

Spanish: A Language of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

Florencia Riegelhaupt, Roberto Luis Carrasco, Elizabeth Brandt

Editors' Note: It might seem strange to have an article on Spanish in a publication focusing on endangered languages, but even a "world language" can be endangered regionally. Passage of English-only, anti-bilingual education propositions in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts in the last few years underscores the fact that any language can suffer repression, and that the "tyranny of the majority" can threaten any minority language if the conditions are right. Based on how political democracy works, it is critical that language minorities that want to see their languages survive and thrive must band together to oppose oppressive legislation that limits their freedom to have their languages and cultures represented in the curriculum of public schools.

This article demonstrates that the great majority of U.S. Spanish speakers and speakers of Indigenous languages share Indigenous roots, speak marked languages that are threatened, are bilingual, have similar linguistic and pedagogical needs, and speak languages that predate English in the Americas. Spanish is viewed as an asset for U.S. Indigenous peoples in the Southwest as it can promote indigenism and expand the base of cultural and political exchange.

Spanish, while clearly not an Indigenous language of the Americas, has become one of and sometimes the only language of Indigenous peoples. Since its introduction in the early stages of the Spanish conquest when it was used as what Antonio Nebrija labeled "the language of empire," Spanish has gained a strong foothold among Indigenous peoples who are frequently bilingual in their native languages as well as in Spanish.

The Spanish originally brought to the Americas and the Spanish of today is significantly different, principally owing to its contact with Indigenous languages. The Spanish of the Americas today can be said then to be a truly unique variety reflecting the Indigenous presence found throughout the Americas at the time of the conquest to the present. As English has penetrated and changed Indigenous languages, Spanish language contact also influenced Indigenous languages. Languages evolve into unique identities owing principally to language and culture contact (Silva-Corvalán, 1995; Barkin & Brandt, 1982; Barkin, Brandt, & Ornstein-Galicia, 1982).

In this paper we propose that Spanish, and more specifically varieties of it found in the United States Southwest, Mexico, Central and South America, is an important vehicle for cross-cultural Indigenous dialog in the Americas. In her plea for recognition of the common history, traditional values, linguistic, and cultural goals of Chicanos and Indigenous peoples, Jaimes (1988) proposes the term "indigenism." Indigenism involves the conscious and consistent (re)assertion

Nurturing Native Languages

and adherence to the traditional cultural values upon which both American Indian and Chicano societies were formed.

Indigenism means consciously strengthening the links among ourselves that presently exist, and reestablishing those which have been eroded or broken by the colonial process. It means once again to rely upon one another rather than that which oppresses and seeks to destroy us. And it means seeking to widen our circle, to meet and forge bonds with other, ongoing Indigenous societies around the world (p. 19).

We demonstrate how American varieties of Spanish are for some people their only surviving tongue, while for others Spanish is one of the languages spoken by multilingual populations. We present the perspective that bilingualism/multilingualism in Spanish, English and Indigenous languages contributes both to the maintenance of Indigenous languages and cultures and to the dissemination of information related to Indigenous cultural and political issues across the Americas. In addition, we demonstrate similarities between linguistic, pedagogical, historical, and cultural characteristics of Indigenous peoples and monolingual and bilingual Spanish-speakers of the Southwest in their quest for language and cultural preservation. Knowledge about these commonalities helps to contribute to efforts to maintain, preserve and continue to transmit heritage languages and cultures to future generations.

We begin with a discussion of language shift and policy in the early years of the Spanish colonies. This historical overview of Spanish language policy provides a backdrop for understanding the spread of Spanish as a language of monolingual and bilingual Indigenous peoples throughout the Americas, with its incorporation of Indigenous lexical items, phonological realizations, and although less commonly, morphological and syntactical structures. In addition to an historical overview of Spanish colonial language policy, the following topics related to the role and importance of Spanish for Indigenous peoples in the Americas are discussed: Indigenous peoples and Spanish as a *lingua franca*, shared history as conquered people, Indigenous roots of Spanish speakers in the United States, mutual revitalization and stabilization efforts, affective connections to language and culture, teaching and learning Spanish and Indigenous languages, Spanish for Indigenous research, and loanwords and mutual language influences. These topics underscore 1) the mutual linguistic and cultural issues and concerns of native Spanish and English speaking Indigenous bilinguals in the Americas, 2) the similar cultural and linguistic needs for language and cultural preservation of native Spanish speaking and Indigenous language bilinguals in the United States, and 3) the importance of Spanish as a language for Indigenous peoples.

Language shift and language policy for America's Indigenous peoples

Spain's presence in the Americas dates back to 1492, an important date both for Spain and for the Spanish language for a number of reasons. Ferdinand

Spanish: A Language of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

and Isabel, the “Catholic King and Queen,” who united the kingdoms of Castilla and Aragón declared Castilian, *castellano*, the official language of Spain, and Antonio de Nebrija published the first Grammar of the Spanish Language and advised monarchs that Spanish should become the official language of the Spanish empire. At the same time the Spanish Inquisition was in full force, requiring all non-Christians to either convert or to be exiled; Jews were expelled in 1492 followed by Moslems in 1503. They were forced to leave the land that had been theirs for hundreds of years, taking with them their Spanish language and customs.

Motivated by a desire for gold and land, the Spanish conquered the Indigenous people of the Americas and converted them to Catholicism. The clergy used Spanish to teach the Bible and by extension it was also conceived by native people as the language of Christianity. It often incorporated religious symbols and rituals from the various Indigenous religions with which it came in contact. The Spanish language rapidly became the *lingua franca* and the official colonial language of the conquered. Spanish was taking its place as the language of “empire.”

Today, 500 years later, throughout Latin America (which includes the United States Southwest), Spanish remains the major *lingua franca* among Indigenous people. The people of Mexico and the Southwestern United States are called Mexican usually in reference to their political nationality. But in many parts of Mexico people refer to themselves also as “mejicanos” (Mexicans) meaning Mexica people (Aztecs) who speak Nahuatl. Others will say they are Mexican and speak Spanish. They could also be Maya, Mixteca, Cora, Huichol, Otomí, Yaqui, or another of the hundreds of Indigenous groups living in Mexico.

The notion that the people of Latin America today are a mixed blend of Spanish blood with Indigenous people is more myth than truth. The Spanish caste system viewed such a mixture as lower class although it did occur to a certain extent. The real *mestizaje*, the real mixture, is among native peoples of Latin America (Jaimes, 1988) who still use Spanish as their *lingua franca*. Intertribal marriages have made English the *lingua franca* among the US Indigenous peoples much as Spanish has taken on this role in Latin America.

When the Spaniards began to colonize the Americas, they knew that they would profit, both in terms of wealth, as well as conversion to Christianity. Ferdinand and Isabel, after all, had fought hard to reconquer Granada, the last Moslem stronghold of the Reconquest which ended over 700 years of Moslem rule in Spain. Christian fervor was at its height. They believed conversion to be their role so that the “heathens” would be saved and extended this ideology to newly conquered territories. With Christianity came Spanish, for it was in Spanish that Christianity was to be initially introduced to the Indigenous peoples. Various linguistic approaches to proselytizing began to take form. King Charles V, for example, insisted on Spanish to be the language used, while Philip II felt that Indigenous languages were more suited to encouraging converts to Christianity. He also suggested that Nahuatl be used as a *lingua franca* for the purpose of converting the various Indigenous peoples of Mexico to Christianity.

Nurturing Native Languages

The 16th and 17th centuries were of conquest and conversion and these goals were considered far more important than the dissemination of Spanish. During this period, Franciscan friars learned Indigenous languages, and Nahuatl was also used. Philip IV's liberal language policy recognized the difficulty in insisting in the learning of Spanish prior to and during the conversion process. He supported an Indigenous language policy for conversion.

Toward the end of the 17th century, under the rule of Charles II, insistence upon the learning of Spanish grew stronger. The 18th century was characterized by linguistic repression. Spanish again was to be the language of empire and of Christianity. Indigenous languages were seen as an obstacle to reaching such goals.

The 19th century was the century of autonomy; most of the colonies became independent states. The former Spanish Empire was now wrought with political and economic unrest. No longer was Spain a world power. Efforts to require Spanish for educational and religious purposes were weakening in the remaining colonies, such as Guam and the Philippines, while Christianity maintained its stronghold throughout the former Spanish Empire. Prior to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1848, when the Southwestern United States was under Spanish rule and later under Mexican rule, Indigenous peoples such as the Pueblo people of New Mexico and Arizona often spoke Spanish as their first or second language. Bilingualism prevailed and Indigenous languages were still spoken when the Americans acquired this region.

When the Americans acquired this territory in 1848, both Mexicans and Indigenous groups were considered conquered peoples. Immediately, an American policy of linguistic and cultural eradication was imposed for both Spanish and Indigenous language speakers. This form of cultural and linguistic genocide included what Jaimes (1988) refers to as autogenocide. Autogenocide is a process by which groups lose their identification with their culture. The American policy was to "Americanize" the conquered people through segregated schools for Mexicans and boarding schools for Indians. In these schools, Mexican and Indigenous students were punished for speaking their languages. Carrasco recalls how he was punished in Los Angeles schools for speaking Spanish. "I was often sent to the back of the classroom to face the wall all day with a small bar of soap in my mouth." Until the late 1960s, if teachers heard a language other than English in Mexican and Indigenous classrooms, they would hit their students' fingers/hands or their heads with a ruler. While there is no official language policy in the United States Constitution, there was clearly an English language policy imposed on these conquered people, who were given U.S. citizenship through the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

Spanish documents during various *entradas* (incursions) into the Southwest suggest that the Spanish did not have a problem communicating with Indigenous peoples here. Often these documents mention the use of sign language, but sometimes they suggest that they spoke to the people, though what language(s) was used is unknown. This suggests, however, that in the Southwest during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which mark the beginnings of Spanish ex-

Spanish: A Language of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

ploration and settlement, Spanish and Indigenous languages were used and multilingualism prevailed. The entire span of territory from the U.S. Great Basin south to Tenochtitlan (The Aztec capital that became Mexico City) was populated by speakers of Uto-Aztecan languages and dialects. The Spanish always traveled with Indigenous servants and slaves who spoke many languages. Also, the time period between the establishment of the Aztec state and the arrival of the Spaniards spans only a few hundred years, not a long time when it comes to language change.

Indigenous peoples and Spanish as a *lingua franca*

Indigenous peoples have inhabited what is now the southwestern United States for over 40,000 years, speaking their Indigenous languages. Spanish as a *lingua franca* across Indigenous groups has existed for over four hundred years, while English is a newcomer to the linguistic tapestry. With the end of the Mexican American War, and the Gadsden Purchase, Spanish and Indigenous languages of the U.S. Southwest became part of the linguistic fabric of the new U.S. Territories.

Spanish missionaries rarely learned the languages of the U.S. Southwest, but did set up schools to teach Spanish. They used Indigenous people who became fluent in Spanish as catechists all over the Southwest, and Spanish became increasingly imposed and important in Indigenous communities. Spanish became the *lingua franca* of the U.S. Southwest, and English had little penetration into rural contexts well into the 20th century after the American invasion of the Mexican northwest (today the U.S. Southwest) in the 1840s. A case in point is the persistence of a variety of Spanish in Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado that contains archaisms from the Spanish spoken by early settlers. Charles Lummis, a journalist who lived at the New Mexico Pueblo of Isleta in the mid-1880s, spoke Spanish to the people and they to him, even corresponding in Spanish for decades, although he did learn a lot of Isletan Tiwa as well. As late as the 1960s, most Pueblo Indian communities in New Mexico were trilingual in their native language, Spanish, and English. Navajos, Apaches, Yaquis (Trujillo, 1997) and other tribes in the Southwest were also similarly trilingual. But this began to change, with English replacing the native language and Spanish. Today in these communities, the native language is spoken primarily by those who are 50 years old and above, with a few exceptions such as remote Keres and Tiwa-speaking villages, and Spanish is also limited to older speakers. Still today, Apaches, Hopis, Navajos, Yaquis (Trujillo, 1997; Spicer, 1943) and other Indigenous tribes have vestiges of Spanish borrowings and loanwords due to Spanish language contact.

Among the Pueblo Indigenous towns in the Southwest, there has been tremendous attrition as a result of the processes of colonization. Huge numbers of villages simply disappeared. The community of Ysleta del Sur, located in the El Paso, Texas area, was originally Tiwa-speaking. It began as a group of refugees who were brought by the Spanish to "Paso del Río" (today, El Paso, Texas) during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The language became for all purposes extinct

Nurturing Native Languages

by the late 19th century, though a few words are still preserved even today. Spanish became the language of Isleta del Sur and today is the language most commonly spoken in this border community, though English is also spoken. The same is true of what were originally Piro speaking communities. Available evidence indicates that Piro was a Tanoan language, closest to Tiwa, and now extinct. So Spanish has become the language of many Indigenous communities. In Arizona, the Tohono O'odham nation has been divided by the relatively recent U.S./Mexico border. While there are quite a number of speakers of O'odham, Spanish is the language of wider communication for this Indigenous nation, when tribal members from both sides are together in public contexts.

Spanish remains the *lingua franca* among Indigenous peoples of the Americas; it unites them in their mutual efforts to defend their rights as Indigenous peoples. Even in cases when the Indigenous language is their principal language, Indigenous peoples throughout Latin America must use Spanish when communicating across national and cultural boundaries. Indigenous peoples in the United States who wish to communicate with those in Latin America need to know Spanish.

In the sections that follow, we demonstrate the shared plight of Hispanics and other U.S. Indigenous groups. We compare these populations and provide reasons why combining efforts to stabilize and revitalize Spanish and Indigenous languages in the U.S. Southwest could help insure for their mutual protection. While Spanish is not considered to be an endangered language and boasts a significant number of native speakers, its loss is of concern to U.S. scholars and educators who recognize the link between knowledge of culture and language and overall academic success. Both populations are suffering language loss within their communities. Both groups are struggling for equal rights. Both are suffering from higher dropout rates, alcoholism, suicide, and health problems, such as diabetes and heart disease.

Shared history as conquered people

Ironically, considering the role of the Spanish as conquerors up to the nineteenth century, today Spanish and Indigenous language speakers in the United States now share a history of injustice, racism, and colonialism; they are now both a conquered people. Jaimes (1988) provides examples of similarities in Chicano and American Indian culture, politics and community. She discusses 1) their common heritage of collectivity or "communalism, 2) their similar history and experiences with land fraud, 3) the implications of federal "official English" with regard to both groups' cultural integrity, and 4) human rights considerations in view of Euro-American cultural/political and economic hegemony. She states that "Regardless of the outcome, it is plainly evident that culture, politics and community among Chicanos and American Indians in this contemporary U.S are not only related, but inseparable matters" (19). These facts should become a unifying force for these linguistic minority groups. Linguistic policy related to the use of Indigenous languages should include Spanish as part of the

Spanish: A Language of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

agenda for language revitalization and stabilization, since Spanish also has been shown to be experiencing loss among the younger sectors of both populations.

On the surface it may appear that Spanish is vital and strong and will remain so. Evidence used to create this impression generally includes recent immigrant populations from Mexico and Central America. While it is true that the United States is the fifth largest Spanish speaking country in the world with 35.3 million (U.S. Census 2000), Hernández-Chávez (1993; 1999) and Rivera-Mills (2002; 2000a; 2000b) have shown that Spanish is giving way to English at a rapid pace, especially among youth in both urban and rural areas. While immigration increases numbers of Spanish speakers in the U.S., children of Spanish-speaking immigrants are learning English and their children often choose English rather than Spanish as their home language. Given this scenario, intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue, the key element for language maintenance, is improbable. Loss of language and culture has been shown to have negative academic and cognitive affects. Lower achievement often contributes to lower self-concept. Lack of knowledge of one's language often alienates children from their parents and grandparents, and from their sense of cultural rootedness.

Mutual revitalization and stabilization efforts

Since these groups NOW share a common history as a conquered people, they speak marked languages and are considered to belong to marked cultures. Marked languages and cultures are stigmatized by the majority culture, leading its members to have negative attitudes toward themselves, their cultures and the languages they speak. It has been demonstrated that the lower status of minority languages and cultures can negatively affect their language maintenance and acquisition. Joining forces in political attempts to legitimize the role of minority languages and bilingual education as well as to revitalize these native languages can only help efforts on behalf of both U.S. Indigenous groups.

Owing to the fact that Spanish and Indigenous languages are both experiencing loss, similar revitalization and stabilization efforts are also required. What tends to differentiate the groups is the fact that there are far greater numbers of Spanish speakers. Their mere numbers present a picture of linguistic security. However, as mentioned above, numbers often cloud the issue and present a case for linguistic stability rather than loss. Just as in the case of Indigenous U.S. populations, Spanish is losing ground, especially among youth and young adult populations who are using English as their only or principal language even at home.

Indigenous roots of Spanish speakers in the United States

Most Spanish speakers throughout the Western Hemisphere are either monolingual or bilingual Indigenous peoples. Spanish-speaking immigrants to the U.S. are mostly Indigenous peoples, and bilingual in their mother tongue and in Spanish. Their children may be trilingual, with English as their third language. Often, U.S. school and government officials assume that immigrants from Latin

Nurturing Native Languages

America speak fluent Spanish, which is not always the case. For example, Barbara Flores (Personal communication, October 1, 1987), a professor of bilingual education, observed a migrant bilingual English-Spanish school in Madera, California, at a time when the school was concerned about the effectiveness of the bilingual program and low academic achievement. Through linguistic observations in the community and the schoolyard, it was discovered that while the students and their parents were indeed from Mexico, they were native “Mixteca” speaking people and Spanish was their second language. The school was attempting to teach these students a new language, English, while using Spanish instead of their mother tongue. Fernando Peñalosa (Personal communication, April 20, 1995), a sociolinguist, also observed that the children of immigrant Mexican “Mayan” communities in Los Angeles, California were frequently misplaced in Spanish-English bilingual programs. Many Mexican immigrants are bilingual in their native language and in Spanish, with Spanish being their weaker language. Others may be monolingual in an Indigenous language. Frequently, they are not literate in either the Indigenous language or in Spanish. Literacy in their Indigenous languages is rare.

Affective connections to language and culture

Native learners in both contexts express emotional and affective connections to their native cultures and languages and often wish to establish strong links to their heritage, families and communities. An additional reason for including both Spanish speakers and Indigenous speakers in a similar category when it comes to language preservation efforts is that both groups, when asked about the importance of their language and their culture, express emotional and affective connections and reasons for maintaining them. They often choose to continue to learn their languages so that they can establish or maintain links to their heritage, families and communities. Luis Ruan (Personal communication, May 29, 2002), a California Chicano youth counselor, informed us of that his knowledge of Spanish allowed him to gain entry into his grandparents’ Indigenous Purepecha bilingual community in a remote area of Michoacán, Mexico. Because of his Spanish, he was able to discover his Indigenous roots. He even began the formal study of Purepecha while in Mexico. A Chicana student, in an intermediate Spanish Composition for Native Speakers, reported how her newly acquired Spanish language skills led her to communicate with her monolingual grandfather in Mexico, allowing her to reconnect with her Indigenous cultural roots.

Teaching and learning Spanish and Indigenous languages

Language learning strategies and reasons for learning their languages are significantly different among heritage language learners when compared to second language learners. Efforts toward establishing university language programs for these heritage learners should involve both Southwestern “Indigenous” groups. After all, their continued acquisition of their heritage languages requires an entirely different approach to language teaching/learning than exists in typical sec-

Spanish: A Language of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

ond language programs. Spanish for Native Speakers courses are far more similar to heritage language programs in Indigenous languages, such as Navajo, than they are to second language programs.

Pedagogical approaches for teaching heritage languages generally utilize language and culture contexts and knowledge as take off points for the further acquisition of native/heritage languages. Important links with home and community are often required for successful implementation of such language programs. Community knowledge is integrated into the classroom and elders may also be brought into the classroom to speak the language to recount stories and legends, and to teach concepts better expressed in their native language.

Spanish for Indigenous research

Today, Spanish is also a necessary tool for investigating Spanish colonial documents. Many of these documents contain important information related to Indigenous culture and language, as well as land ownership issues. Scholars, in collaboration with Indigenous leaders, need to know how to read Spanish as they continue to uncover new information about what is now the area comprising the Southwestern U.S. Many pertinent Spanish historical documents describe Indigenous languages and cultures with which they came into contact. These documents also shed light on land disputes and related issues. While these documents can be found in various archives throughout the Spanish speaking world, Spanish is clearly needed to access this information. One valuable source of original colonial documents is the famous Archives of the Indies located in Sevilla, Spain.

Spanish, as a heritage language in the Southwest, links both native Spanish speakers with Indigenous people to a past where both groups learned each other's languages. In a study of Spanish and Chamorro (the Indigenous language of the Chamorro people) language policy in Guam, Carrasco and Riegelhaupt (1989) found that the status and use of these two languages were frequently determined by Spanish royal decree. Spain's language policy dictated that either Spanish, Indigenous languages, or in the case of Mexico, the *lingua franca*, Nahuatl, was to be used. By the middle of the 19th century, Spanish was clearly the official language used in education and government of colonies that had won their independence from Spain. U.S. acquired territories, won either during the Mexican American War of 1845 or the Spanish American War of 1898, continued to use Spanish and Indigenous languages, while English was being introduced. Bilingualism in Spanish and Indigenous languages, followed by a transitional period of trilingualism with English as the third language, appears to be the case from the beginning to mid 20th century. Spanish, therefore, represents one of the heritage languages of all former Spanish colonies, including those now part of the Southwestern United States.

Languages in contact, loanwords, and mutual language influences

Indigenous languages that have experienced significant contact with Spanish have numerous Spanish loanwords. Many of these refer to objects, concepts,

Nurturing Native Languages

and animals introduced by the Spanish. It is interesting to note the various adaptations loanwords have taken based on the various Indigenous phonological systems. Many of the loanwords from Spanish are related to the same word in Spanish, yet they have taken on distinct forms from language to language. Spanish colonization introduced new domestic animals, new food crops, tree crops, and the mission grape. All of the names for these were incorporated into the Indigenous languages. In some languages, such as Yoeme, there has been significant relexification of the lexicon based on Spanish models. Only Athapaskan has been quite resistant to Spanish loans. There appear to be only three k pp s 'potatoes', pish 'fish', and beso '*peso*, money, dollar'. There are large numbers of Nahuatl words that have become part of a universal Spanish lexicon, such as *chocolate* (chocolate), *aguacate* (avocado), etc. Other Indigenous borrowings into Spanish have remained regionalisms. For example, *chile* (chile) is common in the Southwestern U.S. and Mexico, while *ají* (chile) is used for the same plant and food in the Andean region, and in other areas of South America.

Spanish and Indigenous languages have influenced each other extensively. The Spanish of the Americas is clearly not the same as the Spanish of Spain. Many of the differences are specifically related to contact with Indigenous languages. Hidalgo (2001) refers to this process as one of "koineization," a process by which languages change through contact. It can be argued that at least certain Spanishes spoken in the Americas have so thoroughly and completely incorporated Indigenous language vocabulary and structures that they have become the Indigenous language of these people.

Goodfellow and Alfred (2002) argue that rather than looking at language change in a negative light, and saying it is really language death, we should remember that linguistic change is inevitable and constant and that when cultures meet and their members speak different languages, pidgins will inevitably result. These pidgins will then go through a process of creolization, thereby becoming the native (and first) language of the next generation. New dialects of English may even be mixed languages (Bakker & Muysken, 1995). Goodfellow and Alfred (2002) offer an example of a North American Indian Language (Kwak'wala) that has come in contact with English and has transformed into a new language that deserves to be preserved. In many cases, for example, there are few or no native speakers of the Indigenous languages left, and access to these individuals is very limited. The actual "native tongues" of these groups, are the contact varieties. Some of these may be based lexically on one, or more native languages, a European colonial language other than English, and English, as well. Goodfellow and Alfred (2002) offer a case in point with Chinook Wawa, a language spoken along the Northwest Coast of North America from southern Oregon to Alaska. Chinook Wawa which has aspects of Chinukan, Nootka, Salish, Kwakiutl, and (later) French and English, and even Hawaiian, Chinese, and other languages. Goodfellow and Alfred note that there have been efforts to revitalize it as a community language, principally because it represents the only known language that carries the traditional ceremonial aspects previously found in the various languages of the various cultural groups

Spanish: A Language of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas

that came into contact with each other. Revitalization efforts that redefine the concept of “standard” language to include other viable languages, and their dialects, are far more likely to succeed. Goodfellow and Alfred encourage Indigenous communities today to recognize and accept these new languages since they clearly represent the link between these Indigenous cultures and their traditional ways.

Conclusion

We have presented a case for acquiring, maintaining, and including Spanish as an important language for both heritage speakers of Spanish and Indigenous peoples of the Southwestern United States. We have discussed numerous cultural, historical, political and linguistic similarities between U.S. Spanish speakers and speakers of Indigenous languages. These populations share Indigenous roots, speak marked languages, are bilingual, possess strong cultural ties to their families and communities, have similar linguistic and pedagogical needs, and speak languages that predate English in the Southwest. There are even U.S. Indigenous peoples who today speak Spanish as their only mother tongue!

Spanish should be seen as an asset for U.S. Indigenous peoples. It promotes indigenism because Spanish allows one to communicate, to exchange ideas across other Indigenous groups in the Western Hemisphere, including the Chicanos of the Southwest, and immigrant Latin Americans, who are for the most part also Indigenous peoples. It allows for cultural exchange among groups with common interests and similar agendas, and allows Indigenous people to present themselves, and their social, cultural and political circumstances, to a larger international community.

Although its presence only dates back to the Spanish colonial period, Spanish was spoken in the Southwest prior to English. It coexisted with Indigenous languages and bilingualism among Indigenous peoples was often the case. Mutual efforts to ensure for the revitalization, stabilization, and continued use and acquisition of these important languages spoken in the U. S. Southwest can only strengthen political power on behalf of the peoples who continue to speak them. While we believe in the importance of the autonomy of each nation and ethnolinguistic group to make decisions about how to insure for the preservation and continuation of its language, we also believe that while we're thinking locally, we should also be thinking globally. The goals are the same—to protect the vitality of our languages and cultures in this diverse nation.

References

- Bakker, P., & Muysken, P. (1995). Pidgins. In J. Arends, P. Muysken & N. Smith (eds.), *Pidgeon and Creoles: An introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Barkin, F. (Riegelhaupt); Brandt, E.; & Ornstein-Galicia, J. (eds.). (1982) *Bilingualism and language contact: Spanish, English and Native American languages*, New York: Teachers College.
- Barkin, F. (Riegelhaupt), & Brandt, E. (eds.). (1980). *Speaking, singing and teaching: A multidisciplinary approach to language variation*. Anthropol-

Nurturing Native Languages

logical Research Papers No. 20. Arizona State University.

Carrasco, R.L., & Riegelhaupt, F. (1989). *Functions of Chamorro: Ethnographic case studies of Chamorro language use*. A language policy study supported by and submitted to the Governor's Commission on the Chamorro Language, Government of Guam.

Goodfellow, A., & Alfred, P. (2002). What can we learn from studies of pidgins and creoles? In B. Burnaby & J. Reyhner (eds.), *Indigenous languages across the community* (pp. 213-218). Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University. http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/ILAC/ILAC_22.pdf

Hernández-Chavez, E. (1999). "Imperativo para la sobrevivencia cultural: La Revitalización del Español Chicano de Nuevo México." A presentation at the XVII Congreso del Español en Estados Unidos. Maiami, FL. March 11-13.

Hernández-Chavez, E. (1993). Native language loss and its implications for revitalization of Spanish in Chicano communities. In B. Merino, H.T. Trueba, & F.A. Samaniego (eds.), *Language and culture in learning* (pp. 58-75). London: Falmer

Hidalgo, M. (ed.). (2001). Between koineization and standardization: A new world Spanish revisited. A Special edited issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 149, 1-165.

Jaimes, M. Annette. (1988). *The relationship of culture, politics and community among chicanos and American Indians in the contemporary United States: An Indigenous analysis*. Paper presented at the XVI National Chicano Studies Conference. April, 1988.

Rivera-Mills, S. (2002). Acculturation and communicative need: Language Shift in an Ethnically Diverse Hispanic Community. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 20, 211-223.

Rivera-Mills, S. (2000a). Intraethnic attitudes among Hispanics in a Northern California community. In A. Roca (ed), *Research on Spanish in the United States: Linguistic issues and challenges*. Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla.

Rivera-Mills (2000b). *New perspectives on current sociolinguistic knowledge with regard to language use, proficiency, and attitudes among Hispanics in the United States*. New York, NY: Edwin Mellen.

Silva-Corvalán, C. (ed.). 95). *Spanish in four continents: Studies in language contact and bilingualism*. Washington DC: Georgetown University.

Spicer, E. H. (1943). Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation. In *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 45. No. 3.

Trujillo, Octaviana (1997). A tribal approach to language and literacy development in a trilingual setting." In J. Reyhner (ed.), *Teaching Indigenous languages*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University. http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/TIL_2.html

US Census 2000.

Villa, D. (2000). Languages have armies, and economies, too: The Presence of U.S. Spanish in the Spanish speaking world. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 19, 143-154.