"TODAY THERE IS NO RESPECT": NOSTALGIA, "RESPECT" AND OPPOSITIONAL DISCOURSE IN MEXICANO (NAHUATL) LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

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1. Introduction

"Today there is no respect" (axan amo cah respeto) is one formula of a discursive system through which speakers of Mexicano (Nahuatl) in the Malinche Volcano region of Central Mexico express "nostalgia" about days gone by, in achtol. The discourse of nostalgia consists of formulaic pronouncements on a restricted list of themes: in achtol, language was unmixed: no one knew, or needed to know, castilla 'Spanish,' but instead spoke puro mexicano. In Mexicano, ritual kinsmen greeted each other on the village paths, parents commanded children, and neighbors spoke to each other of the ancient tasks of cultivation. Work was hard, but goods were cheap, measured in traditional quantities and paid for with small coins with ancient names. People ate traditional foods with Mexicano labels, especially neucíli 'pulque,' fermented from the sap of agaves. The interactional qualities of in achtol can be summarized as in achtol ocacíca respeto 'In those days, there was respect.' Today people are educated and know Spanish, but the Spanish is full of errors, and children come out of school groseros, rude and disrespectful.

The discourse of nostalgia is "ideological" in both the "ideational" and "pragmatic" senses (Friedrich 1989). Not only is it made up of a set of propositions about the past, but, through the implicit and explicit positive evaluations of the past that the discourse asserts, people who benefit from practices that they believe are legitimated by tradition put forward their political interests. Central to the discourse of nostalgia is a "linguistic ideology" that suggests that the Mexicano language, especially in some "pure" form, is a peculiarly appropriate vehicle for the social forms of long ago, in achtol, and especially for "respect." On the other hand, Spanish, and the mixing of Spanish and Mexicano, are peculiarly associated with the social forms of today, axan, and with the loss of respect.

While the discourse of nostalgia is universally interpretable in the Mexicano towns of the Malinche region, not everyone produces it. Most likely to repeat its formulas are relatively successful men. Women, and men who possess little in the

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way of the locally-relevant forms of capital, seldom engage in the discourse. Instead, they may produce an oppositional discourse, contesting the discourse of nostalgia by exposing its formulas to contradiction and even to parody. This "counter-discourse" undermines the terms of the linguistic ideology, constituting an "interruption" (Silverman and Torode 1980) of the idea that particular forms of language are inextricably linked to particular forms of social order. Further, this interruption is more radical than are some well-known challenges to language form and use in English. This may be because Mexican linguistic ideology locates the crucial nexus of representation between dialogic action and social order, not between reference and reality.2

2. Nostalgia as a discursive system

Before turning to the counter-discourse, I characterize with greater precision the content and organization of the discourse of nostalgia. Its characteristic formulas develop a small set of major rhetorical themes: 1) "respect": the proper observance of status relationships, especially illustrated by greetings between compadres 'ritual kin,' and commands from parents to responsive children, contrasted with today's grosera 'rudeness,' 2) the sacred nature of the Mexican community and the ties between its people, contrasted with contractual ties for profit, 3) a favorable economy, in which goods were cheap and life was rigorous but healthy, contrasted with today's high prices and unhealthy ways; 4) cultivation as the prototypical human way of life, contrasted with factory work and schooling, seen as educational preparation for such work; 5) the use of Mexican long ago, vs. the use of Spanish today; 6) the linguistic purity of in achat, contrasted with the language mixing of axán.3

These themes and their associated formulas occurred in sociolinguistic interviews conducted with 96 speakers of Mexican in 11 towns in the Malinche Volcano region between 1974 and 1981. No speaker used all of these themes, nor did any speaker connect them in a coherent argument, either in the interview or in

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2 The distribution of the discourse of nostalgia and its counterdiscourse across groups in the Mexican socio-scape is not absolute. For instance, Don Gabriel, while praising the rigor of olden days, observes that his ancestors were "enslaved", as indeed they were (they were bonded laborers on a hacienda). On the other hand, women while praising the opportunities available today, may speak negatively of the rudeness of children or the danger of crime in the cities.

3 Empirically, we can determine that the general patterns of borrowing from Spanish into Mexican, which permits loan vocabulary from every grammatical category of Spanish, were well-established by the beginning of the 18th Century (Katttun and Lockhart 1976). Thus not even the great-great-grandparents of the oldest generation of contemporary Mexican speakers lived in a world in which there were no Spanish loans in Mexican. Note that nostalgic discourses are recorded from a very early period in Mexican communities; Katttun and Lockhart (1987) note a discourse about a "golden age" in the Bancroft dialogues, recorded in about 1570-1580. Their "Golden Age" discourse reflects on a time before the Conquest, when children were rigorously trained and sin was swiftly and sternly punished.

A minor point on Mexican orthography: the symbol x stands for [σ], not [χ], as is conventional in orthographies of the indigenous languages of Mexico.
everyday conversation (where the discourse occurred quite commonly). Instead, the
discourses of nostalgia occur in fragments, with formulaic elements scattered across
the hour or so of conversation in the average interview, or used in passing in
conversation. Most speakers used only one or two formulas from the discourse of
nostalgia. Every theme was mentioned by at least half a dozen speakers
(sometimes the use was in the context of the counter-discourses described below).
Most commonly mentioned were "mixing" and the change in greetings.

Three elderly men in three different communities produced the most
complete developments of the discourse of nostalgia, using many of its elements
during the interview. Each of these men had achieved high office in the civil-religious hierarchy in his community, and each claimed an identity as a cultivator, a campesino. Don Gabriel (S73⁴) mentioned the largest number of themes, using commonly-heard formulas about respect, mixing, greetings, the language of traditional agricultural practice, the sacred, how cheap everything used to be, how people used to work hard, and how the schools, while they teach Spanish, seem to make children disrespectful. Don Gachupín (S12) mentioned the "doctrina," the greeting of compadres as an indicator that "there was respect," and the fact that language mixing occurs. Don Abrán (S76) produced routines on the Mexicano language of agriculture, the speeches appropriate to hospitality with pulque, greeting compadres on the road, and giving orders to children. None of these three men connected all these elements in a single account or argument.

Since the "discourse of nostalgia" does not occur as a single coherent argument, what is the justification for characterizing it as a single discursive system? First, speakers often chain more than one element. Especially common is to exemplify a discussion of "respect" with Mexicano greetings contrasted with Spanish greetings, thought to be not respectful. Or a speaker will mention language "mixing" and immediately turn to a mention of the problem of respect. Exemplifying chaining of the language theme with the economic theme, Don Gabriel observed in response to an interview question about domains of Mexicano language use that in his youth he spoke Mexicano in shops. He then amplified his reply by remarking that

(1) "Everything was cheap then. You could buy chiles for a centavo, fish for two centavos ... everything was by the centavo, and by the cuartilla [a unit of measure no longer used, about 6 pounds], and one requested it in Mexicano. Anyone would wait on us, and there was no problem with short-weighting, like there is today."

One speaker illustrated "mixing" with a comparison of Spanish dios and Mexicano teotl 'god,' linking language use to community sacralization. Or a speaker will illustrate the Mexicano greetings, and extend the quoted conversation (the usual way of illustrating the greetings) to include discussions of cultivation:

(2) "Did the compadre wake up well?"
"Well, God be praised, pass on, Compadre."
"And where is the compadre going."

⁴ S73, speaker 73, and other speaker numbers given here, refers to the list in Hill and Hill 1986: 456-59.
"Why, to the fields, to scrape the magueyes."
"May the compadre pass on."

Or, a person will observe that the reason that all children now speak Spanish is because they go to school, yet the schools do not make them polite and obedient, but rude and unruly. For instance, Don Gabriel, replying to a question about whether people spoke Mexicano better today or long ago, said,

(3) "It's the same. The same. But today they all want education, but what good does it do? I tell you, it doesn't do any good. They even go to secondary school, but they come out groseros. No longer does it make them have more respect. I tell you, today everything is all mixed up."

In addition to the chaining of rhetorical formulas and themes, speakers express connections between the themes through rhetorical parallelism. For instance, Don Abrán produced the figure in (4), where the oficio "work" was cultivation and the tlahtol "language" was Mexicano.

(4) ye nón oficio... ye nón tlahtol.
'That was the work then...that was our language then.'

Don Marcos (S83) used parallelism to associate Mexicano with highly desired "respectful" ethical states of "mutual trust" and "gratitude." Remarking that he still spoke Mexicano with some people in his town, he said,

(5) titlahtoah mexicano, timonōtzah de confianza.
'When we speak Mexicano, we speak seriously with mutual trust'

Don Marcos felt that Mexicano was an "inheritance" from the elders, and said that he urged this position upon his children, as follows:

(6) macâmo mā ye ingrâto, macâmo mā quîlcahua in mexicano
'May you not be ungrateful, may you not forget Mexicano'

In addition to syntagmatic chaining and paradigmatic parallelism in speech, a more complex semiotic logic connects the various discourses with the generalized understanding of "long ago." The discourse of nostalgia involves "multiplex signs," (Briggs 1989): elements that not only refer to, but call up indexically, an entire social order associated with in achtô. First, to mention the Mexicano language, especially legitimo mexicano 'correct, unmixed Mexicano' accomplishes this. Second, the emphasis on the sacred occurs in two highly routinized discourses: the idea that a speaker in the old days who really knew legitimo mexicano knew it hasta la doctrina, 'even to the catechism.' One speaker states that people spoke so well in achtô that "even the hymns were sung in Mexicano." People commonly mention that greetings in the old days invoked the sacred: people would exchange, "Ave Maria," "Véras concebida" [sic]. Such formulas place the sacred at the center of Mexicano usage, paralleling the physical placement of churches at the center of communities, and paralleling as well many rhetorical claims that constitute the Mexicano community as a sacred space surrounded by a profane periphery (Hill 1990b, to appear). And note that the greeting formula connects this in turn to the order of "respectful" sociality.
Third, the Mexicano greetings between compadres, "co-parents" ritually joined in a kinship-like relationship, and the giving of orders to children in Mexicano are especially favored illustrations of the respectful order of in achtó. These routines require the production of verb forms which index the two most important axes of social differentiation in Mexicano communities, the relationship between ritual kin and the distinction between senior and junior blood relatives. The verbs must be marked with honorific affixes (or their meaningful absence) that index the relationship between speaker and addressee (Hill and Hill 1978). This point will be developed further below.

The social order of in achtó can also be indexed by mentioning cultivation; hence the use of conversations about agriculture to exemplify Mexicano speech. The ideal of agricultural self-sufficiency is constructed by mentioning the cheap prices (and the measures and coins) of bygone days. This is contrasted with the need to find wage labor and the high prices of today. The language of the wage-paying workplace and of purchasing in shops, practices associated with axán, is Spanish; this is confirmed by nearly all speakers. Speakers usually say that children acquire Spanish because they go to school, and that such schooling is necessary to prepare for wage labor, but they argue that children come out of school "disrespectful." Thus universal schooling and literacy, in letrah, an important multiplex sign of axán, is linked syntagmatically to the idea of "disrespect."5

In summary, "nostalgia" in the Mexicano communities is accomplished through a set of discourses that are intricately interlinked with one another, by syntagmatic chaining, by rhetorical parallelism, and by the fact that the principle formulas of the discursive system are multiplex signs. Accessing as they do the entire order of in achtó, such signs permit speakers to move from one of its elements to the other without bridging argumentation. The relative coherence of this system makes it possible for us to speak of nostalgia as an "ideology" (cf. Eagleton 1991).

3. Pragmatic ideology in the discourse of nostalgia

A central theme of the discourse of nostalgia expresses a "linguistic ideology:" a "set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979: 193). Following Whorf, Silverstein argues that the dialectical relationship between ideology, structure, and use will be constituted primarily through "referential projection" or "objectification," the projection through which the structure of language - especially "pervasive surface-segmentable linguistic patterns" (1979: 202) - is reified as the structure of the world. Through "referential projection" pragmatic categories are interpreted as referential. For instance, tense may be considered to refer to units of time "in the world," not to pragmatic dimensions anchored in discourse. A form of "projection" occurs also with pragmatic ideologies. The discourse of nostalgia claims that Mexicano dialogues are inextricably linked to a desirable social order of the past, and particularly to "respect," and that disrespect, a key problem of today, is linked

5 Women often agree with the evaluation of today's children as rude and disrespectful; however, they never blame this on schooling, which is very common in the discourse of nostalgia.
to the use of Spanish. These claims focus on usage, and are thus pragmatic. Such ideologies, Silverstein argues, tend universally to exhibit certain characteristic features. First, pragmatic ideology locates the "power" of language in surface-segmentable items. Second, pragmatic function is held to be "presupposing" rather than "creative" (or "entailing"): the uses of language appear because preexisting social categories require them. Third, pragmatic effects are held to be extended from propositional ones.

Silverstein's first proposal, that the power of language will be located in surface-segmentable elements, is borne out in the Mexicano case by the fact that the discourse of nostalgia utterly fails to notice the formal differences between the signalling of deference and distance in Mexicano, by a complex system of verbal suffixes and by honorific suffixes on other parts of speech as well (especially nouns, postpositionals, and discourse particles) and the morphology of deference in Spanish. However, the discourse of nostalgia does not focus on "words," the surface-segmentable element par excellence. Instead, the units chosen by Mexicano speakers to illustrate "respect" are "surface segmentable" only at the discourse level: they are whole dialogues, not single words or phrases. The salience of such dialogic units may link the pragmatic ideology of nostalgia and a more general theme of community and sociality over individuality in Mexicano communities (see Hill 1990a). It may also be linked to a more generally "pragmatic" orientation toward language in Mexicano language ideology, to be discussed further below. For instance, in illustrating how respect was conveyed in greetings, many speakers say something like this:

(7) In the old days, compadres would meet, and they would say, "Míxtōnaltlhtzínóh?", "Mopanōltlhtziño" hūăn "Mopanahuíhtzínōa compadrito." "Did his honor wake up (well)?" ("May his honor pass by," "The compadre is passing honorably by.") But today, it is puro buenos días, puro buenas tardes ("nothing but "Good day," "Good afternoon.")"

Relevant here are the three verbs, appropriate to the first greeting of a compadre on the path in the morning. Their structure is shown below:

(7a) m-ixtōnal-tīh-tzin-oh?
REFLEXIVE-WAKE UP-APPLICATIVE-HONORIFIC-THEME-PAST SING
'Did the day dawn upon his honor?'

(7b) mo-panō-l-tīh-tzin-o
REFLEXIVE-PASS-APPLICATIVE-APPLICATIVE-HONORIFIC-THEME(IMP)
'Let his honor pass on'

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6 A routinized purist discourse, discussed in Hill and Hill (1986) does focus on a short list of legítimo mexicano lexical items.

7 The following abbreviations appear in the examples: IMP = Imperative, INDEF = Indefinite, OBJ = Object, P2 = Second person, P3 = Third person, SING = Singular.
Here, the level of honorific marking appropriate to interchanges between ritual kin is indicated by verbs in the third person, even though the exchange is in direct address. The verbs are marked also with the honorific suffix -tān, used both to the elderly and ritual kin. They are also marked as reflexive verbs, with the prefix mo- and the applicative suffixes (-tīn, -l, -huih in the dialogue above) that are required to adapt the valence of these intransitive verbs to the presence of the reflexive prefix. These third-person honorific verbs contrast (1) with second-person verbs with reflexive and honorific markings, appropriate for greeting persons who deserve reverence but who have no ritual kinship relationship with the speaker, (2) with verbs which are reflexive but which lack the honorific suffix, which might be used for a well-dressed stranger, (3) with verbs marked with the prefix on- "away," appropriate for senior relatives who are not elderly, and (4) with unmarked verbs, appropriate for greeting children or same-generation, same-sex blood kin.8

The Spanish greetings Buenos días and Buenas tardes contain no verbs, and so can be used without constituting any particular relationship between speakers beyond the phatic. Furthermore, Spanish, even where verb forms and pronouns are present, has only a two-way contrast of distance and deference, compared to the subtle gradations possible in Mexicano.

Speakers who illustrate the greetings nearly all say explicitly that the Mexicano greetings show respect, but that the Spanish greetings lack it. Speakers seem to be identifying the difference in indexical force between the two types of greetings, yet no speaker ever mentioned the affixes, or even observed that the Spanish greetings had any sort of formal difference from the Mexicano ones. Instead, speakers illustrated by contrasting complete greeting exchanges with one another, as above. Compadrazgo, ritual kinship, is the single most important social relationship between adults, and "respect" (along with confianza,"mutual trust," ) is the most important element of this relationship, an element that is often articulated by speakers. The invocation of the most characteristic everyday language of compadrazgo, the greeting on the road, can stand metonymically for the respectful social order of in achtó, "long ago."

Silverstein (1981) extended his theory of linguistic awareness to permit a continuum of salience. The Mexicano case suggests that such salience may be linked, not only to perceptual factors such as surface segmentability, but also to the complexities of local schemas. Commands to children are mentioned only half as often as greetings between compadres in order to illustrate "respectful" Mexicano speech. The most likely reason for this difference is that the presence of the affixal

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8 The system is not perfectly regular: the various marking options of honorific suffix, reflexive-applicative affixation, and prefixation with on- are variable at each level; a verb form may have one, two, or all three elements. Sometimes, compadres are addressed in the second person. However, third-person direct address occurs only with ritual kin. See Hill and Hill 1978 for more detailed discussion of the honorific system.
system on the verbs in the greetings is in fact the object of awareness, although at a level below that of "discursive consciousness" (Giddens 1976).

The usual discourse illustrating commands to children goes something like the following:

(8) "In the old days, you could say to a child, "Xicui in cuahuitl, xiyah xitlapiai." ('Get the firewood, go take the stock to pasture.'), but nowadays, who would understand? They might even say, "Don't talk to me with that old stuff." You have to say, "Trae la lena, vas a cuidar."

Let us examine the structure of the imperative verbs in these expressions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEXICANO</th>
<th>SPANISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(8a) xi-c-ui</td>
<td>trae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE-P3OBJ-BRING</td>
<td>BRING-P3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8b) xi-yah</td>
<td>va-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE-GO</td>
<td>GO-P2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8c) xi-tla-pia-tih</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE-INDEF,NONHUMAN.OBJ.-CARE-GO</td>
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In both cases, the verbs are unmarked for deference. In Spanish, with its two-way distinction of distance/deference, trae "bring" and vas "you're going" are contrasted with deferential traiga, vaya respectively. In Mexican, with a more complex system, the imperatives are contrasted minimally with verbs that would be used to an adult stranger: xicui vs. xoncui 'Bring,' xiyah vs. xonyah 'go,' and xitlapiai vs. xontlapiai 'Go take the stock to pasture.' Thus, while commands to children illustrate a social relationship where respect is at issue, their linguistic form alone (as opposed to the nature of the children's response), since it is unmarked, does not invoke respect. Nor does it contrast with the Spanish command which, at this level of the system, is in exactly the same relationship of marking to a more deferential alternative as is the Mexican imperative.

Silverstein's second property of pragmatic ideology, the tendency to see indexicality as "presupposing," is helpful in understanding characteristic thematic choices of the discourse of nostalgia. The most popular way to illustrate "respect" is with greetings between ritual kin. This is the maximally "presupposed" social category, outside of blood and marriage relationships. Relationships of ritual kinship are created through formal ceremonies, after which the language appropriate to the relationship is used. The use of the correct language with compadres certainly reaffirms the relationship, and it is through such usage that the verbal distance and deference considered appropriate to it is constituted. I have also heard speakers attempt to enhance very distant claims of compadrazgo by using honorific third-person forms. For instance, Don Abrán used third-person address to the American linguist Jane Rosenthal, who is a comadre of his comadre Doña Rosalia. Such usages suggest that people feel that there might be some transitivity in a chain of the relationships, such that a person who is compadre to a compadre of a prominent person, for instance, might be compadre of the prominent person more directly. However, it is clear that the claims that speakers might have upon, or the honors that they might render toward, someone so addressed are very limited compared to those on their formally-constituted ritual kin, and to derive from these
facts the social-constructionist interpretation that relationships of compadrazgo are constituted through language certainly would not jibe with native theory.

There are honorific usages outside compadrazgo which are probably more constitutive or "creative," in contrast to the relatively "presupposing" usage between compadres. For instance, no ceremony marks the transition of a person to the level of venerability that prompts high levels of honorific usage to the elderly, and speakers are not clear about exactly when they would do this ("to someone with white hair," or "to someone who walks with a cane" are examples that have been suggested to me). To some degree, then, recognition as an elder is constituted through the way others address that person, with the label momahuizotzin 'your reverence' substituted for the pronoun iehhuatizin, and with second-person honorific verbs. A few people illustrate "respect" by saying that, "In the old days, when you would meet an old man, or an old woman, you would say ...", but this is less common than the illustration of greetings between compadres.

The failure of speakers to recognize creative indexicality is evidenced by the fact that no speaker recognizes explicitly a function of Spanish loan words that is very obvious to the outsider: the constitution of the power of important people in public life. Political discourse in the communities is dense with Spanish loans, and both here and in other kinds of talk very high frequencies of Spanish loan material appear in the usage of important senior men. K. Hill (1985) has shown that speakers implicitly recognize this fact by demonstrating that a female narrator used Spanish-loan frequency as one way of representing the relative status of figures in a narrative.

Silverstein's proposal that pragmatic ideologies tend to reduce usage to reference is not clearly illustrated in the discourse of nostalgia. Silverstein's most developed illustration of this tendency is the case of feminist linguistic criticism in English. He argues that feminists correctly perceive the "pragmatic metaphorical relationship between gender identity and status" (Silverstein 1985: 240), but erroneously locate this in the system of reference and predication, especially in the use of the gendered pronouns as noun classifiers, rather than in the intricate web of pragmatic patterning. Speakers in the discourse of nostalgia, however, locate respect in formulaic dialogues, not in particular words. This non-occurrence of the reduction to reference is a manifestation of a basic linguistic-ideological bent among Mexicano speakers, to think of speech primarily as action. I will enlarge on this point below.

4. Counter-discourses

The discourse of nostalgia is produced primarily by two groups of people: senior men who are relatively wealthy and successful in terms of having achieved high position in the local hierarchy, and young and middle-aged men who have full-time work outside the communities. Not a single woman in our sample was "nostalgic."

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9 While these are the two groups of speakers most likely to use Spanish loan words at high frequencies in speaking Mexicano, they are also the two groups who are most likely to mention "mixing" as an example of decline.
Instead, women strongly contested the idea that the old days were "better," and a number of men, mainly poor elderly cultivators with little land and undistinguished public careers, agreed with them. These speakers argued that the old days had been extremely hard, and that many of the changes between "long ago" and "today" are improvements. In articulating these ideas, they often produced what I call here "counter-discourses:" arguments that took specific formulas of the discourse of nostalgia and exposed them to explicit contradiction and, in the most interesting cases, parody.

Example (9) illustrates contradiction. Speakers who countered the discourse of nostalgia strongly approved of education and literacy, and felt that the bilingualism of today was a great improvement over the monolingual "ignorance" of long ago. One elderly woman (S41) explicitly contradicted the discourse that associates schooling with disrespect and decline. She also suggests that bilingualism is a favorable condition. She said,

(9) "Listen, now I hear the kids studying, they learn Spanish, they even learn Latin. I hear the way they talk, even when they're playing. I hear how they quarrel and fight with one another and I say, 'Thank God, it's worth something to read, not like the way we grew up, the way we grew up was bad.'"

A second elderly woman (S54) turned an expression often used in the discourse of nostalgia - *in aeho ñcataa rigór* "long ago there was rigor (high standards, hard work, etc.)" - back upon itself, observing that she had not been allowed to go to school because *dmo ñcataa rigór* "there was no rigor" - instead, parents would hide their children from the teachers.

Several speakers countered the nostalgic discourse that offers orders to children in Mexicano, and filial obedience, as an illustration of appropriate traditional social order. Instead, they proposed, their own obedience to their parents brought them nothing but poverty and grief. One young woman (S28), who makes and sells tortillas for a living, said,

(10) "When we grew up this was the land of complete stupidity (*tío tontotlāpan*). Our parents didn't send us to school, they brought us up "under the metate." It's not that way today: now, while the stupid ones are doing the grinding, the young girls can escape, they can go to school, they don't have to stay here. But as for us, no, because what our father or our mother said to do was done, because we had to."

An old man (S11) also interrupts the discourse of nostalgia. In the utterance below he addresses it specifically, implying ("Who knows whether...?") that someone is saying that the old people were better. In opposition, he suggests that obeying the commands of parents was not necessarily good:

(11) "We grew up simply in a time of misery. Now the old people are gone, but who knows whether they were better or more intelligent, or whether perhaps they were stupider, eh? Well, who knows what is the right way. Now the kids go to school. In the old days they put us
to work. "Work, work!" they said, and off we’d go, but for what? How did we grow up?"

Doña Fidencia (S50) used parody in addressing this theme. In the following passage, she reproduces precisely the form of the discourse of nostalgia. But she inverts the discourse of "giving orders to children" by illustrating orders from a child to a mother:

(12) "Well, now the children say, "Pos mamá, vente; mamá, dame, o mamá, quiero!" ('Well, mama, come here; mama, give me, or mama, I want something.') And long ago, no, they would say, "mamá, nicnequi nitlamaceh, nicnequi nitlacuaz, xinechomaca nin, xinechomacac in necah." ('Mama, I want to eat, I want to eat, give me this, give me that.') And now, no, here any child will say, "Dame esto, mamá, deme Usted, mamá." ('Give me this, Mama, give me, Mama.')

This example is exactly parallel to those of the discourse of nostalgia (in achto, parents would say that; ñaxón, they have to say this), but interrupts it by suggesting that there was no lack of disrespect and whining from children in the supposedly more respectful "olden days" when children spoke Mexican.

Some speakers challenge the significance of the change in greeting style, obviously replying to the ubiquitous nostalgic voice. An elderly man in Canoa (S13) contrasted greetings in his own community with those in nearby La Resurreccin, as follows:

(13) Well, here it’s "mixtòñalìhtizìno, mopandìhtizìno comadrita"(all laugh), O.K., O.K., but listen here, I’m going to tell you, it’s something else when you meet a comadre from La Resurreccin, well, there it’s "Buenos días, comadrita," but after all she’ll still greet you back, whether it’s Mexican or not, well it’s still serious talk (monohnòtzah) (general laughter).

Parody is available in this domain as well. Thus Doña Tiburcia (S78) used parody to counter the illustration of the greeting between compadres - a particularly scandalous gesture, since relationships of ritual kinship are a very significant part of local identity and most people are quite sanctimonious about them. Exemplifying the greetings between compadres, she recited elaborate verb forms like those given in examples (7) and (13). But the last line of her represented conversation, in answer to whether the comadre is well, goes like this, and got a terrific laugh from her audience, proportionate to the scandal:

(14) "Poz cualli, cualli comadrita, contentos, mázqui jodidos." 'Well we are well, we are well comadrita, contented, but getting screwed.'

The obvious implication of this remark is that elaborate rituals of respect between ritual kin do not insulate people from life’s vicissitudes, or guarantee that they will always speak in a solemn and elevated way. Note that this example was as close as anyone came to parodying the sacred discourse between ritual kin, which seems to be somewhat off-limits to agnostic critique.
The obverse of the respectful Mexicano greetings is a practice that is remarked on by many of our consultants, especially those in the towns along the industrial corridor on the west flank of the Malinche: making obscene challenges in Mexicano to strangers on the road. Many consultants remark that an important reason to know Mexicano is to be able to understand and reply to such challenges. Against this background, Doña Fidencia interrupted the discourse of nostalgia with the following parodic witticism:

(15) "Well, perhaps now is better, you won't hear anybody say, "Xicahca-yahua in mondnah," (Fuck your mother), now they'll say, "Chinga tu madre."

Doña Fidencia is clearly aware of the discourse of nostalgia, and reproduces its form ("Then, people said that, but now they say this") almost exactly - but the content has changed. She is suggesting ironically that nostalgia is misplaced: people were as rude to each other in Mexicano in the old days as they are now in Spanish.

5. The discourse of nostalgia as political ideology

Producers of the counterdiscourse obviously hear the discourse of nostalgia as glossing over the dark reality of in achtó, when there was violence, poverty, and patriarchal control over the life chances of women. Why would they care about in achtó, however, if things have changed? What seems most likely is that producers of the counter-discourse recognize that the discourse of "nostalgia" is in fact a pragmatic claim on the present, using "pastness" as a "naturalizing" ideological strategy: rhetorically, the claim is that those practices which are most like those of the past are the most valuable. The counterdiscourses, then, constitute a pragmatic claim on the future, when everyone will have an equal chance for education and a decent life.

The successful men who produce the discourse of nostalgia clearly benefit from social relations of the type invoked in the discourse of nostalgia, whether their success is manifested by high position within the community hierarchy, or based on resources accumulated through wage labor. Control over family members, whose labor can be summoned on demand, and an extensive network of ritual kin who cannot refuse requests for loans, are absolute prerequisites for a career in the civil-religious hierarchy, the only fully-approved route to power within the communitarian system. Men who depend heavily on wage labor also have reason to endorse the "traditional system", and especially the secondary position of women within it, to backstop their own forays into an uncertain labor market. Women maintain households, often entirely through their own devices, while men work outside the towns by the week or by the month. Nutini and Murphy (1970) found that wage laborers were even more likely than cultivators to insist that their wives and children live in virilocial extended families, thus increasing control over the wives, usually through the agency of the mother-in-law. Occasions for establishing bonds of ritual kinship are actually proliferating in the communities as wage labor increasingly dominates their economies; ritual kinship, to a large degree, constitutes the savings-and-loan system in the towns. Thus for these groups, the order of "respect" sustains them. For women, the order of "respect" is less obviously
beneficial. Women who have been abandoned by their husbands, or who are widows, may have great difficulty in finding ritual kin: peasant women, holding their infants and begging prosperous people entering the church to stand up with them to baptize the babies, are not a rare sight in the city of Puebla.

6. "Enactive" pragmatic ideology and radical challenge

Eagleton (1991) cites a distinction made by Raymond Geuss, between "descriptive" and "pejorative" definitions of the term ideology. "Descriptive" or "anthropological" definitions assimilate ideology to "world view": an "ideology" is simply a belief-system, and no judgement is made of its truth or value. In the "pejorative" definition, an ideology is viewed negatively: because its motivation is to continue an oppressive system, because it involves self-deception, or because it is in fact false, distorting reality.

Silverstein's (1979, 1985) use of the term "ideology" is certainly "pejorative": he sees linguistic ideologies as distorting the actual forms and functions of language, attending to some at the expense of others. Moreover, he implies that such distortions will occur universally in human communities, because of relative cognitive limitations on human linguistic awareness. In emphasizing that the distortions of linguistic ideology are universal (with the salutary corollary that linguistic "science" will be "ideological"), he predicts that the specific content of ideological discourse, whether it is hegemonic or counter-hegemonic, will simply replicate core category errors, such as the confusion of indexicality with reference and predication, and reference with the nature of the world. This "pejorative" attitude of course extends to the ideology of resistance, as well as to the ideology of domination. Silverstein (1985) implies, in his discussion of feminist discourse and of the Quaker challenge to the 17th-Century English system of distance and deference, that these category errors doom counter-hegemonic discourse to political impotency over the long run. Is the Mexicano counter-discourse described above similarly vulnerable? I believe that it is not, and that the radical challenge that it makes to the underlying ideology is due not only to the perspicacity and penetration of those who produce it, but to the broader ideological matrix in which it is embedded.

The Mexicano situation exemplifies a subtype of a version of the "enactive" linguistic ideology identified by Rumsey (1990), where language is seen as embodied in action with no distinction made between such action and reference. Rumsey contrasts this with the dominant "referential" linguistic ideology of the West, which insists on the distinction (and, according to Silverstein, privileges reference). Rumsey argues for a relationship between ideology and formal patterning. Thus European languages, spoken in communities with the dualistic or referential ideology, distinguish formally between "wording" and "meaning," while the opposite is the case in the Australian language Ungarinyin, whose speakers exhibit the "enactive" ideology. These distinctions are illustrated in the examples below.

Mexicano formal patterning is distinct from that of Ungarinyin in the representation of reported speech. In Ungarinyin there is no distinction between direct and indirect discourse and thus, Rumsey argues, between "wording" and "meaning" at this formal locus. This is not the case in Mexicano, where documents from the 16th Century show clearly devices for representing constructed dialogue
as indirect discourse. Thus indirect discourse is marked by deictic shift in the person prefixes on verbs, as in the following example:

(16) Yitic quimolhuidya canah ñitoc calaquiquiz
"In his heart he was saying to himself that he would enter some cave."
Florentine Codex 12:9 (Dibble and Anderson 1975: 26)

Contrast the unshifted person marker in direct discourse:

(17) Quimolhuidya, "Cana ñitoc nicalaquiquiz."
He was saying to himself, "I will enter some cave."

However, Mexicano resembles Ungarinyin in that the "locution" of indirect discourse is not formally distinguished from "intentions." The formal verbal devices for such indirect discourse under a locutionary verb are identical to those used under affective verbs such as "want." Thus we find the following:

(18) Quinequi calaquiquiz "He wants to enter."
(19) Quihtoa calaquiquiz "He says he will enter."

Contrast this with the well-known formal distinctions in English:

(20) He says [that] he will enter.
(21) *He, says to enter (where subject of "enter" is he,)
(22) He wants to enter.
(23) *He, wants [that] he, will enter.

In addition to the deictic shift illustrated in (16), modern speakers have borrowed the Spanish particle que to introduce indirect discourse, or have extended the semantic range of the dubitative evidential quil (which precedes a locution when quoting speakers want to distance themselves from the views of quoted speakers) to calque on the meanings of que.

Mexicano resembles Ungarinyin in cross-referencing throughout the discourse without any possibility for "ellipsis," a term proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1973) for situations where wording, as opposed to meaning, is inferred in English. In sentences like: "John told all the girls everything, and Bruce did too," what is elided is wording: "and Bruce told all the girls everything too." The "girls" in question need not, notoriously, be the same girls for Bruce as for John, so "meaning," but not "wording," may be distinct. In contrast, every Mexicano verb must encode the complete argument structure of the sentence through pronominal prefixes. As in Ungarinyin, such pronominal encoding of argument structure permits speakers to neglect full nominal reference for long stretches of speech.

Mexicano linguistic ideology, like that observed in Ungarinyin by Rumsey, is indifferent to the distinction between meaning and action. As I have pointed out previously (Hill and Hill 1986), the Mexicano noun tlahtol means "word, language, speech," and does not discriminate between structure and use. Mexicano verbs of speaking may distinguish the referential from the rhetorical (for instance, contrast tlapòhuia, "to tell a story, to relate, to chat," (literally, "to count things", like English "recount" or "account,") with ndtza "to summon, to speak with serious intent to
someone," or nahuati" "to give orders" but such differentiation is not required:
all of these are itlahol. Consistently with this failure to differentiate form and use,
Mexicano speakers discussing the nature of language emphasize, not denotation, but
performance: the proper accomplishment of human relationships as constituted
through stereotyped moments of dialogue.

Like the Ngarniryn, Mexicano speakers are prone to gloss forms in their
language by illustrating a usage. However, in the case of Mexicano, this tendency
is highly elaborated. The modern discourse of nostalgia continues an ideological
pattern apparent in the 16th Century. The forms of behavior appropriate to various
roles were encoded in memorized speeches, the huehuetlahotli, "sayings of the
elders," a substantial body of these orations, and related formulas for a wide range
of occasions (ranging from the utterances appropriate to the installation of a new
emperor to those required of a midwife upon the delivery of a baby), including long
sequences of exchanges of courtesies, were recorded by the Franciscan missionary
Bernardino de Sahagún in the 16th Century. Karttunen and Lockhart (1989) have
translated an etiquette book, prepared by a Nahuatl-speaking maestro for the use
of missionaries in the late 16th Century, that illustrates the formal exchange of
courtesies in many contexts. Thus, Mexicano speakers appear to feel that a language
consists, not in words with proper reference that matches reality, but in highly
ritualized dialogues with proper usage matched to a social order that manifests an
ideal of deference.

The counter-discourse to the Mexicano discourse of nostalgia is produced
within a linguistic-ideological matrix that seems to be largely pragmatic or "enactive,"
attentive to the "referential" dimension. Thus the counter-discourse, and the
discourse of nostalgia itself, exhibits a distinctive type of ideological projection.
Ideological challengers in English attack by arguing that usage does not appropri ate-
ly represent reality, and so must be changed. But according to Silverstein they do
not challenge the indexical relationship between reference and reality; this remains
covert and inaccessible. Mexicano speakers who use the rhetoric of the counter-
discourse, like English-speaking feminists challenging claims that women are inferior,
interrupt the explicit representations of the nature of the social order produced in

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10 In case anyone is tempted, Karttunen (1983), suggests that nahuati" "to give orders," is not
related to nahuat(i) "to speak clearly, to answer or respond" (the source of nahuatlahotli "the
Nahuatl language"). The latter form has a long initial vowel. Only in Ramirez de Alejandro and
Dakin's (1979) vocabulary of the Nahuatl of Xalitla, Guerrero is the form for "to give orders"
attested with a long initial vowel. All other sources give the first vowel in nahuati as short.

11 I do not know whether speakers make the assumption claimed by Sweetser (1987) for English
speakers: that if someone says something, they believe it to be true, and since beliefs are unmarkedly
sincere, what is said is true. It is the case that to quote someone with doubt is the "marked" case:
the speaker must use the dubitative evidential quil. However, speakers also use the word "lie" to
mean any statement that turns out to be wrong, not just a statement uttered with the intent to
mislead (comparable to the example of mentira 'lie' cited by Briggs (1989)).

12 In fact, Mexicano speakers did not value plain language and literalism. Leon-Portilla (1982)
has pointed out that the knowledge of metaphorical couplets such as in xochitl in cuicatl 'the flower,
the song' (poetry), in atl in tepetl 'the water, the mountain' (city), and in tl in tlapalli 'the black ink,
the colored ink' (history) constituted a highly valued form of knowledge.
the discourse of nostalgia, by pointing out that there has always been rudeness and disrespect in society. Ties of compadrazgo, Doa Tiburcia suggests, do not prevent anyone from "getting screwed." Obeying the orders of parents did not bring success for old Feliciano, who asks, "And for what?", or for Doña Eugenia, who grew up "under the metate." But the counterdiscourse goes further, challenging not only the representation, but the link between language and reality. If Mexicano speech permitted rudeness and misery, and Spanish obviously does the same, then the core of the linguistic ideology, that the order of language stands for the order of society, can be directly dismissed. Thus for Doña Fidencia, language is irrelevant: a person can say "Fuck your mother" in any language.

Doña Fidencia's attack on Mexican language ideology may be more fundamental than are those constituted in similar counterdiscourses in English. This may be so because in "enactive" as opposed to "referential" ideologies there is only one projective link, as shown in Figure I.

FIGURE I. Loci of Intemtption (///) for Counterdiscourses in Reference-based and Action-based Language Ideologies

Is there a feedback from ideology to structure in the Mexicano communities, as in Silverstein's case of the triumph of the pronoun "you" in English in response to Quaker linguistic ideology? The situation is obscure and paradoxical. While legitimo Mexicano (Mexicano without Spanish loan words) is an important metonym of the order of "respect" in the discourse of nostalgia, it is precisely the groups most likely to indulge in the discourse of nostalgia who speak Mexicano in a very hispanized way. On the other hand, women and low-status men, the groups who argue in favor of bilingualism and who reject the discourse of nostalgia, speak the least hispanized Mexicano and are most likely to speak poor (or no) Spanish. Silverstein predicts correctly the distorting effect of linguistic ideology; neither producers of the discourse of nostalgia, nor producers of the counterdiscourse, recognize the most obvious function of Spanish loan words, which is to mark elevated Mexicano registers in which the discourses of power in the communities are conducted. The result of this failure is a nostalgic purism which makes demands on Mexicano speech that cannot be satisfied. Amplifying the dissatisfaction with
Mexicano thus induced is the obvious low status within the communities of precisely their "most Mexicano" members - members who cannot, because of their low status, embody "respect." Such contradictions, along with the evident economic advantages of Spanish, yield language shift and the loss of Mexicano in the Malinche towns. It seems possible that enactive language ideology may make such language shift marginally easier to accomplish than within a reference-based ideological matrix, where the indexical link between reference and "reality" remains even after the projection from usage to reference is under attack.

The example of the linguistic-ideological component of the Mexicano discourse of nostalgia adds to the list of cases where a "linguistic ideology" is obviously part of a "political ideology." The example shows, however, that the dynamics of counter-hegemonic resistance must be understood within their specific cultural matrix, and that this will include the nature of the indexical projections constituted within particular linguistic-ideological forms.

References


