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Intercultural Translation in Higher Education
A Case Study at the Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo

By

Gabriela Borge Janetti

A dissertation in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

Professor Zeus Leonardo

Professor William F. Hanks

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Abstract

Intercultural Translation in Higher Education A Case Study at the Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo

By

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Doctor of Philosophy in Education

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Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

Intercultural translation is a salient feature of communicative interactions in multilingual institutional spaces. The dissertation draws on a concept of intercultural translation that functions as a linguistically radical strategy through which other ways of knowing and being are introduced, with particular emphasis on institutions, multilingualism, and Native languages. The dissertation presents an appraisal of instances of intercultural translation whereby different processes of cross-language interaction and interpretation take place, and through which incommensurable forms are juxtaposed. The juxtaposition resulting from these practices highlights equivalence assumptions and draws attention to what remains equivocal—mainly, how intercultural translation interrogates equivalences and acknowledges equivocation as a transformative source. Viveiros de Castro (2004) introduced the concept of equivocation to include the sorts of conceptual relations that emerge in translation offering different perspectival positions. One goal is to recognize that understandings are not the same and that mutual incommensurability is what enables comparability through a difference in perspectives.

Based on a one-year ethnographic study at an intercultural university in Mexico the dissertation presents three examples of how intercultural translation works as a means and end of language socialization in classroom interactions. Examples demonstrate how lecturers and students engage in intercultural translation as a pedagogical practice. Findings show how the study of intercultural translation informs research practice, specifically, how we come to know other ways of doing, knowing, and being in multilingual contexts. Moreover, the dissertation describes the modes in which indigenous actors used intercultural translation to modify Mexico's institutional tutoring program in higher education. It focuses on the selective appropriation of words and meanings, the standardization of concepts, and the configuring of an intercultural frame of reference, whereby members of an intercultural Mexican university introduced the Yucatec Maya word *iknal* as a hybrid educational system. In sum, the dissertation posits intercultural translation as a critical communicative practice ubiquitous to the dynamics of language in socio-cultural spaces.

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To Feli and Esther

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Introduction

This dissertation centers translation as part of intercultural communication in multilingual higher educational institutions. Translation is a contact practice that can take forms that go beyond the equivalence paradigm to the recognition of translation as a form of intercultural interaction (Gambier, 2016). Translation as a site where cultural production and discourse are related to identity formation processes. My research is based in Maya territory in one of the Mexican intercultural universities that were created in Mexico at the turn of the millennia. The Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo, also known by its acronym as UIMQROO. The model of intercultural higher education to which UIMQROO is part discursively promotes forms of cross-cultural understanding (CGEIB, 2009; Consorcio Intercultural, 2009; Fonet-Betancourt, 2009). However, it is important to bear in mind that, since colonial times, education for Indigenous peoples in Mexico has been characterized by a dominant trend to suppress Indigenous people's literacy practices, languages, ways of being, ways of learning, worldviews, and knowledge (Hamel, 2008a, 2008b; Hidalgo, 2006).

Past strategies promoted the assimilation of Indigenous groups as a prerequisite for building a nation-state. State ideologies of *mestizaje* drew their strength from the existence of the Indigenous other but with a racist power structure in favor of the mestizo project (Bonfil Batalla, 2014; Villoro, 2014). Therefore, one of the purposes of this dissertation is to illustrate how translation in higher education can be used as a way of producing and recognizing Indigenous concepts and knowledge. Moreover, it brings an opportunity to examine how Indigenous actors contest the current paradox of policies that support diversity at the same time that they exert a covert pressure towards assimilation. Specifically, how they redefine their relationships with the state and federal governments, modify institutional enactments, and transform educational concepts, meanings, and language practice through intercultural translation.

Castilian, also known as Spanish, with all the weight of its colonial past and present has been normalized in Mexico up to the point that monolingual Castilian speakers do not stop and think of all the translation work Indigenous peoples do to resist in their territory¹. The burden of communication is unequal across Mexico and Yucatec Maya people are not an exception. The socioeconomical, political, and educational structures are oppressive in the most tangible and substantial dimension: language. Although, a General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples was promulgated on March 2003, Castilian is still treated as the de facto language in Mexico since all government institutions use it with effects similar to an official state language.

According to the national census of 2015, a total of 25,694,928 Mexicans, 21.5% of the total population, recognize themselves as Indigenous peoples of which 7,382,785 speak one of the 69 national languages including Spanish. *Maayat'aan* or in English, Yucatec Maya, is the largest linguistic variant of 264 in Mexico with 795,499 self-identified speakers (Briceño Chel, 2015). Yucatec Maya is one of the thirty Mayan languages spoken in Guatemala, Mexico, and Belize (Aissen, England & Zavala Maldonado, 2017).

¹ Yucatec Maya speakers refer to Spanish as *kastelan t'aan* or as *castellaño* when using Castilian. In the dissertation I will use Castilian and Spanish depending upon context.

Yucatec Maya is one of the four Yucatecan languages, the other three are Lacandón, Mopan and Itzá. Although Maya languages have a good number of speakers that are some like the Itzá with less than thirty speakers and in danger of becoming extinct (Aissen, England & Zavala Maldonado, 2017). Mayan languages like Yucatec Maya show signs of language shift when children do not learn the language of their forebears (Chi Canul, 2015). A shift related to schooling and the ongoing processes of *castellanización*.

One of the biggest challenges multilingual societies like Mexico face is that the role of translation is usually not taken into consideration when thinking of language policies for public domains. Language policies regulate language use in areas such as education. However, translation practices are often overlooked as part of everyday communication in multilingual contexts. Translation practices are central to the multidirectional ways in which languages relate to each other and the dynamics of power that their contact ensues. Therefore, disregarding translation practices in educational institutions may trap a multilingual context into institutional monolingualism. On the contrary, acknowledging the importance of translation beyond translation from a language to another could bring educational practice closer to institutional multilingualism.

For Meylaerts (2010, 754) translation policy “covers a variety of meanings, designing official institutional settings but also a wide range of relatively informal situations related to ideology, translator strategies, publisher’s strategies, translator training, etc.” Therefore, to think about translation as a main component of higher education institutions implies to also recognize that translation may take many forms according to the translation ideologies that guide its practice. Moreover, translation also takes a role in the formation of cultural constructions (Assad, 1986) in contact zones (Pratt, 1991; Apter, 2006). And thus, it is important to acknowledge the privileged place of translation as a space of political and epistemic negotiation (Tymoczko, 2000).

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the methodological framework through which I center translation practice as a unit of analysis. I use language socialization studies both as a theory and methodology to look at how students during their first year at the university were socialized through and to intercultural translation. The chapter also describes my entry to research site as well as my position as a non-Indigenous scholar doing research in Maya territory and the importance of acknowledging translation as part of any ethnographic endeavor.

The second chapter describes how the model of intercultural higher education was introduced as part of the political reconfiguration of race relations in Mexico in the early 2000s. I focus the analysis on the discourses included in policy frameworks and legal reforms that served as a platform for the creation of intercultural universities. I continue by providing a brief description of the general characteristics of the model and comparing them to three intercultural perspectives described by Walsh (2009) as relational, functional, and critical. The objective being to describe how intercultural universities are epistemically structured and the contradictions, impediments, and affordances that their general guidelines provide. Finally, I center on the Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo providing a context of translation action at the interior of the university and in particular to the major in Language and Culture.

The third chapter provides a theoretical framework to describe a particular form of intercultural translation that functions as a linguistically strategy through which other ways of knowing and being are introduced. This particular understanding of translation practice

goes beyond thinking of translation as a unidirectional process from a source text-language-culture to a target text-language-culture (Pym, 2010a). It implies recognizing the multidirectional negotiation processes that occur in translation and specifically those processes that name what remains equivocal between perspectives. Consequently, the chapter introduces the concept of equivocation (Viveiros de Castro, 2004) as of how equivalence in difference (Jakobson, 2004) is attained in translation. Moreover, the chapter discusses three examples of how intercultural translation functions for the appropriation of concepts (Rappaport, 2005), an interpolitical articulation procedure (Santos, 2014), and an epistemic double movement (Mignolo & Schiwy, 2003). It also provides a preview of the two data chapters of the dissertation and how they are related to translation theories.

The fourth chapter is centered around describing one of the forms intercultural translation takes in the language classroom at the university as part of language socialization. Following the work of Bakhtin (1984), I describe this particular form of intercultural translation as a secondary speech act to describe the movement between themes, ideologies, and the inter-orientation of words that occur in translation. The chapter includes three examples. The first example, illustrates the juxtaposition of greeting questions in three languages spoken at the university. The second example focuses on the socialization process between the standard form of the question particle *wáaj* in Yucatec Maya and one of the contracted forms used in a particular region of Yucatan. The final example shows how students and I as a participant research learnt to discern between these forms contrasting the language ideologies guiding classroom practice.

The final chapter describes how intercultural translation may be used to transform educational institutions. Based on a discursive analysis of UIMQROO's version of the model of intercultural education it depicts how staff and professors at the university modified Mexico's national tutoring program in higher education. Specifically, I focus on how the concept of *iknal* was introduced as a hybrid educational system creating new relational spaces at the interior of the university. To then describe the practice of the *abuelos tutores* or elder tutors as part of language learning and the outreach strategies of the university. I hope that all these chapters are able to show the strong relation between translation and intercultural practice in education.

Chapter 1

Intercultural Ethnographic Inquiry & Ethnography as Translation

The goal of my dissertation is to describe how intercultural translation is used as an instance of language socialization and political articulation. The study is grounded on a one-year ethnographic research project about intercultural translation in higher education through the analysis of language classes, tutoring sessions, and activities at the Universidad Intercultural Maya de Quintana Roo (UIMQROO), as well as, events related to the field site and research participants. As I would explain in chapter 2, UIMQROO is in the central southern part of the Yucatán peninsula. This area is known locally as “*la Zona Maya*”, or Maya territory. UIMQROO offers classes in three languages: Yucatec Maya, Spanish, and English. A multilingual environment that fosters the emergence of translation as a contact language practice between students, staff, and its community members. Taken as a “translation zone” (Apter, 2006) UIMQROO is a space of intense interaction and central to the study of how translation becomes possible in contexts of asymmetrical relations of power between languages that are historically related.

This chapter is centered around positioning my inquiry concerning the broader field of qualitative research. The aim is to locate the personal perspectives that guide each of the chapters that follow. Therefore, it narrates some of the issues and moments that were pivotal to the different stages of my doctoral studies and fieldwork research, combining both my experience with the methodological frameworks I use. I do this to illustrate how my experiences and interactions have shaped the interpretative processes of the study. The chapter begins by presenting how I became interested in intercultural education by describing some of the personal encounters and thought processes before the start of my Ph.D. studies and provide some reflections of doing research in Maya territory. It continues by explaining how I came to use qualitative methodologies in my research. How I combined ethnographic methods and discourse analysis to study instances of language socialization through and to intercultural translation in the language classroom (chapter 4), at the institutional level (chapter 5), and during the interactions between students and members of the community (chapter 5). The chapter also introduces how I became interested in translation as a unit of analysis.

Entry to the field of inquiry

Before starting my graduate studies, I was the language coordinator of English and French at a K-12 private school in Playa del Carmen, México, owned by my mother. After five years of working together, one of the English teachers, Angel Ucan Dzul, shared to me that he was going to quit at the end of the year to work for an intercultural university. I felt disoriented when he told me that he was going to work at the University of Morelos. I thought he was referring to the University of the Morelos’ state and not the city of José María Morelos in Quintana Roo. When I finally understood what Angel was referring to, two words emerged among the others: Intercultural University.

I wondered what the word intercultural meant in the context of higher education. Moreover, if what was understood by intercultural altered the configuration and activities at the interior of the university. During the following weeks, these words reverberated memories and desires in me of working at public higher education instead of a private K-12 school. These memories moved me in such a way that made it possible to believe that it was time to leave my mother's school.

The memories took me back in time to the motivations that had fueled my former academic and professional efforts, which were related to my family's linkage to education. I remembered when my father was governor of Quintana Roo (1987-1993) and worked on the creation of the first state university, called *Universidad de Quintana Roo* (UQROO). How difficult it was for him to convince the central government of the importance of having a university and not only technical institutes. How he had to build on his experience as an undergraduate and graduate student in Mexico, U.S., and France to convince federal ministers of the importance of having a university. I could only wonder about the type of lobbying that was needed so that both the state and federal governments agreed to open an intercultural university in the municipality of José María Morelos.

These recollections fused with my motivation for being part of the third generation of women in my family with the conviction of being educators. My grandmother founded the *Asociación Pro Personas con Parálisis Cerebral* (APAC) in 1970 to support the education of children and teenagers with cerebral palsy like my aunt Cecilia, my mother's youngest sister. Moreover, my mother was a teacher ever since I was in her belly and still is the principal of the K-12 school she founded in Playa del Carmen in 1999. As for me, my first job during my undergraduate studies was as a research assistant and GSI at the Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE), the research center that neighbored *Universidad Iberoamericana* where I studied a B.A. in International Relations.

It was a difficult decision to resign to my position in my mother's school to pursue a doctoral degree in education, since it implied a switch from a working career to being again a student with unclear career expectations beyond a graduate degree. Before choosing a program or university for my postgraduate studies, I visited UIMQROO a couple of times and started to solidify and build up relationships with faculty and staff. One of them was the President Founder and professor, Francisco Javier Rosado May Ph.D. (Agroecology, UCSC; also, President emeriti and former professor of UQROO). On our first meeting he described to me how the intercultural model for higher education was put in place by the federal government, after the 2000 national elections, as a response to the demands of social and indigenous movements in Mexico, and he also explained how UIMQROO had modified some of the tenants of the federal model to adapt its practice (see Chapter 2). When I shared with him my interest on understanding more about the intercultural model of education, President Rosado May, expressed the need of research about the model and eventually wrote a reference letter on my behalf to the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACYT) that founded my studies. At the time he wrote the letter, my cousin Roberto Borge Angulo, was the governor of the state of Quintana Roo (2011-2016).

Because of my visits and the communication exchanges with the President and UIMQROO's faculty, I remained open to new research topics but finally in my application to UCB I wrote about how I was interested in the process of putting together the model of intercultural education (see Chapter 2). That is, I wanted to understand the strategies that

the university intervened in the national intercultural model (see Chapters 2 and 5). Moreover, I wrote that I was particularly interested in the sorts of relationships that these modifications brought between students, professors, and community members, and how they related to the notion of intercultural education and UIMQROO's construction of intercultural knowledge (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Once that I was accepted in Berkeley GSE, I kept contact with university members by sharing my work at conferences organized by UIMQROO and I was a reader of two undergraduate theses. On March 19th, 2015, a group composed by FRM, professors, and students from UIMQROO visited UC Berkeley, supported by the 100,000 Strong in the Americas Grant of the U.S. government to promote student mobility across the U.S. and Latin America. I was the contact person between UIMQROO and UC Berkeley, and also co-organized a forum in collaboration with the Multicultural Community Center (MCC). The conference "Exploring Intercultural Education: The Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo and its Relevancy to U.S. Multicultural Contexts" brought together the voices and educational experiences of both institutions and people across the U.S.-Mexico border to promote student exchanges in higher education through cross-cultural collaborations.

Finally, by the time I went to UIMQROO to do my dissertation research on August 2017, my cousin was no longer governor of the state of Quintana Roo. The state had had a political shift and the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) was no longer in power for the first time since 1974. My cousin was detained in Tocumen, Panama, in June 2017. My permission to do research was granted by the third university administrator, Ildelfonso Palemón Hernández Silva in March 2017, who worked for the new state administration, the same one that was in charge of persecuting my cousin. I narrate this to say that my research was not immune to the sociopolitical dynamics of the time. These dynamics impacted on my relationships with professors and staff at UIMQROO during the years of preparation (2010-2017) and fieldwork year (2017-2018).

Research and Maya Literacy in Translation

Research is not neutral to the socio-political conditions and language ideologies in multilingual contexts, mainly when framing experience through writing as part of history. There is a link that connects research and writing to the theoretical depictions of knowledge. In her book *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda T. Smith (2012) argued how indigenous peoples' knowledge depicted by academic discourse gives the false impression of "the truth." Smith (2012) reminds us that it is precisely the act of producing knowledge that reproduces how indigenous ways of knowing are represented. Writing is fundamental to academic discourse but harmful if not critically addressed.

This dissertation is the result of research conducted in Maya territory. Therefore, it is essential to recognize how research and translation have participated in colonialism and the historical and epistemological fragmentation in the region. One example of the intricate between research, translation, and literacy dates back to July 12, 1562, when the Franciscan priest Diego de Landa in charge of bringing the Catholic faith to the Maya, led one of the most violent inquisitorial processes at Maní. A community where the Franciscan had constructed one of the firsts monasteries. The inquisitorial act known as *Auto de Fe* of Maní included violent acts against Maya noblemen, as well as the

incineration of almost all their writing by deeming their content full of worship. Upon the complaints of Maya people, Landa returned to Spain for a trial. Diego de Landa wrote the *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatán* ([1566] 2013) in his defense before the Council of the Indies. After his deposition, Landa was absolved in 1569 and appointed Bishop of Yucatán.

Despite contemporary Maya scholars' and activists' aversion to his work, Landa's written interpretation is still envisaged as one of the first historical sources of Maya history, containing catalogs of its language, culture, and writing systems. In it, Landa wrote hieroglyphs and forced them to correspond to alphabetic letters, believing that there was a one-to-one equivalence among them. Subsequent attempts to use Landa's alphabet to decipher Maya writing proved unsuccessful until the mid-20th century when scholars confirmed that it was not an alphabet that was inscribed by the descendants of Maya rulers working for Landa. Instead, this writing system is logosyllabic and constitutes a mixed system having glyphs for whole words, logograms, and syllables that either work as the combination of a consonant and a vowel, syllabograms, or as the sound of a consonant without an accompanying vowel or phonograms (Kettunen & Helmke 2014).

Landa's description of Maya writing ends with a written example of a complete sentence in Yucatec Maya using both the Maya script and the alphabet (Figure 1, below) and its Spanish translation as "*no quiero*" (I do not want). Landa himself did not want to include this example as he said: "I only put it here to give a complete account of the matters of these people" ([1566] 2013: 83). Scholars believe that one of the two Maya men identified as Landa's collaborators, Juan Cocom and Gaspar Antonio Chi, wrote the sentence. The phrase in itself entails a refusal. In this regard, Tedlock (2011) argues that it constitutes a rejection in a double sense: on the one hand, a refusal to aid Landa after outlasting the destruction withstood during the Auto de Fe at Mani, and on the other hand, a refusal to present a sentence in a way that does not follow the orthographic conventions of Maya writing.

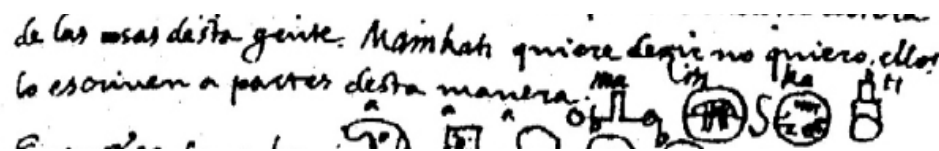


Figure 1. Excerpt from Landa's ([1566] 2013: 83) description of a sentence in Maya writing:

"de las cosas desta gente. Main kati quiere decir no quiero, ellos lo escriven a partes desta manera. ma in ka ti"
 [of the matters of these people. Main kati means I do not want, they write it in parts this way. ma in ka ti] (my translation).

Although I grew up 90 miles away from the university, I am not Maya, and I use this example to illustrate how non-Mayan people assume to comprehend what Maya people know based on their encounters and translations, fragmenting their history and ways of knowing. And, most importantly, what happens when I do not address the sociopolitical nature of research and the history of colonialism. Moreover, what is erased, extracted or claimed if I fail to recognize my absences and omissions even when trying to leave behind my assumptions. I argue that writing without thinking critically about the sociohistorical position of our writing and the research methods we use could maintain and reinforce this non-innocent style of academic discourse.

In 2013, my advisor, Patricia Baquedano-López invited me to collaborate in her longitudinal research project examining the academic and linguistic experiences of immigrant, indigenous Maya students from Yucatan at a K-5 school (Baquedano-López & Borge, 2017). During four years, I learned how to conduct an ethnographic study. But most importantly to see my position and involvement as part of the research project and to observe how my predispositions and uptakes affect the possibilities of research. I have remained attentive to these issues especially in the context of UIMQROO and given my family background. I am aware of the difficulty of stepping aside but never entirely out from the causes behind my family and mestizo privilege. It entails being attentive to the sources of domination and appropriation that I activate by the mere fact of being present in the Maya territory. Through this experience, I also learned to discern how my social position fluctuates within context. Not only because of the ways in which I am introduced by others or myself as the daughter of a former governor, as a language teacher, as a Ph.D. Candidate from UC Berkeley, as a *dzul* (foreigner), as an allied, as an enemy, as a friend, as a Yucatec Maya learner.

At the same time, ethnography is unimaginable without translation (Hanks & Severi, 2014). During my research, I faced the task of not only translating from three languages (Yucatec Maya, Spanish, and English) but also of engaging translation through descriptions, judgments, actions, and theorizations during multilingual interactions. No matter how much I immersed myself in the field to enhance my sensitivity of interactions through active participation there is a limit to what I will potentially be capable of sharing and how accurate my “cultural translations” are (Asad, 1986). Ethnography as translation is not merely a problem of describing a cultural form but of understanding it (Hanks, 2014). The complexities of meaning problems exceed perceptions based solely on the symbolic webs of meaning (Rosaldo, 1989). Therefore, I have revised my positions keeping in mind that translatability is also a question of power, authority, and legitimacy. And that my interpretations might differ from that of participants in my study.

One of the ways I have come to think critically about my writing is to acknowledge intercultural translation (chapter 3) as a unit of analysis that moves away from assuming that we can understand and represent others. Individual or collective ideologies shape translation, where “recontextualization of linguistic material involves negotiations about values and beliefs pertaining to the linguistic communities involved” (Baumgarten 2012, 59). Looking at intercultural translation brings the possibility of engaging language ideologies as shared and unshared cultural backgrounds but also as interactional resources that pertain to different politicized perspectives.

Recognizing intercultural translation as a research methodology entails focusing on how we come to know other ways of knowing, doing and being. The analysis of intercultural translation counters this colonial history, by not imposing our meanings upon others viewpoints. This recognition implies thinking of how writing in multilingual research practice could capture the movement between these ways of seeing and understanding the world. Centering intercultural translation as a language practice allows us to describe the dynamic processes of language contact in contexts of multilingual research.

Ethnography of Speaking and Language Socialization

It is important to recognize that the development of intercultural education has not been uniform (Bleszynska, 2008), different paradigms and social and historical transformations have shaped its theoretical constructs and applications through different countries and world regions. In my first prequalifying paper I examined various intercultural education propositions and how they form institutions and give meaning to different educational practices. I theoretically juxtaposed these propositions to what decolonial authors from Latin America have named, *coloniality of knowledge* (Maldonado-Torres, 2007), a form of subjectivity control withdrawing the possibilities of what can be intellectually and culturally accepted. This exercise allowed me to theoretically appreciate the contradictory ways in which propositions of intercultural education shape educational interactions in regards to identity and knowledge (chapter 2). Thinking of the field of intercultural education in Foucault's sense, as "tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations" (1980, 101), where one educational discourse may bring a different and even contradictory interactional practice, I came to recognize how intercultural dialogues take part in how students, professors, and community members approximate to what is intellectually and culturally accepted in educational interactions.

These findings guided me towards the importance of using in the study qualitative approaches that would focus on the study of educational interactions. Ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1995) is a method that opens the possibility to study the relationship between language, local systems of knowledge, and social action in a particular context. The ethnography of speaking "is concerned with the situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own right" (p. 250). It is a methodological commitment not only to what is said but what speakers do with language in its context of the situation, language as a link and as an instrument of social life (Duranti, 2005). Such an ethnographic study of situated discourse requires focusing on the constant work of translation, as it constitutes cross-cultural knowledge, as well as analyzing the sociocultural norms present in interactions. Therefore, the purpose of my dissertation is to accomplish an emic account of translation. This account aims to illuminate the independent principles involved in translation practices through which university members are socialized through and to language in higher education (chapters 4 and 5).

The study of intercultural communication practices needs to involve a discourse analysis approach that investigates how people interact with each other. Classroom discourse analysis (Cazden, 2001; Mehan, 1979; Rymes, 2010; Sidnell, 2010) and conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990) provide adequate means to capture translation processes in interaction and focus on language as a tool for describing and enacting culture (Duranti, 2003). According to Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez (2002), both conversation and discourse analysis offer the opportunity to analyze talk on a moment-to-moment basis and to access how social relations are maintained, contested, and transformed.

Departing from a developmental pragmatics perspective, language socialization studies center their attention in the acquisition of syntactic and semantic structures along with the enhancement of discursive and conversational competence (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Besides, communicative competence is enhanced with the sociocultural knowledge necessary for a speech community to use language in socially appropriate

ways (Gumperz, 1982). Language socialization into different meaning-making situations encompasses the mediation of more than one language and one modality. Multilingual and multimodal environments are the norm of most academic discourse socialization processes in universities that require their students to know a second language before graduation. However, few studies have focused on bilingual language socialization processes in higher education where multiple modalities and intertextual relations are built through oral and academic discourse (Duff, 2008; 2010; 2011).

According to Duff (2010) studies associated with academic discourse focus on two set of topics: the conventions of linguistic and discursive structure or the literacy challenge involved in using a first language and second language. Few studies combine the two or focus on the nature and effects of the enculturation students live into developing their voices and identities as scholars. Moreover, these studies do not center understanding how students and professors engage in multilingual translation practices.

Language socialization studies both as a research methodology and as a theory of language show how participants are socialized through and to language, especially, how competencies are negotiated or acquired through interactions (Baquedano-Lopez & Kattan 2007). Language socialization research examines how learning trajectories reproduce larger practices and cultural meanings at the same time that they show how participants recreate, resist, or transform the social order in socializing interactions (Baquedano-López & Hernandez 2011).

Language socialization is an enduring process that incorporates research on how people become communicatively and culturally competent in a particular discourse situation (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin 1984, 2008; Ochs 2002). Language socialization studies define competence as the ability to communicate in the language and norms of a particular community. Ochs (2002) argued that the interdependence between four dimensions of the social context become particularly relevant to understand the socialization of competence: 1) activities or goal-oriented behavior; 2) performed actions; 3) identities put forward, and 4) psychological stances or epistemic and affective orientations displayed.

Ochs and Schieffelin (2008) proposed that language is more than formal code or a repository of meanings: it is a semiotic tool tying together social, personal, and collective sentiments and identities. Language use depends on how participants make sense of the indexical relations between linguistic structures and sociocultural information. In this manner language socialization research examines how learning trajectories reproduce larger practices and cultural meanings at the same time that they show how participants recreate, resist, or transform the social order in socializing interactions (Baquedano-López & Hernandez, 2011).

Moreover, the study of language socialization processes complements research on language acquisition and formal language education by paying attention to the interactional contexts through which people convey meaning (Duff 2008, 2011). Language socialization becomes intersubjective when individuals, via group interactions, co-construct meaningful practices sharing subjective states between two or more individuals (Baquedano-Lopez & Kattan, 2008). Language use depends on how participants make sense of the indexical relations between linguistic structures and sociocultural information. Thus, one of the objectives of language socialization research is to make sense of how people comprehend indexical relations in real life situations.

In their review of language socialization research, Garrett & Baquedano-López (2002) posited that through the processes of socialization cultural knowledge is communicated, instantiated, and reproduced but also negotiated, contested and transformed. They explain that studies in language socialization include not only the particularities of these processes in sociolinguistically and culturally heterogeneous settings where two or more languages, and sociocultural practices are in contact. Moreover, Garrett and Baquedano-López argue that multilingual socialization studies not only focus on how novices are socialized to use a new language or to engage in specific community practices, but also how they are socialized to the particular socio-historical circumstances through which two or more codes are in contact, as well as, to the ways in which codes map and index social categories and divisions based on ethnicity, nationality, class, race, gender, religion and so on. This involves learning about the different identity categories and social roles; one might manage a shift from in multilingual settings (Garrett 2004). Also, how particular linguistic resources of the languages in contact index and map specific linguistic forms to social categories.

My research engages the socialization tradition to illustrate how university students are introduced to academic discourse, through language classes and tutoring activities at UIMQROO. Therefore, I take as primary spaces for data collection the interactions that occurred in language classes and tutoring activities between students and professors during the first two semesters during the academic year 2017-2018. Additional research spaces include interactions between students and community members either because they are hired by the university to teach classes or because they function as *abuelos tutores* in their Yucatec Maya language classes.

I observed a total of 8 classes from the first and second semesters of the major in Language and Culture. These classes corresponded to the introductory curriculum of the university. During the fall and spring semester, I was a participant observer in the language classes of Yucatec Maya, English, and Spanish. The Yucatec Maya classes comprised a total of 5 visits to *abuelos tutores*. I also observed two courses that focused on research methods, and two courses, whose purpose was to introduce students to the university and the Language and Culture major. I also observed the translation course in English, and Yucatec Maya offered to the 6th-semester students of Language and Culture. Finally, I also attended university activities where students, professors, and staff participated.

Data collection in classes involved participant observations and the writing of 55 extensive field notes. I audio and video recorded in classrooms, tutoring sessions, and public events. I used video logs for audio and video recordings and then coded for instances of intercultural translation. I transcribed of intercultural translation for analysis. I conducted in a total of 50 in-depth interviews with focal participants, 15 professors, and 35 students. Of the 35 students, 23 were studying their first year of undergraduate studies in Language and Culture, and 12 were between their 2nd and 4th year of studies. I recorded audio notes after each interview and then transcribed interviews for analysis.

Research Questions and Evidentiary Needs

This dissertation focuses on what professors, community members, and students at UIMQROO did when they participate in intercultural translation (Chapters 4 and 5). The dissertation addresses two questions:

- 1) How do professors, students, and community members socialize each other *through* intercultural translation?

To answer this question during my year of research I remained attentive to how intercultural translation was present in the language classroom. What languages were use as metalanguage and which ones were objectified through the process of translation. Moreover, how through these objectification processes students and professors marked certain social practices and identities tying them to specific uses of language. Specifically, how intercultural translation creates and epistemological relation between the languages that are objectified and the sociocultural practices that are linked to them. Finally, how students learnt through these processes to discern and recognize what remains equivocal amongst each sociocultural perspective.

- 2) How do professors, students, and community members at UIMQROO use intercultural translation *to* communicate, contest, instantiate, reproduce, and transform language and cultural practices?

To answer the second question, I focused on how intercultural translation allows students, professors, and community members at UIMQROO to display particular stances and ideological positions related to language and sociocultural practices. Consequently, how intercultural translation creates the conditions to address issues of power and ideology that were displayed in relation to specific temporal and spatial conditions of practice. Especially how intercultural translation is used to intervene the institutional arrangement of the university and the sorts of interactional possibilities that it enables.

Why Translation as Unit of Analysis in my Study?

I became bilingual at three years old when my family migrated to France for my dad to study his Ph.D. When we returned to Mexico, they used to say to family and friends that I translated for them in Paris and even defended them at the streets. Although I do not remember the particularities of it, since then I felt it, I am a translator. I was sixteen years old when I volunteered as an English-Spanish translator for a group ophthalmologist student/doctors from the United States in Quintana Roo. I spent three days translating to Spanish the questions to patients and their answers into English. It was difficult at the beginning. There were a lot of words I did not know in Spanish or English, “glaucoma” for example, same word, same spelling, equivalent meaning, but different pronunciation. And so, through translation, I was assigning meaning to new signs in both languages. Translation was for me a generative process of novel meaning statements in both languages.

After several iterations, some expressions became automatic “open your eyes” “close your eyes” “look up” “look down.” These seemed to constitute unidirectional processes from a source text to a target text between the doctor and what I said. But they also included the inter-semiotic interpretation of the patient through her body.

Nonetheless, after a few interplays, I became aware of the doctor-patient dynamic and took decisions about my role as a translator. I was able to identify some of the regularities in the dialogue. I was thinking of these regularities as I translated. These reflections constituted my theorizations of the doctor-patient relationship. I was thinking of translation as more than a unidirectional process, as a communicative understanding builds through our co-engagement in practice.

One patient that I remember the most was a man that walked into the room with a hat in his hand. He would not speak Spanish, but Yucatec Maya. And so, another translator was called. The patient sat in front of the doctor; the new translator sat between the patient and me. He would translate the question in Spanish to Maya for the patient, listen to his answer, and translate it into Spanish for me. I would then translate the message into English for the doctor.

Although I could not understand what they were saying in Maya, and sometimes they would speak for more extended periods than the doctor or me, I was confident that the translations were working. Since at the same time I was monitoring the patient body responses to the questions and the doctor actions through his medical devices that mediated their interaction while I was speaking to the translator and the doctor. I was reading them through the stock of knowledge that I had recently experienced. It was for the coincidences and correlations that I was confident that our practice was working. But also, at these moments I felt a painful distance between that patient and me, a painful distance through language.

After this experience, I finished high school, did a bachelor degree in International Relations, and enrolled in a master program in development studies in the UK. It was difficult for me to keep up the pace of the professors and classmates. This time, my level of English was a barrier instead of a bridge. I was not able to follow scholarly conversations. By the time I thought of something to say people would already be talking about other things.

Moreover, if I had to choose between my ideas for a final paper, I would want the one that I was able to express and not the one that would interest me the most. I faced a constant trade-off between being present as a student in the classroom and presenting my ideas through writing. One of the final essay questions hit me. It questioned the legitimacy of development practice. And I was questioning my positionality as a development practitioner in regards to intervening from a position of power into the life of others. The question lingers in me, guiding my actions since that day.

Chapter 2

The discursive formation of intercultural higher education in Mexico

Intercultural universities are just one of the forms that intercultural education has taken in Mexico in the past 40 years. This particular higher education project emerged as part of the transformation processes of governmental structures, legal frameworks, and political discourses shaping how Indigenous identities were signified, as well as, how these significations became part of Mexican socio-political structures at the beginning of the new millennia. A hemispheric process of transformation initiated in the 1990s through constitutional reforms in several Latin American countries that sought to recognize the existence of ethnic/cultural identities as part of a multicultural wave. Walsh (2009) argues that these reforms responded to social demands from Indigenous groups in Latin America. However, the educational component of such reforms in most Latin American countries was not to rethink or change the educational configuration but to accommodate intercultural discourses without significant change.

The first part of the chapter describes the formation of intercultural higher education in Mexico. I focus on the processes of governmental transition that preceded the creation of the first intercultural university in 2003, when Vicente Fox Quezada of the National Action Party (PAN) won Mexico's federal elections in July of 2000, overthrowing the 71-year hold on power by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). The advancement of public policy guidelines, legal reforms, and governmental structures depicted a new approach towards ethnicity. Through this section, I argue that the linkages between the politics of representation, institutional guidelines, language policies, and governmental structures, constituted the primary criteria for re-articulating race relations in Mexico. Race as an organizing principle not only of racial state apparatus over educational matters but of society as a whole (Leonardo, 2005).

The second part of the chapter centers on the intercultural model for higher education as promoted by the General Coordination for Intercultural and Bilingual Education (CGEIB). It focuses on the revision of its general guidelines and mission statement to analyse how the government positioned intercultural universities concerning Indigenous peoples and their knowledge. The analysis shows how knowledge production is framed in contradictory ways opposing "*saberes tradicionales*" to scientific forms of knowledge. This analysis follows Walsh's (2009) distinction among three intercultural perspectives (relational, functional, and critical) and their affordances towards knowledge.

The third part of the chapter focuses on the creation of the Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo (UIMQROO). It begins by describing the land controversy that followed the publication of its founding decree; to then focus on its mission statement and general structure. I give specific attention to how Maya language and culture were central to the university. Finally, it centers on the Major of Language and Culture describing how students were socialized to translation practices during the academic year 2017-2018.

1.1. Mexico's intercultural race framework

Following the work of Omi and Winant (2014, 125), this part of the chapter describes how intercultural universities were part of the material effects of a racial project, "attempting to

shape the ways in which social structures are racially signified and the ways that racial meanings are embedded in social structures". I argue that intercultural universities are one of the educational structures of the racial project² put forward in the early 2000s by the Mexican government to articulate race relations in Mexico. A racial project that uses ethnicity to approach race via the primacy of cultural variables (Omi and Winant, 2014), and frames Indigenous peoples to ethnicity³.

To view race as a cultural phenomenon forms part of the colorblindness that conceals race relations in Mexico. Race as a social structure in Mexico has had several structural and ideological processes of representation through which state-acts have been organized along ethnic lines. According to Omi & Winant in ethnic base approaches "the race-concept is reduced to something like a preference, something variable and chosen", and "racism too reduced in importance: It is seen as a mere matter of attitudes and beliefs, involving such issues as prejudice, beliefs about others and individual practices" (2014, 22). Moreover, Omi & Winant define structural racism as "the variety of institutional arenas that normalize and reproduce racial inequality and domination" (2014, 128). Thus, a racial project becomes racist when it "creates and reproduces structures of domination based on racial significations and identities" (2014, 128).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, *Indigenismo* became Mexico's racial project. *Indigenismo* was the mestizo response to indigenous movements and their vindications within Mexican Revolution. *Indigenismo* is understood as the set of government institutions and policies defining the relations and role of indigenous peoples in post-revolutionary Mexico. It equates *mestizaje* (biological and cultural) with modernization, and indigeneity with remoteness and social stagnation (Taylor 2009). An ideology containing a paradoxical understanding of indigenous peoples both as the nucleus of what is considered Mexican, but also, of what needs to be outstripped to give way to Mexico's post-revolutionary government modernization project (Villoro, 2014). This vision excluded indigenous practices and imposed a new form of political subjectivity (Castellanos, 2010).

Through *Indigenismo*, education for Indigenous peoples in Mexico has been characterized by a dominant trend to suppress their languages, worldviews, and knowledge (Hamel 2008a, 2008b). Both rural and boarding schools were the result of the combination of national education and language policies promoted by the post-revolutionary Mexican state towards Indigenous populations. Moreover, rural schools were assigned an agentive unification role to replace indigenous languages with Spanish and for teachers to sustain a campaign not only against illiteracy but also by bringing the "rudiments of civilization". This dominant assimilation strategy of Indigenous peoples favored school submersion programs of *castellanización* (Hamel, 2008a).

Still until today, bilingualism is still promoted as a transition stage to attain Spanish as a national standard and not as a permanent state among Indigenous populations. Transitional education programs subordinated Indigenous languages to an instrumental role (Hamel, 2008a). Since the 1980s the official program discursively promoted "bilingual

² To delimit a racial project is "to capture the simultaneous and co-constitutive ways that racial meanings are translated into social structures and become racially signified" (Omi & Winant, 2014: 109). According to Omi & Winant definition a racial project at the same time "an interpretation, representation, and explanation of racial identities, and an effort to organize and distribute resources (economic, political, cultural) along particular racial lines" (2014, 125).

³ In the U.S. early concerns with ethnicity were related to the incorporation of different European immigrant groups (Omi & Winant, 2014).

and bicultural” education. Through this approach Indigenous languages became the medium of instruction and Spanish the second language (Hamel, 2008a). However, this model has only been put to work through pilot projects. During the 1990s the label ‘bicultural’ was replaced with the word intercultural. According to Hamel (2008b) the new intercultural perspective wished to integrate the dichotomous bicultural perspective through a pluralistic one. As a secondary effect, Hamel argues, the centrality of intercultural segregated the question of bilingual education. In general, the differentiation between language and educational policies for Indigenous peoples and mestizo populations incremented the educational inequalities that prevail until today (INEE, 2016). The educational backgrounds of students and professors at UIMQROO are a constant reminder of inequalities that were and are created through these multiple education initiatives.

Educational institutions are highly related to exclusion and the reproduction social dynamics of exclusion of Indigenous peoples (Barron Pastor, 2008). Racism is the rule in Mexican higher education institutions and it occurs when the other is silenced and discredited by ethnic or cultural markers. One of such markers being language (Barron Pastor, 2008). Given this history and the close relation between racial projects and education, this section describes some of the political statements, concepts, rules, and actions, contained within policy guidelines and legal reforms which described, planned, and delineated the model of intercultural education in Mexico. The goal is to trace how these statements emerged, but also, how their combination and interplay are part of the discursive formation of higher intercultural education. I analyze sections from policy guidelines and the content of legal reforms to illustrate how race is understood as ethnicity, and reduced to something variable and chosen. This analysis also follows Bonilla-Silva’s call to understanding “the institutional arrangement of racial matters and accepting that all actors in a racialized society are affected materially (receive benefits or disadvantages) and ideologically by the racial structure” (2014, 15). In this manner, knowing about the arrangement of racial matters in education constitutes a step toward understanding the material and ideological aspects of Mexico’s racial structure, a structure that signifies the relations between race and ethnicity in Mexico.

Omi & Winant (2014) posit that as a cultural phenomenon the concept of race oscillates between assimilationism and cultural pluralism political positions. The Coordination for Intercultural and Bilingual Education (CGEIB), the government agency created for the implementation of intercultural education in Mexico, dedicates to chapters of the book titled “*Universidad Intercultural Modelo Educativo*” (CGEIB, 2009) to include some extracts from public policy, legal frameworks, and federal institutions that they saw related to the model of intercultural higher education (Table 1). Therefore, the examination of Mexico’s intercultural race structure includes the analysis of an example of each and the links among them.

Table 1

Government Policies
National Development Plan -PND- (2001)
National Program for Education -PRONAE- (2001)
National Scholarship Program for Higher Education -PRONABES- (2001)

Legal Frameworks
Reform of Article 2 of the Mexican Constitution (2001)
General Law of Linguistic Rights for Indigenous Peoples (2003)
General Law for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (2003)
Federal Institutions
General Coordination for Intercultural and Bilingual Education -CGEIB- (2001)
First Intercultural University (2001)
National Instituto for Indigenous Languages -INALI- (2003)
National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples -CDI- (2003)

The first of such public policy guidelines included by CGEIB is the 2001-2006 National Development Plan (PND). The PND is the planning guideline of the executive branch in Mexico with the purpose of regulating sexennial planning processes and integrating activities of all governmental agencies. Their existence dates back to Lazaro Cárdenas' Presidency and his six-year plan from 1934 to 1940 and has been used since the 1960s to access international development funds (Pérez Castañeda, 2007).

Proceeding from the CGEIB revision, I will focus mainly on the section titled "*La etnicidad en el México contemporáneo*," which argues for a threefold modification of the conception of ethnicity in Mexico. This section is included in the third chapter of the PND and provides a revision of four types of transitions in the 30 years that preceded the plan. The four transitions covered in the chapter are: demographic, social, economic, and political. The introduction mentions that these transitions define who the state interlocutors are, and how these interact with the government agencies, as well as, which instruments are available for public executive action. The section on social transitions includes civic organizations, the role of women, family composition, and the part on ethnicity in contemporary Mexico. According to the sexennial plan, social transformations are manifested through de modification of values, perceptions, motivations, conducts, and individual attitudes like group re-composition and collective behavior towards public matters.

The section titled ethnicity in contemporary Mexico speaks of three changes in the conceptions Mexicans have on the so-called "ethnic question." The first change constituted by the recognition that the relationship between culture and Indigenous identity is not a mechanical one, and that cultural change does not imply an identity change. The second change claims Mexicans have stopped thinking of the nation as something homogenous given the vigorous manifestation of its heterogeneity. The third change, the act of recognition of Indigenous peoples as political subjects form a "we" that also separates themselves from Indigenous interests and their forms of public organization:

En tercer lugar, reconocemos que los indígenas existen como sujetos políticos, que representan sus intereses en cuanto miembros de etnias, y hoy existen organizaciones indígenas que influyen poderosamente en el ámbito público (27)

Third, we recognize that Indigenous peoples exist as political subjects, representing their interests as ethnic members, and today there are Indigenous organizations that have a powerful influence on the public sphere (my translation).

The document speaks of these changes about the conception of the “ethnic question” by using first person plural conjugation form “*reconocemos*”. This use of “we recognize” is preceded by a whole chapter on the participatory processes for the elaboration of the PND. There is no specific mention of how Indigenous peoples participated in the elaboration of the PND. This act of recognition involves at the same time and act of othering and exclusion of Indigenous peoples. The “we” speaking of Indigenous peoples is objectifying them and their forms of political organization. Moreover, the excerpt excludes Indigenous peoples as part of the “we” who counts as the one instituting the racial contract. According to Mills (1997) the Racial Contract, “establishes a racial polity, a racial state, and a racial juridical system, where the status of whites and nonwhites is clearly demarcated, whether by law or custom” (1997, 14). Under a racial contract ideological coercion is instantiated in creating as its signatories the ones who participated in the elaboration of the PND, and making Indigenous peoples the objects of the contract. Finally, this type of social contract based on ethnic association creates cultural divisions between people that otherwise could share political and material interests (Leonardo, 2005).

The document continues by addressing education concerning ethnicity in two ways. On the one hand, it mentions education while reviewing the state policy known as “*política indigenista*.” According to the PND, this state policy held that when Indigenous peoples adopted Spanish, western clothing, technology, and western social habits, they would leave aside their cultural traits and would assume themselves as Mexicans like everyone else. In this manner, literacy campaigns, educational programs, services, communications, and in general development policies were directed toward the substitution of “archaic” knowledge, values, and customs for “modern” scientific knowledge, values, and customs that would leave the Indigenous world in the past were it supposedly belonged. The PND posits that “being Indigenous” was thought as equivalent to being a precarious peasant, and that the “*política indigenista*” considered that economic growth and occupational change would lead to “desindianization.” According to the document, the ideological conception of a homogenous nation was supported through the understanding of *mestizaje* not only as a biological but cultural process sustained by official discourses and presented as a universal destiny for all Mexicans.

Moreover, the PND posits that in practice the acquisition of western cultural habits did not necessarily lead to identity changes within or outside rural communities. Since 1960 numerous Indigenous families from all over the country migrated to urban centers, to modern agricultural fields, and the northern border. They ceased to be farmers to become workers, businessmen, day laborers or employees without stopping to consider themselves Indigenous. Moreover, it claims that many reached high levels of schooling through higher education both at universities and “*escuelas normales*” (teacher preparation schools). Turning themselves into professionals that in many cases preserved their ethnic identity through familial and community connections.

On the other hand, education is also considered when PND claims, despite acknowledging the persistence of racism in many domains of the Mexican society, that a notion that sees what is “ethnic” as incompatible with what is “modern” is disappearing. This section is written in passive voice and states that the possibility of an intercultural pedagogy is seriously being explored to account for the wealth of diverse cultural worlds.

A pesar del racismo que aún subsiste en muchos ámbitos de la sociedad mexicana, está empezando a desaparecer la noción de que "lo étnico" es incompatible con "lo moderno"; se empieza también a explorar seriamente la posibilidad de una pedagogía intercultural, que tome en cuenta la riqueza de los mundos culturales diversos. (28)

Despite the racism that still exists in many areas of Mexican society, the notion that "the ethnic" is incompatible with "the modern" is beginning to disappear; It also begins to seriously explore the possibility of an intercultural pedagogy, which considers the richness of diverse cultural worlds (my translation).

In this manner, intercultural pedagogy is presented as the educational ideology linking cultural variables to ethnicity and part of the new phase of the racial politics in Mexico.

Finally, it claims, again in a passive voice, that it is essential to recognize education as the best way to propitiate and strengthen the social changes that create more and better opportunities and increase the potentialities of Mexicans to reach better standards of living. A brief mention of a 1994 movement precedes the claim, without identifying its name, actors or petitions, as the one elevating the "Indigenous problem" to "national consciousness," and making social organizations and society, in general, participate more actively in the attention of the problems of this important population sector.

El movimiento de 1994 elevó el problema indígena a la conciencia nacional, e hizo que las instituciones de gobierno, las organizaciones sociales y la sociedad en general participaran de manera más activa en la atención de los problemas de éste importante sector de la población.

Por último, es imperativo reconocer que la educación es la mejor manera de propiciar y fortalecer los cambios sociales que creen más y mejores oportunidades e incrementen las potencialidades de los mexicanos para alcanzar mejores niveles de vida. (28)

The 1994 movement raised the indigenous problem to the national consciousness, and made government institutions, social organizations and society in general participate more actively in addressing the problems of this important sector of the population.

Finally, it is imperative to recognize that education is the best way to promote and strengthen social changes that create more and better opportunities and increase the potential of Mexicans to achieve better standards of living (my translation).

In July of 2000, Vicente Fox Quezada of the National Action Party (PAN) won Mexico's federal elections. Two months after his inauguration the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN) led a march from Chiapas to Mexico City. Fox's promise to resolve the conflict of Chiapas in 15 minutes pushed the state to introduce a "new relationship" with Indigenous peoples via the Constitutional recognition of indigenous rights (Hidalgo 2006). The constitutional reform of Article 2 in 2001 was preceded by the modification of Articles 4 and 27 in 1992 that coincided with the first 500 years of European contact and colonization. Following the ILO Convention No. 169 this reform marked a discursive shift from a country as unitary and monolingual to a country as multicultural and multilingual but did not involve an institutional change (Tinajero & Englander, 2011).

The introduction of a new set of reforms in the early 2000s was directly related to the Zapatista movement in Chiapas and the ways in which the federal government failed to comply with the San Andres Larráinzar Accords signed on February 16, 1996 (Hernandez and Sierra 2004). These accords contained a series of commitments of constitutional reforms signed by the federal government as a response to the Zapatista movement. The Concord and Pacification Commission (COCOPA) presented a reform initiative but the national congress never approved it. Demands for autonomy were the root of disagreement (Hidalgo 2006). The new content of Article 2 of the Constitution

presented serious obstacles to the peace agreements. Although the article delineated recognition for the self-determination and autonomy of indigenous peoples, it blocked such a possibility by remitting to each state the authority to recognize such rights or not, thus creating a contradiction between state tutelage and Indigenous autonomy. More than 300 indigenous municipalities presented a series of constitutional controversies to the Supreme Court contesting the reform. Two years later the Supreme Court ruled it had no authority to revise constitutional procedures.

Article 2 Constitutional Reform August 2001	
<p><i>La Nación Mexicana es única e indivisible. La Nación tiene una composición pluricultural sustentada originalmente en sus pueblos indígenas que son aquellos que descienden de poblaciones que habitaban en el territorio actual del país al iniciarse la colonización y que conservan sus propias instituciones sociales, económicas, culturales y políticas, o parte de ellas. La conciencia de su identidad indígena deberá ser criterio fundamental para determinar a quiénes se aplican las disposiciones sobre pueblos indígenas. [...] El derecho de los pueblos indígenas a la libre determinación se ejercerá en un marco constitucional de autonomía que asegure la unidad nacional. El reconocimiento de los pueblos y comunidades indígenas se hará en las constituciones y leyes de las entidades federativas, las que deberán tomar en cuenta, además de los principios generales establecidos en los párrafos anteriores de este artículo, criterios etnolingüísticos y de asentamiento físico. [...]</i></p> <p>A</p> <p>IV. Preservar y enriquecer sus lenguas, conocimientos y todos los elementos que constituyan su cultura e identidad.</p> <p>B</p> <p>II. Garantizar e incrementar los niveles de escolaridad, favoreciendo la educación bilingüe e intercultural, la alfabetización, la conclusión de la educación básica, la capacitación productiva y la educación media superior y superior...</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Decreto Presidencial 08/14/2001)</p>	<p>The Mexican nation is unique and indivisible. The Nation has a multicultural composition originally based on its Indigenous peoples that are those who descend from populations that inhabited the current territory of the country at the beginning of colonization and that preserve their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, or part of them.</p> <p>The awareness of their indigenous identity should be a fundamental criterion to determine to whom the provisions on indigenous peoples apply [...]</p> <p>The right of Indigenous peoples to self-determination shall be exercised within a constitutional framework of autonomy that ensures national unity. The recognition of indigenous peoples and communities will be made in the constitutions and laws of the states, which must consider, in addition to the general principles established in the preceding paragraphs of this article, ethnolinguistic criteria and physical settlement [...]</p> <p>A</p> <p>IV. Preserve and enrich their languages, knowledge and all the elements that constitute their culture and identity.</p> <p>B</p> <p>II. Guarantee and increase levels of education, favoring bilingual and intercultural education, literacy, the completion of basic education, productive training and higher and higher secondary education...</p> <p style="text-align: right;">My translation</p>

In the constitutional Article 2, Mexico is seen both as a nation unique and indivisible, as well as pluricultural. It recognizes Indigenous peoples as the descendants of those who were in the country before colonial times. However, for indigeneity to be acknowledged by the Mexican state, Indigenous peoples need to be conscious of their identity, and part of a community with a social, political, and cultural unity within a territory with authorities recognized on the basis of their practice and customs. Moreover, the legal framework foresees official recognition of their autonomy and self-determination within a legal framework that ensures national unity. Finally, the identification of Indigenous peoples is tied to territorial and ethnolinguistic factors. Acknowledged Indigenous peoples have the right to preserve and enrich their language, knowledge, and those elements, which constitute their culture and identity. The federal, state and municipal governments remain in charge of guarantying and incrementing the educational levels attained by Indigenous populations. The reform also favors a bilingual and intercultural education from primary to higher education levels. Although incorporated into the constitution Indigenous people's rights, these rights are not the constitutive part articulating the whole. They are rendered contingent to particular conditions in relation to the general population (Espadas Ancona, 2008). According to article 2, the state is in charge of guaranteeing and

incrementing educational attainment levels of indigenous peoples and developing educational programs that would favor bilingual and intercultural education. This contradicts the Indigenous propositions included in the peace agreements where Indigenous communities would define and develop their educational programs in consultation with the three levels of government.

In addition to the constitutional reform, the Commission for Indian Affairs, Public Education, and Educational Services organized a consultation that led to the General Law for the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Hidalgo 2006). This law was approved by congress on December 2002 but promulgated until March 2003. A couple of days after the *Academia de la Lengua Maya de Quintana Roo* (ACAMAYA) asked the President to promulgate it during his visit in Maya territory (Berlín Villafania, 2015). According to the law, Mexico treats Spanish as the *de facto* principal language at the same time that it recognizes 68 national languages with a *de jure* status. The recognition of linguistic rights through this law not only implies linguistic matters but also entails the assignation of resources for other processes such as the standardization of Indigenous languages, the training of translators and teachers, and the elaboration, publication, and distribution of materials among others (Krotz, 2008). The law contains four chapters regarding: the general notions of Mexico's Indigenous languages; specific rights; federal, state, and municipal government responsibilities; and, the creation, also with delay, of the National Institute for Indigenous Languages (INALI) in January 2005. In its first years INALI contributed by creating a catalogue of Mexico's national languages and by publishing several Indigenous language norms.

Before this law there was no secondary legislation that would safeguard the rights of speakers of languages other than Spanish. Espadas Ancona (2008) argues that even when the law opened the possibility for an equal treatment of Indigenous languages, the first limitation is that to exercise their rights, Indigenous languages needed to be recognized by INALI. Moreover, educational and media rights in the law still have territorial constrains. The former implies an unequal treatment since Indigenous peoples have the obligation to still learn Spanish because bilingual education is directed towards municipalities with a majority of Indigenous peoples and not in the country as a whole.

Artículo 11

Las autoridades educativas federales y de las entidades federativas, garantizarán que la población indígena tenga acceso a la educación obligatoria, bilingüe e intercultural, y adoptarán las medidas necesarias para que en el sistema educativo se asegure el respeto a la dignidad e identidad de las personas, independientemente de su lengua. Asimismo, en los niveles medio y superior, se fomentará la interculturalidad, el multilingüismo y el respeto a la diversidad y los derechos lingüísticos.

Article 11

The federal education authorities and the federal entities will ensure that the indigenous population has access to compulsory, bilingual and intercultural education, and will adopt the necessary measures so that the education system ensures respect for the dignity and identity of the people, regardless of their language. Likewise, at the intermediate and higher levels, interculturality, multilingualism and respect for diversity and linguistic rights will be promoted (my translation).

In addition, as with Article 2 of the Constitution, linguistic rights also depend on state approval and state concessions (Hidalgo, 2006). This has delayed public services being offered in a language other than Spanish. Furthermore, as noted by Meylaerts (2010), translation policies, a challenge to multilingual societies, should accompany language policies as they are critical for “translational justice” and a paramount feature of linguistic

rights in terms of delivery of information and access and participation in the public domains of societies. The law includes the provision of guarantying an interpreter during any type of trial with charges to the state. But does not articulate a comprehensive agenda for translation rights.

1.2. The Intercultural Model for Higher Education

Subsequent to the reforms of the early 2000s, the National Ministry of Education proposed a series of bilingual and intercultural policies and practices intended for Indigenous peoples. Intercultural Education was depicted as a response to Indigenous and social movements in Mexico. These policies were centered around language producing a shift from “Spanishization [*Castellanización*], assimilation, and integration to bilingualism, interculturalism, and participation” (Tinajero & Eglander, 2011: 164). Therefore, it is important to recognize that the impulse of bilingual and intercultural education was a consequence of the fight for linguistic and political rights.

One of such policies was the creation of intercultural universities, which were established in 2001 under the initiative taken by the Ministry of Education’s General Coordination for Intercultural and Bilingual Education (CGEIB 2009). These universities had as their mandate to provide higher education to Indigenous and non-indigenous youth interested in the development of their communities and regions. The first intercultural university opened in Estado de Mexico and now there are intercultural universities in the states of Chiapas, Tabasco, Puebla, Guerrero, San Luis Potosí, Hidalgo, Michoacán, Veracruz, and Quintana Roo. During the school year 2015–2016 these universities had a total of 14,007 students with speakers of 36 Indigenous languages.

According to the first national coordinator Silvia Schmelkes (2009), intercultural universities were primarily a response to two needs. On the one hand, they were intended to increase the enrollment of indigenous populations in higher education. At the time of their conception, it was estimated that only 1% of 10 million people who spoke one of 68 Indigenous languages was enrolled in higher education programs. On the other hand, the government proposed these universities as a post-*indigenismo* initiative that aspired to leave behind a homogenizing model of bilingual education that assimilated indigenous populations to a dominant *mestizo* hierarchy. Walsh (2009) refers to dominant *mestizo* hierarchy as the practices and policies directed towards negating any sociocultural specificity, specifically in regards to indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants, and adopting certain values, traditions, attitudes, and knowledge as universal.

CGEIB (2009) argues that intercultural universities were created to move beyond a higher education system based on the study of indigenous populations and their languages that concedes to a hegemonic organization of scientific knowledge – a system that neglects the knowledge and experience of indigenous peoples. Moreover, the model of intercultural universities ought to avoid racist and discriminatory attitudes that undermine the contribution of different cultures (sic) to national identity. This recognition implies in the opinion of the model to look at the current superiority/inferiority dichotomies that divide Mexican society on the basis of origin, language, and culture identity. This recognition within the model of intercultural education claims to underwrite *indigenismo* initiatives that privileged the *mestizo* and pushed indigenous peoples to lose their identity despising and negating the culture of origin. Following this line of argumentation, the main

objective of these higher education institutions is to recuperate, disseminate, and respect the vital elements of the cultures (sic) that shaped Mexico and thus be inclined to incorporate their knowledge into the university system (CGEIB, 2009). In the context of intercultural universities interculturalism was defined as a perspective based on the recognition of multiple cultural identities and on the different manners in which knowledge is constructed.

Tinajero and Englander (2011) argue that in the concept of interculturalism assumes a relation between equals. However, inequality is what prevails in the relation between Indigenous peoples and the Mexican state. This unequal relation is verifiable in educational terms where improving access does not necessarily translates into improving learning outcomes. According to Santibañez (2016, 64) between 2006 and 2013 for each non-Indigenous student at a non-proficient level of Spanish there was 2.5 Indigenous students. Moreover, according to the 2010 Mexican census, “only 14% of young Indigenous students (age 20-29) completed High School relative to 25% of non-Indigenous youth in this age group”. Furthermore, bilingualism has subsisted with conditions of discrimination and marginalization. Still under intercultural bilingual education, Indigenous students are assumed to be taught in their Native languages only during the first three years of elementary school to make a full transition to Spanish by the sixth grade (Santibañez, 2016). This type of subtractive schooling (Valenzuela, 1999) has direct consequences for Indigenous languages in Mexico. Almost all Indigenous students reach the university level knowing Spanish but not always know the language spoken by their parents and their communities. Intergenerational transmission is affected by the choice’s parents make in order to see their children succeed at school.

The second general coordinator, Dr. Fernando I. Salmerón Castro (CGEIB, 2009), in the intro to the book about the intercultural higher education model posited that on the one hand, intercultural universities sought to establish new perspectives for professional and scientific development that bring together wisdom and knowledge from different cultural perspectives. And on the other hand, they were intended to train professionals particularly committed to economic, social, and cultural development of Indigenous populations in Mexico. Moreover, Salmerón Castro identifies the three main points of the model as: language, culture, and knowledge: the necessity to promote a revitalization, development, and consolidation of Indigenous languages and culture; to revalue the knowledge of Indigenous peoples and to promote a synthesis process with advances of scientific knowledge; and, finally, generating links as part of the formative space of permanent interaction with the surrounding communities. In this section of the chapter, I will focus on analyzing how CGEIB refers to the knowledge structure of intercultural universities. Chapters 4 and 5 of the dissertation will focus on language and community links respectively.

According to the mission statement, intercultural universities were intended for the professional training of Indigenous youth with special concern over three areas. The first one the relation towards knowledge, the second one to disseminate community values, and the third one to promote the revitalization, development, and consolidation of Indigenous languages and culture.

La misión de la Universidad Intercultural es promover la formación de profesionales comprometidos con el desarrollo económico, social y cultural, particularmente, de los pueblos indígenas del país; revalorar los saberes de los pueblos indígenas y propiciar un proceso de síntesis con los avances del conocimiento científico; fomentar la difusión de los valores propios de las comunidades, así como abrir espacios para

promover la revitalización, desarrollo y consolidación de las lenguas y culturas originarias para estimular una comunicación pertinente de las tareas universitarias con las comunidades del entorno. Esta nueva institución, a través del desarrollo de sus funciones de docencia, difusión y preservación de la cultura, extensión de los servicios y vinculación de la comunidad, buscar favorecer un diálogo permanente con las comunidades con el desarrollo científico y cultural contemporáneo (CGEIB, 2009, p. 149)

The mission of the Intercultural University is to promote the formation of professionals committed to the economic, social, and cultural development, particularly of the Indigenous peoples of the country; revalue the knowledge of Indigenous peoples, and promote a process of synthesis with the advances of scientific knowledge; promote the diffusion of the communities' own values, as well as open spaces to promote the revitalization, development, and consolidation of the Native languages and cultures to stimulate a relevant communication of the university tasks with the surrounding communities. This new institution, through the development of its functions of teaching, dissemination, and preservation of culture, extension of services and community outreach, seeks to favor a permanent dialogue with the communities with the contemporary scientific and cultural development (my translation).

One feature central to the model is what the CGEIB describes as the “synthesis process with advances of scientific knowledge”. This synthesis process is presented earlier in the text by alluding to the fusion between scientific knowledge and what they call “*saberes de los pueblos indígenas*” by stating that:

Las universidades interculturales pretenden revalorar los saberes de los pueblos indígenas y propiciar un proceso de síntesis con los avances del conocimiento científico (CGEIB, 2009: 9).

The intercultural universities intend to revalue the knowledge of indigenous peoples and promote a process of synthesis with the advances of scientific knowledge (my translation).

This statement is important because it shows how the CGEIB positions intercultural universities in relation to Indigenous peoples and their knowledge. The national model not only presents a dichotomous epistemic relationship between Indigenous people's knowledge and scientific knowledge but claims that it is the intend of the intercultural universities to promote the fusion of the two.

Walsh (2009) posits that is possible to identify three different intercultural perspectives. First, she presents the relational perspective. This perspective refers to the basic idea of general contact and interchange among cultures, that is the interchange between people, practices, knowledge, values, and different cultural traditions (Walsh, 2009). According to Walsh this view hides and minimizes the conflict that may arise through contact situations where there is conflict or power differential. It limits its analysis to the contact situation and covers the social, political, and epistemic power structures influencing a particular cultural position and relation. Walsh refers to the second perspective as the functional perspective. This perspective is rooted in the recognition of diversity and cultural difference with the objective of its inclusion into the social structure as it is. This intercultural perspective aims to promote dialogue and tolerance; however, these relational features remain functional to the existing system without touching or removing what causes inequity. Leaving the power structure untouched. The third and final perspective is thought of as critical interculturality. This perspective does not center cultural difference or diversity as the problem. Instead it centers how certain groups are racialized and oppressed within the sociopolitical structure that surrounds intercultural discourses. The aim of this perspective is to change the structures both at the institutional and relational level so that other ways of thinking, knowing, feeling, and living may arise. From this perspective interculturality is not a recognition act centered in the incorporation and tolerance of difference within the established structure. It is about imploding, reconceptualizing, and refunding the social and epistemic structures. Finally, it means

coming to terms with the social structures and arrangements that create social disparity (Leonardo, 2009).

The epistemic structure of intercultural universities as articulated by the CGEIB matches what Walsh (2009) describes as the intercultural functional perspective. Especially when they propose to fuse Indigenous and scientific knowledge as part of their politics of recognition. This functional perspective also becomes visible even when the CGEIB exercises a critique to the classic or conventional university model:

La integración de estudiantes de origen indígena no constituía una preocupación esencial para las universidades que se reflejara en una estrategia específica encaminada a este fin, a pesar de que uno de los rasgos distintivos de la función social de dichas instituciones es abrir sus puertas a la diversidad y ser un espacio abierto al estudio y al debate atendiendo al principio de respeto a la pluralidad. En cambio, las universidades existentes de sistematización y organización hegemónica del conocimiento científico, soslayando el valor de los conocimientos y las experiencias acumuladas por las culturas originarias del país (CGEIB, 2009: 31).

The integration of students of indigenous origin was not an essential concern for the universities that would be reflected in a specific strategy aimed at this end, although one of the distinctive features of the social function of these institutions is to open their doors to diversity and to be a space open to study and debate based on the principle of respect for plurality. Conversely, the existing universities of systematization and hegemonic organization of scientific knowledge, overlooking the value of the knowledge and experiences accumulated by the original cultures of the country

The previous excerpt presents CGEIB's critique to what they call the conventional university. In it CGEIB alludes to the lack of strategies from the part of universities to integrate Indigenous students. An integration that is related to how the university organizes scientific knowledge in relation to Native knowledge and experience. What makes this statement contradictory is that while exercising a critique to the hegemonic status quo in higher education institutions, the excerpt restricts Indigenous knowledge to a sustain relationship with Western knowledge and not to stand on its own. Moreover, knowledge complementarity is presented as an essential part of the intercultural approach:

El enfoque intercultural se pronuncia por el desarrollo de un diálogo intercultural como estrategia para promover procesos de innovación en la construcción de conocimientos ya que confronta elementos de diferentes horizontes y perspectivas culturales, abriendo así la posibilidad de impulsar un proceso de complementación y enriquecimiento entre la ciencia moderna y otros saberes (CGEIB, 2009: 38).

The intercultural approach pronounces itself for the development of an intercultural dialogue as a strategy to promote innovation processes in the construction of knowledge since it confronts elements from different horizons and cultural perspectives, thus opening the possibility of promoting a process of complementation and enrichment between modern science and other knowledges (my translation).

Indigenous knowledge is otherized when presented as another knowledge, *otros saberes*, and science linked to modernity by using the adjective modern as in *ciencia moderna*. This line of argumentation falls closely to Bruno Latour (1993) claim about modernity's contradiction of constructing specific cultural domains for "science" and "society". This dichotomous understanding of knowledge is further accentuated when Indigenous knowledge is paired to traditionality by alluding to *saberes tradicionales*:

Este enfoque fomenta la formulación de una síntesis entre los conocimientos que aporta la visión científica occidental y los saberes tradicionales que no han sido reconocidos desde esa perspectiva (CGEIB, 2009: 38).

This approach encourages the formulation of a synthesis between the knowledge provided by the Western scientific vision and traditional knowledge that has not been recognized from that perspective (my translation).

Therefore, even when the aim of the intercultural approach is to keep the two, it separates knowledge from "saber", leaving the former to science and the later to Indigenous

communities. Bauman and Briggs (2003) posit that the concept of tradition, here through the form of “*saberes tradicionales*”, becomes a discourse mode that is diagnostic of the past of the Indigenous communities served by these universities. In opposition to scientific and technological knowledge, “*saberes tradicionales*”, become the reverse form of modern, rational, and decontextualized.

1.3. The Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo

The Maya intercultural University of Quintana Roo is located in the central southern part of the Yucatan peninsula, just outside the city and head of the municipality of José María Morelos. In an area that belongs to the ejido of *La Presumida*. Historical studies refer to this area as a colonial frontier (Farriss, 1984) where Maya fled the colonial system as a radical form of protest. It is also the territory that was inhabited by the different Maya groups that fought the Caste War against peninsular whites (Villa Rojas, 1945) before the twentieth-century settler colonial expansion of the Mexican state through the creation of the territory and later state of Quintana Roo (Brown, 2013). A part of Maya territory known in Spanish as “*la zona Maya*”, a denomination included in the name given to the university in its founding decree on October 30th, 2006 (*Universidad Intercultural de la Zona Maya de Quintana Roo*). The founding decree was substantially modified and published again on April 15th, 2009.

Upon publication of the first decree, a group of citizens from the city and neighboring municipality of Felipe Carrillo Puerto contested the location of the university. The city chronicler, Carlos Francisco Chable Mendoza (2018), argues the dispute was grounded on party interests since, at the time of the university creation, a coalition from the *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (PRD) governed the municipality of Felipe Carrillo Puerto. Whereas members of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) governed the state and municipality of José María Morelos. The Academy for the Maya Language and Culture of Quintana Roo (ACAMAYA) emitted a communicate on November 30th, 2006 asking not to fight against each other:

Los mayas no debemos prestarnos al juego de enfrentarnos entre nosotros por una disputa estéril por la Universidad Intercultural, el enfrentamiento ficticio que han iniciado algunos grupos a los que sólo interesa satisfacer sus intereses partidistas y sectarios. Además, entrar en conflicto por la creación de la Universidad Intercultural en José Ma. Morelos sólo alegrará a los enemigos de la diversidad cultural, a quienes se han opuesto permanentemente a reconocer nuestro derecho como pueblo maya a una educación pertinente, una disputa por la sede de la Universidad Intercultural solamente convendría a quienes han actuado siempre con discriminación y racismo hacia nuestro pueblo (Cited in Chable Mendoza, 2018)

The Mayas should not lend ourselves to the game of confronting each other in a sterile dispute over the Intercultural University, the fictitious confrontation that some groups have initiated, which only interest their partisan and sectarian interests. Furthermore, entering into conflict over the creation of the Intercultural University in José Ma. Morelos will only rejoice the enemies of cultural diversity, who have permanently opposed recognizing our right as a Mayan people to a relevant education, a dispute over the venue of the Intercultural University would only suit those who have always acted with discrimination and racism towards our people (My translation).

Through this quote, we see how the creation of UIMQROO is related to Maya territory and how educational projects were projected into Maya people and their land as a source of dispute — attempting to fragment their relations and territory. However, we also see how Maya identity is used to undo and resist a violent state-act and to transcend political disputes on Maya territory.

Back in 2002, UIMQROO was thought off as an intercultural and bilingual unit of the *Universidad de Quintana Roo* (UQROO) in the municipalities of José María Morelos and Felipe Carrillo Puerto. The request was initiated by Francisco Rosado May at UQROO and supported by Xóchilt Galvez through the CGEIB. However, it was until 2005, when the project gained impulse. The Mexican President appointed Xóchilt Galvez as the director of the *Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas* (CDI), and upon a meeting in Tulum, she signed an agreement with the state government assigning 15 million pesos for the creation of the university (Chable Mendoza, 2018). University classes started on August 2007 with three majors: *Lengua y Cultura*, *Turismo Alternativo*, and *Sistemas de Producción Agroecológicos*. Later two new majors were added: *Salud Comunitaria* and *Gestión Municipal*.

During my year of field work the university offered a total of seven majors and one Master degree in Intercultural Education. All majors had a duration of four years. Each academic cycle was composed of two semesters (Fall and Spring), and a summer outreach program (May-June). The first year of studies at the university was known as “*año de formación básica*”. During this year, students attended basic instruction courses from Monday to Thursday, and a workshop on human development on Fridays. This year of common courses included two semesters of language courses of Yucatec Maya, English, and Spanish each. I was a participant observer of the major in Language and Culture. I observed five classes of this major each semester with first year students: three language classes (Yucatec Maya, English, and Spanish), a method class, and the introductory course about the major. The introductory course about the major was key in developing an understanding of the major.

According to the major’s curricular plan of 2011 the objective is to:

Formar individuos con alto sentido de responsabilidad social para elaborar proyectos que busquen preservar y desarrollar la lengua y cultura Maya en distintos ámbitos (local, regional, nacional e internacional), también podrá asistir en la docencia y mediación comunicativa entre las lenguas Maya-español y una lengua extranjera, que refleje un ejercicio constante de expresión intercultural de los valores y riquezas lingüísticas y culturales que contribuyan al desarrollo integral de la región. (Language and Culture Major, Curricular Plan, p. 4)

Form individuals with a high sense of social responsibility to elaborate projects that seek to preserve and develop the Mayan language and culture in different areas (local, regional, national, and international), they may also assist in teaching and communicative mediation between the Maya-Spanish languages and a foreign language, which reflects a constant exercise of intercultural expression of the linguistic and cultural values and riches that contribute to the integral development of the region (My translation).

From this objective, we can see how Maya language and culture were of paramount importance to the major. Students who major in Language and Culture may develop projects centered around this objective. Most graduates from this major worked as teachers in *telebachilleratos* (high school system) in Quintana Roo and Yucatán. The *telebachillerato* system has different language objectives in each state. Whereas in Quintana Roo the aim is to learn English as a second language, in Yucatan the emphasis placed on learning Yucatec Maya.

Communicative mediation practices between Maya-Spanish and a foreign language were also of importance to the major. These practices commonly referred to as translation and interpretation. Students took four core courses on translation: *Teoría y métodos de la traducción* (4th semester), *taller de traducción I* (5th Semester), *taller de traducción II* (6th semester), and *taller de traducción especializada* (7th semester). They also had the option of taking four optative courses: *taller de traducción de textos literarios*,

taller de traducción de textos legales, taller de interpretación consecutiva, and taller de interpretación simultánea.

In addition to specific translation courses, students were socialized to translation practices since the very first days of instruction. Special mention deserves the *1er Encuentro Peninsular de Traductores e Intérpretes de Maya Yucateco* (First Peninsular Encounter of translators and interpreters of Yucatec Maya) that took place at UIMQROO on the 12th and 13th of October, 2018. Students from the major in Language and Culture participated in various ways throughout the event. Students in their seventh semester participated by interpreting the presentations in Yucatec Maya to Spanish simultaneously. Fifth-semester students were in charge of the organization of the event supporting all activities and logistics during those two days. Moreover, first and third-semester students either volunteered as organizers or participated by attending the presentations during the encounter. Students in their last year of studies functioned as the Yucatec Maya to Spanish simultaneous interpreters during the event.

The event was the first of its kind in the region as it brought together Maya scholars, communicators, legal interpreters, and students from Yucatan, Campeche, and Quintana Roo. The first roundtable and keynote speech on the relationship between translation-interpretation and Yucatec Maya learning and teaching. The second roundtable dealt with methods and techniques for translation and interpretation. On the second day, the first roundtable included the participation of students and professors from *Universidad de Oriente* (UNO) from Valladolid, Yucatán. Through their presentation, they shared their experiences in regards to translation and interpretation, and the university courses that they offer at the major in Maya linguistics to train interpreters.

This chapter presented a general depiction of the discursive formation of intercultural education in Mexico. Departing from the transformation processes lived in Mexico in the early 2000s I engaged in a revision of the discursive characteristics of what I called Mexico's intercultural race framework. I gave special attention to how legal frameworks and policy guidelines formed part of a racial project that used ethnicity to approach race via cultural variables (Omi and Winant, 2014). First, after a brief review of the post-revolutionary race framework in Mexico known as *indigenismo*, I engaged in a discursive analysis of the policy guidelines and legal reforms that link ethnicity and education to Mexico's racial project. The second part of chapter provided a general overview of the model of intercultural higher education and its relation towards knowledge with the objective how does the model structures epistemic relationships within the model. Finally, I described some of the characteristics of the Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo with an emphasis on translation at the interior of the university.

Chapter 3

Intercultural Translation

Language is not a neutral means of communication (Ahearn 2012). The multiple ways in which translation becomes possible renders visible the dynamics of language as socio-political action, immersed in the confines of power and ideology, and permeated with different inclinations and identities. Talal Asad (1986, 149) explains that “translation is not merely a matter of matching sentences in the abstract, but of *learning to live another form of life* and to speak another kind of language” (original emphasis). In this sense, intercultural translation can be seen as the discursive space where individuals learn to recognize and function in different sociocultural environments, exploring the tensions between conflicting cultural values and the conditions of cultural subordination. Thinking of translation as a form of intercultural interaction implies seeing it not as “languages that are translated, but rather [as] texts that are socially and culturally situated” (Gambier 2016, 889).

Multilingual educational contexts and translation are inextricably connected and not confined to literary texts but include communication practices as well. Translation deserves special attention in multilingual contexts where Indigenous languages, interact with hegemonic languages. Translation is a form of intercultural communication and of an active relation between cultures (Pym 2010b). In situations of contact, translation points to the limits of a culture, such that intercultural transfer becomes a precondition for translation. This is particularly relevant to multilingual spaces such as UIMQROO where broader sociocultural processes point to power differentials among literacy practices in two or more languages.

Translation theories focus on ideas of what translation is and how translation should be carried out. Following, Hall’s (1996) call to consider theory a problem of politics and strategy, I argue that these theorizations occur during multilingual interactions when educational agents use intercultural translation as a critical language practice to address an epistemological relationship as their object of study within practice. Therefore, the study will describe intercultural translation as dialogue in education. Dialogue understood as a process of learning and knowing that characterizes an epistemological relationship (Freire and Macedo, 1995).

This chapter focuses on intercultural translation processes that highlight the equivocation between two perspectives. The first part of the chapter describes translation theories that depart from the standard understanding of translation as a unidirectional process from a source text-language-culture to a target text-language-culture and center what remains equivalent between different perspectival positions by drawing on Viveiro de Castro’s concept of controlled equivocation and Jakobson’s understanding of translation as of how equivalence in difference is attained. The second part of the chapter unpacks these theoretical propositions by presenting three studies from non-Indigenous scholars working on translation issues in Indigenous contexts of Latin America. Rappaport’s (2005) understanding of intercultural translation processes that serve as a strategy for the appropriation of concepts. Santos (2014) understanding of intercultural translation as an interpolitical articulation procedure. And Mignolo and Schiwyl (2003)

outline of translation as a double movement between epistemic and theological viewpoints. Finally, the chapter describes how these understandings of translation inform subsequent chapters in the dissertation. Chapter 4 centers intercultural translation practice inside the language classroom. And chapter 5 presents how administrators and professors used intercultural translation to intervene the institutional arrangement of the university.

1. Intercultural Translation: From Equivalence to Equivocation

The normative view assumes translation as a unidirectional process of linguistic transfer from one language to another language. Consequently, standard translation theories portray translation as the processes leading from a start text, or text we translate from, to a target text, or produced text (Pym 2010a). In the conventional model, translators are expected to move, from one language to another, ideas and words without altering them (García-Sánchez et al. 2011). However, thinking of translation as a straightforward process removes from its analysis the multiple negotiations and directionalities that occur while generating translations.

According to Anthony Pym (2010a, 2010b), each translation is both a generative act and a selection process. Translators theorize all the time while they generate and select between possible translations. These theorizations become visible when translators write about what they do in the commentary sections of a book (i.e., translator's notes), and also, as a communicative practice, when translators speak about these processes.

Pym (2010a) explains the notion of equivalence as the idea that what we “communicate through a language can have the same value (the same worth or function) when translated into another language” (6). Equivalence theories have considered different kinds of equivalences and portrayed them under competing conceptualizations. According to Meylaerts (2010) one of the ways in which the commonsensical understanding of translation was questioned was through the existence of multilingual literary texts where translation was not only between texts, but also in the text challenging notions of equivalence and dichotomy between source and a target text.

Since the 1980s translation studies has suggested translation as a form of intercultural communication (Sakellariou 2017). In circumstances of contact, such as in multilingual contexts, cross-cultural translation points to the limits of equivalence. And thus, to focus on sameness proves inadequate to capture the interrelation and movement happening between a source and target texts (Sakellariou 2017). Translation processes dwell in the articulation of meanings that go beyond the linguistic transfer from a source text to a target text. Translation as a system of interaction, can be seen as a multidirectional movement guiding the articulation processes whereby incommensurable forms are juxtaposed to highlight equivalence assumptions and name what remains equivocal.

Jakobson (2004) in his essay on “Linguistic aspects of translation” spoke of translation from a semiotic point of view in terms of meaning and signs. He held that, “The meaning of a sign is its translation into some further, alternative sign” (p.114) and then introduced three ways of interpreting a sign: *intra-lingual translation*, or the interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language; *inter-lingual translation*,

also called translation proper or the interpretation of verbal signs by another language; and *intersemiotic translation* or transmutation, interpretation of verbal signs via nonverbal systems. Jakobson (1959/2004) pointed out that *equivalence in difference* was the central problem and concern in translation given that “any comparison of two languages implies the examination of their mutual translatability” (114).

Examining how *equivalence in difference* is attained or contested opens up an opportunity to think about translation beyond equivalence and to recognize extralinguistic elements involved in translation. It is an entry point to reflect on the epistemic spaces in multilingual research—about what Hanks and Severi (2014) call the epistemological space of translation: where what is known, how it is known—and made known—are at stake. Hanks and Severi (2014) argue that a prevailing trend in anthropology insists on discussing translation in technical terms and denies the epistemological import of cultural variation, unable to envision what an epistemology of translation could be. They propose studying translation as a site to reformulate anthropological epistemology.

Hanks and Severi arguments are related to Viveiros de Castro’s concept of *equivocation*, which rather than a failure to understand, is viewed as “a failure to understand that understandings are not the same, and that they are not related to imaginary ways of ‘seeing the world’ but to the real worlds that are being seen” (2004, 11). The question Viveiros de Castro (2004, 11) tackles is to know “of what world they are the point of view” (original emphasis). He posits, therefore, that to translate is to presume that *equivocation* always exists. Instead of asserting an equivocal status between discourses he proposes equivocation as a means to re-conceptualize comparison, recognizing that comparability does not always signify translatability or epistemological transparency. Mutual incommensurability is what enables comparability and inspires a relating through difference in perspectives. Through his description of Amerindian perspectivism, translation is seen as an operation of differentiation that “connects the two discourses to the precise extent to which they are not saying the same thing” (2004, 20). Therefore, by being named and addressed, *equivocation* stops being the condition that limits intercultural relations.

An intercultural translation may function as the contact language practice that goes beyond the pursuit of equivalence. I propose to use Viveiros de Castro’s (2004) concept of *controlled equivocation* as a means to recognize that translatability does not imply ontological transparency. According to Viveiros de Castro’s (2004) description of Amerindian perspectivism, translation processes may also involve the *controlled equivocation* between different perspectival positions. Instead of finding synonyms the aim of translation is that of finding what is concealed. Is about using comparative means to make visible how the world is culturally represented through different conceptual visions.

For Viveiros de Castro (2004), ‘equivocation’ is not seen as the failure to understand but as “a failure to understand that understandings are not the same, and that they are not related to imaginary ways of ‘seeing the world’ but to the real worlds that are being seen” (11). It implies moving from a negative connotation of equivocation to the examination of the conceptual relations that emerge in translation. Translation practices that address equivocation include the perspectival positions of the translated worlds. This recognition entails a refusal to neutralize thought from a different perspectival position. Instead of establishing knowledge relationships, we could ask: What kinds of meaning

relationships does translation create? What sorts of meanings are produced? How are language forms related to social identities? The study of perspectivism in translation may provide an answer to these questions so that writing multilingual research might highlight the conceptual relations that remain obscured when the equivocation is concealed.

Intercultural Translation and the Appropriation of Concepts, Language Referents, and Sociocultural Practices

Non-Native Scholars working in Latin American contexts have found that intercultural translation is a salient feature in the appropriation of concepts, language referents, and sociocultural practices across backgrounds. Their propositions move away from translation understood as a unidirectional movement of converting texts from one language to another, to a strategic methodology: a strategy for the appropriation of concepts (Rappaport 2005); an interpolitical articulation procedure (Santos 2014); or a complex epistemic/theological double movement (Mignolo and Schiwy 2003). Together they turn to the target text as a site of potentiality for Indigenous political articulation. Through this section I will expand on their notions by describing their propositions in relation to intercultural translation.

Johanne Rappaport (2005) in her book *Intercultural Utopias* specifically focuses on how translation furnishes a strategy for the appropriation of concepts. She explicitly describes how linguists who had translated the Colombian constitution of 1991 employed translation as a tool for reconceptualizing key political terms such as state, justice, and authority from a *Nasa Yuwe* perspective, which entailed reaching out to indigenous-inspired alternatives to current models of nationality and citizenship. Rappaport & Ramos Pacho (2012) narrate how activists became aware of relationship between language and theoretical frameworks in the 1980's through a master on ethnolinguistics offered to Indigenous students and the experience of translating the Colombian constitution. Authors argue that the appropriation of linguistic methodologies enabled Nasa activists "to appropriate concepts originating in the dominant society and reconfigure them in an Indigenous framework" (125). Nasa-speakers reflected "upon the possible array of meanings of a term in their own language, with an eye towards adjusting its significance to bring it in line with their own objectives" (Rappaport & Pacho, 2012: 125). Adapting concepts to their politico-cultural movement.

According to Rappaport & Ramos Pacho (2012) an *intercultural team* worked on translation of the Colombian constitution. The team was composed by Indigenous authorities of Mosoco, bilingual teachers, Native and non-native linguists, and a range of professionals. The team went beyond making a glossary of terms and acknowledged the possibility of using translation to reimagine constitutional precepts from the Nasa subject position at the same time they provided a critique to the Colombian state of affairs. Following Talal Asad's reflections, Rappaport and Ramos Pacho (2012) speak of such processes as "autoethnography" in a reverse way, through which Nasa activists engaged in cultural translation to "appropriate external concepts within an indigenous political matrix with the aim of introducing new strategies for cultural survival" (126). They argue this type of translation emerged from intercultural dialogue, described as the daily exchange of ideas between Indigenous militants and non-Native collaborators.

Rappaport (2005) characterizes interculturalism as a "utopian political philosophy

aimed at achieving interethnic dialogue based on relations of equivalence and at constructing a particular mode of indigenous citizenship in a plural nation” (2005, 7). In the Colombian case, translation was used strategically for appropriating ideas from outside the constitutional sphere, serving as a means by which to make sense of external pedagogical and social theory, to propose new regional administrative structures in the educational sphere, and to discover new ways of synthesizing the values of indigenous cultures. Moreover, she argues that even if the government forced Indigenous peoples “to walk the path of culture” and to conform to age-worn notions of culture, it likewise opened at the same time a space for indigenous cultures to emerge as a strategic source to transform the state. Echoing Spivak’s and Grosz’s (1990) notion of “strategic essentialism”, whereby actors deploy essentialist identity constructs to respond to dominant political forces, she asserts that indigenous essentialist logic can inspire a process of instrumentalizing cultural difference. A cultural revival oriented toward the future and not only on the retrieval of custom from the past. In this way, for Rappaport & Ramos Cacho (2012) Indigenous theorizing puts interculturalism into practice by providing the methodological tools for theorizing with a political objective. A contestatory cultural project described as the appropriation and reconfiguration of concepts and methodologies from dominant paradigms. A project that is nourished by “a critical and politicized appreciation of intercultural pedagogical methods” (134).

Another scholar thinking about intercultural translation in Latin America is Boaventura de Souza Santos. In his book *Epistemologies of the South* (2014), he portrays intercultural translation as an alternative both to the incommensurability between cultures and to the abstract universalism of western-centric theories. He posits intercultural translation as a political articulation process, and one of living interactions based on linguistic and extralinguistic phenomena. He calls it intercultural translation rather than cultural translation by arguing that this type of translation focuses on “concrete social and political conditions to which texts are supposed to relate and on which they are to have impact” (215). Moreover, he argues that cultural differences encountered in counterhegemonic translation processes are more intercultural than intracultural.

Santos (2014) advises that there are two types of hybridization processes under *mestizaje* in Latin America. He remarks to be attentive of who hybridizes whom, what, and what results. He names one as colonial or white mestizo *mestizaje*, and the second one as decolonial or dark mestizo *mestizaje*. Intercultural translation may serve both depending on who, what, with what results, and whose benefit it is used for. He argues that the paradigm of modernity double binds social regulation with social emancipation. These forms of knowledge bind social dynamics in two different ways. On the one hand, knowledge-as-emancipation entails a trajectory between a state of ignorance that he calls colonialism and a state of solidarity. On the other hand, knowledge-as-regulation entails a trajectory also between a state of ignorance treated as chaos and the state of knowing as order.

Given the above, Santos raises a series of questions about intercultural translation:

What types of relationships are possible between the different knowledges? How to distinguish incommensurability, incomparability, contradiction, and complementarity? Where does the will to translate come from? Who are the translators? How to choose translation partners and issues? How to form shared decisions and distinguish them from imposed ones? What is the difference between intercultural translation and interlingual translation, and how are they related? How to make sure that intercultural does not become the newest version of abyssal thinking or metonymic and proleptic reason, that is to say, a new version of imperialism and

colonialism? How can we identify the perspective of the oppressed in cognitive terms? How can we translate their perspective into other knowledges and languages? (2014, 213).

Santos (2014) posits that overlooking issues of translatability is what makes hegemony possible. He explains that hegemony is based on the consent to ideas that are not part of someone's life experience. Therefore, for him, "translatability is the acknowledgement of a difference and the motivation to deal with it" (216). This position echoes Jakobson's call to see translation as *equivalence in difference*. For Santos this acknowledgement entails looking at the different knowledges and practices to create a distance from the Eurocentric tradition. Intercultural translation thus "consists of searching [out the] isomorphic concerns and underlying assumptions among cultures, identifying [the] differences and similarities, and developing [...] new hybrid forms of cultural understanding and intercommunication" (212). In this way, he posits intercultural translation as a way of not only building awareness towards sameness in the processes and structures of organization, but also transforming normative, coercive, and mimetic forms into social relations of mediation and negotiation that are constitutive of dialogic intercultural spaces.

Finally, Walter D. Mignolo and Freya Schiwy (2003) in their chapter "Transculturation and the Colonial Difference: Double Translation" also discuss hybridity through what they call *double translation*. In their view translation is also a process whereby colonial difference is articulated. And thus, theorizing translation must account how translation is shape and shapes the coloniality of power. Decolonial scholars perceive a world after colonialism as a myth that obscures the continuities of colonial hierarchies, an illusion that resembles Althusser's (1971) description of ideology as "the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (162). They consider that the patterns of colonial power were not limited to the end of colonial administrations but are part of the multiple hierarchies in the prevailing power matrix of global coloniality (Quijano, 2000; Grosfoguel, 2007; Tlostanova & Mignolo, 2012). The colonial power matrix entangles the broad colonial cultures and structures that affect several dimensions of social existence. For Anibal Quijano (2000), race is the new organizing principle of the colonial power matrix because of the ways that it renders possible both relations of domination and social classification. The current racial configurations are not only skin-based but also the result of the cultural chronological hierarchies put in place during the 'darker side of the renaissance' (Mignolo 2010), through which colonizers imposed a mystified image of their knowledge practices and their meanings.

Mignolo and Schiwy (2003) go back to see how translation contributed to the construction of colonial difference by acknowledging the role translation had in writing grammars for non-European languages. They argue that translation processes not only faced a problem of incommensurability of different worldviews, but also of how different worldviews were tied up to the coloniality of power via translation processes. Translation as part of the coloniality of power is marked by the assimilation and imposition of a western imaginary. But also unbalanced in its directionality. Through their chapter they trace back moments in colonial times where translation played a role through conversion and violent contact situations.

On the opposite end the authors argue that translation can take a crucial step in reshaping the double relation between modernity and coloniality. For this to happen,

Mignolo and Schiwy contend that we must ask how translation and interpretation conceive other forms of knowledge as deviant and insufficient. Specifically, when assuming one particular epistemic/theological perspective to be the correct one. They advance the idea of a double translation as a way to reverse a unidirectional and hierarchical translation model that is complicit in the processes of acculturation.

They posit that the Zapatista movement in Mexico drastically changed this model by bringing “colonial difference to the foreground as a place of epistemic and political intervention” (2003, 7). For them translation becomes a double movement bridging Marxism and Amerindian histories, and re-inscribing colonial difference from the perspective of the Other. They present Major Ana Maria’s opening address to the Intercontinental Encounter from the Zapatista movement as an example of double translation, in terms of how it responds and accommodates the hegemonic discourses of the Mexican state. The most important takeaway of this process is that the translation of Spanish into Amerindian languages no longer implies a unidirectional version of concepts and systems of understandings. Rather “Amerindian understanding is rendered in and even in violation of Spanish syntax, becoming transformed in the process but not entirely losing its difference from Western understanding” (2003, 12). Intervening literary conventions work against an equal footing between Spanish and Amerindian cosmologies and opening the possibility to speak and write Amerindian languages through Spanish, appropriating it.

Intercultural Translation in the Classroom

Multilingual classroom-based research and translation processes are highly interconnected. However, translation issues are not always identified or discussed as communication instances of classroom-based multilingual research. Recent studies have struggled to leave behind this omission by inquiring about translation issues in qualitative research (Larkin et al. 2007; Temple & Young 2004; van Ness et al. 2010). However, most of the work centers on understanding the effects of employing interpreters and translators when collecting data in more than one language. Little attention is given to translation as part of intercultural communication processes in the classroom and how these processes influence multilingual pedagogical practice.

Scholars who focus on translation as a communicative practice have highlighted the role of language brokers in institutional exchanges tracing the implications and dimensions of the interactional translation work (García Sánchez 2018; García Sánchez & Orellana 2006; García Sánchez et al. 2011; Orellana 2009). These studies emphasize the interactional-relational aspects of brokering practices as they examine the complexities of immigrant children’s role as translators and mediators in multilingual exchanges. Outstandingly, these studies contest deficit discourses about immigrant youth and their families by highlighting the complexities of multilingual interactional contexts in which translation processes are essential, such as parent-teacher conferences and exchange practices with health caregivers. Moreover, they describe how children are socialized to a particular translation framework that prioritizes equivalence and evaluates competence through dominant views of translation that seek literal understandings.

The work of translation is inherent to multilingual and multicultural backgrounds, such as the one lived by students, professors, staff, and community members at the Maya

Intercultural University of Quintana Roo (UIMQROO). Students participate in and are familiarized to the arts of the contact zones (Pratt, 1991) by different processes of socialization that involve one or another form of translation; either as an assigned translator, an auto-ethnographer, someone in charge of multilingual transcriptions, or as a mediator between different social spaces. Chapter 4 presents three examples of how intercultural translation works as a means and end of language socialization in classroom interactions. And Chapter 5 includes some testimonios from students who participated in translation processes during the 2017-2018 academic year. Both chapters describe translation as communicative practice and examine multilingual exchanges apart from standard theories that depict translation as a univocal exercise where a source text / language / culture is translated into a target text / language / culture. I focus on a particular form of intercultural translation that functions as a multidirectional movement, through which incommensurable language forms are juxtaposed to highlight equivalence assumptions and account for what remains equivocal.

Moreover, these examples illustrate how individuals are socialized *through* the use of intercultural translation and *to* use intercultural translation as language practice. Therefore intercultural translation is seen both as a means and as an end of language socialization (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007) in multilingual and multicultural contexts where different processes of cross-language interaction and interpretation take place: a means through which members of multilingual communities learn to recognize and function in distinct sociocultural environments; and an end, in the sense of how teachers and students use intercultural translation as a pedagogical practice and come to discern between different perspectival understandings in multilingual contexts. I argue that focusing on this type of intercultural translation brings research close to an ethic of incommensurability (Tuck and Yang 2012) that reveals universalizing tendencies hidden through multilingual language instruction. The study of intercultural translation offers a lens to depict the movement between perspectives while holding a pedagogical potential to resist assimilationist approaches to language (Flores & Rosa 2015) that cover over the relational specificities of multilingual practice.

Intercultural Translation in Higher Educational Institutions

Rappaport & Ramos Pacho (2012) argue that Indigenous theorizing “emerges within a multiethnic social sphere, a reality that impacts both its epistemological nature and the ways in which it is put in political practice” (123). In chapter 2, I presented how discursively the model of intercultural education impacts how knowledge systems are framed and the kind of knowledge that is produced. However, educational interactions in higher education are not only affected by intercultural discourses. The institutional design of interactional schemes also regulate educational practices.

One of the schemes regulating educational interactions at the university level is known as tutoring, *tutoría* in Spanish. For almost 20 years the institutional arrangement of this practice in Mexican universities follows the propositions of the National Association for Higher Education Institutions (ANUIES, 2001). A set of propositions that were taken from European models of higher education and implemented in Mexico as part of its higher education system. However, from the perspectival perspective of UIMQROO (2010) these tutoring arrangements reproduce relations of tutelage. Therefore, chapter 5

introduces intercultural translation as a salient feature of communicative interactions in multilingual institutional spaces. Specifically how university professors and administrators at UIMQROO used intercultural translation to modify Mexico's institutional tutoring program for higher education.

Chapter 6 looks at how intercultural translation can be used to critically think about dominant educational paradigms. Following Giroux (1992) translation becomes a critical language practice in education by questioning presuppositions and enabling a space for possibility. Therefore, the chapter focuses on the selective appropriation of words and meanings, the standardization of concepts, and the configuring of an intercultural frame of reference, whereby they introduced the Yucatec Maya word *iknal* as a hybrid educational system. *Iknal* is an inalienable possessed noun that denotes the proximal region of the bodily space that is associated to an individual or thing working as a possessor in its grammatical capacity (Hanks, 1990, 91). At the same time the concept transcends the notions of *tutoría* and *acompañamiento*, by bringing the habitual place of an individual and those in his or her presence or absence (Castillo Cocom, Rodriguez, and Ashenbrener 2017) into the educational sphere. This examination of discursive processes centers on how two Spanish educational concepts promoted by the national government, *tutoría* and *acompañamiento*, were transformed into the Yucatec Maya institutional variant of *iknal*. As a linguistically radical strategy, it not only questions the single tutor-student unidirectional interaction but also sets up a system of relational dispositions between teachers, students and Maya communities in the co- production of knowledge.

Chapter 4

Intercultural Translation in the Language Classroom

Centering meaning-relations is what makes translation central to ethnography. Jakobson described translation as meaning-relations by saying that “the meaning of any linguistic sign is its translation into an alternative sign” (2004: 114). Hence, describing meaning-relations in the language classroom involves inquiring about how linguistic signs are interpreted. My research project involved translation in multiple forms, which include translation between the languages spoken and written at the university, as well as engaging in translation during multilingual interactions via descriptions, encounters, actions, and theorizations. It was during these interactions that I became aware of a particular kind of interpretation that distinguishes between perspectives by grasping what is incommensurable among them. I realized that I was being socialized through intercultural translation to recognize how translation is used as a strategic form of articulation in Indigenous educational contexts. Consequently, in this chapter, I present three examples of intercultural translation that functioned as both means and ends of language socialization. Cases show how writing in multilingual research can be directed towards describing instances of intercultural translation in classroom interaction.

During my one-year ethnographic study, I focused on analyzing how translation practices were present in Spanish, English, and Yucatec Maya language classes. I was a participant observer during these classes, sometimes participating in students’ activities. These language classes were offered to students in the first and second semesters at the University as part of the standard-based curriculum that is available to all majors during the first year of instruction. However, the level and objective for each language class varied. Yucatec Maya and English are offered at an introductory level during the Fall and Spring semesters. The focus in Spanish classes was different. Spanish was used as the language of instruction for most university classes in the region and in the university, and thus introductory Spanish courses at UIMQROO focus on developing higher education literacy skills.

Translation processes varied within each language course. Translation processes in Spanish classes relied on what Jakobson called intralingual translation or rewording, that is an interpretation of the signs of a language employing other signs in the same language or metalanguage (Jakobson, 2004). Therefore, in the case of Spanish language classrooms translation instances were achieved through metalinguistic discourse, where glossing and paraphrasing make explicit reference to the language. Spanish was both the objectified language and metalanguage in these translation instances. Spanish metalinguistic discourse practices not only produced theorizations about Spanish but language theories in general.

Translation was avoided in the English classroom. It took the form of a clandestine interactional activity (Sterponi 2007), mainly when students worked in dyads or small groups solving specific language tasks. These instances relied on interlingual translation via another language (English to Spanish or English to Yucatec Maya). Moreover, intersemiotic translation or “interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems” (Jakobson, 2004: 114) masked the presence of translation in classroom

activity. These processes relied on visual aids, realia, and pseudo-realía as means to avoid using Spanish as the instructional language. For example, when introducing prepositions in English, the lecturer used pictures or classroom objects to indicate spatial relations among them. Students would repeat the names of the objects and their positions in relation to other objects even when they had no previous knowledge of the words and prepositions in English.

In the Yucatec Maya classes, translation processes relied on the objectification of Yucatec Maya via Spanish as the language of instruction. When Yucatec Maya was used as the language of instruction, translation into Spanish was provided or requested through students' questions. Translation in Yucatec Maya also took a hybrid form, relying simultaneously on interlingual and intersemiotic means. Moreover, Yucatec Maya was constantly contrasted to English and Spanish through what I am identifying as a particular type of intercultural translation instances, which name what remains equivocal in comparison.

This chapter presents three examples of classrooms where Yucatec Maya is the language of instruction. The first example describes the juxtaposition of greeting questions in three languages. It illustrates how a multilingual person speaking Yucatec Maya, English, and Spanish makes connections between a word and a particular sociocultural identity when engaging in the intercultural translation of greeting practices. The second example focuses on the use of the question particle *wáaj* in Yucatec Maya. The case contrasts the standardized form of particle *wáaj* in Yucatec Maya, to question marks in Spanish, to a contracted version used in different regions of the Yucatán peninsula. The third example, follows the second one by describing the difficulties students have while putting in practice the language forms described through intercultural translation.

Intercultural Translation as a Secondary Speech Genre

Following Bakhtin's work (1986; 2011), I describe intercultural translation as a secondary speech genre. A secondary speech genre is an organized cultural communication by which utterances come into contact through the juxtaposition of their semantic ties. This particular communicative practice, glosses speech events by juxtaposing speech genres and presents semantic relationships as worldviews, viewpoints, and social voices beyond a linguistic analysis. This juxtaposition of utterances works as socialization instances through which the participants question equivalence assumptions, and become aware of how incommensurable forms relate in translation. Intercultural translation as a secondary speech genre is a meta-reflexive practice signaling what remains equivocal between concurrent speech practices. In what follows, I will describe Bakhtin's understanding of primary and secondary speech genres and their interrelations, to then describe three methodological movements for the analysis of intercultural translation as a secondary speech genre. I start then by referring to Bakhtin's understanding of the utterance as the smallest unit of speech communication.

Bakhtin (1986) claimed that life enters language and language enters life through utterances. Utterances are produced from language units such as interjections, words, phrases, or sentences to convey a particular semantic content. Regardless of their length, content, and compositional structure, utterances are marked by the change of speakers.

Differences in nature and form of the utterance do not affect the clear-cut boundaries of its finalization. According to Bakhtin the linguistic features of an utterance may have a grammatical intonation but do not have an expressive intonation until they are part of a particular utterance. Therefore, each utterance as a whole is formed of both the linguistic features and a particular expressive quality. Any utterance has a theme, understood as the referential and semantic aspect of the utterance, and the expression of the concrete historical situation. The semantic aspect of the utterance is combined to the individual situation of speech communication via the speaker's plan or will. According to Bakhtin, "the choice of linguistic means and speech genre is determined primarily by the referentially semantic assignments (plan) of the speech subject (or author)" (1986, 84). Therefore, each utterance has two poles. On one end, it is part of a system of signs or language that is produced and reproduced and forms part of the linguistic aspects that compose an utterance. On the other end, each utterance is concrete, unique and unrepeatable kind of expression.

Moreover, utterances are composed of generic forms, which account for particular speech genres or the generic forms to cast speech in accordance to the communicative situation. Bakhtin perceived primary and secondary speech genres as types of conversational-dialogical genres. He described speech genres as models of speech communication. Speech genres are types of communicative events that make up through a sequence of speech behaviors a sociocultural practice. In Bakhtin's words, "A speech genre is not a form of language, but a typical form of utterance; as such the genre also includes a certain kind of expression that inheres it" (1986, 87). Speech genres are more flexible, changeable, and malleable than predetermined language forms. It is in the interrelations between primary and secondary speech genres that the nature of the utterance is revealed. What shapes therefore an utterance is the extralinguistic aspects that relate each utterance with other utterances. Their metalinguistic nature is exposed through their interactions and interrelations.

Primary genres also referred by Bakhtin as speech genres are the ones that offer the possibility of expressing individuality in language. They relate an individual style and function of utterances to forms. Standard forms, for example, express a particular style of utterances that serve a particular function. Genres are not only composed of particular discursive features but are the guiding frameworks, procedures, and held beliefs of speech practices. Consequently, they become individuated through the particular functions and thematic types of utterances in speech communication.

Secondary genres, on the other hand, are "types of conversational-dialogical genres" (Bakhtin 1986, 66). They differ from primary ones in that they produce utterances that present primary genres and their relations. The relations between utterances reproduce primary genres through a series of rhetorical moves within the boundaries of the secondary one. These relations among utterances are dialogic, and contact among the primary genres is produced through a common theme. For Bakhtin, "dialogic relations are relations (semantic) among any utterances in speech communication. Any two utterances, if juxtaposed on a semantic plane (not as things and not as linguistic examples) end up in a dialogic relationship" (1986, 117). Bakhtin posits that the referential semantic element (theme) and their expressive aspect determine the style and composition of an utterance. Moreover, that utterances come into contact with one another that is they become dialogic through semantic ties. For example, when

juxtaposing two different utterances that address the same idea or subject, these utterances will enter into a dialogic relation.

Considering Bakhtin’s understanding of the utterance and of speech genres in what follows I will describe three methodological movements to build a dialogical approach for the analysis of intercultural translation as a secondary speech genre. The first dialogical movement implies identifying the theme that is being addressed through intercultural translation. The second dialogical movement looks at the ideologies at play through the juxtaposition of primary and secondary genres. The third and final movement looks at the orientation a particular word or form may take in translation.

Table 1

Movement	Questions
Emergent theme	What kind of theme emerges from the juxtaposition of speech genres? How are semantic relations transformed into worldviews, viewpoints and social voices?
Display of ideologies	What sort of language and social perspectives are reflected through the juxtaposition of speech genres?
Inter-orientation of words	How are words inter-related to particular situations? What are the senses of word that are being expressed?

According to Bakhtin formal linguistic analysis tends to ignore speech communication dialogism. Dialogue is not about the number of interactants involved in a conversation or the type of communication activity, it is about the sorts of relationships of utterances to speakers, social voices, and worldviews. Therefore, the first dialogical movement is to identify the theme that is addressed through the juxtaposition of primary genres. It is important to note that this juxtaposition is different from a linguistic analysis that studies the relationships between the elements of a language. A nonlinguistic approach implies recognizing how semantic relationships are transformed into worldviews, viewpoints or social voices beyond the linguistic boundaries. What is juxtaposed is not the formal definition of language but the utterance’s contextual meaning. In this process the utterance becomes the object of cognition and interrelationships among utterances are the reflection of a reflection. Consequently, a nonlinguistic approach to intercultural translation focuses on the dialogic relations, that is the semantic relations among utterances.

Bakhtin explained that even the juxtaposition of two utterances may belong to two different people “who know nothing about one another if they only slightly converge on one and the same subject (idea), inevitably enter into dialogic relations with one another. They come into contact with one another on the territory of common theme, a common idea” (1986, 115). Literary work such as a novel was Bakhtin’s best example of the differently world positions created through the semantic planes and characters voices included by the author. Therefore, questions that the first movement could answer are: how are utterances juxtaposed on a semantic plane? How are semantic relations between utterances transformed into worldviews, viewpoints, and social voices? What sort of language is used to speak about speech? Answers to these questions would shed light into the types of speech and linguistic features ubiquitous to intercultural translation.

Intercultural translation contains reflexive language to assert an analysis of speech behavior. Therefore, it not only entails the abstract reference or description of the semantic meaning of speech genres. It also includes “the study of the meanings of linguistic signs relative to their communicative functions” or what Silverstein (1976: 20) calls pragmatic meaning and, Bakhtin’s depicts as the expressive quality of utterances or the non-referential and non-semantic features of the utterance as a whole. Although this type of metacommunicative activity embraces utterances as a whole it does not pursue an all-encompassing examination of speech genres. It presents some pragmatic meanings according to the relations established by the juxtaposition of speech genres. A particular focus on a theme dependent upon the historical context in which instances of intercultural translation occur.

One way to address how language reflexivity is used to talk about speech genres in intercultural translation is to include the analysis of the types of reflexive language that support it. The types of reflexive language vary according to the instances of intercultural translation that are being described. Lucy defined language reflexivity as the possibility “to use language to communicate about the activity of using language” (1993, 9). He identified a variety of types of linguistic reflexivity, among them the use of language to refer to language use; reporting, describing, and indexing of speech events; using phonological devices and textual features to guide utterance interpretation. The analysis of the examples in this chapter will attend to these types of reflexive language by focusing on the use of indexical features, reported speech, and phonological features in intercultural translation.

A second dialogic movement in the analysis of intercultural translation entails identifying the ideological forces at work in intercultural translation. Bakhtin and its circle⁴ referred to secondary genres also as ideological genres. Ideological products are objects and creations of social intercourse. Ideological genres reflect and are part of the material reality. Views of language are ideological “because they reflect a specific perspective and emerges within a particular context” (Rosa & Burdick, 2017). According to Bakhtin and Medvedev, “they become ideological reality only by being realized in words, actions, clothing manners, and organizations of people and things” (1991: 7). Moreover, they are semiotic material in that “everything ideological possesses *meaning*: it represents, depicts, or stands for something lying outside itself” (Volosinov, 1986: 9). Each ideological product becomes the object of social intercourse and also material part of the ideological environment (Bakhtin & Medvedev, 1991). Therefore, the study of language ideologies offers a site to understand language dynamics in relation to social life.

Intercultural translation forms part of the interdiscursive space of ideological creation and reflection. As a secondary genre, instances of intercultural translation also reflect and create ideological phenomena through the juxtaposition of speech genres. Thinking of intercultural translation as an ideological genre offers a space to understand how conceptions of language and modes of communicative behavior are link to language forms and express particular social structures (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994: 55). Moreover, how language ideologies express particular social identities, viewpoints, and worldviews in contact contexts between languages and their varieties. Focusing on the

⁴ Bakhtin’s circle is composed of the works of Bakhtin, Medvedev, and Volosinov. The study of ideology includes a Marxist perspective that builds a link between economic base and ideological superstructure by focusing on the processes of ideological creation in social intercourse (Bakhtin & Medvedev, 1991).

language ideologies embedded in intercultural translation allows for an analytical space that captures the movement between speech ideas and speech practices.

The study of intercultural translation includes the analysis of the process of creation and incorporation of ideologies to particular themes and language forms. Centering the analysis on the ideological movement in speech communication requires to note, on the one hand, how utterances contribute to unify and centralize speech genres into a common semantic referent by exercising a centripetal force. On the other hand, how these expressions intensify socially diversify speech types through the dynamics of decentralization and diversification by exerting a centrifugal force. In Bakhtin’s sense the centripetal forces of language or “unitary language” are the “theoretical expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization (...) forces that unite and centralize verbal-ideological thought, creating within a heteroglot national language the firm, stable linguistic nucleus of an officially recognized literary language, or else defending an already formed language from the pressure of growing heteroglossia” (2011, 270-271). And centrifugal forces or stratifying language forces are those that contribute to social and historical heteroglossia or social diversity of speech types ensuring dynamic processes of decentralization and diversification. I posit that in translation centripetal forces and centrifugal forces are exerted when the emphasis is placed on equivalence or equivocation respectively.

Table 2

Force	Dynamics	Relations
Centripetal	Unify / Centralize	Equivalence
Centrifugal	Diversify /Decentralize	Equivocation

A third possible movement is to recognize that words have a dialogic orientation. Bakhtin argued that “no living word relates to its object in a singular way” (2011: 276). There is an internal dialogic inter-orientation of the word highlighted through translation. Interaction gives a specific environment for a living word. Bakhtin argues that through dialogic interaction the word finds its object and conceptualizes its socio-verbal intelligibility. The analysis of intercultural translation brings us up close to the mixing of languages and social heteroglossia as it unfolds between words and objects casting light to the shadows of the dialogic inter-orientation. And thus, the analysis of intercultural translation could bring a lens into the internal dialogism of the word.

The dialogic orientation of the word is addressed when the juxtaposition of speech genres displays how in each and speech every speech act there is no neutral meaning of a word. Each meaning of a word and its concrete expressive pattern is linked to the conditions of speech. Intercultural translation elucidates on the changeable and adaptable quality of language forms by exposing how they relate to particular social accents. Beyond recognition, intercultural translation builds an understanding of the word based in the particular contexts where it takes a concrete form. Signification is a generative process that involves the interrelationship between the utterance’s theme with the possible meanings of linguistic forms, and the evaluative orientation taken by those involved in the speech communication process (Volosinov, 1986).

Example 1: *Bix a beel*

The first example shows a multilingual communication exchange about greeting questions in Yucatec Maya, Spanish, and English that happened during a lecture given at UIMQROO. This particular talk about greeting questions was a repeated example between professors and students across first semesters of English and Yucatec Maya classes at the University. This exchange occurred during the first weeks initiating the school year. The lecturer, professor Ángel Ucan Dzul, is a multilingual speaker who self-identifies as Maya. He has taught language classes (English and Yucatec Maya), translation, and comparative grammar for the past nine years at the University and recently published a Yucatec Maya learning method (Ucan Dzul & Ballote Blanco 2017).

The passage starts with the lecturer speaking about himself as being a speaker of English, Yucatec Maya, and Spanish. The lecturer says in lines 1-4 “Let’s assume someone here says, well I am a speaker of of English, and the other, I am a speaker of Maya, and the other of Spanish.” The first lines of the passage set up the juncture for students to imagine a multilingual environment and multilingual subjects. According to Claire Kramsch, multilingual subjects “occupy an embodied, socially and culturally inflected third space in language” (2006: 97) -a space that affords multilingual subjects the possibility to imagine and develop a multiple sense of self.

Then, the lecturer asks in line 5 “How does each one ask for things?” Here the lecturer is asking students to locate themselves among these languages and identities as multilingual subjects. That is, to use their ability to discern among scenarios based on the possibilities of cross-linguistic suggestions. The call is accentuated further when the lecturer mentions translation as the site through which speakers would find themselves in this position, in line 7.

The extract continues by juxtaposing two greeting questions: one in Spanish, “¿Cómo estás?” and one in English, “How are you?” In lines 8 and 9, the lecturer indexes a particular linguistic identity by reiterating “One says, well eh, one says ¿Cómo estás? Yes?” - “The Spanish says ¿Cómo estás?”. This association of a particular language form to an identity is then juxtaposed to a greeting question in English on line 10, “The English is going to say, *how are you?* Right?” Through these instances, the lecturer is relating greeting questions in two languages to particular linguistic identities. Ochs (1996) argued that language socialization is in part the process of assigning situational meaning to a specific form. Through this example, we see how greeting questions and linguistic identities are linked.

Next, the lecturer asks students for the similar greeting question in Yucatec Maya by saying in line 11 “And the Maya?” Two students in the class provide the same answer “*Bix a beel*” (lines 12 and 13). This elicitation and response sequence typical of classroom discourse (Mehan 1979) not only requires active listening on the part of students in order to follow the interactional exchange, but also some previous knowledge of greetings in the three languages.

It is important to notice that the question, “And the Maya?” (line 11), is placed side by side to the greeting questions provided in Spanish and Maya (lines 8-10). Through this juxtaposition, the lecturer is asking students to produce a co-occurrence relationship between these greeting examples in Spanish and English by providing the similar Yucatec Maya example of a greeting question.

Example 1: *Bix a beel*

Interactant	Transcription	Translation to English	Dialogic Movements
Lecturer	Supongamos que alguien de aquí diga No pues yo soy el, yo soy hablante de de inglés, y el otro, ah yo soy hablante de maya y el otro de español. Bien tienen tres ¿Cómo piden las cosas cada quién? El el como se llama Una traducción se va a encontrar con esto uno dice, bueno eh, uno dice, ¿Cómo estás? ¿Sí? El español dice, ¿Cómo estás? El el inglés va a decir, <i>How are you?</i> ¿No? ¿Y el maya? <i>Bix a beel!</i>	1 Let's assume someone here says 2 well I am a speaker of of English 3 and the other, ah I am a speaker of Maya 4 and the other of Spanish. Good you have three 5 How does each one ask for things? 6 The the what is the name 7 A translation will deal with this 8 one says, well eh, one says ¿Cómo estás? Yes? 9 The Spanish says, ¿Cómo estás? 10 The English is going to say, <i>How are you?</i> Right? 11 And the Maya? 12 <i>Bix a beel!</i>	Juxtaposition of social identities English, Yucatec Maya, and Spanish
Student 1	<i>Bix a beel!</i> Ahora si, si vamos en ¿Cómo estás? Dices, bueno estoy bien, ¿no? <i>How are you?</i> ¿no? Es el el I am Tiene equivalencia en en en español ¿Y en Maya? <i>Bix a beel</i> , dicen	13 <i>Bix a beel!</i> 14 Now if, if we go to ¿Cómo estás? 15 You say, well I am ok, right? 16 <i>How are you?</i> ¿right? 17 Is the the I am 18 it has equivalence in in in Spanish 19 And in Maya? <i>Bix a beel</i> , you say	Monoglossic Language Ideology Spanish/English Equivalence
Student 2	<i>Bix a beel!</i> Si se dan cuenta el, uno es el estar en en como dice, en español pues vamos a trabajar el cómo estás en tu, en tu persona En maya te va a decir cómo está pero tu camino, dice, ¿no? Aunque <i>beel</i> tiene dos significados <i>Beel</i> le tienen puesto toro ¿no? ¿no? ¿Cómo está tu toro? Me dice, ¿no? Que (...) ¿Cómo está tu toro? Pues mi toro yo no soy, no soy vaquero, ¿no? Bien	20 <i>Bix a beel!</i> 21 If you notice the, one is to be in in 22 how do you say, in Spanish, because we are going to work 23 how are you in your, in your person 24 In Maya it will say how is 25 but your path, says, right? 26 Although <i>beel</i> has two meanings 27 <i>Beel</i> has been put as bull right? right? 28 <i>How is your bull?</i> It tells me, right? 29 What (...) <i>How is your bull?</i> Well my bull I am not, I am not a cowboy, right? Good	Centrifugal Forces Heteroglossic language ideology Centrifugal Forces Word Dialogism (<i>Beel</i> as bull) Juxtaposition of Word Dialogism to the Discursive Genre
Student 3	<i>Beel</i> es cochino Dicen <i>beel</i> ¿No? Ah no <i>beel</i> es verraco, ¿no? No es verraco, cochino	30 I am not, I am not a cowboy, right? Good 31 <i>Beel</i> is pig 32 You say <i>beel</i> , right? 33 Ah no <i>Beel</i> is boar, right? 34 Is not boar, pig	Word Dialogism (<i>Beel</i> as pig) Word Dialogism (<i>Beel</i> as boar)
Lecturer	Ah no <i>beel</i> es verraco, ¿no? No es verraco, cochino Ah ¿Cómo está tu cochino? No pues no, ni cochino soy, ¿no? Bien entonces si se dan cuenta son distintas las formas de comunicación pero todas llevan hacia una idea preguntar el estado de ánimo de la persona uno es de la persona y el otro se enfoca en lo que es el camino quizás espiritual o quizás que corre el humano	35 Ah, <i>how is your pig?</i> 36 No well no, I am not a pig, right? 37 Well then if you notice 38 the communication forms are different 39 but they all lead to one idea 40 to ask about a person's mood 41 one is about the person and the other focuses 42 on what is maybe spiritual path 43 or maybe what the human goes through	Juxtaposition of Word Dialogism to the Speech Genre Centrifugal Forces Heteroglossic language ideology Centrifugal Forces Heteroglossic language ideology Centrifugal Forces Heteroglossic language ideology Word Dialogism (<i>Beel</i> as spiritual path or what the human goes through)

Previous research on the nature and purpose of question-answer sequences in classroom activity has distinguished between “known information” and “information-seeking” questions. Mehan (1979) argued, “when a known information question is being asked, the questioner already has the answer” (285). In contrast, in information-seeking questions, the questioner does not have the answer. According to Mehan, question-answer sequences have a three-part structure that may be extended when not followed by an immediate response. It follows that the teacher may employ a series of strategies to prompt a reply, such as eliciting the reply, repeating the question, or simplifying it. Mehan argued that when asking a known information question, the interaction continues until someone produces the expected answer.

A significant component of the question-answer instructional interaction is the evaluation, whereby participants in the conversation arrive at an acceptable reply. However, even when we might think that “*Bix a beel*” was the answer that the lecturer was seeking, in this particular example the lecturer does not provide an evaluation of the students’ response. Instead, the lecturer makes a series of meta-commentaries about the compared greeting questions. Through these meta-commentaries, the lecturer contrasts their meanings, exposing the equivocation.

Looking at the excerpt we see how the lecturer contrasts the meaning of Spanish and Yucatec Maya greeting questions by saying in lines 21 to 25: “if you notice the, one is to be in in, how do you say, in Spanish, well we are going to work how are you in your, in your person, in Maya it will say how is but your path...” Through these meta-commentaries, the lecturer initiates a dialogic exploration of the different perspectives and understandings of these greeting questions. These meta-commentaries also denote possible connotations of actual worlds and move away from assuming a coincidence of these greeting questions. I argue that these meta-commentaries are dialogic because of how they disrupt an assumed equivalence and function as thinking devices generating new meanings and understandings between speech genres.

The lecturer continues by recognizing that words like “*beel*” in Yucatec Maya have a dialogic orientation. The lecturer addresses the dialogic inter-orientation of the word *beel* when he says in lines 26 and 27, “although *beel* has two meanings *beel* has been put as bull right? Right?” He then accepts the other meanings of the word *beel* given by student 4 in lines 31 and 34. He then actually contrasts the meaning of the word *beel* to bull by translating the greeting question in Maya provided by students “*Bix a beel*” (lines 12 and 13) to Spanish “¿*Cómo está tu toro?*” (line 28). Further, he contends that “Well my bull I am not, I am not a cowboy, right?” (lines 29 and 30). Through this passage (lines 18-21) the lecturer recognizes that interaction creates a specific environment for a living word. Bakhtin argues that, through dialogic interaction, the word finds its object and conceptualizes its socio-verbal intelligibility.

This dialogic process implies that each object has its history of acts of recognition, or what he describes as “the socially heteroglot multiplicity of names, definitions and value judgments” (Bakhtin 2011: 278). The analysis of intercultural translation brings us up close to the mixing of languages and social heteroglossia as it unfolds between words and objects, casting light into the shadows of the dialogic inter-orientation *through* and *to* the internal dialogism of a word. Moreover, it points to the expressive factors of the words and greeting questions. Emotion, as a situated activity, is embodied through the practices adopted by participants to take up stances toward the activity -in this case, the translation

of each greeting question. However, not all affective displays take the form of emotional words. Emotion, without vocabulary, is displayed through emphatic speech styles such as the one included in the translation “How is your bull?” (line 20), and through the statement “Well my bull I am not, I am not a cowboy.”

In their review of language socialization research, Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) posited that through the processes of socialization, cultural knowledge is communicated, instantiated, and reproduced, but also negotiated, contested, and transformed. What happens next is related to this claim, as one of the students in the classroom produces a clarifying statement regarding the meaning of the Yucatec Maya word *beel*. The student says, “*Beel* is pig” (line 31) and “Is not boar, pig” (line 34) during the interaction. The student’s clarification is accompanied by a turn from the lecturer, recognizing that in effect the other meaning of the word “*beel*” is not bull but boar (lines 32 and 33), but after the student’s insistence in line 25, the lecturer transforms his translation of the greeting question in Yucatec Maya from “*how is your bull?*” (line 28) to “*ah how is your pig?*” (line 35). These moment-to-moment responses are considered by language socialization literature as adaptation sequences and are part of the inter-dialogical orientation of the word. Baquedano-López, Solís & Kattan define adaptation sequences as the “set of improvisational and strategic processes carried out by teachers and students as they negotiate tensions arising from ongoing activity” (2005: 2). In the example, the lecturer adapts his translation to include the understanding of the word *beel* provided by the student.

The lecturer returns to signal the dialogic nature of language by commenting how each greeting question has a particular meaning, in lines 37 and 38, “well then if you notice the communication forms are different.” Despite making this distinction, the lecturer connects all greeting questions to a theme by stating in lines 39-40 that “but they all lead to one idea to ask about a person’s mood” However, in the case of Spanish and Yucatec Maya this state has a different object. In the case of Spanish or English, the focus is on the person (line 41), and in the case of Yucatec Maya, he argues, it is perhaps related more to the spiritual path or what the human goes through (lines 42 and 43).

These rationalizations of a speech genre encompass the linguistic ideologies of a particular greeting practice in Yucatec Maya articulated by a Maya speaker. Ideologies presented as rationalizations of the structure and use, in this case of greeting questions in three languages, deepen our understanding of the relational possibilities of each corresponding speech act by focusing on the potentially expressive qualities of each communicative practice within a particular social world. Moreover, they express the local theories of discourse practices of a multilingual environment and how distinct social meanings are derived from each form through interactional use.

Example 2: Question Particle *Wáaj*

The next communication exchange also focuses on a question form in Yucatec Maya. The particle *wáaj* is one of the forms used to mark questions. The standard norms for writing the Yucatec Maya language, published in 2014 by the *Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* (National Indigenous Languages Institute, better known by its acronym INALI), include the question particle *wáaj* along with three other question forms. Yucatec Maya does not use question marks for writing questions. There are specific words used to formulate questions. One of the words used to express questions is the

word *bix* (for how), included in example one: *Bix a beel*. Now I turn to another question form exemplified through the use of the question particle *wáaj*. According to the standard norm for Yucatec Maya, *wáaj* can be situated in the middle or at the end, but never at the beginning when articulating a question.

The communication exchange occurred during the conversation section of a second level Yucatec Maya class. The lecturer, Hilario Poot Cahun, studied for his bachelor's degree in Language and Culture at the University from 2008-2012 and finished the core courses of the Master's degree in Intercultural Education offered by the University. He started to work as a language teacher three months after his graduation, in Spring 2013, and has taught Yucatec Maya, translation, and interpretation courses for the past five years. He is from Tihosuco, one of the communities mentioned in the example.

The whole class exchange on the question particle *wáaj* lasted roughly 9 minutes, followed by an exercise where students had to work in pairs using the expressions that were previously learned. The focus on the question particle *wáaj* emerged when the lecturer explained to students how to transform a statement into a question by adding the question particle *wáaj*. The excerpt starts with the lecturer clarifying that there is no rule of where the question particle *wáaj* should go in a sentence (lines 1 and 2).

The lecturer remarks were followed by a meaning-seeking question from a student: "Does *wáaj* have any meaning or is it just to mark a question?" (lines 3 and 4). The student question is already providing an answer. That is, that the particle *wáaj* is used to mark a question. In the next turn (line 5), the lecturer's first impulse is to repeat the last part of the student's question. However, he rephrases his statement to say that *wáaj* is used so as not to put a question mark (line 5 and 6).

The exchange between the lecturer and the student reveals that the question particle *wáaj* has no equivalent translation in Spanish. However, the juxtaposition of literacy practice in Yucatec Maya, the use of the question particle *wáaj*, and one particular literacy practice in Spanish, the use of question marks, shapes a relationship between the two literacy practices. A relation that does not rely on having an equivalent meaning of *wáaj* in Spanish but on the function the question particle has when compared to the use of question marks. Translation processes transform the equivocation between the forms into a commensurable relationship by examining the unique functions of these literacy practices for writing questions in two languages.

The excerpt continues with the lecturer contrasting the use of *wáaj* as part of the academic standard for Yucatec Maya to the contracted form that questions take for different speakers and regions of the Yucatán peninsula. By stating "There is, for example, if you go with a grandpa [elder], for example; you will hear him say here, that he would contract it with just one *a*" (lines 9-11). In this manner, the lecturer opens up space for students to valorize the nonstandard varieties of Yucatec Maya and the practices that occur outside the university context. This critical examination on the part of the lecturer is further accentuated when he juxtaposes the use of *wáaj* to its contracted form in lines 13-16 and again in lines 18-21.

Example 2: Question Particle *Wáaj*

Participant	Transcription	Translation to English	Dialogic Movements
Lecturer	Como les dije no hay una regla que nos diga dónde tiene que ir <i>wáaj</i> en la norma	As I told you there is no rule that says where <i>wáaj</i> goes in the norm	Centrifugal Forces Monoglossic language ideology Translation
Student	¿Tiene algún significado <i>wáaj</i> o sólo es para marcar que es pregunta?	Does <i>wáaj</i> have any meaning or is it just to mark a question?	
Lecturer	es para mar es para no poner el <i>signo de interrogación</i>	Is to mar is for not to put the <i>signo de Interrogación</i>	Juxtaposition of literacy practices In Spanish and Yucatec Maya
Student	<i>de interrogación</i> pero también en Maya se contrae esto se contrae absolutamente	<i>de interrogación</i> but also in Maya it contracts this is contracted absolutely	Centrifugal Forces Heteroglossic language ideology
Lecturer	Hay, por ejemplo, si vas con un abuelito, por ejemplo; lo vas a escuchar que va a decir aquí, que lo va a contraer con sólo una <i>a</i>	There is, for example, if you go with a grandpa [elder], for example; you will hear him say here, that he would contract it with just one <i>a</i>	
Student	Así nada más lo va a decir	just like that he would say it	
Lecturer	<i>Ka báaxitka basquet tulaákal miércoles</i> así se lo van a escribir que tenga la <i>a</i> ,	<i>Ka báaxitka basquet tulaákal miércoles</i> that is how are going to write it having an <i>a</i> ,	Juxtaposition of speech genres in Yucatec Maya
Student	<i>Ka báaxitka</i> en lugar de que diga	<i>Ka báaxitka</i> instead of saying it	The use of <i>wáaj</i> or its contracted form with an <i>a</i>
Lecturer	van a escuchar la <i>a</i> que es el <i>wáaj</i> contraído no sé si han escuchado a algún mayahablante	You will hear the <i>a</i> that is the contracted <i>wáaj</i> I do not know if you have heard any Maya speaker	
Student	En lugar que diga	Instead of saying	Maya speakers
Lecturer	<i>Ka báaxitk wáaj basquet</i>	<i>Ka báaxitk wáaj basquet</i>	Juxtaposition of social identities
Student	pues va a decir	well is going to say	
Lecturer	<i>Ka báaxitka basquet tulaákal miércoles</i>	<i>Ka báaxitka basquet tulaákal miércoles</i>	
Student	Van a escuchar la <i>a</i> y les van a decir	You will hear the <i>a</i> and they will tell you	
Lecturer	¿Pero de dónde salió?	But where did it come from?	
Student	Es el <i>wáaj</i> que se contrae	Is the <i>wáaj</i> that is contracted	
Lecturer	se contrae porque los mayahablantes nunca lo dicen	it is contracted because Maya speakers never say it	
Student	Creo que, por ahí de Yucatán, en el centro de Yucatán y en Campeche	I believe out there in Yucatán, in the center of Yucatán and in Campeche	
Lecturer	si se escucha mucho el <i>wáaj</i> .	yes, you hear a lot the <i>wáaj</i>	
Student	Yo aquí en Morelos aprendí a decir por las clases.	I learned here in Morelos to say it because of the classes.	Use of <i>wáaj</i> in Central Yucatán and Campeche
Lecturer	En Tlhosuco no decimos el <i>wáaj</i>	In Tlhosuco we do not say the <i>wáaj</i>	
Student	y de ahí lo empezamos a usar también con mis compañeros de cuarto	and from there we started using it with my roommates	<i>Wáaj</i> in its contracted form <i>a</i> in Tlhosuco
Lecturer	como de broma pero se nos quedó.	as a joke but it stayed with us.	
Student	Ahora sí lo digo cuando hablo con mis compañeros mayahablantes.	Now I say it when I speak with my Maya speaker comrades	
Lecturer	En Tlhosuco, en Tepich, incluso aquí en Morelos.	In Tlhosuco, in Tepich, even here in Morelos.	Use of <i>wáaj</i> in Morelos
Student	No, aquí en Morelos si se usa mucho el <i>wáaj</i> .	No, here in Morelos the <i>wáaj</i> is used a lot	
Lecturer	Digo porque mis vecinos ahí donde rento hablan Maya y lo dicen cuando me preguntan algo dicen el <i>wáaj</i> , <i>Jbinech wáaj</i> , <i>Jbinech wáaj</i> <i>K'i'iwik</i>	I say it because of my neighbors from where I rent who speak Maya and say it when they ask me something they say the <i>wáaj</i> , <i>Jbinech wáaj</i> , <i>Jbinech wáaj</i> <i>K'i'iwik</i> and in Maya in Tlhosuco they would say	Centrifugal Forces Heteroglossic language ideology
Student	y en Maya en Tlhosuco van a decir	<i>Jbinecha K'i'iwik</i> , you would just hear the <i>a</i> ,	Juxtaposition of speech genres in Yucatec Maya from Morelos and Tlhosuco
Lecturer	<i>Jbinecha K'i'iwik</i> , solo van a escuchar el <i>a</i> .	<i>Jbinecha K'i'iwik</i> .	
Student	<i>Jbinecha K'i'iwik</i> .		

It is important to note that with the juxtaposition of utterances, *ka báaxtik wáaj basquet* (Do you play basketball?), and *ka báatika basquet tuláakal miercoles* (Do you play basketball every Wednesday?), in lines 19 and 21, the lecturer is relating the utterance to what a Maya speaker would or would not say.

After contrasting these two forms the lecturer states on lines 24 and 25, “Is the *wáaj* that is contracted it is contracted because Maya speakers never say it.” This statement inquires about what a Maya speaker does not do in relation to the standard form of *wáaj* taught in university classrooms. Moreover, it engages a pedagogic dynamic that does not conform to monoglossic norms and opens up the space for fluid linguistic practices making of particle *wáaj* the object of language awareness. This metapragmatic practice on the part of the lecturer is then contextualized by spatially locating the regions in the Yucatán Peninsula where Maya speakers use the question particle *wáaj* or its contracted form. The lecturer says, “I believe out there in Yucatán, in the center of Yucatán and in Campeche yes you hear a lot the *wáaj*” (lines 26 to 28). By stating “out there,” the lecturer makes the use of question particle *wáaj* a remote practice from another Maya region in the Yucatán: a literacy practice that he learned to use because of the university classes (lines 29 and 30), a practice that is not used in his hometown as he says, “In Tihosuco we do not say *wáaj*” (line 31). It is a practice that stayed with him after making jokes with his roommates (lines 32-34), a new form of asking questions that he now uses with his colleagues at the University (lines 35 and 36).

Emotion as a situated activity is embodied through the practices adopted by participants to take up stances toward a social activity. In this particular case when the lecturer mentions how he used to make jokes with his classmates to socialize themselves in the use of the standard form. Emotion without vocabulary is displayed through emphatic speech styles such as: intonation contours, stress emphasis, and raised volume, which are all present when making jokes. Affect displays are common conversational features that are part bidirectional socialization processes.

With these statements, the lecturer raises critical awareness of different locations for speech and literacy practices. Moreover, about how these practices redefine the linguistic identity of a Maya speaker who uses the standard and non-standard form when asking a question. In closing, the lecturer juxtaposes these communicative behaviors and locations by presenting how the same question is asked in Morelos (the location of the University), and his hometown Tihosuco. He comments: “I say it because of my neighbors from where I rent who speak Maya and say it when they ask me something they say the *wáaj, jbinech wáaj, jbinech wáaj k’íiwik*” (lines 39-41). He then adds what people in his hometown would say, stating “and in Maya in Tihosuco they would say *jbinecha k’íiwik* you would just hear the *a, jbinecha k’íiwik*” (lines 49-52).

It is important to note that, “the theme of an ideological sign and the form of an ideological sign are intrinsically bound together and are separable only in the abstract” (Volosinov, 1986: 22). What is particularly important is that his exposition is based on a multiplicity of styles and the interrelationships between them and particular local identities. His commentaries offer a comparative perspective to the standard-based prescriptivism that regularly ranks speakers and rejects non-standard forms. Instead of presenting the standard as the correct form naturalizing a hierarchy among variants, he addresses linguistic differences by expressing how language forms may be conceived as multiple. Moreover, the expressive factors deployed through phonological features in the lecturer’s

utterances go beyond a purely linguistic description and definition of speech styles. By presenting his neighbors utterances and contrasting them to his own way of speaking, students become aware of the dialogic relationship between the forms. Moreover, his dialogic presentation not only reflects the preexisting identities, that of a scholar from a university and a community member, but actively tell the ways in which the reproduction, construction, and transformation of identity is linked to particular communication forms (Rosa & Burdick, 2017).

Moreover, through all these metacommentaries the lecturer is showing students how he coped with standard language ideologies that support the use of particular forms in language, such as particle *wáaj* when asking questions. By presenting his own positions about the use of particle *wáaj*, the lecturer exposes the sociocultural factors indexed by each particular form. With these statements, the lecturer raises a critical awareness of different locations for speech and literacy practices. Moreover, how these literacy and speech practices redefine the linguistic identity of a Maya speaker who uses a standard and non-standard form when asking a question.

Developing critical language awareness as to the different locations where Yucatec Maya is spoken is of paramount importance, as the University is located in the central southern part of the Yucatán peninsula, Mexico. In the academic year 2017-2018, students migrated from more than 116 Maya communities distributed among five states. Migration contexts such as UIMQROO bring the opportunity to analyze translation as part of critical language awareness. In general, intercultural translation was a constant pedagogical communication of Yucatec Maya classes. Examples focused on different cultural forms and their relationship to Maya literacy practice. Students participation and responses to intercultural translation varied to the degree in which they allowed space for multiple understandings to be part of their lives. For example, in the exercised that followed the introduction of question particle *wáaj* the student who I worked with decided to use the contracted version of *wáaj* as she was from a neighboring community where this variant is used, at the same time that she became aware of the standard form taught at the University.

Example 3: *jbinecha* versus *jbinech wáaj*

In the well-known book, *Discourse Strategies*, John Gumperz stated that language was central to education. Mainly because students speaking minority dialects did less well than students speaking the standard variety. He argued that to understand the role of language in education required a new perspective on “how linguistic signs interact with social knowledge in discourse” (Gumperz 1982, 29). Therefore, the final example of the chapter broadens the analysis of intercultural translation by including the communicative exchanges of classroom activity that followed cross-cultural translation instances. The objective is to understand the uptake students had of linguistic signs and the cultural knowledge introduced by the lecturer through intercultural translation. That is to attend to the social knowledge and interpretative strategies displayed during the communicative activities of the lesson designed to use the linguistic forms and sociocultural knowledge. In sum, the final example focuses on the situated interpretation processes, both linguistic and social, present in classroom interaction. Special attention is given to interpretative

methods of referential practice (Hanks, 1990) as they become part of social construction through interaction.

The example shows how intercultural frames are present in conversational interaction. It describes the sort of alternatives students considered when regarding the use of the standard form of question particle *wáaj* vis-à-vis the contracted version used in her hometown. Nadia (Pseudonym) is originally from a neighboring community to Tihosuco where the contracted version of question particle *wáaj* is used. When introducing herself to the class at the beginning of the second semester she stated understanding Yucatec Maya but not speaking it, “*si lo entiendo pero no lo hablo*” [I understand it but I do not speak it], she said.

Nadia and I worked together developing a conversation similar to the one presented by the lecturer. A conversation which included the activities we usually do along with a couple of greetings and farewell turns. We worked together developing our conversation. After making decisions on the greeting turns, Nadia stop to say she wanted to include what the lecturer had introduced to us. However, she was uncertain of how to do it and thus reached out to one of her classmates for clarification. The excerpt contains Nadia’s request for help and the conversational turns that followed. It is important to note, that we both were writing and looking at our notebooks during our conversational interaction.

The excerpt starts with Nadia saying to me in line 1, “and if we put that the profe made us, *bak*”. I interpreted her turn as a request to include what the lecturer had just explained. In our moment-to-moment exchange, I inferred the indexical “*ese*” (that) and the expression *bak* at the end of her turn referred to the question particle *wáaj*. Therefore, following her suggestion, I said, on my next turn in line 2, “*ah, jbinech, entonces te voy a decir, u’uyech, sería, binech wáaj k’íiwik, pero*” (ah, you went, then I am going to say to you, listen, it would be, did you go to the park, but). I mentioned this at the same time that I was writing on my notebook the suggested turn of our made-up conversation. Therefore, I paused a second between each word of the phrase *jbinech wáaj k’íiwik*.

Nadia’s next turn in line 3 included both the question particle *wáaj* followed by *jbinech* (you went) with a pause of 0.2 seconds between the two. Next, I checked if what I said in Yucatec Maya was what I thought it was in Spanish by asking her if ***u’uyech jbinech wáaj k’íiwik*** was in Spanish, “¿Oye fuiste al parque?” (line 4). The juxtaposition of Yucatec Maya and Spanish in my turn posed a clarification question grounded on my lack of knowledge of the aspectual form that I was using. The question ***jbinech wáaj k’íiwik***, included in the lecturer’s example, contained the complete aspect of the verb to go, that is a grammatical category that expresses a completed action. In this case, the completed act of going to the market. It is important to note, that up to this moment the class had only been working with one aspect of a verb, the habitual aspect. Nadia, also hesitated, but her hesitation was centered around how to use the question particle *wáaj*, and no so much on the aspectual form of the verb to go. Nadia knew how to use the contracted form of question particle *wáaj* but not the standard version. She was also familiar with the complete aspect of the verb to go. In her next turns (lines 6 and 8), Nadia asked Tesa (pseudonym) if it was ok to say ***jbinech wáaj*** putting in practice for the first time the standard form. Tesa who was sitting at the same table but working with another classmate attended her request for help.

L#	Nadia	Gabriela	Tesa
1	Y si ponemos ese que nos hizo el profe bak		
2	And if we put that which did the profe bak		
3		Ah, jbinech , entonces te voy a decir, u'uyech , Ah,, you went, then I am going to tell you, listen, sería, binech (0.1) wáaj (0.1) K'iíwík , pero it would be, did you go to the park, but	
4	Wáaj (0.2) jbinech ((particle wáaj)) you went		
5		O sea es: ¿Oye fuiste al parque? ¿Es eso? That is to say, listen did you go to the park? Is that it?	
6	<i>En verdad</i> Tesa Truly Tesa		
7			<i>Mande</i> Tell me
8	¿Está bien así? Is it ok like this		
9		No sé si se escribe así porque I do not know if you write park like this	
10	jbinech wáaj Did you go? ((particle wáaj))	U'uyej Listen	
11		jbinech wáaj Did you go? ((particle wáaj))	
12		Porque es que él dijo que era, jbinecha Because he said that it was, did you go? ((contracted form))	
13	jbinecha Did you go? ((contracted form))		jbinech wáaj k'iíwík Did you go to the park? Park ((particle wáaj))
14		Que si cómo dices: fuiste al parque That how do you say: Did you go to the park	
15	No sé, porque yo así uso I do not know because I use it like this		
16	jbinecha Did you go? ((contracted form))	jbinecha Did you go? ((contracted form))	
17		ah bueno pues lo quitamos, jbinecha ah well we remove it, did you go ((contracted form))	
18			
19	No		
20	No		No, está bien porque el prof No, it is ok because the prof
21			Para el profe así es For the profe this is it
22		Ah ok, entonces	
23	jbinech wáaj k'iíwík Did you go to the park? ((Particle wáaj))	Ah ok, then jbinech wáaj k'iíwík Did you go to the park? ((particle wáaj))	

Requests for help are part of clarification exchanges (Ochs, 1984) in classroom interaction that contribute to display and adapt cognitive and social conventions. In this manner, requests for help are also part of the adaptation processes (Baquedano-López, Solís, and Kattan, 2005) of classroom discourse whereby teachers and/or students strategically negotiate the tensions through and into classroom activity. As such this type of recurrent speech communication taps into the continuous negotiations and coordinated involvement among participants, illustrating the clarification and adaptation processes that regulate interaction while participants collaborate with each other. Nadia's request for help encapsulated in the clarification question, "*¿Está bien así?*" (Is it ok like this), in line 8. She said it while showing her notebook to Tesa. The Spanish adverb "*así*" in her question not only constructed an indexical reference to what she wrote in her notebook but was indicative of a particular way or form. I intervened in her request by asking if the word for -park- in our question was correctly spelled in line 9, "I do not know if you write park like this," showing my notebook and also using the Spanish adverb "*así*" as indicative of what I was showing.

In what followed Nadia and I attended, almost at the same time, to the particular form in question. Nadia said in line 10, "***jbinech wáaj***" (Did you go?) and I, "***u'uyech***" (listen). I followed Nadia's previous turn in line 11 by repeating, "***jbinech wáaj***". Followed by my understanding of what the lecturer tried to convey while giving the sample question, and that was part of a clarification of one of the particular forms in question indexed by the Spanish adverb "*así*" (like this). I said in line 12, "*Porque es que él dijo que era, jbinecha*" (Because he said that it was, did you go?). I was presenting the contracted form in question. Tesa answered by using the standard form followed by the word ***k'íiwik*** (central plaza or market), iterated twice to produce the right spelling for the word ***k'íiwik*** in line 13, "***jbinech wáaj k'íiwik, k'íiwik***".

Ochs (2002, p. 103) maintains that cultural expectations "do not typically take the form of explicit instructions but rather must be inferred from performances of conventionally, socially coordinated activities, and interpretative practices." To infer the situational expectations interactants need to contextualize actions, stances, and participants concerning present and future events even in the presence of more than one activity. These processes allow participants to define and transform actions that are taking place.

In this manner, two different processes identified by language socialization theory through which participants may index and modify the activities taking place. First, Ochs presented clarification as the discourse procedure participants display to construct "socially valued epistemologies." According to Ochs, participants use to "index members' views of knowledge, particularly members' views on the limits of knowledge (what is known) and the paths to knowledge (how to attain knowledge)" (1984, 329). Recently, Baquedano-López, Solís, and Kattan (2005) proposed a new method and theoretical understanding of adaptation as the agential process whereby learning and knowledge negotiation take place in educational spaces, such as the classroom, were students negotiate through interaction hybrid affordances of their environment and previous knowledge. They distinguished their definition from previous ones by focusing on the process rather than in procedures. Adaptation is thus seen as

"A set of improvisational and strategic processes carried out by teachers and students as they negotiate tensions arising from ongoing activity. The responses to those tensions mediate a productive reorganization of both the cognitive and social parameters of learning activity. These reorganizations include, on the cognitive

level, a change in how participants employ symbolic and material tools. On the social level they are conveyed in the emergence of roles and responsibilities assumed by participants” (Baquedano-López, Solís, & Kattan, 2005, 2)

The above is echoed through our interaction as Nadia expressed that she used the contracted question form, in lines 16 and 17, as a response to my question on line 15. Through these turns Nadia disclosed that she did not know how to use the standard form because she used the contracted one, “*no sé, porque yo así uso, **jbinecha***” (I do not know because I use it like this, did you go?). I responded to her disclosure by suggesting to remove the question particle **wáaj** from our question in lines 17 and 18, “***jbinecha**, ah bueno pues lo quitamos, **jbinecha***” (did you go? ah well we remove it, did you go?). At the same time, I scratched the question particle **wáaj** from my notebook. However, both Nadia and Tesa were against removing question particle **wáaj** (lines 19-21). Tesa explicitly added that the lecturer wanted us to use it by saying in lines 20 and 21, “*No, está bien porque el prof para el profe así es*” (No it is ok because the prof for the profe this is it). After the clarification of which form to use, both Nadia and I reached a common understanding as we simultaneously articulated a complete question including particle **wáaj** (line 23), “***jbinech wáaj k’íiwik***”.

In general, the example shows how moment-to-moment interpretation processes in classroom interaction calibrate between distinct linguistic backgrounds within culture-specific activities and practices. Moreover, how indexical reference fixes an expression to a particular educational situation influencing both cultural distinctions and cognitive categorizations. And how context enriches the meaning of linguistic expressions in which they become used and framed through interaction. Finally, how by focusing on the presuppositions and entitlements (Silverstein, 2003) among participants shared knowledge is attained, as well as, the collaborative forms that referential practice takes.

Incommensurability was present in the example in the form of the lack of common ground or shared interpretation of what the lecturer tried to convey through his case. A common ground that depended on knowing the standard form of question particle **wáaj**, and learning to navigate between the contracted version and this form. This is indicative that even when intercultural translation provides a source of speech differentiation, it does not rule inter-community linguistic and cultural variability. Other social frameworks and their ideologies are called into action when students work together between these forms. And have significant effects on how students interact with each other and make decisions on which types to use.

In this chapter, I described intercultural translation as a contact language practice that is present in multilingual classroom interactions. Intercultural translation is still an understudied contact art (Pratt 1991), because of how the processes of living interaction in language discourse are studied focusing on linguistic aspects, more than the dialogical inter-communication processes encountered in translation. The study of intercultural translation brings forth an emphasis on how we come to know other ways of doing, understanding, and being, and centers on the dynamic processes of language contact in multilingual contexts. The chapter introduced a particular form of intercultural translation that functions as a contact language practice where different means of cross-language interaction and interpretation take place.

I revised Mikhail Bakhtin’s reflection on the discourse in the novel to unpack the dialogized nature of this type of intercultural translation. Following his work, I proposed to look at these instances as secondary speech genres. A secondary speech genre is a

form of organized cultural communication by which utterances come into contact through the juxtaposition of their semantic ties. This dialogic interchange presents semantic relationships as worldviews, viewpoints, and social voices beyond a linguistic analysis. Moreover, the article focused on how centripetal and centrifugal ideological forces are linked to the recognition of the dialogic inter-orientation of words, themes, and literacy practices in translation.

The study, grounded in a one-year ethnographic research endeavor, is the result of the sustained observation and analysis of language classes (Yucatec Maya, Spanish, and English) at the Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo (UIMQROO). Throughout this chapter, I have portrayed three examples to envisage a way to approach this dialogic genre and to show how students are socialized through, and into the use of intercultural translation as communicative practice. The first example describes a communication exchange about greetings in Yucatec Maya, Spanish, and English. I examined the juxtaposition of greeting structures in the three languages and the different meanings of the word *bee!* in Yucatec Maya. The analysis showed how students learn to recognize and function in distinct language domains and how translation is used to differentiate Yucatec Maya from the two hegemonic languages spoken at the University. The second example focused on the use of the question particle *wáaj* in Yucatec Maya. It contrasted the use of question marks in Spanish to the standardized form and a contracted version in Yucatec Maya. The second example described translation instances that focus on the particularities of Yucatec Maya in their communities. Takeaways from this example are essential to critical language awareness and language revitalization design, but are sometimes set aside by standard processes of language normalization and institutionalization. The final, example presented some of the difficulties encountered by students when putting in practice the speech forms introduced by intercultural translation.

The implications of the analysis of intercultural translation for classroom-based multilingual educational research are manifold. Overall the dialogic nature of intercultural translation facilitates a space within multilingual research through which the researcher may capture the movement between different ways of seeing and understanding the word and the world (Freire & Macedo 1987). It is an ethical practice against representing others. Centering intercultural translation as a unit of analysis in multilingual research practice within classroom and institutions facilitates describing the processes of language contact that are present in educational contexts. The analysis of cross-cultural interpretation processes like intercultural translation may contribute to the study of referential meanings by identifying how communicative practices indicate or abstract them. Intercultural translation as a discursive contact practice is full of diverse rhetorical forms of social dialogue that remain overshadowed each time we do not attend to living diversity and dialogic quality. Finally, intercultural translation is also a form of pedagogic communication that opens up space for critical awareness and engagement as a learning experience — a form of theoretical practice that focuses on interpretation processes without seeking to own speech. Instead, intercultural translation offers the possibility to recognize the varied forms of expression that coexist in multilingual contexts. Intercultural translation as a pedagogical process goes beyond linguistic description centering dialogue as part of classroom communication about speech. Pedagogically intercultural translation forges a space to learn of alternative cultural forms and understandings of language.

Chapter 5

Intercultural Translation in Higher Education Institutions

On February 21st, the 2018 International Mother Language Day was celebrated with multiple events at various locations around the peninsula of Yucatan. UIMQROO's professors, students, and staff joined these events as organizers, panelists, commentators, translators, rapporteurs, and attendants. One of the events took place at Cancún in the Universidad del Caribe (UNICARIBE). UIMQROO's communication coordinator with Maya leaders and communities, Mario Baltazar Collí Collí, participated in the panel with a conference title, "*Las clases de maya y la aportación de los abuelos tutores*" [Maya lessons and the contribution of grandparent tutors]. The interventions of the vice-director of applied research from INALI, Sandra Sepúlveda, who spoke about the normalization processes of national languages in Mexico, anteceded his conference. At the end of the session during the first round of questions UIMQROO's professors were asked, if the university applies Yucatec Maya norms. Professor Collí answered the question by saying:

Nosotros como profesores en la Universidad la norma sí la seguimos pero desde el punto de vista de impartir la clase, cuando el tema es gramática y cuando exhaustivamente vamos a ver morfemas, pronombres, adjetivos y obviamente cuando se escribe un material, por ejemplo, como la poesía, un ensayo científico, la norma entra. Pero nosotros es nuestro deber decirle a la estudiante, aquí estamos dando clase sistematizada con un programa previo y tú tienes dos opciones. Cuando tú seas maestro de telebachillerato, la norma también la tienes que aplicar porque partes de un alfabeto. Pero también tienes la obligación de ver la diferencia entre lo que estás dando como academia, ya sea educación indígena, secundaria, etc. y también cómo la gente está hablando, que es mucho más amplio, mucho más integral, mucho más libre de lo que quiera hablar. Si un abuelo o un padre de familia de 50 años me dice, profe yo llegué hasta tercer año de primaria pero aprendí a escribir con la H y no la J como dice la norma, hay que respetarlo, ahí la norma no entra en un sentido tajante. Sí, lo puede ver la población. Sí, lo puede usar para los niños que están en educación indígena con los libros que están hechos en Maya que siguen el alfabeto 84. Pero también hay que aprender a diferenciar lo que es una clase de salón y lo que es la población. Entonces las dos partes se tienen que explicar. No es que se esté rechazando por las poblaciones, sino de que ellos a veces hasta ni les puede interesar. Ellos aprendieron de una forma genuina, de una forma libre y de una forma más efectiva que cualquier Universidad. Ahí vimos que en 2,288 horas el niño ya habla maya después de dos años. Cuando nosotros llevamos hasta cuatro años y todavía el estudiante egresa lengua y cultura con el nivel intermedio. Entonces ahí podemos ver que lo que se hace en las ciudades, en los escritorios, por los lingüistas, por los escritores, esta bien, nosotros somos institucionales, pero también hay que entender los códigos de la sociedad para saber cuando ellos lo pueden agarrar. No que nosotros lo llevemos para que lo obliguemos. Porque cómo voy a obligar a un señor de 70 años. Hasta me puede regañar. Entonces por allá está nuestra filosofía. Nosotros cuando abrimos la intercultural se nos dijo a todos los profesores de maya, ustedes son de pueblos, son maya hablantes, que vean como las sociedades enseñan a sus hijos, tráiganlo a la universidad, y eso estamos haciendo. Ejemplos hay diferentes. El profesor Ismael sabio en gremios, sabio en ofrendas. El profesor Martiniano, cantante. El príncipe de Tihosuco, cantante. Pero combinamos lo que es nuestra cultura nativa, con la gramática, con la norma y las dos las estamos aplicando. Esa es la respuesta.

We as professors at the University, we do follow the norm but from the point of view of teaching the class, when the subject is grammar and when we exhaustively will see morphemes, pronouns, adjectives, and obviously when writing a material, for example, like poetry, a scientific essay, the norm enters. But it is our duty to tell the student, here we are giving a systematized class with a previous program, and you have two options. When you become a telebachillerato teacher, the norm also has to be applied because you start from an alphabet. However, you also have an obligation to see the difference between what you are giving like an academy, whether it is indigenous education, secondary education, etc. And also, how people are talking, which is much broader, much more integral, much freer of what you want to talk. If a grandfather or a 50-year-old father tells me, I reached until the third year of primary school but I learned to write with the H and not the J as the norm says, we must respect it, there the rule does not enter with blunt sense. Yes, the population can see it. Yes, you can use for children who are in indigenous education with books made in Maya that follow the 84 alphabet. However, you also have to learn to differentiate what is a classroom class and what is the population. Then the two parts have to explain themselves. It is not that its [the norm] being rejected by the people, but that they may not be interested in them [the norms]. They learned [Maya] in a genuine way, in a freely and in a more effective way than any University. There [his presentation] we saw that in 2,288 hours the child already speaks Maya after two years. When we take up to four years and still the student graduates from Language and Culture with the intermediate level. Then we

can see that what is done in the cities, in desks, by linguists, by writers, is fine, we are institutional, but we also have to understand the codes of society to know when they can grasp it. Not that we take it there to enforce it. Because how am I going to force a 70-year-old man. He can even scold me. Then there is our philosophy. When we opened the intercultural [University] as Maya teachers we were told, you are from towns, you are Mayan speakers, see how society teaches their children, bring it to the university, and that is what we are doing. Examples are different. Professor Ismael is wise in gremios, wise in offerings. Professor Martiniano, singer. The prince of Tihosuco, singer. However, we combine what is our native culture, with the grammar, with the norm, and we are applying both. That is the answer.

Professor Colli's answer explicitly attends to how university professors and students learn to maintain a differentiated teaching practice concerning Yucatec Maya norms. He specifically calls attention to the places and educational programs in which both professors and students would apply the norm; also, the moments in which Maya teachers and students would not enforce it, respecting and acknowledging how people relate to their language and literacy practices. He exemplifies his commentaries by pointing out the relationships between the norms, professors, and students from the university and a 50-year-old father or a 70-year-old man. Moreover, his answer addresses both language learning and Yucatec Maya norms by stating how people learn Maya outside the University and calling out the importance of bringing the university close to how society teaches Yucatec Maya to children.

In the previous chapter, I presented two examples related to how the standard form of question particle *wáaj* was introduced as part of Yucatec Maya norms vis-à-vis local variants that take a different form. In this chapter, I move away from the language classroom to the institution to describe how the university attains a differentiated teaching practice as defined in professor Colli's quote. The chapter illustrates how university discourse has structured social practice through intercultural translation producing new spaces and activities for learning Yucatec Maya. Specifically, through the introduction of *abuelos tutores* (grandparent tutors) as part of its tutoring system also called *iknal*. Moreover, how these locations and actions generate a set of relationships between the university and community members.

The chapter comprises two sections. The first section illustrates how intercultural translation was used to intervene in the institutional arrangement of the university. It describes the processes through which professors and administrators at UIMQROO translated two Spanish educational concepts promoted by the national government, *tutoría*, and *acompañamiento*, to the Yucatec Maya institutional variant of *iknal*. It focuses on the distinct discursive operations of intercultural translation as a method whereby the university proposed the Yucatec Maya word *iknal* as a hybrid educational system. *Iknal* is an inalienable possessed noun that denotes the proximal region of the bodily space that is associated to an individual or thing working as a possessor in its grammatical capacity (Hanks, 1990, 91). At the same time the concept transcends the notions of *tutoría* and *acompañamiento*, by bringing the habitual place of an individual and those in his or her presence or absence (Castillo Cocom, Rodriguez, and Ashenbrenner 2017) into the educational sphere.

This radical linguistic strategy sought to replace the tutor-student unidirectional interaction considered part of a structure of tutelage, introducing a new system of relational dispositions between teachers, students and Maya communities in the co-production of knowledge. Consequently, the section centers on how intercultural translation can be used to think about dominant educational paradigms critically. That is to reflect on epistemic spaces and ontological distinctions where discursive translation

actions (Hanks and Severi 2014), function as localized responses and interventions to homogenizing trends in higher education (Vaira 2004).

The second section of the chapter focuses on how UIMQROO has facilitated a learning space outside the university through the incorporation of the figure of *abuelos tutores* into the *iknal* system. The section describes some of the activities with *abuelos tutores* that took place as part of Yucatec Maya classes during the first and second semesters of the 2017-2018 academic year. First, it describes how the practice of having an *abuelo tutor* was introduced to university students during the early days of classes, as well as, the characteristics that guide activities with the *abuelos tutores* as part of language learning. Descriptions include the analysis of excerpts of students report of their practice sessions with *abuelos tutores*. Excerpt focus on the role Maya students who are speakers of Yucatec Maya take as peer-tutors during these interactions. The section closes with some of the reflections shared by students and professors about the practice of *abuelos tutores* as they present their views on the activity and the contradictions that emerge.

1. *Iknal/Tutoría* as a product of intercultural translation

This section provides a discursive analysis on intercultural translation processes through which professors and staff at UIMQROO transformed the concept of *tutoría* to the Yucatec Maya institutional variant of *iknal* as a hybrid educational system. This radical linguistic strategy changed the configuration of the university beyond a tutor-student relationship to enable a network of relational dispositions between professors, students, staff, and Maya communities. With this in mind, the section asks: How did the university use translation to transform the word for “tutoring” to one from a Maya perspective? How was the notion of *acompañamiento*, which is implicit in the concept of *tutoría*, reconceptualized through the Yucatec Maya word *iknal*? How was translation used as a rationale for institutional design and implementation? It is important to note that the reconceptualization of the tutoring system promoted by UIMQROO was unprecedented in the history of intercultural universities in Mexico but not to the history of Yucatec Maya survival (Farriss 1984). The preservation of core concepts and principles through a creative capacity to forge something new out of changing circumstances constitutes an element of collective Maya and includes permanence, autonomy, and sovereignty.

Two years after the creation of the intercultural university, teachers and administrative personnel worked on revising and interpreting the Mexican intercultural education model. This exercise allowed not only for the model to become internalized but also for the participants to clarify some of the western monolingual Spanish concepts and expectations. The working group’s document, entitled *Modelo Educativo Intercultural* (UIMQROO 2010), presents the new institutional arrangement of the university. This document includes the clarifications and adaptations to the national model for intercultural universities. In what follows I shall focus on the translation processes relevant to the document that gave way to a hybrid conceptualization of *tutoría/iknal*.

Skopos theory is a translation theory that opposes the equivalence paradigm. Through it, Vermeer (2012) argued that beyond equivalence translation is designed to attain a purpose. The former implies to analyze translation from its target-side, that is to recognize purpose as a translation project. For this theory, the analysis of who the

translators are and what are their objectives is paramount. Each translator knows about the specific goals the translation needs to achieve to fulfill its requirements. Translation processes accomplish a particular end. In this case, the purpose was to attain a distinctive institutional arrangement of the university.

Moreover, the translator is an expert of cross-cultural communication that can work through translation to achieve its purpose. The document produced by UIMQROO is no exception. Specific professors were appointed to write each one of the sections. Juan Ariel Castillo Cocom, who has published about *iknal* concerning Maya identity (2012, 2017) wrote the first draft of the section concerning *iknal*. During his interview, he described how he adapted the concept of *iknal* from the philosophy of Yucatec Maya speakers reflected in the Maya language. He explained that *iknal* was difficult to translate to a Western frame of reference because its temporality includes a before, during, and after. Moreover, he maintained that space and time are conceptualized differently in Mayan philosophy.

The President of the university at the time, Francisco Rosado May, also wrote about UIMQROO's adaptation of the tutoring system (2012). For Rosado May, the motivation was to reach a hybrid conceptualization, not just Western or indigenous but a combination of the two, a conceptualization supported through the incorporation of community processes of knowledge production and transmission. A motivation that is linked to intercultural education as a discursive formation in which achieving an equal footing between a Western and a Maya perspective exercises a power dynamic impeding to develop a system solely based on a Maya perspective.

The institutionalized variant of *iknal*, not only entails tutoring activities sanctioned by the institution, but also, involves students and their interactions with professors, students, and elders in their communities. Professor Mario Baltazar Colli Colli was appointed by the University President to coordinate the system of *tutoría/iknal* creating a network of *abuelos tutores* (elders) and facilitating the communication with Maya leaders and communities. Professor Colli has represented the university at local and national tutoring encounters and worked as the coordinator of *iknal* until May 2018. The draft produced was later edited by other members of the university. My analysis is based on the final written version of the section as it appears in the institutional document (UIMQROO, 2010). I focus on the translation processes that concluded with the hybrid conceptualization of *tutoría/iknal*. Therefore, I start with UIMQROO's revision of the definition of *tutoría* by the National Association for Universities and Institutions of Higher Education (ANUIES).

1.1. From common usage to intellectualization

This subsection looks at the processes whereby the common usage of the Yucatec Maya word *iknal* changed into an educational concept. Firstly, I will introduce the idea of *tutoría* as proposed by ANUIES, followed by the notion of *acompañamiento*. Secondly, I will add the concept of *iknal* by referring to its common usage and then to the educational meaning proposed by UIMQROO. I will discuss Havránek's notion (1964) of the intellectualization of the standard language, underlining the functional differentiation of standard language form in regards to its common usage. Finally, I will argue that standard and common language forms guide the semantics of understanding *tutoría/iknal*, producing an

intercultural frame of reference, or a hybrid interpretative frame.

ANUIES was created more than 65 years ago and influenced the field of higher education policies in Mexico (Álvarez Mendiola 2015). The institutional system of tutoring promoted by ANUIES was adopted nationally. This set of standardized procedures brought tutoring away from particular acts to an ensemble of institutional actions directed towards individualized attention of the student. Public universities use the ANUIES definition of *tutoría* as it appears in the document. The word *tutoría* was introduced by ANUIES (2001) as an institutional system in higher education designed with the goal of abating higher education problems such as student desertion, falling behind, and low graduation rates. In their proposal, ANUIES (2001) recognizes that their notion of a tutoring program follows the conceptualization of tutoring in western countries such as England and Spain. They propose to consider the institutional tutoring system as an ensemble of actions directed towards the individualized attention of the student. They discuss the notion of *tutoría* as one opposed to academic advising, which according to ANUIES is used for precise objectives such as the supervision of senior theses, the provision of social services, and professional internships. Moreover, ANUIES (2001) argues that the creation of an institutional tutoring system would consist in defining the term beyond its etymological meaning, which in Spanish entails recognizing *tutoría* as a noun formed by another noun *-tutor-* plus the suffix *-ía*. The new noun *tutoría* means the position of the tutor or tutelage.

After noting this distinction, ANUIES provides a series of definitions based on the 1992 version of the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* from the Spanish Royal Academy. According to ANUIES, a *tutor* is defined as a person in charge of orienting students in the course of a subject, and *tutoría* as the teaching method by which a student or a group of students receive personalized and individualized education from a professor (ANUIES 2001, 22). From these definitions, ANUIES revises and defines its concept of *tutoría*:

La tutoría consiste en un proceso de acompañamiento durante la formación de los estudiantes que se concreta mediante la atención personalizada a un alumno o a un grupo reducido de alumnos, por parte de los académicos competentes y formados para su función apoyándose conceptualmente en las teorías del aprendizaje más que las de la enseñanza (ANUIES 2001, 23)

Tutoring consists of a process of accompaniment during the formation of students that is concretized by the personalized attention to a student, or a reduced group of students, by competent and trained academics conceptually relying on theories of learning rather than teaching (my translation).

UIMQROO's (2010, 33) translation opens with a citation in Spanish of the above definition from ANUIES and centers its attention on the Spanish word *acompañamiento*. It is a discursive act which coincides with the view that posits a reference prerequisite for a translation to be a translation. Drawing from Nelson Goodman's work, Hanks states that "one representation is a translation of another if (and only if) it both refers to and paraphrases the other" (2014, 23). By citing the ANUIES definition of *tutoría*, UIMQROO was preparing the ground for their translation of the concept.

UIMQROO offers the term *iknal* not only as an interlingual translation of the words *tutoría* and *acompañamiento* but also as part of the UIMQROO imaginary during the crafting of its mission.

No existe una palabra en español que describa el sistema institucional de facilitación del aprendizaje de UIMQROO, pero si lo hay en Maya. Esa palabra es Iknal. (UIMQROO 2010, 34)

There is no word in Spanish that describes the institutional system of learning facilitation of UIMQROO, but there is in Maya. The word is Iknal (my translation).

The quote presents the word *iknal* not as the target text equivalent of the interlingual translation of the words *tutoría* and *acompañamiento*, but as part of what UIMQROO is defining as their “institutional system of learning facilitation”. Through this act a Yucatec Maya term, *iknal* –not intelligible to Spanish speaking audiences– is introduced as a new source, different from the source text. The document continues by introducing the common usages of the Yucatec Maya word and continues by offering the translation of Hanks’ (1990) understanding of *iknal* as a corporeal field in his book *Referential Practice*.

Los hablantes del maya yucateco tienen una comprensión del sentido común del espacio corporal conocida como su iknal- su lugar (Hanks 1990). (UIMQROO 2010, 34)
Yucatec Maya speakers have a commonsensical understanding of the corporeal space known as *iknal*-their place (Hanks 1990) (my translation).

The expression *iknal* was introduced to Hanks when native speakers commented on spatial deixis. Hanks conceived *iknal* as a concept “that figures centrality in Maya speakers’ common sense of bodily space” where *iknal* as place is “an inalienable possessed noun stem which denotes the proximal region around the object or individual that functions as its possessor.” (1990, 91) However, Hanks also observed that this space is not fixed but rather a mobile field of action that is invoked in the glosses of deixis. A salient feature of this mobile space is that it de-notes a joint interactive space between participants in interaction. Therefore, it is both egocentric and altercentric. Castillo Cocom, Rodríguez and Ashenbrenner (2017) argue that *iknal* is both the product and context of speakers of Yucatec Maya.

The document continues by citing the glosses of the word *iknal* included in the Bricker (1998) and Barrera Vázquez (1980) bilingual dictionaries. These citations and common usages constitute the basis of the linguistic investigation that foregrounds the university’s intention to transform *iknal* into an educational concept.

Bricker (1998) define iknal como: “delante de, con, antes, presencia.” En el diccionario del Maya Cordemex (Barrera Vázquez 1980), se define iknal como: con, en compañía, en poder, en casa, o donde alguno esta”. (UIMQROO 2010, 34)
Bricker (1998) defines *iknal* as: “in front of, with, before, presence.” The Maya Cordemex dictionary (Barrera Vázquez 1980), defines *iknal* as: in company, in power, in home, or where someone is (my translation).

The meaning of the word *iknal* is further objectified and rendered into an educational concept in the document when it adds that:

El iknal como contexto espacial y como producto de relaciones sociales es particularmente significativo cuando crea espacios colaborativos, participativos y de producción del conocimiento de los mayas. (UIMQROO 2010, 34).
Ikmal as spatial context and as a product of social relations is particularly relevant when it creates Maya collaborative, participatory, and productive spaces of knowledge (my translation).

This intellectualization of the noun is further accentuated by emphasizing that an education based in *iknal* is a good way to optimize the quality of student learning, pedagogical performance, and school. Furthermore, it integrates respect for educational practice via the promotion of a collaborative, participatory, and productive dialogue through intercultural identification among students, facilitators, and their communities (UIMQROO 2010, 35).

Hanks and Severi posit that linguists perform multiple translations, of which semantic analysis is one. Therefore, through these definitions the words *tutoría* and *iknal*

are objectified and “translated into [the] formalism of linguistics description” (2014: 1). These descriptions allow us to see how interlingual translation of the words *tutoría* and *iknal* stands in relation to linguistic description as intralinguistic translation. Hanks (2014) has argued that intralinguistic translation is one of the mechanisms implicit in what actually shapes a language. These metalinguistic uses of language treat the target language and culture as an object of reference and description. They can be considered expressions of what Maya speakers *think* they do (Hanks, 1993). They are social evaluations of language, which build a common reference and take the form of language ideology.

I argue that AUNIES and UIMQROO’s processes of revising the words *tutoría* and *iknal* respectively constitute a differentiation between the everyday communicative function of a word and the function reserved for standard language. Havránek (1964) discusses intellectualization or rationalization as the process that makes possible “precise and rigorous, if necessarily abstract, statements, capable of expressing the continuity and complexity of thought, that is, to reinforce the intellectual side of speech.” (1964, 6) He argues that theoretical speech is rendered possible at the same time as it standardizes language by adding devices that are not in general use. Furthermore, intellectualization is brought about through “*inter- relationships and complexity of thought processes*, especially those of judgment and consideration” (7), thus affecting the lexical structure of the language by expanding the content of abstract meaning and rendering it alien to the common speaker. But it also adheres particular language ideologies to it. Intellectualized speech is used in situations that call for unambiguous, specialized, abstract, and transparent concepts to serve a particular function. In this manner, the intellectualization of the notions *tutoría* and *acompañamiento* has also involved expansion and specialization of the word *iknal*.

Definitions and common usages of *tutoría*, *acompañamiento*, and *iknal* comprise an intercultural frame of reference. In relation to the concepts of *tutoría* and *acompañamiento*, *iknal* becomes an interpretant in the Peircean sense, a single sign and/or elaborated discourse that stands for someone on behalf of something in some respect or capacity. According to Hanks, frames are “prefabricated representations that structure the way actors perceive and interpret objects, events, and experiences” (1993, 128). In this manner, frames are the different lexical items and conceptual part that guide or influence an ongoing event. In the case of *iknal/tutoría* these schematic structures within Yucatec Maya and Spanish are also shaped by the definitions provided by UIMQROO, through meta-communicative schematizations that constitute different understandings of practice. Lastly, the standard and common usage sources guiding the semantics of understanding *tutoría* and *acompañamiento*, combined with the common usage and standard variant of *iknal*, produce an intercultural frame of reference, or hybrid interpretative frame.

1.2. From equivocation to commensuration

Contrary to incommensurability, defined by Thomas S. Kuhn (2000) as the impossibility of defining the terms of one theory on the basis of the terms of another, commensuration processes rely on metalinguistic capacity. Equivocation, far from being an impediment to comparison, and therefore translation, becomes the enabler of comparability (Viveiros de Castro 2004). Equivocation assumes a heterogeneity of the premises at stake whereby

culture may be understood, following Marilyn Starthern's (1992) work, as the way in which people draw analogies of their world through multidimensional processes of comparison. In the context of intercultural relations, culture is forged by external comparisons. It follows that for Viveiros de Castro, to translate is to situate and dwell in the space of equivocation -to open, to widen, and to potentialize the differences in perspectives of the languages in contact. He posits that to translate is to presume that equivocation always exists. Translation as an analytical method underwrites relativity and provides evidence of difference. By focusing on equivocation, the other stops being silenced, allowing us to see how "the Other of the Other [is] *not* exactly the same as the Other" (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 8).

One of the ways in which the university spoke of an equivocation between *tutoría* and *iknal* was through the notion of *acompañamiento*.

Aún cuando en la UIMQROO compartimos los ideales del acompañamiento académico, al mismo tiempo consideramos que la palabra acompañamiento posee implícita y explícitamente un carácter paternalista, a veces autoritario y logocéntrico. (UIMQROO 2010, 33)

Even when at UIMQROO we share the ideals of academic accompaniment, at the same time we consider that the word accompaniment possesses implicitly and explicitly a sometimes authoritarian and logocentric paternalistic character (my translation).

UIMQROO defines the word *acompañamiento* as "to be or to go in the company of another" (UIMQROO 2010, 33), a definition that approximates one of the senses of the Yucatec Maya word *iknal*, but faults it for being paternalist, logocentric, and authoritarian. They argue that even while it might be related to the teacher-student interaction, the term surreptitiously hides in its practice a connotation of supervision whereby the supervisor not only observes and directs the inter-change of ideas, experiences and wisdom ('*saberes*'), but also 'orients' the student to develop what might not represent their educational objectives. Even more importantly, they argue, such educational objectives may not consider the student's language, culture, and ways of constructing knowledge. The document continues by saying that *acompañamiento* can be authoritarian in that it imposes a conventional model (i.e. by not taking into account the local philosophy) and a practical instrumentation of the notion of *interculturalidad*. They argue that *interculturalidad* is fundamental for establishing equity because its own praxis allows it to be understood as an educational model that seeks social transformation through inclusive dynamic intercultural processes. Moreover, *acompañamiento* is logocentric because it is situated at the center of the western educational system. Contrary to Quine's (1960) example of a radical translator in favor of the inscrutability of reference, UIMQROO's considerations provide an opportunity to state in their own words what *acompañamiento* means for them. In this manner, the intercultural model of UIMQROO constructs their notion of difference based on the intellectualization of the Maya Yucatec word, *iknal*.

Contrary to incommensurability, commensuration processes rely on meta-linguistic capacity. Colonial commensuration was addressed by Hanks (2010; 2013; 2014) when talking of the evangelization process in colonial Yucatan as a process that lied "in redescribing in grammatically correct Maya the objects or concepts stood for by the corresponding Spanish" (Hanks 2014, 30). The importance of this alteration is argued by Hanks as follows:

Translation was no longer a simple binary relation between [...] Spanish and Maya. Rather, it becomes a three-part relation between Spanish, Maya, and the neologized version of Maya, which we can call Maya*. The neologized Maya* has elements of both languages, and serves as a medium of exchange between them. (2014, 29)

Intercultural commensuration likewise entails a neologism process in which words acquire concepts derived both from Maya and Spanish. However, in the case of the Yucatec Maya word *iknal* we are considering a self-ascribed indigenous overlay of Maya and Spanish semantics. We can take the comparison one step further and look at the five principles proposed by Hanks in his work on colonial commensuration in “Language in Christian Conversion”, where he notes that the neologisms produced “were economical (therefore interrelated), transparent (therefore intelligible), properly indexed to doctrine (therefore true) and pleasing to the mind and ear” (2013, 400). One could argue that intercultural commensuration through *iknal* shares part of this impulse. The interpretant word *iknal* and the Spanish words *tutoría* and *acompañamiento* are not identical, but rather counterparts overlapping a referent. *iknal* as a noun stem is a concept that in itself takes several forms. In the case of *iknal*, given its inverted analysis, the meanings are rendered explicit for Maya speakers. Indexical grounding is achieved through the process of experiencing life at the university. Finally, it formulates a new memorable source institutional variant of *iknal* –in regards to *tutoría* and *acompañamiento*. Another difference emerges between intercultural and colonial commensuration. Even when in the colonial cases “[t]he exchange was bidirectional [...] it was inevitably asymmetric with power residing clearly in the European doctrine.” (Hanks 2014, 30) By contrast, in the case of *iknal*, intercultural discourse allows for an institutional space through which UIMQROO presents an understanding of the Maya people of Yucatan.

What, then, makes the system of *iknal* unique within higher education practice? As previously mentioned, *iknal* is a central concept for Yucatec Maya speakers’ common sense understanding of bodily space. The first common usage of the word seems to be alienated from one of the senses of the Spanish word *acompañamiento*, the idea of being in the company of someone. However, it goes beyond this understanding when considering the other two common senses, one related to the field of action and the other referring to habitual ways.

El lugar de uno mismo (su iknal) es relativo al contexto emergente asociado al cuerpo como proceso social o del espacio construido. (UIMQROO 2010, 34)

The space of oneself (one’s *iknal*) is relative to the emergent context associated to the body as a social process or built up space (my translation).

This sense of the word *iknal* includes an understanding of the body space as emergent and in relation to a social process or built up space. It is noteworthy that body space is seen both as a fluctuating process in relation to others and as a constructed space. Therefore, the knowledge of the body is adapted in the course of practice. Hanks explains that this notion of *iknal* denotes “a joint interactive corporeal field containing reciprocal perspectives rather than an individual *schéma corporel*” (Hanks 1990, 92). This understanding of the bodily experience entails defining the actuality of the body as perceived in relation to its potentiality as part of the perception of the present phenomenal field (Hanks 1996). This socio-centric notion of *iknal* contrasts with the notion of *tutoría* provided by ANUIES where the tutor is portrayed as the competent one in relation to the student, directing their actuality and potentiality.

Furthermore, UIMQROO introduces Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* to argue how the concept of *iknal* includes other frames of reference that are not possible to include through the concept of *habitus*.

Ikmal parece poseer la mayor parte de las características del concepto habitus de Bourdieu (1990), pero por otra parte conceptúa otros marcos de referencia o de campos indicativos que no sean simplemente posibles con el concepto de habitus. (UIMQROO 2010, 34)

Ikmal seems to possess the majority of the characteristics of Bourdieu's habitus concept, but on the other hand conceptualizes other frames of reference or indicative areas that are simply not possible using the concept of habitus (my translation).

This distinction further accentuates an understanding of *ikmal* linked to the bodily activity of the individual in relation to a field. Yet at the same time, it refers to the habitual place of a social agent. Thus, *ikmal* indexes both presence, the location of somebody, but also, absence, a locality where someone is not present at the time (Castillo Cocom, Rodríguez, and Ashbrenner 2017).

The explanation given by UIMQROO continues by focusing on the community system in place to facilitate learning whereby all members participate in the process of supporting one another. They discuss differences in authority and how each person exerts his or her authority:

En las comunidades Mayas la facilitación del aprendizaje se logra mediante un sistema, el cual está integrado por diferentes integrantes de la familia y de la comunidad, básicamente cada uno de ellos tiene algo que ofrecer, una persona sabe más de un tema que los otros y está dispuesto a compartirlo, a enseñar lo que sabe. (UIMQROO 2010, 34)

[In Maya communities, the facilitation of learning is achieved via a system, which is integrated by different family and community members, basically each one of them has something to offer, one person knows more about a topic than another and is willing to share it, to teach what they know (my translation).]

Through this explanation UIMQROO has opened the learning space of the university to the facilitation spaces in Maya communities and among their members. In this way, *ikmal* incorporates the relation of students to their communities. Thus, *ikmal* goes beyond *tutoría* and its dependence on the student-professor relationship to include a participation framework in which community members are included. To foster these relationships the university has developed an extensive network of relations with community elders, and an outreach program between students and their communities.

2. University Outreach: *Abuelos tutores*

The *abuelos tutores* or elder tutors were included into the *ikmal/tutoría* system in 2010 as part of the university outreach activities for learning Yucatec Maya. According to Collí Collí (2018) the goal was to create a strategy to expand the time of practice of Yucatec Maya classes and involve members of the community in university activities. The forty-eight semester hours were expanded with four monthly activities with the *abuelos tutores*. Moreover, each activity was designed create a bridge between language learners and community members.

During the first's days of Yucatec Maya classes at the university students had to choose who was going to be their *abuelo tutor* during the semester. Once students found their *abuelo tutor* they had to inform the Yucatec Maya lecturer who this person was and where he or she could be found. The information given included the name of the *abuelo tutor*, the address, a sketch, and reference of the location of their whereabouts. Students

selected their *abuelos tutores* according to a general definition of who the *abuelo tutor* could be, a description that was repeated each time a reference to this practice was made:

Para que sea un abuelo tutor o un auxiliar de Maya debe ser un campesino de 50 años para arriba, debe de saber sobre el campo, la naturaleza, las tradiciones (Collí, 2018).

To be an elder tutor or a Maya assistant, must be a 50-year-old peasant or older, must know about the countryside, nature, the traditions (my translation).

However, the description of who could be an *abuelo tutor* was modified through the interactions between students and professors. For this to happen, students engaged in a series of clarifying questions with the Yucatec Maya professor to see if the person they had chosen was approved. Things that could change were the age, gender, and location of their *abuelo tutor*. Not all of the *abuelos tutores* were peasant or necessarily knew about the countryside since most of them live in the city of Jose María Morelos. There were also *abuelas tutoras*. During the 2017-2018 school year I went to a total of five monthly practices with three different *abuelas tutoras* and three different group of students. In the following pages I will describe some of the language practices of the first-year practice with *abuelos tutores*. I will start by narrating how the activity was introduced in class to then share some of the observations produced by the students during and after practice.

The first semester outreach activity o *primera salida* was designed as a follow up to of the topics covered during the first month of the Yucatec Maya class. Through this activity students had to put in practice their knowledge of Yucatec Maya introductions and the recognition of Yucatec Maya glottal sounds.

Entonces esta es la primera salida. El propósito es que ustedes practiquen un poco el idioma además de que ustedes escuchen el idioma maya de la voz del abuelo. Temas a platicar puede ser un tema que ustedes escojan o los que yo estoy dando. Puede ser la vida de un campesino, cómo construir una casa Maya o cómo sembrar una milpa (Lecturer).

Then this is the first visit. The purpose is for you to practice the language a bit, besides you can listen to the Mayan language of the grandfather's voice. Topics to talk can be a topic that you choose or that I am giving. It can be the life of a farmer, how to build a Mayan house or how to plant a milpa (my translation).

For each activity students had to work in groups. Students in each group had different participation roles based on their language competencies. Each group had at least one student who already spoke Yucatec Maya. This student was usually referred as a *maya hablante* or Yucatec Maya speaker. His or her role was explained by the Yucatec Maya lecturer before the activity. During the first activity, Yucatec Maya speakers were in charge of initiating and sustaining the conversation. They also had to allow space for non-Yucatec Maya speakers in the group to introduce themselves by saying their names and communities of origin, they also asked questions to the *abuelo tutor* they had prepared in advanced.

Qué va a hacer el maya hablante. Aquí nos dice, se saldrá en equipos en el que en cada equipo habrá de preferencia un alumno maya hablante quien, dice, iniciará la plática presentándose. Posteriormente llevar el control de la plática con el abuelo tutor. Por qué? Los demás apenas estamos aprendiendo. Platica, le hace preguntas y lleva el control de la plática. En algún momento el abuelito dejará de hablar, como es normal, sucede y si ninguno habla pues se pierde la plática. Entonces el maya hablante es el que sigue la plática, le hace preguntas y lleva el control de la plática (Lecturer).

What is the Maya speaker going to do? Here it tells us, to go in teams where each team will preferably have a Maya speaker student who, it says, will initiate the conversation by introducing himself. Later he will take control of the conversation with the tutor grandfather. Why? The others we are just learning. He talks, asks questions

and takes control of the conversation. At some point the grandparent will stop talking, as is normal, it happens and if none speaks then the conversation is lost. Thenceforth the Maya speaker is the one who follows the conversation, asks questions and has control of the talk (my translation).

After the first visit all students in the class had to submit a report as part of their grade. The report was composed of a brief narration of the visit and two word sections. The first one included words with glottal sounds that students recognized when spoken by the *abuelo tutor*. The second list of words was comprised of those words that the students did not recognize during the activity. The narrative in the report was written in Spanish and just the lists of words in Yucatec Maya. The list of words was not translated into Spanish. The lecturer referred to the narrative part in Spanish as *relato*. Moreover, the report needed to include evidence of the visit to the *abuelo tutor*. To have evidence of their visit students needed to ask for permission to take photographs, audio, and video. Students raised questions about what constituted evidence before engaging in the activity. Having evidence caused a series of questions from the part of the students as they worried about elders not wanting to be photographed. I argue that both having to write a report in the form of a *relato* and understanding what constitutes evidence was one of the first socialization instances towards research encompassed by the activity with *abuelos tutores*.

I participated in the first activity with a group composed of four students. One who self-identified as the *maya hablante* and was in charge of the guiding the group through the visit. And three other students and I as Yucatec Maya learners. Together, we went to the house of an elder woman that Angel Ucan Dzul introduced to me at the beginning of the semester. She had already been an *abuela tutora* for students from the first generation at the university. However, this was the only time that we visited her during the semester since for my next visits I accompanied a different group of students to see another *abuelo tutor*.

We arrived at her house in the afternoon. Sac (pseudonym) spoke to our *abuela tutora* and asked her permission to take photographs, audio, and video. He spoke only in Yucatec Maya and guided the conversation. Him and our *abuela tutora* talked about her life and the things she did. At some point in the conversation Sac stopped for us to introduce ourselves to the *abuela tutora*. We each took turns and practice saying our names and where we were from. Then Sac and the *abuela tutora* started to talk about the things she knows how to do. After the visit all members of the group wrote their individual reports:

Excerpt #1: Yucatec Maya Learner

El día jueves; un día un poco lluvioso decidimos mi equipo y yo ir a visitar a nuestro abuelo tutor. Llegamos a su casa para poder practicar lo aprendido en clases. Nos reunimos en el parque central para poder llegar juntos a su casa, llegamos y la saludamos y posteriormente nos presentamos en maya, doña Mirna [pseudonym] nos correspondió el saludo, nos invitó a pasar a su hogar y nuestro líder maya hablante pidió permiso para poder grabar audio y tomarle fotos mientras conversábamos con ella, sinceramente yo entendí muy poco de la plática por que no hablo el idioma, y en la mayoría de la plática no se usó el español, nuestro compañero [Sac] si domina muy bien el idioma y él pudo mantener una conversación con nuestra tutora, nosotros por otra parte le hacíamos preguntas sobre algunos temas que ella nos decía en la plática, (lo poco que podíamos entender) ella nos habló de su vida y también de las cosas que había aprendido en el transcurso de ella. Después de haber platicado con ella nos dispusimos a retirarnos (Extract from student report).

On Thursday; a little rainy day we decided my team and I go to visit our *abuelo tutor*. We arrived at her house to practice what was learned in class. We met at the central park to be able to get together to her home, we arrived and greeted her to later introduce ourselves in Maya, Mrs. Mirna [pseudonym] greeted us back, invited us to come inside her home and our Maya speaker leader asked for permission to be able to record audio and take pictures

while we conversed with her, sincerely I understood very little about the conversation because I do not speak the language, and Spanish was not used in most of the conversation, our classmate [Sac] he has a very good command of the language and he was able to sustain a conversation with our tutor, we on the other hand asked her questions about some topics that she told us in the talk, (the little we could understand) she told us about her life and also about the things she had learned in the course of it. After having talked with her we arranged ourselves to depart (My translation).

Excerpt #2: Yucatec Maya Speaker

El objetivo de esta primera salida de campo es para visitar a la abuela tutora y para practicar lo que se ha aprendido en salón de clases, sobretodo para conocer más acerca de un tema que a nosotros nos gustaría saber acerca de la abuela tutora que es la señora Mirna [pseudonym], en este caso sabremos mas acerca de su vida y de sus experiencias que ha tenido, veremos varios temas con ella, como por ejemplo lo que le gusta hacer, que tantos conocimientos tiene ya que sabe diversos temas. También hace urdidos de hamaca, piñatas, dulces de diferentes frutas, pintar ropas, en fin conoceremos y trataremos varios temas con la abuela tutora (Extract from student report).

The objective of this first field trip is to visit the *abuela tutora* and to practice what has been learned in the classroom, especially to learn more about a topic that we would like to know about the tutor grandmother, who is Mrs. Mirna [pseudonym], in this case we will know more about her life and her experiences that she has had, we will see several topics with her, such as what she likes to do, what sort of knowledge she has giving that she knows about different subjects. She also makes hammock warps, piñatas, sweets of different fruits, paints clothes, finally we will know and we will deal with several topics with the tutor grandmother.

Through these sample excerpts from a Yucatec Maya learner and a Yucatec Maya speaker is possible to appreciate how the activity produces a variety of experiences depending on the knowledge student have of the language. On the one hand, the Yucatec Maya learner was able to narrate actions that occurred during the visit. Things that are intelligible through the lived experienced and that not rely so much on understanding the language. Moreover, to locate herself in the narration and tell how she participated by introducing herself and asking questions. Finally, how she positions herself vis-à-vis her peer, the Yucatec Maya speaker, and his ability to sustain and be in charge of the visit. On the other hand, the introduction to the report from the Yucatec Maya speaker provides an overview of the visit with a specific mention of the conversed topics. Something Yucatec Maya learners or even myself were hesitant to report about. Moreover, the *maya hablante* sees the conversation with the *abuela tutora* as a source of knowledge of the topics covered during the conversation and based on her life experience.

Intercultural translation as a communicative practice ubiquitous to the dynamics of language in socio-cultural spaces can be used as a critical way to question and intervene in practices that replicate dominant trends in institutional domains. This chapter has shown that members of UIMQROO made use of intercultural translation to transform Mexico's institutional tutoring system to one that reflects an indigenous perspective, despite the legal challenges that block indigenous autonomy and self-determination rights. Intercultural translation is understood as the combined processes of a selective appropriation of concepts, language referents, and socio-cultural practices. It demands that we leave behind any ingrained understanding of translation as straightforward and mechanical. In this way translation is "about moving 'in and out' of context. It is about deepening the human experience" (Castillo Cocom, Rodríguez, and Ashenbrenner 2017). As such, it comprises an invitation to dwell in the generative processes and directionalities that occur while engaging in translation. Investigating the processes of intercultural translation compels us to recognize certain assumptions of equivalence and to accept that understandings are not the same, thereby widening the realm of possibilities for thinking critically about that which we often assume as universal.

Conclusion

Intercultural translation as a communicative practice ubiquitous to the dynamics of language in socio-cultural spaces can be used as a critical way to question and intervene in practices that replicate dominant trends in institutional domains. This dissertation has shown how translation is part of intercultural interactions in educational institutions both at the classroom and institutional level. This dissertation draws on a concept of intercultural translation that functions as a linguistically radical strategy through which other ways of knowing and being are introduced, with particular emphasis on institutions and multilingualism. Of all forms of translation that might take place in multilingual contexts, this dissertation is centered on intercultural translation as a critical practice in situations of intercultural contact

Focusing on intercultural translation in multilingual contexts such as the one at the Maya Intercultural University of Quintana Roo, allows educational research to approach how diverse perspectives and languages come into contact with each other. In the language classroom, intercultural translation forms part of how multilingual imaginaries are socialized through and to language. At the institutional level, intercultural translation could be used to intervene dominant educational propositions and to articulate different perspectives.

My dissertation engaged the tradition of language socialization to illustrate the ways in which students are introduced to academic discourse in higher education, within language classes and tutoring activities at UIMQROO. It centers on translation processes as they occur in multilingual interactions in Yucatec Maya, Spanish, and English during the first two semesters of the school year 2017-2018. Specifically, it attends to the ways in which students are socialized *through* the use of intercultural translation and how they are socialized *to* use intercultural translation as a critical language practice in higher education.

I argued that intercultural translation is a contact language practice that goes beyond the pursuit of equivalence and acknowledges equivocation (Viveiros de Castro, 2004) as a source to transform concepts, language referents, and sociocultural practices. Therefore, it moves away from thinking of translation as straightforward and mechanical, as a unidirectional process from one language, or source text, to another language, or target text. Intercultural translation is the multidirectional movement guiding the articulation processes whereby incommensurable forms are juxtaposed to highlight equivalence assumptions and theorize new ones. Following, Hall's (1996) call to consider theory a problem of politics and strategy, I argue that these theorizations occur during multilingual interactions when educational agents use intercultural translation as a critical language practice to address an epistemological relationship as their object of study within practice. Therefore, intercultural translation involves a process of dialogue in education. Dialogue as the process of learning and knowing that characterizes an epistemological relationship.

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