

Socio-Intercultural Analysis of the Displacement of the *Yoremnokki* in Jahuara II, El Fuerte, Sinaloa

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The linguistic shift of the yoremnokki language is a fact; in order to study this phenomenon, an ethnographic study was carried out in 2019 in Jahuara II, one of the areas with the highest Yoreme indigenous ancestry in El Fuerte Sinaloa, Mexico. The analysis was carried out with a socio-intercultural approach in which intercultural, intrasocial and intracultural aspects are considered.

In intercultural aspects, we found that the historical subjugation of colonization, the prolonged imposition of the Spanish language, the role of institutions of indigenous control of the State, late changes in indigenous legislation and in the recognition of the yoremnokki language, have generated linguistic displacement.

In intrasocial matters, mass communication media have brought significant intergenerational cultural changes. The Yoreme Mayo are willing to keep their language as long as it is not an obstacle to the political and economic relationship with non-indigenous people.

In intracultural matters, we found the lack of a solid Yoreme organization and the centuries-old tradition of intergenerational language restriction; children show a marked self-discrimination.

Keywords: linguistic displacement, socio-interculturality, yoreme-mayo ethnoregion, Sinaloa

INTRODUCTION

The linguistic displacement is common in all the indigenous languages in Mexico and in general of the current problem of risk that many of the Latin American cultures suffer, constituted by the centennial phenomenon of their confrontation with the Spanish language. According to the National Institute of

Indigenous Languages (INALI 2012) in the country, the 364 linguistic variants maintain different levels of risk of disappearance, 64 (19%) very high, 43 (13%) high, 72 (21%) medium and 165 (48%) is not immediate.

Not all indigenous peoples have followed the same fate or lived in the same way; the yoremnokki, the use of language pertaining to yoreme Mayo, has undergone changes according to the historical processes of ethnohistory in northern Sinaloa. This Yoreme Mayo culture has resisted the onslaught of acculturation processes that have been maintained since the first contacts with the Spanish and later with the Mexicans. Currently, the communities where this town is located are intercultural, in the sense that non-indigenous people coexist with speakers - to a greater or lesser extent - of Yoremnokki language.

Jahuara II is one of these communities with the highest ancestry of this culture and, like the others, its intercultural composition has gotten the Yoremnokki language under threat.

Through an ethnographic study carried out in 2019, through field work in this town and using observation techniques, interviews and some surveys, we sought to characterize the form of linguistic displacement.

We tried to clarify, know and explain the socio-cultural framework in relation to the loss of the Yoremnokki language, its causes and the factors involved in its decline.

This investigation is important, because, even though the linguistic displacement has been detected, the elements that comprise it and the current state of the language in Jahuara II had not been studied in depth.

As Terborg (2006) mentions:

Studying the displacement of a language means looking for the causes and effects of this phenomenon. In some cases, the causes and effects are similar. However, when carefully analyzed, they reveal specific phenomena of the place where they can be observed. In general, the problem of studying the displacement of languages is that the different cases of displacement are not very comparable to each other, because the causes vary significantly from community to community. (p. 2)

Mexico is one of the countries with a long tradition in sociolinguistic studies on indigenous languages, practically since the arrival of the Spanish. But recently, mention can be made of the studies on the displacement of indigenous languages carried out by various authors such as Hamel (1987, 1995) Hamel and Muñoz (1988), Díaz-Couder (1996-1997, 2015), Terborg (1995, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2006), Terborg and García Landa (2011), Terborg, Velásquez and Trujillo (2007), Trujillo (2007, 2008, 2011), Trujillo and Terborg (2009), among others who have carried out works that revolve mainly around the pressure ecology model. Unlike this approach and without criticizing it, the present work is presented from a socio-cultural proposal (Guerra, 2005) since the interest is to understand the displacement from a) the relationship between cultures (interculturality), b) what one lives within the ethnic group (intraculturality) and c) the pressure that society exerts on the displacement-maintenance of the language.

It is noteworthy that the work of Moctezuma (2009, 2001), Moctezuma, JL and López, H. (2007) and Ochoa-Zazueta (1998), are also the basis for this work, who have made the first contributions regarding the use of yoremnokki language and the situation that the yoreme mayo are going through.

Díaz-Couder (cited by Trujillo and Terborg, 2009) postulates three types of linguistic communities: a) persistence, b) maintenance and c) displacement. By communities of persistence, he means "The most isolated regions, with the least economic integration and greater political autonomy (in the sense of a relatively little interference by federal and state government agencies in internal affairs)" (Díaz-Couder, 1997).

Maintenance communities are:

... Where bilingualism is more widespread, with a more active participation in the regional economy and with greater ties to society and the state, through commercial, banking, educational, land or natural resource litigation, etc. However, the community as

a social organization still has an important role in regulating access to land and local natural resources (Díaz Couder, 1997).

The displacement begins “at the moment when a community begins to choose another language in areas in which the local has been habitually used” (Trujillo and Terborg, 2009, p. 128). Reversing it requires effective policy and actions aimed at reversing the dynamics aimed at the disappearance of the indigenous languages of Mexico (Moctezuma, 2009), unfortunately, under current conditions it is not only difficult to stop the ethnophagic process, but the colonizing and acculturating inertia of non-indigenous governments.

From Zimmermann's perspective (quoted by García Landa and Terborg, 2011), the functional displacement of the language can be observed many times in the generational variants, when the new generation no longer uses the language of their parents.

As they mention (García Landa and Terborg, 2011):

The causes of the displacement are multiple and in each bilingual situation -in which the displacement of one of the languages becomes probable- it is possible to identify a combination of different causes that, perhaps, could not be identified in another similar situation. That is, each case is unique, like people's fingerprints (p. 19).

The case of indigenous Yoreme Mayo community Jahuara II, El Fuerte, Sinaloa, allows us to understand and reflect the bilingualism and linguistic displacement in a context of intercultural relations, meaning, two different models that show sociocultural and linguistic conflicts that lead to acculturation, with its corresponding loss of a world view and a means and instrument of communication created through the extensive and intense history of an indigenous group, also affecting the entire culture.

THE YOREME MAYO PEOPLE

The Yoreme ethnoregion is made up of the ethnic groups that these days are recognized as Mayo and Yaqui, that is, they speak of the Yoreme Mayo, and are mainly located in the north of Sinaloa and south of Sonora, and the Yoreme Yaqui who are mainly found in Sonora. Thus, when speaking of yoreme people, reference is made to both Mayo and Yiaqui; The term mayo or yaqui is used to specify one of the two ethnic groups.

An ethnoregion is alluded to because (1) there was and continues to be a territory and a space marked by a culture in different circumstances and relationships within and outside the group; (2) dispersed domestic groups and communities were identified and were identified; (3) there were and are ceremonial centers; (4) intercultural asymmetric relationships that yoremes have had on a daily or sporadic basis with other indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups were generated, and (5) linguistic dynamics (of displacement, from the first contact with the Spanish) and (6) the diversity of festivities has been maintained as part of the manifestation of their culture (Sandoval, Guerra and Ruiz, 2012).

In relation to a territory, the pre-Hispanic towns that inhabited what is the north of the State of Sinaloa and the south of Sonora constituted important population centers. From the Conquest, these groups were displaced, deterritorialized and diminished by politics, power, the economy and religion, until today (Sandoval, Guerra and Ruiz, 2012).

Currently, the highest Yoreme Mayo population density is dispersed in northern Sinaloa and southern Sonora in a region whose topography varies from sea level at its end in the Gulf of California (Sea of Cortez) to the highest mountain peaks, high in the Sierra Madre Occidental at about 2290 meters over sea level, and is made up of three physiographic zones: the mountains, the valleys and the coast (Carpenter, 2009).

Today, the Yoreme Mayo communities are distributed according to the INALI geostatistical reference (2009b) in Sinaloa in the municipalities of El Fuerte, Choix, Guasave, Sinaloa, Angostura and Ahome, and in the state of Sonora in Alamos, Quiriego, Benito Juárez, Cajeme, San Ignacio, Río Muerto,

Navojoa, Etchojoa and Huatabampo. This space, being shared by an indigenous group that has its own sociocultural dynamics, is contextualized as territory and specifically acquires the signifier of the Yoreme ethnoregion.

Although there is a brotherhood of origin and tradition between the Yoremes of Sinaloa and those of Sonora, the essential difference is in terms of linguistic variants. Their language is directly related to *Yiaqui* and *Guarijio* (Moctezuma, 2001).

They call themselves *yorem'mem* (those who respect); their language, *yoremnokki*, belongs to the tara-cahita family, as previously mentioned, in the Uto-Aztec trunk (INALI, 2009b); According to the group's oral tradition, the word *mayo* means "the people of the riverside" (Moctezuma and López, 2007).

The *Yoreme Mayo* ethnoregion has 183 communities with very varied dimensions that need to be studied and made visible. The Government of the State of Sinaloa has recently recognized them; By municipality they are: a) in El Fuerte: 68, b) in Choix: 27, c) in Guasave: 18, d) in Sinaloa municipality: 10, e) in Ahome: 51 and Angostura: 9. The name and the location of each of them is specified in the Catalog of Indigenous Peoples and Communities of the State of Sinaloa (El Estado de Sinaloa, 2018). Jahuara II, Bacorehúis, Constanacia, El Pochotal and Los Capomos are the ones with the largest indigenous population even though today they are not exclusive places of this ethnic group, that is, they cohabit with the mestizos.

The communities with the highest indigenous population index are shown in the following table 1 (Guerra et al., 2019).

TABLE 1
MAIN LOCALITIES OF INDIGENOUS CONCENTRATION IN SINALOA

MUNICIPALITY	LOCATION	INDIGENOUS POPULATION
Culiacan	Culiacán Rosales	4103
Mazatlan	Mazatlan	3357
Navolate	Licenciado Benito Juárez (Campo Gobierno)	1856
El Fuerte	Adolfo López Mateos (Jahuara II)	1229
Ahome	Bacorehúis	1187
El Fuerte	Constancia	758
El Fuerte	Pochotal	733
El Fuerte	Los Capomos	663
El Fuerte	Huepaco	652
Guasave	Adolfo Ruiz Cortines	650
El Fuerte	Las Higueras de los Natoches	637
El Fuerte	Camajoa	595
Navolato	Campos Nogalitos	510
El Fuerte	Troque Viejo	509
Guasave	Gabriel Leyva Solano (Benito Juárez)	504
Guasave	Guasave	503

Source: own construction.

According to the catalog of National Indigenous Languages of the INALI (2009b) in Mexico there are 11 language families: 1) *Álgica*, 2) *Yuto-nahua*, 3) *Cochimí-yumana*, 4) *Seri*, 5) *Oto mangue*, 6) *Maya*, 7) *Totonaco-tepehua*, 8) *Tarasca*, 9) *Mixe-zoque*, 10) *Chontal de Oaxaca* and 11) *Huave*, in 364 variants belonging to 68 ethnolinguistic groups; But not all languages are in the same degree of vitality, that's why this organism has classified them into four groups according to whether the risk of disappearance: 1) very high, 2) high, 3) medium and 4) not immediate. (Vargas, 2016).

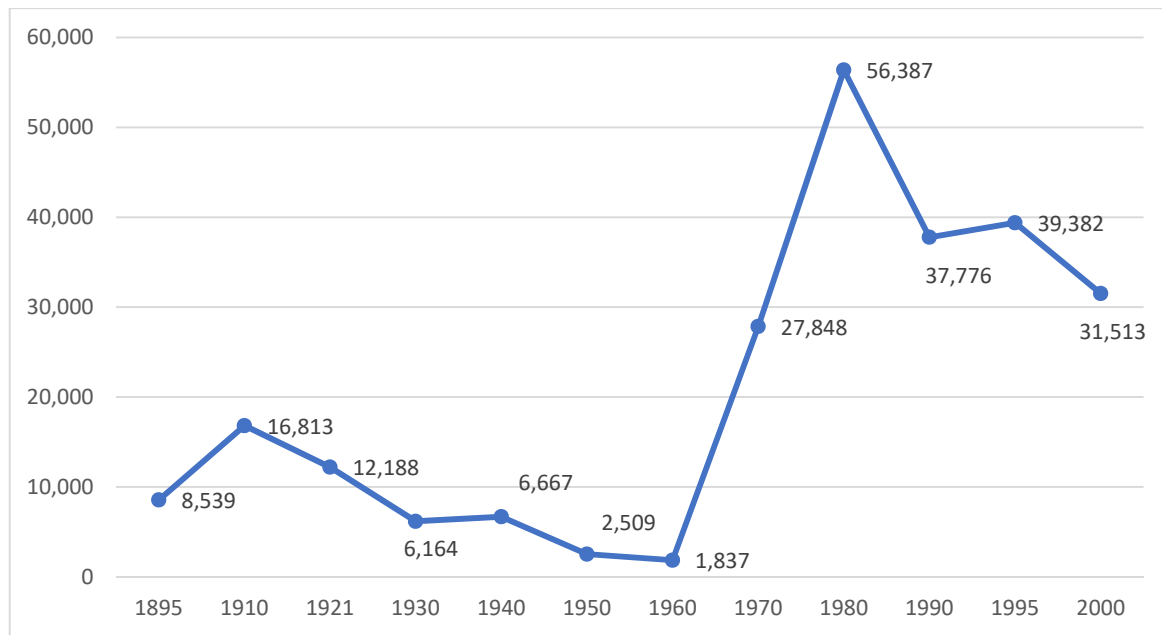
A linguistic variant will be considered at very high risk of disappearance (1) if the total number of indigenous language speakers is less than 1000, the percentage of indigenous language speakers between

5 and 14 years of age compared to the total is less than 10% and the total number of localities in which it is spoken is less than 20. There are 51 variants in this case. A linguistic variant will be considered at high risk of disappearance (2) if the total number of speakers is less than 1000, The percentage of speakers from 5 to 14 years of age from the total is greater than 10% and the total number of localities in which it is spoken is between 20 and 50. There are 48 variants in this situation (INALI, 2012).

A linguistic variant will be considered at medium risk of disappearance (3) if the total number of speakers is greater than 1000, The percentage of speakers from 5 to 14 years of age from the total is less than 25%, and the total number of localities in the that is spoken is between 20 and 50. There are 88 variants in this situation. A linguistic variant will be considered not immediately at risk of disappearance (4) if the total number of speakers is greater than 1000, the percentage of speakers from 5 to 14 years of age over the total is greater than 25%, and the total number of localities in the one spoken is greater than 50. There are 77 in this circumstance (INALI, 2012).

The Yoreme Mayo group belongs to the Yuto-nahua group and its general population has been increasing according to the behavioral trend shown in Figure 1 below.

**FIGURE 1
BEHAVIOR OF THE YOREME MAYO POPULATION**

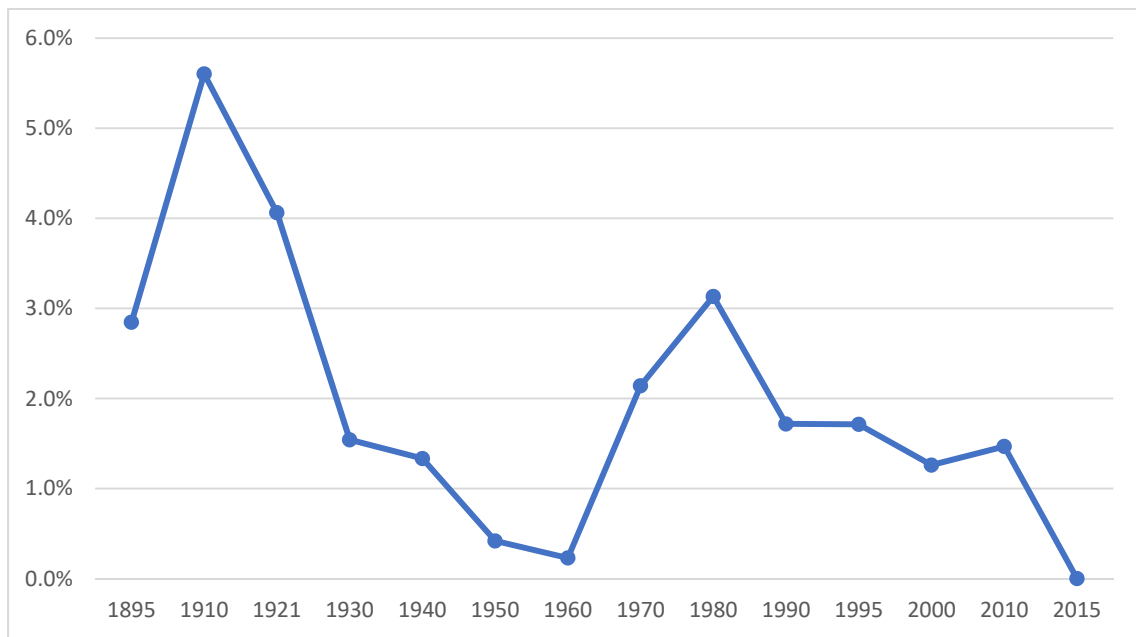


Source: INALI (2012).

Ascending and descending behavior may be due to the inaccuracy of the data, because no events are reported where they lose or win massive population from one decade to another.

The following figure 2 shows the behavior of the percentage of this population with respect to the total population of Sinaloa.

FIGURE 2
PERCENTAGE OF THE YOREME MAY POPULATION COMPARED TO THAT OF THE STATE OF SINALOA



Source: Own construction based on data from INEGI (2016) and INALI (2012)

As noted, the trend is actually negative in relation to the total population of the State of Sinaloa, so in percentage terms there are fewer potential speakers.

By following the degree of vitality of INALI (2012), the yoremnokki language is at level 2, at high risk of disappearance.

JAHUARA II

Jahuara II is located within the Syndicate of Villa Adolfo López Mateos, it is next to five ejidos which are: Agua Nueva I, Agua Nueva II, El Guayabo, Los Suarez and Jahuara; it is a community of the Municipality of Fuerte, Sinaloa. It was founded on July 26th, 1968, the first inhabitants came from the banks of the river Fuerte, El Ejido Jahuara I o Leyva. In 2019 it had approximately 5000 inhabitants according INEGI (2010). It is located 30 meters above sea level and has the following geographical coordinates: Longitude (dec): -108.955278 and Latitude (dec): 26.226944 (Lara, Valdéz-Vega, Medina-Torres and Martínez-Ruiz, 2016).

It currently has a total of 4935 inhabitants, 168 ejidatarios and a land distribution of 1,680 hectares. The fertility rate of the female population is 3.46 children per woman. The percentage of illiteracy among adults is 5.59% (6% in men and 5.19% in women) and the level of education is 7.85 (7.77 in men and 7.93 in women) (Municipality of El Fuerte, 2020).

It is an ejido that has enormous physical and human potential to carry out agricultural and farming activities. Jahuara II is considered totally indigenous. Is a community that is immersed in a sociointercultural context that allows important traditional activities within the indigenous yoreme mayo calendar of Sinaloa.

According to its inhabitants, Jahuara II is a town that started in the early 1950s, mainly with a Yoreme Mayo population in the surroundings who were looking for a place to settle, even when conditions were not optimal, as they were not near any river or lake, as before.

The current inhabitants of the Jahuara II community area are mainly Spanish-speakers, Spanish is the mother tongue for around 80% of them and no monolingual of Yoremnokki language were detected. They acquire to a greater or lesser extent, both languages at the same time.

The linguistic displacement of yoremnokki language and the increase in Castilian monolingualism shows the final phase of a process of cultural assimilation, manifested in the extinction of a language that began from the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Figure 3 shows the location of the community from the State of Sinaloa.

FIGURE 3
LOCATION OF JAHUARA II ON THE SINALOA MAP



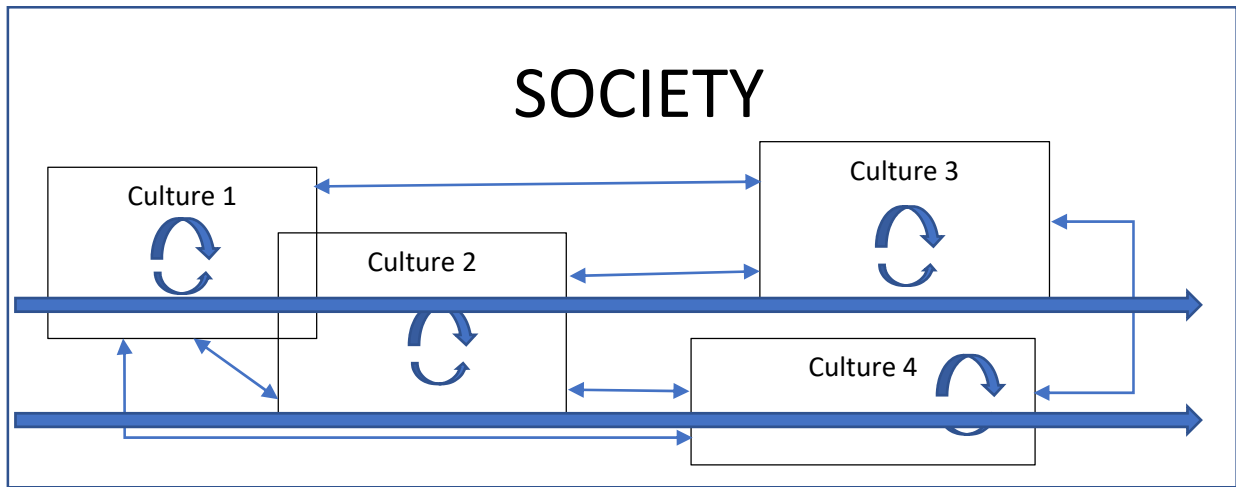
Source: <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jahuara>

SOCIOINTERCULTURALITY

Persistence, maintenance and displacement can be understood from a complexity perspective by socio-intercultural dynamics, in which intercultural, intrasocial and intracultural phenomena are found (Guerra, 2005). This complexity does not mean a lack of understanding of the phenomenon but a warning that the elements involved are intertwined with each other and that these are not simple causal explanations.

From this perspective, we consider that in a broader society, interrelated cultures coincide. Figure 4 shows a schematic of the socio-cultural proposal.

**FIGURE 4
OUTLINE OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL PROPOSAL**



Intercultural relationships are represented by the arrow in both directions



Intracultural relationships are represented by the circular arrows



Intrasocial relationships are represented by the one-way arrow



Intercultural relationships are most visible, because it is the relationship between culture and others, it can be seen in many ways, it depends on the symmetries, balances or imbalances of the cultures involved and intentions in relationships, whether it be acculturation, exploitation, improvement of living conditions, equity, ethnocentrism, etc. It has also been defined from the interethnic, between peoples, between indigenous and non-indigenous, etc. (Guerra and Meza, 2014).

In practice, intercultural processes are found to be rather acculturating, and as equitable, symmetrical, congruent and responsible acts, they are only an ideal intention - apparently naive - and a purpose that in current circumstances is a distant goal to achieve (Ochoa, quoted by Guerra and Meza, p. 38).

Intrasocial relationships are the ones that the wider society presents and impacts all cultures, for example, the effects of globalization, economic policies worldwide, the effects of the internet and mass media, among others, they provoke actions in each culture.

As for the intracultural, it is assumed that

ethnic groups and cultures are not a uniform whole, for this reason the analysis of cultural diversity necessarily leads to study the dynamics of internal changes, referring to the different ways in which members of an ethnic group or culture manifest or not their identity, whether or not they try to make changes, whether these are inconsequential or structural, motivated or not by other ethnic groups or cultures. Hence, the intracultural takes on greater relevance in the study of the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural diversity, since now more than ever it is difficult to conceive of ethnic groups and cultures as homogeneous and static entities for analysis. The analysis of subcultures, cultures within cultures, the dispersion of ways of thinking, the hybridization of identities, the Balkanization, among many other aspects, are of great relevance when studying the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural diversity (Guerra and Meza, 2014, p. 37).

When we return to some aspects of the language vitality factors of UNESCO (2003) and other elements necessary to understand the aforementioned socio-cultural dynamics, the elements that are in this research were considered for the analysis are described below.

In the intercultural aspects, the following were determined: 1) historical submission; 2) interculturalism which includes a) governmental and institutional policies, attitudes and actions, b) indigenous, community and linguistic legislation, which includes changes and new proposals; 3) The causes and effects of diglossia associated with the proportion of indigenous language speakers in the communities, the late attempts to normalize the yoremnokki norm, the scarcity of spaces of presence and prestige of indigenous communication, to the lack of documents and literacy and 4) education consisting of a diffuse and imprecise mix of ethnoeducation, indigenous (indigenist) and non-indigenous education, intercultural, bilingual, community, rural and popular education, the intercultural composition of teachers and parents family, educational gaps between basic education and university, the scarcity and little assertiveness of materials in the indigenous language, the relationship that has occurred between teachers and students and the association of indigenous education to school failure.

In intercultural relations is indigenous control through government agencies related to the indigenous world such as the National Institute of Indigenous Peoples (INPI), the National Institute of Indigenous Languages (INALI), the General Coordination of Bilingual Intercultural Education (CGEIB), precarious indigenous educational subsystems, community and intercultural and, in the present case, the traditional system of governors.

In the intrasocial relations of the phenomenon, the following were determined: 1) the economy, from international and national forces to the modification of the indigenous and community economy, changes in land property rights, the propensity to migrate, the induction of poverty, etc., 2) the impact of science and technology, 3) the response to the influence of the new mass media, 4) the pressure of international jurisdiction and policies regarding ethnic and cultural diversity and 5) social changes that stem from the new family composition, the propensity to migrate, the influence of new religions and the emergence of others, among others.

In intracultural relations we established 1) intergenerational transmission, 2) generational change, 3) trends in existing domains using language 4) the attitudes of community members towards their own language, 5) yoreme organizations and their political interests, intercultural composition of the community, the family and institutions, 6) the phenomenon of self-ascription, self-racism and self-restraining.

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

To carry out this work, a multi-method perspective was used, since in order to understand the phenomenon of displacement in a broader way, the complementarity of disciplines is necessary; In this case, it was possible to integrate different disciplines that were combined by a multidisciplinary teamwork, in which sociolinguistic, ethnological, educational, and social psychology aspects were addressed. The idea was a) to provide studies with more scope than could be presented using a single method, b) to generate an integrating vision of both the research process and the object of study, c) to size and compare the contribution of each research paradigm to enrich and complement the explanation and understanding of the phenomenon studied, the linguistic displacement in this case (Gallardo, Vergel and Villamizar, 2017).

In the first place and as already mentioned, the work is presented with an eminently descriptive character, for our particular case the description of the displacement of the yoremnokki language in Jahuara II. This descriptive action has consisted of the breakdown of each of the socio-cultural elements that were observed that could fully or partially explain the linguistic displacement in question until they came to understand, through the theoretical representation, what happened.

Hence, the method used also takes on the analytical characteristic, since it implied the defragmentation of socio-interculturality, in each of its aspects: a) intrasocial, b) intracultural, and c) intercultural, to later synthesize its behavior through the categories studied.

The research was also ethnographic in nature, since the research did not leave aside what people did, how they behaved and how they interacted, and also aims to describe their beliefs, values, perspectives and motivations. Through the ethnographic method, the point of view of the members of the community and their perception of the use of the language were presented, as far as possible. It is through this description of the areas of social and intercultural life in the Jahura II community that an alternative research style was offered to understand and interpret linguistic displacement and help describe the complexity of this phenomenon.

Observation techniques, semi-structured interviews, discussion groups, questionnaires, as well as the analysis of documentary material were combined.

It should be clarified that to penetrate the Yoreme world it has been necessary to enter its value system, its representations, its notions and its practices, which constitute different approaches to the world. In turn, an attempt was made to avoid the ethnocentric point of view that could lead to erroneous interpretations of realities, which could be considered only as irrational, incoherent or deficit (Van Zanten, 2004).

Observation was envisaged to comprise three activities: observations themselves, note-taking, and interpretation. During the observations, attention was paid to situations related to the categories of analysis foreseen. Note taking was theoretical, so the researcher explored the explanatory concepts, hypotheses and types of generalization during the study. The interpretation for the organization of data was carried out through the reconstruction of descriptions, chronicles of activity or conversations and a classification of the documentation was carried out according to the concerns and central research topics (Van Zantén, 2004).

The interview technique was considered for several reasons; first, there were spaces in which the observer could hardly access the daily life of the members of the community; secondly, there was personal history data that could be obtained more quickly, and thirdly, it could be an additional verification technique with respect to the information obtained by other techniques.

On the other hand, the focus group method was also used to highlight collective differences and levels of consensus, even when complaints and demands are symptomatic. Meetings were held where Yoremes from Jahuara II were put to talk about the situation of their language.

The preparation of questionnaires was previously carried out in accordance with the stated objectives of the research and was applied at each visit to the community.

After completing the studies, an intensive analysis of the information was carried out, characterized by the reduction and disposition of the data, and the obtaining of results (Quaas, 2001), which in addition to contributing to a better understanding of the problem, favored the approach of some theoretical elements, as a result of these inquiries.

The validation process in the study was carried out through the comparison of the results of the different collection and analysis techniques. In this way, the data contained in the interviews of the key collaborators was contrasted with other reports. As Van Zanten (2004) mentions, it was through a rigorous but open swing between concepts and theoretical hypotheses and the empirical elements that interpretations are generated.

In the field work, an attempt was made to study the sociolinguistic aspects, especially the extralinguistic factors that have altered the Yoreme Mayo group in Jahuara II, in 2019, for the displacement of the Yoremnokki language. The elements that, from socioculturality, aimed at both maintenance and linguistic displacement were located (Barragán, 2009).

A field work was carried out with regular systematized visits to the Jahuara II community throughout the year 2019 in which conversations, photographs, surveys of indigenous students and teachers and some locals were collected, but mainly observations were made, in which they discussed some aspects of yoremnokki language with the inhabitants of the community. At all times they were informed of the purpose of the investigation, to which they agreed, participating proactively.

MAIN RESULTS

Language shift of the yoremnokki language in Jahuara II can be explained according to the three proposed dimensions in the elements theoretical and methodological: a) cross - cultural, b) intrasocial c) intracultural.

Intercultural Issues

The linguistic displacement is associated firstly with the historical submission that the Yoreme Mayo ethnic group has suffered, in which the processes of colonization, acculturation and ethnophagy have been present in their daily life. In recent history it goes back to the dispossession of land that was intensified with the Lerdo Law, which motivated the loss of prestige of the ethnic group and its language; next, at times - revolutionary, culturating political supporters of Vasconcelos oriented education in “spanishing” schools teaching Spanish and violent battle to the yoremnokki language; then continued paying bilingualism and intercultural education in these lingua-phagical processes.

The imposition of Spanish occurred from the time of the conquest until it presented a turning point in 2003 (Official Gazette of the Federation, 2018) when Spanish ceased to be the only national language, to make way for the original languages, and left an inertia difficult to reverse.

In this process they have intensively influenced indigenous control institutions: the INPI, the CGEIB, the indigenous educational subsystems, community and intercultural, the system of traditional rulers and recently the Autonomous Indigenous University of Mexico (UAIM); these and the influence of Convention 169 of the ILO, changes in the last 20 years the Mexican Constitution, the effects of the struggle of the EZLN, the development of the National Catalog of Indigenous Languages (2009), among many other things, have dialectically generated more pressure towards linguistic displacement than for the maintenance of yoremnokki language. For example, when the General Directorate of Indigenous Education was created, many of the Yoreme parents in Jahuara II preferred that their children not receive this type of education so that their children were not singled out and treated with discrimination.

The national and state legislation on indigenous, community and linguistic matters belatedly point to the rescue and vindication of indigenous cultures, but for the Yoremnokki it may be too late. Indigenous policies and legislation have promoted initiatives to reclaim culture and there are individual efforts by indigenous teachers that have brought progress in teaching strategies and materials, despite this, the deficiencies in the basic indigenous education system, the lack of educational materials, teachers who are not fluent in the language, not very assertive textbooks and that Spanish has already become the mother tongue, minimize any progress.

The new linguistic policies are oriented, in the discourse, to equal support and protection of indigenous languages, however, there are inertias from the past to prevent the entry into force of new policies in this regard.

The most important factor in the phenomenon of the displacement of the Yoremnokki language has been the centuries-old tradition of intergenerational restriction of the language that intensified after the fall of the Yoreme Felipe Bachomo leader in 1915 in such a way that at present the Yoremnokki language does not compete with the Spanish, but marginally occupies a subordinate situation according to a colonial order within the institutions. Its speakers present diglossia with respect to Spanish. In the region, the favored social classes use Spanish exclusively, while the disadvantaged use an unschooled Spanish, and at the opposite extreme are the relegated social groups that speak the Yoreme language, which are mostly day laborers, unskilled workers, peasants and workers, we found a marked social distribution by the use of language.

The standardization of writing had not been carried out due to the Basque inertias of dismantling indigenous languages; Only in December 2019 did INALI generate the Yoremnokki Language Writing Standard (May) (INALI, 2019); but in Jahuara II there are still doubts about the assertiveness and effectiveness of its use.

It is observed that there are fewer and fewer spaces for the full recreation of the Yoreme Mayo language. Differences in its management are presented according to the contexts: in public and inter-

ethnic spaces, Spanish prevails, while the yoremnokki loses more and more validity in private and intra-ethnic matters. Economic affairs are conducted in Spanish; In schools, even indigenous primary schools, the language is little spoken, less than 10% of the children speak it fluently; in most families, even those considered indigenous, Spanish is regularly spoken; the last linguistic refuge is the one that corresponds to the festivals since the rituals are carried out preferably in the indigenous language. The yoremnokki has passed in the last 20 years of dominance in social areas limited to restricted use and with very few functions.

For the Yoreme Mayo, their culture and language are highly appreciated, but they are willing to preserve it as long as it is not an obstacle to the political and economic relationship with non-indigenous society. Specifically, fluency in Spanish is required for yoremes to access better job opportunities.

In the community of Jahuara II, less than 10% of the families declare themselves completely non-indigenous, as well as the 11% completely ascribe to the Yoreme Mayo ethnic group; mostly, they consider themselves hybrid, within the same family, some members have followed the traditions and language, while the rest is not recognized as yoreme, so that in the household, there are the two languages competing. About 50% of speakers have learned Yoremnokki from their mothers, 30% of the entire family nucleus, the rest have learned it with friends and in daily use.

A relevant fact is the distribution of primary schools: a) those run by the Ministry of Public Education and Culture (SEPyC) where no emphasis is given to the indigenous language, b) those of the General Directorate of Indigenous Education, where culture is taken into account and c) those of the National Council for Educational Development (CONAFE) aimed at rural education. These systems coincide, but do not present uniformity in the criteria for handling the Yoreme Mayo language. All schools present a mix of ethnoeducation, indigenous (indigenist) and non-indigenous education, intercultural, bilingual, community, rural and popular education that weakens the cultural agglutination, stratifies children in the same community regarding their mastery of yoremnokki and stimulates the linguistic shift. Promoting their mother tongue in some and not in others increases the diversity of language skills.

Specifically, the official intercultural education is oriented to the subordination of the Yoreme culture to the national culture, it is designed to acquire the cultural contents of the dominant society. This simple fact reinforces the detected diglossia. In addition, a smear campaign for basic indigenous education has been established, publicizing its last places in academic performance. This fact contributes to the cultural discredit and discouragement of Yoremnokki speakers.

On the other hand, there is no continuity in the cultural reinforcement, after elementary school to university is the intention of the hint culture appears again. The UAIM installed an extension close to Jahuara II, however, the indigenous cultural elements in the university curriculum are minimal, since the basic language is Spanish. Indigenous students who speak the language are few and the courses are not triggers for new speakers, since Yoremnokki is taught as a second language.

In Jahurara II, the intercultural composition of indigenous teachers and parents also fosters the complexity of the situation. Of the teachers, 50% speak and write the language, and 15% only speak it, the rest neither speak it nor write it. This causes linguistic displacement mainly because it generates contradictions among teachers in linguistic matters. Language-speaking teachers acknowledge the great influence that their teachers had in reinforcing their knowledge of Yoremnokki, but there were also teachers who discouraged their learning.

There is no repression by teachers towards Yoreme children in relation to the use of the language, rather extraordinary efforts are made to make them speak it; but it is taught as a second language, minimizing its prestige; its use tends to be reduced to the study of words, greetings, some songs and the Mexican anthem in yoremnokki.

There are few materials that can be used didactically to strengthen the language. Teachers have a poor opinion of the textbook on yoremnokki promoted by the SEP, as it presents words that are not used in this region. This has forced teachers to generate their own teaching materials, but each one starts from different educational criteria in view of the late normalization of the language.

The main contradiction within the classrooms of primary schools is to present a strong language like Spanish, as opposed to a weak language like Yoreme, in the same classroom outside the family context.

The result is that the weak language loses prestige. The same circumstance occurs at the upper level; At the UAIM the compulsory Yoreme Mayo language courses have been institutionalized, but the result has been less prestige of the language; Spanish speakers ridicule it as it is not useful to them and at most they give it a folkloric value, since the symbolic capital for the mestizo is Spanish and not the indigenous language.

In this institution, a Yoremnokki teachers' college has been established and spaces such as the language nest, the universal mother tongue classes, the promotion of cultural activities, the establishment together with the INALI of the Yoremnokki norms and the recreation of the national and international indigenous policies and legislation; but in the opposite sense it is observed: Spanish as the dominant language, the weighted importance of non-indigenous culture, the folklorization of the language and daily racism and discrimination.

Intrasocial Issues

In Jahuara II the dominant social forces have been present; On the one hand, the daily use of the mass media by young Yoremes and the growth of the educational offer up to the university level, has resulted in significant intergenerational cultural changes.

From the point of view of the media, sociolinguistic information aimed at the prestige of the English language, followed by the Spanish and discredit indigenous cultures. The use of technology and scientific knowledge make the new generations reduce the world of their culture and the yoremnokki to certain specific spaces. These public and hegemonic discourses legitimize not only political power, but also the culture and language of that power through persuasive and coercive means that influence processes of substitution of the indigenous language.

From a dialectical perspective, there is international pressure that advocates defending their rights as an ethnic group and that are aimed at rescuing their culture, but it is insufficient given the imminent weight of the large number of adverse factors and elements that have been mentioned.

Social changes have influenced new family configurations, the nuclear family, as in the non-indigenous population, is found less and less in Yoreme households, there is a greater diversity of religious beliefs and in general many aspects of their daily lives as Yoremes they are changing drastically, thus generating not only linguistic displacement, but also the complete assimilation of the ethnic group into non-indigenous society.

Intracultural Issues

The cultural decay of the people yoreme intensified with the collapse of Bachomo and caused the first intensive process of intergenerational restraint of the language and stimulated the self-racism. There have been significant language losses from the grandparents' time to the present day and they estimate that subsequent generations will speak Yoremnokki to a lesser extent.

All the Yoremes show insecurity to affirm that they speak 100% Yoremnokki, mainly due to the loss of intergenerational language, the limited repertoire from one community to another and the difficulty of the written language. Those who do not speak it find themselves unable to do anything significant to rescue it because the conditions are adverse; there are very few speakers who can really contribute relevant actions to avoid displacement. Many members support the maintenance of the language, but others are indifferent and some (very few) support its loss.

In part, these adverse conditions have stemmed from the lack of a solid Yoreme organization that unites the majority of the members of their ethnic group. Yoreme organizations share both languages, the problem is the intrusion of non-indigenous people who help displacement and ensure the lack of cohesion in the ethnic group.

The phenomenon of self-discrimination escalates from the self-restraint of the teaching of the mother tongue. Children in general show marked self-discrimination as they privilege those with white skin and discriminate blacks. An interesting issue that arises in schools is that national heroes are presented as targets, the Indians (they) are not and have not been heroes or heroines.

As for the family, it's still there, where members dominate the language to a greater or lesser extent, however, this affects family multiculturalism, self-restraint and the generation gap.

28% of children ascribes to yoreme and less ethnic group 10% speak the language to, in contrast to the secondment of 68% and 14% of speakers found 10 years ago (Sarmiento, 2012). Boys and girls mostly prefer not to be attached to any ethnic group, just as the Mexican mestizo generally does. Specifically, the yoremnokki is used by few children, they only use it with ease from the parental generation up.

The way of life of yoremes over sixty years old differs greatly from that of young people. The influence of the economically 'successful' figure of the non-indigenous pressures the new generations to modify their cultural forms. The economic situation has meant that both the father and the mother have had to go out to work and there is less time in contact with the mother tongue.

Regarding religion, the festivities mean a syncretism that unite the entire ethnic group and privilege the Yoremnokki, but in a dialectical way the formal religions are intensive in Spanish; in addition, the scarcity of musicians and partiers and other cultural elements act to the detriment of the linguistic phenomenon.

There are very few printed materials on yoremnokki that have not been very helpful to community members. In recent years and thanks to the UAIM's production of Yoreme May teachers, the ethnic group has gone from having some grammar sketches, word lists and few useful texts, to having an acceptable grammar and some dictionaries and texts, but still insufficient.

CONCLUSIONS

According to the sociointerculturality, the intercultural relations favorable for linguistic displacement are presented dialectically, in many cases seem to favor, but there are realities that go in the opposite direction and are of greater weight in the results on the course of yoreme culture.

El colonization process on this ethnic group has not stopped, has continued the momentum of the historical processes of acculturation and economic dispossession and cultural extermination; Even the latest intercultural policies have brought adverse consequences to the use of yoremnokki, since it has justified the subordination of yoreme culture to the national whole.

The institutions of indigenous control, as a whole, have not been able or have not known how to reverse acculturating tendencies, or at worst have encouraged them and national and state legislation, in indigenous community and linguistic matters, has been created or suspiciously modified late. From interculturalism, these institutions and their programs continually present inefficiencies, deficiencies and budgetary difficulties that inhibit any intention of emancipation.

The late recognition of Yoremnokki as a national language has not stopped the imposition of Spanish, but rather has brought other more subtle forms of linguistic displacement.

It seems that the old intensities of de-indigenization promoted since the colony disappeared nowadays; but neo-indigenous, racist voices and discrimination generate actions against emancipatory speeches and intentions.

The recent normalization of yoremnokki could have been a significant advance 50 years ago; in our days it could remain as a dead letter since there will be very few speakers who will comply with the rules. The few spaces in their domain are being lost.

The strongest problem with linguistic displacement is that it is within the intercultural family itself that intercultural conflict and linguistic displacement occur. Linguistic conflict and confrontation within the Yoreme family that leads not only to the breakdown of the Yoremnokki language from a Spanish setting at an early age, but also to broader cultural transformations that seek integration and belonging to the mestizo group.

The stratification in the basic, state, federal, indigenous and rural education system and the combination of teachers with different linguistic domains of yoremnokki contribute to a greater linguistic dispersion and therefore diglossia and displacement. Worse still, the teaching of the language in the indigenous primary school is limited, since Spanish is the mother tongue. The also late intention of

education beyond primary school in the indigenous environment accounts for the intention of social limitation of the population; the problem is the export of colonialist schemes to “indigenous” higher education, with all the complexity of facts, pays for their displacement.

In summary, intercultural relations have been adverse for the Yoreme Mayo culture and have caused the linguistic displacement of the Yoremnokki and have put it at high risk of disappearance. The extinction of the language of the Yoreme Mayo indigenous people, as a dominating language, is not due to its intrinsic characteristics, but to an asymmetric intercultural relationship, of power and social position that reflects sociocultural inequities in adverse contexts for language and culture. indigenous in Sinaloa.

In relation to the intrasocial, it is a fact that the current social forces derived from the mass media and the new forms of globalization have accelerated changes in cultures and for Yoremes it has not been the exception; This research is not the object of study, but this fact has clearly marked the generational difference in this ethnic group, to the detriment of their cultural values. If the trend is the disappearance of the language, the Yoreme Mayo group could remain as an ethnic group only if they manage to consolidate a political project.

With regard to intracultural issues, the problem of intergenerational restriction is that it is not recent, there is evidence that it began intensively in the post-revolutionary period and continues to this day. Even the speakers show insecurity when speaking their language, the differences between one community to another and the difficulties of the written language are other factors that impede its ease. There are few speakers and there is no organization that can establish a concrete plan to reverse displacement.

Parallel phenomena such as self-discrimination, internal racism, diglossia that comes from the privilege of white accelerate displacement. In religious syncretism, the last corner of the yoremnokki, festivities and rituals are affected by lack of resources, but mainly by the scarcity of partiers and the substitution of elements, but also in the language favoring displacement.

In conclusion, linguistic displacement is the product of intercultural, intrasocial and intracultural dynamics, given the eminent risk that the yoremnokki will be lost, it is difficult to reverse, since it follows centuries-old inertias that make any recovery plan a noble utopian intention, that in the current conditions it would be difficult to carry out. This complexity described in the microcosm of an indigenous yoreme community, sums up the linguistic conflict that is part of the mestizo cultural domination on indigenous peoples with rather unfavorable social, educational, cultural, and communal consequences.

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