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From the President

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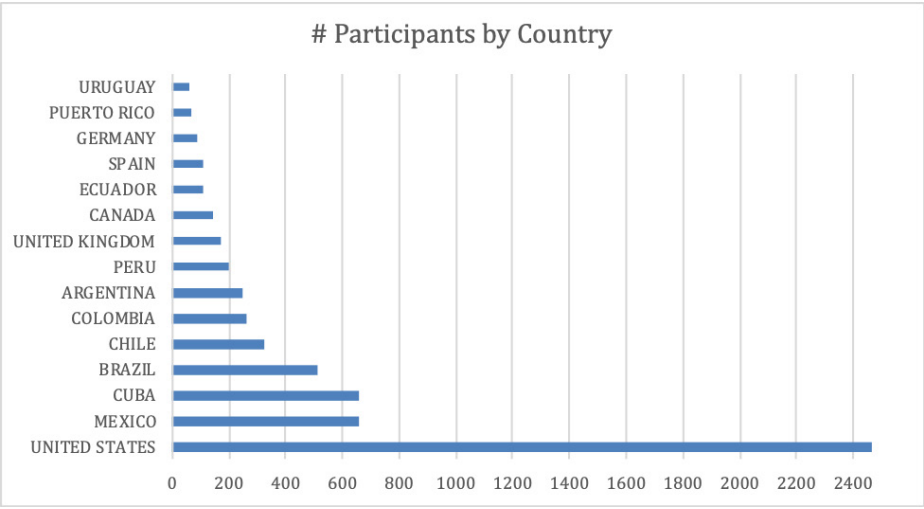
In our forthcoming LASA congress in Boston we invoke the message of "Nuestra América" to promote a hemispheric vision of justice and inclusion. As our call states, "we want our 2019 congress to be seen, and function as, a bridge to LASA 2020 in Mexico, thus symbolizing the unity and mutual dependence between the different parts of our America." We expect up to 6,400 participants to gather together in 1,486 scheduled sessions, 47 meetings, and at least four receptions, not to mention our opening ceremony and Gran Baile. The graph below charts participation from the 15 countries with the highest numbers of attendees, but the most important statistic is that LASA 2019 is the hub for people from 52 different countries. We are building an arc of justice and inclusion in Boston. And it is a critical message at this time.

LASA has recently issued two important statements about academic freedom and human rights that deeply concern our members.

First, since the Brazilian elections, repeated episodes of armed police entering university campuses and threats to professors accused of making political statements in the classroom violate even the most minimal notion of academic freedom and university autonomy. Since the election there have been signs of increased interference by the so-called Escola sem Partido, a movement that defines appropriate education in a way that both contradicts all scholarly norms and leaves virtually every instructor vulnerable to charges of "indoctrination." Government officials exhorting students to report on teachers who violate some imagined standard of apolitical instruction threatens to suppress the kinds of groundbreaking research and challenging ideas that have made the Brazilian academy a global site for scholarly innovation. (See "Mounting Threats to Academic Freedom in Brazil," January 8, 2019; text available in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French.)

Second, in Colombia, a pacific student movement seeking adequate resources to fund higher education, prevent privatization, and preserve public access to a university education has been met with increasing repression. Students have been injured and continue to be threatened. (See "LASA Expresses Its Concern over State's Repression of the Colombian Student Movement," January 8, 2019; text available in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French.)



A Personal Message: On Borders, Connections, and Caravans

I want to use the rest of this column to reflect on my own experience this fall living in San Diego, very close to the US-Mexico border, while in residence at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego. During the past months there has been much publicity about the caravan of Central Americans that departed from Honduras in October 2018. I have learned a great many lessons from watching the caravan move through Mexico, settle in the border area, and disperse in different ways through the months of December and January. Many of these lessons have come from the many Mexicans and others who have offered ongoing food, clothing, shelter, medical services, basic necessities, and emotional support and encouragement to those in the caravan. The great diversity of people in the caravan from Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala, and their reasons for leaving everything behind and risking it all to travel through Mexico to the northern border with the US, also bring important insights.

On November 22 the Colegio de la Frontera Norte in Tijuana (COLEF) conducted a survey of 1,037 people housed in the Benito Juárez Sports Arena, a government sports complex in Tijuana. They found that 76.9 percent of the participants were men and 23.2 percent were women. More than half of those who were surveyed were young men between 18 and 19 years of age; 81.7 percent were from Honduras, 6.8 percent were from El Salvador, and 9.9 percent were from Guatemala; 1.7 percent were from a range of other countries. Not included in the survey, but a part of the caravan included LGBTQI members who arrived at the beginning of November seeking protection and safety (see "La caravana de migrantes centroamericanos en Tijuana 2018: Diagnóstico y propuestas de acción 2018," El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, December 13, 2018). The numbers of people who initially arrived in Tijuana was likely about 5,500–6,000. Many of these people, including families with children, were crammed into the Benito Juárez Sports Arena for two to three weeks. Because of difficult conditions inside the sports complex after rain and extremely cramped quarters out in the open, officials closed the initial shelter and encouraged people to move to a new site 11 miles away. This new shelter offers some areas with walls and a roof and better conditions. It is known as El Barrital, a former entertainment complex.

As we finish this issue of the LASA Forum, El Barrital is also slated to close down soon. As of January 15, 2019, about 700 people remained in the shelter,

Caravan members line up for afternoon lunch outside of El Barrital shelter in Tijuana, Mexico.

Young Guatemalan caravan participant helping to create a mural.

primarily families with children hoping to seek asylum. Many of these are determined to remain near the border as they wait for their names and number to be called from a list that is controlled by participants from the caravan. Only about 40 to 50 people are called per day, at this time. This process is known as "metering," whereby only a limited number of people are permitted into the US by U.S. Customs and Border Protection agents who check all crossers' documents. (For more details, see the report "Asylum Process and Waitlists at the U.S.-Mexico Border," published by the Robert Strauss Center for International Security and Law at University of Texas Austin.)

According to the Mexican government, of the original 6,000 people in the caravan, about 1,300 people have returned to their countries of origin and about 2,900 have received humanitarian visas, which permit them to remain in Mexico and work. Others have left on their own to try their luck at crossing the border elsewhere. (See Maya Averbuch and Patrick McDonnell, "New Caravan Heading to U.S.," *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 16, 2019.)

I had a chance to spend part of an afternoon in El Barrital in early December. Access is wide open, and when we arrived there was a lot of activity. About 20 young men and women were creating a large mural with flowers, trees, animals, and messages from them to the world. Another group was gathered to sing karaoke. Several impromptu soccer games were taking place, and there was a line for an open-air barber who was giving haircuts. There were tents everywhere, and in different areas toward the back showers were being built. Two long rows of porta-potties, one for men and one for women, lined a back wall. Farther back, a large indoor space housed families with children. Tents were pitched inside, mattresses laid out on the floor, strollers were scattered, and some children were playing in infant swings, with dolls, and racing around the large space. A long, closed hall was full of single young men who had arranged their sleeping mats, bedding, and shoes on the concrete floor one next to the other.

Meals were being served to people on paper plates. The plates had rice and noodles on them; some people had soup. I chatted with a Honduran family consisting of two sisters and their children sitting on stumps and low rocks just outside the entrance of the shelter. They told me that conditions have improved for them since leaving the other shelter and they were happy to be dry and fed. They had put their names on a list to be called to the San Ysidro port of entry to receive a credible fear interview with an asylum officer in the hopes of being let into the US. They hinted at neighborhood violence, sexual violence, and very difficult conditions behind their decision to flee and bring their small children in the caravan.

Honduran family eating lunch together inside the shelter.

Mother and daughter outside their tent watching a nearby soccer game.

I spoke with José Luis (a pseudonym), from the Petén region of Guatemala, who was working with others to color in a beautiful design that was part of a large mural on a plastic banner. I lay on my stomach as we chatted and he drew. In front of me I read the words, "Feliz Navidad Donald Trump, te desean los de la caravana de inmigrantes." Another part of the mural said, " Déjenos entrar." Luis explained to me that he was an orphan. His parents died when he was 6 years old. After they died, he was placed in an orphanage and grew up there until age 18. He is currently 19. He spent a lot of time looking for work and sometimes found work as a carpenter, able to use the skills he was trained with. But more often than not, he could not work and was constantly pressured by gangs to join and engage in criminal activities. "Thanks to God I was able to survive and resist that, but I am here looking to be safe and find an opportunity." Luis has applied to work in Tijuana and was waiting to receive his papers and permit. He planned to work in the area and hoped to be able to move into his own room after he had earned some money.

Alfredo (a pseudonym), from Santa Bárbara, Honduras, joined the caravan after he heard about it on TV. He shared with me, "They said that the caravan was coming here and I decided to come with it." Alfredo is 24 years old and was working in Honduras at a maquiladora that made electrical harnesses (networks of wires) for cars. His biggest worry, however, was his safety and the presence of gangs. He also expressed anger and frustration with the political situation in Honduras and the repression of the opposition.

Impromptu soccer game inside the shelter.

In November 2017, after elections, vote counting was interrupted. Before the interruption, Juan Orlando Hernández was losing. Twenty-four hours later, the results shifted and he was declared the winner. Thousands took to the streets to protest and a military curfew was imposed. At least 30 people died in initial demonstrations and more people were killed, wounded, arrested, and detained in subsequent demonstrations. While the US recognized Hernández as the winner, the Organization of American States called for a new election. Nevertheless, Hernández was sworn into office for a second term in January 2018.

When I asked him why he joined the caravan, Alfredo replied at length. I include a long piece of his testimony here as it illuminates the multiple factors that have pushed young men like Alfredo to leave behind parents, siblings, and everything, walk for weeks in very difficult conditions, and gamble on the caravan. He has a work permit and plans to begin working soon in Tijuana with the hope that after some time he may find a way to enter the US and work there as well.

I got here through the strength of my soul. The road wasn't easy. Believe me, there were very difficult days. Through the strength that God gave to me, I was able to keep going and make it. I walked a lot.

I left because I couldn't find work, but also for another reason. Listen, there are a lot of gangs in Honduras where I live. If they say to you, "hey do you want to join us" and you say that you don't want to, well, you have to go join up. You are forced to. If you don't, then they kill you. And young men like me, we are at the highest risk because we are the ones they constantly try to recruit. And the police don't do anything. And one more thing. . . . Our president is really bad. He didn't win the elections. He stole the elections and committed fraud. That isn't fair. He didn't win the elections but he stayed in power. The reason is that he had the support of the military. In other words, they are his dogs, his enforcers. You can't protest anything. . . .

People ask me if it's dangerous here in Tijuana. I don't feel like it's very dangerous here. I am always alert and on the lookout. The truth is that I felt a lot more danger in Honduras because of the constant pressure of the gangs. It's always present there, every day. Here I don't really feel it's dangerous.

They say that they won't let us into the US right now. But I just want to say that I have a lot of love for Mexico now. The people have really helped us and have treated us really well. Here we haven't lacked food, clothing, or anything. They have taken really good care of us.

Alfredo, José Luis, and the sisters with their kids from Honduras were full of hope and gratitude. Even after walking for weeks and living through very difficult days and conditions they were optimistic. Their hope was infectious as were the many demonstrations of kindness, help, assistance, and love that I witnessed that afternoon. Some in Tijuana were not so happy with the arrival of the caravan and pointed to the homeless and poor who already live in the city. But a great majority were welcoming and inclusive.

On the other side of the border, in the US, ICE is releasing women, children, and others who have applied for asylum onto the street outside the Greyhound Bus station in San Diego. Once there, they have no resources or places to stay. A local group known as the San Diego Rapid Response Team has cobbled together a temporary shelter to house people and volunteers to help them contact relatives and to buy bus tickets. The shelter has moved five times and is often full to capacity. On a daily basis, families primarily from Honduras and Guatemala are released onto the street. On one recent night, the shelter was full and young children and their parents were faced with sleeping on the street until a local church opened its doors. The Rapid Response Team is working to find a more permanent and larger shelter.

The human relations of care, love, and material and emotional assistance I have seen in the caravan and those who support it in Mexico and through organizations such as the San Diego Rapid Response Team are at the heart of our search for justice and inclusion in Nuestra América. Please come and join us in Boston as we work together to spread this message. //

Lenguas, lenguajes y literaturas de Abiayala: ¿Descolonizando o re-colonizando en la era del capital extractivista?

por **Luis E. Cárcamo-Huechante (Pueblo Mapuche)** | Universidad de Texas en Austin y Comunidad de Historia Mapuche | carcamohuechante@austin.utexas.edu

Tras la notable oleada de textos literarios de autorías indígenas puestos en circulación a fines del siglo XX, la historia colonial de la institución letrada en el continente ha sido a lo menos puesta bajo signos de interrogación. Más aún, variadas obras literarias producidas y publicadas en el curso de las últimas tres décadas han incorporado las propias lenguas de los Pueblos de Abiayala como códigos escritos, verbales y performáticos. Lo que ha ocurrido entonces es un posicionamiento indígena en el campo de la creatividad estética y literaria y en el terreno lingüístico, lo cual ha ido a la par de o en resonancia con las movilizaciones y luchas de los Pueblos de Abiayala en busca de horizontes políticos e históricos de autodeterminación y autonomía.

Hablo aquí de Abiayala para asumir el prisma de una cartografía indígena y poner en cuestión no solamente el mapeo sino que las narrativas coloniales del continente (Muyolema 2001; Keme 2018). Abiayala es un concepto que proviene del idioma del Pueblo Guna (Panamá) y significa "tierra en plena madurez", aludiendo a todo el continente actualmente identificado bajo los nombres de "América", las "Américas" o, más parcialmente, "América Latina". El tropo geopolítico y cartográfico de Abiayala comenzó a ganar legitimidad entre un amplio espectro de líderes indígenas a partir de la "Declaración de Quito" de 1990. La elección de dicha denominación fue sugerida por el líder Aymara Takir Mamani. A juicio de Mamani, "llamar con un nombre extranjero nuestras ciudades, pueblos y continentes equivale a someter nuestra identidad a la voluntad de nuestros invasores y a la de sus herederos". En el ámbito académico, el estudioso Kichwa Armando Muyolema ha escrito una sugerente revisión crítica de la "política del nombrar" en el continente y el potencial auto-representacional indígena del término Abiayala. Esta reflexión deriva en un cuestionamiento al "Latinoamericanismo" en cuanto campo que, en su mero nombre, carga el fardo de cartografías coloniales. A su vez, en un reciente artículo, Emil Keme ha planteado "la idea y el proyecto cultural y civilizatorio de Abiayala como una categoría que desafíe a (Latino)América" y que haga posible articular una "indigeneidad transhemisférica" (2018, 38). Cabe mencionar que una denominación equivalente a Abiayala para los Pueblos Amerindios de lo que hoy es Estados Unidos y Canadá es la de *Turtle Island* (Isla tortuga). Se trata de un tropo cartográfico que resalta el carácter animado y viviente de las tierras del continente y, en principio, designaría las regiones hoy representadas bajo las "repúblicas coloniales" arriba mencionadas. No obstante, en la larga tradición nativa del Norte, esta noción, de un modo análogo a la de Abiayala, trazaría el dibujo y la figuración del continente como una gran tortuga rodeada y abrazada por las aguas.

Desde dicha perspectiva, los territorios indígenas de Abiayala o Isla Tortuga se pueden redibujar bajo otras categorías geo-lingüísticas: *Anahuac*, para marcar los territorios donde se ubican históricamente los pueblos originarios de lo que hoy representamos como México; el *Mayab*, para abarcar los Pueblos Mayas que históricamente se han ubicado en la península de Yucatán y, en un sentido más extenso, gran parte de lo que hoy es Centroamérica; luego, *Pindorma,* concepto de los pueblos Tupi-Guaraní para designar los territorios de lo que actualmente se representa

bajo los nombres de Brasil y la Amazonía. Por el lado de los Andes, el mapeo indígena visualiza el vasto *Tawantinsuyu*, para dar cuenta de lo que son las regiones hoy recubiertas bajo las denominaciones de Ecuador, Bolivia, Perú y retazos andinos de Colombia, Argentina y Chile. Y luego, el *Wallmapu*: para denominar el territorio Mapuche y que incluiría el centro y sur de lo que actualmente se ha subsumido bajo la geopolítica del centro y el sur de Chile por lado oeste (*Ngulu Mapu*) y, por el este (*Puel Mapu*), el centro y sur de Argentina. Los pueblos y geografías indígenas de lo que hoy conocemos como Caribe y la Patagonia generalmente se obliteran en nuestros propios mapeos de Abiayala; pero no se pueden dejar de lado porque allí es donde se vivieron los más devastadores despoblamientos a causa del genocidio colonial y, por lo mismo, reclaman ser nombrados.

A lo largo de estos territorios del Sur Indígena, la colonización lingüística y discursiva se ha entretejido entonces con una historia de ocupaciones y despojos territoriales que continúan en el presente. De hecho, la actual era neoliberal se ha caracterizado por la invasiva omnipresencia de compañías petroleras y mineras, complejos hidroeléctricos, empresas forestales y similares sobre nuestros territorios, profundizando y amplificando una historia de despojos y atropellos a la vida de los Pueblos Indígenas. Allí donde ha emergido la respuesta organizada de comunidades demandando y posicionando un sentido de autonomía territorial, se han desplegado con aún mayor fuerza las armas de los aparatos policiales y represivos de los Estados criollo-nacionales. Esto bien lo ilustra el caso reciente del asesinato de Camilo Catrillanca, joven miembro de la Comunidad de Temucuicui, en territorio Mapuche. El arma policial que terminó con la vida del joven Mapuche el 14 de noviembre del 2018 resulta ser parte de las nuevas formas de "violencia colonial" que se despliegan para intimidar y aterrorizar la vida misma de comunidades en procesos de autonomización territorial.[1] El Estado, al haberse vuelto cómplice de la agenda neoliberal, se hace presente, por la vía de sus fuerzas represivas, como arte y parte de una voluntad por aplastar todo autodeterminismo indígena que desafíe el modelo hegemónico de gobernanza y economía global. Si los agentes estatales no actúan, en muchos casos entran a operar las redes propias de violencia del capital corporativo. Dichas redes hoy por hoy operan de modo encubierto, y muchas veces con la anuencia de los Estados, para defender los intereses del capital extractivista y acallar el activismo indígena; una modalidad de violencia corporativa que se ilustra, por ejemplo, en las constantes amenazas de muerte contra líderes que se oponen a las envestidas extractivistas de las compañías mineras en Perú; o, de un modo más extremo, en el caso del asesinato de la líder Berta Cáceres (Pueblo Lenca), en Honduras, en marzo de 2016.

Luchas y tensiones: ¿Re-colonizar, descolonizar?

Pienso que hoy el desafío de las prácticas literarias y lingüísticas que se ligan a los territorios y diásporas indígenas del continente es el de situarnos críticamente ante los escenarios de la actual era del extractivismo global; un extractivismo que prolifera a todo nivel: energético, medioambiental, económico, simbólico, intelectual y epistémico. Por un lado, la compleja maraña urdida por el capital neoliberal subsume "lo indígena" en agendas multiculturales o interculturales acotadas al "reconocimiento", políticas y despliegues institucionales en que astutamente se incorporan "representaciones indígenas" precisamente para validar agendas de reinstalación y continuidad de relaciones y estructuras coloniales, con lo cual la hegemonía neoliberal aparece como "inclusiva" y legítima.

Por ejemplo, en los claustros universitarios, ya agotados los antiguos indigenismos criollos que operaban con "informantes nativos", hoy se reposiciona una nueva generación" con "experticia" en "Pueblos Indígenas". Entidades dedicadas a los "estudios indígenas" construyen élites académicas criollas o redes transnacionales de supremacía blanca que se ratifican en dicha posición a través de cuotas de representación indígena sin alterar las estructuras del poder y control de saberes, recursos y direcciones institucionales.[2] La "supremacía" de una cierta élite criolla o "global blanca" se revalida en estos nuevos "fundos" académicos, en que la parte indígena se acopla "desde el inquilinaje hacia

abajo", es decir, como una nueva servidumbre que provee insumos en el campo de las lenguas, las artes, la cultura y la investigación. En dicha maraña, el asunto de la "representación" no altera la política extractiva que se ejerce sobre las comunidades. Por el contrario, mantiene escolástica distancia entre academia y movimientos indígenas y, de esta manera, "estabiliza" lo indígena dentro del *status quo* neoliberal del presente. Dentro de este marco, nuestras obras y prácticas literarias o activismos de las lenguas indígenas resultan subsumidos en la bien urdida agenda de los multiculturalismos o interculturalismos neoliberales que recolonizan Abiayala.

Como contraparte, nos queda el enorme desafío de perseverar en el afán de entretejer literatura, artes y agenciamientos lingüísticos con horizontes y compromisos de auto-determinación y autonomía política, ligándonos a las variadas y admirables luchas indígenas a lo largo de Abiayala. Es el desafío ético y político de insertar nuestros afanes literarios, estéticos y lingüísticos en rumbos de justicia social y en pos de desestructurar los engranajes de las nuevas maquinarias extractivas y globales del colonialismo y el capitalismo racializado.

En años recientes, las reflexiones sobre la "investigación descolonizada" como parte de una "co-labor" propuesta por Xochitl Leyva y Shannon Speed nos han ayudado a pensar-actuar-imaginar de otro modo, o a aspirar a ello.[3] Como Leyva y Speed plantean, nuestras prácticas, investigaciones y elaboraciones críticas deben encauzarse hacia "producir conocimiento que contribuya a transformar condiciones de opresión, marginación y exclusión de los estudiados y, por otra parte, la elaboración de análisis académicos más ricos y profundos con base en la experiencia de co-labor" (Leyva y Speed 2008, 67). Si ponemos en el epicentro este empeño, ¿cómo podemos pensar nuestros quehaceres investigativos en torno a lenguas y literaturas indígenas hoy en día? Por otro lado, ¿de qué manera se podría traducir aquello que Leyva y Speed debaten desde las ciencias sociales? ¿Cómo aquellos y aquellas que cultivan la literatura, las artes y las lenguas se posicionan en el sentido anti-colonial y descolonizador arriba consignado?

Las producciones literarias y artísticas de estos decenios recientes nos proveen una notable heterogeneidad de lenguajes y prácticas de agenciamiento indígena. Dichas literaturas no se acotan al texto escrito por lo general; también se nutren de sustratos orales, musicales y performáticos. Para estas "literaturas", los textos escritos son apenas pasajes a la voz y a las tradiciones indígenas del canto, que involucran gargantas y cuerpos que completan o amplifican lo que lectores o lectoras pudieran estar leyendo y viendo sobre una página impresa. Artes de la palabra y a la vez de cuerpos indígenas, de carne y hueso, que son parte activa del presente. Artes de lenguajes, lenguas y cuerpos que creativamente permanecen y persisten, rebelándose contra las taxonomías urdidas a partir del enclaustrado recinto de la letra o de la ya agotada dicotomía oralidad/escritura. Artes verbales, musicales y corporales que se sedimentan en escrituras y no se acotan a estas. He ahí el dinamismo expresivo y performático de lo que laxamente hoy denominamos "literaturas indígenas".

Por allí, asimismo, transitan los idiomas de Abiayala, lenguas y lenguajes que remueven las fronteras de la "ciudad letrada". En la letra escrita han venido resonando con fuerza esas lenguas que se emiten y se escuchan en las movilizaciones y las vidas de los territorios originarios y diaspóricos del presente; y son esas lenguas y comunidades que, a partir de la demanda de justicia lingüística, también urgen ser habladas, dignificadas y empoderadas en la defensa de inmigrantes indígenas en las cortes del Norte.[4] Este complejo movimiento de escribir, hablar y vocear las lenguas de Abiayala no se captura en la problemática noción de "revitalización lingüística" sino que, como bien se conceptúa en el activismo de la lengua Náhuatl, se trata de un *Kiyolchikaua:* "fortalecer con el corazón".[5] De esta manera entonces se entretejen la cuestión de las lenguas, con el cuerpo, el latir y el vivir indígena del ayer, el hoy y el mañana.

Este horizonte nos invita a estudiosos y estudiosas indígenas y no indígenas a imaginar y a practicar modos de aportar a esfuerzos por descolonizar dentro de nuestro propio entorno y quehacer.[6] Para este efecto, es clave asumir la "co-labor" para forjar otras prácticas y otras relaciones desde el

enmarañado espacio de la academia, contra su propio carácter colonial, individualizante y extractivista.[7] Porque leer, ver y/o escuchar la heterogeneidad contemporánea de las literaturas y las lenguas de Abiayala nos impulsa a desmontar y deshacer los hilos y entramados coloniales, imperiales, racistas, patriarcales y heterosexistas de la historia. Porque también están los desafíos de ligar el hacer académico en torno a lenguas y literaturas indígenas a sueños, deseos y prácticas colectivas de justicia social, lingüística y epistémica.

Quienes provenimos de los Pueblos Indígenas y trabajamos en el proceso de realzar nuestros decires y haceres en el ámbito de la letra, la voz, los cuerpos, las imágenes y las lenguas, tenemos el desafío de perseverar en el actuar con dignidad propia y afán emancipatorio. Debemos movilizarnos a contrapelo de los nuevos modos de asimilacionismo y subyugación del "indígena" que, dentro de la actual agenda extractivista del capital, se instalan en la academia. Bien cabe plantearnos el desafío que la estudiosa Maya Kaqchikel Aura Cumes nos recuerda: "lo que debemos recuperar es la capacidad usurpada de tejer los hilos de nuestra propia historia" (Cumes 2012, 15). Se trata entonces de posicionarnos en la historia, esa historia común que nos hace contemporáneos y, a la vez, resistentes y presentes. Tejer los hilos de nuestra propia historia nos permite caminar y no amilanarnos ante los despliegues de violencia colonial que hoy buscan aplastarnos, borrarnos, aminorarnos, minoratizarnos y, en lo posible, eliminarnos. Es el desafío de forjar rutas y experiencias de autonomía y autodeterminación, que asimismo ayuden a potenciar la "recuperación" de la tierra, de su vida humana y no humana, para que se restituya la "plena madurez" de Abiayala.

Notas

1 Una reflexión reciente sobre la cuestión de la "violencia colonial", con varios artículos enfocados en el escenario neoliberal en Chile, se encuentra en el volumen *Awükan ka kuxankan zugu Wajmapu mew: Violencias coloniales en Wajmapu* (2015) de la Comunidad de Historia Mapuche.

2 En el diagnóstico de esta realidad universitaria, una sugerente reflexión crítica, y enfocándose en el contexto académico chileno y sus relaciones con el Pueblo Mapuche y sus investigadores/investigadoras, la ofrece Héctor Nahuelpan (2013). A su juicio, "la progresiva llegada de investigadores indígenas a los espacios académicos" en la reciente década "se encuentra lejos de desmantelar las lógicas, jerarquías socio-raciales y clasistas que allí también se reproducen" (Nahuelpan 2013, 89).

3 Las elaboraciones de Xochitl Leyva y Shannon Speed forman parte de un *continuum* más largo y amplio de reflexiones a este respecto. Baste mencionar algunos empeños previos en Abiayala respecto de la relación academia-Pueblos Indígenas, como lo es la "Primera declaración de Barbados: Por la liberación del indígena" (Bartolomé 1971). En años más recientes, cabría nada más que referir a los esfuerzos realizados por quienes han reflexionado y actuado en la línea de la "investigación activista" o la "antropología activista" (Hale y Stephen 2013). Otro paso se encarna en proyectos de agenciamiento intelectual indígena autónomo, como las colaboraciones gestadas en el contexto del Taller de Historia Oral Andina en Bolivia, la Red Interdisciplinaria de Investigadores de los Pueblos Indios de México (Red-IPIM), o más recientemente los dos primeros libros en "co-labor" publicados por la Comunidad de Historia Mapuche, entre otros esfuerzos más.

4 En este dossier, desde la perspectiva de la "justicia lingüística" y un enfoque "descolonizador, el artículo de Vivian Newdick y Odilia Romero aborda la problemática de inmigrantes indocumentados en Estados Unidos cuyas primeras lenguas resultan ser idiomas originarios de Abiayala. Viene al caso la reciente tragedia de Jakelin Caal Maquin, la niña Maya Q'eq'chi de siete años que falleció bajo la custodia de la Patrulla Fronteriza de Estados Unidos en la frontera con México. La ética de "justicia lingüística" exige demandar tanto la inclusión como el uso adecuado de las lenguas indígenas en el ejercicio de la "interpretación" para acometer defensas jurídicas en cortes, o para la comunicación en las fronteras o en "centros de detención".

5 Para una iluminadora elaboración sobre el concepto de *Kiyolchikaua*, véase el artículo de Adam Coon en el presente dossier de *LASA Forum*.

6 En este dossier, por ejemplo, combinamos de modo colaborativo la participación de investigadoras provenientes de Pueblos Indígenas —Gladys Camacho Rios (Pueblo Quechua), Silvia Castillo (Pueblo Mapuche), Emiliana Cruz (Pueblo Chatino), Gloria Elizabeth Chacón (de origen Pueblo Maya Ch'orti y campesino), Emil Keme (Pueblo Maya K'iche'), Simona Mayo (Pueblo Mapuche), Odilia Romero (Pueblo Zapoteco) y mi persona (Pueblo Mapuche)—, junto a investigadores o investigadoras no indígenas como lo son Adam Coon y Vivian Newdick.

7 En su opúsculo, *A Third University Is Possible* (2017), Ia Paperson ofrece una sugerente reflexión sobre el nexo universidad-*settler colonialism* ("colonialismo de colonos"), así como la posibilidad de contra-corrientes para subvertir dicha relación desde su propio interior, "A Third University Exists within the First" (33).

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Linguistic Diversity in Mexico: The Gaps of "Multicultural" Celebration

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Linguistic rights for the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico was recognized by the Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas in 2003.[1] This established a framework for the continuity, nurturing, and development of native languages. Additionally, the 'national law states that languages in Mexico are equal and "obligates" the government to offer all public services using Indigenous languages. Despite this new legal framework, in the public realm of society Spanish and English continue having prestige over Indigenous languages. Within its own law, the Mexican government is bound to provide services for Indigenous communities, including the strengthening of their languages; however, linguistic pluralism has not been encouraged by the very institutions and agents of the state. Indigenous languages have been underappreciated for many years, and reversing the negative ideologies is a challenging task. In order to offer a critical reflection on these issues, I will use the examples of Chatino languages spoken in southern Oaxaca, Mexico.

Mapping the Chatino

For the past 15 years, I have conducted research in the Chatino communities. The Chatino people have lived historically in what is known today as the state of Oaxaca, in Mexico. Regarding the issue of language, over the years I have seen how it is critically present in Chatino life both positively and negatively. I have observed how the youth claim their Indigenous identities and languages, helping to form their own sense of pride and agency in society. For the past decade, social media has been widely available in Chatino communities. Many young people are using social media to express their pride in their Chatino identity, but most of their posts are written in Spanish. It appears that their sentiments are orally spoken in Chatino, but written in Spanish. The youth usually express through social media that they want to continue speaking their language, wearing their traditional clothing, and practicing their traditions. These beliefs are shared with Chatinos residing in the communities, other Mexican cities, and in the United States. One would wonder why individuals do not write in Chatino. In my view, the main reason is that Chatinos have not had the opportunity to study their own language. As a result, Chatinos write in Spanish. The majority of children in Chatino communities are literate in Spanish and not in their native language. Even with the linguistic law in Mexico that states that the speakers have the rights to be educated in their native language, this practice continues. Furthermore, it is common to use Spanish when dealing with public services (education, medicine, legal counseling).

Most schools in Mexico, particularly within the Chatino region, do not use Chatino as a language of instruction. Still, teachers promote dances and different forms of "folklore" surrounding Indigenous cultures. In many Chatino communities, children acquire Chatino as a first language. The first place they encounter Spanish is in school, as many parents send their children to school to become fluent in it. The fact that Chatinos parents want their children to learn Spanish is understandable, but also practicing and learning well their own language is a tie to their native culture.

Linguistic Discrimination and Educational Gaps

The eradication of native languages began many centuries ago, but with the arrival of schools, these languages were affected. In the twentieth century, the *castellanización* project created different mechanisms to integrate Indigenous communities into the larger mestizo Mexican society. During the 1960s and the 1970s state institutions hired Chatino speakers to become teachers. These teachers were placed outside of their linguistic areas, where they were obligated to speak the "common" language, Spanish. Unfortunately, this tradition has not changed in the state of Oaxaca. Teachers are placed in areas where they do not speak the linguistic variety of their native regions.

In Mexico, the gap in formal schooling between Indigenous peoples and mainstream non-Indigenous society is still a problem. After the Mexican Revolution, there are have been attempts to bring schooling programs to Indigenous communities. However, the education system has discrepancies that range from linguistic exclusion and limited access to lack of admittance into upper-level education. Indigenous peoples' educational marginalization is related to a number of interconnected factors, such as poverty, language barriers, and geographical isolation. Even though the federal government in Mexico recognizes that "there is a problem," they have very unreasonable solutions. According to the Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa (INEE), Mexico's Indigenous schools are in worse condition than non-Indigenous schools.[2] One-fifth of Mexico's Indigenous population is illiterate. In regions with the largest Indigenous population, students are more likely not to continue their education. The INEE's study also includes the educational background of teachers, reporting that teachers in Indigenous schools do not have undergraduate degrees. However, the data on literacy that the INEE reports is focused only on the Spanish language. The INEE's main concern is that there is a large illiterate population in Spanish, dismissing the question of illiteracy in Indigenous languages. This reflects the absence of a real support for native languages within the educational system in Mexico. In my view, there is a lack of understanding concerning the importance of our languages not only in schools but also in our own Indigenous communities. There is little sign of support from the state, teachers' unions, and the teachers who speak Chatino.

In the past, schools punished students if they spoke their Indigenous languages. According to my own mother, there were two types of punishments: the first one consisted of standing at the corner of the classroom, holding a brick with your hands facing up; and the second one targeted female Indigenous students: in this case, a male classmate would aggressively comb the girl's hair. These acts were certainly uncomfortable for children, and clear exercise of colonial violence against them.

Linguistic discrimination is still happening in social settings in Mexico. When I was asked to give a presentation in the local middle school of my native village, I had the opportunity to discuss their educational experience with community members. My presentation was about the linguistic rights law that passed in Mexico in 2003. I started my talk by asking the teacher to read a small piece about the benefits of being multilingual, specifically the importance of speaking native languages. After the teacher's speech, I recited the stipulations from the linguistic law, stating "NO ONE can tell you not to speak your native language. You can speak your native language in the streets, work, schools, church, anywhere, because this is a law. If someone tells you not to speak your language, this person is violating the law, and this is called linguistic discrimination." I was not able to continue with the rest of the presentation because the students started to confront their teacher. I was not aware of this situation, nor was I expecting it. I tried to mediate between the students and the teacher. The students got up and told the teacher: "You write our names on the blackboard when we speak Chatino." The teacher said that the parents agreed to ban Chatino from classrooms because the students were not respectful toward the teachers when they spoke Chatino with each other. I did not finish the presentation due to the fervent conversation between the students and the teacher.

That day I presented in three classrooms. The situation was similar, but I was more prepared as it seemed that the first teacher warned the other teachers to be prepared with a response to the students. During breaks, I asked students about their experience in classroom. I specifically asked the punishment that they would get once their name was on the blackboard. In this process, my presence at the middle school was not welcome by the teachers, but it was good for the students.

After the events, the principal of the school asked the parents and the local authorities to sign a document. The document stated that there was no linguistic discrimination in the school, and that what the students told me was a fabrication. In any case, during these controversial weeks the students had the opportunity to tell their teachers what their stance was on the linguistic rights of Indigenous peoples and their members. Both parties realized that language has power. The students perhaps made fun of their teachers in the Chatino language, but this would happen even if they only spoke Spanish. Young people have a tendency to be rebellious against people in power, in this case, their teachers. This experience is common across communities within Mexico, as my work with the youth has allowed me to hear their stories of linguistic discrimination.

How would one would feel if someone prohibited us to speak our native language and forced us to speak another language because they are in power? I asked the same question to the students who have gone through this experience. How do you feel speaking only Spanish to your friend when you both speak Chatino? Most of them said that it was very strange because they were used to speaking their native language to communicate with their peers.

Even though the students would get in trouble for using their native language in classrooms, there are many forms of expression that promote Indigenous cultures in local schools. This includes dances, music, feasts, and so on. February 19 is the Day of Native Languages. To celebrate this, some schools have mandated a " Native Language Day," in which it is mandatory that the teachers talk about linguistic diversity in the classroom. I interviewed Indigenous students about this day. A common shared story was that the teachers asked the students to translate a natural science text from Spanish into a native language. The students did not know much of the Spanish terminology of the text, so they were not able to finish the assignment. In many cases, teachers got upset at students because they had the "opportunity" to use their language in the classroom and they did not successfully use it. The student who shared his experience with me said that this happened not because they "didn't want" to use their language, but that they didn't know how to translate words unknown to them.

A Final Reflection

The celebration of linguistic diversity in the country has become a common trend in the narratives of a "multicultural" Mexico. However, the reality contradicts this celebratory narrative and unveils disparities and inconsistencies in regard to the status of native languages. The state of Oaxaca has 16 Indigenous languages, and most of the teachers in the local schools in these communities use Spanish as the language of instruction. Furthermore, Indigenous teachers are not assigned to work in areas where they can use the their own Indigenous language. Instead, teachers are placed based on seniority, and as result they have to use the Spanish language in classrooms and in their interaction with parents. Many community members argue that the first place where Indigenous children encounter discrimination and learn that their language and their culture is not important is in schools.

Finally, what is most alarming about the cases presented here is that this is still occuring in different regions of Mexico, including the punishment of children for speaking their native languages. The education system in Mexico has shown incompetence to facilitate programs for linguistic diversity. The system is rapidly eliminating native languages and allows abusive, discriminatory, and racialized practices against the Indigenous youth in schools. Moreover, it is clear that the Mexican educational system is failing to provide effective schooling programs to Indigenous peoples. Mexico is linguistically diverse, officially.

The government recognizes 364 native languages in the country. Nevertheless, there is no suitable curriculum for Indigenous communities, as they use one curriculum for the entire country. This homogeneous curriculum is having a negative impact upon the present and future of Indigenous languages. Furthermore, it is inhibiting Indigenous Peoples from pursuing higher education. When the students complete high school, their level of writing and reading skills in Spanish is at an elementary school level due to the ineffective curriculum created by the state. This means that when native speakers from Indigenous communities apply to a university, they cannot compete with the non-Indigenous students. In my view, in the case of Mexico, it is crucial to work with parents, academics, social services providers, the state, and teachers concerning the impication of the 2003 law on linguistic rights, to create more awareness about and a true engagement in Indigenous languages.

Notes

[1] See http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/257_200618.pdf.

[2] *Directrices para mejorar la atención educativa de niñas, niños y adolescentes indígenas* (Mexico City: INEE, 2017), http://www.inee.edu.mx/images/stories/2017/directrices/Directrices4.pdf. //

Movimientos autónomos por la lengua mapuche en Wallmapu

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Dentro del movimiento político mapuche, la demanda por el *mapudungun* ha tomado mayor fuerza en los últimos veinte años. El trabajo sistemático de distintas organizaciones mapuche por revitalizar el mapudungun, por volver a transmitirlo y posicionarlo en distintos espacios socio-comunicativos, ha tenido como resultado que en la actualidad exista una generación de jóvenes a cargo de este proceso. Así, el camino que los *füchakeche* (ancianos/as) dejaron sembrado y preparado para volver a la lengua, hoy está siendo cosechado por los hijos e hijas, las nietas y nietos de esa generación silenciada.

En este panorama histórico, sociolingüístico y cultural, la lengua no ha estado exenta de las consecuencias de la política extractivista en los territorios, tanto en Chile como en Argentina. Los conglomerados capitalistas privados que hoy explotan los recursos naturales por medio de la industria forestal, petrolera, hidroeléctrica, pesquera, entre otros, no solo arrasan con los territorios, sino que también con las formas de vida de las familias mapuche y sus lazos intracomunitarios (Araya 2003). Esta intervención y ocupación colonial sobre el Wallmapu[1] ha sido causa directa de la desintegración socio-cultural y económica de las comunidades, en los últimos 40 años.

Uno de los elementos que podemos relevar en este escenario socio-cultural, político y medioambiental es un nuevo proceso de avasallamiento a la vitalidad de la lengua mapuche y su transmisión intergeneracional. Ejemplo de esto es posible de observar en los impactos de la industria forestal en la zona de La Araucanía y el Biobío (Chile), donde diversas empresas privadas han conformado un sostén de protección a sus inversiones; a costa de los lazos sociales comunitarios de las familias mapuche y de sus economías locales. Este tipo de actividades extractivas ha exigido a los gobiernos de turno un aumento de la militarización en sus zonas de producción y sacrificio, lo que ha derivado en la intervención de las estructuras sociales familiares de las zonas rurales mapuche. Las escuelas que antes albergaban a los jóvenes en el campo y con sus comunidades para evitar que tuvieran que salir en busca de fuentes de trabajo, hoy se han transformado en bases policiales o han sido cerradas. Esta profundización de las políticas represivas y la desarticulación de los núcleos comunitarios y familiares en las zonas rurales, además, han traído consigo un incremento de la violencia policial hacia la infancia mapuche.

En este escenario social actual, modos de violencia física y simbólica hacia la infancia y juventud mapuche cobran forma a través del desmantelamiento de sus lugares de estudio y sus entornos comunitarios. De tal manera, como producto de esta situación se observa un nuevo quiebre en la transmisión intergeneracional de la lengua en el seno de las familias y las comunidades mapuche. Así, los escasos espacios íntimos de transmisión sociolingüística para las nuevas generaciones, que aún resguardan el mapudungun, han sido nuevamente fragmentados por las consecuencias del extractivismo en los territorios.

Con respecto a esta situación, actualmente existe un movimiento por el mapudungun que ha aprendido del legado de las organizaciones históricas mapuche y ha generado así un proceso de fortalecimiento de la lengua y de sus redes de transmisión intergeneracional. Producto de las oleadas migratorias de la población mapuche que comienzan alrededor de 1960 en adelante, actualmente podemos observar de norte a sur

agrupaciones, colectivos y organizaciones que trabajan sostenidamente para enseñar y aprender la lengua, para generar nuevos hablantes y para valorar y resguardar el conocimiento de los más ancianos y ancianas.

Este movimiento se extiende del Pacífico al Atlántico, del *ngulu* (oeste) al *puel (*este). En efecto, en el Ngulu Mapu/Chile y Puel Mapu/Argentina son diversos los grupos que actualmente están trabajando en sus espacios locales para transmitir la lengua y generar nuevos hablantes. El objetivo es que, en la posteridad, ellas y ellos puedan continuar manteniendo y entregando el mapudungun a los y las *pichikeche* (niños y niñas). Quienes participamos dentro de este movimiento por la lengua mapuche, hemos reflexionado por un largo periodo en relación a qué acciones desarrollar para fortalecer la lengua; en dicha línea, se han tomado variadas decisiones para aumentar el nivel de vitalidad sociolingüística de la lengua de nuestro Pueblo.

Lo anterior se ha expresado en los diversos encuentros y congresos llevados a cabo por distintas organizaciones en los últimos quince años. Uno de ellos es el que dio vida a la Red por los Derechos Lingüísticos y Educativos de los Pueblos Indígenas de Chile, en cuyos encuentros se sistematizó gran parte de los debates en torno a la enseñanza de las lenguas indígenas, a su escritura, a aspectos metodológicos o la formación de nuevas palabras, entre otros. También, cabe destacar los Congresos de Estudiantes Mapuche gestados y materializados por la Federación Mapuche de Estudiantes (FEMAE), posterior a las movilizaciones estudiantiles de Chile en 2011, en que se reflexionó sobre la demanda educativa con pertinencia cultural para el Wallmapu. O, en el mismo sentido, podemos también destacar la multiplicidad de experiencias de enseñanza-aprendizaje de lenguas indígenas que, en estos años, comenzaron a emerger en distintos puntos de Chile, tanto en espacios universitarios, secundarios, municipales, contextos no formales como los comunitarios en poblaciones o espacios organizacionales de base.

Al respecto, tanto en el Ngulu Mapu como en el Puel Mapu, son múltiples las iniciativas, impulsadas por colectivos y organizaciones de lamngen (hermanas o hermanos, en mapudungun) que actualmente se han coordinado de manera autónoma en función de un ejercicio contrahegemónico y de resistencia, orientado a la construcción de un movimiento por la lengua mapuche y con el fin de gravitar en la recomposición del entramado social. Entre ellos, destacamos: el colectivo *Kom kim mapudunguaiñ waria mew* (Todos hablaremos mapudungun en la ciudad), basado en Santiago de Chile; la Federación Mapuche de Estudiantes (FEMAE) y *Mapuzuguletuaiñ Wallmapu Mew* (Hablaremos Mapudungun en el Territorio Mapuche) en Temuco (Chile), con sus propuestas de internados lingüísticos llamados *Koneltun* (Internado, literalmente "entrar" en mapudungun); el grupo *Folil Mapudungun* (Raíz del Mapudungun) en la ciudad de Concepción (Chile); la propuesta de *Kimeltuwe* 'Materiales de mapudungun' en las redes sociales (Chile); el equipo de Educación Mapuche *Wixaleyiñ* (Nos Levantaremos) en Buenos Aires (Argentina); el Centro Educativo *Norgvbamtuleayiñ* en Neuquén (Argentina) y el Equipo de Enseñantes de Mapuzugun de *Furilofche* (Bariloche, Argentina), por mencionar algunas experiencias. Estas agrupaciones no solo han aportado a la recuperación de soberanías lingüísticas, sino que a través de la difusión y vehiculización del mapudungun también han contribuido a impugnar su exotización y a desmoronar su estatus de lengua minorizada (Castillo y Mayo, 2018).

En el ámbito institucional en Chile, el año 1994 comienzan las políticas públicas para una educación intercultural y bilingüe. En Argentina, por otro lado, el año 2004 se crea a la Modalidad de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe, la cual, sin embargo, se desarticula a nivel nacional en el año 2017. En ambos lados de la cordillera, estas políticas estatales no han logrado avanzar en formar una generación de jóvenes bilingües en español y en una lengua indígena, en nuestro caso el mapudungun. Más bien, estas iniciativas han creado un discurso vacío de interculturalidad donde la lengua indígena no es un derecho para los niños y niñas y sus familias que la exigen en las escuelas.

Tal como se ha venido planteando, al margen de la política pública y estatal, han sido las propias organizaciones mapuche las que han generado y construido espacios para la recuperación de la lengua en la base social y comunitaria misma del Wallmapu. Los colectivos ya mencionados se han enfocado en aprender, enseñar y posicionar el mapudungun desde anclajes comunitarios. Así, en relación a la trayectoria de los distintos trabajos de base de enseñanza-aprendizaje de la lengua, observamos al mapudungun como un territorio sociolingüístico en proceso de fortalecimiento.

Con este objetivo, y frente a la urgencia por ganar espacios y hablantes para nuestra lengua, es que las diferentes organizaciones por el movimiento del mapudungun se han dedicado, dentro de sus posibilidades, a la producción de materiales contextualizados, a la enseñanza de la lengua en las ciudades y también progresivamente a la producción de espacios comunicativos y funcionales de habla para quienes —en la actualidad— están estudiando el idioma mapuche. En este proceso, el concepto de "inmersión lingüística" ha empezado a cobrar fuerza en varias organizaciones que venían apostando a la construcción de espacios educativos autónomos. De tal manera que los "nidos de lengua" desarrollados por el Pueblo Maorí y replicados por los Pueblos Indígenas en Oaxaca (México) y la idea y experiencia de "internados lingüísticos" proveniente del Pueblo Vasco, se transformaron en referentes a observar. Estas iniciativas han permitido —básicamente— generar instancias cotidianas comunicativas totalmente en la lengua mapuche, junto con acciones concretas para hacer del mapudungun el principal medio de diálogo y de interacción entre pares.

Con esta inquietud de aplicar la "inmersión" en la labor educativa y un proceso de aprendizaje de la misma lengua en marcha, el año 2011 el colectivo *Kom kim mapudunguaiñ* realizó su primera experiencia de inmersión lingüística en la zona de Curaco Ranquil, Galvarino (Araucanía). Esto continuaría luego en Bariloche (Argentina) en el 2014; y en la región de Los Lagos (Chile) en el 2017. Paralelo a esta experiencia y en la misma línea, el año 2014 la Federación Mapuche de Estudiantes marca un hito y realiza sus primeros internados lingüísticos en verano y en invierno, con una masiva convocatoria de estudiantes de distintos territorios. Así, a partir de la iniciativa de FEMAE y de la continuidad de este proceso realizada por la organización *Mapuzuguletuaiñ*, los *koneltun* o internados lingüísticos se instalaron en Wallmapu como espacio de sociabilización lingüística y de aprendizaje de la lengua mapuche.

El proceso de creación de estas experiencias educativas de inmersión tienen directa relación con y es una respuesta al proceso histórico de fragmentación de las comunidades que vivimos a causa de la política extractiva instalada por el gran capital y sus agentes colonizadores en el Wallmapu. En otras palabras, dichas acciones no se configuran únicamente como un movimiento por la lengua, en tanto componente cultural comunicativo, sino que también emergen con el propósito de mantener presente y viva la historia reciente del pueblo Mapuche.

A partir de este contexto, los ahora denominados *koneltun* han tomado fuerza. Es, sin duda, el producto del trabajo de las organizaciones estudiantiles mapuche. Y, en consecuencia, hoy en día, más grupos dedicados a dicho movimiento han empezado a gestionar y producir estas iniciativas de inmersión en el habla mapuche en sus espacios locales. En la experiencia mapuche, el método de inmersión se trasladó desde otros territorios y se supo contextualizar y adaptar a las necesidades y urgencias del mapudungun. Por supuesto, esto también ha sido un proceso de ensayo y error, de evaluación y reflexión de la práctica pedagógica y, por sobre todo, de formación y auto-formación en la lengua y su enseñanza para muchas de las organizaciones dedicadas a este ámbito educativo.

Observamos, de este modo, una generación inquieta y movilizada, consciente y con la memoria de sus antiguos y antiguas en la práctica política. También, al mismo tiempo, estamos ante un proceso en construcción, joven, que avanza y que se nutre de la experiencia de otros territorios y de otras naciones, que es capaz de aprender y trabajar mancomunadamente por la justicia social de nuestro Pueblo. El mapudungun en Wallmapu es un derecho y eso se grita a voces en cada marcha

del 21 de febrero, una movilización por la lengua propia que se organiza y tiene lugar en la ciudad de Temuco desde el año 2011.

Nota

[1] Territorio mapuche al sur de Chile y Argentina.

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Misk'i parlayniywan chhullunka sunqituy qhallallarikapun!

por **Gladys Camacho Rios (Pueblo Quechua, Bolivia)** | University of Texas at Austin | gladys.camacho@utexas.edu

Cuando hablo o escucho mi lengua materna siento una gran alegría en mi corazón, así como las flores: *jukllata qhallallarikapunku, ajinatapuni!* No cabe duda afirmar que fue la herencia más valiosa que mi familia, mi gente pudo haberme transmitido. Quechua *warmi kani, jaqay Kalallusta, Anzaldo chyaniqpi*, Cochabamba Bolivia *ukhupi*, nací. Al pasar los años, Quechua *warmijina*, proveniente de aquel pueblo lejano y poco conocido desde afuera, siento un compromiso por revitalizar mi lengua y cultura. El acceso a la educación me dió la oportunidad de escribir una novela en Quechua basada en las historias ocultas de mi pueblo y las opresiones que mi gente había vivido en los años 1960. *Jatun tataypa willawasqanta kay p'anqapi q'alituta tukuy runaman riqsirachiyta munarqani, chayrayku qillqayta qallarirqani.*

Quechua en el Tawantinsuyu del presente

El Quechua pertenece a una vasta familia lingüística. Tiene alrededor de diez millones de hablantes en los Andes de Sudamérica. Se habla principalmente en los territorios del Tawantinsuyu: en lo que hoy es Ecuador, Perú y Bolivia; y también, aunque en menor número, en partes de Colombia y Argentina. La familia lingüística Quechua está sistemáticamente clasificada en dos grandes grupos de acuerdo a las diferencias fonológicas, morfológicas y léxicas. Las variantes de estos dos grupos no son inteligibles entre ellas. *Nuqaqa Boliviap juch'uy ayllusninpi imaynatachus runas parlapayanarikunku kikinta*, hablo.

La visibilidad de la "revitalización, promoción de las lenguas indígenas" en Bolivia empieza con la aprobación de la del Artículo 5 en la Constitución Política del Estado en 2009, donde las lenguas indígenas del territorio boliviano son reconocidas como lenguas oficiales del país.[1] El citado artículo de la Constitución establece lo siguiente:

Son idiomas oficiales del Estado el castellano y todos los idiomas de las naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos, que son el aymara, araona, baure, bésiro, canichana, cavineño, cayubaba, chácobo, chimán, ese ejja, guaraní, guarasu'we, guarayu, itonama, leco, machajuyai-kallawaya, machineri, maropa, mojeño-trinitario, mojeño-ignaciano, moré, mosetén, movima, pacawara, puquina, quechua, sirionó, tacana, tapiete, toromona, uru-chipaya, weenhayek, yaminawa, yuki, yuracaré y zamuco.

En este contexto plurinacional y plurilingüe, el Quechua actualmente se mantiene y es transmitido a futuras generaciones. Muchas escuelas y universidades en Bolivia la enseñan como segunda lengua. De igual manera, existen diferentes centros involucrados en la revitalización de esta lengua. A mi percepción, los programas más notables educativo-lingüísticos que cabría destacar aquí son: el Departamento de Pos Grado Proeib Andes, en la Universidad de San Simón; la Academia Quechua; y el Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Quechua, dependiente del Estado Plurinacional. Es visible el esfuerzo y compromiso de estas instituciones a través de los proyectos que impulsan.

Quechua y Kichua en la diáspora

Hoy en día el Quechua ya ha trascendido las fronteras de los países andinos de donde los Quechuas provenimos. Por ejemplo, en el caso de Estados Unidos, se enseña en diferentes universidades, tales como la Universidad de

Nueva York (NYU); la Universidad de Pennsylvania; la Universidad de Illinois, Urbana Champaign; la Universidad de Stanford; la Universidad de California, Los Ángeles (UCLA) y la Universidad de Pittsburgh, entre otras. A su vez, existe una gran diáspora de Quechua y Kichua en Nueva York, Nueva Jersey y Virginia —bastante significativa y visible en este último estado.

En 2013, al llegar a Estados Unidos y específicamente a la Universidad de Nueva York, me resultó una sorpresa agradable saber que la lengua con la que había crecido era enseñada en el Programa de Estudios Latinoamericanos de NYU. *Chayta yachaytawanqa, qamkuna mana yachawaqchikchu mayjiinatachus kusirikusqayta.* No tardé mucho en integrarme al "Runasimi Outreach Comittee" (ROC) que allí existía y era conformado por un grupo de estudiantes trabajando para promover y difundir el Quechua. Nuestras actividades involucraban la producción de *podcasts* en Quechua para el mundo a través de una serie de diálogos espontáneos grabados con hablantes nativos de Quechua y/o Kichua en Nueva York y también en los países andinos. ROC también organizaría noches culturales dirigidas a la diáspora Quechua en la ciudad de Nueva York. Entre los eventos pioneros y con mayor éxito estuvieron los días de exhibición de películas y documentales en Quechua, seguidas por diálogos con cineastas Kichuas del Ecuador. Estas jornadas en Quechua contaron con más de mil espectadores. Por otro lado, desde hace cuatro años llevamos a cabo el encuentro anual del "Quechua Alliance", un evento que reúne a estudiantes, docentes, activistas e investigadores de la lengua en Estados Unidos. El impulso de estos eventos muestra la valoración del Quechua más allá de las fronteras sudamericanas. La promoción de la lengua y cultura en contextos diaspóricos ha adquirido un significativo desarrollo en estos últimos años. Son noticias que alegran mi *chhullunka sunqitu*. Sin embargo, ¿se debería considerar todo esto como parte de una cierta idealización del proceso de revitalización de mi lengua?

Reflexión final

Nuqaqa Kalallusta ayllumanta kani, chaypi juch'uymanta pacha kawsakurqani. Así es, soy una mujer Quechua del área rural y no me avergüenza decirlo. De un pueblo no conocido ni popular para el mundo, pero con tradiciones, leyendas y diferentes formas de vida. La variante de Quechua que se habla allá es diferente de las variantes habladas en el área urbana o de la que se enseña en Estados Unidos. La variación lingüística es rica, diversa, maravillosa: *ama chinkachunchu!* Me encuentro buscando el camino para ayudar a re-pensar una amplia política y metodología de revitalización.

En mi calidad de estudiante en el campo de la Lingüística mi meta es entender cómo funciona la gramática mental abstracta de mi lengua materna. Para ello, en mi labor investigativa me he dedicado a documentar el habla propia del área rural de donde provengo. Entender la estructura gramatical desde una percepción de donde uno viene es el primer paso para enriquecer las políticas y las prácticas de revitalización lingüística. La descripción empírica del Quechua con una base de datos y el léxico, es lo que considero como el pilar fundamental para la creación de iniciativas pedagógicas y enriquecer los diferentes esfuerzos de revitalización en la misma comunidad. *Juk p'unchaw Quechua simiymanta willarisaykichik, imaynatachus kawsarichisqaymanta astawan parlarisaykichik, yacharichisaychikpis! Chay pacha chhullunka sunquyta qhallallarichkaqta rikunkichik. Chay pachakama kachun.*

Nota

[1] Ver Constitución Política del Estado, 7 de febrero de 2009, https://www.oas.org/dil/esp/Constitucion_Bolivia.pdf. //

Una reflexión Maya K'iche': Las literaturas en lenguas originarias de Abiayala

por **Emil Keme (Pueblo Maya K'iche')** | University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill | edelvall@email.unc.edu

En las últimas décadas hemos visto y celebrado el boom de las literaturas indígenas en Abiayala.[1] A lo ancho y largo del continente, escritores indígenas, muchos de ellos hablantes de algunos de los más de mil idiomas que hoy sobreviven en nuestro hemisferio, han empleado el espacio de la literatura para agenciar nuestras lenguas, cosmogonías milenarias y luchas por la recuperación y defensa de nuestros territorios ancestrales. La literatura, en este sentido, ha venido jugando un papel fundamental generando imaginarios que nos permiten reflexionar sobre nuestros procesos de revitalización y auto-determinación en contextos demarcados por el colonialismo. A caballo con la insurgencia literaria indígena, estamos viendo un sin número de valiosos aportes críticos que ofrecen innovadoras lecturas de la producción cultural indígena, lo cual habla de la inmensa importancia de este canon literario.

Ahora bien, ¿en dónde quedan los idiomas originarios a la hora de desarrollar nuestras reflexiones críticas sobre esta producción textual? ¿Qué pasa cuando nos aproximamos a una obra escrita en algún idioma originario? ¿Qué conclusiones etimológicas, fonológicas y semióticas podríamos deducir de un estudio de las literaturas en las lenguas indígenas? Tomando estas interrogantes como punto de partida, me interesa explorar las posibles respuestas a algunas de estas preguntas a través de una breve discusión del poema, "De vez en cuando" (también titulado, "Recuerdo") del escritor Maya K'iche' Humberto Ak'abal. "De vez en cuando" de Ak'abal es quizás uno de los poemas más celebrados y citados por la crítica cultural. En el idioma *kaxlan tzij*/castellano, el poema dice:

De vez en cuando
camino al revés;
es mi modo de recordar.

Si caminara sólo hacia delante,
te podría contar
cómo es el olvido.

Este poema de Ak'abal fue publicado por primera vez en castellano en su libro *Poemas* en el año 1992. Desde entonces, ha aparecido en varias antologías y ha sido citado y difundido tanto en espacios académicos como en las redes sociales. No me propongo aquí explorar la recepción crítica o popular del texto. Tampoco me interesa desarrollar un análisis literario del texto en kaxlan tzij. Más bien, lo que me ha llamado la atención es que el poema en *k'iche' ch'ab'al* (idioma k'iche') cuenta con tres versiones diferentes. La primera versión bilingüe de "De vez en cuando" fue publicada en la colección *Ajkem tzij / Tejedor de palabras* (1996), la segunda en *Aqajtzij/ Palabramiel* (2001), y la tercera, en el poemario, *Ri upalaj ri kaq'ik' / El rostro del viento* (2006). Para el propósito de mi discusión, reproduzco las tres versiones del poema de forma paralela a modo de que podamos mejor apreciar algunas de sus diferencias y semejanzas estructurales y léxicas. He enumerado cada versión de acuerdo al orden temporal en que han sido publicadas:

Tz'olq'omin b'e (1)	Tz'olq'omin b'e (2)	Tzolqomin be (3)
K'o kuriqa' kintz'olq'omij ri nub'e: xa jewa' kinna'tisaj jun jasuch. We xat intukel kinbin cho nuwäch kinjuwin ne ri' kinb'ij chäwe jas ri', ri ucholaj ri sachib'al (42).	K'o kuriq'a kintz'olq'omij ri nub'e: xa jewa' kinna'tisaj jun jasach. Weta xata nutukel kinb'in chonuwach kin kwin nek'uri kinb'ij chawe jas ri', ri ucholaj ri sachib'al (15).	K'o quriqa kintzolqomij ri nube xa jewa' kinnatisaj jun jasach. Weta xata kolon kinbin chonuwech kinkwin nek'uri kinbij chawe jas ri', ri ucholaj ri sachibal jolom (5).

Como se puede notar, las tres versiones de "Tz'olq'omin b'e" (caminar a la inversa o al revés), en k'iche,' difieren en algunas de sus estructuras fonológicas, léxicas y semánticas. El primer verso, en las tres versiones, nos muestra que, salvo "K'o" ("Hay" del verbo estar en k'iche'), Ak'abal sigue sus propios criterios filológicos y deletrea kuriqa' (del verbo encontrar en tiempo futuro),[2] de tres maneras diferentes: "kuriqa'", "kuriq'a", "quriqa". En el segundo verso, notamos cómo mientras en las primeras dos versiones "kintz'ol'qomij" y "nub'e" se caracterizan por apóstrofes,[3] éstas no se incluyen en la tercera versión. Notamos también la ausencia del apóstrofe en "kinnatisaj" en el tercer verso, así como también las diferencias gramaticales entre "jasuch" y "jasach" (cosa, o una cosa, en k'iche'). Además, en el cuarto verso, notamos diferencias respecto a la frase "caminar solo". En las primeras dos versiones del poema, Ak'abal las escribe: "intukel kinbin" y "nutukel kinb'in". Aquí, "intukel" podría ser traducido como "yo solo", mientras que "nutukel" sería: "mi soledad". En la tercera versión, sin embargo, Ak'abal escribe: "kolon kinb'in", lo cual se puede traducir como "yo camino (kinb'in) recto, o derecho (kolon)".[4]

En cuanto a la segunda estrofa, tanto la primera como la segunda versión del poema en k'iche' muestran sangrados que, a mi juicio, más que ser una decisión de Ak'abal, fueron de las editoriales que publicaron los libros del autor. El cuarto y quinto verso del poema deberían ser estructurados como aparecen en la tercera versión. Es decir, el cuarto verso en poema 2, debe ser: "Weta xata nutukel kinb'in chonuwach", mientras que el quinto verso en la primera versión debería ser: "kinjuwin ne ri' kinb'ij chäwe jas ri'". En la primera versión, notamos también cómo Ak'abal emplea la diéresis en "nuwäch" (mi frente, mi rostro) y "chäwe" (la segunda persona "tu" "ti"), mientras que las omite en la segunda y tercera. Acá, con el empleo de la diéresis, parece que Ak'abal hace referencia al alfabeto k'iche' estandarizado antes del 2008. La Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala, luego de este año, decidió omitir las diéresis de las vocales en k'iche', lo cual explicaría la omisión de ésta en las versiones 2 y 3 del poema.

En cuanto al cuarto verso de "Tz'olq'omin b'e", nos llama la atención el hecho de que mientras en la segunda y tercera versión Ak'abal escribe "Weta xata" ("Si yo"), en la primera versión escribe "We xat". El resto del verso, como se mencionó arriba, difiere en las tres versiones: "intukel kinbin cho nuwäch", "nutukel kinb'in chonuwach", "kolon kinbin chonuwech". Estas son variantes dialectales que se podrían traducir como: "[si yo] estuviera solo, caminara hacia delante o hacia una dirección". Algo similar ocurre con el quinto verso del poema, el cual difiere en cómo el autor momosteco lo escribe en las tres versiones en k'iche'. En la primera y segunda versión del poema, vemos: "ri ucholaj ri sachib'al", mientras que en la tercera aparece como "ri ucholaj ri sachibal jolom". Este verso se puede traducir así: "ordenadamente, como es el olvido". Como se puede observar, en la tercera versión del poema Ak'abal añade el sustantivo "jolom" (cabeza), a modo de enfatizar "sachib'al" u olvido.

Ahora bien, ¿por qué existen las tres versiones en k'iche' de "De vez en cuando"? ¿Por qué proveer estructuras sintácticas y fonológicas diferenciadas del mismo texto? Como mencionamos al principio, en lugar de seguir la estandarización del k'iche' establecida por la Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala, Ak'abal desarrolla lo que el mismo denomina "una forma 'según Humberto Ak'abal" (Ollé 2004, 215) de cómo escribir en k'iche. Esto es lo que influye en el proceso de traducción al k'iche'

de su poema. Así pues, él mismo admite que comenzó "a escribir en lengua k'ichee' por intuición" debido a que "no tenemos escuelas bilingües en Guatemala, no hay todavía un programa que apoye la enseñanza bilingüe o la enseñanza en lengua k'ichee'" (Ollé 2004, 215). En efecto. La afirmación de Ak'abal no debe sorprender a nadie, puesto que en un contexto colonial como el de Guatemala los Indígenas estamos expuestos al racismo y discriminación en todos los ámbitos sociales e institucionales. La educación que recibimos se caracteriza por ser "ladinizante" u occidentalizada. Cuando una niña o un niño Indígena en alguna comunidad en Guatemala va a una escuela, su idioma y su cultura, en lugar de ser afirmado, es más bien demonizado. En general, la imposición del castellano y la historia que encontramos en los libros "educativos" tienen como objetivo hacernos olvidar los idiomas originarios y los elementos que caracterizan nuestras diferencias culturales. Las escuelas, si bien en ciertos momentos abren algunas fisuras para desarrollar procesos como los que permean la experiencia del mismo Ak'abal, en otros casos se caracterizan por su violencia cultural, epistemológica e incluso física.

Las diferentes versiones de "Tz'olq'omin b'e" nos sugieren pues que el poema fue escrito y pensado originalmente en kaxlan tzij/castellano. En una entrevista, Ak'abal expresa que su dominio del castellano y el k'iche' le dan la libertad de elegir la manera en que piensa y escribe su poesía. Indica que "escribo a veces estando lejos de mi pueblo, entonces, lo que me provoca, lo que veo, lo escribo en castellano. En tanto, cuando estoy en mi pueblo, inevitablemente escribo en mi lengua materna, la lengua maya k'iche, porque solo en ella puedo encontrar los elementos necesarios que requiero para transmitir lo que siento. No riñe uno con el otro, lo tengo dentro de mí y es un uso prácticamente natural" (ver Huamán Mori 2010). La experiencia bilingüe y bicultural que definen su persona y su escritura, entonces, lejos de ser algo contradictorio, para Ak'abal más bien enriquece y alimenta su creatividad artística.

En cuanto a las diversas traducciones que él realiza de "De vez en cuando", nos percatamos sobre cómo en las ocasiones que Ak'abal se enfrenta a la traducción del poema, desarrolla criterios estéticos diferenciados. Es decir, para el poeta Maya K'iche' no se trata meramente de una simple equivalencia semántica, sino de un deseo por articular sus ideas artísticas. Se notan los detalles de su proceso en la medida que lejos de acudir a las traducciones hechas anteriormente, más bien genera nuevas, lo cual le dan un significado estético diferenciado al poema, especialmente a la hora de pensar en la dimensión oral. Podemos subrayar por ejemplo que la omisión de varias apóstrofes en la tercera versión del poema, como en el segundo verso, "kintzolqomij ri nube", nos obligan a tomar en cuenta aspectos como la dicción hablada del k'iche'; los tonos y ritmos del texto en las tres versiones. Mientras que los apóstrofes que aparecen en el segundo verso en las primeras dos versiones del poema denotan sonidos glotales que dan pausa a la pronunciación de ciertas palabras o frases (por ej. "kintz'olq'omij" "yo me regreso/desvío"), la pronunciación del mismo verso en el tercer poema denota una pronunciación más apresurada. Además, contrario a la versión del poema en castellano, la cual se caracteriza por el empleo del paralelismo, la versión del poema en k'iche' más bien no sigue una estructura literaria especifica. Se nota que las tres versiones del poema en k'iche' están orientadas a transmitir la idea en lugar de establecer una estructura formal del texto. Es decir, no encontramos rima o métrica.

En conclusión, es posible sostener que una aproximación a las literaturas en *lenguas originarias,* como bien lo pone en evidencia este breve poema de Ak'abal, resulta clave para poner en el centro de nuestra atención crítica las implicaciones de traducir obras del kaxlan tzij/castellano al k'iche' ch'ab'al, así como también el rol de la producción de obras en idiomas originarios. Por un lado, es necesario considerar que muchos de los escritores que escriben en sus idiomas maternos no han contado con el apoyo institucional del estado nación a la hora de formarse en la lecto-escritura en los idiomas Indígenas. Por otro lado, en el caso de Ak'abal, las tres versiones del texto en k'iche' representan sus esfuerzos auto-didácticos por plasmar y autorizar su visión artística en ambos idiomas, en suma, su deseo por dejar un registro artístico en k'iche'. Leído a partir de este contexto, resulta harto meritorio el gran esfuerzo de escritores indígenas que, al

igual que Ak'abal, se dan la libertad de alterar las expectativas de traducción e interpretación literaria, apropiándose creativamente del registro literario y potenciando las ricas posibilidades de variación de una lengua, para así, de paso, desafiar historias de sumisión colonial y ayudarnos a imaginar nuestros propios espacios epistemológicos y expresivos autónomos.

Notas

Quiero expresar mi agradecimiento a mis profesores del idioma k'iche', Yanira Yaxon, Manuel Jaminez Tambriz y Jose Yac Noj. Mi aproximación al texto de Ak'abal se benefició grandemente de sus consejos y aclaraciones de las versiones en k'iche'. El texto final y mis reflexiones son mi plena responsabilidad.

Notas

[1] Abiayala (tb. Abya Yala, o Abia Yala) o "tierra en plena madurez", es el término que la población Guna de Guna Yala (la tierra de los Guna) emplea para referirse a lo que para otros es el continente americano en su totalidad. Es el nombre que muchos indígenas y no indígenas hemos venido empleando para establecer un lugar de enunciación indígena diferenciado.

[2] Tanto aquí como en el resto de mi discusión del poema, sigo la estandarización del k'iche' planteada por la Academia de Lenguas Mayas.

[3] Las apóstrofes en el k'iche' se emplean para establecer un énfasis glotal para alargar la pronunciación de la vocal en ciertas palabras.

[4] "Kolon" también se ha deletreado como "kolom".

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Living Languages as the Acoustic Ecologies within the Contemporary Literatures of Anahuac

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> *Indigenous nations will spearhead a change, a seism. We will do away with the exacerbated racism of the middle class. They tell us, your language sounds so pretty, so exotic, so poetic, so ancestral. But languages do not sound poetic. They sound like they do, because they are living.*
>
> —Mardonio Carballo

In personal interviews, Nahua writer Mardonio Carballo comments on how annoyed he gets when people say that Nahuatl, the "language of the Aztecs or Mexicas," is a "pretty language." He criticizes this adulation as a demeaning, veiled misrepresentation of Nahuas and other Indigenous nations as exotic rather than sources of present-day knowledge production. Carballo views Indigenous languages as part of a strategy to fight racism and enable social change. With his admonition ever present, I give a brief overview of contemporary literary production's role in performing the permanence and continuity of Nahuatl and its importance within social activism.

Carballo recently underscored the significance of this literary production as part of a wider campaign on social media to strike down Article 230 in Mexico's Federal Telecommunications Law. If approved, this law would have prohibited Indigenous languages on national media. Indeed, Article 230 clearly constituted a form of linguistic discrimination, excluding Indigenous voices from mass media and amplifying the hegemony of what scholar Luis Cárcamo-Huechante (2013) calls "acoustic colonialism." In turn, Nahua authors like Carballo have promoted an acoustic ecology that thrives on a multiplicity of perspectives. They share a common goal to create an environment in which Indigenous languages are treated as equally as valuable as hegemonic languages, and Nahuas are viewed as nothing less than full-fledged knowledge producers.[1]

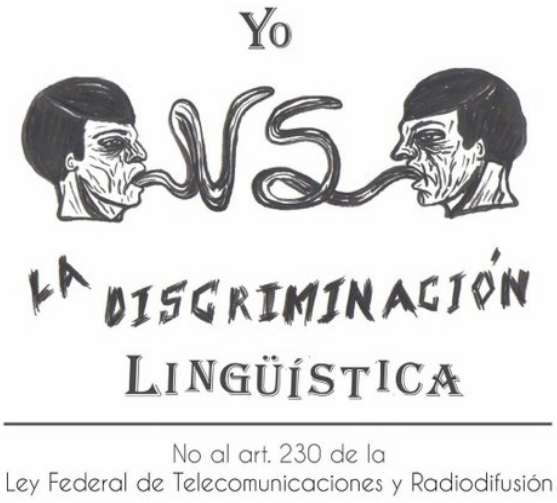

Image published on Mardonio Carballo's Facebook wall. Printed in *La Jornada*, January 20, 2016. It reads "I vs. linguistic discrimination: No to article 230 in the Federal Telecommunications and Broadcasting Law."

In order to point toward the influence of that language in Nahua authors' activism, I would like to share concrete examples of the Nahuatl they use.[2] One case in point is a growing resistance to the term "revitalization" (*revitalización*). In part, this opposition emerges from a perception in Nahua communities that outside organizations champion "revitalization" and use Nahuatl studies to gain academic prestige with little or no benefit to Nahua communities. Moreover, "revitalization" erroneously suggests that the language is in

its final death throes and must be resuscitated. Instead, Nahuas increasingly use *kiyolchikaua* or *yolchikaualistli*.

Kiyolchikaua literally means "to strengthen [use of Nahuatl] with the heart." This term relates to corn metaphors, as it can also mean "to make hard like a kernel of corn." With the notion of *kiyolchikaua* in mind, in this article I want to highlight authors' diverse efforts to strengthen use of the Nahuatl language. Nahua literary production surged in the 1990s after the Zapatista rebellion and protests against the 1992 quincentennial celebrations of Christopher Columbus. Nonetheless, Contemporary Nahua literature by no means began with these events. A key moment is the publication of Nahua author Luz Jiménez's narratives in the sixties and seventies. Jiménez helped to shift academic focus from colonial Nahua documents to contemporary Nahua production—although not without its problems, as Jiménez was viewed more as a carrier of oral tradition and not recognized as the author of her narratives. In a trickster story, she shows the importance of plays on language between Spanish and Nahuatl. A Spaniard sees a Nahua scraping the ground, and the Nahua tells him "minax" (they sting) because bumblebees are there. The Spaniard misinterprets this word as "minas," a gold or silver mine (Jiménez 1979, 166-167). In appreciation for the Nahua supposedly informing him where a mine was located, the Spaniard gifts his horse and pistol and orders him to move along since the mine now belongs to him.

Similar plays on language appear throughout other texts, as well as in daily life in communities. For example, Nahua writer Natalio Hernández, from the Huasteca Veracruzana, tells the story of a government leader who visited a Nahua community and wanted to know if the community members felt Mexican. The people replied that they indeed were because they spoke Mexican (*mejikanoj*), and rather the outside leader was the one who was not truly Mexican (Hernández 2009, 59-60). While the term *nahuatl* has gained use particularly in recent decades, within Nahuatl communities it was (and in many instances still is) more common to refer to the language as *mejikanoj*. As literary critic Kelly S. McDonough observes, turns of phrase and trickster tales like those described by Jiménez and Hernández "win small victories in a chronically unjust society" (2014, 141). In many instances they provincialize Spanish and those who consider themselves superior or model citizens for speaking it.

In these negotiations between languages, there are often hidden meanings, such as Natalio Hernández's translation of the Mexican Constitution into Nahuatl. Where the original Spanish declares that the land pertains to the nation, in Nahuatl the text sustains that it belongs first and foremost to *totlalnantzin*, our earth mother (Hernández 2010, 49).[3] This translation features an acoustic ecology that includes all living beings and the landscape.

The landscape's centrality is also evident in *Anahuac* (by the water) for Nahua regions of Mexico, and *altepetl* or *pilaltepetsij* (a word composed of *atl*, "water," and *tepetl*, "mountain or hill") to refer to cities and communities. These terms point to natural surroundings and highlight the artificiality of nation-state borders. In this sense, *Anahuac* resembles the Guna term *Abiayala* ("land in full maturity") proposed as an alternative to "Latin America," though on a more limited scale.[4]

Natalio Hernández's book of poetry *Xochikoskatl* (1985) helped set the stage for a stream of publications afterward. Later in the nineties, to describe *interculturalidad* he began to use *ome pamitl*, literally "two furrows," "two themes," or "two lines on the page." This metaphor relates to the furrows in which the corn crop grows and imagines a space in which different knowledges come together, though not necessarily in a romantic, harmonic synthesis. In his versions of poems in Spanish, one can see the difficulties in communicating the worldviews contained within the Nahuatl. Perspectives related to walking, cognition, and ceremonial language are in many instances untranslatable without extensive footnotes due to their complexity. Hernández refused to translate his most recent book of poetry, *Patlani huitzitzilin* (The Flight of the Hummingbird; 2016). The majority of authors who write in English or Spanish do not feel pressured to translate their own works, and Hernández's refusal reflects an effort to place Nahuatl on the same level as hegemonic languages.

In her unpublished book of poetry *Tlaoxtika in tlajtol / Desgranando la palabra* (2012), Ethel Xochitiotzin Pérez (Tlaxcala) transforms common Nahua metaphors involving maize to position women as decision-makers within and outside their communities. In doing so, she subverts traditional objectification of them and reiteration of male dominance. It is difficult to translate the title *Tlaoxtika in tlajtol* into English, as *tlaoxtika* refers to drying out corncobs and then brushing off the kernels. Xochitiotzin translates the title into Spanish as "Desgranando la palabra," literally "dekerneling the word."[5] I choose to translate it as *Grinding Corn* because the kernels are brushed off to grind them and make *masa* (ground up corn for making tortillas). This becomes a metaphor for writing, as writers bring words together, each word like a kernel, to create something new. This in turn is an apt metaphor for Xochitiotzin's work and Nahua women authors in general, as they "grind Nahuatl words" and transform them into a space where women are recognized as agents.

In a recent article, Nahua writer Martín Tonalmeyotl (Guerrero) also brings attention to perspectives grounded in Nahuatl by analyzing how the word for "winning" in Nahuatl, *tetlane*, is violent and negative.[6] The most approximate translation to its positive meaning in Spanish or English is *timoyolkokoltis* ("to make one's heart ache" or "to make the heart ache to achieve something"). As Tonalmeyotl explains, someone who triumphs has memory of a painful past. Such pain appears in the depictions within his poetry. Tonalmeyotl denounces social injustices committed against Nahua communities in Guerrero, Mexico. He recently opened a reading in Tlaxcala of his bilingual Nahuatl-Spanish book of poetry *Tlalkatsajtsilistle / Ritual de los olvidados* (2016) with the question, "How can you talk about flowers when there are people dying in your community?" Within Tonalmeyotl's *Tlalkatsajtsilistle*, narcotraffickers and state officials are indistinguishable in a massive-scale illegal economy that nulls even the thin promises of neoliberal multiculturalism. He declares that his "songs" seek to "*tenakastlaposkej, / teixtlaposkej*" (open people's ears, / open their eyes [to these injustices]).

Araceli Tecolapa Alejo ("Araceli Patlani" or "Astronauta de Tlaltipaktli") similarly addresses the corruption within her municipality of Zitlala, Guerrero. In "Ni choka kentla siuatl / Lloro como mujer," Tecolapa begins "Ni choka kentla siuatl / pampa kox niueli kox ninauatis, / kox nineki kox ninauatis" ("I cry like a woman / because I cannot stay silent, / I do not want to stay silent").[7] She highlights the importance of an affective intelligence in the face of the injustices in her region. Tecolapa calls for *chikaualistli* (strength), repeated in the verse *niyolchikauas* (I will become strong of heart), the term described earlier as an alternative to "revitalization." She criticizes government leaders as indifferent: "Xkeman oniktak tla uan trato tech tlayekana tla yaka ki chokiltokej" (I have never seen a governor cry for his people). As part of her efforts in the social media campaign #Defensoras, una semilla del cambio (#Female Defenders, a seed for change), Tecolapa aids Indigenous women in contexts of violence to help them feel empowered.

Ateri Miyawatl (Guerrero) is a cultural promoter who recently published a trilingual Nahuatl-Catalán-English book of poetry entitled *Neijmantototsintle / La tristessa és un ocell / Sadness Is a Bird* (2018). Similar to Tonalmeyotl and Tecolapa, Miyawatl represents the poetic word as a cathartic outlet to articulate the sorrows in her region, which the poetic voice describes as a quivering bird set upon her heart. Miyawatl uses the word *xochiameya* (water springs up like flowers) to describe this catharsis. This word describes the tears pouring down one's face, and then the healing that comes by putting words on the page. *Xochitl* (flower) is the principal metaphor to describe poetry itself, *xochitlajtoli* (flowered words). Miyawatl currently leads the project Originaria, which is touring different regions of Mexico and aims to publish women writers in all 68 Indigenous languages.

Yankuik Metztli (Isabel) Martínez Nopaltécatl spurns the mythologization by Mexican national discourse to which Mardonio Carballo alludes in the epigraph. Martínez Nopaltécatl focuses on creating poetic images using the linguistic tools from the Nahuatl of her own community in the Sierra of Zongolica, without feeling a need to turn to supposedly prestigious forms of classical Nahuatl.

From the municipality of Zongolica, Veracruz, she uses the pen name Yankuik Metztli (New Moon). She also is the songwriter for a Nahua heavy metal band. The genres of rap, hard rock, and heavy metal have attracted a number of Nahua artists because of their unabashed quest to expose hypocrisy with harsh sonorities rather than, according to these artists' descriptions, singing of nonexistent idyllic images that the privileged class and official government discourse attempt to inculcate into the public. In her poetry Martínez Nopaltécatl uses *yolosewia* (extinguish my heart), which can signify both to extinguish and to calm. Heavy metal serves as a cathartic mode of expression giving voice to these plights often obscured in public discourse. These compositions subvert numerous stereotypes tied to Nahuatl, among them the idea that it is not a modern language. Audiences are often surprised to hear, within a contemporary music genre, lyrics composed by a Nahua woman in what the general public considers an extinct language.

Mardonio Carballo performs with a "prog rock" group that likewise gives voice to plights through combining multiple musical styles. Carballo is from the Huasteca Veracruzana, where there is the largest Nahua population. He has nonetheless spent most of his life outside this region. In his teens, he moved to Mexico City to complete his high school studies and has lived there since, joining a large pan-Indigenous urban population. Among the most innovative artists of contemporary Indigenous cultural production, Carballo works with many types of media, including radio, poetry, documentary, short stories, television, and progressive rock. He uproots stereotypical and patriarchal misrepresentations of First Peoples. This is evident in his multimedia (book/CD/DVD) text *Las horas perdidas* (2014), which vies for an affective space in which the gender of the poetic voice and their lover is ambivalent, and on Facebook with Carballo's participation in LGBTQ movements. Acceptance of a gender spectrum connects with the work's aim to defend linguistic diversity against Article 230 and convene large groups in street protests. The poetic voice in *Las horas perdidas* describes a practice that consists of a person retracing their steps before they die, in Nahuatl literally "to gather one's feet," as Carballo code-switches from Spanish into Nahuatl: *moijxipejpena* (*ijxi* or *ikxi*, "feet," and *pejpena*, to "collect" or "choose").[8] The poem then quotes Gil Scott Heron's song "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" and emphasizes that Nahua perspectives are for the most part not being televised and, as Carballo denounced in his campaign against Article 230, are being actively suppressed. He accentuates an affective space that values Nahua knowledges as part of a revolution—this *moikxipejpena*—as the word "revolution" itself means a return, a rolling back, a retracing of steps. Through his works, Carballo seeks to retrace the steps of Nahua knowledges and perspectives and underscore their importance in a dynamic present and future.

In this article I have shared specific examples of Nahuatl used by a wide array of authors and its prominence in their activism. This overview is necessarily incomplete due to space constraints as well as the abundance of contemporary works in Nahuatl.[9] This panorama is even more incomplete because it focuses solely on Nahuatl, when there are 67 other Indigenous languages in Mexico. Language activism as a strategy against racism is evident in authors' works in those languages too, such as those from Mixe writer Yásnaya Elena Aguilar Gil and Mè'phàà writer Hubert Matiúwàa'. Nahua writers seek to open a space for these many languages, as evidenced for example in Mardonio Carballo's fight against Article 230 and Ateri Miyawatl's project to publish women writers in all 68 languages. To refer to the Indigenous nations that speak them, *maseuali* or *macehualli* has become the common term. In the past, *macehualli* was employed to humble Indigenous peoples (roughly equivalent to "peon"), but Nahuas have reappropriated it as an overarching term within Indigenous movements that remember a shared history of colonial oppression and propose "decolonizing" strategies.[10] As the authors in this survey of Anahuac signal, *kiyolchikaua*, strengthening the use of Indigenous languages, constitutes an integral part of those strategies.

Notes

Epigraph original in Spanish: "Los pueblos originarios van a ser la punta de lanza de un cambio, de un sismo. Vamos a acabar con el racismo exacerbado de la clase media. Nos dicen, qué bonita, qué exótica, qué poética, qué ancestral suena tu lengua. Pero las lenguas no suenan poéticas. Suenan como suenan, porque están vivas." Quoted in Andrea Rodés, "Las lenguas suenan como suenan, porque están vivas," *Al Día*, October 25, 2017, http://aldianews.com/es/articles/culture/mardonio-carballo-las-lenguas-suenan-como-suenan-porque-est-n-vivas/50394. Translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

[1] See Jesús Aranda, "Gana el poeta Mardonio Carballo amparo contra discriminación lingüística," *La Jornada*, January 20, 2016, http://semanal.jornada.com.mx/ultimas/2016/01/20/ampara-corte-al-poeta-mardonio-carballo-para-radiodifusion-en-nahuatl-3593.html.

[2] For a survey of contemporary Nahua literature that explores heated debates regarding orthography, generational tensions, and the exclusion of women writers, see Adam Coon, "Introduction to Contemporary Nahua Literature," Revitalizing Endangered Languages, October 19, 2013, http://www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl/eng/Nahuatl/28/31/introduction-to-contemporary-nahua-literature, and "To *In* or Not to *In:* The Politics Behind the Usage or Disavowal of Classical Nahuatl within Contemporary Nahua Literature," Revitalizing Endangered Languages, October 19, 2013, http://www.revitalization.al.uw.edu.pl/eng/Nahuatl/31/30/to-in-or-not-to-in-the-politics-behind-the-us.

[3] Hernández also translates "national territory" as *Anahuac*.

[4] For a detailed discussion of *Abiayala*, see Emilio Del Valle Escalante, "For Abiayala to Live, the Americas Must Die," *NAIS: Journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association* 5, no.1 (2018).

[5] "Shelling" is technically the correct term, but this word has fallen out of use for corn along with the practice of drying out maize in the United States and Europe.

[6] See Martín Tonalmeyotl, "¿Qué ganamos los pueblos originarios? Ante el triunfo de López Obrador," *La Jornada: Ojarasca*, no. 255, julio 2018, http://ojarasca.jornada.com.mx/2018/07/14/que-ganamos-los-pueblos-originarios-ante-el-triunfo-de-lopez-obrador-8789.html.

[7] Published in *Sinfín*, no. 21.4 (January 2017): 34-35.

[8] *Pejpena* as a loanword in Spanish, *pepenar*, has negative connotations—to scavenge for trash—that are absent in the original language. In Nahuatl, *pejpena* refers to the gathering precious corn kernels from off the ground.

[9] For a more extensive list of writers, see Coon, "Introduction to Contemporary Nahua Literature."

[10] Here I echo Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) use of *decolonizing* to refer to a conceptual cartography of struggle mapped around on five dimensions: critical consciousness, reimagining the world, the joining of disparate ideas, disturbing the status quo, and the concept of structure.

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Interpretation Is an Act of Resistance: Indigenous Organizations Respond to "Zero Tolerance" and "Family Separation"

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A Dark Place

In a recent meeting among indigenous interpreter-advocates and legal professionals in Austin, Texas, an attorney present described the "countdown" that begins when an indigenous person begins incarceration at an immigrant detention center.[1] As days go by, and their clients cannot communicate with fellow detainees, guards, or legal representation, they go to a "very dark place." Legal advocates, eager to understand their indigenous clients but without means to do so, have little hope to communicate with their indigenous clients.

Currently there is no human or technological means available for interpreting in indigenous languages in the immigrant detention system or courts. Tens of thousands of adult and child detainees who speak an indigenous language must "get by"[2] in limited Spanish or accept inadequate outsourced interpretation services delivered by telephone or video.[3] This lack of communication and/or forced use of the unintelligible language of the historical oppressor is a form of linguistic solitary confinement. This article, written as the result of a collaboration between the leaders of the organization Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB), the indigenous-women-led nonprofit Comunidades Indígenas en Liderazgo (CIELO), and a language rights practitioner, first discusses the laws and institutions that frame this ongoing human rights violation and then highlights the actions taken by the FIOB and other indigenous-led organizations to dismantle the intolerable conditions to which indigenous detainees are subjected.

Janet Martinez and Lola Maria Juan take part in a decolonization exercise at an interpreter training in July 2018. Photo by Rafael Rodriguez.

Non-English-speaking detainees are de jure subjects of language rights in the United States. Building upon Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Executive Order 13166 (2000) purports to require all federally funded agencies to provide those who receive their services with "meaningful access" to information, including legal proceedings. Yet the courts and law enforcement agencies have been equivocal in the realization of language rights. The Department of Homeland Security and Immigrations and Customs Enforcement published "Language Access Plans" on their websites, in 2012 and 2015 respectively; these documents are intended to assess the languages of the detainees and implement translation and interpretation services for them.

Critical public research has revealed, however, that non-English-speaking detainees, even those who speak Spanish, are effectively isolated from their own legal proceedings.[4] Despite language-access planning documents, effective interpretation is not available. The failures are overwhelming and nightmarish: interpretation is delivered mostly by telephone, which misses all visual cues and is subject to technological interruption. Some interpretation is delivered via video, which is even further plagued by faulty connections and inadequate screens; detainees often receive interpretation of only parts of spoken interactions around them in the courtroom or other settings. Hastily recruited indigenous interpreters are rarely screened, trained, or proficient in legal terminology. Most language service providers are incapable of matching indigenous detainees with interpreters who verifiably speak their language.

Legal advocates, though achieving some success in challenging these failings for individual clients, largely ignore the urgency of the need for qualified interpretation in indigenous languages. Overwhelmed by the frequently shifting legal landscape and the sheer numbers of detainees, legal service providers treat the need for interpretation and cultural knowledge on a case-by-case basis, reaching out when a particular client needs help rather than proactively planning and seeking funding. Generally, legal service providers expect interpretation to be offered by volunteers or free of charge, which inadvertently recruits unscreened bilinguals. In Texas, indigenous organizations have only recently made contact with legal service providers. Faced with these circumstances, FIOB's and CIELO's unpaid leaders must spend hours trying to get on the agendas of legal service providers' staff. Legal nonprofits' passivity is similar to the ad hoc and unregulated approach of the detaining institutions, whose neglect of intentional plans for communication has such traumatic consequences.

Yet despite the cruelty of detention and associated impediments, indigenous people from Mexico and Guatemala are a growing presence in the United States. As many as 1.25 million Latin American immigrants who do not speak Spanish are thought to inhabit urban and rural areas in the United States, including in California, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, and Washington.[5] Legal aids to detainees report a growing proportion of prisoners in need of interpretation for Mayan languages from Guatemala, as well as, to a lesser extent, indigenous languages from Southern Mexico. In some detention centers, advocates estimate that indigenous people have become the majority of the locked up men, women, and children.[6] Immigrations and Customs Enforcement does not collect language data on indigenous-language-speaking immigrants, but 30,000 indigenous language speakers were estimated to be in the detention system in 2014, before the rising numbers of 2018.[7]

An Indigenous-Led Way Out

Indigenous-led organizations have mobilized to come to the defense of indigenous-language-speaking detainees. The impetus came from Donald Trump and the Department of Homeland Security's "zero tolerance" and family destruction policy implementation at the US-Mexico border in June 2018. On June 20, the national legal service provider Refugee and Immigrant Center for Educational and Legal Services (RAICES) posted a call on Facebook for volunteer indigenous interpreters that quickly spread across social media platforms. After consultation with other indigenous organizations, the Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales took the lead on a crowd-funded campaign to raise funds to match indigenous interpreters with detainees, which eventually raised close to $15,000. FIOB, which has been training indigenous interpreters since the late 1990s, has since been working with other indigenous groups to fund trained interpretation at detention centers, while training new interpreters and establishing a baseline set of principles on which indigenous interpretation should rest. These principles challenge both anti-indigenous racism and conventional concepts in interpretation.

Since the summer of 2018, FIOB has led two interpreter trainings focused on immigration, and three more are planned for 2019. These trainings convene 20 to 25 bilingual indigenous-language speakers from Mexico and Guatemala speaking

about 5 to 10 languages or language variants. Training activities include lectures, ceremonies, and informal commentary and analysis that include joking, irony, and moments of silence. Each trainee considers their observations important, and often every trainee will respond to a question posed by a discussion leader, echoing patterns of participation in indigenous-led spaces in Mexico and Guatemala. Topics covered have been best practices and techniques in interpreting; interpreter ethics; anti-indigenous, anti-immigrant racism and decolonization; and a critical and historical review of immigration law. The point of departure is that indigenous detainees deserve accurate interpretation of what they say and what they hear; but not everyone can interpret—being bilingual is not enough to be an interpreter.[8] Trainees consider careers in interpretation while drawing motivation from a spirit of solidarity or *tequio* (donated work in favor of the collective good) in the face of the immigration crisis.[9] Though nonindigenous academics, attorneys, and interpreter-trainers may conduct specific sessions, trainings are indigenous-led.

Linguistic Justice and Ethics in Interpretation

Indigenous interpreter ethics. A key principle of the professional interpreter's code of ethics is impartiality—the interpreter must favor neither side of the conversation in which she interprets. Professional interpreter codes of ethics emphasize the impartial and neutral transmission of the message of the speaker, "without additions, omissions, or paraphrasing."[10] Yet FIOB trainers understand the profound human rights violations the indigenous detainee faces and argue that there must always be a role for advocacy in their efforts. Recognizing the routine stigmatization detainees suffer both by Latinos and US whites, FIOB sees interpretation for indigenous immigrants as "an act of resistance" in solidarity with Indigenous Peoples broadly speaking. Interpreter training does not accept the impartiality of the interpreter working neutrally between two parties; rather, interpreters must be partial toward justice, even as they render messages correctly in their interpretations.

Against the normalization of borders. FIOB resists the normalization of anti-immigrant thought in workshop debates about interpretation. In a conversation about how the word "alien" should be interpreted in court, trainees were invited to think through and speak against this word's attribution of intrinsic, extraterrestrial otherness: "borders are not part of the indigenous worldview." And to the suggestion that they should simply follow the rules of interpretation, FIOB trainers argue that "we all broke the rules when we came here." Though they must be careful not to provoke judges, they must also retain the consciousness of their right to be where they are.

Language revitalization. Indigenous trainers look deeply into language. For many technical terms in English, there may be no equivalent in a Mesoamerican language. Trainees are offered two solutions to this dilemma. FIOB-trained interpreters develop short phrases that communicate the essence of a term or phrase, while resisting borrowing of Spanish terms into their communication. Experienced interpreters also relate how they visit elders to learn advanced vocabulary. The experienced interpreters' success stories show that indigenous interpreters are up to the task and transmit courage and optimism. FIOB is currently developing a crowd-sourcing app to help indigenous interpreters develop glossaries of legal terms in their languages.

Decolonization. By tracking language and interpretation across contexts in which indigenous people struggle, the trainings unpack why indigenous people tend to conceal their indigenous language fluency to government officials, fearing retribution or shaming. Trainees then rethink and act out against their own experiences of internalized racism. They also discuss their own use of the term "dialect," while trainers argue that in common usage, the term both reproduces and conceals the attribution of inferiority to indigenous languages. Trainers and FIOB leaders occasionally challenge the trainees, modeling how to confront the authority of those people whose ideas may undermine indigenous knowledge.

Indigenous leadership in knowledge production. Collaboration with academics in this endeavor is tentative. An example is finding language matches between indigenous interpreters and detainee. Many indigenous languages of Latin America/Abiayala are in fact a language group, with 4 (Mam) or, for Zapotec, up to dozens of different languages sharing the same language name.[11] Indigenous language interpreting as practiced by FIOB and its partner organizations creates language matches by identifying the hometown of the speaker, and then pooling indigenous-interpreter knowledge to identify an interpreter who will be able to communicate. The final step is an interpreter-client conversation in which communication is verified. Though it would seem that linguists of indigenous languages would be a good fit for developing tools and maps to support this system (or other aspects of the program), academics' and missionaries' ongoing appropriation or misrepresentation of indigenous knowledge are fresh memories, and indigenous leadership in knowledge production is the norm.

Conclusion: How to Support

FIOB's and CIELO's leaders train interpreters and match interpreters with indigenous language speakers in the health and legal systems. Currently they are planning a call center. On social media they publish both the joyful—hometown parties in LA or Oaxaca, a pop-up in LA selling *tlayudas* (a Oaxacan grilled torilla delicacy)—and the criminal, such as the neglected murders of indigenous women in the United States and Canada. These actions create visibility, support indigenous rights, and create income for members of indigenous immigrant communities. Tools that support indigenous interpretation are needed rather than research on FIOB and its sister organizations. Researchers currently contribute through affidavits, articles useful to legal argumentation, funding initiatives, or documentation of the mechanisms of failure for indigenous detainees. More work is needed to amplify this silenced issue. Supporting indigenous-led interpreting is a hopeful action toward breaking people out of the "dark place" to which indigenous people are being consigned.

Notes

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1 In this article we intentionally use "detained" and "incarcerated" interchangeably. We believe that from the perspective of the detainee, the experience of physical unfreedom is similar enough across legal frameworks to justify the flexible use of terms.

2 "Getting by" refers to the documented underuse of qualified interpreters by physicians who instead communicate in limited Spanish and with the use of hand gestures, to the detriment of health outcomes. See Lisa C. Diamond et al., "'Getting By': Underuse of Interpreters by Resident Physicians," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 24, no. 2 (2009): 256–262, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2628994/.

3 Telephonic and video interpretations are sourced from "language service providers." The global market for translation and interpreting services and technology is currently over $40 billion and expected to continue to grow. There is little research, regulation, or accountability associated with these companies' activities.

4 See Laura Abel, "Language Access in Immigration Courts," Brennan Center for Social Justice, 2011, https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/Justice/LangAccess/Language_Access_in_Immigration_Courts.pdf; and Blake Gentry, "Exclusion of Indigenous Language Speaking Immigrants (ILSI) In the US Immigration System, a Technical Review," Ama Consultants, May 26, 2015, http://www.amaconsultants.org/uploads/Exclusion_of_Indigenous%20Languages_in_US_Immigration_System_19_June2015version_i.pdf. See also memos published by the American Immigration Lawyers Association on August 8, 2017 (AILA Doc. No. 17080930), and March 2, 2017 (AILA Doc. No. 17030300), in which interpretation in Spanish is observed to be inadequate at Georgia's Atlanta and Stewart immigration courts: https://www.aila.org/File/DownloadEmbeddedFile/72696; https://www.aila.org/File/DownloadEmbeddedFile/70965.

5 See Shannon Speed, "States of Violence: Indigenous Woman Migrants in the Era of Neoliberal Multicriminalism," *Critique of Anthropology* 36, no. 3 (2016), citing *Hispanic Economics*: http://www.hispaniceconomics.com/overviewofushispanics/mexicannativeamericans.html.

[6] Personal communication with legal advocacy teams in Central Texas.

[7] See Gentry, "Exclusion of Indigenous Language Speaking Immigrants."

[8] Maria Luz Garcia has documented the unethical interpretation for an Ixil speaker, which led to a wrongful conviction. Eventually the Ixil speaker won his freedom, supported by Dr. Garcia's activism and documentation of the erroneous interpretation. Professor Garcia has made this documentation available to indigenous interpretation advocates (Maria Luz Garcia, personal communication).

[9] Working in the United States, hourly rates for interpreters range from $12 to more than $80 per hour, depending on training, experience, the contracting interpreter agency, and the context of interpretation.

[10] National Association of Judicial Interpreters and Translators, "Code of Ethics and Professional Responsibilities," https://najit.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/NAJITCodeofEthicsFINAL.pdf (accessed December 13, 2018).

[11] The Zapotec languages belong to the Oto-Manguean language family, and across the Zapotec-speaking region, dozens of mutually unintelligible or partially intelligible village varieties are spoken; even arriving at an exact number is a matter of controversy. //

Literaturas y Lenguas Indígenas: La inauguración de una nueva Área Temática en LASA, escrituras indígenas y crítica literaria

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Desde el proceso e instauración del poder colonial, las diversas comunidades de Abiayala se percibieron como ágrafas y fueron consideradas inferiores sólo porque el colonizador no entendió los varios sistemas de comunicación; ya sean estos en códices, tallados en madera, tejidos, o expresados en otros signos. Desde esa falta de entendimiento, los colonizadores —y después sus descendientes— definieron las culturas indígenas como estrictamente orales y fuera de un pensamiento abstracto y crítico. En el siglo XXI, la distancia conceptual entre tradiciones orales y escritas, cultura "primitiva" o moderna, subjetividades indias opuestas a las racialmente blancas, entre otras categorías que habían sido expuestas de un modo dicotómico, ya no son vistas como una teología. La puesta en marcha de la descolonización de la matriz colonial de poder en los 60s (Fanon 1961), los 80s (Rivera Cusicanqui 1984), los 90s (Smith 1999), siglo XXI (Quijano 2000) entre otros pensadores ha logrado efectos mayores en la subjetividad del ser y del saber (Smith 1999; Mignolo 2000). Arturo Arias, Luis Cárcamo-Huechante y Emilio Del Valle Escalante (2012) nombran este auge de literaturas indígenas como el "fin al imperio de los indigenismos criollos y mestizos … constituyendo la literatura en un territorio de agenciamiento indígena en el contexto contemporáneo de América Latina". Desde esta afirmación de la soberanía intelectual, críticas y críticos recurren a términos/conceptos/epistemes indígenas para teorizar la literatura indígena contemporánea desde conocimientos fuera del raciocinio occidental. En ciertos casos como el *Kab'awil* de Gloria Elizabeth Chacón (2018), *Kotz'ib'* de Gaspar Pedro Gónzalez (1997), *patän samaj* teorizado por el Movimiento de Artistas Mayas, *Ts'íib* de Paul Worley y Rita Palacios (2019) o *Ixamoxtli* de Adam W. Coon (2019) muestran que el pensamiento crítico-filosófico no sólo tiene origen en Occidente sino que es parte fundamental de los pueblos indígenas.

Esta nueva ola de investigaciones, particularmente en los últimos diez años, se aleja de los primeros acercamientos a la literatura indígena contemporánea desde el campo de la antropología y la etnografía. La publicación de libros académicos recientes, indican que el trabajo crítico en las humanidades que aborda las literaturas indígenas de Abiayala está creciendo, tanto en la academia norteamericana como también en el sur del continente. Un recorrido general revela el crecimiento de esta nueva critica, ver por ejemplo: *Indigenous Cosmolectics: Kab'awil and the Making of Maya and Zapotec Literatures* de Gloria Elizabeth Chacón (2018); *Recovering Lost Footprints* (2017) de Arturo Arias; *Mingas de la palabra* (2016) de Miguel Rocha Vivas; *Teorizando literaturas indígenas* (2015) de Emilio del Valle Escalante; *Caribe, Caribana: Cosmografías literarias* (2015) de Juan Duchesne Winter; *La ciudad ajena: Subjetividades de origen mapuche en el espacio urbano* (2014) de Lucía Guerra; *Telling and Being Told: Storytelling and Cultural Control in Contemporary Yucatec Mayan Literatures*

(2013) de Paul M. Worley; *Palabras mayores, palabras vivas: Tradiciones mítico-literarias y escritores indígenas en Colombia* (2012) de Miguel Rocha Vivas; *Memoria e invención en la poesía de Humberto Ak'abal* (2011) de Juan Guillermo Sánchez; y *Lluvia y viento: puentes de sonido: Literatura indígena y crítica literaria* (2010) de Luz María Lepe Lira como ejemplos de las obras más sobresalientes.

No obstante, esta vuelta de las humanidades a las producciones culturales y literarias de los pueblos originarios no puede entenderse sin los movimientos políticos a nivel macro y micro en la década de 90s. Hacemos hincapié en los 90s por el enfoque a nivel internacional hacia los pueblos originarios y las numerables protestas de los pueblos en contra las celebraciones de los 500 años de la llegada de Colón al continente —aunque estamos conscientes que las luchas sociales de las décadas anteriores abrieron espacios importantes para las generaciones indígenas que van a asumir posiciones de liderazgo a nivel internacional y local. El vínculo entre la coyuntura social y política de los movimientos de pueblos afros, indígenas y otras comunidades no blancas apoyado en una nueva fuerza de intelectuales orgánicos —y que afirmaban la diversidad lingüística y cultural de los países— definió las luchas políticas durante estos años (Canales Tapia 2014, 51–53). Asimismo, se podría aseverar que estos debates se alimentaron de la defensa de los derechos humanos contra las dictaduras de la década de los ochenta. No queda duda que la movilización para la democratización de los estados-nación influyó en los discursos sobre la pluriculturalidad y el plurilingüismo. La participación directa de indígenas en la generación de políticas públicas durante la primera década del siglo XXI es una de las consecuencias de este largo camino de confluencias y luchas políticas.

Por otro lado, los cambios sociales se reflejan y coinciden con cambios significativos en algunos gobiernos latinoamericanos que modificaron o incluyeron artículos en sus Constituciones Políticas para representar la conformación de países con diferentes pueblos e idiomas. Dentro de los casos más notables están los siguientes: Colombia reformó su Constitución en 1991; Paraguay tuvo el guaraní como lengua oficial en 1992; Perú reconoció a su población indígena en 1993. En México, a pesar de la centralidad que tuvo el levantamiento del Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) en 1994, la modificación del artículo 4° de la Constitución que considera las lenguas indígenas como lenguas nacionales, ocurrió hasta el año 2001, y la creación del Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas (INALI) y la Ley de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indios se instrumentó en 2003. En el siglo XXI, la literatura indígena se ha vuelto epicentro de análisis estéticos, lingüísticos, y filosóficos que desbordan sus orígenes y fines políticos.

En particular, la publicación, difusión y circulación de las literaturas indígenas y su traducción a lenguas hegemónicas como el inglés, francés o italiano, entre otras, continúa creciendo y empujando esta producción fuera de su localidad. En algunos casos se han producido críticas parciales basadas sólo en la versión en español y con una mínima comprensión de la lengua indígena. Esta situación, que en principio sería una limitante monolingüe puede ser el motor para generar una nueva crítica literaria, escrita en conversación con los hablantes, con los y las colegas indígenas que están escribiendo literatura y crítica; una crítica literaria dialógica está naciendo para no repetir las hegemonías académicas y las asimetrías Norte/Sur.

Esta nueva dinámica suscita varias preguntas: ¿Conocer o hablar un idioma indígena para analizar esta literatura enriquece nuestra interpretación? ¿Deberían los críticos interpretar este cuerpo de literatura explícitamente en su traducción? ¿Existe un original? ¿Hasta que punto los críticos que discuten las literaturas indígenas deben conocer la cultura que informa los textos? Encontramos varias respuestas —algunas hasta contradictorias— que muestran el desafío lingüístico y cultural de una nueva literatura indígena. Consideramos que al estar escrita en dos lenguas (una lengua indígena y otra de dominio, ya sea inglés, español o portugués), tiene en realidad una propuesta estética y política doble, si se quiere con dos originales. Aun cuando es monolingüe, podemos ver un doble discurso.

La mayoría de los escritores indígenas en Abiayala se traducen a sí mismos. Esta característica los distingue del sistema literario mundial, en que la traducción literaria es ejecutada por un interlocutor externo a su producción. La visión del escritor(a) indígena como interlocutor entre mundos abre otras maneras de pensar la autoría y de discurrir sobre las implicaciones epistémicas e ideológicas que están en la escritura. Además, los escritores indígenas están desarrollando un papel de críticos literarios en paralelo y en colaboración con los académicos. Por ejemplo, Martín Tonalmeyotl (Pueblo Nahua) participa en la curaduría de la sección *Xochitlájtoli* de la revista electrónica *Círculo de Poesía*; Wildernain Villegas (Pueblo Maya) publicó con Donald Frischmann una antología de escritores mayas (2016); en Chiapas, los poetas Mayas Canario de la Cruz, Mikel Ruiz, Lyz Sánchez y Antonio Guzmán se reúnen en un poemario en cuatro lenguas indígenas (2017); en Chile, Luis Cárcamo-Huechante (Pueblo Mapuche) editó por medio de la Comunidad de Historia Mapuche dos antologías sobre violencia colonial y saberes propios: *Awükan ka kütrankan zugu Wajmapu meu: Violencias coloniales en Wajmapu* (2015) y *Ta iñ fijke xipa rakizuameluwün. Historia, colonialismo y resistencia desde el país Mapuche* (2012). En Chile también, Maribel Mora Curriao (Pueblo Mapuche) co-editó una antología con varios ensayos críticos propios en colaboración con Fernanda Moraga sobre escrituras de mujeres mapuche (2011); en Colombia, Vito Apüshana (Pueblo Wayuu), Fredy Chikangana (Pueblo Quechua) y Hugo Jamioy (Pueblo Kamëntsa) antologaron sus propios textos y grabaron los audios en sus idiomas (2014). Varios y varias autores indígenas se han insertado en la labor universitaria: Luis Cárcamo-Huechante (Pueblo Mapuche) y Emilio Del Valle Escalante (Pueblo Maya K'iche') se desempeñan en la academia estadounidense, mientras que Rocío Gónzalez (Pueblo Binnizá), Maribel Mora Curriao (Pueblo Mapuche), Gaspar Pedro González (Pueblo Qanjobal) y Gonzalo Espino Relucé (Pueblo Moche) laboran desde universidades en México, Chile, Guatemala y Perú respectivamente.

El reto es generar publicaciones teóricas compartidas por críticos y escritores. Como convocantes y pensadores tenemos el compromiso de garantizar que los conocimientos o saberes indígenas no queden ocultos en una crítica literaria que no considera la participación de los mismos escritores, críticas y críticos provenientes de los pueblos indígenas. Dadas estas razones, argumentamos que aprender un idioma indígena en el cual se expresa la literatura indígena y apoyar una política lingüística para el mantenimiento de dicha lengua es un acto descolonizador. Se trata de poner en diálogo una crítica desde la lengua originaria con todas sus implicaciones epistémicas y sus efectos culturales y performativos. Dicho esto, todavía falta impulsar una critica literaria en los propios idiomas indígenas para respaldar la lectura en los pueblos, especialmente para los jóvenes —un proyecto que se anticipa.

La inauguración de un Área Temática (*Track*) enfocada en las lenguas y literaturas indígenas dentro de LASA, justo el año que ha sido declarado por la UNESCO como el Año Internacional de las Lenguas Indígenas, pone sobre la mesa la urgencia de visibilizar el desplazamiento, desuso o desaparición de las lenguas originarias a nivel global. Esto es relevante de manera particular en el continente, donde una quinta parte de los pueblos indígenas han dejado de hablar sus lenguas (*Atlas Sociolingüístico de América* 2009, 13), y cuya complejidad en la revitalización estriba en la cantidad de familias lingüísticas (99 en total) y en sus variedades dialectales, además de los retos sociopolíticos entre las fronteras de los países, pues de las 420 lenguas que se hablan, 104 son lenguas transfronterizas. La nueva Área Temática refleja el interés académico en las literaturas y lenguas indígenas que transciende su trato tradicional en lingüística y etnología a un trato interdisciplinario, que además revalora el papel de la literatura indígena para contrarrestar el monolingüismo, el mestizaje y el occidentalismo. Las propuestas que reúne el espacio de este eje temático evidencian las vertientes de la discusión actual: el estudio de discursos, formas o géneros propios de los pueblos indígenas que, al ser incorporados en la crítica académica, ayudan a establecer una conexión y/o continuidad hasta el presente. Esta nueva Área Temática es necesaria para escapar la tendencia académica de hablar por los pueblos y no con ellos.

La descolonización del pensamiento iniciada por intelectuales indígenas y no-indígenas empieza a derribar las concepciones occidentales del conocimiento y a dialogar con los saberes indígenas. Se trata de reconocer que se han despreciado las prácticas culturales o artísticas de los pueblos originarios y responder por medio de la literatura en idiomas que, como asevera la intelectual mixe Yásnaya Elena Aguilar Gil, son "un territorio cognitivo que no ha sido conquistado, por lo menos no del todo". Escritores y escritoras indígenas construyen y participan en un discurso que reta la "imagen fosilizada del indígena" como fuera de la filosofía, la literatura, la ciencia y otras contribuciones a la humanidad.

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LASA 2019 Boston: On Employment, Social Inclusion, and Justice

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As the recent caravan of Central American women, men, and children tirelessly traveling through Mexico to finally face, on the US border, a wall of xenophobic anger and rejection painfully reminded the world, Latin America still has a long, long way to go in its quest for social and economic development. What can better illustrate the current tragic combination of social deprivation in our region and the political indifference cum incompetence of the United States government than the death of a seven-year-old girl from Guatemala in US border control custody?

To better understand this plight, let us recall that in Latin America in 2017, 80 million (31 percent of its total population) lived in poverty. Moreover, sharply marked by multidimensional forms of discrimination, Latin America is the most unequal region in the world. On average, the wealthiest quintile of its population accrued 45 percent of total household income, while the poorest barely got 6 percent. In fact, according to data from the BBC, except for South Africa and Rwanda, eight of the ten most unequal countries in the world are in Latin America. The region's stark inequality in the distribution of income and wealth is, perhaps not surprisingly, combined with increasing violence and a conspicuous contrast between the haves and the have-nots in access to legal justice. Latin America, with 8 percent of the world's total population, nevertheless registers 33 percent of the total number of murders (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, *The Inefficiency of Inequality*, Santiago, 2018). Today, Pablo Neruda's succinct depiction of our region's acute mix of injustice and inequality still rings with stinging accuracy: "For the thieving nobleman, privilege—for the man who steals bread, jail."[1]

"Nuestra America," LASA's forthcoming congress in Boston in May 2019, is a timely and most welcome opportunity to join forces with Latin American peoples and friends to reaffirm the commitment to work together for greater inclusion and justice, both within the region and with the rest of America. During the third week in May we invite you to celebrate Latin America's talents, creativity, diversity, and progress on many fronts, and to join forces with prominent scholars and members of civil society to examine strategies and options to tackle the region's blatant exclusion and injustice. In this regard, let me share with you that in my many years of experience as a development economist, working first for the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and since 2015 for Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, I have come to the conclusion that the self-perpetuation or intergenerational reproduction of injustice and exclusion in our societies is to a major extent rooted in the most distorted operation of our labor markets, combined with an extreme weakness and insufficiency of our social protection systems.

Indeed, in our region, as in the rest of the developing world, a family's economic and social situation, currently and in the future, is markedly determined by the role its adults play in the market in order to earn their living. To an important extent, a child's economic future is the result of a random act of nature that led her to be born in a house whose head is, say, a large entrepreneur in finance or industry, a small-scale family shopkeeper, an employee, a farmer, a peasant, or a chronically unemployed person. Such differences in the cradle give rise to drastic inequalities in children's nutrition patterns and in their access to high-quality health and education services, not to mention parental

attention and care. These inequalities in turn lead to extremely different opportunities for work in our globalized economies, with the select few being able to enter leading, well-paid positions with full access to social protection and services, and the very many pushed to low-quality jobs, scantily paid, with little or no social and medical protection.

In such a context, Latin American people's quest for social justice and inclusion has been and continues to be strongly linked to its struggle on work-related issues, in particular to its struggle to guarantee the right to work under fair and decent employment conditions, and to earn a living wage with access to social protection. These conditions are more the exception than the rule in the region.

I strongly believe that labor markets are the key economic and social spaces that mark, in a fundamental way, whether a nation is advancing in its quest for equality, justice, and social inclusion. Wages, employment, and work conditions and the extent to which employees are formally organized and democratically represented are main factors that determine whether a society is on a path of reproduction of vicious circles of inequality, exclusion, and scant mobility or—on the contrary—of virtuous circles of high-quality employment creation, dynamic productivity, and real wage improvements, inclusion, and equality.

Unfortunately, today, ten years after the financial crisis of 2009, it is evident that labor markets in Latin America are far from working well to improve the lives and hopes of our peoples. Unemployment, informal markets, exploitation in low-value-added routines, poor wages, lack of social mobility, and dim prospects of decent retirement mark our labor markets. While the 1 percent privileged at the top of our societies amass most of the benefits of the economic recovery of recent years, the harsh job reality and prospects facing the vast population at the bottom 50 percent remind us that too many of our brothers and sisters in Latin America are being left behind.

It is urgent for all of us committed to social and economic progress and justice in Latin America to have a better understanding of the deficiencies and challenges that face our labor markets and our social protection systems in order to identify strategies and policy options to improve them and thus strengthen equality, inclusion, and social justice. LASA 2019 will offer a great opportunity to explore these issues in the presidential session that we will host with Ms. Rebeca Grynspan, currently head of the Ibero-American Secretary-General (SEGIB) and one of the 50 leading intellectuals of Latin America. Before joining SEGIB she served as deputy secretary-general of the United Nations, regional director for Latin America and the Caribbean of the United Nations Development Programme, and head of ECLAC-Mexico, vice president of Costa Rica, and minister of Economic and Social Affairs. Her professional excellence reflects, besides her first-class technical training, her empathy with and strong commitment to improving the lot of the underprivileged in Latin America. She is a renowned advocate of human development who has helped to focus the world's attention on the reduction of inequality and all forms of social exclusion.

I am sure that our session with her at LASA 2019 in Boston will be intellectually fascinating, politically illuminating, and an unforgettable and endearing experience, given her talent as a captivating speaker and her knowledge of the difficult policy issues and political challenges in designing and implementing strategies in favor of social inclusion and justice, combined with her remarkable sense of humor. I hope to see you there!

Note

Quoted in Gavin O'Toole, "The Poverty of Inequality in Latin America," *Public Finance International*, September 8, 2017. //

Aníbal Quijano Obregón (1930–2018)

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"Nos despedimos de Aníbal, un intelectual inmenso, un ser humano generoso y bueno. Sentiremos su ausencia, seguiremos su ejemplo." With these words, Pablo Gentili, Executive Secretary of CLACSO (Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, Latin American Social Science Council) marked the May 31, 2018, passing of Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano, one of Latin America's most creative thinkers, prolific writers, and committed social justice advocates. In addition, his exceptional qualities as a human being made Aníbal stand out in the ranks of prominent Latin American intellectuals and political activists. Thanks to all of these qualities, he rose to worldwide stature.

Aníbal had the intellect of a major theoretician and writer, combined with the heart and soul of a dedicated social justice activist. As described by Gentili: "Fue un luchador incansable en defensa de la democracia, los derechos humanos y la igualdad. Su obra ha inspirado no sólo varias generaciones de cientistas sociales críticos, sino también movimientos y organizaciones libertarias, emancipatorias y anticoloniales en América Latina y África."

I first met Aníbal in Chile during my graduate studies in July 1968, while he was working for CEPAL, the UN Economic Commission for Latin America, and was a leading proponent of dependency theory. He spoke in a gentle, almost musical voice that suggested his kindness and generosity. He gave considerable time to our interviews/discussions and was interested in my views despite my youth and inexperience. Decades later, I observed that same intergenerational interest when I introduced him to my Berkeley graduate-student daughter in 2004, and watched the seamless back-and-forth cultural studies interchange between the two of them.

Aníbal Quijano, Quito, Ecuador, August 25, 2015, III Congreso Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Ciencias Sociales. Carlos Pozo / Cancillería Ecuador

In his interactions with students, as with colleagues, Aníbal projected not an iota of self-importance. A very democratic, unpresuming person, he expressed openness to learning and expanding his perspectives. He was the essence of modesty, grace, graciousness, and generosity of spirit, and he emanated elegance, humor, and delight. His smile was contagious. Being in his presence and engaging with him was a real pleasure.

Aníbal's worldview spanned the entire hemisphere. Before that perspective became widespread, he had a strong cross-border view of the Americas. Despite his criticisms of US foreign policies and domestic inequities, rather than simply and reflexively blaming the United States, above all, he wanted to understand this country. As early as 1962,

with the death of C. Wright Mills, Aníbal wrote a tribute to him, subtitled "Critical Conscience of a Mass Society." In his initial 1968 discussions with me, he expressed a strong interest in what was happening with social movements in the United States, and what was the potential for social change here.

He requested that I send him US studies of Latin America and readings on the US New Left, and tell him when important new books or congressional studies were published. I was beginning to write for and work with NACLA, the North American Congress on Latin America, a rising leftist research collective critical of US imperial policy in the hemisphere. Aníbal asked me to send him the *NACLA Newsletter*, later renamed *NACLA Report on the Americas*. He also wanted to ensure the existence of an informational *red* or network linking the US left and the Latin American lefts. He believed that the US left should defend Latin American revolutionary movements.

Aníbal's intuitive understanding of the United States was so astute that by the mid-1990s, shortly after the passage of California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in 1994, he spoke of the specific "Latinidad" of California. He was the first Latin American I knew to use this concept and to emphasize the importance specifically of Latino culture in shaping California culture and politics. In addition, he advised me, "Don't forget your California roots; the Latinidad of California is different from that of New York," which he knew from teaching at SUNY Binghamton.

It was not just his thought that was pan-hemispheric, spanning both Latin America and the United States. In practice, his writings, teachings, and activism reached across borders in the Americas. Beginning in the 1970s, he contributed to a variety of US-based publications, even some that focused on the United States or were more theoretical than Latin America-specific. Among the publications in which his works appeared were the *NACLA Report on the Americas*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *Socialism and Democracy*, *Contemporary Marxism*, and *Monthly Review*—and later (2007), *Cultural Studies*. He also had articles in a number of English-language anthologies on Latin America, edited by a variety of US-based scholars ranging ideologically from Seymour Martin Lipset, to James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin, to Ramon Grosfoguel, to Walter Mignolo and Arturo Escobar.

In addition, Aníbal was a key presence in conferences not only throughout Latin America, sponsored by CLACSO, ALAS (Latin American Sociological Association) and many others, but also in numerous conferences held by US-based associations. These included, among others, the American Sociological Association (ASA), Latin American Studies Association (LASA), and Political Economy of the World System (PEWS). In 2015, Aníbal was the featured and honored plenary speaker at the LASA Congress, where he spoke to a packed auditorium.

In reflecting on the significance of his participation in and comprehension of US intellectual, cultural, and social life, I am struck by Aníbal's transcendence of his Peruvian and Latin American identities. Without ever losing those identities, which remained primary, he was able to grasp the perspective of the hemisphere in its totality—and ultimately to develop global perspectives on major issues. He was, in this respect and many others, a man of the world.

Aníbal's active conference schedule had a personal side. Since our initial 1968 exchanges, what had started as my interviews with him (intellectual mentorship) became the beginnings of a friendship. That friendship grew through our encounters in a variety of cities, often at conferences, in North and South America over years and decades, with correspondence and e-mail communications in between. Our discussions were not only intellectual but also personal, about major changes in our lives. I remember, for example, spending one memorable 1986 afternoon in New York City's Central Park, talking at length with him after one of these major changes in my life. Other encounters occurred in Mexico City's Centro Histórico at the 1995 ALAS conference, as well as ALAS meetings in other Latin American or Caribbean cities. We met up several times in the San Francisco Bay Area for PEWS and ASA conferences. At the 2015 LASA

Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico, we tried to find time to talk, but he was overwhelmed with the many LASA and CLACSO events in his honor.

Political activism in Peru got Aníbal in trouble with several Peruvian governments. Already during the 1940s and 1950s, he had been jailed several times for pro-socialist political activities. Under the relatively progressive/reformist military government of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975), he remained active in socialist politics (Movimiento Revolucionário Socialista, MRS) and edited several political journals (*Sociedad y Política* and *Revolución Socialista*). As a result of his critical stance toward the government, he spent the year 1974 in *destierro* (banishment/exile) from Peru in Mexico City, as a professor at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). Aníbal returned to Peru in 1975 and continued with the journals, while teaching at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM) in Lima. His return coincided with the rightist military overthrow of the Velasco government and the consolidation of a right-wing regime that he actively opposed.

During the 1990s, he became a leading critic of the elected but dictatorial/repressive right-wing neoliberal government headed by Alberto Fujimori, in power from 1990 through 2000. Aníbal resigned from the University of San Marcos when its campus was occupied by government troops in 1995. He paid dearly for this act of protest. Giving up this stable job at UNMSM for reasons of political principle had consequences, especially in the neoliberal 1990s.

After his resignation from UNMSM, Aníbal's multiple teaching activities in the United States and elsewhere internationally became primary. In particular, his part-time affiliation with the Sociology Department at SUNY Binghamton (now Binghamton University) lasted from 1986 through 2012. He taught both graduate and undergraduate courses and contributed strategically to the department's curriculum. Nevertheless, unlike many Latin American scholars who sought and accepted full-time academic jobs in the United States, Aníbal refused offers of a permanent, full-time professorship at Binghamton that would have required him to move from Peru to the United States or to live here for more than one semester at a time.

In Peru, he engaged in various teaching activities after 1995. Most importantly, in 2010, he founded the *cátedra* (chair/professorship) of América Latina y la Colonialidad del Poder at the Universidad Ricardo Palma in Lima.

Aníbal Quijano's intellectual agility was boundless, the scope of his writings vast, especially if viewed as he evolved over time. Primarily a dependency theorist during his years at CEPAL in Chile in the 1960s and early 1970s, he had been strongly influenced by Peruvian Marxist José Carlos Mariátegui, and by his own extensive contact and involvement with Peru's indigenous communities. Unlike some leftist Peruvian social scientists, who have viewed Peruvian rural indigenous communities solely as "peasant," that is, only in class terms, he built a complex analysis of race/racism, focusing on indigenous ethnicity and identity. During those years, he also wrote sharp critiques of imperialism, de-capitalization of Latin America through foreign investments, and Peruvian/Latin American state promotion of foreign monopolies' interests. Other themes included urbanization, marginalization, class struggle, and social movement resistance.

By the late 1980s–1990s, Quijano had deepened his analysis, with the turn to decolonial studies and his comprehensive theorization of *colonialidad*/coloniality. Race and racism became the basis for understanding the relations of domination throughout the entire world-system and its regions and the racial division of labor. In his words, "The idea of 'race' is surely the most efficient instrument of social domination produced in the last 500 years. Dating from the very beginning of the formation of the Americas and of capitalism (at the turn of the 16th century), in the ensuing centuries it was imposed on the population of the whole planet as an aspect of European colonial domination." ("Questioning 'Race,'" *Socialism and Democracy* 21, no. 1 [2007]).

Quijano developed a sharp critique of the two dominant European models, ideologies, and development strategies: capitalism/modernity/modernization and really-existing statist socialism. In his view, both of these models were based on an underlying Eurocentric worldview, an epistemology that had imposed itself throughout the globe. As he wrote in that same essay, "Coloniality became the cornerstone of a Eurocentered world." Quijano set himself the task of epistemological deconstruction and decolonization of that scheme.

A central theme of coloniality emerged from the masterful essay, "Americanity as a Concept; or The Americas in the Modern World-System," that he coauthored with Binghamton sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, founder of world-systems theory. It was published in 1992, the five hundredth anniversary of the Conquest, in UNESCO's *International Social Science Journal* (no. 134). This essay shows the contribution of the Americas and "Americanity" to the creation and structure of the world-system, most particularly the emergence of race and racism. In addition, it illuminates the divergent paths taken by North America and Latin America over several centuries, the result of different processes of colonization by Britain and Spain/Portugal (internal market vs. world market development strategies).

By the early 1990s, Quijano's writings had evolved into a theoretically comprehensive approach, a major contribution to the field of decolonial studies for which he became best known. The entire coloniality paradigm came together in his capstone monograph, *Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo, y América Latina* (2000), with an English version in *Nepantla*, Duke's cultural studies journal, also in 2000 (vol. 1, no. 3). He continued to develop the central concepts over the course of many subsequent years.

Even as the laser-sharp critic, Quijano was also forward-looking, a visionary who could conceptualize a world different from the existing one characterized by relations of domination and hierarchy. His writings included reflections on utopia. One alternative to Eurocentric models, for example, was derived from and inspired by popular resistance struggles in the *barriadas* or shantytowns of Latin American cities, and the efforts of the urban poor to build reciprocity, social solidarity and direct democracy. In his powerful conclusion to the English translation of one article (published by NACLA in its February 1991 issue), he wrote, "The liberation of society is more than an enlightened vision of utopia; in Latin America, its weft is already apparent in the threads of our daily life. The tapestry may be unraveled, perhaps even destroyed, but new hands will return to the ancient loom."

Many of Quijano's writings were compiled in a 2014 anthology published by CLACSO (edited by Danilo de Assís Clímaco), *Cuestiones y horizontes: Antología esencial; De la dependencia histórico-estructural a la colonialidad/descolonialidad del poder*. These writings have had worldwide impact, far beyond the Western hemisphere. Quijano contributed to various European anthologies and journals and theoretically influenced scholars in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Many of his works were widely translated. The breadth and depth of his scholarship place Aníbal Quijano at the forefront of world sociology.

Aníbal Quijano (1930–2018) is survived by his wife of over 60 years, Dr. Carmen Pimentel Sevilla, their two sons, Piero and Rodrigo, and two grandchildren. With his passing, we have lost a truly exceptional human being.

Thanks to Victor Wallis for consultation on this tribute. //

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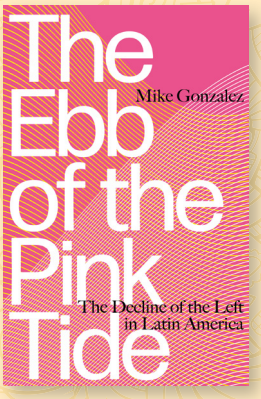

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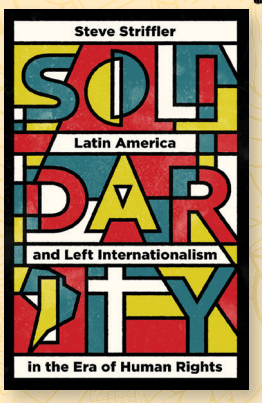

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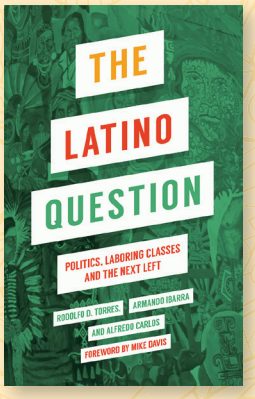

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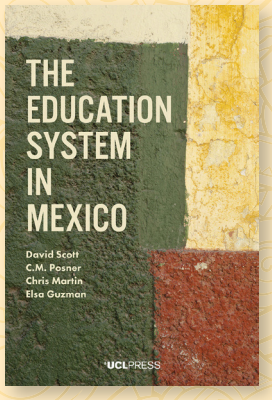

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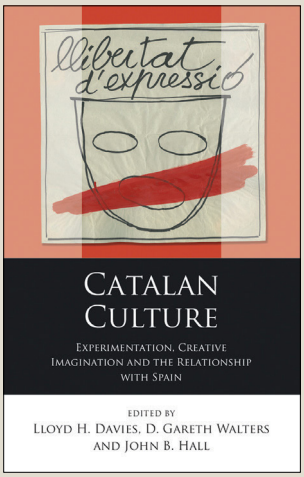

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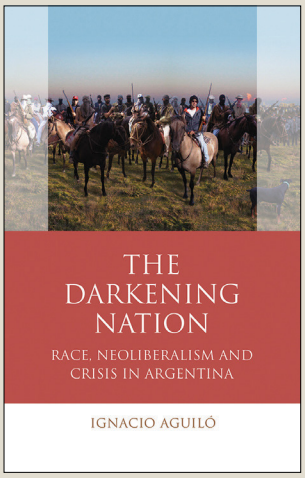

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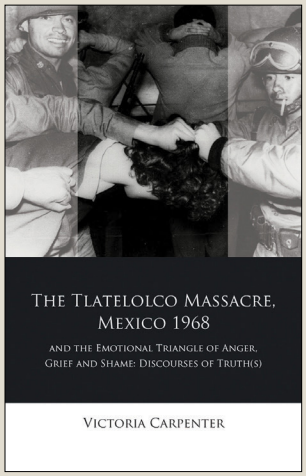

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