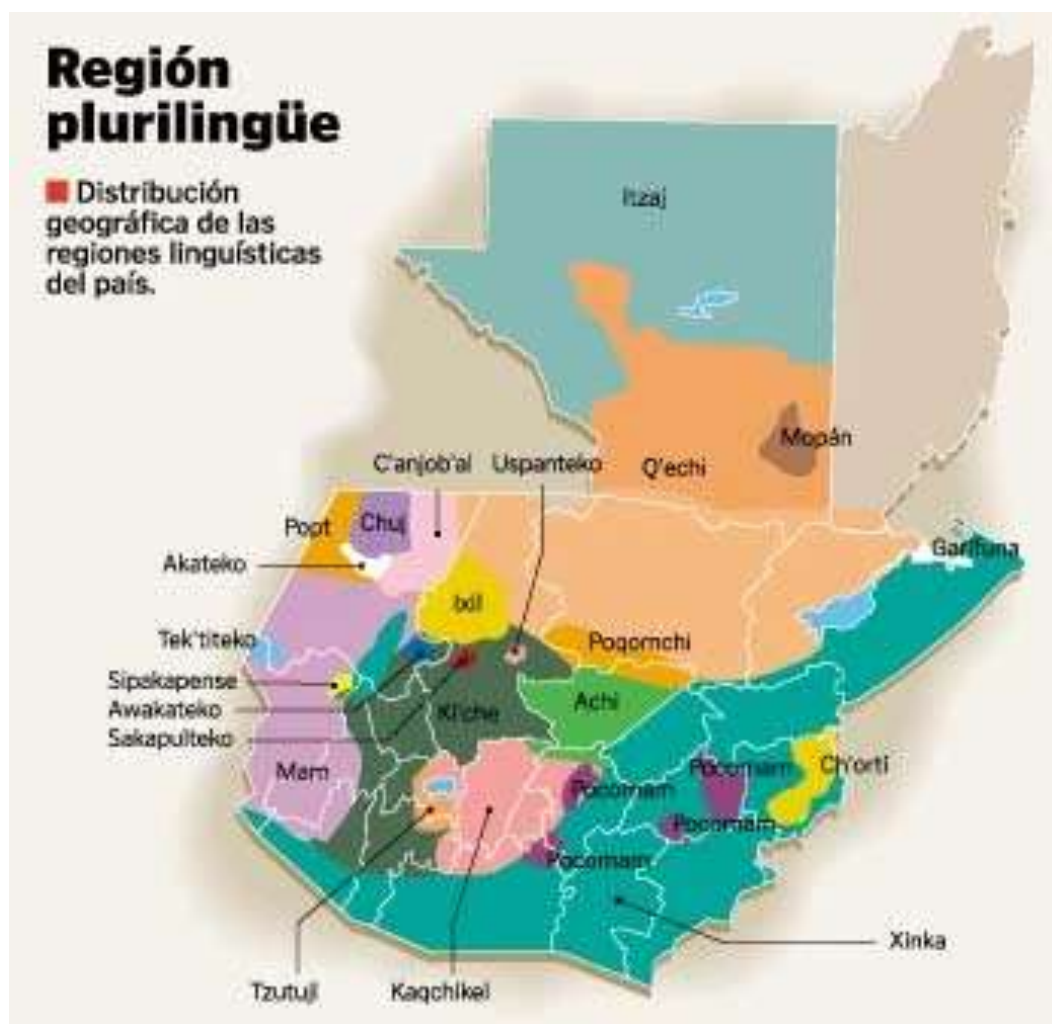
Maps	8
Multilingual Region	8
Mayan Language in Guatemala	8
Maps of the department of Sololá	10
Acknowledgements	10
Introduction.....	12
Outline.....	16
Chapter 1 Theoretical Framework (Indy and Claudia).....	21
1.1 The Study of Language and Culture (Claudia).....	21
1.2 Language, Identity, Power.....	23
1.2.1 Identity (Claudia).....	23
1.2.2 Power and Marginalization (Claudia).....	24
1.3 Bilingualism and Code-switching (Claudia).....	25
1.3.1 Bilingualism and Resistance (Indy).....	27
1.3.2 Bilingualism in public and private sphere (Indy).....	28
Chapter 2 The Context of Guatemala (Indy).....	31
2.1 Contextualizing language and marginalization in Guatemala (Indy)	31
2.2 Bilingualism, Code-Switching and Identity in Guatemala (Indy).....	33
Chapter 3 Meaningful Languages (Claudia and Indy)	40
3.1 Importance of Spanish and Mayan languages (Claudia and Indy)	40
3.2 Power relations and indigenous identity in the public sphere (Claudia).....	44
3.3 Power relations and indigenous identity in the private sphere (Indy)	46

4. Powerful Interactions (Indy and Claudia).....	53
4.1 Code-mixing public and private sphere (Claudia and Indy).....	54
4.2 Code-switching in the public and private sphere (Claudia and Indy).....	55
4.3 Negotiation indigenous identity.....	60
4.3.1 Negotiation indigenous identity in the public sphere (Claudia).....	60
4.3.2 Negotiation indigenous identity in the private sphere (Indy).....	62
4.4 Negotiation of power relations	63
4.4.1 Negotiation of power relation through in the public sphere (Claudia).....	63
4.4.2 Negotiation of power relations in the private sphere (Indy)	66
5. Conclusion	70
Generalizability and recommendations.....	74
6. Bibliography.....	77
7. Attachments.....	83
7.1 Personal Reflection Claudia	83
7.2 Personal Reflection Indy	86
7.3 Summary in Spanish	89

Maps

Multilingual Region

Geographical distribution of the linguistic regions of Guatemala²



² Reference: <https://erbell.wordpress.com/2010/03/17/>. Accessed on 06-26-2020.

Mayan Language in Guatemala³

MAYAN LANGUAGES

1. **Achi** (Baja Verapaz)
2. **Akatek** (Huehuetenango)
3. **Awaketek** (Huehuetenango)
4. **Ch'orti'** (Chiquimula and Zacapa)
5. **Chuj** (Huehuetenango)
6. **Itza** (Petén)
7. **Ixil** (Quiché)
8. **K'iche'** (Quetzaltenango, Quiché, Retalhuleu, Suchitépéquez, Sololá, and Totonicapán)
9. **Kaqchikel** (Baja Verapaz, Chimaltenango, Esquintla, Guatemala, Sololá, and Suchitépéquez)
10. **Mam** (Huehuetenango, Quetzaltenango, and San Marcos)
11. **Mopán** (Petén)
12. **Jakaltek** (Huehuetenango)
13. **Poqomam** (Esquintla, Guatemala, and Jalapa)

14. **Poqom'chi** (Alta Verapaz and Baja Verapaz)
15. **Q'anjob'al** (Huehuetenango)
16. **Q'eqchi'** (Alta Verapaz, Izabal, Petén, and Quiché)
17. **Sakapultek** (Quiché)
18. **Sipakapa** (San Marcos)
19. **Tektitek** (Huehuetenango)
20. **Tz'utujil** (Sololá and Suchitépéquez)
21. **Uspanteko** (Quiché)

OTHER LANGUAGES

22. Garifuna
23. Xinca



³ This chart shows 23 Mayan languages. However, there are 24 Mayan languages, as is also mentioned in our thesis. Reference: <https://www.milmilagros.org/story/indigenous-languages-in-guatemala> Accessed on 06-26-2020.

Maps of the department of Sololá⁴



⁴ The blue star indicates the capital Sololá in the department of Sololá. Accessed via Google, 06-26-2020: <https://www.google.com/search?q=maps+department+of+solola&oq=maps+department+of+solola&aqs=cchrome..69i57j69i64.5375j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>.

Acknowledgements

From February 23 until May 3 of 2020, we have conducted our qualitative research in Sololá, Guatemala as well as in the Netherlands. Doing fieldwork and writing our thesis has marked a very valuable period within our Bachelor of Cultural Anthropology and Liberal Arts and Sciences⁵ at the University of Utrecht. Firstly, we would like to express our gratitude to everyone we have met and supported us during our research period. We want to thank all participants that shared their personal stories with us. Their friendly, open, and warm attitude helped us enormously to write this thesis. Secondly, we would like to thank the people at the market; *Mercado Centro Comercial Municipio* in the city of Sololá, for being open for a conversation, especially Valeria and Gabriella. It was Valeria who was willing to bring in her entire family for an interview. Also, Gabriella, who welcomed Claudia at her market stall and let her experience a day at her work. Moreover, we want to thank our host-family, especially Amanda and her daughter Camila, for taking care of us in the best way possible, letting us be part of their family and willingness to contribute in our thesis, at all times. Furthermore, Karina and her family have been important to us as they have let us into her home, sharing parts of their daily lives with us. Thanks, Karina, for your dedication to keep on speaking in Kaqchikel to us, hoping we would learn the language this way. It was fun and we appreciated your efforts even though we doubt the level of success. Lastly, what is an apprentice without a good teacher with expertise? We would like to thank our supervisor Gijs Cremers for his accurate feedback, patience, and enthusiastic guidance during the process. Even when we were sometimes fed up with the research, he continued to be as enthusiastic as always about our topic. Thanks for showing the fun of being an anthropologist.

⁵ Claudia studies Liberal Arts and Sciences with a Cultural Anthropology mayor.

Introduction

Guatemala has a long and ongoing history of political and socio-economic domination of indigenous Mayan people, who make up 40 percent of the population of Guatemala (French 2010; Ramirez-Zea et. al 2014; Peckham 2012). First, in the colonial period and later by Guatemala non-indigenous state leaders (French 2010). Hereby, racial prejudices have been circulated to legitimize this domination (French 2010). These prejudices include ideologies of seeing Mayas as an uneducated and poor group that has stood in the way of national progress and unity (French 2010). This socio-economic domination is pointed out by a pre-mayoral candidate in his speech, where he is addressing the Guatemalan National Congress in 1975 in both Spanish and K'iche, one of the twenty-two Mayan languages spoken in Guatemala (French 2010; Peckham 2012).

[...]
Este momento es historico porque
nuevamente *chanim kaqab'an* seguir,
kaqabanok que *qatat y qanan xbanok*
[...]
qech k'o meb'aa'.
qech k'oli na taj escuela
k'oli na taj identidad.
Lo más importante es que
kaqab'an seguir
(Peckham 2012, 41)

[...]
This moment is historic because
right now we are going to newly continue,
we are doing what our ancestors did.
[...]
we are poor,
we don't have schools,
((we)) *don't have* our identity.
The most important thing is that
we continue

This speech demonstrates that indigenous Mayans have been socio-racially limited in two ways. First, the candidate refers to this disposition by saying: “we are poor, we don’t have schools, we don’t have our identity,” with which he refers to indigenous Mayans. Second, the speaker chose to speak both Spanish and the Mayan language K'iche, yet he was immediately called to order for not addressing the crowd in Spanish only, which is Guatemala’s official language (Peckham 2012; Vanthuyne 2009). The inappropriateness of speaking a Mayan language publicly, also indicates the socio-racial disposition of Mayas. Hereby, language has served as a powerful symbolic means of discrimination against and to exercise control over Mayas (French 2010). Language can be a strong

ethnic identity marker that can be used to differentiate groups and, in this case, marginalize indigenous people (Barrett 2008; Choi 2002; Escobar 2012; May 2000).

Where language can be a strong ethnic identity marker to marginalize, the pre-mayoral candidate also shows that he can strategically perform multiple identities and emphasize the notion of community (Peckham 2012). Namely, the speaker stresses the words “we” by speaking in K’iche, which stresses the notion that although he is talking about Guatemala as a state, he is also discussing a smaller group of Mayas (Choi 2003, 131 in Peckham 2012, 42). The speaker can do this because he, like many other Mayas in Guatemala, is bilingual. This is due to the long imposed linguistic assimilation, where many Mayas had to learn Spanish, yet maintained their Mayan languages as well (Escobar 2012; Peckham 2012). In this, bilingualism can be defined as ‘near-native’[sic] control of two languages (Bloomfield 1933 in Hoffman 1991, 21). In Guatemala, this refers to speaking Spanish and a Mayan language. The switching between and within languages that is noticeable in the speech above is called code-switching (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). It is interesting to look at bilingualism regarding power relations because it challenges the idea of the state as a homogenous space in which a unity of one language and ethnicity is present (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Hereby, we see that language or word choice can embody meanings even when they are not directly spoken. In this way, language can be used to negotiate identities and power relations.

This negotiation has resulted that today, indigenous people have begun making progress in all contexts, whereby for example Mayan languages are nowadays more appropriate and common in both formal and informal domains (Peckham 2012, 4; Tummons et al. 2012). For instance, contrary to what the candidate mentioned above: “we don’t have schools”, more Mayas have now access to education compared to the past. Furthermore, the language law set in 2003, which grants co-official status with Spanish for each Mayan language in Guatemala (Ley de Idiomas 2003), has helped making efforts to challenge existing racist ideologies and giving importance to Mayan languages by demonstrating the utility of Mayan languages across all social context (Tummons et al. 2012; French 2010; Barrett 2016). However, indigenous people in Guatemala remain disadvantaged and discrimination is still present in people’s everyday lives (Tummons et al. 2012).

As we look at language practices of the speaker addressed above and the way power relations and indigenous identity can be negotiated, it raises a few questions about bilinguals regarding power relations and indigenous identity. If it seems that bilinguals can negotiate power

relations by switching codes, how do they then perceive power relations? Furthermore, the speech mentioned is given on a formal national occasion. However, we wondered how negotiation of power relations through language manifests itself in daily life interaction in the public and private sphere. And what influence does bilingualism have on indigenous identification? Through the focus on bilingualism regarding power relations and indigenous identity, we aim to give insights in language practices, in particular code-switching, of bilingual Mayas in the public and private sphere. We do this to better understand the essential role language plays regarding power relations and indigenous identity in people's daily lives. Our research topics thus illuminate the role of language regarding indigenous identity construction and power relations. The subfield of linguistic anthropology is particularly apt for it as it studies the role language plays within social contexts and interactions. Its concern with language practices and language ideologies can therefore shed light on the use of language as both a conscious and an unconscious way of negotiating on one's own or others' identity (Peckham 2012).

More understanding of this topic is necessary because little attention has been paid to language practices of bilinguals in everyday life interactions, such as within a group and between and within the spheres (Choi 2014, 44). Code-switching, in particular, has not been of main interest of scholars (Choi 2014). The main interest of scholars regarding bilingualism, power and identity has been a quantitative approach (Choi 2014). Therefore, we will use a qualitative ethnographic approach to study this topic. This is necessary because, unlike quantitative approach, it gives insights into the reasons and deeper meanings behind language practices, such as code-switching regarding power relations and indigenous identity (Choi 2014). Furthermore, by examining this research topic with a bottom-up approach we illuminate language practices regarding power relations and indigenous identity experienced by bilingual Mayas. This can be useful to point out what the focus should be in for example language revitalization programs in Guatemala that try to challenge existing racist ideologies and decelerate a language shift away from Mayan languages (Choi 2002; Choi 2014). Although our research focuses on Guatemala, the overall processes regarding language practices can also be relevant for other contexts because bilingual language practices, power and indigenous identity are universal phenomena.

We will contribute to expanding the knowledge by answering our main question: *How do bilingual Mayas perceive and negotiate power relations and indigenous identity through the use*

*of and switching between Spanish and an indigenous language in the public and the private sphere in the department of Sololá, Guatemala?*⁶

We have answered our main question through a descriptive and explanatory approach by combining the methods participants observations, semi-structured interviews, photovoice and questionnaires. Hereby, we included bilingual men and women between 20 and 68 years old. Indy has conducted eleven in-depth semi-structured interviews and Claudia thirteen with bilingual Mayas. We both conducted the method of photovoice and literature study. Additionally, Indy has conducted two questionnaires. This approach and the combination of methods enhanced our research reliability and enabled us to get a deeper understanding of the experiences of participants and the meaning they give to language, identity and power relations in Sololá (DeWalt and DeWalt 2001, 128). Sololá characterizes itself on the one hand by its majority of Mayas making up the town's populations⁷. This proves to be relevant for the study of meaning giving to indigenous identity in the private sphere, as this sphere is referred to as the realm of family, home life, and personal identity (Crossman 2019; Madinapour 2003). On the other hand, Sololá is known for its big Friday market of which many indigenous people come to visit the town to trade⁸. It is in this public sphere in which free exchange of ideas between both indigenous as non-indigenous people can be examined (Crossman 2019; Madinapour 2003). We focus on these two spheres because both are important in everyday life, yet interactions between people and language use in both spheres are often significantly different (Crossman 2019; Madinapour 2003). People in the private sphere are familiar to one another, whereas it is in the public sphere that one encounters strangers. These different contacts and interactions in both spheres can reveal interesting insides regarding identity construction and power relations. Claudia has focused on the public sphere and Indy has focused on the private sphere. In this, we will complement each other by looking both at language to reveal issues of power and identity yet in different spheres in order to get a deeper holistic view (Oost and Markenhof 2006).

Nevertheless, we have bumped up against some ethical and methodology issues. First, being Dutch, white, and young female students had an influence on the way people interacted with

⁶ We have mainly focused on the city of Sololá. However, we have also conducted interviews with people in the department of Sololá and one in el Quiché'.

⁷ ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Solola-Guatemala> (Accessed on June 25, 2020)

⁸ ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA

us during our time in Sololá. For instance, people often kept on addressing us with *usted* (you, formal form), they expected us to have a lot of money and we were generally seen as tourists. Hence, people did not always treat us as equal and our reason for being in Sololá was not always clear for them. Second, due to the Coronavirus we had to conduct online research from the Netherlands in the second period, which had a huge impact on our research methods and findings. We have used alternative methods such as online interviews, questionnaires, and informal conversations via different media. We were not able to conduct participant observation anymore, to extend our network of people or to contact some participants. Taken all, our research is based on less data than planned and we might miss information, which impacts the quality of our research. In addition, Claudia's research focus has shifted from only the market to the public sphere in general as she could not contact participants at the market anymore. Also, due to poor internet connection with online interviews we had some difficulties hearing the participant well, which can have influenced the quality of the information received from the interviews. Lastly, as not harming participants is the primary priority of doing ethnographic research (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 221), our early return had the ethical consequence that we were not able to give something in return to participants who had helped us in our research. This could have been helping them with activities at home or at work.

Outline

In the upcoming chapters we will discuss bilingual language practices of bilingual Mayas regarding power relations and indigenous identity. In the first chapter, we will discuss academic theories by elaborating on the influence language and bilingualism have regarding culture, identity, power, and marginalization. We will then apply these theories and concepts in the context of Guatemala in the second chapter. Afterwards, we will connect the studied theories to our empirical findings in the third chapter, where we will discuss the overall perceptions of the importance of Spanish and Mayan languages and the meaning given to indigenous identity and power relations by bilingual Mayas. In the last chapter, we elaborate on code-switching practices in relation to the negotiation of indigenous identity and power relations. Finally, we recapitulate and integrate all the theoretical and empirical findings in the conclusion to come to an answer to

our research question. The critical evaluation of our findings and the theory brings us to relevant recommendations for further anthropological research.

Image in Kaqchikel



(Andrea, April 25, 2020. Translated by Valeria)

Person left: Take care.

Person right: I want to see you again.

Text below: stay at home

Chapter 1 Theoretical Framework

(Indy and Claudia)

In this theoretical framework we explicate how language plays an important role in the construction of power relations and indigenous identity in private and public realms. It is important to study this while it can shed light on the use of language as both a conscious and an unconscious way of expressing judgement, which can reveal interesting insights on the complexity of power relations and identity construction (Peckham 2012). We will first elaborate on the intertwinement between language and culture studied by the discipline linguistic anthropology. We will then look at the role language plays in identity construction and belonging to a social group based on language. As we will explain, language can then also be used as a powerful means to exercise power, which can lead to marginalization of certain groups. Thirdly, we will discuss bilingualism and code-switching. This is an interesting phenomenon in language studies, while it is rather dynamic and does not fit into straightforward categories (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Next, we will focus on bilingualism and resistance, where we will show that people are not passive actors but can resist dominant structures through language (Jonsson 2014). Last, we elaborate on how the public and private sphere influences the interactions of bilinguals.

1.1 The Study of Language and Culture

(Claudia)

Linguistic anthropology studies the role language has in the social lives of individuals and communities (Bonvillain 2015; Nordquist 2019). The discipline has developed itself from perceiving language and culture as belonging to the individual or the community, to seeing language as a social practice happening in interaction between people. Linguistic anthropology also focuses on the intertwinement between culture and languages in which language forms the primary entryway into culture (Bonvillain 2015, 5). That is to say that language not only organizes culture, but also depends on culture (Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 5).

Regarding language organizing culture, language is important for perceiving and classifying reality since language shapes how people classify and perceive the world (Jourdan and Tuite 2006; Duranti 2006). First, when it comes to perceiving, saying ‘I should do X’ instead of ‘I am

going to do X' creates a different way of being. In the latter, the world occurs for the speakers as getting in action while the first one is only a proclamation without a direct intended action (Hyde and Kopp 2019). Second, a language gives access to a certain way of looking at the world (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 60). This is because, meaning giving to classify reality happens from a different perspective in each language (Duranti 1991; Duranti 2006; Sapir 1958, Worf 1940). For instance, Inuktitut has three different words for snow (Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 60; Martin 1986). They make a distinction between falling snow, snow on the ground and drifting snow. Jourdan and Tuite (2006) point out that the presence of these words suggests that the Inuktitut speakers perceive three different 'things'. It thus depends upon the chief interest of speakers of a language if they distinguish a certain phenomenon in many aspects while for other languages a single term may suffice (Boas 1911, 25). Accordingly, certain fields of experiences are delimited in a language (Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 60). The words and grammar structures available in a language thus defines the values of a certain culture. Consequently, language determines thoughts, experiences, and actions of an individual, associated with these cultural values (Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 4-5). Therefore, language organizes culture and forms the primary entryway into culture (Bonvillain 2015, 5).

On the other hand, language depends on culture as it is only in interaction between people, using language, that cultural values, ideas and worldview are expressed and negotiated (Bonvillain 2015; Hyde and Kopp 2019, 4, Jackson 1999, 10). Particularly, culture provides for the creation of shared symbols and meanings that is understood by the entire social context (Ani 1994 in Jackson 1999, 10; Day translation, 2018). And as culture is expressed through language, a speech community, which is a group of people speaking the same language, is thus made up of all the messages understood by the entire context and exchanged using that given language. In other words, language represents and embodies shared cultural meanings and values in a society and creates a collective cultural identity (Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 160, Jackson 1999, 10). Language is thus a social phenomenon embedded in social interaction (Gumperz and Hymes in Bonvillain 2006, 4-5).

To put it briefly, the intertwinement between language and culture, studied by linguistic anthropology, has to do with the influence language has on an individual's perception of the world on the one hand, while on the other hand, cultural values are reflected and negotiated through the use of language. For this reason, language is infused with local, political, and social

meaning can play a role in establishing cultural beliefs, ideologies, social identity, and group membership. (Gal 1987, Woolard 1989 and Zentella 1997 in Bonvillain 2015, 6; Nordquist 2019).

1.2 Language, Identity, Power

1.2.1 Identity

(Claudia)

Identification takes place through the way an individual positions him or herself as well as the way an individual is positioned by others (Simmons and Chen 2014; Stamou 2018). The first deals with identity that is self-ascribed by the individual, while the latter refers to particular identity categories or ideological perspectives attributed to an individual to categorize him or her to a given group (Simmons and Chen, 2014). This identity construction is a constant, active cultural practice whereby people shape multiple identities (Stamou 2018). Namely, people identify with multiple groups and continually negotiate and change their identity in different social contexts (Jackson 1999, 18; Simmons and Chen, 2014). The negotiation of identity happens in interaction in which people reflect on, transmit and change their own values and beliefs with which they identify (Moss and Faux 2006, 22; Jackson 1999, 10). It is thus through the use of language that identity is constructed and negotiated (Essays 2018).

Taken this, people who speak the same language feel connected to one another as sets of values, traditions, practices, and knowledge are shared (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 60; Villegas-Torres and Mora-Pablo 2018). As a result, speaking the same language creates a sense of relationship and bond between individuals and enhances a sense of belonging to the same social group or society (Ka'ili and Ka'ili in Essays 2018; Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 9). Cultural heritage in a given group of people can then also be reminded and re-established through the use of language as a medium (Giles in Phinney et al. 2001). On the contrary, apart from a connection between people speaking the same language, individuals can also differentiate themselves from other speech communities through language (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 153-154). Hereby an individual develops a positive attitude towards one's own social group and speech community and a more negative one towards

other language groups (Duranti 1991; Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 153). This can be problematic when values are attached to belonging to another speech community, as we will see in the next part.

1.2.2 Power and Marginalization

(Claudia)

As language can play a role in the differentiation between groups, it can therefore also exclude people from a group and be used as a means to exercise power over different groups (Duranti 1991). This becomes clear when we look at nation-states. As Appadurai argues (2006, 4-5), a nation-state or an ethnic group strives for a culturally and linguistically homogeneous state, which in its extreme form can mean national or ethnic purity. In this idea, a minority group is always a constant reminder of incompleteness of this national purity and thus poses a threat for the dominant group (Appadurai 2006; May 2010, 370). Subsequently, the anxiety of incompleteness can translate into a lack of tolerance towards the minority group (Appadurai 2006, 45). The other group, or `them` is contrasted to one's own, or `better` identity with which members of the majority group are more familiar (Leacock 1977, 151-152). Through stereotyping and stigmatization, the differences between the majority and minority groups are reinforced even more. (Appadurai 2006, 49).

Language policy is a way to justify these forms of cultural assimilation of a nation-state (Ndhlovu 2018, 98). Hereby, one language is formally and officially recognized as the national language (May 2000, 366-371). It will for example be used in education and later comes to be accepted and used in a wider range of social and cultural contexts (May 2000, 366-371). The access to education, political power and general upward mobility thus depends on one's ability to speak the dominant language (Ndhlovu 2018, 99). As a consequence, the dominant language, or high-standard language, comes to be associated with educational achievement, modernity, and social and economic mobility. On the other hand, the minority language, or low-standard language, will decrease in function in the public sphere and will be spoken less (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 114; Duranti 2006, 15; Woolard 1985). It decreases in value and comes to be perceived as traditional (May 2000, 366-371; Jourdan and Tuite 2006; Nordquist 2019). Gradually, the worldview of the dominant group is accepted by minority groups as "common sense" and members thus incorporate the dominant standards (Duranti 2006; May 2000, 370). It involves decisions to

rearrange attitudes, values or even one's behavior, such as language use (Jackson 1999, 10-11). These rearrangements of values and coping strategies are based on one's understanding of what it means to be normal and are intended to increase identity fit (Deaux and Greenwood, 2013; Jackson 1999, 11; Turner-Zwinkels et al. 2015). To put it briefly, in this realm of a nation-state, the minority culture and language are then gradually and effectively banished and speakers of the minority language shift over time to speaking the majority language (May 2000). To sum up, language plays an important role in identifying with a group and therefore also in marking the difference between cultural groups. Negative attitudes towards other groups based on language and striving for cultural and linguistic uniformity can lead to marginalization and the diminishing of the minority culture and language.

1.3 Bilingualism and Code-switching

(Claudia)

Bilingualism refers to the coexistence of more than one language systems within an individual, as contrasted to monolingualism (Hakuta 2009). This could be seen as 'near-native [sic]' control of two or more languages (Bloomfield 1933 in Hoffman 1991, 21). However, since the input of the first and second language differs per situation and domain, most bilinguals are balanced bilinguals, which refers to individuals who are fully competent in both languages (Havelka and Gardner 1959; Hoffman 1991, 21). The focus here is not on the mastery of both languages, but rather on the communicative competence and fluency in the language (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 33-34). The first language is then the language in which a bilingual is most proficient, compared to the second language. An important language practice that comes with bilingualism is code-switching, defined as the switch between languages or within sentences during a conversation (Esen 2019; Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 156). It is a skilled communicative behavior that can be socially meaningful (Duranti 1991, 78). Switching to a code can for example express a certain nuanced attitude or emotion by choosing from a bigger pool of words (Esen 2019). Also, switching can express and establish solidarity with the other person of a particular group (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015; Esen 2019; Jourdan and Tuite 2006) In this case, a switch can include, but also exclude others from a conversation (Esen 2019). Esen (2019) gives the example of two

people starting a conversation in Spanish in an English-speaking place. On the one hand, people are excluded from the conversation when they cannot speak Spanish. On the other hand, a degree of comfort and intimacy is established between the Spanish-speakers as others cannot understand their conversation. Moreover, code-switching is a marker of the social identity that is associated with each language (Barret 2008, 284). Namely, each language reflects the particular cultural values, beliefs, and perceptions (Esen 2019). Thus, by the selection of a particular word or by switching an entire linguistic code in a specific context, identity is reflected and negotiated by individuals (Esen 2019; Stamou 2018). The language with which one identifies most, or we-code, is mostly associated with familiars and solidarity, while the language of the out-group they-code is associated with “the more formal and less personal relations” (Gumperz 1982, 66) Often, code-switching happens accidentally, but in many situations, bilinguals have agency in it. Agency is then defined as being conscious and reflexive about the switch and its consequences (Dietz and Burns 1992, 191; Esen 2019).

Factors that influence code-switching are the functionality of a language, familiarity with culture values and the status of and attitude towards a language and bilingualism (Hoffmann 1991; Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Firstly, switching between languages has to do with the functionality of speaking a language (Hoffmann 1991). The minority language often belongs to the private sphere while the dominant language is used in public situations, such as school or work (Hoffmann 1991, 29). A switch to a certain language has thus to do with the language most useful in a specific context (Hoffmann 1991)⁹. It ensures that people can understand one another and when it comes to the dominant language, a switch enables participation in society (Hoffmann 1991, 29). second, the familiarity with a culture is important in language use (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 37). As discussed, it is through language, associated with certain cultural values, that people identify with a group (Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 4). The more one is familiar with a cultural group and its values, the more one tends to use the other language (Duranti 2006: Schwarts and Unger 2010). Lastly, the status of and attitude towards a language and bilingualism determines where and when a language is used (Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 185-186). For example for Danes, bilingualism may be regarded as positive, especially if it involves languages as English, which is considered 'useful', while less admiration may be expressed about bilingualism of their Turkish migrant

⁹ Collinsdictionary.com, s.v. “functional”, accessed on June 23, 2020, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/functional>.

community (Hoffmann 1991, 5). On the one hand, a government can accept or even promote a minority language in a state (Hoffmann 1991). Such as in Spain, where the government has granted the right to use the regional language Catalan, Basque and Galician in administration and education (Hoffmann 1991). On the other hand, bilingualism works against or challenges a nation-state, when it is striving for a unity of language and ethnicity (Fasold 1984, 4; Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 10). In this case, the minority language will not be promoted or sometimes even prohibited.

1.3.1 Bilingualism and Resistance

(Indy)

We have seen in previous parts that language can be used as a means to exercise control, which in some extreme cases can lead to violence against and the marginalization of ethnic groups in a society. Hereby, bilinguals can conform to dominant standards by for example switching to the dominant language (Hoffmann 1991). However, people who are in a marginalized position can also use language as a means of resistance against the dominant standards (Jonsson 2014). Hereby resistance can be defined as the ways in which people are not mere respondents to the dictators of social structure and ideology, but rather are social actors who also exert force in opposition to the sites of oppression (Jonsson 2014, 123). In this we can see agency, because as we mentioned in the previous section, people are active actors who can create feelings of exercising power and control. As stated by Foucault (1978 in Jonsson 2014, 123) power and resistance often go hand in hand. Foucault's view of power acknowledges that power can exist in all social relations, that it operates through people in society and that can be negotiated in each relation and context (Jonsson 2014, 122; Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). In these power relationships, hegemony is never total and complete, which leaves room for agency and resistance (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005, 3). This view of power is useful regarding resistance because power is seen as fluid, dynamic and not as limited to for instance only the sovereignty of a state (Jonsson 2014). This leaves space for others to exercise power, in which beliefs can be created that realities can transform (Jonsson 2014; Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). Language practices such as code-switching can play a key role in resistance because language is both constitutive and expressive of relations of power and every individual has the ability to use their

linguistic capacities (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005, 2). In this, bilingual speakers can be conscious about their language use, and so code-switching can be seen as a conversational strategy used to resist dominant structures (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). This is because it can cross group boundaries by speaking the dominant and the minority language. Hereby, bilingual speakers may take up on multiple identities, that of both the minority and dominant group (Gal 1988, 247). Generally, resistance has as main concern maintaining identity and challenging the dominant standards (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). Yet, in what manner interactions, for example resistance, occur depends whether bilinguals act in the private or the public sphere, which we will discuss in the next section.

1.3.2 Bilingualism in public and private sphere

(Indy)

People move between different spheres such as the private and public sphere (Madanipour 2003). However, these spheres cannot be seen as separate because they have been key organizing principles shaping the physical space of the cities, the social life of their citizens and therefore interdependent (Madanipour 2003, 1). Behavior and interactions of bilinguals such as conforming to or resisting dominant standards through code-switching, in these spheres may depend on the circumstances in the spheres and the people present (Madanipour 2003). Namely interactions differ from whether people are on their own, with intimate friends and relatives or in the presence of strangers, where the first can be seen as strong ties and the latter as weak ties (Madanipour 2003, 1; Stuhlemer 2011). The strength of a tie is described by a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services which characterize a tie (Granovetter 1973 in Stuhlemer 2011).

First, the public sphere can be defined as the space that is controlled by the public authorities but is available and used or shared by all members of a community (Madanipour 2003, 118). Because of this, this sphere is often seen as the realm where face-to-face communication takes place mainly between so-called weak ties; people who are strangers or not part of the intimate circle of households (Madanipour 2003, 95; Stuhlemer 2011) Because people are generally in an open space and with strangers, bilinguals might have the feeling that they have to be more attentive with their interaction and thus may switch to the dominant language (Hoffmann 1991; Madanipour 2003). On the other hand, bilinguals can also openly reject hegemonic structures or

discourses (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005, 9). For example, by switching codes the minority language can be publicly displayed. Using a minority language in public spheres is often seen as against the dominant standards of monolingual ideologies (Androutsopoulos 2007). Going public with what is usually kept private often gives symbolic value to the hybrid communicative practices and helps to assert a public identity of the minority group (Androutsopoulos 2007, 216). In this, bilinguals can react on weak ties to exchange new languages, information, and ideas of challenging dominant standards and maintaining identities. This is because weak ties are people outside one's own group and thus creates a larger network to present ideas (Jonsson 2014; Stuhlemer 2011).

The private sphere is seen as the part of life that is under the control of the individual in a personal capacity, outside public observation and outside official or state control (Madanipour 2003, 3). Hereby, the private sphere is often a place of living such as the home, for a handful of familiar people in a close, intimate relationship and can thus be seen as strong ties (Madanipour 2003; Stuhlemer 2011). Because of this control outside public observation and intimate relationships, people usually feel comfortable and relaxed in the private sphere (Madanipour 2003). Unlike interactions with weak ties, interactions with strong ties mainly consist of sharing the same information, usually in the form of close socializing patterns (Granovetter 1982 in Stuhlemer 2011). These socializing patterns can have the effect of maintaining traditional norms and resisting change from outside (Milroy 1992 in Stuhlemer 2011). When for example the hegemonic context does not allow room for public resistance, bilinguals can use this uncontrolled sphere to negotiate with those in power in a more subtle form (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). For instance, a bilingual Cuban refugee in the United States mentioned in Perry and Purcell-Gates (2005, 11), forbade her children to mix Spanish with English to maintain both languages correctly. In this, she reacts on strong ties to maintain and transmit identity, respect and knowledge of family history and its language, and may resist ideas of assimilating to the dominant group (Androutsopoulos 2007; Dockery 2020; Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005, 11). To conclude, in this theoretical framework we have focused on language and culture and how language manifests itself regarding identity, power, marginalization and resistance. Cultural values and perceptions are not only determined by language, but also language is needed in order to negotiate these values (Duranti 1991; Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Language then influences identity construction as cultural values are shared between people of the same speech community,

which can generate positive feelings towards one's own group. However, language also contributes to reinforcing the differences between groups (Duranti 1991), whereby language and language policies implemented by the dominant group are used as a tool to exercise power on minority groups (Duranti 1991). In contrast to the dominant language, the value of minority culture and language diminished gradually and might rearrange their attitudes and perceptions to be able to participate in society and to ensure identity fit (Deaux and Greenwood, 2013; Jackson 1999, 11; Turner-Zwinkels et al. 2015). Regarding power relations and marginalization through language, bilingualism challenges the idea of a linguistically unified group. As bilinguals can switch between codes, they do not fit into straightforward linguistic groups. Code-switching can serve as a means to confirm to dominant standards but also to resist them and maintain one's identity (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005, 9). Factors that influence these code-switching practices are the functionality of speaking a language, the familiarity with the culture and the attitude towards languages (Hoffmann 1991). The form of interactions of bilinguals depends whether they act in the private sphere with strong ties or public sphere with weak ties (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). We will now turn to the context of Guatemala, where we will examine the importance of Spanish and Mayan languages and bilingualism regarding power relations and identity. Guatemala is a relevant context to examine because it is a multilingual society where twenty-two Mayan languages and Spanish are spoken by a large indigenous population that suffer from a minority position relative to the dominant Spanish language and its speakers (French 2010).

Chapter 2 The Context of Guatemala

(Indy)

In this chapter, we will discuss bilingualism regarding power relations and identity construction in the context of Guatemala. First, we will briefly discuss the historical background in order to understand the context regarding languages in Guatemala today. In this, we will see that Spanish has been a powerful means to discriminate against Mayas in Guatemala. Maya refers to members of the twenty-two Maya ethnolinguistic groups in Guatemala (French 2010; Escobar 2012). However, Mayan language has also been used to promote ethnic identity by stimulating the use of Mayan languages rather than Spanish, where today both Mayan languages and Spanish are nowadays used in Guatemala and many Mayas are bilingual. This can be described as near-native [sic] in Spanish and a Mayan language (Escobar 2012; Bloomfield 1933 in Hoffman 1991). We will discuss then that bilingual Mayas can also use languages to negotiate identities and power relations in different social settings such as in the private and public sphere.

2.1 Contextualizing language and marginalization in Guatemala

(Indy)

Guatemala is a multi-ethnic and multilingual Central American country with a long history of violence against its indigenous Maya population (Tummons et al. 2012). Since the beginning of the colonial period (1524), an opposition between the indigenous and non-indigenous came into being in Guatemala (Escobar 2012). Hereby, bloody encounters occurred between Spanish conquistadors and Mayans (Escobar 2012). After the colonial period, violence, and a division between non-indigenous, mainly referred to as ladinos, and indigenous Mayans persisted (French 2010; Peckham 2012). The most salient recent historical memory of violence are the genocidal practices of the Guatemala military during an internal armed conflict (1960-1996), which reached its height under the leadership of General Rios Montt in 1982-1983, with hundreds of indigenous communities destroyed and more than 200,000 people killed (Tummons et al. 2012, 2; Vanthuyne 2009). Hereby, racial prejudices of perceiving being indigenous as poor, uneducated, primitive, and a threat to national progress and unity, were directed at Mayans (French 2010). These racial

prejudices have been used to legitimize the marginalization of indigenous people (French 2010, 3; Vanthuyne 2009; Peckham 2012). Language has served as an important symbolic means to discriminate, as speaking Mayan languages have indicated cultural and ethnic differences and so it is in opposition to homogeneous nation-state ideas (Choi 2002; Vanthuyne 2009). To diminish threat and exercise control over its indigenous people, cultural differences were eradicated by among other things linguistic assimilation. Hereby, Spanish was appointed as the official language, whereby Mayan languages were referred to as dialects rather than languages comparable to Spanish (Fischer 2003, 104). Because of this, Mayans had to learn and speak Spanish and a language shift away from Mayan languages to Spanish occurred. This gave Spanish as the dominant language a superior status (French 2010, 3). As discussed in the theoretical framework regarding power and marginalization, we see here that the use of language and meanings ascribed to language can have real consequences. Namely, it can exclude people, marginalize, and maintain unequal power relations based on indigenous identification through among other things language (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015; Duranti 1991; May 2000).

Nonetheless, several events in Guatemala have helped to promote cultural revitalization and to encourage positive ideologies in order to relate Mayan languages to a positive cultural identity (Peckham 2012). One important event in moving to these associations is the signing of the Peace Accords of 1996 (Tummons et al. 2012). This event not only ended the dreadful armed conflict, but the Peace Accords also embedded serious commitments to respect Mayan languages, identity and include indigenous groups (Helmberger 2008, 80; Tummons et al. 2012, 1). Furthermore, the language law set in 2003, which grants co-official status with Spanish for each Mayan language in Guatemala (Ley de Idiomas 2003), has helped in making efforts regarding language revitalization (French 2010; Barrett 2016). In this language revitalization, mostly Maya movements have been successful in challenging existing racist ideologies (Tummons et al. 2012). They have done this by demonstrating the utility of Mayan languages across all social contexts. In this way, they have stimulated using Mayan languages more often to resist a further language shift toward Spanish and away from Mayan languages (Barrett 2016; French 2010; Tummons et al. 2012). Although more people speak Mayan languages because of this promotion, Spanish is still a prerequisite for social and economic advancement (Tummons et al. 2012, 8). Hereby, in general Mayas remain today disadvantaged, where they are expected to assimilate to the dominant non-indigenous culture and language. Moreover, new neoliberal restructuring of the

regional economy and increasing migration to the north (Mexico, U.S.) makes it complex to maintain Mayan languages and gain equal status (Fischer 2003; Tummons et al. 2012; Vanthuyne 2009, 205). Due to language shifts both from and towards Spanish and Mayan languages and the importance attached to both languages, many Mayas today are bilingual (Escobar 2012).

2.2 Bilingualism, Code-Switching, and Identity in Guatemala

(Indy)

Thus, in Guatemala many Mayas nowadays are bilingual in Spanish and a Mayan language (Escobar 2012). Spanish is spoken throughout Guatemala (French 2010). There are twenty-two languages spoken in Guatemala, of which Kaqchikel, K'iche, Q'eqchi', and Mam are the largest, each having more than 500,000 speakers (Tummons et. al 2012, 1). It depends on the region in which of the twenty-two Mayan languages are spoken (French 2010). Bilingual Mayas have the ability to switch between these two languages depending on the social setting, which as mentioned in the theoretical framework, is called code-switching (Balcazar 2008; Esen 2019; Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 156). The languages used by bilingual Mayas in social settings in the private and public sphere, may depend on the meanings attached to Spanish and Mayan languages (Choi 2002; Madanipour 2003). For example, because speaking a Mayan language marks among other things an ethnic identity that is linked to perceptions of Mayas as poor and inferior to Spanish, bilingual Mayas may switch to Spanish to avoid identification as indigenous (Barrett 2008; Barrett 2016; Choi 2002; Fischer 2003). In this, bilingualism can be more flexible since bilinguals can navigate between ethnic groups (Peckham 2012). Namely, by code-switching bilinguals can identify with multiple groups such as indigenous and ladinos in a certain social setting by speaking both the minority and the dominant language (Barrett 2008; Peckham 2012, 39).

Moreover, while Spanish has been long used as the official language it has among other things led to perceiving Spanish generally as the language of authority such as in the government, education, and big business (Fischer 2003, 103). Hereby, Spanish is primarily used in interactions between ladinos and in public spheres, such as in hospitals, banks, and at schools (Balcazar 2008, 29; Choi 2014, 42; Fischer 2003, 103). In other words, Spanish is mostly used for formal

purposes, while Mayan languages are mostly used for less formal and more personal purposes (Choi 2014, 42). Yet, code-switching is also used between bilingual speakers. In this, different social indicators can be reflected such as formality and respect, familiarity, and identities (Peckham 2012, 39). One example mentioned in Choi (2002 in Peckham 2012, 40) is that Mayas switch to their indigenous language when asking for a favor. By speaking the indigenous language, Mayas can display their shared ethnic identity as well as an understanding that this identity places them in familiarity and therefore in a closer relationship (Peckham 2012, 40). Furthermore, meanings that are given to the languages can also influence which language is spoken in the private sphere. According to Balcazar (2008, 26), the language shift toward Spanish and away from Mayan languages has been closely linked to the parents' decision of speaking the Spanish language with their children and not their Mayan language. Parents have experienced or are aware of the negative consequences speaking the indigenous languages can have. Namely, speaking Mayan languages or even speaking Spanish with an accent, marks a person as indigenous. This can call up all the prejudices and memories of discrimination and they do not want to pass on the same position to their children (Fisher 2003, 104; Balcazar 2008; Peckham 2012, 17). Additionally, many indigenous parents believe that adequate proficiency in Spanish would provide their children with the opportunity for progress such as more educational and economic opportunities (Balcazar 2008; Holbrock 2016, 7).

Moreover, the Mayan language in Guatemala itself has changed (Holbrock 2016). This is evidenced by vocabulary loss, code-mixing of Spanish within indigenous languages, and different pronunciations, for example, noticing a Spanish accent by children who learn the Mayan language as their second language (Holbrock, 2016, 73). Code-switching and code-mixing are generally perceived as something problematic (Holbrock 2016). This is because the incorporation of Spanish elements into Mayan languages is often associated with a long history intrinsically linked to oppression by the Spanish dominant culture (Barrett 2008, 279; Peckham 2012, 43). Consequently, bilingual Mayas started to avoid the active switching to Spanish (Barrett 2008). Actively avoiding speaking Spanish can be seen as a form, as mentioned in the theoretical framework, of resistance on an individual level (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). This is because, by speaking Mayan languages and not the dominant language Spanish, cultural differences and indigenous identities can be maintained and can thus challenge homogeneous nation-state ideas (Holbrock 2016; Jourdan and Tuite 2006; Perry and Purcell-Gates 2000). This has contributed to

circulating language ideologies of valuing Mayan languages as more equal to Spanish (Peckham 2012). In this, code-switching can become politicized because it negotiates power relations by attaching different meanings to Mayan languages (Barrett 2008, 278; Jonsson 2014).

The private sphere



(Karina, April 22, 2020)

“My everyday life is sharing [it] with my family, and to clear my head and to have some fun with my kids.”¹⁰

¹⁰ WhatsApp text message Karina, April 22, 2020.

The public sphere



(Andrea, April 25, 2020)

“[Regarding] being indigenous, at work, in the families [where we] maintain our values¹¹ [...] through education, the ancestors, gratitude, respect.”¹²

¹¹ WhatsApp text message of Andrea (April 25, 2020)

¹² WhatsApp text message of Andrea, (April 26, 2020)

Chapter 3 Meaningful Languages¹³

(Claudia and Indy)

Sololá is the capital city of the department of Sololá, and characterized by a large number of Maya inhabitants and its two big markets where many people meet each.¹⁴ Mayas in Sololá interact speaking the Mayans language Kaqchikel, K'iche and Tz'utujil when for example buying products at the market, when visiting the central park or when having small conversations. Also, Spanish conversations can be heard. Spanish as well as Mayan languages have an importance in people's daily lives, however both are valued in a different way. Namely, Spanish is mainly perceived by participants as important in education, the labor market and for communication with those who do not speak the (same) Mayan language. Mayan languages are valued for communication in local contexts and because it is related to cultural, indigenous values with which Mayas can identify. We will further discuss this in the first section. Hereby, the importance of the Spanish and Mayan languages can be explained by looking at the perceptions that bilingual Mayas have regarding power relations and indigenous identity. We will first examine these perceptions in the public sphere and then in the private sphere.

3.1 Importance of Spanish and Mayan languages

(Claudia and Indy)

We are walking with Karina, a middle-age bilingual Mayan housewife, around the town of Sololá. First, we arrive at the primary school of her son. While we are waiting for her son, a woman dressed in jeans and a T-shirt comes to us and asks Karina in Spanish: “¿Cómo está?” (How are you?). Then the school bell rings. Some children are still lively playing, while others run to the entrance to their mother, but all of them are chatting in Spanish with each other. Karina's son comes to us and we start heading to the bus to return to Karina's house. While walking we pass by a young girl who is selling candy and small plastic toys. She is wearing typical Mayan clothes, which consists

¹³ All names used in this chapter are anonymized.

¹⁴ ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Solola-Guatemala> (Accessed on June 25, 2020)

of a black *corte* (skirt) and *huipil* (blouse). Karina's son sees the sweets and asks his mother to buy him something. We walk to the young girl and Karina says something in Kaqchikel. She buys a lolly and we continue our walk in the direction of the central park of Sololá. On our left hand we pass *Mercado Centro Comercial Municipio*, a flour-floored market. A vendor, selling fruits at the street bordering the market, greets Karina by saying: "*Xqaaq'ij*" (Good afternoon, in Kaqchikel) and follows his greeting to us: "Buenas tardes" (Good afternoon). Across the street from the market lies the central park and the main bus stop of Sololá. Here, some tourists get off the bus while speaking English. Unlike them, we are getting on the bus, returning to Karina's house located a bit further from the center of Sololá. When we arrive at her home, Karina's daughter is cleaning their small concrete house. "*Xqaaq'ij*" (Good afternoon), says Karina to her. It is quite warm, and the doors of the house are open. Very soon, two women enter the house. These women appear to be Karina's sister and mother-in-law, who both live in the house next door. They start chatting cheerfully in Kaqchikel with Karina and her daughter for a few minutes after which they leave again.¹⁵

This is just a small fraction of a daily life routine of a Mayan family in Sololá. Hereby, we see a lively dynamic of interactions between people, speaking in Spanish, Kaqchikel, and sometimes in English. Most Mayas speak the Mayan language as their first language and Spanish as their second language. In Sololá, as seen in the situation above, both Spanish and the Mayan language are spoken in the private as well as in the public sphere. However, children speak Spanish at school, we were greeted in Spanish at the market, while Karina was greeted in Kaqchikel. Furthermore, Karina had interactions both in Spanish and Kaqchikel depending on the situation and people present. This points to the fact that the Spanish and Mayan languages have different functions. Namely, Spanish is mainly perceived by participants as important for communication with non-indigenous or indigenous who do not speak (the same) Mayan language, education, and the labor market. The importance of the Mayan language lies in more informal, local settings in one's own social environment and in connecting people to cultural knowledge and an identity.

Spanish is the official language and spoken by almost all people in Guatemala including non-indigenous as well as most indigenous people. It is therefore important in public and official

¹⁵ Fieldnotes of Sololá and Karina's house in Sololá, 03-03-2020, made by Claudia and Indy.

occasions, such as related to the government or religious institutions (Choi 2014, 42-43). As Andrea, a 26-year old primary school teacher says: *“For example, there are occasions [...] and reunions where they speak it [Spanish]. On public occasions they speak it [Spanish]. Probably when there are activities, such as general ones and with protocols or linked to an international institution.”*¹⁶ Spanish is thus the primary language used to communicate on a national and administrative level (Choi 2014, 42). Moreover, Spanish is perceived as necessary for having access to education and the labor market. Regarding education, Karina Jr., studying commercial sciences at the university in Sololá, mentions: *“In my studies it is to follow [speak] the language that is Castellan or Spanish.”*¹⁷ It is at schools that children learn how to write and speak the language and it is the language in which students communicate with one another the majority of time. The latter indicate the importance of Spanish as a language spoken and understood by different people. So, as Karina Jr. can be seen in the photo with fellow students, who are non-indigenous as well as indigenous, Spanish is then the language of communication.



(Karina Jr. April 2020)

In terms of employment, Andrés, a Spanish-Tz’utujil bilingual student: *“I prefer [speaking Spanish], normally I speak more in Spanish, because [...] I have more space or more opportunities the moment I speak Spanish then in Tz’utujil [...].”*¹⁸ For him, speaking Spanish means that he can communicate with a larger number of people and that he can work in different places. Therefore, the ability to speak Spanish increases job opportunities.

¹⁶ Interview (translated from Spanish), Andrea. 04-10-2020.

¹⁷ WhatsApp text message (translated from Spanish), Karina Junior. 04-22-2020.

¹⁸ Interview (translated from Spanish), Andrés. 04-20-2020.

On the other hand, Mayan languages have a level of importance. This is because first, as said by the Academia Lenguas Mayas Guatemala (ALMG)¹⁹: *“Language is one of the pillars where culture is sustained. Therefore, it is the vehicle for transmission of knowledge of the village (el pueblo) [...] it is a cultural legacy.”*²⁰ Mayan languages sustain the culture in that the language itself contains cultural knowledge (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). For example, as discussed by Yadira²¹: *“[...] They taught us the sun, After the moon rises, returns the day, in Kaqchikel is jun q’ij, it is a sun, but if we translate it into Spanish it is a day, [...] but in reality the original, correct sense is a sun. [...] and with the month. The month goes on the moon, [...] which is jun ik, it is in Kaqchikel, which is the literal translation of moon, but in the Spanish language it is a month.”*²² Yadira thus explains that words in Kaqchikel include cosmological knowledge which is not used the same way in Spanish because these words are translated differently in Spanish. Hereby, Mayan languages can give access to a certain way of looking at the world (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 60). This is because, in this case knowing these words in Kaqchikel that include cosmological knowledge that is perceived by Yadira as cultural knowledge, can organize days and months. The words in Kaqchikel may therefore classify reality from a different perspective than Spanish (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 60; Duranti 1991; Duranti 2006; Sapir 1958, Worf 1940). Furthermore, speaking Mayan languages can be seen as important because cultural meanings and values that Mayan language can represent and embody can be expressed (Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 160; Jackson 1999, 10). So, Mayan languages are important because they are associated with containing cultural knowledge that can organize culture. Language also depends on culture since one needs to speak Mayan languages to express these cultural meanings and values (Bonvillain 2015; Hyde and Kopp 2019, 4, Jackson 1999, 10). Moreover, expressing cultural meanings and values may be important because people can identify and connect with each other through this common shared knowledge (Jourdan and Tuite 2006).

Lastly, Mayan languages are often spoken in local contexts, such as among acquaintances, family members or fellow villagers. As Andrés mentions: *“[...] when I speak in Tz’utujil, I focus only on*

¹⁹ ALMG is an entirely Maya-run organization that produces materials and tactics for the promotion of Mayan languages in everyday speech. Website: <https://www.almg.org.gt/>.

²⁰ Online survey, ALMG, received on 05-06-2020.

²¹ Yadira is a 26-year old woman living in San Andres de Nebaj. She works as a nurse in a hospital. Spanish is her first language, but she can speak a bit in Kaqchikel and yet understands it well.

²² Interview (translated from Spanish), Yadira. 04-13-2020.

*the region here, my village [San Juan la Laguna].*²³ This is because, in a local context people can speak the (same) Mayan language and most Mayas feel more comfortable speaking the Mayan language as it is for most their first language. Furthermore, Mayan languages are perceived as important by participants to speak if people are not fluent in Spanish. Since not everybody is fluent in Spanish, a Mayan language is often required to work on a local level, for example at market.

3.2 Power relations and indigenous identity in the public sphere

(Claudia)

“*Hey nana!*” (‘Bye, madam’, in Kaqchikel), says Gabriella while waving at a lady dressed in traditional clothes, who has just bought some tomatoes. It is Thursday afternoon, when Gabriella, a tiny lady of middle age is standing on a crate in her market stall at Mercado Centro Comercial Municipio. She is surrounded by all the vegetables she is selling, which are displayed in more piled crates on both sides and in front of her. I am sitting next to her on a plastic stool and we are both peeling green peas when a man and a woman, dressed in trousers and a T-shirt, come to her stall. “With what can I help?” she asks in Spanish. Gabriella starts collecting some vegetables, while she, Emily, who is a neighboring vendor, and the two clients start to chat and joke a bit speaking in Spanish. Gabriella puts the vegetables in a bag and hands it over to one of them, receiving money in return. Some more jokes are made, after which all four say: “*Adios*” (Bye), saying goodbye. Gabriella and I continue peeling peas, when I ask her why she spoke in Spanish to the man and woman and not in Kaqchikel as with the previous client. “Because they [man and women] are ladino,” she answers.²⁴

The interaction and conversations in the public sphere are between people often unfamiliar or stranger to one another (Madanipour 2003, 95). For this reason, indigenous people make constant considerations about the identity of others. In one way, a difference between ladinos and indigenous people is made based on the traditional clothes. However, the most important indicator is language, as Julián, a 43-years old owning a tailoring mentions: “*When we speak with them [someone speaking in Spanish], we distinguish that the other is Kaqchikel or ladino [...] because of the way*

²³ Interview (translated from Spanish), Andrés. 04-20-2020.

²⁴ Participant observation at *Mercado Centro Comercial Municipio*, 03-04-2020.

of speaking. [...] *[The Spanish spoken by indigenous people] is different, not fluid [...] the[ir] Spanish is not really sophisticated.*”²⁵ So the accent Mayas have when speaking Spanish marks their indigenous identity. Language thus becomes a way to differentiate between ladinos and indigenous people as ladinos only speak Spanish (Barrett 2008; Choi 2002; Escobar 2012; May 2000). However, it is through power relations and the values attached to being ladino or indigenous that negative attitudes are developed (Barrett 2008; Choi 2002; Escobar 2012; May 2000). Gabriella for example shares the following: “[...] *Sometimes ladinos think they are more [than Mayas] [...] because they speak Spanish, and they [ladinos] treat [Mayas] badly, because only they think that they know Spanish, [...] they discriminate against others.*”²⁶ Nowadays, ladinos are still perceived by Mayas as educated, rich and having enough job opportunities as they can speak Spanish well (French 2010). On the one hand, not having been able to attend school is named by Mayas as a reason for not speaking Spanish. On the other hand, indigenous people have the idea that speaking Spanish will give them more economic success as well as job opportunities (Balcazar 2008; Duranti 2006, 15; Woolard 1985). This perception is shared by Emily, the 41-year old lady selling at the market stall next to Gabriella:

*“I would have liked it [to attend school], because a study is needed a lot; one wants to do things [work], but one cannot. [...] [Working at the market] is the only thing [I can]. [...] It is at the enterprise [market stall] that we make a living, because I do not know [cannot] do something else, because one always [needs to] speak in Spanish, and I cannot [speak Spanish] [...].”*²⁷

According to Emily, not being proficient in Spanish puts her at a disadvantage regarding job opportunities and economic mobility. For her, working at the market is the only thing she can do for work as the majority of people visiting *Mercado Centro Comercial Municipio* is indigenous with which she can speak in Kaqchikel. Interestingly, it is only in the comparison with ladinos, that the (in)capacity to speak Spanish is linked to power relations. Here, indigenous people contrast their own indigenous identity with ladinos which is perceived as `better` in terms of social and economic mobility (Leacock 1977, 151-152).

Furthermore, as it is in the public sphere that indigenous people encounter ladinos, Spanish is perceived as crucial in order to understand the possible insults that they might receive from ladinos. This thinking can be related to the discrimination and stereotyping of indigenous people that has

²⁵ Interview (translated from Spanish), Julián. 03-14-2020.

²⁶ Interview (translated from Spanish), Gabriella. 03-11-2020.

²⁷ Interview (translated from Spanish), Emily. 03-09-2020.

happened in the past. As Amanda, a 40-year old housewife shares: “[...] *indio*, that were the words [ladinos used], yet really offensive [...] They [ladinos] always said: *indias shitty legs*, it was really nasty, it was a very strong discrimination. [...] [So] we had to learn Spanish so we could rebel against the ladinos, [so] they could not get us and also so we could defend ourselves.”²⁸ So by being capable of speaking Spanish, indigenous people feel that they can defend themselves and therefore avoid being discriminated against. Besides the perception of power relations through Spanish, the obligatory classes of a Mayan language and the demand for bilingual Mayas in public institutions highlight power relations through the Mayan language. These two measures generate beliefs of a change in existing power relations (Jonsson 2014; Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). As Amanda expresses about the classes: “*It is very good because now people who are ladino have to learn Kaqchikel to complete that course and if they do not complete it they will lose their degree, or they will be late but it is compulsory by the law to complete that course. So for us it is better that they also learn our language.*”²⁹ The obligation of learning an indigenous language is thus perceived as a way in which ladinos and indigenous will be seen as equal and as an aid to the maintenance of their identity.

3.3 Power relations and indigenous identity in the private sphere

(Indy)

In the previous section, we heard some of Amanda’s experiences in the public sphere. Now we are at her home, a place in the private sphere. Here, perceptions of power relations and identity are noticeable through interactions between familiars, in this case family members (Madinapour 2003). In these interactions mainly the same information is shared, in the form of socializing patterns (Stuhlemer 2011).

“*¡Ábreme la puerta!*” (Open the door!) shouts Amanda, a small woman dressed in typical clothes (*traje*) consisted of a skirt and blouse. A young boy runs to the door and opens it. Amanda enters the sixteen square meter room, demarcated by four concrete walls, with two clay mugs in her hand. The room is dark since there are no windows. There is only light coming from the large television, standing on an old brown cabinet, with a Nick Jr. TV program in Spanish on it. Then Amanda puts

²⁸ Interview (translated from Spanish), Amanda. 10-04-2020.

²⁹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Amanda. 22-04-2020.

down two clay mugs on the low side table located in the middle of the room. She sits down on the large green seat. Amanda looks at her son who is sitting on an old couch in front of her and orders in Spanish: “*tómatelo mijo*” (drink it my son). After which the young boy smiles and says: “*gracias mama*” (thank you mother). Then, Amanda’s husband, Pablo enters the room. Amanda and Pablo have a conversation in Kaqchikel for a few minutes. Amanda stands up and follows Pablo through the door.³⁰

In this situation at Amanda’s house, both Spanish and Kaqchikel are spoken among familiars. However, there is a difference in language use since for example Amanda speaks Kaqchikel with her husband but keeps communicating with her son in Spanish. It is stated by participants that although most children learn both Spanish and Mayan languages, it is impossible to get the same fluidity. Parents thus must choose in which language they want their children to be more proficient in. In most cases, like Amanda’s, Spanish is chosen. By choosing to teach Spanish first, children will thus become more fluent in Spanish than in their Mayan language. This may indicate that parents see Spanish as the priority language. That they perceive Spanish as the priority language can be explained from parents who have had negative experiences such as mentioned in the previous part, getting discriminated against by speaking a Mayan language and not Spanish. As Amanda mentions her reasoning to teach her children Spanish: “[...] *it was like this when with my family, it was always Spanish. [...] I suffered a lot when I was little and I didn’t want that for Camila, Gero and Alan [that] they suffered a lot. [...] “They know how to defend themselves [...].”*”³¹ This statement shows that Amanda, as many other participants, wants to teach their children Spanish so that children know how to defend themselves by speaking Spanish and will not get the same negative experiences as their parents. Furthermore, it is important that children learn Spanish fluently because as argued by participants in this way their children can “*seguir adelante*” (go ahead). This refers to associations of Spanish as a necessity to get opportunities to study and work since in education and in the labor market mainly Spanish is spoken. Participants also comment that modern influences such as the television, where mainly Spanish is the spoken language, stimulate the use of Spanish instead of Mayan languages. Therefore, many children are nowadays more fluent in Spanish than their (grand)parents or even more fluent than in their Mayan

³⁰ Participant observation at Amanda’s house, 02-25-2020, 03-27-2020.

³¹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Amanda. 04-10-2020.

language. By using Spanish more often than the Mayan language, perceptions of seeing Spanish more important than Mayan languages are maintained. Seeing Spanish as more important gives Spanish a higher status than Mayan languages and indicates indirect power relations between the languages and the people who speak it.

Nonetheless, Amanda explains that she does not describe herself and her family as non-indigenous by speaking Spanish, but they remain a “*Mayan family*.”³² This is because, as she argues, and as described in the situation at Amanda’s house, she wears typical clothes and uses “*indigenous objects*” such as clay mugs. Yet, Amanda argues that speaking a Mayan language is the most important indicator of someone being indigenous. This is because as she comments: “*you can for example take off typical clothes [traje típico], but language will always be there.*”³³ Hereby, Amanda and many other participants mention that this is because, even when speaking Spanish, Mayas speak with an accent. That people identify not as non-indigenous but as indigenous can be explained because transmission of cultural knowledge through Mayan languages, traditions, beliefs, habits to use Alejandra’s words: “*have been going on for years, from ancestors, grandparents and so on [...] from generation to generation.*”³⁴ This transmission has been in Mayan languages because most ancestors only spoke the Mayan language. Therefore, Mayan languages and not Spanish, are seen as Johana, a 20-year old participant mentioned: “*the language of the ancestors.*”³⁵ This transmission of cultural knowledge from generations to generations among other things through Mayan languages may be important because people can identify with each other based on this shared cultural and linguistic knowledge and past. Hereby, indigenous identification can give a sense of belonging of: “*where they came from*” and “*who one is.*”³⁶ This may be important for both the individual as the family members because a sense of belonging can create positive attitudes towards among other things the Mayan family (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015). For example, by having a culture “of their own” and connection to a shared past, one has something to respect and “to be proud of.” This can be crucial to establish and maintain feelings of respect and solidarity within the family (Duranti 1991; Abdelilah-Bauer 2015; Esen 2019; Jourdan and Tuite 2006).

³² Interview (translated from Spanish), Amanda. 04-10-2020.

³³ Interview (translated from Spanish), Amanda. 04-22-2020.

³⁴ Interview (translated from Spanish), Alejandra. A housewife. 03-10-2020.

³⁵ Interview (translated from Spanish), Johana. 04-14-2020.

³⁶ Interview (translated from Spanish), Mariana. 03-12-2020

In conclusion, in this chapter we have seen that both Mayan languages and Spanish are spoken in the public and private sphere by bilingual Mayas. However, Spanish is mainly perceived as important to study, work, and to communicate with people outside the region and/or who do not speak a Mayan language. Mayan languages are mainly seen as the language to communicate on a local level such as with acquaintances, family members, fellow-villagers, and to share and construct cultural knowledge. Given the history of Guatemala, language can be used to exclude indigenous peoples, as Mayas had to conform to speaking. Therefore, Spanish has gained a priority status over indigenous languages and which is still evident up until today. As a result, Spanish is perceived by indigenous people as necessary to speak for social and economic advancement. In the public sphere, these perceptions of power relations through one's ability to speak Spanish, are manifested in the opportunities Mayas have regarding jobs, in the ability to defend themselves in the case of discrimination by ladinos, in the obligation to learn a Mayan language and the demand for bilingual employees in public institutions. Contrary to people in the public sphere, people in the private sphere are often not in interactions with ladinos and do not get discriminated against. However, unequal power relations between Spanish and Mayan languages are visible because most bilingual parents prioritize teaching Spanish to their children and before the Mayan language. They do this because they do not want their children to have the same negative experiences as they had. In this way, children are often more fluent in Spanish than in the Mayan language, which implies the priority of Spanish relative to Mayan languages. Despite this, Mayan languages are still seen as important by participants in both spheres as an indicator of the connection to a Mayan identity and a larger linguistic community. It is in the public sphere that speaking a Mayan language is the most important way to identify other indigenous people as ladinos only speak Spanish. In the private sphere, indigenous identification through among other things language is seen as important because, unlike Spanish, it can create a sense of belonging to a shared past. In both spheres, this identification of being Maya through language is important as it generates feelings of solidarity and thrust between people as well as a sense of belonging to being Maya. As both languages are important in their own way, being bilingual is highly valued. In the next chapter, we will delve deeper into the values of being bilingual in the light of indigenous identity and power relations.

Indigenous Mayas in Sololá



(Valeria, April 14, 2020)

“What [being indigenous] means is that we have a lot of [Mayan] customs and traditions, that we do not have to be ashamed of speaking our [Mayan] language, that we wear traditional clothes and this [Mayan identity] is unique to Guatemala”³⁷.

³⁷ WhatsApp text message of Valeria, 04-21-2020.

4. Powerful Interactions³⁸

(Indy and Claudia)

“Va, va (okay okay)”, says Antonio after which he hangs up the phone. A middle-aged woman enters his tienda and takes a cookie out of the shelf next to the counter. “How many is?” she says in Kaqchikel to him. “Sería 7,50 (That will be 7,50)”, he answers. The lady takes out some money and gives it to Antonio, whereupon she leaves. In the meantime, a middle-aged man has entered the shop and asks Antonio something, speaking in Kaqchikel. Antonio responds, also speaking in Kaqchikel, while he walks over to him. Both start rearranging some crates while communicating in Kaqchikel. Another client enters the tienda. “Bueno” he says to his brother. He puts down a crate and greets the man who has entered: “¡Que tál! (How are you)”.³⁹

Throughout the day, Antonio, a 34-year old bilingual Maya in Sololá, makes conscious choices about the language he uses and about how he addresses people who visit his shop. This form of code-switching, through which Antonio conveys a sense of agency about the choices he makes (Dietz and Burns 1992, 191; Esen 2019), is commonly perceived as skilled communicative behavior that can be socially meaningful (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015; Duranti 1991, 78; Jourdan and Tuite 2006). This is because a certain attitude or emotion can be expressed differently when having access to a bigger pool of words (Esen 2019). Mainly because of this possibility and accessibility, being bilingual is often preferred. Amanda points out that: “*It is the most important thing in our life and as all people know it, the more languages you can know, the more you can speak, take advantage of and open the field you need.*”⁴⁰ Bilingualism is, then, perceived as beneficial in communication as it opens up opportunities in the labor market, helps avoiding socio-cultural difficulties, and may lead to more (cultural or linguistic) knowledge. This ability to utilize language, indicates the negotiation of power relations and identity through code-switching which will be the focus of this chapter. First, it is needed to establish a basic understanding about the two prominent language practices of bilinguals. First, we will address a form of code-switching, which is called code-mixing. Hereby, Spanish is mixed into Mayan languages. Code-mixing illuminates

³⁸ All names used in this chapter are anonymized.

³⁹ Participant observation in the *tienda* of Antonio in Sololá, 13-03-2020.

⁴⁰ Interview (translated from Spanish), Amanda, 04-10-2020.

the change of language itself. Second, we will discuss code-switching practices in the public and private sphere. Even though interactions in the private sphere happen mainly with family members, whereas in the public sphere with strangers, code-switching patterns in both spheres depends on functionality, familiarity, and formality. Then will discuss how code-switching and code-mixing play a role in the negotiation of identity first in the public and then private sphere. It is in the public that the negotiation of indigenous identity is highlighted through the performance of identity. In the private sphere, the fluidity of indigenous identity becomes visible since meanings attached to “being Maya” can change in interactions between people. Lastly, we will argue the negotiation of power relations by means of code-switching in the public sphere and the private sphere. Hereby, we will see that people can conform to dominant standards by speaking Spanish as well as resist them which may result in a change of power relations.

4.1 Code-mixing public and private sphere

(Claudia and Indy)

“Nowadays, we are mixing. “Achike” is in Kaqchikel, “hora” is in Spanish. When someone responds saying numbers, it is in Spanish [...], it is not in Kaqchikel. Although Kaqchikel has words for numbers [...], you can pronounce them. “One” is [jun], “two” is [ka’i]. But when one talks about time, you cannot say for example [...] it is 11 o’clock in Kaqchikel, it is said in Spanish.”⁴¹

The words above are of Julián, who points to the more common phenomenon of using Spanish words when speaking a Mayan language. This practice, called code-mixing, happens among bilingual Maya regardless of the sphere they are in. Speakers do not know certain words or cannot come up with words quickly. Using the Spanish word is then easier for them. It is only the older generation, and people living in rural areas, without much access to education that speak the indigenous language close to purely. This means, without mixing with Spanish. It is as Gabriella reports: *“In the past, cars did not drive her, cars did not exist [...], there was nothing, so they [people in general] were used to speaking more in Kaqchikel. Before, one did not study; one did not go to school, so they could not speak Spanish.”⁴²* This quotation points to two things. First, the

⁴¹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Julián. 03-14-2020.

⁴² Interview (translated from Spanish), Gabriella. 03-11-2020.

introduction of new developments, such as cars, computers, or the internet, that do not have a translation, or the translation is not known or common to use. This means that people have to use Spanish words when speaking in Kaqchikel. Second, younger generations are more proficient in Spanish because they learn it at home and at school. As a result, it is more common that many younger people (30 years and younger) speak Spanish and are more proficient in Spanish than their (grand)parents. Likewise, Mayas sometimes forget or do not know words in their Mayan language and thus mix with Spanish. *Pablo confirms this by saying: “Just like I told you a while ago, because we speak a lot in Spanish and very little Kaqchikel, there are things that we cannot speak in Kaqchikel, we [therefore] mix it with Spanish.”*⁴³ The interweaving of Spanish into a Mayan language shows the fluid character of language as language in itself can change. This fluidity of language through code-mixing becomes interesting in relation to negotiation of indigenous identity and power relations on which we will elaborate in the upcoming parts.

4.2 Code-switching in the public and private sphere

(Claudia and Indy)

In both the public and private sphere, the reasons for code-switching have to do with functionality, familiarity, and formality which we will discuss in this part. However, the most important difference in code-switching practices is determined by the relation to the people one encounters in one of the spheres.

Functionality:

The first factor by which bilingual Mayas make considerations to which language they will switch is that of functionality. This can be defined as the language most useful at a given time for others to understand the message (Hoffmann 1991)⁴⁴.

In the public sphere, switching towards speaking Spanish or a Mayan language depends primarily on the other person as participants have shared. People encounter many different persons in different locations who are more often unfamiliar. This means that it is unknown which language the other speaks, for example a Mayan language. It is not clear if someone is indigenous and speaks

⁴³ Interview (translated from Spanish), Pablo. 04-15-2020.

⁴⁴ Collinsdictionary.com, s.v. “functional”, accessed on 06-23-2020, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/functional>.

the indigenous language. As Rodrigo⁴⁵, who is a student and a Spanish-Ixil bilingual explains, Spanish is in these moments the most useful language to use:

“[...] [the language I speak/we speak] depends on the person, so it is more often, like, if we do not know the person, for example asking for this [something] [...] and we do not know how to approach a person [...] yes, clearly the one understand Spanish [...], but if they do not say something like ‘kam tetzil ub’a’ (words in Ixil), which means ‘which thing’, [...], it is then [if one says ‘kam tetzil ub’a’] that we speak in Ixil with the person, but if we do not know one another, well, it is always more normal to first ask the person [something by speaking] in Spanish.”⁴⁶

So, when someone is unfamiliar, it is more common and functional to start speaking in Spanish as it is probable that the other speaks and understands this language. Nonetheless, when it becomes clear that the other person speaks the same indigenous language, for example because of words said in the Mayan language or because the person has an accent when speaking Spanish, a switch is made back to the indigenous language. Also, here, the switch back to the indigenous language is functional, as both can express themselves best in the indigenous language and therefore understand each other better. Moreover, a switching to Spanish happens when more people are present who speak a different (indigenous) language. As Rodrigo explains: *“If we want to say something which my friends [who speaks Ixil] and the other persons [who do not speak Ixil] will understand, more probably, it will be in Spanish, because it is more probable that the others will understand Spanish than our language [Ixil].”⁴⁷* In the described situation, Spanish is the language most functional to use in order to understand one another, because most people present speak this language.

Compared to the public sphere, bilinguals in the private sphere may interact slightly differently since people are usually with people they know (Madinapour 2003). Because of this, people usually know which languages they can use to communicate. Herewith, there seems not to be a straightforward separation when someone speaks their Mayan language or Spanish, but it depends on the social setting. Johana, among several other participants, states:

“It is a bit confusing because in some cases my uncles speak to me in Tz’utujil, I answer them in Spanish, or they say something to me in Spanish and I answer them in Tz’utujil. Not because we

⁴⁵ Rodrigo is a student living in Chajul, in the department El Quiché. Chajul is together with Cotzal and Nebaj where Ixil is the primary indigenous language spoken by the indigenous populations.

⁴⁶ Interview (translated from Spanish), Rodrigo. 04-17-2020.

⁴⁷ Interview (translated from Spanish), Rodrigo. 04-17-2020.

do not know the meaning or cannot translate. It is normal, as we both master [Spanish and Tz'utujil], it does not matter if it is in Spanish or Tz'utujil we will be able to answer or answer what they tell us."⁴⁸

Her statement suggests that bilinguals can choose what language seems most useful or adequate in specific situations. What for a person is seen as more useful or adequate may depend on the functionality. In the private sphere, like in the public sphere, code-switching is seen as functional in order to communicate well. The language that people are most fluent in can be seen as most functional since they can express themselves better in that language. This is for example evident with younger generations who are more fluent in Spanish than in their Mayan language. As Johana, 20-years old, says about herself when she switches to Spanish or Tz'utujil:

*"There are some things that are more difficult to say in the language, in Tz'utujil they are more complicated and that is why when we say it in Spanish and now the simple things a normal practice could be in our language, but there are words or there are ways to express ourselves very extensive and it is a little bit complicated by the pronunciation."*⁴⁹

Hereby, it can be implied that Spanish is more functional for more formal conversations since they are usually more extensive and Mayan language for more informal and "easier" conversations. Moreover, switching occurs as participants argue to avoid uncomfortable moments within the family at for example family gatherings. For example, participants point out that if someone in the family does not understand Spanish well, they switch to Kaqchikel. In this way, they say, uncomfortable feelings that someone is "gossiping" or "joking" can be avoided. As Duranti states (1991), language and in this case, code-switching to either one of the languages, can be used to include people. That people are willing to include people in the private sphere can be explained since people are usually among familiars who can be seen as one's own social group. Hereby, people usually have positive attitudes towards this group (Duranti 1991; Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 153).

Familiarity:

The second factor which determines code-switching is familiarity, which can be defined as being acquainted with and the attitude towards language and cultural values (Schwartz and Unger 2010).

⁴⁸ Interview (translated from Spanish), Johana. 04-15-2020.

⁴⁹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Johana. 04-15-2020.

Switching to a code happens more frequently, when being familiar with the language and cultural values, which can then generate thrust and solidarity.

In the public sphere, a switch is made to the Mayan language when it becomes clear that the other person speaks the indigenous language too. For example, when someone is wearing the traditional clothing or when an accent can be heard by others when speaking in Spanish. As Valeria⁵⁰, a 30-years old lady working at her *comedor* at the market, expresses, switching towards the Mayan language generates thrust: “[...] so when I am there at the market, firstly I speak in Spanish and when I notice that the person does speak Kaqchikel, I start speaking in Kaqchikel [with the person], because there are those who are more comfortable [then].”⁵¹ Valeria switches back to Kaqchikel when she notices that the other speaks Kaqchikel too as the other feels more at ease this way. “[...] It is the same when you [Claudia] goes to another place and [...] people speak English to you [assuming that English is Claudia’s mother tongue], you feel more comfortable, the same happens to us. So [...], if I start speaking in Kaqchikel with the person, he will feel more comfortable. So, we start speaking in Kaqchikel.”⁵² This comfort when encountering someone speaking Kaqchikel is, as she explains, the same when an English speaker encounters another English speaker abroad. Speaking the same language indicates the shared cultural values, practices and meaning (Duranti 2006; Jourdan and Tuite, 160). As Valeria describes later on in the conversation, people will talk to or enter her *comedor* more often when they recognize her as being indigenous, through wearing indigenous clothing and through speaking an indigenous language. So, by switching to the Mayan language, her clients and Valeria feel connected to one another as they share being indigenous (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 60; Villegas-Torres and Mora-Pablo 2018). The switch creates thrust, solidarity and reinforces their sense of belonging to being Maya (Ka’ili and Ka’ili in Essays 2018; Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 9).

Likewise, in the private sphere bilingual Mayas also switch codes to indicate familiarity with the cultural values and norms (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 37). However, in the private sphere this is more related to maintaining common cultural values and norms to create feelings of solidarity and sense of belonging (Ka’ili and Ka’ili in Essays 2018; Jourdan and Tuite 2006, 9). For example, as Alejandra⁵³ explains during our interview, she has learned from her father that you

⁵⁰ Valeria owns her own *comedor* at *Mercado Centro Comercial Municipio*, where she works together with her mother Martha.

⁵¹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Valeria. 03-08-2020.

⁵² Interview (translated from Spanish), Valeria. 03-08-2020.

⁵³ Interview (translated from Spanish), Alejandra. 04-22-2020.

should thank everyone present by name in Kaqchikel, when leaving the table instead of thanking in general. The latter she explains usually happens in non-indigenous families. Alejandra comments that according to her father people should do this because it places people in a more personal relationship. By code-switching to Kaqchikel she shows that she is familiar with this cultural norm and value and these can also be shared with others. Because family members share and so maintain common norms and values, it can create solidarity and a sense of belonging within the family (Duranti 1991; Abdelilah-Bauer 2015; Esen 2019; Jourdan and Tuite 2006).

Formality:

Formality is the third factor which determines code-switching practices. Formality can be defined as used in special occasions where people behave according to a set of accepted rules⁵⁴. It can on the one hand relate to official situations related to the government or someone in authority⁵⁵. On the other hand, it is linked to accepted, and often tacit rules with regards to situations or persons, such as elderly people.

In the public sphere, switching out of formality can be seen in switching to a language on official occasions or in public institutions. A switch to the indigenous language can also be made in public services regarding the accepted rules. As Gabriella explains: “*[When being] in the office, [one] makes a document [...] for example, I [as a client] cannot speak Spanish, I have to speak in Kaqchikel [...] So one [an employee] has to learn Kaqchikel, because if not, one cannot translate [speak] with the people [clients].*”⁵⁶ As an (bilingual) employee, it is one’s responsibility to speak the language the client is most proficient in, which means that he or she has to switch to indigenous language.

In the private sphere, formality is linked to respect. This is mainly evident in interactions with elderly, such as grandparents. For example, as mentioned by Johana: “*[...] it is like cultural or out of respect to speak to or greet adults or old people, it has to be in Tz’utujil.*”⁵⁷ In this case Johana thus switches to Tz’utujil. She later comments that grandparents are important to her because they are the ‘basis’ of the family. Grandparents as head of the family are generally associated by

⁵⁴ Collinsdictionary.com, s.v. “formal”, accessed on 06-19-2020, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/formal>.

⁵⁵ Collinsdictionary.com, s.v. “official”, accessed on 06-19-2020, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/official>.

⁵⁶ Interview (translated from Spanish), Gabriella. 03-11-2020.

⁵⁷ Interview (translated from Spanish), Johana. 04-15-2020.

participants as people who need to be respected. This is because grandparents, unlike other family members, can give more access to traditions, values, beliefs, shared family history since they have lived longer.

4.3 Negotiation indigenous identity

4.3.1 Negotiation indigenous identity in the public sphere

(Claudia)

The negotiation of (indigenous) identity in the public sphere happens through code-switching and the performance of identity (Jackson 1999, 18; Jourdin and Tuite 2006; Simmons and Chen, 2014). By speaking the indigenous language in certain situations, indigenous people identify with being Maya (Moss and Faux 2006, 22; Jackson 1999, 10). Andrés for example, who lives in the touristic village San Pedro de la Laguna, on the one hand he explains: “[...] *for the tourism, it is necessary to learn the Spanish language to communicate [with tourists and clients]*”, while on the other hand, he continues by saying: “[...] *foreigners or tourists like the culture we [Maya’s] maintain, the culture we have [...] they love what is our culture, and yes, therefore, the same for [...] culture, traditions, if we would lose all that, it would affect us, how do I say it, [it affects] our economy.*”⁵⁸ Here, a person switches between being a vendor, and speaking Spanish with tourists, to being indigenous and maintaining the indigenous language and customs for economic benefits. It is exactly this negotiation between identities, specifically the indigenous identity that can be used in different social contexts. Valeria for example has noticed that people pay more attention to what she is saying if she speaks in Kaqchikel at certain moments:

*“For example, in my case, when I had to do my thesis, it was in a village over there in Sololá, so there were a lot of people and when I spoke in Spanish, no one, almost no one paid attention to me, but when I spoke in Kaqchikel and told about what I had done [related to my thesis] and all that, well then people paid more attention to me.”*⁵⁹

So, to make sure people would listen to what she had to say, she spoke in the Mayan language and in this way positions herself as indigenous (Simmons and Chen 2014; Stamou 2018). She also adds:

⁵⁸ Interview (translated from Spanish), Andrés. 04-20-2020.

⁵⁹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Valeria. 03-08-2020.

*“[...] because, like I said earlier, people are more at ease when one speaks in Kaqchikel [...] and I know that people will do me a favor because I speak in Kaqchikel.”*⁶⁰ So by performing her indigenous identity, through speaking the Mayan language, feelings of trust and solidarity are generated and established between her and other indigenous people (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015; Esen 2019; Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Consequently, a relation between two strangers, initially based on a weak tie, becomes a strong tie by the switch to the Mayan language, since both find out that they share an indigenous identity (Peckham 2012, 40).

On the other hand, in some situation a switch to Spanish happens to avoid being identified as indigenous and in order to be treated equally, as Isabel explains:

*“My husband is a supervisor at a bank and he speaks Kaqchikel, but when he supervises [...] and the moment he speaks in Kaqchikel, the persons respond badly [...]: ‘Ah, you speak Kaqchikel! We are not going to pay’ and they start to come up with a lot of excuses. But when he [husband] speaks in Spanish [...], they get a bit afraid and they start explaining clearly how to use the money.”*⁶¹

Her husband received different reactions from clients when he speaks in Spanish or Kaqchikel. Code-switching is then a way to avoid being identified and stereotyped as being indigenous (Barrett 2008; Barrett 2016; Choi 2002; Fischer 2003). It is mainly in public areas such banks, offices, and health care centers that indigenous people are afraid of being discriminated against and thus refrains from speaking the indigenous language as it is here that they also encounter ladinos. Andrés for example, complements by saying: *“There are a lot of people who can speak Tz’utujil, but do not do [speak] it, and normally this happens, because they are afraid that others hear them talking in Tz’utujil. [...] They feel discriminated against, the moment they speak [Tz’utujil], therefore they avoid doing [speaking] it.”*⁶² This is in accordance with Madanipour (2003), that people are more careful and cautious speaking in the Mayan language, when interaction with staff members or clients in public services, as they are strangers, or weak ties to them. It is therefore not clear with whom you are dealing and if the person will discriminate against you. To prevent this, indigenous people then switch to the dominant language, which is Spanish and with that avoid identification as being indigenous (Barrett 2016; Choi 2002; Fischer 2003; Jackson 1999, 11; Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2015).

⁶⁰ Interview (translated from Spanish), Valeria. 03-08-2020.

⁶¹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Isabel. 03-11-2020.

⁶² Interview (translated from Spanish), Andrés. 04-20-2020.

4.3.2 Negotiation indigenous identity in the private sphere

(Indy)

In the private sphere, the fluidity of indigenous identity becomes evident when looking at code-mixing. Code-mixing, as mentioned in section 4.1 is nowadays a more common language practice among bilinguals. However, many participants see code-mixing as problematic because as Mariana explains: “[...] *the original is no longer spoken, because everything is mixed and in this way, it [Kaqchikel] is already lost.*”⁶³ Due to mixing Spanish with Mayan languages, Mariana argues that the Mayan language Kaqchikel is not spoken “correctly”, which will eventually lead in her perspective to language loss. Language loss is perceived as problematic because as Mariana further states: “[*if the language is lost*] *we lose identity, it is as we never existed. everything is lost we will die.*”⁶⁴ Hereby, language loss is connected to identity loss. This connection can be explained as Jourdan and Tuite (2006, 160) discuss that language embodies cultural meaning and creates a collective identity. It is therefore, that language loss can also imply a loss of shared meaning, culture and in this case, indigenous identity (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). This perception becomes evident in that participants argue that, mostly elderly, unlike themselves, do not mix codes and are perfectly proficient in the Mayan language and *therefore are* perceived as ‘more’ indigenous. Camila, a 20-year-old participant expresses this well by saying:

*“Yes. It identifies them [people who speak ‘pure’ Kaqchikel] more indigenous because they manage it [Kaqchikel perfectly]. On the other hand, one could say that it is half indigenous because if someone does not manage [Kaqchikel] 100 percent. So, I believe that the people who do speak it [Kaqchikel] 100 percent [...], they are 100 percent indigenous.”*⁶⁵

That Camila associates speaking the Mayan language perfectly fluently with being stereotypically ‘more’ indigenous than those who for example mix Mayan language and Spanish, may indicate that identification is more complex and there are various ways to identify as Maya. In other words, identification can be changed, negotiated and more fluid (Jackson 1999; Simmons and Chen 2014; Peckham 2012). This becomes clear, for example, when we compare people who do not speak the indigenous language or as a second language are still perceived as Maya. As acknowledged by

⁶³ Interview (translated from Spanish), Mariana. 03-12-2020.

⁶⁴ Interview (translated from Spanish), Mariana. 03-12-2020.

⁶⁵ Interview (translated from Spanish), Camila, daughter of Amanda and Pedro.04-14-2020.

Mariana in an interview together with her son who, unlike her, does not speak their Mayan language Kaqchikel but only Spanish, her son is still Maya because *“he carries it in his blood”*⁶⁶. Her son confirms this by saying that he is Maya because he comes from a Mayan family and knows values, traditions and habits that are perceived as indigenous. Also, Camila, whose first language is Spanish, and second language is Kaqchikel, argues: *“yes. I identify myself as indigenous because my grandparents or my parents' parents are indigenous people, so far, we are also indigenous [...]”*⁶⁷ These statements imply that indigenous identity is fluid, for that identification as Maya can happen in different manner such as based on roots, and cultural knowledge and thus it does not have to fit in the stereotypical ideas of being indigenous (Jackson 1999; Simmons and Chen 2014; Peckham 2012). Hereby, indigenous identification will not get lost, rather perceptions and meaning attached to being Maya change and are negotiated between people (Jourdan and Tuite 2006; Moss and Faux 2006, 22; Jackson 1999, 10).). In similar fashion, younger participants also indicate that the language will not get lost, but rather changes and for example, code-mixing is therefore seen as less problematic. This negotiation in meaning giving to indigenous identity and language may be important in the private sphere because people can keep identifying as Maya and so family members will get the possibility to get the sense of belonging to a Mayan family and Mayan communities in which feelings of solidarity can be established. These feelings may be crucial to maintain positive attitudes in the family (Duranti 1991; Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 153).

4.4 Negotiation of power relations

4.4.1 Negotiation of power relation through in the public sphere (Claudia)

The negotiation of power relations in the public sphere is visible in code-switching practices in the interaction between ladinos and indigenous people. First of all, the ability of bilingual speakers to switch to Spanish illustrates the negation of power relations. As Gabriella explains: *“[...] nowadays, the indigenous people can speak Spanish [...]. So, they can understand the things they [ladinos] tell one, one can defend oneself.”*⁶⁸ Indigenous people can thus understand what is being

⁶⁶ Interview (translated from Spanish), Mariana. 03-12-2020.

⁶⁷ Interview (translated from Spanish), Camila. 04-12-2020.

⁶⁸ Interview (translated from Spanish), Gabriella. 03-11-2020.

said to them and switch to Spanish in order to defend themselves. So, being able to switch to Spanish plays a role in the amount of discrimination one receives and the perception of the existing power relations (Jonsson 2014; Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). Further, switching to Spanish on the one hand confirms the power relations as illustrated by Valeria:

[...] because my schoolmates did not know that I speak Kaqchikel. So, one time, my mother called me by phone and [...] I started talking in Kaqchikel, and I remembered that my classmates, it was really nasty, [said]: ‘What are you saying? Why do you not speak in Spanish? Because if you speak like that [Kaqchikel], I feel offended, I feel that you are talking badly of us.’ ⁶⁹

As Valeria shares in the quotation above, speaking an indigenous language evokes a reaction of her classmate who feels offended as she cannot understand the language. Valeria continues by saying: *“So I felt bad [...] The thing one does to avoid that, is speaking in Spanish”*⁷⁰ Therefore, Valeria switches back to Spanish in order to avoid offending someone and receiving negative reactions, by which she conforms to the dominant standard of speaking Spanish at schools (Hoffman 1991). On the other hand, as she has mentioned, her decision to switch to Spanish was to avoid offending other people which can be seen as having respect for the other and the language the other speaks. In this case code-switching can be a means to resist the dominant structures of Spanish as the dominant language imposed on others (Androutsopoulos 2007; French 2010, 3). For example, as Antonio expresses: *“So, if [the other person speaks Spanish], it is [I speak] Spanish. If not, [I speak] Kaqchikel. Whoever comes in [enters the shops] [...] what is important, is what [language] the person speaks. The thing is, with respect for the other person.”*⁷¹ As he encounters many different people in his shop who speak languages as Spanish, Kaqchikel, K’iche or sometimes even English, switching towards the language the other person speaks indicates, according to him, having respect for the other (Peckham 2012, 39). With this mentality of respect indigenous people thus resist the dominant standards of speaking Spanish in the public sphere. It is thus important for indigenous people to respect the other and adapt to the context of the listener. Andrea, switches to Kaqchikel when she visits the families of her students to hand over homework. Regarding respect, she expresses the following:

“[...] when I do not speak in Kaqchikel to them [the families of the children] [...], it is like, if I [would] speak Spanish to them and I [would] know that they do not understand [Spanish], it is a

⁶⁹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Valeria. 03-08-2020.

⁷⁰ Interview (translated from Spanish), Valeria. 03-08-2020.

⁷¹ Interview (translated from Spanish), Antonio. 03-13-2020.

lack of respect. [...] because in any case [...] if I go [to the families] [...] I would have to adapt to the context in which they are living, not me imposing that what I know [speaking in Spanish]. So that is why one considers it as a lack of respect [when] not speaking in the language they [the families] know [which is Kaqchikel].”⁷²

According to Andrea, she should adapt to the context of the other person by speaking their language in contrast to imposing Spanish, which is the norm at schools, when communicating with the families. So the mentality of respect is in contrast with what has happened in the past when Spanish was imposed on indigenous people and the switching in codes can therefore be seen as a form of resisting the prevailing power relations between ladinos and indigenous people (Escobar 2012; French 2010; Peckham 2012). In addition, conforming to the language the other person speaks contributes to including others in a conversation. In contrast, power relations can also be negotiated by indigenous people by means of excluding others through code-switching (Esen 2019). For example, Rodrigo who sometimes works in the shop of his parents shares the following:

“If they come [enter] with another person, the other person who understands it says: ‘that person [Rodrigo]...that person is really expensive, he has high prices, it is better to go shopping somewhere else’, but they say it in Ixil, assuming or thinking that I do not understand [what they are saying]. That is something that happens a lot. They prefer speaking in the typical language [Ixil], thinking others cannot understand it.”⁷³

By switching to Ixil on purpose, assuming that others cannot understand them, both clients thus avoid speaking Spanish and challenge the dominant standard of speaking this language in public places (Androutsopoulos 2007, 216). Moreover, switching to Ixil excludes non-Ixil speakers from the conversations, So now it is not conforming to speak Spanish the public sphere, and with that maintain the existing power relations between ladinos and indigenous people, but switching on purpose to the Mayan language and therefore resisting the dominant standards (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015; May 2000; Duranti 1991). Additionally, as we can see from the example of Valeria, Antonio and Rodrigo, agency is present in regards to the code-switching practices, and with that one is conscious about the consequences the language switch has (Dietz and Burns 1992, 191; Esen 2019).

⁷² Interview (translated from Spanish), Andrea. 04-10-2020.

⁷³ Interview (translated from Spanish), Rodrigo. 04-17-2020.

4.4.2 Negotiation of power relations in the private sphere

(Indy)

Like in the public sphere, in the private sphere negotiation of power relations are noticeable through code-switching. However, in the private sphere mainly attitudes of perceiving Spanish of being of higher status than Mayan languages are negotiated between familiars, which may result in transformation of power relations. As mentioned in previous parts speaking Spanish, unlike Mayan languages, is connected to among other things perceptions of having more social and economic advancement and therefore seen as of higher status (Tummons et al. 2012, 8). Because of this attitude it is mentioned by participants that, for example at family gatherings there are some people, to use Carlota's words, who "feel too good"⁷⁴ to speak Mayan language and thus switch to Spanish. Hereby, they perceive as argued by Carlota that by speaking Spanish they are also seen as having more social and economic advancements and so will get higher status. As these family members switch to Spanish to show this attitude, dominant ideas of Spanish as being of higher status than Mayan languages will be maintained. However, participants mention that they find it unacceptable when a familiar does not want to switch to their Mayan language at social gatherings, which becomes clear out of Amanda's story:

*"[...] It has happened when we are in conversation and we all speak Kaqchikel and there is a relative, he knows how to speak Kaqchikel, but he does not want to do it, he speaks Spanish. And there are some of the group who tell him puchica (damn), what is happening, why don't want to speak in Kaqchikel? We are all speaking in Kaqchikel. Do you not think you are ladino? You are Kaqchikel, speak Kaqchikel!" [...] sometimes the family itself makes fun of the person [...]."*⁷⁵

This situation described by Amanda shows that it is not approved to switch to Spanish, when the rest of the relatives are speaking in the Mayan language Kaqchikel, since people make fun of and critique the person. That relatives see this as inappropriate can be explained because by not switching to Mayan language it seems that a person does not want to show his familiarity with the cultural values and indigenous identity. It may seem disrespectful to 'pretend' not to share a common identity. Yet, people know they can identify with each other since they are familiars and so know they share common values and norms (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015; Duranti 1991; Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Furthermore, in the private sphere participants state that since they are with familiars,

⁷⁴ Interview (translated from Spanish), Carlota. 03-13-2020.

⁷⁵ Interview (translated from Spanish), Amanda. 04-10-2020.

they often feel comfortable enough to “*put people in their place*” by saying “*they remain indigenous.*” In these moments, as commented by participants, they refuse switching to Spanish along with the other person. That the participants critique their familiars and keep speaking the Mayan language can be seen as a form of resistance (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). This is because by not switching to Spanish it resists assimilation to ideas of seeing Spanish of higher status than their Mayan language (Androutsopoulos 2007, 217; Jonsson 2014). Through resistance of familiars these attitudes towards language may be negotiated within the private sphere as others show that as Maya, you should speak the Mayan language and should not think more of yourself by speaking Spanish. In this way, power relations can be negotiated since Spanish is now placed by participants as not having a higher status than Mayan languages.

Moreover, negotiation of power relations in the private sphere becomes clear when looking at change in attitudes towards decisions to teach younger generations Spanish or the Mayan language first. Hereby, experiences from the public sphere are taken into the private sphere. First, as seen in previous sections most parents make the decision to teach their children Spanish because they perceive Spanish as of higher priority to learn than Mayan languages. Hereby, switching to Spanish is necessary as Alejandra, mother of three children says: “*If both languages are spoken at the same time “[...] sometimes children get confused. Because if I speak Kaqchikel and Spanish at the same time, the child will not understand.*”⁷⁶ By switching first to Spanish children will get more fluent in Spanish. On the other hand, as stated by participants if they will get more children or can consider their choice again, they mention that they will teach their children the Mayan language first and refuse to (only) teach them Spanish. Here, attitudes towards languages have changed since instead of Spanish, Mayan languages are now placed as priority. Therefore, switching back to a Mayan language when speaking with younger generations occurs. As discussed by participants this is because they see more promoting of Mayan languages in the public sphere such as at schools and also acknowledge themselves that it is good to show their children that Mayan languages are important, one “*should be proud of it*”, and “*it would be bad to lose it.*” Furthermore, participants argue they also try to mix codes less because as Pablo argues: “*it is not the right thing to do.*”⁷⁷ Pablo further explains that it is not right to mix Kaqchikel and Spanish because as he says they should speak “*their language Kaqchikel*” and not Spanish, as it is “*not from here.*”⁷⁸ This implies

⁷⁶ Interview (translated from Spanish), Alejandra. 03-10-2020.

⁷⁷ Interview (translated from Spanish), Pablo. 04-15-2020.

⁷⁸ Interview (translated from Spanish), Pablo. 04-15-2020.

that using Spanish into the Mayan language is connected to conforming to standards from a dominant ‘foreign’ culture that has oppressed Mayan languages (Barrett 2008, 279; Peckham 2012, 43). In this, there is a form of resistance visible since parents stimulated their children by switching codes to preserve the Mayan language (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). The desire of parents to maintain and transmit Mayan language and therewith the identity and knowledge that the languages embed, may challenge ideas of assimilating to the dominant group or culture (Dockery 2020; Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005, 11). Through these actions of resistance of language, attitudes of seeing Spanish as more valued, are challenged, and therefore negotiated (Jonsson 2014).

To summarize, bilingual Mayas can mix and switch within and between Spanish and Mayan languages. First, mixing within a Mayan language happens regardless of the sphere or situation. Code-mixing happens because most Mayas, unlike older generations, are less proficient in the Mayan language since Spanish is used more frequently. Therefore, they may forget some words and thus use Spanish words instead. Furthermore, bilinguals make considerate choices about their language use by switching between languages. Based on the theory of Jourdan and Tuite (2006) and Hoffmann (1991), we have discussed that bilingual Mayas switch out of functionality, familiarity, and formality. Both in the public and private sphere inclusion, generating thrust and respect are of main concerns regarding code-switching. Yet, these forms are used in a slightly different way in both spheres. Namely, in the public sphere people mainly encounter strangers and unfamiliar people, whereas contacts in the private sphere are family members or acquaintances. This means that it is clear in the private sphere, in which language people can speak with one another. Furthermore, bilingual Mayas can perform their identity in different ways through code-switching, which is relevant in the public sphere because on the one hand, one can take advantage of a certain identity in a specific situation while on the other hand avoids the inconveniences in another situation. In the private sphere the fluidity of identity becomes clear when looking at code-mixing. Code-mixing is often linked by participants to language and identity loss. However, rather than loss, meanings attached to ‘being Maya’ can change. Instead of identifying through language people find other ways to identify as indigenous such as through addressing cultural knowledge and ‘family roots’. Lastly, bilingual Mayas can negotiate power relations through code-switching. In the public sphere, switching to Spanish is a means to avoid negative reactions, which conforms the dominant standards of speaking Spanish in public places. However, respecting the language the other person speaks and switching to this language as well as consciously excluding others by

switching to the Mayan language can be seen as a form of resisting the imposition of a language. On the contrary to the public sphere, in the private sphere negotiation of power relations are not directed at ladinos. Nevertheless, in the private sphere mainly attitudes of perceiving Spanish of being of higher status than Mayan languages are negotiated by actively avoiding code-switching codes to and mixing with Spanish. Through resistance within the private sphere others who may have these attitudes such as familiars are criticized. Second, the promotion of using Mayan languages in the public sphere stimulates Mayas using Mayan languages in the private sphere. Hereby, parents switch to Mayan languages in order to teach children this language and so resist assimilation to dominant standards of speaking Spanish. Both may lead to a change in power relations since, unlike in the past, more importance is given to Mayan languages than Spanish.

5. Conclusion

In this research we have addressed the concept of bilingualism in relation to power relations and identity construction. Bilingualism in Sololá, Guatemala is referred to as speaking Spanish and one of the Mayan languages Kaqchikel, K'iche or Tz'utujil. Most bilingual Mayas in Sololá speak their Mayan language as their first language and Spanish as their second language, which distinguishes them from monolinguals as they have a bigger pool of words (Esen 2019). Therefore, bilingual Mayas can navigate through life making choices about their language use. Bilingualism is a rather dynamic phenomena as bilinguals do not fit into straightforward linguistic and ethnic category groups (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). We have examined this in the public and private sphere, whereby the public sphere refers to the space open for all members of a community, yet controlled by public authorities (Madanipour 2003, 118). Interactions are characterized as short and mainly between strangers and respect for the other in these interactions is perceived as important (Stuhlemer 2001). The private sphere is seen as the part of the life that is under the control of the individual, outside public observation, for a handful of familiar people in a close, intimate relationship (Madanipour 2003). Interactions with familiars are mainly focused on socialization because they share the same information such as values and languages (Stuhlemer 2011). Furthermore, Mayas in the private sphere are mainly concerned with the inclusion of people since people are usually with their own social group (Duranti 1991; Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 153). Hereby, maintaining positive attitudes towards this group can be beneficial to create a comfortable environment (Duranti 1991; Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 153). Nevertheless, there are dynamics within and between the public and private sphere as people move through both spheres. Therefore, they cannot be seen as two separate spheres but must be seen in relation to one another. Both Spanish and Mayan languages are used in the public and private sphere in Sololá. Yet, Spanish is mainly perceived as the language to communicate with those who do not speak a or the same Mayan language and for more formal purposes such as in education, the labor market, and official occasions. Mayan languages on the other hand, are mainly seen as the language to communicate on a local level such as with acquaintances, family members and fellow villagers by which cultural knowledge is constructed and shared. This cultural knowledge is reflected in Mayan languages because they contain words that specifically refer to aspects of the culture such as about cosmology. In accordance with Jourdan and Tuite

(2006, 5), language then organizes the culture and people's realities. Language also depends on culture since it is in interactions that the cultural knowledge can be shared and maintained (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Hereby, Mayan languages can be important because by expressing this cultural knowledge people can connect and identify with others based on cultural commonality (Abdelilah-Bauer 2015, 60; Villegas-Torres and Mora-Pablo 2018).

The attitude of bilingual Mayas towards Spanish and Mayan languages can be explained through power relations and indigenous identification. In the past, Spanish has been implemented as the obligatory language which became necessary to participate in society and to ensure identity fit within society (Deaux and Greenwood, 2013; Jackson 1999, 11; Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2015). It was thus imposed on bilingual Mayas and used as a way to exclude indigenous people. Therefore, Spanish has gained a priority status over Mayan languages which is still visible up until today. In the public sphere, these perceptions of power relations are noticeable as it is in these encounters that Mayan peoples compare and position themselves relative to ladinos through one's ability to speak Spanish and through the possibilities that speaking Spanish gives regarding job opportunities. Moreover, being capable of speaking in Spanish is emphasized by bilingual Mayas, as they are then able to defend themselves against potential discrimination by ladinos. Furthermore, the obligatory classes to learn a Mayan language and the demand for bilingual employees highlight the existing power relations because these measures needed to be implemented. These measures implemented by authorities are perceived by Mayas as a way to create equality between ladinos and Mayas. Not only because ladinos have to learn a Mayan language at school, but also because the Mayan language is more accepted and visible in jobs due to the bilingual employees. In contrast, people in the private sphere do often not encounter ladinos and do not get discriminated against. However, power relations between Spanish and Mayan languages are noticeable because among other things parents chose to teach Spanish to younger generations before teaching a Mayan language. They do this because they do not want their children to have the same negative experiences as they had by not speaking Spanish. In this way, children will get more fluent in Spanish than in the Mayan language, which indicates the priority of Spanish relative to Mayan languages. Despite this, Mayan languages are still seen as important by participants in both spheres as an indicator to a Mayan identity. It is in the public sphere that the Mayan language is the most important way to identify other indigenous people since ladinos only speak Spanish. Identification of other Mayas in the public sphere is important

because feelings of solidarity are generated when speaking with other Mayas in the Mayan language compared to interactions with ladinos speaking Spanish. The indigenous identification thus places two initial strangers in a closer relationship with one another through Mayan languages. In the private sphere, people are among familiars and therefore it is already known that they share an identity. Yet, indigenous identification through among other things a Mayan language is seen as important because, unlike Spanish, it has been transmitted from generations to generations. In this way, people can connect to a shared indigenous past and create a sense of belonging to being Maya. Regarding the context of Sololá, it can be said that Mayan languages thus have a more personal and inclusive character since people identify and connect with each other through shared knowledge speaking a Mayan language. It is this sense of belonging and the feelings of solidarity generated when speaking the language, that includes people as being Maya. In contrast, the language Spanish seems to have a more impersonal and exclusive character. It is only perceived as necessary in order to have social and economic advancement and people who do not speak Spanish are thus excluded from these opportunities. As Duranti (1991) states, language then serves as a powerful means to exclude people.

The different attitudes regarding Spanish and Mayan languages can be expressed in multiple ways by bilinguals as they have more words to use speaking two languages (Esen 2019). Therefore, they have the ability to negotiate power relations and indigenous identity through the language practices such as code-mixing and code-switching. (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005, 2). These language practices happen in both spheres although manifested in a slightly different way in each sphere. First, code-mixing is the language practice where bilingual Mayas mix Spanish into the Mayan language and are therefore interweaved. This interweaving of Spanish and Mayan languages indicates the fluidity and the change of Mayan languages. Second, code-switching is defined as a switch towards speaking the other language at a certain moment and also happens in both spheres (Esen 2019; Jourdan and Tuite 2006). The main concern of a switch is that it generates thrust, respect and inclusion. It is through code-mixing and code-switching bilingual Mayas can negotiate their indigenous identity in multiple ways (Gal 1988, 247; Jackson 1999, 18; Simmons and Chen, 2014). In the public sphere, this negotiation by bilingual Mayas happens primarily through code-switching and the performance of their indigenous identity. By speaking Spanish or a Mayan language they can choose if they want to emphasize their indigenous identity or not. Whether they emphasize this depends on if the identification as being indigenous is

perceived as favorable or advantageous in a certain social context. Rather than negotiating identity through code-switching and the performance of indigenous identity, it is in the private sphere that this negotiation is revealed through code-mixing. Namely, code-mixing is perceived as causing language loss and identity loss. Indigenous identity is thus negotiated as people find other ways to identify with being indigenous apart from speaking a Mayan language. This implies that identity is rather fluid. In both spheres we see that they maintain their indigenous identity and do not identify with the ladinos when speaking Spanish. However, Gal (1988, 247) and others state that bilinguals may take up multiple identities, both of the minority as well as the dominant group. This differs from our finding, because bilingual Mayas do not associate Spanish with certain cultural values or a sense of belonging to a group with which they identify. For Mayas, Spanish is primarily perceived as functional and beneficial in for example economic terms or to avoid discrimination.

Lastly, bilingual Mayas can negotiate power relations through code-switching. Hereby, code-switching or actively choosing not to switch, forms a means to resist the dominant norms. In this way, perceptions of the priority of speaking Spanish can be challenged by giving more importance to Mayan languages. In the public sphere, switching to Spanish happens to avoid negative reactions from ladinos. By doing this, bilingual Mayas conform to the dominant standards of speaking Spanish in public places. However, respecting the language the other person speaks, and switching to this language can be seen as a form of resisting the imposition of a language on others. Also, consciously excluding others by switching to the Mayan language is a way to resist the standards of speaking Spanish in public places. Contrary to the public sphere, in the private sphere there is no direct negotiating of power relations with ladinos. The negotiation of power relations in the private sphere is characterized by negotiating perceptions of Spanish as being of higher status than Mayan languages through code-switching and actively avoiding code-mixing. In one way, it is within the private sphere that bilingual Mayas who conform to the dominant standards of speaking Spanish are criticized by familiars. In another way, the promotion of using Mayan languages in the public sphere encourages parents to switch to the Mayan language when speaking with their children as they wish their children to learn the Mayan language. By doing this they resist assimilation to dominant standards of prioritizing Spanish (Perry and Purcell-Gates 2005). Both may lead to a change in power relations since more importance is given to Mayan languages than Spanish. Throughout the thesis we have thus found

that a main difference between the spheres regarding power relations and indigenous identity, is that power relations and indigenous identity in the public sphere are directly performed in relations to ladinos. Rather in the private sphere, power relations and indigenous identity manifest itself in the interactions of Mayas which thus implies a more indirect form. A main similarity between both spheres is that bilinguals have that flexibility through code-switching, which gives them power to use and utilize both languages to their advantage. This allows them to negotiate their perceptions and the existing norms. Hereby, a focus on the fluidity and negotiation by bilinguals of identity and power relations happening through code-switching is needed. By the use of a Mayan language one acknowledges being Maya, and by speaking a Mayan language one can perform his or her indigenous identity regardless of the existing dominant standards. It is thus through letting your voice be heard in the crowd, that one can become one's own being.

Generalizability and recommendations

Our research findings about the overall processes of language practices, and the way in which bilinguals construct their identity within prevailing power relations are also relevant for other contexts. Namely, Guatemala is not an exception concerning marginalization and discrimination between a majority and minority group, implemented language policies by authorities and rearrangements of values and language use by different groups (Hoffmann 1991; Jackson 1999, 10-11; Jourdan and Tuite 2015). Also, the ability of bilinguals to construct and negotiate identity dependent on social situations is not limited to Guatemala only. In different parts of the world, dominant structures are challenged and resisted through language use and identity construction (May 2000; Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Therefore, our research findings can be used to shed light on the overall dynamics regarding power relations in a bilingual context and its influences on identity construction in people's daily lives. Nevertheless, we have outlined the specific situation of bilingual Mayas in the department of Sololá in Guatemala. This means that certain findings are not generalizable for other places or situations. The history of Guatemala and power relations between ladinos and indigenous people have shaped the meaning attached to being indigenous and to speak an indigenous language. These are specific for Guatemala and therefore not similar for other situations. Also, the way the public and private sphere in Sololá look and the

interactions and conversations happening between people in these spheres cannot be generalized, as they are not the same as those in spheres in other parts of the world. Moreover, our research is only conducted on a small-scale and has examined just a small part of the topics of power relations and the influences of bilingual language practices within these power relations. In addition, due to the Coronavirus and safety reasons we had to return to the Netherlands after three weeks of doing fieldwork in Guatemala. As a result of the short period in which we have done participant observations, our research does not consist of a total representation of language practices in daily live interactions. Nevertheless, our research gives insight in language practices of bilinguals in everyday life interactions since little attention has been given to this. Through the bottom-up approach we have used to investigate this topic, even more relevant questions to examine have come up. Therefore, we would like to give a few recommendations relevant for further research.

First, the focus on bilingualism, such as in our research, indicates a characterization of individuals in two separate linguistic groups. However, bilingual Mayas are in many cases multilingual, speaking Spanish as well as something two or more Mayan languages. In accordance with our statement of seeing identity as fluid, we thus recommend further research regarding the link between power relations and multilingualism. Which of the languages are prioritized in nation-states and by individuals and why? Which meaning is giving to each language? And what implication do these meanings have regarding marginalization and forms of resistance? Second, it is interesting for further research to examine the importance of the writing system of Mayan language in the light of power relations and identity, since a standardized form of a language can contribute to equalizing group differences. Third, our research findings hint towards the role that the government and language institutions have in the prioritization and promotion of languages. The amount of attention that is put on the promotion of a language by authorities is linked to language and group ideology and therefore links to power relations. More research is thus needed to make valid conclusions about the role these authorities have regarding power relations and languages. In combination with bottom-up research, this top-down focus will contribute to a more holistic understanding of bilingualism, identity, and power relations. Fourth, our research has built upon the knowledge of the language laws in Guatemala with among other things the obligation of public institutions to hire bilingual employees. However, it is relevant to do further research to the implication of these language laws in public places. Is this obligation

observed and checked by public institutions and authorities? And if not, what is the motivation for institutions to comply with demanding bilingual employees? Lastly, we have not been able to elaborate on the dynamics of language regarding modern influences, such as technology, international communication, and (temporary) migration. Although Mayan languages are more valued and revitalized, it is through the above-mentioned influences that Spanish continues to be the language most functional. Hence, the inequality between Spanish and Mayan languages persists. However, it is needed to conduct more research into the impact these modern influences have on the equality between Spanish and the Mayan languages. All the recommendations for further research mentioned above, can contribute to a broader perspective of power relations and identity regarding language practices in different levels of society.

6. Bibliography

Abdelilah-Bauer, B. 2015. *Le Défi Des Enfants Bilingues: Grandir Et Vivre En Parlant Plusieurs Langues*. Paris: La découverte.

Academia de Lenguas Maya de Guatemala. 2003. "Ley de idiomas". <https://www.acnur.org>

Androutsopoulos, Jannis. 2007. "Bilingualism in the Mass Media and on the Internet." In *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, edited by Monica Heller 207-230: Springer.

Appadurai, Arjun. 2006. *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Balcazar, Heinze Ivonne. 2008. "Identity, Modernity, and Language Shift in Kaqchikel Maya Adolescents," *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics* 30:21-30.

Barrett, R. 2008. "Linguistic Differentiation and Mayan Language Revitalization in Guatemala 1." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12 (3):275-30.

Barrett, R. 2016. "Mayan language revitalization, hip hop, and ethnic identity in Guatemala." *Language & Communication* 47:144-153.

Boas, F. 1911. "Introduction." In Franz Boas (ed), *Handbook of American Indians Languages*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1-83.

Bonvillain, Nancy. 2015. *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge.

Choi, J. 2002. The role of language in ideological construction of Mayan identities in Guatemala. *In Tenth Annual Symposium about Language and Society*. Austin, TX.

Choi, J. 2014. "Code-switching in an institutional setting: Negotiating social roles in bilingual encounters in Guatemala." *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* 60:36-61.

Crossman, A. 2019. "Understanding Private and Public Spheres; An Overview of the Dual Concepts". Last modified August 31. <https://www.thoughtco.com/private-and-public-spheres-3026464>.

Day Translations. 2018. "The Relationship between Language and Culture Defined." Last modified May 11. <https://www.daytranslations.com/blog/language-and-culture/>.

Deaux, K., and R. M. Greenwood. 2013. "Crossing borders: intersectional excursions into gender and immigration." In *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Psychology*, edited by M. K. Ryan and N. R. Branscombe. London: SAGE Publications, 234–250. DOI: 10.4135/9781446269930.n15.

DeWalt, Kathleen M. & DeWalt, Billie R. 2002. *Participant observation: a guide for fieldworkers*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Dietz, Thomas and Tom R. Burns. 1992. "Human Agency and the Evolutionary Dynamics of Culture." *Acta Sociologica* 35 (3):187-200.

Dockery A.M. 2020. "Inter-generational transmission of Indigenous culture and children's wellbeing: Evidence from Australia." In *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 74: 80-93. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.11.001>.

Duranti, Alessandro. 1991. *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader*. 3rd ed. Blackwell Anthologies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, 1. Malden, MA: Wiley-Black.

Duranti, Alessandro. 2006. *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Blackwell Companions to Anthropology. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.

Escobar, Anna María. 2013. "Chapter 29: Bilingualism in Latin America." *In The Handbook of and Multilingualism*, 2nd ed. Edited by Tey K. Bhatia and William C. 725-744. Ritchie: Oxford Blackwell.

Esen, S. "Code Switching: Definition, Types, and Examples." Jan 2019.

<https://owlcation.com/humanities/Code-Switching-Definition-Types-and-Examples-of-Code-Switching>.

Essays, UK. 2018. "Role Of Language In Identity Formation: Cultural Studies Essay." Accessed June 17, 2020. <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/cultural-studies/role-of-language-in-identity-formation-cultural-studies-essay.php?vref=1>.

Fasold, R.W. 1984. *Sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fischer, Edward F. and Carol Hendrickson. 2003. *Tecpán Guatemala: A Modern Maya Town in Global and Local Context*. Routledge.

French, Brigittine M. 2010. *Maya Ethnolinguistic Identity: Violence, Cultural Rights, and Modernity in Highland Guatemala*. University of Arizona Press.

Gal, Susan 1987. "Code-switching and Consciousness in the European Periphery". *American Ethnologist* 14 (4):637-653.

Gal, Susan. 1988. "The Political Economy of Code Choice." *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* 48:245-264.

Gumperz, J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Hakuta, K. 2009. "Bilingualism." In *Encyclopedia of Neuroscience*, 173-178. Stanford, CA, USA: Stanford University. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-008045046-9.01877-5>.

Helmberger, Janet L. 2006. "Language and Ethnicity: Multiple Literacies in Context, Language Education in Guatemala." *Bilingual Research Journal* 30 (1):65-86.

Hoffmann, Charlotte. 1991. *An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Longman Linguistics Library. London: Longmanwell.

Holbrock, Mary J. 2016. *Mayan Literacy Reinvention in Guatemala* University of New Mexico Press.

Hyde, Bruce and Drew Kopp. 2019. *Speaking being: Werner Erhard, Martin Heidegger, and a New Possibility of being Human*. 1st ed. John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Jackson, R.L. 1999. *The Negotiation of Cultural Identity: Perceptions of European Americans and African Americans*. US: Praeger Publishers.

Jonsson, Carla. 2014. "Power and Resistance: Language Mixing in Three Chicano Plays." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 18 (2):118-133.

Jourdan, C., K. Tuite. 2006. *Language, Culture, and Society : Key Topics in Linguistic Anthropology*. Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language, 23. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Leacock, E. 1977. Race And The "We-They Dichotomy." *In Culture And Classroom. Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 8:152-159.

Madanipour, Ali. 2003. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. Routledge.

May, S. 2000. "Uncommon Languages: The Challenges and Possibilities of Minority Language Rights." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21 (5):366-385.

Moss, K., Faux, W. V. 2006. "The enactment of cultural identity in student conversations on intercultural topics". *Howard Journal of Communications* 17, bi, 1: 21–37.
doi:10.1080/10646170500487905.

Nordquist, R. 2019. "What Is Linguistic Anthropology?; Linguistic Anthropology, Anthropological Linguistics, and Sociolinguistics." thoughtcom.com.
<https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-linguistic-anthropology-1691240> (accessed June 17, 2020).

Peckham, Anna.2012. "One Nation, Many Borders: Language and Identity in Mayan Guatemala and Mexico." *Electronic Thesis or Dissertation*. Oberlin College.

Perry, Kristen H. and Victoria Purcell-Gates. 2005. "Resistance and Appropriation: Literacy Practices as Agency within Hegemonic Contexts." Citeseer.

Phinney, J. S., Romero, I., Nava, M., & Huang, D. (2001). The role of language, parents, and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30(2), 135-153. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1010389607319>.

Ramirez-Zea, Manuel, Maria F. Kroker-Lobos, Regina Close-Fernandez, and Rebecca Kanter. 2014. "The Double Burden of Malnutrition in Indigenous and Nonindigenous Guatemalan Populations." *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 100 (6):1644S-1651S.

Sapir, Edward. 1958. *Culture, Language and Personality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Simmons, N., Y.W. Chen. 2014. "Using six-word memoirs to increase cultural identity awareness." *Communication Teacher* 28: 20–25. doi:10.1080/17404622.2013.839045.

Stamou A.G. 2018. "Studying the interactional construction of identities in Critical Discourse Studies: A proposed analytical." In *Discours & Society* 29, no. 5: 568-589.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926518770262>.

Stuhlemer, Jens. 2011. "The Strength of Weak Ties. How Linguistic Change Happens in Social Networks." *English language and literature studies. Linguistics. 1-12. University of Cologne.*

Tummons, Emily, Robert Henderson, and Peter Rohloff. 2012. "Language Revitalization and the Problem of Development in Guatemala: Case Studies from Health Care."

Turner-Zwinkels, F. M., Postmes, T., and van Zomeren, M. 2015. "Achieving harmony among different social identities within the self-concept: The consequences of internalizing a group-based philosophy of life". In PLoS ONE 10, no. 0137879. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0137879.

Vanthuyne, Karine. 2009. "Becoming Maya? The Politics and Pragmatics of "Being Indigenous" in Postgenocide Guatemala." *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 32 (2): 195-217. doi:10.1111/j.1555-2934.2009.01041.x. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1555-2934.2009.01041.x>.

Villegas-Torres, P and I. Mora-Pablo. 2018. "The Role of Language in the Identity Formation of Transnational EFL Teachers." In *How* 25, no. 2: 11-27. <http://dx.doi.org/10.19183/how.25.2.418>.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. 1940. "Science and Linguistics". *Technology Review* 35: 229-31, 247-8.

Woolard, K. A. 1985. "Language Variation and Cultural Hegemony: Toward an Integration of Sociolinguistic and Social Theory." *American Ethnologist* 12:738-748.

7. Attachments

7.1 Personal Reflection Claudia

The Adventure of Being an Anthropologist

I can remember it just like yesterday. That uncomfortable feeling of sitting in the park of Sololá together with Indy and both our travel bags situated next to us. We have just arrived and have to wait for forty minutes before Amanda, our host mother, will come and pick us up. It is quite calm in the park, with people passing by thinking about their own affairs. Yet, for me it feels like all eyes are on us; two young, Dutch ‘tourists’ sitting in the park; a place that feels so unfamiliar to me. I notice that I am a bit scared for what has to come in these weeks in which I am going to record and later depict the lives of bilinguals in Sololá through this fieldwork. For a lack of something better to do, we take out our little notebooks and start writing everything we see around us. And with that, our fieldwork in Sololá had started.

When I think back to that moment, the people, the buildings around me and the unknown village which is Sololá, I could not have imagined that this same place would become so familiar and at home for me in the next coming weeks. Every day, Indy and I looked at which actions we could take in order to gather data, starting with a visit to the market with the intention to get in contact and build rapport. I had opted for the public sphere, having this vague idea about being more interested in the market. In fact, when entering the market, this idea was confirmed as the commercial activities, the huge amount of different vegetables, fruits and nuts and the small chit chat conversations belonging to the market and other public places suited me perfectly. My days were filled with numerous visits to the market and buying lots of fruits in order to get in contact with people which suited me perfectly. On the one hand, I can say that these visits to the market and later on other public places and the conversations I had with people were interesting, fun and an adventure. Moreover, I could keep on engaging in our research topic, also because of the fact that I could ask every question I had directly to the person who had an answer. It was amazing to experience the hospitality and courtesy of people sharing their life and experiences with us and helping us with everything we asked for. Yet on the other hand, doing fieldwork was also

confronting and often uncomfortable. Mainly because I stood out as being a tall, blond Dutch girl among the mostly indigenous people at the market. They often saw me as a tourist, by which people were not always clear about the reason for my presence at the market. This difference in intention between vendors and I, was sometimes uncomfortable. For them, someone entering their market stall is a client, who buys a fair number of products for his or her family. Yet, I entered the market intending to have a conversation while buying just one or two pieces of fruit to have a reason to talk with them.

Nonetheless, what is a good field worker without the support of others? Throughout the whole period of doing fieldwork and writing this thesis, Indy has been a huge support for me. It were the conversations about our observations in the field or things we had heard in interviews, and also the insecurities about the research, that helped me to keep on wondering about the research topic. In addition, Indy has been a great help regarding Spanish, in conversations, interviews and messages. But above all, she was a great help for me to keep on being grateful and having fun being an anthropologist in Sololá. Overall, I think we complemented each other well, which is reflected in our choice for the public and private sphere. I like to talk with many people and can sometimes be very straightforward asking for favors, which is useful in the public sphere where conversations are short as people often have a purpose for being in the public sphere, such as work or doing shopping. Indy rather prefers building rapport first and values being respectful for someone's personal activities. This corresponds to the characteristics of the private sphere, in which contacts are mostly with people who are close to you and the home environment is personal to them.

Unfortunately, the moment when our research started to flourish, we got the phone call informing us to return back to the Netherlands due to the Coronavirus. It goes without saying that this was terrible news. However, it made me present with all the contacts I had made, the stories people had told me and the many things we had experienced in just three weeks of doing fieldwork. Nonetheless, continuing our fieldwork from home felt like starting all over again. This time not sitting at the park in Sololá with my notebook, but at my desk with my laptop open, insecure about how to collect data in this new research setting. Even though I have kept the adventurous spirit during the period of doing by finding ways to conduct data, I have had difficulties being back in the Netherlands physically while mentally still being in Guatemala. Namely, my days were filled with chatting with people in Guatemala, conducting online interviews and analyzing the photos I received from photovoice, portraying places in Guatemala and Sololá. Also, the close contact I had

with Indy during fieldwork when living together had changed now we were doing research both at our own homes. This time, it felt more like a research I was doing alone. Fortunately, we kept in contact via video calls and in that way communicated about the research we were still doing together.

All in all, I hope that by having read this thesis, you as a reader, have gotten a little impression or a tip of the iceberg about the people we have met, the stories they have told and the dynamics in the public and private spheres in Sololá. As I was dedicated, from the moment I was sitting in the park in Sololá, to depict the authentic story of the lives of our research participants in Sololá.

Attending the class of Kaqchikel in Panajachel



7.2 Personal Reflection Indy

Valuable, but not as I expected

Looking back at this research period, I found it a very valuable experience because I have both improved my academic and personal skills. I am glad that Claudia and I agreed very soon to do research on the topic of bilingualism. From day one I found it a very interesting topic because language is something that everyone uses including me, but I never really reflected about it. It was a bit of a struggle how exactly we were going to structure our research but when we made the decision to separate our research by focusing bilingualism regarding identity and power relations in the private and public sphere, I felt well prepared to start the fieldwork.

Within the field, I found myself a flexible and driven fieldworker. In Sololá, I did not have a strict plan, which activities I was going to do and how to find my participants. Nonetheless, I am glad this turned out well. In the first week, we spent a lot of time in the field, walking around Sololá, hanging out, going back to the same places, and finding ways to get contacts. At first it was a bit uncomfortable starting ‘random’ conversation but soon I got used to this and started to enjoy it. This made doing fieldwork a lot easier. Furthermore, I was glad I didn’t experience a lot of difficulties with the Spanish language. I even improved it by using and writing the language daily. Eventually we found regular groups we could join such as joining Kaqchikel classes to learn the language. I found it very interesting to learn a bit of Kaqchikel. Besides my personal interests in the language it was a very useful way to get in contact with people. By saying we were learning Kaqchikel people immediately got interested and this made it easier to explain the whole research. This confirmed for me that it is very important to learn or show interest in the local language while doing fieldwork.

I felt that Claudia and I were a good team since we were both very curious and open to each other. Although we sometimes had different approaches, I felt comfortable sharing ideas and experiencing with her, both about the research as personal ones. This has improved our research. I also think this openness and interest is a good characteristic of a fieldworker because it has helped finding participants, establishing rapport more smoothly. I didn’t experience difficulties finding participants since after the first week we both found (key) informants to interviews and participant observation. Participant observation at people’s houses was a pleasant experience because I felt I

could make myself useful by doing small favours in return such as washing dishes and cooking. I also immediately have a kind of trust being there with the people. This trust has also helped to not invoke feelings of intrusion and to feel free to ask questions and so receiving more data. Moreover, I was lucky to stay with a host-family who also spoke Kaqchikel and Spanish. Since my focus was on the private sphere, I could make my home as a research place. This also made it difficult because I had to ask informed consent several times. However, the host-family has years of experience with hosting Dutch cultural anthropology students, so they understood very well what our aims were. Besides participant observation, the interviewing generally went well because I received a lot of useful information since the first interview. Yet, I noticed that my interview skills were improving after doing some interviews and I feel more confident conducting interviews. This might help me in the future as well. I recorded all the interviews, which was a very good idea because in this way I could transcribe the interviews more easily. During the fieldwork period I noticed I prefer to work with a pen and paper to write notes while being in the field because it felt more personal.

The less exciting thing was that we had to stop our fieldwork after the third week and returned to the Netherlands earlier than expected due to the COVID-19 pandemic. I found it way harder to do research from a distance since participant observation wasn't possible anymore and it was difficult to keep in touch with participants. Most participants had a phone but not always calling credit or internet at home. Having contact through social media felt more forced than having contact with people in Sololá. This made it less fun and harder to continue collecting data. Because of this I collected less data than I hoped for, which could have impacted the quality of our research. I also didn't see Claudia daily which made it harder to share thoughts. However, we kept having good contact by video calling, voice messages and messages every day. Although it was bitter to stop the fieldwork in Sololá, I find it positive that we changed our attitudes fast to make the best of it. Furthermore, I also improved my online communication skills and other methods such as using photovoice, making questionnaires to fill the gaps in our data.

Yet, there is always room for improvement. First, what I could have done better is to focus more on my own research. At the beginning I was also asking more about the public sphere instead of only focussing on the private sphere. In this way, I could have missed information. Second, I noticed that our research was quite broad. Therefore, I have the idea that we couldn't analyze every aspect deep enough. Next time, I would make it a bit narrower. Third, if I am going to do research again, I will start earlier with finding a good structure in the thesis because we had to change this

several times. This took a lot of time and so we had less time to analyse the data well, including not being able to code all data in the three stages. This could have impacted the quality of the thesis. I think this could have been avoided by also looking more at the theoretical framework and context before writing our data and start earlier with not only writing down the data per sub question but already placing the data in relation to each other.



7.3 Summary in Spanish

Resumen Tesis

Una investigación cualitativa sobre prácticas lingüísticas, especialmente la alternancia de código de Mayas bilingües con respecto al poder y la construcción de identidad en Sololá, Guatemala.

En esta tesis de licenciatura examinamos las prácticas lingüísticas, específicamente la alternancia de código de Mayas bilingües en el ámbito privado y público, con el fin de entender mejor el rol del lenguaje con respecto a las relaciones de poder y la construcción de la identidad indígena en la vida diaria de las personas en Sololá, Guatemala. El subcampo de la antropología lingüística es particularmente apta para esto, ya que estudia el papel que juega el lenguaje dentro de las interacciones sociales y puede, en consecuencia, arrojar luz sobre el uso del lenguaje en la negociación de identidad (Peckham 2012).

Guatemala tiene una larga y continua historia de dominación política y socioeconómica de los pueblos mayas indígenas, que representan el 40 por ciento de la población de Guatemala (French 2010; Ramírez-Zea et. al 2014; Peckham 2012). Se han hecho circular prejuicios raciales sobre los mayas como un grupo sin educación y primitivo para legitimar la dominación sobre ellos. De este modo, el lenguaje ha servido como un marcador de identidad étnica entre Mayas y Ladinos (Barrett 2008; Choi 2002; Escobar 2012; May 2000). El español se impuso a los mayas bilingües y se utilizó como una forma de excluir a los pueblos indígenas (Escobar 2012; French 2010; Peckham 2012). En consecuencia, ha adquirido prioridad sobre las lenguas mayas que hoy en día todavía es visible. A pesar de que el español fue impuesto, los mayas han mantenido su idioma, por lo que muchos de ellos son bilingües (Escobar 2012; Peckham 2012). Es interesante observar el bilingüismo con respecto a las relaciones de poder y la identidad indígena porque desafía la idea del estado de un grupo lingüístico y étnico homogéneo (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). Los bilingües pueden cambiar entre idiomas y dentro de ellos (Jourdan and Tuite 2006). El bilingüismo en Sololá, Guatemala se refiere a hablar español y una de las lenguas mayas Kaqchikel, K'iche or Tz'utujil. Asimismo, la alternancia de código es definida como un cambio hacia hablar el otro idioma y sucede en ambos sentidos. (Esen 2019; Jourdan and Tuite 2006).

Es necesario comprender mejor este tema ya que se ha prestado poca atención a las prácticas lingüísticas de los bilingües en la interacción de la vida cotidiana utilizando un enfoque cualitativo

(Choi 2014, 44). Sin embargo, esto es necesario porque proporciona información sobre la experiencia de los mayas bilingües y los significados más profundos de las prácticas lingüísticas con respecto a las relaciones de poder e identidad (Choi 2014). Esto puede ser útil para señalar en lo que se debería enfocar, por ejemplo, los programas de revitalización de idiomas en Guatemala que tratan de desacelerar el cambio de los idiomas mayas (Choi 2002; Choi 2014).

Contribuiremos a expandir el conocimiento respecto a este tema respondiendo nuestra pregunta principal: ¿Cómo perciben y negocian los mayas bilingües las relaciones de poder y la identidad indígena mediante el uso y el cambio entre el español y una lengua indígena en el sector público y privado en la región de Sololá, Guatemala?

La respuesta a esta pregunta se basa en la investigación cualitativa etnográfica con un periodo de trabajo de campo desde Febrero hasta Mayo. Hemos combinado los métodos de observación de los participantes, 24 entrevistas semiestructuradas, fotovoces y cuestionarios. Incluimos mayas bilingües, tanto hombres como mujeres de entre 20 y 68 años. El sector privado, examinado por Indy, se refiere al ámbito y vida familiar e identidad personal (Crossman 2019; Madinapour 2003). El ámbito público es donde sucede el libre intercambio de ideas entre indígenas y no indígenas, que es examinado por Claudia (Crossman 2019; Madinapour 2003). Nos hemos centrado en estos dos sectores porque ambos son importantes en la vida cotidiana, sin embargo, las interacciones entre las personas y el uso del lenguaje en ambos sectores a menudo son significativamente diferentes (Crossman 2019; Madinapour 2003).

En nuestra tesis hemos encontrado que el español es percibido por los mayas bilingües como necesario para el desarrollo económico y social, mientras que los idiomas mayas son vistos como el idioma de comunicación a nivel local y un indicador de la identidad indígena. A pesar de que ser bilingüe es muy valorado por los mayas, los padres siguen priorizando la enseñanza del español a sus hijos primero, para que así puedan defenderse contra la discriminación potencial, lo que indica las relaciones de poder con respecto a ambos idiomas. Asimismo, la identidad indígena de los mayas bilingües se puede realizar y enfatizar de múltiples maneras, aparte del lenguaje. Además, los mayas bilingües pueden negociar relaciones de poder mediante la alternancia de código, ya que pueden conformarse o resistirse a los estándares dominantes. En conjunto, una diferencia principal entre los sectores con respecto a las relaciones de poder y la identidad indígena, es que estas, en el ámbito público, están directamente relacionadas a los Ladinos. Mientras que, en el sector privado, se manifiestan en las interacciones de los Mayas, lo que implica una forma más indirecta.

Una similitud principal entre ambos sectores es que los bilingües tienen esa flexibilidad mediante la alternancia de código, lo que les da el poder de usar y utilizar ambos idiomas para su beneficio. Esto les permite negociar sus percepciones y las normas existentes. Se recomienda centrarse en la fluidez y negociación por parte de los bilingües de las relaciones de identidad y poder que ocurren a través de la alternancia de código para investigaciones futuras.