

Sociolinguistic Variation and Mentioned Ideology in the Spanish of Juchitán, México

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English Version of the Thesis

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spective roles in teaching me content analysis and variationist methodology, thereby providing me with the necessary methodological competencies for the project.

Before arriving in Juchitán, I did not know anyone in the community, so I want to extend particular thanks to the people from outside Juchitán who helped me gain access to the community. I thank Dr. Alba Nalleli García and her father, Miguel Ángel García Aguirre for putting me in contact with so many people in Juchitán and María de Jesús Gálvez Vázquez for passing me the contact of a Juchiteca person who was of great help. I would also like to thank my initial contacts in Juchitán for helping me find several participants, for sharing their time with me, and for teaching me about the local culture: Vicente, Lilia, Mario, Nisa, Diana, Rubén, and Shunashi. In particular, I thank Ruben for letting me visit his karate school, for our interesting conversations and for helping me find accommodation, Mario and Nisa for hosting me and letting me do laundry in their house, and Vicente and Liliana for hosting me and taking me to a very interesting cultural event. For their indispensable support in the project, I would like to extend special thanks to Maik, Angel, Amurabi, Naomi, Estrella, and Victor. They helped me find enough participants, adjust to the culture, feel comfortable during my stay, navigate uncomfortable situations, and/or develop a work routine, without which it would have been much more difficult for me to complete the project. In addition, I would like to thank all the other Juchitec@s who volunteered their time to participate in the study, as their contribution represents the core of this thesis.

To all of my wonderful family members and friends, thank you for providing me moral support, celebrating my successes, and consoling me over any setbacks, as I made my way through the PhD. I am particularly grateful to Mom and Dad for raising me to be the person I am today, supporting me in my academic interests and curiosity from an early age, and teaching me the importance of long-term goals, perseverance, and hard work that were necessary to finish such a long academic project. I am also deeply grateful to my younger sister, Haley, for learning these values with me in childhood and for sharing her own professional experiences as a teacher of a diverse group of students in the USA, which I could use to help me reflect upon and improve both my teaching and my research. I would also specifically like to thank Nana and Poppy for showing interest in my job, trying very hard to understand what I actually do at the university, as well as always encouraging me to forge my own path in work and beyond. I love and miss you all very much.

I am very grateful to my wonderful and loving ex-boyfriend for being there for me during the difficult moments of my thesis, helping me process the emotionally difficult fieldwork experience, and supporting me in achieving my career goals. At that moment I could count on you to always be there for me, no matter where you were in the world, on good days and bad; I am so grateful to have shared a moment of my life with you and to have loved you, even though we had to say our goodbyes. Among my friends, I would like to particularly thank Dr. Danielle Tod, (almost Dr.) Sarah Grossenbacher, and Dr. Olivia Droz-dit-Busset, for the comradery and mutual support while working on PhDs in sociolinguistics. Our coworking, our exchange of practical and theoretical ideas, and our moral support for each other improved my manuscript and made the whole process easier for me. I am also very grateful to my *amiga*, Dr. Iván Zelocualtecatl Montiel, for helping me deal with the stress of the Ph.D. with his good sense of humor, his spirit of adventure, and his consistent willingness to listen and be there for me at difficult moments. Last but not least, I would also like to say thank you to all of my other friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and teachers throughout Europe, the Americas, and the rest of the world who have helped me develop academic skills, reach my goals, or simply enjoy my free time through fun adventures and nice conversations. I would almost need to write another thesis to have the space to mention everybody, but just know that, if I have spent a good deal of time with you, I am deeply grateful for our time together and for your unique role in helping me get to where I am today. Thank you all for your role in making this thesis possible.

Abstract

Sociolinguistic Variation and Mentioned Ideology in the Spanish of Juchitán, México

Although sociolinguistics points to the importance of ideologies in explaining linguistic variation, relatively little variationist research has attempted to correlate ideology directly with this variation. When ideology or attitude has been treated as a variable, the cognitive aspect of this variable has generally been emphasized; therefore, speakers in the sample have been assigned particular ideologies based on their purported beliefs. In contrast, the discursive element of ideology has been underemphasized as has the fact that the same people typically mention multiple ideologies in discourse. Therefore, in this thesis, I take "mentioned ideology" as a social factor, coded on a tone-group by tone-group basis, and investigate the relationship between this social factor and sociolinguistic variation. More specifically, I use multiple mentioned gender and language ideologies, along with other social factors, to attempt to explain sociolinguistic variation in Juchitán, Mexico, an indigenous Zapotec community with a so-called "third gender", called muxe, and certain women-dominated sectors of society.

My results show that certain "mentioned ideologies", along with many other factors, condition variation in the two linguistic variables chosen for this study, namely syllable-final /s/ and grammatical gender assignment for muxe referents. Most notably, "pro-Spanish mentioned ideology" was linked to higher rates of /s/ retention, whereas "machista mentioned ideology" was linked with /s/ retention among feminine Zapotec speakers and, for all speakers, masculine grammatical gender for muxe referents. Since men and Spanish-dominant speakers tended to use these variants more frequently, this shows that people converge towards the speech of Spanish-dominant men when talking about the social dominance of both Spanish and men, even when they disagree with this dominance. This implies that speakers voice those they dis-

agree with and/or accommodate towards an imagined Spanish-dominant male referent when making these statements. Furthermore, the fact that "mentioned ideologies" conditioned patterns of variation suggests that the construct is valid and can be used to uncover previously invisible patterns of intraspeaker variation in other samples, providing a new tool to sociolinguists looking to study intraspeaker variation. The results also showed that feminine grammatical gender for muxe referents is used to mark interpersonal closeness, suggesting a semantic bleaching of the binary gendered meanings of grammatical gender in this community. Furthermore, reduced /s/ is associated most strongly with feminine, Zapotec speakers, suggesting a link between /s/ reduction and other markers of Zapotec identity that motivates women to reduce /s/ more frequently than expected.

Key words: Sociolinguistic Variation, Spanish, Ideology, Mentioned Ideology, Third Gender, Language Ideologies, Gender Ideologies

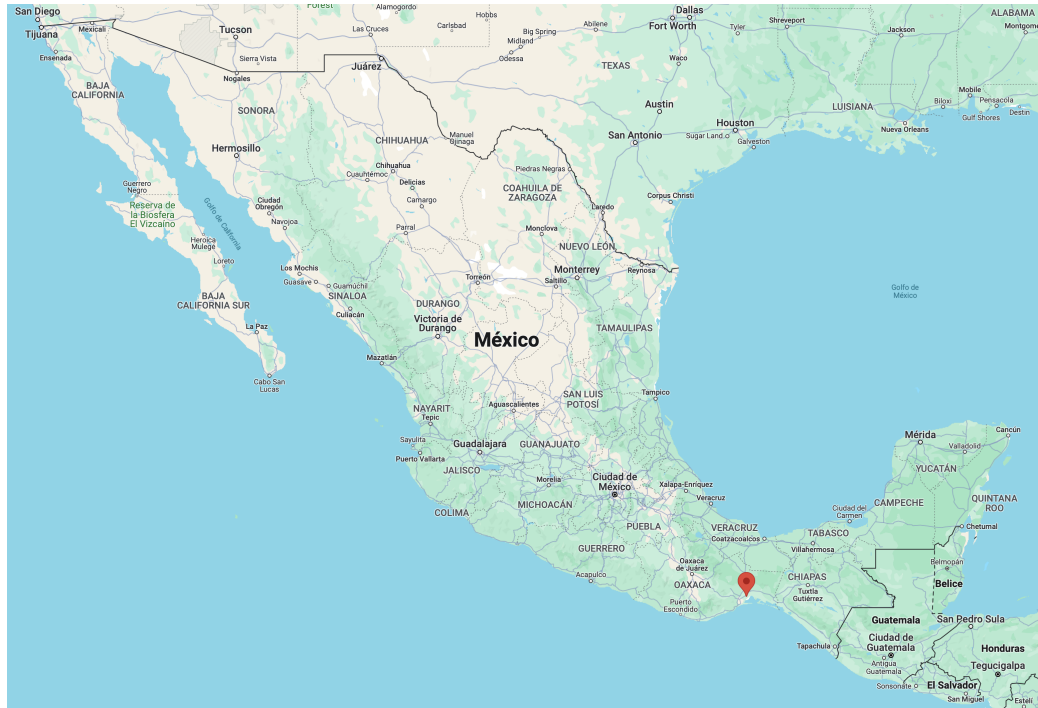
Note on Translation

This thesis was originally written in English and translated into Spanish. The English version contains many examples of cited text in Spanish with a translation in English, whereas the Spanish version contains citations from academic articles in English that were translated into Spanish. All translations were done by me, with help from DeepL and ChatGPT, unless otherwise specified. The company *UVR correcciones* made stylistic corrections to the Spanish translation of the thesis.

Chapter 1

Contextualizing This Study

1.1 Introduction



In this first chapter of the thesis, I justify my project on sociolinguistic variation and mentioned ideology in the Spanish of Juchitán, Mexico (represented by the Google Maps pin on the map above this paragraph). In the beginning, I situate the project within the larger corpus of sociolinguistic research, attempting to show how my project helps address gaps in the field. Subsequently, I provide an overview of the context of Juchitán in terms of history, language, demographics, gender, and relevant local ideologies, to provide the background information necessary to show how and why Juchitán is a particularly suitable context for this study. This overview of the context of Juchitán also provides the necessary context for a deeper discussion of how gender, language, and, especially, ideology function in Juchitán, which will be particularly valuable for understanding later chapters.

1.2 Filling Gaps in First (and Third) Wave Variationist Research

Within sociolinguistics, variationist methodology has been one of the most useful tools in documenting the details regarding how language changes percolate through

communities (see Britain (2009), Eckert (2012), & Silva-Corvalán (2001) for some overviews of this work). By correlating linguistic variation with traditional demographic categories, such as gender (conceived in a binary fashion as either male or female), age, and socioeconomic status, researchers have revealed in detail how language changes are taken up first in certain social groups before spreading to the speech of broader society.

For instance, research has shown, with plenty of exceptions (Eckert 1989b), that women tend to use standard forms more frequently than men (Eckert 2012; Labov 2001; Silva-Corvalán 2001; Trudgill 1972), particularly in cases where standard forms are salient and mark social prestige (Labov 2001; Trudgill 1972) as well as in openly socially stratified countries and regions where women have access to social mobility (Bakir 1986; García Mouton 2006; Silva-Corvalán 2001). For the Spanish-speaking world, these findings have been confirmed and complemented by dialectologists, who have also shown that women tend to abandon conservative dialectal forms that carry low prestige in modern contexts where their contact with the standard norm is high (García Mouton 2006).

As such, although women tend to be leaders in language change (García Mouton 2006; Labov 2001), women generally lead in language change for non-salient variables and innovative variants that carry overt prestige, whereas men tend to lead language changes in the use of innovative variants that are salient and/or stigmatized. Regarding age, adolescents tend to be leaders in language change, employing innovative variants most frequently, with older speakers, on the other hand, often (but not always) using variants that are more typical of how language was used in the past (Eckert 2012; Labov 2001; Silva-Corvalán 2001). This variationist approach and the findings associated with it have also provided a strong data-based justification for studies in a wide array of other sociolinguistic subfields, from recent qualitative work on style (i.e. those cited in Eckert (2012)) to perception-based studies on linguistic stereotyping (i.e., Campbell-Kibler (2011, 2012), Gaudio (1994), & Mack (2010)).

Yet, variationist studies have often relied too heavily on demographic categories that the researcher assumes a priori to be important, and the mechanisms that explain the effect of various social factors on linguistic variation have often been undertheorized (Eckert 2012; Queen 2014). Eckert traces the development of sociolinguistic variationist research in three waves and, while recognizing the importance of each wave,

also shows that the first-wave relied too heavily on "apparently static categories of speakers" that "equated identity with category affiliation" (Eckert 2012, pp. 93). The categories of the first wave were based on demographic information, and, since they could be reliably correlated with language use, group membership was often used to explain language use.

In contrast, researchers, starting in the 1980s, began to focus on grouping categories in other ways. On the one hand, Horvath proposed a technique called "principal component analysis" in which categories were built based on linguistic similarities between speakers, rather than predetermined social categories (Horvath & Sankoff 1987; Torres Cacoullos & Berry 2015). On the other hand, research in the second wave added categories that speakers themselves viewed as important, identified by the researcher through ethnography, and correlated these new groups with linguistic variation (Eckert 2012). Second-wave research was important in complementing first-wave research since the inclusion of new categories in variationist analysis helped provide a fuller picture of how social factors are related to variation. However, while still recognizing the importance of research in the first and second wave, Eckert contrasts both unfavorably with newer work in the third wave of variationist research. This newer research interprets variation to be a system of social meaning that can express a wide range of community concerns, in which speakers use variables with mutable meanings to create styles (Eckert 2012).

In third-wave studies, speakers are shown to rely on the meanings indexed by particular linguistic features (each of which has an associated indexical field of multiple and mutable potential meanings (Eckert 2008) to present themselves in a certain way at each moment, and these stances add up to create an overall difference in speech patterns between members of different identity groups. This group of stances and their related linguistic features form a style. Since both styles and the stances from which they are composed are associated with particular people, the variation attributed to first-wave categories is understood, in third-wave studies, as coming from the linguistic variation linked to stances and styles. Thus, it is still important in this approach to do first and second-wave studies that uncover how traditional demographic information and locally relevant categories are related to linguistic variation, but category affiliation is no longer seen as the primary cause of this variation.

Instead, this approach holds that speakers take different stances and express partic-

ular styles on a moment-by-moment basis, using different linguistic variables to take on different stances and build different styles. Although the stances taken in particular moments are also constrained by other factors, notably linguistic factors, such as linguistic environment, in this approach, stance and style shifts are the most important social explanations for linguistic variation. Smaller-scale studies that have documented these moment-by-moment speaker shifts in detail include Podesva (2007), Podesva, Roberts, et al. (2002), Raymond (2012), & Sánchez Moreano (2018).

In Spanish variationist sociolinguistics, many studies have been undertaken that productively correlate macro social categories with linguistic variants (see Blas Arroyo (2003) and Cestero Mancera et al. (2015) for an overview of these studies). However, within Spanish variationist sociolinguistics, there is still a relative lack of studies that complement a traditional, macro social category approach with theoretical insights from the second and third-wave, notable exceptions notwithstanding (such as Barnes (2018), Hernández-Campoy (2003), Holmquist (2011, 2012), Lynch (2009), Rissel (1989), Shin & Otheguy (2013), Villena-Ponsoda & Vida-Castro (2020), & Waltermire (2010)). In contrast, many modern variationist sociolinguistics studies on other languages exist that, despite being anchored in the first or second-wave, are more consistent with third-wave theoretical insights in their explanations of variation.

An example of this can be seen in recent research working with gender, in which the correlations between binary gender identity and language use are explained in terms of social structure, style-shifting, and women's attempts at social and economic advancement in a patriarchal society, in line with third-wave theoretical developments (Eckert 1989b, 2012). In these studies, gender is no longer treated as a static social identity, but as a proxy for the effects of identity construction in response to larger social structures. A smaller proportion of studies in Spanish sociolinguistics take this approach. However, though still less common, the number of studies in Spanish sociolinguistics that are consistent with third-wave developments is growing. Some notable examples of this relatively recent research include Barnes (2018), Hernández-Campoy (2003), Lynch (2009), Shin & Otheguy (2013), Villena-Ponsoda & Vida-Castro (2020), & Waltermire (2010). This study aims, as one of its goals, to continue filling this gap.

In terms of methodology, the new levels of analysis and theoretical developments of the third wave could also be more extensively incorporated into variationist research in general (Cameron 2014; Levon 2015). In particular, third-wave researchers' stance and

style-based explanations of the relationship between traditional categories and linguistic variation could be used to create new social factors that are based more directly on third-wave insights. As it currently stands, third-wave explanations of why linguistic variation is related to social factors, like gender, are frequently invoked after a gender difference is found in the data, instead of gendered stances or styles being themselves statistically correlated with linguistic variation. As such, there is not always a reason to believe, solely on the basis of variationist evidence, that style-shifting or particular gendered stances help explain sociolinguistic variation.

To present a third-wave case for variation more convincingly, the stance-taking and ideological motivations underlying third-wave explanations for variation, which are currently used to explain the effect of traditional social categories on linguistic variation, could themselves be directly correlated with linguistic variation. Some research, notably Barnes (2018) & Gadanidis et al. (2021), has already correlated stance-taking with variation. The approach, taken in this thesis, correlates a similar factor, "mentioned ideology" (also referred to as "expressed ideology"), with variation in two variables in Juchitán Spanish in the hopes of lending further data-based, empirical support for third-wave researchers' claims that elements of social structure and stance provide the best explanation for sociolinguistic variation.

This thesis, therefore, represents an attempt to incorporate third-wave insights more directly into variationist methodology by quantifying mentioned ideology, which can be understood as a kind of style-shifting, for use as an independent variable explaining linguistic variation. I decided to focus on mentioned gender and language ideologies for this project because of the ample research on these ideologies in the context of Juchitán and on language ideologies in linguistics more generally. Furthermore, the choice to use gender ideologies at all would not have occurred to me if there was not previously a vast literature linking gender to variation in Spanish.

At the same time, the thesis is strongly influenced by work in the first and second waves. Without this first and second-wave work, it would have been difficult or impossible to select useful linguistic variables or the ideologies that I hypothesized would be linked with them. My selection of social and linguistic factors that act as a control for the effect of mentioned ideology also includes both first-wave demographic groups and second-wave locally relevant social groups, determined largely through past ethnography.

This project has the added benefit of addressing a common issue with many sociolinguistic studies, the difficulty of recruiting enough participants to create a large representative sample. It is common for variationist studies to make tentative conclusions regarding the relationship between social factors and linguistic variation because of small samples. In Carvalho & Child (2011), for instance, gender could not be productively analyzed as a factor due to a small sample of participants. These sampling issues arise because large amounts of useful linguistic data can be gained from samples that include too few people to obtain statistically significant demographic information, and recruiting a larger number of participants can be difficult.

In contrast, mentioned ideologies occur many times within the discourse of a single speaker, and large samples are therefore not needed to productively use expressed ideology as a variable. If, as I hypothesize, expressed ideology predicts linguistic variation at a statistically significant level, it will provide a new third-wave social factor that researchers can choose, among other third-wave social factors, to use in their analyses, even when working with samples too small for the effect of more traditional, first and second-wave demographic factors to be measured.

1.3 The Relevant Sociohistorical Background of Juchitán

Before providing information on the sociolinguistic context of Juchitán, I will provide greater context for the linguistic situation, demographics, ideologies, and gender roles described therein. To do this, I provide a brief history of this region that foregrounds information indispensable to a full understanding of the sociolinguistic and ideological context of modern Juchitán. Therefore, this historical overview, while brief and far from comprehensive, emphasizes two important kinds of historical information. Namely, I provide the bare minimum amount of information needed to understand the region's historical development, combined with important additional information that helps explain the ideologies that exist in present-day Juchitán and information often emphasized in ideologically pro-Zapotec accounts of regional history.

Although much of modern-day Mexico was controlled by the Aztec Empire before the arrival of Hernán Cortés, Juchitán and the area around it, have a long history of being Zapotec. Ethnically Zapotec people have lived in the area we now refer to as Mexico's Oaxaca province since around 1500 BCE, forming a confederation by 500

BCE, centered around the capital of Monte Albán (Ruiz Medrano 2011). This Zapotec Civilization was among the earliest important civilizations in the Americas, appearing over 1800 years before the Aztec Empire and ruling much of the modern-day Oaxaca province (and occasionally some outside regions) until the Spanish conquest. The Zapotec Civilization, however, reached its greatest extent of strength from 200-700 CE, and by around 1000 CE, the Zapotec State had weakened to such an extent that other groups, especially the Mixtecs, were able to invade its lands (Ruiz Medrano 2011). Conflicts between the Mixtecs, who were later absorbed into the Aztec Empire as a vassal state, were common until the Spanish arrival. To compensate for their losses, the Zapotecs, under the leader, Cociyopij, conquered the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, located in modern-day Oaxaca near the province of Chiapas, in the late 1400s, leading Zapotecs to flee into and settle the region (Ruiz Medrano 2011).

According to many sources, this also led to the founding of Juchitán on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in 1480, in other words, before both the Aztec and Spanish conquest of the area. However, I cannot find any reliable historical sources corroborating this often-told story, as the first reliable mentions of Juchitán in the historical literature date to 1825, when Juchitán was declared a municipality. It seems certain that Zapotecs lived in the region, yet unclear whether Juchitán had been founded. However, this story, linking Juchitán to a Zapotec assertion of strength in the face of hardship and a pre-Spanish, even pre-Aztec past, seems to reflect the city's current definition of itself as fiercely anti-(neo)colonial and quintessentially Zapotec, a definition whose development I show in the next pages.

Zapotecs continued fighting the Mixtecs and Aztecs until their conquest by the Spanish. Soon thereafter, previously Zapotec territories were quickly absorbed by the Spanish Empire, although the Isthmus of Tehuantepec remained indigenous for longer, apparently due to its distance from Tenochtitlán (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). The Spanish authorities and Dominican evangelists forced indigenous people to destroy temples and build churches in their place, and the men were forced to abandon their traditional wardrobe (Ruiz Medrano 2011). Men began wearing *guayaberas* (white shirts and black pants), but women were allowed to keep wearing *huipiles* (colorfully adorned blouses), nowadays considered traditional clothing items for parties (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2002; Miche 2006). This would begin a pattern that remains to this day of women conserving traditional manners of expression and

ways of life much more than men do.

In 1660, the region of Tehuantepec saw a revolt against Spanish rule, in which Zapotecs killed the mayor of the city of Tehuantepec and took control of the region, establishing their own government and an army of 10000 troops. They maintained independence for a year before New Spain managed to regain control of the region (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002), at which point the Spanish increased their efforts to hispanisize the city of Tehuantepec (Saynes-Vázquez 2002). It is possible, with such a focus on hispanisizing Tehuantepec, that the surrounding areas remained relatively neglected, and the indigenous culture and spirit of resistance towards outside rule could persist longer in urban centers just outside of the city, such as Juchitán.

After Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1827, the mention of Juchitán itself in the historical record became much more frequent. By this point, the area around Juchitán had gained notoriety for being particularly resistant to rule by the Spanish and defensive of their land and corresponding natural resources (Saynes-Vázquez 2002). The privatization and selling of Zapotec lands to foreign businessmen led to a series of rebellions in 1834 that, despite great repression from the government, only ended in 1853 (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002).

When troops from Napoleonic France invaded the region in 1866, as part of their attempted conquest of Mexico, Juchitecos (people from Juchitán) fought against the army on the side of the liberals, who promised to halt privatization of their land (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). According to some versions of the story I heard in Juchitán, a group of women defeated a portion of the army by throwing stones and other makeshift weapons onto soldiers from the top of a cliff. After the war was over, Juchitecos continued resisting incursions from profit-seeking outsiders into their lands, so many times that it becomes impossible to list them all, up until the present day, where many Juchitecos have resisted recent European projects to put windmills and create wind energy in the region (Dunlap & Correa Arce 2022).

These stories and historical anecdotes show the formation and reiteration of an anti-colonial ethnic identity based on fierce opposition to outside interference, protection of local land, and strong community ties where everyone, both men and women, promotes and protects Juchitán's integrity. They also point to a continuing history of using violence to settle such disputes, a mistrust of official authorities, and an opposition to economic development projects that may contribute to high levels of violence, poverty,

and underdevelopment in modern Juchitán.

Juchitán, like many indigenous and Southern Mexican cities, remains economically poorly developed and underprivileged compared to most other Mexican cities of the same size. A majority of jobs are in the informal sector, average wages are well below the national average (around USD 200 per month, compared to around USD 600 per month), and literacy rates are also relatively low (currently around 90.61%) (Hidalgo 2022). Most streets were not paved until well into the 1990s (Saynes-Vázquez 2002), with some streets in the poorer sections of Juchitán remaining unpaved. Due to the sociohistorical context of Juchitán, attempts to develop the city's economy through foreign investment and projects such as the construction of windmills (Dunlap & Correa Arce 2022) are controversial.

Since the 1910s, Juchitán, and other Zapotec cities, have gained increasing amounts of autonomy within Mexico, culminating in the mid-1990s, when the Mexican government enacted reforms allowing indigenous people to enact elections through their own *usos y costumbres* (uses and customs) (Recondo 2007; Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). There has been decreased repression of indigenous peoples throughout the world since the mid-twentieth century, and a corresponding revival in indigenous culture that is particularly strong in Juchitán, due to the independent spirit of the local people, is occurring (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002).

This situation is not without its paradoxes. On the one hand, as autonomy has grown for Juchitán, so has its level of integration with the rest of Mexico. In the early 20th century, despite the construction of a railroad, Juchitán was very difficult to access for outsiders (Saynes-Vázquez 2002). Nowadays, on the other hand, Juchitán is easy to visit, and the number of Juchitec@s migrating to other areas, as well as, to a lesser extent, people moving to Juchitán seems very high.

For a variety of reasons, including its geographic location and poor relationship with outside authorities, Juchitán has become a center of drug trafficking since the early 2000s, with an associated spike in cartel-related violence. As in many areas affected by the drug war, the amount of drug-related violence seems to be quite variable. However, much new violence can also be linked to conflicts involving armed police who, though meant to decrease levels of violent crime and defend foreign economic interests, often contribute to the violence (Dunlap & Correa Arce 2022; Saynes-Vázquez 2002), as well as hit-men hired by foreign companies and other non-state actors (Dun-

lap & Correa Arce 2022). While violence seemed to be decreasing before the global Covid-19 pandemic, anecdotal evidence suggests the pandemic increased levels of violence again.

Juchitán has also been a highly class-based and stratified society since the early twentieth century (Saynes-Vázquez 2002), and anti-colonial/anti-outsider ideologies are correspondingly unequally shared throughout the population. Along these lines, politics in Juchitán has long been highly polarized between left-wing and centrist political forces. In 1973, Juchitecos from a variety of backgrounds founded the socialist organization, *Coalición Obrera, Campesina, Estudiantil del Istmo* (abbreviated COCEI), translatable in English as the Workers, Peasants and Student Coalition of the Isthmus. This organization stood, as many Juchiteco actors before, against the privatization of native lands and furthermore attempted to create a Marxist class consciousness within Juchitán amongst students and workers. In so doing, it opposed the centrism and corruption of the leading political force in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and Mexico, at the time, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (or PRI), called the Institutional Revolutionary Party in English (Recondo 2007).

The PRI started as a left-leaning party that moved towards the center-right over time during its 70-year monopoly of Mexican politics. The party won practically every major election from 1929 to 2000, facilitated by party members adding extra pro-PRI ballots to the count. Due to persistent corruption, government mismanagement, and electoral fraud, the party became a cause of great resentment for many, especially indigenous, well-educated, and city-dwelling Mexicans (keep in mind Juchitán is both indigenous and a city). As a result, many left and right-leaning opposition movements, including the COCEI, were born.

The conflict between the PRI and the COCEI is clearly less salient now that the PRI lacks the political monopoly it once had, and corruption scandals have also severely impacted the COCEI's credibility, even amongst previous supporters. However, the COCEI still exists as a political force in Juchitán, holding occasional rallies and pledging to fight for more indigenous autonomy. Furthermore, there still seems to be a split in Juchitán society between a majority that retains an anti-colonial, leftist, resistant attitude towards outside forces, and those who support centrist ideologies and integration with the rest of Mexico, despite the corruption, indigenous repression, and other associated problems. This can also be seen in attitudes toward the controversial

center-left populist President of Mexico, Andrés Manuel López Obrador (also referred to as AMLO), who, though seemingly popular in Juchitán, is far from universally so.

As such, due to its historical development, Juchitán is a Zapotec city with a strong tradition and felt sense of distinctiveness from the rest of Mexico. This felt distinctiveness includes a need to protect and defend Juchitán from outside encroachment that sometimes leads to increased levels of violence and arguably has hindered development, while, at the same time, protecting the local culture and promoting local interests. Despite this, a significant minority of Juchitecos are political centrists who see increased integration with the rest of Mexico positively and do not define themselves as oppositionally to outside forces as others. Therefore, one could say that Juchitán is a city with a strong sense of local, Zapotec identity, tempered with a certain adoption of/participation in trends associated with the rest of Mexico.

1.4 The Current Sociolinguistic Context of Juchitán: Language and Demographics

Juchitán currently has around 93000 inhabitants and was chosen as the context for this research project due to the well-documented relevance of multiple ideologies, particularly gender and language ideologies, to life in the small city. While these ideologies will be explored in great detail in Sections 1.6, 1.7, and 4.5, I provide here (and in Section 1.5) a sociolinguistic overview of the city to provide context for the linguistic variables and other social factors selected for use in this study.

In Juchitán, there exists not only a multiplicity of gender and language ideologies (some of which are fairly unique to the city) but also correspondingly unique configurations of social identity and language use. Specifically, since the city is a largely indigenous Zapotec community, a large proportion of people speak both Isthmus Zapotec and Spanish. Regarding gender, women, despite being disadvantaged by the patriarchy, have power over men in specific domains, and the muxes, an indigenous identity often referred to in the literature as a third gender, enjoy a visible yet contested community presence.

The current language and identity configurations present in Juchitán will be elaborated in this section, whereas gender configurations will be explored in Section 1.5. I will also provide an overview of the linguistic and demographic profile of Juchitán

in this section, in order to provide relevant context for later discussions of language ideologies in Juchitán. Although my project is not a project on language or dialect contact, I also include information on how these types of contact occur in Juchitán in order to provide stronger justification for the linguistic variables I chose to study. The justification for each variable is provided in Chapter 3.

In terms of age, Juchitán has a relatively young population, with an average age of 24 years, five years younger than the national average (Hidalgo 2022). Neighborhood membership in Juchitán is also fairly socially significant. The central city is divided into nine neighborhoods, referred to as *secciones*, of varying size, differing ethnic composition, and therefore varying linguistic profiles. The sixth, seventh, and eighth sections are typically considered the most Zapotec sections of the city and are also among the poorest and most underdeveloped.

In these sections, especially in the seventh section, Zapotec identity is most strongly felt, as Zapotec traditions are followed most consistently (Dávalos Vázquez 2017; Gauvin 2011; Laaksonen 2016). Since "muxe" is an ideologically Zapotec identity, Juchitec@s generally assume that these sections have more muxe inhabitants than other sections (Laaksonen 2016). Furthermore, the Isthmus Zapotec language is spoken more frequently than in other sections (Augsburger 2004; Saynes-Vázquez 2002).

In contrast with many indigenous communities in Mexico, Juchitán has a local indigenous language, Isthmus Zapotec, that is still commonly used in daily life (Augsburger 2004; Stephen 2002). A majority of Juchitec@s (around 61% as of 2000) is comfortable speaking both Spanish and Isthmus Zapotec, even though the main language of Juchitán is currently shifting to Spanish, spoken monolingually by 30% of the population (Augsburger 2004; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). Isthmus Zapotec is from the Zapotec family of languages, itself classified within the larger Oto-Manguean language family. The language has around 85000 speakers, most of whom are concentrated in the language's home region, in and around the geographically close cities of Juchitán and Tehuantepec.

The overwhelming majority of Isthmus Zapotec speakers are also highly competent speakers of Spanish (Augsburger 2004; Saynes-Vázquez 2002), and those Juchitec@s with lower levels of Spanish language competence would still be expected to have some level of ability in the language. For information on how Spanish language competence influenced my selection of participants, see Section 4.2.

Isthmus Zapotec is a synthetic language that typically employs VSO word order and has a fairly complex system of aspect marking, verb conjugations, and possessive markings. The language's phonology permits more consonant clusters and contains more consonant phonemes than Spanish, but it contains the same five vowel phonemes. Like many non-Indo-European languages, lexical tone is also occasionally used to make semantic contrasts. Of particular importance with regards to this study is Isthmus Zapotec's lack of syllable-final /s/ as well as its lack of many of the grammatical gender and number markings characteristic of Spanish. Grammatical gender markings are even less prevalent in the language than number markings, as not even pronouns are marked for grammatical gender (Pickett et al. 1998).

The first and second sections contrast with the sixth, seventh, and eighth sections in being less ideologically Zapotec, have a larger domestic immigrant population, and are more materially well-off (Augsburger 2004; Gauvin 2011; Laaksonen 2016). Spanish is quite clearly the dominant language, white-collar jobs in the formal economic sector are more common, and traditional informal sector jobs are less common (Augsburger 2004; Dávalos Vázquez 2017; Gauvin 2011; Laaksonen 2016; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). From my personal observations ¹, it seems that the population in these sections is generally, while still taking pride in being from Juchitán, more oriented towards modernization and the rest of Mexico. The remaining sections are generally seen as representing an in-between point in terms of material wealth (Gauvin 2011), and the importance of Zapotec identity, traditions, and language versus larger Mexican norms for the remaining sections is less consistently remarked upon in the literature.

Concerning the linguistic context, Juchitán is a region with multiple axes of language contact. While there is, of course, notable contact between Isthmus Zapotec and Spanish, especially in the seventh, eighth, and ninth sections, Juchitán also has small numbers of speakers of other indigenous languages, notably Zoque, Huave, Mixe, and other Zapotec languages. Speakers of these languages must speak Spanish and/or Isthmus Zapotec to participate in daily life. Furthermore, Juchitán is located in a region where dialect contact may occur since there is much migration in and out of Juchitán and dialectologists have found it difficult to determine which variety (or varieties) of Spanish people in Juchitán speak.

¹During both my short-term fieldwork trip during the second week of January 2020 and my longer-term fieldwork from December 2020 to February 2022

Amongst dialectologists who have drawn dialect maps delimiting Mexican dialects according to different linguistic criteria, Juchitán has been alternatively considered as a coastal Mexican dialect, a separate Oaxacan plateau dialect, a central Mexican dialect, a southern dialect, and, at other times, its own Juchiteco dialect (Butragueño 2011, 2014; Lope Blanch 1970, 1971; Serrano 2019). However, the dialect or dialects spoken in and around Juchitán do not appear to be particularly saliently separate from a perceptual point of view to most Mexicans (Serrano 2019). Depending on where boundaries are drawn, Juchitán may or may not be a region where dialect contact occurs, and, therefore, may, for that reason, be a region with more salient linguistic variability than other cities. This picture is complicated by ostensibly high rates of migration between Juchitán and other parts of Mexico, a topic I discuss in more detail in the methodology section, Chapter 4, which likely increases even further the amount of contact between Juchitán Spanish and other varieties, and correspondingly could lead to even more cases of salient linguistic variability.

1.5 The Current Sociolinguistic Context of Juchitán: The Muxe Gender Role

Muxes, despite being assigned a male gender at birth, are typically described in the anthropological literature as belonging to a "third sex" between that of women and men (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1997; Laaksonen 2016; Mirandé 2011; Stephen 2002), although I avoid using this hotly-debated, controversial term myself as much as possible (see Zimman & Hall (2009) for an overview of the controversy). Muxes, while gravitating to more ideologically feminine behaviors, may take on social roles associated with either women or men and some social roles, such as preparing for certain ceremonies, are more or less exclusively associated with muxe identity (Barbosa 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002).

Traditionally male roles that muxes have been attested to take part in include running for political office and making jewelry (Barbosa 2016; Stephen 2002), whereas female roles often performed by muxes include embroidery and decorating home altars (Stephen 2002). It is important to emphasize that, in Juchitán, as in other contexts, the word "traditional" does not always refer to traditions that have existed for a long time. Social scientists and human rights activists have long known that traditions are

not necessarily reflective of how "things always were" and that invoking tradition is often a tactic for justifying and perpetuating a given unequal social structure.

In the Juchiteco context specifically, Miche (2006) has analyzed how the concept of tradition has been invoked in Juchitán "*para validar prácticas que en realidad aparecen por la necesidad de los cambios materiales y sociológicos a lo largo del siglo XX* (to validate practices that, in truth, arose as a necessary response to material and sociological changes throughout the twentieth century)" (Miche 2006). Thus, I always understand the term "traditional" as an ideological one in this thesis, and I do not assume, at any moment, that any of the "traditional" behaviors described here are in any way reflective of Juchitán society historically unless provided with further evidence.

Because the division of labor in Juchitán is highly gendered, muxes are valued for their ability to take on a wider array of jobs than gender-normative women and men (Barbosa 2016). For instance, since artistic work is seen as men's work and party preparation is reserved for women, it is not appropriate for either men or women to work on artistic projects for parties. Therefore, muxes produce paper ornaments for large parties and celebrations (Mirandé 2011).

Also, it is common for muxes to initiate young, unmarried men into sex because women are supposed to remain virgins until marriage, a restriction that is not extended to male sexuality (Barbosa 2016; Caparrós 2012; Stephen 2002). Since muxes are not women and often do not marry, they do not suffer the same social sanctions for premarital sex, and, since muxes are not men, it does not threaten a man's heterosexual identity to have occasional sex with a muxe. In this way, muxes' ability to fulfill multiple roles supports a heteronormative social order and a gendered division of labor that might be harder to maintain in a society without muxes (Barbosa 2016).

The term "gay" is often used to describe muxes in modern-day Juchitán (Barbosa 2016; Bennholdt-Thomsen 1997) and, even though muxe identity is separate from sexual orientation, most muxes refer to themselves as homosexual (Barbosa 2016). In line with this observation, muxes tend either to find long-term male partners or to remain single and have sexual escapades with various men (Flores Martos 2010; Stephen 2002). That being said, this term is somewhat contested, as some gay-identified individuals in Juchitán reject the label "muxe" and vice versa. Although there are muxes who partner with women, these relationships are highly stigmatized, even amongst muxes, and calling a muxe a lesbian is generally treated as a serious insult (Barbosa 2016). The re-

relationships muxes have with women are consequently invisibilized, thereby strengthening the association between muxe identity and homosexuality.

Although muxes are reportedly well tolerated or even accepted in the community, previous research on muxes may have greatly exaggerated their level of acceptance within Juchiteca society (Barbosa 2016; Bennholdt-Thomsen 1997; Caparrós 2012; Flores Martos 2010; Mirandé 2011). Similarly, some past research has reproduced the myth, common in some media representations of Juchitán, that the city is more or less a matriarchy, in which women dominate social life, although some of these authors merely take an agnostic stance regarding the veracity of this myth (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Flores Martos 2010; Mirandé 2011). In actuality, women and muxes in Juchitán do suffer from the effects of patriarchal and heteronormative ideologies. In particular, heterosexual men dominate many high-paying professions (i.e., politics) (Caparrós 2012; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Laaksonen 2016; Stephen 2002), domestic violence against women, muxes, and children is reportedly very common (Barbosa 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002), and news outlets often report hate crimes against muxes (see Mirandé (2011) as well).

Furthermore, people in Juchitán, regardless of gender, are generally expected to perform gender-specific roles, which, in the case of muxes, usually implies not getting married and staying home to care for their aging parents instead (Barbosa 2016; Caparrós 2012; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Mirandé 2011). These roles/expectations can be experienced as liberatory, restrictive, or some combination thereof depending on the individual's life goals, particular life experience, and general comfort with the particular roles expected of them. Muxes also find it very difficult to find high-paying male-dominated jobs that will hire them, despite anti-discrimination laws, and it is practically unheard of for muxes dressed in women's clothing to get such jobs (Céspedes Vargas 2015).

Additionally, muxes appear to be generally more stigmatized the more they wear "women's clothing", as wearing feminine clothing is both associated with lower-class muxes and a breach of heteronormativity (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Nowadays, wearing feminine clothing is seen as more acceptable than in the past (Barbosa 2016), but dressing "as a woman" very often or in very many contexts is often still seen as inappropriate behavior denoting a lack of respect (Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001). Due to these remaining inequalities, and a salient local ideology viewing each complemen-

tary gender role as equally valuable, media descriptions of Juchitán as a matriarchy or gay paradise where feminine people dominate society are both factually inaccurate and rejected by local people.

There is also evidence that the configuration of muxe identity has changed drastically due to processes of globalization and modernization (Barbosa 2016), developments that are important to keep in mind in sociolinguistic research on modern contexts (Besnier 2007). With regards to Juchitán specifically, economic changes in the past few decades have changed Juchitán from a subsistence economy relatively unintegrated with the rest of Mexico to a modern market economy (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Whereas the subsistence economy was governed by an ideology of reciprocity and mutual social obligations (Céspedes Vargas 2015), described in detail in the methodology section, the market ideology brings with it new political and gender ideologies.

The local, informal economy, supported by ideologies of reciprocity, allows muxes to participate in the labor market as muxes, and, as such, in traditional jobs, they are allowed greater freedom to embody an intermediate gender role and less constrained by normative binary gender roles (Céspedes Vargas 2015). On the other hand, some muxes have taken advantage of the availability of hormones and silicone injections from other parts of Mexico to embody a more feminine appearance (Barbosa 2016), although such body modifications can be dangerous as they may be taken without medical supervision.

At the same time, jobs that fit within the formal market economy brought by modernity, in other words, wage labor jobs in Juchitán, seem to require that muxe employees take on an outwardly masculine appearance (i.e., avoiding dresses and other female clothing) (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Muxes involved in sex work or jobs in the traditional, non-wage sector, on the other hand, may take on a more normatively feminine appearance. This observation that muxe identity is easier to express in traditional Zapotec jobs in the informal economic sector is seemingly contradicted by other transformations in social norms brought about by modernity.

Despite formal sector jobs being restricted to masculine-presenting muxes, modernization has led muxes who present femininely to be better accepted in Juchitán, with each new generation of muxes in the past seventy years being more willing than the last to present in non-binary or feminine ways (Barbosa 2016). As a result of these changes, the term "muxe" seems to be understood by different individuals in different

ways, leading some muxes to identify strongly with the term, some to use it occasionally, and others to disavow themselves from the term despite being interpellated as muxe by others. For a more detailed description of the modern polysemous uses of the term "muxe" as understood in Juchitán contemporarily, see Céspedes Vargas (2015, pp. 27–28), as well as upcoming sections on ideologies in Juchitán, methodology, and data coding (i.e., Section 1.7 and Chapter 4).

1.6 Intersectionality and Relevant Ideologies in Juchitán

From this point onward, I will employ intersectionality as a foundational framework to present and unpack the contradicting ideologies and behaviors surrounding the changing status of muxes in a rapidly globalizing Juchitán. Although recognizing the importance of intersectionality is indispensable for understanding the social world, Levon (2015) argues that intersectionality has often not been integrated completely into sociolinguistic research, especially with regard to variationist sociolinguistics. Partly in response to this article, recent variationist works have begun incorporating intersectionality more thoroughly (such as in Eckert (2018), Fought (2019), & McConnell-Ginet (2017)). This thesis attempts to continue this trend.

Intersectionality, first defined by/in Crenshaw (1991) in response to second-wave feminism's over-preoccupation with white women's concerns, holds that "no one category (e.g., 'woman' or 'lesbian') is sufficient to account for individual experience or behavior" (Levon 2015). Instead, various categories of lived experience (i.e., race, gender, age, etc.) intersect to create lived realities in ways that are irreducible to the categories themselves. Categories emerge in specific sociohistorical and interactional contexts and are mutually constitutive, meaning, for instance, that gender emerges only in relation to race, class, age, and other categories (Collins 2002; Crenshaw 1991; Levon 2015).

Regarding language and gender research, "there is no 'gender' effect to be discovered and analyzed; there is only the effect of gender in relation to class, race, etc." (Levon 2015). Since different social identities and their associated privileged or oppressed status emerge within the context of one another, multiple ideologies regarding the social world will be examined in this study, through their manifestations in gender and language ideologies. Using intersectionality as a foundational framework, the

contested status of muxes begins to make sense. Some Juchitec@s, reporters, and anthropologists claim that muxes have high status relative to gender-normative men in Juchitán, a claim that is rejected by many muxes and some anthropologists. Notably, claims of tolerance towards muxes are often linked to Zapotec identity and favorably contrasted with the imagined machismo and heterosexism of the larger Mexican society (Flores Martos 2010; Miano Borruso 2001; Mirandé 2011). In a post-colonial context where, for hundreds of years, Zapotecs have resisted colonialism and neo-colonialism (Mirandé 2011) and have a strong sense of ethnic identity (Stephen 2002), claims of tolerance towards muxes present a Zapotec identity that positively contrasts with white/mestizo Mexican society. LGBT tolerance is internationally valued, thus, in claiming to accept muxes, Zapotecs employ their alleged adherence to global progressive values to valorize their identity in the face of an anti-indigenous Mexican state.

Although *muxe* is a uniquely Zapotec identity, there is plenty of evidence that tolerance of muxes is a recent phenomenon. Older muxes, having grown up in a less tolerant era, typically do not present differently from gender-normative men, unless they consider themselves to be feminine-identified *muxe gunaa* who dress largely as women (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016). A greater explanation and discussion of the *muxe gunaa* label can be found in Section 4.3. Furthermore, according to community members, muxes in the past were only identifiable as such from their distinct manner of speaking and vocal intonation (Barbosa 2016). With their newfound tolerance depending on ideologies valorizing both the modern and the traditional as a defense against Mexican anti-indigenous neocolonialism, muxes straddle a precarious position between pro-modern and pro-traditional ideologies to justify their newfound tolerance.

Muxes are often involved in the left-wing political activism associated with the region (Caparrós 2012; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002) and wear traditional dresses that are associated with indigeneity (Flores Martos 2010) linking them to traditional Zapotec identity, while some (often the same) muxes participate in practices associated with pro-LGBT modern values, such as participating in HIV/AIDS activism and performing in drag at muxe-organized celebrations (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1997; Miano Borruso 2001). At the same time, muxes are traditionally involved in local Catholic religious life to a far greater extent than is permitted in Juchitán's newer religions, like evangelical Christianity, brought to the city through globalization (Barbosa 2016).

As such, muxes seem to be caught in a web of contrasting ideologies involving re-

sistance to historical and modern (neo)colonialism and conflicting local, national, and global ideologies of sexuality and gender. With intersectionality in mind, the mentioned gender ideologies explored in this thesis will be understood as manifestations of these contrasting ideologies, rather than independent ideologies unrelated to other aspects of the social structure. Reading ethnography and doing fieldwork in Juchitán allowed these relevant ideologies to be further examined, and ideologies that lend themselves to quantification were identified, quantified, and tested for correlations with linguistic variables.

1.7 Language and Gender Ideologies in Juchitán

On the one hand, language ideologies that were specifically related to gender were considered for inclusion in this study. Muxes in the past were principally identified by their supposedly unique manner of speech (Barbosa 2016), which is important to consider in light of widespread language ideologies concerning how LGBT people and women talk (i.e., in Cameron (2014) & Mack (2010)). Along these lines, the ideology "that there are clear-cut, stable differences in the way language is used by women and men" is probably the most cross-culturally widespread gender-based language ideology in existence (Cameron 2014). Since such gender and sexuality-based ideologies are relevant in so many other contexts, ideologies regarding muxe, female, and male speech are likely relevant in the context of Juchitán as well.

In the end, however, no language ideologies related to gender were selected for quantification in this study, as other ideologies seemed even more relevant to the local context, after looking carefully through previous research and making my ethnographic observations. Instead, considering the importance of the indigenous Zapotec language, muxe identity, and a unique gendered organization in the region, ideologies surrounding the corresponding languages and identities were identified and quantified for later analysis. I selected contrasting ideologies from two different sources, a Zapotec ideology of proper social organization and mainstream Mexican ideologies of proper social organization, when looking for mentioned ideologies in the speech of study participants. These two large ideologies encompass many smaller ideologies, including three gender ideologies and two language ideologies, which all are mentioned in the speech of people in Juchitán.

Many authors have commented upon the paramount importance of relations of reciprocity, established largely through the parties that drive social life, in organizing social life in Juchitán (i.e., Barbosa (2016), Bennholdt-Thomsen (1994), Holzer (1999), & Miche (2006)). The Zapotec ideology of proper social organization elevates this system of reciprocity into a moral imperative, holding that every individual has specific complementary roles, based on the social group they belong to, that they must necessarily fulfill for society to function. Adherence to these roles, and especially the reciprocal nature of these roles, is a moral imperative, as it ensures harmonious, complementary, and economically beneficial relationships between individual social groups are maintained.

Reciprocity, in other words, providing concrete benefits and services to other community members that are defined within your social role with the expectation that these other community members will also act in your interest from the position provided through their role, is of utmost importance. Community members are expected and encouraged to have pride in their identities, possibly because it is through their identity that they are provided with the normative rules that govern the specific way in which they will engage in reciprocity. As such, there is a strong pressure to conform to the expectations of your role, especially regarding the reciprocal benefits you are expected to provide. Along these lines, failing to do your part in upholding reciprocity, for example refusing a party invitation, is taken to be a severe offense to the person holding the party (Barbosa 2016). However, each role, forming part of a complementary relationship with other roles, contains its own level of power and influence, along with its own inherent restrictions.

The resultant power that women have been observed in certain contexts in Juchitán has led many to describe Juchitán to be a matriarchy (Escobedo Lastiri 2011), but, in fact, the power women (and men and muxes) have is restricted to their exercising these complementary roles. Therefore, it would be simplistic to refer to one social role as related hierarchically to other roles. The existence of these roles implies the existence of certain social hierarchies, but the hierarchical relationships that exist between different social roles are contradictory and circumstantial.

A good example of how this functions can be seen in *raptos* (kidnappings, also referred to as *robadas*), parties celebrating a young woman's betrothal and loss of virginity, as described in the literature on these celebrations and confirmed in my personal

observations. In *raptos*, women and men are both expected to provide a so-called *rec-ompensa* to the person who organized the party. Women typically provide monetary compensation, referred to as a *cooperación* (cooperation), whereas men provide beer, in an amount corresponding to a similar monetary value (Dávalos Vázquez 2017).

Women are responsible for organizing the *rapto* celebration, and the party is largely centered around women. Only women are allowed to check the virginity of the bride, and afterward, only women (and feminine muxes) are allowed to dance during the majority of the dances that are held during the party (Dávalos Vázquez 2017). This provides them with an opportunity to express pride in their unique role as women, bringing a type of value to the community in their role that only feminine people are permitted to bring. As such, their role allows them in this instance to act in ways that are denied to men, giving them power. On the other hand, although the importance attached to female virginity before marriage has decreased greatly, the fact that virginity is still celebrated in a ceremony as important to women and not at all for men seems to reinforce gender norms that privilege men.

We see a similar complementarity that does not clearly create unidirectional hierarchies in the traditional division of labor and economic resources in Juchitán. In Juchitán, certain jobs are (very nearly) exclusively engaged in by women or muxes, whereas other jobs are nearly exclusive to men, and a handful of jobs are largely taken by muxes (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Stephen 2002). Women also traditionally control the distribution of money and other resources within the family.

This division of labor and money is inherently reciprocal because the roles of men, women, and muxes are equally important and complement each other. For an example of how this functions, in the seventh section, catching fish is a common job that is taken on by men (Dávalos Vázquez 2017), a role that does not require them to handle money, so that women can sell fish in open-air markets (Dávalos Vázquez 2017). Women, and not men, are required to handle money to perform this joint work, so it is only logical that they should handle money in other domains. A portion of this money is spent on contributions to parties, dresses, and other products for parties that are typically made by muxes (Barbosa 2016; Miche 2006; Mirandé 2011).

If any one of these gender roles, with the associated products and services provided by each, were to be absent, this entire chain of economic relations could collapse. In other words, Juchitán's economic well-being is linked to the contribution of labor pro-

vided by each gender. Therefore, members of each role are seen as necessary, equally important, and have a level of power and influence because they are all equally necessary to the economic stability of the small city. In both of these examples, we see that the hierarchies inherent in prescribing roles to certain individuals based on their social identity are far less unidirectional than would be expected when comparing Juchitán to traditional Western societies

Instead, this organization of labor reflects an indigenous ideology emphasizing the importance of complementary reciprocal roles that are not necessarily hierarchical in their relation to one another. When applied to gender, the Zapotec ideology of social organization is similar to the ideology, described in Section 2.1, of egalitarian essentialism found in many European societies (Grunow et al. 2018), but it differs from this ideology in minimizing the role of choice involved in women and men taking on separate but ostensibly equal roles.

In contrast, the mainstream Mexican ideologies that seem relevant in Juchitán, though superficially different from one another, have in common a non-complementary way of seeing the social world. Through the influence of religious and sociopolitical ideologies from Spain and later the United States and France, Mexican elites have historically and presently developed and promoted ideas about the social world that mirrored those found throughout the Western world. Historically, these views included the belief in a variety of binary oppositions that implied the superiority of some social groups over others, views which are reflected to a certain extent by the ideologies relevant in Juchitán. With regards to gender, traditional machista ideology, reflecting hyper-masculine ideals present throughout the Western world, encourages men to dominate women, who are seen as existing for the benefit of men (Arciniega et al. 2008).

Although this ideology contrasts with the ideology of *caballerismo* (best translated in this context as gentlemanliness) in the rest of Mexico, in which men are nurturing protectors of the family (Arciniega et al. 2008), its contrast with other ideologies seems more relevant to Juchitán. Regarding the ideology of superiority and inferiority as applied to language, the language associated with white and mestizo Mexicans (Spanish) is seen as superior to the languages associated with indigenous groups (in this case, Isthmus Zapotec) (Augsburger 2004). Both the machista ideology and the pro-Spanish/anti-Zapotec ideology, though strongly resisted, are present in Juchitán and coexist with the complementary understanding of identity articulated above.

The pro-Spanish ideology is also resisted through adherence to a pro-Zapotec language ideology that either, along the lines of complementarianism, treats Spanish and Zapotec as equally, but differently, valuable, or treats Zapotec as more valuable than Spanish. This ideology often appears together with the pro-Spanish ideology in the discourse and behaviors of ordinary Juchitecos. For instance, while Zapotec enjoys a certain amount of prestige as a "beautiful" language that symbolizes adulthood, belonging in Juchitán, and Zapotec identity, children are being spoken to more frequently in Spanish since Spanish is linked with practicality and economic advancement (Augsburger 2004). As more children are encouraged to speak in Spanish at home, Zapotec competence is slowly decreasing. That being said, lack of Zapotec competence is seen as a rejection of local identity pride, and most children in Zapotec-speaking and bilingual areas acquire fluent Zapotec through immersion in the community (Augsburger 2004).

In recent decades, both local inegalitarian ideologies and the complementarianism typically exalted in Juchitán are being challenged by other ideologies that, at least on the surface, appear to be more egalitarian. These apparently egalitarian ideologies in Mexico reflect both those that became popular worldwide after the Second World War as a result of mobilization against Western imperialism, racism, and sexism by egalitarian social movements and older assimilatory ideologies of *mestizaje*, implicated in the formation of the Mexican national imaginary as a prototypically mestizo state (Glockner 2015; Saldívar 2014). Concretely, the "egalitarian" ideology holds that social groups are equal to one another and deserve equal opportunities. Despite having some similarities with role complementarianism, specifically with the idea that every individual is equal in their social value, this "egalitarianism" contrasts with the ideology of role complementarianism in important ways.

Specifically, "egalitarianism" takes from both *mestizaje* and certain strands of feminism the desire to either erase or diminish the importance of social distinctions as a tactic in pursuing equality, holding that members of different social groups can and should be assimilated into the same roles in society, especially in the public sphere. This contrasts strongly with the idea, in complementarianism, that social groups with their different associated competencies and social roles, improve society by engaging in their respective complementary roles and that equality is possible within this role-stratified division of labor.

With regard to language ideologies, the insistence on relative sameness in egalitarianism also works against the maintenance of the Zapotec language. If equality is achieved by downplaying social distinctions, the loss of Zapotec is justified, as monolingual Spanish competence allows indigenous people to be better incorporated into the national economy, and therefore more equal in opportunity, in a way that erases a distinctive feature of Zapotec identity, namely the Zapotec language. In line with this argument, many Juchitecos have been observed to reproduce this language ideology, linking competence in standard Spanish to economic opportunities and progress (Augsburger 2004). As such, competence in Zapotec is seen as a marker of valuing local identity, while Spanish competence is seen as symbolizing the importance of integrating into the larger Mexican society.

The presence of all of these ideologies in this community points to the coexistence of very different orientations to the world in Juchitán. On the one hand, many perspectives value the local relations of reciprocity, while, at the same time, acknowledging the importance of an increased connection to the outside world. Furthermore, some perspectives elevate certain community members and practices over others, while others contest these relations of superiority/inferiority. These ideologies often seem to contradict each other. For instance, the value accorded to Isthmus Zapotec as an important marker of belonging in Juchitán and of Zapotec identity more generally is contradicted by the community's slow shift towards monolingual Spanish competence as a more practical and economically profitable choice.

Since all of these potentially incompatible ideologies seem to be prevalent in the population and are linked to current changes in Juchiteca society, I would expect the same people to endorse different ideologies towards men, women, and muxes, along with Spanish and Isthmus Zapotec, at different times and in different conversational contexts. As such, I decided to quantify moment-by-moment variations in how people express these different and apparently-contradicting language ideologies, along with the ideologies surrounding muxe and female identity more specifically, and correlated shifts in the expression of these ideologies with linguistic output. In the next chapter, I provide further justification for this approach.

Chapter 2

Mentioned Ideologies in Juchitán

2.1 Defining Ideology

Ideology is a broad concept that has been defined in the relevant literature in several different ways. Therefore, in this subsection, I will review the literature defining ideology, both in and beyond linguistics, focusing on language ideologies, gender ideologies, and other ideologies. With this information in mind, I will propose the most comprehensive and useful definition for this study. This definition should be helpful in later subsections of the chapter, where I justify the thesis's fairly new approach to ideology.

Language ideologies are conceived in the literature as "representations through which language is imbued with cultural meaning" (Cameron 2014), construing the intersection of languages and humans in a social context (Woolard 1998). More comprehensively, Kroskrity (2000) defines language ideology as a cluster concept with four aspects, namely they serve certain interests, they are always multiple, group members have varying degrees of awareness of relevant language ideologies, and they mediate between social structures and forms of talk.

Gender ideologies and language ideologies, the main kinds of ideologies analyzed in this thesis, are distinguishable from other kinds of ideologies only on the basis of what type of power relations they represent a position towards. For instance, language ideologies differ from other ideologies because they take a perspective on a sociolinguistic variant, language variety, form of talk, or other linguistic item. On the other hand, gender ideologies justify particular gendered ways of organizing society and therefore participate in the reassertion of particular sets of gender roles (Philips 2008). For instance, a machista or patriarchal gender ideology supports a gendered social order where men are dominant over women and hold more positions of power than women, who are restricted to taking on roles that mostly benefit men (Arciniega et al. 2008).

In contrast, an egalitarian essentialist gender ideology holds that, given the choice, men and women generally prefer to work in separate spheres (the private sphere for women and the public sphere for men), but that each of these spheres is equally valu-

able and important (Grunow et al. 2018). Both of these example ideologies, as different as they are from one another in the way they view women, support particular (and, in this case, similar) gendered ways of organizing society (in this case, in which women and men take on different social roles).

As opposed to gender ideologies, language ideologies mediate between social structure and forms of talk in greater part through their relationship to other, non-linguistic ideologies (Kulick (1992) cited in Silverstein (1992) & Woolard (1998)). In general, language ideologies are always understood as just one element of much larger ideologies that are connected to larger patterns in the distribution and manifestation of power within societies. Along these lines, both linguistic and non-linguistic ideologies are often argued to be indispensable to one another. For instance, such arguments are made regarding the relationship between racism and linguistic racism, between nationalism and linguistic nationalism, and between classism and British ideologies of proper English in Anderson (2006), Flores & Rosa (2015), Gellner (1983) cited in Kroskrity (2015), Lippi-Green (1997), & Milroy (2000).

In other cases, language ideologies can be described as manifestations of political ideologies (Woolard (1995), cited in Blackledge (2000)) that disguise their connections to political ideologies through fractal recursivity (Irvine et al. 2009) and mystification (Lippi-Green 1997). Since language ideologies can be (almost categorically) linked back to other, non-language ideologies, and vice versa, it makes sense to treat language ideologies as a particular type of ideology with similar characteristics to other ideologies. As such, in the following discussion of literature in linguistics, anthropology, and critical theory, I will assume that what has been said about language ideologies typically also applies to non-linguistic ideologies.

Much literature on ideologies in linguistics and anthropology has taken one of two approaches to the study of ideology. In one approach, ideology is conceived broadly as the intellectual constituent of culture (cited in Woolard (1998)), including implicit and explicit aspects (Eagleton (1991), cited in Del Valle & Meirinho-Guede (2015) & Woolard (1998)) and shared social belief systems that are often implicit in discourse (Gee 2007; Van Dijk 1999, 2005). The second approach, also endorsed by critical theorists, takes a similar definition of ideology as the first approach but explicitly connects these mental and discursive phenomena to the social struggle for power and the expression of particular interests central to the social order (i.e., Irvine (1992), Kroskrity

(2015), & Woolard (1998)).

Many scholars see these two approaches as not necessarily opposed to one another, with Kroskrity (2004) viewing descriptive, "non-critical" and critical approaches as existing on a continuum and Friedrich (1989) seeing them as complementary and useful for answering different questions. As such, many authors, even the majority that understands ideologies as always being connected to power, cite authors who see ideology primarily descriptively, and therefore as potentially unconnected to power (i.e., Kroskrity (2004) & Van Dijk (1999)). However, these other authors, who see ideology through a "non-critical" perspective, are not cited for their non-critical perspective, but rather because other aspects of their theories are useful for studying ideology.

I also follow Friedrich (1989) and Kroskrity (2004) in taking an overall critical view of ideology without completely avoiding insights from non-critical approaches. A critical approach is always necessary to some degree because ostensibly ideologically neutral ideas can often be linked back to power in some way. Therefore, in my particular study, although I do not entirely shy away from reading and incorporating non-critical work on ideology, I always consider ideology to be linked to power at some level. However, rather than continuing to debate to what extent and in which ways power is related to ideology, it is more important to my study that I emphasize other aspects of ideology, such as its social construction in interactions between individuals, rather than within the individual themselves (Mumby (1989) citing Volosinov (1973)), and its expression and negotiation in discourse (Van Dijk 1999, 2005) or "a set of discourses that are intricately interlinked with one another" (Hill 1992). This Bakhtinian focus on ideology as a social construction expressed and negotiated in a set of discourses is central to my work.

As such, I define ideology in this project, similarly to critical definitions that also cite some non-critical scholars of ideology (i.e., Van Dijk (1999, 2003)), as widely shared sets of beliefs in a given social group that are constituted in discourse and interaction (rather than held primarily in people's heads) and linked to larger systems and relations of power. This definition also fits well with definitions in political science that see ideology as a set of beliefs that are related to taking on political positions, and/or taking up political identities, since political positions and identities are also linked to systems and relations of power.

Ideologies are further characterized by their tendency to erase aspects of the inter-

subjectively experienced social world (Irvine et al. 2009) and to deny their ideological nature (Althusser 1970; Fairclough 1991), making them difficult to pin down analytically. Previous work has employed ethnography, analysis of the historical conditions leading to the creation of an ideology, and critical discourse studies, among other approaches, to identify locally relevant ideologies, in other words, ideologies that are of particular importance in justifying and/or challenging local systems of power relations. In my study, I rely on a combination of past ethnography, my own ethnographic observations, and the techniques used by other researchers in a variety of subdisciplines of linguistics to identify locally relevant ideologies. For each locally relevant language and gender ideology, I write a detailed description of the ideology in question (found in Section 4.5), following the example of scholars like Irvine (1992) in describing Wolof language ideology. In the two paragraphs below, I explain a few methods of identifying ideologies used by researchers in different subdisciplines, all of which I employed in my own work on Juchitán, while identifying ideologies of potential local relevance.

In ethnographic work, language ideologies are often identified through overtly expressed attitudes toward the item in question, otherwise known as metalinguistic statements (Silverstein 1992, 1996), in other words, comments that overtly express the speakers' attitudes. These metalinguistic statements are often taken to represent the linguistic ideology endorsed by that particular speaker (i.e., Irvine (1992), Kroskrity (2015), & Wortham (2001)). They are also implicated in processes of hegemonization and (re)definition of language ideologies (Blommaert 1999); in other words, metalinguistic statements may participate in the creation of language ideologies, in changes to the content of particular language ideologies, and in the positioning of certain language ideologies as universal, "non-ideological", or otherwise dominant systems of belief.

However, ideologies, including language ideologies, have also often been identified by uncovering attitudes that are covertly expressed and need to be unpacked. This may occur through the analysis of behaviors (i.e., in Kroskrity (1992) & Silverstein (1992) in his discussion of ritual) or of the assumptions behind the discourse analyzed (i.e., in Flores & Rosa (2015), Jaffe (2000, 2015), & Milroy (2000)), assumptions that can also be identified through a critical discourse studies approach (Messing 2007; Van Dijk 1999, 2003, 2005). Both Kroskrity (2015) and Van Dijk (2003, p. 49) point out that

certain ideologies (racist ideology for Van Dijk and language ideologies generally for Kroskrity) are often formed through group members' self-identification against oppositional others, while Rosa & Burdick (2016) consider any view about language itself to be ideological. This means that finding out which people speakers oppose themselves towards to create their identity and looking for their views about language can be useful in identifying language and gender ideologies.

2.2 The Concept of "Mentioned" or "Expressed" Ideology

Ideology is a large, amorphous concept that cannot be quantified directly, and I will not attempt to do so here. Furthermore, much important work on ideology in linguistics does not lend itself to quantitative research, and I am not attempting to compete with or negate the need for such work. What I am instead interested in quantifying for use in a variationist study is a small, yet crucial and often overlooked, tool in the (re)creation of both coherent ideologies and incoherent or otherwise non-invested expressions of belief with ideological content. This tool, the expression of multiple different (and often contradictory) ideological stances, is not the same as ideology, which arises out of a social context from interactions between individuals.

To better explain what a mentioned ideology looks like, before addressing what form they take, how they are related to larger ideologies, and how I expect them to be related to variation, I will provide two examples of differing mentioned ideologies articulated by the same speaker. The speaker, a 26-year-old homosexual male, who was identified by others as muxe, but rejected the label himself, expressed, at different times, different gender ideologies related to muxe/gay social roles. At one point, he mentions matriarchal gender ideology (see Section 4.5), in which women are understood as superior to men, saying *porque hay unos (gays) que son conformistas como los hombres heterosexuales* (because there are some (gays) who are complacent like straight men). Later he rejects muxe gender roles for himself by mentioning an egalitarian gender ideology (see Section 4.5), in which all gendered roles are rejected, saying *pero no porque me gustan los hombres quiera decir de que yo voy a estar toda una vida sirviendo mis papás* (me liking men does not mean that I'm going to spend my entire life serving my parents).

I will argue that the expression of multiple ideologies, as in the examples above, is

a prevalent structuring feature of ideology that is quantifiable for use in a variationist study as an independent variable. The existence of this structuring feature of ideology will be extrapolated from linguistic, anthropological, and especially political science scholarship. Accordingly, I will also show that both ideologically coherent individuals, who clearly take on a larger ideological position, and ideologically uncommitted individuals, who do not seem to affiliate themselves clearly with a single ideology, express multiple ideologies in their spoken discourse. I will further argue that these mentioned ideologies can be more productively used as an independent variable in variationist studies than the ideological frameworks speakers ostensibly affiliate with. To avoid using the clunky term, "expression of multiple ideologies", I will opt to describe this phenomenon more succinctly as "expressed ideologies" or "mentioned ideologies" throughout the rest of the thesis. I define "mentioned ideologies" as stances towards an ideologically salient object that reflect, reinforce, and/or challenge locally relevant ideologies.

Mentioned ideologies take the form of particular types of stances towards an ideologically salient object. Stance is a concept that has often been defined differently by different authors in sociolinguistics (see Du Bois (2007), Gadanidis et al. (2021), Jaffe (2015), Kiesling (2009), & Ochs (1992), among others). In reviewing this literature, Gadanidis et al. (2021), who attempt to quantify stance and correlate it with linguistic variation, find a common definition for stance as "a form of positionality, or attitudinal expression, that a speaker takes towards the content of their talk and their audience". In Du Bois (2007)'s influential article, acts of stance-taking are understood as involving two speakers and an object of the stance. These three elements form a "stance triangle" in which one speaker simultaneously performs three actions. Firstly, they evaluate the topic of conversation (the stance object), secondly, they position someone, usually themselves, as a subject with respect to that stance object, and thirdly, they align the subject (usually themselves) with another subject (Du Bois 2007; Gadanidis et al. 2021; Jaffe 2015; Kiesling 2009).

Most important for this thesis are the first two actions, which imply the creation of a relationship of evaluation and positioning between a subject and object. For a mentioned ideology, a subject evaluates an object in a way that reflects a larger ideology. The object of a stance in a mentioned ideology can be a person, ideology, process of social change, or any other socially relevant entity. What makes any indi-

vidual stance an instance of mentioned ideology is the fact that taking that particular stance towards that particular object in that particular context is comprehensible as a manifestation of a locally relevant ideology. That means that these stances must "fit" within an ideological framework that many people in the local context align with or against. Furthermore, locally relevant ideological frameworks come into being when certain stances (subject-object pairs) are recognized as "mentioned ideologies" and habitually/repetitively taken on.

According to Ochs (1992), stances can be either "affective", showing an emotional or dispositional type of position, or "epistemic", displaying a degree of (dis)belief or (un)certainly, towards the stance object. Mentioned ideologies can take the form of either type of stance, as long as the overall stance, if habitually taken on, could be classified as a locally relevant larger ideology. This makes sense, as ideologies often imply dispositions towards particular individuals and/or ideas (Kroskrity 2015; Van Dijk 2003), reflected in affective stances, and statements of "fact" or belief (Van Dijk 1999, 2003), presumably introduced into discourse with epistemic stances. For examples of all mentioned ideologies containing all of these types of stances, reference Section 10.1 and Section 10.2 of the appendices.

Stances can also, in and of themselves, be taken on as stance objects by another speaker (Gadanidis et al. 2021). Some cases of mentioned ideology also take this form, as a speaker might, for instance, take an epistemic stance towards a sexist ideology indicating that the sexism no longer occurs. For instance, in Section 10.1 of the appendices, one speaker is cited as saying *ya no es tan condenable* (it is no longer so condemnable) after a long description, composed of certain epistemic stances, of how women used to be judged for not remaining virgins before marriage. The certain epistemic stances describing past sexism were considered cases of mentioned machista gender ideology (see Section 4.5) and became the stance objects in a epistemic stance negating the contemporary relevance of such sexism (*ya no es tan condenable* (it is no longer so condemnable)). This latter stance was considered a case of mentioned egalitarian gender ideology (see Section 4.5).

Another important form that mentioned ideologies can take is the form of reiterating a stereotype through an epistemic stance. Stereotypes are generally studied in social psychology and, like the concept of stance itself, there are many competing definitions. However, a common thread running through these definitions is the idea that

stereotypes are generalized beliefs about a social group (Kanahara 2006). These beliefs, when brought into discourse through an epistemic or affective stance, often fit the criteria for particular mentioned ideologies. An example of this would be the statement from a speaker in my coding sheets that men *son flojos* (are lazy), an epistemic stance confirming the (for the speaker) high truth value of the stereotype that men are lazy. This stereotype fits within the locally relevant matriarchal gender ideology (see Section 4.5 and Section 10.1 of the appendices for more information).

Two issues in the identification and quantification of stances that express mentioned ideologies involve identifying the object of a stance and figuring out how long an individual stance is so that it can be measured. To identify the object of a stance, ethnography is often necessary, as otherwise, it might not always be clear what speakers are referring to in individual utterances (Gadanidis et al. 2021). For this reason, my ethnographic observations and review of the anthropological literature were particularly helpful to the successful identification of mentioned ideologies in the data.

Regarding the length of stances, the literature does not typically say much, leading some authors to seemingly define stances as encompassing relatively large sections of speech, encompassing many speech units (i.e., Jaffe (2015)). However, most authors working on stance seem to conceptualize stance as involving a relatively small amount of speech, based on the size of the examples they provide (i.e., Gadanidis et al. (2021) & Kiesling (2009)). In keeping with the majority of research on stances, I also understand mentioned ideologies as encompassing the smallest unit necessary to observe a subject-object pair within the stance. This smallest unit is always at least a tone group in length since coding within any smaller unit would artificially remove elements of discourse that interact with the subject-object pair within that chunk of discourse, leading to potentially inaccurate coding.

2.3 Why Study Ideology Rather than Attitude

In the sociolinguistic research on the ideas people have about language, some approaches use the term, *attitudes*, to describe these ideas, whereas other research prefers the term, *ideologies*. This thesis uses almost exclusively the term, *ideology* since, although some of the research I cite uses the term, *attitudes*, this term fits under *ideology* according to my criteria. On the one hand, both terms, in referring to sets of ideas

regarding particular phenomena (in linguistics usually about language), cover enough similar ground that they could be used interchangeably for some research projects. On the other hand, however, *ideology* is more often used within the field of linguistic anthropology, which is more relevant to my research project, whereas *attitudes*, with its origins in social psychology applied to linguistics, accordingly implies different theoretical considerations and methodological frameworks.

As such, there are many clear and important differences in how each of these terms has been employed, in the assumptions behind each term, and between the research connected to each term. In the following paragraphs, I will initially provide a brief explanation of how language attitudes have been understood in sociolinguistic research. Subsequently, I will show how the assumptions and theoretical framework implicit in this research differ from those implicit in research on language ideologies. Finally, I will argue that the term *ideology* fits my particular research topic better due to its connection with sociopolitical issues, my decision not to use questionnaires, and relatedly, its focus away from speakers' held attitudes.

Whereas the concept of *language ideology* fits within the tradition of linguistic anthropology and, therefore, is used to explore connections between the microcontext of a speech event and the macrocontext of larger social forces, the concept of *language attitudes* is more closely associated with applied linguistics and social psychologists, and some variationists use the term. In fact, most work from sociolinguistic variationists that looks at attitude or ideology, including work I cite in Section 2.8, prefers the term, *attitude*, over the term, *ideology* (for examples of this tendency that are cited elsewhere in this work, see Aaron & Hernandez (2007), Díaz Barajas & Orozco (2019), Eller (2013), Rissel (1989), & Waltermire (2010)). Exceptions include Kroch (1978) & Walker et al. (2014), who prefer the term ideology, whereas certain innovative studies from Barnes (2018), Labov (1963), Lynch (2009), Upadhyay (2009), & Yaeger-Dror (2014) use both terms, *ideology* and *attitude*, at times seemingly interchangeably. This is likely because both language ideologies and attitudes, being peripheral to variation, are generally researched by other people. Variationists may use literature from one or both camps to justify including language attitude or ideology as a factor, but they do not typically ally with one or the other, as their focus is on studying variation and social meaning, and the theoretical differences between attitudes and ideology research is therefore not central to their projects.

The term, *language attitudes*, has its origins in social psychology and, perhaps accordingly, research on this topic emphasizes the attitudes in speakers' minds (held attitudes) and tries to figure out how these attitudes can be identified, despite the difficulties involved in determining what speakers are thinking. At the same time, due to its lack of connection with sociology and anthropology, the research on attitudes tends not to emphasize questions of power that are implicit in the term *ideology*, although the research does not necessarily imply that these questions of power are unimportant. As such, whereas *ideology* focuses on the relationship between larger sociopolitical forces and the behavior and ideas of speakers, *attitudes* focuses more narrowly on the relationship between speakers' behaviors and ideas, although without necessarily denying that those individual ideas are connected to the larger sociopolitical structure.

An approach focused on *language ideology* can also more easily overstep the question of people's individually held beliefs altogether, seeing as ideologies can be so naturalized that they manifest themselves in ways that are not very conscious to the speakers manifesting them. Lewis (2018), for instance, summarizes the literature on language ideologies and contrasts it with the implicit assumptions behind Labov's attempts to change people's language attitudes (Labov 1982b), pointing out that scholarship on language ideologies understands ideologies to go beyond individual beliefs. While individual beliefs are a part of ideology, they do not constitute its core.

Instead, language ideologies are constituted by specific representations, practices, and behaviors with concrete material manifestations that participate in the creation of speakers' subjectivities (Lewis 2018; Woolard 1998). This project uses the concept of "mentioned" or "expressed" ideologies, which, as I will show in later sections, allows the researchers to incorporate an element of ideology into their work without having to say what individual speakers are actually thinking when they use particular variants. Therefore, the term *ideology* is better suited for this project than the term *attitude*.

In this project, I attempt to avoid figuring out what speakers actually believe for a few key reasons. On the one hand, by not focusing on people's actual held beliefs, I can explore the links between expressed ideologies (rather than held attitudes) and variation, which are both under-researched and potentially interesting, as I will establish in Section 2.9. On the other hand, as I will show in Sections 2.3 and especially 2.4, there is good reason to believe that speakers' mentioned ideologies are often very distinct from and more frequently occurring than their held attitudes, and therefore that men-

tioned ideologies are better suited to act as independent variables in variation analysis. Finally, as I will emphasize in the remainder of this section, it is often very difficult to determine which ideologies speakers most affiliate with, even with the best-developed methods for capturing speaker language attitudes. This lack of transparency provides a very compelling reason to focus on mentioned ideologies in discourse rather than the held attitudes of speakers and also to avoid the term *attitude* altogether.

Language attitude questionnaires are often used to identify subjectively experienced attitudes of speakers. This approach, though useful, may occasionally construct attitudes for these speakers by forcing them to answer questions that they never thought about before. As such, they may create an attitude in response to the questionnaire rather than express an attitude they had previously constructed. Furthermore, as I show more thoroughly in Section 2.4, speakers often simultaneously hold multiple logically incompatible attitudes about power-related (and other political) issues. Therefore, to the extent that speaker attitudes can be elucidated through methods like questionnaires, the problem remains that the same individual may contradict the attitudes they express in a questionnaire at multiple other times.

As such, I employ the term *ideology* rather than attitude to highlight the links between sociopolitical issues and linguistic behavior but also to sidestep the messy issue of determining what speakers actually believe since the term *ideology* is more adequate for structures of belief that locate themselves outside of individual speakers. Like Woolard (1998), I will nevertheless subsume research on attitude within the concept of ideology in this thesis, recognizing that research on attitude merely looks at beliefs and practices through a different lens than research on ideology, a lens that works less well in the context of this study than it might in other academic work.

2.4 Ideological Multiplicity at All Levels of Social Organization

The existence of a multiplicity of ideologies within a given society has been well-documented and well-recognized in linguistics and critical theory. Research has often emphasized that the language ideologies in a given society are multiple (Kroskrity 2004, 2015; Makihara 2007), "a default plural" in Kroskrity's words, for multiple reasons. On the one hand, ideologies come in contact and contention (in other words, conflict) with one another (Kroskrity 2004, 2015) when they are not mutually compatible.

On the other hand, this contact and even contention (conflict) can lead to ideological transformation (Kroskrity 2004, 2015), as resolving the contradictions between opposing sets of beliefs may involve changing aspects of the original belief systems or even involve the creation of a new ideology.

These phenomena of ideological contact, contention, and then transformation occur as a result of power relations and struggles for dominance within a given society (Heller & McElhinny 2017; Kroskrity 2015). Taking part in these struggles, speakers occupying distinct subject positions with respect to the social structure frequently express different ideologies. For instance, since men are privileged over women in most societies, women and men have sometimes competing interests with respect to gender, leading women and men to express different gender ideologies (Philips 2008). Ideologies can also be seen in general as tending to generate conflicts, fights, and differences of opinion (Van Dijk 2003) because, due to their positioning within unequal power structures, people may take on different available cultural models from each other (Gee 2007).

This can occur because, in contrast to the assertions of theorists like Althusser (1970) and Bourdieu (1977), linguistic practices often demonstrate the incompleteness of ideological hegemony (Heller & McElhinny 2017) through its disruption by other ideologies (Woolard 1985), which may paradoxically both ensure and limit its reproduction (Althusser 1962; Hall 1985). In other words, the ways in which people use language show that hegemonic ideologies are generally not completely hegemonic. Instead, the existence of ideologies that contest the hegemonic ideology can often be seen in language, and these other systems of belief can both help the hegemonic ideology to spread and also undercut its influence. How this occurs will be explored in the rest of the section.

In the construction of any ideology, at least one other ideology and its associated practices are usually subjected to processes of subordination and erasure. Regarding the formation of a hegemonic ideology, it is the non-hegemonic ideology and its corresponding practices that experience subordination and erasure (Heller & McElhinny 2017; Lippi-Green 1997; Swigart 2001; Woolard 1985). However, non-hegemonic ideologies continue to exist despite subordination and erasure processes, persisting due to the competing sets of values implicit in alternative markets and covert prestige, which create strong pressures in favor of "illegitimate" languages/practices, thereby creating

a fissure in hegemonic ideologies (Woolard 1985). For this reason, hegemonic ideologies, such as standard language ideologies in most societies, have never universally been accepted, especially by speakers who are disenfranchised by the larger society (Gal 1989). However, this lack of universal acceptance may also, to a certain extent, help hegemonic ideologies reproduce themselves. The subordinated and partly erased non-hegemonic ideologies, still being present in the discourse, can be poorly represented and asserted against a better-represented version of the hegemonic ideology to ensure its hegemony is less contested. Furthermore, from a critical perspective, each subject (meaning *person* here) is structured by many different ideologies (in Fairclough (1991), citing Gramsci (1971)), implying that non-hegemonic ideologies also play a role in the structuring of the subject.

What has also been recognized in linguistic scholarship, though it has often been recognized less explicitly and less frequently, is the expression of multiple ideologies by a single individual. On the most explicit level, studies on language ideologies regarding Hungarian in Central Europe (Laihonen 2008), Gaelic in Scotland (McEwan-Fujita 2010), and Nahuatl in central Mexico (Messing 2007) have all recorded speakers who are shown to enact opposing ideologies, so different as to be contradictory, regarding a minority language and its associated identities. Along these lines, the same speakers have been shown to express both egalitarian sociopolitical ideologies and inequalitarian language ideologies that are so different that they contradict each other (for some examples, see Blackledge (2000) and Lippi-Green (1997, pp. 297).

To illustrate the ways in which individuals can express multiple ideologies, the reasons behind this behavior, and the ways contradictions between these ideologies are (or are not) resolved, I will frequently use the following imagined example throughout the rest of the chapter. Imagine a religious Calvinist corporate executive in the United States named Sandra. Sandra professes to believe in the prosperity gospel, in other words, that making money is a sign that one has been chosen by God to be saved. Sandra's company works with a variety of clients from around the world who do not share her beliefs. Some of her clients are progressive or non-Calvinist and reject many of her core beliefs, whereas other clients have made sexist statements, and, while working with these people, Sandra often suspects they do not truly respect her. Due to all of these influences, in different moments, Sandra has made many statements that are consistent with her Calvinist faith, supportive of libertarian (classical liberal) capitalism,

and pro-feminist. She has also often mentioned other ideologies largely to position herself against them. For instance, she has, in different moments, voiced concerns about LGBT rights, frustration with the sexism she has experienced, indignation about left-leaning political ideologies from socially progressive liberalism to socialism and anarchism, and incredulity about the sincerity of other interpretations of Christianity, other religions, and atheism.

The behaviors of individuals (and also organizations) may be ideologically self-contradictory (i.e., in Jaffe (2015)) or contradict a more explicitly expressed ideology (Keesing 1985). For an example of the first case, Sandra may behave coldly towards poor people due to her religious belief that they will not be saved, even though that very same religious ideology commands her to be kind and generous to the poor. For an example of the second case, Sandra may frequently explicitly maintain that women should be respected as much as men in leadership positions, while at the same time disrespecting female leaders she disagrees with more than male leaders.

The diversity in expressed ideology within the individual can also be linked back to how individuals accept or reject ideological opinions of the larger group of which they are members for contextual reasons (Van Dijk 2003, pp. 28). For instance, Sandra might agree with her congregation that sex before marriage is wrong, but, in the workplace, if a male employee of hers gossips about a female coworker for her promiscuity, she may vehemently defend this woman, despite privately condemning her behavior. Furthermore, individuals may include their experience, other knowledge, and other ideologies from outside their group in choosing ideological positions to express at any given moment (Van Dijk 2003, pp. 33). Along these lines, Sandra may tell her male employee at this moment that he should respect the female coworker's choices because, having experienced gender-based disrespect in the past, she empathizes with the female coworker. She may further give her male employee progressive reasons to respect the female coworker's choices because she knows the male employee exclusively supports politically progressive candidates.

Registers that are ideologically associated with particular social groups, such as styles related to class or gender, are often used by the same person in different contexts (Gal & Irvine 1995; Okamoto 1997), potentially also leading people to express ideological positions associated with the social group whose normative register they are using at that particular time. Along these lines, certain genres of talk, such as gossip

(Briggs 1998; Gal 1989), arguments (Laihonen 2008), and performances (Abu-Lughod 1985; Jaffe 2015) may also be used to contest hegemonic ideologies explicitly and/or implicitly, leading individuals who employ these strategies to appear to endorse differing ideologies, depending on what genre they are using at any particular point. These sorts of findings marking or implying individual-level ideological inconsistency are not at all surprising in light of the past few decades of scholarship in political science on individuals' ideologies.

2.5 Ideological Multiplicity in Political Science

While scholars like Hill (1992) and, in political science, Mason (2018) have sometimes emphasized that ideology can be defined as such due to its relative coherence, for theoretical and, more importantly, empirical reasons, I choose not to take this approach. While Kroskrity sees ideologies as necessarily contradictory, political scientists, particularly political psychologists, have also amassed a large of evidence supporting this claim. In the past few decades, this research has established the existence of such a large degree of individual-level ideological multiplicity that it undermines the notion that ideologies are relatively coherent phenomena. On the one hand, an individual's life experience and changing social position may slowly lead to changes in their ideology (Cricher et al. 2009; Vespa 2009). On the other hand, while some individuals can be described as holding the same ideology for years, others seem to routinely change ideological commitments within seconds (Brennan 2016). In this section, I survey the findings of research on these seemingly quick changes in expressed ideological commitments to show, on the one hand, that Kroskrity is correct, according to this recent political science research, in assuming that ideologies are necessarily contradictory and to provide, on the other hand, more evidence that speakers mention multiple ideologies in their discourse.

The effects of framing can partly explain mismatches between the ideologies apparently held by speakers and the mentioned ideologies in their discourse. The way an issue of ideological relevance is framed can influence the particular positions that people take up on a moment-by-moment basis (Brennan 2016) since, in any given society about any set of issues, widely used frames often contradict each other (Snow 2004). In the case of Sandra, she might take on a pro-life stance to abortion after hearing a

sermon by her pastor where abortion is framed as a sin but later take on a pro-choice stance when her best friend's daughter gets an abortion and frames it as a difficult choice that was necessary under the circumstances. This change in stance due to the use of different frames may be visible in both the ideologies Sandra mentions and in her held ideologies that touch on abortion. Such contradictory frames can also be purposefully used by speakers to accomplish their goals, as was the case for German speakers in Hungary, who used multiple frames to resist the hegemonic ideologies of the Hungarian state (Gal (1993) in Woolard & Schieffelin (1994)). In Sandra's case, she could use the pro-choice frame to defend her friend's daughter's decision to get an abortion, while using the pro-life frame to defend her otherwise staunch political opposition to abortion. In this way, she could manage to show support to her friend without supporting the people with secular and left-leaning ideologies she profoundly disagrees with. Yet, even when controlling for the effect of this kind of framing, individuals tend to express beliefs that are not only so ideologically different as to be practically self-contradictory but also do not cohere to form an integrated ideology (Snow 2004).

Indeed, when speakers encounter people who disagree with them on an ideologically charged issue, motivated reasoning and in-group bias can cause them to endorse, and also mention, new ideologies to accept the new information without losing membership in ideological groups such as political parties (Brennan 2016). For instance, Sandra might not want to risk losing her membership and sense of belonging in her conservative Calvinist congregation, so, when she meets a Jewish businessman with more money than her who disagrees with her view of the prosperity gospel, citing himself as an example of someone who should not be so well off according to her ideology, she does not change her beliefs. Instead, being motivated not to change her beliefs and having a strong bias towards her religious in-group, she begins to take on a new set of beliefs. Namely, she starts wondering if the conspiracy theory that Jewish people control business and the media is true.

Due to this kind of in-group bias, an individual's stated issue-based ideology, encompassing what beliefs they profess to hold, often differs from their stated identity-based ideology, encompassing their self-identified ideology (Mason 2018). Thus, Sandra may begin to stop believing in the prosperity gospel as she meets non-Christians with more money than her (changing her issue-based ideology) but still claims to be a convinced Calvinist with these beliefs (without changing her identity-based ideology).

Furthermore, large numbers of people are easily influenced on a moment-by-moment basis by charisma and social pressure to take up new ideological positions (Brennan 2016). Sandra may begin to doubt her Calvinist convictions by interacting with so many people at work who disagree with them. Due to social pressure from colleagues to be more progressive, she may start mentioning these different ideologies more often and even come to hold these new ideological positions. However, she may then feel intense social pressure from good friends and family in her congregation to maintain her religious beliefs and then take this ideological position up again after hearing a sermon from a particularly charismatic pastor.

For these reasons, after having debates on issues regarding which they hold ideologies, people often end up expressing ever more multiple ideologies than they did previously (Brennan 2016), instead of coming to a common understanding where the "best"-supported ideology prevails. In debates that challenge people's held attitudes, people latch onto situationally accessible values to provide cognitive closure, even if these situationally accessible values express completely different ideological commitments, with this tendency especially marked, paradoxically, for people with very strong and rigidly held ideologies (Critcher et al. 2009), who might otherwise be expected to express only one ideology. For instance, if someone tells Sandra that her belief in God's predestination contradicts her attempts to earn money, she may experience cognitive dissonance, which she may resolve by expressing a belief that she recently heard or thought about. For instance, she might reproduce a compatibilist argument that she recently heard an atheist philosopher or religious Muslim make, realizing neither the source of this situationally available value nor the ideological commitments behind this argument that contradict her religion.

This sort of extreme multiplicity seems to apply to people regardless of their political ideology or how informed they are regarding political issues. Most people are very unaware of the ideological commitments expressed by their political leaders and, consequently, are likely also unaware of their own individual expressed ideologies (Brennan 2016), leading them to mention multiple ideologies. However, even politically informed people show multiplicity in expressed ideology, as they often draw from many ideologies to construct a set of issue positions that seems more rational to them (Brennan 2016).

On one hand, people on the political right tend to express more heterogeneous

ideologies regarding political issues than people on the political left, especially at the beginning of a discourse about those ideologies (Critcher et al. 2009; Mason 2018), for two main reasons. Firstly, right-leaning people generally take a larger number of values into account when initially deciding which position to support (Critcher et al. 2009), and secondly, some right-leaning people define their political ideology largely through opposition to the left, rather than from right-wing values (Mason 2018). On the other hand, people on the political left seem to be more comfortable in admitting they take multiple values into account when choosing their held ideological commitments (Critcher et al. 2009) and therefore may mention an increased number of distinct ideologies for that reason.

For these reasons, practically all individuals, regardless of seemingly relevant sociopolitical characteristics, are highly likely to express a variety of ideologies in their discourse. The ideological homogeneity of any one individual may only appear to exist when the behavior of groups, which can be more productively described as promoting a single ideology, is projected onto individuals (Feld & Grofman 1988). Due to the relative ideological coherence of groups (Feld & Grofman 1988), the assumption by some researchers that group behavior reflects individual ideology helps create the illusion that each individual expresses one consistent ideology (Snow 2004). With this evidence in mind, some researchers question whether or not it is even useful to apply the concept of ideology to individuals (Van Dijk 2003, pp. 34).

Despite this evidence, I hold that ideology remains a useful concept to apply to individuals, as long as multiplicity in expressed ideology is taken into account. The existence of multiple expressed ideologies observed on the individual level can still be pretty easily merged with insights taken from critical theory. Since critical theory generally assumes a priori the usefulness of ideology, explaining intraindividual ideological diversity through critical theory reaffirms that ideology is still a useful concept when applied to individuals.

2.6 Power Struggle within the Speaker

The lack of consistency in mentioned and held ideologies within a single speaker is not surprising in light of speakers being contradictorily positioned with regards to systems of power. Linguist anthropologists and critical linguists have already recognized

that discourses are sources of power that are enacted and/or contested in talk (Gal 1989) and that heterogeneity can be found "within a single text" (Gal 1989) as speakers attempt to contain or resolve ideological dilemmas (Billig (1988) in Fairclough (1991)). The ideological dilemmas that result from speakers' self-contradictory position in the social structure, as a result of intersectionality (Collins 2002; Crenshaw 1991; Levon 2015), could therefore be expected to be contested and resolved within their discourse. In other words, people's simultaneous membership in different groups with different ideological interests could be a major reason that they express multiple, sometimes contradictory, ideologies (Van Dijk 2003, pp. 33) that often fail to cohere into a clear held ideology.

From an intersectional perspective (Collins 2002; Crenshaw 1991), every individual holds a variety of identity positions simultaneously and, therefore, the same individual can be located at a privileged position in the power structure due to one of their identities, while at the same time encountering oppression on account of how another of their identities is positioned in the power structure. In other words, subjects are constituted by a variety of contradicting privileged and non-privileged identities associated with conflicting interests with respect to hegemonic power, leading them to express this contradiction through expressing multiple, potentially conflicting ideologies.

Some speakers may resolve this contradiction either by clearly aligning with a particular set of interests or by erasing the contradictions between different sets of interests. In the case of Sandra, who has to work with sexist, pro-LGBT, and non-Calvinist clients, her economic and religious interests related to making money may conflict with her interests as a woman to avoid gender discrimination from sexist clients and her interests as a Calvinist to avoid supporting LGBT people and non-Christians. Sandra may resolve this tension by mentioning the ideologies related to these conflicting interests, but clearly aligning above all with her economic interests, temporarily disavowing her verbal commitment to anti-sexism and Calvinism to do so. On the other hand, she could instead erase the contradictions between these mentioned ideologies by, for example, verbally reinterpreting her Calvinism to appear to show more tolerance towards LGBT people and non-Christians without claiming to abandon her religious beliefs. In this and similar cases, the speakers would assemble a coherent ideology out of their multiple expressed ideologies through specific mechanisms, called coherence-making strategies, which I will explain in later sections.

For other speakers, where this struggle between conflicting interests and the associated ideologies has not been resolved through commitment to one set of interests or erasure of the conflict, less apparent ideological coherence is constructed out of the multiple mentioned ideologies. For Sandra, this could occur, for example, if she mentioned the ideologies associated with her conflicting interests, acknowledged that it was a struggle, and changed the subject. This would be even more likely to occur through Sandra sometimes appearing to privilege her economic interests, other times her gender-based interests, and still other times her religious interests.

Although all speakers probably mention multiple ideologies, an individual speaker's level of apparent ideological coherence (to an outside observer who has studied the ideology in question) can be conceptualized as existing on a continuum. On this continuum, some individuals appear quite ideologically coherent and others are quite ideologically incoherent and uncommitted, with most people demonstrating an intermediate level of apparent ideological coherence, based on the extent to which they have apparently resolved the ideological dilemma caused by their self-contradictory social positioning. The notion of a continuum of apparent ideological coherence (to a knowledgeable outside observer) is also supported by much political science research (i.e., surveyed in Brennan (2016) and Snow (2004)) and Van Dijk's critical discourse-based theory of ideology (Van Dijk 2003, pp. 62).

2.7 Ideological Contradiction as a Structuring Principle of Ideology

Individuals whose behavior places them more on the ideologically consistent end of the continuum are still likely to mention multiple, often contradicting, ideologies. In these individuals' case, this may be partly due to contextual constraints, such as a speaker attempting to soften the force of their disagreement with another speaker to maintain cooperative positive alignment with that other speaker or to save their face, illustrative examples of which can be found in Watts (1988, p. 325) and Makihara (2007, pp. 58–59). However, in a larger sense, I would also like to propose that mentioning multiple ideologies is structural to speakers' (re)creation of coherent held ideologies for themselves as they respond to those expressed by other speakers. Since different ideologies are produced in different ways (Lippi-Green 1997), I will not provide examples that are overly specific and detailed in this section. Rather, I argue, on logical

grounds, that the multiplicity of ideologies mentioned by each speaker can be seen as a component of an overall "larger" held ideology they construct, and I support this argument with general conclusions from research in linguistics and beyond.

It has long been recognized in a variety of schools of thought, including modern social constructivist accounts of identity, that many phenomena gain meaning through their contrast with other phenomena. If this widely recognized idea is true of phenomena in general, it should also be true of ideologies, which, in this case, should gain their meaning through their contrast with other ideologies. If this is true, speakers would be able to mention multiple ideologies within the same stretch of discourse in order to make visible and emphasize the ideologies that they themselves hold. Specifically, speakers could mention multiple ideologies in the same stretch of discourse in a way that simultaneously emphasizes and differentiates one ideology they want to align with from another (or others) with which they want to disalign.

The role of contrasting ideological positions also has support from the conclusions of linguistic research on ideologies. For instance, according to Woolard & Schieffelin (1994), nationalistic ideologies, including language ideologies, emerge from struggles between competing ideological positions (also cited in McEwan-Fujita (2010)), and, therefore, the resulting ideologies continue to have contradictions within them (Gal 1989; Gee 2007), contradictions that provide evidence of the previous struggle needed to have created them in the first place. Furthermore, hegemonic ideologies tend to help create the ideologies that oppose them (Mumby 1989), and practices that go against hegemony may be necessary to its reproduction (Gal 1989), implying a role for invoked (i.e., mentioned) hegemonic ideologies in the construction of non-hegemonic ideologies and vice versa.

2.8 Coherence-making Strategies

In parallel to how hegemony subordinates and erases non-hegemonic ideologies and practices, I propose that ideologically consistent individuals manage to create coherence out of the diversity of ideologies they mention in discourse through the use of coherence-making strategies. These strategies, diverse in their form and in the manner in which they function, tend to mark (and cast) certain sections of discourse as the speaker's "authentic" perspective, contrasted with sections that are delegitimized

or otherwise distanced from the speaker. Some strategies function with extensive reference to extra-discursive elements, such as non-present individuals and the ideas allegedly held by these people.

An example of this would be straw-manning, when a speaker presents a distorted, misrepresented version of an ideology they disagree with, in order to more easily attack it. In the case of straw manning, the speaker can accomplish this misrepresentation of the ideology they want to reject by exaggerating the other ideological position, reproducing negative stereotypes, and/or relying on commonly shared understandings of how the world should work. This exaggeration of the other ideological position may be subtle. The speaker may, for instance, simply formulate their description of an ideology in a way that people who hold that ideology would not.

In other cases, coherence-making strategies may be discourse-level phenomena. For instance, Van Dijk (2003, pp. 70) observes that speakers often mention the ideologies they hold at the beginning of monologues but mention ideologies they oppose toward the end. Similarly, he describes forms of negation that contain two ideologies, where the ideology the speaker expresses allegiance to is foregrounded by structural elements in the discourse (Van Dijk 2003, pp. 64). In these cases, the argument structure itself acts as a coherence-making strategy, ensuring that a single ideology emerges from what would otherwise be nothing more than a confusing cacophony of multiple unrelated or contradictory mentioned ideologies.

A non-exhaustive account of linguistic behaviors that may be employed as coherence-making strategies to create ideologies out of apparent ideological contradiction would include placement in the argument structure, straw-manning, footing shifts, and stance-taking about mentioned ideologies (the latter used to create extra mentioned ideologies out of previously mentioned ideologies). For examples of these coherence-making strategies from my data, see Section 10.3 of the appendices. Stance-taking is particularly interesting as a coherence-making strategy, as mentioned ideologies are expressed as stances. Therefore, stance can be used to express multiple contrasting ideologies in a way that makes it clear which ideology the speaker aligns with. Specifically, stance initially expresses ideologies by characterizing objects in particular ways (Jaffe 2015), and then functions as a containment strategy for the initially expressed ideologies by weaving multiple ideologies into narratives that support a single overarching ideology (i.e., stance towards ideologies in Jaffe (2009)).

Sociolinguists working with language attitudes and social psychologists could also shed further light on the motivations behind the use of different coherence-making strategies in creating a larger, seemingly coherent, held ideology. Such strategies may be purely discourse-level, as is the case for argument structure, or may contain links to extra-discursive phenomena, as is the case for irony and for alternating between voices of differently positioned individuals (i.e., in Hill (1985)). Taking this into account, the main difference between individuals who are relatively ideologically coherent and those who are not is not necessarily the frequency with which they mention multiple ideologies. Rather, the difference between such individuals is to be found in the extent to which they use coherence-making strategies consistently to (re)create a single ideology for themselves.

However, the larger question of the specific mechanisms through which these coherence-making strategies come together structurally to build an ideology is a question that deserves a degree of future study that goes beyond the scope of this thesis. The details of how such multiple ideologies in expressed ideology are managed and taken up by speakers to create larger ideological frameworks could be fruitfully explored by conversational analysts and by linguistic anthropologists, tracing the complex indexicalities of such shifts in mentioned ideology. Conversational analysts in particular could provide a detailed and comprehensive account of how speakers employ coherence-making strategies in real-time to disaffiliate from certain expressed ideologies and take on other ones.

2.9 Variationist Research and Ideology

Since the beginnings of research in variationist sociolinguistics, even scholars with substantial theoretical disagreements from one another (i.e., Kroch (1978) & Labov (1963)) have recognized the potential importance of held or expressed ideologies in explaining linguistic variation. From that point onward, it has been widely recognized that such ideologies affect language change (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994), partly by leading speakers to use certain ideologically preferred variants at the expense of others. In this way, ideologies may create the forms they claim to represent (Rosa & Burdick 2016). Other variables related to (and potentially subsumable under) held ideology, such as religion (Yaeger-Dror 2014), have also been shown to be correlated with

linguistic variation.

On the other hand, speakers' expressed ideologies have sometimes been quantitatively linked to linguistic variation, even in very early studies of linguistic variation. For instance, in his classic Martha's Vineyard study, Labov (1963) links variation in vowel quality to speakers' expressed ideological positions regarding both the island and newcomers. In later work regarding gender ideologies, Rissel (1989) found that women in San Luis Potosí, México who supported traditional gender roles assibilated /r/ most frequently, whereas men endorsing this gender ideology assibilated /r/ the least frequently.

Additionally, Waltermire (2010), working on data from Rivera, Uruguay where Spanish is in intense contact with Brazilian Portuguese, found a relationship between expressed attitude or ideology towards Portuguese or Spanish and intervocalic /d/ variation in Spanish. Positive attitudes towards language mixing and towards Portuguese correlated with normatively Portuguese pronunciations (the stop variant), whereas participants with a negative attitude towards Portuguese and a greater orientation towards Uruguay tended to use the more normatively Spanish fricative, approximant, and elided variants (Waltermire 2010). More recently, in a study of post-syllabic /s/ variation in Miami Cuban Spanish, Lynch (2009) found that rates of /s/ reduction changed along with the ideological content of conversations, and Otheguy et al. (2007) attribute more English-like pronoun usage in their sample of New York Spanish to pro-English language ideologies.

Yet, studies like these that explain linguistic variation with recourse to ideology are still uncommon, and the support these studies provide for their conclusions could be made stronger through more inventive and thorough uses of variationist methodology. Although Rissel (1989) and Waltermire (2010) show a statistically significant correlation between expressed ideology and language variation, speakers were assigned a single ideology based on their responses to a survey in Rissel's study and based on their comments in an interview in Waltermire's study.

This approach is a good way to control for the effect of other social factors (such as class and gender) that might interact with ideology. This is especially true for Rissel's study taking both gender and gender ideology into account, since gender very frequently intersects with gender ideology (Philips 2008). However, in classifying specific speakers according to the ideology they express, this measure can only capture varia-

tion between the assumed held ideologies of different speakers. Variation in expressed ideology within the same speaker remains unexamined in this study, even though a single speaker generally expresses multiple different ideologies, either to structure a coherent held attitude or because they lack strong ideological commitments.

In general, variationist research has tended not to incorporate ideology as an independent variable, and when it has, individuals, rather than statements themselves, are usually assigned ideologies (i.e., Labov (1963), Rissel (1989), & Waltermire (2010)). This approach, as one might gather from the previous discussion, is problematic because individuals often express multiple ideologies, and even individuals with coherent held attitudes routinely mention multiple ideologies in their discourse in ways that create a sense of coherence.

For religion, Yaeger-Dror (2014) has proposed a scale for the degree of ideological commitment to one's religion for use as an independent variable. While this is certainly more productive than merely determining a person's ideology in an all-or-nothing fashion, this approach still invisibilizes individuals without a clearly invariable level of ideological commitment. On the other hand, an approach taking mentioned ideology as an independent variable seamlessly includes both ideologically committed and ideologically uncommitted individuals in the sample. Furthermore, since ideological coherence exists on a spectrum, there is no need in this approach to artificially assign speakers to ideological categories that may only fit some of them.

This approach is further supported by the results of a recent study, in which Barnes (2018) quantified affective and epistemic stances that would be subsumed under the framework of mentioned ideology in my study (see Section 2.2) and found these stances to be statistically significant predictors of copula variation in Asturian Spanish. These results are promising for the use of my model for variationist research, as affective stance will be considered in my approach as an instance of mentioned ideology, owing to stance's dual function as a coherence-making strategy and a way of mentioning ideology.

Chapter 3

Linguistic Variables Selected for This Study

3.1 Introducing the Variables

In this study, mentioned language ideologies and mentioned gender ideologies will be correlated with linguistic variation to see what effect these variables have on syllable-final /s/ and referential grammatical gender. In the following sections, I survey the variationist and other research relevant to each specific variable to better contextualize later results of my study within previous sociolinguistic research.

3.2 Syllable-final /s/

In Spanish, /s/ can be realized in a variety of different ways depending on geographic location, word position, and a large number of linguistic and social factors. Both normatively and in most speakers' mental representations, /s/ is considered to be a voiceless fricative, which may be either dental-alveolar or apico-alveolar depending on the national variety in question (Ávila 2003; Moreno Fernández 2011; Navarro Tomás 1991; "RAE = *Real Academia Española*" 2010). In Mexico, /s/ can be best described as dental-alveolar for most speakers (Lope Blanch 1967; Navarro Tomás 1991; "RAE = *Real Academia Española*" 2010), as the apico-alveolar variant is most closely associated (in terms of both perception and actual usage) with regions of Spain where /s/ is distinguished phonemically from /θ/ (Navarro Tomás 1991; "RAE = *Real Academia Española*" 2010).

Although /s/ is generally considered to have either alveolar or dental-alveolar realizations, in fact, a wide range of lenition processes are also attested for /s/ in Spanish, across a wide variety of geographic locations and conditioned by a wide variety of linguistic and social factors. Variation in Spanish /s/ production can be described in terms of voicing processes, in which [s] varies with a voiced alveolar or dental-alveolar fricative [z], although /s/ reduction is an even more noteworthy process. In /s/ reduction, the retained variant [s, z] is reduced either through aspiration to a glottal fricative [h] or complete elision \emptyset . When discussing this variation, [s, z] is typically referred to as the retained variant, and the \emptyset is referred to as /s/ deletion. While reduction to a glottal stop can also occur, this variant is much less common and salient, currently re-

stricted largely to young speakers in communities that already have high rates of /s/ reduction (Lipski 2011).

In this study, variation in syllable-final /s/ reduction will be studied due to this variable's robust, well-documented associations with gender, class, ethnicity, and other social factors highly relevant to the context of Juchitán. Although /s/ reduction occurs syllable-initially in some dialects, notably certain Central American, Colombian, and Northern Mexican varieties (Brown & Torres Cacoullós 2003; Lipski 1985), this variation is less common than in syllable-final contexts almost everywhere in the Spanish-speaking world, very uncommon (almost to the point of invariability) in Juchitán, and conditioned by different social and linguistic factors (Brown & Torres Cacoullós 2003; Lipski 1985). Therefore, the variable context for this study was limited to variation in syllable-final contexts. To help illustrate this distinction, I provide an example of retained and reduced variants of syllable-initial /s/, and syllable-final /s/ in Table 3.1, where [s] is used to represent the retained variant and \emptyset represents the reduced variant.

Syllable-initial /s/ reduction La [s]eñora [s]ánchez Mrs. Sánchez	La \emptyset eñora \emptyset ánchez Mrs. Sánchez
Syllable-final /s/ reduction ¿Tiene[s] la[s] pila[s]? Do you have the batteries?	¿Tiene \emptyset la \emptyset pila \emptyset ? Do you have the batteries?

Table 3.1: Syllable-initial and Syllable-final /s/ reduction

On the other hand, in terms of how common syllable-final /s/ reduction is, Spanish dialects vary greatly from one another. In fact, the relative frequency of syllable-final /s/ deletion may be the most useful feature in distinguishing Latin American dialects of Spanish from one another (Lipski 1984, 1986, 2011). In general, the majority of Spanish speakers in the world speak a dialect characterized by high rates of /s/ reduction (Lipski 1986, 2011), although the factors conditioning deletion and the rate of deletion differ from place to place. Generally speaking, highland regions of Latin America and Spain are an exception to this general pattern (Lipski 1984).

Speakers of coastal Spanish dialects tend to delete /s/ at relatively high rates, with speakers from Chile (Alba 1992; Bolyanatz 2015), Nicaragua (Lipski 1985), the Caribbean region (Alba 1992; Lipski 1986), and Southern Spain (including the Canary Islands) (Lipski 1986) being particularly innovative in their use of aspirated or deleted /s/. Rates of /s/ deletion are possibly highest in rural areas of the Dominican Repub-

lic, where the phenomenon is so common that /s/ deletion is sometimes described as categorical, and syllable-final /s/ is even sometimes assumed to be mentally represented by these speakers as a phonetic zero (Terrell 1979). For a data-based critique of this view, see work from Bullock & Toribio (2010) & Bullock, Toribio, & Amengual (2014) on syllable-final /s/ in Dominican Spanish.

On the other hand, in some regions of Mexico, /s/ is almost invariably retained (Brown 1993; Butragueño 2014; Lewis & Boomershine 2015; Terrell 1979; Walker et al. 2014), although, even in areas where /s/ deletion is infrequent, some level of reduction typically does occur (Lipski 1986). In contrast to highland regions of Mexico, however, coastal regions of Mexico, sharing many linguistic features with Caribbean Spanish, tend to exhibit robust rates of /s/ deletion (Brown 1993; Butragueño 2014; Walker et al. 2014). Juchitán's location in Mexico, far from the Atlantic coast (and therefore from the /s/ deletion-favoring Caribbean dialect region), makes it likely that /s/ will be generally retained in the data for this project. However, its location about ten kilometers from the Pacific coast (and therefore far from highland Mexico) could make it likely for some variation to occur, as Pacific Mexican dialects, particularly in Oaxaca, may have higher rates of /s/ deletion than central Mexican dialects (Butragueño 2014).

It has been found, through extensively studying variation in syllable-final /s/ in Spanish, that retained variants are more common amongst women, older people, and upper-class speakers in a wide variety of populations, whereas aspirated or deleted variants are more common amongst young, poor, and male speakers (Bullock, Toribio, & Amengual 2014; Lynch 2009). With regards to gender, it is particularly common to find that women and feminine people delete (or aspirate) /s/ significantly less frequently than men, although the extent to which this is true depends greatly on the particular context studied (see the literature review and results of Bolyanatz (2015), Bullock, Toribio, & Amengual (2014), Colina (2018), Holmquist (2011), Lewis & Boomershine (2015), Lynch (2009), & Walker et al. (2014)).

In two notable exceptions to the general finding, Holmquist (2011) & Lewis & Boomershine (2015) failed to find a gender difference in overall rates of /s/ deletion. Holmquist (2011) finds instead that women only retained /s/ more frequently when part of open networks and when looking at rates of deletion before vowels, whereas Lewis & Boomershine (2015) found the expected gender difference only before laterals. Lynch (2009), however, though noting that most research shows women to retain /s/

more frequently than men, found the exact opposite pattern. In this case, however, the finding that men retained /s/ most often could be attributed to the sociolinguistic norms of its context, Miami, where deleted /s/ indexed communist Cuba. This new index for deleted /s/ motivated people who were particularly against communist Cuba, meaning younger speakers and men to avoid the variant and participate in a language change towards more retention.

The results regarding social class and, especially, age, are also not entirely consistent but generally show that younger lower-class speakers delete (or aspirate) /s/ more frequently than older upper-class speakers (see Bolyanatz (2015), Lynch (2009), Quesada Pacheco (1988), & Walker et al. (2014)). The relationship between upper-class speech and /s/ retention is consistent with the observation that retained /s/ is more common in most standard varieties. As previously mentioned, Lynch (2009)'s results provide an exception to the generally found pattern with regards to age where a held ideological opposition to Castro's Cuba led younger male speakers, rather than older female ones to be associated with /s/ retention.

It seems therefore to be the case that ideological motivations can greatly change the patterns of sociolinguistic variation for syllable-final /s/. Along these lines, style and level of formality are also related to rates of /s/ retention versus aspiration and deletion. In general, careful formal speech and professional contexts are related to retained /s/, and informal, less careful speech and non-professional contexts are related to reduced variants of /s/, both normatively and in terms of the actual existing linguistic variation (Bolyanatz 2015; Bullock, Toribio, & Amengual 2014; Colina 2018; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014).

In certain contexts where rates of retained /s/ are very low, aspirated /s/ follows similar patterns of variation as retained /s/ in other parts of the Spanish-speaking world (Bolyanatz 2015; Colina 2018). For instance, in Chile aspiration is a common variant in formal media environments (Pérez 2007). Furthermore, in some regions of the Spanish-speaking world, where aspirated, retained, and deleted versions are all fairly common, aspirated variants may take on different social meanings to either retained or deleted variants. For instance, it appears that in Chile [h] has become the unmarked variant of /s/, and, concurrently, \emptyset has become stigmatized and [s] has changed into a more specific marker of careful speech and upper-class speech (Bolyanatz 2015).

Multiple linguistic factors have also been linked to /s/ variation, notably phonological context and the morphological status of the /s/ in question. With regards to phonological context, in most cases, following consonants, including glide consonants, are most strongly associated with /s/ retention, whereas preceding and following vowels and diphthongs are most associated with reduced variants, with following pauses conditioning inconsistently variable rates of /s/ reduction (Aaron & Hernandez 2007; Almeida & San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002; Holmquist 2011; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014), although, in some studies, different findings have emerged. For instance, Almeida & San Juan (1998) found that, out of consonants, only following fricatives strongly favored /s/ deletion, whereas Lewis & Boomershine (2015) found laterals and nasals in the following phonological context to most strongly favor deletion, and Brown & Torres Cacoullos (2002) found that, in some cases, following vowels favored /s/ deletion more strongly than following consonants.

With regards to morphological status, an /s/ that carries grammatical information, such as the /s/ marking plurals and second-person singular verb forms, is very often retained more frequently than /s/ with a merely lexical function (Almeida & San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002; Lynch 2009) because, when fulfilling these grammatical functions, the /s/ contains a semantic meaning that would be lost if deleted. However, in cases where plural markers favor /s/ retention, second-person singular verb forms tend to favor /s/ deletion, and vice versa (i.e. in Almeida & San Juan (1998), Brown & Torres Cacoullos (2002), Hundley (1987), & Poplack (1980)). In other words, usually either plurals or second-person singular verb forms favor /s/ deletion, but rarely both.

This may occur because the grammatical ambiguity potentially caused by /s/ deletion is resolved in some other manner. Along these lines, high rates of expression for the second-person singular subject pronoun *tú* seem to favor higher rates of /s/ deletion since the expression of this pronoun eliminates the ambiguity that a deleted /s/ would otherwise create (Hochberg 1986). Furthermore, other factors that co-vary with morphological status (such as phonological context and frequency) are often more decisive in conditioning variation, leading to otherwise unexpectedly high amounts of functionally important /s/ deletion in some populations.

Other factors, such as syllable stress and various measures of frequency, have also been shown to influence rates of /s/ reduction in certain studies. In particular, it is

generally found that /s/ in and before stressed syllables is deleted at lower rates than /s/ in and before unstressed syllables, where aspirated or retained variants are more typical (Alba 1990; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002, 2003; Lynch 2009; Terrell 1977, 1979). With regards to frequency, /s/ is more likely to be retained in low-frequency words and grammatical forms containing syllable-final /s/ than in high-frequency words and grammatical forms (Brown, Gradoville, et al. 2014; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002, 2003).

However, this finding has not always been replicated (Colina 2018) and is sometimes only found in dialects with low rates of /s/ deletion to begin with (Brown, Gradoville, et al. 2014). Furthermore, speakers may be aware of the phonological context in which word-final /s/ typically occurs, leading rates of /s/ deletion to be partially dependent on the frequency with which /s/ occurs in reducing contexts. Specifically, Brown found that /s/ at the end of words that frequently appear in phonological contexts conducive to reduction is more likely to be reduced than word-final /s/ in words that frequently appear in non-reducing contexts (Brown 2015).

People appear to be relatively conscious of the associations between social factors and /s/ reduction, as higher rates of /s/ retention seem to index femininity, education, and non-heteronormative masculinity in many contexts (Mack 2010; Walker et al. 2014). In their study of the indexical field of /s/ among Mexican and Puerto Rican speakers, Walker et al. (2014) also found that high rates of /s/ retention were linked with status, especially for Mexicans, and perceived friendliness. Paradoxically, they also found that Mexican women (though not Puerto Ricans or Mexican men) viewed /s/ retention as a marker of heteronormative masculinity (Walker et al. 2014), suggesting that the relationship between syllable-final /s/ variation and ideas about gender may be more complicated and multifaceted in Mexico than in other countries.

Therefore, tracing the link between syllable-final /s/ and expressed gender ideology may lead to more interesting results in the Mexican context of this study than in a context where the relationship between syllable-final /s/ expression and gender is more straightforward. In some regions with very high rates of /s/ reduction, aspirated /s/ has become the default and unmarked realization and therefore may also be associated with similar social factors and indexicalities as retained /s/ in more conservative varieties (i.e., Bolyanatz (2015) & Pérez (2007)). However, since Juchitán is located in a geographic context where /s/ retention is expected to be the most com-

mon variant, I predict the above observations about the social meaning and variation of /s/ reduction to hold there.

Lipski (1994) observes that the retained dental variant is also typically more frequent within Mexican indigenous communities, like Juchitán, than it is in other, non-indigenous communities, although this observation only holds for indigenous communities that took on a relatively large number of Spanish loanwords where the Spanish language was introduced both early and slowly to the region. This observation, paired with the finding that /s/ is deleted in communities of African descent at comparatively high rates (Lipski 2007), could, on the one hand, lead to the hypothesis that /s/ retention would be linked not only to feminine gender identities but also to indigenous identities in my sample, with muxes, due to their indigenous feminine identity, being particularly likely to use the retained variant.

This possibility could be supported by Juchitán's geographic location since, despite being located near a coastal region with relatively high rates of /s/ reduction (for Mexico), Juchitán is generally described as belonging to dialect regions characterized by low rates (Butragueño 2002, 2011, 2014; Lope Blanch 1970, 1971; Moreno de Alba 1994; Serrano 2019). However, the widespread use of Spanish in Juchitán occurred relatively late in comparison to the rest of Mexico, as Zapotec was still the only language spoken by most Juchitec@s until the mid-1950s (Saynes-Vázquez 2002). Therefore, Juchitán may prove to be an exception to this general pattern (Lipski 1994).

Indeed, the exact opposite trend, a relationship between /s/ deletion and indigenous identity, is perhaps more likely to exist in Juchitán. In Lima, such a relationship has already been attested, as speakers of Andean descent were more likely to use the elided variant of /s/ than non-Andean speakers, who more often used the aspirated variant (Klee & Caravedo 2006). In this case, the use of the elided variant by Andean Limeños was linked to disproportionate dialect contact with lower class non-indigenous Limeños, who tended to use the elided variant (Klee & Caravedo 2006). After this variant was picked up by the indigenous Andean speakers from lower-class non-Andean speakers, the elided variant came to be associated with Andean speakers, and the earlier association between Andean speakers and the retained variant was lost. At the same time, the aspirated variant, being more exclusively associated with Limeños of non-Andean origin, became a marker of prestige.

In such contexts of language and dialect contact, including but not limited to this

example in Lima, reallocation of social meanings is fairly common. In other words, language and dialect contact can lead to drastic changes in the indexical field surrounding a particular variable, causing that variable to evolve new social (or linguistic) functions in new, hybrid varieties (Britain & Trudgill 1999). Beyond Lima, variation in /d/ and /s/ have been linked to nearly opposite social meanings in situations of language contact where a previously prestigious variety was linked with a stigmatized social group (i.e., Waltermire (2010)), and there is reason to believe similar processes may have happened in Juchitán as well, in which indigenous identity may have lost its link with /s/ retention and became linked with /s/ deletion.

In stark contrast to Spanish, Isthmus Zapotec does not distinguish between plural and singular forms of adjectives or nouns (Pickett et al. 1998), meaning that, when acquiring Spanish, many native speakers of Zapotec delete the /s/ in plurals. Furthermore, beyond the fact that some speakers on the Isthmus delete /s/ in this position, this variation seems to be saliently linked to Zapotec language use in Juchitán and viewed as an issue of competence. In the course of fieldwork, I heard metalinguistic commentary on multiple occasions that linked a lack of /s/ in marking plurals to speaking Zapotec well or to speaking Spanish poorly. Due to its assumed variance with competence amongst community members, and therefore with Zapotec identity and everything implied therein, it is likely that pro-Zapotec language ideologies will also be linked to variation in /s/ reduction.

In short, syllable-final /s/ expression would be expected to vary with gender ideologies and possibly even with ideologies surrounding indigenous (in this case Zapotec) identity, in addition to the other aforementioned social and linguistic factors. With regards specifically to language ideology, I predict that pro-Zapotec expressed ideology will be linked to /s/ deletion and pro-monolingual Spanish expressed ideology will be linked to /s/ retention. Regarding gender and gender ideology, I hypothesize that men expressing a machista gender ideology will retain /s/ least often, followed by men expressing a Zapotec ideology of gender. I also find it likely that muxes and women expressing Zapotec or machista gender ideologies will retain /s/ at the highest rates because I expect that, when expressing these ideologies, these speakers will be thinking about their rejection of and disaffiliation with masculinity and anti-feminine ideas and therefore want to speak differently from men by retaining /s/ more often. These predictions imply a further prediction that men, muxes,

and women expressing egalitarian gender ideologies would retain /s/ at intermediate rates. For a description of these ideologies and how they were decided upon for this study, see Section 1.6, and for the results of the analysis of syllable-final /s/ variation, see Section 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3.

3.3 Referential Grammatical Gender

In human languages, when referring to human referents, the gender of the human referent is often marked through terms directly indexing gender, including both gendered lexical items and, in many languages, grammatical gender markings on parts of speech. In Spanish, a language with grammatical gender markings, referential adjectives, certain determiners, and certain pronouns and nouns referring to specific people in the conversational context are marked with grammatical gender endings (typically *o* for masculine adjectives and *a* for feminine adjectives). Although the referential grammatical gender markings attributed to specific individuals do not typically vary in languages with grammatical gender and, therefore, are rarely analyzed in variationist studies, there is reason to believe that variation in referential grammatical gender not only exists in Juchitán Spanish but also that it is influenced by social factors to a great extent.

As will be established more clearly below, variation in grammatical gender markings in Juchitán seems to be linked to muxe speech styles and speaking an indigenous language. I decided to delimit the variable context to referential grammatical gender agreement, rather than all grammatical gender agreement because variation linked to being muxe seems mostly limited to grammatical gender for human referents, whereas grammatical gender non-agreement linked to speaking an indigenous language occurs in a broader range of contexts. Therefore, delimiting referential grammatical gender as my variable context allows me to include both the grammatical gender variation linked to speaking Zapotec and the variation linked to muxe identity.

It has been established in the literature that some Juchitec@s use grammatical gender in a non-standard fashion (Saynes-Vázquez 2002), varying between masculine and feminine forms in ways that would typically be considered non-agreement and that are therefore very non-standard and marked in Spanish. This sort of variation, found also in other indigenous Mexican communities, has previously been described as a compe-

tence issue, generally attributed to the common difficulties of native speakers of genderless languages in acquiring Spanish (Matsumoto 2018; Pérez López 2016; Ramírez-Trujillo 2013; Zimmermann 2004, 2016). Since most indigenous Latin American languages, as well as English, lack grammatical gender markings, the same patterns of non-agreement have been attested throughout the American continent where Spanish is spoken.

Furthermore, these cases of grammatical gender non-agreement in second-language Spanish speakers are habitually explained as issues regarding either the acquisition of gender as an aspect of speakers' internal grammar, grammatical transfer to Spanish from the other language, or remembering which items are assigned which gender (see Zimmermann (2004, 2016), for an overview of data from indigenous language speakers, Alarcón (2011) for data from native English speakers, and Lipski (2015) for data from Palenquero speakers). Because Isthmus Zapotec is also a language that generally lacks grammatical gender distinctions (Pickett et al. 1998), the lack of gender agreement among speakers of Isthmus Zapotec in Juchitán provides further evidence for this hypothesis. Indeed, the fact that, like other indigenous Mexican languages, Isthmus Zapotec lacks grammatical gender points to the likelihood that a lack of grammatical gender agreement in the Spanish of Juchitán both exists and could be linked to competence in/acquisition of Spanish.

Without discounting this explanation for variation in gender agreement in Juchitán, I propose that in indigenous Mexican contexts like Juchitán, variable grammatical gender may furthermore be linked to the ideologies surrounding indigenous languages. Specifically, pride in indigenous identity and, therefore, indigenous languages may be linked to a lower frequency of agreement in grammatical gender. Results that justify this hypothesis can be found in a study on immigrants' use of grammatical gender non-agreement in Dutch (Cornips & Hulk 2008). Cornips & Hulk (2008) found that, though grammatical gender non-agreement seemed to start as an issue of competence (new learners of Dutch made grammatical mistakes due to their lack of native-like competence in the language), many immigrants continued to use non-standard gender agreement, even after gaining native-like language competence.

Remarkably, immigrants from salient immigrant groups (of Turkish and Arabic origin), continued to use non-agreement, whereas members of less salient immigrant groups (mostly native English speakers) acquired native-like grammatical gender agree-

ment (Cornips & Hulk 2008). This occurred even though Arabic makes multiple grammatical gender distinctions, which would be expected to facilitate their acquisition of gender markings, and Turkish and English make few grammatical gender distinctions, which would make their speech patterns similar if merely acquisition were to account for the phenomenon. Accordingly, when asked why they fail to use standard grammatical gender agreement patterns, some immigrants explicitly invoked social factors, linking, for instance, formal contexts with standard grammatical gender agreement and "hanging out with friends" to non-standard usage (Cornips & Hulk 2008). As such, it would be interesting to see to what extent social factors are linked to variation in grammatical gender agreement in contexts beyond the Netherlands, in this case, indigenous Mexican contexts.

One such study has been done on the Spanish spoken by bilinguals in Spanish and Purépecha, an indigenous language spoken in the Mexican province of Michoacán (Díaz Barajas & Orozco 2019). Similar to the Dutch study, this study has found a relationship between social factors and grammatical gender agreement patterns. Without discounting completely the importance of competence levels in Spanish and grammatical transfer from the grammatically genderless Purépecha to Spanish, the study also emphasizes how gender, age, migration history, level of education, and attitude towards Spanish and Purépecha all influence rates of gender agreement. Specifically, men and speakers with higher levels of education used gender agreement more frequently than women and speakers with lower levels of education. Younger speakers and speakers who acquired Spanish at an earlier age used gender agreement more frequently than older speakers and those who acquired Spanish later in life. Speakers who had lived for a longer period outside the community also used gender agreement more often than those who had migrated away for shorter periods (or not at all) (Díaz Barajas & Orozco 2019).

Finally, and most interestingly for this thesis, speakers who held more positive attitudes towards Purépecha also used gender agreement less often than speakers with more positive attitudes towards Spanish (Díaz Barajas & Orozco 2019). While the results for gender, age, migration history, and level of education could be linked back to competence (younger, male, and highly educated speakers generally had greater contact with monolingual Spanish, especially if they had lived outside the community for a longer time, and, therefore, had higher competence in Spanish (Díaz Barajas &

Orozco 2019), the attitude-based factor could not in any way be linked back to competence. Instead, it seemed that a held pro-Purépecha ideology itself was correlated with lower rates of grammatical gender agreement, whereas a pro-monolingual Spanish ideology was linked to the opposite. Since a held pro-monolingual Spanish ideology was linked with more grammatical gender agreement in this indigenous community, I would expect that, in Juchitán, a held pro-monolingual Spanish ideology would also be linked with more grammatical gender agreement. In mentioning this occasionally held ideology in Juchitán, I would also hypothesize that rates of non-agreement in grammatical gender will be higher when pro-Zapotec ideologies are expressed than when pro-monolingual Spanish ideologies are expressed, as I suspect people will also use rates of variables linked to held ideologies when mentioning ideologies.

Regarding linguistic factors, the literature on gender agreement variation, though sparse, has shown some patterns regarding which factors lead to higher rates of gender non-agreement. These factors include distribution, morphological status, gender of the controller, and number of both the target and controller. Additionally, the noun phrase containing the target can also influence variation in gender agreement, with targets in a predicative or direct object noun phrase (i.e., in the invented example with the controller *mujer* (she) and target *contento* (happy), *la mujer está contento* (the women is happy)) often leading to higher rates of non-agreement than those in subject positions or other object positions (i.e., for the target *la* (the), *la mujer está contenta* (the women is happy) and *estoy con la mujer contenta* (I am with the happy woman)) (Díaz Barajas & Orozco 2019). I will illustrate what each of the remaining linguistic factors look like in the following discussion of the findings in the literature by using variants of the example sentence *el muxe es discriminado* (the muxe is discriminated against), where *muxe* is the controller with the targets *el* (the masculine singular form of the definite article) and *discriminado*, the adjective meaning "discriminated against" in singular masculine form.

Specifically, controllers with feminine grammatical gender (i.e., *la muxe* (the muxe)) also were associated with lower rates of gender agreement than masculine controllers in Díaz Barajas & Orozco (2019). Also, as might also be expected to hold for Spanish, since Spanish the masculine is often used as a generic form in Spanish, Levon (2012) found that, in Hebrew, plural controllers and targets (such as *los muxes* (the muxes) instead of *el muxe* (the muxe)) strongly conditioned the use of masculine grammatical

gender. Additionally, regarding distribution, Levon (2012) found for Hebrew that adjacent controllers and targets (i.e., in the Spanish example *el muxe*) were slightly more often masculine in grammatical gender than non-adjacent ones (i.e., *muxe* and *discriminada* in *el muxe es discriminada*). With regards to morphological status, Díaz Barajas & Orozco (2019) found that targets that are pronouns (i.e., referring to *el muxe* (the muxe) as *ella* (she) in the next utterance) agree less with controllers than targets that are nouns (i.e., referring to her as a *vendedora* (seller) in the next utterance). In turn, targets that are adjectives (i.e., *discriminado*) agree with their controllers more frequently, and targets that are articles (i.e., *el* (the)) agree most frequently with their controllers.

This latter finding seems to be related to the former, even though they look at different languages, as the morphological statuses that lead to more gender agreement in Díaz Barajas & Orozco (2019) are associated with adjacent controller-target pairs (i.e., article targets are almost always adjacent to their controllers), whereas those that lead to less gender agreement are more often associated with non-adjacent controller-target pairs (i.e., pronouns often stand alone). Furthermore, in both Hebrew and Spanish, masculine grammatical gender marking seems to be more frequent overall than feminine grammatical gender. Taking the findings from both studies into account, it seems that adjacent distribution should most often lead to high rates of grammatical gender agreement between grammatically masculine controllers and masculine targets.

In the literature, muxe's use of referential grammatical gender is rarely remarked upon explicitly. In my survey of the literature, I have found some discussion of the noun, *muxe*, itself, which seems to take on variable grammatical gender, and a footnote about muxe's use of self-referential grammatical gender. The noun, *muxe*, seems to be generally masculine when used to refer to muxe who present in a masculine or androgynous manner (*el muxe*), whereas the word *muxes* is treated as a feminine noun when referring to muxe, typically muxe gunaa, who prefer to dress as women (*la muxe*) (Laaksonen 2016).

Although plural forms of the word *muxe* can be either masculine or feminine depending on which group of muxe the word refers to (Laaksonen 2016), the plural masculine form seems much more common, perhaps due to the widespread practice of general masculine plurals in Spanish to refer to mixed groups of men and women. Anecdotally, it seems that muxe are also more likely to use feminine grammatical gender to refer to themselves and other muxe than masculine grammatical gender,

perhaps because most muxes see themselves as being more feminine than masculine (Barbosa 2016).

Therefore, despite a lack of more specific research into how muxes use and perceive other forms of referential grammatical gender, namely in their use of grammatical gender in adjectives, I would hypothesize that muxes are similar to other so-called "third gender" groups in this manner. That is, I expect they generally use feminine grammatical gender markings to refer to themselves in informal settings and occasionally use marked masculine gender in socially important and/or ideological ways. I would also expect, however, that outgroup members, as with hijras in India (Hall & O'Donovan 1996), tend to use the masculine form of adjectives more often to refer to muxes, and Barbosa (2016) has also pointed out that elderly people almost exclusively refer to muxes with masculine grammatical gender. Muxes dressed as men also tend to be referred to with masculine grammatical gender (Barbosa 2016).

Following the behavior observed among hijras, another non-male, non-female identity in India, muxes probably use referential grammatical gender variably to express a large variety of ideological stances. In the Indian hijra communities previously studied, hijras do not necessarily refer to themselves and others with consistent grammatical gender markings. Instead, there was variation in which grammatical gender markings they used according to contextual and ideological factors (Hall & O'Donovan 1996). For instance, hijras generally used feminine referential grammatical gender with one another as a marker of solidarity, causing their occasional use of masculine referential grammatical gender to be highly marked and associated with stances carrying a negative connotation, such as insulting, as well as with ideologically masculine stances taken for emphatic purposes (Hall & O'Donovan 1996). Since muxes, like hijras, are members of a non-female, non-male social group, it would not be surprising to see muxes variably employ feminine and masculine referential grammatical gender depending on contextual elements of the interaction.

This supposition is supported even more greatly by the linguistic behavior of travestis, given that some muxes may see themselves as travestis or have a certain affinity with that social group. "Travesti" is an identity specific to Latin America that refers to biologically male individuals who take on a feminine gender expression and certain female gender roles without identifying as women. The label is quite broad, referring to individuals with a variety of more specific gender and sexual identities. Similarly

to hijras, travestis in Brazil have been shown to have a preference for feminine referential grammatical gender as a relatively unmarked identity marker to distinguish themselves from men (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997). Travestis opt instead for masculine referential gender when they narrate events from their childhood before they took on the travesti identity, when they want to distance themselves from other travestis, and also when the referent engaged in an ideologically masculine action such as paying for sex or topping in anal or oral sex (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997).

Along these lines, in a variety of Latin American contexts, other non-gender normative men, transfeminine individuals, and also men in mixed but largely female left-wing political organizations have also been shown to be referred to with feminine referential grammatical gender and use this grammatical gender to perform important ingroup functions (Bengoechea 2015; Eller 2013; Gagné & Rodríguez 2006; Vacarezza 2018; Vargas Cervantes 2014). Thus, it is highly probable that muxes will use variable referential grammatical gender as well, and perhaps for similarly socially significant reasons. Seeing that many of these factors influencing grammatical gender variation are linked to gender ideologies (i.e., ideologically masculine stances being marked with masculine grammatical gender and non-male identity being marked by feminine grammatical gender), it would be expected that expressed gender ideology would be related quantitatively to referential grammatical gender as well.

Another study of referential grammatical gender variation in Nepali verb marking has shown links between this variation and gender ideology more explicitly. Specifically, in more urbanized areas of Nepal, where egalitarian gender ideologies were the norm, young Nepali women, who ostensibly supported these egalitarian gender ideologies, tended to use less gender agreement than speakers who endorsed patriarchal ideologies traditional to Nepal (Upadhyay 2009). While the author did not treat ideology per se as a social factor, ideology was employed convincingly as an explanation for this variation, since held ideology was the main overarching factor that distinguished the diverse social groups using the innovative variant, gender non-agreement, from the diverse social groups using the conservative variant, gender agreement.

Thus, in Juchitán, it is likely that this variation is also linked to gender ideology, given the complicated status of muxes in the city, the knowledge that referential grammatical gender variation has been linked to gender ideologies in other contexts, and the knowledge that other non-gender-normative groups use grammatical gender vari-

ably (Barbosa 2016; Bengoechea 2015; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Gagné & Rodríguez 2006; Hall 2013; Hall & O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997; Laaksonen 2016; Vacarezza 2018; Vargas Cervantes 2014). I hypothesize, specifically concerning gender ideology, that expressed Zapotec gender ideology will condition non-agreement in grammatical gender and that machista ideology will lead to a greater use of masculine gender markers to refer to muxes.

3.4 Two Possible Variable Contexts for Grammatical Gender

As I began preparing to analyze grammatical gender variation in Juchitán Spanish, it occurred to me that referential grammatical gender variation can be separated into two particular variables with different variable contexts. Both potentially correspond to a great deal of variation in the sample, and both may be interesting to study in Juchitán Spanish. I will refer to the first of these as referential grammatical gender (non-)agreement and the other as referential grammatical gender assignment, which I sometimes refer to as feminine or masculine reference. On the one hand, the envelope of variation for the first of these variables can be defined as variation between gender agreement (where the controller and target genders match) and gender non-agreement (where the controller and target genders do not match). On the other hand, the second of these variables, gender assignment, can be defined as variation between masculine grammatical gendered items and feminine grammatical gendered items that refer to the same referent.

The relationship between two elements in a unit where there is potential grammatical gender agreement is referred to as the relationship between the controller and the target. Corresponding in some ways to the linguistic variable in a variationist study, the target is the element that receives gender agreement from another element or, in other words, should match the grammatical gender of another element. The controller, on the other hand, is the other element that determines which grammatical gender the target will take (Corbett 1991). While there can be multiple targets for each controller, there cannot be multiple controllers per target.

An illustrative example can be found in the example phrase mentioned in Section 3.3, *el muxe es discriminado* (The muxe is discriminated (against)). In this phrase, *muxe* is the controller for two targets, *el* and *discriminado*, both of which take on mas-

culine grammatical gender because *muxe* is being treated cognitively as a masculine lexical item in this example. In this study, I dealt with indeterminate controllers, such as this one, by coding their relationship differently than I would code cases of agreement or non-agreement, as explained in Section 5.6. An example of clear gender agreement between controller and target would be in the phrase *ellos son discriminados* (they are discriminated against), in which the masculine target *discriminados* (discriminated against) agrees with the masculine controller *ellos* (they). An example of gender non-agreement could be *ellos son discriminadas* (they are discriminated against), in which the target *discriminados* (discriminated against) is feminine, thereby failing to agree with the masculine controller *ellos* (they).

In terms of controller-target relationships, gender agreement can be understood as a match between controller and target genders, gender non-agreement as a mismatch between controller and target genders, and indeterminate cases as a lack of clarity regarding whether there is a match or mismatch. This lack of clarity can either arise from the presence of a controller that can take multiple genders (i.e., *muxe*, *estudiante*, *hablante*) (*muxe*, student, speaker) or due to an implicit controller (i.e., an unexpressed subject pronoun). Gender (non-)agreement is often implicitly studied in variationist work that considers language competence as an interpretation for the variation found in the community, as these studies report their findings in terms of rates of gender agreement and gender non-agreement. Studies of gender (non-)agreement are also not restricted to human referents, as all (or practically all) nouns have grammatical gender in the languages these studies are performed on (such as Spanish, Dutch, and Nepali).

On the other hand, gender assignment is often implicitly studied in qualitative anthropological studies on LGBT groups and so-called third genders, like the muxes. In gender assignment, the grammatical gender of both targets and controllers that are used to talk about the same person or people may sometimes be feminine and other times masculine. For instance, in the invented example, *yo me llamo Enrique pero me llaman Kika y estoy encantada de conocerle* (my name is Enrique but they call me Kika and I'm pleased to meet you), the controller *Enrique* is masculine, the controller *Kika* is feminine, and the target *encantada* (modifying the controller *yo* (I)). In each case, the lexical item assigns the *muxe* referent a different grammatical gender, even though the referent has ostensibly not changed their gender identity or expression.

In terms of controller-target relationships, one might say that gender assignment

studies treat all controllers and targets as separate variables, rather than treating them as a unit. Since both a controller and a target typically have a clear grammatical gender assignment, the distinction between controller and target is less important for these studies. Because the concepts of "controller" and "target" are correspondingly less useful for this variable, it also presents less of a problem that some words have multiple assignable genders or that sometimes controllers are implicit, as words with multiple assignment genders can be excluded and the measure of grammatical gender does not depend on a controller, implicit or not.

For this variable, unlike gender (non-)agreement, however, the referent must be human, or at least animate, because variation typically occurs in the targets modifying lexical items referring to LGBT- or third-gender-identified referents (i.e., in *la muxe* vs. *el muxe*, the target referring to the third-gender controller *muxe*, can be either the feminine *la* or the masculine *el*). Inanimate referents, by virtue of being inanimate, have no (non-grammatical) gender. Therefore, they necessarily lack the potentially non-binary gender identity or expression that motivates these patterns of variation.

Previous variationist studies have, to my knowledge, largely overlooked gender assignment in favor of gender (non-)agreement, whereas qualitative studies have tended towards the opposite focus. However, even though previous variationist research has focused on only gender (non-)agreement, a study on gender assignment could be innovative and confirm some observations found in the qualitative research. In this study, therefore, I initially did a preliminary analysis of both variables before whether to analyze both variables or pick just one to focus on. I made this determination by considering if each variable had a sufficient amount of variation for a variationist study to be performed and if the initial results, looking at the first few speakers, seemed to be promising.

I also decided to look at both variables initially since both can be studied by looking at the same data set, provided all controllers and targets are animate, and the grammatical gender of each controller and target is included. Since both of these conditions applied to my study, there should not be any tokens that cannot be analyzed for both variables. I also left open the possibility of deciding to change my focus from all animate referents to only *muxe* referents, in the very possible case that there was only a sufficiently large amount of variation when the referents were *muxe*-identified. The variable or variables that I ended up including in the study, as well as whether I ex-

cluded non-muxe-identified referents, will be explored in later sections.

Chapter 4

Methodology: Gathering and Revising the Data

4.1 Overview

I want to begin this chapter by reminding the reader of the goal of this research project, to investigate sociolinguistic variation, and, in particular, the effect of expressed ideologies on this variation, in Juchitán, Mexico. To empirically investigate this, I needed to get large amounts of naturalistic data from people in Juchitán, with a variety of language competency profiles and gender identities, where multiple mentioned ideologies regarding gender and language are expressed. To get this data, I needed to find a diverse array of participants in Juchitán, record relatively naturalistic data from these participants, ensure that enough mentioned ideologies occurred in the data, and make other observations about language and gender in Juchitán. To this end, I embarked on two fieldwork periods in Juchitán. The initial fieldwork period was one week in length and dedicated to making observations and establishing preliminary contacts. The subsequent fieldwork period, on the other hand, lasted nine weeks and was spent gathering interview data and taking field notes with ethnographic observations on language and gender. Originally planned for the summer of 2020, the second fieldwork period was shifted to the winter of 2020/2021 and shortened in length due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

To obtain linguistic data, I first recruited participants through an adapted version of snowball sampling to include members of my Juchitán-based social circle without excessively sacrificing the sample's representativeness and diversity. In the end, I included 56 participants, with whom I conducted semi-guided interviews designed to approximate naturalistic conversations about topics related to gender and language ideologies of potential local relevance. Informed consent was obtained in accordance with community standards, through the use of an honest, but simplified oral account to explain my research purposes (Goldstein 2014). For details on how I obtained oral consent, and other ethical aspects of the research process, see Section 4.8.

To specify which language and gender ideologies were of local relevance in Juchitán and to better describe these ideologies, I made ethnographic observations while in Juchitán, most of which were written in field notes. Ethnography is a slippery term

to define, as researchers from many different disciplinary backgrounds use the term, and consequently different definitions exist (Gobo 2011; Hammersley 2006, 2018). That being said, ethnography is typically conceived of as a methodological strategy (Hammersley 2018) where observation is key. Ethnography may involve non-participant observation, where the researcher observes the subjects at a distance, but more often involves participant observation, where the research has a direct relationship with the social actors they observe (Gobo 2011; Hammersley 2018). Furthermore, according to Hammersley (2018), most definitions of ethnography consider the process to be relatively long-term, holistic in focus, aimed at documenting "what actually goes on", focused on the meanings people give to their surroundings, and involving triangulation. Triangulation is the use of multiple sources of data together to document the same phenomena in a variety of contexts (Hammersley 2006, 2018), thereby allowing the research to get a better sense of broader social meanings and avoid focusing on relatively unimportant phenomena that they subjectively find striking.

To perform ethnographic observations, a researcher needs to construct an account of what is observed, which, though rooted in one's own subjectivity, is also based on systematic enquiry, contains systematic descriptions, and is justified on the basis of observed evidence (Heller 2008). Making observations and writing this kind of account can be a useful way to gain in-depth descriptions and explanations of phenomena in all their complexity and without leaving contradictions aside (Heller 2008). Since language and gender ideologies, especially within my theoretical framework, are complex and contradictory phenomena, I believed it was necessary to make ethnographic observations, some descriptions, and some explanations to get at which ideologies were locally relevant in Juchitán.

Quality ethnographic work tends to start with a research question (Heller 2008). In my case, my ethnographic research question was determined by my larger variationist question. To answer my larger question, I needed to find out, on the one hand, which language and gender ideologies were of local relevance and, on the other hand, what beliefs, behaviors, and positions are related to these ideologies in the Juchitán context. To answer these questions, I engaged in ethnographic work by making observations, writing notes, triangulating these with other research, interview data, and further observations, and later writing descriptions and explanations based on this work.

My observations, aimed at answering these questions, ended up encompassing

topics including but not limited to the following: how people reacted towards my gendered presentation and language use, how people spoke to and about people with different gender identities and language competencies, the gendering and language use patterns of different places, and norms and taboos regarding language, sexuality, and gender. The form and content of these observations and field notes are shown in detail in Section 4.2. Then, these observations and notes were triangulated with past research and interview data to revise the list of potentially relevant ideologies in Juchitán. Through this revision, I was able to identify which gender and language ideologies were locally relevant in Juchitán and describe these ideologies in greater detail.

The subsequent sections explain and reflect on the participant recruitment process, data collection methods, including semi-guided interviews and ethnographic observations, and the identification of locally relevant language and gender ideologies in more detail. I start with a detailed account of my time collecting data in Juchitán that contains both practical and ethnographic aspects of the research, purposefully interwoven within one another in ways that make it at times difficult to visualize the borders between ethnography, variationist data collection, and ethically relevant personal experiences. I chose to make these boundaries unclear to evoke how unclear they often were in the field. Variationist data collection often provided the chance to make ethnographic observations. These "scientific" experiences often had personal implications that had ethical consequences for me or for participants. Based on the ethnographic observations presented, as well as other evidence, I then identify and describe the gender and language ideologies that are of particular relevance to my sample. Subsequently, I describe the process of semi-guided interviews and how they were recorded, as well as the ethical issues I needed to navigate and issues that came up during the interviews.

4.2 Data Collection: Arrival in Juchitán

To meet initial contacts and thereby ease my integration into the community during my fieldwork, I stayed in Juchitán the first full week of January 2020 at an Airbnb run by two sociologists. One of the sociologists, who studied Zapotec language revitalization, introduced me to my first community contact, who further helped me to meet potential interview participants, particularly people from more ideologically indigenous neighborhoods, also referred to as *secciones* (see Section 1.4), of Juchitán.

Additionally, through Couchsurfing ¹, I met a person, who I will henceforth refer to as Sasuke, who worked as both a jeweler and martial arts instructor and agreed to be interviewed when I returned to Juchitán and also to help me meet more people.

Sasuke also found the apartment in the second section that I stayed in for the longer fieldwork period. Since he grew up between the seventh and second sections of Juchitán, having contact with him helped me establish some contacts in both the Zapotec dominant seventh section and the more affluent, mestizo second section. In total, I was able to stay in contact with three people from Juchitán I had met during the preliminary stay in Juchitán, all of whom helped me to meet potential interview participants when I returned.

While in Juchitán this first time, I spent time walking through the city, observing the markets and other centers of city life, and meeting potential participants through my initial contacts. On this first trip, I wrote ethnographic field notes on my computer every second night with information that would be useful in either finding participants and/or identifying gender, language, and other ideologies that were relevant to community life. On the second trip, I continued writing up these kinds of field notes, adding new entries every week or so, in order to identify and describe the locally relevant ideologies they mentioned in the interviews. Although my ethnographic field notes also contained practical entries about finding participants, they were more often focused on people's behavior in relation to language and gender, along with reflections on my own reactions to being immersed in this ideological environment. To see examples of each of these three categories of ethnographic field notes, consult Figure 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3, respectively.

During the initial fieldwork period, practically everything that I observed regarding the social position of muxes, three of whom I met personally, gender norms, and Zapotec identity and language, when triangulated with the previous anthropological literature, confirmed it (see Sections 1.3, 1.5, 1.6, and 1.7). This experience led me to believe that my ethnographic observations when I returned would largely reaffirm previous research, rather than representing new observations about ideology in Juchitán. Therefore, I was confident in writing down preliminary relevant ideologies before my

¹Couchsurfing is an online community where members offer visitors a place to stay in exchange for company and cultural exchange. I used the platform often in my early twenties both to host people (let people stay in my house) and to travel (staying at other people's houses) and have since used it occasionally to meet people in places where I know few people.

return. Although I was mostly correct in this prediction, my previous life experience, my positionality, and Juchitec@s' reaction to it would also allow me to delineate aspects of gender and language ideologies in Juchitán that have been less emphasized or not explored in previous research.

The sample seems a bit skewed towards middle class people, people with education, and people who are less socially liberal (more conservative). However, I'm working on addressing those gaps and do not think they will be large enough to present a problem. The last five muxes I'd like to get are elusive so far, but perhaps I'll get two interviews with muxes on Wednesday. The uncertainty is

Figure 4.1: Practical field notes - Regarding finding participants

besondere für Männer und Muxes. Viele Leute kann nicht verstehen warum ich möchte nur Sex mit meinem Freund haben, und nicht mit andere Leute als er nicht da ist. Untreue ist gesehen als nur problematisch wenn es herausgefunden ist. Anderswo kann es nicht schaden. Aquí los secretos bien guardados no lastiman. 比中国的面子的文化很像。秘密不让你丢脸。但是，告诉人受伤的密
密让你丢脸。

Es peligroso salir a solas en la noche. Muchos dicen que no era así antes; es un peligro que surgió en las últimas décadas a causa de las actividades de los carteles. Mucha gente, de cualquier género, incluso yo, tenemos miedo de salir

Figure 4.2: Field notes reflecting on people's behavior

Ich merke dass ich angefangen habe Juchitecas Ansichten anzunehmen. Ich gucke neugierig zweimal an güeros und negros die ich sehe. Ich finde es normaler Muxes zu sehen und betrachte sie als weder Männer noch Frauen in gewissen Sinn. Ich denke mehr auf Spanisch als auf Englisch. Ich nehme auch Verantwortlichkeit Weg und gebe Dinge viel mehr Kraft mir zu beeinflussen. Ich denke an diese Artikel von Kiras Klasse über Indigene Ideologien in wem Objekte haben Ihres eigenes Einfluss. Ich gehe oft spät zu Meetings und schaue nicht so oft an die Zeit an. Ich betrachte Untreue als verstandbarer.

The way that people see time outside of North Europe and the Anglosphere is very hard for me to adapt to. Even though I am getting lots of interviews in a short period of time, there are lots of no-shows and late arrivals and sudden cancelations. It makes it hard to plan but also hard to improvise somehow. I still get annoyed by last minute cancellations, but here I am adjusting too. I recently cancelled a plan by saying that an imprevisto surgió.

Figure 4.3: Field notes reflecting on my reactions to situations

When I returned to Juchitán, I conducted fieldwork from early December 2020 until mid-February of 2021. Because of the strength of previous ethnographic research on the community, I did not think that a long fieldwork period was necessary. However, I still planned to stay for at least three months, longer than is necessary to collect

interviews (and therefore typical for non-ethnographic variationist research) in order to facilitate prolonged community engagement and, therefore, to perform a detailed enough ethnography (Rezaei 2012) to truly answer my ethnographic research questions.

In the end, however, I decided to cut the fieldwork period short because of changes in the coronavirus pandemic that would have made it harder to conduct research in Mexico and return to Switzerland (i.e., the closing of public spaces in Juchitán, implementation of new testing restrictions to enter countries by air). Although the recruitment for interviews was very successful (I got 56 interviews within about 6 weeks), working in Juchitán brought up a great deal of difficult emotions in me, and after I returned from fieldwork, I decided not to go back to finish the additional month of ethnography I had previously planned, judging that my mental health would suffer if I immersed myself in the community again. As I describe my recruitment of participants, use of ethnographic methods to determine of locally relevant ideologies, and the experiences that came along with both of these tasks, I hope some of the reasons behind this decision will become clearer.

About a month before flying to Juchitán the second time, a coworker put me in contact with her father, who is involved in indigenous activism in Mexico and therefore has contacts with indigenous activists throughout Mexico, including in Juchitán. About ten days before arriving in Juchitán for the second time, I began asking a few of my contacts from the first fieldwork period for help finding an apartment. They provided me with the names of some Facebook users I could try speaking with and said they would ask around for more information, but this ended up leading to dead ends.

Finally, on the day I arrived in Juchitán, I had secured a temporary place to stay with two contacts through my coworker's father, but no permanent apartment. Luckily, Sasuke, worried that I had yet to find a place and concerned about the possibility of me being on the streets alone at night, asked me if I had found a place. I assured him that I could stay with friends for a few days, so would not be on the streets at night, but explained I still did not have a permanent place. He subsequently gave me the number of someone who was renting apartments. I called the number, was shown the apartment, and was given the keys within a matter of hours.

The spontaneous way in which this previously unexpected opportunity appeared out of a combination of good contacts, good luck, and access to the right networks

foreshadowed how the entire experience was set to pan out and reflects how life seems to function in Juchitán more generally. Very little is constant in Juchitán. The unpredictable effects of various social forces, (un)lucky coincidences, and the manipulation of social networks often cause unique opportunities to rise up and previously stable situations to change and shift. I found that interviews were often canceled last minute, and I often secured spontaneous interviews from one of my contacts when I least expected it.

I found it helpful to schedule interviews with people, as some people preferred to have these interviews planned in advance. However, only about a quarter of these interviews actually took place within the hour for which they were planned. Many were rescheduled or canceled without being rescheduled. Sometimes people just disappeared; other times they kept rescheduling interviews until I got the message that they did not want to be bothered. However, scheduling interviews was still helpful, as a success rate of 25ish percent can still represent a large number of interviews, and over half of the scheduled interviews did end up happening at some point later. On days when all my interviews got canceled, I could often get spontaneous interviews anyway just by asking people I had already interviewed if they knew of anyone else who could help me.

4.3 Data Collection: Participants

In the following section, I explain how I recruited participants in formal, practical terms, while at the same time providing much more detail than most variationist studies. During the description, I often veer off into reflexive autoethnographic narratives (Patiño-Santos 2019; Starfield 2013, 2019) where I make myself a "highly visible social actor" within the methodology section (Starfield (2019), citing Anderson (2006)), considering my social position as a gay-identified white outsider doing a research project within local systems of power relations (Starfield 2013). I do this to illustrate what it means in practical, sociological, and psychological terms to do an ethnographically-influenced variationist study with 56 interviews in a place like Juchitán, in terms of the level of community engagement it requires, concrete difficulties it presents, and the psychological toll it took on this particular researcher.

I place particular emphasis on how aspects of my identity influenced my ability to

collect interviews and my access to the research site, while also creating personal difficulties as people tried to involve me in their lives in ways that violated the personal boundaries I felt comfortable with as a researcher with a particular set of past experiences, positionality, and cultural background. These narratives also serve, in conjunction with past research and the content of the interviews, as a justification for the gender and language ideologies I chose to code. Therefore, relevant autoethnographic narratives will also be featured in Sections 4.4 and 4.5.

I recruited participants using a form of snowball sampling that took Juchitán's demographics into account. In other words, I used systematic sampling (Buchstaller & Khattab 2013) for certain relevant social groups, while using my contacts through ethnography to find the required number of people from each social group. To be more specific, I asked most of my initial contacts and most of the subsequent friends I made in Juchitán to take part in my study, and I subsequently asked these people to help me find additional people in their circle of contacts who met certain demographic characteristics. For example, to increase the number of muxes in my sample, I asked particular participants to put me in contact specifically with muxes.

I took advantage of my friends' and acquaintances' social networks to find participants because, for a few reasons, I did not want to exclusively interview people I already had some sort of relationship with. Firstly, to avoid having to wait to start collecting data, it made sense to begin recruiting participants before I knew very many people personally. Furthermore, I wanted to include a variety of people in my sample, some of whom, due to their social identity (i.e., elderly people), would be unlikely to ever form part of the same social circle as me. In terms of demographic characteristics, I wanted my sample to more or less reflect Juchitán's diversity in terms of age, and I also wanted to ensure that there were enough muxes in the sample to include muxe identity as an iteration of the social factor, gender.

Due to the study's focus on Spanish and my lack of competence in Isthmus Zapotec, the study was restricted to people capable of holding a conversation in Spanish. Since, as of 2000, this only excludes about 9% of the population of Juchitán (Saynes-Vázquez 2002), the effect of this exclusion on the sample was minimal. Including participants of different professions and age groups helped ensure a sample of participants with largely varying capacities in both Spanish and Isthmus Zapotec. Although the sample may have included speakers who typically mix Zapotec and Spanish in their daily con-

versations, this was not an issue for my data since, as a non-Zapotec speaking person, speakers automatically chose to speak Spanish with me. Occasionally speakers used solitary words in Zapotec when talking about those words or said short sentences in Zapotec to cite other speakers before translating those sentences for me, but this occurred quite rarely. Besides, I get the impression that language mixing happens infrequently when Juchitec@s speak Spanish and much more frequently when they speak Zapotec, so the monolingual Spanish that participants used to speak with me was very likely a part of their ordinary repertoire.

This was also likely true for the speakers in my sample with more competence in Zapotec for whom, even though they may have felt less comfortable speaking only Spanish, monolingual Spanish still formed part of their repertoires. In Juchitán, Spanish is frequently used, even in heavily Zapotec areas, to interact with monolingual Spanish speakers who live in the less indigenous sections of Juchitán as well as with people from other parts of Mexico. As such, it seemed suitable to record these speakers' use of Spanish with me, as I was still focusing on an element of their repertoire by choosing to study these speakers' use of "pure" Spanish. Furthermore, my identity may have helped Zapotec speakers feel more comfortable speaking to me in this "pure" Spanish section of their linguistic repertoire. As a non-native speaker of Spanish, most Zapotec-dominant participants seemed quite at ease speaking with me with a recording device, which I suspect would have been less the case if I were a native speaker of non-Juchiteco Spanish.

I limited my sample to people who had lived in Juchitán for over five years, worked in Juchitán, or grew up in Juchitán and visited frequently. It was important to include people who lived between Juchitán and other places because Juchitec@s are very mobile. This mobility is often linked to educational and economic opportunities. On the one hand, there are few institutions of higher education in Juchitán, so people who want a university education generally need to spend time in other parts of the country, with Oaxaca City, San Cristobal de las Casas, Mexico City, and Puebla being common destinations. On the other hand, salaries and job opportunities are generally much higher in other parts of Mexico, so many Juchitec@s live in other parts of Mexico to improve their economic situation before moving back to the city.

Some of these jobs, such as working as a reporter, require an even greater amount of mobility. For all these reasons, most of my speakers had lived multiple years in other

parts of Mexico and many planned to move again at some point in the future. People who live outside of Juchitán most of the year still return often, maintain strong networks with people in and from Juchitán, and usually feel very identified with the city. Therefore, it seemed logical to include speakers who lived somewhere else officially but still visited family in the city.

I included speakers from every major neighborhood in the study to help increase the diversity of class, Zapotec ability, and sexual/gender identities in the sample. To see a map of Juchitán's main neighborhoods for reference, consult Figure 4.4 (taken from Gauvin (2011)). In the seventh, eighth, and ninth sections of Juchitán, where Zapotec identity is considered to be strongest, I heard more people speaking Zapotec than in other sections, an observation that is also supported by research on muxes' identity and language practices (Gauvin 2011; Mirandé 2017). Perhaps because "muxe" is an indigenous identity, muxes are sometimes believed to enjoy higher levels of acceptance in these sections than in other, less indigenous sections (Gauvin 2011).

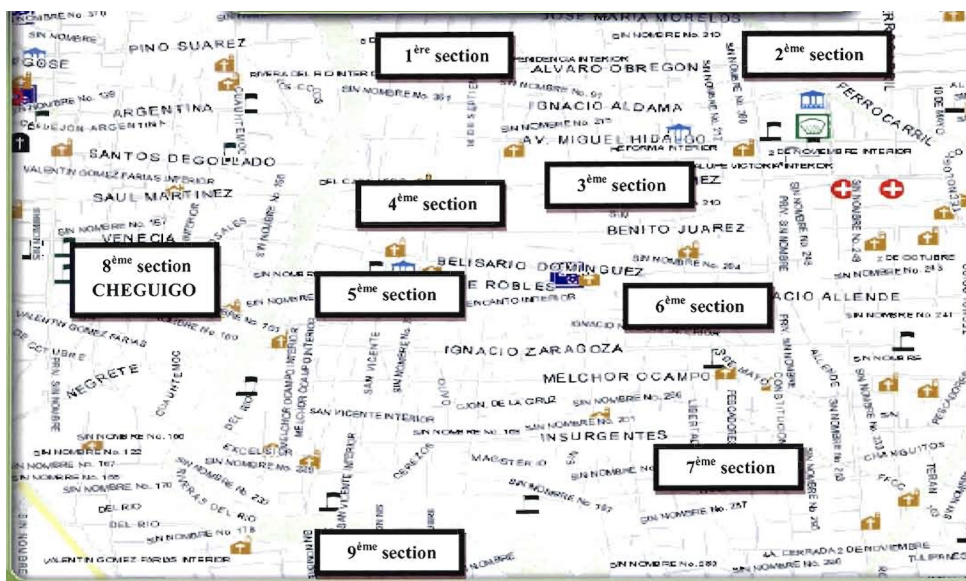


Figure 4.4: Neighborhoods in Juchitán

As such, it is also more common to find muxes who strongly identify with the muxe label living in these sections, in contrast with the less indigenous sections where muxes less readily apply that label to themselves (Mirandé 2017). In the less indigenous sections of Juchitán, it is more typical to find a mix of people who identify with the label strongly, who do not make much distinction between "muxe" and "gay", and who prefer the "gay" label. In my own observations, I found that gay-identified people who rejected the "muxe" label either rejected traditional Zapotec gender roles and cul-

ture, were oriented more strongly towards the rest of Mexico, acted more ideologically "masculine", and/or were in their thirties or younger. It is important to note, however, that many of these participants acted ideologically "feminine" or "androgynous". What united all of them, however, was an age under forty and either an aversion to traditional "Zapotecness", a strong orientation to the rest of Mexico, or both.

The less indigenous neighborhoods, particularly the first and second sections and the unnumbered sections on the outskirts of these sections, contrast strongly with the seventh, eighth, and ninth sections in other ways as well. While Zapotec speakers and muxes still live in the first and second sections and the surrounding areas, these neighborhoods are richer, have a less exclusively Zapotec population, and are less associated with the prototypical view of Juchitán as a Zapotec city amongst people I met. According to my own observations and conversations with Juchitec@s, people living there are more likely to be mestizo and/or middle class, and the Zapotec language is heard less often on the streets.

In this neighborhood, fewer muxes identify readily with that label than in the more indigenous sections, although they tend to still be seen as muxes by others. Therefore, recruiting participants from all neighborhoods made it easier for me to find a variety of participants: both muxe and gay, both upper class, middle class, and lower class, and both strongly Zapotec-identified and cosmopolitan-identified. In this way, I was also able to find a greater diversity in expressed language and gender ideologies by focusing on the entirety of Juchitán, both within and across speakers.

I took the following further steps to ensure a relatively representative sample. To ensure variation in social class, I included speakers of different occupations in my sample, as well as including speakers from many neighborhoods. On the other hand, to ensure diversity of age, I set targets for the number of people to recruit from each age group recorded in the most recent census (Hidalgo 2022) in a way that closely reflected the percentages of people from each age group living in Juchitán. To recruit a large enough number of muxes for my sample, I set a target of twenty muxes and a lower limit of ten and made greater efforts to meet and recruit these participants. This ended up being quite easy to achieve. One of my initial contacts from the second research trip knew many muxes and was able to get me in contact with them to start doing interviews. Another initial contact from my second trip was friends with many non-muxe gay-identified men, allowing me to incorporate many people from this demographic

into my sample.

To start recruiting participants, I interviewed most of the people that I met on my first trip to Juchitán, including Sasuke and the people who ran the AirBnB, and got some additional interviews through friends and acquaintances of these people as well, amounting to around ten interviews in total. However, even more helpful to my project were the people I met indirectly through my contacts from the University of Bern. Fortunately, the father of one of the University's previous Ph.D. students is an indigenous justice activist who was willing to put me in contact with three people he knew in Juchitán. Two of these people were indigenous rights activists and, during my first few days in Juchitán, they helped me get settled in and find my first few interview participants by taking me to interview their friends, most of whom were fellow full or part-time activists. Later, whenever I could not find participants through other people, I would come back to ask them if they could put me in contact with other friends or family members, and I thereby probably got around ten interviews through them.

One of their friends was a gay-identified man who I'll refer to hereafter as Jesse. Jesse had lived all over Mexico, typically working as a primary school teacher, and, when I met him, had this same job in Juchitán. Because of the pandemic, he was working more or less remotely, and supplemented his income with another job, designing clothing. Although he was often considered to be muxe by other Juchitec@s and had a muxe-coded second job (designing clothes), he eschewed the label himself. When we first met, Jesse says he noticed I was gay too within a few minutes because I sat down to talk with him with my legs crossed. He told me later that from that point on he knew we would be friends. I figured from his body language from the second time we met that he had taken a liking to me, and he later told me he was very interested in helping me with the project.

Jesse seemed a bit callous and inconsiderate of others in some of his behaviors, but he was funny, open to meeting new people, and had very large social networks. I liked his humor and needed help finding participants as well as friends in Juchitán, so I began spending time with him and asking him for help with the project. I told him the types of participants I was looking for, and he used his contacts to help find those people. I can trace around 20 of the 56 total interviews in my sample to people I found through this contact or through people his friends put me in contact with. These twenty contacts included the gay-identified participants in the sample who did not

consider themselves to be "muxe".

Two of his gay-identified friends in particular helped me to find a good number of additional interview participants. One of these friends, who had a Psychology BA degree at a local university and worked as a nurse at the local hospital, helped me find a group of mostly female participants from among his friends. The other, who I'll refer to hereafter as Fernando, had an office job in a pawn shop but had previously also sold alcohol in Oaxaca and hoped to get a better-paying and more interesting job in Oaxaca in the future. He got me interviews with family members of his, who were more religious and conservative than most of my other participants, as well as a muxe friend of his. I was always particularly thankful to get religious conservative participants, as such people were often harder to recruit. Because I would always ask about muxes and gender roles in my interviews, people tended to connect me with participants who had relatively progressive opinions on such matters.

Despite framing my study as a study on language, I think many participants believed I had an interest in learning facts about the Zapotec language and muxe identity, rather than the influence of their ideas and other factors on linguistic variation. Therefore, I got referred to a disproportionate number of activists and egalitarian people. I do not think these behaviors were an attempt to manage my impressions of Juchitán, as most progressive Juchitec@s in my experience describe Juchitán in a nuanced manner, including descriptions of machista, violent, and inegalitarian behaviors, ideologies, and social structures. A handful of participants did tell me that Juchitán was a sort of matriarchy or gay paradise with no discrimination to give me a good impression of the city, but it was quite rare to meet participants who took this approach.

I got a lot of participants through another contact that I made through a coworker's father. This indirect contact, who was a reporter, had interviewed muxe activists and other famous muxes for her own work and was able to ask them for interviews on my behalf. About two-thirds of them agreed to be interviewed, and only some of them canceled last minute, a high success rate for famous/activist muxes. One of these young muxes, who I will call Alejandra, took a liking to me when we met for our interview, especially once I told her I was gay. Although she was typically employed as an activist who, I believe, received a government salary, the pandemic had greatly reduced the amount of paid work she had access to, and she spent lots of time at her parent's home (where she lived) to reduce her expenses, helping around the house,

and taking on extra, one-time jobs whenever she could. Through her, I was able to get around ten interviews with other young muxes and people these young muxes knew.

Alejandra was also the first person I met who mentioned perhaps the most salient local distinction between muxes in Juchitán, namely their grouping into "muxe gunaa" (the label with which she identified), "muxe nguui", and "muxe" without any particular label. "Nguui" is the Zapotec word for "man" and "gunaa" for "woman". As such, "muxe nguui" are muxes who predominantly dress like men and identify more closely with the male gender, sometimes to the point of identifying themselves as male. On the other hand, "muxe gunaa" present as women, use feminine pronouns, and identify more closely with women than with men. However, in contrast to the most similar non-Juchiteca equivalent identity, that of a trans woman, "muxe gunaa" typically present more masculinely than trans women and, importantly, do not identify as women. Learning of the local salience of these identifications, I made sure to include a relatively equal number of "muxe gunaa" and "muxe nguui" in the sample.

Another five interviews or so came from a friend of mine in Bern, a PhD student who is a good friend of a very close friend of mine. She told me that she happened to be good friends with somebody from Juchitán, who I will refer to as María, so I asked if she could put me in contact with María. María has a Ph.D. in one of the natural sciences, lives and works primarily in Mexico City, and returns to Juchitán for holidays and other important occasions. After interviewing María, she also got me interviews with some of her family members, who in turn got me interviews with some of their friends. Although she herself was quite progressive, as could be expected from her education level and life trajectory, some of her family members and their friends were much more socially conservative, so I was particularly thankful for these informants. I also got an interview from someone I met on Grindr in January 2019, who also convinced a friend of his to let me interview him. These latter participants were interestingly neither gay nor muxe-identified.

It was generally not possible to find participants by asking strangers to participate in the study. I tried doing so, only to be met with suspicious and indirect, but very clear, refusals. It was far more productive to rely on contacts, and friends of contacts, and branch out this way. However, I did get lucky one time. I bought sunglasses near the city center, and the owner just happened to be a muxe who is very sociable and had done lots of interviews for documentaries in the past. He struck up a conversation

with me and was interested in the project. He offered to help me any way he could and ended up providing me with an interview and lots of contacts, most of whom were middle-class and upper-class, straight men.

I ensured he was safe by asking acquaintances about him, all of whom talked about how kind and sweet he was. He seemed nearly universally known and liked and was very generous in helping me with the project. Each time I ran out of people in other groups to interview, or an interview did not happen as planned, I could go to his shop and ask for help and he would spontaneously find me someone to interview within the day. Most of the interviewees I met through him were also especially kind and helpful in small but meaningful ways, either by connecting me with potential participants, giving me useful advice, or offering food and drinks.

I would often retreat to the "Italian Coffee", a Mexican chain of cafés, in the center of Juchitán for food, drinks, and work on my computer. On the one hand, this seemed to be the safest place to take my computer out to upload speaker information and encrypted copies of interviews onto my computer. It was also air-conditioned, a blessing on very hot days, and had delicious, though one might argue very non-Italian, iced coffees. The manager of that particular store was a muxe with no label, let's call them Esteban, whom I began making small talk with from time to time. He helped me get a few interviews, but often we would spontaneously talk when we both needed a break from work. I was about to triangulate the stories he told me of his own life and how the culture works with other evidence, helping confirm what many others told me and check my intuitions. When I had difficulties adjusting to the culture or with other aspects of life in Juchitán, we could talk together quite freely about them.

My relative difficulty in getting strangers to participate in the study, and relative ease through my contacts, reflects a general mistrust of outsiders that is common in Juchitán and linked to a history of (neo)colonial oppression and current high levels of violent crime. I encountered this mistrust in other manifestations as well. At one point, I was invited to a party organized by a muxe who I had not yet met in person and noticed that some of their family members were very taciturn towards me and kept looking over at me with suspicion. The participant then explained to me that they were gossiping about me, saying I should not have come to Juchitán during the pandemic and worrying I could infect people with coronavirus.

Although these people were sitting together in a large group and sharing food and

drinks with no masks, they were only worried about getting coronavirus from an outsider who was seated five meters away. I encountered a similar sentiment from a moto-taxi driver who asked me point-blank whether I brought COVID to Juchitán. I never encountered such suspicion when I was introduced as a friend (I guess friends cannot spread COVID-19) and learned quickly to always introduce myself as a friend of someone when asking for an interview. Although some people still seemed suspicious of my motives, refusing an interview even when I presented myself as a friend of a friend, this was quite rare. People's suspicions of me almost always evaporated when I was perceived as somehow linked to their existing social networks.

It seemed, in general, people were used to considering people either as untrustworthy (but still status-worthy) outsiders, as *etic* to the community (and their sub-community of friends), or as trustworthy insiders, with an *emic* position and perspective regarding the community. As a researcher employing ethnographic methods, I attempted to forge a space between an *emic* and *etic* perspective (Rezaei 2012), but this was sometimes complicated by many people treating me as an untrustworthy or high-status outsider and others treating me as an insider, worthy of trust and expected to behave in a certain way.

Therefore, it sometimes became difficult to negotiate maintaining the distance I hoped, as a researcher, to create between myself and participants, while at the same time participating in aspects of their lives. In general, I often felt tension between adapting to the norms of Juchitán and doing what I thought was best for myself and others. In the following paragraphs, I explain some ways in which my negotiations of this positioning, attempts at maintaining boundaries, and my acquired difficulties in trusting people manifested themselves in my search for participants and my fieldwork experience more broadly.

As I found participants, various aspects of my identity and personality, with their relation to my insider-outsider status, influenced my ability to collect data, mostly for the better, and my enjoyment of the fieldwork experience, mostly for the worse. A great asset for my research was my homosexuality. As a gay man myself, it was often easier to establish rapport with gay men and muxe, but, since I did not seem "gay" according to Juchiteca ideologies, I think I was less off-putting to conservative straight people.

My rapport in particular with Jesse and Alejandra was particularly helpful for my

research. Both of these people took a liking to me, accepting me as a member of their gay/muxe subcommunity because of my sexual orientation, and, subsequently, between the two of them, helped me get around a third of my study's participants. This rapport was likely facilitated by my sexual orientation, but also by my emic status as a white foreigner interested in Juchitán. As a white foreigner, I was more interesting to people, and it probably also gave people status to help me.

Furthermore, because Latin American beauty ideals value whiteness, it probably made me seem more attractive. I am under the impression that many participants, especially muxes and gay men, and possibly even some women, wanted to talk to me in part because I seemed attractive and potentially sexually available. All of these aspects of my identity helped me thereby to get a large number of interviews very quickly, but, on a related note, contributed to the uncomfortable experience of being hit on quite frequently, sometimes to the point of what would be considered harassment in the USA or Switzerland.

The fact that I said I was gay but did not seem gay seemed to exacerbate this unwanted attention. I was told many people would not believe I was gay because I did not appear feminine enough, since most people associate homosexuality with the "third gender" category. Most of the people giving me unwanted attention were muxes. Since muxes prefer to have sex with masculine, non-muxe-identified men, the fact I said I was gay could have been interpreted by some as a sign of potential interest instead of reflecting a gay sexual orientation. In another related case, I was hit on while eating at the market by a woman who flat-out refused to believe me when I said I was gay. This person tried to convince me to sleep with her the entire time I was eating and tried to flirt with me every time I passed her food stand thereafter. In these cases, I was apparently responded to according to emic social norms about the meaning of coming out and the meaning of gendered presentation.

I was eventually able to avoid all of this unwanted attention completely by subtly changing my social positioning by changing my appearance. I began painting my nails, which seemed to change many people's perception of me to more feminine and therefore less sexually interesting to muxes, women, and most gay men. It also may have helped in establishing rapport with certain women and muxes, by winning me a symbolic association, if not full membership, to the muxe category. Yet, since I chose a dark color (dark blue) that looked potentially black from a distance, I still was able

to avoid unwanted attention on the street from homophobic men, despite my painted nails, avoiding an overly strong social identification with muxe. I will explain how I used this experience to better understand local gender ideologies in Section 4.4.

Being gay (along with being treated as a friend and insider uncomfortably quickly by some participants) also got muxes and gay men to open up to me quickly about their sex lives, much more so than I am used to from people I barely know. By taking all of these conversations into account, I was able to understand certain gender ideologies around muxe identity to a much greater extent (see Section 4.4 for more detail on some of these conversations and their relevance to local gender ideologies). Because these conversations were so useful to my understanding of gender ideologies, I chose not to create the boundaries around them I would have at home. This contributed to a lack of comfort due to this experience of culture shock as well as a growing mistrust that many Juchitec@s feel towards strangers that I was also beginning to take on towards many people in Juchitán.

Many people I met in Juchitán seemed to contradict themselves, either by saying completely different things to different people, saying one thing but doing another, or even changing their recollection of events within the same monologue, sometimes even when it was not clear to me what the social benefit of presenting differing information would be. I sometimes noticed Alejandra and Jesse acting this way but also observed this behavior in people I knew less well. Regarding my acquired distrust of people around me, which I will elaborate more upon in Section 4.9 on ethics, knowing Fernando initially helped me greatly with my mental health, as he was one of the few people that I spent a lot of time within Juchitán who seemed fairly empathetic and also more or less trustworthy, probably because I did not catch him contradicting himself for a long time. Therefore, I initially felt I could open up to him much more than with other people I met in Juchitán. Eventually, I realized that Fernando also contradicted himself in these ways although for reasons that were easier for me to understand and very common in Juchitán. Specifically, I learned that he habitually cheats on his boyfriend, despite having complained about being cheated on in the past. The extent to which this behavior fits within larger patterns of sexual behavior in Juchitán will be commented on in Section 4.4.

Before going to Juchitán, my provisional goal was to have at least 50 total participants with the following characteristics in the final sample. Based on cutoffs found

in the census, I planned to get approximately 7 elderly participants, 20 young participants, and 23 middle-aged participants, based on my perception of participants' age. I defined elderly as being 60 or older, middle-aged as an age range of 35-59, and young as an age range of 19-34, all based on categories from the most recent census in Juchitán (Hidalgo 2022). I opted to use less detailed/fine-grained cut-offs because I could not find a more exact age breakdown of the population in the census results I had access to before fieldwork. Results that are currently available are much more detailed, providing the population breakdown between age groups that are 5 years in size (Hidalgo 2022).

People younger than 19 were excluded from the sample for three main reasons. The first of these reasons was practical. Based on my age and outsider status, it would have been more difficult to find participants who were minors than it was to find participants who were adults. Furthermore, the importance of asking ideologically loaded questions in my research made me hesitant to contact younger people. As a white man from an upper-middle-class background in the United States, living in Switzerland, I was already in a position of relative power in most of my interactions with participants. However, my outsider status decreased this power differential with adult participants. This would not have been the case with minor participants, where the age difference creates an important, further power difference. Seeing as the conversation themes that arose when I was talking with adults were often sensitive, I did not want to create a situation where young people might feel compelled to talk to an unknown adult about these kinds of sensitive topics.

Finally, adolescence is a time when language use is incredibly variable, as young people try on different identities with their associated linguistic practices (perhaps most clearly shown in Eckert (1989a)). While this makes adolescents a sociolinguistically very interesting group to study, the inclusion of these speakers could have made these phenomena emerge in my sample in a way that overshadowed the potentially more subtle types of variation I was more interested in studying, namely links between gender, ideology, language use, and variation. As such, I decided to minimize the risk of these other factors overshadowing the results I wanted to obtain by excluding adolescents from my sample.

I also planned for between 20 and 33 percent of participants to be muxe or gay-identified, with the rest of the sample evenly divided between gender-normative men

Demographic Category	Target Participant Number	Actual Participant Number
Elderly	7	5
Middle-Aged	23	24
Young	20	26
Woman	18	16
Muxe Gunaa	5	6
No-Label Muxe	5	5
Muxe Nguuu	4	5
Gay Man	5	5
Man	18	19

Table 4.1: Target/ Actual Numbers of Participants by Age and Gender

and women. After speaking with Alejandra and seeing these categories come up again and again, I decided I wanted around an equal number of gay-identified men, muxe gunaa, muxe nguui, and muxe without a label in my sample. In the end, although one of these interviews was excluded due to terrible audio quality (see Section 4.10), I ended up having a total of 56 participants in my sample, with 5 of those participants being elderly, 24 being middle-aged, 26 being young, 6 being muxe gunaa, 5 being muxe nguui, 5 being muxe without a label, 5 being gay men, 19 being cisgender hetero/bisexual men, and 16 being women. Participants came from every numbered section of Juchitán, plus various other unnumbered neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city. The goal participant numbers, along with the actual number of participants, for each of these categories are presented in Table 4.1.

At this point, there are two important aspects of the methodology that need to be addressed. On the one hand, practical aspects regarding the interviews, such as how they were recorded, what topics were talked about, and which equipment was used, have yet to be discussed. On the other hand, it is also important to describe more specifically how my ethnographic observations and triangulation helped me identify and define relevant ideologies in Juchitán. I opt to discuss the latter issues first and start discussing practical aspects of the data collection process in Section 4.7. By putting a discussion of identifying and defining ideologies here, I also discuss the more theoretical and non-variationist aspects of the methodology before talking about more practical and variationist issues. Therefore, I am free at the end of this chapter and in Chapter 5 to nearly exclusively deal with variationist aspects of the methodology without needing any interlude to talk about the use of ethnographic methods to determine locally relevant ideologies qualitatively.

4.4 Identifying Ideologies

In this section, I discuss how I used ethnographic observations in the field, past research, and interview data to identify relevant language and, especially, gender ideologies in Juchitán and understand their nuances. Where I mention the content of my interviews in this section, I do so for one of two reasons. In some cases, I specify how I got speakers to talk about ideologically relevant content. In other cases, I show how the data helped me determine which ideologies were locally relevant in Juchitán and how these ideologies locally manifested. All other aspects of the interviews, including the practical collection of interview data, will be explored starting in Section 4.7.

Based on past research (Augsburger 2004; Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miche 2006; Saynes-Vázquez 2002; Stephen 2002), preliminary observations, and careful reflection, I identified five provisional contested ideologies in the community between my first and second field trip, three of which were gender ideologies and two of which were language ideologies. These ideologies were Zapotec gender ideology, machista gender ideology, egalitarian gender ideology, pro-monolingual Spanish ideology, and pro-bilingual (Zapotec and Spanish) ideology. I left these ideologies open to be changed in the case that ethnographic observation hinted that another ideology was more socially relevant, and in fact, after ethnographic observations and reflection, I added a few ideologies and came up with more specific ideas of how to identify each ideology.

However, I was confident in describing provisional ideologies before I went to Juchitán because my preliminary observations almost categorically reaffirmed the conclusions I came to after reading previous ethnographic research on Juchitán. Furthermore, it was likely that, even if I chose to include other ideologies as the ethnography progressed, the accuracy of previous ethnography would mean that these ideologies would not be very distinct from those described in previous literature. Therefore, designing interviews with the provisional ideologies in mind did not prevent me from obtaining good data that could be analyzed for other gender or language ideologies.

Although I only designed interviews with the goal in mind of eliciting speech about gender ideologies and language ideologies, I was open to including other ideologies if enough speakers mentioned them unprompted. The decision not to prompt other ideologies was made largely to maintain a certain level of security and unobtrusiveness in a city that experiences a fairly large amount of violence. During my initial visit

to Juchitán, I noticed the high relevance to many speakers of ideologies surrounding cartel violence, corruption, Catholicism, the COCEI ², and the relationships between Juchitán, the rest of Mexico, and corporations, among other potentially sensitive issues.

Although these issues were often commented upon in my presence and, therefore, possibly interesting to study, it did not seem wise for me to broach these topics with people I did not know well, particularly in a context where, I have been told, saying the wrong thing to the wrong person can lead to violence. Cartel violence did come up quite frequently in the interviews, as well as the relationship between Juchitán and the rest of Mexico, and sometimes religion. However, the interviews were not designed with those topics in mind.

Gender and language ideologies, in contrast, were comparatively easy to talk about. People in Juchitán seemed to be generally aware of the fact that foreign academics are interested in their city because of the indigenous language and fairly unique gender configurations and are generally interested in talking with outsiders about those topics. Pride in being Zapotec and from a place as unique as Juchitán is highly valued in the city (Augsburger 2004; Barbosa 2016), and talking to foreigners about what makes Juchitán unique, including gender and language issues, is a way to express this pride.

In general, I noticed that many people took a greater interest in talking about gender than language, and occasionally, vice versa. In these cases, I let the conversation stay for a longer time with topics that interested participants more, while making sure each participant spent some time talking about both topics. There were only a few people who did not readily talk about either of these issues, most of whom were elderly Zapotec dominant speakers (and in one case a young bilingual speaker who was high at the time of the interview) who, for various possible reasons, were hard to redirect towards ideological topics. However, even in these cases, the speakers did produce multiple minutes of discourse containing both gender and language ideologies and, besides, were interesting conversation partners.

As previously mentioned, after spending time in the community and listening to interviews, I revised the five ideologies I preliminarily suspected would be important in the community. In one case, this revision led me to add a new ideology to the list, but more often this revision led me to understand nuances in the five preliminary ideologies in greater detail. In the remaining paragraphs in this section, I will further

²See Section 1.3 for more information on this organization

describe experiences and stories from Juchitán that are specifically related to these ideologies that helped me to make these slight changes and/or to identify each ideology more clearly.

Although I am quite open to meeting new people, which helped me obtain data quickly, I am also somewhat introverted and, by my mid-twenties, had lost my college-age interest in binge drinking. These characteristics made parties, the most important social events in Juchitán, difficult to enjoy. There is strong pressure to drink at most parties in Juchitán, to the extent that people who drink too little are almost more stigmatized than alcoholics who cannot control their behavior (Piñón & Miano Borruso 2001), and I seemingly offended or upset a few people by refusing drinks once I reached my body's limit, as many people complained that I was not drinking enough. This discomfort was shared by some of my participants, who also shared techniques they used to avoid this pressure, such as always having a drink in one's hand, while drinking slowly, and avoiding certain social events and friendships with binge drinkers who do not respect your limits. These strategies mostly worked, but some people did occasionally notice when I was drinking the same drink for more than half an hour and pressured me to drink more.

I learned through these experiences, as previous research (Barbosa 2016; Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Holzer 1999; Miche 2006; Piñón & Miano Borruso 2001) and conversations with gatekeepers have also hinted at, the extent to which people use alcohol to show reciprocity. In Juchitán, it is very important to show that you are willing to provide for your friends and acquaintances and that they return the favor. A major way in which reciprocity is shown is by going to parties, in which women provide money and men buy a box of beer at the entrance. By not drinking at such an event, even when one has paid for beer or brought money, one participates less in this gendered exchange of reciprocity. In a society where there are reasons to distrust strangers, even small ambiguous gestures that could be seen as signs of a lack of reciprocity may be interpreted as such. Therefore, I suspect some people who were already a bit suspicious of me may have interpreted my lack of binge drinking as a lack of reciprocity and a sign of untrustworthiness, even when I gave plausible (and true) reasons for not drinking.

Jesse provided me with lots of information about Juchitán, sometimes in the form of gossip. While I was not always sure of the reliability of some of this information,

it revealed to me what types of events are considered believable within the local context. Interestingly, though the factual nature of Jesse's stories was sometimes doubtful, I never heard reservations expressed about the plausibility of the stories Jesse told. Rather, it was the participation of certain actors or the presence of certain details that was in doubt. I could therefore use much of this information as a source for ideologies in Juchitán.

For instance, at one point he talked to me about a middle-aged muxe I interviewed, revealing that this person spent time around schools to seduce teenage boys into having sex. Many other people I met expressed the belief that men need to have sex, even if women need to remain "pure" by staying virgins until marriage. Other research on Juchitán links these attitudes with the apparently common phenomenon of teenage boys losing their virginity to muxes (Barbosa 2016; Stephen 2002). Many other straight men I met also informed me that sex between men and muxes was very common, with Sasuke telling me in an interview that many men *dicen no eres hombre si no te has acostado con un muxe pero no te dicen con que muxe se acostaron ellos* (say you aren't a man if you haven't slept with a muxe but they don't say which muxe they slept with). The idea that men, and to a certain extent muxes, must have frequent sex due to their uncontrollable impulses, biological needs, or other naturalized reasons, is also reflected as well in widespread attitudes and behaviors regarding sexual infidelity and monogamy in Juchitán.

Jesse told me lots of stories about him sleeping with multiple married men, including the person who introduced me to him. This person was in an open relationship with his wife, in which he was free to hook up with men, but not women, outside of the main relationship. Jesse suspected, however, that his hookup's wife remains unhappy with her husband's extramarital experiences, despite this agreement, revealing that they had fought about their shared lover. He naturalized this sexual infidelity and his fight with his lover's wife as a part of the local culture. Jesse told me lots of stories of other people's sexual exploits as well, along with detailed information about the married men he slept with and their reasons for sleeping with him. In one case, it was apparently because the man's wife was pregnant, and he believed that having sex with his wife would hurt the developing fetus.

Furthermore, a short while after we first met, he sent me dick pics from guys that he said had sex with him, sometimes with pictures of the guys, and there were differences

between the skin tone in the pictures of the people and the penises. This led me to believe he did not actually have as much sex as he said or have sex with the people he claimed to and that he probably pulled such pictures from the internet. His later claim to know where to find illegally taken dick pics online seemed to confirm my suspicions that he pulled pictures of hot men and big penises from the internet. Listening to these types of stories from Jesse and later from other participants trying to impress me revealed to me that, like in many places, bragging about who you slept with and the size of certain body parts attached to these people brings social capital within gay and muxe circles.

Many of my participants besides Jesse were either involved in cheating themselves or considered cheating to be inevitable. In some cases, people I met complained about being cheated on by their significant other, which did not necessarily stop them from also cheating when they got the chance. Amongst many people, there was an implicit belief that anyone would cheat when given the chance, even though nobody wants to be cheated on. During the first few weeks of fieldwork, I was in a monogamous, though still fairly new, relationship. This relationship did not survive the fieldwork period, but the slow deterioration of this long-distance relationship during fieldwork helped me notice aspects of gender and sexual ideologies that would have otherwise been difficult to uncover. Jesse and Alejandra both found it odd that I would not want to cheat on my boyfriend, since there are so many opportunities for sex in Juchitán, so Jesse pushed me a bit to let him find me hookups and Alejandra invited me cruising a few times. Based on some of Jesse's interviewees hitting on me and Jesse telling me some of them were sexually interested in me, I also wonder to what extent he presented me to potential gay and muxe participants as sexually available.

I learned a great deal about ideologies in Juchitán from my muxe gunaa friend, Alejandra, including those regarding cheating. She invited me a few times for drinks and wanted to go cruising together for mayates ("straight" men who have sex with muxes). When I politely refused, explaining I was already in a monogamous relationship, she looked shocked and did not understand my refusal, since my boyfriend would never find out. Then she asked if I thought he was being faithful to me while I was away, and, when I said yes, she looked at me with a mix of disbelief and pity as if she had never heard such a naïve comment. It was clear that this participant saw sexual infidelity as something that people in a relationship will inevitably practice if given the opportu-

nity. Later, my ex-boyfriend and I decided to open our relationship, and I decided to tell her and Jesse that I was in an open relationship. Interestingly, at this point, both found this normal and stopped trying to convince me to have sex with other people.

In interviews, the belief that cheating is inevitable for men cropped up explicitly as well, with multiple participants, especially muxes, claiming that all men cheat and that happiness in a relationship always comes with a time limit. This is also a belief that probably has a basis in fact. Multiple participants, of all gender and sexual identities, remarked that cheating was very common in Juchitán, with one woman explicating considering rampant cheating to be a form of machismo since men's infidelity is treated almost as an inevitability and hurts the women married to them. Many men echoed the belief that male cheating was extremely common and harmful for women, although few men admitted to cheating. I am not sure that I ever met a single man in Juchitán who admitted to cheating on his wife. Although this behavior was rampant, no one took responsibility for being its actor.

I also heard an anecdote from a muxe-identified friend of Jesse about his work as a research assistant for a Canadian psychologist studying muxe identity. For part of the project, they interviewed a large number of women about muxes, and around half of these women revealed that their husbands had cheated on them with muxes. This friend of Jesse's was shocked by the level of resentment these women felt and, being muxe, afraid of the anger these women directed towards muxes. What I found most striking about this anecdote, however, was not the evidence it provided for the prevalence of sex between straight men and muxes, or even the prevalence of cheating in general (if about half of women report their spouses cheating on them with muxes, how many more cases are there of men doing the same with women or having sex with muxes and without being discovered). Rather, I was most struck by how strongly he normalized muxes having married male lovers by linking this participation in another's infidelity with muxe identity. This link to muxe identity was so strong for him that women's anger at their husbands' muxe lovers could be interpreted as anger at muxes as a general category, rather than anger directed at the behavior of helping their husbands cheat.

For both muxes and cheating husbands then, responsibility for one's sexual choices is habitually denied, as the choice itself is invisibilized within discourses of culture, identity, and natural inevitability. These behaviors and discourses make sense within

the context of the naturalized machista belief that people, especially men and muxes, simply cannot avoid acting on their sexual desires. I came to believe, from these experiences, that this was a major aspect of how machismo is understood and experienced in Juchitán, which also presumably plays a large role in legitimizing sexualized violence.

The way various muxes and gay men, as well as some women, acted towards me also reflected this belief that certain people have certain inevitable sexual desires that they can not avoid acting on, and provided a more detailed picture of what particular sexual desires and practices are expected in Juchitán, along with how sexual encounters can act as a sort of social currency. As a relatively affluent white foreigner, who was also perceived as such, I stuck out in Juchitán and was also perceived as having high status and being attractive. I therefore was often hit on by many muxes and gay men and by some women.

My initial strategies to stop this were completely ineffective. Initially, I would say I was in a monogamous relationship, which I quickly learned led to incredulity that I would actually keep that commitment and intensified efforts to hit on me. Many straight Juchitec@s and anthropologists claim that muxes are bottoms in anal and oral sex, in other words, they prefer being penetrated to penetrating and look for men to top for them. Therefore, a few times I decided to tell muxes hitting on me that I preferred to bottom anyway, hoping that this would stop the sexual interest and also establish greater rapport. However, this approach did not work either.

From these experiences, I hypothesized that I simply did not look feminine enough in my appearance to seem "gay" or like a bottom/muxe, so I decided to change my appearance slightly. To interview the remaining muxes and gay men in my sample, I painted my nails dark blue. As I mentioned earlier, this had the effect of making me appear more like a muxe up close, but since it was a dark color, homophobic people could not recognize it was not black from a distance. Juchitec@s oriented toward me slightly differently when wearing the nail polish. On the one hand, nobody hit on me anymore. On the other hand, one participant asked if I had been allowed to see the woman whose loss of virginity was being celebrated at the *robada* ceremony I attended. Since only women and muxes are allowed to see women at this time (and I doubt an exception is made for foreigners), I can only assume she was orienting to me as if I were a muxe. I believe the darkness of my nails, along with my assumed status as a white foreigner, protected me from negative comments from straight men when my

nails were painted. Fernando also opined that the color was too dark for it to be a foolproof marker of homosexuality, as it could also index goth sensibilities. Just in case, though, I took the nail polish off to interview straight men who I suspected might be homophobic.

Regarding the muxes, there was an important reason that my comments about sexual position did not stop them from hitting on me. Alejandra did not hit on me after I said I preferred to bottom and began referring to me as "muxe", although she said I was attractive and expressed regret that we were "the same" and therefore sexually unavailable. This attraction she felt probably had more to do with my ethnicity and perceived status than actual attractiveness, as I have heard her express feelings of attraction towards every white non-Mexican man we saw or talked about, regardless of appearance. When we were drinking, Alejandra asked me again what my sexual preference was and was surprised that I still claimed to prefer bottoming. She seemed to have interpreted the comment on sexual preference as a claim to muxe identity, rather than a straightforward claim of sexual preference.

Later, she came to an interview she had set up for me with another muxe, and afterward, I heard them gossiping about which *mayates* were also *ramones*. *Ramones*, they explained, were "straight" men who let muxe top (in other words, penetrate) them. She later explained to me that, if you have a penis and never penetrate anyone, it can be unhealthy, and showed me a video of her (allegedly, as her face was not visible) getting a blowjob from an attractive *mayate*. The video, as well as the gossip with her muxe friend, seemed to be an attempt to gain status through stories of sexual exploits. She was clearly anticipating an impressed reaction from me when I saw the man giving her a blowjob, as well as from her friend when she was gossiping about men who were *ramones* for her.

It seems that the status comes partly from sleeping with a high-status person, for instance, an attractive, masculine, and/or less "moreno" person. However, it also can be read as gaining status through penetration, in this case of a "straight" masculine man who would typically penetrate according to ideologies of hegemonic masculinity. Penetration is seen in hegemonic discourses as an act that allows the penetrating partner to dominate the penetrated partner, and these discourses are particularly relevant to the Mexican context (see the discussion of this in Limón (1989)). The stories, whether they were true or not, seemed to thereby circulate as a social currency, allow-

ing the teller to gain status in the eyes of others by association with high status but also by dominating this high-status object. I was also quite surprised to hear this gossip about *ramones*. In the other research I had read on muxes, the topic of muxes topping was either not broached or implied to be a peripheral phenomenon (i.e., in Gauvin (2011)). I had not yet read the newest literature on muxe identity, including the articles by Cruz Vásquez (2021) & Laaksonen (2018) that thoroughly documented this phenomenon. Furthermore, although Laaksonen (2016)'s thesis mentions the matter, I had not finished reading this work before going into the field.

On a related note, the idea that people cannot control their sexual impulses or other feelings and emotions can be linked to another social problem in Juchitán: the prevalence of domestic and sexual abuse in Juchitán. I get the impression, as do many other researchers (Barbosa 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Mirandé 2011; Stephen 2002), that domestic abuse and sexual assault are very common, affecting all social groups, but especially muxes, women, and, most unfortunately, children. Some participants were certain that domestic abuse of children occurred in more or less every household in Juchitán, and, in some severe cases, caused permanent physical damage. I also heard stories of physical punishments being handed out for "misbehavior" the child had no control over (such as not understanding Zapotec because they were raised monolingually in Spanish), and relatively minor forms of domestic abuse like slapping romantic partners and especially spanking children are entirely normalized.

I also heard stories from multiple people about sexual assault against children, sometimes in disturbing detail or for particularly selfish reasons. In one case, a participant even claimed he had heard a woman claim that she and other women sexually abused their infant male children in the hopes of turning them "muxe" so that they would take care of them in old age. That being said, these stories of physical and sexual abuse were typically presented in the third person and, in all other cases, in the past tense. In other words, people spoke much more readily about abuse caused by others than abuse they may have aided in or perpetuated, and the one man I met who told me he used to abuse his family members, explained that he no longer did so because of divine intervention. In a certain sense, this violence occurs, but nobody does it. Everyone has a story about (machista) violence, but nobody perpetrates it.

I also heard frequent stories about street harassment, aimed primarily at women and muxes and in one case at a ten-year-old girl. My youngest participant, who struck

me as an especially insightful person, said that the sort of comments she heard from men on the street led her to believe that, if the person had the chance, they would rape her. I witnessed people making such comments from time to time throughout my stay in Juchitán and completely agree with her assessment of them. I heard the most notable of these comments during a daytime interview at a park, which was a fairly safe location chosen by the participant, who was muxe gunaa. During this interview, a middle-aged man came up to us asking for money and, when we said no, told my participant he would fuck her in the ass and see how well she could take him. The participant, though upset, was not surprised by this behavior and did not show any emotional reaction until later. The high level of normalization of violent comments, and certain violent behaviors in general, increased my own feelings of insecurity.

I learned to copy this normalization and hide emotional reactions when experiencing uncomfortable events, despite also being upset by how much I and other people normalized violent comments and behaviors. I also could not help wondering, like my young insightful participant, how that man would have acted if he actually had the chance to rape my muxe participant or if he were just a little bit angrier at not getting money or if he had had a gun. We were both safe, but had it been nighttime, if we were in a different part of the city, or if she had been alone, the situation could have ended quite differently.

I heard other aggressive sexualized comments, this time directed towards me, when I was hit on quite insistently by a woman in the market (see Section 4.3) and especially by a muxe gunaa who I interviewed. The latter wanted to have sex with me. I refused her advances by saying I was gay and preferred to bottom, not having yet realized that this would not work. She responded by saying something along the lines of "I can top for you, baby". I refused and became temporarily quiet, feeling suddenly very uncomfortable around this tall, muscular person I read as female who wanted to engage in a sexual act I read as male. She noticed I was quiet and told me not to worry because she is not going to rape me and laughed, signaling it was a joke. Such a comment contains the hidden assumption that rape could be a possible reaction to refusing sexual advances, and the comment, despite being framed as a joke, introduced that assumption into a dialogue from which it previously was absent.

In the end, after having these experiences, hearing these comments, and analyzing what they all meant, I decided to slightly change how I coded language and gender

ideologies. On the one hand, I decided to code for an extra gender ideology, matriarchal gender ideology, which, perhaps in reaction to machismo, naturalizes female and muxe dominance of men. In terms of language ideologies, in light of the local importance of reciprocity, I decided to include descriptions treating Spanish and Zapotec as languages with reciprocal or equal roles as mentioned bilingual language ideology. I also added an extra language ideology, pro-monolingual Zapotec ideology.

With regard to gender ideology, I coded for Zapotec gender ideology, machista gender ideology, matriarchal gender ideology, and pro-bilingual gender ideology. With regard to language ideology, I coded for pro-monolingual Spanish ideology, pro-monolingual Zapotec ideology, complementary bilingual ideology, and egalitarian bilingual ideology. These new ideologies were mentioned often in discourse, even if people rarely took on some of these ideologies themselves. On the other hand, I had a much clearer idea of the links between dominance, "uncontrollable" urges, objectification, violence, and particular cultural practices with gender ideologies, especially machista ideology. To see how I described each ideology, along with how I used my ethnography and review of previous research to make these determinations, see Section 4.5.

4.5 Describing Ideologies

My experiences in Juchitán helped me not only to identify the importance of matriarchal ideology in my data but also to understand in more detail what the various gender ideologies entail. Specifically, the belief that men have uncontrollable naturalized sexual urges towards women that cause them to objectify, penetrate, and/or dominate women is a key part of machista gender ideology in Juchitán. In matriarchal gender ideology, these ideas are preserved but applied to the relationship of women and/or muxes towards men. Therefore, in matriarchal gender ideology, women and/or muxes also have uncontrollable naturalized sexual urges towards men that cause them to dominate and objectify and, in the case of muxes, sometimes penetrate men, inverting the machista logic of penetration to show dominance.

In the Zapotec gender ideology, where reciprocity is valued, bringing drinks to a party is very important for a man, and my experience taught me just how important drinking together is for all gender roles, especially if you are seen as occupying a male or muxe gender role. Like other commitments mandated by this ideology, it is very

hard to get out of this obligation, even when fulfilling it could cause bodily harm. Although all of these ideologies are mentioned in Juchitán by many participants, I get the impression from my observations that the matriarchal gender ideology is the least commonly held and that the Zapotec gender ideology is the most commonly held.

As such, the machista gender ideology can be described as an ideology naturalizing male dominance in most sectors of society and of women and muxes. According to this ideology, men dominate certain sectors (basically everywhere apart from the home and market), and dominate women and muxes in particular, because of a set of natural and unchangeable characteristics they inevitably have. Men can control neither expressions of violence nor their sexual urge to objectify and penetrate women or, when women are not available, muxes, so they absolutely must have penetrative sex. It is important to note that this ideology is almost always presented as a description or justification of others' machista behavior. Men who engage in machista behaviors almost never express it or admit to it openly. In this way, responsibility for anti-social machista behaviors is never taken on.

Because they have a penis, muxes must also penetrate others, although since they are not really men, they must have sex with men, typically penetrating men who are ashamed of this sexual contact, or in certain rare circumstances, penetrating muxes or women. These uncontrollable sexual needs make it nearly impossible for men to be faithful in a relationship. In other areas of life, men dominate others and therefore have more power and authority in certain sectors. Men are more valuable compared to women and especially compared to muxes, who are really just emasculated men, because men have more important characteristics, such as bravery, strength, and the ability to provide for a family, that women and muxes lack.

The matriarchal gender ideology both contradicts and complements the machista gender ideology by naturalizing female and muxe dominance in other social spaces and of men. In this ideology, women and muxes are the dominant force in certain sectors, such as the market and the home, where they dominate men because of a set of natural and unchangeable characteristics. These include uncontrollable naturalized sexual urges towards men that, in the case of muxes, may include penetrating men, but, in most cases, involve seducing men to penetrate them. Women and muxes actually dominate men more than the reverse. Wives order their husbands around the house, and muxes tell their boyfriends what to do.

According to this ideology, women and muxes are responsible and hardworking, whereas men are lazy and impulsive, so women and muxes have to control finances and make major decisions for men. Women and muxes, by working in commerce and taking care of parents, also take on a provider role more often than men and do not cause as many problems as men do (such as alcoholism and violence), so they need to dominate much of life in Juchitán. Perversely, the matriarchal gender ideology is often mentioned to justify machismo, as it helps justify dominance in general, lets sexist men believe that women and muxes dominate life in Juchitán to the same degree as men, and naturalizes a lack of responsibility amongst men. This lack of responsibility is most visible with regards to machista violence and infidelity, which are seemingly rampant, but which the perpetrators are unlikely to admit.

The Zapotec gender ideology, in contrast, is much more egalitarian, but only in the value attributed to men, women, and muxes. People from any gendered group are equally valuable due to their specific gendered roles or alleged gendered capacities. The female and male roles or jobs are reciprocally related; they complement each other and are both necessary to create a functioning society. For instance, women work in the market to complement the incomes of men. Muxes participate in these roles or jobs by taking on either those of men, those of women, or those unique functions that are left over, such as being sexual outlets for cheating men or remaining unmarried and taking care of aging parents. The characteristics attributed to each gender role also reflect and reinforce this larger structure (i.e., women being better at finances, men and muxes being naturally promiscuous). These roles and jobs, and their associated characteristics, are understood as natural and/or necessary, and each role is valued in its uniqueness for its reciprocity, allowing other people to perform their functions. Most Juchitec@s I spoke to seemed to hold this ideology.

The egalitarian gender ideology, on the other hand, is related to feminist ideologies that take this idea of equality further, applying it to the roles men, women, and muxes take. In this ideology, gender identity is not an important determiner of what roles a person takes on or jobs a person has. Men, muxes, and women can have the same roles or take on the same jobs, and, if they do not, it is due to the influence of discrimination, non-feminist gender ideologies, and/or other social structures on people's lives. People should be treated equally regardless of gender ideology, meaning they should not be subjected either to discrimination valuing one gender over others, or to role expect-

tations based on one's status as male, female, or muxe. Many young Juchitec@s and, especially, gay-identified Juchitecos, seemed to hold this ideology.

Regarding the language ideologies I selected, the pro-monolingual Spanish ideology is linked to inegalitarian ideologies because it values Spanish, the native language of white and mestizo Mexicans, over an indigenous language, and to egalitarian ideologies since it values monolingual Spanish as a tool to reduce inequalities between indigenous and non-indigenous Mexicans. This convergence between inegalitarian and ostensibly egalitarian ideologies is perhaps not surprising, as the ideology of *mestizaje* (miscegenation) promotes assimilation towards a mixed-race norm (Saldívar 2014) and, therefore, implicitly but clearly devalues indigeneity (Glockner 2015). The bilingual ideology also fits with two larger ideologies, including egalitarian ideologies. However, it can in contrast also be linked to the Zapotec ideology of complementary reciprocity since it reflects the belief that different groups, or in this case languages, can have largely separate but equally important social functions. The pro-monolingual Zapotec ideology also fits with this Zapotec ideology, in addition to anti-Spanish, anti-Mexican, and anti-globalization ideologies that exist as a reaction to the discrimination from larger Mexican society and/or international actors.

In the pro-monolingual Zapotec ideology, Zapotec can be valued as superior to Spanish, either in a particular set of limited circumstances for its social functions and links to Zapotec culture or in a more general sense for its purported superior qualities to Spanish. Monolinguals in Zapotec are seen as better speakers of Zapotec than Spanish speakers, as any differences between bilingual and monolingual speech are cast as deficits instead of differences or assets (see the subtractive view of bilingualism, such as in Cook (1997)). Zapotec is perceived as more closely linked to Juchitán and represented as a valued mother tongue, a traditional (in a positive sense) aspect of cultural heritage. This language is also linked with other positive qualities like superior beauty, greater expressiveness, and the skill required to speak it. Speakers may be complimented on their mastery of Zapotec, as the language is seen as difficult to acquire and speak well. Spanish on the other hand is represented as unemotional, foreign, merely instrumental, or otherwise as an obligation. It may also be seen as less beautiful, less expressive, or less of an achievement to master.

The pro-monolingual Spanish ideology is in some ways very similar to the pro-monolingual Zapotec ideology. On the one hand, monolinguals are still seen as better

speakers than bilinguals. On the other hand, the Zapotec language is still associated with Juchitán, whereas the Spanish language is still associated with the rest of the world. However, in the pro-monolingual Spanish ideology, Spanish speakers and the rest of the world are valued over Zapotec language speakers and Juchitán. These value judgments spill over into other areas and link with neocolonial ideologies, as Zapotec speakers are positioned as less competent, ignorant, less intelligent, conservative, and traditional in an undesirable way. A link with neoliberal ideologies is also present here, as Spanish is linked to economic privilege, progress, and practicality, at the expense of the non-profitable, backward, and impractical Isthmus Zapotec.

It is important to note that neither pro-monolingual ideology was openly held very often. However, some speakers did express occasional alignment with beliefs that monolinguals were better speakers or linked Spanish with progress and civilization. Most mentions of these ideologies, however, were in the form of epistemic statements with which the speaker was neutrally or negatively aligned. The differences between these ideologies correspond partly to differences between covert and overt prestige (as understood by Trudgill (1972)) and could in fact be seen as more detailed articulations of the concepts of covert and overt prestige, as applied to a minority and majority language.

The bilingual ideology, in contrast, sees a single person's knowledge of both Spanish and Zapotec, or even other languages like English, Slovak, or Japanese, as an asset. However, the concrete reasons for which Spanish and Zapotec are valued are similar to those given by the pro-Spanish and pro-Zapotec ideologies respectively. For instance, in the bilingual ideology, Spanish is still linked to practicality and Zapotec to tradition, but these different associations might be seen more positively, and new associations might also exist. For example, Zapotec may also be seen as practical or even necessary to know since so many people in Juchitán speak it. Zapotec might be seen as the best choice in the markets, whereas Spanish is perfect for talking to people from the rest of Mexico. Songs and poems may be equally good in both languages or express different but equally valuable emotions. This ideology may therefore either be diglossic, supporting a division of the languages into different, non-overlapping contexts of use, or non-diglossic, supporting the use of either language in any context, but the high value according to speaking both (and also other) languages is consistent.

4.6 Hegemony and Contested Ideologies

Although all ideologies are contested, some ideologies are practically uncontested in a given society. This may occur when one ideology is so hegemonic that it completely invisibilizes all other ideologies, making them almost unthinkable. Thus, some ideologies are practically uncontested either because they are extremely hegemonic or because they are so non-hegemonic as to be practically unthinkable. An example of an ideology that is practically uncontested in Juchitán (because it is practically non-existent) would be a Zapotec nationalist ideology that supports Zapotec people seeing themselves as a nation, aspiring to claim independence from Mexico and create their own nation-state. For this project, I chose instead to describe ideologies that, within Juchiteca society, were much more contested than these, partly due to the likelihood of relatively contested ideologies being mentioned in people's discourse more often. An ideology like the Zapotec nationalist ideology is rarely seriously considered and therefore rarely, if ever, mentioned.

Also, such an approach may help control for the effect of particular coherence-making strategies. On the one hand, ideologies that are more often contested are likely to be expressed differently depending on whether the speaker aligns with them or not, whereas, on the other hand, practically unchallenged ideologies may be always mentioned similarly to one another (using the same set of coherence-making strategies in exactly the same way with respect to that ideology). For example, negative stance-taking may be disproportionately used with respect to a mostly uncontested ideology, leading to the conflation of negative stance-taking with the mentioning of that particular ideology. Therefore, results from correlating relatively uncontested ideologies to linguistic variation might not adequately control for the effect of particular sentence structures and other coherence-making strategies on linguistic variation.

In a context like indigenous Mexico, an approach focused on these relatively contested ideologies within the individual may be even more prevalent and therefore easier to study than in other contexts because heterogeneous ideologies often result from interaction between colonial and other systems of thought (Kroskrity 2009) and also because, during social changes, two ideologies may clearly compete for hegemony (shown to be the case in Senegal (Swigart 2001)). In indigenous Mexico broadly, there appears to be a complicated interplay between colonial and indigenous ideologies

along with "modern", cosmopolitan ideologies from the rest of Mexico (Bonfil Batalla 2005) including, in the case of Juchitán, from the global LGBT movement (for more information regarding these interplaying ideologies in Juchitán, see Barbosa (2016), Bennholdt-Thomsen (1997), & Miano Borruso (2001)).

Ideologies that have more recently become relevant may simultaneously contradict and reaffirm older colonial and indigenous ideologies, creating multiple configurations of contrasting ideologies. In Tlaxcala, the interplay between three or more different ideologies (modernist, colonial, and indigenous) has been linked with the same speaker articulating contradictory ideologies (Messing 2007). In other parts of Mexico, male speakers link a discourse of nostalgia for the past with Nahuatl (Hill 1992) and with the ideological construct of *México profundo* (deep Mexico) (Bonfil Batalla 2005), whereas women and less privileged men, being more orientated towards modern ideologies, parody this discourse (Hill 1992).

4.7 Semi-guided Interviews

To gather data, I used a methodology that sits between structured interviews and unstructured conversations that is often referred to as "semi-structured interviews" in the social science literature. In this section, I will describe and justify the use of semi-structured interviews, as opposed to other potential methods. Semi-structured interviews are like interviews in the sense that the interviewer has topics in mind that she or he wants the interviewee to comment upon and asks questions designed to elicit speech about these topics. However, in other respects, semi-structured interviews are more like conversations; there is no set list of questions or even themes that absolutely need to be addressed, and the give-and-take of the interaction feels more like a conversation. Indeed, for my purposes, it is ideal that the semi-structured interview feels as similar to a conversation as possible to participants so that they produce a register of speech that they actually use as part of their repertoire.

In this section, I often refer to semi-structured interviews as just "interviews" or "conversations", and, whenever I refer to approaches that are more structured like traditional interviews or more "naturalistic" and conversational like true conversations, I use a modifier for the word "interview" or "conversation". Sociolinguistic interviews are a type of semi-structured interview applied to sociolinguistic research; however,

due to their primary focus on the language use of the participants, the sociolinguistic interviewer typically has even fewer topics in mind that they would like to cover than the semi-structured interviewer in other areas of social science. Since I had already determined provisional ideologies to study in the community, semi-structured interviews were planned early, starting a few days after I returned to Juchitán, with the goal of getting participants to talk about ideologically important issues in the community. To avoid making the conversation too unnatural and ideologically charged, I did not mention any of the ideologies I expected to encounter directly.

Using interviews to elicit talk about the phenomenon being studied, in this case ideology, is a common practice for research on identity and language (Rezaei 2012) and one that can be particularly fruitful as well. Márquez Reiter (2018), for instance, shows that the ideological orientations enacted by the interviewer, particularly when they conflict with the informants' ideologies, can help the informants' ideologies more clearly come to light. Márquez Reiter (2018) occasionally challenged speakers' ideologies by explicitly misaligning with ideological content produced by speakers (i.e., saying "really?") and very often presented informants with other ideologies, asking them for their opinion about disagreeing positions. After such direct and indirect challenges, which would be very difficult to inject into completely "naturalistic" conversations, speakers produced more content mentioning ideologies and using coherence strategies to form ideological positions out of the multiple mentioned ideologies in their discourse. Since my project is focused on the relationship of informants' ideologies to linguistic variation, Márquez Reiter (2018) provides evidence that the interview may be one of the most powerful methods of ensuring a large variety of mentioned ideologies find their way into a corpus.

However, unlike Márquez Reiter, I very rarely directly contradict participants' ideologies by misaligning with their statements. I occasionally even went in the other direction, affirming ideologies I disagreed with, at one point going so far as to affirm a male participant's sexism and homophobia and probably losing the chance for an interview with a woman who overheard in the process. I did this to ensure good rapport with my participants so that they would want to continue talking with me for the entirety of the interview and so that they would not get angry (see Section 4.10). Instead, to increase the frequency with which ideologies were expressed in the interviews, I limited myself to mentioning extra ideologies during the interview to get interviewees

to comment on them. This ended up being a particularly effective strategy with most speakers.

Interview data was preferred for this study rather than more "naturalistic" recorded conversations for a variety of reasons. Partly, I chose to use interview data to decrease the rate of utterances "unrelated" to the ideologies I focus on. For the purposes of this study, it is important to lead the conversation towards the ideologies selected for quantification so that as few utterances as possible are coded as "unrelated." Furthermore, I contest the importance of focusing on "naturalistic" conversational data for theoretical reasons. Although interview data has been both implicitly and explicitly critiqued in various subfields of sociolinguistics, especially in conversation analysis, De Fina (2009) points out various problems with considering interview data to be artificial as opposed to "naturalistic" conversation data. She considers sociolinguistic interviews to be a genre of speech, in which the narratives elicited by speakers are not artificial *per se* and are still told with a social objective (De Fina 2009).

Speakers being interviewed orient to expectations that they glean from their co-participant (in this case interviewer) and from other contextual elements, designing responses for their co-participant and thereby co-constructing their narrative, just as they do in so-called naturalistic conversations (De Fina 2009). What differs between sociolinguistic interviews and so-called "normal" conversations is not so much the content of the narratives or the possible social actions performed through the conversation but rather the interactional rules and social relationships between the participants (in the case of the interview, between the participant and the researcher) (De Fina 2009). As such, speakers still use styles from their repertoire in interview settings, and therefore, researchers are still able to use interview data to extract relevant data about speakers' repertoires.

Interviews were semi-structured, in this case meaning that I led the conversation towards the relevant ideologies, even though participants were not usually asked specific questions about these ideologies (for details on how a semi-structured interview is performed, see Leech (2002)). This was done to ensure the interview felt, for participants, as similar to a natural conversation as possible, while at the same time ensuring that the relevant gender and language ideologies entered into the conversation. It was important for ideological topics, with relation to gender and language, to enter into the conversation relatively often, to decrease the number of utterances coded as "un-

related" to these ideologies. At the same time, making the conversation exclusively focused on these ideologies could cause the conversation to feel particularly unnatural for the speaker, so I allowed speakers to go on whatever tangents they desired and let the conversation move from one topic to another. To avoid directly challenging speakers' ideologies, while, at the same time, introducing ideological content that speakers may or may not agree with, I worked to construct an air of neutrality, using some of the strategies employed by journalists in political interviews.

In political interviews, it is generally very important for journalists to maintain an air of neutrality, lest they appear overly biased towards or against the politician being interviewed (Clayman 2002; Rendle-Short 2007). However, these journalists are also paradoxically expected to ask questions of politicians that challenge their expressed views (Heritage 2002; Rendle-Short 2007). In order, therefore, to bring up potentially controversial points of view while appearing neutral, they engage in a variety of strategies, such as avoiding questions that strongly prefer a particular response (i.e., negative interrogatives), when bringing up ideological content (Clayman 2002; Heritage 2002), and avoiding expressions of affiliation or disaffiliation with the politician's expressed view either gesturally or verbally (Clayman 1992; Rendle-Short 2007).

In these situations, journalists tend to limit themselves to asking questions, rather than stating their own opinions, and typically present background information only as part of a prefaced question (Heritage 2002; Rendle-Short 2007). Notably, footing shifts are also widely employed to attribute controversial points of view or opinions that go against the interviewed politician's own views to a third, non-present party (Clayman 1992, 2002; Rendle-Short 2007). I employed most of these same strategies to maintain the perception of neutrality in my own interviews. Despite maintaining an overall air of neutrality, however, I was willing to break a neutral stance to agree with participants' assertions, as a rapport-making strategy to be used mostly in cases where I agreed with the participant and occasionally even when I did not.

In my mind, I had specific topics that I wanted to talk about and questions that I could use to lead people to those topics, but I did not necessarily ask all of these questions to all participants, allowing conversations to unfold relatively naturally in line with the typical methodology for semi-structured interviews (Longhurst 2003). I initially wrote a list of potential questions, but I quickly abandoned this list in favor of just remembering what types of questions elicited interesting responses and following

the flow of the conversation. The flow of the conversation, as well as the identity of the participant, determined which questions were asked and at which time. I also tended to start conversations with relatively non-sensitive conversation topics (Leech 2002), unless we had talked for a while beforehand.

Relevant demographic information was obtained either before, during, or after the interview, depending on how well I knew the person being interviewed. I recorded all of this information on a table (printed out Excel sheet) that I carried with me to each interview. In the case that certain information needed to be obtained during the interview, I asked directly for this information. The demographic information I obtained for each participant included their domestic migration history (whether they had spent time outside Juchitán and, if so, how long), their occupation, and their age, prefaced by a statement asking whether they minded my asking.

Whether I knew a person somewhat well before interviewing them or not, I usually moved the conversation at some point toward each participant's occupation. Work is seen as central in Juchiteca society as it is considered an activity that gives life meaning (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994, 1997; Caparrós 2012), so it is a fairly common and neutral topic to converse about. Starting with such a topic for speakers I had just met was often a good way to transition to other related (and possibly ideologically charged) topics with respect to language or, especially, gender since I could ask participants what their job entailed and then ask if they had coworkers from a gender group not associated with that particular job.

This was a good way to get participants without an interest in gender politics to mention their gender ideologies, as I could subsequently ask why they think so few members of certain genders do the same job as them. However, it was even easier to get such participants to talk about their gender ideologies by asking them about particular celebrations (i.e., *robadas*³) and then asking about the gendered component of these celebrations and why they thought that gendered component existed.

To direct the conversation towards gender ideologies, I also often mentioned the unpopular construct of Juchitán as a matriarchy or gay paradise that has been promoted in certain newspapers and documentaries (for examples, see Escobedo Lastiri (2011)) and asked speakers what they thought of this idea. I sometimes also asked speakers what roles they and other members of their community took during their

³also referred to as *raptos*. See Section 1.7.

daily lives, in regards to both work and social life, to get people talking about social roles linked to gender norms, and I often also asked speakers if they believed they and other members of their gender were discriminated against in society. Along these lines, I occasionally asked questions about what it is like to be a muxe, woman, or man in Juchitán and what they thought of members of other gender groups. I did not usually bring up issues of domestic violence due to their sensitivity but took these issues into account as an aspect of certain expressed gender ideologies on the many occasions that participants mentioned them unprompted.

I also tended to ask speakers whether their mother tongue was Zapotec or Spanish and also how comfortable they felt with each language. In addition to being a good demographic question, this question predisposed speakers to bring up their own language ideologies because it was a good starting point for other questions regarding speakers' ideas about Zapotec and Spanish. I asked most speakers to talk more generally about their experience with the Zapotec language in their lives after getting this demographic information in the hopes of eliciting mentioned language ideologies. I also asked most speakers who did not bring this information up themselves which language they use with their family and friends versus strangers as well as how they felt about the Zapotec language and the increased use of Spanish in Juchitán.

How I moved the conversations toward language and gender ideologies depended on how each interview played out. Some participants began talking about their language ideologies and/or gender ideologies without any prompting, which also happened occasionally during preliminary conversations with people during my initial visit to Juchitán. In these cases, I simply allowed the conversation to unfold, asking open-ended questions to provoke more discussion.

In cases where a conversation about language and gender ideologies did not organically arise, I used one of several strategies, depending on the feeling I got from the individual, to convince them to speak about these topics. Starting the conversation by talking about jobs or parties was a productive way to engage those who were less interested in language and gender in a conversation about those issues. Since jobs are quite gender-segregated in Juchitán and women, muxes, and men take different roles in parties, I could ask or comment about each gender's role in both professional and recreational activities to start a conversation.

I expected it would be especially easy to get most muxes, especially muxe activists,

to talk about gender-related issues, simply by asking about the level of acceptance (or lack thereof) they feel for being *muxe*. This ended up being true. I used disclosure of my own sexual orientation strategically, only disclosing if I felt it would help move the conversation in a direction I would like or to build rapport and nearly always coming out in some way to *muxe* and gay participants. For some *muxes* and others who were politically engaged and/or clearly very interested in social changes, I asked how Juchitán was changing in their eyes and whether they thought those changes were positive or negative since answers to this sort of question could easily be tied back to language or gender. I also sometimes asked politically engaged people directly what they thought about gender and/or language politics. Regarding people whose interest in political and social issues was particularly low and who, therefore, mentioned little ideologically relevant content even with prompting from other questions, I took advantage of my outsider status, mentioning particular aspects of Juchiteca life that I found interesting, the majority of which in some way was related to language or gender, and asking what they thought about them.

It is worth noting that interviews are also valuable for variationist research, so the semi-structured interviews also provided a great source of data for the variationist aspect of the project. Most variationist projects use sociolinguistic interviews to obtain data. The first study to use this technique, William Labov's Martha's Vineyard study (Labov 1963), combined reading lists with informal conversations with a researcher to elicit a variety of speech styles (Grieser 2019; Schilling-Estes 2008). Some sociolinguistic interviewers further increase the number of speech styles elicited by bringing up topics in the interview that differ in their level of formality and/or emotional investment, such as by asking participants to mention a time they feared for their life (Grieser 2019). This latter approach is not so different from my approach of moving between more and less ideological content within interviews. Although sociolinguistic interviews, like all interviews, cannot remove the effect of the observer's paradox (in other words, the participants were aware they were being recorded and that I, a non-community member, was present), they are beneficial in that the researcher controls a great deal of the conversation and, therefore, quality of the data.

However, the effect of the observer's paradox can often be reduced during the interview without much effort from the researcher. For instance, I noticed that, while the recording device was initially conspicuous, speakers tended to ignore it after the first

five minutes of recording, with one speaker forgetting about it to such an extent that, near the end of the interview, he abruptly stood up to show me something, causing his microphone to fly off of his shirt. By asking speakers about themselves and locally relevant topics, they typically seemed to stop focusing on the purpose of the interview. At one point, during the middle of an interview, a participant even asked me why I kept asking so many questions, which I interpreted literally as her forgetting my purpose for the activity.

It is true that, as an outsider, speakers potentially oriented towards me differently during the interview than they would with each other. However, I do not have reason to believe that I was treated systematically differently from a well-off white newcomer from another part of Mexico, a category of person that they have probably all spoken to many times in their lives. In fact, I think that, regardless of origins or appearance, newcomers are well-integrated into the community and quickly seen as community members. I have met multiple people who have moved to Juchitán, adopted a Juchiteca identity, and are treated as Juchitec@s by others.

Some of my participants remarked that I was becoming like a Juchiteco or more like a muxe, a purely local identity, as my short stay grew longer. As such, I was likely oriented to as a newcomer from elsewhere, rather than as a member of a category completely foreign to Juchitán. As such, the interview format may have prevented many speakers from talking as if they were with friends, but it still gave me access to important parts of their repertoire that they use with potential community members and temporary outsiders.

4.8 Equipment

Interviews were recorded using a Zoom H5 Handy Recorder, containing stereo microphones and a flash memory card. The Zoom H5 Handy Recorder is good at minimizing outside noise, and the attached microphones could be covered by a foam windscreen to further reduce the sound of wind to acceptable levels. The microphones used were AKG MicroMics C 417III, a type of lavalier microphone, as recommended by Podesva & Zsiga (2013) for minimizing background noise. Due to its small size and ability to be clipped onto participants' shirts, it was a fairly inconspicuous microphone and therefore a good choice. The microphone also has the benefit of not distorting

sound throughout its frequency range, extending from 20 Hz to 20 kHz.

I brought rechargeable batteries and charged them whenever not in use to minimize the chances of losing power during a recording. I brought twice as many handy recorders, rechargeable batteries, and microphones as needed to the field so that, in the event that some equipment was lost, damaged, or stolen, I would still be able to make recordings. Recordings were also made at a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz, a quantization rate of 16-bit, and an uncompressed recording format, following specifications typical for sociolinguistic interviews (Podesva & Zsiga 2013). Files were encrypted, password protected, and saved as WAV and mp3 files in multiple locations on a hard drive, on my computer, and in a cloud drive.

Recordings were usually made in my apartment, my participants' houses, a restaurant, or at my participants' workplaces to follow social norms in Juchitán as closely as possible, to ensure my and my participants' safety, and to avoid excessive noise. That said, I typically gave people I interviewed the chance to choose where to record, and, in general, I followed whatever opportunities the moment happened to bring, occasionally recording interviews unexpectedly in public places like parks. An indoor location was preferred, however, partly to avoid noise, as bars, restaurants, and markets can be quite loud, and partly to follow local norms as closely as possible. It is typical in Juchitán for people to socialize in their houses and much rarer to socialize in public places, except while working. Thus, a house or workplace was usually a much more natural environment to collect interview data.

It is often very windy in Juchitán, the loudness of which is also mitigated by being indoors. To further prevent the sound of wind from ruining the audio quality, recordings were carried out with the participants' back to the wind when recording in open-air environments, and participants were directed to sit on soft surfaces like sofas whenever possible. Also, when it was both possible and convenient for informants, recordings were done in rooms with fewer hard surfaces, and loud electronic devices (i.e. televisions) were turned off to increase the quality of audio recordings (Podesva & Zsiga 2013). I also preferred rooms with more furniture for the same reason. Interviews were recorded for between forty-five minutes and an hour, depending on how smoothly the conversation was going and whether I felt I had gotten enough data from that particular speaker.

4.9 Ethics

In this section, I detail ethical issues with respect to my participants and how I dealt with them, along with ethical considerations towards myself as a researcher working in an unfamiliar, potentially dangerous context. Ethical considerations towards the researcher are often neglected in discussions of ethics. However, the researcher is, along with other participants, a co-creator of research and therefore a participant whose needs should be considered on equal footing to those of the other participants. Therefore, in this discussion, I dedicate equal time to ethical considerations for the main study participants as to ethical considerations regarding the researcher.

Concerning the participants, I would like to differentiate here between ethical treatment towards participants and the expectations of Anglophone and European universities regarding the ethical treatment of participants. In many universities, the ethical treatment of participants is policed through the use of consent forms, committees that evaluate the potential risk of research, and the like. Although there is no ethical review committee for research projects in the social sciences in Switzerland, there is often the expectation participants show their consent to the research being done by signing a consent form. This expectation can be fulfilled in many communities; however, in other cases, it can paradoxically be an obstacle to the process of obtaining truly informed consent.

In my study, I did not use consent forms, opting instead to obtain consent orally, to make my method of obtaining consent more ethical for the community being studied. Many cultures around the world, generally including Mexican indigenous cultures, are fundamentally oral. In accordance with this observation, researchers in a variety of disciplines, from medicine (Gordon 2000) to geography (Butz 2008) and linguistics (Eckert 2013), have suggested it is better to obtain oral consent rather than written consent when certain community conditions apply to make community members more comfortable. Oral consent may be more appropriate specifically in contexts where literacy rates are low (Eckert 2013; Gordon 2000) and where participants feel uneasy about signed written agreements (Eckert 2013), typically because powerful people in that context have historically ignored such agreements or have used them to justify abuses of power (Gordon 2000). All of these contextual elements are present to a greater or lesser extent in Juchitán.

Juchitán is a community with a largely indigenous population. Based on the history of European colonial powers signing treaties over land use with indigenous groups across the Americas and Australia with the intention of breaking those treaties soon thereafter, written consent may be met with suspicion by indigenous communities in the Americas. With respect to Juchitán, this level of possible suspicion may be even more likely since contracts in Mexico, a country with high levels of official corruption, may be particularly frequently disrespected. In line with this argument, other researchers have experienced difficulties in getting indigenous Mexicans to trust written informed consent forms (for example in Águila et al. (2015)) with participants specifically worried, in line with the socio-historical context of broken treaties, that they might be tricked into giving up their property by signing a consent form.

Furthermore, in the province of Oaxaca, specifically, indigenous communities were given a certain amount of autonomy in governing local affairs in the 1980s, largely to prevent a left-wing social movement, the COCEI (Coalición Obrera, Campesina, Estudiantil del Istmo), from provoking an indigenous rebellion in and around Juchitán (Recondo 2007). Although providing this increased level of autonomy helped the federal government to solidify its hegemony throughout the province (Recondo 2007), official ways of establishing mutual obligations are still much less respected in indigenous communities than interpersonal relationships based on reciprocity. As such, oral consent could be more appropriate than written consent since it is more similar to establishing a reciprocal relationship and does not evoke less respected government contracts.

Also, written consent may not be appropriate in communities with low levels of literacy (Butz 2008; Eckert 2013; Gordon 2000), since low literacy can prevent participants from understanding written consent forms. Levels of functional literacy may be lower than many academics expect, even in high income countries with high formal literacy levels and strong literacy-promoting institutions, which may make some participants hesitant to perform tasks that require reading (Milroy 1987; Vágvolgyi et al. 2016). Juchitán, on the other hand, is a relatively poor city in a middle income country where speakers are often educated in a language foreign to them at school. As seen in research from the African continent (Van Dyken 1990), monolingual education in a colonial language is linked to low literacy rates, especially when the home language is devalued by the school system and when the colonial language is acquired largely

through schooling (both of these conditions apply partially in Juchitán).

For Mexico, Juchitán has a well below average level of absolute literacy, around 90.61% according to census information (Hidalgo 2022), probably due to its low socioeconomic status and the lack of bilingual education in Zapotec and Spanish, and functional literacy rates are probably even lower. As such, the potential for this study to recruit at least some participants with low levels of functional literacy is particularly high. Therefore, I expected that not all participants would be able to comprehend written consent forms and also avoided relying on written consent for this reason.

I obtained consent from each participant in two separate moments, once before recording and once during each recording. Participants initially consented when I briefly explained my research project and asked them to take part in the study. When recruiting participants, I said that I was interested in the way Spanish is spoken in Juchitán because it is such a unique part of Mexico regarding culture and language. I also told my participants I was interested in seeing how their ideas and different conversation topics changed their way of speaking, so I wanted to have and record a conversation with them about many topics regarding their life in Juchitán, language, other aspects of life that make Juchitán unique, and other topics they were interested in talking about. After receiving this initial consent, I helped the participant put on their microphone and asked if I could turn on the recording device immediately before doing so.

I always made sure the participants knew exactly when I began recording. Subsequently, as soon as I started recording, I always asked for consent in a less detailed manner, repeating the contents of a consent script, which I fit as naturally as possible into the larger conversation by framing it as preliminary information about how the recorded conversation would work. This script included all the information I provided while recruiting participants in a shortened form, as well as an assurance of the participants' anonymity.

I provided additional information about my project to anyone who asked it of me to their level of satisfaction and always brought with me a written version of this script in case anyone asked for a copy. The number of people who asked for a copy was zero. At the end of each conversation, I always thanked participants for their participation and asked if they had any further questions or concerns to give them the opportunity to withdraw consent or raise doubts about the research. Once again, nobody wanted

to withdraw consent or had difficult questions.

I provided access to some interviews to three people who helped me transcribe. All three of these people signed a form stating that they promised not to share the data, including names mentioned in the interviews, with anyone else and that they would delete the data from their computers when the transcription was over. I purposefully picked transcribers with no connection to Juchitán to decrease their chances of recognizing a participant. The interviews were used to create a corpus of Spanish in Juchitán that I only shared with my dissertation committee after completing the project. These individuals have agreed to treat the data in the same way I do.

Researchers use the linguistic data that comes from the communities they study to advance in their careers, improve their research reputation, and strengthen the field of linguistics as a whole. However, researchers have historically profited from many of these benefits without providing concrete benefits to the studied community in return (Rickford 1997; Wolfram 1993a). As such, it is important for current sociolinguistic researchers to give back to the community in any way they can. Although I was not able to do too much in terms of giving back to the community, I was able to use my presence and my research to benefit the community in a few ways. To give back to the community in practical terms, I ensured to provide some economic benefit to the community while I was there, offering gifts and/or meals at restaurants to people that helped me find additional participants and generally shopping more than I normally would to support the local economy.

Wolfram (1993a) emphasizes the importance of actively pursuing opportunities to use linguistic knowledge about a community to give back to that community, which he calls linguistic gratuity. To perform a few acts of linguistic gratuity, I published research related to this project in both Spanish and English, to ensure that community members with an academic background would have access to this extra information about Spanish spoken in their community. I also contacted community members with an interest in the project as I published these articles to tell them the results of the study, and I told academics where and how they could obtain free access to the articles.

To make community access to my findings even easier, I planned to send a copy of my thesis, any open-access publications, and any drafts of closed-access publications to the sociologists with whom I first lived in Juchitán. They had asked me, when my thesis was finished, to send them a copy, so I felt it was the least I could do to repay

them for their help by giving them access to my results. I also figured that, as well-positioned community members with an interest in correcting power imbalances, they would be better positioned to use the knowledge in a way that helped the community than I was. In general, I freely and openly communicated information about my results to the other Juchitec@s I stayed in contact with so that they could use the knowledge however they liked.

In my conclusions and comments about how activists can use my findings in Sections 9.3 and 7.2, I further provide ideas on how to use my research that, having access to the thesis, local people can choose to implement if they believe it makes sense to them. Additionally, I think my findings imply the importance of valuing indigenous ways of speaking Spanish. As I will show in Chapters 6 and 7, indigenous-sounding Spanish is often associated with less discriminatory expressed ideologies and stances towards marginalized people, so I would suggest that local people learn what that type of Spanish sounds like and defend its use in schools, official communication, and other local institutions. People both in and outside of Juchitán could also use the results as inspiration to promote non-standard, indigenous ways of speaking any language.

There was an unforeseen ethical issue with regards to participants that occurred during my research. A few participants Jesse got for me seemed intimidated by me at first, whereas others showed a surprising amount of sexual interest in me. At one point, I began to wonder whether he gave them the impression I would be sexually available. He did tell me near the end of my fieldwork period that most of the gay and muxe people he recruited wanted to have sex with me but that he told them they would have to make any such arrangements with me directly. I was surprised by this, as I thought I had made it fairly clear that I was not interested in having sex with participants.

One participant in particular recruited through Jesse seemed nervous to meet me, but he seemed to calm down after I met him in person. In all cases where I noticed a participant might be nervous, I took extra steps to get consent. I ensured to ask them permission one more time for the interview, asked if they felt comfortable, made extra hospitable gestures, and reiterated that they did not have to participate if they did not want to. Since I was so careful in person to make sure participants did not feel coerced, I do not think anyone felt pressured into participating.

Regarding my safety, there were ethical issues to consider as well. Violent crime is a

major social problem in Juchitán that affects everyday life in a myriad of ways. According to official statistics, the murder rate in Juchitán places it within the top twenty most dangerous municipalities in Mexico, and these statistics are almost certainly severely under-reported. In late December, I learned from a few acquaintances that a police officer was murdered. The murderer was caught but had good connections and was from an influential family, so nobody wanted to press charges. Therefore, he was released from prison. Nobody who mentioned this story to me was in the least surprised by this development. I heard about other murders as well, usually every two weeks or so, all of which were treated as sad but normal occurrences.

Since I was not involved in any drug-related activities in Juchitán nor a police officer, my personal risk for murder was quite low. However, being in a small city where weekly murders occur contributes to a climate of insecurity and fear, and, living in Juchitán, I often felt that insecurity was an illusion waiting to be broken by moments of violence. Since I lived close to a police training facility, I sometimes heard guns firing outside when in my room. These sounds were similar but much louder than the more common sound of firecrackers at parties, and sometimes the insecurity of not knowing for sure whether the bullets were being fired inside or outside the facility was frightening. At night, the occasional sound of bullets was probably not coming from the police facility.

More frightening still was the fact that other crimes, more likely to affect me, were also incredibly common. I very frequently heard about "asaltos", an umbrella term used in Juchitán for armed robberies, physical assaults, and other violent but non-lethal and non-sexual crimes. These crimes can affect anyone, and, though they are much more common at night, can and do occur at any time. Some of my participants and potential participants were victims of such crimes during the two and a half months I was present in Juchitán, and, at least one time, an armed robbery occurred on a street where I had been walking less than an hour previously. The victims of these crimes had grown up in Juchitán and knew better than I did how to be safe. Even so, they could not prevent themselves from being victims of a crime. Aware of the potential dangers in Juchitán, I read much about on safeguarding against crime in the area. Upon my arrival, I also actively sought advice to avoid becoming a victim of crime as I figured local people would be experts in such matters. From the participants, I learned to avoid going out alone at night, to avoid taking the ubiquitous moto-taxis at night,

even when with others, and that the center of the city was safer than the outskirts.

Yet, I came to understand that, despite living here and knowing the necessary precautions to take, many people still became victims of crime. As I met more people, many of whom talked about crime prevention without me even prompting them, I realized that people come up with different strategies from one another in such a context to stay safe, sometimes directly contradicting what other people did. For instance, neighborhoods and streets that some people considered to always be dangerous were only dangerous at night for other people. Some people thought I should not take moto-taxis at all, while others thought they were only dangerous at night and recommended during the day that I take them instead of other forms of transportation. Even my risk as a non-local was seen as higher by some people and lower by others. I quickly learned that I needed to develop my own sense of what was safe and what was not, following the advice of certain locals some of the time, but making my own decisions in other cases, erring on the side of more security whenever possible.

On my own account, I decided to avoid any open expressions of wealth, keeping my Fitbit in my pocket and a broken screen cover on my smartphone, while carrying little money on my person in case I was robbed. In case my apartment was robbed when I was away, I hid my extra recording supplies, laptop, and extra money in various places throughout the room. Researchers in dangerous places recommend learning skills that locals use to remain safe (Goldstein 2014), which in my case included a near-constant feeling of hypervigilance when outside my apartment that made going out to do interviews, observations, and even shopping more strenuous than it would be back home. Very quickly I developed this sense of hypervigilance, a sensitivity to changing situations, and an intuition for what situations could become dangerous.

I learned to always be aware of the people around me and my surroundings, scanning for any sudden changes or hidden dangers and avoiding potentially risky places like back alleys and roads with few people. To further avoid distractions and appear less like a target for crime, I rarely used my cell phone in public, and when I had to check it, I waited until I was in a moto-taxi (and therefore in motion), was in a shop or restaurant (where thieves are less likely to be present), or had my back to the wall in a centralized location with an average level of crowdedness (and therefore could keep track of where people were even when checking my phone).

In the end, I was never a victim of crime in Juchitán, perhaps partly because I de-

veloped these skills. However, I also am very conscious of the role that luck played in this outcome. People with far more developed intuitions than I have become victims of crime in Juchitán. This knowledge took a psychological toll as well. I never felt entirely safe in Juchitán, was often afraid for my personal safety, and realized for the first time how little control I have over my own personal safety/the content of my surroundings. On at least four occasions, I was in situations that could have developed into dangerous ones had circumstances been different.

I felt very uncomfortable around one of my participants, who was muxe gunaa, but, because of my desire to get data and since I knew it would be hard to find enough muxe gunaa participants, I tried to get the interview anyway. She tried to get me to give her money multiple times, which I firmly refused, buying her beer instead. This was uncomfortable but only a little. However, she also made invasive comments and jokes about which I felt very uncomfortable, referenced in Section 4.4. Through some combination of not wanting the money I spent on her to go to waste, really wanting data, and leaving being more dangerous (I did not know that neighborhood very well, and the sun was setting), I decided it made more sense to do the interview with her than to leave. Besides, I got the feeling she wanted to feel powerful and to get sex if she could but did not actually want to rape me. In our previous conversation, she seemed too interested in me having a good impression of her in our previous talk and coming across well in the research for her to actually be likely to hurt me. I was fortunately correct in that assessment.

We went to her cousin's house for the interview, and I scanned the area for ways to leave in case I needed to. The cousin was there. We sat in an empty bedroom for the interview with the door open. After the interview, she asked if I was sure she did not want her to top for me, I said yes, she asked for more money again, I said no, and she helped me get a moto-taxi back to the city center. I learned afterward that she has a bad reputation in the community for lying, stealing money, and making inappropriate sexual comments. This event was probably the most unsafe I felt in Juchitán, and I wonder in retrospect whether I should have taken the risk I did in going through with the interview. My assessment of the situation turned out to be correct, but it easily could have been mistaken.

The skills I learned, such as scanning for potential dangers and being suspicious of people I did not know, being necessary for survival, were hard to unlearn when I

came back to Bern and made it difficult to relax and immediately go back to doing certain activities I enjoyed beforehand (i.e., being outside at night alone, walking in very crowded or very empty places, and skiing) because it was too easy to imagine potential dangers in such activities. It also became a lot harder for me to open up to meeting new people, especially dating since I felt particularly unsafe around people who expressed sexual interest in me. I also had trouble relating to the concerns people in Switzerland have, which often seemed petty and pointless compared to the difficulties Juchitec@s face. My ability to show empathy for ordinary people in my country of residence had been limited.

In Juchitán, I was often objectified by people I interacted with and even more often observed objectification towards others, often heard stories about disturbing crimes and deeply self-centered sexual behaviors, and had trouble keeping track of what was true, due to the many contradictions people expressed. The experience shook my understanding of the world, and as a result, I lost a large amount of my trust in other people and, most importantly, in myself to navigate through life.

These culture shocks, in particular the sense of hypervigilance and the necessity of mistrusting strangers, were likely particularly difficult because I traveled directly from Switzerland to Juchitán, and the contrast between the two contexts could hardly be greater in these regards. Switzerland is a country with an extremely high level of societal trust and safety, where I, consequently, go through life without ever having to think about physical danger or worry about people's motives. Despite living here for almost five years, I have felt unsafe exactly two times, and, I generally trust that almost everyone I meet is a good person who I can let my guard down around. The only negative consequence I have experienced by going through life with this attitude is that one time my bike was stolen because I left it poorly locked in the city center for a long time. In any case, the bike was returned to me a few days later. The contrast, within a very short time period, of moving from a place where high levels of trust and a lack of vigilance were normal to one where high trust and low vigilance were dangerous, was extremely jarring.

When I got back to Switzerland, I maintained my hypervigilance and unwillingness to trust new people for a few weeks, before I let this behavior subside. However, the hypervigilance and lack of trust came back in late summer, at which time I also began having other unpleasant psychological symptoms. Some combination of feeling

so often in danger, copying people's untrusting attitudes/behaviors, having to fend off unwanted sexual interest, feeling like I could not keep myself safe, and listening to such awful accounts of violence over and over again during the transcription phase led me to believe again that the world is dangerous, you can never know who to trust, and violence is right around the corner. I entered psychotherapy in October 2021 to deal with the feelings and correct the distorted maladaptive beliefs I had learned in Juchitán. By January, I was out of psychotherapy and by February I had fully incorporated my experiences into my worldview, functioning in the end overall better than before I visited Juchitán.

In the end, incorporating reflexivity into the thesis helped this process along as well. Based on own my social position, the social norms, culture, and moral universes of many people were very different from what I was used to, despite my extensive travel experience, and, by engaging such people and reflecting on these encounters, I came to understand my own biases better and become much more flexible in my thinking about the world. This flexibility in thought and awareness of my biases brought the relevant ideologies in Juchitán into sharper focus, as I already mentioned, and it also helped me become a more effective researcher in practical ways. Now, I can deal with difficult situations that arise in research more quickly and effectively. Also, I can come up with interpretations of data and different ways to collect and use data more quickly than before.

Juchitán was not the first place I have visited that felt unsafe, but, based on my relatively privileged position, I had previously never needed to spend long amounts of time in a place where hypervigilance was necessary. Doing so provided a stark reminder that differences in the level of safety and oppression between a research site and one's home university need to be taken into account when designing research studies, both in a practical and a psychological sense. Though I ultimately grew as a researcher from the experience, I was not prepared for the psychological toll the research would take on me and did not consider my own ethical obligations to myself enough in the research project. Aware of how many privileges most of my identities carry with them, I did not consider that any aspects of the combination of these identities would occasionally place me in a position of disadvantage or vulnerability. Specifically, my position as a gay male PhD researcher, who came from and lived in a high-income country, put me in a simultaneously privileged and disadvantaged posi-

tion, the contradictions of which I did not take into account.

In the end, I probably spent a bit too much time worrying about participants' safety and comfort with me, assuming I would always be in a position of power compared to my participants, and about my ability to successfully complete the project. These concerns ended up overshadowing my ethical commitments to myself, so much so that I decided to enter a room with someone who may have wanted to do me harm, that I set too few boundaries with participants regarding our conversations, that I stayed in Juchitán for a few weeks after getting my interviews to do a "better" project, and that I did too many interviews in places I did not feel comfortable, among other smaller issues. Admittedly, I had deeply internalized the pressure to perform "good" research that many PhD students, working on relatively low salaries for long periods of time on demanding projects, feel.

I realize now that I, and other Ph.D. students in similar situations, should remember to center their own safety and comfort more. In my case, I should have refused certain interviews and limited discussion of certain topics. For instance, I could have immediately left the situation with the muxe gunaa participant I felt unsafe around, told people I wanted to stop talking about certain topics, and left Juchitán as soon as I had enough interviews. In the future, when taking on a project, I will always know that my safety and comfort are at least as important as that of the participants and more important than doing a "better" project or getting "better" data.

Data should not come at the expense of people, including the person who collects the data. It is important that all researchers, especially Ph.D. students, remember that their precarious position may lead to internal pressure to do "better" research by not leaving dangerous and otherwise very uncomfortable situations and that they have an obligation to themselves to ignore that internal pressure in such situations. To see further discussion of the issue of ethical commitments to the researcher, as well as how institutions can support these ethical commitments, consult Taylor (2019), who also writes about this issue.

4.10 Difficulties with the Interviews

I prepared for a couple of difficult issues that had the potential to arise in the interviews, very few of which actually transpired. To avoid interruptions from other

people as much as possible, I was sure to let speakers know how long I projected the interviews to last (around forty-five minutes). In cases where participants wanted to cut the interview short, I planned to immediately accept the circumstances, used the data I had, and hope that they would not ask me to destroy the data. However, nobody wanted to cut the interview short, and I am extremely grateful that people were so willing to spend so much time talking with me and helping with the project in general. To prevent technological issues that could result in bad recording, I practiced with the technology before entering the field to become familiar with how it worked, took rechargeable batteries, and always made sure that both my spare batteries and my batteries in use were charged and properly placed in the device. I also brought two copies of each recording device to Juchitán in case one of them stopped working or got stolen.

If speakers got particularly angry about an ideological issue that I brought up, I would attempt to validate the concern behind the anger and deflect any anger away from me toward the issue that provoked the angry response. When people express anger, they typically want the other person to validate their feelings of anger somehow, and doing so may help neutralize the anger. Therefore, in such cases, I validated the feeling of anger itself, in an attempt to weaken the angry feeling. Validating requires letting the other person finish their narrative before speaking, showing you understand their perspective and how they feel, conveying that their feelings are reasonable, and showing empathy or sympathy for their reaction (Winch 2011).

In the data itself, I ended up having to validate strong negative emotions a few times, although nobody ever appeared extremely angry. I did have some unexpected issues, however. There was one interview that got cut short because the recorder ran out of battery, and a large part of the interview did not get recorded. However, (at 35 minutes long) that interview still contained more than enough data to be used for analysis. As I mentioned earlier, during this same interview, someone also threatened to rape my participant after we refused to give him money. Before another interview, a participant hit on me strongly and asked for money until I threatened to leave. In both cases, the quality of the interviews was not affected, and, otherwise, the interviews went very smoothly.

In a few cases, despite the high-quality recording equipment used for the interviews, the recording itself was of poor quality. In only one case, however, was the audio quality so poor that it became almost impossible to transcribe the interviews

with any degree of accuracy, much less to accurately hear which variants were being used for the phonetic variable, syllable-final /s/. In this case, I therefore had to refrain from using the interview for my analysis. The excluded speaker, a middle-aged bilingual woman, was identified as 歌银48 in the data. As such, out of the 56 recorded interviews, 55 were used in the final study.

Chapter 5

Methodology: Analyzing the Data

5.1 Transcription Process

In this chapter, I explain how I transcribed and extracted the data, before explaining how I defined the internal and external factors I correlated with the sociolinguistic variation. In the beginning, I explain the transcription process and the subsequent content analysis I used to identify mentioned ideologies in the data, setting the stage to treat mentioned ideologies as internal factors in the later sociolinguistic variationist analysis. Subsequently, I explain how I defined, identified, and extracted all other internal and external factors that were correlated with the sociolinguistic variables.

After saving each interview electronically in three secure locations, I sampled a few different online programs to help transcribe the data. I ended up using Sonix.ai (Sonix.ai 2022), a paid program that provided fairly accurate transcriptions. These transcriptions were then divided into annotations of 1.5 seconds or less in length, downloaded from my Sonix.ai account to a Word document, and uploaded onto ELAN, a transcription program designed for research projects in linguistics. For the upload to be successful, I needed to remove all orthographical accents and *tildes* from the transcription, so my transcriptions lack normative spelling in these instances but otherwise follow standard Spanish spelling rules. On ELAN, I listened to each interview again, ensuring consistency in the conventions used and correcting the errors in each transcription.

Although Sonix.ai's transcription service was very good and cut my transcription workload to about a third, it did make mistakes, some of which were systematic. The program often forgot filler words that contained tokens of variables I was looking for, most notably *este* and *pues* (both meaning "well" and containing syllable-final /s/), and had trouble accurately transcribing audio with excessive background noise (a frequent issue in Juchitán). Furthermore, the program had difficulty with transcriptions with non-standard phonology and grammar. For my project, this meant that transcriptions of Zapotec-dominant and balanced bilingual speakers often needed more revision than transcriptions of Spanish-dominant speakers, and transcriptions of my non-native Spanish, which needed to remain in the transcripts to help identify speak-

ers' responses to particular questions, often needed to be fixed. Despite its flaws, however, the software still allowed me to finish transcriptions in about a third of the time it would manually take and allowed me to finish the thesis on time, despite Covid-related delays in starting the data collection.

I corrected about 70% of the transcriptions made by Sonix.ai. The others were checked either by an assistant hired through the University of Bern or by two assistants hired through the freelancer platform "Upwork". I trained the assistant hired through the University of Bern to transcribe in ELAN (the two freelancers were already trained) and checked their transcriptions, providing feedback where it was required. All of these assistants were quickly able to transcribe well enough that I could check their work only through random checks. After the transcriptions were finished, I was able to begin extracting tokens, including information about the mentioned ideology around each token.

5.2 Content Analysis

The study employed a quantitative content analysis (Krippendorff 1989; White & Marsh 2006), commonly used in other social sciences (i.e., communication studies, political science, sociology) due to its flexibility as a method and usefulness in studying expressed ideologies, to determine which ideology is mentioned in a particular section of discourse. To perform this type of content analysis as applied to my project, I developed a coding sheet for each set of ideologies that I determined through ethnography and my review of the literature to be locally relevant. Content analyses require a pre-determined coding sheet that is easy to implement in which the topic of the study (each ideology in this study) is unambiguously and very clearly defined (Krippendorff 1989; White & Marsh 2006). Along these lines, instructions for using the coding sheet should be easy to follow and contain unambiguous examples (Krippendorff 1989; White & Marsh 2006). Therefore, each coding sheet provided detailed guiding information regarding how to identify the ideology being mentioned at any particular time.

To ensure I captured every mentioned ideology, coding largely occurred on a tone group-by-tone group basis. This allowed for the coding of stance-related sentence structures (i.e., *yo pienso que*, *no me gusta que*, *le digo que*¹) separately from the ideo-

¹"I think that", "I don't like that", and "I tell you that"

logical content towards which a stance was being taken. To decide which ideology (or ideologies) was/were mentioned within each of the stance-related sentence structures, I interpreted what exactly the speakers were taking a stance towards. This approach has the benefit of allowing both the content of the stance-related structure and the stance-related structure itself to be included in the coding, thereby finding a way to code both of the expressed ideologies in such statements.

Initially, I sketched out coding sheets for each of the selected ideologies on paper, containing the bare minimum information necessary to help begin finding mentioned ideologies in each tone group. Each coding sheet contained three categories of statements, encompassing positive (or for many ideologies, also epistemic) stances towards particular behaviors and views, negative stances towards other behaviors and views, and a further category of statements reflecting the ideology, often encompassing stereotypes, reported speech, and/or epistemic stances that did not fit with the other two categories. For instance, for the matriarchal gender ideology, the third category encompassed positive stereotypes about women and negative stereotypes about men, whereas, for the Zapotec gender ideology, the third category was composed of descriptions of the traditional gender roles, the naturalization of these roles, and related epistemic stances.

Each of these three categories of statements reflecting an ideology was accompanied by typical examples pulled from the data. For instance, for the Zapotec ideology, an example of Zapotec ideology on the sheet was "los hombres pues / esa es la costumbre de aquí" ² as the naturalized appeal to tradition found in these two tone groups were used to explain why men and women have different complementary roles in society. Another example, from the "positive stance" section of the coding sheet for egalitarian gender ideology, is the following statement about a muxe: "es femenino / y de serlo no tiene nada de malo" ³. This statement represents a positive approving stance towards a particular person's rejection of the inegalitarian gender ideologies and also the traditional Zapotec division of gender roles. Therefore, it was chosen as an exemplary statement of the egalitarian gender ideology. As I went through the data, coding the tone groups containing tokens of each variable for different ideologies, a notable number of utterances appeared that were not codable for any particular ideology. These

²"men well / that's the tradition here"

³"he's feminine / and there's nothing wrong with being that way"

so-called "non-ideological" utterances were coded as such and treated in the data as a variant of the ideological factor. So-called "non-ideological" utterances typically made up around half of the sample with respect to gender ideologies and two-thirds of the sample with respect to language ideologies.

I also noticed, going through the data, that the coding sheet did not allow for some statements to be coded that were clearly ideological in relation to language or gender. Therefore, as I went through the data, especially in the beginning, I had to occasionally add new parameters to the coding sheet for finding gender and language ideologies. As such, the size of the coding sheet, with the accompanying number of exemplary statements, grew as I coded, at what felt like a logarithmic rate. In other words, at the beginning of the coding process, the coding sheets grew quickly from newly added details, whereas at the end, additions to the coding sheet became rare or non-existent. According to White & Marsh (2006), such adjustments are not a problem when using a coding sheet; however, early data should be recoded using an updated coding sheet. For this reason, when I looked through the data a second time, I used the revised, complete coding sheet. For more detailed information on the coding sheets, consult the digitized final versions of them in Section 10.1 and Section 10.2 in the appendices.

To further ensure reliability (consistency) in coding, it is ideal to find more than one person to code the same data (White & Marsh 2006). Although I was the only person to code the data, I also performed the coding of most tokens multiple times to ensure the highest possible degree of reliability, despite this limitation. It was particularly important to recode multiple times, seeing as certain tone groups contained ambiguous discourse that was difficult to code. This discourse was usually ambiguous because it fit imperfectly but partially with the terms on the coding sheet for one or more mentioned ideologies. In such cases, it was sometimes difficult to determine whether to code the tone group as expressing no mentioned ideology, expressing one mentioned ideology, or expressing two different mentioned ideologies.

For example, when coding my third interview, I had to code the tone group "que es de lo que te estoy hablando" ⁴ in the following quote.

que es de lo que te estoy hablando, de los muxes que no pueden tener pareja

"that is what I'm talking to you about, about muxes that cannot have partners"

⁴"that is what I'm talking to you about"

The tone group is an epistemic stance about the reality that muxes cannot have partners, but it was difficult to decide which mentioned ideology, if any, corresponded to muxes not being able to have partners. On the one hand, this could be an epistemic stance towards traditional roles, since muxes are not traditionally supposed to have partners, making it an example of mentioned Zapotec ideology, or it could be an epistemic stance towards the machista behavior of not accepting muxes with partners. On the other hand, it might not fit into the framework of either coding sheet, as muxes might not be able to have partners for reasons that go beyond the machista or Zapotec gender ideologies.

However, after coding more than once, I was almost always able to use the coding sheet to make a clear determination for tone groups with this sort of ambiguous discourse, coding the tone group as either a "non-ideological" utterance, a case of one mentioned ideology, or a case of two mentioned ideologies. In the example provided above, for instance, I judged that the tone group's contents were a close enough fit for the parameters in both the coding sheet for Zapotec gender ideology and that for machista gender ideology to code for both mentioned ideologies. In cases like these, where I decided that two different expressed ideologies were simultaneously mentioned, I coded the statement for both ideologies, and I ran analyses in R Studio where that token was assigned to each ideology separately as well as to both ideologies. As for the handful of formerly ambiguous cases that were still unassignable after multiple recordings, I reassigned these as "non-ideological" with respect to gender and language ideology.

5.3 Identifying Mentioned Ideologies by Tone Group

In the following section, I will provide more detail on how I created coding sheets for each ideology and took information from each tone group to determine mentioned ideologies in the discourse. To begin, I consulted the descriptions of the ideologies provided in Section 4.5 before creating my coding sheet for each ideology. Then, on these coding sheets, I wrote descriptions of the types of positive affective stances, negative affective stances, and epistemic stances that I would consider to be examples of mentioned ideologies in the data. These determinations were made on the basis of the descriptions of ideologies found in Section 4.5. Underneath each of these descriptions,

I included typical examples from the data in the coding sheet.

As I began coding stretches of discourse containing extracted tokens of syllable-final /s/ or grammatical gender, I added certain other statement types to my coding sheets for particular ideologies, when it seemed like the coding sheet was missing cases of mentioned ideologies. For instance, for the matriarchal and machista gender ideologies, I added a section for statements of stereotypes, with typical examples from the data, as these ideologies seemed to be often expressed through the assertion or citation of stereotypes about men, women, and muxes. For the machista gender ideology, on the other hand, I added a section for cited descriptions of mistreatment, as these seemed distinct from other epistemic stances, with corresponding examples. These coding sheets can be found in Section 10.1 and Section 10.2.

I wrote the mentioned ideology in which each token of syllable-final /s/ and grammatical gender that I used in the analysis was found, using the smallest minimum measurement of discourse in which a mentioned ideology could be identified. This meant that I usually recoded mentioned ideologies within a single tone group, defined as "the stretch of speech over which a pitch contour extends" (Bolinger 2014). I determined tone group boundaries impressionistically, as it is usually very easy to hear when a pitch contour begins and ends. Tone groups often, but do not always, correspond to grammatical clauses (Bolinger 2014), so I was therefore usually able to identify units in discourse that expressed full ideas in this way. These ideas could then be evaluated according to how well they corresponded to particular ideologies.

Tone groups were, as a unit of analysis, preferable to clauses, as natural discourse often occasionally lacks clauses, due to the presence of false starts, interruptions, filler words, and other elements of spoken discourse that differ from written discourse. As such, to avoid either projecting clauses where there were none or eliminating non-clauses that contained mentioned ideologies from the analysis, I opted to assign tone groups rather than clauses to mentioned ideologies. Typically, the only information external to the tone group that I used to determine each tone group's mentioned ideology/ideologies was/were the meaning of deictic elements. For instance, the tone group, *son flojos*⁵, was coded as "mentioned matriarchal gender ideology" because the implicit deictic pronoun *ellos* (they) clearly referred to men, as a general category, in this situated use.

⁵"they are lazy"

Me: *y los hombres heterosexuales*

Participant: *generalmente, bien, tiendo a pensar una cosa, son flojos*

Me: "and straight men"

Participant: "generally, well, I tend to think one thing, they're lazy"

Also, for certain elements used to take a stance towards a clause, such as *te decimos (que)*⁶, I looked at the content of the following clause and the stance provided by the introducing words to decide which ideology was mentioned. The example in context is provided below.

pues, te decimos, no somos gays, somos muxes, pero en zapoteco se menciona muxe

"Well, we tell you, we aren't gays, we're muxes, but in Zapotec, muxe is mentioned"

In this example, Zapotec gender ideology was coded for the tone group *te decimos* (we tell you), as the following clause was interpreted as an assertion of local muxe gender identity in opposition to a more cosmopolitan gay identity.

I also sometimes recoded mentioned ideologies for units that were two or three tone groups in size in particular circumstances. Namely, when the ideological content, for structural reasons, could not be evaluated by merely looking at the tone group and its deictic elements, I recoded mentioned ideologies across two or three tone groups. This generally happened when a subject and predicate appeared in separate tone groups and the whole unit was necessary to capture the ideological content of the utterance. Consider the example of *y las muchachas tenían un ... un precio*⁷, where the "..." represents the end of one tone group and the beginning of another, for example. This utterance, referring to how women were seen in *raptos* of the past, was coded as representing machista gender ideology. To represent the complete idea, it was necessary to look at both tone groups together, as a speech interruption is what caused the utterance to be composed of two tone groups instead of one.

Inevitably, a fairly large amount of the recorded discourse, while potentially being ideological in terms of other ideologies, was free of the specific ideological content I

⁶we tell you

⁷the girls had a ... a price

was testing for. I, therefore, coded as "Non-Ideological" the variants located in clauses such as these that were deemed unrelated to the ideologies being studied. A slight majority of the discourse was coded, as non-ideological when running initial analyses containing all seven of the ideologies included in the project. As ideologies were eliminated, however, due to lack of statistical significance, I also recoded these as "Non-Ideological". I considered tone groups that contained only filler words, such as *entonces* (then) and *pues* (well), to be "Non-Ideological" as well. However, if these filler words were part of another tone group containing a mentioned ideology or next to a subject whose predicate was in a tone group containing a mentioned ideology, I included the filler word with that mentioned ideology.

In ambiguous cases, where a tone group could be assigned to more than one mentioned ideology, I ended up coding the tone group as corresponding to all the potentially relevant mentioned ideologies. For instance, consider the statement *no todos los hombres homosexuales lo hacen*⁸ in the excerpt from an interview with Fernando provided below.

*Voy al centro comercial, compro mis ingredientes, lo hago y en un ratito nada más levanto medidos y ya es un ingreso. **No todos los homosexuales lo hacen** porque hay unos que son conformistas como los hombres heterosexuales.*

"I go to the mall, buy my ingredients, make it, and in no time, I raise sales, just like that. Not all homosexual men do it because some are conformists, just like straight men."

In this statement, where *lo* (it) seems to refer to working harder than most straight men, was coded for both matriarchal gender ideology and egalitarian gender ideology. This statement reflects a mentioned matriarchal gender ideology because it reflects a positive stereotype related to that ideology, namely that heterosexual men usually work less hard than people of other genders or sexual orientations, while also reflecting a mentioned egalitarian gender ideology, as working harder than straight men could be seen as a form of inequality that some homosexual men resist.

In other cases, where I was not sure whether I should code a tone group as mentioning an ideology because the content was ambiguous, I left the tone group aside for a short while. If I still could not make a determination when coming back to it, I

⁸not all homosexual men do it

would code it as "Non-Ideological", or, if I was leaning towards one ideology (or two ideologies), I would consider the tone group as that ideology (or those ideologies). These sorts of ambiguous cases, where I could not come to a clear determination, were relatively rare. In almost all cases, the coding sheet allowed me to come to a clear determination without much effort, and I eventually became adept and quick at determining mentioned ideologies in my data.

5.4 Linguistic Variables and Factors in the Sample

As previously mentioned in the theoretical background section, the linguistic variables to be analyzed in this study are syllable-final /s/ and grammatical gender marking for human referents. In addition to the previously mentioned support for analyzing these variables in the literature, my subjective impressions of socially significant variation in the community further informed my decision to study the effect of ideology on these variables. To ensure that mentioned ideological position itself was responsible for variation in the sample, I always included mentioned ideology in the same analyses as linguistic and/or social factors that previous research in other contexts has found to be significant in explaining variation in the expression of each variable. Due to the robustness of results linking gender, age, social class, and morphological status to linguistic variation, all five of these factors were incorporated into the analysis for both linguistic variables (below, I elaborate on differences in how this was done per variable).

Due to dialectal variation within Mexico in expression rates for syllable-final /s/ and the presence of less grammatical gender variation in most other parts of Mexico, I expected an effect of migration history for both of these variables. Therefore, I included three factors to account for this potential effect. These three factors were time spent outside of Juchitán, birth in or outside Juchitán, and time spent in an /s/ reducing region. The first of these factors corresponded to the amount of time, in years, each speaker lived outside of Juchitán in my sample. Based on the high number of speakers who said they lived many years outside of Juchitán, I coded participants as either spending a long time (over five years), an intermediate amount of time (2-4 years), a short amount of time (less than two years), or various years living mostly outside of Juchitán, while also coding speakers who lived part of the year in Juchitán and part of

the year elsewhere in a separate category, as "currently" living outside Juchitán. The second of these factors was coded in a binary "yes" or "no" fashion. Speakers who were born in a different city were coded as "yes"; others were coded as "no".

The third of these factors was also coded in a binary "yes" or "no" fashion. If a speaker had lived in any area where /s/ was often reduced, based on Butragueño (2014) & Lipski (1984), I coded them as "yes" for this variable. Otherwise, they were coded as "no". Areas in which some speakers had lived where /s/ is typically reduced were diverse, including parts of Sinaloa and the entire province of Veracruz. Places where /s/ is typically not reduced were much more numerous and even more diverse, including Mexico City, Oaxaca City, Barcelona, and Colombia, among many other places. Furthermore, since some variants are particularly characteristic of contact variants (particularly for grammatical gender), speakers were asked during the interviews about their comfort speaking Spanish and Zapotec and competence inferred based on the answer to this question. I separated speakers into the following reported competence groups: Zapotec dominant, balanced bilingual, Spanish dominant, Spanish speaker with some competence in Zapotec, and Spanish monolingual.

Zapotec dominant speakers said they spoke more Zapotec than Spanish, whereas Spanish dominant speakers spoke more Spanish than Zapotec, despite speaking both languages. Balanced bilinguals claimed to speak both languages equally fluently, whereas Spanish monolinguals claimed to speak either no Zapotec or Zapotec at a less than 20% level (seemingly amounting to an A1 level or less). Many speakers used percentage points when describing the levels of linguistic competence. Speakers with some Zapotec competence reported their competence in Zapotec as non-native, or native with significant language loss, or at percentages of between 20% and 70%.

Participants were coded for gender as women, men (provided they were both cisgender and either heterosexual or bisexual), or a variety of subcategories for "muxes". Muxes occupy a space between gender-normative men and women in Juchiteca society, sometimes do not identify strongly or at all with this label (Laaksonen 2016), and use salient in-group labels, such as *muxe gunaa*, to describe themselves. Therefore, I decided initially to code muxes into multiple gender categories. Namely, I coded biologically male participants, who were cisgender and neither heterosexual nor bisexual, as either "muxe nguii", "muxe gunaa", "muxe (no label)", and "gay", by asking these participants specifically what label they used to identify themselves. Participants were

only coded as "gay" if they did not also identify with another "muxe" label. For a reminder of the meaning of these terms, see Section 4.3.

During the actual analysis, different combinations of these categories were merged to see in what way, if any, gender was a significant contributor to variation. In some analyses, muxes were grouped only with other muxes, separate from the categories of men and women. In others, muxes were grouped with men or with women, either as a full group or according to their muxe sublabel or rejection of a muxe identity. Age, on the other hand, was recorded numerically and initially treated in R Studio as a continuous variable. Later, I separated age into a few categories based on the results of random forest tree analyses to run further logistical regressions.

Social class was measured in a disaggregated manner by using two proxies, occupation and neighborhood of residence. Both measures are related to social class in Juchitán and allowed me to approximate social class without directly asking participants for sensitive information, such as their income. The reported neighborhood of residence was recorded for each speaker and then used to create a new measure: region. "Region" was recorded as either "high" or "low", where "high" corresponds to upper class, ideologically less Zapotec regions (such as the first and second section), and where "low" corresponds to lower class, ideologically more Zapotec regions (including the seventh, eighth, and ninth sections).

Reported "occupation" was recorded in specific detail for each speaker. After looking at participants' descriptions of their jobs, a few clear categories began to emerge. Some participants clearly worked primarily in the informal sector and were correspondingly coded as having "informal" sector jobs. Others were students or had recently graduated and were still looking for a job. These participants were coded as being "Students". The remaining participants, who had formal sector jobs, were placed into one of three categories: "low-wage", "public sector", and "other formal sector" jobs. I decided to create these subcategories for formal sector jobs because these jobs typically implied very different salaries, statuses, and contact with the standard norm. Therefore, they seemed to approximate further class distinctions that I was trying to partially capture by using "occupation" as a proxy for "social class".

In cases where participants had multiple jobs, as is often the case in Juchitán, I used the job that they spent most of their time doing to determine which category I assigned them to. If it seemed the participant did two jobs equally often, I assigned them to the

job category with the highest associated status/salary. Two muxes whose only job was "activist" were coded as having "informal" jobs because their source of income from "activism" seemed irregular and therefore more similar to "informal" sector jobs, which they both seemed to do on the side anyway. Other muxes with "activist" as one of their jobs were coded based on their other occupation.

The complement the following discussion of linguistic factors, I include all of the linguistic factors used for syllable-final /s/ in Table 5.1 and those for referential grammatical gender in Table 5.2. For both syllable-final /s/ and referential grammatical gender, I included a measure of seriality and specificity. For many variables in Spanish, most notably subject pronoun expression, it has been shown that whether a referent is mentioned for the first time or not, how distant the referent is from the first mentioned referent, and whether the referent is specific or general, all condition variation (Carvalho & Child 2011; Cerrón-Palomino López 2014, 2019; Lastra & Butragueño 2015; Manjón-Cabeza Cruz et al. 2016; Michnowicz 2015; Orozco 2016). Furthermore, Pereira Scherre & Naro (1991) found that seriality plays an important role in predicting agreement for Brazilian Portuguese. Specifically for subject pronoun expression, subject pronouns are more common when a new referent enters the discourse, when the referent is distant from the first mentioned referent, and when the referent is specific (rather than a third or second-person pronoun used in a general sense).

This occurs because, for a change in referent, a distantly mentioned referent, and a specific referent, there often arises potential ambiguity concerning which particular person the speaker is talking about. As such, subject pronouns are expressed more often to address this ambiguity. Furthermore, parallelism, or the tendency for parallel structure to be preserved in discourse, often leads a previously expressed subject pronoun to be followed by another expressed subject pronoun (Carvalho & Child 2011; Flores-Ferrán 2005). Since deleted syllable-final /s/ and variation in grammatical gender endings can both also lead to potential ambiguity and either contribute to or challenge parallel structure, I also decided to include measures of seriality and specificity in my analyses. To do this, I created a measure of seriality called "change in referent/variant" and a measure for "specificity".

For variable subject-verb agreement and subject-predicate adjective agreement in Brazilian Portuguese, Pereira Scherre & Naro (1991) found that seriality played a role in the variation. For syllable-final /s/, I defined seriality similarly to how these authors

did. Specifically, for syllable-final /s/, I coded a "change in variant" as either "yes" or "no". "No" corresponded to cases in which the same variant appeared in this case as in the previous token. For instance, if the current and previous tokens were both retained, "change in variant" would be coded as "no". "Yes" corresponded to a change in the variant used. Likewise, Pereira Scherre & Naro (1991) found that the variant used in the preceding case often conditioned that variant to be used again.

For grammatical gender, on the other hand, I coded "change in referent" as either "novel", "given(mention 2)", or "given(other)" (with respect to the speaker's discourse). "Novel" was coded when the referent was introduced for the first time in the speaker's discourse, whereas "given(mention 2)" or "given(other)" was coded when the referent was not new to the speaker's discourse. "Given(mention 2)" was coded when the referent was novel the previous time it was mentioned, whereas "given(other)" was coded when the original mention of the referent was more distant. I coded two different "given" categories because I expected there to be more referential gender variation farther away from the first mention of a new referent, as, in this case, parallel structure would not apply and potential ambiguity would increase.

This way of coding for grammatical gender was quite different from that used in Pereira Scherre & Naro (1991) and much more similar to that found in studies on subject pronoun expression (Carvalho & Child 2011; Cerrón-Palomino López 2014, 2019; Lastra & Butragueño 2015; Manjón-Cabeza Cruz et al. 2016; Michnowicz 2015; Orozco 2016). For reasons I will explain in Section 5.5, I decided, in the end, to look only at gender assignment rather than gender agreement in this study, to former of which, like subject pronoun expression, should be sensitive to changes in the referent but not to changes in agreement. Regarding "specificity", for grammatical gender, I coded a referent as either "general" or "specific", where the latter referred to specific individuals and the former represented uses of lexical items to refer to categories or undefined groups of people. However, I did not code syllable-final /s/ for specificity, as specificity cannot be easily applied to this variable.

Morphological status was also recorded differently depending on the envelope of variation for the variable being studied. For referential grammatical gender, morphological status was assumed to be identical with part of speech and thereby coded as an adjective, noun, pronoun, determinant, or article. Nouns were further subdivided into "natural" nouns, in which gender is not expressed with an "o", "a", or another clear

gender marking, and "other" nouns. On the other hand, for cases of syllable-final /s/, morphological status was coded as first-person plural verbal, second-person singular verbal, plural, or lexical.

For the phonic variable, syllable-final /s/, the pattern of word stress corresponding to the syllable where the /s/ was located was also recorded as a linguistic factor. Stress was recorded as either "post-tonic", "pre-tonic", "other non-tonic", "tonic", or "non-applicable" (because the word in question was only one-syllable in size). "Tonic" is the term used in the literature for stressed syllables in a multiple syllable word (Alba 1990; Brown & Torres Cacoulios 2002, 2003; Lynch 2009; Terrell 1977, 1979), whereas "pre-tonic" and "post-tonic" refer to the syllable before and after a stressed syllable, respectively. "Other non-tonic" refers to other non-stressed syllables in multiple-syllable words. I also noted, as a linguistic factor, the position within the word, either word-internal or word-final, where syllable-final /s/ was located.

The previous and following phonological context was also noted for syllable-final /s/. In the previous phonological context, only [a], [e], [i], [o] and [u] (and their allophones) are generally possible, so I did not need to recode the previous phonological context to perform any analyses. On the other hand, possible following phonetic contexts include every phoneme in the Spanish language, although, for word-internal /s/, vowels are not possible. Due to correspondingly low token numbers for certain phonemes in the following context, I recoded groups of phonemes into other categories using a combination of R Studio analyses, references from the previous literature, and determinations based on the phonetic similarity of certain phonemes.

For referential grammatical gender, I also recorded the grammatical gender and number of the controller, along with the grammatical number of the target. For initial analyses of gender agreement, as opposed to assignment, I also included the gender of the target as a factor and treated gender (dis)agreement as the linguistic variable. For initial analyses of gender assignment, on the other hand, I treated the gender of the target as the linguistic variable and did not include agreement as a factor.

I also coded distribution and noun phrase function for referential grammatical gender. "Distribution" referred to the location of the controller with respect to the target and was coded as either "adjacent", "non-adjacent", or "implicit". Adjacent controllers were located next to their targets, non-adjacent controllers were not located next to their targets, and implicit controllers were non-expressed. "Noun phrase function"

Factor	Example
Change in Variant Yes No	lo[s] muxe[s] lo[s] muxe[s]
Morphological Status First-person plural verbal Second-person singular verbal Lexical Plural	tenemo[s] tiene[s] / tuvi[s]te e[s]te lo[s] muxe[s]
Word Stress Post-tonic Pre-tonic Other non-tonic Tonic Non-applicable	tiene[s] e[s]túpido e[s]pecialmente / estúpido[s] e[s]te e[s]
Word Position Internal Final	e[s]te tiene[s]
Previous Phonological Context A E I O U	va[s] ve[s] hi[s]toria poco[s] u[s]ted
Following Phonological Context A B K D etc.	va[s] a ver e[s] veinte tiene[s] que de[s]de

Table 5.1: Linguistic Factors Studied for Syllable-Final /s/ with Examples of a Retained-/s/ for Each

refers to the sentence function performed by the noun phrase where the target occurred. It could be coded as either "Subject", "Direct Object", "Object of a Preposition", "Predicative", or "Counterfactual". "Indirect Object" was not included as a category because, as a pronoun, the indirect object is not marked for gender in Spanish, and, in other cases, the indirect object is normatively marked with a preposition, in which cases it seemed more appropriate to consider the noun phrase to be an "Object of a Preposition".

The first three of these categories require probably no additional explanation. "Predicative" noun phrases generally consisted of lone adjectives or nouns after a linking

verb, such as "estar", "ser", and "haber" ⁹. "Counterfactual" was a category I invented and included after noticing that in some cases, most of which were nouns that would otherwise be coded as "Predicative", the gender of a lexical item was not being used to express the actual gender of the referent. Instead, the gender of the target was expressing a comparison or similarity of the referent to the corresponding gender. These cases often occurred in expressions using certain conjunctions, like *como* (like) and *si* (if), and after forms of *ser*, like the subjunctive form *fuera*, that expressed uncertainty with respect to the provided gendering. Three examples would be *quiere vivir como hombre* ¹⁰, *como si fueran mujeres prostitutas* ¹¹, and *quieren ser mujeres* ¹². These cases of referential grammatical gender seemed to be expressing something different from other predicative uses of referential grammatical gender, so I coded them as this separate category.

Grammatical gender could be coded as masculine, feminine, or, for controllers only, indeterminate, since some controllers are implicit (non-expressed). Grammatical number could correspondingly be coded as either singular, plural, or, in the case of implicit controllers, indeterminate. Gender (dis)agreement could be coded as either agreement, disagreement, or indeterminate agreement (in the case of implicit controllers or noun controllers with variable grammatical gender, such as the lexical item "muxe").

From the data, multiple examples of each variable were randomly selected. These examples were recorded in a spreadsheet, with each linguistic variable occupying a separate sheet, and assigned values for the various potentially influential linguistic and social factors. This data was then analyzed using a set of R commands in R Studio. Notably, at different points of the analysis, I performed logistical regressions, using the *lrm* function provided in the *rms* package (Harrell & Hmisc 2017), and created conditional inference trees, run with the *party* and *randomForestSRC* packages in R Studio (Hothorn et al. 2015; Ishwaran et al. 2008). I will explain how and when I did these analyses in more detail in Chapter 6. For the analyses, 150 tokens of /s/ per speaker were taken for a total of 8250 tokens of syllable-final /s/. For referential grammatical gender, on the other hand, 2200 tokens of the variable were identified and recorded in a spreadsheet, with an average of around 40 tokens per speaker analyzed.

In gathering 8250 tokens of syllable-final /s/ and 2250 tokens of referential gram-

⁹"to be (impermanent)", "to be (permanent)", and "there to be"/"to have"

¹⁰"they want to live as men"

¹¹"as if they were prostitute women"

¹²"they want to be women"

matical gender, I was able to gather an extremely high number of tokens for each variable, given that studies on phonetic variation in Spanish typically include much fewer tokens than 8250, and studies on grammatical gender seem to always include less than 2200 tokens. Due to the very high number of tokens for each of these variables in my study, we can be confident that the results are at least as robust as has been previously demonstrated for these variables.

Since each speaker's discourse contained over a thousand tokens of syllable-final /s/, I selected tokens of syllable-final /s/ randomly to increase the likelihood that the tokens of syllable-final /s/ extracted would be representative of syllable-final /s/ in the entire sample. I did this by initially exporting all instances of transcribed <s> and <z> per speaker onto an Excel spreadsheet. This usually yielded over one thousand tokens per speaker. Then I assigned a random number between one and a few thousand to each row and resorted the rows by number. This created a random order for the tokens. I subsequently read through the remaining tokens, eliminating tokens that were intervocalic or otherwise syllable-initial and creating duplicate rows for cells that contained more than one case of syllable-final /s/. I deleted the remaining rows after reaching 150 tokens of syllable-final /s/ and used the resulting table to code for realization (of the linguistic variable) and the linguistic and social factors.

I selected tokens of referential grammatical gender by beginning to read my transcript for each speaker at the point of the transcript where we began talking about muxes. On the one hand, this ensured I was able to find tokens corresponding to each gender identity in Juchitán, as muxes are otherwise less often mentioned than women and men in typical discourse. On the other hand, representativeness was less of an issue for this variable, as each interview contained, on average, around 80 tokens of referential grammatical gender for muxes. I initially extracted 70 tokens per speaker

Factor	Example
Specificity Specific General	los muxes nacieron ... conozco a <i>varios</i> <i>los</i> muxes nacieron ... conozco a <i>varios</i>
Change in Referent Novel Given(mention 2) Given(other)	mi <i>amiga Alejandra</i> es muy reconocida aquí ... es muy trabajadora mi amiga Alejandra es muy <i>reconocida</i> aquí ... es muy trabajadora mi amiga Alejandra es muy reconocida aquí ... es muy <i>trabajadora</i>
Morphological status Natural Noun Other Noun Adjective Determinant Article Pronoun	∅ se viste como <i>hombre</i> / ∅ era la <i>reina</i> ∅ es <i>niña</i> / ∅ es su <i>hijo</i> ∅ está <i>contenta</i> / el muxe <i>precario</i> <i>aquella</i> muxe / <i>este</i> muxe <i>el</i> muxe / <i>una</i> muxe <i>nosotras</i> somos muxes / <i>lo</i> discriminan
Grammatical Gender (Controller) Masculine Feminine Indeterminate	los <i>chicos</i> las <i>chicas</i> las <i>muxes</i> / ∅ están felices
Grammatical Number (Controller) Singular Plural Indeterminate	la <i>muxe</i> las <i>muxes</i> ∅ están felices
Grammatical Number (Target) Masculine Feminine	<i>los</i> muxes <i>las</i> muxes
Grammatical Number (Target) Singular Plural	<i>el</i> muxe <i>los</i> muxes
Distribution Adjacent Non-Adjacent Implicit	<i>los</i> muxes los muxes son <i>discriminados</i> ∅ son <i>discriminados</i>
Noun Phrase Function Subject Direct Object Object of a Preposition Predicative Counterfactual	<i>los</i> muxes son discriminados <i>lo</i> discriminan para <i>las</i> muxes / a <i>ella</i> le admiro los muxes son <i>discriminados</i> / ∅ son <i>los</i> muxes se viste como <i>hombre</i> / finge ser <i>mujer</i>

Table 5.2: Linguistic Factors Studied for Referential Grammatical Gender with Examples of Each Provided in Italics

because I assumed I would eventually substantially reduce the variable context for this variable. To see how and why I did this, consult Section 5.6.

5.5 Exclusions for Syllable-final /s/ and Grammatical Gender

As I began coding data, I initially included three variants of syllable-final /s/, namely [s], [h], and \emptyset . After running a few preliminary analyses on variation for the first three speakers, however, I realized that the linguistic factors that caused [h] and \emptyset to appear were identical, suggesting that both variants could be considered a single variant, which I subsequently grouped into one category referred to as reduction. In contexts (like Juchitán) where syllable-final /s/ is usually retained, it is typical for aspiration and elision to be subject to the same constraints. As such, much of the previous research on such contexts treats the two variants as one (i.e., (Aaron & Hernandez 2007; Brown, Gradoville, et al. 2014)). This stands in contrast to contexts where reduction is more common, where aspiration and elision are typically subject to different constraints and are worth treating as separate variants (i.e., (Colina 2018; Pérez 2007)).

In the next few paragraphs, I will explain which cases were excluded from the final analyses for the variable, syllable-final /s/. In cases in which /s/ was followed by another [s], it was impossible to decide whether /s/ was retained or deleted, so such cases needed to be excluded. There was some variation between [s] and \emptyset production at the end of the second-person singular preterite verb forms (i.e., *comiste* vs. *comistes* (you ate)) and the end of the word *quizá* (perhaps), which was sometimes realized as *quizás*. However, in both cases, this variation occurs due to different mechanisms than /s/ deletion. On the one hand, *quizá* and *quizás* are both considered standard lexical forms, with *quizás* being a more innovative form that may have come about through hypercorrection.

On the other hand, second-person singular preterite forms end in /ste/ normatively. However, there exists a relatively innovative and non-standard variant that ends in /stes/, ostensibly due to hypercorrection (Barnes 2012). As shown above, lexicalized hypercorrection in the past seemingly explains variation between two forms of a word for "perhaps" in Spanish (*quizá* and *quizás*). Since the mechanism behind variation in these cases seems to be hypercorrection, these items were excluded from the analysis. Other cases in which hypercorrection could explain variation in /s/ retention

were excluded, such as speakers who referred to the 1980s as *los ochentas* instead of *los ochenta*.

There were also rare cases in which /s/ occurred after a consonant. This occurred when the word *trans* (trans) was used, as well as occasionally when the entire plural marking of /es/ was deleted, *pues* (well) was reduced to [ps], and *istmo* (Isthmus) was pronounced [itsmo]. In these cases, /s/ was invariably either retained or reduced even though the previous phonetic context was not a vowel, as would be necessary in most Spanish varieties. Because of the rare preceding phonetic context in these cases, it would also be expected that /s/ variation would behave very differently than in other contexts, even if it did occur, so it was better to exclude such cases for this analysis.

Furthermore, in certain cases, the section of the word containing the /s/ was inaudible due to overlapping laughter, bad audio quality in that section, or surrounding noise, so these tokens needed to be excluded. Code switches into Zapotec were rare in general but sometimes did occur immediately following a syllable-final /s/. In such cases, it was hard to know if the following phonetic context was relevant in the same way that it would be for a Spanish word since Isthmus Zapotec appears to lack syllable-final /s/ completely (Pickett et al. 1998). Assuming that constraints before code switches into Zapotec would be completely different from those before Spanish stretches of discourse, I decided to exclude these (handful of) tokens.

Finally, there were cases in which it was not possible to figure out whether the /s/ in question was syllable-final, whether it occurred in a stressed syllable, or which following phonetic context was targeted by the speaker. For instance, /s/ that occurs before a vowel (except in word-final position) is likely to be assigned to the following syllable (and therefore be syllable-initial rather than syllable-final) to promote the creation of open syllables. Even if such cases of /s/ were syllable-final, it would be hard to prove this, so I decided to exclude cases like these.

In cases where /s/ occurred within a word that the speaker did not finish uttering due to an interruption or repair, it was not possible to be sure of where the word stress was. Since word stress could not be used as a linguistic factor in those cases, I excluded these tokens from the analysis. In some cases, there were speaker errors in the following phonetic context, and in other cases, a speaker stuttered a word containing a syllable-final /s/. In these cases, it was difficult to know what following phonetic context was being targeted by the speaker, so I excluded these cases as well. In stuttered

speech, I included the /s/ only if it occurred at the end of the stuttered segment (and therefore the targeted following phonetic context was clear).

With regard to referential grammatical gender, there is very little that was excluded from the analysis. To start, I should mention that I excluded a few tokens in which the grammatical gender of the target could not be determined because of how the word was pronounced. Often a reduced vowel was the culprit here. I also excluded lexical items as targets that had indeterminate grammatical gender, most notably the noun *muxe*. To determine the gender of these words, I would have to look at the controller or other targets present, which would have required circular reasoning. Furthermore, although I also included most gendered nouns that refer to people in the analysis, I excluded ones that have a non-gendered lexical meaning. For example, although *persona* (person) is feminine in grammatical gender, it has a non-gendered lexical meaning, so it did not make sense to treat this lexical item as a marker of referential grammatical gender for my analysis.

Since variation in grammatical gender markings is typically linked to *muxe* speakers and lower competence levels in Spanish, I expected a large number of speakers to be excluded from variationist analysis for this variable. As expected, Zapotec-dominant speakers' speech had less gender agreement than other speakers and male-identified speakers used masculine grammatical gender to refer to *muxes* often. However, Zapotec-dominant speakers' speech was generally still categorized by very high levels of gender agreement, and other speakers used gender agreement almost categorically.

For the Zapotec-dominant speaker with the lowest level of Spanish competence, rates of gender agreement were about 80%, whereas rates of gender agreement for the other Zapotec-dominant speakers were generally higher than 95%. Therefore, the variable of (dis)agreement was not suitable for a variationist analysis, even for speakers with higher Zapotec than Spanish competence. This is, rather, a case of a variable being highly salient, despite its infrequency. This led me to choose gender assignment as my only gender-related variable for the thesis.

5.6 Other Considerations in the Analysis of Gender Assignment

Gender assignment, as expected, only varied frequently for muxe and gay-identified referents. Therefore, I only included muxe/gay referents in the analysis for this variable. I made this decision after I had already taken tokens from the speech of eight speakers. After deciding to only look at muxe/gay referents, I removed all tokens for non-muxe referents from my small sample. Then, I added a few extra tokens from some speakers to ensure I had at least 40 tokens per speaker. I did this by continuing to extract tokens for these speakers from where I had previously stopped.

As I continued coding, I noticed some speakers had fewer than 40 tokens marked for grammatical gender that referred to muxe/gay referents. To compensate for a lack of tokens for some speakers, I took additional tokens from the first few speakers who I noticed using gender-marked lexical items for muxe/gay referents often in their discourse. Therefore, the number of tokens per speaker averaged 40, even though it was not equal to 40 in all cases. To ensure I took tokens only from discourse on muxe/gay referents, I searched for the word *muxe* in each ELAN transcription and began reading the transcript at this point, skipping to other sections about muxes when the topic changed. Then, I extracted approximately 40 tokens with a lexical item that acted as a target or expressed natural gender through its semantic meaning and grammatical gender (i.e., *mujer* (woman), *hombre* (man)) and referred to one or more muxe/gay-identified people.

I included all the aforementioned (in Section 5.4) linguistic factors for grammatical gender, plus a few others that, based on the anthropological literature and my own ethnographic observations, seemed like they could be significant for gender assignment specifically. These social factors were "muxe subgroup", "age of the referent", and "relationship between the interlocutor and referent". In the following paragraphs, I will explain how I coded these factors and why they were included. "Muxe subgroup" was coded as "muxe gunaa", "muxe nguiu", "gay", and "other/unknown label", based on the labels/identities taken on by different muxes in Juchitán. "Gay" referred only to speakers who identify as gay and eschew the muxe label. I coded the referent as "other/unknown label" when the muxe referred to did not identify with any of the other labels and in the frequent cases where the subgroup the referent belonged to was impossible to determine from the context.

"Age of the referent" was coded as either "adult/unknown", "young", or "child". "Adult" and "unknown" were grouped together because, when an unknown group of muxes is talked about, they are assumed to be adults in the local context. Since muxes are biologically male and take on a muxe identity as they mature, I expected younger referents to be referred to in the masculine more frequently. Research on hijras and travestis, similar so-called "third gender" groups, has tended to show that these speakers use masculine forms to refer to themselves and other community members as children (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Hall & O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997). I expected to see the same patterns of use amongst muxe speakers and, correspondingly, that non-muxes would also follow this pattern of use.

"Relationship between the interlocutor and referent" was initially coded as "same person", "friend", "relative", "acquaintance of different gender", and "acquaintance of the same gender". I chose this variable because, in previous research, so-called "third gender" groups have been shown to use feminine forms more often when referring to themselves and their friends (Barbosa 2016; Hall & O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997). Relatedly, in parts of Latin America, gay men, and travestis use feminine forms in informal contexts when talking to their friends, expressing, among other social meanings, solidarity, closeness, and playfulness (Bengoechea 2015; Borba & Ostermann 2008; Eller 2013; Gagné & Rodríguez 2006; Kulick 1997; Vacarezza 2018; Vargas Cervantes 2014). Therefore, one might expect to see femininity used to express solidarity, closeness, or playfulness in Juchitán as well. Furthermore, I observed, through looking through past research and making my own observations, that kinship terms for muxes are almost always used in the masculine, so I wanted to see if merely talking about family members increased the use of masculine forms.

To prevent collinearity in the logistical regression and address the related concern that "acquaintance of different gender" and "acquaintance of the same gender" were actually better measured by speaker gender identity, I ended up recoding this variable into two separate variables. The first of these variables was "Relationship: family member" with the possibility of being coded as either "yes" or "no". The second of these variables combined "same person" and "friend" together (as both conditioned the use of feminine assignment equally often) into "Relationship: friend/self", which could be coded as either "yes" or "no". When I recoded the variable this way, all collinearities disappeared, and I arrived at valid and interesting results for both of the studied

linguistic variables.

In this chapter, I have explained which internal and external factors I used for my study of both sociolinguistic variables and how these constraints were coded into different categories. Having explained this, I will move on, in the next chapter, to how the statistical analysis was actually carried out. Subsequently, I will indicate, in detail, which of these internal and external factors showed statistically significant correlations with sociolinguistic variation over the whole data set.

Chapter 6

Results

6.1 Introducing the Results

In this chapter, I describe the analyses I ran with R Studio in order to end up with my final results for the effects of different social, linguistic, and ideological factors on syllable-final /s/ and grammatical gender. Whereas for syllable-final /s/, I make a distinction between social and linguistic factors, for gender assignment, I prefer to distinguish between "internal factors" and "external factors". The term "internal factors" is frequently used in variationist research to describe (mainly linguistic) factors that do not vary on a person-by-person basis, in contrast to those that vary on a person-by-person basis, which are often referred to as "external factors" (Medina-Rivera 2011; Moreno Fernández 2011; Schwenter 2011). Since many of the internal factors for gender assignment were more social than linguistic in terms of what they measure, I avoided using the term "linguistic factors" in this case. On the other hand, all of the internal factors for syllable-final /s/ were also linguistic factors, and all of the external factors for both variables were social, so in these cases, I used the terms "internal" and "linguistic" factor, as well as "external" and "social" factor, interchangeably.

While I sometimes ran logistical regressions with social and linguistic factors together, I generally ran models with the two types of factors separately, with mentioned ideologies run in the same regression model as both internal and external factors. On the one hand, mentioned ideologies are internal factors, like linguistic factors, but on the other hand, they are social in what they measure, so I almost always included mentioned ideologies in logical regressions with linguistic factors and also in logical regressions with social factors. That being said, I consistently report the results of mentioned ideologies on variation in a separate subsection for reasons of thematic coherence. Final results are all presented in tables within this chapter, whereas interpretations of the results are left for subsequent chapters.

For my final analyses, I ended up running separate models for social and linguistic factors. There is some controversy in the field of sociolinguistics as to whether social and linguistic factors should be run in the same model, and, as such, studies exist that follow each approach. In many theoretical texts from the early days of vari-

ationist research, it is argued, on the basis of empirical evidence, that linguistic factors do not interact with one another (Labov 1982a; Sankoff & Labov 1979; Weiner & Labov 1983) and, furthermore, that these linguistic and social factors do not interact with each other (Labov 1982a; Weiner & Labov 1983). Interactions do frequently seem to occur between social factors, however (Labov 1982a; Sankoff & Labov 1979; Weiner & Labov 1983), which led me, as described in Sections 6.3 and 6.6, to change some groupings of social factors to remove problematic interactions. On this basis, it should not matter very much whether linguistic factors and social factors are run in the same model or not, and some early research ran them separately because early programs could not deal with excessively large models (Weiner & Labov 1983). Furthermore, since social factors were shown to act primarily on surface patterns of variation (Weiner & Labov 1983), as compared to linguistic factors, the inclusion of such linguistic factors that more strongly influence variation patterns in the model could conceivably obscure the effects of social factors.

There is, however, also evidence that social factors can interact with linguistic factors, for instance in Poplack (1997), to such an extent that they sometimes even obscure the effects of the latter. In some early logistical regressions performed on my data, I noticed that some linguistic factors that were significant in divided models became non-significant in a mixed model, and vice versa. As such, to ensure I was capturing the full patterns of variation with both linguistic and social factors, I decided to run separate analyses for both types of factors. In the end, however, this problem disappeared, and it was possible to run both separate and mixed models for linguistic and social factors without changing the significance of the results. That said, I decided to keep the models separate for a purely mathematical reason, namely, when a logistic regression contains too many independent variables in the logistic regression, the model can become mathematically unstable, which leads to issues with the results, such as a decrease in their level of generalizability beyond the sample (Stoltzfus 2011). Perhaps for this reason, separate models were quicker and easier for R to compile, and the p-value for the intercept of the combined model for grammatical gender was non-significant, even though each of the separate models was highly statistically significant. In the end, I kept the models separate to avoid this mathematical issue.

Relatedly, I decided to remove factors that were definitely not going to be significant before performing the final logistic regression since, even within the separate models

for linguistic and social factors, I had many independent variables I wanted to test for significance. This was particularly important for social factors, since these factors often interact with one another (Labov 1982a; Sankoff & Labov 1979; Weiner & Labov 1983), leading these models to often have high levels of collinearity and covariance. High amounts of collinearity and covariance cause problems with the data, including but not limited to changing the regression coefficients, decreasing the model likelihood, and masking the heterogeneity of the sample (Becker, Ringle, et al. 2015), unless steps are taken to eliminate such issues. One way to do this is by removing factors that condition the same patterns of variation, specifically factors that are not significant or whose removal improves the model fit better than removing another factor. During this chapter, I will also describe how I went about identifying and removing these factors that were clearly not going to be useful in explaining variation in the final results.

6.2 Results for Syllable-final /s/: Linguistic Factors

In this section, I describe general findings regarding /s/ reduction in my sample, as well as the process of figuring out which linguistic factors were significantly correlated with /s/ reduction, before presenting the final results. As mentioned in Section 6.1, I ran separate analyses for linguistic and social factors. Although I included the mentioned ideologies that I coded for in the final logistic regressions for which results are presented in this section (with linguistic factors) and Section 6.3 (with social factors), I do not present these results until Section 6.4.

In the total sample of 8250 tokens (150 tokens taken from 55 speakers), /s/ was retained ([s]) in 7012 of them and reduced ([h] or \emptyset) in 1238 of them, corresponding to an 84.99% rate of /s/ retention for the whole sample. Typically, when deciding which variable to include in a sociolinguistic study, neither of the variants should be particularly rare, as rare variants, for lack of tokens, are very difficult to analyze statistically (Wolfram 1993b). However, although this rate of retention is quite high, it was still relatively straightforward to do a variationist analysis of the data. With such a large number of tokens, well above average for a variationist study of syllable-final /s/, it was quite easy to find significant and generalizable findings, despite the relatively high rate of retention. Since phonological variables, like syllable-final /s/, generally consist of frequently occurring "closed sets of units", they typically are good candidates, based

on frequency, for sociolinguistic analysis (Wolfram 1993b). Basically, in my sample, with a rate of 84.99/15.01% variation, the reduced variant is rare, but not rare enough, to cause a problem for the analysis, even when taking these concerns about frequency into account.

After running an initial logistic regression on data from the first 12 speakers, I found that word stress, following phonetic context, morphological status, and word position significantly predicted /s/ reduction in most models. Furthermore, following phonetic context was always significant. Therefore, I only included those linguistic factors for the subsequent analysis, removing all others from the data and no longer recording them when taking tokens from new speakers. As I continued coding, I periodically ran analyses to make sure my results were either becoming more significant or not radically changing in their degree of significance. This allowed me to ensure I was not making any errors in the data transcription and analysis.

Knowing that there was likely covariance between certain linguistic factors since certain morphological conditions are strongly or always associated with certain phonetic ones (i.e., *nosotros*-form /s/ is always also a case of post-tonic stressed /s/), I calculated the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) to ensure there was not too much collinearity for a successful analysis to be done. In R Studio, this test is run on a logistical regression that has already been done, using the *vif* function in the *car* package (Fox et al. 2007). When the results of this test are below 5 (or 10, depending on the account) (Marcoulides & Raykov 2019), it is often understood that the collinearity is not so high as to negatively impact the results of the logistical regression. When I calculated the *vif* for the final sample of 55 speakers, the coefficient was never larger than 2, indicating that, despite some degree of collinearity, the variables could be accounted for more or less independently in the logistical regression.

In the final logistic regression of /s/ reduction, I found the results presented in Table 6.1, where p-values are absent for the baseline values but present for all other subcategories of linguistic factors. Keep in mind that the logistic regression used to obtain these results also included cases of mentioned pro-Spanish language ideology and previous phonetic context, the latter of which was, by a wide margin, not statistically significant. In terms of following phonetic context, the most robust statistically significant differences out of all the linguistic variables were found. Stops were associated with a 93.56% rate of retention, vowels and pauses with an 88.98% rate of retention,

Factor	% Retention	Token #	P-value
Word Position			
Internal	96.35%	2085	<0.0001
Final	81.00%	6165	
Morphological Status			
Tu	89.00%	361	<0.0001
Lexical	89.19%	4376	
Nosotr@s	81.91%	293	0.1646
Plural	79.13%	3220	0.7025
Following Phonetic Context			
Stop	93.56%	3338	<0.0001
Vowel/Pause	88.98%	3014	<0.0001
Other Consonant	68.57%	1575	
/r/ & /l/	39.00%	323	<0.0001
Word Stress			
Pre-tonic	94.88%	2342	0.0394
One-Syllable	83.72%	2771	
Post-tonic	78.74%	3137	<0.0001

Table 6.1: Results of an lrm-run logistical regression analysis of /s/ retention across linguistic factors in the Spanish of Juchitán, Mexico

and most other consonants with a 68.57% rate of retention. The consonants [r] and [l] on the other hand were associated with a very low 39.00% rate of retention, making this condition the only one in the whole sample in which reduction, rather than retention, was most common.

The subcategories of this variable were determined, as explained in Section 5.4, by looking at phonetic similarities and doing different analyses in R studio with a sub-sample of the data. Looking at the crosstabs and doing both logistical regressions and conditional inference trees, it could be determined that voiceless stops, vowels, pauses, [r] and [l], and other consonants were forming groups that conditioned /s/ retention or reduction at highly different rates. In the final analysis, the difference between vowels and pauses was highly non-significant, and grouping them together improved the model, so the final logistical regression was run with the following categories: voiceless stops, vowels/pauses, [r]/[l], and other consonants.

In terms of word position, it was unsurprisingly found that internal /s/ was associated with a very high rate of retention (96.35%), whereas final /s/ was only associated with retention in 81.00% of cases. Regarding morphological status, lexical /s/ and second person singular verbal /s/ (*tú* forms of verbs) were associated with retention at similar but statistically significantly different rates, 89.19% and 89.00%, respectively.

First person plural verbal /s/ (*nosotr@s* forms of verbs) and plural /s/ were less frequently associated with /s/ retention, but the difference was, surprisingly, not statistically significantly different from the much larger rate of retention for lexical /s/. This paradoxical finding will be explained in Section 7.1.

Finally, regarding word stress, pre-tonic /s/ was retained very frequently, in 94.88% of cases, at a barely statistically significantly higher rate than in one-syllable words where /s/ was retained in 83.72% of cases. The pre-tonic category is composed of stressed syllables and unstressed syllables before a stressed syllable because these groups behaved statistically significantly similarly, and grouping them together improved the model. Post-tonic /s/ was retained least frequently, in 78.74% of cases. For further discussion on my interpretations of these findings, see Section 7.1.

6.3 Results for Syllable-final /s/: Social Factors

In terms of social factors, I initially coded for gender identity, self-reported language competence, age, and two proxies for class, occupation, and region of residence. To test for the effects of mobility, I added three variables: the amount of time spent living outside of Juchitán, whether the participant was born in Juchitán or elsewhere, and whether the participant had lived in an /s/ reducing region. As previously clarified, mentioned ideologies were also included in the logistical regressions run for these social factors.

As with linguistic factors, I ran a preliminary analysis with a subsample, in this case 30 speakers instead of 12, since most social factors need more speakers for statistical significance to emerge. After this analysis, I periodically did other analyses with new speakers to ensure the p-values and patterns of variation did not radically change, which could have pointed to an error in coding. By the final analysis, I found that birthplace and region were not significant predictors of variation, as other factors seemed to lead to patterns of variation associated with these two social factors in larger samples of speakers.

Once I had all 55 of the speakers transcribed, I ran a logistical regression with all of my variables. Age was initially treated as a continuous variable, but, to make the model more understandable, I separated age into three discrete variables. Rather than use census data, or another bibliographical source, to do this, I used the conditional

inference trees shown in Figure 6.1 to determine which age groups corresponded with different rates of /s/ retention. I then recoded speakers into these age groups and used these age groups as my independent variable. The age groups were "younger than 27 years of age", "27 to 61 years of age", and "above 62 years of age". It is preferable to use conditional inference trees here rather than relying on an outside source so that the categories came directly from my data, rather than some other researchers' idea, which may only be suitable for their study, of what age groups are important in Juchitán.

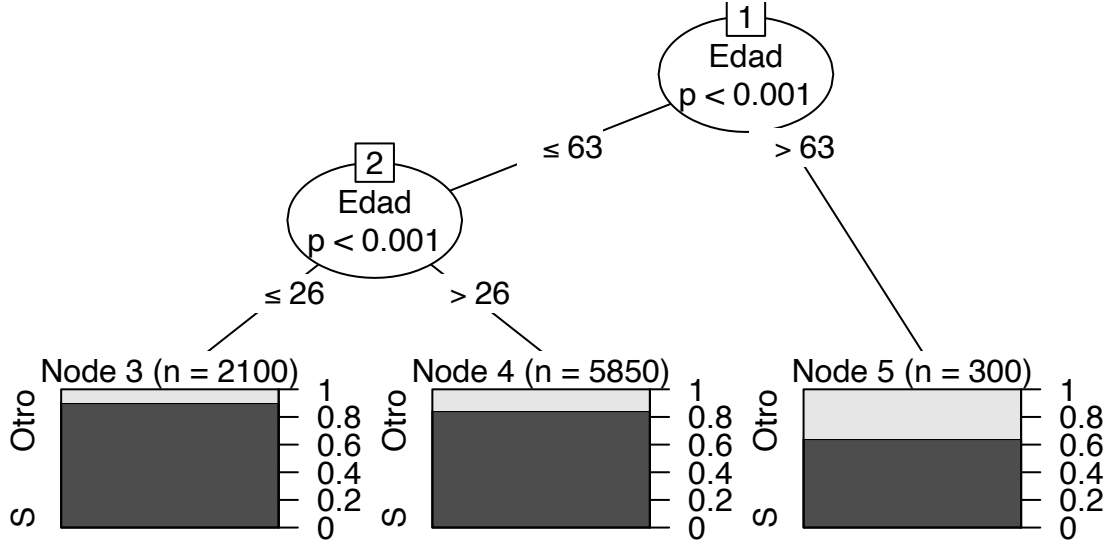


Figure 6.1: Conditional Inference Trees Used to Regroup the Continuous Variable of Age into Three Age Groups

There was a great deal of collinearity between "occupation" and some of the other social factors that I eliminated by regrouping some of the subcategories for some of the social factors together. I justified these regroupings based on results from a conditional inference tree run with all social factors on the entirety of the data, as long as these suggested regroupings were necessary to remove the collinearity and also theoretically justifiable. After the collinearity was removed, I regrouped a few remaining categories together because it improved the model fit.

In the end, I grouped all occupations into either a category for students and so-called "public sector" jobs or a category for other jobs, less connected to high status or education. This change fits well with patterns in the data and was also not theoretically problematic, as all the jobs in each category require similar levels of education and imply a similar social class background. For gender, I regrouped female

and muxe gunaa speakers into a "more feminine" group and all other speakers into a "more masculine" group. With regards to perceived language competence, the speakers who spoke monolingual Spanish, the balanced bilinguals, and the bilinguals who were slightly dominant in Spanish, retained /s/ at statistically insignificantly different rates and were grouped together as having "high Spanish competence".

The social factor, "time spent "abroad", was practically unchanged because almost none of the potential regroupings made theoretical sense, and regrouping was also not necessary to remove collinearities or otherwise to make the model better. I did, however, recode "various" years into the "5+" category, as the speakers who had lived "various" years abroad behaved like those in the "5+" category, leading me to believe that these speakers, to a large extent, had also lived about 5 years or more outside of Juchitán. Having only two possible values, "time spent in an /s/ reducing region" was not recoded at all. No further recoding for "age" was performed either. After making these grouping changes, I performed a final logistic regression for social factors and /s/ reduction. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 6.2.

Factor	% Retention	Token #	P-value
Occupation			
Education/Government	89.11%	2700	0.0125
Other	83.00%	5550	
Gender			
More Masculine	86.30%	5116	0.0289
More Feminine	82.87%	3134	
Language Competence			
High Spanish Competence	88.02%	5850	0.0150
Almost Zapotec Speaking	81.33%	900	
More Zapotec Speaking	75.40%	1500	0.0004
Age			
<27	90.05%	2100	0.0002
27-61	84.16%	5700	
62+	72.00%	450	0.0874
Time spent "abroad"			
Currently	91.60%	750	0.7550
2-4 years	89.00%	900	
5+ years	84.00%	4050	0.0105
<2 years	83.22%	2550	0.0364
Time spent in /s/ reducing region			
Yes	82.81%	1350	<0.0001
No	85.42%	6900	

Table 6.2: Results of an lrm-run logistical regression analysis of /s/ retention across social factors in the Spanish of Juchitán, Mexico

To summarize the findings, starting with some findings that are expected, speakers who were students or involved in "public sector" jobs retained /s/ in a high 89.11% of possible reduction contexts, whereas speakers with other jobs retained /s/ at a lower rate of 83.00%. Even less surprisingly, speakers who had lived in an /s/ reducing region, where they would have been in close contact with /s/ reducing speakers, retained /s/ at a rate of 82.81%, slightly but statistically significantly less often than speakers who had not lived in such a region, who reduced /s/ at a rate of 85.42%. Relatedly, regarding time spent "abroad", speakers who were currently living outside of Juchitán and therefore probably living in /s/-retaining regions retained /s/ quite frequently, at a rate of 91.60%, whereas those who had lived outside of Juchitán for less than two years retained /s/ the least often, at a rate of only 83.22%.

Somewhat surprisingly, those who had lived outside of Juchitán for two to four years retained /s/ at a rate of 89.00%, higher than the rate of 84.00% at which /s/ was retained amongst people who had lived outside of Juchitán for more than five years, possibly due to a correlation between spending more than four years outside of Juchitán and age. The findings for perceived language competence, like for time spent "abroad", were also largely unsurprising, with one unexpected outlier. The speakers with high Spanish competence retained /s/ relatively frequently, in 88.02% of cases, whereas those who spoke more Zapotec retained /s/ much less often, in 75.40% of cases. Unexpectedly, speakers who spoke much less Zapotec than Spanish, but either said they were learning it or used to speak it, retained /s/ in 81.33% of cases, at an intermediate rate between the two other groups. At first glance, this does not seem surprising, however, the speakers who spoke much less Zapotec than Spanish speak Zapotec worse than many of the speakers in the high Spanish competence group. The high Spanish competence group included monolingual speakers of Spanish, but also balanced bilinguals in Spanish & Zapotec and fluent speakers of both languages who spoke Spanish slightly better than Zapotec. One might have expected the fluent Zapotec speakers in this group to also retain /s/ at intermediate rates, but instead, only those highly competent Spanish speakers who speak much less Zapotec than Spanish retained /s/ at intermediate rates.

In addition to the aforementioned somewhat surprising findings, some very unexpected findings emerged as well. Most surprisingly, "more masculine" speakers retained /s/ at an 86.30% rate, slightly but statistically significantly higher than "more

feminine" speakers, who retained /s/ at an 82.87% rate. Slightly less unexpected, but still somewhat surprising, was the finding that younger speakers retained /s/ more frequently than older speakers. The speakers over 62 years old retained /s/ at a relatively low rate of 75.40%, whereas the speakers between 27 and 61 years of age retained /s/ at a close to the average (avg=84.99%) rate of 84.16%, and speakers under 27 years of age retained /s/ at a quite high rate of 90.05%. Explanations for these results, and all others, can be found in Chapter 7.

6.4 Results for Syllable-final /s/: Mentioned Ideology

To figure out to what extent mentioned ideologies influenced variation in syllable-final /s/, I ran two sets of logistic regressions that included the 4 mentioned gender ideologies and 3 mentioned language ideologies that I initially coded for, namely a set of logistic regressions with all linguistic factors and another with all social factors. I wanted to run an analysis with mentioned ideologies and linguistic factors because mentioned ideology behaves like an internal factor, as it requires a lower number of speakers than other social factors for the analysis to work, and therefore is, in some ways, more similar to a linguistic factor than a social factor. On the other hand, mentioned ideologies are also social factors, so I also wanted to run logistical regressions where mentioned ideologies were included with social factors.

After coding the linguistic, social, and ideological factors for 12 speakers, I performed both preliminary logistical regressions and found that only one mentioned language ideology, mentioned pro-Spanish ideology, and one mentioned gender ideology, machista ideology, showed any promise of being significant. Specifically, in this analysis, mentioned pro-Spanish language ideology was significant, and mentioned machista gender ideology was potentially statistically significantly linked to variation. In both logistical regressions, both mentioned ideologies approached statistical significance, whereas the others were highly non-significant. As such, I removed these other mentioned ideologies for use in further logistical regressions. I found, furthermore, in separate logistical regressions that looked at the effect of mentioned ideologies and either social or linguistic factors on variation for only 8 of these speakers, that machista gender ideology was a statistically significant factor.

However, as I coded more speakers, the significance of mentioned machista gender

ideology disappeared. Intrigued by why a significant relationship seemingly disappeared as I coded more speakers, I decided to look at details of the speaker group in which mentioned machista gender ideology approached statistical significance. It turned out that a disproportionate amount of the first 12 speakers that I coded were feminine, meaning identified as muxe without a label, muxe gunaa, or women, and Zapotec speaking, in other words, Zapotec-dominant speakers, balanced bilinguals, or Spanish-dominant bilinguals. In short, these speakers were muxes without a label, muxe gunaa, and women who said they spoke Zapotec fluently. Impressionistically, when looking at rates of /s/ retention within machista and non-machista discourse, these speakers seemed to be largely responsible for the observed relationship between mentioned machista gender ideology and /s/ retention. Therefore, I decided to code mentioned machista ideology for all speakers matching these characteristics, namely every person who said they spoke fluent Zapotec and were either women, muxe gunaa, or muxes without a label in terms of gender identity. Within this subsample of 11 speakers, mentioned machista ideology significantly predicted lower rates of /s/ retention. These results are presented in Table 6.3. I used a logistical regression for other linguistic factors, like the one described in Section 6.3, to create this table as well.

Factor	% Retention	Token #	P-value
Machista	88.37%	215	0.0021
Other	77.85%	1735	

Table 6.3: Results of an lrm-run logistical regression analysis of /s/ retention for mentioned machista ideology in the Spanish of Juchitán, Mexico

As can be observed in the table, for this subsample, statements that were marked as expressing a machista gender ideology retained /s/ at a rate of 88.37%, which is markedly more than other statements they made, in which /s/ was retained at a rate of 77.85%. Since other statements made up the majority of their discourse, they notably shifted from their typical patterns of /s/ reduction when making machista statements, reducing at rates more similar to Spanish-dominant men. Remember that men retained /s/ in 86.30% of cases and, for most speakers with a high level of competence in Spanish, in 88.02% of cases, both of which are similar values as those observed for so-called "machista" statements in this subsample.

An illustrative example of this shifting can be seen in the discourse of a 30-year-old muxe gunaa participant. When talking about the rejection of muxes by their families

in other parts of Mexico and in Juchitán, she said "aquí e[s] lo mi[s]mo"¹ and explained "porque hay papá[s] que no lo aceptan"², retaining /s/ exclusively for these statements that were coded for mentioned machista ideology. However, when talking about another topic, she began to reduce /s/ more often. For instance, when talking about foreign documentary makers in Juchitán, she said "pue[s] ayudaba yo la[] la[] persona[s] que venían de fuera y y le[] mo[s]traba"³, reducing /s/ on a few plural markers. I interpret the social meaning of this switching in rates of /s/-reduction between mentioned machista ideologies and other statements in Section 7.3.

In contrast to mentioned machista ideology, as I coded further speakers and ran subsequent logistical regressions, mentioned pro-Spanish language ideology emerged as highly significant, as shown in Table 6.4. Note that the logistical regression used to obtain these results is identical to the one that included all other significant linguistic factors that were presented in Section 6.3⁴.

Factor	% Retention	Token #	P-value
Pro-Spanish	89.74%	536	0.0037
Other	84.66%	7714	

Table 6.4: Results of an lrm-run logistical regression analysis of /s/ retention for mentioned pro-Spanish ideologies in the Spanish of Juchitán, Mexico

As can be observed in this table, for the entire sample of 55 speakers, statements that were rated as expressing a pro-Spanish language ideology tended to have retained /s/ in 89.74% of cases, whereas other statements tended to contain retained /s/ somewhat less frequently, in only 84.66% of cases. These other cases corresponded to the majority of discourse in the sample. For an example of this phenomena, consider a 58-year-old female participant who talked about the use of Zapotec in comments coded for mentioned pro-Spanish language ideology, saying "e[s] que nadie ... donde e[s]tan ... no lo hablan"⁵ and "a vece[s] no querian"⁶ speak Zapotec, retaining /s/ in all cases. Later, this same participant, when talking about different topics, began reducing /s/, saying for example "pue[s] hacemo[] los totopo[s]"⁷. Multiple similar examples can be

¹here it is the same

²because there are parents that don't accept it

³well I would help the the people who came from outside and and I would show them

⁴It is also important to mention that, in the logistical regression including linguistic factors in Section 6.2, this mentioned ideology was also statistically significant, and in neither analysis were there problematic collinearities with other factors.

⁵it's just that nobody ... where they are ... they don't speak it

⁶sometimes they didn't want to

⁷well we make totopos

found in the data, creating this tendency for pro-Spanish mentioned ideologies to be delineated from other parts of the discourse through a greater use of [s].

This evidence indicates that, when people mention pro-Spanish language ideology, they change their typical discourse patterns, reducing /s/ at rates most similar to those of Spanish-dominant individuals, speakers with high-status jobs, and speakers currently living outside of Juchitán, all groups that are ideologically associated with the pro-Spanish ideology. Keep in mind that Spanish-dominant speakers retained /s/ at a rate of 88.02%, speakers in education or government-related functions retained /s/ at a rate of 89.11%, and speakers currently living outside of Juchitán retained /s/ at a rate of 91.60%. These rates are more comparable with the rate of retained /s/ in pro-Spanish statements than the average rate of 84.99%, which in turn is comparable to the percent of retention in non-"pro-Spanish discourse".

6.5 Results for Referential Grammatical Gender: Internal Non-Ideological Factors

In this section, I describe general findings regarding gender assignment in the sample, as well as the process of figuring out which internal factors were significantly correlated with this understudied variable, before presenting the final results. As for syllable-final /s/ reduction, I ran separate analyses for internal and external factors, with mentioned ideologies included in the same analysis as the other internal factors. Out of a total of 2200 tokens in the total sample (approximately 40 tokens taken per speaker from all 55 speakers), 30.73% had a feminine gender assignment, whereas the remaining 69.27% had a masculine gender assignment, indicating that muxes are usually referred to with masculine gender markings. This corresponded respectively to 1524 tokens with masculine reference and 676 tokens with feminine reference. That being said, the difference between rates of masculine and feminine reference with respect to different linguistic and social factors was very large, with some factors strongly conditioning feminine gender assignment.

However, as I was coding and running logistical regressions on the data, it became clear that many internal factors, particularly many of those that were associated with gender (dis)agreement, were not statistically significant predictors of gender assignment, and leaving them out did not decrease the model's quality. Surprisingly, both

seriality and specificity fit into this category and were not included in the final analysis. Even more surprisingly, as the existence of a "generic masculine" in Spanish might otherwise seem like a plausible explanation for the greater use of masculine reference when talking about muxes, grammatical number of both controllers and targets was not correlated with variation in gender assignment and left out of the final analysis.

Less surprisingly, the gender of controllers was not associated with feminine or masculine gender assignment, probably because the gender of controllers itself varied greatly and because other factors like referent gender identity better and more consistently explained gender assignment. Furthermore, "age of referent" was non-significant and removed from the analysis, even though a difference was expected based on past anthropological research, perhaps also because other factors, such as gender identity and whether the referent is described as a family member or close to the speaker, better explain any differences. "Morphological status" also did not play any role in explaining variation in gender assignment. Implications of these non-significant results will be discussed in Section 8.2.

Some internal recoding of the factors, "distribution" and "noun phrase function", was performed to improve the model fit in cases where potential values for these factors were not statistically distinguishable from one another. For a reminder of how these factors were coded and examples of what they refer to, consult Section 5.4. For "distribution", for instance, "non-adjacent" and "implicit" controllers were coded together because they were statistically the same, and, in any case, "implicit controller" could be understood as a subcategory of non-adjacent controllers. Regarding "noun phrase function", there was no statistical difference between rates of gender assignment for values coded as "direct object", "predicative", or "object of a preposition". These three values were therefore coded together as "object". After removing the factors that were non-significant and unnecessary to the model and after performing recodings of these two other variables, I found the following results in the final logistical regression, shown in Table 6.5.

In the following paragraphs, I provide a quick overview of these findings, which I will interpret in greater detail in Sections 7.4 and 7.5. In cases where the referent was described in their function as a family member of either the speaker or some other individual, feminine gender assignment was fairly rare, occurring in only 13.19% of cases. In other cases, rates of feminine reference (at 31.48%) were close to the aver-

Factor	% Feminine	Token #	P-value
Is the referent described as a family member?			
Yes	13.19%	12	0.0052
No	31.48%	664	
Is the referent a friend of the speaker? (or the speaker themselves)			
Yes	50.95%	134	<0.0001
No	27.98%	542	
Distribution			
Non-Adjacent	31.06%	474	<0.0001
Adjacent	29.97%	202	
Noun Phrase Function			
Counterfactual	68.32%	110	<0.0001
Object	30.05%	381	
Subject	23.99%	185	0.0095
Is the referent a muxee gunaa?			
Yes	82.58%	218	<0.0001
No	23.66%	458	
Is the referent a gay man? (not muxee-identified)			
Yes	5.23%	8	<0.0001
No	32.63%	668	

Table 6.5: Linguistic Factors and Rates of Feminine Gender Assignment

age (30.73%). On the other hand, when the referent was a friend of the speaker or the speaker themselves, feminine gender was slightly favored at a rate of 50.95%. In other cases, feminine gender was disfavored at a rate of 27.98%. The meanings and implications of this use of grammatical gender, seemingly to mark different kinds of relationships, will frequently be explored in later sections of the thesis.

Perhaps due to discourse-level factors, there was a small, but significant, difference in gender assignment rates related to distribution. Specifically, adjacent pairs of controllers and targets were linked to a 29.97% rate of feminine gender assignment, whereas non-adjacent pairs, including implicit controllers, were linked to a 31.06% rate of feminine gender assignment. Furthermore, noun phrases in the object position were linked to a near-average 30.05% rate of feminine gender assignment, whereas the rate decreased to 23.99% for noun phrases in the subject position. Noun phrases coded as "counterfactual", however, had to high rates of feminine gender assignment (68.32%). It is important to remember from Section 5.4 that, in "counterfactual" noun phrases, the gender of the lexical item expresses the referent's similarity to that corresponding gender, rather than expressing the referent's actual gender (see Table 5.2 in Section 5.4

for examples). Thus, in "counterfactual" noun phrases, muxes are being compared to feminine-assigned people in 68.32% of cases and compared to masculine-assigned people in the remaining 31.68% of cases. In these cases, the high rate of feminine gender assignment corresponds to statements that point out muxes' femininity without fully naturalizing it. In these noun phrases, muxes are presented as being "like" feminine people without fully being feminine people.

Furthermore, the gender identification preferred by referents also seemed to exert a large influence on the selection of feminine or masculine forms, even for feminine-identified referents. Referents who were clearly muxe gunaa were very frequently referred to with feminine gender markers, in 82.58% of cases, as opposed to a rate of 23.66% for other referents. On the other hand, gay male-identified referents, who do not identify as muxes, were extremely rarely referred to with feminine forms, in only 5.23% of cases, as opposed to other referents, for whom feminine reference was used 32.63% of the time. Thus, the actual gender identity of the referent seemed to play a decisive role in how Juchitec@s used grammatical gender to refer to these people.

6.6 Results for Referential Grammatical Gender: External Factors

In this section, I explain which social factors were used in the final logistical regression and also provide the results regarding how these factors are correlated with the use of feminine gender assignment. The categories used for each social factor, in the final analysis, were: speaker gender (woman, muxe nguiiu, muxe Gunaa, other muxe, and man), speaker age (26 years old or younger and 27 years old or older), time spent living "abroad" by the speaker (less than 4 years and more than 4 years), language competence (more Zapotec, balanced bilingual, more Spanish than Zapotec and only Spanish), and whether or not the speaker is a student or employed in a high-status formal sector job. This implies that, as was the case of syllable-final /s/ and the internal factors for grammatical gender, quite a few factors and levels of factors were dropped from the final analysis.

As with the other analyses, I recoded "region" as "high" or "low", but I took the factor out of the model early due to its clear lack of significance (very high p-value) and collinearity with other significant factors. I also found the same for birth in or outside of Juchitán ("abroad") and removed this factor before the final analysis. Based

on conditional inference tree results and collinearity with "occupation" and other social factors, it also made sense to regroup the categories for time spent living "abroad" into only two categories: less than 4 years and more than 4 years.

For the final logistical regression, I grouped all occupations into either a category for students, so-called "public sector" jobs, and other well-paying jobs in the formal sector, or a category for other jobs that imply lower pay. This decision made sense based on the patterning of the data, as there was a high degree of collinearity between "occupation" and some of the other social factors that needed to be eliminated. Furthermore, unlike with syllable-final /s/, the conditional inference tree I ran on the data suggested that speakers with well-paying formal sector jobs should be grouped with the "high education" group, leading me to include these groups in the same final category. This recoding decision had a theoretical basis as well. Specifically, the first category of jobs corresponds to jobs that require higher education and can be seen as middle-class jobs. The second category on the other hand corresponds to jobs that require less education and imply less money, lower status, and therefore a lower position in the social class hierarchy.

However, regarding reported language competence, I only performed one regrouping, specifically grouping the Spanish-dominant group and the Spanish-speaking group that had some competence in Zapotec together. Regarding gender, I found that the different gender/sexual identities were behaving differently, linked to different rates of feminine gender assignment and therefore did not need to be grouped together at all, in stark contrast to syllable-final /s/, for which all speakers were regrouped into one of two gender groups. Some implications of the contrast between how gender- and language-competence-based groups were regrouped for syllable-final /s/ and gender assignment will be explicitly explored in Sections 8.1 and 8.5. The results for the final logistical regression that correlated external social factors with patterns of feminine gender assignment are presented in Table 6.6.

These results show that speakers who identified as muxe gunaa used feminine gender assignment for muxes in 75.89% of cases, which was significantly higher than speakers who identified as women (31.78%), other muxes (38.62%) and men (16.38%). Those aged 26 and younger also used significantly lower levels of feminine gender assignment at a rate of 20.93%, compared to those 27 or older at a rate of 34.06%. For this variable, there were no significant differences between those who had spent

Factor	% Feminine	Token #	P-value
Speaker Gender			
Muxe Gunaa	75.89%	192	<0.0001
Muxe (Other)	38.62%	73	0.0647
Muxe Nguuu	29.36%	69	0.1276
Woman	31.78%	191	
Man (any sexual orientation)	16.38%	151	<0.0001
Speaker Age			
26 years old or younger	20.93%	117	<0.0001
27 years old or older	34.06%	559	
Time Spent Living "Abroad" by Speaker			
Less Than 4 Years	31.41%	289	0.0855
More Than 4 Years	30.23%	387	
Speaker Language Competence			
Balanced Bilingual	34.87%	91	0.0080
More Zapotec	33.08%	129	
More Spanish Than Zapotec	30.09%	65	0.9956
Only Spanish	29.33%	391	0.0204
Is the speaker a student or employed in a high-status formal sector job?			
Yes	31.94%	184	<0.0001
No	30.30%	492	

Table 6.6: Social Factors and Rates of Feminine Gender Assignment

less than four years abroad compared to those who had spent more than four years abroad. Yet, there were significant differences between language competence groups; balanced bilinguals used feminine gender assignment in 34.87% of cases as opposed to monolingual Spanish speakers who did so in 29.33% of cases. Finally, those with high-status formal sector jobs used significantly higher levels of feminine gender assignment to refer to muxes (31.94%) compared to those without high-status formal sector jobs (30.30%). Interpretations and discussions of these results will be provided in Sections 7.4, 7.5, and 8.2.

6.7 Results for Referential Grammatical Gender: Mentioned Ideology

To figure out to what extent mentioned ideologies influenced variation for grammatical gender assignment, I ran logistic regressions including all social and ideological factors together. However, I only included the 4 mentioned gender ideologies, leaving out the 3 mentioned language ideologies. I chose to leave the language ide-

ologies out because, in discourse concerning muxes, language ideologies were quite rarely mentioned, so rare in fact that the token numbers of each language ideology would likely have been much too small to run a variationist analysis. I also ran logistical regressions with ideological and linguistic factors because both are internal factors correlated with referential grammatical gender assignment.

With 12 speakers, I performed a preliminary logistical regression and found that only mentioned machista and matriarchal ideologies showed any chance of being significant. Specifically, matriarchal mentioned gender ideology was close to significance, and mentioned machista gender ideology was already significant. In the final analysis with all 55 speakers, both mentioned ideologies were in fact statistically significant predictors of rates of variation. These results, from the analyses including other linguistic factors, are shown in Table 6.7.

Factor	% Feminine	Token #	P-value
Machista Ideology			
Yes	23.09%	154	0.0008
No	34.05%	522	
Matriarchal Ideology			
Yes	34.88%	171	0.0221
No	29.55%	505	

Table 6.7: Mentioned Ideology and Rates of Feminine Gender Assignment

These results from Table 6.7 show that there is a significant difference in the use of feminine gender assignment between statements coded as containing mentioned machista ideology and other statements, as well as between statements coded as containing mentioned matriarchal ideology and other statements. Specifically, feminine gender assignment was seen in 23.09% of cases where machista ideology was mentioned, as opposed to 34.05% of cases for other statements. This result seems to show that people’s use of the feminine gender assignment for muxe referents approaches rates seen amongst young people (20.93%) and men (16.38%) when machista gender ideology was mentioned. These rates also are similar to the overall rate of use when speakers are talking about muxes with an identity other than muxe gunaa (23.66%), even though speaking about muxe gunaa does not preclude mentioning a machista ideology. The potential social meanings of these findings are explored in Section 7.6.

Furthermore, tokens for which a matriarchal ideology was mentioned were in 34.88% of cases assigned a feminine gender, as opposed to 29.55% of cases for tokens of other

statements. This small difference in percentage was statistically significant and shows a slight increase in the use of feminine grammatical gender assignment for mentioned matriarchal ideology in the direction of rates used for and by muxe gunaa (82.58% and 75.89%), for people with a close affective distance to the speaker, including both friends and oneself (50.95%), and by muxes without a label (38.62%). Furthermore, the percentage of feminine reference in statements coded for mentioned matriarchal ideology is similar to the percentage used by speakers 27 years old or older (34.06%) and by speakers with a very high level in Zapotec, namely Zapotec-dominant speakers (33.08%) and balanced bilinguals (34.87%).

For illustrative examples of these changes in rates of feminine gender reference when mentioning different ideologies, consider the speech of a 22-year-old muxe participant without a label. In a statement coded for matriarchal ideology, this speaker called muxes "las empoderadas porque son empoderadas son personas con gran gran capacidad"⁸, using exclusively feminine reference for muxes. At another moment, when talking about discrimination, the participant said, in a statement coded for mentioned machista ideology, "es una etapa de la vida que quizás todos tengamos que atravesar"⁹, using masculine reference. The fact that many speakers change the relative rate at which they use masculine and feminine reference for muxes when mentioning machista and matriarchal ideologies lead to the aforementioned small but significant differences in the data. Further potential social meanings of the variation between gender ideologies and feminine gender assignment, along with interpretations regarding the similarities between rates of feminine gender assignment for mentioned ideology and other factors can also be found in Section 7.6.

Throughout this chapter, I have described in detail the analyses I ran with R Studio in order to reach the following statistically significant final results for the effects of various internal and external factors on syllable-final /s/ and gender assignment for muxe referents. Regarding syllable-final /s/, /s/ retention is the norm, occurring in approximately 85% of cases. High-status jobs, masculinity, Spanish competence, internal word position, pre-tonic syllables, and second-person singular verbal morphological status were all associated with even higher levels of /s/ retention, whereas time spent in /s/ reducing regions of Mexico, post-tonic syllables, and, in particular, age were all

⁸the(f) empowered(f) because they're empowered(f) they are people with great great capacity

⁹it's a time in life that perhaps we all(m) have to get through

associated with less high levels of /s/ retention. Additionally, the "Almost Zapotec Speaking" language competence group retained /s/ at a slightly below-average rate. Although vowels, pauses, and, in particular, stop consonants in the following phonetic context were linked to high rates of /s/ retention, other consonants were linked to much less high rates, and /r/ and /l/ were even associated with higher rates of /s/ reduction than retention. People who lived outside of Juchitán for 2 to 4 years and who currently live outside of Juchitán part-time retained /s/ more often than the baseline level, whereas those who lived in other places for more than four or less than 2 years retained /s/ at below baseline levels. Furthermore, pro-Spanish mentioned ideology, for the entire sample, and mentioned machista ideology, for a subsample comprised of all feminine Zapotec speakers, were associated with greater than baseline levels of /s/ retention.

Regarding gender assignment for muxe referents, feminine gender assignment was used overall less often, in approximately 30% of cases, than masculine gender assignment. The external factors of non-male gender identity, living outside of Juchitán, greater age, greater competence in Zapotec, and employment in a high-status formal sector job were all associated with a somewhat above average use of feminine gender assignment, and a muxe gunaa gender identity was associated with a greater use of feminine than masculine gender assignment. The internal factors of adjacent distribution, noun phrases in the subject position, and describing the referent as a family member were all associated with somewhat below average, and gay male referents with very little, use of feminine gender assignment. At the same time, muxe gunaa referents were largely referred to with feminine gender assignment, noun phrases marked as "counterfactual" contained generally feminine-assigned elements, and referents that were friends of the speaker or the speaker themselves were feminine-assigned in more than half of cases. Furthermore, mentioned machista ideology was associated with slightly less frequent, and mentioned matriarchal ideology with slightly more frequent, feminine gender assignment than the average. I will now turn to interpreting these main findings, as well as those for syllable-final /s/ in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Discussion of the Results

7.1 Linguistic and Contact-Based Interpretations of Syllable-final /s/ Variation

In this section, I will remind the reader of the patterns of variation found in the data for syllable-final /s/ retention and discuss these findings. I will start with findings that can be relatively easily understood by linking them directly to past research and end with findings that require a longer explanation. For most of the findings requiring a longer explanation, I propose that either language and dialect contact, or the influence of that contact on the indexical field of syllable-final /s/, best explain the findings. A discussion of the indexical field of both variants in Juchitán, along with the patterns of variation I argue emerge due to this field, is found in Section 7.2.

The results for most of the linguistic factors were quite typical for variation in syllable-final /s/. Therefore, these results were quite expected and suggest a high level of reliability for the overall results because the linguistic factors that are almost uniformly linked with /s/ retention are also associated with /s/ retention in my study. Specifically, as in most studies, I found internal word position to be strongly correlated with retention, and my results for stress, morphological status, and phonetic context largely fit with those in the existing literature (Aaron & Hernandez 2007; Alba 1990; Almeida & San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002, 2003; Holmquist 2011; Lynch 2009; Terrell 1977, 1979; Walker et al. 2014). In terms of morphological status, second-person singular verbal /s/ led to retention, whereas all other morphological statuses (lexical, plural, and first-person plural verbal /s/) were associated with less frequent retention. This finding, except for the fact that plurals were frequently deleted, provides further evidence that, unless other elements of the utterance reduce the ambiguity, tokens of /s/ that carry less grammatical meaning can be reduced more often, specifically because the grammatical information is communicated elsewhere (Almeida & San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002; Hochberg 1986; Lynch 2009).

Regarding stress, the finding that pre-tonic and tonic /s/ are correlated with higher rates of retention than post-tonic /s/ in my study also fits with the most commonly

reported research findings on /s/ variation in Spanish. In and before stressed syllables (pre-tonic and tonic), /s/ retention is usually found to be more common than in other unstressed syllables (post-tonic) (Alba 1990; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002, 2003; Lynch 2009; Terrell 1977, 1979). Rates for /s/ retention in one-syllable words are intermediate, possibly because these words are variably stressed or unstressed within utterances in my data, which could lead them to variably behave like stressed or unstressed syllables. Furthermore, these words are typically high in frequency, which, based on the literature (Brown, Gradoville, et al. 2014; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002, 2003), should mean rates of /s/ reduction are higher in these words than in words of low frequency, including most words with pre-tonic and tonic /s/. High-frequency words are generally pronounced with less effort by speakers, causing rates of phonetic reduction, like /s/ reduction, to be higher in such words (Bedinghaus & Sedó 2014; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002; Jurafsky et al. 2001; Moers et al. 2015). As such, this result for one-syllable words fits with the observed relationship between frequency and rates of /s/ expression found in other contexts.

Regarding phonological context, most of my findings also reflect tendencies found in previous research. Since following consonants are usually more associated with /s/ retention than vowels (Aaron & Hernandez 2007; Almeida & San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002; Holmquist 2011; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014), the finding that stops, which make up the majority of following consonants in my sample, are associated with higher rates of retention than vowels reflects previous research. Other consonants are linked to lower rates of /s/ retention, which, at first glance, seems to go against the findings of previous research. However, some other research has shown that fricatives, laterals, and nasals can be strongly associated with /s/ reduction (Almeida & San Juan 1998; Lewis & Boomershine 2015). In light of this research, my findings for "other consonants" are not surprising, since the majority of these "other consonants" linked to lower rates of /s/ retention in my sample are, in fact, fricatives, laterals, or nasals. The result for pauses also necessarily fits with previous research, as rates of retention linked to pauses are so extremely variable that they are sometimes linked with retention and other times with reduction (Aaron & Hernandez 2007; Almeida & San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002; Holmquist 2011; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014). In my study, they seem, just like vowels, to be linked with intermediate rates of retention.

Furthermore, these findings could potentially be linked to contact with Isthmus Zapotec. In Isthmus Zapotec, sibilant fricatives are only possible before voiceless stops (Pickett et al. 1998). Both voiceless sibilant fricatives and voiceless stops are fortis consonants in Isthmus Zapotec (Pickett et al. 1998), and assimilation between these two classes of phonemes, when located adjacent to one another in Zapotec, could reinforce the tendency of /s/ in the local variety of Spanish to be long and retained before voiceless stops. Before other consonants, including /r/, which are mostly lenis in Isthmus Zapotec (Pickett et al. 1998), sibilant fricatives do not occur and, even if they were found in stretches of discourse with loan words and code-switching between Spanish and Zapotec, they would be expected to assimilate to the lenis consonants by becoming shorter and more reduced. The lack of sibilant fricatives or their high level of assimilation before lenis consonants in Zapotec could also further reinforce the relatively high rate of /s/ reduction before these consonants in the local variety of Spanish.

In my sample, /s/ before /r/ and /l/ is particularly frequently reduced, even though, to my knowledge, no other research has found /r/ to be a particularly strong predictor of reduction. I can only speculate as to why this might be, and further research could shed more light on this surprising finding. I would hypothesize, however, that the apparent link between /s/ reduction and /r/ in the following phonological context can be better explained as a frequency effect. In my sample, /s/ occurred before /r/ largely in word-final positions preceding infrequent words (i.e., *razones* (reasons), *regresan* (they return), and *respeto* (respect)), whereas most other following phonological contexts contained lexical items of more variable frequencies. Contrastingly, the lexical items containing /s/ before these infrequent words were often very high modifiers of these infrequent words, including possessive adjectives like *sus* (their/her/his), clitic pronouns like *les* (to them), and articles like *las* (the), or very frequent verbs ending in /s/, including *es* (is) and *quieres* (you want). Since high-frequency lexical items like these are associated with higher rates of /s/ reduction (Brown, Gradoville, et al. 2014; Brown & Torres Cacoullos 2002, 2003), the high frequency of these lexical items could be leading to the high rates of /s/ reduction, rather than the mere presence of /r/ in the following phonological context.

Regarding morphological status, even though the difference in rates of /s/ retention between lexical /s/ and second-person singular /s/ was small, it was significant, whereas, on the other hand, the large difference between lexical /s/ and other cases

was not significant. This paradoxical result may be due to the large amount of variation within the category of lexical /s/ and the small amount within the category of second-person singular /s/. Relatively few tokens of /s/ were taken from second-person singular verb forms, and there was relatively little variance within this small sample. On the other hand, lexical /s/ realizations were very variable and some sub-categories, like word-internal /s/, brought the overall average much higher than it otherwise would have been.

Rates of /s/ retention also seem partly linked to dialect contact in the results. This is most easy to see in the results for speakers who had lived in an /s/ reducing region. Presumably, due to their extended contact with /s/ reducing speakers, these speakers must have accommodated to /s/ reducing speakers over long periods of time (Aaron & Hernandez 2007; Britain 2017; Hernández 2002; Kerswill 2004; O'Rourke & Potowski 2016), and therefore, reduced /s/ more often than those who did not live in /s/ reducing regions. Similarly, speakers who lived less than two years outside of Juchitán retained /s/ less frequently, presumably because they had accommodated less to /s/ retaining speakers since they had spent relatively little time in other parts of Mexico where /s/ is retained more often than in Juchitán. It is worth mentioning here that the other parts of Mexico that Juchitecos lived in were frequently located in central Mexico, where /s/ is particularly frequently retained. Contact with and accommodation to relatively /s/ retaining speakers seems, in general, to increase rates of /s/ retention since rates of /s/ retention generally increase with time spent outside of Juchitán.

Although this trend is reversed for the group that had lived outside of Juchitán for more than five years, this could be linked to other information about the sample and the people in each group. On the one hand, the group of speakers before this group, who have lived outside of Juchitán between 2 and 4 years, was quite small and therefore potentially unrepresentative of such people. Furthermore, the group that lived more than five years outside of Juchitán was large, and perhaps for this reason, more similar to the overall group in terms of their rates of /s/ retention. Another important factor to consider is the fact that time spent outside of Juchitán was correlated with age; accordingly, younger speakers were relatively unlikely to have spent five years or more living outside of Juchitán. For this reason, speakers who have lived outside of Juchitán for five years or more may be less likely to retain /s/ due to their older age or greater level of socialization with/accommodation towards older speakers in their

cohort, who tend to reduce /s/ more often ¹. Finally, many Juchitec@s who lived for long periods in other cities claim that they kept strong ties with other Juchitec@s. This may mean that Juchitec@s who have lived long periods in other cities paradoxically interact less with, and accommodate less towards, locals in those cities than those who have spent less time outside of Juchitán.

Regarding employment, a proxy of class, speakers who were students or worked in the public sector, including teaching, retained /s/ more frequently than other speakers, likely because their role put them in greater contact with more standard Spanish varieties, which are generally considered /s/ retaining, particularly in Mexico. These results are perhaps easiest to explain in terms of contact with and use of standard Spanish. To succeed as a student in one's studies or as an employee in the public sector, it is necessary to command standard Spanish to a greater extent than in other professions. The linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1986, 1991) of standard Spanish can be used to help secure better grades, public sector jobs, and advancement in the public sector, so speakers in these professions are incentivized to acquire and use standard Spanish, including high rates of [s], for these economic reasons.

Therefore, these speakers end up using standard Spanish, gain more competence in this variety, and add more elements from this variety, such as [s], to their linguistic repertoire and habitual speech. Since these speakers are in contact with other speakers at work or school for whom the linguistic capital of standard Spanish is similarly important, these tendencies are only reinforced by their accommodation to other speakers who frequently use features of standard Spanish, like a high rate of [s]. Additionally, speakers who are neither students nor work in the public sector may use non-standard features, like less /s/, due to these features' covert prestige (Trudgill 1972). As such, although this occupation-based difference in the frequency of /s/ retention can be linked primarily to contact with standard Spanish and the linguistic capital of this variety for particular groups of speakers, it may also partly arise from orientations towards and away from this variety by speakers occupying different social positions, for reasons of covert and overt prestige (Trudgill 1972).

Overall rates of /s/ retention are lower in Juchitán than in most other areas of Mexico (Brown 1993; Butragueño 2014; Lewis & Boomershine 2015; Terrell 1979; Walker et

¹While the age at which these people first lived away from Juchitán likely influences their usage of /s/ variants, I do not have enough information from my speakers to speculate on this issue.

al. 2014), and both plural morphological status and being Zapotec dominant favor less /s/ retention. These results both suggest that speaking Zapotec results in decreasing rates of /s/ retention. In particular, the fact that Zapotec-dominant speakers use less [s] points most clearly to transfer from Isthmus Zapotec. Isthmus Zapotec lacks syllable-final /s/ and also plural markings (Pickett et al. 1998), which in Spanish are marked with /s/, so the fact that Zapotec-dominant people use less /s/ in their Spanish, in particular for plurals, points to Zapotec influence. The overall rate of /s/ retention, when Zapotec speakers are taken out of the data, is consistent with that of the rest of Mexico, meaning that Zapotec dominance could be the major determinant of the overall low rate.

The results for plural morphological status point particularly strongly to a potential Zapotec influence. Results of other studies on morphological status and /s/ variation generally find that either plural or second-person singular informal verbal /s/, but not both, strongly promote deletion (Almeida & San Juan 1998; Hundley 1987; Poplack 1980). Furthermore, a pattern of higher reduction of plural /s/ compared to second-person singular /s/ is also more likely to be found in contact varieties than in native varieties of Spanish (Almeida & San Juan 1998; Brown & Torres Cacoullós 2002; Lynch 2009). Isthmus Zapotec's lack of morphological plurals then should make it even more likely for plural /s/ to be deleted than second-person singular /s/, which is in fact the observed pattern in the data. Therefore, the relatively high rates of /s/ reduction in plurals, instead of second-person singular verb forms, suggest a morphological transfer from Zapotec in which a lack of plural marking in Zapotec is expressed in Spanish.

It is worth noting at this point that the connections between Spanish proficiency and /s/ retention, as well as between plurals and less [s], are commonly noticed and discussed by native Juchitec@s. During my research in Juchitán, many individuals I spoke to or planned to speak to would make unsolicited metalinguistic comments linking Zapotec dominance with a reduced [s], particularly when discussing plurals. Some viewed this occurrence as a grammatical flaw, asserting that Zapotec-dominant speakers could not determine which words were plural or pronounce the [s] at the end of words. Other people were more sympathetic to this form of variation, interpreting it simply as a characteristic of Isthmus Zapotec Spanish. Ultimately, these comments suggest that /s/ reduction has also likely come to index dominance in the Zapotec language, implying a widely-held indexical link between Zapotec competence and rates

of /s/ retention.

7.2 "Zapotecness", Indexicality, and Variation in Juchitán

In this section, I will argue that contact-related rates of syllable-final /s/ retention affect the indexical field of the variable, leading to the appearance of some of the less expected findings, particularly regarding social variables. To do this, I will posit that culturally constructed understandings of "Zapotecness" and of "Mexicanness" in Juchitán allow contact-related rates of syllable-final /s/ retention to influence gender- and age-related rates of variation through their indexical fields of meaning. Throughout my discussion, I will rely on Butler (1988, 1990), Eckert (2008), Ochs (1992), & Silverstein (2003) for my theoretical framework and will also include alternate explanations for these patterns of variation when appropriate.

I suggest that in Juchitán, there is a prestigious ideological construction of traditional "Zapotecness" that coexists with a prestigious ideological construction of "Mexicanness". I also posit that most people affiliate to some extent with both, while also tending to affiliate more with one than the other. By "Zapotecness" and "Mexicanness" I do not necessarily refer to Zapotec and Mexican identities. Instead, these constructs are best conceptualized as two poles on a continuum, grouping a set of attributes together that speakers understand to be ideologically connected. In the following paragraphs, I intend to show, with reference to previous research and my own ethnographic observations, which attributes people in Juchitán link with "Mexicanness" and which they link with "Zapotecness".

Within the construct of "Zapotecness", being Zapotec is associated strongly with traditional practices, especially particular jobs and certain celebrations. As stated in Section 1.7, much of social life revolves around work and parties in Juchitán (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Dávalos Vázquez 2017; Holzer 1999; Mirandé 2011), both of which often have a strong gendered component (Barbosa 2016; Miche 2006). For example, men, women, and muxes regularly provide different contributions to parties and take on different jobs. Traditionally, for instance, men worked as butchers, fishermen, firework makers, and farmers, creating products that women would then typically sell in the markets or use during celebrations (Céspedes Vargas 2015; Dávalos Vázquez 2017).

Women would also do the housework and manage the family finances. Muxes

would create clothing for the parties, work with either the men or, more typically, the women, and/or take care of their parents in old age (Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002). As previously mentioned in Section 1.7, these roles, constituted by performative acts (Butler 1988, 1990) that were understood as marking traditional masculinity, femininity, and *muxeidad* (muxeity), were all complementary to one another, constituting an important aspect of Zapotec ideologies of gender and language.

However, due to social changes, many people in Juchitán no longer take on traditional jobs, and, according to some of my participants, this economic transformation has impacted men the most. With the advent of globalization and a rise in service-sector jobs, the local economy has changed greatly, with the informal sector shrinking (Céspedes Vargas 2015; Dávalos Vázquez 2017). This anecdotally seems to have caused most of the traditionally male jobs to have disappeared or to be rapidly disappearing in Juchitán. Accordingly, I met very few men in Juchitán who take on traditionally male jobs, but many of my female and muxe participants did perform traditionally female jobs. Many of my participants commented that, correspondingly, the ties of reciprocity between different gender identities in Juchitán have been weakened.

The jobs traditionally associated with women and muxes, because of their reduced participation in the newer formal-economy jobs (Céspedes Vargas 2015), continue to exist and play an essential role in the local economy, with the informal sector roles of women and muxes as vendors in the markets frequently mentioned by the people I interviewed. In other words, being Zapotec is nowadays more often performed through acts that are seen as feminine, whereas being Mexican is performed through acts that are understood as masculine. I suggest that this has contributed to an association between "femininity" and "being Zapotec" in Juchitán, which I explore in more detail in the coming paragraphs.

The association between "muxes" and "being Zapotec" may be strengthened by the fact that, typically, "muxes" who refuse to engage in traditional roles, including five of my participants, eschew the muxe label and instead refer to themselves as "gay men", a sexual/gender construction linked to other parts of Mexico and the world (Laaksonen 2016). Underlining this connection among my five gay-identified participants is the fact that none of them spoke Zapotec better than Spanish and all of them made comments denouncing local cultural practices, particularly regarding the expected roles of women and muxes (see Section 7.4).

Amongst the muxes, the "muxe gunaa", who closely identify with and dress similarly to women, are most strongly associated with traditional jobs. This can be linked, in large part, to the fact that "muxe gunaa" encounter much more discrimination than other muxes when they look for jobs beyond traditional informal employment, often having to present as a man in order to keep a well-paying job (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Consequently, muxes gunaa are often seen as having no option but to limit their job prospects to either traditional jobs or prostitution, as other career paths are seen as impossible. One of the muxe gunaa participants I mentioned earlier, Alejandra, began, but did not finish, a degree in engineering. When talking about her studies, she mentioned that, when she went to bars with her (exclusively male) schoolmates, people would talk behind their backs, commenting that she must be paying them for sex. For these commenters, it was more difficult to conceive of her as a fellow engineering student than as a client with an entourage of male prostitutes.

My informants observe that "Mexicanness" is associated with Spanish, new jobs, modernity, education, and the rest of Mexico, but it is also linked to crime, sexism, and damaging prejudicial views of muxes. In Juchitán, drug-related violence, murders, domestic abuse, rape, and hate crimes against women and muxes are relatively common compared to most of the rest of Mexico (Laaksonen 2016; Ybáñez Zepeda & Yanes Pérez 2013). Yet, instead of linking these problems with the concept of "Zapotecness", many residents believe that these issues come from colonialism or the influence of the rest of Mexico (see Section 7.3).

At the same time, "Zapotecness" is often used to perform femininity, while "Mexicanness" is typically gender-neutral or masculine. This is probably due to men's traditional jobs seemingly disappearing more quickly than women's, while, simultaneously, the most feminine muxes are kept in traditional roles due to discrimination and ideological assumptions. As a result, some of the most prominent symbols of "Zapotecness" have become feminine, while "Mexicanness" is generally characterized as gender-neutral or masculine.

For instance, the market is explicitly described as feminine and Zapotec-speaking by many of my participants, and the domestic sphere is associated with the Zapotec language. A 60-year-old woman in my sample remarks that *al mercado tú ves ahí a puras mujeres vendiendo* (at the market, there you see purely women selling) and *el uso de la de la lengua en qué espacio se da ¿no? en el doméstico y en el mercado ¿no?* (the use of the

language (Zapotec) in what space does it happen, right? In the domestic sphere and in the market, right?). Additionally, a 45-year-old male participant notes that, while the market *funciona con gente que habla zapoteco* (functions with people who speak Zapotec), if a male sells in the market, he *puede ser llamado muxe* (can be called muxe). These comments illustrate the strong link of femininity, traditional feminine roles, and muxe identity with speaking Zapotec and performing traditional Zapotecness.

Furthermore, the Zapotec language, femininity, and traditional markers of Zapotec identity that constitute "Zapotecness" are all linked to age. Because younger generations in Juchitán are switching to Spanish, the Isthmus Zapotec language is mainly spoken by older generations. This helps to create and reinforce connections between the Zapotec language, tradition, and elderly people, as well as between "Mexicanness", modernity, and young people. The majority of my participants commented that, in the Zapotec-speaking seventh section of Juchitán, people typically have traditional jobs, the local traditions are practiced more regularly, traditional clothes are worn more commonly, and even younger people speak Zapotec as their first language. These comments implicitly connect older age, tradition, and Zapotec identity with the Isthmus Zapotec language.

The associations that comprise "Zapotecness" are represented in visual form in Figure 7.1. This figure is a screenshot of the homepage of a local Facebook group dedicated to informing people about classes teaching Isthmus Zapotec as a second language and/or heritage language. The image used in the screenshot is of elderly women wearing traditional dresses, representing the Zapotec language in the feminine figure of an elderly Zapotec woman who likely works in the informal sector. In this figure, older age, femininity, local identity, traditional dress, and the Zapotec language come together to create a single image that embodies "Zapotecness".

Regarding indexicality, Eckert (2008) argues that every variant of a sociolinguistic variable has an associated indexical field, which is a "constellation of ideologically related meanings" that may be activated through the situated use of a particular variant. In other words, each variant is linked to a particular set of related social meanings in speakers' heads, and a subset of these meanings is activated based on the context of each situated use. The indexical field for a particular variant can change over time, as speakers use the variant in new, creative ways, or for reasons relatively unrelated to the original indexical field.



Figure 7.1: Zapotec Language Classes

Direct empirical support for the existence of particular indexical fields through directly studying them is relatively uncommon. Nevertheless, Walker et al. (2014) provide such empirical support for the indexical fields of syllable-final /s/ variation. The researchers employed a matched-guise test to gain insight into the indexical fields for syllable-final /s/ reduction and retention amongst 78 Puerto Rican and 89 Mexican speakers. Through the experimental task, it was found that Mexican speakers, largely from /s/ retaining regions, linked syllable-final /s/ reduction with low status, less friendliness, and Puerto Rican or coastal Mexican speakers.

These associations, as is typical for indexes in an indexical field, reflect the patterns of variation that the participants likely encountered on a regular basis. In other words, it is indeed true that Puerto Ricans elide /s/ more often than Mexican speakers, and within Mexico, lower-class speakers, associated with lower status and unfriendliness, as well as speakers from coastal regions, elide /s/ more frequently. Therefore, those who utilize the elided variant due to its connection with the covert prestige of lower status or less friendliness only reinforce these notions.

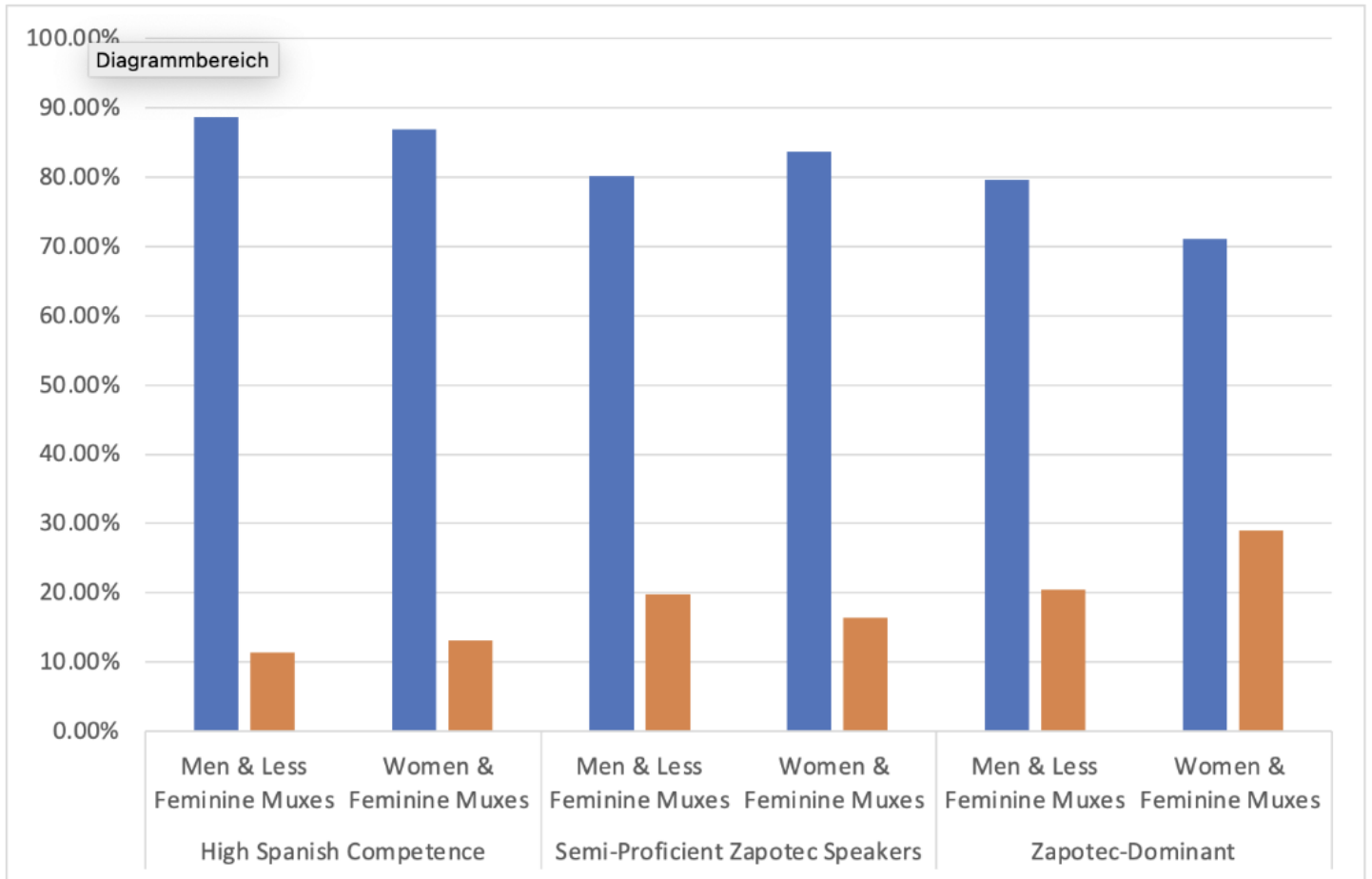
An interesting finding of Walker et al. (2014)'s study was the fact that /s/ reduction did not index age at all, as well as the variable indexical relationship between gender and syllable-final /s/ variants. Regarding this variability, Mexican male participants saw the elided variant as indexing heteronormative and masculine ideals, which reflects the feature's higher rate of use by heterosexual men. However, Mexican female participants instead associated syllable-final /s/ retention with heteronormative masculinity, potentially due to its relationship with high status. Consequently, heteronormative masculinity was less closely linked with syllable-final /s/ reduction

than expected for some Mexican speakers, and age was not indexically linked to the syllable-final /s/ reduction at all. As a result, this indexical field appears to be particularly susceptible to changes in the specific associations between gender, age, and syllable-final /s/ variants.

When examining the data and comments made by people in Juchitán, it is clear that, due to language contact, Zapotec-dominant speakers are known to reduce /s/ more frequently than other community members. As I mentioned previously, locals often mentioned the differences between Zapotec speakers' and Spanish speakers' Spanish when I was in Juchitán, often remarking on Zapotec speakers not saying plurals or "forgetting" the /s/ (see Section 7.1). This first-order index (Silverstein 2003) between Zapotec and elided syllable-final /s/ had become part of the indexical field for /s/ reduction in Juchitán. Since Zapotec competence is ideologically linked to other markers of Zapotec identity, this also likely creates an n+1 order index (Silverstein 2003) between "Zapotecness" and lower rates of /s/ retention.

This interpretation is further reinforced by the findings illustrated on the graph shown in Figure 7.2. In this graph, male and female speakers of differing Spanish/Zapotec competence levels are compared regarding their rates of /s/ retention. It is clear, among Spanish-speaking and most strikingly among Zapotec dominant speakers, that feminine speakers utilized [s] at a lower rate than their masculine counterparts. However, among the non-fluent Zapotec-speaking group, this trend appears to be reversed, but this was primarily due to the effect of one heterosexual male speaker who was highly educated and worked as a journalist, often working and travelling to other parts of Mexico. Based on this speaker's career, high level of education, lack of Zapotec fluency, masculinity, and experiences in other cities, the rate at which he retained /s/ would be expected to be very high. Instead, he used [s] at a 68% rate, even less often than the average feminine speaker in the Zapotec dominant demographic.

What likely set him apart from other speakers with a similar demographic profile was his strong orientation towards "Zapotecness". This orientation is evidenced by many aspects of his behavior. On the one hand, he provided numerous anecdotes of local legends and myths, indigenous music, Zapotec cultural practices, and similar stories during our interview. He explained that his time away from Juchitán was more than consistent with his local orientation, as he expressed the conviction that in order to be truly "local", one must also be "global". Additionally, he regretted not having



Key:

- /s/ retention
- /s/ reduction

Figure 7.2: Gender differences in /s/ retention rates for groups of speakers with similar self-reported language competence

learned Zapotec as a child due to its lower social status at the time and had been actively learning it for six years. Furthermore, he continually mentioned and highlighted his Zapotec identity while speaking with me and showed strong pride in being from Juchitán.

It is important to remind the reader here that "Zapotecness" is commonly associated with femininity, whereas "Mexicanness" is often connected to masculinity. Relatedly, this man was also engaged in more "ideologically" or stereotypically feminine behaviors than most men in Juchitán, especially when these feminine behaviors were particularly salient markers of "Zapotecness". Most notably, he took on a second job selling food near, but not in, the market in Juchitán and expressed a strong interest in the arts,

especially local artistic and cultural productions. Furthermore, when I first met him, I perceived a vaguely feminine quality to his speech and self-presentation, although I was unable to identify where this perception came from, and I initially thought that he was muxe-identified. With this information in mind, the linguistic and non-linguistic behavior of this single outlier, combining an embodiment of "Zapotecness" with lower rates of /s/ retention, provides stronger evidence of the links between the construct of "Zapotecness", femininity, and relatively low rates of /s/ retention.

As such, it seems that, in Juchitán, Mexico, the use of /s/ reduction has become associated with "Zapotecness", which is linked to linguistic competence in the Zapotec language. This has led to the emergence of an indirect index (Ochs 1992) of feminine gender identity that is associated with the reduced variant. Consequently, women and muxe gunaa may use /s/ reduction to perform femininity through a performance of Zapotecness. On the other hand, /s/ retention, being associated with "Mexicanness" through its association with Spanish language competence, can then become an indirect index of masculine or "less feminine" gender identity. This association between "Mexicanness" and masculine could exist in other parts of Mexico, thereby offering an explanation as to why the index between masculinity and reduction is not very strong in Mexico compared to other places like Puerto Rico. It is likely that the competing importance of ideas linking "Zapotecness" and femininity in the indexical field in Juchitán, leads speakers to opt for the retained variant to index their relative masculinity through a performance of Mexicanness.

The ability of varying rates of /s/ retention to index ideological constructs of "Zapotecness" and "Mexicanness" can also help explain the links between age and rates of /s/ retention. Specifically, older speakers may more frequently use the reduced variant to index their age or its associated traditionalism, whereas younger speakers may more often opt for the retained variant to index their young age and associated orientation to modernity. Therefore, it appears that high rates of /s/ retention in Juchitán index masculine gender, young age, and corresponding orientations towards modernity that fit within the construct of "Mexicanness". On the other hand, lower rates of /s/ retention index feminine gender, old age, and corresponding orientations towards traditionalism are associated with "Zapotecness".

It could also be that socialization patterns play a role in the retention of /s/, likely due to accommodation. In Juchitán, a language shift has resulted in fewer younger

speakers of Zapotec, and, in much of the world, most socialization occurs between people of similar ages (O'Dare et al. 2021). Thus, older speakers are likely to form peer groups with lower rates of /s/ retention than the peer groups of younger Juchitecos, as they speak more Zapotec than Spanish as a group and therefore retain /s/ less frequently. Then, accommodation within peer groups would lead to lower rates of /s/ retention in older cohorts than in younger ones. That being said, even differences in rates of /s/ retention that are linked to accommodation could simultaneously reinforce and be reinforced by indexicality. These cohort-based differences in rates of /s/ retention, by leading older speakers to use [s] less frequently, could strengthen the associations between "Zapotecness" and syllable-final /s/ reduction in the variant's indexical field in Juchitán since "Zapotecness" is associated with local traditions and thereby also with older speakers. This, in turn, could reinforce the linguistic behavior of speakers from different age-based cohorts with respect to syllable-final /s/ variation.

7.3 Mentioned Ideology and Syllable-final /s/ Variation

In the following paragraphs, I will initially comment on how my hypotheses from Section 3.2 regarding mentioned ideology and syllable-final /s/ variation stand up to the evidence. With this information, I will then interpret the findings in light of the constructs of "Mexicanness" and "Zapotecness". At the end of the section, I will link these findings, along with the discussion of the two constructs, with the concept of mentioned ideology as a whole. In this discussion, I will use points from my theoretical discussion of mentioned ideologies in Chapter 2 to explain how speakers use different rates of /s/ retention to express ideological positions. In so doing, I argue that they subtly take on the "voices" of other speakers to affiliate against the ideologies expressed by or otherwise associated with those speakers. I conceptualize "voicing" in the same way that linguistics applying the theories of Bakhtin understand the term (Coupland 2007; Portillo-Fernández 2018; Tannen 2004, 2010), as speakers taking on "ownership of an utterance or a way of speaking" (Coupland 2007, pp. 114).

My hypothesis that pro-monolingual Spanish expressed ideology would be linked to /s/ retention was confirmed. The results showed that pro-Spanish language ideology had a significant influence on the variation in syllable-final /s/, with a higher rate of retention in pro-Spanish statements than in other statements. On the other hand, the

hypothesis that pro-Zapotec expressed ideology would be linked to /s/ deletion was largely not confirmed. This ideology was linked to lower rates of /s/ retention than pro-monolingual Spanish expressed ideology but was not significantly different from other ideologies.

The hypothesis that men expressing a machista gender ideology would retain /s/ least often was not confirmed. The results showed that machista gender ideology was close to being significant, but when the entire sample was coded, the significance disappeared. Upon further investigation, it was discovered that the first 12 speakers had a disproportionate amount of feminine and Zapotec speaking speakers, and when only these speakers were coded, machista gender ideology was significant, correlating instead with a higher rate of /s/ retention in machista statements than in other statements. On the other hand, the hypothesis that muxes and women expressing Zapotec or machista gender ideologies would retain /s/ at the highest rates was partly confirmed, as this relationship was only observed amongst Zapotec-speaking feminine speakers (identified as muxe without a label, muxe gunna, or women). For a reminder of the rationale behind these hypotheses, consult Section 3.2.

However, the results show that the reasoning behind the initial hypothesis is clearly misguided. I initially hypothesized that muxes and women would retain /s/ most often when expressing machista or Zapotec gender ideology because I believed retained /s/ would be more often used by feminine speakers overall, making it a marker of a "hyperfeminine" style. This hyperfeminine style could then be used to index the complementary but different gender roles ascribed to women and muxes by Zapotec gender ideology or the inferior gender roles implied by machista ideology. Instead, when mentioning machista ideology, women and muxes more frequently use a retained /s/ that indexes masculinity, high education, and Spanish speakers, thereby making the use of this variant, if anything, more masculine.

The link between /s/ retention, machista gender ideology, and pro-Spanish language ideology is best explained through the links between "Mexicanness" and /s/ retention. In Juchitán, "Mexicanness" is an ideological construct in which many characteristics are associated with both one another and the rest of Mexico. These characteristics include the Spanish language as well as newer high-status jobs that require a high level of education (see Section 7.2). Masculinity is also linked with "Mexicanness" and, perhaps not uncoincidentally, so are crime, (cis)sexism, and homophobia.

It is true that most crime in Juchitán, as in most other places, is committed by men, and negative attitudes towards muxes and women seem to be more prevalent amongst men. Some participants commented on these facts and linked them to ideas coming from other parts of Mexico. For instance, one 25-year-old male participant explained that machista violence *existe en todas partes, nosotros lo repetimos* (exists everywhere, we just repeat it), thereby portraying it as a general Mexican, or worldwide, problem, rather than a problem locally restricted to Juchitán. As such, the link of /s/ retention with the concept of "Mexicanness" implies an association between /s/ retention and sexist/homophobic gender ideology. Furthermore, since Isthmus Zapotec is spoken by very few people in other parts of Mexico, which is overwhelmingly Spanish dominant, /s/ retention can be linked with pro-Spanish language ideology through the concept of "Mexicanness".

Therefore, when feminine Zapotec speakers mention sexist/homophobic gender ideology or when all speakers mention pro-Spanish language ideology, these speech acts are indexing "Mexicanness", which brings with it other features of speech that are ideologically linked to this construct. Since "Mexicanness" is linked with /s/ retention, one of these features is greater rates of /s/ retention, and these speakers therefore also use higher rates of /s/ retention than when they are not mentioning these topics. This could be understood as a style switch in which feminine Zapotec speakers use a style of "Mexicanness" to mention sexist/homophobic gender ideology and all speakers use this same style to mention pro-Spanish language ideology.

In other words, speakers switch between a "Mexicanness" speech style, when mentioning pro-Spanish (and sometimes machista) ideologies, and a less marked speech style, often linguistically closer to the style of other people sharing their identity that they might consider authentic for themselves, when making other statements. In third-wave studies, such as those mentioned in Eckert (2012) & Eckert & Rickford (2001), styles are often understood as clusters of variants and their associated social meanings. Variation between and within speakers is often understood as a result of style switching, as individual speakers may take on certain styles more often, leading them to take on patterns of variation associated with that style (Eckert 2012; Eckert & Rickford 2001). Concerning the style of "Mexicanness", Spanish speakers, speakers with high-status jobs, speakers currently living in the rest of Mexico, and, particularly, Spanish-dominant men retain /s/ more frequently because they take on a style of "Mexican-

ness" more often. Then, these speakers can take on an even more "Mexican" style when making pro-Spanish statements, and other speakers can take on a "Mexican" style temporarily to mention pro-Spanish ideas and the sexism that they strongly disaffiliate with.

The relationship between mentioned machista ideology and more /s/ retention may emerge only amongst Zapotec-speaking feminine people for a few reasons. On the one hand, Spanish speakers and men retain /s/ quite frequently, as they habitually use styles of "Mexicanness", meaning it is less possible for these speakers to change into a speech style characterized by high levels of /s/ retention to express an ideology since their rates of /s/ retention are already so high. Thus, even if these speakers show a tendency to switch into a style with more /s/ retention when mentioning both pro-Spanish and machista ideologies, this shift may only be strong enough to be significant for pro-Spanish ideology. Zapotec-speaking feminine people may also be more motivated than men and Spanish speakers to change their speech to talk about machismo because it is particularly important for these speakers to resist machismo, as they are the most disadvantaged by it. As such, they may feel the need to create more distance between themselves and machismo when mentioning machismo and accordingly may use slightly different coherence-making strategies (see Section 2.8) than men when mentioning these ideologies.

While everyone I talked to made some machista statements that they later disaffiliated with, through the use of particular coherence-making strategies, some men did occasionally show a commitment to, or at least an ambivalence towards, the machista comments they made. On the other hand, most speakers, but particularly Zapotec-speaking feminine speakers, often made these comments through subtle voicing shifts, an example of which will appear below. I propose that these speakers' shifts into a style of "Mexicanness" to make machista comments can often be understood as similar to ventriloquizing in its effects, but somewhat different in its form. I will refer to this phenomenon as "implicit ventriloquizing".

Ventriloquizing is a term coined by Emerson and Holmquist, two translators of Bakhtin (Tannen 2004), to describe how language may be used to temporarily take on another identity when a speaker imitates the voice of another, while simultaneously expressing distance from the utterance made with that voice (Portillo-Fernández 2018; Tannen 2004, 2010). In Tannen (2010)'s article, ventriloquizing is described as a com-

mon phenomenon in discourse in which a speaker temporarily frames their speech as representing another's voice. They take on the identity of another while making this framing shift, allowing them to disaffiliate from the content of the utterance and thereby communicate messages they might be afraid to communicate too directly. This ventriloquizing takes the form of reported speech, but it may clearly not represent speech that was ever uttered by another individual. For instance, in Tannen (2010), the words of a dog and an unborn child are presented as reported speech. This speech, however, was useful for speakers who wanted to make statements indirectly by attributing them to someone else.

In Tannen (2010), examples of invented reported speech were considered to be cases of ventriloquizing. In my data, such invented reported speech, and therefore true ventriloquizing, was very rare. However, my participants, particularly those who were Zapotec-speaking and feminine, often mentioned machista ideology in epistemic stances and negative affective stances about the reality of machismo in Juchitán, often including stances towards the alleged speech, thoughts, and social norms of sexist and homophobic men. As in ventriloquizing, these descriptions sometimes included words or cited beliefs that probably were not actually uttered or thought, as the men I met who I suspected might have had machista beliefs and behaviors tended to mention and manage ideologies in a way that created ambivalent positions.

For instance, a 37-year-old muxe participant claimed that some men do not "let" their wives have enough freedom because *ellos son machos* (they are men). This parody of how sexist men think and what they might say, while enjoyable to listen to and a typical example of mentioned machista ideology, is probably not accurate. However, when I asked a 38-year-old male participant, who expressed the most sexist views to me, what he thinks about the view, held by many foreigners, that women are in charge in Juchitán, he said *qué van a mandar* (what could they be in charge of). This utterance could express the hurt masculine pride of being so little of a "man" that one lets oneself be controlled by women, but, importantly, this hurt sexist pride is not expressed directly as such. Later, this participant elaborated on his point by saying *si te dejas también te van a pegar o sea pero yo como estoy grandote como me va a pegar ella* (if you allow it, they (women) will hit you, well, but since I'm big, how is she (my wife) going to hit me). Thus, the person's sexism is also justified through a worldview in which people need to be more powerful than others to intimidate them and thereby avoid being

hurt. Such a worldview probably motivates much sexism in a place where many people, including men, have experienced violence, but it is not cited by those implicitly ventriloquizing men with machista thoughts and behaviors. Thus, in short, machista people usually take on some machista views and behaviors, but they do not always show the motives that others ascribe to them for their machista behaviors and views.

Yet, these epistemic stances and negative affective stances move in the direction of ventriloquizing for another reason as well. Namely, they were accompanied by a linguistic feature (higher rates of /s/ retention) that appears to be cited from the speech of those who embody "Mexicanness", typically use a style of "Mexicanness", and, relatedly, are more likely to engage in machista behaviors. As such, the style of "Mexicanness" is ventriloquized to make these comments, which are not invented direct quotes, but still express qualities associated with the people whose style is being taken on. In this case, the ventriloquizing need only be implicit because the citation itself is only implicit. No speaker is quoted in full, so voicing also does not occur in full. Instead, reported speech, assumed beliefs, and/or witnessed behavior are implicitly referenced, and the corresponding change in voicing is only subtle.

Implicit ventriloquizing here can be understood as the attribution of a belief, statement, or norm to someone, while also making a small change to one's speech in the direction of the person to whom one is attributing that particular belief, statement, or norm. The speaker moves their linguistic behavior to a middle point between their own habitual way of speaking and an imitation of someone else's, by changing their use of a single linguistic variable. This small shift is detectable in quantitative analysis, but it is probably neither particularly salient to the speaker nor to any interlocutors or other listeners. That being said, a function of ventriloquizing is still performed. In making this small shift, the speaker can take partial advantage of the power of ventriloquizing to allow them to distance themselves from comments that they want to reference but must avoid affiliating with at all costs so that they can mention an issue that harms them, link that issue to the perpetrators of that harm, and distance themselves from those people. Implicit ventriloquizing, and how it links to audience design (Bell 1984), are further explored in Section 8.3.

7.4 Interpretations of Variation in Gender Assignment - Part 1

In this section, I begin by reminding the reader of findings that could suggest that the "generic masculine" (Medina Guerra 2016) helps explain the grammatical gender given to muxe referents in Juchitán before arguing strongly against this interpretation. This sets the stage to bring up the other major findings and discuss my interpretations of them. In the subsequent discussion, I remind the reader of certain key results, which I link to the findings of previous anthropological and other qualitative research on grammatical gender assignment, providing additional, statistical support for the existence of the phenomena described in this literature. Later, I also explore what the observed patterns of variation mean about gender and how it is constructed in Juchitán.

It is firstly important to point out that, although grammatical number did not influence the rate of feminine reference for muxes, masculine reference was overall much more common. This overall higher rate of masculine reference could at first glance imply that the masculine is being used for muxes, as it often is for non-muxes, as an ostensibly "generic masculine" that refers to people of any gender. Although evidence suggests the so-called "generic masculine" in Spanish carries largely masculine, rather than gender-neutral, associations (Medina Guerra 2016; Zunino & Stetie 2022), it is still common for the "generic masculine" to be used when the gender of a referent is either unknown or refers to both men and women (Medina Guerra 2016).

However, if the "generic masculine" were being used here, plurals would be expected to be linked to higher rates of masculine gender assignment. Since plurals more often refer to mixed-gender groups than singular nouns and adjectives, many masculine plurals are cases of the "generic masculine". The fact that plurals are not linked to higher rates of masculine gender assignment in Juchitán strongly implies that the use of a "generic masculine" for mixed groups of muxe gunaa, muxe nguiu, and other muxe referents is not occurring here. In other words, the apparent use of the generic masculine here seems to be nothing more than an illusion. This apparent but illusory "generic masculine" must instead be explained through recourse to other factors, which I will mention in greater detail in Section 7.4.

Many of the other results regarding which factors influence feminine gender assignment fit with the results of anthropological and other qualitative studies on the

use of grammatical gender assignment by and about LGBT and "third gender" community members. Thus, my results show, in part, that similar factors seem to influence feminine gender assignment in this quantitative study of muxes in Juchitán as in qualitative studies of other communities. Firstly, the fact that muxes are typically referred to in the masculine when described in familial functions but in the feminine when they are identical to or friends with the speaker reflects patterns observed among hijras, travestis, and, to a lesser extent, other LGBT people in Latin America (Barbosa 2016; Bengoechea 2015; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Gagné & Rodríguez 2006; Hall 2013; Hall & O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997; Laaksonen 2016; Vacarezza 2018; Vargas Cervantes 2014).

Like the muxes in my sample, these other groups also variably used masculine and feminine grammatical gender assignment to perform important functions. Particularly notably, travestis and hijras both used masculine reference when mentioning the "childhood" (a familial function) of group members but opted for feminine reference when expressing solidarity and a lack of interpersonal/psychological distance (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Hall & O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997). In this way, my results add statistical strength, and therefore stronger justification, for major claims made by anthropologists and sociolinguistics studying these groups in the past. More information on the social meaning of this aspect of my results can be found in Section 7.5.

However, in contrast to what I expected based on research on hijras, travestis, and other LGBT groups, masculine reference was used overwhelmingly more often by most gendered groups for all muxe subgroups, except for muxe gunaa. This result is, however, less surprising in light of Barbosa (2016)'s comment that muxes who typically dress as men (all muxes who are not muxe gunaa) tend to be referred to with masculine gender markings. Furthermore, the gender expression of hijras and travestis is on average much more feminine and much more uniform (Hall & O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997) than the gender expression of muxes, which varies greatly from very masculine to very feminine. This variability and greater amount of masculinity in muxe gender expression may lead to an overall greater use of masculine reference for muxes. It is also interesting to note that, in contrast to what was found regarding hijras (Hall & O'Donovan 1996), muxes are usually referred to similarly by out-group members as by in-group members.

Also, in contrast to Barbosa (2016)'s observation, elderly people did not seem to

exclusively use masculine gender assignment for muxes, opting for the same patterns as most other adult speakers. Younger speakers, on the other hand, used masculine assignment more often. Furthermore, the age of the referent did not significantly influence the variation, even though, based on anthropological research on hijras and travestis (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Hall & O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997), muxe children might be expected to be referred to in the masculine. In this case, however, any greater use of masculine forms for children might be better explained by the description of the referent as a family member since children are often described in terms of their family relationships within the data.

It may be that Barbosa (2016) picked up on a linguistic phenomenon that was either particularly salient to her personally or salient in a non-representative subgroup of the community, an elderly person refusing to use feminine reference for muxe gunaa, and mistakenly believed it was a frequent phenomenon. In the case of her research, as well as the research on hijras and travestis (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Hall & O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997), despite the use of triangulation to identify the same phenomena in different sources of data, a lack of statistical analysis may have caused the frequency of the phenomena in question to be misjudged. Ethnography, due to its situated nature, necessarily picks up on behaviors in a subgroup of individuals within a larger community. As such, the results of ethnographical work may sometimes fail to be representative of the larger community. This is perfectly acceptable; it is a major goal of ethnography to identify common and recurrent patterns but not necessarily to identify patterns that hold throughout an entire community or to figure out the exact frequency of these patterns.

For this reason, a statistical approach can act as a complement to ethnography by identifying which ethnographic observations apply to a larger sample of speakers and are thereby generalizable to a larger community. As such, modern ethnographers have begun adding statistical tools such as Nvivo, MAXQDA, and Transana to their triangulation toolkit (Hall 2017; Jacques 2021; Žalys 2022). The results of this variationist approach to gender assignment therefore highlight the importance of continuing this work of triangulating claims about patterns of frequency with statistical analysis, as salient uses of language can otherwise easily be confused with frequent ones and subgroup-specific uses of language can seem more generalizable than they are.

In Juchitán, as in other Spanish-speaking places, men are almost exclusively re-

ferred to with masculine gender markings, and women are almost only referred to with feminine gender markings. Thus, the variability of gender assignment used for muxes referents, among most speakers in the sample, suggests that most people in Juchitán see most muxes as occupying a position between male and female. However, most people in Juchitán also seem to place most muxes closer to the masculine side of the binary, seeing as they more frequently use masculine gender assignment when talking about most muxes. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that feminine gender assignment was more frequent in noun phrases coded as "counterfactual" where the gender assignment provided was simultaneously denaturalized (see the discussion in Section 5.4 and corresponding examples in Table 5.2).

Since these noun phrases describe hypothetical states or provide comparisons, they were often used to describe muxes as being similar to particular genders without identifying them with that gender. This suggests that such comments were often used to assign muxes to a gender provisionally, without implying muxes had that gender. In other words, in these comments, a gendered identification was provided for muxes and simultaneously denied or otherwise denaturalized. Since these counterfactual phrases more frequently contained feminine items, muxes' femininity was more frequently denaturalized than their masculinity in these phrases.

That being said, it seems like most people, whether in-group members or out-group members, refer to muxes and gay men with the gender markings that they prefer for themselves, pointing to, as is often attested in the literature, the overall naturalization, tolerance, and/or respect for the gendered identity that people in Juchitán decide to take on. In my observations in Juchitán, most muxes present similarly to men despite self-identifying as being between male and female. Thus, such patterns of masculine and feminine reference fit with their gendered identity. Muxe gunaa, on the other hand, who identify more closely to women, were overwhelmingly referred to with the feminine gender markers that they prefer. Gay men, who reject the muxe label and identify as men, were even more overwhelmingly referred to with the gender markers they prefer, in this case, masculine gender markers. It is important to note that these gay men were not necessarily more masculine than muxe nguiu and muxes without a label in their gender expression, merely their gender identity.

Yet, there also seems to be a great deal of interspeaker variation in how frequently speakers assign masculinity to muxes. In general, unlike with variation in syllable-final

/s/, there was a greater amount of statistically significant differences in how often different gendered groups used feminine gender assignment to refer to muxes. This is likely linked to the differences between different gendered groups regarding how willing each group is to interpell muxes as feminine, due to sometimes subtle differences in how differently gendered identities are experienced in Juchitán. Most notably, in terms of interspeaker variation, people under 27 and, especially, men used masculine gender assignment for muxes significantly more frequently, interpellating muxes as closer to the masculine side of the gender spectrum than other speakers considered them to be. On the other hand, muxe gunaa used grammatically feminine markers for muxes, even when those muxes were not muxe gunaa identified, interpellating them as more feminine than masculine.

As such, it seems that muxe femininity is denied by young people, and especially men, through their tendency to use high rates of masculine gender assignment for muxe referents. There may be many reasons for this linguistic behavior. On the one hand, gay-identified men, who form part of the male category, do not like the muxe label, which they often associate with regressive values. For instance, Fernando explained to me that he rejected the muxe label because he wanted to be able to marry and have his own family instead of having to take care of his parents. Another 24-year-old gay-identified participant of mine rejected the muxe label even more strongly, saying that *no la comparto (la identidad muxe) porque es una forma como muy tonta de pensar* (I don't share it (muxe identity) because it's a really like stupid way of thinking). He linked taking on a muxe identity to taking on roles that imply denigration or foolishness. Therefore, these people, in using the feminine gender less, may be showing how strongly they reject the concept of "muxe" identity, rather than rejecting femininity per se.

On the other hand, young people and other, non-gay men may also be more likely to see "muxe" identity as a local expression of "gay" identity, rather than an in-between gender status (Laaksonen 2016). This may be because both of these groups, due to their association with "Mexicanness" (see Section 7.2), are more likely to take on a "Western" understanding of gender that classifies "gay" men as men. Additionally, more anti-muxe behaviors and attitudes can be seen among men than among women (Miano Borruso 2001), so men's lower rates of feminine gender assignment for muxe referents may also be a way to reject muxes through rejecting the validity of their felt differ-

ence from men. Rejecting muxes' femininity may be particularly important for men who do not want others to believe they have had muxe sexual partners. In anthropological articles (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002) and statements from my participants, it was clear that "heterosexual" men often had sex with muxe partners but that doing so was stigmatized. For instance, a 24-year-old male participant remarked that many people in Juchitán *dicen no eres hombre si no te has acostado con un muxe pero no te dicen con que muxe se acostaron ellos* (say you aren't a man if you haven't slept with a muxe but they don't say which muxe they slept with). These men apparently have had sex with a muxe and believe that most other men have as well, but they would find it too stigmatizing to openly take ownership of these sexual experiences.

Since many people in Juchitán believe that most if not all men have slept with a muxe, some men might want to deny muxe femininity to implicitly make it clear that they do not see muxes as (feminine) objects of sexual desire like women. On the other hand, one might think that it would make sense for these men to present muxes they had sex with as feminine, including by using feminine reference, to make their desires for muxes seem like less of a threat to their heterosexuality. However, to talk about muxes in such a way, they would need to first acknowledge that they consider a muxe to be a potential sexual partner, and heterosexual men in Juchitán seem to want to completely negate this possibility, even if they have in fact slept with a muxe. As such, in using masculine reference for muxes, they may be trying to negate the possibility of it even occurring to them to sleep with a muxe by presenting muxes as masculine and therefore not (feminine) objects of male desire. Less problematically, men may be simply less likely to feel close to muxes since muxes are more feminine than them. Due to a lack of close relationships with muxes, some men may also be thereby less aware of how muxes experience their own gender identity and prefer to be addressed. This train of thought leads to other interpretations of the findings that are explored in Section 7.5.

On the other hand, muxe gunaa used feminine reference for muxes at such a high rate that they clearly apply feminine gender routinely to people who identify as more masculine. This point is highlighted by the fact that even the label "muxe nguiiu" often carried feminine gender markings when muxe gunaa used the word. There could be many reasons that muxe gunaa would want to "overuse" feminine gender markings

for muxe referents. One reason is that muxe gunaa people in Juchitán, being assigned male at birth, were given a male name, referred to with male grammatical gender, and initially expected to take on male social roles. As they gradually took on a muxe identity, this step required more changes for them than for other muxes, as at that point, muxe gunaa took on a female name and began presenting femininely. Muxe gunaa have restricted job opportunities and are otherwise more stigmatized than other muxes (Céspedes Vargas 2015), so some muxe gunaa I met initially identified with another muxe label and presented more masculinely before fully accepting their muxe gunaa identity and presenting themselves as such to the world.

Accordingly, there are probably many muxe gunaa who do not identify as such due to the stigma, and many muxe gunaa remember being in this position themselves. These individuals may believe that all muxes are "repressed" in this way, wanting to identify and present as muxe gunaa but afraid of the consequences. Some muxe gunaa participants of mine accordingly expressed the sentiment that muxe gunaa are more authentically muxe and that masculine muxes are repressed. Therefore, muxe gunaa may deny the masculinity of masculine muxes as being inauthentic, even in cases where it feels authentic to the muxes in question (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016). It is also possible that muxe gunaa may be "overcompensating" for their gender identity being denied in the past or claiming feminine power by using the feminine form for all muxes. Otherwise, muxe gunaa might simply feel closer to other muxes and, since they typically use feminine reference for themselves, extend that usage to other muxes. These possibilities fit with other interpretations of the findings that are explored in Section 7.5 and 7.6.

7.5 Interpretations of Variation in Gender Assignment - Part 2

I continue my discussion of variation in gender assignment here, but I focus more on how gender assignment seems to have gained other social meanings, allowing it to be used for other purposes. I particularly focus on how gender is used to mark different types of social relationships, as well as its relationship with the construct of "Zapotecness". In the end, I discuss possible explanations for the relationship between two ostensibly internal linguistic factors, distribution and noun phrase, and feminine gender assignment.

Much of the evidence points to the use of the feminine for muxe referents to mark interpersonal/psychological closeness, solidarity, or other related meanings. Most notably, the fact that people use the feminine more often to talk about themselves or their friends when the referent is muxe shows that the feminine gender has gained this meaning since this fact would be difficult to describe any other way. On the other hand, the masculine seems to frequently be used to mark the family roles muxes play and somewhat paradoxically also to mark distance and discrimination against muxes. The strongest evidence to show this is the relationship between describing a muxe as a family member and the use of masculine gender assignment, as well as the relationship between masculine gender assignment and talking about non-friends.

To illustrate the way that feminine and masculine reference can indicate closeness and either non-closeness or family status respectively, take the following examples from a 37-year-old muxe (without a label) into consideration. This participant, when talking about their friends, said *ya nos acompañan muxes como así como más mis amigas ... cuando ellas van vestidas de mujeres* (muxes accompany us like more my friends(f) ... when they(f) go dressed(f) as women). On the other hand, while mentioning other muxes, they said *en el mercado también hay algunos em muxes trabajando* (in the market, there are also some(m) uh muxes working), and, when talking about their relationship with their mother, they said *acá en la casa mi hijo va a decir mi mamá* (here at home my mom will say my son).

Regarding muxe gunaa referents, consistently using feminine gender markings is a sign of respecting their identity by accurately and directly indexing their feminine identity, whereas occasionally using feminine gender markings for other muxes reflects an acceptance of muxes' in-between status. People who feel close to individual muxes would therefore presumably respect them and want to use the gender markings that these individuals prefer for themselves. Therefore, this recognition of femininity gains a further social meaning of closeness since closeness implies and leads to the recognition of muxes' femininity. This n+1 order index (Silverstein 2003) of feminine gender markings appears to have led to a relationship between friendship, or self-identity itself, and more frequent feminine gender assignment.

On the other hand, using masculine gender markings for muxe gunaa is a sign of not respecting their feminine identity and can be experienced as very offensive by muxe gunaa. For instance, Alejandra commented on how offensive she found this

form of misgendering multiple times after we did our interview. For other muxes, using the masculine gender marker exclusively or too frequently can also indicate that the speaker does not accept muxes' in-between gender identity, and gay-identified men who reject a muxe identity use masculine gender assignment to interpellate themselves and others as men. Therefore, rejecting the femininity of muxes also frequently co-occurs with social distance from muxes. People who reject the muxe identity for themselves or when they see it in others simultaneously show social distance with muxes. This could lead to a $n+1$ order index (Silverstein 2003) linking social distance, independently of interpellated social gender, to rates of gender assignment. This index then allows social distance to independently predict masculine gender assignment.

Muxes appear to be assigned masculine gender more often when talked about in their family roles because, when they are born into their families, they are assumed to be male and have a male identity. It is only later that they begin to develop a more feminine identity with correspondingly less masculine roles (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002). Thus, such words that describe or indicate the family relationships of muxes seem to be almost invariably used in the masculine. However, muxes are also often accepted less quickly within their families of origin than they are by the rest of Juchitán, and it is very common for muxes to talk about being strongly rejected by family members for many years, often including physical violence, before acceptance came (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001). As such, the family roles of muxes are often associated with discrimination, which could also help explain the fact that muxes are more often assigned masculine gender when talked about in these roles.

The constructs of "Zapotecness" and "Mexicanness" seem less central in explaining this variation, as will be further emphasized in Section 7.6. On the one hand, a greater degree of femininity does to some extent predict a greater use of the feminine gender assignment for muxe referents, fitting with the construct of Zapotecness, as using feminine gender assignment for muxes is a more or less local phenomenon. Further supporting this idea is the fact that speakers with a high level of Zapotec, both balanced bilinguals and Zapotec-dominant speakers, used feminine gender assignment for muxes more often than speakers who were monolingual or strongly dominant in Spanish. As such, speaking Zapotec seems to be linked with using feminine gender assignment more often for muxes, pointing to a possible link between "Zapotecness"

and the use of feminine gender (see 7.6 for more information).

Interestingly, however, different language competence-based groups of speakers behaved more distinctly from one another for this variable than they did for syllable-final /s/. Keep in mind that, originally, the speakers were classified as monolingual in Spanish, bilingual but dominant in Spanish, bilingual but dominant in Zapotec, bilingual with equal competence in both languages, or Spanish-speaking with some competence in Zapotec. For grammatical gender, I regrouped the Spanish-dominant bilingual group and the Spanish-speaking group that had some competence in Zapotec together and otherwise performed no regroupings. In contrast, for syllable-final /s/, regrouping led to a smaller number of groups, but the Spanish-speaking group who had some competence in Zapotec remained separate. To some extent, this difference may reflect class differences that I will explain in later paragraphs. The balanced bilingual group, for instance, was composed of speakers who had, in general, access to higher education.

Also, speaking monolingual Spanish, even for those with some competence in Zapotec, may lead to less use of the feminine grammatical gender for language competence and frequency-based reasons. For monolingual speakers of Spanish, it may be particularly difficult to use more than one grammatical gender to refer to the same person. In practically all native Spanish varieties, every single noun is always referred to with one grammatical gender, and this tendency extends to human referents as well. In other words, a single speaker is referred to with the same single grammatical gender. Furthermore, using two grammatical genders for the same speaker could be particularly cognitively demanding for monolingual Spanish speakers, as some studies suggest that monolinguals in Spanish use grammatical gender to assist them in processing the meaning of nouns to a greater extent than second language speakers (Dussias et al. 2013) and bilinguals, for whom the grammatical gender, or lack thereof, of nouns in their other first language is a competing influence on their processing of grammatical gender in Spanish (Sá-Leite et al. 2019). Since masculine gender assignment is more frequent for muxes, these speakers probably, in general, use masculine gender markings more frequently anyway. As a result, the cognitive load of occasionally using feminine gender assignment for these speakers would likely be higher for them than for other speakers.

The use of feminine or masculine grammatical gender assignment was not at all re-

lated to spending more time outside of Juchitán. However, people with high-status/high-income formal sector jobs, as well as balanced bilingual Zapotec-Spanish speakers, used feminine gender assignment slightly more frequently than other speakers. Balanced bilingual speakers, as well as speakers in high-status formal sector jobs, seemed to be speakers with a higher level of access to education. Thus, these results show that the constructs of "Mexicanness" and "Zapotecness" do not explain the variation quite as well here since the influence of this construct should lead speakers with a higher socioeconomic position and speakers who had spent more time outside of Juchitán to use feminine gender assignment less often for muxes.

This less clear relationship may be caused by different levels of awareness regarding gender minorities and the use of grammatical gender in other parts of Mexico. As in many other places, there is a growing awareness of trans and non-binary identities in Mexico, and it seems that a growing number of people openly identify with grammatical gender markings that do not correspond with their assigned gender based on biological sex. As in other countries, this development is not without controversy, as many, even young people, hold strongly onto cis-normative views of gender (Otero & Casado-Neira 2016). However, in educated circles, it is becoming increasingly common to know about these issues and refer to people with the grammatical gender they prefer, regardless of their assigned gender at birth.

Furthermore, it is a common phenomenon throughout Mexico for gay men to refer to each other with feminine gender markings. Although this phenomenon has, to my knowledge, only rarely been mentioned in research, practically any Mexican gay man you could ask would attest to this, and many of my participants in Juchitán mentioned the phenomenon to me. Furthermore, as in Brazil (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997), although travestis, and other trans people, are few in number, they are quite visible in some metropolitan areas in Mexico (Castillo 2006; Gutiérrez Martínez 2020). Like in Brazil (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997), transfeminine speakers in Mexico anecdotally appear to generally use feminine grammatical gender assignment for themselves and each other (Gutiérrez Martínez 2020). Therefore, people from Juchitán living in metropolitan areas and/or interacting frequently with LGBT people would have heard people they would consider "muxe" back in Juchitán referred to with feminine gender assignment. For these speakers, this likely reinforced the norm, first created in Juchitán, that most muxes should be referred to with variable feminine

and masculine gender assignment.

On the other hand, in the rest of Mexico outside of Juchitán, a lack of understanding and/or acceptance of LGBT people, probably including those with non-cisgender identities, is more common amongst less educated people (Castro Cornejo & Álvarez Reyes 2023). These people may have less access to the spaces where such issues are discussed, less access to information about gender minorities overall, and/or more contact with evangelicals, who are particularly non-accepting of LGBT people in Mexico. In many conservative parts of Mexico, the overall population may be downright hostile to gender minorities (Castillo 2006), making using their preferred grammatical gender markings out of the question. In fact, many muxes I talked to experienced strong rejection of their gender identity in at least some parts of Mexico they visited. Therefore, people in Juchitán, depending on their background, could be expected to have lived in contexts outside of Juchitán where higher rates of feminine gender assignment were accepted and expected for "muxe"-seeming individuals and/or where masculine gender assignment was a strongly preferred norm. Thus, rates of gender assignment for muxe referents may depend on what type of space people from Juchitán frequented, rather than how long they spent outside of Juchitán in general.

Having a high-status formal sector job typically implies having spent time outside Juchitán in an educational institution and/or working with people who have a certain level of higher education. Furthermore, the balanced bilingual group seemed to have a high level of fluency and literacy in both languages, implying high contact with both well-educated monolingual Spanish speakers and well-educated Zapotec speakers. Therefore, these people likely had some level of contact with progressive ideas about gender, both inside and outside of Juchitán. This contact could lead people with these jobs to combine the level of respect they learned to show towards muxes with the level of respect they learned to show towards other, similar gender minorities in other spaces, causing them to use feminine gender assignment slightly more frequently when talking about muxe referents.

Another finding worth explaining here is the fact that adjacent pairs of controllers and targets led to marginally less feminine gender assignment than non-adjacent pairs of controllers and targets. For a reminder of how adjacency was defined, consult the discussion of distribution in Section 5.4, and for examples consult Table 5.2. These findings fit well with the findings in Levon (2012) for Hebrew. In this study, a discourse-

level factor related to distribution could be causing this pattern of variation. Specifically, since the overall rate of masculine gender assignment was higher than the overall rate of feminine gender assignment, adjacent controller and target pairs would be automatically more likely to contain at least one masculine gender marker than at least one feminine one. Furthermore, gender agreement would be expected to occur particularly often in such pairs, as adjacency conditions gender agreement (Díaz Barajas & Orozco 2019; Levon 2012). These two facts together could cause adjacency to correlate with masculine gender assignment, as noun phrases with multiple elements marked for gender would be more likely to have at least one masculine gender marking that would then condition masculine gender assignment in the whole noun phrase.

Feminine gender assignment was slightly more common in the subject position than it was in the object position. Since new referents are typically mentioned in the object position (Ashby & Bentivoglio 1993; Du Bois 2003), this could imply that new muxe referents are more frequently referred to with masculine gender markings. However, this seems unlikely to me for two reasons. Firstly, seriality was not statistically significant, which would have lent support to this interpretation. Secondly, impressionistically, new referents often appeared in the form of feminine names. Instead, I propose that this relationship is due to the level of agency attributed to muxe referents.

For clauses spoken or written in the active voice, putting a referent in the subject position implies that the referent is an active participant in an action, whereas the object position casts the referent as the passive recipient of an action. Along these lines, studies have shown that female referents are often more likely than male referents to be the object of a sentence in active voice or the subject of a sentence in passive voice, reflecting an unconscious gender discrimination in which men are actors and women are passive recipients of action (Frazer & Miller 2009; Kotek et al. 2021; Norberg 2016). In the case of Juchitán, for muxe referents, feminine gender assignment is a sign, especially for muxe gunaa but to a certain extent also for other muxes, that the speaker has taken on a feminine identity that others respect. In other words, it is a sign that muxes are viewed as agents.

Contrastingly, the amplified use of the masculine can deny muxes their claimed feminine identity, indexing a lack of closeness and disrespect for the muxes' chosen identity. As we will see in Section 7.6, it can also index mentioned ideologies where muxes are subjugated to men. Such disrespect and discrimination denies muxes their

agency. Such patterns of use could cause a relationship to appear between talking about muxes in the object position, which often implies a lack of agency, and using masculine gender assignment more frequently, which also implies less respect for muxes' agency.

7.6 Mentioned Ideologies and Variation in Assigned Gender

To finish the discussion of variation in assigned gender, I look at the correlation between mentioned ideologies and the variation in question, interpreting what these correlations suggest about the social meaning of assigned gender in Juchitán, in light of the other findings. I begin by reminding the reader of the main findings regarding the relationship between social factors and syllable-final /s/ variation, including how well these findings map onto the relationship between mentioned ideologies and syllable-final /s/ variation. Additionally, I state which of my earlier hypotheses were confirmed and rejected. Then, I reflect on why mentioned matriarchal and machista ideologies might be significant determiners of gender assignment, rather than other ideologies. Finally, I suggest that masculine gender assignment may have gained an additional meaning of muxe non-acceptance/rejection, despite the fact that many muxes readily use masculine gender assignment for themselves and other muxes.

The results showed that feminine gender assignment was seen in 23.09% of cases where machista ideology was mentioned, as opposed to 34.05% for statements coded for matriarchal ideology. This result confirms my hypothesis that machista ideology would lead to greater use of masculine gender markers to refer to muxes. Since I did not look at gender (dis)agreement in the final analysis, the hypothesis that expressed Zapotec gender ideology would condition non-agreement in grammatical gender could be neither confirmed nor rejected.

Although the significance of these findings can be linked to the constructs of "Zapotecness" and "Mexicanness", just like the findings for syllable-final /s/ and mentioned ideology, this is a less central explanation of the findings for this variable. The construct of "Mexicanness" could help explain the similarity between the lower rates of feminine reference used by young people and men, as well as about muxes who are not muxe gunaa identified, and the lower rates of feminine reference for utterances marked for machista gender ideology. Men and young people tend to use the retained

variant of /s/, which is linked to "Mexicanness", more often, and a case could be made that masculine gender assignment for muxe referents is more readily linked to "Mexicanness" by local people.

There is some evidence that "Mexicanness" might be more readily linked to masculine reference and "Zapotecness" to feminine reference. Firstly, although gay men in Mexico anecdotally often use feminine gender markers for gay male in-group members and/or talk to any gay Mexican man, non-gay, out-group members are generally not considered to follow these patterns, like they do in Juchitán. Since most muxes in my sample have had the experience of being considered "gay" when they leave Juchitán to spend time in the rest of Mexico, it could therefore be that they also come to associate the masculine with how people from the rest of Mexico refer to them.

Furthermore, muxes have long been recognized in Juchitán as being not quite male and not quite female (Barbosa 2016; Stephen 2002), and, accordingly, both in-group and out-group female gender assignment for muxes is attested in my data. The use of both grammatical gender markings to talk about muxes has therefore probably been prevalent for at least many decades in Juchitán, which could reinforce the association between "Mexicanness" and masculinity, as well as "Zapotecness" and femininity.

Muxe gunaa, as mentioned in Section 7.2, can be understood as exemplars of this construct of "Zapotecness", since they disproportionately wear traditional clothing, take on traditional jobs, and present femininely, all of which are strongly tied to "Zapotecness". Thus, the fact that feminine gender is more often used to talk about them could be linked, to a certain extent, to people associating them with "Zapotecness", as opposed to other muxes, who are less strongly associated with "Zapotecness" or more closely associated with "Mexicanness". However, I would not put too much weight on this explanation, as the results reflected on in Section 7.5 suggest other social meanings that could play a larger role in influencing this variation. Specifically, it seems that, while the feminine grammatical gender marks femininity, it has also come to mark closeness, intimacy, and friendship when applied to muxes. At the same time, when applied to muxes, the masculine grammatical gender has come to mark distance and, paradoxically, family ties, in addition to masculinity. These social meanings, taken together with the fact that mentioned machista ideology also leads to lower rates of feminine gender assignment, suggest that masculine gender assignment also indexes the non-acceptance or rejection of muxes in Juchitán.

As with syllable-final /s/ variation, speakers may be making use of implicit ventriloquizing here as well, to move in the direction of voicing young men, and other speakers who tend to be considered homophobic or sexist, when mentioning machista ideology. Thereby, the speakers who are most harmed by machista behaviors and ideas can mention these ideologies while making it abundantly clear that they do not affiliate with them. In this case, both the subtle voicing change and the coherence-making strategies would make it very clear that expressed machista ideology was being mentioned without being affiliated with.

In addition to mentioned machista ideology, mentioned matriarchal ideology was statistically significant, leading, in this case, to slightly higher use of the feminine gender marking. To see an example of typical cases of mentioned machista ideology with masculine reference and mentioned matriarchal ideology with feminine reference, consult Table 7.1. This points to a link between using feminine gender markings and making comments that imply muxes are as or more powerful, valuable, etc. than men. In other words, feminine gender markings are used for comments marking or mentioning muxe superiority, or at least muxe power. This slightly higher rate of feminine grammatical gender in statements with mentioned matriarchal ideologies moves in the direction of rates used for muxe gunaa (82.58%), for people with a close affective distance to the speaker like friends and self-reference (50.95%), and by more feminine muxe speakers like muxe gunaa (75.89%) and muxes without a label (38.62%). Furthermore, the percentage of feminine reference in statements coded for mentioned matriarchal ideology is similar to the percentage used by speakers 27 years old or older (34.06%) and by speakers with a very high level in Zapotec, namely Zapotec-dominant speakers (33.08%) and balanced bilinguals (34.87%). As such, when speakers make statements implying muxe superiority or power, they use variants associated with feminine muxes, friendship, and also older Zapotec speakers.

Thus, it can be said that feminine gender assignment is used to express feminine power in Juchitán, particularly a Zapotec feminine power that is linked to the construct of "Zapotecness". This interpretation is also reinforced by other findings. Muxes gunaa are, as I explained earlier, exemplary of "Zapotecness", and they are also the speakers who use feminine gender assignment the most and the speakers about whom feminine gender assignment is used the most. These facts together may help create and reinforce an association between feminine gender assignment and a form of strong femininity

Matriarchal Ideology	
Original Comment es como la matriarca muxe ... pero él ella está en cortometrajes	Translation she's like the(f) muxe matriarch(f) ... but he she's in short movies
Machista Ideology	
Original Comment Hablaron mal de los muxes, hablando de los muxes ... que los muxes no, no es bueno, pues que se muera	Translation They spoke bad about the(m) muxes, talking about the(m) muxes ... that the(m) muxes no, it's not good, well that he should die

Table 7.1: Examples of Mentioned Matriarchal Ideology with Masculine Reference and Mentioned Machista Ideology with Feminine Reference

associated with "Zapotecness". Muxes gunaa also take on roles that are associated with women's hard work, hard work that is sometimes, for instance, in matriarchal ideology, considered to be more characteristic of women than men. In other words, many of the reasons for which, in matriarchal ideology, women are considered superior to men are linked to women's and muxes' working roles. These traditional roles are associated with the construct of "Zapotecness". As such, the use of more feminine gender markers when mentioning matriarchal ideology may be linked to an understanding of strong femininity that is linked to "Zapotecness" and causes feminine gender markings to index feminine (Zapotec) power.

Since speakers mentioning matriarchal ideology are seemingly slightly more likely to affiliate with these ideologies than machista ideology, implicit ventriloquizing functions less well here as an explanation. Speakers typically do not fully affiliate with this ideology either, but they normally reject it less often and less strongly than they reject machista ideology. The relative lack of implicit ventriloquizing for this mentioned ideology may help explain why it is less significant than machista ideology (a p-value of 0.0221 as opposed to a p-value of 0.0008). However, in both cases, how speakers orient to non-present referents can help explain the results, as I will explain in Section 8.3 and 8.4).

Both of these mentioned ideologies, namely machista and matriarchal mentioned ideologies, are significant due to their close relationship with gender identity, which, in turn, is very closely linked to grammatical gender markings. Masculine gender mark-

ings can come to index rejection of muxes because muxes are often rejected by denying their gender identity, leading to a relationship between mentioned machista ideology and masculine gender markings. In turn, feminine gender markings can come to index feminine, particularly Zapotec feminine, power.

Overall, the results for all of the factors that are related to masculine/feminine gender assignment in Juchitán, show that gender assignment has a complex constellation of social meanings that are related, but not identical, to femininity and masculinity as social constructs. This implies that the meanings of masculine/feminine gender assignment through language may also be complicated and nuanced in other contexts, a point that is often not considered in debates about the use of gender-neutral language, by both linguistic conservatives and activists for gender-neutral language. This issue, along with the use of gender assignment in variationist studies more generally, are discussed in Section 8.2. Having presented my interpretations of the main results for syllable-final /s/ variation and grammatical gender assignment in Juchitán in this chapter, I will move on to the theoretical, practical, and societal implications of these findings in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

(Meta)Discussion of the Implications of the Results

8.1 The Category "Muxe" and Variation

I discuss, in the following paragraphs, the relationship between the category *muxe* and variation because, since not much research explores sociolinguistic variation with regards to non-female and non-male gender identities, these insights could help variationist researchers in the future who want to look at gender beyond the binary and identities associated with the global North. I initially discuss the importance of looking at subcategories within an umbrella term, such as *muxe*, that may superficially seem to refer to one gendered group, but actually mask a larger diversity of individuals. Later, more generally, I explore the implications of the relationship between variation patterns and these subcategories regarding how ethnography can be used and how gender can be understood in sociolinguistic research.

Overall, the results seem to show that different subcategories of *muxes* are often correlated with different linguistic behaviors, implying that it is not useful to treat *muxe* as a single category when explaining patterns of variation. In particular, for both variables, there were always significant differences between *muxe gunaa* and other *muxes*, with *muxe gunaa*, in both cases, using the feminine form, or form associated with women, significantly more frequently. This suggests that the unique aspects of *muxe gunaa* identity, particularly their strong affiliation with femininity, and their corresponding relationship with traditional markers of "Zapotecness", cause this group to stand out from other *muxe* identities in terms of their linguistic behavior.

However, the similarity between *muxes'* linguistic behavior and that of binary hetero-cis-normative people seems to depend on the variable. When looking at the influence of gender as a social factor on rates of syllable-final /s/ retention, most *muxes* and men retain /s/ at significantly higher rates than *muxe gunaa* and women, and there is no significant difference between most *muxes* and men or between *muxe gunaa* and women. This means that, in terms of this variable, *muxe gunaa* and women show the same pattern of variation, whereas other *muxes* and men also show the same pattern of variation as one another.

In terms of feminine and masculine gender assignment, on the other hand, the

significant and non-significant differences between subgroups of muxes, men, and women take on other configurations. While all genders use feminine gender assignment for muxe referents sometimes, it is much more common amongst muxe gunaa than for any other gendered group. Furthermore, men (including gay men) use masculine gender assignment for muxe referents significantly more often compared to other gendered groups. All other speakers, including muxe nguiu, muxe (no label), and women, used feminine/masculine gender assignment at intermediate rates that were largely statistically indistinguishable from one another.

This suggests that, based on the variable, muxe gunaa either speak more like women or employ a unique style, highlighting their "similar to women (but not female)" gender identity. On the other hand, other muxes sometimes speak more like men and other times more like women, highlighting an "in-between" status constituted by shifting between ideologically masculine gender markers and ideologically feminine ones, with very little "intermediate" linguistic behavior attested. Furthermore, gay, non-muxe-identified individuals follow "male" patterns for both variables, reflecting this group's identification with men and rejection of the intermediate muxe status.

Overall, the muxe gunaa category appears to be associated with the most unique style, in the sense of "clusters of variants" (Eckert 2012; Eckert & Rickford 2001), as they very clearly use a mix of feminine and uniquely muxe gunaa patterns of variation. This is not surprising based on the fact that, from my ethnographic observations, as well as past research (Barbosa 2016; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Laaksonen 2016), there are unique aspects of muxe gunaa identity and experience that are less relevant for or not applicable to other muxes. On the one hand, muxe gunaa present themselves much more femininely than other muxes, often using female names and wearing women's clothing on a daily basis, occasionally getting surgery to augment their breast size, and becoming upset when people misgender them (see Section 7.5). In some way, their self-presentation and gender identity are therefore much more similar to that of trans women and/or travestis outside Juchitán than to that of other muxes. Furthermore, muxe gunaa experience more discrimination and are often strongly linked to symbols of "Zapotecness" (see Section 7.2), leading to vastly different lived experiences of their muxe role and identity.

Regarding "gay" speakers, their patterns of linguistic variation did not appear to

be different from those of other "men"¹. This provides further evidence for the well-established finding that there is no single "gay" style of speech that all gay men share (Gaudio 1994; Podesva, Roberts, et al. 2002; Zimman 2013). Since the "gay" speakers, like all "gay" speakers, mark their homosexuality using different styles from one another, these speakers did not emerge as a unified group based on their use of variants of /s/ or feminine/masculine reference. In fact, the findings even provide further evidence against the traditional stereotype that gay-identified men speak like women (Gaudio 1994), as they were consistently associated with identical patterns of variation to other men. As such, these results provide further support for research suggesting that homosexual individuals do not speak differently from heterosexual people in unified ways and, therefore, that it is not particularly useful to treat sexual identities as social factors.

The diversity amongst people understood as *muxe* would have been completely invisible if *muxe* were treated as a single category, which might have happened if I had not used ethnography to figure out which locally relevant distinctions were important to my speakers. Therefore, these results reinforce the importance of using second-wave approaches to add locally relevant categories to variationist studies (Eckert 1997, 2012). Since the relevance of these categories arose in the ethnographic part of my thesis, in particular, it reinforces the utmost importance of ethnographically informed methods for any sociolinguistic study that attempts to incorporate categories beyond the first-wave (Eckert 1997, 2012). Second-wave categories can even be incorporated into a variationist study without a very long ethnography. The importance of the second-wave categories emerged in my fieldwork within a two-week period, as I was primed by my knowledge of second and third-wave research, as well as other ethnographic research on Juchitán, to look for these locally relevant categories. As such, an ethnographically informed method of looking for locally relevant subgroups can be used to incorporate second-wave approaches, even in projects incorporating short ethnographic fieldwork periods.

In other contexts with similar "third gender" categories, it could also be useful to look for specific subcategories within the larger umbrella term, as the observation that

¹Muxe speakers did sometimes differ from male speakers in their use of variation, but I do not think it is appropriate to consider *muxe* to be gay men for this discussion. Although their biology is male and their sexual orientation is usually homosexual, *muxe* do not identify as "men" and in Juchitán are not typically seen as men either. Based on the social nature of sociolinguistic variation, sexual orientation would only be expected to be linked to variation through its social meaning, rather than its biology.

the single umbrella category, such as "muxe" in this example, is not sufficient to understand language use could apply to other contexts with similar "third gender" categories. As Zimman & Hall (2009) argue, the so-called "third gender" umbrella term is often not a faithful reflection of the lived realities and gender identity of the people it attempts to describe. This seems, to a great extent, to be true of muxes as well, in terms of their lived experience, self-identification, and language use with respect to their use of syllable-final /s/ and feminine/masculine gender assignment of muxe referents. Therefore, other variationist research that works on communities with a visible non-male, non-female minority can expect diversity within the so-called "third gender" group and use ethnographically-inspired methods to look for this intergroup diversity. Otherwise, their study could fail to uncover locally relevant patterns of variation.

Even in contexts where there is no so-called "traditional" or well-established non-male, non-female gender identity, these results have implications for how gender is defined and used in variationist studies. In general, researchers who understand gender as only "male" and "female" may be missing important nuances in language use, even in contexts where all speakers normatively identify with one of those two labels. On the one hand, even in such contexts, there may be a growing number of speakers who refuse to identify or present as clearly male or female. On the other hand, researchers could expand the number of gender categories they use even for people who clearly identify as women and men.

Gender dysphoria has most likely existed as long as the concept of gender existed. Yet, in many countries nowadays, trans people are increasingly taking on the identity they feel best corresponds with their experience of gender in a more open way. This is leading ever more people to openly identify with genders that do not correspond with their sex, including both binary gender identities and non-binary identities between or beyond male and female. Accordingly, the language use of binary-identified trans people, as well as non-binary people, has been studied, for example, in Becker & Zimman (2022), Gratton (2016), Knisely (2020), & Matsuno & Budge (2017). With some rare exceptions, however, such as Becker & Zimman (2022) & Gratton (2016), these speakers are not included in variationist studies. Even though such speakers are typically a small minority of total speakers, it could be useful to occasionally develop variationist studies where the behavior of such groups can be examined to see what further insights about the relationship between gender and language variation such information

could bring.

Regarding the categories "women" and "men", my results reinforce the idea, common in second and third-wave work, starting with Eckert's study on language use in an American high school (1989), that male and female gender are not uniform categories that uniformly affect variation (see also Wodak & Benke (2017)). When the category of "muxe" was disaggregated and divided into subgroups, it turned out that different categories of ostensibly the "same" gender group showed vastly different patterns of variation. Since "men" and "women", just like "muxes", are not uniform categories, some research has shown that different groups of "women" and "men" vary quite differently from one another. For instance, Eckert (1989b) found that burnout girls, but not other girls, were the leaders in vowel changes in their community. Furthermore, Rissel (1989) found that men and women who supported egalitarian gender roles used nearly identical rates of /r/ assibilation, whereas men and women who supported traditional gender roles used the variant most associated with their gender. As such, gender differences may only appear between certain subgroups of men and women.

Further research could take this idea further. When ethnographic engagement with a community is feasible, researchers could look for gendered subgroups of "men" and "women" that are locally relevant. Then, if these locally relevant gendered subgroups exist, they can treat them as levels of the social factor "gender", rather than automatically using the labels "woman" and "man". For instance, in a community where women and men use different patterns of variation based on their endorsement of traditional roles (most notably San Luis Potosí, Mexico in Rissel (1989)), categories like "traditional man", "egalitarian man", "traditional woman", and "egalitarian woman" can be used for initial logistical regressions, rather than the categories "woman" and "man". Subsequently, these levels can be grouped together to improve model fit and avoid collinearity when there is no difference between two of the groups.

With such an approach, variationists could uncover patterns of variation that would otherwise be invisibilized by reflexively treating gender as a binary category. Such an approach, however, would also allow for the study of differences that truly vary along a traditional female-male axis, as such patterns of variation still emerge along binary lines if more gendered groups were initially included. It is important to reemphasize the importance of ethnography here. People may identify as, and form gendered groups with, completely different types of "men" and "women" in different places

and circumstances. Perhaps in one community, religiosity is an important factor in women's expression of, level of identification with, and/or experience of their gender, leading to the formation of subgroups of women based on religiosity. In another community, other factors could be more important, such as an inner feeling of being feminine or class-based distinctions like *fresa* identification (Martínez Gómez 2014), in forming subcategories of women. The same principle, of course, applies to subcategories of "men". In many places, there may be no differences within the categories of women and men in gendered patterns of self-expression and identification, but this could be confirmed ethnographically, rather than being assumed.

In this regard, one potential area of future study that comes to mind that I do not think has been explored yet is cases where gender is expressed differently based on religion or religiosity. In many religious communities, particularly Muslim communities, the way women express their femininity varies greatly based on the level of these women's religiosity. In communities where some women wear hijabs and others do not, the head covering is a clear marker of feminine religiosity that women who do not wear hijabs do not use. These women perform femininity in other ways, perhaps by having long hair and using other items of clothing or makeup. These style differences do not always disappear in single-sex or familial environments. Although conservative religious women may take off their hijab in these environments, differences usually remain between these women's expressions of femininity and those of other women. For instance, women who wear hijabs often stylize the hijab itself based on fashion or religiosity and often choose to have shorter hair than women who do not wear a hijab.

In such a context, it would be interesting to see if linguistic differences between men and women only emerge between men and those women who do not wear hijabs, in both mixed-gender and single-gender environments. Since women who forego a hijab also forego a salient local marker of femininity, perhaps they feel a greater need to mark their femininity through the use of different variants. Such a study could help shed light on other questions as well, such as why gender is sometimes not a significant predictor of variation in highly sex-segregated, religious societies where binary gender differences are very important (Hedegard 2018). Thus, studies could separate women, and/or men, into different groups based on religious or other ideological influences on their gender expression to better capture to what extent particular groups of men and

women are responsible for the overall patterns of gendered variation seen in specific communities.

8.2 Grammatical Gender as a Sociolinguistic Variable

In this section, I discuss the implications of my findings for the use of grammatical gender as a sociolinguistic variable. I begin by showing that the distinction I have made between gender (dis)agreement and gender assignment is clearly valid, as different sets of internal constraints (internal factors) condition variation in gender assignment and gender (dis)agreement. Subsequently, I argue that gender assignment, when it varies, can be used in variationist studies to add generalizability and nuance to the findings of qualitative studies on the use of varying gender assignment to refer to the same people. Along these lines, I also argue that including this variable in variationist research contributes to a more complex understanding of the social meaning behind varying grammatical gender markings. These patterns of use and the study of them can denaturalize the connections between biological sex, social gender, and grammatical gender. Furthermore, I propose that LGBTQ+ and feminist activists could take these multifaceted meanings into account to achieve their goals more effectively.

Many linguistic factors that were significant in some of the studies looking at gender (dis)agreement from a variationist perspective (Díaz Barajas & Orozco 2019; Levon 2012) were not significant for gender assignment. Notably, unlike other studies, morphological status, gender of the controller, and number of both the target and controller were not significant. Also, for noun phrases, fewer levels were significant than in other studies. This strongly suggests that different constraints are operating for variation in gender assignment than in gender (dis)agreement, reinforcing the idea that these constitute two separate linguistic variables. Therefore, although more research could expand on the work of authors like Cornips & Hulk (2008), Díaz Barajas & Orozco (2019), Levon (2012), & Upadhyay (2009) on gender (dis)agreement, gender assignment may also be an interesting variable in variationist studies in its own right.

As a sociolinguistic variable separate from gender (dis)agreement, the variable of gender assignment can be studied to examine the generalizability of anthropological research on the use of masculine and feminine gender markings. The statistical analysis revealed that certain observations made in ethnographic studies (notably in Bar-

bosa (2016)) were not confirmed in across a larger sample, whereas many other observations seemed to be much more generalizable. Among these observations that were confirmed, the variationist analysis could also identify which ones explained the greatest amount of variation (see Section 7.4). Therefore, this variable could also be used to shed light on the generalizability and explanatory power of the various insights from anthropological research on other "third gender" and LGBT groups, such as work on the hijras in India (Hall & O'Donovan 1996), travestis in Brazil (Borba & Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997), and other LGBT groups in the Spanish-speaking world. Such information would add precision and strength to these research findings, providing a more nuanced picture of the social meanings behind gender assignments for referents with the locally relevant "third gender" and/or LGBT identity throughout the world.

The ability to use gender assignment for a particular group of individuals as a sociolinguistic variable opens up the possibility that similar variables for other languages could be used as well to help explain the variable use of gender markings to refer to the same individuals. One potentially interesting and contemporarily relevant possibility that comes to mind is, for languages without grammatical gender, studying the use of different pronouns to refer to trans people. Most trans people are infrequently, but still occasionally, referred to by pronouns other than the ones they prefer (McNamarah 2021). This can occur due to ignorance or even downright hostility towards trans people (Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021).

This phenomenon is often referred to as "misgendering" (Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021), a word that suggests that using a trans person's non-preferred pronouns denies them the gender they identify with. This, in turn, implies that the social meaning of pronouns is closely tied to gender identity, likely even more closely than grammatical gender is in Juchitán. Misgendering seems to be more common for non-binary people (Goldberg et al. 2019), but it also occurs for binary-identified trans people (Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021), and being frequently misgendered can lead to negative mental health outcomes (Goldberg et al. 2019; Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021).

"Misgendering" has generally been seen as a sign of anti-trans prejudice (Goldberg et al. 2019; Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021) that comes from deeply ingrained biologically essentialist perspectives of gender. However, because of the hegemony of biological essentialism, many gender-neutral pronouns (i.e., those used for non-binary people) are either new or used in new ways that may also be difficult for some speakers

to grasp, and some research suggests that non-binary forms are sometimes harder for the mind to process (Zunino & Stetie 2022). Some speakers who misgender may not be solely or even primarily motivated to misgender out of ignorance about or prejudice towards trans people. However, a variationist study of pronoun use for trans people could help shed greater light on the social meanings, and relatedly the causes, behind misgendering and therefore lead to more effective interventions in getting people to misgender trans people less often.

Such a study could also help shed light on the pronoun choices of non-binary people more generally since people with different non-binary identities (i.e., gender-fluid, genderqueer, bigender, agender, etc.) may prefer different pronouns from one another (McNamarah 2021). A study revealing the social meanings and patterns of variation regarding different pronoun use, especially one including people with these non-binary identities, could therefore be also useful in explaining the motivations behind pronoun choice for non-binary people, based on the wide range of social meanings each pronoun probably carries.

The results also show that binarily gendered language, such as grammatical gender, despite reinforcing the gender binary, may have other social meanings that undercut or even transform the gendered meanings into different, less inegalitarian meanings. In this study, grammatical gender markings were also seemingly related to friendship, level of acceptance, family status, and ethnicity, which implies that grammatical gender can gain meanings that go well beyond gender. This complexity of newer social meanings linked to gender markings in Juchitán denaturalizes the connection between grammatical gender and gender identity and, therefore, may be causing the semantic bleaching and further grammaticalization (Sweetser 1988) of grammatical gender. It looks like, in other words, pragmatic meanings may have started replacing gendered meanings for grammatical gender in Juchitán, at least when used for some referents. For muxe referents, grammatical gender is losing more of its semantic functions and gaining pragmatic ones as it grammaticalizes further.

Although this was very rare, there were some speakers who very occasionally used feminine forms to refer to male referents and masculine forms to refer to female referents. These speakers typically spoke much better Zapotec than Spanish, so their use of masculine grammatical gender for women and vice versa was very likely due to transfer from Zapotec. However, the changed social meaning for grammatical gender

when applied to muxe referents may conceivably play a role here as well. For instance, one elderly female speaker occasionally referred to her husband of forty-nine years with feminine grammatical gender and to women she was not close to with masculine grammatical gender, potentially showing closeness to her husband ² and a lack of closeness with certain women. However, it is important to note that this interpretation would need to be confirmed by further research specifically on the pragmatic uses of alternating between masculine and feminine forms for non-muxe referents.

In light of these findings, it is important for activists to always foreground how language is used when evaluating whether language is oppressive or not and to limit their focus on the form language takes. Although the use of binarily gender language and the reluctance to use gender-neutral alternatives leads to sexism in many contexts, it has other potential meanings in different contexts. Before assuming that binarily gender or generically masculine forms lead to prejudice, it is important to consult studies on the effects of such forms in a particular context, as well as the effects of alternatives, to ensure that the problematic use of language is actually contributing to inequalities and that the alternatives work against this inequality.

While the use of masculine and feminine gender markings for muxes follows a complicated set of norms and constraints that are not always easily reduced to promoting discrimination or prejudice, other uses of gendered language are more clearly problematic. For instance, studies of German have shown that job offerings that use the ostensibly "neutral" masculine plural get fewer female applicants (Sczesny et al. 2016), and other studies have shown that, in countries with national languages that extensively use grammatically gendered forms, women encounter more discrimination on the job market (Shoham & Lee 2018).

At the same time, using non-gendered forms does not guarantee a lack of discrimination or the promotion of gender equality. Studies on English have shown that, even for this language where most job titles carry no overt gender markings, people often assume the gender an employee has, based on stereotypes about which gender is more likely to take on that role (Carreiras et al. 1996). Therefore, although the addition of gender-neutral forms to languages like Spanish has its place in eliminating (cis)sexist biases in language, the use of such forms is not enough and may not always be the

²Although "husband" is a family status, muxes were never referred to as husbands in my sample, and it is a family status that one gains later in life by choice, rather than a kinship status one is born into.

most useful way of promoting gender equality in every circumstance. An important complementary strategy may be to target the meaning behind gendered grammatical markings so that these meanings change in a way that leads to greater gender equality.

In *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler (1990) argued that gender is performative, meaning that it is created through the repetitive iteration of acts, including speech acts, that are understood in a particular social context to constitute a gender identity. This understanding of gender opens up the possibility that gender can change when the performance of gender changes. Specifically, Butler suggested that drag could be used to denaturalize the connection between sex and gender by parody. Through this parody, the performative nature of gender would become clear, thereby denaturalizing gender and emptying gender of its meaning.

The use of masculine and feminine grammatical markers is typically understood as marking male and female identity respectively. By using masculine grammatical gender to refer to men and feminine grammatical gender to refer to women, speakers of Spanish perform maleness and femaleness respectively. The use of both markers for *muxe* referents can similarly make the performative nature of this aspect of gender performance visible, as *muxes* occupy an in-between space despite being referred to with binary grammatical genders. The use of grammatical gender to mark other qualities, like acceptance, friendship, and family status, may become possible because of this disruption, implying that the performed links between grammatical gender and gender identity can become clear, be challenged, and, in the end, change when grammatical gender markings are used in normatively unexpected ways. Therefore, grammatical gender has the potential to move from being a system that contributes to the reinforcement of the gender binary to a system that expresses other more egalitarian meanings if it is used in ways that challenge restrictive gendered meanings.

Given the difficulty of implementing many gender-neutral forms in a language like Spanish (i.e., many gender-neutral alternatives cannot be pronounced) and the fact that gender-neutral forms may occasionally merely hide discrimination (i.e., see the studies on English mentioned previously), I would urge activists to consider, as an additional strategy for decreasing linguistic sexism, trying to change the meanings behind grammatical gender markers by using binary markings in different ways, just like people in Juchitán. In saying this, I am not trying to undercut the importance and real effect of gender-neutral forms that currently exist in Spanish in reducing or eliminating sexism

from the Spanish language (Medina Guerra 2016; Zunino & Stetie 2022). However, by complimenting their use of gender-neutral language with binary forms that are used in ways that undercut their gendered meanings, as seems to already be happening in Juchitán, activists can better contribute to a future where language is increasingly emptied of its gendered meanings and no longer contributes to inequalities between men, women, and everybody else.

8.3 Validity of Mentioned Ideologies as Social Factors

In this subsection, I make the case that the results show that "mentioned ideology" is a valid general construct that can be productively used as a social factor to explain variation. I start with the finding that mentioned ideologies are related to variation in two sociolinguistic variables, before examining, and largely refuting other explanations. Subsequently, I argue that the validity of the construct for sociolinguistic studies provides further evidence for the validity of the construct in general. In the end, I use the results to speculate on which coherence-making strategies are often used to contain the mentioned ideologies with which speakers do not affiliate, and I suggest how Bell's concept of referees, in his theory of audience design (Bell 1984), fits with the phenomenon of implicit ventriloquizing, elaborated in Section 7.3.

To begin, it is important to note that the construct of mentioned ideologies can be utilized to explain variation, which potentially points to its overall validity. For both syllable-final /s/ and gender assignment, some mentioned ideologies are productively and statistically significantly linked to sociolinguistic variation. One potential explanation of this finding, and the one that I support, is that mentioned ideologies exist and that they correlate with variation in ways that help explain patterns of variation that might otherwise be hard or impossible to detect.

However, it is worth examining other potential alternative explanations for the apparent links between sociolinguistic variation and mentioned ideologies. One of these potential alternative explanations is that mentioned ideologies could be serving as proxies for other internal social factors, such as controversial topics of conversation, rather than explaining variation in and of themselves. Along these lines, some studies have linked mentioning politicized or otherwise controversial topics to differences in variation (Gnevsheva 2015; Grieser 2019; Lynch 2009; Ravindranath 2015; Rickford

& McNair-Knox 1994; Rissel 1989), and, while not all of these studies used variationist methods specifically to make these links, some of them did. Therefore, this explanation encounters justification in the literature.

Furthermore, speakers may be spending more attention to their speech when they are "mentioning ideologies", leading to apparent correlations between mentioned ideologies and variation that are actually caused by varying degrees of attention to speech. Since Labov first defined style in terms of attention to speech (Labov 1964, 1973), sociolinguists have recognized that, when speakers pay a high degree of attention to their speech, they generally use more standard features (Bell 2006a; Eckert & Rickford 2001). This explanation could be particularly relevant to variation with syllable-final /s/, as I found that speakers used the more standard [s] more frequently when mentioning any ideology I looked for, although this difference was only significant for two mentioned ideologies.

In light of this information, Labov (1964, 1973) held that speakers move between more and less vernacular styles in their speech, and the vernacular style was seen as more relaxed and authentic than careful speech. To get at speakers' vernaculars, Labov suggested various techniques to get speakers to pay less attention to their speech, such as having them tell an emotional story about the time they came closest to dying (Labov 1973). Many sociolinguists, using other frameworks to understand style (such as Bell (1984, 2006b) & Eckert & Rickford (2001)) may see value nowadays in examining differences between careful and less careful speech and often do not see careful speech as a less authentic part of speakers' repertoires. However, the point stands that speakers in my sample could be simply paying more attention to their speech when mentioning particular ideologies.

However, the evidence suggests that attention paid to speech is not the only, or even necessarily the most useful factor in determining style (Bell 1984, 2006b; Eckert & Rickford 2001), and I also do not find this alternative explanation to be convincing since it does not account for many aspects of my results. On the one hand, although speakers used the more standard [s] more frequently when mentioning any ideology I looked for, this difference was only significant for pro-Spanish and (in a subsample) machista mentioned ideologies. This leads me to believe that merely "mentioning" ideological content was not linked per se to language variation.

Furthermore, the same topic was often assigned to different mentioned ideologies,

making it unlikely that mentioned ideologies act as proxies for conversational topics in my data. For example, in many cases, mentioned references to topics like "Spanish language" and "Zapotec loss" were linked to mentioned pro-Spanish language ideology, but, depending on the meaning of the utterance, may have been coded as mentioned pro-Zapotec language ideology. Since the same topic could be and often was assigned to different mentioned ideologies, it is unlikely that topic is being misidentified as mentioned ideology in this data.

Regarding "attention to speech", it could be that the results come from speakers paying more attention to particular aspects of their speech when mentioning pro-Spanish and machista ideologies, leading to more use of the standard and/or masculine (most commonly used) form. It could also be that they paid less attention to their speech when mentioning matriarchal ideologies. However, this possibility seems unlikely because the mentioned ideologies, especially machista ones, were often embedded in highly emotional content. If anything, according to the "attention to speech" theory, this context should have led to less standard patterns of language variation, such as less [s]. Instead, the opposite pattern was found.

Although I often asked about topics that required more attention to speech or otherwise formal speech styles before speakers mentioned these ideologies, the occasional emotional nature of these responses probably canceled out any effect of attention to speech or formal style. Also, if attention to speech or formal register were at work here, it would raise more questions than it would answer. For example, it would need to be explained why some mentioned ideologies were not significant and why attention to speech or formal register did not seem to apply to so-called mentioned "matriarchal ideology". The explanations for the results in Chapter 7, on the other hand, that use the concept of mentioned ideology and rely on theories of indexicality and/or identity construction, do not raise many questions and offer convincing explanations for the observed patterns of variation. Therefore, they seem to be better explanations.

The fact that mentioned ideologies correlate with sociolinguistic variation and that these correlations cannot be easily explained away through recourse to other explanations provide further evidence for the validity of the construct in general. If the construct of mentioned ideologies were not valid, it would be pretty remarkable that mentioned ideologies reliably correlate with linguistic variation despite the lack of a plausible alternative explanation. The apparent validity of the construct adds further-

more support to the arguments made in Chapter 2 about ideology in general.

Namely, it seems that speakers mention multiple ideologies in their discourse, whether they take on those ideologies themselves, take on another ideology, or take on no ideologically coherent position. The mentioned ideologies reflect a locally relevant larger ideology, although they are not identical to these larger ideologies, and can be used to either support or challenge the larger ideology. These mentioned ideologies are managed through coherence-making strategies to discursively (re)create larger ideological positions and can be identified in discourse before being correlated with sociolinguistic variation. Some qualitative examination of how speakers mention the various ideologies that statistically significantly affect variation can shed light on which coherence-making strategies are often used to contain mentioned ideologies with which speakers do not affiliate. It seems that speakers often used argument structure and, especially, subtle straw-manning, where they described mentioned ideologies they did not affiliate with in unappealing ways. This was especially noticeable for mentioned machista ideology.

For instance, in one example, a speaker explains homophobic reactions towards romantic behavior between men as *el estigma de que es entre hombre y hombre* (the stigma that it is between men), in which the part in italics was coded as mentioned machista ideology. By using the word "stigma", the speaker casts the homophobic ideas as problematic, rather than homosexuality itself, while still mentioning machista ideology, thereby managing to mention the machista ideology, while simultaneously showing their lack of affiliation with this ideology. On the other hand, the pro-Spanish ideology was sometimes clearly disaligned with, but, in other cases, it was unclear whether the speakers aligned with this ideology or not, as there was sometimes a seeming absence of coherence-making strategies to clarify which mentioned ideology the speaker affiliated with.

Thus, for variation in syllable-final /s/ and grammatical gender, speakers seem to typically either disalign with or only variably and noncommittally align with the mentioned ideologies that were statistically significant. At first glance, Bell's theory of audience design seems to provide an adequate explanation for these findings (1984). In this theory, speakers may either orient their speech towards an addressee, or referent in conversation with them or towards a referee, an absent party with whom the speaker chooses to identify (Bell 1984). Although the variation linked to mentioned

ideologies could be understood as corresponding to a shift towards the speech of an absent referee, a crucial condition is seemingly not met. Namely, the speakers in my sample typically seem to mention ideologies with which they do not identify that are associated with speakers with whom they often do not want to align. In other words, speakers seem to also be shifting their style to match the style of non-present reference groups that they disalign with, instead of only those they align with, as might be expected within Bell's framework (1984). As such, Bell's theory of audience design, on its own, provides an incomplete explanation for the findings.

This may show that, when using mentioned ideology to perform this implicit ventriloquizing, speakers have a referee in mind with whom they may disalign but still orient and (imaginatively) accommodate toward. In other words, the referee is not aligned with but instead reacted to, and implicitly ventriloquized. Speakers may be reluctant to disaffiliate with this imagined person, not because of their own disagreement with the ideologies associated with that person, but rather for other reasons. Unpopular ideologies like machismo are seemingly held by people known to the speaker, as the men who engage in machista practices are often family members, friends, or otherwise acquaintances of their victims. As such, when mentioning such ideologies, people may imagine a referee whom they feel ambiguous towards, who they want to affiliate with as a person while rejecting that person's ideas. This may be linked to a fear of negative reactions, such as violence, from that person. While collecting data, as outlined and reflected on in Chapter 4, I became quite aware of the high level of gender-based and sexualized violence in Juchitán, making such an interpretation seem plausible to me.

However, it could also be, in a general sense, that people typically accommodate to the speech of referees they imagine, whether they want to actually orient towards them or not. Perhaps the style shifts that Bell (1984) describes are less linked to orienting toward an addressee or referee and more about accommodating towards them. Much research has demonstrated that accommodation occurs between interlocutors when they want to show a certain amount of interpersonal/psychological closeness and increase the chances of mutual understanding (Bell 2006b; Giles & Ogay 2007; Kerswill 2004; Trudgill 1986). Accommodation often occurs through convergence, in other words, through the speaker changing their speech to become closer to that of their interlocutor (Bell 2006b; Giles & Ogay 2007; Kerswill 2004; Trudgill 1986). According

to this research, speakers may accommodate to others in this way to improve communication, gain social approval, and show solidarity, among other reasons, but the desire to accommodate does not necessarily depend on agreeing with the mentioned or held ideologies of one's interlocutor. Rather, a need for social approval may be more important to placate a potentially dangerous person or to express an allegiance to an otherwise positive relationship with a sexist or homophobic person.

As such, these results could be picking up on the strength of the tendency to accommodate to speakers for social reasons. Speakers accommodate so readily to win social approval or improve communication that they may even accommodate to non-present referees in their heads, whether or not they actually want to align with that referee. On the one hand, when the mentioned ideology corresponds to a commonly held ideology, the speaker has to change their speech so little to accommodate to this non-present mental referent's speech that any change in the use of particular variants is non-significant. On the other hand, when the mentioned ideology corresponds to an uncommonly held ideology that the speaker does not affiliate with, the mental referent's linguistic behavior is more distant from the speaker's, so the speaker accommodates more to this referee, and the difference becomes statistically significant.

8.4 Usefulness of Mentioned Ideologies in Variationist Research

This section argues, on the basis of the results, that the construct of mentioned ideologies is useful in variationist research for four main reasons. Firstly, it helps take ideologically inconsistent individuals into account, allowing researchers to study the effect of an aspect of ideology on language use without having to make assumptions about the individual's ideological position that may not fit that individual. Secondly, the construct helps reinforce and add more nuance to findings linking other social factors with variation. This allows for a clearer interpretation of data than might otherwise be possible, as patterns of language use are identified that might otherwise remain hidden. Thirdly, this construct has helped reveal the phenomenon of implicit ventriloquizing that can be simultaneously used to mention ideologies with which one may not agree to, link these ideologies to a particular social group, and distance themselves from these ideologies. Finally, the results for mentioned ideologies add to Bell (1984)'s model of referee design by showing that speakers may react and accommodate

to, rather than necessarily align with, an absent referee when using implicit ventriloquizing to shift their speech style.

By using the construct of mentioned ideology, it was possible to find results linking ideological content with variation, without having to determine speakers' held ideologies. This was useful because, as argued in Chapter 2, there is reason to believe that many speakers do not have clear, unambiguous, held ideological positions with respect to many ideologies. However, even these speakers mention multiple ideologies in their discourse. Thus, it was possible to include these speakers without trying to assign them an ideology and still link mentioned ideologies with variation.

Furthermore, speakers with relatively clear ideological positions also mentioned ideologies with which they did not affiliate, and it was possible to include these mentioned ideologies in the analysis as well. This allowed me to productively link unpopular ideologies like machista ideology with variation in the sample, even for the vast majority of speakers who could not be said to hold a machista ideology. In fact, the mentioned ideologies that influenced variation in the sample were generally those that the overwhelming majority of speakers would either disaffiliate with like machista ideology or unclearly affiliate with like pro-Spanish and matriarchal ideology. If speakers were merely assigned ideologies, then these relationships between mentioned ideologies and variation would have been impossible to study.

Thus, the patterns of variation linked to mentioned ideology would have likely remained hidden if a different theoretical perspective was employed. Furthermore, other patterns of variation, beyond those linked to mentioned ideology, would be harder to understand. For example, the links between mentioned ideologies and variation for syllable-final /s/ provided evidence that reinforced the interpretations of a construct of "Mexicanness" and "Zapotecness" being part of the indexical field for the two different variants by providing evidence that not just Spanish and masculinity, but also ideas linked to Spanish and masculinity, were associated with the retained variant. This connection casts further doubt on the possibility that language contact and other merely linguistic phenomena alone can explain the variation since it is linked to mentioned ideologies that largely correspond to a set of expressed ideas about men, women, muxes, and language.

Additionally, the findings linking mentioned ideologies with gender assignment provide primary evidence that masculine gender assignment indexes discrimination,

lack of acceptance, and/or other negative attitudes towards muxes, helping provide a fuller picture of the social meanings linked to this variation. There is also evidence here that feminine gender assignment, in contrast, indexes muxe power and/or superiority in addition to muxe gunaa identity, femininity, and interpersonal/psychological closeness. Thus, mentioned ideologies allow for a fuller picture of the social meanings linked to variation to emerge and help foreground the social nature of sociolinguistic variation.

Furthermore, the use of mentioned ideologies as factors in a variationist analysis led to some quite unexpected findings that required further theorizing to understand. In particular, it was surprising that speakers would speak more like people whose ideas they were disaffiliating with while mentioning those ideas. I, therefore, proposed that a phenomenon I named *implicit ventriloquizing* explains this surprising finding. Speakers may move towards voicing speakers they associate with ideologies that they disaffiliate with, notably machista ideology, in order to link that ideology with a particular social group. In so doing, they distance themselves from that ideology without necessarily distancing themselves from people in those particular social groups.

As a result, speakers may speak more like a referee, or non-present imagined actor (Bell 1984), even if they fail to orient towards or align with that referee. Instead, speakers may simply react to a non-present referee, accommodating to that person's speech despite not necessarily affiliating with or orienting toward that person. This may occur because they want to accommodate to these other speakers for different reasons, such as a desire for social approval from this speaker that persists despite disagreeing with what they assume that referee to believe. As such, the results may provide a slight addition to Bell (1984)'s original idea about how style shifting occurs. Speakers do not necessarily orient towards non-present referees when style-shifting. Instead, style-shifting might be understood, more broadly, as a reaction or an accommodation to non-present referees that does not necessarily imply orientation towards those referees.

8.5 New Perspectives on Sociolinguistic Variation

In this short section, it is worth mentioning three relatively novel insights about sociolinguistic variation that can be taken from this research. Firstly, both a fairly tra-

ditional binary understanding of gender (as masculine and feminine) and a newer understanding of gender as a constellation of both binary and non-binary identities can be useful in explaining different patterns of variation. In recent decades, some researchers have criticized variationist studies that look for gender differences by reflexively and automatically including "sex", understood as "male" or "female", as a social factor, and posit that a more social constructivist, potentially non-binary understanding of gender would be more useful (Wodak & Benke 2017). However, in certain cases, an approach that looks at other gender identities and/or waits for gender categories to emerge from the data still leads to gender, understood binarily as a "masculine" or "feminine" identity that reflects biological sex, significantly predicting patterns of variation. On the other hand, for other variables, such as gender assignment for muxe referents in this study, gendered categories beyond "male" and "female" can be more important in explaining variation.

This suggests that, even for the same group of speakers, sometimes a binary understanding of gender is best at explaining variation, whereas other times, a more fluid conceptualization of gender is necessary. In either case, biological "sex" is probably never warranted as an analytical category for samples containing speakers whose biological sex does not correspond with their gender identity. Instead, sociolinguistic variationists could perhaps conceptualize gender, in the early phases of research, as potentially binary and potentially not binary.

Researchers could remain open to the possibility that, for their particular variable of interest, a binary approach to gender might be more useful or a non-binary one might explain the variation better. As such, researchers could wait to decide how they will code gender in the final regression analysis until their data is ready to be analyzed and see which groups of speakers behave similarly with respect to the variable being studied. Before that point, they could remain open to either coding all their speakers as masculine or feminine or coding other gendered (sub)categories based on gender identity or expression.

Secondly, I would like to mention the most novel insight about sociolinguistic variation in the results, namely that mentioned ideologies are not only valid as constructs, but they are also useful tools in explaining sociolinguistic variation. Since this category has been theorized for the first time in this thesis, it has not been used in any variationist study prior to this one, making this finding a very novel one. Specifically,

it seems that the variants people use change with the ideologies they mention in discourse as they try to manage the content of those ideologies and build larger coherent or incoherent ideological positions out of them.

These changes often hold up over large numbers of demographically different speakers, pointing to their generalizability and usefulness in large-scale and small-scale variationist studies. This means that future research can expand on this finding by looking for other mentioned ideologies that may be correlated with the variants used within a speaker's or multiple speakers' discourse. In other words, future research could confirm to what extent mentioned ideologies influence changing rates of variation within discourse for other variables and in other parts of the world where different ideologies might be more relevant. In so doing, it can figure out to what extent implicit ventriloquizing is used in other contexts and confirm that my addendum to Bell's theory (1984) is correct, that speakers generally react and accommodate to, rather than necessarily orient towards or align with imagined referees.

As for the third insight, I argued in Section 7.2 that women use the salient standard variant ([s]) in Juchitán less frequently than men for a reason other than the lack of opportunities for women. This is notable because most research finds that, when a variant is salient, conservative, and non-standard, women use that variant less (Bakir 1986; Eckert 2012; García Mouton 2006; Labov 2001; Silva-Corvalán 2001; Trudgill 1972). Notable exceptions to this trend are found in countries where women are excluded from the public sphere and therefore do not benefit from using salient standard forms to mark or increase their upward mobility (Bakir 1986; García Mouton 2006). Yet in Juchitán, women are highly visible in the public sphere, at least in certain sectors, and women do have access to social mobility in the many sections of the public sphere where they are included.

Thus, women must use the salient standard [s] less often than men for reasons other than a lack of opportunities for women in Juchitán, which could imply, in general, that a lack of opportunities for women is often not the best explanation for other cases where women use salient but non-standard variants more frequently than men. In Juchitán, contact-based changes in the indexical field for the variable provide a more convincing explanation that could be considered and tested in other sociolinguistic contexts where women frequently use non-standard variants to see to what extent women are actually using non-standard forms due to a lack of opportunities.

As such, the findings regarding variation in syllable-final /s/ and grammatical gender assignment imply, for sociolinguistic variationist studies more generally, firstly that gender is sometimes useful to treat as a binary and sometimes not, secondly that mentioned ideologies are valid and useful as social factors, and thirdly that women may often use non-standard forms for reasons beyond a lack of opportunities. In this chapter as a whole, I have presented these implications and also looked at how grammatical gender assignment can be used as a sociolinguistic variable, what activists and researchers can take from the findings on variation in grammatical gender assignment, and how the "muxe" category is related to sociolinguistic variation. Having done this, I will now make concluding remarks and reflect on even broader implications of the research in the following final chapter.

Chapter 9

Concluding Remarks

9.1 Conclusions

In this chapter, I reiterate my main conclusions and talk about the implications of the research, both in a general sense and regarding Juchitán and gender specifically. In the remainder of this subsection, I summarize the most important results of the study, for syllable-final /s/ and gender assignment, with their most important interpretations. In Sections 9.2 and 9.3, however, I look at the research implications in general and specifically, and though I focus on scientific and practical implications, I also mention political ones.

Regarding syllable-final /s/ retention, speaking Zapotec better than Spanish was associated with an over 15% lower rate of /s/ retention than speaking Spanish at a high level. This seems to have led to a change in the indexical field for /s/ retention, in which less /s/ retention is linked with a construct of "Zapotecness" and more /s/ retention is linked to "Mexicanness". This change in the indexical field reinforced some relationships between /s/ retention and social factors, but changed others, most notably causing masculine people to retain /s/ more often than feminine people. Results for mentioned ideology and age, among other factors, confirmed this interpretation.

Regarding the gender variable, gender assignment for muxes is a distinct variable from gender (dis)agreement that, unlike gender (dis)agreement, varies enough in the sample for a variationist analysis. Gender assignment is generally masculine for muxe referents, but exceptions exist when the referent is a friend of the speaker (or the speaker themselves) or when either the referent or speaker is muxe gunaa (feminine) identified. Masculine reference, on the other hand, is particularly commonly used by men, for gay (non-muxe-identified) referents, and for muxe family members. These results imply that, as intuitively might be expected, grammatical gender assignment is strongly related to masculinity and femininity. However, masculine grammatical gender assignment has gained the additional meanings of family membership, rejection of muxe identity, and social distance, whereas feminine grammatical gender assignment has gained opposing social meanings, specifically acceptance and interpersonal/friendly closeness.

Regarding mentioned ideology, the fact that, for both variables, certain mentioned ideologies explain a good portion of variation that other variables do not account for supports the usefulness of the construct of mentioned ideologies in variationist research. This construct appears to also be useful in confirming the interpretations of the social meanings of variables that first-wave and second-wave variationist analyses suggest. Notably, the fact that pro-Spanish statements so strongly led to /s/ retention provides further evidence for the strong association between Spanish dominance and /s/ retention, which supports and is supported by the concepts of "Zapotecness" and "Mexicanness". Furthermore, the relationship between masculine grammatical gender and mentioned machista ideology provides further evidence that masculine gender assignment has become associated with rejection/hostility towards muxes. Additionally, the relationship between feminine grammatical gender and mentioned patriarchal ideology further supports the argument that feminine gender assignment is linked with positive views of muxes that include and even go beyond acceptance.

9.2 General Implications of the Research Findings

In the first chapter of this thesis, Section 1.2, I presented this study as, in part, an attempt to contribute to a growing body of research on Spanish that incorporates all waves of sociolinguistic research (Eckert 2012), while, at the same time, incorporating third-wave insights more directly into the variationist methodology than in previous studies. To ensure I did not include exclusively first-wave categories, I used ethnographically informed methods to include locally relevant categories and gender, understood beyond "male" and "female", in this variationist study. By correlating a third-wave factor related to stance-taking, referred to as "mentioned" or "expressed" ideology, directly with linguistic variation, I attempted to incorporate third-wave ideas more thoroughly in this study than in many previous ones. In the next paragraphs, I explore the level of success achieved in reaching these goals, as well as some broader theoretical and methodological implications of the findings for both variationists and qualitative researchers in sociolinguistics.

In general, as in much previous research in sociolinguistics (see the research mention in 1.2), although first-wave categories explained a large amount of variation in the Spanish of Juchitán, second and third-wave inspired categories contributed to a

better understanding of the variation than first-wave categories would have on their own. On the one hand, first-wave categories of analysis, such as the traditional factors, age, social class, and binary gender, in many cases, explained more variation than second or third-wave categories, many of which were frequently not significant or played only a small role in explaining variation. On the other hand, although some second-wave categories, like region, did not explain variation, other categories with a relevance that only became clear through ethnographically informed methods, such as the *muxe* subcategories (especially the category "muxe gunaa") and the amount of time spent outside of Juchitán, played a large role in explaining variation. Furthermore, the discourse-level category that often corresponded to shifts in stance, style, and voicing, "mentioned ideologies", predicted a great deal of variation in the sample that was not accounted for by other social and linguistic factors. This category was also productive in strengthening third-wave interpretations of the overall patterns of variation.

These findings therefore provide more evidence implying that second and third-wave variationists are correct about the limitations of a purely Labovian first-wave approach. Such an approach leaves much variation unexplained. If this study had included only traditional categories, like age, social class, and gender (understood as "male" or "female"), the complex social meanings of the variation, including its links to Zapotec competence and "Zapotecness" and the new meanings associated with grammatical gender variation, would not have been uncovered. Thus, the findings reinforce the importance of going beyond traditional social factors in studies of variation, which is particularly important for variation in Spanish, as Spanish-language variationist research is still often quite traditional (see 1.2).

Yet, these social meanings would have also been difficult to uncover without looking at the findings for first-wave social factors. Therefore, the results, in general, point to the importance of including a variety of factors in initial logistical regressions, associated with all three waves of variationist research, since it is likely that both traditional and more innovative factors together influence variation. However, without explicitly including each potentially relevant first, second, and third-wave factor in initial logistical regression models, it is impossible to know which ones will influence variation.

Furthermore, the results for "mentioned ideologies" imply that discourse-level social factors that correspond to changes in stance, style, and/or voicing can be directly correlated with variation. This adds greater empirical support to the third-wave claim

that stance and style lead to differing patterns of variation because it was clear that, when elements related to stance and style were specifically correlated with variation in this study, the results were often statistically significant and strongly weighted predictors of variation. The results also support the actual inclusion of internal social factors, quantified from elements of discourse, including but not limited to mentioned ideologies, in larger variationist studies that also include other external social factors that do not vary within the discourse of a single individual.

Mentioned ideologies, as well as topic and style, understood as attention to speech, formality, accommodation, and/or expression of identity (i.e, Eckert & Rickford (2001), Grieser (2019), Labov (1981), & Lynch (2009)) could all be correlated, in large scale variationist studies, with language variation to explain patterns of variation that demographic and locally relevant external factors alone cannot explain. This implies that other discourse-based phenomena can also be used to create social factors that explain variation. It also implies that the identification and use of a greater array of such factors could productively help explain more variation. Mentioned ideologies themselves could be used in other variationist studies too, in order to explain patterns of variation in other communities more completely.

The apparent validity of the concept of mentioned ideologies could be useful for qualitative researchers looking at how ideology manifests in discourse as well. As I tried to argue in Chapter 2, speakers mention multiple ideologies in their discourse that "call upon" or index larger ideological positions that are, in and of themselves, created from mentioned ideologies that are mediated by coherence-making strategies. This would also imply that qualitative researchers can search for mentioned ideologies in the discourse of many different speakers to study how larger ideologies are brought into discourse, challenged, and used to either recreate or resist the ideology in question. This concept could therefore be useful, not only for variationists but also for discourse analysts more directly interested in the reproduction of and resistance against hegemonic ideologies.

In terms of methodology, the results also reinforce the importance of using ethnographically informed methods for both variationist and qualitative researchers. Ethnography can lead to the identification of relevant second and third-wave categories for use in variationist studies, and it can also help qualitative researchers understand complex phenomena such as how ideologies manifest in a particular context. However,

since it was still possible for me to identify relevant categories and understand local ideologies through some use of ethnographic methods (I was in Juchitán for less than three months), the study demonstrates that a short-term, somewhat restricted use of ethnographic methods, while not as rich as a long-term ethnography (Hammersley 2006), can still be highly useful for both variationist and qualitative researchers, provided particular conditions are met.

In Juchitán, it was possible to use ethnographically informed methods more sparingly due to the large amount of previous anthropological work done on Juchitán, my use of autoethnography to complement limited ethnography in Juchitán, and the high local salience of particular local categories and ideologies. For a researcher who has read previous work on Juchitán, it becomes clear fairly quickly, when spending time with muxes in Juchitán that the muxe subcategories are highly relevant to people's understandings of their identity and to their lived experience. Furthermore, for a researcher aware of anthropological work on Juchitán, it can become clear after spending only a few weeks in Juchitán that differences in Zapotec competence, Zapotec identity, neighborhood, and social class are often large and highly salient to local people. Thus, for researchers working in communities with such salient locally relevant social distinctions, ethnographically informed projects can yield new categories that are useful for variationist research, particularly if there already exists ample anthropological research on the community in question.

Using the previous anthropological research on Juchitán, taking an ethnographically informed approach, and then reflexively analyzing my observations, I was able to learn much about how language, gender, and ideology function in Juchitán, much more so than if any of these elements were lacking. This highlights how orienting oneself with past ethnographic research and reflexively analyzing one's own observations can make it easier and quicker to draw ethnographic conclusions about a community than would be possible in an understudied context or with less use of autoethnographic methods. As such, my contribution to the larger sociolinguistic literature can largely be seen in the reinforcement of the importance of including all waves in variationist studies, as well as the usefulness of discourse-based internal social factors, such as mentioned ideologies, in both variationist and non-variationist research. This research can serve as further inspiration to others wanting to continue to incorporate new categories into variationist research and better understand ideology in qualita-

tive research. Furthermore, this research provides some practical implications for researchers wanting to incorporate the concept of mentioned ideologies in their research and/or use ethnographic methods despite lacking the time to do a full ethnography.

9.3 Implications for Juchitán

The research also has clear implications for Juchitán that include scientific considerations but also go beyond them. On the one hand, the results of both the ethnography and the variationist analysis provide more information about gender, language, and ideology in Juchitán that could be of relevance both to researchers working in Juchitán and to local people. On the other hand, there are certain ethical and moral implications related to Juchitán that come out of this research that could be considered.

The muxe phenomenon is often described in contradictory terms in the literature. Some authors consider that muxes are accepted or even privileged in the context of Juchitán (i.e., Bennholdt-Thomsen (1994)), whereas most current authors recognize their precarious status (i.e., Barbosa (2016)). Beyond this issue, contradictions exist regarding muxes' typical gendered roles and expression (see Bennholdt-Thomsen (1994) & Stephen (2002) vs. Barbosa (2016) & Gómez Jiménez et al. (2020)), their typical sexual practices (see Gómez Jiménez et al. (2020) & Mirandé (2016) vs. Barbosa (2016) & Laaksonen (2018)), and how many muxes live in Juchitán (see Laaksonen (2016) vs. Stephen (2002)), among other issues. Although muxes are often considered a "third gender", that term is contested (Zimman & Hall 2009), and it is often unclear from the research to what extent (different) muxes fit within the gender binary or exist outside of it. Based on the results of my ethnographically informed variationist analysis, I attempt to shed light on this issue here.

Perhaps the research is so unclear on the status of muxes in Juchitán because the status of muxes implies many contradictions. Although muxe identity is naturalized, muxes are both accepted and not accepted in Juchitán, sometimes by the same person. Discourses in favor of tolerance or acceptance of muxes, along with the expectation that muxes take on valued roles in society, coexist with anti-muxe discourses, lack of familial acceptance, violence, and the denigration of certain roles muxes take on. The existence of muxes, in general, is naturalized and seen as unchangeable, yet many parents refuse to accept or even try to change the muxe identity of their own particular

child, and conservative religious discourses position homosexuality as a sin. Furthermore, the naturalization of muxes and the qualities associated them can also lead to less acceptance of particular muxes who do not take on expected roles or engage in expected sexual practices.

Even more unclearly, it seems that "muxe", to some extent, simultaneously acts as an "in-between" category, a barely existing category subsumable into the gender binary, and a cacophony of subcategories that fit only variably within the gender binary, albeit for different reasons from one another. On the one hand, it is true that muxes often describe themselves and are described by others as not quite male and not female either. Their gendered presentation, typical gendered social roles and expectations, and linguistic practices often differ notably from those of both women and men. Furthermore, everyone is aware of the muxes as a distinct group in Juchitán, most use the unique term "muxe" to talk about them, and most describe them with qualities that they frame as being unique to muxes within their discourse.

At the same time, muxes fit, to a certain extent, within the gender binary quite clearly. Some people, including some muxes themselves, describe muxes as men. Most muxes have a similar gender expression, and correspondingly similar gender identity, to either men or women. Muxe gunaa are almost exactly like women in their gender expression and identity, whereas most other muxes, especially muxe nguiiu, are almost exactly like (other) men in these ways. This difference is reflected in rates of syllable-final /s/ retention as well, since muxe gunaa and women use statistically identical rates of the retained variant to other muxes and men. Furthermore, many of the roles that set muxes apart, such as caring for elderly parents, are not performed by all muxes and are often taken on by women (or men) in the absence of muxes. Indeed, most muxes primarily take on roles that are either ideologically masculine or feminine.

Furthermore, identifying oneself as muxe often, but not always, implies identifying oneself with a muxe subcategory that may or may not have a clear relationship with the gender binary. These subcategories also imply different lived experiences and even different understandings of what it means to be muxe. Muxe gunaa clearly see themselves and, to a certain extent, other muxes as largely feminine, yet many muxes who do not identify with particular subcategories see themselves as drifting somewhere between masculine and feminine. Some of these other muxes may identify explicitly as non-binary or with no label; others may want to take on a muxe gunaa identity but

are too afraid of the repercussions. These muxes find themselves outside of a clearly defined place in the gender binary either by explicit choice or because their fear of fully embracing their femininity causes them to embrace masculinity. Muxe nguiu may only fail to fit well into the gender binary because of the sexual roles they take on or because of a few small markers of femininity, like wearing a flower, and may therefore understand their identity as basically male.

Regarding sexual practices, research claims that muxes only or predominantly have anal and oral sex in the *pasiva* (bottom) position and/or that this is at least the case for the feminine muxe gunaa (Barbosa 2016; Gómez Jiménez et al. 2020; Mirandé 2016). Other research, on the other hand, attests that many muxes, including muxe gunaa, look for *ramones*, ostensibly hetero- or bisexual men with whom they can play the *activo* (top) role (Laaksonen 2016, 2018). I can emphatically confirm, from my experiences, that the latter is the case, as the former perception seems to come from the taboo nature of such sex acts (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016, 2018). The silence that develops around such practices manages to hide their high level of frequency, even from certain researchers. For scientific reasons, it is good to have clarity about this issue, but it is also important for practical reasons. Male researchers planning to work in Juchitán should be aware of this phenomenon so that they come to Juchitán prepared to navigate it, especially if they are planning to work with muxes, are attracted to men, and/or have a masculine gender expression.

Relatedly, I believe my work adds nuances to the links between sexual practices and gender that other researchers have shown to be important in Juchitán. Specifically, with some notable exceptions (i.e., Laaksonen (2016, 2018) and Cruz Vásquez (2021)), little work has focused on the complex social meanings of sex in Juchitán, even for muxes. The work that has done so has highlighted how the expression of sexual desire is locally constructed, resisted, and reconstructed. Though this work does not shy away from more problematic forms of sexual desire and practices, it tends not to focus on the negative impacts of these expressions of sexuality, and its focus on muxes makes any problematic sexual behaviors of men (and women) a side point. In contrast, in much of Chapter 4, I highlighted the widespread common belief that sexual desires are uncontrollable, particularly for people with penises, and connected this belief to the local expression of machista and matriarchal ideologies. While I focused to a great extent on muxes, the sexuality of men and women were equally important in

this analysis.

In so doing, I attempted to problematize this belief along with the behaviors and, to some extent, desires linked to it. I find it doubtful, in a context where people believe that they must have sex if they feel a desire and that they must have certain desires based on their biology and social identity, that the expression of these desires is truly liberatory. Instead, the expression of these desires often causes people to engage in practices they would otherwise probably not engage in, causing harm to themselves and to others. In Juchitán, there is a clear presence of rampant cheating, sexual violence, and pressure to perform sexual roles, and these phenomena are supported by contradictory, but strong, expectations of uncontrollable sexual behavior. These behaviors and desires are both repressed and strongly tolerated/expected, providing thereby a clear piece of evidence for Foucault's assertion that repression creates sexual identities and therefore that the expression of sexuality is not in and of itself liberatory (Foucault 1976).

I also think that my use of the concepts of "Zapotecness" and "Mexicanness", emerging jointly out of my overview of past research, ethnographic observations, and logistical regressions, to explain variation is a unique contribution of this thesis that can help other researchers working in Juchitán. Other research has addressed the different markers of a local Zapotec identity in Juchitán and the links between these markers (Barbosa 2016; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Dávalos Vázquez 2017; Flores Martos 2010; Miche 2006; Stephen 2002). However, this research has not grouped these attributes into a single named concept, nor used these collections of attributes to describe or explain other phenomena like linguistic variation. Other researchers could use this concept to explain other semiotic phenomena in Juchitán that are linked to gender, ethnicity, and language, both including and going beyond linguistic variation.

For future researchers, who focus on issues of language, gender, and ideology, Juchitán is an ideal research location. I found personally that, for exploring the interplay and interactions between language, gender, and ideology, I could have hardly picked a better field site. The local ideologies around language and, especially, gender were highly diverse, complicated, and at times unexpected. Furthermore, many linguistic phenomena that could be linked to gender, Zapotec language and identity, and the ideologies behind them. In particular, the muxe phenomenon and the complicated interplay of contemporary Mexican and local Zapotec ideologies and understanding of

identity lent themselves well to this study and probably would lend themselves as well to any study looking at the links between ideology, language, and/or gender. It would be hard to find another place in the world where such complicated configurations of ideologies and gendered identities exist, and even if such a place could be found, it would not likely also have a slowly disappearing, but still fairly vital, indigenous language. It sometimes seemed that every possible topic regarding gender, ideology, and language could be observed or studied here. As such, future researchers looking at any of these issues should strongly consider doing research in Juchitán.

However, it is very important that researchers be aware that, at least at the time of writing this thesis, Juchitán can be a dangerous place, and any research plan for a study in Juchitán needs to include necessary precautions regarding the researcher's physical safety. Researchers should also consider their likely reaction to being (indirectly) exposed to violence and take explicit steps to deal with this possibility. In the preparation phase, I would have benefited from taking my possible emotional reactions into greater account, and, after the fieldwork, I would have benefited from having people to talk to who had researched or even spent time in similarly difficult places. In the future, if I were to work on a project in such a place again, I would actively include after-fieldwork support into my plan, and I would encourage other researchers working in such a context to do the same.

Along these lines, I suggest anthropologists and linguists should also be more open about the practical and psychological difficulties they may face in the field to help future researchers prepare for their own fieldwork. While much research acknowledges practical difficulties with fieldwork and participant safety and comfort, very little exists that explicitly mentions the personal safety and mental health of researchers themselves. Since around the 2010s, this has started to change (see, for instance, Goldstein (2014), Taylor (2019), & Whitt-Woosley & Sprang (2018) as well as Laaksonen (2016)'s discussion of almost getting shot in Juchitán). However, other researchers could benefit, practically, if anthropologists and linguists, as a general rule, briefly mentioned practical safety-based issues in their work.

The exclusion of such information also makes it more difficult to understand the local context. Many articles on muxes that I read before going to Juchitán either did not mention local violence, or only mentioned violence directed towards muxes (i.e., Barbosa (2016) & Miano Borruso (2001)). This lack of context for the violence, as an

aspect of life that affects, to some degree, everyone in Juchitán, made it difficult to understand the larger context around violence against muxes before going to Juchitán, making it simultaneously harder to grasp the position of muxes in Juchitán in its complexity. To a certain extent, muxes were both accepted and rejected, and, namely, the violence they often experienced was in some senses, unique, but in other ways, similar to what other people in Juchitán experience. With a greater attention to the struggles common to people living in Juchitán, it would have been easier to understand this fact before arriving.

Local people in Juchitán are positioned between many strong and sometimes opposing social forces, with corresponding ideologies. This complicated position, however, also implies many contradictions that could serve as opportunities for local people to change the local conditions. With so many influences and corresponding ideologies available to them, Juchitec@s are in the position to create, out of this cacophony, alternative realities to the current one. By incorporating aspects of larger Mexican and local Zapotec society that best serve them and rejecting others, both in their behavior and the ideological narratives they endorse and reproduce, Juchitec@s are beginning to build new ideologies and change their local reality to create a Juchitán that fully reflects the positive stereotypes about the city, as a place where both the modern and the local are valued and everyone, regardless of their identity, is respected.

End of the English Version

Versión de la tesis en español

Variación sociolingüística e ideología mencionada en el español de Juchitán, México

Craig Zachary Welker



Gzzz, Palacio municipal de Juchitán dañado por el terremoto de 2017 (2), CC BY-SA 4.0

Tesis presentada en cumplimiento parcial de los requisitos para la obtención del
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Resumen

La variación sociolingüística y la ideología mencionada en el español de Juchitán, México

Aunque la sociolingüística señala la importancia de las ideologías en la explicación de la variación lingüística, la investigación variacionista solo ha intentado correlacionar la ideología directamente con esta variación de manera limitada. Cuando la ideología o la actitud se ha tratado como una variable, generalmente se ha enfatizado el aspecto cognitivo de esta variable; por lo tanto, los hablantes de la muestra han sido asignados a ideologías particulares basadas en sus creencias declaradas. En contraste, se ha subestimado el elemento discursivo de la ideología, así como el hecho de que las mismas personas suelen mencionar múltiples ideologías en el discurso. Por lo tanto, en esta tesis, tomo la "ideología mencionada" como un factor social, codificado en base a grupos tonales, e investigo la relación entre este factor social y la variación sociolingüística. Más específicamente, utilizo múltiples ideologías de género y de lengua mencionadas, junto con otros factores sociales, para explicar la variación sociolingüística en Juchitán, México, una comunidad zapoteca indígena que cuenta con un llamado "tercer género", conocido como muxes, y sectores de la sociedad dominados por mujeres.

Mis resultados muestran que ciertas "ideologías mencionadas", junto con otros factores, condicionan la variación en las dos variables lingüísticas elegidas para este estudio, a saber, la retención de /s/ al final de las sílabas y la asignación de género gramatical para referentes muxes. Específicamente, la "ideología mencionada pro-española" se vincula con tasas más altas de retención de /s/, mientras que la "ideología mencionada machista" se asocia con la retención de /s/ entre hablantes zapotecas femeninas y, para todos los hablantes, con el género gramatical masculino para referentes muxes. Dado que los hombres y hablantes dominantes en español tienden a utilizar estas variables con más frecuencia, esto demuestra que las personas convergen hacia el habla de los hombres dominantes en español cuando hablan sobre la posición

dominante del español y de los hombres, incluso cuando no están de acuerdo con esta dominación. Esto implica que la gente expresa opiniones opuestas y/o se adaptan hacia un referente imaginario masculino dominante en español al hacer estas afirmaciones. Además, el hecho de que las "ideologías mencionadas" condicionen patrones de variación sugiere que el constructo es válido y puede utilizarse para exponer patrones previamente invisibles de variación intrahablante en otras muestras, proporcionando una nueva herramienta para lxs sociolingüistas interesadxs en estudiar la variación intraoracional. Los resultados también mostraron que el género gramatical femenino para referentes muxe se utiliza para marcar la cercanía interpersonal, lo que sugiere un debilitamiento semántico de los significados binarios de género gramatical en esta comunidad. Además, la reducción de /s/ se asocia de manera más destacada con hablantes zapotecas femeninas, lo que sugiere un vínculo entre la reducción de /s/ y otros marcadores de la identidad zapoteca que motiva a las mujeres a reducir /s/ con más frecuencia de lo esperado.

Palabras clave: Variación sociolingüística, Español, Ideología, Ideología mencionada, Tercer género, Ideologías lingüísticas, Ideologías de género

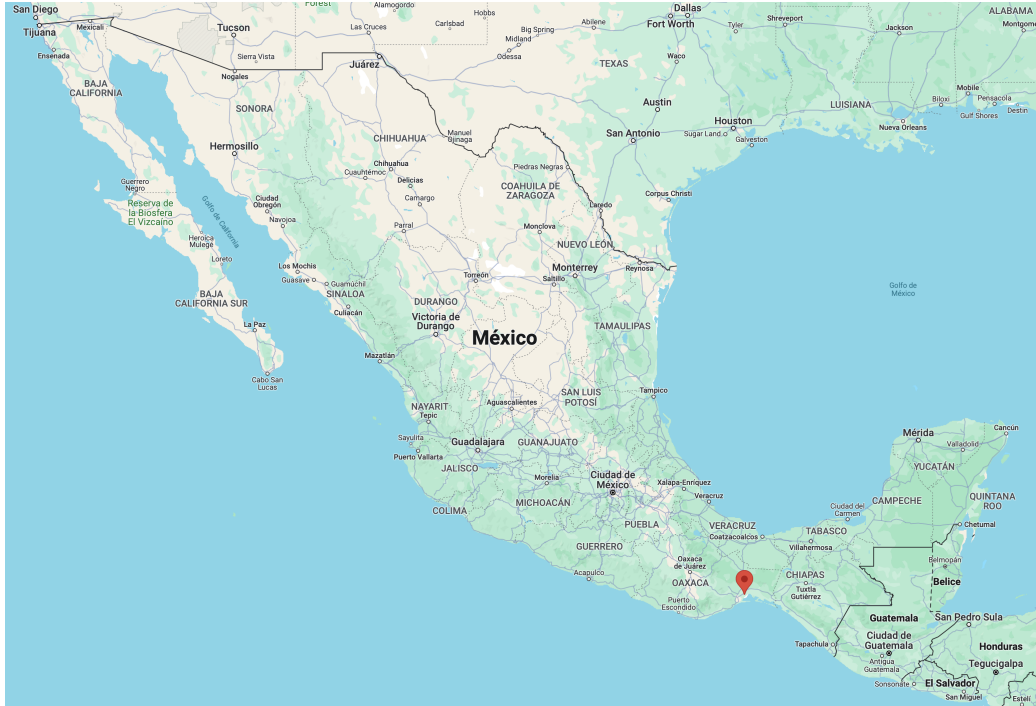
Nota sobre la traducción

Esta tesis fue escrita originalmente en inglés y traducida al español. La versión inglesa contiene muchos ejemplos de discurso citado en español con una traducción al inglés, mientras que la versión en español contiene algunas citas palabra por palabra de artículos académicos en inglés que fueron traducidas al español. Todas las traducciones han sido realizadas por mí, con la ayuda de DeepL y ChatGPT, a menos que se especifique lo contrario. La empresa *UVR correcciones* corrigió el estilo de la traducción de la tesis al español.

Capítulo 1

Contextualización del estudio

1.1 Introducción



En este primer Capítulo de la tesis se justifica el proyecto sobre la variación socio-lingüística y la ideología mencionada en el español de Juchitán, México (representado por la chincheta de Google Maps en el mapa sobre este párrafo). Al principio, se sitúa el proyecto dentro del corpus más amplio de la investigación sociolingüística, para intentar mostrar cómo el proyecto ayuda a abordar lagunas en el campo. Posteriormente, se proporciona una visión general del contexto de Juchitán en términos de historia, lengua, demografía, género e ideologías locales relevantes, para compartir la información de fondo necesaria y mostrar cómo y por qué Juchitán es un contexto particularmente adecuado para este estudio. Esta visión general del contexto de Juchitán también proporciona el contexto necesario para una discusión más profunda de cómo el género, el lenguaje y, especialmente, la ideología funciona en Juchitán, lo que es valioso para entender los capítulos posteriores.

1.2 Los huecos en la investigación variacionista de la primera (y tercera) ola

Dentro de la sociolingüística, la metodología variacionista ha sido una de las herramientas más útiles para documentar en detalle cómo los cambios lingüísticos se filtran a través de las comunidades (ver a (Britain 2009; Eckert 2012; Silva-Corvalán 2001) para algunas visiones generales de este trabajo). Al correlacionar la variación lingüística con categorías demográficas tradicionales, como el género –concebido de forma binaria como masculino o femenino–, la edad y el estatus socioeconómico, la investigación ha revelado con detalle cómo los cambios lingüísticos se asumen primero en determinados grupos sociales antes de extenderse al habla de la sociedad en general.

Por ejemplo, la investigación ha demostrado, con bastantes excepciones (Eckert 1989a), que las mujeres tienden a utilizar las formas estándares con más frecuencia que los hombres (Eckert 2012; Labov 2001; Silva-Corvalán 2001; Trudgill 1972), especialmente en los casos en los que las formas estándares se destacan y marcan el prestigio social (Labov 2001; Trudgill 1972), así como en países y regiones abiertamente estratificados socialmente, en los que las mujeres tienen acceso a la movilidad social (Bakir 1986; García Mouton 2006; Silva-Corvalán 2001). Para el mundo hispanohablante, estos hallazgos se han confirmado y complementado por los dialectólogos, que también han demostrado que las mujeres tienden a abandonar las formas dialectales conservadoras de bajo prestigio en contextos modernos donde su contacto con la norma estándar es alto (García Mouton 2006).

Por tanto, aunque las mujeres tienden a ser líderes en el cambio lingüístico (García Mouton 2006; Labov 2001), suelen liderarlo en las variables no salientes y en las variantes innovadoras que conllevan un prestigio manifiesto, mientras que los hombres tienden a liderar los cambios lingüísticos en el uso de variantes innovadoras salientes y/o estigmatizadas. En cuanto a la edad, lxs adolescentes tienden a ser líderes en el cambio lingüístico, pues emplean variantes innovadoras con mayor frecuencia, mientras que lxs hablantes de más edad, por el contrario, suelen utilizar (aunque no siempre) variantes más típicas del uso de la lengua en el pasado (Eckert 2012; Labov 2001; Silva-Corvalán 2001). Este enfoque variacionista y los hallazgos asociados a él también han proporcionado una sólida justificación basada en datos para estudios en una amplia gama de otros subcampos sociolingüísticos, *desde* recientes trabajos cuali-

tativos sobre el estilo (entre otros, los citados en (Eckert 2012)) hasta estudios basados en la percepción de los estereotipos lingüísticos (como los citados en (Campbell-Kibler 2011, 2012; Gaudio 1994; Mack 2010)).

Sin embargo, los estudios variacionistas a menudo se han basado demasiado en categorías demográficas cuya importancia lxs investigadorxs asumen *a priori* y a menudo han subteorizado los mecanismos que explican el efecto de diversos factores sociales en la variación lingüística (Eckert 2012; Queen 2014). Eckert trazó el desarrollo de la investigación variacionista sociolingüística en tres olas y, si bien reconoció la importancia de cada una, también mostró que la primera se basó demasiado en “categorías aparentemente estáticas de hablantes” que “equiparaban la identidad con la afiliación a una categoría” (Eckert 2012, p. 93). Las categorías de la primera ola se basaban en información demográfica y, puesto que podían correlacionarse de forma fiable con el uso de la lengua, la pertenencia a un grupo se utilizaba a menudo para explicar el uso de la lengua.

En cambio, a partir de los 1980, lxs investigadorxs empezaron a centrarse en agrupar las categorías de otras maneras. Por un lado, Horvath propuso una técnica llamada “análisis de componentes principales”, en la que las categorías se construían basándose en similitudes lingüísticas entre hablantes, en lugar de categorías sociales predefinidas (Horvath y Sankoff 1987; Torres Cacoullós y Berry 2015). Por otro lado, la investigación de la segunda ola añadió categorías que lxs propixs hablantes consideraban importantes, identificadas por lxs investigadorxs a través de la etnografía, y correlacionó estos nuevos grupos con la variación lingüística (Eckert 2012).

En ese sentido, la investigación de la segunda ola fue importante para complementar la investigación de la primera, dado que la inclusión de nuevas categorías en el análisis variacionista ayudó a proporcionar una imagen más completa de cómo los factores sociales se relacionaban con la variación. Sin embargo, sin dejar de reconocer la importancia de la investigación en la primera y segunda ola, Eckert contrastó ambos desfavorablemente con el trabajo más reciente en la tercera ola de la investigación variacionista. Esta investigación interpreta la variación como un sistema de significado social que puede expresar una amplia gama de preocupaciones de la comunidad, donde lxs hablantes utilizan variables con significados mutables para crear estilos (Eckert 2012).

En los estudios de la tercera ola, se demuestra que lxs hablantes se basan en los

significados indicados por determinados rasgos lingüísticos (cada uno de los cuales tiene un campo indexical asociado de significados potenciales múltiples y mutables) para presentarse de una determinada manera en cada momento, y estas posturas se suman para crear una diferencia general en los patrones de habla entre los miembros de diferentes grupos lingüísticos.

1.3 Los antecedentes sociohistóricos relevantes en Juchitán

Antes de proporcionar información sobre el contexto sociolingüístico de Juchitán, se proporciona un contexto más amplio para la situación lingüística, la demografía, las ideologías y los roles de género que allí se describen. Para hacer esto, se comparte una breve historia de esta región que pone en primer plano información indispensable para una comprensión completa del contexto sociolingüístico e ideológico del Juchitán moderno. Por lo tanto, este panorama histórico, aunque breve y lejos de ser exhaustivo, hace hincapié en dos tipos importantes de información histórica. Es decir, se ofrece la cantidad mínima de información necesaria para entender el desarrollo histórico de la región, combinada con información adicional importante que ayuda a explicar las ideologías que existen en el Juchitán actual y la información a menudo enfatizada en los relatos ideológicamente pro-zapotecos de la historia regional.

Aunque gran parte del actual México estaba controlado por el Imperio azteca antes de la llegada de Hernán Cortés, Juchitán y la zona que lo rodea tienen una larga historia zapoteca. La etnia zapoteca ha vivido en la zona a la que ahora se hace referencia como la provincia mexicana de Oaxaca desde alrededor del 1500 a. C., cuando formaba una confederación hacia el 500 a. C., centrada en torno a la capital de Monte Albán (Ruiz Medrano 2011). Esta civilización zapoteca fue una de las primeras civilizaciones importantes de América, y apareció más de 1800 años antes del Imperio azteca, por lo que gobernaba gran parte de la actual provincia de Oaxaca, y ocasionalmente algunas regiones exteriores, hasta la conquista española. Sin embargo, la civilización zapoteca alcanzó su máximo esplendor entre 200 y 700 d. C., y hacia el año 1000 d. C. el Estado zapoteco se había debilitado hasta tal punto que otros grupos, especialmente los mixtecos, pudieron invadir sus tierras (Ruiz Medrano 2011). Los conflictos entre los mixtecos, que más tarde se absorbieron por el Imperio azteca como Estado vasallo, fueron habituales hasta la llegada de los españoles. Para compensar sus pérdidas, los

zapotecxs, bajo el liderazgo de Cociyopij, conquistaron el Istmo de Tehuantepec, situado en la actual Oaxaca, cerca de la provincia de Chiapas, a finales del siglo XIV, lo que llevó a lxs zapotecxs a huir y asentarse en la región (Ruiz Medrano 2011).

Según muchas fuentes, esto también llevó a la fundación de Juchitán en el Istmo de Tehuantepec en 1480, es decir, antes de la conquista azteca y española de la zona. Aun así, no se encuentran fuentes históricas fiables que corroboren esta historia tan contada, porque las primeras menciones fiables de Juchitán en la literatura histórica datan de 1825, cuando se declaró municipio. Parece cierto que lxs zapotecxs vivían en la región, pero no está claro si Juchitán se había fundado, sin embargo, esta historia, que vincula a Juchitán con una afirmación zapoteca de fortaleza ante las dificultades y un pasado preespañol, incluso preazteca, parece reflejar la actual definición de la ciudad como ferozmente anti (neo)colonial y quintaesencialmente zapoteca, una definición cuyo desarrollo se muestra en las páginas siguientes.

Lxs zapotecxs siguieron luchando contra lxs mixtecxs y aztecas hasta su conquista por los españoles. Poco después, los territorios anteriormente zapotecos fueron rápidamente absorbidos por el Imperio español, aunque el Istmo de Tehuantepec permaneció indígena durante más tiempo, al parecer debido a su distancia de Tenochtitlán (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). De esa forma, las autoridades españolas y los evangelizadores dominicos obligaron a lxs indígenas a destruir los templos y construir iglesias en su lugar, y los hombres se vieron obligados a abandonar su vestimenta tradicional (Ruiz Medrano 2011): estos empezaron a vestir guayaberas (camisas blancas y pantalones negros), pero a las mujeres se les permitió seguir vistiendo huipiles (blusas adornadas de colores), hoy consideradas prendas tradicionales de fiesta (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2002; Miche 2006). Con ello inició una pauta que se mantiene hasta hoy día, según la cual las mujeres conservan los modos de expresión y formas de vida tradicionales mucho más que los hombres.

En 1660, la región de Tehuantepec fue testigo de una revuelta contra el dominio español, en la que lxs zapotecxs mataron al alcalde de la ciudad de Tehuantepec y tomaron el control de la región, con lo que establecieron su propio Gobierno y un ejército de 10 000 soldados. Con esto, se mantuvo la independencia durante un año antes de que Nueva España consiguiera recuperar el control de la región (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002), momento en el que lxs españolxs incrementaron sus esfuerzos por hispanizar la ciudad de Tehuantepec (Saynes-Vázquez 2002). No obstante,

es posible que, con tanto empeño en hispanizar Tehuantepec, las zonas circundantes permanecieran relativamente desatendidas, y que la cultura indígena y el espíritu de resistencia hacia el dominio exterior pudieran persistir durante más tiempo en centros urbanos a las afueras de la ciudad, como Juchitán.

Después de que México se independizara de España en 1827, la mención de Juchitán en los registros históricos se hizo mucho más frecuente. Para entonces, la zona alrededor de Juchitán había ganado notoriedad por ser particularmente resistente al dominio de lxs españolxs y por ser defensora de su tierra y sus correspondientes recursos naturales (Saynes-Vázquez 2002). Aun así, la privatización y la venta de tierras zapotecas a empresarios extranjeros provocaron una serie de rebeliones en 1834 que, a pesar de la gran represión del Gobierno, no terminaron hasta 1853 (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002).

Cuando las tropas de la Francia napoleónica invadieron la región en 1866, como parte de su intento de conquista de México, lxs juchitecxs lucharon contra el ejército del lado de los liberales, quienes prometieron detener la privatización de sus tierras (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). Según algunas versiones de la historia que se escucharon en Juchitán, un grupo de mujeres derrotó a una parte del ejército lanzando piedras y otras armas improvisadas a los soldados desde lo alto de un acantilado. Una vez terminada la guerra, lxs juchitecxs siguieron resistiendo las incursiones de forasteros con ánimo de lucro en sus tierras, tantas veces que resulta imposible enumerarlas todas, hasta la actualidad, donde muchxs juchitecxs se han resistido a los recientes proyectos europeos de poner molinos de viento y crear energía eólica en la región (Dunlap y Correa Arce 2022).

Estas historias y anécdotas históricas muestran la formación y la reiteración de una identidad étnica anticolonial basada en una férrea oposición a la injerencia exterior, la protección de la tierra local y unos fuertes lazos comunitarios en los que todo el mundo, hombres y mujeres, promueven y protegen la integridad de Juchitán. Por otro lado, se señalan una historia continuada de uso de la violencia para resolver tales disputas, una desconfianza en las autoridades oficiales y una oposición a los proyectos de desarrollo económico que pueden contribuir a los altos niveles de violencia, pobreza y subdesarrollo en el Juchitán moderno.

En consecuencia, Juchitán, como muchas ciudades indígenas y del sur de México, sigue estando económicamente poco desarrollada y desfavorecida en comparación con

la mayoría de las ciudades mexicanas del mismo tamaño. Por ese motivo, la mayoría de los empleos se encuentran en el sector informal, los salarios medios están muy por debajo de la media nacional (alrededor de USD200 al mes, frente a unos USD 600 al mes) y los índices de alfabetización también son relativamente bajos (actualmente en torno al 90,61 %) (Hidalgo 2022). Además, la mayoría de las calles no se pavimentaron hasta bien entrada la década de 1990 (Saynes-Vázquez 2002), y algunas calles de los barrios más pobres de Juchitán siguen sin pavimentar.

Debido al contexto sociohistórico de Juchitán, los intentos de desarrollar la economía de la ciudad mediante inversión extranjera y proyectos como la construcción de molinos de viento (Dunlap y Correa Arce 2022) son controvertidos. Desde la década de 1910, Juchitán y otras ciudades zapotecas han ido ganando cada vez más autonomía dentro de México, lo que culminó a mediados de la década de 1990, cuando el Gobierno mexicano promulgó reformas que permitían a lxs indígenas celebrar elecciones a través de sus propios usos y costumbres (Recondo 2007; Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). Desde mediados del siglo XX, se ha disminuido la represión de los pueblos indígenas en todo el mundo, y se está produciendo el correspondiente renacimiento de la cultura indígena, que es particularmente fuerte en Juchitán, debido al espíritu independiente de la población local (Ruiz Medrano 2011; Saynes-Vázquez 2002).

Esta situación no está exenta de paradojas. Por un lado, así como ha crecido la autonomía de Juchitán, también lo ha hecho su nivel de integración con el resto de México. A principios del siglo XX, a pesar de la construcción de un ferrocarril, Juchitán era de muy difícil acceso para la gente de fuera (Saynes-Vázquez 2002). En la época moderna, en cambio, Juchitán es fácil de visitar, y el número de juchitecs que emigran a otras zonas y, en menor medida, de personas que se trasladan a Juchitán parece muy elevado.

Por diversas razones, como su ubicación geográfica y su escasa relación con las autoridades exteriores, Juchitán se ha convertido en un centro de tráfico de drogas desde principios de la década de 2000, con el consiguiente aumento de la violencia relacionada con los cárteles. Como en muchas zonas afectadas por la guerra contra el narcotráfico, la cantidad de violencia relacionada con las drogas parece ser bastante variable. Sin embargo, gran parte de la nueva violencia también puede vincularse a conflictos en los que interviene la policía armada que, aunque se supone que debe disminuir los

niveles de delincuencia violenta y defender los intereses económicos extranjeros, a menudo contribuye a la violencia (Dunlap y Correa Arce 2022; Saynes-Vázquez 2002), así como sicarios contratados por empresas extranjeras y otros actores no estatales (Dunlap y Correa Arce 2022). De ese modo, aunque la violencia parecía estar disminuyendo antes de la pandemia mundial de COVID-19, los datos anecdóticos sugieren que la pandemia volvió a aumentar los niveles de violencia.

Juchitán también ha sido una sociedad altamente clasista y estratificada desde principios del siglo XX, y las ideologías anticolonialistas y antiextranjeras se reparten de forma desigual entre la población. En este sentido, la política en Juchitán ha estado durante mucho tiempo muy polarizada entre fuerzas políticas de izquierda y de centro. En 1973, juchitecs de diversas procedencias fundaron la organización socialista Coalición Obrera, Campesina, Estudiantil del Istmo (COCEI). Esta organización se posicionó, como muchos actores juchitecos antes, contra la privatización de las tierras nativas y además intentó crear una conciencia de clase marxista dentro de Juchitán entre estudiantes y trabajadores. Al hacerlo, se opuso al centrismo y la corrupción de la principal fuerza política en el Istmo de Tehuantepec, y en México, en ese momento, apareció el Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) (Recondo 2007).

El PRI comenzó como un partido de izquierda que con el tiempo se fue desplazando hacia el centroderecha durante sus 70 años de monopolio de la política mexicana. El partido ganó prácticamente todas las elecciones importantes desde 1929 hasta 2000, lo que se facilitó gracias a los miembros del partido que añadían papeletas adicionales a favor del PRI. Debido a la persistente corrupción, la mala gestión del Gobierno y el fraude electoral, el partido se convirtió en causa de gran resentimiento para muchxs: mexicanxs indígenas, aquellxs con estudios y personas que vivían en la ciudad (hay que tener en cuenta que Juchitán es indígena y es una ciudad). Como resultado, nacieron muchos movimientos de oposición de izquierda y de derecha, incluida la COCEI.

El conflicto entre el PRI y la COCEI es claramente menos destacado ahora que el PRI carece del monopolio político que una vez tuvo, y los escándalos de corrupción también han afectado gravemente la credibilidad de la COCEI, incluso entre sus antiguos partidarios. Sin embargo, la COCEI sigue existiendo como fuerza política en Juchitán, al celebrar reuniones ocasionales y al comprometerse a luchar por una mayor autonomía indígena. Además, parece que la sociedad de Juchitán sigue dividida entre una mayoría que mantiene una actitud anticolonialista, izquierdista y de resistencia a

las fuerzas exteriores, y las que apoyan las ideologías centristas y la integración con el resto de México, a pesar de la corrupción, la represión indígena y otros problemas asociados. Esto también puede verse en las actitudes hacia el controvertido presidente populista de centro-izquierda de México, Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), quien, aunque aparentemente popular en Juchitán, está lejos de serlo universalmente.

En suma, debido a su desarrollo histórico, Juchitán es una ciudad zapoteca con una fuerte tradición y sentido de distinción del resto de México. Este sentimiento distintivo incluye la necesidad de proteger y defender Juchitán de la invasión extranjera, que a veces conduce a mayores niveles de violencia y podría decirse que ha obstaculizado el desarrollo, mientras que, al mismo tiempo, protege la cultura local y promueve los intereses locales. A pesar de ello, una minoría significativa de juchitecos son centristas políticos que ven positivamente una mayor integración con el resto de México y no se definen tan opuestos a las fuerzas externas como otros. Por lo tanto, se podría decir que Juchitán es una ciudad con un fuerte sentido de identidad local y zapoteca, atemperada con una cierta adopción/participación en tendencias asociadas con el resto de México.

1.4 El contexto sociolingüístico actual de Juchitán: lengua y demografía

Juchitán tiene actualmente alrededor de 93 000 habitantes y se eligió como el contexto para este proyecto de investigación debido a la relevancia bien documentada de múltiples ideologías, en particular las de género y lenguaje, para la vida en la pequeña ciudad. Si bien estas ideologías se exploran en gran detalle en las secciones 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, y 4.5, aquí se proporciona una visión sociolingüística de la ciudad para establecer un contexto para las variables lingüísticas y otros factores sociales seleccionados para usarse en este estudio.

De esa manera, se debe señalar que en Juchitán no solo existe una multiplicidad de ideologías de género y lingüísticas –algunas de las cuales son bastante exclusivas de la ciudad–, sino también las correspondientes configuraciones únicas de identidad social y uso de la lengua. En concreto, dado que la ciudad es una comunidad mayoritariamente indígena zapoteca, una gran proporción de la población habla tanto el zapoteco del istmo como el español. En cuanto al género, las mujeres, a pesar de estar en desventaja por el patriarcado, tienen poder sobre los hombres en ámbitos específicos, y

lxs muxes, una identidad indígena a la que a menudo se hace referencia en la literatura como un tercer género, disfrutan de una presencia comunitaria visible, aunque cuestionada.

Las actuales configuraciones lingüísticas e identitarias presentes en Juchitán se desarrollan en esta sección, mientras que las configuraciones de género se exploran en la sección 1.5. También se proporciona una visión general del perfil lingüístico y demográfico de Juchitán en esta sección, con el fin de proporcionar un contexto relevante para las discusiones posteriores sobre las ideologías lingüísticas en Juchitán. Por tanto, aunque este proyecto no se trata del contacto lingüístico o dialectal, también se incluye información sobre cómo ocurren estos tipos de contacto en Juchitán, para dar una justificación más sólida a las variables lingüísticas que se eligieron para el estudio. La justificación de cada variable se proporciona en el Capítulo 3.

En términos de edad, Juchitán tiene una población relativamente joven, con una edad promedio de 24 años, cinco más joven que el promedio nacional (Hidalgo 2022). La pertenencia vecinal en Juchitán también es bastante significativa socialmente. La ciudad central se divide en nueve colonias, denominadas secciones, de diferente tamaño, composición étnica y perfiles lingüísticos. Por último, las secciones sexta, séptima y octava suelen considerarse las más zapotecas de la ciudad, y también se encuentran entre las más pobres y subdesarrolladas.

En estas secciones, especialmente en la séptima, la identidad zapoteca se siente más fuertemente, porque las tradiciones zapotecas se siguen de manera más consistente (Dávalos Vázquez 2017; Gauvin 2011; Laaksonen 2016). Dado que “muxe” es una identidad ideológicamente zapoteca, lxs juchitecxs generalmente asumen que estas secciones tienen más habitantes muxe que otras secciones (Laaksonen 2016). Además, la lengua zapoteca del istmo se habla con más frecuencia que en otras secciones (Augsburger 2004; Saynes-Vázquez 2002).

En contraste con muchas comunidades indígenas de México, Juchitán tiene una lengua indígena local, el zapoteco del istmo, que todavía se utiliza comúnmente en la vida cotidiana (Augsburger 2004; Stephen 2002). La mayoría de lxs juchitecxs (alrededor del 61 % en 2000) se siente cómoda hablando tanto español como zapoteco del istmo, aunque la lengua principal de Juchitán se está desplazando actualmente hacia el español, hablado de forma monolingüe por el 30 % de la población (Augsburger 2004; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). Al respecto, se sabe que el zapoteco del istmo pertenece a la familia de

lenguas zapotecas, que a su vez se clasifica dentro de la familia de lenguas otoman-gueanas. La lengua tiene alrededor de 85 000 hablantes, y la mayoría se concentra en la región de origen de la lengua, en y alrededor de las ciudades geográficamente cercanas de Juchitán y Tehuantepec.

Asimismo, la inmensa mayoría de lxs hablantes de zapoteco del istmo son también hablantes altamente competentes de español (Augsburger 2004; Saynes-Vázquez 2002), y se esperaría que lxs juchitecxs con niveles más bajos de competencia lingüística en español aún tuvieran algún nivel de habilidad en el idioma. Para más información sobre cómo influyó la competencia lingüística en el español, se puede leer la sección 4.2.

Ahora bien, el zapoteco del istmo es una lengua sintética que emplea típicamente el orden de palabras VSO y tiene un sistema bastante complejo de marcadores de aspecto, conjugaciones verbales y marcadores posesivos. La fonología de la lengua permite más grupos de consonantes y contiene más fonemas consonánticos que el español, aunque contiene los mismos cinco fonemas vocálicos. Como muchas lenguas no indoeuropeas, el tono léxico también se utiliza ocasionalmente para establecer contrastes semánticos. De particular importancia para este estudio es la falta de la /s/ implosiva en el zapoteco del istmo, así como la ausencia de muchos marcadores gramaticales de género y número característicos del español. Los marcadores gramaticales de género son incluso menos frecuentes en esta lengua que los marcadores de número, pues ni siquiera los pronombres indican el género gramatical (Pickett et al. 1998).

En cuanto a la estructura de este trabajo, las secciones primera y segunda contrastan con la sexta, la séptima y la octava por ser menos ideológicamente zapotecas, por tener una población mayor de inmigrantes nacionales y por ser más adineradas (Augsburger 2004; Gauvin 2011; Laaksonen 2016). Allí el español es claramente el idioma dominante, los empleos de cuello blanco en el sector económico formal son más comunes, y los empleos tradicionales del sector informal son menos comunes (Augsburger 2004; Dávalos Vázquez 2017; Gauvin 2011; Laaksonen 2016; Saynes-Vázquez 2002). De acuerdo con observaciones personales¹, parece que la población en estas secciones todavía se enorgullece de ser de Juchitán, pero se ve más orientada hacia la modernización, como en el resto de México. Las secciones restantes se consideran generalmente como un punto intermedio en términos de riqueza material, y la importancia de la identidad

¹Durante mi viaje de trabajo de campo a corto plazo durante la segunda semana de enero de 2020 y mi trabajo de campo a más largo plazo de diciembre de 2020 a febrero de 2022

zapoteca, las tradiciones y la lengua frente a las normas mexicanas más amplias para las secciones restantes es menos consistente en la literatura.

En cuanto al contexto lingüístico, Juchitán es una región con múltiples ejes de contacto lingüístico. Si bien hay, por supuesto, un contacto notable entre el zapoteco del istmo y el español, especialmente en las secciones séptima, octava y novena, Juchitán también tiene un pequeño número de hablantes de otras lenguas indígenas, en particular del zoque, huave y mixe, y de otras lenguas zapotecas. Por tanto, lxs hablantes de estas lenguas necesitan hablar español y/o zapoteco del istmo para participar en la vida cotidiana. Además, Juchitán se encuentra en una región donde puede haber contacto dialectal, porque hay mucha migración dentro y fuera, y lxs dialectólogos han encontrado difícil determinar qué variedad (o variedades) de español habla la gente.

Entre los dialectólogos que han trazado mapas dialectales para delimitar los dialectos mexicanos según diferentes criterios lingüísticos, Juchitán se ha considerado alternativamente como un dialecto mexicano costeño, un dialecto separado de la meseta oaxaqueña, un dialecto mexicano central, un dialecto sureño y, en otras ocasiones, su propio dialecto juchiteco (Butragueño 2011, 2014; Lope Blanch 1970, 1971; Serrano 2019). Sin embargo, el dialecto o los dialectos hablados en Juchitán y sus alrededores no parecen estar particularmente separados desde un punto de vista perceptual para la mayoría de lxs mexicanxs (Serrano 2019). De acuerdo con el lugar donde se tracen los límites, Juchitán puede o no ser una región donde se produce el contacto dialectal y, por lo tanto, puede ser una región con más variabilidad lingüística saliente que otras ciudades. Este panorama se complica por las tasas ostensiblemente altas de migración entre Juchitán y otras partes de México, un tema que se discute con más detalle en la sección de metodología, en el Capítulo 4, que probablemente aumenta la cantidad de contacto entre el español de Juchitán y otras variedades y, en consecuencia, podría dar lugar a más casos de variabilidad lingüística saliente.

1.5 El contexto sociolingüístico actual de Juchitán: el rol de género muxe

A pesar de que lxs muxes, asignadxs como hombres al nacer, suelen ser descritxs en la literatura antropológica como pertenecientes a un “tercer sexo” entre el de las mujeres y los hombres (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1997; Laaksonen 2016; Mirandé 2011; Stephen

2002), aquí se evita usar este término controvertido y debatido tanto como sea posible (ver Zimman y Hall 2009, para una visión general de la controversia). Lxs muxes, aunque se inclinan hacia comportamientos ideológicamente femeninos, pueden asumir roles sociales asociados tanto con las mujeres como con los hombres, y algunos roles sociales, como la preparación para ciertas ceremonias, están más o menos exclusivamente asociados con la identidad muxe (Barbosa 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002).

Los roles tradicionalmente masculinos que se ha observado que asumen lxs muxes incluyen postularse para cargos políticos y hacer joyería (Barbosa 2016; Stephen 2002), mientras que los roles femeninos a menudo desempeñados por lxs muxes incluyen el bordado y la decoración de altares domésticos (Stephen 2002). Es importante enfatizar que, en Juchitán, al igual que en otros contextos, la palabra *tradicional* no siempre se refiere a tradiciones que han existido durante mucho tiempo. Lxs científicxs sociales y lxs activistas de derechos humanos han sabido durante mucho tiempo que las tradiciones no necesariamente reflejan cómo “las cosas siempre fueron”, y que invocar la tradición suele ser una táctica para justificar y perpetuar una determinada estructura social desigual.

En el contexto juchiteco específicamente, Miche (2006) ha analizado cómo se ha invocado el concepto de tradición en Juchitán “para validar prácticas que en realidad aparecen por la necesidad de los cambios materiales y sociológicos a lo largo del siglo XX” (Miche 2006). Por lo tanto, se entiende aquí el término *tradicional* como uno ideológico, y no se asume en ningún momento que los comportamientos “tradicionales” descritos reflejen de alguna manera la sociedad juchiteca históricamente, a menos que se proporcione evidencia adicional.

Debido a que la división del trabajo en Juchitán está altamente marcada por género, lxs muxes son valoradxs por su capacidad para asumir una variedad más amplia de trabajos que las mujeres y los hombres (Barbosa 2016). Por ejemplo, dado que el trabajo artístico se considera trabajo de hombres y la preparación de fiestas está reservada para las mujeres, no es apropiado que ni los hombres ni las mujeres trabajen en proyectos artísticos para fiestas. Por lo tanto, lxs muxes producen adornos de papel para grandes fiestas y celebraciones (Mirandé 2011).

Además, es común que lxs muxes inicien sexualmente a hombres jóvenes y solteros, porque se supone que las mujeres deben permanecer vírgenes hasta el matrimonio,

una restricción que no se extiende a la sexualidad masculina (Barbosa 2016; Caparrós 2012; Stephen 2002). Dado que lxs muxes no son mujeres y a menudo no se casan, no sufren las mismas sanciones sociales por tener relaciones sexuales antes del matrimonio y, dado que lxs muxes no son hombres, no amenaza la identidad heterosexual de un hombre tener relaciones sexuales ocasionales con un/a muxe. De esta manera, la capacidad de lxs muxes para desempeñar múltiples roles apoya un orden social heteronormativo y una división del trabajo de género que podría ser más difícil de mantener en una sociedad sin muxes (Barbosa 2016).

El término *gay* se usa a menudo para describir a lxs muxes en el Juchitán moderno (Barbosa 2016; Bennholdt-Thomsen 1997), y aunque la identidad muxe no es una orientación sexual, la mayoría de lxs muxes se autodenominan homosexuales (Barbosa 2016). En línea con esta observación, lxs muxes tienden a encontrar parejas masculinas a largo plazo o a permanecer solterxs y tener escapadas sexuales con varios hombres (Flores Martos 2010; Stephen 2002). Dicho esto, este término es algo controvertido, dado que algunos individuos identificados como homosexuales en Juchitán rechazan la etiqueta “muxe” y viceversa. Asimismo, aunque hay muxes que se asocian con mujeres, estas relaciones son muy estigmatizadas, incluso entre lxs muxes, y llamar a un/a muxe lesbiana generalmente se trata como un insulto grave (Barbosa 2016). Las relaciones que lxs muxes tienen con las mujeres, en consecuencia, se invisibilizan, lo que fortalece la asociación entre la identidad muxe y la homosexualidad.

Aunque se informa que lxs muxes son toleradxs o incluso aceptadxs en la comunidad, investigaciones anteriores sobre lxs muxes pueden haber exagerado en gran medida su nivel de aceptación dentro de la sociedad juchiteca (Barbosa 2016; Bennholdt-Thomsen 1997; Caparrós 2012; Flores Martos 2010; Mirandé 2011). De manera similar, algunas investigaciones pasadas han reproducido el mito, común en algunas representaciones mediáticas de Juchitán, de que la ciudad es más o menos un matriarcado, en el que las mujeres dominan la vida social. No obstante, algunxs de estxs autorxs adoptan simplemente una postura agnóstica respecto a la veracidad de este mito (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Flores Martos 2010; Mirandé 2011). En realidad, las mujeres y lxs muxes en Juchitán sufren los efectos de las ideologías patriarcales y heteronormativas. En particular, los hombres heterosexuales dominan muchas profesiones bien remuneradas, como la política (Caparrós 2012; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Laaksonen 2016; Stephen 2002), la violencia doméstica contra las mujeres, lxs muxes y lxs niñxs es aparentemente

muy común (Barbosa 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002), y los medios de comunicación a menudo informan sobre crímenes de odio contra lxs muxes (ver Mirandé 2011, también).

Adicionalmente, se espera que las personas en Juchitán, independientemente de su género, desempeñen roles específicos de género que, en el caso de lxs muxes, suelen implicar no casarse y quedarse en casa para cuidar de sus progenitores ancianxs en lugar de ello (Barbosa 2016; Caparrós 2012; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Mirandé 2011). Estos roles/expectativas pueden percibirse como liberadores, restrictivos o una combinación de ambos, según los objetivos individuales, la experiencia de vida y la comodidad general con los roles que se esperan de ellos. Además, a lxs muxes les resulta muy difícil encontrar trabajos bien remunerados en los que predominen los hombres que los contraten, a pesar de las leyes contra la discriminación, y es prácticamente impensable que lxs muxes vestidxs con ropa de mujer consigan tales trabajos (Céspedes Vargas 2015).

Además, parece que lxs muxes son generalmente más estigmatizadxs cuanto más visten “ropa de mujer”, puesto que vestirse con ropa femenina se asocia tanto con muxes de clase baja como con una violación de la heteronormatividad (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Hoy día, vestirse con ropa femenina se considera más aceptable que en el pasado (Barbosa 2016), pero vestirse “como una mujer” en muchos contextos todavía se considera un comportamiento inapropiado que denota una falta de respeto (Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001). Debido a estas desigualdades restantes y una ideología local saliente que considera que cada rol de género complementario es igual de valioso, las descripciones mediáticas de Juchitán como un matriarcado o un paraíso *gay* donde las personas femeninas dominan la sociedad son tanto factualmente inexactas como rechazadas por la gente local.

Por otro lado, hay evidencia de que la configuración de la identidad muxe ha cambiado drásticamente debido a procesos de globalización y modernización (Barbosa 2016), desarrollos que se deben tener en cuenta en la investigación sociolingüística sobre contextos modernos (Besnier 2007). En cuanto a Juchitán, específicamente, los cambios económicos en las últimas décadas la han transformado de una economía de subsistencia relativamente no integrada con el resto de México a una economía de mercado moderna (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Mientras que la economía de subsistencia se gobierna por una ideología de reciprocidad y obligaciones sociales mutuas (Céspedes

Vargas 2015), descrita en detalle en la sección de la metodología, la ideología del mercado conlleva nuevas ideologías políticas y de género.

La economía local, informal, respaldada por ideologías de reciprocidad, permite a lxs muxes participar en el mercado laboral como muxes, y, en trabajos tradicionales, se les permite una mayor libertad para encarnar un papel de género intermedio y menos limitado por roles de género binarios normativos (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Por otro lado, algunxs muxes han aprovechado la disponibilidad de hormonas e inyecciones de silicona de otras partes de México para adoptar una apariencia más femenina (Barbosa 2016), aunque tales modificaciones corporales pueden ser peligrosas, pues pueden realizarse sin supervisión médica.

Al mismo tiempo, los trabajos que se ajustan dentro de la economía formal del mercado traída por la modernidad –en otras palabras, trabajos asalariados en Juchitán– parecen requerir que lxs empleadxs muxes adopten una apariencia externamente masculina, por ejemplo, que eviten vestidos y otra ropa femenina (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Lxs muxes que participan en el trabajo sexual o en el sector informal, tradicional y no salarial, por otro lado, pueden adoptar una apariencia más normativamente femenina. En suma, esta observación de que la identidad muxe es más fácil de expresar en trabajos zapotecas tradicionales en el sector informal parece contradecirse con otras transformaciones en las normas sociales traídas por la modernidad.

De ese modo, a pesar de que los trabajos del sector formal se restringen a muxes que se presentan de manera masculina, la modernización ha llevado a que lxs muxes que se presentan de manera femenina disfruten de una mejor aceptación en Juchitán. En consecuencia, cada nueva generación de muxes en los últimos 70 años se ve más dispuesta que la anterior a presentarse de manera no binaria o femenina (Barbosa 2016). Como resultado de estos cambios, el término *muxe* parece entenderse de diferentes maneras por diferentes individuos, lo que lleva a que algunxs muxes se identifiquen fuertemente con él: algunxs lo usan ocasionalmente y otrxs se desvinculan del término a pesar de ser interpeladxs como muxe por otrxs. Para obtener una descripción más detallada de los usos polisémicos modernos del concepto de “muxe” tal como se entiende en Juchitán contemporáneamente, se puede consultar a Céspedes Vargas (2015), así como las próximas secciones sobre las ideologías en Juchitán, la metodología y la codificación de datos (sección 1.7 y Capítulo 4).

1.6 La interseccionalidad y las ideologías relevantes en Juchitán

A partir de este punto, se emplea la interseccionalidad como marco fundacional para presentar y desentrañar las ideologías y los comportamientos contradictorios que rodean el estatus cambiante de lxs muxes en un Juchitán en rápida globalización. Aunque reconocer la importancia de la interseccionalidad es indispensable para entender el mundo social, Levon (2015) argumentó que la interseccionalidad a menudo no se ha integrado completamente en la investigación sociolingüística, especialmente con respecto a la sociolingüística variacionista. Como respuesta a este artículo, los trabajos variacionistas recientes han comenzado a incorporar la interseccionalidad más a fondo, como en Eckert (2018), Fought (2019) y McConnell-Ginet (2017). Esta tesis intenta continuar esta tendencia.

La interseccionalidad, definida por primera vez por Crenshaw (1991) en respuesta a la excesiva preocupación del feminismo de la segunda ola por las pretensiones de las mujeres blancas, sostiene que “ninguna categoría (por ejemplo, ‘mujer’ o ‘lesbiana’) es suficiente para explicar la experiencia o el comportamiento individual” (Levon 2015). En su lugar, varias categorías de experiencia vivida (raza, género, edad, etc.) se entrecruzan para crear realidades vividas de maneras que son irreducibles a las propias categorías. Las categorías surgen en contextos sociohistóricos e interaccionales específicos y se constituyen mutuamente, lo que significa, por ejemplo, que el género solo surge en relación con la raza, la clase, la edad y otras categorías (Collins 2002; Crenshaw 1991; Levon 2015).

En cuanto a la investigación sobre el lenguaje y el género, “no hay ningún efecto de ‘género’ que descubrir y analizar, solo existe el efecto del género en relación con la clase, la raza, etc.” (Levon 2015). Dado que las diferentes identidades sociales y el estatus privilegiado u oprimido asociado a estas surgen en interrelación mutua, en este estudio se examinan múltiples ideologías con respecto al mundo social, a través de sus manifestaciones en las ideologías lingüísticas y de género. Al tratar la interseccionalidad como marco teórico fundacional, el estatus impugnado de lxs muxes empieza a tener sentido. Algunxs juchitecxs, reporterxs y antropólogxs afirman que lxs muxes tienen un alto estatus en relación con los hombres en Juchitán, una afirmación que es rechazada por muchxs muxes y algunxs antropólogxs.

En particular, las afirmaciones de tolerancia hacia lxs muxes a menudo se vinculan a

la identidad zapoteca y se contrastan favorablemente con el imaginado machismo y el heterosexismo de la sociedad mexicana en general (Flores Martos 2010; Miano Borruso 2001; Mirandé 2011). En un contexto poscolonial en el que, durante cientos de años, lxs zapotecxs han resistido al colonialismo y al neocolonialismo (Mirandé 2011) y tienen un fuerte sentido de identidad étnica (Stephen 2002), las reivindicaciones de tolerancia hacia lxs muxes presentan una identidad zapoteca que contrasta positivamente con la sociedad mexicana blanca/mestiza. La tolerancia LGBT se valora internacionalmente, por lo que, al afirmar que aceptan a lxs muxes, lxs zapotecxs emplean su supuesta adhesión a los valores progresistas globales para valorizar su identidad frente a un Estado mexicano antiindígena.

Aunque la identidad muxe es exclusivamente zapoteca, hay muchas pruebas de que la tolerancia hacia lxs muxes es un fenómeno reciente. Lxs de edad más avanzada, que han crecido en una época menos tolerante, normalmente no se presentan de manera diferente a los hombres, a menos que se consideren a sí mismas como las femeninas muxe gunaa, que se visten en gran medida como mujeres (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016). En la sección 4.3 se ofrecen una explicación y un análisis más detallados de la etiqueta “muxe gunaa”. Además, según los miembros de la comunidad, lxs muxes en el pasado solo eran identificables como tales por su forma distintiva de hablar y su entonación vocal (Barbosa 2016). Por eso, al depender su nueva tolerancia de ideologías que valoran tanto lo moderno como lo tradicional como defensa contra el neocolonialismo antiindígena mexicano, lxs muxes se encuentran en una posición precaria entre ideologías promodernas y protradicionales para justificar su nueva tolerancia.

Igualmente, lxs muxes suelen participar en el activismo político de izquierdas asociado a la región (Caparrós 2012; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002) y llevan vestidos tradicionales que se asocian a lo indígena (Flores Martos 2010), lo que lxs vincula a la identidad zapoteca tradicional. Mientras tanto, otrxs participan en prácticas asociadas con valores modernos pro-LGBT, como el activismo contra el VIH o el SIDA, y la actuación travesti en celebraciones organizadas por lxs muxes (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Miano Borruso 2001). Al mismo tiempo, lxs muxes participan tradicionalmente en la vida religiosa católica local, en mucha mayor medida de lo que permiten las religiones más nuevas de Juchitán, como el cristianismo evangélico, traído a la ciudad a través de la globalización (Barbosa 2016).

En suma, lxs muxes parecen estar enredadxs entre ideologías contrapuestas y en

conflicto, unas que implican resistencia al (neo)colonialismo histórico y moderno y otras ideologías locales, nacionales y globales de la sexualidad y el género. Teniendo en cuenta la interseccionalidad, las ideologías mencionadas de género exploradas en esta tesis se entienden como manifestaciones de estas ideologías contrapuestas, más que como ideologías independientes sin relación con otros aspectos de la estructura social. La lectura de trabajos etnográficos y el trabajo de campo en Juchitán permitieron examinar más a fondo estas ideologías relevantes, y se identificaron, cuantificaron y probaron las ideologías que se prestan a la cuantificación en busca de correlaciones con variables lingüísticas.

1.7 Las ideologías lingüísticas y de género en Juchitán

Por un lado, se consideraron para su inclusión en este estudio las ideologías lingüísticas que estaban específicamente relacionadas con el género. En el pasado, lxs muxes se identificaron principalmente por su supuesto modo único de hablar (Barbosa 2016), lo cual es importante considerar a la luz de las generalizadas ideologías lingüísticas sobre cómo hablan las personas LGBT y las mujeres (como en Cameron 2014; Mack 2010). En esta línea, la ideología de “que existen diferencias claras y estables en la forma en que el lenguaje es utilizado por mujeres y hombres” es probablemente la ideología de lenguaje basada en el género más extendida transculturalmente (Cameron 2014). Dado que dichas ideologías de género y sexualidad son relevantes en muchos otros contextos, es probable que las ideologías sobre el habla de lxs muxes, las mujeres y los hombres sean relevantes también en el contexto de Juchitán.

Sin embargo, al final, no se seleccionaron para cuantificar en este estudio ideologías lingüísticas relacionadas con el género, porque otras ideologías parecían ser aún más relevantes para el contexto local, después de examinar cuidadosamente investigaciones anteriores y realizar observaciones etnográficas. En lugar de ello, considerando la importancia de la lengua indígena zapoteca, la identidad muxe y una organización de género única en la región, se identificaron y cuantificaron las ideologías acerca de los idiomas e identidades correspondientes para su posterior análisis. Se seleccionaron ideologías contrastantes de dos fuentes diferentes: una ideología zapoteca sobre la correcta organización social y las ideologías mexicanas predominantes sobre la correcta organización social, al buscar ideologías mencionadas en el discurso de lxs partici-

pantes en el estudio. Estas dos grandes ideologías engloban muchas ideologías más pequeñas, incluyendo tres ideologías de género y dos ideologías lingüísticas, que se mencionan en el discurso de la gente en Juchitán.

Muchxs autorxs han comentado sobre la importancia primordial de las relaciones de reciprocidad, establecidas en gran medida a través de las fiestas que impulsan la vida social, en la organización de la vida social en Juchitán (por ejemplo, Barbosa 2016; Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Holzer 1999; Miche 2006). Por ese motivo, la ideología zapoteca sobre la correcta organización social eleva este sistema de reciprocidad a un imperativo moral, al sostener que cada individuo tiene roles complementarios específicos basados en el grupo social al que pertenece, que debe cumplir para que la sociedad funcione. La adhesión a estos roles, y especialmente su naturaleza recíproca, es un imperativo moral, pues asegura que se mantengan relaciones armoniosas, complementarias y económicamente beneficiosas entre los grupos sociales individuales.

En otras palabras, es de suma importancia la reciprocidad, esto es, el acto de proporcionar beneficios y servicios concretos, definidos por el rol social, a otros miembros de la comunidad, con la expectativa de que estxs también actúen en el interés de unx desde la posición proporcionada a través de su rol. Con ello, se espera y se alienta a los miembros de la comunidad a sentir orgullo por sus identidades, posiblemente porque a través de su identidad se les proporcionan las reglas normativas que rigen la forma específica en que participan en la reciprocidad. Ante esto, hay una fuerte presión para conformarse con las expectativas de su rol, especialmente en lo que respecta a los beneficios recíprocos. En esta línea, no cumplir con la reciprocidad –por ejemplo, al rechazar una invitación a una fiesta– se toma como una ofensa grave para la persona que organiza la fiesta (Barbosa 2016). Sin embargo, cada rol, al formar parte de una relación complementaria con otros roles, contiene su propio nivel de poder e influencia, junto con sus propias restricciones inherentes.

El poder resultante que las mujeres han observado en ciertos contextos en Juchitán ha llevado a muchxs a describir a Juchitán como un matriarcado (Escobedo Lastiri 2011), pero, de hecho, el poder de las mujeres –y de los hombres y muxes– se limita a ejercer estos roles complementarios. Por lo tanto, sería simplista considerar un rol social como jerárquicamente relacionado con otros roles. La existencia de estos implica la existencia de ciertas jerarquías sociales, pero tales relaciones jerárquicas entre los diferentes roles sociales son contradictorias y circunstanciales.

Un buen ejemplo de cómo funciona esto se puede ver en los raptos, también conocidos como robadas, que son las fiestas que celebran el compromiso y la pérdida de la virginidad de una joven, como se describe en la literatura sobre estas celebraciones y como se confirmó con las observaciones durante este trabajo. En los raptos, tanto mujeres como hombres deben proporcionar una llamada “recompensa” a la persona que organiza la fiesta. Las mujeres suelen proporcionar compensación monetaria, a la que se hace referencia como una “cooperación”, mientras que los hombres proporcionan cerveza en una cantidad que corresponde a un valor monetario similar (Dávalos Vázquez 2017).

Las mujeres son responsables de organizar la celebración del rpto, y la fiesta gira en gran medida en torno a las mujeres. Solo ellas pueden comprobar la virginidad de la novia, y después, solo las mujeres (y muxes femeninas) pueden bailar durante la mayoría de los bailes que se realizan durante la fiesta (Dávalos Vázquez 2017). Esto les proporciona una oportunidad para expresar orgullo en su papel único como mujeres, con lo que aportan un tipo de valor a la comunidad. Como tal, su rol les permite en este caso actuar de formas que se les niegan a los hombres, lo que les otorga poder. Por otro lado, aunque la importancia atribuida a la virginidad femenina antes del matrimonio ha disminuido en gran medida, el hecho de que la virginidad aún se celebre en una ceremonia tan importante para las mujeres y no en absoluto para los hombres parece reforzar las normas de género que privilegian a los hombres.

Con esto se ve una complementariedad similar que no crea jerarquías unidireccionales claras en la división tradicional del trabajo y los recursos económicos en Juchitán. Ciertos trabajos son casi exclusivamente realizados por mujeres o muxes, mientras que otros trabajos son casi exclusivos de hombres, y unos cuantos trabajos se ejecutan principalmente por parte de lxs muxes (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Stephen 2002). Además, las mujeres también controlan tradicionalmente la distribución del dinero y otros recursos dentro de la familia.

Esta división del trabajo y de los recursos financieros es inherentemente recíproca, porque los roles de hombres, mujeres y muxes son igualmente importantes y se complementan entre sí. Para un ejemplo de cómo funciona esto, en la séptima sección, se señala que pescar es un trabajo común que realizan los hombres (Dávalos Vázquez 2017), un papel que no requiere que manejen dinero, para que las mujeres puedan vender pescado en los mercados al aire libre (Dávalos Vázquez 2017). Las mujeres, y no

los hombres, deben manejar el dinero para realizar este trabajo conjunto, por lo que es lógico que manejen el dinero en otros ámbitos. Una parte de este dinero se gasta en contribuciones a fiestas, vestidos y otros productos para celebraciones que típicamente elaboran los muxes (Barbosa 2016; Miche 2006; Mirandé 2011).

Si cualquier de estos roles de género, con los productos y servicios asociados proporcionados por cada rol, estuviera ausente, toda esta cadena de relaciones económicas podría colapsar. En otras palabras, el bienestar económico de Juchitán se vincula a la contribución laboral proporcionada por cada género. Por lo tanto, los miembros de cada rol se perciben como necesarios, igualmente importantes, y tienen un nivel de poder e influencia, porque todos son igualmente necesarios para la estabilidad económica de la pequeña ciudad. En ambos ejemplos, se nota que las jerarquías inherentes en la prescripción de roles a ciertas personas en función de su identidad social son mucho menos unidireccionales de lo que se esperaría al comparar Juchitán con las sociedades occidentales tradicionales.

En cambio, esta organización del trabajo refleja una ideología indígena que enfatiza la importancia de roles complementarios recíprocos que no son necesariamente jerárquicos entre sí. Cuando se aplica al género, la ideología zapoteca sobre la organización social es similar a la ideología del esencialismo igualitario, descrita en la sección 2.1, la cual se encuentra en muchas sociedades europeas (Grunow et al. 2018), pero difiere al minimizar el papel de la elección involucrada en que las mujeres y los hombres asuman roles separados, pero supuestamente iguales.

En contraste, las ideologías mexicanas predominantes que parecen relevantes en Juchitán, aunque superficialmente diferentes entre sí, tienen en común una manera no complementaria de ver el mundo social. A través de la influencia de las ideologías religiosas y sociopolíticas de España y posteriormente de Estados Unidos y Francia, las élites mexicanas han desarrollado y promovido ideas sobre el mundo social que reflejan aquellas que se encuentran en todo el mundo occidental. Históricamente, estas visiones incluían la creencia en una variedad de oposiciones binarias que implicaban la superioridad de algunos grupos sociales sobre otros, visiones que se reflejan hasta cierto punto en las ideologías relevantes en Juchitán.

En cuanto a la ideología de superioridad e inferioridad aplicada al lenguaje, la lengua asociada con la gente mexicana blanca y mestiza (español) se ve como superior a las asociadas con los grupos indígenas, como el zapoteco del istmo (Augsburger

2004). Tanto la ideología machista como la ideología pro-español/anti-zapoteco, aunque fuertemente resistidas, están presentes en Juchitán y coexisten con la comprensión complementaria de la identidad articulada anteriormente.

Asimismo, se evidencia una resistencia a la ideología pro-español a través de la adhesión a una ideología pro-zapoteco del lenguaje que trata, siguiendo las líneas del complementarismo, al español y al zapoteco como igualmente valiosos, pero de manera diferente, o que trata al zapoteco como más valioso que el español. Esta ideología a menudo aparece junto con la ideología pro-español en el discurso y el comportamiento de lxs juchitecxs. Por ejemplo, mientras que el zapoteco goza de cierto prestigio como un “hermoso” idioma que simboliza la adultez, la pertenencia en Juchitán y la identidad zapoteca, a lxs niñxs se les habla con más frecuencia en español, debido a que el español se vincula con la practicidad y el avance económico (Augsburger 2004). A medida que se anima a más niñxs a hablar en español en casa, la competencia en zapoteco disminuye lentamente. Dicho esto, la falta de competencia en zapoteco se ve como un rechazo al orgullo de la identidad local, y la mayoría de lxs niñxs en áreas donde se habla zapoteco y áreas bilingües adquieren fluidez en zapoteco a través de la inmersión en la comunidad (Augsburger 2004).

En las últimas décadas, tanto las ideologías locales desigualitarias como el complementarismo típicamente exaltado en Juchitán se han desafiado por parte de otras ideologías que, al menos en la superficie, parecen ser más igualitarias. En México, estas reflejan tanto aquellas que se volvieron populares en todo el mundo después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial como resultado de la movilización contra el imperialismo occidental, el racismo y el sexismo por parte de movimientos sociales igualitarios, como las ideologías asimilacionistas más antiguas del mestizaje, implicadas en la formación del imaginario nacional mexicano como un Estado prototípicamente mestizo (Glockner 2015; Saldívar 2014).

Concretamente, la ideología “igualitaria” sostiene que los grupos sociales son iguales entre sí y merecen oportunidades iguales. A pesar de tener algunas similitudes con el complementarismo de roles, específicamente con la idea de que cada individuo es igual en su valor social, este “igualitarismo” contrasta con la ideología del complementarismo de roles de maneras importantes. El “igualitarismo” toma del mestizaje y ciertos aspectos del feminismo el deseo de borrar o disminuir la importancia de las distinciones sociales como táctica para buscar la igualdad, y sostiene que los miem-

bros de diferentes grupos sociales pueden y deben asimilarse en los mismos roles en la sociedad, especialmente en la esfera pública. Esto contrasta fuertemente con la idea, en el complementarismo, de que los grupos sociales, con sus diferentes competencias y roles sociales asociados, mejoran la sociedad al participar en sus respectivos roles complementarios, y que la igualdad es posible dentro de esta división estratificada de trabajo.

En lo que concierne a las ideologías lingüísticas, la insistencia de la relativa similitud en el igualitarismo también va en contra del mantenimiento del idioma zapoteco. Si la igualdad se logra al minimizar las distinciones sociales, la pérdida del zapoteco está justificada, porque la competencia monolingüe en español permite que los indígenas se integren mejor en la economía nacional y, por lo tanto, se evidencia más la igualdad de oportunidades, de una manera que borra una característica distintiva de la identidad zapoteca, es decir, el idioma zapoteco. En línea con este argumento, se ha observado que muchxs juchitecxs reproducen esta ideología del lenguaje, ello, al vincular la competencia en español estándar con las oportunidades económicas y el progreso (Augsburger 2004). Como tal, la competencia en zapoteco se ve como un indicador de valoración de la identidad local, mientras que la competencia en español se percibe como simbólica de la importancia de integrarse en la sociedad mexicana más amplia.

La presencia de todas estas ideologías en esta comunidad apunta a la coexistencia de orientaciones muy diferentes hacia el mundo en Juchitán. Por un lado, muchas perspectivas valoran las relaciones locales de reciprocidad, mientras que, al mismo tiempo, reconocen la importancia de una conexión mayor con el mundo exterior. Además, algunas perspectivas elevan a ciertos miembros y prácticas de la comunidad sobre otros, mientras que otras cuestionan estas relaciones de superioridad/inferioridad. Estas ideologías a menudo parecen contradecirse entre sí, por ejemplo, el valor atribuido al zapoteco del istmo como un marcador importante de pertenencia en Juchitán y de la identidad zapoteca en general se contradice con el lento cambio de la comunidad hacia la competencia monolingüe en español como una opción más práctica y económicamente rentable.

Dado que todas estas ideologías potencialmente incompatibles parecen ser prevalentes en la población y se vinculan con cambios actuales en la sociedad juchiteca, se esperaría que las mismas personas respaldaran diferentes ideologías hacia los hom-

bres, las mujeres y lxs muxes, junto con el español y el zapoteco del istmo, en diferentes momentos y en diferentes contextos de conversación. Ante esto, se decidió cuantificar las variaciones momento a momento, según la forma en que las personas expresan estas ideologías diferentes y aparentemente contradictorias, junto con las ideologías que rodean específicamente la identidad de muxe y mujer, y correlacionar los cambios en la expresión de estas ideologías con la producción lingüística. En el próximo capítulo, se proporciona una justificación adicional para este enfoque.

Capítulo 2

Las ideologías mencionadas en Juchitán

2.1 Definición de la ideología

La ideología es un concepto amplio que se ha definido en la literatura relevante de varias maneras. En esta subsección, se revisa la literatura que define la ideología tanto en lingüística como en otras disciplinas, y cabe centrarse en las ideologías lingüísticas, de género y otras. Con esta información en mente, se propone la definición más completa y útil de este concepto para este estudio, la cual podría ser de utilidad en las subsecciones posteriores del capítulo, donde se justifica el enfoque de la tesis sobre la ideología.

Ahora bien, las ideologías lingüísticas se conciben en la literatura como “representaciones a través de las cuales el lenguaje se impregna de significado cultural” (Cameron 2014), pues construyen la intersección de idiomas y humanos en un contexto social (Woolard 1998). De forma más exhaustiva, Kroskrity (2000) definió la ideología lingüística como un concepto de conjunto con cuatro aspectos: sirve a ciertos intereses, siempre es múltiple, los miembros del grupo tienen diferentes grados de conciencia de las ideologías lingüísticas relevantes, y media entre estructuras sociales y formas de hablar.

Las ideologías de género y lingüísticas, los principales tipos de ideologías analizados en esta tesis, se distinguen de otros solo en función de las relaciones de poder en las cuales se posicionan. Por ejemplo, las ideologías lingüísticas difieren de otras porque toman una perspectiva sobre una variante sociolingüística, una variedad, una forma de hablar u otro elemento lingüístico. Por otro lado, las ideologías de género justifican formas particulares de organizar la sociedad con respecto al género y, por lo tanto, participan en la reafirmación de conjuntos particulares de roles de género (Philips 2008). Por ejemplo, una ideología de género machista o patriarcal apoya un orden social de género en el que los hombres son dominantes sobre las mujeres y ocupan más posiciones de poder que las mujeres, que están restringidas a asumir roles que benefician principalmente a los hombres (Arciniega et al. 2008).

En contraste, una ideología de género esencialista igualitaria sostiene que, dada la opción, los hombres y mujeres generalmente prefieren trabajar en esferas separadas (la

esfera privada para las mujeres y la esfera pública para los hombres), pero cada una es igualmente valiosa e importante (Grunow et al. 2018). Ambas ideologías de ejemplo, tan diferentes como son entre sí en la forma en que perciben a las mujeres, apoyan formas particulares y similares de organizar la sociedad en términos de género.

No obstante, a diferencia de las ideologías de género, las lingüísticas median entre la estructura social y las formas de hablar en gran parte a través de su relación con otras ideologías no lingüísticas (Kulick 1997) (citado en Silverstein 1992; Woolard 1998). En general, las ideologías lingüísticas siempre se entienden como un elemento de ideologías mucho más grandes conectadas a patrones más amplios en la distribución y la manifestación del poder dentro de las sociedades. En esta línea, tanto las ideologías lingüísticas como las no lingüísticas suelen argumentarse como indispensables una para la otra. Ejemplo de ello son los argumentos que se hacen sobre la relación entre el racismo y el racismo lingüístico, entre el nacionalismo y el nacionalismo lingüístico, y entre el clasismo y las ideologías británicas del inglés correcto en Anderson (2006), Flores y Rosa (2015), Gellner (1983), citado en Kroskrity (2015), Lippi-Green (1997) y Milroy (2000).

En otros casos, las ideologías lingüísticas pueden describirse como manifestaciones de ideologías políticas (Woolard 1995, citado en Blackledge 2000) que disfrazan sus conexiones con otras a través de la recursividad fractal (Irvine et al. 2009) y la mistificación (Lippi-Green 1997). Dado que las ideologías lingüísticas pueden estar casi categóricamente vinculadas a otras ideologías no lingüísticas y viceversa, tiene sentido tratar las ideologías lingüísticas como un tipo particular con características similares a otras. En la siguiente discusión de la literatura en lingüística, antropología y teoría crítica, se asume que lo que se ha dicho sobre las ideologías lingüísticas típicamente también se aplica a otras ideologías no lingüísticas.

En ese sentido, se debe recordar que una buena parte de la literatura sobre ideologías en la lingüística y la antropología ha adoptado uno de dos enfoques para su estudio. Desde un enfoque, la ideología se concibe ampliamente como el componente intelectual de la cultura (Woolard 1998), lo que incluye aspectos implícitos y explícitos (Eagleton 1991, citado en Del Valle y Meirinho-Guede 2015; Woolard 1998) y sistemas de creencias sociales compartidos que a menudo son implícitos en el discurso (Gee 2007; Van Dijk 1999, 2005). Desde el segundo enfoque, también respaldado por teóricos críticos, se toma una definición similar de ideología como el primer enfoque, pero

esta conecta explícitamente estos fenómenos mentales y discursivos a la lucha social por el poder y la expresión de intereses particulares centrales para el orden social (Irvine 1992; Kroskrity 2015; Woolard 1998).

Muchos académicos ven estos dos enfoques no necesariamente como oposiciones, porque Kroskrity (2004) consideró que los enfoques descriptivos, “no críticos” y críticos existen en un continuo, y Friedrich (1989) los consideró complementarios y útiles para responder preguntas diferentes. Por tanto, la mayoría de lxs autorxs que entiende que las ideologías están siempre conectadas al poder, citan a autorxs que ven la ideología principalmente de manera descriptiva y potencialmente no conectada al poder (Kroskrity 2004; Van Dijk 1999). Sin embargo, lxs que ven la ideología a través de una perspectiva “no crítica” no se citan por su perspectiva no crítica, sino porque otros aspectos de sus teorías son útiles para estudiar la ideología.

En el caso de Friedrich (1989) y Kroskrity (2004), estos adoptan una visión general crítica de la ideología sin evitar completamente las ideas de los enfoques no críticos. Un enfoque crítico es siempre necesario en cierto grado, porque las ideas ideológicamente neutrales a menudo pueden vincularse de alguna manera al poder. Por lo tanto, en este estudio, aunque no se evita completamente leer e incorporar trabajos no críticos sobre ideología, siempre se considera que esta se vincula al poder en algún nivel. Sin embargo, en lugar de seguir debatiendo en qué medida y de qué manera el poder se relaciona con la ideología, es más importante enfatizar otros aspectos, como su construcción social en las interacciones entre individuos, en lugar de dentro del individuo mismo (Mumby 1989, citando a Volosinov 1973), como su expresión y negociación en el discurso (Van Dijk 1999, 2005), o como “un conjunto de discursos que están intrincadamente entrelazados entre sí” (Hill 1992). Este enfoque bajtiniano de la ideología como una construcción social expresada y negociada en un conjunto de discursos es central en el presente trabajo.

De esa forma, la ideología en este proyecto se define de manera similar a como sus críticxs lo hacen. Para ello, también se debe citar a algunxs académicxs no críticxs, como Van Dijk (1999); (2003), que la señalan como el conjunto de creencias ampliamente compartido en un grupo social, dado que se constituyen en el discurso y la interacción, en lugar de estar principalmente en la cabeza de las personas, y se vinculan a sistemas y relaciones de poder más amplios. Esta definición también encaja con las de las ciencias políticas, que consideran que la ideología es un conjunto de creencias que

implican asumir posiciones políticas y/o asumir identidades políticas, en tanto que las posiciones políticas e identidades también se relacionan con sistemas y relaciones de poder.

De otra parte, las ideologías también se caracterizan por su tendencia a borrar aspectos del mundo social experimentado intersubjetivamente (Irvine et al. 2009) y negar su naturaleza ideológica (Althusser 1970; Fairclough 1991), lo que las hace difíciles de delinear analíticamente. En la literatura se han empleado la etnografía, el análisis de las condiciones históricas que llevaron a la creación de una ideología, y los estudios críticos del discurso, entre otros enfoques, para identificar ideologías localmente relevantes o que son de particular importancia para justificar y/o desafiar sistemas locales de relaciones de poder. En este estudio, se confía en una combinación de etnografía pasada, en las propias observaciones etnográficas, y en las técnicas utilizadas por otrxs investigadorxs en una variedad de subdisciplinas de lingüística para identificar ideologías localmente relevantes.

En consecuencia, para cada ideología lingüística y género localmente relevante, se escribe una descripción detallada de la ideología en cuestión, que se encuentra en la sección 4.5, siguiendo el ejemplo de académicxs como Irvine (1992) al describir la ideología lingüística wólof. En los dos párrafos siguientes, se explican algunos métodos utilizados por investigadorxs en diferentes subdisciplinas para identificar las ideologías, los cuales se emplean en este trabajo sobre Juchitán para identificar las ideologías de relevancia local potencial.

Asimismo, en el trabajo etnográfico, las ideologías lingüísticas a menudo se identifican a través de actitudes expresadas abiertamente hacia el elemento en cuestión, y estas también se conocen como comentarios metalingüísticos (Silverstein 1992, 1996). En otras palabras, se trata de declaraciones que expresan abiertamente las actitudes de lxs hablantes. Estos comentarios metalingüísticos a menudo se consideran representativos de la ideología lingüística respaldada por esx hablante en particular (Irvine 1992; Kroskrity 2015; Wortham 2001), y están implicados en procesos de hegemonización y (re)definición de las ideologías lingüísticas (Blommaert 1999). Por consiguiente, los comentarios metalingüísticos pueden participar en la creación de las ideologías lingüísticas, en los cambios en el contenido de ideologías lingüísticas particulares, y en la posición de ciertas ideologías lingüísticas como sistemas de creencias universales, “no ideológicos” o dominantes.

Sin embargo, las ideologías también se han identificado a menudo a través del desencubrimiento de actitudes que se expresan de manera encubierta y que necesitan desempaquetarse. Esto puede ocurrir mediante el análisis de comportamientos (véase la discusión de Kroskrity (1992) y Silverstein (1992) sobre el ritual) o de los supuestos detrás del discurso analizado (Flores y Rosa 2015; Jaffe 2000, 2015; Milroy 2000), supuestos que también se pueden identificar a través de un enfoque de estudios críticos del discurso (Messing 2007; Van Dijk 1999, 2003, 2005).

En suma, tanto Kroskrity (2015) como Van Dijk (2003) señalaron que ciertas ideologías (la ideología racista para Van Dijk y las ideologías lingüísticas en general para Kroskrity) a menudo se forman a través de la autoidentificación de los miembros del grupo en contra de sus opuestxs, mientras que Rosa y Burdick (2016) consideraron que cualquier opinión sobre el lenguaje en sí mismo es ideológica. Esto significa que descubrir a quiénes se oponen lxs hablantes para formar su identidad y buscar sus opiniones sobre el lenguaje puede ser útil para identificar las ideologías lingüísticas y de género.

2.2 El concepto de la ideología “mencionada” o “expresada”

La ideología es un concepto amplio y amorfo que no puede cuantificarse directamente. Muchos trabajos importantes sobre la ideología en la lingüística no se prestan a la investigación cuantitativa, y aquí no se pretende competir con ella ni negar su necesidad. En cambio, interesa cuantificar, para su uso en un estudio variacionista, una herramienta pequeña, pero crucial y a menudo pasada por alto en la (re)creación tanto de ideologías coherentes como de expresiones incoherentes o no invertidas de creencias con contenido ideológico: la ideología “mencionada”, que se refiere a la expresión de posturas ideológicas diferentes y, a menudo, contradictorias.

Para explicar mejor cómo es una ideología mencionada, y antes de abordar qué forma adopta esta, se debe mencionar cómo se relaciona con las ideologías más amplias y cómo se espera que se relacione con la variación. De esa manera, se dan dos ejemplos de ideologías mencionadas diferentes, articuladas por el mismo hablante. El hablante, un hombre homosexual de 26 años, identificado por otros como muxe, pero quien rechaza la etiqueta, expresó en diferentes momentos diferentes ideologías de género relacionadas con los roles sociales muxe/*gay*. En un momento dado, este mencionó la ideología de género matriarcal (sección 4.5), en la que se entiende que las mujeres

son superiores a los hombres: “Porque hay unos (*gais*) que son conformistas como los hombres heterosexuales”. Más tarde rechazó los roles de género muxe para sí mismo, al mencionar una ideología de género igualitaria (sección 4.5), en la que se rechazan todos los roles de género: “Pero no porque me gusten los hombres quiera decir de que yo voy a estar toda una vida sirviendo mis papás”.

Ante esto, se argumenta que la expresión de múltiples ideologías, como en los ejemplos anteriores, es un rasgo estructurador prevalente de la ideología que es cuantificable para su uso en un estudio variacionista como variable independiente. La existencia de este rasgo estructurador de la ideología se extrapola a partir de estudios lingüísticos, antropológicos y, sobre todo, de ciencias políticas. En consecuencia, también se muestra que tanto los individuos ideológicamente coherentes, quienes adoptan claramente una posición ideológica más amplia, como los individuos ideológicamente no comprometidos, quienes no parecen afiliarse claramente a una sola ideología, expresan múltiples ideologías en su discurso hablado.

Asimismo, se sostiene que estas ideologías mencionadas pueden utilizarse de forma más productiva como variable independiente en los estudios variacionistas que los marcos ideológicos a los que lxs hablantes se afilian ostensiblemente. Para evitar el uso de la “expresión de ideologías múltiples”, se opta por describir este fenómeno más sucintamente como ideología “expresada” o “mencionada” en el resto de la tesis. Esta es una postura ante un objeto ideológicamente destacado que refleja, refuerza o cuestiona ideologías relevantes a nivel local.

En ese sentido, las ideologías mencionadas adoptan la forma de determinados tipos de posturas ante un objeto ideológicamente destacado. La postura es un concepto que se ha definido de manera diferente por diversxs autorxs en la sociolingüística (Du Bois 2007; Gadanidis et al. 2021; Jaffe 2015; Kiesling 2009; Ochs 1992). Al revisar esta literatura, Gadanidis et al. (2021), que intentaron cuantificar la postura y correlacionarla con la variación lingüística, encontraron una definición común: “Una forma de posicionalidad, o expresión actitudinal, que un/a hablante adopta hacia el contenido de su discurso y su audiencia”.

En el influyente artículo de Du Bois (2007), se entiende que los actos de toma de postura implican a dos hablantes y a un objeto. Estos tres elementos forman un “triángulo de postura”, en el que un/a hablante realiza simultáneamente tres acciones: evalúa el tema de conversación (el objeto de la postura), posiciona a alguien, normalmente a

sí mismo, como sujeto con respecto a ese objeto de la postura, y alinea al sujeto (normalmente a sí mismo) con otro sujeto (Du Bois 2007; Gadanidis et al. 2021; Jaffe 2015; Kiesling 2009).

Lo más importante para esta tesis son las dos primeras acciones, que implican la creación de una relación de evaluación y posicionamiento entre un sujeto y un objeto. Para una ideología mencionada, un sujeto evalúa un objeto de un modo que refleja una ideología más amplia. El objeto de una postura en una ideología mencionada puede ser una persona, una ideología, un proceso de cambio social o cualquier otra entidad socialmente relevante. No obstante, lo que convierte a cualquier postura individual en un caso de ideología mencionada es el hecho de que adoptar esa postura concreta hacia ese objeto concreto en ese contexto concreto es comprensible como manifestación de una ideología localmente relevante. Eso significa que esas posturas deben “encajar” en un marco ideológico con el que se alineen o en contra de muchas personas del contexto local. Además, los marcos ideológicos relevantes a nivel local surgen cuando determinadas posturas (pares sujeto-objeto) se reconocen como ideologías mencionadas y se asumen de forma habitual o repetitiva.

Según Ochs (1992), las posturas pueden ser afectivas, cuando muestran una posición de tipo emocional o disposicional, o epistémicas, cuando muestran un grado de (des)creencia o (in)certeza hacia el objeto de la postura. Las ideologías mencionadas pueden adoptar la forma de cualquiera de los dos tipos de postura, siempre que la postura global, si se adopta habitualmente, pueda clasificarse como una ideología más amplia con relevancia local. Esto tiene sentido, porque las ideologías a menudo implican disposiciones hacia individuos y/o ideas particulares (Kroskrity 2015; Van Dijk 2003), reflejadas en posturas afectivas, y afirmaciones de hecho o creencia (Van Dijk 1999, 2003), presumiblemente introducidas en el discurso con posturas epistémicas. Para ver ejemplos de todas las ideologías mencionadas que contienen todos estos tipos de posturas, se pueden consultar las secciones 10.1 y 10.2 de los apéndices.

Las posturas también pueden, por sí mismas, asumirse como objetos de postura por otro hablante (Gadanidis et al. 2021). Algunos casos de ideología mencionada también adoptan esta forma, pues un/a hablante podría, por ejemplo, adoptar una postura epistémica hacia una ideología sexista al indicar que el sexismo ya no existe. Por ejemplo, en la sección 10.1 de los apéndices, se cita a un hablante que dice “ya no es tan condenable” tras una larga descripción, compuesta de ciertas posturas epistémicas,

sobre cómo se juzgaba antes a las mujeres por no permanecer vírgenes antes del matrimonio. De esa forma, las posturas epistémicas que describían el sexismo del pasado se consideraban casos de la ideología de género machista mencionada (sección 4.5) y se convertían en los objetos de una postura epistémica que negaba la relevancia contemporánea de dicho sexismo. Esta última postura se consideraba un caso de la ideología de género igualitaria mencionada (sección 4.5).

Otra forma importante que pueden adoptar las ideologías mencionadas es la de reiterar un estereotipo a través de una postura epistémica. Los estereotipos suelen estudiarse en la psicología social y, al igual que el propio concepto de postura, existen muchas definiciones que compiten entre sí. Sin embargo, un hilo conductor de estas definiciones es la idea de que los estereotipos son creencias generalizadas sobre un grupo social (Kanahara 2006). Estas creencias, cuando se introducen en el discurso a través de una postura epistémica o afectiva, a menudo se ajustan a los criterios de las ideologías particulares mencionadas. Un ejemplo de ello sería la afirmación de una hablante en las hojas de codificación, quien señaló que los hombres “son flojos”. Esta es una postura epistémica que confirma, para la hablante, el alto valor de verdad del estereotipo de que los hombres son vagos, y este estereotipo encaja dentro de la ideología de género matriarcal relevante a nivel local (para más información, ver las secciones 4.5 y 10.1 de los apéndices).

Dos cuestiones en la identificación y la cuantificación de las posturas que expresan las ideologías mencionadas son la identificación del objeto de una postura y la determinación de la longitud de una postura individual para que esta pueda medirse. Para identificar el objeto de una postura, a menudo es necesaria la etnografía, de lo contrario, no siempre estaría claro a qué se refieren lxs hablantes en cada uno de los enunciados (Gadanidis et al. 2021). Por este motivo, las observaciones etnográficas y la revisión de la bibliografía antropológica son especialmente útiles.

En cuanto a la longitud de las posturas, la literatura no suele decir mucho, lo que lleva a algunxs autorxs a definir aparentemente las posturas como secciones relativamente grandes del discurso, que abarcan muchas unidades de discurso (Jaffe 2015). A pesar de esto, la mayoría de autorxs que trabajan sobre la postura parecen conceptualizar la postura como algo que implica una cantidad relativamente pequeña de discurso, con base en el tamaño de los ejemplos que proporcionan (Gadanidis et al. 2021; Kiesling 2009).

De otra parte, y en consonancia con la mayoría de las investigaciones sobre posturas, también se entiende que las ideologías mencionadas abarcan la unidad más pequeña necesaria para observar un par sujeto-objeto dentro de la postura. Esta unidad más pequeña es siempre de al menos un grupo tonal de longitud, porque la codificación dentro de cualquier unidad más pequeña eliminaría artificialmente elementos del discurso que interactúan con el par sujeto-objeto dentro de ese trozo de discurso, lo que llevaría a una codificación potencialmente inexacta.

2.3 ¿Por qué estudiar la ideología en vez de la actitud?

En la investigación sociolingüística sobre las ideas que la gente tiene sobre el lenguaje, algunos enfoques utilizan el término *actitudes* para describir estas ideas, mientras que otras investigaciones prefieren el término *ideologías*. Esta tesis utiliza casi exclusivamente este último, en tanto que aunque algunas de las investigaciones que se citan emplean el término *actitudes*, que encaja en “ideología”. Por un lado, ambos términos, al referirse a conjuntos de ideas sobre fenómenos concretos (en lingüística, normalmente sobre el lenguaje), abarcan un terreno lo bastante similar como para que puedan utilizarse indistintamente en algunos proyectos de investigación. Por otro lado, la palabra *ideología* se utiliza más a menudo en el campo de la antropología lingüística, que es más relevante para el presente proyecto de investigación, mientras que *actitudes*, con sus orígenes en la psicología social aplicada a la lingüística, implica diferentes consideraciones teóricas y marcos metodológicos.

Por lo tanto, hay muchas diferencias claras e importantes en la forma en que se han empleado estos términos, de acuerdo con los supuestos que subyacen a cada uno y la investigación asociada. En los párrafos siguientes, se ofrece inicialmente una breve explicación de cómo se han entendido las actitudes lingüísticas en la investigación sociolingüística. Posteriormente, se muestra cómo los supuestos y marco teórico implícitos en esta investigación difieren de los implícitos en la investigación sobre ideologías lingüísticas. Por último, se argumenta que el término *ideología* se ajusta mejor al tema de investigación particular, debido a su conexión con cuestiones sociopolíticas, a la decisión de no utilizar cuestionarios, y al enfoque alejado de las actitudes mantenidas por los hablantes.

De esa manera, mientras que el concepto de ideología lingüística encaja dentro de

la tradición de la antropología lingüística y, por lo tanto, se utiliza para explorar las conexiones entre el microcontexto de un acto de habla y el macrocontexto de fuerzas sociales más amplias, el concepto de actitudes lingüísticas está más estrechamente asociado a la lingüística aplicada y la psicología social, y algunxs variacionistas utilizan el término. De hecho, la mayoría de los trabajos en la sociolingüística variacionista que analizan la actitud o la ideología, incluidos los trabajos que se citan en la sección 2.8, prefieren el término *actitud* al de *ideología* (Aaron y Hernandez 2007; Díaz Barajas y Orozco 2019; Eller 2013; Rissel 1989; Waltermire 2010).

En contraste, las excepciones incluyen a Kroch (1978) y Walker et al. (2014), que prefieren el término *ideología*, mientras que ciertos estudios innovadores de Barnes (2018), Labov (1963), Lynch (2009), Upadhyay (2009) y Yaeger-Dror (2014) utilizan ambos términos, *ideología* y *actitud*, a veces de forma aparentemente intercambiable. Es probable que esto se deba a que tanto las ideologías como las actitudes lingüísticas, al ser periféricas a la variación, suelen investigarse por otras personas. Lxs variacionistas pueden utilizar la literatura de uno o ambos campos para justificar la inclusión de la actitud o la ideología lingüística como factor, pero no suelen aliarse con uno u otro, dado que su interés se centra en el estudio de la variación y el significado social, y las diferencias teóricas entre la investigación de las actitudes y la ideología no es, por tanto, fundamental para sus proyectos.

Ahora bien, en lo que respecta al concepto de actitudes lingüísticas, este tiene su origen en la psicología social, y quizá por ello la investigación sobre este tema hace hincapié en las actitudes en la mente de lxs hablantes (actitudes mantenidas) e intenta averiguar cómo se pueden identificar, a pesar de las dificultades que entraña determinar lo que se piensa. Al mismo tiempo, debido a su falta de conexión con la sociología y la antropología, la investigación sobre las actitudes tiende a no hacer hincapié en las cuestiones de poder implícitas en el término *ideología*, aunque la investigación no implica necesariamente que estas no sean importantes. De ese modo, mientras que la ideología se centra en la relación entre las fuerzas sociopolíticas más amplias y el comportamiento y las ideas de lxs hablantes, las actitudes se centran más en la relación entre los comportamientos e ideas de lxs hablantes, sin negar necesariamente que esas ideas individuales estén conectadas con la estructura sociopolítica más amplia.

Un enfoque centrado en la ideología lingüística también puede pasar por alto más fácilmente la cuestión de las creencias individuales de las personas, debido a que las

ideologías pueden estar tan naturalizadas que se manifiestan de formas que no son muy conscientes para lxs hablantes. Lewis (2018), por ejemplo, resumió la literatura sobre ideologías lingüísticas y la contrastó con los supuestos implícitos que subyacen a los intentos de Labov de cambiar las actitudes lingüísticas de las personas (Labov 1982a), y señaló que los estudios sobre ideologías lingüísticas entienden que las ideologías van más allá de las creencias individuales. Aunque las creencias individuales forman parte de la ideología, no constituyen su núcleo.

En cambio, las ideologías lingüísticas se constituyen por representaciones, prácticas y comportamientos específicos con manifestaciones materiales concretas que participan en la creación de las subjetividades de lxs hablantes (Lewis 2018; Woolard 1998). Este proyecto utiliza el concepto de ideologías mencionadas o expresadas que, como se muestra en las siguientes secciones, permite a lxs investigadorxs incorporar un elemento de ideología en su trabajo sin tener que decir lo que lxs hablantes individuales están pensando realmente cuando utilizan variantes particulares. Por lo tanto, el término *ideología* es más adecuado para este proyecto que el de *actitud*.

Igualmente, en este proyecto se intenta evitar averiguar qué creen realmente lxs hablantes por varias razones fundamentales. Por un lado, al no centrarse el estudio en las creencias reales de las personas, se pueden explorar los vínculos entre las ideologías expresadas, en lugar de las actitudes mantenidas, y la variación, que son poco investigadas y son potencialmente interesantes, como se establece en la sección 2.9. Por otra parte, según las secciones 2.3 y 2.4, hay buenas razones para creer que las ideologías mencionadas por lxs hablantes son a menudo muy distintas y más frecuentes que sus actitudes mantenidas, por tanto, las ideologías mencionadas son más adecuadas para servir de variables independientes en el análisis de la variación. Finalmente, como se subraya en el resto de esta sección, a menudo es muy difícil determinar con qué ideologías se identifican más lxs hablantes, incluso con los métodos mejor desarrollados para captar las actitudes lingüísticas. Esta falta de transparencia proporciona una razón muy convincente para centrarse en las ideologías mencionadas en el discurso en lugar de en las actitudes de lxs hablantes, y también para evitar el término *actitud* por completo.

Los cuestionarios sobre actitudes lingüísticas suelen utilizarse para identificar las actitudes subjetivas de lxs hablantes. Este enfoque, aunque útil, puede en ocasiones crear actitudes para estxs hablantes al obligarles a responder a preguntas en las que

nunca habían pensado. De este modo, pueden crear una actitud en respuesta al cuestionario en lugar de expresar una actitud construida previamente. Además, como se muestra con más detalle en la sección 2.4, lxs hablantes a menudo mantienen simultáneamente múltiples actitudes lógicamente incompatibles sobre cuestiones relacionadas con el poder y otros temas políticos. Por lo tanto, en la medida en que las actitudes de lxs hablantes pueden dilucidarse mediante métodos como los cuestionarios, sigue existiendo el problema de que el mismo individuo puede contradecir las actitudes que expresa en un cuestionario en muchos otros momentos.

Entonces, se emplea el término *ideología* en lugar del de *actitud* para destacar los vínculos entre las cuestiones sociopolíticas y el comportamiento lingüístico, pero también para evitar la complicada cuestión de determinar qué creen realmente lxs hablantes, porque el término *ideología* es más adecuado para las estructuras de creencias que se sitúan más allá de lxs hablantes individuales. Al igual que Woolard (1998), en esta tesis se subsume la investigación sobre la actitud dentro del concepto de ideología, y se reconoce que la investigación sobre la actitud se limita a observar las creencias y prácticas a través de una lente diferente a la de la investigación sobre la ideología, una lente que funciona peor en el contexto de este estudio de lo que podría hacerlo en otros trabajos académicos.

2.4 La multiplicidad ideológica en todos niveles de la organización social

La existencia de una multiplicidad de ideologías dentro de la sociedad ha sido documentada y reconocida en la lingüística y la teoría crítica (Kroskrity 2004, 2015; Makihara 2007), “un plural por defecto”, en palabras de Kroskrity, por múltiples razones. Por un lado, las ideologías entran en contacto y contención entre sí (Kroskrity 2004, 2015) cuando no son mutuamente compatibles. Por otra parte, el contacto y la contención pueden conducir a la transformación ideológica (Kroskrity 2004, 2015), porque resolver las contradicciones entre conjuntos opuestos de creencias puede implicar cambiar aspectos de los sistemas de creencias originales o la creación de una nueva ideología.

Estos fenómenos de contacto, contención y posterior transformación ideológica se producen como resultado de las relaciones de poder y luchas por el dominio dentro

de una sociedad determinada (Heller y McElhinny 2017; Kroskrity 2015). Al participar en estas luchas, lxs hablantes que ocupan distintas posiciones de sujeto con respecto a la estructura social suelen expresar ideologías diferentes. Por ejemplo, dado que en la mayoría de las sociedades se privilegia a los hombres por encima de las mujeres, en ocasiones ambos tienen intereses contrapuestos con respecto al género, lo que lleva a que expresen diferentes ideologías de género (Philips 2008). En general, también se puede considerar que las ideologías tienden a generar conflictos, luchas y diferencias de opinión (Van Dijk 2003) porque, debido a su posicionamiento dentro de estructuras de poder desiguales, las personas pueden asumir modelos culturales disponibles, diferentes unxs de otrxs (Gee 2007).

Esto puede ocurrir porque, en contraste, con las afirmaciones de teóricos como Althusser (1970) y Bourdieu (1977), las prácticas lingüísticas a menudo demuestran lo incompleto de la hegemonía ideológica (Heller y McElhinny 2017) a través de su interrupción por otras ideologías (Woolard 1985), que paradójicamente pueden tanto asegurar como limitar su reproducción (Althusser 1962; Hall 1985). En otras palabras, las formas en que las personas utilizan el lenguaje demuestran que, en general, las ideologías hegemónicas no son completamente hegemónicas. Por el contrario, la existencia de ideologías que se oponen a la ideología hegemónica puede verse a menudo en el lenguaje, y estos otros sistemas de creencias pueden ayudar a la ideología hegemónica a extenderse o socavar su influencia. En el resto de esta sección se analiza cómo ocurre esto.

En la construcción de cualquier ideología, al menos una ideología distinta y sus prácticas asociadas suelen estar sometidas a procesos de subordinación y borrado. En lo que respecta a la formación de una ideología hegemónica, es la ideología no hegemónica y sus correspondientes prácticas las que experimentan subordinación y borrado (Heller y McElhinny 2017; Lippi-Green 1997; Swigart 2001; Woolard 1985). Sin embargo, las ideologías no hegemónicas siguen existiendo a pesar de los procesos de subordinación y borrado, persistiendo debido a los conjuntos de valores en competencia implícitos en los mercados alternativos y el prestigio encubierto, que crean fuertes presiones a favor de los lenguajes/prácticas “ilegítimos”, con lo que se crea una fisura en las ideologías hegemónicas (Woolard 1985).

Por esta razón, las ideologías hegemónicas y de la lengua estándar en la mayoría de las sociedades nunca han sido aceptadas universalmente, especialmente por lxs ha-

blantes que están privados de derechos por la sociedad en general (Gal 1989). Aun así, esta falta de aceptación universal también puede contribuir, en cierta medida, a que las ideologías hegemónicas se reproduzcan. Las ideologías no hegemónicas subordinadas y parcialmente borradas, al seguir presentes en el discurso, pueden estar mal representadas y afirmarse frente a una versión mejor representada de la ideología hegemónica para garantizar que su hegemonía sea menos cuestionada. Además, desde una perspectiva crítica, cada sujeto está estructurado por muchas ideologías diferentes (Gramsci 1971) (citado en Fairclough (1991)), lo que implica que las ideologías no hegemónicas también desempeñan un papel en la estructuración del sujeto.

Lo que también se ha reconocido en los estudios lingüísticos, aunque a menudo de forma menos explícita y frecuente, es la expresión de múltiples ideologías por parte de un mismo individuo. En el nivel más explícito, los estudios sobre ideologías lingüísticas en relación con el húngaro en Europa Central (Laihonen 2008), el gaélico en Escocia (McEwan-Fujita 2010) y el náhuatl en el centro de México (Messing 2007) han registrado hablantes que promulgan ideologías opuestas, tan diferentes que resultan contradictorias, en relación con una lengua minoritaria y sus identidades asociadas. En esta línea, se ha demostrado que las mismas personas expresan tanto ideologías socio-políticas igualitarias como ideologías lingüísticas no igualitarias que son tan diferentes que se contradicen entre sí (para algunos ejemplos, véase Blackledge 2000; Lippi-Green 1997, p. 297).

Para ilustrar las formas en que los individuos pueden expresar múltiples ideologías, las razones que subyacen a este comportamiento y las formas en que se resuelven (o no) las contradicciones entre estas ideologías, se utiliza con frecuencia el siguiente ejemplo imaginario. Se trata de una ejecutiva de empresa calvinista religiosa en Estados Unidos llamada Sandra, quien profesa creer en el evangelio de la prosperidad, es decir, que ganar dinero es señal de que uno ha sido elegido por Dios para salvarse. La empresa de Sandra trabaja con diversos clientes de todo el mundo que no comparten sus creencias. Algunos de sus clientes son progresistas o no calvinistas y rechazan muchas de sus creencias fundamentales, mientras que otros clientes han hecho declaraciones sexistas y, mientras trabaja con estas personas, Sandra sospecha a menudo que no la respetan de verdad. Debido a todas estas influencias, en diferentes momentos, Sandra ha hecho muchas declaraciones coherentes con su fe calvinista, de apoyo al capitalismo libertario (liberal clásico) y profeminista. Ella también ha mencionado a

menudo otras ideologías para posicionarse en contra de ellas, por ejemplo, en distintos momentos ha expresado su preocupación por los derechos LGBT, su frustración por el sexismo que ha experimentado, su indignación por las ideologías políticas de izquierda –desde el liberalismo socialmente progresista hasta el socialismo y el anarquismo–, y su incredulidad ante la sinceridad de otras interpretaciones del cristianismo, otras religiones y el ateísmo.

Los comportamientos de los individuos (y también de las organizaciones) pueden ser ideológicamente autocontradictorios (Jaffe 2015) o contradecir una ideología expresada más explícitamente (Keesing 1985). Como ejemplo del primer caso, Sandra puede comportarse fríamente con lxs pobres debido a su creencia religiosa de que no se salvarán, aunque esa misma ideología religiosa le ordene ser amable y generosa con lxs pobres. Como ejemplo del segundo caso, Sandra puede sostener explícitamente que las mujeres deben ser tan respetadas como los hombres en los puestos de liderazgo y, al mismo tiempo, faltarles el respeto a las líderes con las que no está de acuerdo más que a los líderes masculinos.

La diversidad en la ideología expresada dentro del individuo también puede relacionarse con el modo en que los individuos aceptan o rechazan las opiniones ideológicas del grupo más amplio del que son miembros por razones contextuales (Van Dijk 2003, p. 28). Por ejemplo, Sandra puede estar de acuerdo con su congregación en que el sexo antes del matrimonio está mal, pero, en el lugar de trabajo, si un empleado suyo chismorrea sobre una compañera por su promiscuidad, puede defender vehementemente a esta mujer, a pesar de condenar en privado su comportamiento. Además, los individuos pueden incluir su experiencia, otros conocimientos y otras ideologías ajenas a su grupo a la hora de elegir las posturas ideológicas que desean expresar en un momento dado (Van Dijk 2003, p. 33). En este sentido, Sandra puede decirle en ese momento a su empleado que debe respetar las decisiones de la compañera porque, al haber experimentado en el pasado faltas de respeto por motivos de género, siente empatía por la compañera. Igualmente, puede dar a su empleado razones progresistas para respetar las elecciones de la compañera porque sabe que el empleado apoya exclusivamente a candidatos políticamente progresistas.

Los registros que se asocian ideológicamente con determinados grupos sociales, como los estilos relacionados con la clase o el género, suelen utilizarse por la misma persona en diferentes contextos (Gal e Irvine 1995; Okamoto 1997), lo que también po-

tencialmente lleva a las personas a expresar posiciones ideológicas asociadas con el grupo social cuyo registro normativo están utilizando en ese momento concreto. En esta línea, ciertos géneros del habla, como el cotilleo (Briggs 1998; Gal 1989), las discusiones (Laihonen 2008) y las actuaciones (Abu-Lughod 1985; Jaffe 2015) también pueden utilizarse para rebatir las ideologías hegemónicas de forma explícita o implícita, lo que hace que las personas que emplean estas estrategias parezcan respaldar ideologías diferentes, según el género discursivo que estén empleando en un momento determinado. Este tipo de hallazgos que marcan o implican una incoherencia ideológica a nivel individual no son en absoluto sorprendentes a la luz de las últimas décadas de estudios en ciencia política sobre las ideologías de los individuos.

2.5 La multiplicidad ideológica en la ciencia política

Aunque estudiosxs como Hill (1992) y Mason (2018) han destacado en ocasiones que la ideología puede definirse como tal debido a su relativa coherencia, por razones teóricas y empíricas en este trabajo se opta por no adoptar este enfoque. Mientras que Kroskrity consideró que las ideologías son necesariamente contradictorias, lxs científicxs políticxs, y en particular lxs psicólogxs políticxs, también han acumulado una gran cantidad de pruebas que apoyan esta afirmación. En las últimas décadas, esta investigación ha establecido la existencia de un grado tan grande de multiplicidad ideológica a nivel individual que socava la noción de que las ideologías son fenómenos relativamente coherentes. Por un lado, la experiencia vital de un individuo y su cambiante posición social pueden conducir lentamente a cambios en su ideología (Critcher et al. 2009; Vespa 2009). Por otro lado, mientras que algunos individuos pueden mantener la misma ideología durante años, otras personas parecen cambiar rutinariamente de compromiso ideológico en cuestión de segundos (Brennan 2016). En esta sección, se repasan los resultados de la investigación sobre estos cambios aparentemente rápidos en los compromisos ideológicos expresados para demostrar, por un lado, que Kroskrity tenía razón al suponer que las ideologías son necesariamente contradictorias, y, por otro lado, para aportar más pruebas de que lxs hablantes mencionan múltiples ideologías en su discurso.

Los efectos del *framing* (enmarcación) pueden explicar en parte los desajustes entre las ideologías que aparentemente sostienen lxs hablantes y las ideologías menciona-

das en su discurso. El modo en que se enmarca una cuestión de relevancia ideológica puede influir en las posturas concretas que adoptan las personas en cada momento (Brennan 2016), dado que, en cualquier sociedad sobre cualquier conjunto de cuestiones, los marcos ampliamente utilizados a menudo se contradicen entre sí (Snow 2004). En el caso de Sandra, ella podría adoptar una postura provida ante el aborto después de escuchar un sermón de su pastor, donde el aborto se enmarca como un pecado, pero más tarde adoptar una postura proelección cuando la hija de su mejor amiga aborta, al enmarcarlo como una elección difícil pero necesaria dadas las circunstancias.

Este cambio de postura debido al uso de diferentes marcos puede ser visible tanto en las ideologías que Sandra menciona como en sus propias ideologías que tocan el tema del aborto. Tales marcos contradictorios también pueden utilizarse a propósito por lxs hablantes para lograr sus objetivos, como en el caso de lxs hablantes de alemán en Hungría, que utilizaron múltiples marcos para resistirse a las ideologías hegemónicas del estado húngaro (Gal 1993, citado en Woolard y Schieffelin (1994)). De esa manera, Sandra podría utilizar el marco proabortista para defender la decisión de la hija de su amiga de abortar, mientras que utilizaría el marco provida para defender su firme oposición política al aborto. Con ello, podría mostrar su apoyo a su amiga sin apoyar a las personas con ideologías seculares e izquierdistas con las que está en profundo desacuerdo. Sin embargo, incluso cuando se controla el efecto de este tipo de encuadre, los individuos tienden a expresar creencias que no solo son tan diferentes ideológicamente como para ser prácticamente autocontradictorias, sino que tampoco se cohesionan para formar una ideología integrada (Snow 2004).

De hecho, cuando lxs hablantes se encuentran con personas con las que no están de acuerdo en una cuestión ideológicamente cargada, el razonamiento motivado y el sesgo dentro del grupo pueden hacer que respalden y mencionen nuevas ideologías para aceptar la nueva información sin perder su pertenencia a grupos ideológicos, como los partidos políticos (Brennan 2016). Por ejemplo, es posible que Sandra no quiera arriesgarse a perder su membresía y sentido de pertenencia en su congregación calvinista conservadora, así que, cuando conoce a un empresario judío con más dinero que ella que discrepa de su visión del evangelio de la prosperidad, quien se cita a sí mismo como ejemplo de alguien que no debería tener tantos recursos según su ideología, ella no cambia sus creencias. Por el contrario, al estar motivada para no cambiar sus creencias y tener una fuerte predisposición hacia su grupo religioso, empieza a adop-

tar un nuevo conjunto de creencias. En concreto, empieza a preguntarse si es cierta la teoría de la conspiración según la cual los judíos controlan los negocios y medios de comunicación.

Debido a este tipo de sesgo dentro del grupo, la ideología basada en temas declarada por un individuo, que abarca las creencias que profesa tener, a menudo difiere de su ideología basada en la identidad declarada, que abarca su ideología autoidentificada (Mason 2018). Así, Sandra puede empezar a dejar de creer en el evangelio de la prosperidad a medida que conoce a no cristianxs con más dinero que ella (cambiando su ideología basada en la cuestión), pero sigue afirmando ser una calvinista convencida con estas creencias (sin cambiar su ideología basada en la identidad).

Asimismo, un gran número de personas son fácilmente influenciables en un momento dado por el carisma y la presión social para adoptar nuevas posiciones ideológicas (Brennan 2016). Sandra puede empezar a dudar de sus convicciones calvinistas al relacionarse en el trabajo con tanta gente que no está de acuerdo con ella. Debido a la presión social de sus compañerxs para que sea más progresista, puede empezar a mencionar estas diferentes ideologías más a menudo e, incluso, sostener estas nuevas posiciones ideológicas. Sin embargo, luego puede sentir una intensa presión social por parte de buenas amistades y familiares de su congregación para mantener sus creencias religiosas y retomar esta posición ideológica tras escuchar un sermón de un pastor especialmente carismático.

Por estas razones, después de mantener debates sobre cuestiones respecto a las cuales se mantienen ideologías, las personas suelen acabar expresando ideologías cada vez más múltiples que las que tenían antes (Brennan 2016), en lugar de llegar a un entendimiento común en el que prevalezca la ideología “mejor” apoyada. En los debates que cuestionan las actitudes de las personas, estas se aferran a valores situacionalmente accesibles para proporcionar un cierre cognitivo, incluso si estos valores situacionalmente accesibles expresan compromisos ideológicos completamente diferentes, con esta tendencia especialmente marcada, paradójicamente, para las personas con ideologías muy fuertes y rígidamente arraigadas (Cricher et al. 2009), que de otro modo se esperaría que expresaran una sola ideología. En ese sentido, si alguien le dice a Sandra que su creencia en la predestinación de Dios contradice sus intentos de ganar dinero, esta puede experimentar una disonancia cognitiva, que puede resolver expresando una creencia: podría reproducir un argumento compatibilista que oído recientemente

a un filósofo ateo o a una musulmana religiosa, sin darse cuenta de la fuente de este valor situacionalmente disponible ni de los compromisos ideológicos detrás de este argumento que contradicen su religión.

Este tipo de multiplicidad extrema parece aplicarse a las personas, independientemente de su ideología política o de lo informadas que estén respecto a las cuestiones políticas. La mayoría de las personas desconocen en gran medida los compromisos ideológicos expresados por sus líderes políticos y, en consecuencia, es probable que también desconozcan sus propias ideologías individuales expresadas (Brennan 2016), lo que les lleva a mencionar múltiples ideologías. Sin embargo, incluso las personas políticamente informadas muestran multiplicidad en la ideología expresada, porque a menudo se basan en muchas ideologías para construir un conjunto de posiciones temáticas que les parecen más racionales (Brennan 2016).

Por un lado, la gente de derecha tiende a expresar ideologías más heterogéneas con respecto a las cuestiones políticas que la gente de izquierda, especialmente al principio de un discurso sobre esas ideologías (Cricher et al. 2009; Mason 2018), ello, por dos razones principales. En primer lugar, las personas de derecha suelen tener en cuenta un mayor número de valores a la hora de decidir inicialmente qué postura apoyar (Cricher et al. 2009), en segundo lugar, algunas personas de derecha definen su ideología política en gran medida a través de la oposición a la izquierda, más que a partir de los valores de derecha (Mason 2018). Por otro lado, las personas de izquierda política parecen sentirse más cómodas al admitir que tienen en cuenta múltiples valores a la hora de elegir sus compromisos ideológicos (Cricher et al. 2009) y, por tanto, es posible que mencionen un mayor número de ideologías distintas por ese motivo.

Por estas razones, es muy probable que prácticamente todos los individuos, independientemente de las características sociopolíticas aparentemente relevantes, expresen una variedad de ideologías en su discurso. La homogeneidad ideológica de cualquier individuo solo puede parecer que existe cuando el comportamiento de los grupos, que de forma más productiva puede describirse como promovedor de una única ideología, se proyecta sobre los individuos (Feld y Grofman 1988). Debido a la relativa coherencia ideológica de los grupos (Feld y Grofman 1988), la suposición de algunos investigadores de que el comportamiento grupal refleja la ideología individual contribuye a crear la ilusión de que cada individuo expresa una ideología coherente (Snow 2004). Teniendo esto en cuenta, algunos investigadores se preguntan si es útil o

no aplicar el concepto de ideología a los individuos (Van Dijk 2003, p. 34).

A pesar de esta evidencia, se puede sostener que la ideología sigue siendo un concepto útil para aplicarlo a los individuos, siempre y cuando se multipliquen las diferencias entre ellos. En suma, las múltiples ideologías expresadas a nivel individual pueden seguir fusionándose con las ideas extraídas de la teoría crítica. Esta última suele asumir *a priori* la utilidad de la ideología, por eso explicar la diversidad ideológica intraindividual mediante la teoría crítica reafirma que la ideología sigue siendo un concepto útil cuando se aplica a los individuos.

2.6 La lucha de poder dentro del/la hablante

La falta de coherencia en las ideologías mencionadas y mantenidas dentro de un/una mismo/a hablante no es sorprendente a la luz de la posición contradictoria de lxs hablantes con respecto a los sistemas de poder. Lxs antropólogxs lingüísticxs y lxs lingüistas críticxs ya han reconocido que los discursos son fuentes de poder que se promulgan y/o impugnan en el habla (Gal 1989) y que se puede encontrar heterogeneidad “dentro de un mismo texto” (Gal 1989) cuando lxs hablantes intentan contener o resolver dilemas ideológicos (Billig (1988) en Fairclough (1991)). En cuanto a los dilemas ideológicos que resultan de la posición autocontradictoria de lxs hablantes en la estructura social como resultado de la interseccionalidad (Collins 2002; Crenshaw 1991; Levon 2015), se podría esperar que estos sean impugnados y resueltos dentro de su discurso. En otras palabras, la pertenencia simultánea de las personas a distintos grupos con diferentes intereses ideológicos podría ser una de las principales razones por las que expresan múltiples ideologías, a veces contradictorias, que a menudo no logran cohesionarse en una ideología clara.

Desde una perspectiva interseccional (Collins 2002; Crenshaw 1991), cada individuo tiene una variedad de posiciones identitarias simultáneamente y, por lo tanto, el mismo individuo puede estar situado en una posición privilegiada en la estructura de poder debido a una de sus identidades, mientras que al mismo tiempo se encuentra oprimido a causa de cómo otra de sus identidades está posicionada en la estructura de poder. En otras palabras, los sujetos están constituidos por una variedad de identidades privilegiadas y no privilegiadas contradictorias asociadas a intereses en conflicto con respecto al poder hegemónico, lo que los lleva a expresar esta contradicción me-

diante ideologías múltiples y potencialmente conflictivas.

Algunxs hablantes logran resolver esta contradicción alineándose claramente con un determinado conjunto de intereses o borrando las contradicciones entre distintos conjuntos de intereses. En el caso de Sandra, que tiene que trabajar con clientes sexistas, pro-LGBT y no calvinistas, sus intereses económicos y religiosos relacionados con ganar dinero pueden entrar en conflicto con sus intereses como mujer para evitar la discriminación de género por parte de clientes sexistas y sus intereses como calvinista para evitar apoyar a personas LGBT y no cristianas. Sandra puede resolver esta tensión al mencionar las ideologías relacionadas con estos intereses en conflicto, pero alineándose claramente sobre todo con sus intereses económicos, al renegar temporalmente de su compromiso verbal con el antisexismo y el calvinismo para hacerlo. Por otro lado, ella podría borrar las contradicciones entre estas ideologías mencionadas, por ejemplo, al reinterpretar verbalmente su calvinismo para aparentar una mayor tolerancia hacia las personas LGBT y lxs no cristianxs sin pretender abandonar sus creencias religiosas.

En este y otros casos similares, lxs hablantes ensamblan una ideología coherente a partir de sus múltiples ideologías expresadas mediante mecanismos específicos, denominados estrategias creadoras de coherencia, que se explican en las secciones posteriores. Para otrxs hablantes cuyas luchas entre los intereses en conflicto y las ideologías asociadas no se han resuelto mediante el compromiso, el borrado del conflicto, se construye una coherencia ideológica menos aparente a partir de las múltiples ideologías mencionadas. En el caso de Sandra, esto podría ocurrir, por ejemplo, si esta mencionara las ideologías asociadas a sus intereses en conflicto, o si cambiara el tema de conversación al reconocer que se trata de una lucha. Esto sería aún más probable si Sandra pareciera privilegiar a veces sus intereses económicos, otras veces sus intereses de género, y otras veces sus intereses religiosos.

Aunque es probable que todxs lxs hablantes mencionen múltiples ideologías, el nivel de coherencia ideológica aparente de un/a hablante individual (para un/a observador/a externx que haya estudiado la ideología en cuestión) puede conceptualizarse como existente en un continuo. En este continuo, algunos individuos parecen bastante coherentes ideológicamente y otros son bastante incoherentes y poco comprometidos ideológicamente, y la mayoría de las personas demuestran un nivel intermedio de aparente coherencia ideológica, con base en el grado en que aparentemente han resuelto el dilema ideológico causado por su posicionamiento social autocontradictorio.

La noción de un continuo de aparente coherencia ideológica (para un/a observador/a externx bien informadx) también se respalda por gran parte de la investigación en ciencia política (Brennan 2016; Snow 2004) y la teoría crítica de la ideología basada en el discurso de Van Dijk (2003).

2.7 La contradicción ideológica como un principio estructurante de la ideología

Los individuos cuyo comportamiento los sitúa más en el extremo ideológicamente coherente del continuo siguen siendo propensos a mencionar ideologías múltiples, a menudo contradictorias. En el caso de estos individuos, esto puede deberse en parte a limitaciones contextuales, como que un/a hablante intente suavizar la fuerza de su desacuerdo con otrx hablante para mantener una alineación positiva cooperativa con esa persona o para guardar las apariencias. Ejemplos de esto se encuentran en Watts (1988) y Makihara (2007).

Sin embargo, en un sentido más amplio, se debe proponer que la mención de múltiples ideologías es estructural para la (re)creación por parte de lxs hablantes de ideologías coherentes para sí mismxs a medida que responden a las expresadas por otrxs hablantes. Puesto que las distintas ideologías se producen de distintas maneras, en esta sección no se dan ejemplos demasiado específicos y detallados. Más bien, se sostiene, por motivos lógicos, que la multiplicidad de las ideologías mencionadas por cada hablante puede considerarse un componente de una ideología general más amplia. Este argumento se apoya en conclusiones generales de la investigación en lingüística y más allá.

Ahora bien, desde hace tiempo se reconoce en diversas escuelas de pensamiento, incluidas las modernas concepciones constructivistas sociales de la identidad, que muchos fenómenos adquieren significado a través de su contraste con otros fenómenos. Si esta idea, ampliamente reconocida, es cierta para los fenómenos en general, también debería serlo para las ideologías que, en este caso, deberían adquirir su significado a través de su contraste con otras ideologías. Si esto es cierto, lxs hablantes podrían mencionar múltiples ideologías dentro del mismo tramo del discurso para hacer visibles y enfatizar las ideologías que ellxs mismxs sostienen o de las que quieren desalinearse.

Las conclusiones de la investigación lingüística sobre ideologías también respaldan

las posiciones ideológicas opuestas. Por ejemplo, según Woolard y Schieffelin (1994), las ideologías nacionalistas, incluidas las ideologías lingüísticas, surgen de luchas entre posiciones ideológicas enfrentadas (McEwan-Fujita 2010) y, por tanto, las ideologías resultantes siguen teniendo contradicciones internas (Gal 1989; Gee 2007), las cuales contienen pruebas de la lucha previa necesaria para haberlas creado en primer lugar. Además, las ideologías hegemónicas tienden a ayudar a crear las ideologías que se les oponen (Mumby 1989), y las prácticas que van en contra de la hegemonía pueden ser necesarias para su reproducción (Gal 1989), lo que implica un papel para las ideologías hegemónicas invocadas o mencionadas en la construcción de las ideologías no hegemónicas y viceversa.

2.8 Las estrategias creadoras de coherencia

De forma paralela a como la hegemonía subordina y borra las ideologías y prácticas no hegemónicas, se asume que los individuos ideológicamente coherentes crean coherencia a partir de la diversidad de ideologías que mencionan en el discurso mediante el uso de estrategias creadoras de coherencia. Estas estrategias, diversas en su forma y en la manera en que funcionan, tienden a marcar (y presentar) ciertas secciones del discurso, como la perspectiva “auténtica” del/la hablante, en contraste con las secciones que están deslegitimadas o distanciadas del/la hablante. Algunas estrategias funcionan con una amplia referencia a elementos extradiscursivos, como individuos no presentes y las ideas supuestamente sostenidas por estas personas.

Un ejemplo de ello sería el *straw-manning*, cuando un/a hablante presenta una versión distorsionada y tergiversada de una ideología con la que no está de acuerdo, con el fin de atacarla más fácilmente. En este caso, el/la hablante puede lograr esta tergiversación de la ideología que quiere rechazar al exagerar la otra posición ideológica, al reproducir estereotipos negativos y/o al basarse en concepciones comúnmente compartidas de cómo debería funcionar el mundo. Esta exageración de la otra posición ideológica puede ser sutil. El/la hablante puede, por ejemplo, limitarse a formular su descripción de una ideología de un modo que no lo harían las personas que sostienen esa ideología.

En otros casos, las estrategias de coherencia pueden ser fenómenos a nivel del discurso. Por ejemplo, Van Dijk (2003) observó que lxs hablantes suelen mencionar las

ideologías que sostienen al principio de los monólogos y aquellas a las que se oponen hacia el final. Del mismo modo, el autor describió formas de negación que contienen dos ideologías: la ideología a la que el/la hablante expresa su lealtad está en primer plano, dados los elementos estructurales del discurso (Van Dijk 2003, p. 64). En consecuencia, la propia estructura argumental actúa como estrategia de coherencia, para garantizar que emerja una única ideología de lo que, de otro modo, no sería más que una confusa cacofonía de múltiples ideologías mencionadas, no relacionadas o contradictorias.

Una lista no exhaustiva de comportamientos lingüísticos que pueden emplearse como estrategias de coherencia para crear ideologías a partir de una aparente contradicción ideológica incluiría la colocación en la estructura argumental, el *straw-manning*, los cambios de posicionamiento y la toma de posturas sobre las ideologías mencionadas, esta última utilizada para crear ideologías mencionadas adicionales a partir de ideologías mencionadas previas. Para ver ejemplos de estas estrategias de coherencia, véase la sección 10.3 de los apéndices.

De otra parte, la adopción de posturas es especialmente interesante como estrategia de coherencia, porque las ideologías mencionadas se expresan como posturas. Por lo tanto, la postura se puede utilizar para expresar múltiples ideologías opuestas, de forma que quede claro con qué ideología se alinea el hablante. Específicamente, la postura expresa ideologías inicialmente al caracterizar objetos de maneras particulares (Jaffe 2015), y luego funciona como una estrategia de contención para las ideologías expresadas inicialmente al entretener múltiples ideologías en narrativas que apoyan una única ideología global (Jaffe 2009).

Lxs sociolingüistas que trabajan con las actitudes lingüísticas y lxs psicólogos sociales también podrían arrojar más luz sobre las motivaciones que subyacen al uso de diferentes estrategias de creación de coherencia para crear una ideología más amplia y aparentemente coherente. Dichas estrategias pueden verse puramente a nivel del discurso, como en el caso de la estructura argumental, o pueden contener vínculos con fenómenos extradiscursivos, como en el caso de la ironía y la alternancia entre voces de individuos de distinta posición (Hill 1985). Teniendo esto en cuenta, la principal diferencia entre los individuos relativamente coherentes ideológicamente y las personas que no lo son no es necesariamente la frecuencia con la que mencionan múltiples ideologías, sino más bien la medida en que utilizan estrategias de coherencia de forma

sistemática para (re)crear una única ideología para sí mismxs.

Sin embargo, la cuestión más amplia de los mecanismos específicos a través de los cuales estas estrategias de creación de coherencia se unen estructuralmente para construir una ideología merece un grado de estudio futuro que va más allá del alcance de esta tesis. Lxs analistas conversacionales y lxs antropólogxs lingüísticxs podrían explorar con provecho los detalles sobre cómo lxs hablantes gestionan y asumen esas ideologías múltiples en la ideología expresada para crear marcos ideológicos más amplios. Con ello, se podrían rastrear las complejas indexicalidades de esos cambios en la ideología mencionada. Además, lxs analistas conversacionales, en particular, podrían proporcionar una descripción detallada y exhaustiva de cómo lxs hablantes emplean usan creadoras de coherencia en tiempo real para desafiliarse de ciertas ideologías expresadas y asumir otras.

2.9 La investigación variacionista y la ideología

Desde los inicios de la investigación en sociolingüística variacionista, incluso lxs estudiosxs con desacuerdos teóricos sustanciales entre sí (Kroch 1978; Labov 1963) han reconocido la importancia potencial de las ideologías sostenidas o expresadas para explicar la variación lingüística. Por tanto, se ha reconocido ampliamente que tales ideologías afectan el cambio lingüístico (Woolard y Schieffelin 1994), lo que lleva a lxs hablantes a utilizar ciertas variantes ideológicamente preferidas a expensas de otras. De este modo, las ideologías pueden crear las formas que aparentan representar (Rosa y Burdick 2016), y otras variables relacionadas con la ideología –que potencialmente se pueden subsumir en ella–, como la religión (Yaeger-Dror 2014), están correlacionadas con la variación lingüística.

Igualmente, las ideologías expresadas por lxs hablantes a veces se han relacionado cuantitativamente con la variación lingüística, incluso en estudios muy tempranos. Por ejemplo, en su clásico estudio sobre Martha's Vineyard, Labov (1963) relacionó la variación en la calidad de las vocales con las posiciones ideológicas expresadas por lxs hablantes con respecto a la isla y a lxs recién llegadxs. En un trabajo posterior sobre ideologías de género, Rissel (1989) descubrió que las mujeres de San Luis Potosí, México, que apoyaban los roles de género tradicionales asibilaban la /r/ con mayor frecuencia, mientras que los hombres que apoyaban esta ideología de género asibila-

ban la /r/ con menor frecuencia.

Además, Waltermire (2010), mientras trabajaba con datos de Rivera, Uruguay, donde el español está en intenso contacto con el portugués brasileño, encontró una relación entre la actitud o la ideología expresada hacia el portugués o el español y la variación intervocálica /d/ en español. De esa forma, las actitudes positivas hacia la mezcla de lenguas y el portugués se correlacionaban con pronunciaciones normativamente portuguesas (variante plosiva), mientras que los participantes con una actitud negativa hacia el portugués y una mayor orientación hacia Uruguay tendían a utilizar las variantes normativas, es decir, las fricativas, aproximantes y elididas (Waltermire 2010). Más recientemente, en un estudio sobre la variación en la /s/ implosiva en el español cubano de Miami, Lynch (2009) descubrió que las tasas de reducción de la /s/ cambiaban junto con el contenido ideológico de las conversaciones, y Otheguy et al. (2007) atribuyeron un uso de pronombres más parecido al inglés en su muestra de español de Nueva York a ideologías favorables hacia la lengua inglesa.

Sin embargo, estudios como estos, que explican la variación lingüística al recurrir a la ideología, siguen siendo poco frecuentes, y el apoyo que estos estudios proporcionan a sus conclusiones podría ser más sólido mediante un uso más inventivo y exhaustivo de la metodología variacionista. En ese orden de ideas, aunque Rissel (1989) y Waltermire (2010) mostraron una correlación estadísticamente significativa entre la ideología expresada y la variación lingüística, a los hablantes se les asignó una única ideología basándose en sus respuestas para una encuesta en el estudio de Rissel y sus comentarios en una entrevista en el estudio de Waltermire.

Este enfoque es una buena forma de controlar el efecto de otros factores sociales (clase y género) que podrían interactuar con la ideología. Esto es especialmente cierto en el caso del estudio de Rissel, que tiene en cuenta tanto el género como la ideología de género, en tanto que el primero se cruza con mucha frecuencia con la segunda (Phillips 2008). Aun así, al clasificar a hablantes concretos según la ideología que expresan, esta medida solo puede captar la variación entre las supuestas ideologías sostenidas por distintos hablantes. La variación en la ideología expresada dentro de un/a mismo hablante no se examina en este estudio, a pesar de que un/a mismo hablante suele expresar varias ideologías diferentes, ya sea para estructurar una actitud coherente o porque carece de compromisos ideológicos sólidos.

En general, la investigación variacionista ha tendido a no incorporar la ideología

como variable independiente, y, cuando lo ha hecho, se suelen asignar las ideologías a los individuos, en lugar de a los enunciados específicos (Labov 1963; Rissel 1989; Waltermire 2010). Este enfoque, como se puede deducir de la discusión anterior, es problemático, porque los individuos a menudo expresan múltiples ideologías, incluso los individuos con actitudes coherentes mencionan rutinariamente múltiples ideologías en su discurso, de manera que crean una sensación de coherencia.

En el caso de la religión, Yaeger-Dror (2014) ha propuesto una escala para el grado de compromiso ideológico con la propia religión para utilizarla como variable independiente. Aunque esto es sin duda más productivo que limitarse a determinar la ideología de una persona de una manera de todo o nada, este enfoque sigue invisibilizando a los individuos sin un nivel claramente invariable de compromiso ideológico. Por otra parte, un enfoque que tome la ideología mencionada como variable independiente puede incluir en la muestra tanto a los individuos ideológicamente comprometidos como a los no comprometidos. Para terminar, dado que la coherencia ideológica existe en un espectro, en este enfoque no hay necesidad de asignar artificialmente a los hablantes a categorías ideológicas que quizá solo sean aplicables para algunos de ellos.

Este enfoque se ve respaldado además por los resultados de un estudio reciente, en el que Barnes (2018) cuantificó posturas afectivas y epistémicas que se subsumirían en el marco de la ideología mencionada en mi estudio (sección 2.2), y encontró que estas posturas eran predictores estadísticamente significativos de la variación de la cópula en el español de Asturias. Estos resultados son prometedores para el uso del modelo de la investigación variacionista, en tanto que la postura afectiva se considera en dicho enfoque como un caso de ideología mencionada, debido a la doble función de la postura como estrategia de coherencia y como forma de mencionar la ideología.

Capítulo 3

Variables lingüísticas escogidas para este estudio

3.1 Introducción a las variables

En este estudio, las ideologías lingüísticas mencionadas y las ideologías de género mencionadas se correlacionan con la variación lingüística para ver qué efecto tienen estas variables sobre la /s/ final silábica y el género gramatical referencial. En las secciones siguientes, se hace un repaso de la investigación variacionista y de otro tipo relevante para cada variable específica, con el fin de contextualizar mejor los resultados posteriores del estudio dentro de la investigación sociolingüística previa.

3.2 La /s/ al final de la sílaba

En español, la /s/ puede realizarse de diversas formas según la variedad geográfica, la posición en la palabra y una gran cantidad de otros factores lingüísticos y sociales. Normativamente, y en la mayoría de las representaciones mentales de los hablantes, la /s/ se considera una fricativa sorda, que puede ser tanto dentoalveolar como apicoalveolar, dependiendo de la variedad nacional en cuestión (Ávila 2003; Moreno Fernández 2011; Navarro Tomás 1991; “RAE = Real Academia Española” 2010). En México, la /s/ se puede describir mejor como dentoalveolar para la mayoría de los hablantes (Lope Blanch 1967; Navarro Tomás 1991; “RAE = Real Academia Española” 2010), porque la variante apicoalveolar está más estrechamente asociada, en términos de percepción y uso real, con regiones de España donde la /s/ se distingue fonémicamente de /θ/ (Navarro Tomás 1991; “RAE = Real Academia Española” 2010).

Aunque generalmente se considera que la realización de la /s/ es (dento)alveolar, de hecho, también se atestiguan una amplia gama de procesos de lenición de la /s/ en español, en una amplia variedad de sitios geográficos, condicionados por múltiples factores lingüísticos y sociales. La variación en la producción de la /s/ en español se puede describir en términos de procesos de sonorización, en los que [s] varía con una fricativa (dento)alveolar sonora [z], aunque la reducción de la /s/ es un proceso aún más notable. En la reducción de la /s/, la variante retenida [s, z] se reduce, ya sea a través de la aspiración a una fricativa glotal [h] o a la elisión completa \emptyset . Al discutir esta variación, se considera la [s, z] típicamente como la variante retenida y el

ø se considera como la /s/ elidida. Si bien la reducción a una oclusiva glotal también puede ocurrir, esta variante es mucho menos común y saliente, actualmente restringida en gran medida a hablantes jóvenes en comunidades que ya muestran altas tasas de reducción de la /s/ (Lipski 2011).

En este estudio, se estudia la variación en la reducción de la /s/ al final de la sílaba, también nombrada la reducción de la /s/ implosiva, debido a las asociaciones robustas y bien documentadas de esta variable con el género, la clase, la etnia y otros factores sociales altamente relevantes en el contexto de Juchitán. Aunque la reducción de la /s/ ocurre al principio de la sílaba en algunas variedades lingüísticas, especialmente en ciertas variedades centroamericanas, colombianas y del norte de México (Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2003; Lipski 1985), esta variación es menos común al final de la sílaba casi en todas partes del mundo de habla hispana, y muy poco común (casi hasta el punto de la invariabilidad) en Juchitán, condicionada por diferentes factores sociales y lingüísticos (Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2003; Lipski 1985). Por lo tanto, el contexto variable para este estudio se limita a la variación al final de la sílaba. Para ayudar a ilustrar esta distinción, se proporciona un ejemplo de variantes retenidas y reducidas de la /s/ al inicio de la sílaba y /s/ al final de la sílaba (Cuadro 3.1), donde [s] se usa para representar la variante retenida y ø representa la variante reducida.

Reducción de la /s/ al inicio de sílaba La [s]eñora [s]ánchez Sra. Sánchez	La øeñora øánchez Sra. Sánchez
Reducción de la /s/ al final de la sílaba ¿Tiene[s] la[s] pila[s]? ¿Tiene las pilas?	¿Tieneø laø pilaø? ¿Tiene las pilas?

Cuadro 3.1: Reducción de la /s/ al inicio y al final de la sílaba

Por otro lado, en términos de cuán común es la reducción de la /s/ implosiva, las variedades geográficamente delimitadas del español varían considerablemente entre sí. De hecho, la frecuencia relativa de la elisión de la /s/ implosiva puede ser la característica más útil para distinguir las variedades latinoamericanas del español entre sí (Lipski 1984, 1986, 2011). En general, la mayoría de los hablantes de español en el mundo hablan una variedad caracterizada por altas tasas de reducción de la /s/ (Lipski 1986, 2011), aunque los factores que condicionan la reducción y la tasa específica de esta difieren de un lugar a otro. En términos generales, las regiones montañosas de América Latina y España son una excepción a este patrón general (Lipski 1984).

Lxs hablantes de variedades costeras del español tienden a eliminar /s/ a tasas relativamente altas, y lxs hablantes de Chile (Alba 1992; Bolyanatz 2015), Nicaragua (Lipski 1985), la región del Caribe (Alba 1992; Lipski 1986) y el sur de España (incluidas las Islas Canarias) (Lipski 1986) son particularmente innovadores en su uso de la /s/ aspirada o elidida. Las tasas de elisión de la /s/ son posiblemente más altas en áreas rurales de la República Dominicana, donde el fenómeno es tan común que la elisión de la /s/ a veces se describe como categórica, e incluso a veces se asume que la /s/ implosiva se representa mentalmente por estxs hablantes como un cero fonético (Terrell 1979). Para una crítica basada en datos de esta visión, se puede consultar el trabajo de Bullock y Toribio (2010) y de Bullock, Toribio y Amengual (2014) sobre la /s/ implosiva en el español dominicano.

Por otro lado, en algunas regiones de México, la /s/ se retiene casi invariablemente en posición implosiva (Brown 1993; Butragueño 2014; Lewis y Boomershine 2015; Terrell 1979; Walker et al. 2014), aunque, incluso en áreas donde la elisión de la /s/ es infrecuente, típicamente ocurre algún nivel de reducción (Lipski 1986). Sin embargo, en contraste con las regiones montañosas de México, las regiones costeras de México, que comparten muchas características lingüísticas con el español caribeño, tienden a exhibir tasas robustas de elisión de la /s/ (Brown 1993; Butragueño 2014; Walker et al. 2014). La ubicación concreta de Juchitán, en México, lejos de la costa atlántica y, por lo tanto, de la región dialectal caribeña que favorecería la elisión de la /s/, hace probable que la /s/ se retenga en general en los datos de este proyecto. Aun así, su ubicación a unos 10 km de la costa del Pacífico y, en consecuencia, lejos de las tierras altas de México, podría hacer más probable que ocurra alguna variación, dado que las variedades mexicanas del Pacífico, particularmente en Oaxaca, pueden tener tasas más altas de elisión de la /s/ que las variedades del centro de México (Butragueño 2014).

De otra parte, se ha encontrado, a través del estudio exhaustivo de la variación de la /s/ implosiva en español, que las variantes retenidas son más comunes entre las mujeres, lxs mayores de edad y la clase alta en una amplia variedad de poblaciones, mientras que las variantes aspiradas o elididas son más comunes entre lxs jóvenes, pobres y hombres (Bullock, Toribio y Amengual 2014; Lynch 2009). Con respecto al género, es particularmente común encontrar que las mujeres y personas femeninas elidan (o aspiren) la /s/ con significativamente menos frecuencia que los hombres, aunque el grado en que esto es cierto depende sobre todo del contexto particular estudiado (Bol-

yanatz 2015; Bullock, Toribio y Amengual 2014; Colina 2018; Holmquist 2011; Lewis y Boomershine 2015; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014).

En dos excepciones notables al hallazgo general, Holmquist (2011) y Lewis y Boomershine (2015) no encontraron una diferencia de género en las tasas generales de elisión de la /s/. Por su parte, Holmquist (2011) encontró en su lugar que las mujeres solo retuvieron /s/ con más frecuencia cuando eran miembros de redes abiertas y en el contexto fonológico prevocálico, mientras que Lewis y Boomershine (2015) hallaron la diferencia de género esperada solo en la /s/ implosiva antes de consonantes laterales. Sin embargo, Lynch (2009) señaló que, aunque la mayoría de las investigaciones muestran que las mujeres retienen /s/ con más frecuencia que los hombres, el patrón es exactamente opuesto. En este caso, el hallazgo de que los hombres retenían la /s/ con más frecuencia podría atribuirse a las normas sociolingüísticas de su contexto, Miami, donde la /s/ elidida se asociaba con la Cuba comunista. Este nuevo índice para la /s/ elidida motivó a las personas que estaban particularmente en contra del comunismo, es decir, a hablantes más jóvenes y hombres, a evitar la variante y participar en un cambio lingüístico hacia una mayor retención.

De ese modo, los resultados con respecto a la clase social, y la edad, especialmente, tampoco son completamente consistentes, pero generalmente muestran que los hablantes más jóvenes de la clase baja eliminan (o aspiran) la /s/ con más frecuencia que los hablantes mayores de la clase alta (Bolyanatz 2015; Lynch 2009; Quesada Pacheco 1988; Walker et al. 2014). La relación entre el habla de la clase alta y la retención de la /s/ es consistente con la observación de que la /s/ retenida es más común en la mayoría de las variedades estándar. Como se mencionó, los resultados de Lynch (2009) ofrecen una excepción al patrón generalmente encontrado con respecto a la edad, donde una oposición ideológica relacionada con la Cuba de Castro llevó a los hablantes masculinos más jóvenes, en lugar de las hablantes femeninas mayores, a asociarse con la retención de la /s/.

Por lo tanto, parece que las motivaciones ideológicas pueden cambiar en gran medida los patrones de variación sociolingüística para la /s/ implosiva. En esta línea, el estilo y el nivel de formalidad también se relacionan con las tasas de retención, aspiración y elisión de la /s/. En general, el habla formal cuidadosa y los contextos profesionales se relacionan con la /s/ retenida, y el habla informal, menos cuidadosa, y los contextos no profesionales se asocian con variantes reducidas de la /s/, tanto nor-

mativamente como en términos de la variación lingüística existente (Bolyanatz 2015; Bullock, Toribio y Amengual 2014; Colina 2018; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014).

Igualmente, en ciertos contextos donde la tasa de la /s/ retenida es muy baja, la /s/ aspirada sigue patrones de variación similares a la /s/ retenida en otras partes del mundo hispanohablante (Bolyanatz 2015; Colina 2018). Por ejemplo, en Chile, la aspiración es una variante común en entornos formales de los medios de comunicación (Pérez 2007). Además, en algunas regiones del mundo hispanohablante, donde las variantes aspiradas, retenidas y elididas son bastante comunes, las variantes aspiradas pueden adquirir diferentes significados sociales a los de las variantes retenidas o elididas. Por ejemplo, parece que, en Chile, [h] se ha convertido en la variante no marcada de la /s/, y, simultáneamente, \emptyset se ha estigmatizado y [s] se ha convertido en un marcador más específico del habla cuidadosa y de la clase alta (Bolyanatz 2015).

Varios factores lingüísticos también se han relacionado con la variación de la /s/, especialmente el contexto fonológico y el estatus morfológico de la /s/ en cuestión. En cuanto al contexto fonológico, en la mayoría de los casos, las consonantes siguientes, incluidas las consonantes deslizantes, se asocian más fuertemente a la retención de la /s/, mientras que las vocales y los diptongos precedentes y siguientes se asocian más con variantes reducidas, y las pausas siguientes condicionan tasas de reducción de la /s/ inconsistentes y variables (Aaron y Hernandez 2007; Almeida y San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2002; Holmquist 2011; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014). No obstante, en algunos estudios han surgido hallazgos diferentes. Por ejemplo, Almeida y San Juan (1998) encontraron que, de las consonantes, solo las fricativas siguientes favorecían fuertemente la elisión de la /s/, mientras que Lewis y Boomershine (2015) encontraron que las laterales y nasales en el contexto fonológico siguiente favorecían más fuertemente la elisión, y Brown y Torres Cacoullós (2002) encontraron que, en algunos casos, las vocales siguientes favorecían la elisión de la /s/ más fuertemente que las consonantes siguientes.

Con respecto al estatus morfológico, una /s/ que lleva información gramatical, como la /s/ que marca plurales y formas verbales de segunda persona singular, se retiene con mucha más frecuencia que una /s/ con una función meramente léxica (Almeida y San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2002; Lynch 2009). Esto, dado que, al cumplir estas funciones gramaticales, la /s/ conlleva un significado semántico que se perdería si se eliminara. Aun así, cuando los marcadores de plural favo-

recen la retención de la /s/, las formas verbales de segunda persona singular tienden a favorecer la elisión de la /s/, y viceversa (Almeida y San Juan 1998; Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2002; Hundley 1987; Poplack 1980). En otras palabras, generalmente los plurales o formas verbales de segunda persona singular favorecen la elisión de la /s/, pero rara vez lo hacen ambos.

Esto puede ocurrir porque la ambigüedad gramatical potencialmente causada por la elisión de la /s/ se resuelve de alguna otra manera. En esta línea, las altas tasas de expresión para el pronombre sujeto de segunda persona singular *tú* parecen favorecer tasas más altas de elisión de la /s/, dado que la expresión de este pronombre elimina la ambigüedad que una /s/ elidida crearía (Hochberg 1986). Además, otros factores que covarían con el estatus morfológico, como el contexto fonológico y la frecuencia, a menudo son más decisivos para condicionar la variación, lo que lleva a cantidades inesperadamente altas de elisión de la /s/ funcionalmente importante en algunas poblaciones.

Otros factores, como el énfasis de la sílaba y diversas medidas de frecuencia, también han demostrado influir en la tasa de reducción de la /s/ en ciertos estudios. En particular, generalmente se encuentra que la /s/ dentro y antes de sílabas tónicas se elimina a tasas más bajas que la /s/ dentro y antes de sílabas átonas, donde las variantes aspiradas o elididas son más típicas (Alba 1990; Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2002, 2003; Lynch 2009; Terrell 1977, 1979). Por último, con respecto a la frecuencia, es más probable que se retenga la /s/ en palabras y formas gramaticales de baja frecuencia que en palabras y formas gramaticales de alta frecuencia (Brown, Gradoville et al. 2014; Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2002, 2003).

A pesar de ello, este hallazgo no siempre se ha replicado (Colina 2018) y a veces solo se encuentra en variedades ya caracterizadas por poca elisión de la /s/ (Brown, Gradoville et al. 2014). Además, los hablantes pueden ser conscientes del contexto fonológico en el que típicamente ocurre la /s/ implosiva, lo que lleva a tasas de elisión de la /s/ parcialmente dependientes de la frecuencia con la que la /s/ ocurre en contextos de reducción. Específicamente, Brown (2015) encontró que la /s/ al final de las palabras que aparecen con frecuencia en contextos fonológicos propicios para la reducción se reduce con más probabilidad que la /s/ al final de palabras que aparecen con frecuencia en contextos no favorables para la reducción.

La gente parece ser relativamente consciente de las asociaciones entre los factores

sociales y la reducción de la /s/, dado que tasas más altas de retención de la /s/ parecen indicar feminidad, educación y masculinidad no heteronormativa en muchos contextos (Mack 2010; Walker et al. 2014). En su estudio sobre el campo indexical de la /s/ entre hablantes mexicanxs y puertorriqueñxs, Walker et al. (2014) también encontraron que las altas tasas de retención de la /s/ estaban vinculadas con el estatus, especialmente para los mexicanos, y la amabilidad percibida. Paradójicamente, también encontraron que las mujeres mexicanas (aunque no lxs puertorriqueñxs ni los hombres mexicanos) veían la retención de la /s/ como un marcador de masculinidad heteronormativa (Walker et al. 2014), lo que sugiere que la relación entre la variación de la /s/ implosiva y las ideas sobre el género puede ser más complicada y multifacética en México que en otros países.

Por lo tanto, rastrear el vínculo entre la expresión de la /s/ final de la sílaba y la ideología de género expresada puede llevar a resultados más interesantes en el contexto mexicano de este estudio que en un contexto donde la relación entre la expresión de la /s/ final de la sílaba y el género es más clara. En algunas regiones con tasas muy altas de elisión de la /s/, la /s/ aspirada se ha convertido en la realización pre-determinada y no marcada y, por lo tanto, también puede estar asociada con factores sociales e indexicalidades similares a la /s/ retenida en variedades más conservadoras (Bolyanatz 2015; Pérez 2007). Sin embargo, dado que Juchitán está ubicado en un contexto geográfico donde se espera que la retención de la /s/ sea la variante más común, predigo que las observaciones anteriores sobre el significado social y la variación de la reducción de la /s/ se mantendrán allí.

Por su parte, Lipski (1994) observó que la variante dental retenida también suele ser más frecuente en las comunidades indígenas mexicanas, como Juchitán, que, en otras comunidades no indígenas, aunque esta observación solo se cumple para comunidades indígenas que adoptaron un número relativamente grande de préstamos del español donde el idioma español se introdujo temprano y lentamente en la región. Esta observación, junto con el hallazgo de que la /s/ se elide en comunidades de ascendencia africana a tasas comparativamente altas (Lipski 2007), podría llevar a la hipótesis de que la retención de la /s/ estaría vinculada no solo a identidades de género femeninas, sino también a identidades indígenas en mi muestra, con los muxes, debido a su identidad femenina indígena, siendo particularmente propensos a usar la variante retenida.

Esta posibilidad podría ser respaldada por la ubicación geográfica de Juchitán, porque, a pesar de estar ubicado cerca de una región costera con tasas relativamente altas de elisión de la /s/ (para México), Juchitán generalmente se describe como perteneciente a regiones dialectales caracterizadas por tasas bajas de elisión (Butragueño 2002, 2011, 2014; Lope Blanch 1970, 1971; Moreno de Alba 1994; Serrano 2019). Sin embargo, el uso generalizado del español en Juchitán ocurrió relativamente tarde en comparación con el resto de México, puesto que el zapoteco seguía siendo el único idioma hablado por la mayoría de lxs juchitecx hasta mediados de la década de los 1950 (Saynes-Vázquez 2002). Por lo tanto, Juchitán podría resultar ser una excepción a este patrón general (Lipski 1994).

De hecho, la tendencia exactamente opuesta, una relación entre la elisión de la /s/ y la identidad indígena, es quizá más probable en Juchitán. En Lima, esta relación ya se ha comprobado, porque lxs hablantes de ascendencia andina eran más propensxs a usar la variante elidida de la /s/ que lxs hablantes no andinxs, quienes usaban más a menudo la variante aspirada (Klee y Caravedo 2006). En este caso, el uso de la variante elidida por parte de lxs limeñxs de ascendencia andina se vinculó al contacto desproporcionado de la variedad con limeñxs no indígenas de clase baja, quienes tendían a usar la variante elidida (Klee y Caravedo 2006). Después de que esta variante fuera adoptada por lxs hablantes indígenas andinxs de lxs limeñxs no indígenas de clase baja, la variante elidida llegó a estar asociada con lxs hablantes andinxs, y la asociación anterior entre lxs hablantes andinxs y la variante retenida se perdió. Al mismo tiempo, la variante aspirada, al asociarse más exclusivamente con lxs limeñxs de origen no andino, se convirtió en un marcador de prestigio.

En tales contextos de contacto lingüístico y dialectal, que incluyen, aunque no se limiten, a este ejemplo en Lima, la redistribución de significados sociales es bastante común. En otras palabras, el contacto lingüístico y dialectal puede llevar a cambios drásticos en el campo indexical que rodea a una variable particular, haciendo que esa variable desarrolle nuevas funciones sociales (o lingüísticas) en variedades nuevas e híbridas (Britain y Trudgill 1999). Más allá de Lima, la variación en la /d/ y la /s/ se ha relacionado con significados sociales casi opuestos en situaciones de contacto lingüístico donde una variedad previamente prestigiosa se vinculaba con un grupo social estigmatizado (como en Waltermire (2010)), y hay motivos para creer que procesos similares pueden haber ocurrido en Juchitán también, donde la identidad indígena

puede haber perdido su vínculo con la retención de la /s/ y se haya vinculado con la elisión de la /s/.

En marcado contraste con el español, el zapoteco del istmo no distingue entre formas plurales y singulares de adjetivos o sustantivos (Pickett et al. 1998), lo que significa que, al adquirir el español, muchxs hablantes nativxs de zapoteco elidieron la /s/ en los plurales. Además, más allá del hecho de que algunxs hablantes en el Istmo de Tehuantepec eliden /s/ en esta posición, esta variación parece estar vinculada de manera saliente al uso del zapoteco en Juchitán y parece percibirse como un problema de competencia. Durante el trabajo de campo, se escucharon comentarios metalingüísticos en múltiples ocasiones que relacionaban la falta de la /s/ en la marcación de plurales con hablar bien el zapoteco o hablar mal el español. Debido a su supuesta variabilidad con la competencia entre los miembros de la comunidad, y, por lo tanto, con la identidad zapoteca y todo lo que implica, es probable que las ideologías lingüísticas pro-zapotecos también estén vinculadas a la variación en la elisión de la /s/.

En resumen, se esperaría que la expresión de la /s/ implosiva varíe con las ideologías de género y posiblemente incluso con las ideologías en torno a la identidad indígena –en este caso, zapoteca–, además de los otros factores sociales y lingüísticos mencionados. Con respecto a las ideologías lingüísticas, se puede predecir que la ideología expresada a favor del zapoteco estará vinculada a la elisión de la /s/ y la ideología expresada a favor del español monolingüe estará vinculada a la retención de la /s/. En cuanto al género y las ideologías de género, se hipotetiza que los hombres que expresan una ideología de género machista retendrán /s/ con menos frecuencia, seguidos por los hombres que expresan una ideología zapoteca de género.

De igual modo, se considera probable que lxs muxes y las mujeres, al expresar una ideología de género zapoteca o machista, retendrán la /s/ con aún más frecuencia, porque se espera que, al expresar estas ideologías, estxs hablantes piensen en su rechazo y desafiliación con la masculinidad y las ideas antifemeninas y, por lo tanto, quieran hablar de manera diferente a los hombres por retener la /s/ con más frecuencia. Estas predicciones implican una predicción adicional de que los hombres, lxs muxes y las mujeres que expresan ideologías de género igualitarias retendrán /s/ en tasas intermedias. Para una descripción de estas ideologías y cómo se decidió estudiarlas, consulte la sección 1.6, y, para los resultados del análisis de la variación de la /s/ implosiva, consulte las secciones 6.1, 6.2 y 6.3.

3.3 El género gramatical referencial

En las lenguas humanas, al hablar de referentes humanxs, el género del referente humano a menudo se marca a través de términos que indican el género directamente, incluidos tanto los ítems léxicos de género como, en muchas lenguas, el género gramatical en partes del discurso. En español, una lengua con género gramatical, los adjetivos referenciales, ciertos determinantes, y ciertos pronombres y sustantivos que se refieren a personas específicas en el contexto conversacional están marcados con terminaciones de género gramatical (típicamente *o* para adjetivos masculinos y *a* para adjetivos femeninos). Aunque los marcadores de género gramatical referencial atribuidos a individuos específicos no suelen variar en las lenguas con género gramatical y, por lo tanto, rara vez se analizan en estudios variacionistas, hay razones para creer que la variación en el género gramatical referencial no solo existe en el español de Juchitán, sino que también sufre una influencia importante de varios factores sociales.

Como se establece con más claridad a continuación, la variación en los marcadores de género gramatical en Juchitán parece estar vinculada a los estilos de habla de lxs muxes y al hecho de hablar una lengua indígena. En consecuencia, se decidió delimitar el contexto variable de la concordancia de género gramatical referencial, en lugar de todo caso de potencial concordancia de género gramatical, porque la variación potencialmente vinculada a ser muxe parece limitarse principalmente al género gramatical para referentes humanos, mientras que la falta de concordancia de género gramatical vinculada al hecho de hablar una lengua indígena ocurre en una gama más amplia de contextos. Por lo tanto, delimitar el género gramatical referencial como un contexto variable me permite incluir tanto la variación del género gramatical vinculada a la capacidad de hablar el zapoteco como la variación vinculada a la identidad muxe.

Al respecto, se ha establecido en la literatura que algunxs juchitecxs usan el género gramatical de manera no estándar, variando entre formas masculinas y femeninas, de maneras que típicamente se considerarían falta de concordancia y que, por lo tanto, son muy poco estándar y bien marcadas en español. Este tipo de variación, que también se encuentra en otras comunidades indígenas mexicanas, se ha descrito como un problema de competencia, atribuido generalmente a las dificultades comunes de lxs hablantes nativxs de lenguas sin género al tratar de adquirir el español. Dado que la mayoría de las lenguas indígenas latinoamericanas, al igual que el inglés, carecen de

género gramatical, se han atestiguado los mismos patrones de falta de concordancia a lo largo del continente americano donde se habla español.

Además, estos casos de falta de concordancia de género gramatical en hablantes de español como segunda lengua suelen explicarse como problemas relacionados con la adquisición del género como un aspecto de la gramática interna de lxs hablantes, la transferencia gramatical al español desde la otra lengua, o al recordar qué ítems están asignados a qué género. Dado que el zapoteco del istmo también es una lengua que generalmente carece de distinciones de género gramatical, la falta de concordancia de género entre lxs hablantes de zapoteco del istmo en Juchitán proporciona más evidencia para esta hipótesis. De hecho, el hecho de que, al igual que otras lenguas indígenas mexicanas, el zapoteco del istmo carezca de género gramatical apunta a la probabilidad de que la falta de concordancia de género gramatical en el español de Juchitán exista y pueda estar vinculada a la competencia en la adquisición del español.

Sin descartar esta explicación para la variación en la concordancia de género en Juchitán, se propone que, en contextos indígenas mexicanos como Juchitán, el género gramatical variable podría estar vinculado a las ideologías que rodean a las lenguas indígenas. Específicamente, el orgullo por la identidad indígena y, por lo tanto, las lenguas indígenas pueden estar relacionados con una menor frecuencia de concordancia en el género gramatical. Los resultados que justifican esta hipótesis se pueden encontrar en un estudio sobre el uso de la falta de concordancia de género gramatical en el holandés por parte de inmigrantes a Países Bajos. Cornips y Hulk (2008) encontraron que, aunque la falta de concordancia de género gramatical parecía comenzar como un problema de competencia (lxs principiantes en holandés cometían errores gramaticales debido a su falta de competencia nativa en el idioma), muchxs inmigrantes continuaban usando la concordancia de género no estándar, incluso después de adquirir una competencia en el idioma que se asemejaban a la de un/a hablante nativx.

Notablemente, lxs inmigrantes de grupos salientes de migrantes (de origen turco y árabe) continuaron usando la falta de concordancia, mientras que los miembros de grupos de inmigrantes menos salientes (principalmente hablantes nativxs de inglés) adquirieron una tasa de concordancia de género gramatical similar al de lxs hablantes nativxs. Esto ocurrió a pesar de que el árabe hace múltiples distinciones de género gramatical, lo que se esperaría que facilitara su adquisición del género gramatical en holandés, y el turco y el inglés hacen pocas distinciones de género en su gramática, lo

que haría que sus patrones de habla fueran similares si solo la adquisición explicara el fenómeno. Por lo tanto, al preguntarles por qué no usan patrones de concordancia de género gramatical estándar, algunxs inmigrantes invocaron factores sociales explícitamente, vinculando, por ejemplo, contextos formales con la concordancia de género gramatical estándar y “salir con amigos” con el uso no estándar (Cornips y Hulk 2008). Sería interesante ver en qué medida los factores sociales están vinculados a la variación en la concordancia de género gramatical en contextos más allá de Países Bajos, sobre todo en contextos indígenas mexicanos.

Ahora bien, se ha realizado un estudio similar sobre el español hablado por bilingües en español y purépecha, una lengua indígena hablada en la provincia mexicana de Michoacán (Díaz Barajas y Orozco 2019). Similar al estudio holandés, este estudio ha encontrado una relación entre los factores sociales y los patrones de concordancia de género gramatical. Sin descartar completamente la importancia de los niveles de competencia en español y la transferencia gramatical del purépecha, una lengua sin género gramatical, al español, el estudio también enfatiza cómo el género, la edad, la historia de migración, el nivel de educación y la actitud hacia el español y el purépecha influyen en las tasas de concordancia de género. Específicamente, los hombres y lxs hablantes con niveles más altos de educación usaron más frecuentemente la concordancia de género que las mujeres y lxs hablantes con niveles más bajos de educación.

De otra parte, lxs hablantes más jóvenes y lxs que adquirieron el español a una edad más temprana usaron la concordancia de género más frecuentemente que lxs hablantes más viejxs y aquellxs que adquirieron el español más tarde en la vida. Adicionalmente, lxs hablantes que habían vivido por un periodo más largo fuera de la comunidad también usaron la concordancia de género con mayor frecuencia que aquellxs que habían emigrado por periodos más cortos (o no lo habían hecho en absoluto) (Díaz Barajas y Orozco 2019).

Finalmente, lxs hablantes que tenían actitudes más positivas hacia el purépecha también usaron menos la concordancia de género, en comparación con lxs hablantes con actitudes más positivas hacia el español (Díaz Barajas y Orozco 2019). Por eso, mientras que los resultados sobre el género, la edad, la historia de migración y el nivel de educación podrían relacionarse con la competencia (lxs hablantes más jóvenes, masculinos y altamente educadxs generalmente tenían mayor contacto con el español monolingüe, especialmente si habían vivido fuera de la comunidad durante más tiem-

po, y, por lo tanto, tenían mayor competencia en español), el factor basado en la actitud no se podría vincular de ninguna manera con la competencia. En cambio, parecía que una ideología pro-purépecha estaba correlacionada con menores tasas de concordancia de género gramatical, mientras que una ideología pro-español monolingüe estaba vinculada con lo opuesto.

Dado que una ideología pro-español monolingüe estaba vinculada con una mayor concordancia de género gramatical en esta comunidad indígena, se esperaría que, en Juchitán, una ideología pro-español monolingüe también estuviera vinculada con una mayor concordancia de género gramatical. En consecuencia, al mencionar esta ideología ocasionalmente mantenida en Juchitán, también se hipotetizaría que las tasas de falta de concordancia en el género gramatical serían más altas cuando se exprese una ideología pro-zapoteco que cuando se expresen una ideología pro-español monolingüe, dado que se sospecha que las personas también usarían tasas de variables vinculadas a ideologías mantenidas al mencionar las ideologías.

Con respecto a los factores lingüísticos, la literatura sobre la variación en la concordancia de género, aunque escasa, ha mostrado algunos patrones sobre qué factores conducen a tasas más altas de falta de concordancia de género. Estos factores incluyen la distribución, el estado morfológico, el género del controlador y el número tanto del controlado como del controlador. Además, la frase nominal que contiene el controlado también puede influir en la variación en la concordancia de género, con controlados en una frase nominal predicativa o de objeto directo (es decir, en el ejemplo inventado con el controlador *mujer* y el controlado *contento*: “la mujer está contento”), a menudo dando lugar a tasas más altas de falta de concordancia que aquellas en posiciones de sujeto u otras posiciones de objeto (es decir, para el controlado *la*, “la mujer está contenta” y “estoy con la mujer contenta”) (Díaz Barajas y Orozco 2019).

A continuación, se ilustra cómo se ven los factores lingüísticos restantes en la siguiente discusión de los hallazgos en la literatura, para lo cual se utilizan variantes de la oración de ejemplo, esto es, “el muxe es discriminado”, donde *muxe* es el controlador con los controlados *el* y *discriminado*. Específicamente, los controladores con género gramatical femenino (*la muxe*) también estaban asociados con tasas más bajas de concordancia de género que los controladores masculinos en Díaz Barajas y Orozco (2019). Además, como también podría esperarse en el caso del español, dado que el género masculino se utiliza a menudo como forma genérica en español, Levon (2012)

encontró que, en hebreo, los controladores y controlados en plural (*los muxes* en lugar de *el muxe*) condicionaban fuertemente el uso del género gramatical masculino. Asimismo, con respecto a la distribución, Levon (2012) encontró para el hebreo que los controladores y controlados adyacentes (en el ejemplo español, *el muxe*) eran más frecuentemente masculinos que los no adyacentes (*muxe* y *discriminada* en “el muxe es discriminada”). En cuanto al estado morfológico, Díaz Barajas y Orozco (2019) encontraron que los controlados pronominales (*el muxe* como *ella* luego en el discurso) coinciden menos con los controladores que los controlados sustantivos (*ella* como *vendedora* luego en el discurso). A su vez, los controlados adjetivales (*discriminado*) coinciden más frecuentemente con sus controladores, y los controlados o artículos (*el*) coinciden aún más frecuentemente con sus controladores.

Este último hallazgo parece estar relacionado con el primero, aunque se estudian diferentes idiomas, puesto que los estados morfológicos que conducen a una mayor concordancia de género en Díaz Barajas y Orozco (2019) están asociados con pares de controlador-controlado adyacentes, es decir, los controlados de artículos casi siempre están adyacentes a sus controladores, mientras que aquellos que conducen a una menor concordancia de género están más a menudo asociados con pares de controlador-controlado no adyacentes, es decir, los pronombres a menudo están solos. Además, tanto en hebreo como en español, parece que el uso del género gramatical masculino es más frecuente en general que el femenino. Teniendo en cuenta los hallazgos de ambos estudios, parece que la distribución adyacente debería conducir más a menudo a tasas altas de concordancia de género gramatical entre controladores gramaticalmente masculinos y controlados masculinos.

En la literatura, el uso del género gramatical referencial de los muxes rara vez se menciona explícitamente. En la presente revisión de la literatura, se han encontrado algunas discusiones sobre el sustantivo *muxe* en sí mismo, que parece adoptar un género gramatical variable, y una nota al pie sobre el uso del género gramatical referencial autorreferencial de los muxes. El sustantivo *muxe* parece ser generalmente masculino cuando se utiliza para referirse a los muxes que se presentan de manera masculina o andrógina (*el muxe*), mientras que la palabra *muxes* se trata como un sustantivo femenino al referirse a muxes, típicamente muxes gunaa, que prefieren vestirse como mujeres (*la muxe*) (Laaksonen 2016).

Aunque las formas en plural de la palabra *muxe* pueden ser tanto masculinas como

femeninas, dependiendo del grupo de muxes al que se refiere la palabra (Laaksonen 2016), la forma plural masculina parece ser mucho más común, quizá debido a la práctica generalizada de plurales masculinos genéricos en español para referirse a grupos mixtos de hombres y mujeres. Anecdóticamente, parece que las muxes también son más propensas a usar el género gramatical femenino para referirse a sí mismas y a otras muxes que el género gramatical masculino, tal vez porque la mayoría de las muxes se ven a sí mismas como más femeninas que masculinas (Barbosa 2016).

Por lo tanto, a pesar de la falta de investigación más específica sobre cómo lxs muxes usan y perciben otras formas de género gramatical referencial, como el uso del género gramatical en adjetivos, se hipotetizaría que lxs muxes son similares a otros grupos llamados “tercer género” de esta manera. Es decir, se esperaría que generalmente utilicen el género gramatical femenino para referirse a sí mismas en entornos informales y ocasionalmente utilicen el género gramatical masculino de maneras socialmente importantes e/o ideológicas. También se esperaría, sin embargo, que las personas externas a la comunidad, al igual que para lxs hijras en la India (Hall y O’Donovan 1996), tiendan a usar la forma masculina de los adjetivos con más frecuencia para referirse a lxs muxes, y Barbosa (2016) también ha señalado que las personas mayores se refieren casi exclusivamente a lxs muxes con el masculino. Los muxes vestidos como hombres también tienden a referirse con el género gramatical masculino (Barbosa 2016).

Siguiendo el comportamiento observado entre lxs hijras, otra identidad no masculina ni femenina en la India, es probable que lxs muxes utilicen de manera variable el género gramatical referencial para expresar una gran variedad de posturas ideológicas. En las comunidades hijras indias estudiadas, lxs hijras no necesariamente se refieren a sí mismxs ni a otrxs con marcadores de género gramatical consistentes. En su lugar, hubo una variación entre los marcadores de género gramatical que utilizaron según factores contextuales e ideológicos (Hall y O’Donovan 1996). Por ejemplo, lxs hijras generalmente usaban género gramatical referencial femenino entre sí como marcador de solidaridad, lo que hacía que su uso ocasional de género gramatical referencial masculino fuera altamente marcado y asociado con posturas con connotaciones negativas (por ejemplo, insultantes), así como con posturas ideológicamente masculinas adoptadas con fines enfáticos (Hall y O’Donovan 1996).

En ese sentido, dado que lxs muxes, al igual que lxs hijras, son miembros de un grupo social que no se considera ni femenino ni masculino, no sería sorprendente ver

que lxs muxes utilicen de manera variable el género gramatical referencial femenino y masculino dependiendo de los elementos contextuales de la interacción. Esta suposición se ve respaldada aún más por el comportamiento lingüístico de lxs travestis, dado que algunxs muxes podrían considerarse a sí mismxs travestis o tener cierta afinidad con ese grupo social. “Travesti” es una identidad específica de América Latina que se refiere a individuos biológicamente masculinos que asumen una expresión de género femenina y ciertos roles de género femeninos sin identificarse como mujeres. La etiqueta es bastante amplia, pues se refiere a individuos con una variedad de identidades de género y sexuales más específicas.

Al igual que las hijras, se ha demostrado que las travestis en Brasil prefieren emplear el género gramatical referencial femenino como variante no marcada para distinguirse de los hombres (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997). Los travestis optan en su lugar por el género gramatical referencial masculino cuando narran eventos de su infancia antes de adoptar la identidad de travesti, cuando quieren distanciarse de otros travestis y también cuando el referente participa en una acción ideológicamente masculina, como pagar por sexo o asumir el rol de activo en el sexo anal u oral (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997).

Siguiendo estas líneas, en una variedad de contextos latinoamericanos, otros hombres no normativos en cuanto a género, individuos transfemeninos y también hombres en organizaciones políticas de izquierda mixtas, pero en su mayoría femeninas, también han sido referidas con género gramatical referencial femenino y utilizan este género gramatical para realizar importantes funciones grupales (Bengoechea 2015; Eller 2013; Gagné y Rodríguez 2006; Vacarezza 2018; Vargas Cervantes 2014). Por lo tanto, es muy probable que lxs muxes utilicen de manera variable el género gramatical referencial, y quizá por razones socialmente significativas similares. Dado que muchos de estos factores que influyen en la variación del género gramatical están vinculados a las ideologías de género –es decir, las posturas ideológicamente masculinas se marcan con el género gramatical masculino y la identidad no masculina se marca con el género gramatical femenino–, se esperaría que la ideología de género expresada se relacione cuantitativamente con el género gramatical referencial también.

Otro estudio sobre la variación en el género gramatical referencial en las formas verbales del nepalí ha mostrado vínculos entre esta variación y la ideología de género de manera más explícita. Específicamente, en áreas más urbanizadas de Nepal, donde

las ideologías de género igualitarias eran la norma, las mujeres nepalíes jóvenes, que supuestamente apoyaban estas ideologías de género igualitarias, tendían a usar menos concordancia de género que lxs hablantes que respaldaban las ideologías patriarcales tradicionales de Nepal (Upadhyay 2009). Aunque la autora no trató la ideología *per se* como un factor social, la ideología sirvió de una explicación convincente de esta variación, porque la ideología mantenida era el principal factor general que distinguía a los diversos grupos sociales que utilizaban la variante innovadora, la no concordancia de género, de los diversos grupos sociales que utilizaban la variante conservadora, la concordancia de género.

Por lo tanto, en Juchitán, es probable que esta variación también se vincule a la ideología de género, dadas la complicada situación de lxs muxes en la ciudad, la relación entre la variación del género gramatical referencial y las ideologías de género en otros contextos y la variabilidad alta del uso del género gramatical por otros grupos no normativos en cuanto a género (Barbosa 2016; Bengoechea 2015; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Gagné y Rodríguez 2006; Hall 2013; Hall y O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997; Laaksonen 2016; Vacarezza 2018; Vargas Cervantes 2014). Con esto se hipotetiza, específicamente en cuanto a la ideología de género, que la zapoteca expresada condicionaría la no concordancia en el género gramatical y que la ideología machista conduciría a un mayor uso de marcadores de género masculino para referirse a lxs muxes.

3.4 Dos contextos variables posibles para el género gramatical

Al comenzar con la preparación para analizar la variación del género gramatical en el español de Juchitán, se pensó que la variación referencial del género gramatical puede separarse en dos variables particulares con diferentes contextos variables. Ambas pueden corresponder a una gran cantidad de variación en la muestra y pueden ser interesantes de estudiar en el español de Juchitán. Se hace referencia a la primera de estas como (falta de) concordancia de género gramatical referencial y a la otra como asignación de género gramatical referencial, a la que a veces se denomina como referencia femenina o masculina. Por un lado, el rango de variación para la primera de estas variables puede definirse como la variación entre la concordancia de género (los géneros del controlador y el controlado coinciden) y la no concordancia de género (los géneros del controlador y el controlado no coinciden). Por otro lado, la segunda

de estas variables, la asignación de género, puede definirse como la variación entre elementos gramaticalmente masculinos y elementos gramaticalmente femeninos que se refieren al/la mismx referente.

La relación entre dos elementos en una unidad donde hay una potencial concordancia de género gramatical se denomina relación entre el controlador y el controlado. Correspondiendo de alguna manera a la variable lingüística en un estudio de variación, el controlado es el elemento que recibe la concordancia de género de otro elemento o que, en otras palabras, debería coincidir con el género gramatical de otro elemento. El controlador, por otro lado, es el otro elemento que determina qué género gramatical adoptará el controlado (Corbett 1991). Si bien puede haber múltiples controlados para cada controlador, no puede haber múltiples controladores por controlado.

Un ejemplo ilustrativo se puede encontrar en la frase de ejemplo mencionada en la sección 3.3, “el muxe es discriminado”. En esta frase, *muxe* es un controlador con dos controlados, *el* y *discriminado*, donde ambos adoptan el género gramatical masculino porque *muxe* cognitivamente se procesa como un elemento léxico masculino en este ejemplo. En este estudio, se abordaron los controladores indeterminados, como este, codificando su relación de manera diferente a como se haría con casos de (falta de) concordancia, como se explica en la sección 5.6. Un ejemplo claro de concordancia de género entre controlador y controlado sería en la frase “ellos son discriminados”, en la que el controlado masculino *discriminados* concuerda con el controlador masculino *ellos*. Un ejemplo de no concordancia de género podría ser “ellos son discriminadas”, donde el controlado *discriminados* es femenino, por lo cual no concuerda con el controlador masculino *ellos*.

En términos de relaciones controlador-controlado, la concordancia de género puede entenderse como una coincidencia entre los géneros del controlador y el controlado, la no concordancia de género como una discrepancia entre los géneros del controlador y el controlado, y los casos indeterminados como una falta de claridad con respecto a esta coincidencia. Esta falta de claridad puede surgir tanto por la presencia de un controlador que puede tener múltiples géneros (*muxe*, *estudiante*, *hablante*) o debido a un controlador implícito (un pronombre de sujeto no expresado). La (no) concordancia de género se estudia implícitamente en trabajos de variación que consideran que la competencia lingüística explica la variación observada en una dada comunidad, puesto que estos estudios presentan sus hallazgos en términos de tasas de (falta de) concor-

dancia de género. Además, los estudios de (falta de) concordancia de género tampoco se limitan a referentes humanxs, porque todos (o prácticamente todos) los sustantivos tienen género gramatical en los idiomas en los que se realizan estos estudios (español, holandés y nepalí).

Adicionalmente, la asignación de género se estudia implícitamente en estudios antropológicos cualitativos sobre grupos LGBT y los llamados terceros géneros, como los muxes. En la asignación de género, el género gramatical de los controlados y controladores que se utilizan para hablar sobre la misma persona o personas a veces puede ser femenino y otras veces masculino. Por ejemplo, en el ejemplo “yo me llamo Enrique, pero me llaman Kika, y estoy encantada de conocerte”, el controlador *Enrique* es masculino, el controlador *Kika* es femenino y el controlado *encantada* es femenino (y modifica al controlador *yo*). En cada caso, el elemento léxico asigna a la referente muxe un género gramatical diferente, aunque el referente aparentemente no haya cambiado su identidad o expresión de género.

En términos de relaciones controlador-controlado, se podría decir que los estudios de asignación de género tratan a todos los controladores y controlados como variables separadas, en lugar de tratarlos como una unidad. Dado que tanto un controlador como un controlado suelen tener una asignación de género gramatical clara, la distinción entre controlador y controlado es menos importante para estos estudios. Debido a que los conceptos de “controlador” y “controlado” son correspondientemente menos útiles para esta variable, también presentan menos problemas que algunas palabras tengan múltiples géneros asignables o que a veces los controladores sean implícitos, debido a que las palabras con múltiples géneros asignables pueden excluirse y se puede medir el género gramatical sin depender de un controlador, sea este implícito o no.

Sin embargo, para esta variable, a diferencia de la (no) concordancia de género, el/la referente debe ser humanx, o al menos animadx, porque la variación ocurre típicamente en los controlados que modifican elementos léxicos que se refieren a referentes identificadxs como LGBT o tercer género, es decir, en *la muxe* vs. *el muxe*, el controlado que se refiere al controlador de tercer género *muxe* puede ser tanto el femenino *la* como el masculino *el*. En contraste, lxs referentes inanimadxs, por ser inanimadxs, no tienen género (no gramatical), y por ello necesariamente carecen de la identidad o la expresión de género potencialmente no binaria que motivaría estos patrones de variación.

Asimismo, los estudios variacionistas anteriores, hasta donde se tiene conocimien-

to, han pasado por alto en gran medida la asignación de género en favor de la (no) concordancia de género, mientras que los estudios cualitativos han tendido hacia el enfoque opuesto. Sin embargo, aunque la investigación variacionista anterior se ha centrado solo en la (no) concordancia de género, un estudio sobre la asignación de género podría ser innovador y confirmar algunas observaciones encontradas en la investigación cualitativa. En este estudio, por lo tanto, se realiza inicialmente un análisis preliminar de ambas variables antes de decidir si estudiarlas a la vez o elegir solo una. Se tomó esta decisión considerando si cada variable tenía una cantidad suficiente de variación para que se pudiera realizar un estudio variacionista y si los resultados iniciales, al observar a lxs primerxs hablantes, parecían prometedores.

De igual modo, se decidió analizar ambas variables inicialmente porque ambas pueden estudiarse examinando el mismo conjunto de datos, siempre que todos los controladores y controlados sean animados y se incluya el género gramatical de cada uno. Dado que ambas condiciones se aplican al estudio, se pensó que no debería haber ningún *token* que no se pudiera analizar para ambas variables, pero también se dejó abierta la posibilidad de cambiar el enfoque de todxs lxs referentes animadxs a solo referentes muxe, en el caso de que solo hubiera una cantidad suficientemente grande de variación para lxs referentes muxes. La variable o las variables que se incluyen en el estudio, así como la pregunta sobre si se excluyen lxs referentes no identificadxs como muxe, se exploran en secciones posteriores.

Capítulo 4

Metodología: la recopilación y revisión de los datos

4.1 Vista panorámica del capítulo

Es necesario comenzar este Capítulo con un recordatorio del objetivo de este proyecto de investigación, que es investigar la variación sociolingüística y, en particular, el efecto de las ideologías expresadas en esta variación, en Juchitán, México. Para investigar esto empíricamente, se necesitaba obtener grandes cantidades de datos naturalistas de personas en Juchitán, con una variedad de perfiles de competencia lingüística e identidades de género, donde se expresaban múltiples ideologías mencionadas con respecto al género y a la lengua.

Para obtener estos datos, se necesitaba encontrar una diversa gama de participantes en Juchitán, registrar datos relativamente naturalistas de estas personas, asegurar que suficientes ideologías mencionadas ocurrieran en los datos, y hacer otras observaciones sobre la lengua y el género en Juchitán. Con este fin, se desarrollaron dos periodos de trabajo de campo en Juchitán. El primero duró una semana y se dedicó a realizar observaciones y establecer contactos preliminares, el segundo duró nueve semanas y se dedicó a recopilar datos de entrevistas y tomar notas de campo con observaciones etnográficas sobre la lengua y el género. Inicialmente previsto para el verano de 2020, el segundo periodo de trabajo de campo se trasladó al invierno de 2020-2021 y se acortó en duración debido a la pandemia de COVID-19.

Para obtener datos lingüísticos, primero se reclutó a los participantes a través de una versión adaptada del muestreo de bola de nieve para incluir a miembros del círculo social basado en Juchitán sin sacrificar excesivamente la representatividad y la diversidad de la muestra. Al final, se incluyeron 56 participantes, con quienes se hicieron entrevistas semiguías diseñadas para aproximarse a conversaciones naturales sobre temas relacionados con ideologías lingüísticas y de género de potencial relevancia local. El consentimiento informado se obtuvo de acuerdo con las normas de la comunidad, mediante el uso de un relato oral honesto, pero simplificado, para explicar los propósitos de la investigación (Goldstein 2014). Para más detalles sobre cómo se obtuvo el consentimiento oral y otros aspectos éticos del proceso de investigación, véase la sección 4.8.

Igualmente, para especificar qué ideologías lingüísticas y de género eran de relevancia local en Juchitán, y para describir mejor estas ideologías, el investigador realizó observaciones etnográficas durante la estancia en Juchitán, y la mayoría de estas se escribieron en notas de campo. La etnografía es un término resbaladizo para definir, en tanto que lxs investigadorxs de muchos orígenes disciplinarios diferentes utilizan el término y, en consecuencia, existen diferentes definiciones (Gobo 2011; Hammersley 2006, 2018). Dicho esto, la etnografía suele concebirse como una estrategia metodológica (Hammersley 2018) en la que la observación es clave.

Por otro lado, la etnografía puede implicar observación no participante, donde el/la investigador/a observa a los sujetos a distancia, pero más a menudo implica observación participante, donde el/la investigador/a tiene una relación directa con los actores sociales que observa (Gobo 2011; Hammersley 2018). Además, según Hammersley (2018), la mayoría de las definiciones de etnografía consideran que el proceso se da a relativamente largo plazo, que el enfoque es holístico, que este se destina a documentar “lo que realmente sucede”, que se centra en los significados que las personas dan a su entorno, y que implica la triangulación. Esta última implica el uso de múltiples fuentes de datos en conjunto para documentar los mismos fenómenos en una variedad de contextos (Hammersley 2006, 2018), lo que permite al/la investigador/a obtener un mejor sentido de los significados sociales más amplios y evitar centrarse en fenómenos relativamente poco importantes que subjetivamente le parecen llamativos.

Para realizar observaciones etnográficas, el/la investigador/a necesita construir un relato de lo observado que, aunque arraigado en la propia subjetividad, también se base en una indagación sistemática, contenga descripciones sistemáticas y se justifique sobre la base de las evidencias observadas (Heller 2008). Hacer observaciones y escribir este tipo de relatos puede ser una forma útil de obtener descripciones y explicaciones profundas de los fenómenos en toda su complejidad y sin dejar de lado las contradicciones (Heller 2008). Dado que las ideologías lingüísticas y de género, especialmente dentro del presente marco teórico, son fenómenos complejos y contradictorios, fue necesario hacer observaciones etnográficas y algunas descripciones y explicaciones para llegar a las ideologías que eran localmente relevantes en Juchitán.

El trabajo etnográfico de calidad tiende a comenzar con una pregunta de investigación (Heller 2008). En este caso, la pregunta etnográfica se determinó desde la pregunta variacionista más amplia, para lo cual se necesitó averiguar, primero, qué ideologías

lingüísticas y de género eran de relevancia local, y, segundo, qué creencias, comportamientos y posturas se relacionaban con tales ideologías en el contexto de Juchitán. Para responder a estas preguntas, se realizó un trabajo etnográfico con observaciones, escribiendo notas, triangulando esta información con la de otras investigaciones.

De ese modo, dichas observaciones, destinadas a responder las preguntas, abarcaron temas que incluían, entre otros, los siguientes: cómo reaccionaba la gente ante la presentación del género de la investigadora y su uso de la lengua, cómo hablaba la gente con y sobre personas con diferentes identidades de género y competencias lingüísticas, los patrones de género y uso de la lengua en diferentes lugares, y las normas y los tabúes relativos a la lengua, la sexualidad y el género. La forma y el contenido de estas observaciones y notas de campo se detallan en la sección 4.2. Luego, estas observaciones y notas se compararon con investigaciones anteriores y datos de entrevistas para revisar la lista de ideologías potencialmente relevantes en Juchitán. A través de esta revisión, se identificó qué ideologías de género y lenguaje eran localmente relevantes en Juchitán, los cuales se describieron con mayor detalle.

De esa manera, se tiene que las secciones subsiguientes explican y reflexionan sobre el proceso de reclutamiento de participantes, los métodos de recolección de datos (entrevistas semiguías y observaciones etnográficas), y la identificación de ideologías lingüísticas y de género localmente relevantes con más detalle. Cabe empezar con un relato detallado del tiempo que se pasó recopilando los datos en Juchitán sobre aspectos prácticos y etnográficos de la investigación, entrelazados a propósito unos con otros, por lo que a veces resultaba difícil visualizar las fronteras entre la etnografía, la recopilación de datos variacionista y las experiencias personales éticamente relevantes.

Con ello, se eligió establecer fronteras poco claras para evocar, efectivamente, lo poco claras que a menudo estaban en el campo. Para ello, la recopilación de datos variacionistas a menudo ofrecía la oportunidad de realizar observaciones etnográficas, y estas experiencias “científicas” solían tener implicaciones personales con consecuencias éticas para todxs lxs participantes. Con base en las observaciones etnográficas presentadas, así como en otras evidencias, se identificaron y describieron las ideologías de género y lingüísticas que son de particular relevancia para la muestra. Al final de este capítulo, se muestra el proceso de llevar a cabo y grabar las entrevistas semidirigidas, así como las cuestiones éticas que se sortearon y los problemas que surgieron durante las entrevistas.

4.2 La recopilación de datos: llegada a Juchitán

Para conocer a los primeros contactos y facilitar mi integración en la comunidad durante mi trabajo de campo, me quedé en Juchitán la primera semana completa de enero de 2020 en un Airbnb dirigido por dos sociólogos. Uno de ellos, que estudió la revitalización de la lengua zapoteca, me presentó al primer contacto en la comunidad, quien además me ayudó a conocer a posibles participantes para las entrevistas, sobre todo a personas de los barrios más ideológicamente indígenas, también conocidos como “secciones” (sección 1.4), de Juchitán. Además, a través de Couchsurfing¹, conocí a una persona, a quien llamaré Sasuke, que trabajaba como joyero e instructor de artes marciales, accedió a entrevistarse cuando volviera a Juchitán y a ayudarme a conocer a más gente.

Sasuke también encontró el apartamento de la segunda sección en el que me alojé durante el periodo más largo del trabajo de campo. Como creció entre la séptima y la segunda sección de Juchitán, tener contacto con él me ayudó a establecer algunos contactos tanto en la séptima sección, dominante en zapoteco, como en la segunda sección, más acomodada y mestiza. En total, pude mantener el contacto con tres personas de Juchitán que había conocido durante la estancia preliminar, quienes me ayudaron a conocer a posibles participantes en las entrevistas.

Mientras estuve en Juchitán la primera vez, pasé tiempo caminando por la ciudad, observando los mercados y otros centros de la vida de la ciudad, y conociendo a potenciales participantes a través de mis contactos iniciales. En este primer viaje, tomé notas de campo etnográficas en mi computadora cada dos noches con información que sería útil para encontrar participantes y/o identificar ideologías lingüísticas, de género y de otros temas relevantes para la vida de la comunidad. En el segundo viaje, continué escribiendo este tipo de apuntes de campo, añadiendo nuevas entradas cada semana más o menos, con el fin de identificar y describir las ideologías localmente relevantes que mencionaban en las entrevistas. Mis notas de campo etnográficas también contenían anotaciones prácticas sobre la búsqueda de participantes, pero se enfocaban en el comportamiento de las personas en relación con la lengua y el género, junto con refle-

¹Couchsurfing es una comunidad en línea donde los miembros ofrecen a los visitantes un lugar donde alojarse a cambio de compañía e intercambio cultural. Utilicé la plataforma con frecuencia a principios de mis veinte años tanto para alojar a gente (dejar que la gente se quedara en mi casa) como para viajar (quedarme en las casas de otras personas) y desde entonces la he utilizado ocasionalmente para conocer a gente en lugares donde conozco a poca gente.

xiones sobre mis propias reacciones al verme inmerso en este entorno ideológico. Para ver ejemplos de cada una de estas tres categorías de apuntes de campo, consulte las Figuras 4.1, 4.2 y 4.3, respectivamente.

The sample seems a bit skewed towards middle class people, people with education, and people who are less socially liberal (more conservative). However, I'm working on addressing those gaps and do not think they will be large enough to present a problem. The last five muxes I'd like to get are elusive so far, but perhaps I'll get two interviews with muxes on Wednesday. The uncertainty is

Figura 4.1: Apuntes de campo prácticos - en cuanto a la búsqueda de participantes

besondere für Männer und Muxes. Viele Leute kann nicht verstehen warum ich möchte nur Sex mit meinem Freund haben, und nicht mit andere Leute als er nicht da ist. Untreue ist gesehen als nur problematisch wenn es herausgefunden ist. Anderswo kann es nicht schaden. Aquí los secretos bien guardados no lastiman. 比中国的面子的文化很像。秘密不让你丢脸。但是，告诉人受伤的密码让你丢脸。

Es peligroso salir a solas en la noche. Muchos dicen que no era así antes; es un peligro que surgió en las últimas décadas a causa de las actividades de los carteles. Mucha gente, de cualquier género, incluso yo, tenemos miedo de salir

Figura 4.2: Apuntes de campo que reflejan el comportamiento de la gente

Ich merke dass ich angefangen habe Juchitecas Ansichten anzunehmen. Ich gucke neugierig zweimal an güeros und negros die ich sehe. Ich finde es normaler Muxes zu sehen und betrachte sie als weder Männer noch Frauen in gewissen Sinn. Ich denke mehr auf Spanisch als auf Englisch. Ich nehme auch Verantwortlichkeit Weg und gebe Dinge viel mehr Kraft mir zu beeinflussen. Ich denke an diese Artikel von Kiras Klasse über Indigene Ideologien in wem Objekte haben Ihres eigenes Einfluss. Ich gehe oft spät zu Meetings und schaue nicht so oft an die Zeit an. Ich betrachte Untreue als verstandbarer.

The way that people see time outside of North Europe and the Anglosphere is very hard for me to adapt to. Even though I am getting lots of interviews in a short period of time, there are lots of no-shows and late arrivals and sudden cancelations. It makes it hard to plan but also hard to improvise somehow. I still get annoyed by last minute cancellations, but here I am adjusting too. I recently cancelled a plan by saying that an imprevisto surgió.

Figura 4.3: Apuntes de campo que reflexionan sobre mis reacciones ante las situaciones

Asimismo, durante el periodo inicial de trabajo de campo, prácticamente todo lo que observé en relación con la posición social de lxs muxes, a tres de los cuales conocí personalmente, las normas de género y la identidad y la lengua zapotecas. Pude comprobar esto al triangular la información con la literatura antropológica anterior

(secciones 1.3, 1.5, 1.6 y 1.7). Esta experiencia me llevó a creer que mis observaciones etnográficas a mi regreso reafirmarían, en gran medida, la investigación anterior, en lugar de representar nuevas observaciones sobre la ideología en Juchitán. Por lo tanto, confiaba en anotar ideologías relevantes preliminares antes de regresar. Aunque en su mayor parte acerté en esta predicción, mi experiencia de vida previa, mi posicionalidad y la reacción de lxs juchitecxs también me permitirían delinear aspectos de las ideologías lingüísticas y de género en Juchitán menos enfatizados o no explorados en investigaciones previas.

De ese modo, al regresar a Juchitán, realicé trabajo de campo desde principios de diciembre de 2020 hasta mediados de febrero de 2021. Debido a la solidez de la investigación etnográfica previa sobre la comunidad, no creí que fuera necesario un largo periodo de trabajo de campo. Sin embargo, todavía planeaba quedarme por lo menos tres meses, más de lo necesario para recopilar entrevistas y, por lo tanto, más de lo típico para la investigación variacionista no etnográfica, para facilitar un compromiso prolongado con la comunidad y realizar una etnografía lo suficientemente detallada (Rezaei 2012) para responder realmente a mis preguntas de investigación. Al final, no obstante, decidí acortar el periodo de trabajo de campo, debido a los cambios por la pandemia de COVID-19, que habrían hecho más difícil llevar a cabo la investigación en México y regresar a Suiza.

Aunque el reclutamiento para las entrevistas fue muy exitoso (se consiguieron 56 entrevistas en unas seis semanas), trabajar en Juchitán hizo surgir en mí una gran cantidad de emociones difíciles, después de regresar del trabajo de campo, decidí no volver para terminar el mes adicional de etnografía que había planeado, pues mi salud mental se empeoraría si me sumergía de nuevo en la comunidad. A medida que describo mi selección de participantes, el uso de métodos etnográficos para determinar las ideologías relevantes a nivel local y las experiencias que acompañaron a estas dos tareas, espero que algunas de las razones que subyacen a esta decisión sean aclaradas. Alrededor de un mes antes de volar a Juchitán por segunda vez, una compañera de trabajo me puso en contacto con su padre, quien estaba involucrado en el activismo indígena en México y, por lo tanto, tenía contactos con otrxs activistas, algunxs de Juchitán. Unos diez días antes de llegar a Juchitán por segunda vez, empecé a pedir ayuda a algunos de mis contactos del primer periodo de trabajo de campo para encontrar un apartamento. Me proporcionaron los nombres de algunos usuarios de Facebook con

los que podía intentar hablar y me dijeron que preguntarían por ahí para obtener más información, pero esto acabó conduciéndome a callejones metafóricos sin salida

Finalmente, el día que llegué a Juchitán por segunda vez, había conseguido un lugar temporal para alojarme gracias a dos contactos a través del padre de mi compañera de trabajo, pero no un apartamento permanente. Por suerte, Sasuke, preocupado porque aún no había encontrado un lugar y por la posibilidad de que estuviera en las calles solo por la noche, me preguntó si había encontrado un lugar. Le aseguré que podría quedarme unos días con unas amistades y así no estaría en la calle por la noche, pero le expliqué que aún no tenía un lugar permanente y me compartió el número de una persona que alquilaba apartamentos, le llamé, me enseñó el piso y me dio las llaves en pocas horas.

La forma espontánea en que surgió esta oportunidad, hasta entonces inesperada, gracias a una combinación de buenos contactos, buena suerte y acceso a las redes adecuadas, presagiaba cómo iba a desarrollarse toda la experiencia y refleja cómo parece funcionar la vida en Juchitán en general. Muy pocas cosas son constantes en Juchitán. Los efectos impredecibles de diversas fuerzas sociales, las coincidencias (in)afortunadas y la manipulación de las redes sociales a menudo hacen que surjan oportunidades únicas y que situaciones anteriormente estables cambien y se desplacen. Descubrí que, menudo, las entrevistas se cancelaban en el último minuto, o conseguía entrevistas espontáneas de algún contacto cuando menos lo esperaba.

Por ese motivo, me resultó útil programar las entrevistas con las personas, pues algunas preferían tenerlas planificadas de antemano. Sin embargo, solo una cuarta parte de las entrevistas se celebraron en la hora prevista: muchas se reprogramaron o se cancelaron sin posibilidad de programación. A veces, la gente simplemente desaparecía, otras veces, se seguían reprogramando las entrevistas hasta que se recibía el mensaje de que las personas no querían ser molestadas. A pesar de esto, programar las entrevistas seguía siendo útil, porque con ello se consiguió una tasa de éxito de alrededor del 25 %, y más de la mitad de las entrevistas programadas acabaron teniendo lugar en algún momento posterior. Los días en que se cancelaron todas mis entrevistas, generalmente, pude conseguir entrevistas espontáneas simplemente preguntando a las personas a las que ya había entrevistado si conocían a alguien más que pudiera ayudarme.

4.3 La recopilación de los datos: lxs participantes

En la siguiente sección, explico cómo se reclutaron lxs participantes en términos formales y prácticos, al tiempo que proporciono más detalles sobre la mayoría de los estudios variacionistas. Durante la descripción, a menudo me desvíó hacia narrativas autoetnográficas reflexivas (Patiño-Santos 2019; Starfield 2013, 2019), donde me convierto en un “actor social altamente visible” dentro de la sección de metodología (Anderson (2006), citado en Starfield (2019)), considerando mi posición social como investigador: extranjero identificado como *gay* y blanco haciendo un proyecto de investigación dentro de los sistemas locales de relaciones de poder (Starfield 2013). En suma, hago esto para ilustrar lo que significa, en términos prácticos, sociológicos y psicológicos, realizar un estudio variacionista influenciado por la etnografía con 56 entrevistas en un lugar como Juchitán, en términos del nivel de compromiso con la comunidad que se requiere, las dificultades concretas y el desgaste psicológico que me costó como investigador.

Pongo especial énfasis en cómo aspectos de mi identidad influyeron en mi capacidad para recolectar entrevistas y mi acceso al sitio de investigación, al mismo tiempo que creaban dificultades personales cuando las personas intentaban involucrarme en sus vidas de maneras en que violaban los límites personales con los que me sentía cómodo como investigador con un conjunto particular de experiencias pasadas, posicionamiento y antecedentes culturales. Estas narrativas también sirven, en conjunto con investigaciones anteriores y el contenido de las entrevistas, como justificación para las ideologías de género y lenguaje que elegí codificar. Por lo tanto, las narrativas autoetnográficas relevantes también se presentan en las secciones 4.4 y 4.5.

Adicionalmente, recluté a lxs participantes utilizando una forma de muestreo en cadena que tuvo en cuenta la demografía de Juchitán. En otras palabras, utilicé un muestreo sistemático (Buchstaller y Khattab 2013) para ciertos grupos sociales relevantes, mientras usaba mis contactos a través de la etnografía para encontrar el número requerido de personas de cada grupo social. De forma específica, pedí a la mayoría de los contactos iniciales y a las amistades que hice posteriormente en Juchitán que participaran en mi estudio, posterior a ello, les pedí ayuda para encontrar participantes adicionales desde su círculo de contactos que cumplieran con ciertas características demográficas. Por ejemplo, para aumentar el número de muxes en la muestra, pedí a

lxs participantes particulares que me pusieran en contacto específicamente con muxes.

Además, aproveché las redes sociales de amistades y conocidxs para encontrar a participantes, porque, por algunas razones, no quería entrevistar exclusivamente a personas con las que ya tenía algún tipo de relación. Esto, en primer lugar, para evitar esperar antes de comenzar a recopilar datos. Asimismo, quería incluir una variedad de personas en mi muestra, donde algunas de ellas, debido a su identidad social (personas mayores), probablemente nunca formarían parte de mi círculo social. En términos de características demográficas, quería que mi muestra reflejara, más o menos, la diversidad de Juchitán en términos de edad, quería asegurarme de que hubiera suficientes muxes en la muestra para incluir su identidad como una iteración del factor social género.

Por otra parte, debido al enfoque del estudio en el español y mi falta de competencia en el zapoteco del istmo, el estudio se restringió a personas capaces de mantener una conversación en español. Dado que, a partir de 2000, esto solo abarca a alrededor del 9% de la población de Juchitán (Saynes-Vázquez 2002), el efecto de esta exclusión en la muestra fue mínimo. Además, incluir a participantes de diferentes profesiones y grupos de edad ayudó a asegurar una muestra de participantes con capacidades muy variadas tanto en español como en zapoteco del istmo.

Igualmente, aunque la muestra pudo haber incluido hablantes que típicamente mezclan zapoteco y español en sus conversaciones diarias, esto no fue un problema para mis datos, dado que, como no hablo zapoteco, lxs hablantes automáticamente eligieron hablar español conmigo. Ocasionalmente, lxs hablantes usaban palabras solitarias en zapoteco al hablar de esas palabras o decían oraciones cortas en zapoteco para citar a otrxs hablantes antes de traducir esas oraciones para mí, pero ello ocurría en muy pocas ocasiones. Además, tengo la impresión de que la mezcla de idiomas ocurre poco cuando lxs juchitecxs hablan español y mucho más frecuentemente cuando hablan zapoteco, por lo que el español monolingüe que lxs participantes usaban para hablar conmigo era, en toda probabilidad, parte de su repertorio ordinario. Es probable que esto sea cierto para lxs hablantes de mi muestra con más competencia en zapoteco para quienes, aunque pudieran sentirse menos cómodxs hablando solo español, el español monolingüe seguía siendo parte de sus repertorios.

En Juchitán, el español se usa frecuentemente, incluso en áreas fuertemente zapotecas, para interactuar con hablantes monolingües de español que viven en las secciones

menos indígenas de Juchitán, así como con personas de otras partes de México. Como tal, parecía adecuado registrar el uso del español de estxs hablantes conmigo, pues aún estaba enfocándome en un elemento de su repertorio al elegir estudiar el uso por estxs hablantes del “español puro”. Además, mi identidad pudo haber ayudado a lxs hablantes de zapoteco a sentirse más cómodxs hablando conmigo en el español “puro” de su repertorio lingüístico. Como hablante no nativo de español, la mayoría de lxs participantes dominantes en zapoteco parecían bastante a gusto hablando conmigo con un dispositivo de grabación, lo que sospecho habría sido menos el caso si fuera un hablante nativo de español no juchiteco.

Limité mi muestra a personas que habían vivido en Juchitán por más de cinco años, que trabajaban en Juchitán o que habían crecido en Juchitán y visitaban la ciudad con frecuencia. Era importante incluir a personas que vivían entre Juchitán y otros lugares porque lxs juchitecxs son muy móviles. Esta movilidad a menudo se relaciona con oportunidades educativas y económicas. Por un lado, hay pocas instituciones de educación superior en Juchitán, por lo que las personas que desean una educación universitaria generalmente necesitan pasar tiempo en otras partes del país, y son Oaxaca, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Ciudad de México y Puebla los destinos más comunes. Por otro lado, los salarios y oportunidades laborales son generalmente mucho más altos en otras partes de México, por lo que muchxs juchitecxs viven en otras partes de México para mejorar su situación económica antes de regresar a la ciudad.

Algunos de estos trabajos, como el periodismo, requieren una cantidad aún mayor de movilidad. Por todas estas razones, la mayoría de lxs hablantes habían vivido varios años en otras partes de México y muchxs planeaban mudarse nuevamente en algún momento en el futuro. Las personas que viven fuera de Juchitán la mayor parte del año aún regresan con frecuencia, mantienen fuertes redes con personas en y de Juchitán y, por lo general, se sienten muy identificadas con la ciudad. Por lo tanto, parecía lógico incluir a hablantes que vivían oficialmente en otro lugar, pero que aún visitaban a su familia en la ciudad.

Incluí a hablantes de todas las principales colonias de Juchitán en el estudio para ayudar a aumentar la diversidad de clase, habilidad en zapoteco e identidades sexuales/género en la muestra. Para ver un mapa de las principales colonias de Juchitán como referencia, consulte la Figura 4.4 (Gauvin 2011). Además, en las secciones séptima, octava y novena de Juchitán, donde se considera que la identidad zapoteca es

más fuerte, escuché a más personas hablando zapoteco que en otras secciones, lo cual se respalda por investigaciones sobre la identidad y las prácticas lingüísticas de lxs muxes (Gauvin 2011; Mirandé 2017). Quizá porque ser “muxe” implica una identidad indígena, a veces se cree que lxs muxes disfrutaban de mayores niveles de aceptación en estas secciones que en otras menos indígenas (Gauvin 2011).

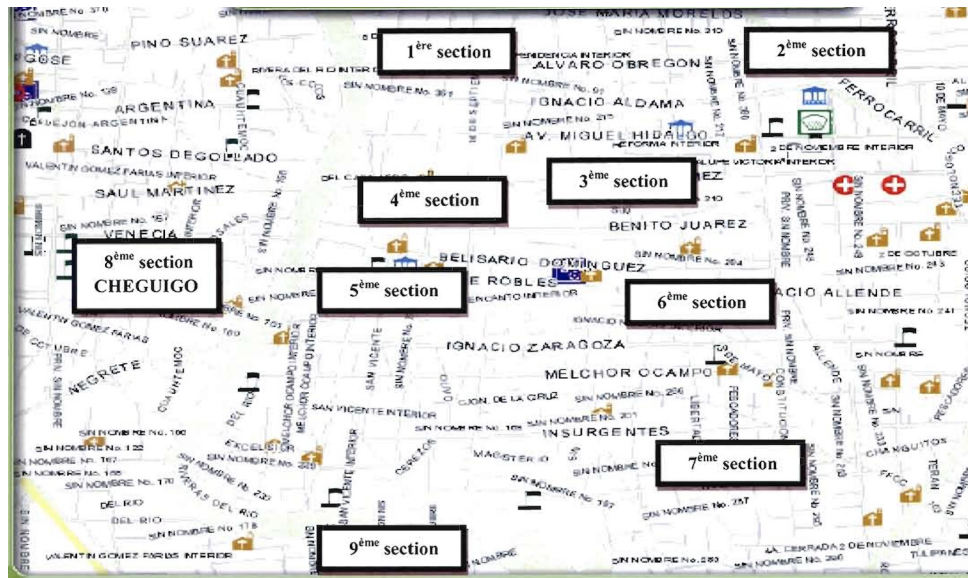


Figura 4.4: Colonias en Juchitán

También es más común encontrar a muxes que se identifican fuertemente con la etiqueta “muxe” viviendo en estas secciones, en contraste con las secciones menos indígenas, donde lxs muxes aplican esa etiqueta a sí mismxs con menos frecuencia (Mirandé 2017). En las secciones menos indígenas de Juchitán, es más típico encontrar una mezcla de personas que se identifican fuertemente con la etiqueta, que no hacen mucha distinción entre muxe y *gay*, y que prefieren esta segunda etiqueta. En mis propias observaciones, evidencí que las personas identificadas como *gay* que rechazaban la etiqueta “muxe” o rechazaban los roles de género tradicionales zapotecos y la cultura, se orientaban más fuertemente hacia las secciones que hablaban más español, como las secciones tercera y cuarta, que hacia las que hablaban más zapoteco.

En cuanto a las colonias menos indígenas, particularmente las secciones primera y segunda y las no numeradas en las afueras de estas secciones, contrastan fuertemente con las séptima, octava y novena de otras maneras. Aunque lxs hablantes de zapoteco y muxes todavía viven en las secciones primera y segunda y en las áreas circundantes, estas colonias son más ricas, tienen una población menos exclusivamente zapoteca y están menos asociadas con la visión prototípica de Juchitán como una ciudad zapoteca.

Según mis propias observaciones y conversaciones con juchitecxs, las personas que viven allí tienen más probabilidades de ser mestizas y/o de clase media, y se escucha el idioma zapoteco con menos frecuencia en las calles.

En esta colonia, menos muxes se identifican fácilmente con esa etiqueta que en las secciones más indígenas, aunque tienden a ser vistxs como muxes por otrxs. Por lo tanto, reclutar a participantes de todas las colonias hizo más fácil que encontrara una variedad de participantes: tanto muxes como *gais*, tanto de clase alta como de clase media y baja, y tanto con una fuerte identificación como zapotecxs como con una identificación más cosmopolita. De esta manera, también pude hallar una mayor diversidad en las ideologías lingüísticas y de género expresadas al centrarme en la totalidad de Juchitán, tanto dentro como entre lxs hablantes.

Consecuentemente, para asegurar una muestra relativamente representativa, incluí a hablantes de diferentes ocupaciones y de muchas colonias, a fin de asegurar la variación en la clase social. Por otro lado, para asegurar la diversidad de edad, establecí objetivos para el número de personas a reclutar de cada grupo etario registrado en el censo más reciente (Hidalgo 2022), de manera que reflejara de cerca los porcentajes de personas de cada grupo etario que viven en Juchitán. Para reclutar un número suficientemente grande de muxes para mi muestra, establecí un objetivo de 20 muxes y un límite inferior de 10, y, con ello, se realizaron mayores esfuerzos para conocer y reclutar a estxs participantes. Esto resultó ser bastante fácil de lograr. Uno de mis contactos iniciales del segundo viaje de investigación conocía a muchxs muxes y pudo ponerme en contacto con ellxs para comenzar a hacer entrevistas. Otro contacto inicial de mi segundo viaje era amigo de muchos hombres que se identificaban como *gais* y no como muxes, lo que me permitió incorporar a muchas personas de este grupo demográfico en mi muestra.

Para comenzar a reclutar participantes, entrevisté a la mayoría de las personas que conocí durante el primer viaje a Juchitán, como Sasuke y a quienes dirigían el Airbnb, y conseguí algunas entrevistas adicionales a través de amistades y conocidxs de estas personas también, con lo que sumé alrededor de 10 entrevistas. Sin embargo, aún más útiles para mi proyecto fueron las personas que conocí indirectamente a través de mis contactos en la Universidad de Berna. Afortunadamente, el padre de una de las doctorandas previas de la universidad era un activista de justicia indígena que estaba dispuesto a ponerme en contacto con tres personas que conocía en Juchitán, dos de

las cuales eran activistas de derechos indígenas. Por eso, durante mis primeros días en Juchitán, me ayudaron a instalarme y encontrar a mis primeros participantes para las entrevistas, llevándome a entrevistar a sus amistades, la mayoría de lxs cuales eran compañerxs activistas a tiempo completo o parcial. Luego, cada vez que no podía encontrar participantes a través de otras personas, volvía a preguntar si podían ponerme en contacto con otras amistades o miembros de su familia, de esta forma, probablemente conseguí alrededor de 10 entrevistas a través de ellxs.

Un amigo suyo era un hombre que se identificaba como *gay*, al que me referiré en adelante como Jesse. Jesse había vivido por todo México, trabajando típicamente como maestro de primaria y, cuando lo conocí, tenía este mismo trabajo en Juchitán. Debido a la pandemia, trabajaba más o menos de forma remota y complementaba sus ingresos con otro trabajo, diseñando ropa. Aunque a menudo se le consideraba muxe por otrxs juchitecxs y tenía un segundo trabajo percibido como de muxe (diseñar ropa), él rechazaba la etiqueta. Cuando nos conocimos, Jesse dice que notó que yo también era *gay* en unos minutos porque me senté a hablar con él con las piernas cruzadas, me dijo más tarde que desde ese momento supo que seríamos amigos. Me di cuenta, por su lenguaje corporal desde la segunda vez que nos encontramos, de que le había caído bien, más tarde manifestó que estaba muy interesado en ayudarme con el proyecto.

Jesse parecía un poco insensible e indiferente hacia otra gente en algunos de sus comportamientos, pero era divertido, abierto a conocer gente nueva y tenía redes sociales muy grandes. Me gustaba su humor y necesitaba ayuda para encontrar participantes y amistades en Juchitán, así que comencé a pasar tiempo con él y a pedirle ayuda con el proyecto. Le contaba de los perfiles de participantes que buscaba y él utilizaba sus contactos para ayudarme a encontrar a esas personas. Pude rastrear alrededor de 20 de las 56 entrevistas totales en mi muestra a personas que encontré a través de Jesse o a través de personas con las cuales sus amigos me pusieron en contacto. Estos 20 contactos incluyeron a los participantes que se identificaban como *gay* en la muestra que no se consideraban “muxe”.

Dos de sus amigos gays en particular me ayudaron a encontrar un buen número de participantes adicionales para entrevistas. Uno de ellos, que tenía un título en psicología de una universidad local y trabajaba como enfermero en el hospital, me ayudó a encontrar un grupo de participantes mayoritariamente femeninas entre sus amistades. El otro, al que me referí en adelante como Fernando, tenía un trabajo de oficina en una

casa de empeño, pero también había vendido alcohol en Oaxaca y esperaba conseguir un trabajo mejor remunerado y más interesante en el futuro. Me consiguió entrevistas con miembros de su familia, que eran más religiosos y conservadores que la mayoría de mis otrxs participantes, así como una amistad muxe suya. Siempre estuve particularmente agradecido de conseguir participantes religiosxs conservadorxs, pues tales personas eran más difíciles de reclutar. Debido a que siempre preguntaba sobre muxes y roles de género en mis entrevistas, la gente tendía a conectarme con participantes que tenían opiniones relativamente progresistas sobre estos temas.

A pesar de enmarcar mi estudio como lingüístico, muchxs participantes creían que solo me interesaba aprender hechos sobre el idioma zapoteco y la identidad muxe, en lugar de la influencia de sus ideas y otros factores en la variación lingüística. Por lo tanto, me refirieron a un número desproporcionado de activistas y personas igualitarias. No creo que estos comportamientos fueran un intento de gestionar mis impresiones de Juchitán, pues la mayoría de lxs juchitecxs progresistas en mi experiencia describen Juchitán de manera matizada, incluyendo descripciones de comportamientos, ideologías y estructuras sociales machistas, violentas e inegalitarias. Un puñado de participantes me dijo que Juchitán era una especie de matriarcado o paraíso *gay* sin discriminación para darme una buena impresión de la ciudad, pero fue bastante inusual encontrar participantes que tomaran este enfoque.

Igualmente, encontré a muchxs participantes a través de otro contacto que hice a través del padre de una compañera de trabajo. Este contacto indirecto, que era periodista, había entrevistado a activistas muxes y a otrxs muxes famosxs para su propio trabajo, y por ello les pidió entrevistas en mi nombre. Aproximadamente dos tercios de ellxs aceptaron ser entrevistadx y solo algunxs cancelaron en el último momento, por lo cual se obtuvo una tasa de éxito alta para muxes famosxs/activistas. Una de estas jóvenes muxes, a la que llamaré Alejandra, se encariñó conmigo cuando nos conocimos para nuestra entrevista, especialmente una vez que le dije que era *gay*. Ella, aunque generalmente se empleaba como activista, por lo que recibía un salario gubernamental, había visto su trabajo reducirse debido a la pandemia, y pasaba mucho tiempo en la casa de sus padres (donde vivía) para reducir sus gastos, así que ayudaba en la casa y tomaba trabajos adicionales ocasionales siempre que podía. A través de ella, pude obtener alrededor de 10 entrevistas con otrxs jóvenes muxes y personas cercanas a ellxs.

Alejandra también fue la primera persona que quizá mencionó la distinción local más destacada entre lxs muxes en Juchitán, a saber, su agrupación como muxe *gunaa* (la etiqueta con la que se identificaba), muxe *nguiiu* y muxe sin ninguna etiqueta en particular. *Nguiiu* es la palabra zapoteca para “hombre”, y *gunaa* para “mujer”. Como tal, “muxe *nguiiu*” son muxes que predominantemente se visten como hombres y se identifican más estrechamente con el género masculino, a veces hasta el punto de identificarse a sí mismos como hombres. Por otro lado, los “muxe *gunaa*” se presentan como mujeres, usan pronombres femeninos y se identifican más estrechamente con las mujeres que con los hombres. Sin embargo, en contraste con la identidad no-juchiteca más similar, la de una mujer trans, las muxe *gunaa* típicamente se presentan de manera más masculina que las mujeres trans, y, lo más importante, no se identifican como mujeres. En consecuencia, al conocer la relevancia local de estas identificaciones, me aseguré de incluir un número relativamente igual de muxe *gunaa* y muxe *nguiiu* en la muestra. De igual manera, Alejandra y otrxs muxes dijeron que a las muxe *gunaa* se les refería con el género femenino y a los demás muxes con una mezcla de masculino y femenino. Por esa razón, de aquí en adelante se deja de utilizar la “x” neutra para referirse a los grupos de muxes, en cambio, se opta por la variación de referencia de género.

Aproximadamente otras cinco entrevistas vinieron de una amiga mía en Berna, una doctoranda muy amiga de una buena amiga mía. Ella me contó que era buena amiga de alguien de Juchitán, a quien llamaré María, así que le pedí que me pusiera en contacto con María. María tiene un doctorado en una de las ciencias naturales, vive y trabaja principalmente en la Ciudad de México, regresa a Juchitán para vacaciones y otras ocasiones importantes. Después de entrevistar a María, ella misma me consiguió entrevistas con algunos familiares suyos, quienes a su vez me consiguieron entrevistas con algunxs de sus amistades. Aunque María era bastante progresista, como se esperaba por su nivel educativo y trayectoria de vida, algunos de sus familiares y amistades eran mucho más conservadores socialmente, por lo que estuve especialmente agradecido con estxs informantes. Finalmente, conseguí una entrevista con alguien a quien conocí en Grindr en enero de 2019, quien convenció a un amigo suyo de dejarse entrevistar. Curiosamente, ninguno de estos últimos participantes se identificaba como *gay* ni como muxe.

Generalmente, no fue posible encontrar participantes al pedirle a desconocidxs que

participaran en el estudio. Intenté hacerlo, solo para encontrarme con negativas sospechosas e indirectas, pero muy claras. Fue mucho más productivo confiar en contactos, amigxs de contactos y expandir mi círculo de participantes de esta manera. Sin embargo, tuve suerte una vez. Compré gafas de sol cerca del centro de la ciudad y, casualmente, el dueño era un muxe muy sociable que había participado en muchas entrevistas para documentales en el pasado. Entabló conversación conmigo y mostró interés en el proyecto. Se ofreció a ayudarme en todo lo que pudiera y terminó proporcionándome una entrevista y muchos contactos, la mayoría de los cuales eran hombres heterosexuales de clase media y alta.

Me aseguré de la confiabilidad de esta persona al preguntar a conocidxs sobre él, quienes hablaban de lo amable y dulce que era. Parecía ser una persona ampliamente conocida y apreciada, fue muy generosa al ayudarme con el proyecto. Cada vez que me quedaba sin personas en otros grupos para entrevistar, o una entrevista no se realizaba como estaba planeado, podía ir a su tienda y pedir ayuda, y espontáneamente me encontraba a alguien para entrevistar dentro del día. La mayoría de lxs entrevistadxs que conocí a través de él también fueron especialmente amables y me ayudaron de maneras pequeñas, pero significativas, ya sea conectándome con posibles participantes, dándome consejos útiles u ofreciéndome comida y bebida.

A menudo asistía al Italian Coffee, una cadena mexicana de cafeterías en el centro de Juchitán, para comer, tomar algo y trabajar en la computadora. Por un lado, parecía ser el lugar más seguro para sacar mi computadora y cargar información de los altavoces y copias encriptadas de entrevistas. El lugar también estaba climatizado y tenía una amplia selección de cafés helados, aunque se podría argumentar que no eran muy italianos. El gerente de esa tienda en particular era un muxe sin etiqueta, Esteban, con quien comencé a entablar pequeñas charlas de vez en cuando. Me ayudó a conseguir algunas entrevistas, pero generalmente hablábamos espontáneamente cuando ambos necesitábamos un descanso del trabajo. Podía triangular las historias que me contaba sobre su propia vida y cómo funciona la cultura con otras pruebas, ayudando a confirmar lo que muchxs otrxs me dijeron y a verificar mis intuiciones. Cuando tenía dificultades para adaptarme a la cultura o con otros aspectos de la vida en Juchitán, podíamos hablar juntos de manera bastante libre sobre ellos.

Mi relativa dificultad para que lxs desconocidxs participaran en el estudio y la facilidad del mismo proceso a través de mis contactos refleja una desconfianza general

hacia lxs desconocidxs, que es común en Juchitán y se vincula a una historia de opresión (neo)colonial y a los altos niveles actuales de criminalidad violenta. Encontré esta desconfianza de otras formas: en un momento dado, fui invitado a una fiesta organizada por una muxe a quien aún no había conocido en persona y noté que algunos de sus familiares eran muy taciturnos conmigo y me miraban con sospecha. El participante luego me explicó que estaban murmurando sobre mí, diciendo que no debería haber venido a Juchitán durante la pandemia y preocupándose de que pudiera infectar a la gente con COVID-19.

Aunque estas personas estaban sentadas juntas en un grupo grande y compartían comida y bebidas sin cubrebocas, solo estaban preocupadas por contraer COVID-19 de un extranjero sentado a cinco metros de distancia. Encontré un sentimiento similar con un conductor de mototaxi que preguntó directamente si me había llevado el COVID-19 a Juchitán. Nunca encontré tal sospecha cuando me presentaban como amigo (parece que las amistades no pueden propagar el COVID-19) y aprendí rápidamente a siempre presentarme como amigo de alguien al pedir una entrevista. Aunque algunas personas aún parecían sospechar de mis motivos, era bastante inusual que la gente rechazara una entrevista cuando me presentaba como amigo de un/a amigx suyx. Las sospechas casi siempre se evaporaron cuando me percibían de alguna manera vinculado a sus redes sociales existentes.

En general, parecía que la gente estaba acostumbrada a considerar a las personas como extranjeroxs no confiables (pero aún dignos de estatus), como éticos respecto a la comunidad (y su subcomunidad de amistades), o como *insiders* confiables, con una posición y una perspectiva émica respecto a la comunidad. Como investigador que emplea métodos etnográficos, intenté navegar entre estas perspectivas, aunque a veces este binario complicaba mis esfuerzos por mantener la distancia necesaria entre investigador y participante mientras se participaba en la vida comunitaria.

Por lo tanto, a veces resultaba difícil negociar el mantenimiento de la distancia que, como investigador, esperaba crear entre lxs participantes y yo, al mismo tiempo participar en aspectos de sus vidas. En general, a menudo sentía tensión entre adaptarme a las normas de Juchitán y hacer lo que creía que era mejor para mí y para lxs demás. En los párrafos siguientes, explico algunas formas en las que mis negociaciones de este posicionamiento, mis intentos de mantener los límites y mis dificultades aprendidas para confiar en la gente se manifestaron en mi búsqueda de participantes y en mi ex-

perencia de trabajo de campo en general.

A medida que encontraba participantes, varios aspectos de mi identidad y personalidad, y su relación con su estado de extranjero/*insider*, influyeron en mi capacidad para recopilar datos (para mejor) y en mi disfrute de la experiencia de campo (para peor). Una gran ventaja para la investigación fue mi homosexualidad. Como hombre *gay*, a menudo fue más fácil establecer un vínculo con hombres *gay* y muxes. Curiosamente, no ajustarme a los estereotipos juchitecos locales de los gais probablemente hizo que fuera menos molesto para las personas conservadoras heterosexuales.

Mi relación, en particular con Jesse y Alejandra, fue especialmente útil para mi investigación. Ambas personas me tomaron cariño, aceptándome como miembro de su subcomunidad *gay*/muxe debido a mi orientación sexual y, posteriormente, entre lxs dos me ayudaron a conseguir alrededor de un tercio de lxs participantes de mi estudio. Esta relación probablemente fue facilitada por mi orientación sexual, pero también por mi estatus émico como extranjero blanco interesado en Juchitán. Como extranjero blanco, resultaba más interesante para la gente y, probablemente, les otorgaba estatus ayudarme.

De igual manera, debido a que los ideales de belleza latinoamericanos valoran la blancura, probablemente me percibían como más atractivo. Todos estos aspectos ayudaron a conseguir un gran número de entrevistas muy rápidamente, pero también contribuyeron a la experiencia incómoda de que la gente se insinuara con frecuencia. El hecho de que yo dijera que era *gay* sin parecerlo aparentemente exacerbaba esta atención no deseada. Cabe señalar que la mayoría de las personas que me daban atención no deseada eran muxes, quienes prefieren tener relaciones sexuales con hombres masculinos que no se identifican como muxes. En otro caso relacionado, una mujer en el mercado se insinuó mientras yo comía y se negó a creerme cuando le dije que era *gay*. Tengo la impresión de que muchxs participantes, especialmente muxes y hombres gais, posiblemente incluso algunas mujeres, querían hablar conmigo en parte, porque les parecía atractivo y potencialmente disponible a nivel sexual. Todos estos aspectos de mi identidad me ayudaron a conseguir un gran número de entrevistas muy rápidamente, pero, en una nota relacionada, contribuyeron a la experiencia incómoda de que la gente se me insinuara con frecuencia, a veces hasta el punto de lo que se consideraría acoso en los Estados Unidos o Suiza.

El hecho de que dijera que era *gay* sin parecerlo aparentemente exacerbaba esta

atención no deseada. Me dijeron que muchas personas no creerían que era *gay* porque no parecía lo suficientemente femenino, ya que la mayoría de la gente asocia la homosexualidad con la categoría de “tercer género”. La mayoría de las personas que me daban atención no deseada eran muxes. Dado que los muxes prefieren tener relaciones sexuales con hombres masculinos que no se identifican como muxes, el hecho de que dijera que era *gay* podría haber sido interpretado por algunos como una señal de interés potencial en lugar de reflejar una orientación sexual *gay*. En otro caso relacionado, una mujer en el mercado se me insinuó mientras comía y se negó rotundamente a creerme cuando le dije que era *gay*. Esta persona trató de convencerme de tener relaciones sexuales con ella todo el tiempo que estuve comiendo y trató de coquetear conmigo cada vez que pasaba por su puesto de comida después de eso. En estos casos, aparentemente respondían según las normas sociales énicas sobre el significado de salir del clóset y la presentación de género.

Finalmente, pude evitar toda esta atención no deseada al cambiar sutilmente mi posicionamiento social desde mi apariencia. Empecé por pintarme las uñas, lo que pareció cambiar la percepción de lxs otrxs, dado que ello me hacía lucir más femenino y, por tanto, menos interesante sexualmente para muxes, mujeres y la mayoría de los hombres *gay*. Esto también podría haberme ayudado a establecer una buena relación con ciertas mujeres y muxes, quienes crearon una asociación simbólica, si no una membresía completa, a la categoría muxe. Sin embargo, como elegí un color oscuro (azul oscuro), que podía parecer negro desde la distancia, aún pude evitar la atención no deseada en la calle por parte de hombres homofóbicos, evitando una identificación social excesivamente fuerte con las muxes. En la sección 4.4 explico cómo usé esta experiencia para entender mejor las ideologías de género locales.

Ser *gay*, amigo de nativos e *insider* también hizo que los muxes y hombres *gais* se abrieran rápidamente conmigo sobre sus vidas sexuales. Al tener en cuenta todas estas conversaciones, pude entender ciertas ideologías de género en torno a la identidad muxe en una medida mucho mayor (sección 4.4). Debido a que estas conversaciones fueron tan útiles para mi comprensión de las ideologías de género, opté por no sostener los límites que habría establecido si estuviera en casa. Esto contribuyó a una falta de comodidad debido a esta experiencia de choque cultural, así como a una creciente desconfianza que muchxs juchitecxs sienten hacia lxs extrañxs que yo también comenzaba a adoptar hacia muchas personas en Juchitán.

Muchas personas que conocí en Juchitán parecían contradecirse a sí mismas, ya sea diciendo cosas completamente diferentes a diferentes personas, diciendo una cosa pero haciendo otra, o incluso cambiando su recuerdo de los eventos dentro del mismo monólogo, a veces incluso cuando no me quedaba claro cuál era el beneficio social de presentar información contradictoria. A veces notaba que Alejandra y Jesse actuaban de esta manera, pero también observaba este comportamiento en personas que conocía menos. En cuanto a mi desconfianza adquirida hacia las personas a mi alrededor, que explico más en la sección 4.9 sobre ética, conocer a Fernando inicialmente me ayudó mucho con mi salud mental, pues era una de las pocas personas con las que pasaba mucho tiempo en Juchitán que parecía bastante empática y más o menos confiable, probablemente porque, durante mucho tiempo, no observé que se contradecía. Por lo tanto, inicialmente sentí que podía abrirme con él mucho más que con otras personas que conocí en Juchitán. Eventualmente, me di cuenta de que Fernando también se contradecía de estas maneras, aunque por razones que eran más fáciles de entender para mí y muy comunes en Juchitán. Específicamente, aprendí que habitualmente engaña a su novio, a pesar de haberse quejado de haber sido engañado en el pasado. La medida en que este comportamiento encaja dentro de patrones más amplios de comportamiento sexual en Juchitán es comentada en la sección 4.4.

Antes de ir a Juchitán, mi objetivo provisional era tener al menos 50 participantes en total con las siguientes características en la muestra final. Basado en los límites encontrados en el censo, planeé tener aproximadamente 7 participantes mayores, 20 participantes jóvenes y 23 participantes de mediana edad, basándome en mi percepción de la edad de los participantes. Definí “mayor” como alguien de 60 años o más, “mediana edad” como un rango de edad de 35 a 59 años, y “joven” como un rango de edad de 19 a 34 años, todo basado en categorías del censo más reciente en Juchitán (Hidalgo 2022). Con ello, opté por usar límites menos detallados, pues no encontré una división etaria más exacta de la población en los resultados del censo a los que tuve acceso antes del trabajo de campo. Los resultados disponibles actualmente son mucho más detallados, pues dividen la población en grupos etarios de 5 años de tamaño (Hidalgo 2022).

Igualmente, excluí a las personas menores de 19 años de la muestra por tres razones principales: en primer lugar, porque, con base en mi edad y mi estatus de extranjero, habría sido más difícil encontrar participantes menores de edad que encontrar parti-

cipantes adultxs. En segundo lugar, por la importancia de hacer preguntas cargadas de ideología. Al respecto de esto último, como hombre blanco de una clase media-alta en los Estados Unidos que vivía en Suiza, estaba en una posición de relativo poder ante la mayoría de lxs participantes. En ese sentido, dado que los temas de conversación que surgían cuando hablaba con adultxs solían ser sensibles, no deseaba crear una situación en la que lxs jóvenes pudieran sentirse obligadxs a hablar con un adulto desconocido sobre este tipo de temas.

Por último, la adolescencia es un momento en el que el uso de la lengua es increíblemente variable, en tanto que lxs jóvenes prueban diferentes identidades con sus prácticas lingüísticas asociadas (Eckert 1989b). Si bien esto hace que lxs adolescentes sean un grupo sociolingüísticamente muy interesante para estudiar, la inclusión de estxs hablantes podría haber hecho que estos fenómenos emergieran en la muestra de una manera que ensombreciera los tipos de variación potencialmente más sutiles que interesaba estudiar, a saber, los vínculos entre género, ideología, usos lingüísticos y variación. Por lo tanto, decidí minimizar el riesgo de que estos otros factores ensombrecieran los resultados que quería obtener al excluir a lxs adolescentes de mi muestra.

Aunado a lo anterior, planeé tener entre el 20 % y el 33 % de lxs participantes que se identificaran como muxe o *gay*, y que el resto de la muestra se dividiera equitativamente entre hombres y mujeres de género normativo. Después de hablar con Alejandra y ver que estas categorías surgían una y otra vez, decidí que era necesario tener un número igual de hombres *gay*, muxe gunaa, muxe nguiu y muxe sin etiqueta en la muestra. Al final, aunque una de estas entrevistas se excluyó debido a la terrible calidad del audio (sección 5.4), terminé con un total de 56 participantes en la muestra: 5 mayores, 24 de mediana edad, 26 jóvenes, 6 muxe gunaa, 5 muxe nguiu, 5 muxe sin etiqueta, 5 hombres *gay*, 19 hombres cisgénero heterosexuales y bisexuales y 16 mujeres. Lxs participantes provenían de todas las secciones numeradas de Juchitán, además de otras colonias no numeradas en las afueras de la ciudad. El número deseado y el número real de participantes para cada una de estas categorías se presentan en el Cuadro 4.1.

En este punto, hay dos aspectos importantes de la metodología que necesitan abordarse. Por un lado, aspectos prácticos respecto a las entrevistas: cómo se grabaron, de qué temas se habló y qué equipo se utilizó. Estos aún no se han discutido. Por otro lado, también es importante describir más específicamente cómo mis observaciones etnográficas y la triangulación me ayudaron a identificar y definir ideologías relevantes

Categoría demográfica	Número deseado de participantes	Número real de participantes
Mayor	7	5
Mediana edad	23	24
Joven	20	26
Mujer	18	16
Muxe gunaa	5	6
Muxe (sin etiqueta)	5	5
Muxe nguui	4	5
Hombre gay	5	5
Hombre	18	19

Cuadro 4.1: Números deseados y reales de participantes por edad y género

en Juchitán. Con ello, opto por discutir estos últimos temas primero y comienzo a discutir los aspectos prácticos del proceso de recolección de datos en la sección 4.7. De ese modo, al compartir la discusión sobre la identificación y la definición de ideologías, también es necesario discutir sobre los aspectos más teóricos y no variacionistas de la metodología antes de hablar sobre cuestiones más prácticas y variacionistas. Por ende, tomé la libertad, al final de este Capítulo 4.2 en el Capítulo 5, de tratar aspectos variacionistas de la metodología casi exclusivamente, sin ningún interludio para hablar sobre el uso de métodos etnográficos para determinar ideologías locales relevantes de manera cualitativa.

4.4 La identificación de las ideologías

En esta sección, discuto cómo utilicé las observaciones etnográficas en el campo, las investigaciones anteriores y los datos de las entrevistas para identificar las ideologías lingüísticas y, especialmente, de género en Juchitán y entender sus matices. Cuando menciono el contenido de las entrevistas en esta sección, lo hago por una de dos razones: en algunos casos, especifico cómo conseguí que lxs hablantes hablaran de contenido ideológicamente relevante, en otros casos, muestro cómo los datos me ayudaron a determinar qué ideologías eran localmente relevantes en Juchitán y cómo estas ideologías se manifestaban en el contexto local. Todos los demás aspectos de las entrevistas, incluida la recopilación práctica de los datos de las entrevistas, se exploran a partir de la sección 4.7.

Con base en investigaciones anteriores (Augsburger 2004; Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miche 2006; Saynes-Vázquez 2002; Stephen 2002), observaciones preliminares y

una cuidadosa reflexión, identifiqué cinco ideologías provisionales en disputa en la comunidad entre la primera y la segunda visita de campo, tres de las cuales eran ideologías de género y dos ideologías lingüísticas. Estas ideologías eran la ideología de género zapoteca, la ideología de género machista, la ideología de género igualitaria, la ideología pro-monolingüe (en español) y la ideología pro-bilingüe (en zapoteco y español).

Adicionalmente, dejé la posibilidad de cambiar estas ideologías abiertas, en caso de que la observación etnográfica insinuara que otra ideología era socialmente más relevante, de hecho, después de las observaciones etnográficas y la reflexión, añadí algunas ideologías e ideas más específicas para identificar cada una. Sin embargo, confiaba en describir ideologías provisionales antes de ir a Juchitán porque las observaciones preliminares reafirmaron casi categóricamente las conclusiones a las que llegué después de leer investigaciones etnográficas previas sobre Juchitán. Además, era probable que, aunque decidiera incluir otras ideologías a medida que avanzara la etnografía, la exactitud de la etnografía previa significaría que estas ideologías no serían muy distintas de las descritas en la literatura anterior. Por lo tanto, diseñar las entrevistas teniendo en cuenta las ideologías provisionales no me impidió obtener buenos datos que pudiera analizar en busca de otras ideologías de género o lingüísticas.

Aunque solo diseñé las entrevistas con el objetivo de suscitar discursos sobre ideologías de género y lingüísticas, tenía la posibilidad de incluir otras si un número suficiente de hablantes las mencionaba sin preguntar. La decisión de no preguntar sobre otras ideologías la tomé en gran medida para mantener un cierto nivel de seguridad y discreción en una ciudad que experimenta un alto grado de violencia. Durante la visita inicial a Juchitán, noté la gran relevancia que tenían para muchos oradores las ideologías relacionadas con la violencia de los cárteles, la corrupción, el catolicismo, la Coalición Obrera, Campesina, Estudiantil del Istmo (COCEI)² y las relaciones entre Juchitán, el resto de México y las empresas, entre otros temas potencialmente delicados.

Aunque estas cuestiones se comentaban a menudo en mi presencia y, por lo tanto, posiblemente eran interesantes para estudiar, no me pareció prudente abordar estos temas con personas que no conocía bien, sobre todo en un contexto en el que decir lo incorrecto a la persona equivocada puede conducir a la violencia. La violencia de los cárteles surgió con bastante frecuencia en las entrevistas, así como la relación entre

²consulte la sección 1.3 para más información sobre esta organización

Juchitán y el resto de México, y a veces la religión. Sin embargo, las entrevistas no se diseñaron teniendo en cuenta estos temas.

Las ideologías de género y lingüísticas, por el contrario, fueron temas relativamente fáciles de tratar. Lxs habitantes de Juchitán parecían ser conscientes de que lxs académicxs extranjeroxs se interesan por su ciudad debido a la lengua indígena y a las configuraciones de género bastante singulares, y, en general, estaban interesadxs en hablar con extranjeroxs sobre esos temas. El orgullo de ser zapotecx y de un lugar tan único como Juchitán es muy valorado en la ciudad (Augsburger 2004; Barbosa 2016), y hablar con extranjeroxs sobre lo que hace único a Juchitán, incluyendo cuestiones de género y de lengua, es una forma de expresar este orgullo.

En general, noté que muchas personas tenían más interés en hablar del género que de la lengua. En estos casos, dejé que la conversación se prolongara más tiempo con los temas que interesaban más a lxs participantes, y solo hubo unas pocas personas que no se mostraron dispuestas a hablar de ninguno de estos temas, la mayoría de las cuales eran hablantes dominantes en zapoteco de edad avanzada (y un hablante bilingüe joven que estaba drogado en el momento de la entrevista) a los que, por diversas posibles razones, fue difícil reconducir hacia temas ideológicos. A pesar de esto, incluso en estos casos, lxs hablantes produjeron varios minutos de discurso que contenía ideologías tanto de género como lingüísticas y fueron interesantes compañerxs de conversación.

Como he mencionado, tras pasar tiempo en la comunidad y escuchar las entrevistas, revisé las cinco ideologías que se sospechaba que serían importantes en la comunidad. En un caso, esta revisión me llevó a añadir una nueva ideología a la lista, pero la mayoría de las veces a comprender los matices de las cinco ideologías preliminares con más detalle. En los párrafos restantes de esta sección, describo las experiencias e historias de Juchitán de forma detallada, las cuales se relacionan específicamente con estas ideologías y que me ayudaron a realizar ligeros cambios y/o a identificar cada ideología con mayor claridad.

Por otro lado, aunque soy bastante abierto a conocer gente nueva, también soy un poco introvertido, en ese sentido, las fiestas y los acontecimientos sociales más importantes en Juchitán eran difíciles de disfrutar. Existe una fuerte presión para beber alcohol en la mayoría de las fiestas de Juchitán, hasta el punto de que las personas que beben demasiado poco están casi más estigmatizadas que los alcohólicos que no pueden controlar su comportamiento (Piñón y Miano Borruso 2001). Aparentemente,

ofendí a algunas personas al rechazar las bebidas una vez llegué al límite de mi cuerpo, pero algunos de los participantes compartieron las técnicas que utilizaban para evitar esta presión, como tener siempre una copa en la mano, beber despacio y evitar determinados acontecimientos sociales y amistades con bebedores compulsivos que no respetan límites. Estas estrategias me funcionaron en la mayoría de los casos.

Aprendí con estas experiencias y con investigación que la gente usa el alcohol para mostrar reciprocidad (Barbosa 2016; Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Holzer 1999; Miche 2006; Piñón y Miano Borruso 2001). En Juchitán, es muy importante mostrar la disposición para proveer para las amistades y los conocidos, y que ellos devuelvan el favor. Una forma importante de demostrar esta reciprocidad es acudiendo a fiestas, en las que las mujeres aportan dinero y los hombres compran una caja de cerveza a la entrada. Al no beber lo suficiente en un evento de este tipo, incluso cuando se ha pagado la cerveza o se ha traído dinero, uno participa menos en este intercambio de reciprocidad de género. En una sociedad en la que hay motivos para desconfiar de los extraños, incluso los pequeños gestos ambiguos que podrían indicar la falta de reciprocidad pueden interpretarse como tal. Por lo tanto, sospecho que algunas personas que ya desconfiaban un poco de mí pueden haber interpretado mi consumo reducido de alcohol como una falta de reciprocidad y un signo de falta de confianza, incluso cuando di razones plausibles (y verdaderas) para beber menos.

Jesse me proporcionó mucha información sobre Juchitán, a veces en forma de chismes. Aunque no siempre era fiable la información, me reveló qué tipo de acontecimientos se consideran creíbles en el contexto local. Curiosamente, aunque la naturaleza factual de las historias de Jesse era a veces dudosa, nunca oí expresar reservas sobre la verosimilitud de las historias que Jesse contaba. Más bien, lo que ponía en duda era la participación de determinados actores o la presencia de ciertos detalles. Por lo tanto, utilicé una gran parte de esta información como fuente de ideologías en Juchitán. Por ejemplo, en un momento dado, hablé de una muxe de mediana edad al que se entrevistó, lo que me reveló que esta persona pasaba el tiempo en los alrededores de las escuelas para seducir a chicos adolescentes para que mantuvieran relaciones sexuales.

Muchas otras personas que conocí expresaron la creencia de que los hombres necesitan tener relaciones sexuales, aunque las mujeres deban mantenerse “puras” al permanecer vírgenes hasta el matrimonio. Otras investigaciones sobre Juchitán vinculan estas actitudes con el fenómeno aparentemente común de chicos adolescentes que pier-

den su virginidad con muxes (Barbosa 2016; Stephen 2002). Otros hombres heterosexuales que conocí también me informaron que el sexo entre hombres y muxes era muy común, y Sasuke dijo en una entrevista que “dicen no eres hombre si no te has acostado con un muxe, pero no dicen con qué muxe se acostaron ellos”. La idea de que los hombres, y hasta cierto punto los muxes, deben tener relaciones sexuales frecuentes debido a sus impulsos incontrollables, necesidades biológicas u otras razones naturalizadas, se refleja también en actitudes y comportamientos generalizados respecto a la infidelidad sexual y la monogamia en Juchitán.

Jesse me contó muchas historias sobre cómo se acostaba con varios hombres casados, incluso con la persona que lo me había presentado. Esta persona mantenía una relación abierta con su mujer, en la que era libre de acostarse con hombres, pero no con mujeres, fuera de la relación principal. Jesse sospechaba, sin embargo, que la mujer de su ligue seguía descontenta con las experiencias extramatrimoniales de su marido, a pesar de este acuerdo, y reveló que se habían peleado por la amante que compartían. Naturalizó esta infidelidad sexual y su pelea con la mujer de su amante como parte de la cultura local. Jesse también me contó muchas historias de hazañas sexuales de otras personas, junto con información detallada sobre los hombres casados con los que se acostó y sus razones para hacerlo. En uno de los casos, parece ser que la mujer del hombre estaba embarazada y él creía que acostarse con su mujer dañaría al feto en desarrollo.

Asimismo, este participante me envió fotos de penes de chicos que, según él, habían tenido sexo con él, a veces con fotos de los chicos, y había diferencias entre el tono de piel en las fotos de las personas y los penes. Esto me llevó a pensar que en realidad no había tenido tanto sexo como decía ni con las personas que afirmaba y que probablemente había sacado esas fotos de internet. Su posterior afirmación de que sabía dónde encontrar fotos ilegales de penes en internet me confirmó estas sospechas. Escuchar este tipo de historias de Jesse y, más tarde, de otros participantes que intentaban impresionar me reveló que, como en muchos lugares, presumir con quién se ha intimado y el tamaño de ciertas partes del cuerpo de estas personas aporta capital social dentro de los círculos de *gais* y muxes.

Muchxs de lxs participantes, además de Jesse, estaban implicadxs ellxs mismxs en el engaño o consideraban que el engaño era inevitable. Asimismo, entre muchas personas existía la creencia implícita de que cualquiera sería infiel si se le diera la oportu-

tunidad, aunque nadie quiere ser engañadx. Durante las primeras semanas de trabajo de campo, mantuve una relación monógama, aunque bastante nueva. Esta relación no sobrevivió al periodo de trabajo de campo, pero el lento deterioro de esta relación a distancia durante el trabajo de campo me ayudó a notar aspectos de las ideologías de género y sexuales que, de otro modo, habrían sido difíciles de descubrir. Jesse me presionó para que lo dejara encontrarme ligues y Alejandra me invitó a ir de *cruising* unas cuantas veces.

Igualmente, aprendí mucho sobre las ideologías en Juchitán de una amiga muxegunaa, Alejandra, incluidas las relativas al engaño. Esta me invitó varias veces a tomar unas copas y a buscar mayates (hombres “heterosexuales” que tienen relaciones sexuales con muxes). Cuando me negué educadamente, explicándole que tenía una relación monógama, ella se quedó estupefacta. Luego me preguntó si creía que él era fiel y, cuando dije que sí, me miró con una mezcla de incredulidad y lástima. Más tarde, cuando empecé una relación abierta, el primero les dijo a ella y a Jesse. Curiosamente, en ese momento a ambxs les pareció normal y dejaron de intentar convencerme de que mantuviera relaciones sexuales con otras personas.

En las entrevistas, la creencia de que el engaño es inevitable para los hombres también apareció explícitamente, porque múltiples participantes, especialmente muxes, afirmaron que todos los hombres engañan y que la felicidad en una relación siempre tiene un límite de tiempo. Es probable que esta creencia tenga una base real. Múltiples participantes, de todos los géneros e identidades sexuales, me comentaron que el engaño era muy común en Juchitán, y una mujer incluso me explicó que consideraba el engaño desenfrenado como una forma de machismo, en tanto que la infidelidad de los hombres se trata de algo inevitable y perjudica a las mujeres casadas con ellos. Muchos hombres se hicieron eco de la creencia de que el engaño masculino era extremadamente común y perjudicial para las mujeres, aunque pocos hombres admitieron haber engañado. En suma, aunque este comportamiento estaba muy extendido, nadie asumió la responsabilidad de ser su actor.

Por otro lado, también escuché una anécdota de un amigo muxegunaa de Jesse sobre su trabajo como asistente de investigación para un psicólogo canadiense que estudiaba la identidad muxegunaa. Como parte del proyecto, entrevistaron a un gran número de mujeres sobre los muxes, y alrededor de la mitad de ellas revelaron que sus maridos las habían engañado con una muxegunaa. A esta amiga de Jesse le sorprendió el nivel de resentimiento

que sentían estas mujeres y, siendo muxes, temía la ira que estas mujeres dirigían hacia los muxes.

Aun así, lo que más destaco de esta anécdota no fueron las pruebas que aportaba sobre la prevalencia del sexo entre hombres heterosexuales y muxes, ni siquiera sobre la prevalencia del engaño en general (si aproximadamente la mitad de las mujeres denuncian que sus cónyuges las engañan con muxes, ¿cuántos casos más hay de hombres que hacen lo mismo con mujeres o que tienen sexo con muxes sin que sus esposas lo descubran?). Más bien, lo que llamó mi atención fue lo mucho que se normalizaba que los muxes tuvieran amantes masculinos casados, al vincular esta participación en la infidelidad de otro con la identidad muxes. Este vínculo con la identidad muxes era tan fuerte para él que el enfado de las mujeres con las amantes muxes de sus maridos podía interpretarse como enfado con los muxes como categoría general, más que como enfado dirigido al comportamiento de ayudar a sus maridos a engañar.

En ese sentido, tanto para las muxes como para los maridos infieles, la responsabilidad de las propias elecciones sexuales se niega habitualmente, porque la propia elección se invisibiliza dentro de los discursos de la cultura, la identidad y la inevitabilidad natural. Estos comportamientos y discursos tienen sentido en el contexto de la creencia machista naturalizada de que las personas, especialmente los hombres y muxes, simplemente no pueden evitar actuar según sus deseos sexuales. A partir de estas experiencias, empecé a creer que este era un aspecto importante de cómo se entiende y experimenta el machismo en Juchitán, que presumiblemente también juega un papel importante en la legitimación de la violencia sexualizada.

La forma en que varios muxes y *gais*, así como algunas mujeres, actuaron conmigo también reflejó esta creencia de que algunas personas tienen ciertos deseos sexuales inevitables que no pueden evitar, y me proporcionó una imagen más detallada de qué deseos y prácticas sexuales particulares se esperan en Juchitán, junto con la forma en que los encuentros sexuales pueden actuar como una especie de moneda social. Como extranjero blanco relativamente acomodado que resaltaba en Juchitán y era percibido como de alto estatus y atractivo, muchos muxes, hombres homosexuales y mujeres se me insinuaban.

Mis estrategias iniciales para detener esto fueron completamente ineficaces. Al principio, decía que tenía una relación monógama, pero nadie creía que mantuviera ese compromiso, por lo que se intensificaban los intentos de ligar. Muchxs juchitecxs y an-

tropólogos heterosexuales afirman que las muxes son pasivas en el sexo anal y oral, es decir, que prefieren ser penetradas a penetrar, por lo cual buscan a hombres que las penetren. Por lo tanto, algunas veces decidí decirles a los muxes que se me insinuaban que prefería tomar el rol pasivo, con la esperanza de que esto frenara el interés sexual y estableciera una mayor *rapport*, sin embargo, este enfoque tampoco funcionó.

De ese modo, para entrevistar al resto de los muxes y *gais* de la muestra, me pinté las uñas. Como resultado, este parecía más como una muxe de cerca, y los homófobos no podían reconocer que el esmalte no era negro desde lejos. En ese sentido, lxs juchitecs se me orientaban a mí de forma ligeramente diferente cuando llevaba el esmalte: por un lado, ya nadie se me insinuaba, por otro, una participante me preguntó si lo habían dejado ver a la mujer cuya pérdida de virginidad se celebraba en la ceremonia de robada a la que había asistido, dado que solo a las mujeres y muxes se les permite ver a las mujeres en ese momento. Quizá el tono oscuro en las uñas, junto con la asumida condición de “extranjera blanca”, me protegió de los comentarios negativos de ciertos hombres heterosexuales. Fernando también opinaba que el color era demasiado oscuro para ser un marcador infalible de homosexualidad, porque también podía ser un índice de sensibilidad roquera, pero, por si acaso, me quité el esmalte para entrevistar a hombres heterosexuales que podían ser homófobos.

En cuanto a las muxes, hubo una razón importante por la que mis comentarios sobre la posición sexual no impidieron que se me insinuaran. Alejandra no se insinuó después de que le dijera que prefería ser pasivo y empezó a referirse a mí como “muxe”, aunque dijo que soy atractivo y lamentó que fuéramos sexualmente incompatibles. Esta atracción que ella sentía probablemente tenía más que ver con la etnia y el estatus percibido que, con el atractivo real, pues se la había oído expresar sentimientos de atracción hacia cada hombre blanco y no mexicano que se veía o del que se hablaba, independientemente de su apariencia. Cuando estábamos bebiendo, Alejandra volvió a preguntarme cuál era mi preferencia sexual y se sorprendió de que siguiera afirmando que prefería ser pasivo. Parecía haber interpretado el comentario sobre la preferencia sexual como una reivindicación de la identidad muxe, más que como una reivindicación directa de la preferencia sexual.

Más tarde, ella acudió a una entrevista que había concertado con otro muxe, y hablaron sobre qué mayates eran también ramones. Así, explicaron que los ramones eran hombres heterosexuales que dejaban que el muxe se les “echara encima” (los penetra-

ra), y señalaron que tener pene y nunca penetrar a nadie puede ser poco saludable, por lo que enseñó un video de ella (supuestamente, porque no se le veía la cara) recibiendo una mamada de un mayate atractivo. El video y los cotilleos con su amiga muxe parecían un intento de ganar estatus mediante historias de hazañas sexuales.

De esa manera, puedo afirmar que el estatus proviene en parte de acostarse con una persona de estatus alto, como una persona atractiva, masculina y/o menos “morena”. Sin embargo, también puede leerse como la obtención de estatus a través de la penetración, en este caso, de un hombre masculino “heterosexual” que típicamente penetraría a otras según las ideologías de la masculinidad hegemónica. Por tanto, la penetración se percibe en los discursos hegemónicos como un acto que permite a la pareja penetrante dominar a la pareja penetrada, y estos discursos son particularmente relevantes en el contexto mexicano (Limón 1989). Las historias, ciertas o no, parecían circular como moneda social, permitiendo al narrador ganar estatus a los ojos de otras personas por asociación con un objeto de alto estatus, pero también por dominar a este objeto de alto estatus.

Igualmente, me pareció sorprendente oír el cotilleo sobre los ramones. En las demás investigaciones que se habían leído sobre los muxe, el tema de los ramones no se abordaba o se daba a entender como un fenómeno periférico (Gauvin 2011). Aún no se había leído la bibliografía más reciente sobre la identidad muxe, incluidos los artículos de Cruz Vásquez (2021) y Laaksonen (2018), que documentan exhaustivamente este fenómeno. Además, aunque la tesis de Laaksonen (2016) menciona el asunto, no se había terminado de leer este trabajo antes de ir al campo.

En una nota relacionada, la idea de que las personas no pueden controlar sus impulsos sexuales u otros sentimientos y emociones puede vincularse con otro problema social en Juchitán: la prevalencia del abuso doméstico y sexual. Tengo la impresión, al igual que muchxs otrxs investigadores (Barbosa 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Mirandé 2011; Stephen 2002), de que el abuso doméstico y la agresión sexual son muy comunes y afectan a todos los grupos sociales, pero especialmente a los muxe, las mujeres y lxs niñxs. Algunxs participantes estaban segurxs de que el abuso doméstico de estxs últimxs ocurría más o menos en todos los hogares de Juchitán y, en algunos casos graves, causaba daños físicos permanentes. Asimismo, escuché historias de castigos físicos por mal comportamiento sobre el que el/la niñx no tenía control (no entender zapoteco por ser criadx como monolingüe en español), y formas relativamente menores de

abuso doméstico (abofetear a las parejas románticas y dar nalgadas a lxs niñxs).

De la misma manera, escuché relatos de muchas personas sobre agresiones sexuales a niñxs, a veces con detalles inquietantes o por motivos especialmente egoístas. En un caso, un participante llegó a afirmar que había oído a una mujer afirmar que ella y otras mujeres abusaban sexualmente de sus hijos varones de corta edad con la esperanza de convertirlos en “muxe” para que cuidaran de ellas en la vejez. Estas historias de abusos físicos y sexuales se presentaban normalmente en tercera persona y, en todos los demás casos, en pasado. En otras palabras, la gente hablaba mucho más fácilmente de abusos causados por tercerxs que de abusos en los que ellxs hubieran participado o perpetrado, y un hombre dijo que solía abusar de los miembros de su familia, pero que ya no lo hacía por intervención divina. En cierto sentido, esta violencia se produce, pero nadie lo hace. Todo el mundo tiene una historia de violencia (machista) que nadie ha perpetrado.

Escuché historias sobre el acoso callejero, dirigido principalmente a mujeres y muxes, y, en un caso, a una niña de 10 años. La participante más joven, que pareció una persona especialmente perspicaz, me dijo que el tipo de comentarios que escuchaba de los hombres en la calle la llevaban a creer que, si esa persona tuviera la oportunidad, la violaría. A lo largo de mi estancia en Juchitán, fui testigo de comentarios de este tipo, por lo que estoy totalmente de acuerdo con la impresión de la participante. El más notable de estos comentarios lo escuché durante una entrevista diurna en un parque, un lugar seguro elegido por la participante, que era muxe gunaa. Durante esta entrevista, un hombre de mediana edad se acercó para pedir dinero y, al decirle que no, este le dijo a la participante que se la follaría por el culo y que lo aguantara. La participante, aunque alterada, no se sorprendió por este comportamiento y no mostró ninguna reacción emocional hasta más tarde. El alto nivel de normalización de los comentarios violentos y de ciertos comportamientos violentos en general aumentó mis propios sentimientos de inseguridad.

En consecuencia, aprendí a copiar esta normalización y a ocultar las reacciones emocionales cuando se experimentaban acontecimientos incómodos, a pesar de que ello también era molesto. Cabe preguntarse, al igual que la joven participante, cómo se habría portado ese hombre, si realmente hubiera tenido la oportunidad de violarla, o si hubiera estado un poco más enfadado, o si hubiera tenido una pistola. Lxs dos estábamos a salvo, pero, si hubiera sido de noche, si hubiéramos estado en otra parte

de la ciudad, o si ella hubiera estado sola, la situación podría haber acabado de forma muy distinta.

Posteriormente, escuché otros comentarios sexualmente agresivos, en el caso de una mujer del mercado que coqueteó conmigo con bastante insistencia (sección 4.3) y, sobre todo, por parte de una muxe gunaa a la que se entrevistó. Esta última quería acostarse conmigo, pero rechacé sus insinuaciones diciéndole que era *gay* y que prefería ser pasivo, todavía sin darme cuenta de que eso no funcionaría. Ella respondió diciendo algo parecido a “yo puedo ser activo para ti, bebé”, lo que me hizo sentir muy incómodo, pues era una persona alta y musculosa que percibía como una mujer, pero esta quería participar en un acto sexual que me parecía muy de hombre. Cuando ella notó que estaba callado, dijo que no me preocupara, porque no me iba a violar, y se echó a reír, lo que me dio a entender que se trataba de una broma.

Tal comentario contiene la suposición oculta de que la violación podría ser una posible reacción al rechazo de las insinuaciones sexuales, y el comentario, a pesar de estar enmarcado como una broma, introdujo esa suposición en un diálogo del que antes estaba ausente. Al final, tras vivir estas experiencias, escuchar estos comentarios y analizar lo que significaban, decidí cambiar ligeramente su forma de codificar las ideologías lingüísticas y de género. Por un lado, decidí codificar una ideología de género más, la ideología de género matriarcal, que, quizá como reacción al machismo, naturaliza el dominio femenino y muxe del hombre. En cuanto a las ideologías lingüísticas, a la luz de la importancia local de la reciprocidad, decidí considerar las descripciones que trataban el español y el zapoteco como lenguas con papeles recíprocos o iguales como instancias de la ideología lingüística bilingüe mencionada. También añadí una ideología lingüística adicional, la zapoteca promonolingüe.

Con respecto a la ideología de género, codifiqué la ideología de género zapoteca, la ideología de género machista, la ideología de género matriarcal y la ideología de género probilingüe. En cuanto a la ideología lingüística, codifiqué la ideología promonolingüe en español, la ideología promonolingüe en zapoteco, la ideología bilingüe complementaria y la ideología bilingüe igualitaria. Estas nuevas ideologías se mencionaban a menudo en el discurso, aunque la gente rara vez asumía la mayor parte de ellas por sí misma. Por otro lado, tenía una idea mucho más clara de los vínculos entre la dominación, los impulsos “incontrolables”, la cosificación, la violencia y las prácticas culturales particulares con las ideologías de género, especialmente la ideología machis-

ta. Para ahondar en la forma en que describí cada ideología y la forma en que utilicé la etnografía y la revisión de investigaciones anteriores para hacer estas determinaciones, véase la sección 4.5.

4.5 Descripciones de las ideologías

Las experiencias en Juchitán ayudaron no solo a identificar la importancia de la ideología matriarcal en los datos, sino también a entender con más detalle lo que implican las diversas ideologías de género. Específicamente, la creencia de que los hombres tienen impulsos sexuales naturalizados incontrolables hacia las mujeres que los llevan a cosificar, penetrar y/o dominar a las mujeres es una parte clave de la ideología de género machista en Juchitán. En la ideología de género matriarcal, estas ideas se conservan, pero aplicadas a la relación de las mujeres y/o muxes hacia los hombres. Por lo tanto, en la ideología de género matriarcal, las mujeres y/o muxes también tienen impulsos sexuales naturalizados e incontrolables hacia los hombres que las hacen dominar y cosificar y, en el caso de los muxes, a veces penetrar a los hombres, invirtiendo la lógica machista de la penetración para mostrar dominación.

En la ideología de género zapoteca, en la que se valora la reciprocidad, llevar bebidas a una fiesta es muy importante para un hombre, y esta experiencia enseñó lo importante que es beber juntxs para todos los roles de género, especialmente si las personas consideran que se ocupa un rol de género masculino o muxe. Al igual que otros compromisos exigidos por esta ideología, es muy difícil salirse de esta obligación, incluso cuando cumplirla podría causar daños corporales. Aunque todas estas ideologías son mencionadas en Juchitán por muchxs participantes, le parece al investigador que la ideología de género matriarcal es la menos comúnmente sostenida y que la ideología de género zapoteca es la más comúnmente sostenida.

Como tal, la ideología de género machista puede describirse como una ideología que naturaliza el dominio masculino de las mujeres y muxes y en la mayoría de los sectores de la sociedad. Según esta ideología, los hombres dominan determinados sectores (básicamente en todas partes, aparte del hogar y el mercado), y dominan en particular a las mujeres y a los muxes, debido a un conjunto de características naturales e inmutables que inevitablemente tienen. Los hombres no pueden controlar ni las expresiones de violencia ni su impulso sexual de cosificar y penetrar a las mujeres o,

cuando no hay mujeres disponibles, a las muxes, por lo que es absolutamente necesario que tengan relaciones sexuales que incluyan la penetración. Es importante señalar que esta ideología casi siempre se presenta como descripción o justificación del comportamiento machista de otros. Los hombres que tienen comportamientos machistas casi nunca lo expresan ni lo admiten abiertamente. De esta forma, nunca se asume la responsabilidad de los comportamientos machistas antisociales.

Como tienen pene, los muxes también deben penetrar a otros, aunque como no son realmente hombres, deben tener sexo con hombres. Suelen penetrar a hombres que se avergüenzan de este contacto sexual, o en ciertas raras circunstancias, penetran a muxes o a mujeres. Estas necesidades sexuales incontrolables hacen casi imposible que los hombres sean fieles en una relación. En otros ámbitos de la vida, los hombres dominan a lxs demás y, por tanto, tienen más poder y autoridad en ciertos sectores. Los hombres son más valiosos en comparación con las mujeres y especialmente en comparación con los muxes, que no son más que hombres castrados, porque los hombres tienen características más importantes, como la valentía, la fuerza y la capacidad de mantener a una familia, de las que carecen las mujeres y los muxes.

La ideología de género matriarcal contradice y complementa a la vez la ideología de género machista al naturalizar la dominación femenina y muxe en otros espacios sociales y de los hombres. En esta ideología, las mujeres y las muxes son la fuerza dominante en determinados sectores, como el mercado y el hogar, donde dominan a los hombres debido a un conjunto de características naturales e inmutables. Entre ellas se encuentran los impulsos sexuales naturalizados e incontrolables hacia los hombres que, en el caso de las muxes, pueden incluir la penetración de los hombres, pero, en la mayoría de los casos, implican seducir a los hombres para que las penetren. En realidad, las mujeres y las muxes dominan a los hombres más que a la inversa. Las esposas dan órdenes a sus maridos en la casa, y las muxes dicen a sus novios lo que tienen que hacer.

Según esta ideología, las mujeres y las muxes son responsables y trabajadoras, mientras que los hombres son perezosos e impulsivos, por lo que las mujeres y muxes tienen que controlar las finanzas y tomar las decisiones importantes por los hombres. Las mujeres y muxes, al trabajar en el comercio y cuidar de los padres, también asumen el papel de proveedora más a menudo que los hombres y no causan tantos problemas como ellos (como el alcoholismo y la violencia), por lo que tienen que dominar gran

parte de la vida en Juchitán. Perversamente, la ideología de género matriarcal se menciona a menudo para justificar el machismo, dado que ayuda a justificar la dominación en general, permite a los hombres sexistas creer que las mujeres y muxes dominan la vida en Juchitán en la misma medida que los hombres, y naturaliza la falta de responsabilidad entre los hombres. Esta falta de responsabilidad es más visible en lo que respecta a la violencia machista y la infidelidad, que aparentemente son rampantes, pero que es poco probable que los perpetradores admitan.

La ideología de género zapoteca, en cambio, es mucho más igualitaria, pero solo en el valor atribuido a hombres, mujeres y muxes. Las personas de cualquier grupo de género son igualmente valiosas debido a sus roles específicos de género o a sus supuestas capacidades de género. Los roles o trabajos femeninos y masculinos están recíprocamente relacionados, se complementan y ambos son necesarios para crear una sociedad que funcione. Por ejemplo, las mujeres trabajan en el mercado para complementar los ingresos de los hombres. Los muxes participan en estos roles o trabajos asumiendo los de los hombres, los de las mujeres o aquellas funciones únicas que sobran, como ser salidas sexuales para los hombres infieles o permanecer solteros y cuidar de los padres ancianos. Las características atribuidas a cada rol de género también reflejan y refuerzan esta estructura más amplia (por ejemplo, las mujeres son mejores en las finanzas, los hombres y los muxes son promiscuos por naturaleza). Estos roles y trabajos, y sus características asociadas, se entienden como naturales y/o necesarios, y cada rol se valora en su singularidad por su reciprocidad, permitiendo que otras personas realicen sus funciones. La mayoría de lxs juchitecxs con lxs que el investigador habló parecían sostener esta ideología.

La ideología de género igualitaria, por otro lado, se relaciona con ideologías feministas que llevan esta idea de igualdad más allá, aplicándola a los roles que asumen hombres, mujeres y muxes. En esta ideología, la identidad de género no es un determinante importante de los papeles que una persona asume o de los trabajos que una persona tiene. Hombres, muxes y mujeres pueden tener los mismos papeles o desempeñar los mismos trabajos y, si no es así, se debe a la influencia de la discriminación, de ideologías de género no feministas y/o de otras estructuras sociales en la vida de las personas. Las personas deben ser tratadas por igual, independientemente de su ideología de género, lo que significa que no deben estar sujetas ni a una discriminación que valore un género por encima de otros, ni a expectativas de roles basadas en la con-

dición de hombre, mujer o muxe. Muchxs jóvenes juchitecxs y, sobre todo, juchitecos gais, parecían sostener esta ideología.

En cuanto a las ideologías lingüísticas que se seleccionaron, la ideología a favor del español monolingüe se vincula a ideologías no igualitarias porque valora el español, la lengua materna de la gente mexicana blanca y mestiza, por encima de una lengua indígena, y a ideologías igualitarias porque valora el español monolingüe como una herramienta para reducir las desigualdades entre lxs mexicanxs indígenas y no indígenas. Esta convergencia entre ideologías no igualitarias y ostensiblemente igualitarias quizá no sea sorprendente, puesto que la ideología del mestizaje promueve la asimilación hacia una norma mestiza (Saldívar 2014) y, por lo tanto, implícita, pero claramente devalúa lo indígena (Glockner 2015).

La ideología bilingüe también encaja con dos ideologías más amplias, incluidas las ideologías igualitarias. Sin embargo, en contraste, también puede vincularse a la ideología zapoteca de reciprocidad complementaria, porque refleja la creencia de que diferentes grupos, o en este caso lenguas, pueden tener funciones sociales en gran medida separadas, pero igualmente importantes. La ideología zapoteca promonolingüe también encaja con esta ideología zapoteca, además de las ideologías antiespañolas, anti-mexicanas y anti-globalización que existen como reacción a la discriminación de la sociedad mexicana en general y/o de los actores internacionales.

En la ideología zapoteca promonolingüe, el zapoteco puede ser valorado como superior al español, ya sea en un conjunto particular de circunstancias limitadas por sus funciones sociales y vínculos con la cultura zapoteca o en un sentido más general por sus supuestas cualidades superiores al español. Lxs monolingües en zapoteco son vistxs como mejores hablantes de zapoteco que lxs hablantes de español, en tanto que cualquier diferencia entre el habla bilingüe y monolingüe se presenta como déficit en lugar de diferencia o ventaja (véase la visión sustractiva del bilingüismo, como en Cook (1997)). El zapoteco se percibe como más estrechamente vinculado a Juchitán y se representa como una lengua materna valorada, un aspecto tradicional (en un sentido positivo) del patrimonio cultural.

Esta lengua también se vincula con otras cualidades positivas como una belleza superior, una mayor expresividad y la habilidad que se requiere para hablarla. Es posible que se felicite a lxs hablantes por su dominio del zapoteco, porque se considera que es una lengua difícil de adquirir y hablar bien. Por otro lado, el español se representa

como impasible, extranjero, meramente instrumental o, de otro modo, como una obligación. También puede verse como menos bello, menos expresivo o difícil de dominar.

La ideología promonolingüe en español es, en algunos aspectos, muy similar a la ideología promonolingüe en zapoteco. Por un lado, se sigue considerando que lxs monolingües son mejores hablantes que lxs bilingües. Por otro lado, la lengua zapoteca se sigue asociando con Juchitán, mientras que la lengua española se sigue asociando con el resto del mundo. Sin embargo, en la ideología promonolingüe en español, lxs hispanohablantes y el resto del mundo se valoran más que lxs hablantes de zapoteco y Juchitán. Estos juicios de valor se extienden a otras áreas y se vinculan con ideologías neocoloniales, debido a que lxs hablantes de zapoteco se posicionan como menos competentes, ignorantes, menos inteligentes, conservadores y tradicionales de una manera indeseable. Aquí también está presente un vínculo con ideologías neoliberales, porque el español se vincula con el privilegio económico, el progreso y la practicidad, a expensas del zapoteco del istmo, que es atrasado y no es ni rentable ni práctico.

Es importante señalar que ninguna de las dos ideologías promonolingües se mantuvo abiertamente con mucha frecuencia. Sin embargo, algunxs hablantes sí expresaron su alineación ocasional con creencias de que lxs monolingües eran mejores hablantes o relacionaron el español con el progreso y la civilización. A pesar de esto, la mayoría de las menciones a estas ideologías se hicieron en forma de afirmaciones epistémicas con las que el/la hablante se alineaba de forma neutral o negativa. Las diferencias entre estas ideologías se corresponden en parte con las diferencias entre prestigio encubierto y manifiesto (Trudgill 1972) y, de hecho, podrían verse como articulaciones más detalladas de los conceptos de prestigio encubierto y manifiesto, aplicados a una lengua minoritaria y mayoritaria.

La ideología bilingüe, por el contrario, considera una ventaja que una persona conozca tanto el español como el zapoteco, o incluso otras lenguas como el inglés, el eslovaco o el japonés. Sin embargo, las razones concretas por las que se valoran el español y el zapoteco son similares a las que dan las ideologías pro-español y pro-zapoteco respectivamente. Por ejemplo, en la ideología bilingüe, el español sigue estando vinculado a la practicidad y el zapoteco a la tradición, pero estas diferentes asociaciones podrían verse de forma más positiva, y también existen nuevas asociaciones. Asimismo, el zapoteco también puede verse como algo práctico o incluso necesario de conocer, pues mucha gente en Juchitán lo habla. El zapoteco puede verse como la mejor opción en

los mercados, mientras que el español es perfecto para hablar con la gente del resto de México. Ahora bien, las canciones y los poemas pueden ser igual de buenos en ambas lenguas o expresar emociones diferentes, pero igualmente valiosas. Por lo tanto, esta ideología puede ser diglósica, apoyando una división de las lenguas a contextos de uso diferentes que no se solapan, o no diglósica, apoyando el uso de cualquiera de las lenguas en cualquier contexto. Pero, en todo caso, el alto valor que se concede al hecho de hablar ambas lenguas (y también otras) es coherente.

4.6 La hegemonía y las ideologías contestadas

Aunque todas las ideologías son contestadas, algunas ideologías son prácticamente incontestadas en una sociedad determinada. Esto puede ocurrir cuando una ideología es tan hegemónica que invisibiliza por completo todas las demás ideologías, haciéndolas casi impensables. Así pues, algunas ideologías son prácticamente incontestables porque son extremadamente hegemónicas o porque son tan poco hegemónicas que son prácticamente impensables. Un ejemplo de una ideología que es prácticamente indiscutible en Juchitán (porque es prácticamente inexistente) sería una ideología nacionalista zapoteca que vea a los zapotecos como parte de una nación que aspira a reclamar la independencia de México y crear su propio estado-nación. Para este proyecto, se ha optado por describir ideologías que, dentro de la sociedad juchiteca, eran mucho más controvertidas que estas, en parte debido a la probabilidad de que las ideologías relativamente controvertidas se mencionen en el discurso de la gente con más frecuencia. Una ideología como la ideología nacionalista zapoteca rara vez se considera seriamente y, por lo tanto, rara vez, o nunca, se menciona.

Además, este enfoque puede ayudar a controlar el efecto de determinadas estrategias creadoras de coherencia. Por un lado, es probable que las ideologías que se cuestionan con más frecuencia se expresen de forma diferente dependiendo de si el/la hablante se alinea con ellas o no, mientras que, por otro lado, las ideologías prácticamente no cuestionadas pueden mencionarse siempre de forma similar entre sí (al emplearse siempre el mismo conjunto de estrategias creadoras de coherencia exactamente de la misma forma con respecto a esa ideología). Por ejemplo, la toma de posturas negativas podría utilizarse de forma desproporcionada con respecto a una ideología prácticamente incontestada, lo que llevaría a una correlación fuerte entre la toma de posturas

negativas y la mención de esa ideología concreta. Por lo tanto, es de esperar que, al correlacionar ideologías relativamente incontestadas con la variación lingüística, no se controlaría adecuadamente ni el efecto de determinadas estructuras oracionales ni el de otras estrategias creadoras de coherencia en la variación lingüística.

En un contexto como el del México indígena, un enfoque centrado en estas ideologías relativamente disputadas dentro del individuo puede ser incluso más prevalente y, por lo tanto, más fácil de estudiar que en otros contextos, porque las ideologías heterogéneas a menudo son el resultado de la interacción entre el sistema de pensamiento colonial y otros sistemas de pensamiento (Kroskrity 2009) y también porque, durante los cambios sociales, dos ideologías pueden competir claramente por la hegemonía (se ha demostrado esto en el caso de Senegal (Swigart 2001)). En el México indígena en general, parece haber una complicada interacción entre las ideologías coloniales e indígenas junto con las ideologías “modernas” y cosmopolitas del resto de México (Bonfil Batalla 2005), incluyendo, en el caso de Juchitán, el movimiento global LGBT. Para más información sobre estas ideologías que interactúan en Juchitán, véase Barbosa (2016), Bennholdt-Thomsen (1997) y Miano Borruso (2001).

Las ideologías que han cobrado relevancia más recientemente pueden contradecir y reafirmar simultáneamente ideologías coloniales e indígenas más antiguas, creando múltiples configuraciones de ideologías contrastantes. En Tlaxcala, la interacción entre tres o más ideologías diferentes (modernista, colonial e indígena) se ha relacionado con la articulación de ideologías contradictorias por parte de la misma persona (Messing 2007). En otras partes de México, los hablantes masculinos vinculan un discurso de nostalgia por el pasado con el náhuatl (Hill 1992) y con la construcción ideológica del *México profundo* (Bonfil Batalla 2005), mientras que las mujeres y los hombres menos privilegiados, al orientarse más hacia las ideologías modernas, parodian este discurso (Hill 1992).

4.7 Las entrevistas semidireccionadas

Para recopilar datos, se utilizó una metodología que se sitúa entre entrevistas estructuradas y conversaciones no estructuradas, a menudo denominada “entrevistas semiestructuradas” en la literatura de ciencias sociales. En esta sección, se describe y justifica el uso de entrevistas semiestructuradas, en contraposición a otros métodos po-

tenciales. Las entrevistas semiestructuradas son similares a las entrevistas en el sentido de que el/la entrevistador/a tiene temas en mente sobre los que desea que el/la entrevistadx comente y hace preguntas diseñadas para elicitarse discurso sobre estos temas. Sin embargo, en otros aspectos, las entrevistas semiestructuradas se asemejan más a las conversaciones, no hay una lista de preguntas establecidas o incluso temas que necesariamente deban abordarse, y el intercambio de la interacción se siente más como una conversación. De hecho, para los propósitos de este texto, es ideal que la entrevista semiestructurada se asemeje lo más posible a una conversación para lxs participantes, de modo que produzcan un registro de habla que realmente utilicen como parte de su repertorio.

En esta sección, a menudo se hace referencia a las entrevistas semiestructuradas simplemente como “entrevistas” o “conversaciones”, y, cada vez que se apunta a enfoques más estructurados, como entrevistas tradicionales o más “naturalistas” y conversacionales como verdaderas conversaciones, se usa un modificador para la palabra *entrevista* o *conversación*. Las entrevistas sociolingüísticas son un tipo de entrevista semiestructurada aplicada a la investigación sociolingüística, sin embargo, debido a su enfoque principal en el uso del lenguaje de lxs participantes, el/la entrevistador/a sociolingüísticx típicamente tiene aún menos temas en mente que le gustaría cubrir que el/la entrevistador/a semiestructuradx en otras áreas de las ciencias sociales. Dado que ya se habían determinado ideologías provisionales para estudiar en la comunidad, las entrevistas semiestructuradas se planearon temprano, comenzando unos días después del regreso a Juchitán, con el objetivo de hacer que lxs participantes hablaran sobre problemas ideológicamente importantes en la comunidad. Para evitar que la conversación fuera demasiado antinatural y cargada de ideología, no se mencionaron directamente las ideologías que se esperaba encontrar.

Utilizar entrevistas para obtener discurso sobre el fenómeno estudiado –en este caso, la ideología– es una práctica común para la investigación sobre identidad y lenguaje (Rezaei 2012) y una que también puede ser particularmente fructífera. Márquez Reiter (2018), por ejemplo, mostró que las orientaciones ideológicas promulgadas por el/la entrevistador/a, especialmente cuando entran en conflicto con las ideologías de lxs informantes, pueden ayudar a que las ideologías de lxs informantes salgan más claramente a la luz. Márquez Reiter (2018) desafió las ideologías de lxs hablantes en ocasiones al no alinearse explícitamente con el contenido ideológico producido por ellxs

(es decir, al comentar “¿de verdad?”), y muy a menudo presentaba a lxs informantes con otras ideologías, pidiéndoles su opinión sobre posiciones en desacuerdo.

Después de tales desafíos directos e indirectos, que serían muy difíciles de introducir en conversaciones completamente “naturalistas”, lxs hablantes produjeron más contenido que mencionaba ideologías y utilizaron más estrategias de coherencia para formar posiciones ideológicas a partir de las múltiples ideologías mencionadas en su discurso. Dado que este proyecto se enfoca en la relación de las ideologías de lxs informantes con la variación lingüística, Márquez Reiter (2018) proporcionó evidencia de que la entrevista puede ser uno de los métodos más poderosos para asegurar que una gran variedad de ideologías mencionadas se encuentren en el corpus.

Sin embargo, a diferencia de Márquez Reiter, rara vez contradijo el investigador las ideologías de lxs participantes directamente al no alinearse con sus afirmaciones. A veces incluso fue en la dirección opuesta, afirmando ideologías con las que no estaba de acuerdo, llegando incluso a afirmar el machismo y la homofobia de un participante masculino, y probablemente así perdiendo la oportunidad de una entrevista con una mujer que escuchó. Se hizo esto para asegurar una buena relación con lxs participantes, para que quisieran seguir hablando durante toda la entrevista y para que no se enojaran (sección 4.10). En cambio, para aumentar la frecuencia con la que se expresaban las ideologías en las entrevistas, fue necesario limitarse a mencionar ideologías adicionales durante la entrevista para que lxs entrevistadxs comentaran sobre ellas. Esta resultó ser una estrategia particularmente efectiva con la mayoría de lxs hablantes.

Se prefirió el uso de datos de entrevistas para este estudio en lugar de conversaciones grabadas más “naturalistas” por una variedad de razones. En parte, se eligió usar datos de entrevistas para disminuir la cantidad de enunciados “no relacionados” con las ideologías en las que se puso enfoque. Para los propósitos de este estudio, es importante dirigir la conversación hacia las ideologías seleccionadas para la cuantificación para que se codifiquen la menor cantidad posible de enunciados como “no relacionados”. Además, cuestiono la importancia de centrarse en datos conversacionales “naturales” por razones teóricas. Aunque los datos de entrevistas se han criticado tanto implícita como explícitamente en varios subcampos de la sociolingüística, especialmente en el análisis conversacional, De Fina (2009) señaló varios problemas con considerar los datos de entrevistas como artificiales en oposición a los datos de conversación “naturales”. La autora consideró que las entrevistas sociolingüísticas son un

género de habla, en el que las narrativas elicítadas por lxs hablantes no son artificiales *per se* y aún se cuentan con un objetivo social.

En ese orden de ideas, lxs hablantes entrevistadxs se orientan a las expectativas que obtienen de su coparticipante (en este caso, el/la entrevistador/a) y de otros elementos contextuales, diseñando respuestas para su coparticipante y, por lo tanto, coconstruyendo su narrativa, tal como lo hacen en las llamadas conversaciones naturales (De Fina 2009). Lo que difiere entre las entrevistas sociolingüísticas y las llamadas conversaciones “normales” no es tanto el contenido de las narrativas o las posibles acciones sociales realizadas a través de la conversación, sino más bien las reglas de interacción y las relaciones sociales entre lxs participantes (en el caso de la entrevista, entre el/la participante y el/la investigador/a) (De Fina 2009). Como tal, lxs hablantes aún utilizan estilos de su repertorio en entornos de entrevista y, por lo tanto, lxs investigadorxs aún pueden usar datos de entrevistas para extraer datos relevantes sobre los repertorios de lxs hablantes.

Se llevaron a cabo entrevistas semiestructuradas, en este caso, lo que significa que el investigador dirigió la conversación hacia las ideologías relevantes, aunque generalmente no se les hacían preguntas específicas sobre estas ideologías (para obtener detalles sobre cómo se realiza una entrevista semiestructurada, véase (Leech 2002)). Esto se hizo para asegurar que la entrevista se sintiera, para lxs participantes, lo más similar posible a una conversación natural, mientras se aseguraba que las ideologías de género y lenguaje relevantes ingresaran en la conversación. Era importante que los temas ideológicos, en relación con el género y el lenguaje, ingresaran en la conversación relativamente a menudo, para disminuir el número de enunciados codificados como “no relacionados” con estas ideologías.

Al mismo tiempo, hacer que la conversación se centrara exclusivamente en estas ideologías podría hacer que la conversación se sintiera particularmente poco natural para el/la hablante, así que se permitió que lxs hablantes se desviaran hacia los temas que desearan. Asimismo, para evitar desafiar directamente las ideologías de lxs hablantes e introducir contenido ideológico con el que lxs hablantes pudieran estar de acuerdo o no, el investigador trabajó para construir un aire de neutralidad, utilizando algunas de las estrategias empleadas por periodistas en entrevistas políticas.

En las entrevistas políticas, generalmente es muy importante que lxs periodistas mantengan un aire de neutralidad, para no parecer demasiado sesgadxs a favor o en

contra del/la políticx entrevistadx (Clayman 2002; Rendle-Short 2007). Sin embargo, paradójicamente, se espera que estxs hagan preguntas a lxs políticxs que desafíen sus puntos de vista expresados (Heritage 2002; Rendle-Short 2007). Por lo tanto, para plantear puntos de vista potencialmente controvertidos mientras aparentan neutralidad, recurren a una variedad de estrategias, como evitar preguntas que favorezcan fuertemente una respuesta particular (es decir, interrogativas negativas), al mencionar contenido ideológico (Clayman 2002; Heritage 2002) y evitar expresiones de afiliación o desafiliación con la vista expresada del/la políticx, ya sea gestual o verbalmente (Clayman 2002; Rendle-Short 2007).

En estas situaciones, lxs periodistas tienden a limitarse a hacer preguntas, en lugar de expresar sus propias opiniones, y típicamente presentan información de antecedentes solo como parte de una pregunta prefacio (Heritage 2002; Rendle-Short 2007). Es importante destacar que los cambios de posicionamiento también se emplean ampliamente para atribuir puntos de vista controvertidos u opiniones que van en contra de los propios puntos de vista del/la políticx entrevistadx a un/a tercerx, no presente (Clayman 1992, 2002; Rendle-Short 2007). Por otro lado, se utilizó la mayoría de estas mismas estrategias para mantener la percepción de neutralidad en las entrevistas. A pesar de mantener un aire de neutralidad en general, el investigador tenía la disposición para romper una postura neutral para estar de acuerdo con las afirmaciones de lxs participantes como estrategia para establecer una relación, que utilizaría principalmente en casos en los que estuviera de acuerdo con el/la participante y ocasionalmente incluso cuando no lo estuviera.

De igual forma, había temas específicos sobre los que se quería hablar y preguntas que se podían usar para llevar a las personas a esos temas, pero no necesariamente se hicieron todas estas preguntas a todxs lxs participantes, permitiendo que las conversaciones se desarrollaran relativamente naturalmente de acuerdo con la metodología típica para entrevistas semiestructuradas (Longhurst 2003). Inicialmente, el investigador escribió una lista de preguntas potenciales, pero rápidamente abandonó esta lista a favor de recordar qué tipos de preguntas elicitaron respuestas interesantes y seguir el flujo de la conversación. El flujo de la conversación, así como la identidad del/la participante, determinaron qué preguntas se hicieron y en qué momento. También tendía a iniciar conversaciones con temas de conversación relativamente no sensibles (Leech 2002), a menos que hubiera hablado durante un tiempo antes.

La información demográfica relevante se obtuvo antes, durante o después de la entrevista, dependiendo de cuánto el investigador conociera a la persona entrevistada. Registró toda esta información en una tabla (hoja de Excel impresa) que llevaba a cada entrevista. En el caso de que cierta información necesitara ser obtenida durante la entrevista, se preguntaba directamente por esta información. La información demográfica que se obtuvo para cada participante incluyó su historia de migración doméstica (si habían pasado tiempo fuera de Juchitán y, de ser así, cuánto tiempo), su ocupación y su edad, precedida por una declaración pidiéndoles el permiso que dar estas preguntas.

Ya fuera que el investigador conociera más o menos a una persona antes de entrevistarla, generalmente dirigía la conversación en algún momento hacia la ocupación de cada participante. Al respecto, el trabajo se ve como central en la sociedad juchiteca, pues se considera una actividad que da sentido a la vida (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994, 1997; Caparrós 2012), por lo que es un tema bastante común y neutral para conversar. Comenzar con un tema así para lxs hablantes que el investigador acababa de conocer era a menudo una buena manera de pasar a otros temas relacionados (y posiblemente ideológicamente cargados) con respecto al lenguaje o, especialmente, al género, porque se podía preguntar a lxs participantes en qué consistía su trabajo y luego preguntar si tenían compañerxs de trabajo de un grupo de género no asociado con ese trabajo en particular.

Esta fue una buena manera de hacer que lxs participantes sin interés en la política de género mencionaran sus ideologías de género, y posteriormente se podía preguntar por qué pensaban que tan pocos miembros de ciertos géneros hacían el mismo trabajo que ellxs. Sin embargo, fue aún más fácil hacer que estxs participantes hablaran sobre sus ideologías de género preguntándoles sobre celebraciones particulares (es decir, robadas, también llamadas raptos) y luego preguntándoles sobre el componente de género de estas celebraciones y por qué pensaban que existía ese componente de género.

Para dirigir la conversación hacia las ideologías de género, a menudo se mencionaba el impopular concepto de Juchitán como un matriarcado o paraíso *gay* que se ha promovido en ciertos periódicos y documentales (Escobedo Lastiri 2011) y se preguntaba a lxs hablantes qué pensaban de esta idea. A veces también se les preguntaba a lxs hablantes qué roles ellxs y otros miembros de su comunidad asumían durante su

vida diaria, en el trabajo y en la vida social, para hacer que las personas hablaran sobre roles sociales vinculados a normas de género, y, a menudo, también se les preguntaba a lxs hablantes si creían que ellxs y otros miembros de su género eran discriminados en la sociedad. En esta línea, a veces se hacían preguntas sobre cómo es ser muxe, mujer u hombre en Juchitán y qué pensaban de los miembros de otros grupos de género. No se solían mencionar problemas de violencia doméstica debido a su sensibilidad, pero el investigador tuvo en cuenta estos problemas como un aspecto de ciertas ideologías de género durante las muchas ocasiones en que lxs participantes los mencionaron sin preguntarse.

También el investigador tendía a preguntar a lxs hablantes si su lengua materna era zapoteca o español y qué tan cómodxs se sentían con cada idioma. Además de ser una buena pregunta demográfica, esta pregunta predisponía a lxs hablantes a mencionar sus propias ideologías lingüísticas, porque era un buen punto de partida para otras preguntas sobre las ideas de lxs hablantes sobre el zapoteco y el español. Les pidió a la mayoría de lxs hablantes que hablaran más en general sobre su experiencia con el idioma zapoteco en sus vidas, después de obtener esta información demográfica, con la esperanza de elicitare ideologías lingüísticas mencionadas. También le preguntó a la mayoría de lxs hablantes que no mencionaron esta información por sí mismxs qué idioma usaban con su familia y amistades versus extrañxs, así como qué opinaban sobre el idioma zapoteco y el aumento del uso del español en Juchitán.

La manera en que se dirigían las conversaciones hacia las ideologías lingüísticas y de género dependía de cómo se desarrollaba cada entrevista. Algunxs participantes comenzaron a hablar sobre sus ideologías lingüísticas y/o de género sin ningún estímulo, lo que también sucedió ocasionalmente durante las conversaciones preliminares con personas durante la visita inicial a Juchitán. En estos casos, simplemente se permitió que la conversación se desarrollara, haciendo preguntas abiertas para provocar más discusión.

En los casos en que una conversación sobre ideologías lingüísticas y de género no surgía orgánicamente, el investigador utilizó una de varias estrategias, según la sensación que obtenía de la persona, para convencerla de que hablara sobre estos temas. Iniciar la conversación hablando sobre trabajos o fiestas era una manera productiva de involucrar a aquellxs que estaban menos interesadxs en el lenguaje y el género en una conversación sobre esos temas. Dado que los trabajos están bastante segregados

por género en Juchitán, y que las mujeres, muxes y hombres asumen roles diferentes en las fiestas, se podía preguntar o comentar sobre el papel de cada género tanto en actividades profesionales como recreativas para iniciar una conversación.

En ese sentido, el investigador tenía la expectativa de que fuera especialmente fácil hacer que la mayoría de los muxes, especialmente los activistas muxe, hablaran sobre cuestiones relacionadas con el género, simplemente preguntando sobre el nivel de aceptación (o la falta de ella) que sienten por ser muxe. Esta expectativa resultó ser cierta. El investigador divulgaba la propia orientación sexual de forma estratégica, revelándola solo si parecía que ayudaría a dirigir la conversación en una dirección que quisiera o para construir una relación.

4.8 El equipo

Las entrevistas se grabaron con una grabadora Zoom H5 Handy, que contenía micrófonos estéreo y una tarjeta de memoria flash. Esta es buena para minimizar el ruido exterior, y los micrófonos acoplados podían cubrirse con un paravientos de espuma para reducir aún más el sonido del viento a niveles aceptables. Igualmente, los micrófonos utilizados fueron AKG MicroMics C 417III, un tipo de micrófono de solapa, tal y como recomendaron Podesva y Zsiga (2013) para minimizar el ruido de fondo. Debido a su pequeño tamaño y a la posibilidad de engancharlo a la camisa de los participantes, era un micrófono bastante discreto, y tenía la ventaja de no distorsionar el sonido en toda su gama de frecuencias, que va de 20 Hz a 20 kHz.

Adicionalmente, el investigador llevaba pilas recargables, y estas se cargaban siempre que no se utilizaban para minimizar las posibilidades de quedarse sin batería durante una grabación. Se llevó al campo el doble de grabadoras, baterías recargables y micrófonos de los necesarios para que, en caso de pérdida, daño o robo de algún equipo, se pudiera seguir haciendo grabaciones. Por otro lado, las grabaciones también se realizaron con una frecuencia de muestreo de 44,1 kHz, una tasa de cuantificación de 16 bits y un formato de grabación sin comprimir, siguiendo las especificaciones típicas de las entrevistas sociolingüísticas (Podesva y Zsiga 2013). Finalmente, los archivos se encriptaron, se protegieron con contraseña y se guardaron como archivos WAV y mp3 en varias ubicaciones en un disco duro, en el ordenador y en una unidad en la nube.

De otra parte, las grabaciones se hicieron generalmente en el apartamento, en las

casas de lxs participantes, en un restaurante, o en los lugares de trabajo de lxs participantes para seguir las normas sociales en Juchitán lo más cerca posible, a fin de garantizar la seguridad propia y la de lxs participantes, y para evitar el ruido excesivo. Dicho esto, el investigador solía dar a las personas a las que entrevistaba la oportunidad de elegir dónde grabar y, en general, se seguían las oportunidades que brindaba el momento, grabando ocasionalmente entrevistas inesperadas en lugares públicos como parques. Sin embargo, era preferible un lugar cerrado, en parte para evitar el ruido, pues los bares, restaurantes y mercados pueden ser bastante ruidosos, y en parte para seguir las normas locales en la medida de lo posible. En Juchitán es típico que la gente socialice en sus casas y mucho más raro que lo haga en lugares públicos, excepto mientras trabaja. Por lo tanto, una casa o un lugar de trabajo solía ser un entorno mucho más natural para recopilar datos de las entrevistas.

Asimismo, en Juchitán suele hacer mucho viento, cuya intensidad también se mitiga al estar en interiores. Para evitar aún más que el sonido del viento arruinara la calidad del audio, las grabaciones se realizaron con lxs participantes de espaldas al viento cuando se grababa en entornos al aire libre, y se indicó a lxs participantes que se sentaran en superficies blandas, como sofás, siempre que fuera posible. Además, cuando fue posible y conveniente para lxs informantes, las grabaciones se realizaron en habitaciones con menos superficies duras, y se apagaron los dispositivos electrónicos ruidosos (es decir, televisores) para aumentar la calidad de las grabaciones de audio (Podesva y Zsiga 2013). También se prefirieron habitaciones con más muebles por la misma razón. Las entrevistas tomaron entre 45 minutos y 1 hora, dependiendo de la fluidez de la conversación y de si el investigador consideraba que habían obtenido suficientes datos de ese/esa hablante en particular.

4.9 La ética

En esta sección, se detallan los problemas éticos con respecto a lxs participantes y cómo se abordaron, junto con las consideraciones éticas del investigador trabajando en un contexto desconocido y potencialmente peligroso. Las consideraciones éticas hacia el/la investigador/a a menudo son descuidadas en las discusiones éticas, sin embargo, este es, junto con otrxs participantes, cocreador/a de la investigación y, por lo tanto, un/a participante cuyas necesidades deben considerarse en pie de igualdad con las del

resto de lxs participantes. Por lo tanto, en esta discusión, se dedica igual tiempo a las consideraciones éticas para lxs principales participantes del estudio que a las consideraciones éticas con respecto al investigador.

Con respecto a lxs participantes, se debe diferenciar aquí entre el tratamiento ético hacia estxs y las expectativas de las universidades anglófonas y europeas con respecto a su tratamiento ético. En muchas universidades, el tratamiento ético de lxs participantes se controla mediante el uso de formularios de consentimiento, comités que evalúan el riesgo potencial de la investigación, y procedimientos similares. Aunque no hay un comité de revisión ética para proyectos de investigación en ciencias sociales en Suiza, a menudo se espera que lxs participantes muestren su consentimiento a la investigación que se está realizando, firmando un formulario de consentimiento. Esta expectativa puede cumplirse en muchas comunidades, pero, en otros casos, paradójicamente puede ser un obstáculo para el proceso de obtener un consentimiento realmente informado.

En este estudio no se utilizaron formularios de consentimiento, optando en su lugar por obtener el consentimiento verbalmente, para hacer que el método de obtención de consentimiento fuera más ético para la comunidad estudiada. Muchas culturas en todo el mundo, incluidas las culturas indígenas mexicanas, son fundamentalmente orales. De acuerdo con esta observación, investigadorxs en una variedad de disciplinas, desde la medicina (Gordon 2000) hasta la geografía (Butz 2008) y la lingüística (Eckert 2013), han sugerido que es mejor obtener consentimiento oral que escrito cuando ciertas condiciones comunitarias hacen que los miembros de la comunidad se sientan más cómodos.

De esa manera, el consentimiento oral puede ser más apropiado específicamente en contextos donde las tasas de alfabetización son bajas (Eckert 2013; Gordon 2000) y donde lxs participantes se sienten incómodxs con los acuerdos escritos firmados (Eckert 2013), típicamente porque personas poderosas en ese contexto históricamente han ignorado tales acuerdos o los han utilizado para justificar abusos de poder (Gordon 2000). Todos estos elementos contextuales están presentes en mayor o menor medida en Juchitán.

Por otra parte, Juchitán es una comunidad con una población en su mayoría indígena. Con base en la historia de potencias coloniales europeas firmando tratados sobre el uso de la tierra con grupos indígenas en las Américas y Australia con la intención

de romper esos tratados poco después, el consentimiento escrito puede ser recibido con sospecha por parte de las comunidades indígenas en las Américas. Con respecto a Juchitán, este nivel de posible sospecha puede ser aún más probable, porque los contratos en México, un país con altos niveles de corrupción oficial, pueden no respetarse con particular frecuencia. En línea con este argumento, otrxs investigadorxs han experimentado dificultades para hacer que lxs mexicanos indígenas confíen en los formularios de consentimiento informado escritos (Águila et al. 2015) con participantes específicamente preocupadxs, de acuerdo con el contexto sociohistórico de los tratados rotos, que podrían ser engañados para renunciar a su propiedad firmando un formulario de consentimiento.

Además, en la provincia de Oaxaca específicamente, las comunidades indígenas recibieron un cierto grado de autonomía en la gobernación de los asuntos locales en la década de 1980, en gran parte para evitar un movimiento social de izquierda, la COCEI, de provocar una rebelión indígena en y alrededor de Juchitán (Recondo 2007). Aunque proporcionar este mayor nivel de autonomía ayudó al Gobierno federal a solidificar su hegemonía en toda la provincia (Recondo 2007), las formas oficiales de establecer obligaciones mutuas todavía son mucho menos respetadas en las comunidades indígenas que las relaciones interpersonales basadas en la reciprocidad. Como tal, el consentimiento oral podría ser más apropiado que el consentimiento escrito, pues es más similar al establecimiento de una relación recíproca y no evoca contratos gubernamentales menos respetados.

Adicionalmente, el consentimiento escrito puede no apropiarse en comunidades con bajos niveles de alfabetización (Butz 2008; Eckert 2013; Gordon 2000), en tanto que la baja alfabetización puede llevar a que lxs participantes no comprendan los formularios de consentimiento escritos. Los niveles de alfabetización funcional pueden ser más bajos de lo que muchxs académicxs esperan, incluso en países de altos ingresos con altos niveles de alfabetización formal y fuertes instituciones que promueven la alfabetización, lo que puede hacer que algunxs participantes se sientan reactivexs a realizar tareas que requieran lectura (Milroy 1987; Vágvolgyi et al. 2016). Aunado a esto, Juchitán es una ciudad relativamente pobre en un país de ingresos medios donde lxs hablantes a menudo reciben educación en un idioma extranjero en la escuela. Como se ve en investigaciones del continente africano (Van Dyken 1990), la educación monolingüe en un idioma colonial se vincula a bajos índices de alfabetización, especialmente

cuando el idioma del hogar es devaluado por el sistema escolar y cuando el idioma colonial se adquiere en gran medida a través de la escolarización (ambas condiciones se aplican parcialmente en Juchitán).

Para México, Juchitán tiene un nivel de alfabetización absoluto muy por debajo del promedio, alrededor del 90,61 % según información del censo (Hidalgo 2022), probablemente debido a su bajo estatus socioeconómico y la falta de educación bilingüe en zapoteco y español, y es probable que las tasas de alfabetización funcional sean aún más bajas. Como tal, el potencial para que este estudio reclute al menos algunxs participantes con bajos niveles de alfabetización funcional es particularmente alto. Por lo tanto, se esperaba que no todxs lxs participantes pudieran comprender los formularios de consentimiento escritos y también se evitaba depender del consentimiento escrito por esta razón.

En consecuencia, se obtuvo el consentimiento de cada participante en dos momentos separados, una vez antes de grabar y otra durante cada grabación. Lxs participantes dieron su consentimiento inicialmente cuando se les explicó brevemente el proyecto de investigación y se les pidió que participaran en el estudio. Al reclutar participantes, se les habló del interés en la forma en que se habla español en Juchitán porque es una parte única de México en cuanto a cultura e idioma. También se les dijo a lxs participantes que se deseaba ver cómo sus ideas y diferentes temas de conversación cambiaban su forma de hablar, así que se quería tener y grabar una conversación con ellxs sobre muchos temas relacionados con su vida en Juchitán, el idioma, otros aspectos de la vida que hacen único a Juchitán y otros temas sobre los que estaban interesadxs en hablar. Después de recibir este consentimiento inicial, se ayudó a cada participante a colocarse su micrófono y se preguntó si se podía encender el dispositivo de grabación inmediatamente antes de hacerlo.

Siempre se aseguró que lxs participantes supieran exactamente cuándo se había comenzado a grabar. Posteriormente, se pedía consentimiento de una manera menos detallada, repitiendo el contenido de un guion de consentimiento, que encajaba de la manera más natural en la conversación más amplia, al presentarlo como información preliminar sobre cómo funcionaría la conversación grabada. Este guion incluía toda la información proporcionada al reclutar participantes en una forma abreviada, así como una garantía del anonimato de lxs participantes.

De la misma forma, se dio información adicional sobre el proyecto a cualquier per-

sona que lo pidiera, hasta que estuviera satisfecha, y siempre se llevaba una versión escrita de este guion, en caso de que alguien pidiera una copia. El número de personas que pidieron una copia fue cero. Al final de cada conversación, siempre se agradeció a lxs participantes y se les preguntó si tenían más inquietudes para darles la oportunidad de retirar su consentimiento o plantear dudas sobre la investigación. Una vez más, nadie quiso retirar su consentimiento o tenía preguntas difíciles.

Igualmente, se dio acceso a algunas entrevistas a tres personas que ayudaron a transcribir. Estas tres personas firmaron un formulario declarando que prometían no compartir los datos, incluidos los nombres mencionados en las entrevistas, con nadie más, y que eliminarían los datos de sus computadoras cuando terminara la transcripción. Se eligieron los transcritores sin conexión con Juchitán a propósito, para disminuir sus posibilidades de reconocer a un/a participante. Además, las entrevistas se utilizaron para crear un corpus de español en Juchitán que solo se compartió con el comité de tesis después de completar el proyecto. Estas personas aceptaron tratar los datos de la misma manera.

Ahora bien, lxs investigadorxs utilizan los datos lingüísticos que provienen de las comunidades que estudian para avanzar en sus carreras, mejorar su reputación de investigador/a y contribuir al campo de la lingüística en su conjunto. No obstante, históricamente lxs investigadorxs han obtenido muchos de estos beneficios sin proporcionar beneficios concretos a la comunidad estudiada a cambio (Rickford 1997; Wolfram 1993a). Como tal, es importante que lxs investigadorxs sociolingüísticxs actuales retribuyan a la comunidad en la medida de lo posible. Aunque no se pudo hacer mucho en términos de devolver a la comunidad, el investigador pudo utilizar su presencia y su investigación para beneficiar a la comunidad de algunas maneras: para devolver a la comunidad en términos prácticos y para proporcionar algunos beneficios económicos a la comunidad mientras estuvo allí, ofreció regalos y/o comidas en restaurantes a las personas que le ayudaron a encontrar participantes adicionales y compró más de lo habitual para apoyar la economía local.

Ante esto, Wolfram (1993) enfatizó la importancia de buscar activamente oportunidades para utilizar el conocimiento lingüístico sobre una comunidad para devolvérselo a esa comunidad, lo que él llamó la “*gratificación lingüística*” (*linguistic gratuity*). Para hacer algunos actos de gratificación lingüística, se publicaron investigaciones relacionadas con este proyecto tanto en español como en inglés, para asegurar que los miem-

bros de la comunidad con formación académica tuvieran acceso a esta información adicional sobre el español hablado en su comunidad. También el investigador contactó a miembros de la comunidad con interés en el proyecto a medida que se publicaban estos artículos para contarles los resultados del estudio, y les informó a lxs académicxs dónde y cómo podían obtener acceso gratuito a los artículos.

Para facilitar aún más el acceso de la comunidad a los hallazgos, el investigador planeó enviar una copia de la tesis, cualquier publicación de acceso abierto y cualquier borrador de publicaciones de acceso cerrado a lxs sociólogxs con lxs que había vivido por primera vez en Juchitán. Estos habían pedido que, cuando se terminara la tesis, se les enviara una copia. Igualmente, se supuso que, como miembros de la comunidad bien situadxs con interés en corregir los desequilibrios de poder, ellxs estarían mejor posicionadxs para utilizar el conocimiento de una manera que beneficiara a la comunidad. En general, hubo una comunicación libre y abierta sobre los resultados a lxs otrxs juchitecxs con lxs que el investigador mantuvo contacto, para que estxs pudieran utilizar el conocimiento como quisieran.

En las conclusiones y los comentarios sobre cómo lxs activistas pueden utilizar los hallazgos en las secciones 9.3 y 7.2, se proporcionan ideas a las personas locales que estas pueden implementar si consideran que tiene sentido para ellas. Además, los hallazgos implican la importancia de valorar las formas indígenas de hablar español. Como se muestra en los capítulos 7 y 8, el español con variantes indígenas suele estar asociado con ideologías y posturas menos discriminatorias hacia las personas marginadas, por lo que se sugeriría que las personas locales aprendan cómo suena ese tipo de español y defiendan su uso en escuelas, comunicación oficial y otras instituciones locales.

Las personas dentro y fuera de Juchitán podrían usar los resultados como inspiración para promover formas no estándar e indígenas de hablar cualquier idioma. Al respecto, hubo un problema ético imprevisto con respecto a lxs participantes que ocurrió durante la investigación. Algunos que Jesse consiguió parecían intimidados por el investigador al principio, mientras que otros mostraban una cantidad sorprendente de interés sexual. En un momento dado, este comenzó a preguntarse si les había dado la impresión de que estaría sexualmente disponible. Ante esto, Jesse dijo cerca del final del periodo de trabajo de campo que la mayoría de los homosexuales y muxes que reclutó querían tener relaciones sexuales, pero que ellos debían hacer cualquier arreglo

de ese tipo directamente. Esto le sorprendió al investigador, porque pensaba que había dejado claro que no quería tener relaciones sexuales con lxs participantes.

Respecto a la seguridad, también hubo cuestiones éticas por considerar. El crimen violento es un problema social importante en Juchitán que afecta la vida cotidiana de muchas maneras. Según las estadísticas oficiales, la tasa de homicidios en Juchitán lo sitúa entre los 20 municipios más peligrosos de México, y estas estadísticas casi con seguridad están severamente subestimadas. A finales de diciembre, se supo, a través de algunxs conocidxs, que un policía fue asesinado. El asesino fue capturado, pero tenía buenas conexiones y era de una familia influyente, así que nadie quiso presentar cargos, por lo tanto, se liberó de la prisión. Nadie que contara esta historia se sentía sorprendidx por este desarrollo.

En ese sentido, dado que no se había participado en actividades relacionadas con drogas en Juchitán ni era oficial de policía, el riesgo personal del investigador de asesinarse era bastante bajo. Sin embargo, estar en una ciudad pequeña donde ocurren asesinatos semanales contribuye a un clima de inseguridad y miedo, y, viviendo en Juchitán, a menudo le parecía que la seguridad era una ilusión. Además, como vivía cerca de una instalación de entrenamiento policial, a veces se escuchaban disparos afuera cuando estaba en la habitación. Estos sonidos eran similares, pero mucho más fuertes que el sonido más común de los cohetes en las fiestas, y no saber con certeza si las balas estaban siendo disparadas dentro o fuera de la instalación era aterrador a veces. Por la noche, el sonido ocasional de las balas probablemente no provenía de la instalación policial.

Aún más aterrador era el hecho de que otros delitos eran increíblemente comunes. Con mucha frecuencia se escuchaba sobre “asaltos”, un término general utilizado en Juchitán para robos armados, agresiones físicas y otros delitos violentos, pero no letales ni sexuales. Estos crímenes pueden afectar a cualquiera y, aunque son mucho más comunes por la noche, pueden ocurrir en cualquier momento. Algunxs de lxs participantes y posibles participantes fueron víctimas de tales crímenes durante los dos meses y medio que el investigador estuvo en Juchitán, y, al menos una vez, ocurrió un robo a mano armada en una calle por la que había estado caminando menos de una hora antes. Las víctimas de estos crímenes habían crecido en Juchitán y sabían mejor cómo mantenerse seguras, y, aun así, no pudieron evitar ser víctimas de un delito. Al ser consciente de los peligros potenciales en Juchitán, el investigador decidió leer mu-

cho sobre cómo protegerse contra el crimen en la zona. Asimismo, buscó consejos para evitar ser víctima de un delito, pues supuso que las personas locales serían expertas en tales asuntos. De lxs participantes, aprendió a evitar salir solo por la noche y a tomar mototaxis por la noche (incluso en compañía), y que el centro de la ciudad era más seguro que las afueras.

Pero, a pesar de vivir allí y conocer las precauciones necesarias para tomar, muchas personas aún se convertían en víctimas del crimen. Estas ideaban diferentes estrategias entre sí en dicho contexto para mantenerse seguras, a veces contradiciendo directamente lo que hacían otras personas. Por ejemplo, vecindarios y calles que algunas personas consideraban siempre peligrosos solo eran peligrosos por la noche para otras personas. Algunas personas pensaban que no se debía tomar mototaxis en absoluto, mientras que otras pensaban que solo eran peligrosos por la noche y recomendaban que durante el día se tomaran en lugar de otras formas de transporte. Incluso el riesgo del investigador como no local fue visto como mayor por algunas personas y menor por otras. Rápidamente, el investigador aprendió que debía desarrollar un sentido de seguridad, siguiendo los consejos de ciertos lugareños algunas veces, pero tomando decisiones propias en otros casos, errando hacia el lado de más seguridad siempre que fuera posible.

En consecuencia, decidió evitar cualquier expresión abierta de riqueza, por lo que dejaba el Fitbit en el bolsillo y un protector de pantalla roto en el teléfono inteligente, mientras llevaba poco dinero. En caso de que robaran el apartamento al no estar allí, se habían escondido los suministros de grabación adicionales, la computadora portátil y el dinero extra en varios lugares de la habitación. En concordancia con esto, se debe señalar que lxs investigadorxs en lugares peligrosos recomiendan aprender habilidades que lxs lugareñxs utilizan para mantenerse seguros (Goldstein 2014), y, en este caso, se incluía una sensación casi constante de hipervigilancia fuera del apartamento, lo que hacía que salir a hacer entrevistas, observaciones e, incluso, compras fuera más difícil de lo que sería en casa.

Con ello, el investigador aprendió a estar siempre consciente de las personas alrededor, buscando cualquier cambio repentino o peligros ocultos y evitando lugares potencialmente riesgosos, como callejones oscuros y carreteras con pocas personas. Para evitar distracciones y parecer menos un blanco para el crimen, rara vez usaba el teléfono celular en público, y cuando era necesario, esperaba hasta estar en un mototaxi, en una

tienda o en un restaurante (donde es menos probable que los ladrones estén presentes), o tenía la espalda contra la pared en un lugar centralizado con un nivel promedio de hacinamiento (y, por lo tanto, se podía hacer un seguimiento de dónde estaban las personas incluso cuando consultaba el teléfono). Pero todo este conocimiento también tuvo un costo psicológico: nunca tuvo un sentimiento de seguridad completamente en Juchitán, pues a menudo temía por la integridad personal y el entorno.

Por otro lado, fue incómodo estar cerca de una de las participantes, quien era muxe gunaa, pero, debido al deseo de obtener datos, y dado que sabía que sería difícil encontrar suficientes participantes muxe gunaa, se intentó obtener una entrevista. Ella intentó que le diera dinero varias veces, lo cual el investigador rechazó firmemente, por lo que le compró cerveza en su lugar. Además, esta participante hizo comentarios invasivos y chistes incómodos, lo cual se menciona en la sección 4.4. A pesar de esto, y por no querer desperdiciar el dinero gastado, necesitar los datos y evidenciar los peligros de afuera (no conocía muy bien ese vecindario y el sol se estaba poniendo), decidió que tenía más sentido hacer la entrevista con ella que irse en ese momento. Por otro lado, tuvo la sensación de que ella quería sentirse poderosa y tener relaciones sexuales si podía, pero realmente no quería una violación. En la conversación anterior, parecía demasiado interesada en que tuviera una buena impresión de ella y en salir bien en la investigación.

Después de esto, fue necesario ir a la casa de su primo para la entrevista, y el investigador escaneó el área en busca de formas de salir en caso de que se necesitara. El primo estaba allí. Ocupó una habitación vacía para la entrevista con la puerta abierta y, después de esta, ella se insinuó nuevamente, al verse rechazada, pidió más dinero y, ante la negativa, ayudó a conseguir un mototaxi de regreso al centro de la ciudad. Más tarde, se escuchó que ella tenía mala reputación en la comunidad por mentir, robar dinero y hacer comentarios sexuales inapropiados.

En suma, todas las habilidades aprendidas en términos de supervivencia fueron difíciles de desaprender al regresar a Berna, y ello hizo difícil disfrutar ciertas actividades que antes eran regulares (estar afuera por la noche sin compañía, caminar en lugares muy concurridos o vacíos, esquiar), porque era demasiado fácil imaginar peligros potenciales en tales actividades. También resultó mucho más difícil abrirse a la gente nueva, especialmente en citas, porque había un sentimiento de inseguridad alrededor de las personas que expresaban su interés sexual. Adicionalmente, hubo problemas

para entender las preocupaciones de las personas en Suiza, que a menudo parecían insignificantes y sin sentido en comparación con las de lxs juchitecxs.

En Juchitán, el investigador a menudo era objetivado por las personas con las que interactuaba y aún más a menudo observaba la objetivación hacia otros. asimismo, este escuchaba historias sobre crímenes perturbadores y comportamientos sexuales profundamente egocéntricos, y tenía problemas para mantenerse al tanto de lo que era verdad, debido a las muchas contradicciones que expresaban ciertas personas. De ese modo, la experiencia sacudió su comprensión del mundo y, como resultado, perdió la confianza en otras personas y en sí mismo al navegar por la vida.

Estos choques culturales, en particular el sentido de hipervigilancia y la necesidad de desconfiar de los extraños, probablemente fueron particularmente difíciles porque el investigador viajó directamente de Suiza a Juchitán, y el contraste entre los dos contextos difícilmente podría ser mayor en estos aspectos. Suiza es un país con un nivel extremadamente alto de confianza y seguridad social donde, consecuentemente, se pasa por la vida sin pensar en peligros físicos o preocuparse por los motivos de las personas. Tras vivir allí durante casi cinco años, el investigador solo ha sentido inseguridad dos veces, y, en general, se confía en que casi todxs lxs que se conocen son buenas personas con las que se puede bajar la guardia. La única consecuencia negativa experimentada por el investigador al pasar por la vida con esta actitud fue el robo de una bicicleta que se había dejado mal cerrada en el centro de la ciudad durante mucho tiempo. En cualquier caso, la bicicleta fue devuelta unos días después.

Al regresar a Suiza, se mantuvo la hipervigilancia y la falta de confianza en nuevas personas durante algunas semanas, antes de dejar que este comportamiento disminuyera. No obstante, estas regresaron a finales del verano, momento en el que se mostraron otros síntomas psicológicos desagradables: sensación de peligro, necesidad de copiar las actitudes o los comportamientos desconfiados de las personas, y rechazo del interés sexual no deseado. El investigador ingresó a psicoterapia en octubre de 2021 para lidiar con los sentimientos y corregir las creencias distorsionadas y mal adaptativas que había aprendido en Juchitán. Para enero, había salido de la psicoterapia y para febrero había incorporado completamente las experiencias en su cosmovisión, funcionando en última instancia mejor que antes de visitar Juchitán. En última instancia, la incorporación de la reflexividad en la tesis también ayudó en este proceso, pues todo ello contribuyó a entender mejor los prejuicios propios y a ser flexible ante el mundo.

Tal flexibilidad en el pensamiento y la conciencia de los prejuicios llevaron a las ideologías relevantes en Juchitán a una mayor claridad, y formaron al investigador más efectivamente en aspectos prácticos.

A pesar de lo señalado, Juchitán no fue el primer lugar que el investigador visitó en el que se sintió inseguro, pero nunca había necesitado pasar mucho tiempo en un lugar donde fuera necesaria la hipervigilancia. Hacerlo proporcionó un recordatorio contundente de que las diferencias en el nivel de seguridad y opresión entre un sitio de investigación y la universidad de origen deben tenerse en cuenta al diseñar estudios de investigación, tanto en un sentido práctico como psicológico. Aunque finalmente el investigador pudo crecer a partir de la experiencia, no estaba preparado para el costo psicológico del proceso y no consideró las propias obligaciones éticas en el proyecto. Asimismo, los privilegios asociados a su identidad se ignoraron, y no se consideró que ello lo colocaría en una posición de desventaja o vulnerabilidad.

Al final, el investigador probablemente pasó demasiado tiempo preocupándose por la seguridad y comodidad de lxs participantes, asumiendo que siempre estaría en una posición de poder en comparación con ellxs, y sobre la capacidad para completar con éxito el proyecto. Estas preocupaciones terminaron eclipsando los compromisos éticos propios, por lo que se establecieron límites insuficientes con lxs participantes con respecto a las conversaciones, y se hicieron demasiadas entrevistas en lugares donde no había comodidad.

Con ello en mente es fácil señalar que el investigador, al igual que otrxs doctorandxs en situaciones similares, deberían centrarse en su seguridad percibida y real. Por eso, en el futuro, al asumir un proyecto, se debe considerar que la seguridad propia es tan importante como la de lxs participantes, más importante incluso que hacer un proyecto “mejor” u obtener datos “mejores”. En ese sentido, los datos no deben conseguirse a expensas de las personas, incluida la persona que los recopila. Es importante que todxs lxs investigadorxs, especialmente lxs doctorandxs, recuerden que su posición precaria puede llevar a una presión interna para hacer una investigación “mejor” al no abandonar situaciones peligrosas y muy incómodas, y que tienen la obligación de ignorar esa presión interna en tales situaciones. Para ver más discusión sobre el tema de los compromisos éticos con el/la investigador/a, así como sobre la forma en que las instituciones pueden apoyar estos compromisos éticos, se puede consultar a Taylor (2019).

4.10 Las dificultades con las entrevistas

El investigador se preparó para un par de cuestiones difíciles que podían surgir en las entrevistas, muy pocas de las cuales llegaron a producirse. Para evitar en lo posible las interrupciones de otras personas, este se aseguró de comunicar a lxs interlocutores cuánto tiempo se preveía que durasen las entrevistas (45 minutos). En los casos en que lxs participantes querían acortar la entrevista, el investigador pensaba aceptar inmediatamente las circunstancias, utilizar los datos que tenía y esperar que no le pidieran que destruyera los datos. Sin embargo, nadie quiso interrumpir la entrevista, por lo que se siente un profundo agradecimiento con la gente. Para evitar problemas tecnológicos que pudieran dar lugar a una mala grabación, el investigador practicó con la tecnología antes de entrar en el terreno, para familiarizarse con su funcionamiento. Además, el investigador llevó baterías recargables y se aseguró de que estas estuvieran cargadas y colocadas correctamente en el dispositivo. También llevó a Juchitán dos copias de cada dispositivo de grabación, por si alguno dejaba de funcionar o lo robaban.

Asimismo, si lxs interlocutores se enfadaban por alguna cuestión ideológica que el investigador planteara, pensaba validar la preocupación subyacente al enfado y desviar este hacia la cuestión que provocaba la respuesta airada. Cuando la gente expresa su enfado, suele querer que la otra persona lo valide de algún modo, y hacerlo puede ayudar a neutralizarlo. Por lo tanto, en estos casos, se validó el sentimiento de rabia, en un intento de debilitarlo. Validar requiere dejar que la otra persona termine su relato antes de hablar, demostrar que se entiende su perspectiva y cómo se siente, transmitir que los sentimientos son razonables y mostrar empatía o simpatía por su reacción (Winch 2011).

En cuanto a los datos en sí, era necesario validar fuertes emociones negativas unas cuantas veces, aunque nunca nadie pareció extremadamente enfadado. Sin embargo, sí hubo algunos problemas inesperados: una entrevista se interrumpió porque la grabadora se quedó sin batería, y una gran parte no se grabó. Aun así, la parte grabada de la entrevista (35 minutos) contenía datos más que suficientes para el análisis. Además, alguien también amenazó con violar al/la participante después de que se le negara el dinero. Por otro lado, antes de otra entrevista, un participante no dejaba de ligar con el investigador y pedirle dinero. En ambos casos, la calidad de las entrevistas no se vio afectada y, por lo demás, estas transcurrieron sin problemas.

En unos pocos casos, a pesar del equipo de grabación de alta calidad utilizado para las entrevistas, la grabación en sí era de mala calidad. Solo en un caso, sin embargo, la calidad del audio fue tan mala que resultó casi imposible transcribir las entrevistas con cierto grado de precisión, y mucho menos oír con exactitud qué variantes se utilizaban para la variable fonética, /s/ sílaba-final. En este caso, fue necesario abstenerme de utilizar la entrevista para el análisis. La hablante excluida, una mujer bilingüe de mediana edad, se identificó como 歌銀48 en los datos. Así, de las 56 entrevistas grabadas, 55 se utilizaron en el estudio final.

Capítulo 5

Metodología: el análisis de los datos

5.1 El proceso de la transcripción

En este Capítulo se explica cómo se transcribieron y extrajeron los datos, antes de señalar cómo se definieron los factores internos y externos que se correlacionaron con la variación sociolingüística. Al principio, se explican el proceso de transcripción y el posterior análisis de contenido que se utilizaron para identificar las ideologías mencionadas en los datos, sentando las bases para tratar las ideologías mencionadas como factores internos en el posterior análisis variacionista sociolingüístico. Posteriormente, se señala cómo se definieron, identificaron y extrajeron todos los demás factores internos y externos que estaban correlacionados con las variables sociolingüísticas.

Después de guardar cada entrevista electrónicamente en tres ubicaciones seguras, se probaron algunos programas en línea para ayudar a transcribir los datos. Se utilizó Sonix.ai (Sonix.ai 2022), un programa de pago que proporcionaba transcripciones bastante precisas. Estas transcripciones se dividieron en anotaciones de 1,5 segundos o menos de duración, se descargaron de la cuenta de Sonix.ai a un documento de Word y se cargaron en ELAN, un programa de transcripción diseñado para proyectos de investigación en lingüística. Para que la carga se realizara correctamente, se eliminaron todas las tildes de la transcripción, por lo que las transcripciones carecen de ortografía normativa en estos casos, pero, por lo demás, se siguen las reglas ortográficas estándar del español. En ELAN, se volvió a escuchar cada entrevista, para asegurar la coherencia de las convenciones utilizadas y corregir los errores de cada transcripción.

Aunque el servicio de transcripción de Sonix.ai era muy bueno y redujo la carga de trabajo de transcripción a aproximadamente un tercio, se cometieron errores, algunos de los cuales eran sistemáticos. El programa a menudo olvidaba palabras de relleno que contenían *tokens* de variables que se buscaban, sobre todo *este* y *pues* (ambas contienen la /s/ al final de la sílaba), y tenía problemas para transcribir con precisión audio con excesivo ruido de fondo (un problema frecuente en Juchitán). Además, el programa tenía dificultades con transcripciones con fonología y gramática no estándar.

Para el proyecto, esto significaba que las transcripciones de hablantes bilingües

equilibrads y de hablantes dominantes en zapoteco a menudo necesitaban más revisión que las transcripciones de hablantes dominantes en español. Asimismo, las transcripciones del español no nativo del investigador, que necesitaban permanecer en las transcripciones para ayudar a identificar las respuestas de lxs hablantes a preguntas concretas, a menudo necesitaban corregirse. Sin embargo, a pesar de sus defectos, el programa permitió terminar las transcripciones en aproximadamente un tercio del tiempo y, por ende, terminar la tesis a tiempo, a pesar de los retrasos relacionados con la pandemia por COVID-19 al inicio de la recopilación de datos.

De ese modo, se corrigieron alrededor del 70 % de las transcripciones realizadas por Sonix.ai. Las demás fueron revisadas por un asistente contratado a través de la Universidad de Berna o por dos asistentes contratados a través de la plataforma de autónomxs Upwork. Posteriormente, se formó al asistente contratado a través de la Universidad de Berna para que transcribiera en ELAN (los dos autónomos ya estaban formados) y se comprobaron sus transcripciones, proporcionando comentarios cuando era necesario. Todos estos ayudantes transcribieron lo suficientemente bien como para que se pudiera comprobar su trabajo solo mediante controles aleatorios. Una vez terminadas las transcripciones, se empezaron a extraer *tokens*, incluyendo información sobre la ideología mencionada alrededor de cada *token*.

5.2 El análisis de contenido

Para determinar qué ideología se menciona en una sección particular del discurso, el estudio empleó un análisis de contenido cuantitativo (Krippendorff 1989; White y Marsh 2006), comúnmente utilizado en otras ciencias sociales (por ejemplo, estudios de comunicación, ciencia política y sociología) debido a su flexibilidad como método y utilidad para estudiar las ideologías expresadas. Para realizar este tipo de análisis de contenido aplicado al proyecto, se desarrolló una hoja de codificación para cada conjunto de ideologías, a través de la etnografía y la revisión de la literatura, de relevancia local. Los análisis de contenido requieren una hoja de codificación predefinida que sea fácil de implementar y en la cual el tema del estudio (cada ideología en este estudio) esté definido de manera inequívoca y muy clara (Krippendorff 1989; White y Marsh 2006). En esta línea, las instrucciones para usar la hoja de codificación deben ser fáciles de seguir y contener ejemplos inequívocos (Krippendorff 1989; White y Marsh 2006).

Por lo tanto, cada hoja de codificación proporcionaba información detallada sobre cómo identificar la ideología mencionada en momentos particulares.

Para asegurarse de capturar todas las ideologías mencionadas, la codificación se llevó a cabo principalmente de grupo tonal a grupo tonal. Esto permitió la codificación de estructuras de oraciones relacionadas con la postura (“yo pienso que”, “no me gusta que”, “le digo que”) por separado del contenido ideológico hacia el cual se tomaba una postura. Para decidir qué ideología o ideologías se mencionaba(n) dentro de cada una de las estructuras de oraciones relacionadas con la postura, se interpretó hacia qué elemento exacto lxs hablantes tomaban una postura. Este enfoque tiene el beneficio de permitir que tanto el contenido de la estructura relacionada con la postura como la propia estructura relacionada con la postura se incluyan en la codificación, encontrando así una manera de codificar ambas ideologías expresadas en dichas afirmaciones.

Inicialmente, se esbozaron hojas de codificación para cada una de las ideologías seleccionadas en papel, que contenían la información mínima necesaria para ayudar a comenzar a encontrar las ideologías mencionadas en cada grupo tonal. Cada hoja de codificación contenía tres categorías de afirmaciones, que abarcaban posturas positivas (o para muchas ideologías, también posturas epistémicas) hacia comportamientos y puntos de vista particulares, posturas negativas hacia otros comportamientos y puntos de vista, y una categoría adicional de afirmaciones que reflejaban la ideología, a menudo abarcando estereotipos, discurso reportado y/o posturas epistémicas que no encajaban con las otras dos categorías. Por ejemplo, para la ideología de género matriarcal, la tercera categoría abarcaba estereotipos positivos sobre las mujeres y estereotipos negativos sobre los hombres, mientras que, para la ideología de género zapoteca, la tercera categoría estaba compuesta por descripciones de los roles de género tradicionales, la naturalización de estos roles y posturas epistémicas relacionadas. Cada una de estas tres categorías de afirmaciones que reflejaban una ideología iba acompañada de ejemplos típicos extraídos de los datos. Por ejemplo, para la ideología zapoteca, un ejemplo de la ideología zapoteca en la hoja era “los hombres pues/esa es la costumbre de aquí”, dado que la apelación naturalizada a la tradición encontrada en estos dos grupos de tono se utilizó para justificar los diferentes roles complementarios de las mujeres y los hombres en la sociedad.

Otro ejemplo, de la sección de “postura positiva” de la hoja de codificación para la ideología de género igualitaria, es la siguiente afirmación sobre un muxé: “es fe-

menino/y de serlo no tiene nada de malo". Esta afirmación representa una postura positiva aprobatoria hacia el rechazo de las ideologías de género desiguales por parte de un individuo particular y también hacia su rechazo de la división tradicional de roles de género zapotecos. Por lo tanto, se eligió una afirmación ejemplar de la ideología de género igualitaria.

De otra parte, mientras se revisaban los datos y se codificaban los grupos tonales que contenían *tokens* de cada variable para diferentes ideologías, apareció un número notable de enunciados que no eran codificables para ninguna ideología particular. Estas llamadas enunciados "no ideológicos" se codificaron como tales y se trataron en los datos como una variante del factor ideológico. Los llamados enunciados "no ideológicos" generalmente constituían alrededor de la mitad de la muestra en lo que respecta a las ideologías de género y dos tercios de la muestra en lo que respecta a las ideologías del lenguaje.

También se notó, mientras se revisaban los datos, que la hoja de codificación no permitía codificar algunas afirmaciones que eran claramente ideológicas en relación con el lenguaje o el género. Por lo tanto, a medida que revisaba los datos, especialmente al principio, había que agregar ocasionalmente nuevos parámetros a la hoja de codificación para encontrar ideologías de género y de lenguaje. Como resultado, el tamaño de la hoja de codificación, junto con el número de afirmaciones ejemplares que la acompañaban, creció a medida que codificaba, a lo que parecía ser una tasa logarítmica. En otras palabras, al principio del proceso de codificación, las hojas de codificación crecieron rápidamente a partir de detalles recién agregados, pero, al final, las adiciones a la hoja de codificación se volvieron poco comunes o hasta inexistentes. Según White y Marsh (2006), tales ajustes no son un problema al utilizar una hoja de codificación, sin embargo, los datos iniciales deben recodificarse sobre la base de la hoja de codificación actualizada. Por esta razón, cuando se revisaron los datos por segunda vez, se utilizó la hoja de codificación revisada y completa. Para obtener información más detallada sobre las hojas de codificación, consulte las versiones finales digitalizadas en las primeras dos secciones de los apéndices.

Ahora bien, para garantizar aún más la confiabilidad (consistencia) en la codificación, es ideal encontrar más de una persona para codificar los mismos datos (White y Marsh 2006). Aunque el investigador fue la única persona que codificó los datos, también realizó la codificación de la mayoría de los *tokens* varias veces para garantizar

el grado más alto posible de confiabilidad, a pesar de esta limitación. En consecuencia, fue particularmente importante recodificar varias veces, porque ciertos grupos de tono contenían discursos ambiguos que eran difíciles de codificar. Este discurso era generalmente ambiguo porque se ajustaba imperfectamente pero parcialmente a los términos en la hoja de codificación para una o más ideologías mencionadas. En tales casos, a veces era difícil determinar si codificar el grupo tonal como ninguna expresión de una ideología mencionada, la expresión de una ideología mencionada o la expresión de dos ideologías mencionadas diferentes.

Por ejemplo, al codificar la tercera entrevista, había que codificar el grupo tonal “que es de lo que te estoy hablando” en el contexto siguiente:

que es de lo que te estoy hablando, de los muxes que no pueden tener pareja

Este grupo tonal representa una postura epistémica sobre la realidad de que los muxes no pueden tener parejas, pero fue difícil decidir qué ideología mencionada, si es que alguna, correspondía a que los muxes no pudieran tener parejas. Por un lado, esto podría ser una postura epistémica hacia roles tradicionales, en tanto que los muxes tradicionalmente no deben tener parejas, lo que lo convierte en un ejemplo de ideología zapoteca mencionada, o podría ser una postura epistémica hacia el comportamiento machista de no aceptar muxes con parejas. Por otro lado, podría no encajar en el marco de ninguna hoja de codificación, porque los muxes podrían no poder tener parejas por razones que van más allá de las ideologías machistas o zapotecas de género.

No obstante, después de codificar más de una vez, casi siempre se pudo usar la hoja de codificación para hacer una determinación clara para grupos tonales con este tipo de discurso ambiguo, codificando el grupo tonal o como una afirmación “no ideológica”, o como una ideología mencionada o como dos ideologías mencionadas. En el ejemplo proporcionado, por ejemplo, se juzgó que el contenido del grupo tonal era un ajuste lo suficientemente cercano para los parámetros tanto en la hoja de codificación para la ideología de género zapoteca como en la de la ideología de género machista para codificar ambas ideologías mencionadas. En casos como estos, donde se decidió que se mencionaran simultáneamente dos ideologías expresadas diferentes, por lo que se codificó la afirmación para ambas ideologías y se hizo el análisis en R Studio, donde ese *token* se asignaba a cada ideología por separado, así como a ambas ideologías. En cuanto a la pequeña cantidad de casos ambiguos que aún no se podían asignar después

de múltiples recodificaciones, se reasignaron como “no ideológicos” con respecto a las ideologías lingüísticas y de género.

5.3 La identificación de las ideologías mencionadas por grupo tonal

En la siguiente sección se proporcionan más detalles sobre cómo se crearon las hojas de codificación para cada ideología y cómo se tomó la información de cada grupo tonal para determinar las ideologías mencionadas en el discurso. Para empezar, se consultaron las descripciones de las ideologías proporcionadas en la sección 4.5 antes de crear una hoja de codificación para cada ideología. Luego, en estas hojas de codificación, se escribieron descripciones de los tipos de posturas afectivas positivas, posturas afectivas negativas y posturas epistémicas que se considerarían ejemplos de ideologías mencionadas en los datos. Estas determinaciones se basaron en las descripciones de ideologías que se encuentran en la sección 4.5. Debajo de cada una de estas descripciones, se incluyeron ejemplos típicos de los datos en la hoja de codificación.

Cuando se empezó con la codificación de los tramos de discurso que contenían *tokens* extraídos de la /s/ implosiva o del género gramatical, se añadieron otros tipos de enunciados a las hojas de codificación para ciertas ideologías concretas, cuando parecía que a la hoja de codificación le faltaban casos de ideologías mencionadas. Por ejemplo, para las ideologías de género matriarcal y machista, se añadió una sección para enunciados de estereotipos, con ejemplos típicos de los datos, porque estas ideologías parecían expresarse a menudo mediante la afirmación o cita de estereotipos sobre hombres, mujeres y muxes. Para la ideología de género machista, por otro lado, se añadió una sección para las descripciones citadas de maltrato, que parecían distintas de otras posturas epistémicas, con los ejemplos correspondientes. Estas hojas de codificación se pueden encontrar en las secciones 10.1 y 10.2.

Posteriormente, se anotó la ideología mencionada en la que se encontraba cada *token* de /s/ implosiva y del género gramatical que se había utilizado en el análisis, utilizando la medida mínima más pequeña del discurso en la que se podía identificar una ideología mencionada. Esto significaba que normalmente se recodificaban las ideologías mencionadas dentro de un único grupo tonal, definido como “el tramo del discurso sobre el que se extiende un contorno de tono” (Bolinger 2014). Ante esto, se determinaron los límites de los grupos tonales de forma impresionista, puesto que sue-

le ser muy fácil oír cuándo empieza y termina un contorno de tono. Los grupos tonales suelen corresponder, aunque no siempre, a cláusulas gramaticales (Bolinger 2014), por lo que normalmente se podían identificar unidades en el discurso que expresaban ideas completas de esta forma. Estas ideas podían evaluarse en función de su correspondencia con determinadas ideologías.

Los grupos tonales eran, como unidad de análisis, preferibles a las cláusulas, debido a que el discurso natural a menudo carece ocasionalmente de cláusulas, dada la presencia de falsos comienzos, interrupciones, muletillas y otros elementos del discurso hablado que difieren del discurso escrito. Por ello, para evitar proyectar cláusulas donde no las había o eliminar del análisis las no-cláusulas que contenían ideologías mencionadas, se optó por asignar las ideologías mencionadas a grupos tonales en lugar de cláusulas. Normalmente, la única información externa al grupo tonal que se utilizó para determinar la ideología o ideologías mencionadas de cada grupo tonal fue el significado de los elementos deícticos. Por ejemplo, el grupo tonal “son flojos”, se codificó como “ideología de género matriarcal mencionada” porque el pronombre deíctico implícito *ellos* se refería claramente a los hombres, como categoría general, en este uso situado.

Yo: “y los hombres heterosexuales”.

Participante: *generalmente, bien, tiendo a pensar una cosa, son flojos*

Además, en el caso de ciertos elementos utilizados para adoptar una postura ante una cláusula, como *te decimos (que)*, me fijé en el contenido de la cláusula siguiente y en la postura proporcionada por las palabras introductorias para decidir qué ideología se mencionaba. El ejemplo en contexto se ofrece a continuación.

pues, te decimos, no somos gais, somos muxes, pero en zapoteco se menciona muxe

En este ejemplo, la ideología de género zapoteca se codificó para el grupo tonal *te decimos*, ya que la siguiente cláusula se interpretó como una afirmación de la identidad de género local muxe en oposición a una identidad gay más cosmopolita.

En este ejemplo, la ideología de género zapoteca se codificó para el grupo tonal “te decimos”, porque la siguiente cláusula se interpretó como una afirmación de la identidad de género local muxe en oposición a una identidad *gay* más cosmopolita. Además, en determinadas circunstancias, también se recodificaron las ideologías mencionadas

en unidades de dos o tres grupos tonales. Es decir, cuando el contenido ideológico, por razones estructurales, no podía evaluarse simplemente observando el grupo tonal y sus elementos deícticos, se recodificaron las ideologías mencionadas en dos o tres grupos tonales. Por lo general, esto ocurría cuando el sujeto y el predicado aparecían en grupos tonales separados y era necesaria la unidad completa para captar el contenido ideológico del enunciado.

Consideremos el ejemplo de “y las muchachas tenían un ... un precio”, donde los “...” representan el final de un grupo tonal y el principio de otro. Este enunciado, que hace referencia a cómo se veía a las mujeres en los raptos del pasado, se codificó como representación de la ideología de género machista. Para representar la idea completa, fue necesario considerar los dos grupos tonales en su conjunto, puesto que una interrupción del discurso es lo que hizo que el enunciado estuviera compuesto por dos grupos tonales en lugar de uno.

Inevitablemente, una gran parte del discurso grabado, aunque potencialmente ideológico en términos de otras ideologías, estaba libre del contenido ideológico específico que estaba analizando. Por lo tanto, se codificaron como “no ideológicas” las variantes situadas en cláusulas como estas, que se consideraron ajenas a las ideologías estudiadas. Una ligera mayoría del discurso se codificó como no ideológico al realizar análisis iniciales que contenían las siete ideologías incluidas en el proyecto. Sin embargo, al eliminar ideologías por falta de significación estadística, también se recodificaron como “no ideológicas”. Igualmente, se consideraron “no ideológicos” los grupos de tonos que solo contenían muletillas, como “entonces” y “pues”. Aun así, si estas muletillas formaban parte de otro grupo tonal que contenía una ideología mencionada o estaban junto a un sujeto cuyo predicado estaba en un grupo tonal que contenía una ideología mencionada, se incluía la palabra de relleno con esa ideología mencionada.

En los casos ambiguos, en los que un grupo tonal podía asignarse a más de una ideología mencionada, se codificó el grupo tonal como correspondiente a todas las ideologías mencionadas potencialmente relevantes. Por ejemplo, consideremos la afirmación, “no todos los hombres homosexuales lo hacen” en el extracto de una entrevista con Fernando que se ofrece a continuación.

*Voy al centro comercial, compro mis ingredientes, lo hago y en un ratito nada más levanto medidos y ya es un ingreso. **No todos los homosexuales lo hacen** porque hay unos que son conformistas como los hombres heterosexuales.*

En esta afirmación, en la que “lo” parece referirse a trabajar más que la mayoría de los hombres heterosexuales, se codificó tanto la ideología de género matriarcal como la ideología de género igualitaria. Esta afirmación refleja una ideología de género matriarcal mencionada porque refleja un estereotipo positivo relacionado con esa ideología, a saber, que los hombres heterosexuales suelen trabajar menos que las personas de otros géneros u orientaciones sexuales, al tiempo que también refleja una ideología de género igualitaria mencionada, pues trabajar más que los hombres heterosexuales podría verse como una forma de desigualdad a la que algunos hombres homosexuales se resisten.

En otros casos, en los que no quedaba claro si se debía codificar un grupo tonal como mención de una ideología porque el contenido era ambiguo, se dejó el grupo tonal de lado durante un rato. Si seguía sin poder determinarse al volver a él, este se codificaba como “no ideológico”, o, si había una inclinación por una ideología (o dos ideologías), se consideraba el grupo tonal como esa ideología (o esas ideologías). Este tipo de casos ambiguos, en los que no se podía llegar a una determinación clara, eran relativamente poco comunes. En casi todos los casos, la hoja de codificación permitió llegar a una determinación clara sin mucho esfuerzo, y con el tiempo fue fácil determinar las ideologías mencionadas en los datos.

5.4 Las variables y los factores lingüísticos en la muestra

Las variables lingüísticas analizadas en este estudio son la /s/ final de sílaba y el género gramatical para referentes humanos. Además de las justificaciones mencionadas para analizar estas variables en la literatura, las impresiones subjetivas de la variación socialmente significativa en la comunidad también informaron la decisión de estudiar el efecto de la ideología en estas variables. Para asegurarse de que la posición ideológica mencionada en sí misma fuera responsable de la variación en la muestra, siempre se incluyó la posición ideológica mencionada en los mismos análisis que los factores lingüísticos y/o sociales que la investigación previa en otros contextos ha encontrado significativos para explicar la variación en la expresión de cada variable. Debido a la robustez de los resultados que relacionan género, edad, clase social y estatus morfológico con la variación lingüística, los cinco factores se incorporaron al análisis para ambas variables lingüísticas. A continuación, se detallan las diferencias del proceso

por variable.

Debido a la variación dialectal dentro de México en las tasas de expresión de la /s/ implosiva y la presencia de menos variación de género gramatical en la mayoría de otras partes de México, se esperaba un efecto de la historia de migración para ambas variables. Por lo tanto, se incluyeron tres factores para tener en cuenta este efecto potencial: el tiempo pasado fuera de Juchitán, el nacimiento dentro o fuera de Juchitán, y el tiempo pasado en una región que reduce la /s/. El primero de estos factores correspondió a la cantidad de tiempo, en años, que cada hablante de la muestra vivió fuera de Juchitán. Con base en el alto número de hablantes que dijeron que vivieron muchos años fuera de Juchitán, se codificó a lxs participantes como pasando mucho tiempo (más de 5 años), una cantidad de tiempo intermedia (2 a 4 años), una cantidad de tiempo corta (menos de 2 años) o varios años viviendo principalmente fuera de Juchitán. De igual modo, se codificó a lxs hablantes que vivían parte del año en Juchitán y parte del año en otro lugar en una categoría separada, como “actualmente” viviendo fuera de Juchitán. Por otro lado, el segundo de estos factores se codificó de manera binaria, esto es, “sí” o “no”. En ese sentido, lxs hablantes que nacieron en una ciudad diferente se codificaron como “sí”, y los demás se codificaron como “no”. Finalmente, el tercero de estos factores también se codificó de manera binaria: si un/a hablante había vivido en alguna área donde la /s/ a menudo se reduce, según Butragueño (2014) y Lipski (1984), se codificaba como “sí”, de lo contrario, se codificaba como “no”.

Las áreas en las que algunxs hablantes había vivido donde la /s/ se reduce típicamente eran diversas, incluyendo partes de Sinaloa y toda la provincia de Veracruz. Los lugares donde la /s/ típicamente no se reduce eran mucho más numerosos e incluso más diversos, incluyendo la Ciudad de México, la Ciudad de Oaxaca, Barcelona y Colombia, entre muchos otros lugares. Además, dado que algunas variantes de las variables son particularmente características de variantes de contacto (particularmente para el género gramatical), a lxs hablantes se les preguntó durante las entrevistas sobre su comodidad al hablar español y zapoteco y se infirió su competencia basándose en la respuesta a esta pregunta. Con ello, se puso a lxs hablantes en los siguientes grupos de competencia reportada: dominante en zapoteco, bilingüe equilibradx, dominante en español, hablante de español con cierta competencia en zapoteco y monolingüe en español.

Lxs hablantes dominantes en zapoteco dijeron que hablaban más zapoteco que es-

pañol, mientras que lxs dominantes en español hablaban más español que zapoteco, a pesar de hablar ambos idiomas. Lxs bilingües equilibradxs afirmaron hablar ambos idiomas con igual fluidez, mientras que lxs monolingües en español afirmaron hablar o bien ningún zapoteco o un zapoteco a un nivel de menos del 20 % (aparentemente equivalente a un nivel A1 o menos). Muchxs hablantes usaron puntos porcentuales al describir sus niveles de competencia lingüística. Lxs hablantes con cierta competencia en zapoteco informaron su competencia en zapoteco como no nativa, o nativa con una pérdida de idioma significativa, o en porcentajes entre el 20 % y el 70 %.

Igualmente, lxs participantes se codificaron según el género, como mujeres, hombres (siempre que fueran cisgénero y heterosexual o bisexuales) o una variedad de subcategorías de muxes. Los muxes ocupan un espacio entre los hombres y mujeres normativos en la sociedad juchiteca, a veces no se identifican fuertemente o en absoluto con esta etiqueta (Laaksonen 2016), y usan etiquetas salientes dentro del grupo, como muxe gunaa, para describirse a sí mismas. Por lo tanto, se decidió inicialmente codificar a los muxes en múltiples categorías de género. Específicamente, se codificó a los participantes biológicamente masculinos, que eran cisgénero y ni heterosexuales ni bisexuales, como “muxe nguui”, “muxe gunaa”, “muxe” (sin etiqueta) y “gay”, preguntando a estos participantes específicamente qué etiqueta usaban para identificarse a sí mismos. Los participantes solo se codificaron como “gay” si no se identificaban también con otra etiqueta “muxe”. Para recordar el significado de estos términos, consulte la sección 4.3.

Por otro lado, durante el análisis real, diferentes combinaciones de estas categorías se fusionaron para ver de qué manera, si alguna, el género contribuía significativamente a la variación. En algunos análisis, los muxes se agruparon solo con otros muxes, separados de las categorías de hombres y mujeres. En otros, los muxes se agruparon con hombres o con mujeres, ya sea como un grupo completo o según su subgrupo de muxes o rechazo de una identidad muxe. En cuanto a la edad, esta se registró numéricamente y se trató inicialmente en R Studio como una variable continua. Más tarde, se separó la edad en algunas categorías basadas en los resultados de análisis de árboles de bosques aleatorios para ejecutar más regresiones logísticas.

Asimismo, la clase social se midió de manera desagregada utilizando dos indicadores de clase, es decir, la ocupación y el vecindario de residencia. Ambas medidas están relacionadas con la clase social en Juchitán y me permitieron aproximar la clase

social sin pedir información sensible a lxs participantes, como sus ingresos, de forma directa. El vecindario de residencia reportado se registró para cada hablante y luego se utilizó para crear una nueva medida: región. “Región” se registró como “alta” o “baja”, donde “alta” corresponde a regiones de clase alta, ideológicamente menos zapotecas (como la primera y segunda sección), y “baja” corresponde a regiones de clase baja, ideológicamente más zapotecas (como las secciones séptima, octava y novena).

La “ocupación” reportada se registró en detalle específico para cada hablante. Después de analizar las descripciones de los trabajos de lxs participantes, comenzaron a surgir algunas categorías claras. Algunxs participantes claramente trabajaban principalmente en el sector informal y, en consecuencia, sus trabajos se codificaron en la categoría “informal”. Otrxs eran estudiantes o se habían graduado recientemente y todavía estaban buscando trabajo. Estxs participantes se codificaron como “estudiantes”. Lxs participantes restantes, que tenían trabajos en el sector formal, se ubicaron en una de tres categorías: “salario bajo”, “sector público” y “otro sector formal”. Se decidió crear estas subcategorías para trabajos en el sector formal porque estos trabajos generalmente implicaban salarios, estados y contacto con la norma estándar muy diferentes. Por lo tanto, parecían aproximar distinciones de clase adicionales que se estaba tratando de capturar parcialmente utilizando “ocupación” como indicador de “clase social”.

En los casos en que lxs participantes tenían varios trabajos, como suele ser el caso en Juchitán, se utilizó el trabajo en el que pasaban la mayor parte de su tiempo para determinar a qué categoría lxs asignaba. Si parecía que el/la participante hacía dos trabajos con la misma frecuencia, lx asignaba a la categoría de trabajo con el mayor estatus/salario asociado. Dos muxes cuyo único trabajo era “activista” se codificaron como teniendo trabajos “informales”, porque su fuente de ingresos por “activismo” parecía irregular y, por lo tanto, más similar a los trabajos del sector “informal”, que ambas parecían hacer de todas formas. Otras muxes con “activista” como uno de sus trabajos se codificaron según su otra ocupación.

Para complementar la siguiente discusión de los factores lingüísticos, se incluyeron todos los factores lingüísticos utilizados para la /s/ al final de la sílaba en el Cuadro 5.1 y aquellos para el género gramatical referencial en el Cuadro 5.2. Para la /s/ al final de la sílaba y el género gramatical referencial, se incluyó una medida de serialidad y especificidad. Para muchas variables en español, especialmente la expresión del pronombre

sujeto, se ha demostrado que lo siguiente condiciona la variación: si un/a referente se menciona por primera vez o no, qué tan distante está el/la referente del/la referente mencionado primero, y si el/la referente es específico o general (Carvalho y Child 2011; Cerrón-Palomino López 2014, 2019; Lastra y Butragueño 2015; Manjón-Cabeza Cruz et al. 2016; Michnowicz 2015; Orozco 2016).

Por su parte, Pereira Scherre y Naro (1991) encontraron que la serialidad juega un papel importante en la predicción de la concordancia para el portugués brasileño. Específicamente para la expresión del pronombre sujeto, los pronombres sujetos son más comunes cuando un/a nuevo referente entra en el discurso, cuando el/la referente está distante del/la referente mencionado primero y cuando el/la referente es específico (en lugar de un pronombre de tercera o segunda persona usado en un sentido general).

Esto ocurre porque, para un cambio en el/la referente, un/a referente mencionado distante y un/a referente específico, a menudo surge ambigüedad potencial sobre a qué persona en particular se refiere el/la hablante. Como tal, los pronombres sujetos se expresan con más frecuencia para abordar esta ambigüedad. Además, el paralelismo, o la tendencia a preservar la estructura paralela en el discurso, a menudo conduce a que un pronombre sujeto expresado sea seguido por otro pronombre sujeto expresado (Carvalho y Child 2011; Flores-Ferrán 2005). Dado que la /s/ final de sílaba eliminada y la variación en los finales del género gramatical también pueden conducir a ambigüedad potencial, y contribuir o desafiar la estructura paralela, también se decidió incluir medidas de serialidad y especificidad en los análisis. Para hacer esto, se creó una medida de serialidad: el “cambio en el/la referente”, el “cambio en la variante” y la “medida de especificidad”.

Para la concordancia variable sujeto-verbo y la concordancia adjetivo predicativo-sujeto en el portugués brasileño, Pereira Scherre y Naro (1991) encontraron que la serialidad jugaba un papel en la variación. Para la /s/ al final de la sílaba, se definió la serialidad de manera similar a como lo hicieron estos autores. Específicamente, para la /s/ final de sílaba, se codificó un “cambio en la variante” como “sí” o “no”. “No” correspondía a casos en los que la misma variante aparecía en este caso como en el token anterior. Por ejemplo, si los *tokens* actual y anterior se retenían, el “cambio en la variante” se codificaría como “no”. “Sí” correspondía a un cambio en la variante utilizada. Del mismo modo, Pereira Scherre y Naro (1991) hallaron que la variante utilizada en el caso anterior a menudo condicionaba que se usara esa variante nuevamente.

Para el género gramatical, por otro lado, se codificó el “cambio en el/la referente” como “nuevx”, “dadx (mención2)”, o “dadx (otra)” (con respecto al discurso del/la hablante). “Nuevx” se codificó cuando el/la referente se introdujo por primera vez en el discurso del/la hablante, mientras que “dadx (mención2)” o “dadx (otra)” se codificó cuando el/la referente no era nuevx en el discurso del/la hablante. “Dadx (mención2)” se codificó cuando el/la referente era nuevx la vez previa que se mencionó, mientras que “dadx (otra)” se codificó cuando la mención original del/la referente era más distante. En esa misma línea, se codificaron dos categorías diferentes de “dadx”, porque se esperaba que hubiera más variación de género referencial más lejos de la primera mención de un/a nuevx referente, dado que, en este caso, la estructura paralela no se aplicaría y la ambigüedad potencial aumentaría.

Esta forma de codificar el género gramatical fue bastante diferente a la utilizada en Pereira Scherre y Naro (1991), y mucho más similar a la encontrada en estudios sobre la expresión del pronombre sujeto (Carvalho y Child 2011; Cerrón-Palomino López 2014, 2019; Lastra y Butragueño 2015; Manjón-Cabeza Cruz et al. 2016; Michnowicz 2015; Orozco 2016). Por razones que se explican en la sección 5.5, se decidió, al final, examinar solo la asignación de género en lugar de la concordancia de género en este estudio, el primero de los cuales, como la expresión del pronombre sujeto, debería ser sensible a los cambios en referencia, pero no a los cambios en la concordancia. Con respecto a la “especificidad”, para el género gramatical, se codificó un/a referente como “general” o “específicx” cuando este/a últimx se refería a individuos específicos y el primero representaba usos de elementos léxicos para referirse a categorías o grupos de personas indefinidos. Sin embargo, no se codificó la /s/ al final de la sílaba para la especificidad, pues la especificidad no se puede aplicar fácilmente a esta variable.

El estado morfológico también se registró de manera diferente dependiendo del alcance de la variación para la variable estudiada. Para el género gramatical referencial, se asumió que el estado morfológico era idéntico al de la parte del discurso y, por lo tanto, se codificó como un adjetivo, sustantivo, pronombre, determinante o artículo. Los sustantivos se subdividieron aún más en sustantivos “naturales”, en los que el género no se expresa con una “o”, “a” u otra marca de género clara, y “otros” sustantivos. Por otro lado, para los casos de la /s/ al final de la sílaba, el estado morfológico se codificó como verbal en primera persona del plural, verbal en segunda persona del singular, plural o léxico.

De otra parte, para la variable fónica, la /s/ implosiva, también se registró el patrón de acento (o tonicidad) de palabra correspondiente a la sílaba donde se ubicaba la /s/. La tonicidad se registró como “postónico”, “pretónico”, “otro no-tónico”, “tónico” o “no aplicable” (porque la palabra en cuestión tenía solo una sílaba). “Tónico” es el término utilizado en la literatura para sílabas acentuadas en una palabra de varias sílabas (Alba 1990; Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2002, 2003; Lynch 2009; Terrell 1977, 1979), mientras que “pretónico” y “postónico” se refieren a la sílaba antes y después de una sílaba acentuada, respectivamente. “Otro no-tónico” se refiere a otras sílabas no acentuadas en palabras de varias sílabas. También se notó, como factor lingüístico, la posición dentro de la palabra, interna o final, donde se encontraba la /s/ final de sílaba.

El contexto fonológico anterior y posterior también se observó para la /s/ implosiva. En el contexto fonológico anterior, solo [a], [e], [i], [o] y [u] (y sus alófonos) son generalmente posibles, por lo que no se necesitó volver a codificar el contexto fonológico anterior para realizar ningún análisis. Por otro lado, los posibles contextos fonéticos siguientes incluyen cada fonema en el idioma español, aunque, para la /s/ interna de palabras, las vocales no son posibles. Debido a los bajos números de fichas correspondientes a ciertos fonemas en el contexto siguiente, se recodificaron los grupos de fonemas en otras categorías utilizando una combinación de análisis de R Studio, referencias de la literatura anterior y determinaciones basadas en la similitud fonética de ciertos fonemas.

Para el género gramatical referencial, también se registró el género gramatical y número del controlador, junto con el número gramatical del controlado. Igualmente, para análisis iniciales de concordancia de género, en contraposición a asignación, también se incluyó el género del controlado como factor y se trató la (falta de) concordancia de género como la variable lingüística. Para análisis iniciales de asignación de género, por otro lado, se trató el género del controlado como la variable lingüística y no se incluyó la concordancia como factor.

Adicionalmente, se codificaron la distribución y la función de frase nominal para el género gramatical referencial. “Distribución” se refería a la ubicación del controlador con respecto al controlado y se codificaba como “adyacente”, “no adyacente” o “implícito”. Los controladores adyacentes estaban ubicados junto a sus controlados, los controladores no adyacentes no estaban ubicados junto a sus controlados y los contro-

ladores implícitos no se expresaban. “Función de frase nominal” se refiere a la función de la oración realizada por la frase nominal en la que ocurrió el controlado. Podía codificarse como “sujeto”, “objeto directo”, “objeto de una preposición”, “predicativo” o “contrafáctica”. “Objeto indirecto” no se incluyó como categoría porque, como pronombre, el objeto indirecto no está marcado por género en español y, en otros casos, el objeto indirecto está normativamente marcado con una preposición, en cuyo caso parecía más apropiado considerar que la frase nominal era un “objeto de una preposición”.

Las tres primeras de estas categorías probablemente no requieren explicación adicional. Las frases nominales “predicativas” generalmente consistían en adjetivos o sustantivos solitarios después de un verbo copular, como *estar*, *ser* y *haber*. “Contrafáctica” fue una categoría que se inventó e incluyó después de notar que, en algunos casos, se trataba de sustantivos que, de otro modo, se codificarían como “predicativos”, el género de un ítem léxico no se utilizaba para expresar el género real del/de la referente. En cambio, el género del controlado expresaba una comparación o similitud del/de la referente con el género correspondiente. Estos casos a menudo ocurrían en expresiones que usaban ciertas conjunciones, como *como* y *si*, y después de formas de *ser*, como la forma subjuntiva *fuera*, que expresaban incertidumbre con respecto al género proporcionado. Tres ejemplos serían “quiere vivir como hombre”, “como si fueran mujeres prostitutas”, y “quieren ser mujeres”. Estos casos de género gramatical referencial parecían expresar algo diferente de otros usos predicativos de género gramatical referencial, así que se codificaron como esta categoría separada.

El género gramatical podría codificarse como masculino, femenino o, solo para controladores, indeterminado, porque algunos controladores son implícitos (no expresados). El número gramatical podría codificarse correspondientemente como singular, plural o, en el caso de controladores implícitos, indeterminado. La (falta de) concordancia de género podría codificarse como concordancia, no concordancia o concordancia indeterminada, ello, en el caso de controladores implícitos o controladores nominales con género gramatical variable, como el ítem léxico “muxe”.

A partir de los datos, se seleccionaron múltiples ejemplos aleatorios de cada variable. Estos ejemplos se registraron en una hoja de cálculo, con cada variable lingüística ocupando una hoja separada, y se asignaron valores para los diversos factores lingüísticos y sociales potencialmente influyentes. Estos datos fueron luego analizados

Factor	Ejemplo
Cambio en la variante Sí No	lo[s] muxe[s] lo[s] muxe[s]
Estado morfológico Verbal en primera persona plural Verbal en segunda persona singular Léxico Plural	tenemo[s] tiene[s] / tuvi[s]te e[s]te lo[s] muxe[s]
Tonicidad de palabras Postónica Pretónica Otras no tónicas Tónica No aplicable	tiene[s] e[s]túpido e[s]pecialmente / estúpido[s] e[s]te e[s]
Posición en la palabra Interna Final	e[s]te tiene[s]
Contexto fonológico previo A E I O U	va[s] ve[s] hi[s]toria poco[s] u[s]ted
Contexto fonológico siguiente A B K D Etc.	va[s] a ver e[s] veinte tiene[s] que de[s]de

Cuadro 5.1: Factores lingüísticos correlacionados con la /s/ implosiva y ejemplos de una /s/ retenida para cada uno

utilizando R Studio para llevar un conjunto de comandos de R a cabo. Notablemente, en diferentes puntos del análisis, se realizaron regresiones logísticas, utilizando la función *lrm* proporcionada en el paquete *rms* (Harrell y Hmisc 2017), y se crearon árboles de inferencia condicional, ejecutados con los paquetes *Party* y *RandomForestSRC* en R Studio (Hothorn et al. 2015; Ishwaran et al. 2008). A continuación, en el Capítulo 5, se explica con más detalle cómo y cuándo se hicieron estos análisis. Para los análisis, se tomaron 150 *tokens* de /s/ por hablante para un total de 8250 *tokens* de /s/ implosiva. Para el género gramatical referencial, por otro lado, se identificaron y registraron 2200 *tokens* de la variable en una hoja de cálculo, con un promedio de alrededor de 40 *tokens* por hablante analizados.

Al recopilar 8250 *tokens* de la /s/ implosiva y 2250 del género gramatical referencial, se pudo reunir un número extremadamente alto de *tokens* para cada variable, dado que los estudios sobre la variación fonética en español generalmente incluyen menos de 8250, y los estudios sobre el género gramatical parecen incluir siempre menos de 2200 *tokens*. Por otra parte, debido al número alto de *tokens* para cada una de estas variables en el estudio, se puede asegurar que los resultados son al menos tan sólidos como se ha demostrado para estas variables.

Dado que el discurso de cada hablante contenía más de mil *tokens* de la /s/ al final de la sílaba, se seleccionaron *tokens* de /s/ implosiva al azar para aumentar la probabilidad de que los *tokens* de /s/ al final de la sílaba extraídos fueran representativos de /s/ implosiva en toda la muestra. Esto se hizo exportando inicialmente todas las instancias de <s> y <z> transcritas por hablante a una hoja de cálculo de Excel. Esto generalmente arrojaba más de mil *tokens* por hablante. Luego se asignó un número aleatorio entre uno y varios miles a cada fila y se volvió a ordenar las filas por número, lo cual creó un orden aleatorio para los *tokens*. Posteriormente, se leyeron los *tokens* restantes, eliminando los que eran intervocálicos, o donde había sílaba inicial, y creando filas duplicadas para las celdas que contenían más de un caso de /s/ implosiva. Además, se eliminaron las filas restantes después de alcanzar 150 *tokens* de /s/ al final de la sílaba, y se utilizó la tabla resultante para codificar la realización (de la variable lingüística) y los factores lingüísticos y sociales.

Finalmente, se seleccionaron *tokens* de género gramatical referencial al comenzar a leer la transcripción para cada hablante en el punto de la transcripción donde se comenzaba a hablar sobre muxes. Por un lado, esto aseguró que se pudieran encontrar *tokens* correspondientes a cada identidad de género en Juchitán, dado que los muxes se mencionaban menos a menudo que las mujeres y los hombres en un discurso típico. Por otro lado, la representatividad fue menos importante para esta variable, porque cada entrevista contenía, en promedio, alrededor de 80 *tokens* de género gramatical referencial para muxes. Inicialmente, se extrajeron 70 *tokens* por hablante, porque se asumió que eventualmente se reduciría el contexto variable. Para ver cómo y por qué se hizo esto, consulte la sección 5.6.

Factor	Ejemplo
Especificidad Específicx General	los muxes nacieron ... conozco a <i>varios</i> <i>los muxes nacieron ... conozco a varios</i>
Cambio de referente Nuevx Dadx (mención 2) Dadx (otras)	mi <i>amiga Alejandra</i> es muy reconocida aquí ... es muy trabajadora mi amiga Alejandra es muy <i>reconocida</i> aquí ... es muy trabajadora mi amiga Alejandra es muy reconocida aquí ... es muy <i>trabajadora</i>
Estado morfológico Sustantivo natural Otro sustantivo Adjetivo Determinante Artículo Pronombre	∅ se viste como <i>hombre</i> / ∅ era la <i>reina</i> ∅ es <i>niña</i> / ∅ es su <i>hijo</i> ∅ está <i>contenta</i> / el muxe <i>precario</i> <i>aquella</i> muxe / <i>este</i> muxe <i>el</i> muxe / <i>una</i> muxe <i>nosotras</i> somos muxes / <i>lo</i> discriminan
Género gramatical (Controlador) Masculino Femenino Indeterminado	los <i>chicos</i> las <i>chicas</i> las <i>muxes</i> / ∅ están felices
Número gramatical (Controlador) Singular Plural Indeterminado	la <i>muxe</i> las <i>muxes</i> ∅ están felices
Número gramatical (Controlado) Masculino Femenino	<i>los muxes</i> <i>las muxes</i>
Número gramatical (Controlado) Singular Plural	<i>el muxe</i> <i>los muxes</i>
Distribución Adyacente No adyacente Implícito	<i>los muxes</i> los muxes son <i>discriminados</i> ∅ son <i>discriminados</i>
Función de la frase nominal Sujeto Objeto directo Objeto de una preposición Predicativo Contrafáctica	<i>los muxes son discriminados</i> <i>lo discriminan</i> para <i>las muxes</i> / a <i>ella</i> le admiro los muxes son <i>discriminados</i> / ∅ son <i>los muxes</i> se viste como <i>hombre</i> / <i>finge ser mujer</i>

Cuadro 5.2: Factores lingüísticos correlacionados con el género gramatical referencial con ejemplos de cada uno en cursiva

5.5 Las exclusiones para la /s/ al final de la sílaba y el género gramatical

Cuando se empezó a codificar los datos, inicialmente se incluyeron tres variantes de la /s/ implosiva, a saber, [s], [h] y \emptyset . Sin embargo, tras realizar algunos análisis preliminares sobre la variación de los tres primeros hablantes, se observó que los factores lingüísticos que provocaban la aparición de [h] y \emptyset eran idénticos, lo que sugería que ambas variantes podían considerarse una única variante, que posteriormente se agruparon en una categoría denominada “reducción”. En contextos (como Juchitán) donde la /s/ al final de la sílaba suele conservarse, es típico que la aspiración y la elisión estén sujetas a las mismas restricciones. Como tal, gran parte de la investigación previa sobre tales contextos trata las dos variantes como una sola (Aaron y Hernandez 2007; Brown, Gradoville et al. 2014). Esto contrasta con los contextos en los que la reducción es más común, donde la aspiración y la elisión suelen estar sujetas a restricciones diferentes y merece la pena tratarlas como variantes separadas (Colina 2018; Pérez 2007).

En los próximos párrafos, se explica qué casos se excluyeron de los análisis finales para la /s/ implosiva. En los casos en que la /s/ iba seguida de otra [s], era imposible decidir si la /s/ se conservaba o se suprimía, por lo que había que excluir esos casos. Había cierta variación entre la producción de [s] y \emptyset al final de las formas verbales pretéritas de la segunda persona del singular (es decir, *comiste* frente a *comistes*) y al final de la palabra *quizá*, que a veces se realizaba como *quizás*. Sin embargo, en ambos casos, esta variación se produce por mecanismos distintos a la reducción de la /s/. Por un lado, tanto *quizá* como *quizás* se consideran formas léxicas estándar, siendo *quizás* una forma más innovadora que puede haber surgido a través de la hipercorrección.

Por otro lado, las formas de pretérito singular de segunda persona terminan en /ste/ normativamente. Sin embargo, existe una variante relativamente innovadora y no estándar que termina en /stes/, aparentemente debido a la hipercorrección (Barnes 2012). Como se ha mostrado, la hipercorrección lexicalizada en el pasado parece explicar la variación entre las dos formas, *quizá* y *quizás*, en español. Dado que el mecanismo que explica la variación en estos casos parece ser la hipercorrección, estos elementos se excluyeron del análisis. Se excluyeron otros casos en los que la hipercorrección podría explicar la variación en la retención de /s/, como los hablantes que se referían a los años 80 como “los ochentas” en lugar de “los ochenta”.

También hubo casos poco comunes en los que la /s/ aparecía después de una consonante. Esto ocurría cuando se utilizaba la palabra *trans*, así como ocasionalmente cuando se suprimía toda la marca plural de /es/, pues se reducía a [ps], e *istmo* se pronunciaba [itsmo]. En estos casos, la /s/ se conservaba o se reducía invariablemente, aunque el contexto fonético anterior no fuera una vocal, como sería necesario en la mayoría de las variedades españolas. Debido a la rareza del contexto fonético precedente en estos casos, también cabría esperar que la variación de /s/ se comportara de manera muy diferente que, en otros contextos, aunque se produjera, por lo que fue mejor excluir tales casos para este análisis.

Asimismo, en algunos casos, la sección de la palabra que contenía la /s/ era inaudible debido a la superposición de risas, a la mala calidad del audio en esa sección o al ruido circundante, por lo que era necesario excluir estos *tokens*. Los cambios de código al zapoteco eran poco frecuentes en general, pero a veces se producían inmediatamente después de una /s/ al final de la sílaba. En tales casos, era difícil saber si el contexto fonético siguiente era relevante de la misma manera que lo sería para una palabra en español, en tanto que el zapoteco del istmo parece carecer completamente de la /s/ en posiciones implosivas (Pickett et al. 1998). Asumiendo que las restricciones antes de los cambios de código al zapoteco serían completamente diferentes de aquellas antes de los tramos de discurso en español, se decidió excluir estos (pocos) *tokens*.

Finalmente, hubo casos en los que no fue posible averiguar si la /s/ en cuestión se encontraba al final de una sílaba, si ocurría en una sílaba acentuada, o en qué contexto fonético siguiente quería producir el/la hablante. Por ejemplo, es probable que la /s/ que aparece antes de una vocal (excepto al final de una palabra) se asigne a la sílaba siguiente y, por tanto, sea una /s/ al inicio de la sílaba en lugar de al final de ella, para promover la creación de sílabas abiertas. Aunque estos casos de /s/ aparecieran en posición implosiva, sería difícil demostrarlo con certidumbre, por lo que se excluyeron.

En los casos en los que la /s/ aparecía dentro de una palabra que el/la hablante no terminaba de pronunciar debido a una interrupción o reparación, no era posible estar seguro de dónde se encontraba el acento de la palabra. Como en esos casos no se podía utilizar el acento como factor lingüístico, se excluyeron esos ejemplos del análisis. En algunos casos, el/la hablante empleó un siguiente contexto fonético no intencionado y, en otros casos, el/la hablante tartamudeaba una palabra que contenía una /s/ implosiva. En estos casos, era difícil saber qué contexto fonético siguiente el hablante quería

producir, por lo que también se eliminaron estos casos. En el habla tartamudeada, se incluyó la /s/ solo si se producía al final del segmento tartamudeado y, por tanto, el contexto fonético siguiente estaba claro.

En cuanto al género gramatical referencial, había muy pocas exclusiones del análisis. Se eliminaron unos pocos ejemplos en los que no se podía determinar el género gramatical del controlado debido a cómo se pronunciaba la palabra, y, a menudo, la causa era una vocal reducida. También se excluyeron como controlados elementos léxicos que tenían un género gramatical indeterminado, sobre todo el sustantivo *muxe*. Para determinar el género de estas palabras, era necesario fijarse en el controlador o en otros controlados presentes, lo que habría requerido un razonamiento circular. Además, aunque también se integraron en el análisis la mayoría de los sustantivos con género que se refieren a personas, se excluyeron los que tienen un significado léxico no sexuado. Por ejemplo, aunque *persona* es femenina en género gramatical, tiene un significado léxico no genérico, por lo que no tenía sentido tratar este elemento léxico como marcador de género gramatical referencial para el análisis.

Dado que la variación en las marcas de género gramatical está típicamente ligada a lxs hablantes *muxe* y a los niveles de competencia más bajos en español, se esperaba que un gran número de hablantes quedaran excluidos del análisis variacionista para esta variable. Como era de esperar, el habla de lxs hablantes zapoteco-dominantes tenía menos concordancia de género que el resto de hablantes, y los hablantes identificados como hombres utilizaban el género gramatical masculino para referirse a los *muxes* con frecuencia. Sin embargo, el habla de lxs hablantes zapoteco-dominantes seguía estando categorizada por niveles muy altos de concordancia de género, y otrxs hablantes usaban la concordancia de género casi categóricamente.

Para la hablante de dominante en zapoteco con el nivel más bajo de competencia en español, los índices de concordancia de género fueron de aproximadamente el 80 %, mientras que los índices de concordancia de género para lxs otrxs hablantes dominantes en zapoteco fueron generalmente superiores al 95 %. Por lo tanto, la variable de (des)concordancia no era adecuada para un análisis variacionista, ni siquiera para lxs hablantes con mayor competencia en zapoteco que en español. Se trata, más bien, de un caso en el que una variable es muy destacada, a pesar de su infrecuencia. Esto llevó a elegir la asignación de género como única variable relacionada con el género para la tesis.

5.6 Algunas otras consideraciones en el análisis del género gramatical referencial

La asignación de género, como era de esperar, solo varió con frecuencia para referentes *muxe* y *gay*. Por lo tanto, solo se incluyeron referentes *muxe* y *gay* en el análisis de esta variable. Se tomó esta decisión cuando ya se habían tomado muestras del discurso de ocho hablantes. Después de decidir que solo se analizarían referentes *muxe/gay*, se eliminaron todos los *tokens* de referentes no *muxe* de la pequeña muestra. A continuación, se añadieron algunos *tokens* extra de algunos hablantes para conseguir al menos 40 *tokens* por hablante. Para ello, se continuó con la extracción de los *tokens* de estos hablantes desde donde se había detenido.

Al continuar con la codificación, se vio que algunos hablantes tenían menos de 40 *tokens* marcados para el género gramatical que se referían a referentes *muxe/gay*. Para compensar la falta de muestras de algunos hablantes, se tomaron algunas adicionales de los primeros hablantes, quienes utilizaban elementos léxicos marcados con género para referentes *muxe/gay* con frecuencia en su discurso. Por lo tanto, el número medio de ejemplos por hablante fue de 40, aunque no fue igual a 40 en todos los casos. De ese modo, y para asegurar que solo se tomaran *tokens* del discurso sobre referentes *muxe/gay*, se buscó la palabra *muxe* en cada transcripción de ELAN y se empezó a leer dicha transcripción en este punto, saltando a otras secciones sobre *muxes* cuando cambiaba el tema. A continuación, se extrajeron aproximadamente 40 *tokens* con un elemento léxico que actuaba como controlado o expresaba el género natural a través de su significado semántico y género gramatical (es decir, mujer y hombre) y se refería a una o más personas *muxe* o *gay*.

Por otro lado, se incluyeron todos los factores lingüísticos mencionados en la sección 5.4 para el género gramatical, además de algunos otros que, sobre la base de la literatura antropológica y las propias observaciones etnográficas, parecían importantes para la asignación de género específicamente. Estos factores sociales eran el “subgrupo *muxe*”, la “edad del/la referente” y la “relación entre el/la interlocutor/a y el/la referente”. En los párrafos siguientes, se explica cómo se codificaron estos factores y por qué se incluyeron. Los niveles del factor “subgrupo *muxe*” eran “*muxe gunaa*”, “*muxe nguui*”, “*gay*” y “otro/etiqueta desconocida”, los cuales se determinaron con base en las etiquetas/identidades que adoptan los diferentes *muxes* en Juchitán. “*Gay*”

se refería solo a los hablantes que se identifican como *gay* y evitan la etiqueta muxe. En consecuencia, se codificó el referente como “otro/etiqueta desconocida” cuando el muxe referido no se identificaba con ninguna de las otras etiquetas y en los frecuentes casos en que el subgrupo al que pertenecía el referente era imposible de determinar por el contexto.

De la misma forma, “edad del/la referente” se codificó como “adulto/desconocido”, “joven” o “niño”. “Adulto” y “desconocido” se agruparon porque, cuando se habla de un grupo desconocido de muxes, se supone que son adultos en el contexto local. Dado que los muxes son biológicamente masculinos y adoptan una identidad muxe a medida que maduran, se esperaba que a los referentes más jóvenes se refirieran en masculino con más frecuencia. En el caso de la investigación sobre hijras y travestis, grupos similares del llamado “tercer género”, esta ha tendido a mostrar que estxs hablantes utilizan formas masculinas para referirse a sí mismos y a otros miembros de la comunidad al hablar de su niñez (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Hall y O’Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997). En suma, se esperaba ver los mismos patrones de uso entre los hablantes muxes y no muxes.

Para terminar, “relación entre el/la interlocutor/a y el/la referente” se codificó inicialmente como “misma persona”, “amigx”, “pariente”, “conocidx de distinta identidad de género” y “conocidx de la misma identidad de género”. Se eligió esta variable porque, en investigaciones anteriores, se había demostrado que los grupos del llamado “tercer género” utilizan formas femeninas con más frecuencia cuando se refieren a sí mismas y a sus amigas (Barbosa 2016; Hall y O’Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997).

En relación con esto, en algunas partes de América Latina, los hombres homosexuales y las travestis utilizan formas femeninas en contextos informales cuando hablan con sus amigas, expresando, entre otros significados sociales, solidaridad, cercanía y alegría (Bengoechea 2015; Borba y Ostermann 2008; Eller 2013; Gagné y Rodríguez 2006; Kulick 1997; Vacarezza 2018; Vargas Cervantes 2014). Por lo tanto, se podría esperar ver la feminidad utilizada para expresar solidaridad, cercanía o diversión en Juchitán también. Además, se observó, a través de investigaciones anteriores y las propias observaciones, que los términos de parentesco para los muxes casi siempre se usan en masculino, por lo que se deseaba ver si el hecho de hablar de los miembros de la familia aumentaba el uso de formas masculinas.

Para evitar la colinealidad en la regresión logística y abordar la preocupación re-

lacionada de que “conocidxs de distinto género” y “conocidxs del mismo género” en realidad midieran la identidad de género del/de la hablante, se acabó por recodificar esta variable en dos variables separadas. La primera era la de “relación: miembro de la familia” con la posibilidad de codificarse como “sí” o “no”. La segunda de estas variables combinaba “misma persona” y “amigo” –pues ambas condicionaban el uso de la asignación femenina con la misma frecuencia– en “relación: amigo/a”, que podía codificarse como “sí” o “no”. En ese sentido, al recodificar la variable de este modo, desaparecieron todas las colinealidades y se hallaron resultados válidos e interesantes para las dos variables lingüísticas estudiadas.

Para concluir, en este Capítulo se explicó qué factores internos y externos se utilizaron en el estudio de ambas variables sociolingüísticas y cómo se codificaron estos en diferentes categorías. Una vez explicado esto, se debe pasar, en el Capítulo siguiente, a cómo se llevó a cabo realmente el análisis estadístico. Posteriormente, se indican los factores internos y externos que mostraron correlaciones estadísticamente significativas con la variación sociolingüística en el conjunto de los datos.

Capítulo 6

Los resultados

6.1 Introducción a los resultados

En este Capítulo se describen los análisis realizados con R Studio para llegar a los resultados finales sobre los efectos de distintos factores sociales, lingüísticos e ideológicos en la realización de la /s/ al final de la sílaba y el género gramatical. Mientras que para la /s/ al final de la sílaba se hace una distinción entre factores sociales y lingüísticos, para la asignación de género se prefiere distinguir entre “factores internos” y “factores externos”.

El término “factores internos” se utiliza con frecuencia en la investigación variacionista para describir factores (principalmente lingüísticos) que no varían de persona a persona, en contraste con aquellos que sí lo hacen, que suelen denominarse “factores externos” (Medina-Rivera 2011; Moreno Fernández 2011; Schwenter 2011). Dado que muchos de los factores internos para la asignación de género eran más sociales que lingüísticos en términos de lo que miden, se evitó utilizar el término “factores lingüísticos” en este caso. Por otra parte, todos los factores internos de la /s/ al final de la sílaba eran también factores lingüísticos, y todos los factores externos de ambas variables eran sociales, por lo que en estos casos se emplean indistintamente los términos factor “interno” y “lingüístico”, así como factor “externo” y “social”.

Aunque en ocasiones se realizaron regresiones logísticas con factores sociales y lingüísticos juntos, en general se construyeron modelos con los dos tipos de factores por separado, con las ideologías mencionadas en ambos modelos de regresión. Por un lado, las ideologías mencionadas son factores internos, como los factores lingüísticos, pero, por otro lado, son sociales en lo que miden, por lo que casi siempre se incluyeron las ideologías mencionadas en las regresiones logísticas con factores lingüísticos y también en las regresiones logísticas con factores sociales. Dicho esto, los resultados de las ideologías mencionadas sobre la variación se presentan en una subsección aparte por motivos de coherencia temática. Todos los resultados finales se presentan en cuadros dentro de este capítulo, mientras que las interpretaciones de los resultados se dejan para capítulos posteriores.

Para los análisis finales, se utilizaron modelos separados para los factores sociales

y lingüísticos. En el campo de la sociolingüística, existe cierta controversia sobre si los factores sociales y lingüísticos deben incluirse en el mismo modelo y, como tal, existen estudios que siguen cada enfoque. En muchos textos teóricos de los primeros tiempos de la investigación variacionista se argumenta, basándose en pruebas empíricas, que los factores lingüísticos no interactúan entre sí (Labov 1982b; Sankoff y Labov 1979; Weiner y Labov 1983) y, además, que los factores lingüísticos y sociales no interactúan entre sí (Labov 1982b; Weiner y Labov 1983). No obstante, parece que con frecuencia se producen interacciones entre los factores sociales (Labov 1982b; Sankoff y Labov 1979; Weiner y Labov 1983), lo que llevó, como se expone en las secciones 6.3 y 6.6, a cambiar algunas agrupaciones de factores sociales para eliminar las interacciones problemáticas.

Sobre esta base, no debería importar mucho si los factores lingüísticos y los factores sociales se ejecutan en el mismo modelo o no, y algunas de las primeras investigaciones los trataban por separado porque los primeros programas no podían hacer frente a modelos excesivamente grandes (Weiner y Labov 1983). Además, dado que se demostró que los factores sociales actúan principalmente sobre los patrones superficiales de variación (Weiner y Labov 1983), en comparación con los factores lingüísticos, la inclusión de dichos factores lingüísticos que influyen más fuertemente en los patrones de variación en el modelo podría posiblemente oscurecer los efectos de los factores sociales.

Sin embargo, también existen evidencias de que los factores sociales pueden interactuar con los lingüísticos, como lo mostró Poplack (1997), hasta el punto de que en ocasiones ocultan los efectos de estos últimos. En algunas de las primeras regresiones logísticas realizadas con los datos, se observó que algunos factores lingüísticos que eran significativos en los modelos divididos dejaban de serlo en un modelo mixto, y viceversa. Por esta razón, para garantizar que se captaran todos los patrones de variación de los factores lingüísticos y sociales, se llevaron a cabo análisis separados para ambos tipos de factores. Al final, este problema desapareció y fue posible ejecutar modelos separados y mixtos para los factores lingüísticos y sociales sin cambiar la significación estadística de los resultados. Aun así, se mantuvieron los modelos separados por una razón puramente matemática: cuando una regresión logística contiene demasiadas variables independientes en la regresión logística, el modelo puede volverse matemáticamente inestable, lo que conduce a problemas con los resultados, como una

disminución de su nivel de generalizabilidad más allá de la muestra (Stoltzfus 2011). Por este motivo, los modelos separados fueron más rápidos y fáciles de compilar para R, y el valor p para el intercepto del modelo combinado para el género gramatical no fue significativo, a pesar de que cada uno de los modelos separados fue altamente significativo estadísticamente. Finalmente, se optó por mantener los modelos separados para evitar este problema matemático.

En este contexto, se decidió eliminar los factores que definitivamente no iban a ser significativos antes de realizar la regresión logística final, puesto que, incluso dentro de los modelos separados para los factores lingüísticos y sociales, había muchas variables independientes que se querían probar para determinar si eran significativas. Esto fue especialmente importante en el caso de los factores sociales, dado que estos factores suelen interactuar entre sí (Labov 1982b; Sankoff y Labov 1979; Weiner y Labov 1983), lo que generalmente lleva a altos niveles de colinealidad y covarianza. La colinealidad y covarianza elevadas pueden causar problemas con los datos, incluyendo, entre otros, el cambio de los coeficientes de regresión, la disminución de la verosimilitud del modelo y el enmascaramiento de la heterogeneidad de la muestra (Becker, Ringle et al. 2015), a menos que se tomen medidas para eliminar estos problemas. Una forma de hacerlo es eliminando los factores que condicionan los mismos patrones de variación, concretamente los factores que no son significativos o cuya eliminación mejora el ajuste del modelo mejor que la eliminación de otro factor. A lo largo de este capítulo, también se detalla el procedimiento para identificar y eliminar estos factores que claramente no iban a ser útiles para explicar la variación en los resultados finales.

6.2 Los resultados para la /s/ al final de la sílaba: factores lingüísticos

En esta sección se describen los resultados generales relacionados con la reducción de la /s/ en la muestra, así como el proceso de averiguar qué factores lingüísticos estaban significativamente correlacionados con la reducción de la /s/, antes de presentar los resultados finales. Como se mencionó en la sección 6.1, se realizaron análisis separados para los factores lingüísticos y sociales. Aunque se incluyeron las ideologías codificadas en las regresiones logísticas finales para las que se presentan resultados en esta sección (con factores lingüísticos) y en la sección 6.3 (con factores sociales), dichos resultados no se presentan hasta la sección 6.4.

En la muestra total, compuesta por 8250 *tokens* (150 *tokens* tomados de 55 hablantes), la /s/ se retuvo ([s]) en 7012 de ellos y se redujo ([h] o \emptyset) en 1238, lo que corresponde a una tasa de retención de /s/ del 84,99 % para toda la muestra. Al decidir qué variable incluir en un estudio sociolingüístico, ninguna de las variantes debería ser especialmente rara, puesto que las variantes raras, debido a la falta de *tokens*, son muy difíciles de analizar estadísticamente (Wolfram 1993b). Sin embargo, aunque esta tasa de retención es bastante alta, fue posible realizar un análisis variacionista de los datos.

Con un número tan grande de ejemplos, muy por encima de la media para un estudio variacionista de la /s/ sílaba-final, fue relativamente sencillo encontrar conclusiones significativas y generalizables, a pesar de la tasa relativamente alta de retención. Dado que las variables fonológicas, como la /s/ sílaba-final, suelen consistir en “conjuntos cerrados de unidades” que aparecen con frecuencia, suelen ser buenas candidatas para el análisis sociolingüístico debido a su frecuencia (Wolfram 1993b). Básicamente, en la muestra, con una tasa de variación del 84,99/15,01 %, la variante reducida es rara, pero no lo suficiente como para representar un problema para el análisis, incluso teniendo en cuenta estas preocupaciones sobre la frecuencia.

Tras realizar una regresión logística inicial con los datos de los 12 primeros hablantes, se descubrió que el acento de la palabra, el contexto fonético siguiente, el estado morfológico y la posición de la palabra predecían significativamente la reducción de /s/ en la mayoría de los modelos. Además, el contexto fonético siguiente siempre era significativo. Por lo tanto, solo se incluyeron esos factores lingüísticos en el análisis posterior, eliminando todos los demás de los datos y dejando de registrarlos cuando se tomaban ejemplos de nuevos hablantes. Mientras se continuaba con la codificación, se realizaron análisis periódicos para asegurarse de que los resultados eran cada vez más significativos o no cambiaban radicalmente su grado de significación. Esto permitió garantizar que no se cometerían errores en la transcripción y el análisis de los datos.

Sabiendo que probablemente había covarianza entre ciertos factores lingüísticos, dado que ciertas condiciones morfológicas están fuertemente, o siempre, asociadas con ciertas condiciones fonéticas (por ejemplo, la /s/ en verbos conjugados por *nosotrxs* es siempre también un caso de /s/ acentuada postónica), se calculó el factor de inflación de la varianza (VIF) para asegurarse de que no había demasiada colinealidad para realizar un análisis con éxito. En *R Studio*, esta prueba se ejecuta sobre una regresión logística ya realizada, utilizando la función *vif* en el paquete *car* (Fox et al. 2007). Cuando

Factor	% Retención	Token #	Valor P
Posición en la palabra			
Interna	96.35 %	2085	<0.0001
Final	81.00 %	6165	
Estado morfológico			
Tú	89.00 %	361	<0.0001
Léxico	89,19 %	4376	
Nosotrxs	81,91 %	293	0,1646
Plural	79,13 %	3220	0,7025
Contexto Fonético Siguiente			
Plosiva	93.56 %	3338	<0.0001
Vocal/Pausa	88.98 %	3014	<0.0001
Otra Consonante	68.57 %	1575	
/r/ & /l/	39.00 %	323	<0.0001
Estrés de la palabra			
Pretónica	94.88 %	2342	0.0394
Monosilábica	83.72 %	2771	0.0394
Postónica	78.74 %	3137	<0.0001

Cuadro 6.1: Resultados de un análisis de regresión logística de la retención de /s/ según los factores lingüísticos en el español de Juchitán, México

los resultados de esta prueba son inferiores a 5 (o 10, dependiendo de la cuenta) (Marcoulides y Raykov 2019), se suele entender que la colinealidad no es tan alta como para afectar negativamente los resultados de la regresión logística. Cuando se calculó el *vif* para la muestra final de 55 hablantes, el coeficiente nunca fue superior a 2, lo que indica que, a pesar de cierto grado de colinealidad, las variables podían contabilizarse de forma más o menos independiente en la regresión logística (ver Cuadro 6.1).

En la regresión logística final de la reducción de /s/, se obtuvieron los resultados presentados en el Cuadro 6.1, en los cuales los valores p están ausentes para los valores de referencia, pero presentes para todas las demás subcategorías de factores lingüísticos. Es importante señalar que la regresión logística utilizada para obtener estos resultados también incluyó los casos de ideología pro-español mencionada y el contexto fonético previo, aunque este último no resultó estadísticamente significativo debido a su amplio margen. En cuanto al contexto fonético posterior, se encontraron las diferencias estadísticamente significativas más sólidas de todas las variables lingüísticas. Las pausas se asociaron con un 93,56 % de retención, mientras que las vocales y las pausas en conjunto mostraron una retención del 88,98 %, y la mayoría de las consonantes presentaron una retención del 68,57 %. Las consonantes [r] y [l], por otro lado, se asociaron con una tasa muy baja de retención del 39,00 %, haciendo de esta condición la única en

toda la muestra en la que la reducción, en lugar de la retención, fue más común.

Las subcategorías de esta variable se determinaron, como se explica en la sección 6.4, observando las similitudes fonéticas y haciendo diferentes análisis en *R Studio* con una submuestra de los datos. Observando las tablas cruzadas y realizando tanto regresiones logísticas como árboles de inferencia condicional, fue posible determinar que las oclusivas sordas, vocales, pausas, [r] y [l], y otras consonantes formaban grupos que condicionaban la retención o reducción de /s/ a tasas muy diferentes. En el análisis final, la diferencia entre vocales y pausas resultó ser altamente no significativa, y agruparlas mejoró el modelo. Por lo tanto, la regresión logística final se realizó con las siguientes categorías: oclusivas sordas, vocales/pausas, [r]/[l] y otras consonantes.

En relación con la posición de la palabra, se observó que la /s/ interna se asociaba a una tasa de retención muy elevada (96,35%), mientras que la /s/ en posición final solo se retenía en el 81,00% de los casos. En cuanto al estado morfológico, la /s/ léxica y la /s/ verbal de segunda persona del singular (formas *tú* de los verbos) se asociaron con tasas de retención similares, pero estadísticamente significativas, del 89,19% y 89,00%, respectivamente. La /s/ verbal en primera persona del plural (formas *nosotrxs* de verbos) y la /s/ plural se asociaron con menor frecuencia a la retención de /s/, pero la diferencia no fue, sorprendentemente, estadísticamente significativa con respecto a la tasa de retención mucho mayor para la /s/ léxica. Este paradójico hallazgo se explica en la sección 7.1.

Finalmente, en cuanto al acento de las palabras, la /s/ pretónica se retuvo con mucha frecuencia, en el 94,88% de los casos, en una tasa apenas estadísticamente significativa superior a la de las palabras de una sílaba, donde la /s/ se retuvo en el 83,72% de los casos. La categoría pretónica incluye sílabas acentuadas y sílabas no acentuadas antes de una sílaba acentuada, puesto que ambos grupos se comportaron de forma estadísticamente significativa similar, y agruparlos mejoró el modelo. La /s/ postónica se retuvo con menor frecuencia, en el 78,74% de los casos. Para una interpretación más detallada de estos resultados, véase la sección 7.1.

6.3 Los resultados para la /s/ al final de la sílaba: factores sociales

En cuanto a los factores sociales, inicialmente se codificaron la identidad de género, la competencia lingüística autodeclarada, la edad y dos variables sustitutivas de cla-

se: ocupación y región de residencia. Para comprobar los efectos de la movilidad, se añadieron tres variables: la cantidad de tiempo vivido fuera de Juchitán, si el/la participante había nacido en Juchitán o en otro lugar, y si el/la participante había vivido en una región reductora de /s/. Como se explicó anteriormente, las ideologías mencionadas también se incluyeron en las regresiones logísticas ejecutadas para estos factores sociales.

Al igual que con los factores lingüísticos, se llevó a cabo un análisis preliminar con una submuestra de 30 hablantes, en lugar de 12, puesto que la mayoría de los factores sociales requieren más hablantes para que surja la significación estadística. Tras este análisis, se realizaron revisiones periódicas con nuevos hablantes para asegurar que los valores p y los patrones de variación no cambiaran radicalmente, lo que podría haber señalado un error en la codificación. En el análisis final, se descubrió que el lugar de nacimiento y la región no eran predictores significativos de la variación, dado que otros factores parecían conducir a patrones de variación asociados a estos dos factores sociales en muestras más amplias de hablantes.

Una vez transcritos los datos de los 55 hablantes, se realizó una regresión logística con todas las variables. La edad se trató como una variable continua, pero, para que el modelo fuera más comprensible, se dividió la edad en tres variables discretas. En lugar de utilizar los datos del censo u otra fuente bibliográfica para definir estos grupos, se utilizaron los árboles de inferencia condicional que se muestran en la Figura 6.1 para determinar qué grupos etarios se correspondían con diferentes tasas de retención de la /s/. Posteriormente, los hablantes se recodificaron en estos grupos etarios y se utilizaron como variable independiente. Los grupos etarios eran “menores de 27 años”, “de 27 a 61 años” y “mayores de 62 años”. Fue preferible emplear árboles de inferencia condicional aquí en lugar de depender de una fuente externa para que las categorías se derivaran directamente de los datos, en lugar de utilizar divisiones de otros investigadores que podrían haber sido adecuadas solo para sus propios estudios, permitiendo así determinar qué grupos etarios son importantes en Juchitán.

Se encontró una considerable colinealidad entre la “ocupación” y algunos de los otros factores sociales, por lo que se procedió a eliminarla mediante la reagrupación de algunas de las subcategorías de algunos de los factores sociales juntos. Estas reagrupaciones se justificaron basándose en los resultados de un árbol de inferencia condicional ejecutado con todos los factores sociales en la totalidad de los datos, siempre y cuan-

do estas reagrupaciones sugeridas fueran necesarias para eliminar la colinealidad y también teóricamente justificables. Una vez eliminada la colinealidad, se reagruparon algunas categorías restantes cuando esta acción mejoraba el ajuste del modelo.

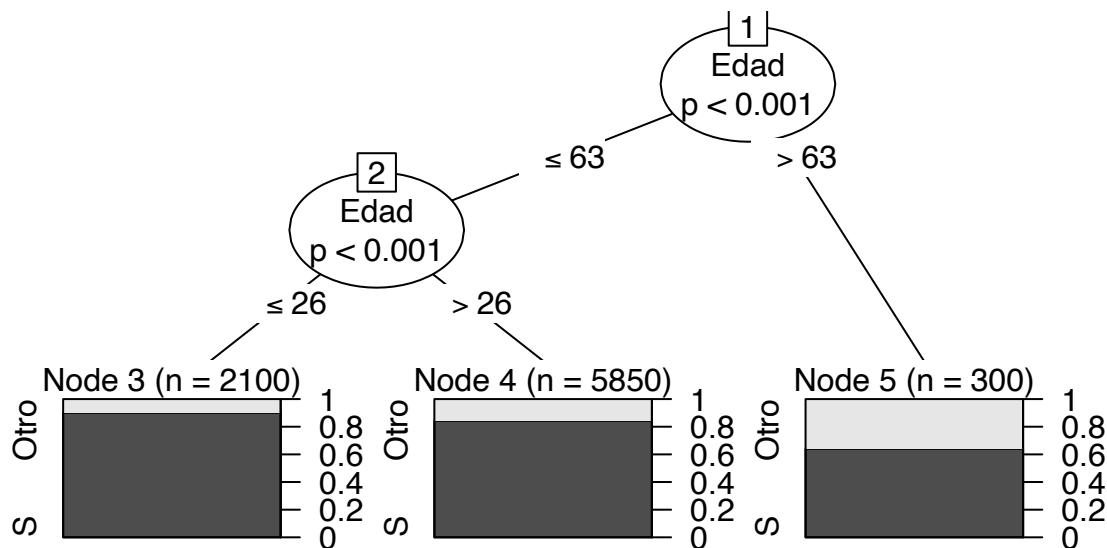


Figura 6.1: Árboles de inferencia condicional usados para reagrupar la variable continua de edad en tres grupos de edad

Al final, se agruparon todas las ocupaciones en una categoría para estudiantes y los llamados empleos del “sector público”, así como en una categoría para otros empleos menos relacionados con un estatus alto o la educación. Este cambio se ajustó adecuadamente a los patrones de los datos y no presentaba problemas teóricos, puesto que todos los empleos de cada categoría requieren niveles similares de educación e implican un trasfondo de clase social similar. En cuanto al género, se reagrupó a las mujeres y a las muxe gunaa en un grupo “más femenino” y a todos los demás hablantes en un grupo “más masculino”. Respecto a la competencia lingüística percibida, lxs hablantes que hablaban un español monolingüe, lxs bilingües equilibradxs y lxs bilingües que dominaban ligeramente el español retuvieron la /s/ con diferencias estadísticamente insignificantes entre sí, por lo que se agruparon como de “alta competencia en español”.

El factor social, “tiempo pasado en el extranjero”, prácticamente no se modificó, dado que casi ninguna de las posibles reagrupaciones tenía sentido teórico, y la reagrupación tampoco era necesaria para eliminar colinealidades o para mejorar el modelo. Sin embargo, se recodificó “varios” años en la categoría “5+”, dado que lxs hablantes

que habían vivido “varios” años en el extranjero se comportaban como lxs de la categoría “5+”, lo que llevó a la conclusión de que estxs hablantes, en gran medida, también habían vivido 5 años o más fuera de Juchitán. Al tener solo dos valores posibles, “tiempo pasado en una región reductora de /s/” no se recodificó en absoluto. Tampoco se recodificó la “edad”. Después de hacer estos cambios de agrupación, se realizó una regresión logística final para los factores sociales y la reducción de /s/. Los resultados de este análisis se presentan en el Cuadro 6.2.

Factor	% Retención	Token #	Valor P
Ocupación			
Educación/Gobierno	89.11 %	2700	0.0125
Otros	83.00 %	5550	
Género			
Más Masculino	86.30 %	5116	0.0289
Más Femenino	82.87 %	3134	
Competencia Lingüística			
Alta Competencia en Español	88.02 %	5850	0.0150
Casi Hablante de Zapoteco	81.33 %	900	
Más Hablante de Zapoteco	75.40 %	1500	0.0004
Edad			
<27	90.05 %	2100	0.0002
27-61	84.16 %	5700	
62+	72.00 %	450	0.0874
Tiempo pasado “en el extranjero”			
Actualmente	91.60 %	750	0.7550
2-4 años	89.00 %	900	
5+ años	84.00 %	4050	0.0105
<2 años	83.22 %	2550	0.0364
Tiempo pasado en la región de reducción de /s/			
Sí	82.81 %	1350	<0.0001
No	85.42 %	6900	

Cuadro 6.2: Resultados de un análisis de regresión logística de la retención de /s/ según factores sociales en el español de Juchitán, México

Para resumir los resultados, comenzando por algunos que eran de esperar, lxs hablantes que eran estudiantes o trabajaban en el “sector público” retuvieron la /s/ en un 89,11 % de los posibles contextos de reducción, mientras que lxs hablantes con otros trabajos retuvieron la /s/ en un 83,00 %. Aún menos sorprendente es el hecho de que lxs hablantes que habían vivido en una región donde se reducía la /s/, donde habrían estado en estrecho contacto con hablantes que reducían la /s/, conservaran la /s/ en un 82,81 %, un porcentaje ligeramente inferior, aunque estadísticamente significativo, al de lxs hablantes que no habían vivido en dicha región, quienes retuvieron la /s/ en

un 85,42 %.

En cuanto al tiempo pasado “en el extranjero”, lxs hablantes que vivían fuera de Juchitán y que, por lo tanto, probablemente vivían en regiones que conservaban la /s/, conservaron la /s/ con bastante frecuencia, con una tasa de 91,60 %. En contraste, aquellxs que habían vivido fuera de Juchitán durante menos de dos años conservaron la /s/ con menos frecuencia, con una tasa de solo el 83,22 %. Sorprendentemente, aquellxs que habían vivido fuera de Juchitán de dos a cuatro años retuvieron la /s/ en un 89,00 %, porcentaje que supera el 84,00 % en el que se retuvo la /s/ entre las personas que habían vivido fuera de Juchitán por más de cinco años, posiblemente debido a una correlación entre pasar más de cuatro años fuera de Juchitán y la edad.

Los resultados de la competencia lingüística percibida, al igual que lxs del tiempo pasado “en el extranjero”, tampoco fueron sorprendentes, con una excepción inesperada. Lxs hablantes con alta competencia en español retuvieron la /s/ con relativa frecuencia, en el 88,02 % de los casos, mientras que aquellxs que hablaban más zapoteco retuvieron la /s/ con mucha menos frecuencia, en el 75,40 % de los casos. Inesperadamente, lxs hablantes que hablaban mucho menos zapoteco que español, pero que decían estar aprendiéndolo o solían hablarlo, retenían /s/ en 81,33 % de los casos, en una tasa intermedia entre los otros dos grupos.

A primera vista, esto no parece sorprendente, sin embargo, lxs hablantes que hablaban mucho menos zapoteco que español hablaban peor el zapoteco que muchxs de lxs hablantes del grupo de alta competencia en español. El grupo de alta competencia en español incluía hablantes monolingües de español, pero también bilingües equilibradx en español y zapoteco, además de hablantes fluidxs de ambas lenguas que hablaban español ligeramente mejor que zapoteco. Se podría haber esperado que lxs hablantes fluidos de zapoteco en este grupo también retuvieran /s/ a tasas intermedias, pero, en cambio, solo lxs hablantes altamente competentes de español que hablaban mucho menos zapoteco que español retuvieron /s/ a tasas intermedias.

Además de los resultados un tanto sorprendentes mencionados anteriormente, también surgieron algunos resultados muy inesperados. Lo más sorprendente fue que los hablantes “más masculinos” retuvieron la /s/ en un 86,30 %, un porcentaje ligeramente superior, pero estadísticamente significativo, al de las hablantes “más femeninas”, que retuvieron la /s/ en un 82,87 %. Algo menos inesperado, pero aún sorprendente, fue el hecho de que lxs hablantes más jóvenes retuvieran la /s/ con más frecuencia

que lxs mayores. Lxs hablantes de más de 62 años retenían la /s/ en un porcentaje relativamente bajo de 75,40 %, mientras que lxs hablantes de entre 27 y 61 años retenían la /s/ en un porcentaje cercano a la media (promedio= 84,99 %)de 84,16 %. Por su parte, lxs hablantes de menos de 27 años retenían la /s/ en un porcentaje bastante alto de 90,05 %. Las explicaciones de estos resultados, así como de todos los demás, se encuentran en el Capítulo 7.

6.4 Los resultados para la /s/ al final de la sílaba: la ideología mencionada

Para averiguar hasta qué punto las ideologías mencionadas influían en la variación de la /s/ implosiva, se realizaron dos conjuntos de regresiones logísticas que incluían las cuatro ideologías de género mencionadas y las tres ideologías lingüísticas expresadas que inicialmente se codificaron. El primer conjunto de regresiones logísticas consideró todos los factores lingüísticos, mientras que el segundo incluyó todos los factores sociales. Se buscó realizar un análisis con las ideologías mencionadas y los factores lingüísticos porque la ideología actúa como un factor interno, puesto que requiere un número de hablantes inferior al de otros factores sociales para que el análisis funcione. Por lo tanto, en cierto modo, se asemeja más a un factor lingüístico que a uno social. Sin embargo, las ideologías mencionadas también son factores sociales, lo que motivó la inclusión de las ideologías mencionadas en las regresiones logísticas con los factores sociales.

Tras codificar los factores lingüísticos, sociales e ideológicos de 12 hablantes, se llevaron a cabo ambas regresiones logísticas preliminares. En este análisis, se encontró que solo una ideología lingüística mencionada, la ideología pro-español, y una ideología de género, la ideología machista, prometían ser significativas. En concreto, en este análisis, la ideología lingüística pro-español se reveló como significativa, mientras que la ideología de género machista mostró una relación potencialmente significativa con la variación. En ambas regresiones logísticas, ambas ideologías se acercaban a la significación estadística, mientras que las otras eran altamente no significativas. Por esta razón, se decidió eliminar estas otras ideologías mencionadas para utilizarlas en otras regresiones logísticas. Además, en regresiones logísticas separadas que evaluaban el efecto de las ideologías mencionadas y los factores sociales o lingüísticos en la varia-

ción de solo ocho de estxs hablantes, se evidenció que la ideología de género machista era un factor estadísticamente significativo.

Sin embargo, a medida que se codificaban más hablantes, la importancia de la ideología de género machista comenzó a desvanecerse. Intrigado por el hecho de que una relación significativa se extinguiera al aumentar el número de hablantes, se decidió analizar los detalles del grupo de hablantes en el que la ideología de género machista mencionada se acercaba a la significación estadística. Se descubrió que una cantidad desproporcionada de lxs primerxs 12 hablantes codificados eran femeninxs, es decir, identificadxs como muxes sin etiqueta, muxes gunaa o mujeres, así como hablantes de zapoteco. En otras palabras, se trataban de hablantes dominantes en zapoteco, bilingües equilibradas o bilingües dominantes en español. En resumen, se trataba de muxes sin etiqueta, muxes gunaa y mujeres que decían hablar el zapoteco con fluidez.

Se observó que, al analizar las tasas de retención de /s/ dentro del discurso machista y no machista, estas hablantes parecían ser las principales responsables de la relación observada entre la ideología de género machista y la retención de la /s/. Por lo tanto, se decidió codificar la ideología machista para todas las hablantes que coincidían con estas características, es decir, todas las personas que dijeron hablar zapoteco con fluidez y que eran mujeres, muxes gunaa o muxes sin una etiqueta en términos de identidad de género. Dentro de esta submuestra de 11 hablantes, la ideología machista predijo significativamente tasas más bajas de retención de /s/. en el Cuadro 6.3 se presentan los resultados de la regresión logística que incluían otros factores lingüísticos, descrita en la sección 6.3.

Factor	% Retención	Token #	valor P
Machista	88,37 %	215	0,0021
Otros	77,85 %	1735	0,0021

Cuadro 6.3: Resultados de un análisis de regresión logística de la retención de /s/ para la ideología machista mencionada en el español de Juchitán, México

Como se puede observar en el Cuadro, para esta submuestra, los enunciados marcados como casos de ideología de género machista retuvieron la /s/ en una proporción del 88,37 %, lo que es notablemente superior a la retención de 77,85 % observada en otros enunciados. Dado que el resto de los enunciados constituyó la mayor parte de su discurso, se desviaron notablemente de sus patrones típicos de reducción de la /s/ cuando hacían enunciados machistas, reduciéndola a tasas más similares a las de

los hombres hispanohablantes. Es importante subrayar que los hombres conservaron la /s/ en el 86,30 % de los casos y, para la mayoría de lxs hablantes con un alto nivel de competencia en español, en el 88,02 % de los casos, valores que son ambos similares a los observados para los enunciados denominados “machistas” en esta submuestra.

Un ejemplo ilustrativo de este cambio se encuentra en el discurso de una participante muxee gunaa de 30 años. Al hablar sobre el rechazo que sufren las muxes por parte de sus familias en otras partes de México y en Juchitán, dijo: “aquí e[s] lo mi[s]mo” y explicó “porque hay papá[s] que no lo aceptan”, conservando /s/ exclusivamente para estas afirmaciones que se codificaron como ideología machista mencionada. Sin embargo, al hablar de otro tema, empezó a reducir /s/ con más frecuencia. Por ejemplo, al hablar de lxs documentalistas extranjeroxs en Juchitán, señaló: “pue[s] ayudaba yo la[] la[] persona[s] que venían de fuera y y le[] mo[s]traba”, reduciendo la /s/ en algunos marcadores de plural. Este cambio en los índices de reducción de /s/ entre las ideologías machistas mencionadas y otros enunciados se interpreta en la sección 7.3.

En contraste con la ideología machista mencionada, a medida que se codificaron más hablantes y se realizaron las regresiones logísticas subsiguientes, la ideología pro-español emergió como altamente significativa, como se muestra en el Cuadro 6.4. Es importante señalar que la regresión logística utilizada para obtener estos resultados es idéntica a la que incluyó todos los demás factores lingüísticos significativos presentados en la sección 6.3. Además, en la regresión logística que incluyó los factores lingüísticos en la sección 6.2, esta ideología también resultó estadísticamente significativa, y en ninguno de los análisis se produjeron colinealidades problemáticas con otros factores.

Factor	% Retención	Token	Valor P
Pro-Español	89.74 %	536	0.0037
Otros	84,66 %	7714	0,0037

Cuadro 6.4: Resultados de un análisis de regresión logística de la retención de /s/ para la ideología pro-español mencionada en el español de Juchitán, México

Como se observa en el Cuadro, para toda la muestra de 55 hablantes, los enunciados calificados como casos de ideología pro-español tendieron a contener la /s/ retenida en el 89,74 % de los casos, mientras que otros enunciados tendieron a contener /s/ retenida con algo menos de frecuencia, solo en el 84,66 % de los casos. Estos otros casos corresponden a la mayoría de los discursos de la muestra. Un ejemplo ilustrativo

de este fenómeno se puede ver en el discurso de una participante de 58 años que habló sobre el uso del zapoteco en comentarios codificados por la ideología pro-español, diciendo: “e[s] que nadie ... donde e[s]tan ... no lo hablan” y “a vece[s] no querian” hablar zapoteco, reteniendo /s/ en todos los casos. Más tarde, esta misma participante, al hablar de diferentes temas, comenzó a reducir la /s/, diciendo, por ejemplo: “pue[s] hacemos[] los totopo[s]”. Se pueden encontrar múltiples ejemplos similares en los datos, creando esta tendencia a que las ideologías pro-español mencionadas se delimiten de otras partes del discurso a través de un mayor uso de [s].

Esta evidencia indica que, cuando las personas mencionan la ideología pro-español, cambian sus patrones de discurso típicos, reduciendo la /s/ a tasas más similares a las de las personas que dominan el español. Entre estos grupos se encuentran lxs hablantes con trabajos de alto estatus, así como aquellxs que actualmente viven fuera de Juchitán, todos ideológicamente asociados con la ideología pro-español. Es relevante considerar que lxs hispanohablantes conservaron la /s/ en un 88,02 %, lxs hablantes con empleos en la educación o el gobierno conservaron la /s/ en un 89,11 %, y lxs hablantes que viven fuera de Juchitán conservaron la /s/ en un 91,60 %. Estas tasas son más comparables con la tasa de retención de /s/ en los enunciados pro-español que la tasa media de 84,99 %, que a su vez es comparable con el porcentaje de retención en el discurso no “pro-español”.

6.5 Los resultados para el género gramatical referencial: factores internos no ideológicos

En esta sección, se describen los resultados generales relacionados con la asignación de género en la muestra, así como el proceso de identificación de los factores internos que se correlacionaron significativamente con esta variable poco estudiada, antes de presentar los resultados finales. En cuanto a la reducción de la /s/ implosiva, se realizaron análisis separados para factores internos y externos, incluyendo las ideologías mencionadas en el mismo análisis junto con otros factores internos. De un total de 2200 *tokens* en la muestra total (aproximadamente 40 *tokens* por hablante de lxs 55 hablantes), el 30,73 % tenía una asignación de género femenino, mientras que el 69,27 % restante tenía una asignación de género masculino. Esto indica que a los muxes se suele referir utilizando marcas de género masculino. Esto correspondía respectivamente a 1524

tokens con referencia masculina y 676 *tokens* con referencia femenina. Sin embargo, la diferencia entre las tasas de referencia masculina y femenina con respecto a los distintos factores lingüísticos y sociales era muy grande, y algunos factores condicionaban fuertemente la asignación del género femenino.

A medida que se avanzaba en la codificación y en la ejecución de las regresiones logísticas sobre los datos, se hizo evidente que muchos factores internos, especialmente aquellos relacionados con la (falta de) concordancia de género, no eran predictores estadísticamente significativos de la asignación de género. La exclusión de estos factores no afectó la calidad del modelo. Sorprendentemente, tanto la serialidad como la especificidad se clasificaron en esta categoría y no se incluyeron en el análisis final. Aún más sorprendente fue que, a pesar de la existencia de un “masculino genérico” en español, que podría parecer una explicación plausible para el mayor uso de la referencia masculina cuando se habla de muxes, el número gramatical de los controladores y de los controlados, no se correlacionó con la variación en la asignación de género y se excluyó del análisis final.

De manera menos sorprendente, el género de los controladores no mostró asociación significativa con la asignación de género, ni femenino ni masculino. Esto puede explicarse por la gran variabilidad en el género de los controladores, así como por el hecho de que otros factores, como la identidad de género del referente, explicaban mejor y de forma más consistente la asignación de género. Además, la “edad del referente” no fue significativa y se eliminó del análisis, a pesar de que se esperaba una diferencia basada en investigaciones antropológicas anteriores, quizás también porque otros factores, como la identidad de género y si el/la referente se describe como un miembro de la familia o cercano al/a la hablante, explican mejor cualquier diferencia. El “estatus morfológico” tampoco desempeñó ningún papel a la hora de explicar la variación en la asignación de género. Las implicaciones de estos resultados no significativos se analizan en la sección 8.2.

Se llevó a cabo una recodificación interna de los factores “distribución” y “función de la frase nominal” para mejorar el ajuste del modelo, dado que los valores potenciales de estos factores no eran estadísticamente distinguibles entre sí. Para un recordatorio de cómo se codificaron estos factores y ejemplos de a qué se refieren, consulte la sección 5.4. Por ejemplo, en la categoría de “distribución”, los controladores “no adyacentes” e “implícitos” se codificaron juntos porque estadísticamente eran iguales

y, en cualquier caso, “controlador implícito” podría entenderse como una subcategoría de controladores no adyacentes. En cuanto a la “función de la frase nominal”, no hubo diferencias estadísticas entre las tasas de asignación de género para los valores codificados como “objeto directo”, “predicativo” u “objeto de una preposición”. Por consiguiente, estos tres valores se codificaron juntos como “objeto”. Luego de eliminar los factores que no eran significativos y que resultaban innecesarios para el modelo, así como de realizar recodificaciones de estas otras dos variables, se encontraron los siguientes resultados en la regresión logística final, que se muestran en el Cuadro 6.5.

Factor	% Femenino	Token #	Valor P
¿Se describe el referente como miembro de familia?			
Sí	13.19 %	12	0.0052
No	31.48 %	664	
¿Es la referente amiga del/de la hablante? (o el/la propix hablante)			
Sí	50.95 %	134	<0.0001
No	27.98 %	542	
Distribución			
No adyacente	31.06 %	474	<0.0001
Adyacente	29.97 %	202	
Función de la frase nominal			
Contrafáctica	68.32 %	110	<0.0001
Objeto	30.05 %	381	
Sujeto	23.99 %	185	0.0095
¿Es la referente muxee gunaa?			
Sí	82.58 %	218	<0.0001
No	23.66 %	458	
¿Es el referente un hombre gay? (no identificado como muxee)			
Sí	5.23 %	8	<0.0001
No	32.63 %	668	

Cuadro 6.5: Factores lingüísticos y tasas de asignación del género femenino

En los párrafos siguientes, se ofrece una vista general y breve de los resultados clave, los cuales se analizan con más detalle en las secciones 7.4 y 7.5. En los casos donde el/la referente se describió en su función de miembro de la familia del/de la hablante o de algún otro individuo, la asignación de género femenino fue bastante poco común, puesto que solo se produjo en el 13,19 % de los casos. En los demás casos, el porcentaje de referencias femeninas (31,48 %) se acercó a la media (30,73 %). Por otro lado, cuando el/la referente y hablante eran amigxs o la misma persona, el género femenino se vio ligeramente favorecido con un 50,95 %. En otros casos, el género femenino se vio des-

favorecido en un 27,98 %. Los significados y las implicaciones de este uso del género gramatical, aparentemente para marcar diferentes tipos de relaciones, se exploran con frecuencia en secciones posteriores de la tesis.

Es posible que factores discursivos hayan influido en la diferencia observada en las tasas de asignación de género relacionadas con la distribución. Aunque la diferencia es pequeña, es significativa. En concreto, los pares adyacentes de controladores y objetos estaban relacionados con una tasa de asignación de género femenino del 29,97 %, mientras que los pares no adyacentes, incluidos los controladores implícitos, estaban relacionados con una tasa de asignación de género femenino del 31,06 %. Por otro lado, las frases nominales en la posición de objeto se vincularon a una tasa cercana a la media del 30,05 % de asignación de género femenino, mientras que la tasa disminuyó al 23,99 % para las frases nominales en la posición de sujeto. Las frases nominales codificadas como “contrafácticas”, sin embargo, tenían un alto porcentaje de asignación de género femenino (68,32 %). Como se discutió en la sección 5.4, en las frases sustantivas “contrafácticas”, el género del elemento léxico expresa la similitud del referente con el género correspondiente, en lugar de expresar el género real del/de la referente (véase el Cuadro 5.2 en la sección 5.4 para ejemplos). En estos casos, los muxes se comparan con personas de género femenino en el 68,32 % de los casos y con personas de género masculino en el 31,68 % restante.

Este alto porcentaje de asignación de género femenino en las frases contrafácticas indica que estas construcciones discursivas resaltan la feminidad de los muxes, pero sin naturalizar completamente esa feminidad. En estas frases sustantivadas, los muxes se presentan como “como” personas femeninas, pero sin ser plenamente consideradas como tales. Además, la identificación de género preferida para los referentes también parecía ejercer una gran influencia en la selección de formas femeninas o masculinas, incluso para las referentes identificadas como femeninas. Las referentes que eran claramente muxe gunaa se refirieron con mucha frecuencia con marcadores de género femeninos, en un 82,58 % de los casos, frente a una tasa del 23,66 % para otros referentes. Por otro lado, los referentes homosexuales identificados como hombres, que no se identifican como muxes, se refirieron con formas femeninas en muy raras ocasiones, solo en el 5,23 % de los casos. En contraste, se utilizó la referencia femenina en el 32,63 % de las ocasiones para hablar de otros referentes. De esa manera, la identidad de género real del/de la referente pareció jugar un papel decisivo en la forma en que

los juchitecxes utilizaron el género gramatical para referirse a estas personas.

6.6 Los resultados para el género gramatical referencial: factores externos

En esta sección, se explica qué factores sociales se utilizaron en la regresión logística final y se presentan los resultados sobre cómo estos factores están correlacionados con el uso de la asignación de género femenino. Las categorías utilizadas para cada factor social en el análisis final fueron: género del/la hablante (mujer, muxe nguiiu, muxe gunaa, otro muxe y hombre), edad del/de la hablante (26 años o menos y 27 años o más), tiempo vivido “en el extranjero” por el/la hablante (menos de 4 años y más de 4 años), competencia lingüística (más zapoteco, bilingüe equilibrado, más español que zapoteco y solo español), y si el/la hablante es estudiante o está emplead@ en un trabajo formal de alto estatus. Esto implica que, al igual que en el caso de la /s/ implosiva y los factores internos para el género gramatical, se eliminaron varios factores y niveles de factores antes de hacer el análisis final.

De manera similar a otros análisis, se volvió a codificar el factor “región” como “alta” o “baja”, pero se eliminó el factor del modelo en etapas tempranas debido a su clara falta de significancia (valor p muy alto) y colinealidad con otros factores significativos. Lo mismo se observó en el caso del lugar de nacimiento dentro o fuera de Juchitán (“en el extranjero”), por lo que también se eliminó este factor antes del análisis final. Con base en los resultados del árbol de inferencia condicional y la colinealidad con “ocupación” y otros factores sociales, también tuvo sentido volver a agrupar las categorías para el tiempo vivido “en el extranjero” en solo dos categorías: menos de 4 años y más de 4 años.

Para la regresión logística final, se agruparon todas las ocupaciones en dos categorías: una categoría para estudiantes, trabajos del llamado “sector público” y otros trabajos bien remunerados en el sector formal, y otra para trabajos que implican un salario más bajo. Esta decisión tuvo sentido según el patrón de los datos, puesto que había una alta colinealidad entre “ocupación” y algunos de los otros factores sociales que necesitaban eliminarse. Además, a diferencia de la /s/ implosiva, el árbol de inferencia condicional para el género sugirió que los hablantes con trabajos bien remunerados en el sector formal deberían agruparse con el grupo de hablantes con “alta educación”, lo

que llevó a incluir estos grupos en la misma categoría final. Esta decisión de recodificación también tuvo una base teórica. Específicamente, la primera categoría de trabajos corresponde a trabajos que requieren educación superior y pueden considerarse trabajos de clase media. La segunda categoría, por otro lado, corresponde a trabajos que requieren menos educación e implican menos dinero, menor estatus y, por lo tanto, una posición más baja en la jerarquía social de clase.

En lo que concierne a la competencia lingüística reportada, se realizó una única regroupación. Específicamente, se unió al grupo dominante en español con el grupo de hablantes de español que tenían cierta competencia en zapoteco. Respecto al género, se observó que las distintas identidades de género se comportaban de manera diferente, vinculadas a diferentes tasas de asignación de género femenino. Por lo tanto, no fue necesario agruparlas, lo cual contrastó marcadamente con el análisis de la /s/ al final de la sílaba, para la cual todxs lxs hablantes se agruparon en uno de dos grupos de género. Algunas implicaciones de esta diferencia en la forma de agrupar a lxs hablantes según el género y la competencia lingüística, tanto para la /s/ al final de la sílaba y la asignación de género, se exploran explícitamente en las secciones 8.1 y 8.5. Los resultados de la regresión logística final, que correlacionaron factores sociales externos con patrones de asignación de género femenino, se presentan en el Cuadro 6.6.

Estos resultados muestran que las hablantes que se identificaron como muxes gunaa utilizaron la asignación de género femenino para referentes muxes en un 75,89 % de los casos, lo cual fue significativamente mayor en comparación con lxs hablantes que se identificaron como mujeres (31,78 %), otros muxes (38,62 %) y hombres (16,38 %). Aquellxs de 26 años o menos también utilizaron niveles significativamente más bajos de asignación de género femenino con una tasa del 20,93 %, frente a aquellxs de 27 años o más con una tasa del 34,06 %. Para esta variable, no hubo diferencias significativas entre aquellxs que habían pasado menos de cuatro años en el extranjero en comparación con aquellxs que habían pasado más de cuatro años en el extranjero.

Sin embargo, hubo diferencias significativas entre los grupos de competencia lingüística. Lxs bilingües equilibradxs utilizaron la asignación de género femenino en un 34,87 % de los casos, mientras que lxs hablantes monolingües en español lo hicieron en un 29,33 % de los casos. Finalmente, aquellxs con trabajos formales de alto estatus utilizaron niveles significativamente más altos de asignación de género femenino para referirse a muxes (31,94 %) en contraste con aquellxs sin trabajos formales de alto es-

Factor	% Femenino	Token #	Valor p
Género			
Muxe gunaa	75.89 %	192	<0.0001
Muxe (sin etiqueta)	38.62 %	73	0.0647
Muxe nguiu	29.36 %	69	0.1276
Mujer	31.78 %	191	
Hombre (cualquier orientación sexual)	16.38 %	151	<0.0001
Edad			
26 años o menos	20.93 %	117	<0.0001
27 años o más	34.06 %	559	
Tiempo vivido “en el extranjero”			
Menos de 4 años	31.41 %	289	0.0855
Más de 4 años	30.23 %	387	
Competencia lingüística			
Bilingüe equilibrado	34.87 %	91	0.0080
Más zapoteco	33.08 %	129	
Más español que zapoteco	30.09 %	65	0.9956
Solo español	29.33 %	391	0.0204
¿Es estudiante o trabaja en un empleo formal de alto estatus?			
Sí	31.94 %	184	<0.0001
No	30.30 %	492	

Cuadro 6.6: Factores sociales (todos con respecto al/a la hablante) y tasas de asignación del género femenino

tatus (30,30 %). Las interpretaciones y discusiones de estos resultados se proporcionan en las secciones 7.4, 7.5 y 8.2.

6.7 Los resultados para el género gramatical referencial: la ideología mencionada

Para determinar hasta qué punto las ideologías mencionadas influían en la variación de la asignación del género gramatical, se realizaron regresiones logísticas que incluían todos los factores sociales e ideológicos juntos. Sin embargo, solo se incluyeron las cuatro ideologías de género mencionadas, dejando fuera las tres ideologías lingüísticas mencionadas. Se decidió no incluir las ideologías lingüísticas porque, en el discurso sobre los muxes, las ideologías lingüísticas se mencionaban muy raramente, tanto que el número de *tokens* de cada ideología lingüística probablemente habría sido demasiado pequeño para realizar un análisis variacionista. No obstante, también se llevaron a cabo regresiones logísticas con factores ideológicos y lingüísticos, puesto que

ambos son factores internos correlacionados con la asignación de género gramatical referencial.

Con una muestra preliminar de 12 hablantes, se realizó una primera regresión logística y se descubrió que solo dos ideologías mencionadas, la machista y la matriarcal, mostraban alguna posibilidad de ser significativas. En concreto, la ideología de género matriarcal estaba cerca de la significación, mientras que la ideología de género machista ya resultaba significativa. En el análisis final con lxs 55 hablantes, ambas ideologías mencionadas fueron, de hecho, predictores estadísticamente significativos de las tasas de variación. Estos resultados, procedentes de los análisis que incluyen otros factores lingüísticos, se muestran en el Cuadro 6.7.

Factor	% Femenino	Nombre	Valor P
Ideología Machista			
Sí	23.09 %	154	0.0008
No	34.05 %	522	
Ideología Matriarcal			
Sí	34,88 %	171	0,0221
No	29,55 %	505	

Cuadro 6.7: Ideología mencionada y tasas de la asignación del género femenino

Los resultados del cuadro muestran una diferencia significativa en el uso de la asignación de género femenino entre las declaraciones codificadas como de ideología machista y otras declaraciones, así como entre las declaraciones codificadas como de ideología matriarcal y otras declaraciones. En concreto, la asignación de género femenino se observó en el 23,09 % de los casos en los que se mencionaba la ideología machista, frente al 34,05 % de los casos de otras afirmaciones. Este resultado parece mostrar que el uso del género femenino para las referentes muxes se aproxima a las tasas observadas entre lxs jóvenes (20,93 %) y los hombres (16,38 %) cuando se menciona la ideología machista. Estas tasas también son similares a la tasa general de uso cuando lxs hablantes se refieren a muxes con una identidad distinta a la de muxes gunaa (23,66 %), a pesar de que hablar de las muxes gunaa no excluye mencionar una ideología machista. Los posibles significados sociales de estos resultados se analizan en la sección 7.6.

Por otro lado, en el 34,88 % de los casos se asignó un género femenino a los *tokens* en los que se mencionaba una ideología matriarcal, frente al 29,55 % de los casos en los que se mencionaban otros enunciados. Esta pequeña diferencia en el porcentaje fue estadísticamente significativa y muestra un ligero aumento en el uso de la asignación

de género gramatical femenino para la ideología matriarcal en la dirección de las tasas utilizadas para y por *muxe gunaa* (82,58 % y 75,89 %), para personas con una distancia afectiva cercana a la hablante, incluyendo tanto amistades como una misma (50,95 %), y por *muxes* sin etiqueta (38,62 %). Además, el porcentaje de referencia femenina en los enunciados codificados por la ideología matriarcal mencionada es similar al porcentaje utilizado por *lxs* hablantes de 27 años o más (34,06 %) y por *lxs* hablantes con un nivel muy alto en zapoteco, es decir, *lxs* hablantes dominantes en zapoteco (33,08 %) y *lxs* bilingües equilibradxs (34,87 %).

Como ejemplos ilustrativos de estos cambios en la tasa de referencia con el género femenino al mencionar distintas ideologías, se puede considerar el discurso de una participante *muxe* sin etiqueta de 22 años. En un enunciado codificado para la ideología matriarcal, esta hablante utilizó exclusivamente la referencia femenina al referirse a las *muxes* “las empoderadas porque son empoderadas son personas con gran gran capacidad”. En contraste, en otro momento, al hablar de la discriminación en un enunciado codificado por la mencionada ideología machista, el participante dijo: “es una etapa de la vida que quizás todos tengamos que atravesar”, utilizando referencia masculina. Este cambio en el uso de género gramatical para referirse a los *muxes* cuando se mencionan ideologías machistas y matriarcales es representativo de las pequeñas, pero significativas, diferencias observadas en los datos. Otros posibles significados sociales de la variación entre las ideologías de género y la asignación de género femenino, junto con las interpretaciones relativas a las similitudes entre las tasas de asignación de género femenino para la ideología mencionada y otros factores, se discuten en la sección 7.6.

A lo largo de este capítulo, se han descrito en detalle los análisis realizados con R Studio para llegar a los resultados finales y estadísticamente significativos para los efectos de diversos factores internos y externos en la /s/ implosiva y la asignación de género para los referentes *muxe*. En cuanto a la /s/ al final de la sílaba, la retención de /s/ es la norma, ocurriendo en aproximadamente el 85 % de los casos. Los trabajos de alto estatus, la masculinidad, la competencia en español, la posición interna en la palabra, las sílabas pretónicas y el estatus morfológico verbal de la segunda persona del singular se asociaron con niveles aún más altos de retención de /s/, mientras que el tiempo pasado en regiones de México donde se reduce la /s/, las sílabas postónicas y, en particular, la edad, se asociaron con niveles menos altos de retención de la /s/.

Además, el grupo de competencia lingüística “casi hablante del zapoteco” retuvo la /s/ en un porcentaje ligeramente inferior a la media. Aunque las vocales, las pausas y, en particular, las consonantes plosivas en el contexto fonético siguiente se relacionaron con tasas altas de retención de /s/, otras consonantes se asociaron con tasas mucho menos altas, y /r/ y /l/ incluso se vincularon con tasas más altas de reducción de /s/ que de retención. Las personas que vivieron fuera de Juchitán de 2 a 4 años, así como aquellas que actualmente residen fuera de Juchitán parte del tiempo, retuvieron /s/ con mayor frecuencia que el promedio. En contraste, quienes vivieron en otros lugares por más de cuatro o menos de 2 años retuvieron /s/ a niveles inferiores al promedio. Además, la ideología pro-español, para toda la muestra, y la ideología machista, para una submuestra compuesta por todas las hablantes femeninas del zapoteco, se asociaron con niveles de retención de /s/ mayores del promedio.

En cuanto a la asignación de género para las referentes muxe, se observó que la asignación de género femenino se utilizó en general con menos frecuencia que la masculina, ocurriendo en aproximadamente el 30 % de los casos. Sin embargo, varios factores externos influyeron en el aumento del uso del género femenino. Entre ellos, destacan la identidad de género no masculina, haber vivido fuera de Juchitán, ser mayor edad, tener mayor competencia en zapoteco y tener empleo en un trabajo de alto estatus en el sector formal. En particular, una identidad de género muxe gunaa se asoció con un mayor uso de la asignación de género femenina que masculina.

Por otro lado, los factores internos de distribución adyacente, las frases sustantivas en posición de sujeto y la descripción del referente como miembro de la familia se asociaron con un uso de la asignación de género femenina algo inferior a la media, y los referentes masculinos homosexuales con un uso muy escaso. Al mismo tiempo, a las referentes muxe gunaa se les asignó mayoritariamente el género femenino. Las frases sustantivas marcadas como “contrafácticas” contenían elementos generalmente asignados al género femenino, y las referentes que eran amigas del/de la hablante o la propia hablante se asignaron al género femenino en más de la mitad de los casos. Además, la ideología machista se asoció con una asignación de género femenino ligeramente menos frecuente, y la ideología matriarcal con una asignación de género femenino ligeramente más frecuente que la media. A continuación, en el Capítulo 7 se interpretan estos resultados principales, así como los de la /s/ implosiva.

Capítulo 7

Discusión de los resultados

7.1 Interpretaciones de la variación de /s/ al final de la sílaba: explicaciones lingüísticas y basadas en el contacto

En esta sección, se recuerdan los patrones de variación encontrados en los datos sobre la retención de la /s/ al final de la sílaba y se discute la interpretación de estos hallazgos. Se comienza con los resultados que pueden comprenderse más fácilmente, relacionándolos directamente con investigaciones anteriores, y se finaliza con aquellos resultados que requieren una explicación más detallada. Para la mayoría de los resultados que requieren una explicación más larga, se propone que el contacto lingüístico y dialectal, o la influencia de ese contacto en el campo indexical de la /s/ implosiva, explican mejor los resultados. Una discusión del campo indexical de ambas variantes en Juchitán, junto con los patrones de variación que surgen a causa de este campo, se encuentra en la sección 7.2.

En términos generales, los resultados de la mayoría de los factores lingüísticos fueron bastante típicos para la variación en la /s/ implosiva. Por lo tanto, estos resultados eran esperados y sugieren un alto nivel de fiabilidad para los resultados globales, puesto que los factores lingüísticos que están casi uniformemente relacionados con la retención de /s/ también están asociados con la retención de /s/ en este estudio. En concreto, como en la mayoría de los estudios, se encontró que la posición interna de la palabra está fuertemente correlacionada con la retención, y los resultados para la tonicidad, el estado morfológico y el contexto fonético coinciden en gran medida con los de la bibliografía existente (Aaron y Hernandez 2007; Alba 1990; Almeida y San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown y Torres Cacoullous 2002, 2003; Holmquist 2011; Lynch 2009; Terrell 1977, 1979; Walker et al. 2014).

En cuanto al estado morfológico, la /s/ verbal singular de segunda persona condujo a la retención, mientras que todos los demás estados morfológicos (léxico, plural y la /s/ verbal plural de primera persona) se asociaron con una retención menos frecuente. Con la excepción de los plurales, que se suprimieron con frecuencia, este hallazgo aporta más evidencia de que, a menos que otros elementos del enunciado reduzcan la ambigüedad, los *tokens* de /s/ que llevan menos significado gramatical pueden re-

ducirse con mayor frecuencia, específicamente porque la información gramatical se comunica en otra parte (Almeida y San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown y Torres Cacoulios 2002; Hochberg 1986; Lynch 2009).

Con respecto a la tonicidad, el hallazgo de que las /s/ pretónicas y tónicas se correlacionan con mayores tasas de retención que las /s/ postónicas en este estudio también se alinea con los hallazgos comúnmente reportados en la investigación sobre la variación de /s/ en español. En y antes de sílabas tónicas (es decir, pretónicas y tónicas), la retención de /s/ suele ser más común que en otras sílabas no tónicas (es decir, postónicas) (Alba 1990; Brown y Torres Cacoulios 2002, 2003; Lynch 2009; Terrell 1977, 1979). Las tasas de retención de /s/ en palabras de una sílaba son intermedias, posiblemente porque estas palabras son acentuadas o no acentuadas en los datos, lo que podría llevarlas a comportarse como sílabas tónicas o no tónicas.

Además, estas palabras suelen ser de alta frecuencia, lo que, según la bibliografía (Brown, Gradoville et al. 2014; Brown y Torres Cacoulios 2002, 2003), debería significar que los índices de reducción de /s/ son más altos en estas palabras que en las palabras de baja frecuencia, incluidas la mayoría de las palabras con /s/ pretónica y tónica. Las palabras de alta frecuencia tienden a ser pronunciadas con menos esfuerzo por los hablantes, lo que hace que los índices de reducción fonética, como la reducción de /s/, sean mayores en dichas palabras (Bedinghaus y Sedó 2014; Brown y Torres Cacoulios 2002; Jurafsky et al. 2001; Moers et al. 2015). Como tal, este resultado para palabras de una sílaba se ajusta a la relación observada entre la frecuencia y las tasas de expresión de /s/ encontradas en otros contextos.

En cuanto al contexto fonológico, la mayoría de los hallazgos también reflejan tendencias encontradas en investigaciones anteriores. Dado que las consonantes en el contexto fonológico siguiente suelen estar más asociadas con la retención de /s/ que las vocales (Aaron y Hernandez 2007; Almeida y San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown y Torres Cacoulios 2002; Holmquist 2011; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014), el hallazgo de que las oclusivas, que constituyen la mayoría de estas consonantes en la muestra, están asociadas con mayores tasas de retención que las vocales refleja investigaciones anteriores.

Por otro lado, otras consonantes están relacionadas con tasas más bajas de retención de /s/, lo que, a primera vista, parece ir en contra de los resultados de investigaciones anteriores. No obstante, otras investigaciones han evidenciado que las fricativas, las

laterales y las nasales pueden estar fuertemente asociadas con la reducción de /s/ (Almeida y San Juan 1998; Lewis y Boomershine 2015). A la luz de esta investigación, los hallazgos para “otras consonantes” no son sorprendentes, dado que estas “otras consonantes” vinculadas a menores tasas de retención de /s/ en la muestra son mayormente fricativas, laterales o nasales. El resultado para las pausas también concuerda con investigaciones anteriores, puesto que las tasas de retención vinculadas a las pausas son tan extremadamente variables que a menudo se vinculan con la retención y otras veces con la reducción (Aaron y Hernandez 2007; Almeida y San Juan 1998; Bolyanatz 2015; Brown y Torres Cacoullous 2002; Holmquist 2011; Lynch 2009; Walker et al. 2014). En este estudio, parecen, al igual que las vocales, estar relacionadas con tasas intermedias de retención.

Además, estos resultados podrían estar relacionados con el contacto con el zapoteco del istmo. En el zapoteco del istmo, las fricativas sibilantes solo son posibles antes de las oclusivas sordas (Pickett et al. 1998). Tanto las fricativas sibilantes sordas como las oclusivas sordas son consonantes fortis en el zapoteco del istmo (Pickett et al. 1998). La asimilación entre estas dos clases de fonemas, cuando se encuentran adyacentes entre sí en el zapoteco, podría reforzar la tendencia de /s/ en la variedad local del español a ser larga y retenida antes de las oclusivas sordas. Antes de otras consonantes, incluyendo /r/, que en su mayoría son lenis en el zapoteco del istmo (Pickett et al. 1998), no ocurren fricativas sibilantes y, aunque se encontraran en tramos del discurso con palabras prestadas y cambio de código entre el español y el zapoteco, se esperaría que se asimilaran a las consonantes lenis volviéndose más cortas y reducidas. La falta de fricativas sibilantes o su alto nivel de asimilación ante las consonantes lenis en zapoteco también podría reforzar aún más la tasa relativamente alta de reducción de /s/ ante estas consonantes en la variedad local del español.

En la muestra analizada, la /s/ antes de /r/ y /l/ se reduce con particular frecuencia, sin embargo, hasta donde se sabe, ninguna otra investigación ha encontrado que /r/ sea un predictor particularmente fuerte de reducción. Solo se puede especular sobre el porqué de esta situación, y nuevas investigaciones podrían arrojar más luz sobre este sorprendente hallazgo. No obstante, la hipótesis propuesta es que la aparente relación entre la reducción de /s/ y /r/ en el siguiente contexto fonológico puede explicarse mejor como un efecto de frecuencia. En la muestra, la /s/ aparecía antes de /r/, principalmente en posiciones finales de palabra que precedían a palabras poco

frecuentes (por ejemplo, *razones, regresan y respeto*), mientras que la mayoría de los demás contextos fonológicos siguientes contenían elementos léxicos de frecuencias más variables.

Por el contrario, los elementos léxicos que contenían /s/ antes de estas palabras infrecuentes eran a menudo modificadores muy frecuentes de estas palabras infrecuentes, como los adjetivos posesivos como *sus*, pronombres clíticos como *les* y artículos como *las*, así como verbos muy frecuentes terminados en /s/, incluyendo *es* y *quieres*. Dado que los elementos léxicos de alta frecuencia como estos se asocian con mayores tasas de reducción de /s/ (Brown, Gradoville et al. 2014; Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2002, 2003), la alta frecuencia de estos elementos léxicos podría ser el conductor real de las altas tasas de reducción de /s/, en lugar de la mera presencia de /r/ en el siguiente contexto fonológico.

En cuanto al estado morfológico, aunque la diferencia en las tasas de retención de /s/ entre la /s/ léxica y la /s/ de segunda persona del singular era pequeña, esta resultó ser significativa. Por otro lado, la gran diferencia entre la /s/ léxica y otros casos no era significativa. Este resultado paradójico puede deberse a la gran cantidad de variación dentro de la categoría de la /s/ léxica y a la pequeña cantidad dentro de la categoría de la /s/ singular de segunda persona. Se tomaron relativamente pocos *tokens* de /s/ de formas verbales singulares de segunda persona, y hubo relativamente poca variación dentro de esta pequeña muestra. En cambio, las realizaciones léxicas de /s/ fueron muy variables y algunas subcategorías, como la /s/ implosiva interna de palabra, hicieron que la media general fuera mucho más alta de lo que habría sido de otro modo.

Los resultados también indican que las tasas de retención de /s/ parecen estar relacionadas, en parte, con el contacto dialectal. Esto es más fácil de ver en los resultados de lxs hablantes que han vivido en una región con una /s/ reducida. Presumiblemente, debido a su contacto prolongado con hablantes que reducen la /s/, estxs hablantes deben haberse acomodado a hablantes que reducen la /s/ durante largos períodos de tiempo (Aaron y Hernández 2007; Britain 2017; Hernández 2002; Kerswill 2004; O'Rourke y Potowski 2016), lo que llevó a una reducción más frecuente de la /s/ en comparación con aquellxs que no vivieron en regiones que reducen la /s/.

Del mismo modo, lxs hablantes que vivieron menos de dos años fuera de Juchitán retuvieron la /s/ con menos frecuencia, presumiblemente porque se habían acomoda-

do menos a lxs hablantes que retenían la /s/, puesto que habían pasado relativamente poco tiempo en otras partes de México donde la /s/ se retiene con más frecuencia que en Juchitán. Es relevante mencionar que las otras partes de México en las que vivieron lxs juchitecxs se localizaban frecuentemente en el centro de México, donde la /s/ se retiene con más frecuencia. En general, el contacto y la convivencia con hablantes que tienden a retener la /s/ parecen aumentar las tasas de retención de la /s/, dado que estas tasas generalmente aumentan con el tiempo que se pasa fuera de Juchitán.

Aunque esta tendencia se invierte para el grupo que había vivido fuera de Juchitán más de cinco años, esto podría estar relacionado con otra información sobre la muestra y las personas de cada grupo. Por un lado, el grupo de hablantes que había vivido fuera de Juchitán entre 2 y 4 años era relativamente pequeño y, por lo tanto, potencialmente poco representativo de este tipo de personas. Por otra parte, el grupo que vivió más de cinco años fuera de Juchitán era numeroso, lo que podría explicar su mayor similitud con el grupo general en cuanto a sus tasas de retención de /s/.

Otro factor importante para considerar es que el tiempo pasado fuera de Juchitán estaba correlacionado con la edad, por consiguiente, era relativamente poco probable que lxs hablantes más jóvenes hubieran pasado cinco años o más viviendo fuera de Juchitán. Por esta razón, lxs hablantes que han vivido fuera de Juchitán por cinco años o más pueden ser menos propensos a retener la /s/ debido a su mayor edad o mayor nivel de socialización con hablantes de mayor edad en su cohorte, quienes tienden a reducir la /s/ con más frecuencia¹. Finalmente, muchxs juchitecxs que vivieron por largos periodos en otras ciudades afirmaron haber mantenido fuertes lazos con otrxs juchitecxs. Esto puede significar que lxs juchitecxs que han vivido largos periodos en otras ciudades paradójicamente interactúan menos con (y se acomodan menos hacia) la gente local en esas ciudades que aquellxs que han pasado menos tiempo fuera de Juchitán.

En cuanto al empleo, un indicador de clase, lxs hablantes que eran estudiantes o trabajaban en el sector público, incluida la enseñanza, retenían la /s/ con más frecuencia que otrxs hablantes. Esto probablemente se debe a que su función los coloca en mayor contacto con variedades más estándar del español, que generalmente se consideran retenedoras de la /s/, especialmente en México. Estos resultados son quizá más

¹Si bien la edad a la que estas personas vivieron por primera vez fuera de Juchitán probablemente influye en su uso de las variantes de /s/, no tengo suficiente información de mis hablantes para especular sobre este tema.

fáciles de explicar en términos de contacto y uso del español estándar. Para tener éxito en los estudios o como empleadx en el sector público, es necesario dominar el español estándar en mayor medida que en otras profesiones.

El capital lingüístico (Bourdieu 1986, 1991) del español estándar puede utilizarse para ayudar a obtener mejores notas, acceder a puestos de trabajo en el sector público y lograr ascensos en este ámbito. Por lo tanto, lxs hablantes de estas profesiones se ven incentivadx a adquirir y utilizar el español estándar, incluidas las altas tasas de [s], por estas razones económicas. Por lo anterior, estxs hablantes acaban utilizando el español estándar, adquieren más competencia en esta variedad y añaden más elementos de esta variedad, como la [s], a su repertorio lingüístico y a su habla habitual. Dado que estxs hablantes están en contacto con otrxs hablantes en el trabajo o en la escuela, donde el capital lingüístico del español estándar es igualmente importante, estas tendencias solo se ven reforzadas por su acomodación a quienes utilizan con frecuencia rasgos del español estándar, como una alta tasa de [s].

Además, lxs hablantes que no son estudiantes ni trabajan en el sector público pueden utilizar rasgos no estándar, como menos /s/, debido al prestigio encubierto de estos rasgos (Trudgill 1972). Como resultado, aunque esta diferencia en la frecuencia de retención de la /s/ basada en la ocupación puede relacionarse principalmente con el contacto con el español estándar y el capital lingüístico de esta variedad para determinados grupos de hablantes, también puede surgir en parte de las orientaciones hacia y desde esta variedad por parte de hablantes que ocupan diferentes posiciones sociales, por razones de prestigio encubierto y manifiesto (Trudgill 1972).

Las tasas generales de retención de /s/ son más bajas en Juchitán que en la mayoría de las otras áreas de México (Brown 1993; Butragueño 2014; Lewis y Boomershine 2015; Terrell 1979; Walker et al. 2014). Tanto el estado morfológico plural como el dominio del zapoteco favorecen una menor retención de /s/. Ambos resultados revelan que hablar zapoteco resulta en tasas decrecientes de retención de /s/. En particular, el hecho de que lxs hablantes dominantes del zapoteco usen menos [s] apunta a la transferencia del zapoteco del istmo. El zapoteco del istmo carece de /s/ implosiva y también de marcadores morfológicos de pluralidad (Pickett et al. 1998), que en español se marcan con /s/. Por lo tanto, el hecho de que las personas que dominan mejor el zapoteco utilicen menos /s/ en su español, en particular para los plurales, apunta a la influencia zapoteca. La tasa general de retención de /s/, cuando lxs hablantes de zapoteco se

sacan de los datos, es consistente con la del resto de México, lo que significa que la dominancia en zapoteco podría ser el principal determinante de la baja tasa general.

Los resultados para el estado morfológico plural apuntan con particular fuerza a una potencial influencia zapoteca. Los resultados de otros estudios sobre el estado morfológico y la variación de /s/ han encontrado generalmente que, ya sea el plural o la segunda persona del singular verbal informal /s/, pero no ambos, promueven fuertemente la reducción (Almeida y San Juan 1998; Hundley 1987; Poplack 1980). Además, también es más probable encontrar un patrón de mayor reducción de /s/ plural en comparación con /s/ singular de segunda persona en las variedades de contacto que en las variedades nativas del español (Almeida y San Juan 1998; Brown y Torres Cacoullós 2002; Lynch 2009). La ausencia de plurales morfológicos en el zapoteco del istmo debería hacer aún más probable que se elimine la /s/ plural que la /s/ singular de segunda persona, que es, de hecho, el patrón observado en los datos. Por consiguiente, las tasas relativamente altas de reducción de la /s/ en los plurales, en lugar de las formas verbales singulares de segunda persona, sugieren una transferencia morfológica del zapoteco en la que la falta de marcación plural en zapoteco se expresa en español.

En este contexto, es importante mencionar que las conexiones entre el dominio del español y la retención de la /s/, así como entre los plurales y menos [s], son observaciones comunes que se discuten entre lxs juchitecos nativxs. Durante la investigación en Juchitán, muchas personas con las que se habló o con las que se planeaba hablar hacían comentarios metalingüísticos no solicitados que relacionaban el dominio del zapoteco con menos uso de la [s], particularmente cuando se hablaba de plurales. Algunxs consideraban este hecho como un defecto gramatical, afirmando que lxs hablantes dominantes en zapoteco no podían determinar qué palabras eran plurales o no sabían pronunciar la [s] al final de las palabras. Otras personas se mostraron más comprensivas con esta forma de variación, interpretándola simplemente como una característica del español zapoteco del istmo. En última instancia, estos comentarios sugieren que la reducción de la /s/ también ha llegado a indexar la dominancia en la lengua zapoteca, lo que implica un vínculo indexical muy extendido entre la competencia en el zapoteco y los índices de retención de la /s/.

7.2 La “zapotequidad”, la indexicalidad y la variación en Juchitán

En esta sección, se argumenta que las tasas de retención de la /s/ al final de la sílaba, en relación con el contacto afectan el campo indexical de la variable, lo que lleva a la aparición de algunos de los hallazgos menos esperados, en particular con respecto a las variables sociales. Se plantea que la comprensión culturalmente construida de la “zapotequidad” y de la “mexicanidad” en Juchitán permite que las tasas de retención de la /s/ influyan en las variaciones relacionadas con el género y la edad a través de sus respectivos campos indexicales. Para sustentar esta argumentación, se basa en las obras de Butler (1988); (1990), Eckert (2008), Ochs (1992) y Silverstein (2003) como marco teórico, incorporando explicaciones alternativas para estos patrones de variación cuando sea apropiado.

Se sostiene que en Juchitán existe una construcción ideológica prestigiosa de la “zapotequidad” tradicional que coexiste con una construcción ideológica prestigiosa de la “mexicanidad”. También se plantea que la mayoría de la gente se afilia, hasta cierto punto, con ambas, aunque también tiende a afiliarse más con una que con la otra. Al referirse a “zapotequidad” y “mexicanidad”, se está hablando necesariamente de identidades zapoteca y mexicana. Por el contrario, estos constructos se conceptualizan mejor como dos polos en un continuo, agrupando un conjunto de atributos que los hablantes entienden que están ideológicamente conectados. En los siguientes párrafos, se intenta mostrar, con base en investigaciones previas y en observaciones etnográficas propias, qué atributos vincula la gente en Juchitán con la “mexicanidad” y cuáles vinculan con la “zapotequidad”.

Dentro del constructo de “zapotequidad”, ser zapotecx está fuertemente asociado con prácticas tradicionales, especialmente trabajos particulares y ciertas celebraciones. Como se indica en la sección 1.7, gran parte de la vida social gira en torno al trabajo y las fiestas en Juchitán (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Dávalos Vázquez 2017; Holzer 1999; Mirandé 2011), ambos de los cuales a menudo tienen un fuerte componente de género (Barbosa 2016; Miche 2006). Por ejemplo, hombres, mujeres y muxes aportan regularmente contribuciones diferentes a las fiestas y asumen trabajos diferentes. Tradicionalmente, por ejemplo, los hombres trabajaban como carniceros, pescadores, pirotécnicos y agricultores, creando productos que las mujeres solían vender en los mercados o utilizar durante las celebraciones (Céspedes Vargas 2015; Dávalos Vázquez 2017).

Las mujeres también se ocupaban de las tareas domésticas y de la economía familiar. Los muxes creaban ropa para las fiestas, trabajaban con los hombres o, más típicamente, con las mujeres, y cuidaban de sus padres en la vejez (Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002). Como se mencionó anteriormente en la sección 1.7, estos roles, constituidos por actos performativos (Butler 1988, 1990), se entendían como marcando la masculinidad tradicional, la feminidad, y la *muxeidad*, y eran todos complementarios entre sí, constituyendo un aspecto importante de las ideologías zapotecas lingüísticas y de género.

Sin embargo, debido a los cambios sociales, muchas personas de Juchitán ya no realizan trabajos tradicionales y, según algunxs de lxs participantes, esta transformación económica ha afectado principalmente a los hombres. Con la llegada de la globalización y el aumento de los empleos en el sector de servicios, la economía local ha cambiado significativamente, y el sector informal se ha reducido (Céspedes Vargas 2015; Dávalos Vázquez 2017). Esto, anecdóticamente, parece haber causado que la mayoría de los empleos tradicionalmente masculinos hayan desaparecido o estén desapareciendo rápidamente en Juchitán. En consecuencia, se conoció a muy pocos hombres en Juchitán que realizaran trabajos tradicionalmente masculinos, mientras que muchas de las participantes mujeres y muxes sí realizaron trabajos tradicionalmente femeninos. Muchxs de lxs participantes comentaron que, en consecuencia, los lazos de reciprocidad entre las diferentes identidades de género en Juchitán se han debilitado.

Los trabajos tradicionalmente asociados con las mujeres y las muxes, debido a su reducida participación en los nuevos trabajos de la economía formal (Céspedes Vargas 2015), siguen existiendo y desempeñando un papel esencial en la economía local. Los roles del sector informal de las mujeres y las muxes como vendedoras en los mercados se mencionaron con frecuencia por las personas entrevistadas. En otras palabras, hoy en día ser zapotecx se realiza más a menudo a través de actos que se consideran femeninos, mientras que ser mexicanx se realiza a través de actos que se entienden como masculinos. Esto ha contribuido a una asociación entre la “feminidad” y el “ser zapotecx” en Juchitán, que explora con más detalle en los siguientes párrafos.

La asociación entre “muxes” y “ser zapotecx” puede verse reforzada por el hecho de que, por lo general, los “muxes” que se niegan a participar en los roles tradicionales, incluidos cinco de los participantes, evitan la etiqueta “muxe” y, en su lugar, se refieren a sí mismos como “hombres gay”, una construcción sexual/de género vinculada a otras

partes de México y del mundo (Laaksonen 2016). Lo que subraya esta conexión entre los cinco participantes identificados como homosexuales es el hecho de que ninguno de ellos hablaba zapoteco mejor que español y todos hicieron comentarios denunciando las prácticas culturales locales, en particular con respecto a los roles esperados de las mujeres y las muxes (véase la sección 7.4).

Entre los muxes, las “muxe gunaa”, que se identifican estrechamente con las mujeres y visten de forma similar a ellas, son las que más se asocian con los trabajos tradicionales. Esto puede estar relacionado, en gran parte, con el hecho de que las “muxe gunaa” se enfrentan a mucha más discriminación que otros muxes cuando buscan trabajo más allá del empleo informal tradicional, teniendo a menudo que presentarse como hombres para poder conservar un empleo bien remunerado (Céspedes Vargas 2015). En consecuencia, a menudo se considera que las muxes gunaa no tienen más opción que limitar sus perspectivas laborales a los empleos tradicionales o a la prostitución, puesto que otras salidas profesionales se consideran imposibles. Una de las participantes muxe gunaa que se mencionó anteriormente, Alejandra, empezó, pero no terminó, una carrera de ingeniería. Al hablar de sus estudios, señaló que, cuando iba a bares con sus compañeros de clase (exclusivamente hombres), la gente hablaba a sus espaldas, comentando que ella debía estar pagándoles por sexo. Para estxs comentaristas, era más difícil concebirla como una compañera de estudios de ingeniería que como una clienta con un séquito de prostitutos.

Los informantes indicaron que la “mexicanidad” se asocia con el español, los nuevos empleos, la modernidad, la educación y el resto de México, pero también se vincula con la delincuencia, el sexismo y las perjudiciales opiniones prejuiciosas sobre los muxes. En Juchitán, la violencia relacionada con las drogas, los asesinatos, el abuso doméstico, la violación y los crímenes de odio contra las mujeres y los muxes son relativamente comunes en comparación con la mayor parte del resto de México (Laaksonen 2016; Ybáñez Zepeda y Yanes Pérez 2013). Sin embargo, en lugar de vincular estos problemas con el concepto de “zapotequidad”, muchxs residentes creen que estos problemas provienen del colonialismo o de la influencia del resto de México (véase la sección 7.3).

Paralelamente, la “zapotequidad” se utiliza a menudo para performar la feminidad, mientras que la “mexicanidad” se usa típicamente para performar el género neutro o masculino. Esto se debe probablemente a que los trabajos tradicionales de los hombres

parecen desaparecer más rápidamente que los de las mujeres, mientras que, simultáneamente, las muxes más femeninas se mantienen en roles tradicionales debido a la discriminación y a suposiciones ideológicas. Por lo tanto, algunos de los símbolos más prominentes de la “zapotequidad” se han vuelto femeninos, mientras que la “mexicanidad” se caracteriza generalmente como neutra en cuanto al género o masculina.

Por ejemplo, muchxs de lxs participantes describieron explícitamente el mercado como femenino y de habla zapoteca, y la esfera doméstica se asocia con la lengua zapoteca. Una mujer de 60 años de la muestra comentó lo siguiente: “Al mercado tú ves ahí a puras mujeres vendiendo y el uso de la de la lengua en qué espacio se da ¿no? en el doméstico y en el mercado ¿no?”. Además, un participante varón de 45 años señaló que, mientras el mercado “funciona con gente que habla zapoteco, si un varón vende en el mercado, puede ser llamado muxe”. Estos comentarios ilustran el fuerte vínculo de la feminidad, los roles femeninos tradicionales y la identidad muxe con el hecho de hablar zapoteco y actuar como zapotecx tradicional.

Además, la lengua zapoteca, la feminidad y los marcadores tradicionales de la identidad zapoteca que constituyen la “zapotequidad” están todos ligados a la edad. Debido a que las generaciones más jóvenes de Juchitán están cambiando al español, la lengua zapoteca del istmo es hablada principalmente por las generaciones mayores. Esto ayuda a crear y reforzar conexiones entre la lengua zapoteca, la tradición y la gente mayor, así como entre la “mexicanidad”, la modernidad y la gente joven. La mayoría de lxs participantes comentaron que, en la séptima sección de habla zapoteca de Juchitán, la gente suele tener trabajos tradicionales, las tradiciones locales se practican con más regularidad, la ropa tradicional se usa con más frecuencia e incluso la gente más joven habla zapoteco como primera lengua. Estos comentarios conectan implícitamente la edad avanzada, la tradición y la identidad zapoteca con la lengua zapoteca del istmo.

Las asociaciones que componen la “zapotequidad” se representan de forma visual en la Figura 7.1. Esta figura es una captura de pantalla de la página de inicio de un grupo local de Facebook dedicado a informar a la gente sobre las clases de enseñanza del zapoteco del istmo como segunda lengua y/o lengua de herencia. La imagen utilizada en la captura de pantalla es de mujeres mayores con vestidos tradicionales, representando la lengua zapoteca en la figura femenina de una mujer mayor zapoteca que probablemente trabaja en el sector informal. En esta figura, la edad avanzada, la



Figura 7.1: Clases de Zapoteco del Istmo.jpg

feminidad, la identidad local, la vestimenta tradicional y la lengua zapoteca se unen para crear una imagen única que encarna la “zapotequidad”.

En cuanto a la indexicalidad, Eckert (2008) sostuvo que cada variante de una variable sociolingüística tiene un campo indexical asociado, que es una “constelación de significados ideológicamente relacionados” que pueden activarse a través del uso situado de una variante particular. Dicho de otro modo, cada variante está vinculada a un conjunto concreto de significados sociales relacionados en la cabeza de lxs hablantes, y un subconjunto de estos significados se activa en función del contexto de cada uso situado. El campo indexical de una variante concreta puede cambiar con el tiempo, a medida que lxs hablantes utilizan la variante de formas nuevas y creativas, o por razones relativamente ajenas al campo indexical original.

El apoyo empírico directo a la existencia de determinados campos indexicales mediante su estudio directo es relativamente infrecuente. No obstante, Walker et al. (2014) proporcionaron tal apoyo empírico para los campos indécicos de la variación en la /s/ implosiva. Lxs investigadorxs emplearon una prueba de emparejamiento para conocer los campos indexicales de la reducción y retención de la /s/ al final de la sílaba en 78 hablantes puertorriqueñxs y 89 mexicanxs. Mediante la tarea experimental, se evidenció que lxs hablantes mexicanxs, en su mayoría procedentes de regiones que retienen la /s/, relacionaban la reducción de la /s/ al final de la sílaba con un estatus bajo, menos simpatía y con hablantes de Puerto Rico o la costa de México.

Estas asociaciones, como es típico para los índices en un campo indexical, reflejan los patrones de variación que lxs hablantes probablemente encontraron en la vida real. En otras palabras, es cierto que lxs puertorriqueñxs eliden la /s/ con más frecuencia

que lxs hablantes mexicanxs, y dentro de México, lxs hablantes de clase baja, asociadxs con un estatus más bajo y antipatía, así como lxs hablantes de las regiones costeras, eliden la /s/ con más frecuencia. En ese orden de ideas, aquellxs que utilizan la variante elidida debido a su conexión con el prestigio encubierto de un estatus inferior o una menor amabilidad no hacen, sino reforzar estas nociones.

Un hallazgo interesante del estudio de Walker et al. (2014) fue que la reducción de /s/ no indexaba la edad en absoluto, así como la relación indexical variable entre el género y las variantes de la /s/ al final de la sílaba. En cuanto a esta variabilidad, los hablantes masculinos mexicanos concibieron la variante elidida como un índice de ideales heteronormativos y masculinos, lo que refleja la mayor tasa de uso del rasgo por parte de hombres heterosexuales. Sin embargo, las participantes femeninas mexicanas asociaron la retención de /s/ en sílaba final con la masculinidad heteronormativa, potencialmente debido a su relación con un estatus elevado. En consecuencia, la masculinidad heteronormativa estaba menos estrechamente vinculada con la reducción de la /s/ al final de la sílaba de lo que se esperaba para algunxs hablantes mexicanxs, y la edad no estaba vinculada de forma indexical con la reducción de la /s/ al final de la sílaba en absoluto. Por lo tanto, este campo indexical parece ser particularmente susceptible a cambios en las asociaciones específicas entre género, edad y variantes de la /s/ implosiva.

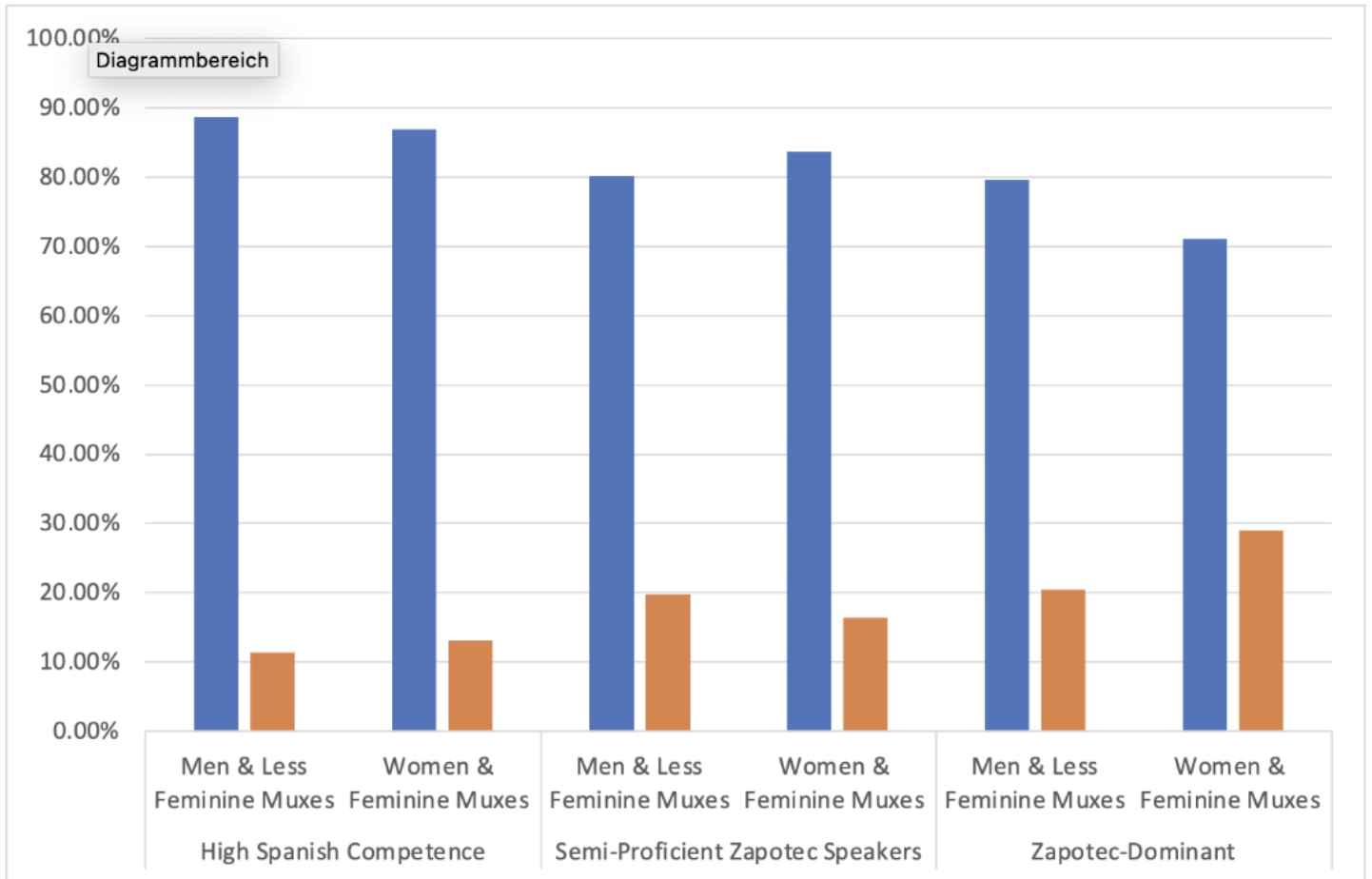
Al examinar los datos y comentarios realizados por la comunidad de Juchitán, es claro que, debido al contacto lingüístico, se observa que lxs hablantes dominantes en zapoteco reducen la /s/ con más frecuencia que otros miembros de la comunidad. Como se mencionó anteriormente, lxs lugareñxs a menudo señalaron las diferencias entre el español de lxs hablantes del zapoteco y el de lxs hablantes del español durante la visita a Juchitán, comentando con frecuencia que lxs hablantes del zapoteco no pronunciaban los plurales u “olvidaban” la /s/ (ver sección 6.1). Este índice de primer orden (Silverstein 2003) entre la /s/ zapoteca y la /s/ implosiva elidida se había convertido en parte del campo indexical para la reducción de la /s/ en Juchitán. Dado que la competencia en zapoteco está ideológicamente ligada a otros marcadores de la identidad zapoteca, es probable que esto también cree un índice de orden $n+1$ (Silverstein 2003) entre la “zapotequidad” y los índices más bajos de retención de la /s/.

Esta interpretación se ve reforzada por los resultados ilustrados en el gráfico de la Figura 7.2. En este gráfico, se comparan los índices de retención de la /s/ entre

hablantes masculinos y femeninas con distintos niveles de competencia en español y zapoteco. Está claro, entre lxs hablantes de español y, sobre todo, entre lxs hablantes dominantes de zapoteco, que las hablantes femeninas utilizaron [s] en menor proporción que sus homólogos masculinos. Sin embargo, entre el grupo de hablantes sin fluidez en zapoteco, esta tendencia se invirtió, pero esto se debió principalmente al efecto de un hablante masculino heterosexual que tenía un alto nivel educativo y trabajaba como periodista, a menudo trabajando y viajando a otras partes de México. Teniendo en cuenta la carrera de este hablante, su alto nivel educativo, su falta de fluidez en zapoteco, su masculinidad y sus experiencias en otras ciudades, se esperaría que la tasa de retención de /s/ fuera muy alta. En cambio, utilizó [s] en un 68 %, incluso con menos frecuencia que una hablante promediana del grupo de personas femeninas dominantes en zapoteco.

Lo que probablemente lo diferenció de otrxs hablantes con un perfil demográfico similar fue su fuerte orientación hacia la “zapotequidad”. Esta orientación se evidencia en muchos aspectos de su comportamiento. Por un lado, proporcionó numerosas anécdotas de leyendas y mitos locales, música indígena, prácticas culturales zapotecas e historias similares durante la entrevista. Explicó que su tiempo fuera de Juchitán fue más que coherente con su orientación local, puesto que expresó la convicción de que, para ser verdaderamente “local”, también hay que ser “global”. Además, lamentaba no haber aprendido zapoteco de niño debido a su estatus social inferior en aquel momento y llevaba seis años aprendiéndolo activamente. Además, continuamente mencionaba y destacaba su identidad zapoteca mientras conversaba y mostraba un gran orgullo por ser de Juchitán.

Es importante recordar que la “zapotequidad” se asocia comúnmente con la feminidad, mientras que la “mexicanidad” se relaciona a menudo con la masculinidad. En relación con esto, este hombre también estaba involucrado en comportamientos más “ideológicamente” o estereotípicamente femeninos que la mayoría de los hombres en Juchitán, especialmente cuando estos comportamientos femeninos eran marcadores particularmente sobresalientes de “zapotequidad”. En particular, aceptó un segundo trabajo vendiendo comida cerca (pero no dentro) del mercado de Juchitán y expresó un gran interés por las artes, especialmente por las producciones artísticas y culturales locales. Además, cuando lo conocí, percibí una cualidad vagamente femenina en su forma de hablar y de presentarse a sí mismo, aunque no pude identificar de dónde pro-



Key:

- /s/ retention
- /s/ reduction

Figura 7.2: Diferencias de género en las tasas de retención de /s/ en grupos de hablantes con una competencia lingüística autodeclarada similar

venía esta percepción, e inicialmente pensé que se identificaba como muxe. Con esta información en mente, el comportamiento lingüístico y no lingüístico de este único caso atípico, que combina una personificación de “zapotequidad” con índices más bajos de retención de /s/, proporciona pruebas más sólidas de los vínculos entre el constructo de “zapotequidad”, la femineidad y los índices relativamente bajos de retención de la /s/.

Por lo tanto, parece que, en Juchitán, México, el uso de la reducción de la /s/ se ha asociado con la “zapotequidad”, que está vinculada a la competencia lingüística en la lengua zapoteca. Esto ha llevado a la aparición de un índice indirecto (Ochs 1992) de identidad de género femenino que se asocia con la variante reducida. En consecuencia,

las mujeres y las muxe gunaa pueden utilizar la reducción de la /s/ para representar la feminidad a través de la representación de la zapotecidad. Por otro lado, la retención de la /s/, al estar asociada con la “mexicanidad” a través de su asociación con la competencia lingüística en español, puede convertirse en un índice indirecto de identidad de género masculina o “menos femenina”. Esta asociación entre “mexicanidad” y lo masculino podría existir en otras partes de México, ofreciendo así una explicación de por qué el índice entre la masculinidad y la reducción no es muy fuerte en México en comparación con otros lugares como Puerto Rico. Es probable que la importancia contrapuesta de las ideas que vinculan “zapotecidad” y feminidad en el campo indexical en Juchitán, lleve a que lxs hablantes opten por la variante retenida para indexar su masculinidad relativa a través de una performance de mexicanidad.

La capacidad de las diferentes tasas de retención de la /s/ para indexar construcciones ideológicas de “zapotecidad” y “mexicanidad” también puede ayudar a explicar los vínculos entre la edad y las tasas de retención de la /s/. Específicamente, lxs hablantes de mayor edad pueden utilizar con más frecuencia la variante reducida para indicar su edad o el tradicionalismo asociado a ella, mientras que lxs hablantes más jóvenes pueden optar con más frecuencia por la variante retenida para indicar su edad joven y la orientación a la modernidad asociada a su edad. Por consiguiente, parece que las altas tasas de retención de la /s/ en Juchitán indexan el género masculino, la edad joven y las correspondientes orientaciones hacia la modernidad que encajan dentro del constructo de “mexicanidad”. Por otro lado, los índices más bajos de retención de /s/ indican el género femenino, la edad avanzada y las correspondientes orientaciones hacia el tradicionalismo que se asocian con la “zapotecidad”.

En este escenario, los patrones de socialización podrían desempeñar un papel en la retención de la /s/, probablemente debido a la acomodación. En Juchitán, un desplazamiento lingüístico ha resultado en menos hablantes jóvenes del zapoteco y, en gran parte del mundo, la mayor parte de la socialización ocurre entre personas de edades similares (O’Dare et al. 2021). Por lo tanto, es probable que lxs hablantes de mayor edad formen grupos de pares con tasas más bajas de retención de /s/ que los grupos de pares de juchitecxs más jóvenes, puesto que hablan más zapoteco que español como grupo y, por ende, retienen la /s/ con menos frecuencia. Entonces, la acomodación dentro de los grupos de pares llevaría a tasas más bajas de retención de /s/ en las cohortes más viejas que en las más jóvenes.

Dicho esto, incluso las diferencias en las tasas de retención de /s/ que están vinculadas a la acomodación podrían simultáneamente reforzar y ser reforzadas por la indexicalidad. Estas diferencias, basadas en la cohorte, en las tasas de retención de /s/, al llevar a lxs hablantes de más edad a usar [s] con menos frecuencia, podrían reforzar las asociaciones entre “zapotecidad” y la reducción de la /s/ al final de la sílaba en el campo indexical de la variante en Juchitán, dado que la “zapotecidad” se asocia con las tradiciones locales y, por lo tanto, también con lxs hablantes de más edad. Esto, al mismo tiempo, podría reforzar el comportamiento lingüístico de lxs hablantes de diferentes cohortes basadas en la edad con respecto a la variación de la /s/ implosiva.

7.3 La ideología mencionada y la variación en la /s/ implosiva

En los párrafos siguientes, se provee un recordatorio de las hipótesis de la sección 3.2 sobre la ideología mencionada y la variación en la /s/ al final de la sílaba. Con esta información, se interpretan los hallazgos a la luz de los constructos de “mexicanidad” y “zapotecidad”. Al final de la sección, se vinculan estos hallazgos, junto con la discusión de los dos constructos, con el concepto de ideología mencionada en su conjunto. En esta discusión, se utilizan puntos de la discusión teórica de las ideologías mencionadas en el Capítulo 2 para explicar cómo lxs hablantes emplean diferentes tasas de retención de /s/ para expresar posiciones ideológicas. Al hacerlo, se sostiene que asumen sutilmente las “voces” de otrxs hablantes para afiliarse en contra de las ideologías expresadas por o asociadas con esas personas. La voz se conceptualiza de manera similar a como lxs lingüistas que aplican las teorías de Bajtín entienden el término (Coupland 2007; Portillo-Fernández 2018; Tannen 2004, 2010), como la asunción de la “propiedad de un enunciado o una forma de hablar” (Coupland 2007, p. 114).

Se confirmó la hipótesis de que la ideología mencionada a favor del español monolingüe estaría vinculada a la retención de /s/. Los resultados mostraron que esta ideología pro-español tenía una influencia significativa en la variación de la /s/ implosiva, dado que se veía una mayor tasa de retención en los enunciados pro-español que en los demás enunciados. Por otro lado, la hipótesis de que la ideología pro-zapoteco estaría vinculada a la supresión de /s/ no se confirmó en gran medida. Esta ideología a favor del zapoteco monolingüe estaba vinculada a tasas más bajas de retención de /s/ que la ideología expresada a favor del español monolingüe, pero no era significativamente

diferente de otras ideologías.

La hipótesis de que los hombres que expresaban una ideología de género machista retendrían /s/ con menor frecuencia no se confirmó. Los resultados revelaron que la ideología de género machista estaba cerca de ser significativa, pero cuando se codificó toda la muestra, la significancia desapareció. Al investigar más a fondo, se descubrió que los primeros 12 hablantes codificados eran desproporcionadamente femeninas y/o hablantes del zapoteco, y cuando solo se codificaron personas con este perfil, la ideología machista mencionada fue significativa, pero se correlacionaba, en cambio, con una tasa más alta de retención de la /s/ en enunciados machistas que en otros enunciados. En esa misma línea, la hipótesis de que las muxes y las mujeres, al expresar ideologías de género zapotecas o machistas, retendrían /s/ con más frecuencia se confirmó parcialmente, puesto que esta relación solo se observó entre las hablantes femeninas de habla zapoteca (identificadas como muxe sin etiqueta, muxe gunna o mujeres). Para recordar los fundamentos de estas hipótesis, se sugiere consultar la sección 3.2.

Sin embargo, los resultados muestran que el razonamiento que subyace a la hipótesis inicial es claramente erróneo. Inicialmente, se planteó la hipótesis de que los muxes y las mujeres retendrían /s/ con mayor frecuencia al expresar ideología de género machista o zapoteca, puesto que se creía que la /s/ retenida se usaría con mayor frecuencia por las hablantes femeninas en general, lo que la convertiría en un marcador de un estilo "hiperfemenino". Este estilo hiperfemenino podría usarse entonces para indexar los roles de género complementarios pero diferentes atribuidos a mujeres y muxes por la ideología de género zapoteca o los roles de género inferiores implicados por la ideología machista. En contraste, cuando se menciona la ideología machista, las mujeres y los muxes utilizan con más frecuencia una /s/ retenida que indica la masculinidad, la educación alta y el ser hablante de español, lo que hace que el uso de esta variante sea, en todo caso, más masculino.

La relación entre la /s/ retenida, la ideología de género machista y la ideología pro-español se explica mejor mediante los vínculos entre la "mexicanidad" y la /s/ retenida. En Juchitán, la "mexicanidad" es una construcción ideológica en la que se asocian muchas características entre sí y con el resto de México. Estas características incluyen el idioma español, así como nuevos puestos de trabajo de alto estatus que requieren un alto nivel de educación (véase la sección 7.2). La masculinidad también está relacionada con la "mexicanidad" y, quizá no por casualidad, también lo están la

delincuencia, el (cis)sexismo y la homofobia.

Es cierto que los hombres en Juchitán, como en la mayoría de los demás lugares, cometen la mayor parte de la delincuencia, y las actitudes negativas hacia los muxes y las mujeres parecen estar más extendidas entre ellos. Algunxs participantes comentaron estos hechos y los relacionaron con ideas procedentes de otras partes de México. Por ejemplo, un participante masculino de 25 años explicó que la violencia machista “existe en todas partes, nosotros lo repetimos”, presentándola así como un problema global en México, o en el mundo, en lugar de un problema local restringido a Juchitán. Como tal, el vínculo de la retención de /s/ con el concepto de “mexicanidad” implica una asociación entre la retención de /s/ y la ideología de género sexista/homofóbica. Además, dado que muy pocas personas en otras partes de México hablan el zapoteco del istmo y que el resto de México es abrumadoramente dominante en español, la retención de /s/ puede vincularse con la ideología lingüística pro-español a través del concepto de “mexicanidad”.

Por lo tanto, cuando las hablantes femeninas de zapoteco mencionan la ideología de género sexista/homofóbica, o cuando todxs lxs hablantes mencionan la ideología pro-español, estos actos de habla indexan la “mexicanidad”, que ideológicamente trae consigo otras características del habla vinculadas a este constructo. Dado que la “mexicanidad” está vinculada con la retención de la /s/, uno de estos rasgos es una mayor tasa de retención de la /s/, por lo cual estas hablantes también utilizan mayores tasas de retención de /s/ que cuando no mencionan estos temas. Esto podría entenderse como un cambio de estilo en el que las hablantes femeninas de zapoteco utilizan un estilo de “mexicanidad” para mencionar la ideología sexista/homofóbica de género, y todxs lxs hablantes utilizan este mismo estilo para mencionar la ideología a favor de la lengua española.

En otras palabras, lxs hablantes cambian entre un estilo de habla de “mexicanidad” cuando mencionan ideologías pro-español (y a veces machistas) y un estilo de habla menos marcado, a menudo lingüísticamente más cercano al estilo de otras personas que comparten su identidad y que podrían considerar auténtico para ellxs mismxs, cuando hacen otros enunciados. En los estudios de la tercera ola, como los citados en Eckert (2012) y Eckert y Rickford (2001), los estilos suelen entenderse como conjuntos de variantes y sus significados sociales asociados. La variación entre y dentro de lxs hablantes a menudo se entiende como resultado del cambio de estilo, puesto que

lxs hablantes individuales pueden adoptar ciertos estilos con más frecuencia, lo que lxs lleva a adoptar patrones de variación asociados con ese estilo (Eckert 2012; Eckert y Rickford 2001).

En cuanto al estilo de “mexicanidad”, lxs hispanohablantes, lxs hablantes con trabajos de alto estatus, lxs hablantes que actualmente viven en el resto de México y, particularmente, los hombres hispanohablantes retienen la /s/ con más frecuencia, dado que adoptan un estilo de “mexicanidad” con más frecuencia. Bajo dicha perspectiva, estxs hablantes pueden adoptar un estilo aún más “mexicano” cuando hacen declaraciones a favor del español, y otrxs hablantes pueden adoptar un estilo “mexicano” temporalmente para mencionar ideas a favor del español y el sexismo con el que se desafilian fuertemente.

La relación entre la ideología machista mencionada y una mayor retención de la /s/ puede surgir solo entre las personas femeninas de habla zapoteca por varias razones. Por un lado, lxs hispanohablantes y los hombres ya retienen la /s/ con bastante frecuencia, puesto que suelen emplear estilos de “mexicanidad”, lo que significa que es menos posible que estxs hablantes cambien a un estilo de habla caracterizado por altos niveles de retención de la /s/ para expresar una ideología, dado que sus tasas de retención de la /s/ ya son muy altas. Por lo tanto, aunque estxs hablantes muestren una tendencia a cambiar a un estilo con más retención de la /s/ cuando mencionan tanto ideologías pro-español como machistas, este cambio puede ser solo lo suficientemente fuerte como para salir significativo para la ideología pro-español.

Las hablantes femeninas de zapoteco también pueden estar más motivadas que los hombres y lxs hispanohablantes para cambiar su forma de hablar sobre el machismo, porque para estas hablantes es especialmente importante resistirse al machismo, puesto que son las más desfavorecidas por él. Por esta razón, pueden sentir la necesidad de crear más distancia entre ellas y el machismo cuando mencionan el machismo y, en consecuencia, pueden utilizar estrategias creadoras de coherencia ligeramente diferentes (véase la sección 2.8 que los hombres cuando mencionan estas ideologías).

Aunque todas las personas con las que hablé hicieron algunas declaraciones machistas de las que luego se desvincularon mediante el uso de estrategias creadoras de coherencia particulares, algunos hombres mostraron ocasionalmente un compromiso con los comentarios machistas que hicieron, o al menos una ambivalencia hacia ellos. Por otro lado, la mayoría de lxs hablantes, pero en particular las hablantes femeninas

de zapoteco, a menudo hacían estos comentarios a través de sutiles cambios de voz, un ejemplo de los cuales aparecerá más adelante. En ese sentido, los cambios de estas hablantes a un estilo de “mexicanidad” para hacer comentarios machistas a menudo pueden entenderse como similares a la ventrilocuación en sus efectos, aunque diferentes en su forma. Este fenómeno se denominará como “ventrilocuación implícita”.

La ventrilocuación es un término acuñado por Emerson y Holmquist, dos traductores de Bajtin al inglés (Tannen 2004), para describir cómo se puede utilizar la lengua para asumir temporalmente otra identidad, por ejemplo, cuando un/a hablante imita la voz de otrx, mientras que simultáneamente expresa distancia del enunciado hecho con esa voz (Portillo-Fernández 2018; Tannen 2004, 2010). En el artículo de Tannen (2010), la ventrilocuación se describe como un fenómeno común en el discurso en el que un/a hablante enmarca temporalmente su discurso como la representación de la voz de otrx.

En este contexto, adoptan la identidad de otrx mientras realizan este cambio de encuadramiento, lo que les permite desvincularse del contenido del enunciado y comunicar mensajes que podrían temer comunicar de forma demasiado directa. Esta ventrilocuación adopta la forma de un discurso relatado, pero es evidente que puede no representar un discurso pronunciado por otra persona. Por ejemplo, Tannen (2010) empleó la ventrilocuación para presentar las palabras de un perro y de un feto como discurso relatado. Este discurso, a pesar de inventarse, era útil para lxs hablantes que querían hacer declarar sus preferencias de forma indirecta al atribuir las a otra persona.

En Tannen (2010), los ejemplos de discurso narrado inventado se consideraban casos de ventrilocuación. En los datos analizados, este tipo de discurso inventado y, por lo tanto, la ventrilocuación real, era muy poco frecuente. Sin embargo, lxs participantes, particularmente aquellas que hablaban zapoteco y eran femeninas, a menudo mencionaron la ideología machista en posturas epistémicas y posturas afectivas negativas sobre la realidad del machismo en Juchitán, a menudo incluyendo posturas hacia el supuesto discurso, pensamientos y normas sociales de hombres sexistas y homofóbicos. De manera similar a la ventrilocuación, estas descripciones a veces incluían palabras o citaban creencias que probablemente no se pronunciaban o pensaban realmente, puesto que los hombres que conocí y de quienes sospeché que podrían haber tenido creencias y comportamientos machistas tendían a mencionar y manejar estas ideologías de una manera que creaba posiciones ambivalentes. Por ejemplo, un participante muxte de

37 años afirmó que algunos hombres no “dejan” a sus mujeres tener suficiente libertad porque “ellos son machos”. Esta parodia de cómo piensan los hombres machistas y lo que podrían decir, aunque agradable de escuchar y un ejemplo típico de la ideología machista mencionada, probablemente no sea exacta.

Sin embargo, cuando le pregunté a un participante varón de 38 años, quien expresó las opiniones sexistas más contundentes, qué pensaba de la opinión sostenida por mucha gente extranjera de que las mujeres mandan en Juchitán, respondió: “¿Qué van a mandar”. Este enunciado podría expresar el orgullo masculino herido de ser tan poco “hombre” que se deja controlar por las mujeres, pero, lo que es importante, este orgullo sexista herido no se expresa directamente como tal. Más tarde, este participante elaboró su punto diciendo: “Si te dejas también te van a pegar (las mujeres) o sea, pero yo como estoy grandote como me va a pegar ella (mi esposa)”. De esa manera, el sexismo de la persona también se justifica a través de una visión del mundo en la que las personas necesitan ser más poderosas que otras para intimidarlas y evitar así que les hagan daño.

Tal cosmovisión probablemente motiva mucho sexismo en un lugar en el que muchas personas, incluidos hombres, han experimentado violencia, pero no es citada por quienes ventrilocúan implícitamente a los hombres con pensamientos y comportamientos machistas. En resumen, las personas machistas suelen adoptar algunos puntos de vista y comportamientos machistas, pero no siempre muestran los motivos que otra gente les atribuye para sus comportamientos y puntos de vista machistas. Sin embargo, estas posturas epistémicas y afectivas negativas se mueven en la dirección de la ventrilocuación también por otra razón. A saber, fueron acompañadas por un rasgo lingüístico (tasas más altas de la /s/ retenida) que parece citarse del discurso de aquellos que encarnan la “mexicanidad”, que típicamente usan un estilo de “mexicanidad” y, en relación, son más propensos a involucrarse en comportamientos machistas.

Como tal, el estilo de “mexicanidad” se ventrilocúa para hacer estos comentarios, que no son citas directas inventadas, pero aún expresan cualidades asociadas con las personas cuyo estilo se está asumiendo. En este caso, la ventrilocuación tiene que ser implícita, puesto que la cita en sí es meramente implícita. No se cita a ningún hablante en su totalidad, por lo que la locución tampoco se produce en su totalidad. En su lugar, se hace referencia implícita al discurso machista, a las creencias machistas asumidas y/o al comportamiento machista presenciado. El cambio correspondiente en la

locución es solo sutil.

En este contexto, la ventrilocuación implícita puede entenderse como la atribución de una creencia, afirmación o norma a alguien, al tiempo que se realiza un pequeño cambio en el propio discurso en la dirección de la persona a la que se atribuye esa creencia, afirmación o norma concreta. El/la hablante desplaza su comportamiento lingüístico a un punto intermedio entre su forma habitual de hablar y la imitación de otra persona, cambiando el uso de una única variable lingüística. Este pequeño cambio es detectable en el análisis cuantitativo, pero a lo mejor no sea especialmente notorio ni para el/la hablante ni para sus interlocutores u otrxs oyentes. Dicho esto, se sigue realizando una función de ventrilocuación. Al hacer este pequeño cambio, el/la hablante puede aprovechar parcialmente el poder de la ventrilocuación para distanciarse de comentarios a los que quiere hacer referencia, pero con los que debe evitar afiliarse a toda costa. De este modo, se puede mencionar un tema que le perjudica, vincular ese tema a lxs autorxs de ese daño y distanciarse de esas personas. La ventrilocuación implícita y su relación con el diseño de la audiencia se analizan con más detalle en la sección 8.3.

7.4 Interpretaciones de la variación en el género referencial – Parte 1

Esta sección inicia con un recordatorio de hallazgos que podrían sugerir que el “masculino genérico” (Medina Guerra 2016) ayuda a explicar el género gramatical asignado a los referentes muxes en Juchitán antes de argumentar enérgicamente en contra de esta interpretación. Esto prepara el escenario para mencionar otros hallazgos importantes y discutir las interpretaciones correspondientes. En la discusión subsiguiente, se presenta un resumen de ciertos resultados clave, que se relacionan con hallazgos de investigaciones antropológicas previas y otras investigaciones cualitativas sobre la asignación de género gramatical, además de proporcionar más apoyo estadístico para la existencia de los fenómenos descritos en esta literatura. Más tarde, se explora el significado de los patrones de variación observados en cuanto al género y su construcción en Juchitán.

En primer lugar, es importante señalar que, aunque el número gramatical no influyó en la tasa de referencia femenina para muxes, la referencia masculina fue en general mucho más común. Esta tasa general más alta de referencia masculina podría impli-

car, a primera vista, que se utiliza el masculino para referirse a muxes, como es común al referirse a no-muxes, como un “masculino genérico” que se refiere a personas de cualquier género. Sin embargo, aunque la evidencia sugiere que el llamado “masculino genérico” en español conlleva principalmente asociaciones masculinas, en lugar de neutrales en cuanto al género (Medina Guerra 2016; Zunino y Stetie 2022), sigue siendo común que se utilice el “masculino genérico” cuando el género de un/a referente se desconoce o cuando se refiere tanto a hombres como a mujeres (Medina Guerra 2016). Si realmente se estuviera utilizando el “masculino genérico” aquí, se esperaría que los plurales estuvieran vinculados a tasas más altas de asignación de género masculino. Dado que los plurales suelen referirse más a menudo a grupos de género mixto que los sustantivos y adjetivos singulares, muchos plurales masculinos son casos del “masculino genérico”.

El hecho de que los plurales no estén vinculados a tasas más altas de asignación de género masculino en Juchitán sugiere claramente que no se está utilizando un “masculino genérico” para grupos mixtos de muxe gunaa, muxe nguui y otros referentes muxe. En otras palabras, el aparente uso del masculino genérico aquí parece ser nada más que una ilusión. Este “masculino genérico” aparente e ilusorio debe explicarse, en cambio, al recurrir a otros factores, que se detallan en la sección 6.4. Muchos de los otros resultados sobre qué factores influyen en la asignación de género femenino coinciden con los resultados de estudios antropológicos y otros estudios cualitativos sobre el uso de la asignación de género gramatical por y sobre miembros de comunidades LGBT y de “tercer género”. En ese sentido, los resultados muestran, en parte, que los factores que parecen influir en la asignación de género femenino en este estudio cuantitativo de muxes en Juchitán son similares a los identificados en estudios cualitativos de otras comunidades.

En primer lugar, es importante destacar que los muxes son típicamente referidos en masculino cuando se describen en funciones familiares, pero en femenino cuando son idénticos a la hablante o a sus amigas. Esto refleja patrones observados entre hijas, travestis y, en menor medida, otras personas LGBT en América Latina (Barbosa 2016; Bengoechea 2015; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Gagné y Rodríguez 2006; Hall 2013; Hall y O’Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997; Laaksonen 2016; Vacarezza 2018; Vargas Cervantes 2014). Al igual que los muxes en la muestra, estos otros grupos también usaron de manera variable la asignación de género gramatical masculino y femenino para realizar

funciones importantes. Es especialmente notable que travestis e hijras utilizaban la referencia masculina al mencionar la “niñez” (una función familiar) de los miembros del grupo, aunque optaron por la referencia femenina para expresar la solidaridad y la falta de distancia interpersonal/psicológica (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Hall y O’Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997). De esta manera, los resultados agregan fuerza estadística, y, por lo tanto, justificación aún más sólida a las afirmaciones principales hechas por antropólogos y sociolingüistas que estudiaron estos grupos en el pasado. Más información sobre el significado social de este aspecto de los resultados se encuentran en la sección 7.5.

Sin embargo, en contraste con lo que se esperaba, basado en la investigación sobre hijras, travestis y otros grupos LGBT, la referencia masculina fue utilizada con bastante más frecuencia por la mayoría de los grupos de género para casi todos los subgrupos de muxes, con la excepción de las muxe gunaa. Este resultado es, sin embargo, menos sorprendente a la luz del comentario de Barbosa (2016) de que los muxes que típicamente se visten como hombres (todos los muxes que no son muxe gunaa) tienden a referirse con el masculino.

Además, la expresión de género de hijras y travestis es en promedio mucho más femenina y mucho más uniforme (Hall y O’Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997) que la expresión de género de los muxes, que varía mucho desde muy masculina hasta muy femenina. Esta variabilidad y mayor cantidad de masculinidad en la expresión de género muxe pueden llevar a un uso generalizado de la referencia masculina para los muxes. También es interesante notar que, en contraste con lo que se encontró respecto a las hijras (Hall y O’Donovan 1996), las muxes suelen ser referidas de manera similar por miembros del grupo externo como por miembros del grupo interno.

Por otro lado, en contraste con la observación de Barbosa (2016), las personas mayores no parecían usar exclusivamente la asignación de género masculino para muxes, optando por los mismos patrones que la mayoría de lxs otrxs hablantes adultxs. Por su parte, lxs hablantes más jóvenes usaron la asignación masculina con más frecuencia. Además, la edad del/de la referente no influyó significativamente en la variación, aunque, según la investigación antropológica sobre hijras y travestis (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Hall y O’Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997), se podría esperar que los niños muxes fueran referidos en masculino. En este caso, sin embargo, cualquier mayor uso de formas masculinas para niños podría explicarse mejor por la descripción del referente como

un miembro de la familia, puesto que a menudo se describe a estos niños en términos de sus relaciones familiares dentro de los datos.

Puede ser que Barbosa (2016) haya captado un fenómeno lingüístico que era particularmente relevante para ella personalmente o que se relacionara con un subgrupo no representativo de la comunidad, como una persona mayor que se niega a usar la referencia femenina para *muxe gunaa* y haya creído erróneamente que era un fenómeno frecuente. En el caso de su investigación, así como en la investigación sobre hijras y travestis (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Hall y O'Donovan 1996; Kulick 1997), a pesar del uso de la triangulación para identificar los mismos fenómenos en diferentes fuentes de datos, la falta de análisis estadístico puede haber causado una interpretación errónea de la frecuencia de los fenómenos en cuestión.

La etnografía, debido a su naturaleza situada, necesariamente detecta comportamientos en un subgrupo de individuos dentro de una comunidad más grande. Por lo tanto, los resultados del trabajo etnográfico a veces pueden no ser representativos de la comunidad más grande. Esto es perfectamente aceptable, es un objetivo importante de la etnografía identificar patrones comunes y recurrentes, pero no necesariamente identificar patrones que se mantengan en toda una comunidad o determinar la frecuencia exacta de estos patrones. Por esta razón, un enfoque estadístico puede complementar la etnografía al identificar qué observaciones etnográficas se aplican a una muestra más grande de hablantes y, por lo tanto, son generalizables a una comunidad más grande. Como tal, lxs etnógrafxs modernxs han comenzado a agregar herramientas estadísticas como Nvivo, MAXQDA y Transana a su *kit* de herramientas de triangulación (Hall 2017; Jacques 2021; Žalys 2022).

Los resultados de este enfoque variacionista para la asignación de género resaltan la importancia de continuar este trabajo de triangulación de afirmaciones sobre patrones de frecuencia con análisis estadístico. En este marco, los usos salientes de la lengua de otra manera pueden confundirse fácilmente con los frecuentes, mientras que los usos específicos de la lengua por subgrupos pueden parecer más generalizables de lo que son. En Juchitán, al igual que en otros lugares de habla hispana, los hombres son casi exclusivamente referidos con el género masculino, y las mujeres, casi solo con el género femenino. Por lo tanto, la variabilidad de la asignación de género utilizada para los referentes *muxe*, entre la mayoría de lxs hablantes en la muestra, sugiere que la mayoría de las personas en Juchitán ven a la mayoría de las *muxes* como ocupantes

de una posición entre hombres y mujeres.

Sin embargo, la mayoría de las personas en Juchitán también parecen ubicar a los muxes más cerca del lado masculino del binario, considerando que usan con más frecuencia la asignación de género masculino al hablar de la mayoría de los muxes. Esta interpretación se refuerza por el hecho de que la asignación de género femenino fue más frecuente en frases sustantivas codificadas como “contrafácticas”, donde la asignación de género proporcionada fue simultáneamente desnaturalizada (consulte la discusión en la sección 5.4 y los ejemplos correspondientes en el Cuadro 5.1).

Dado que estas frases sustantivas describen estados hipotéticos o proporcionan comparaciones, a menudo se utilizaban para describir a las muxes como similares a géneros particulares sin identificarlas con ese género. Esto sugiere que tales comentarios se empleaban para asignar provisionalmente a los muxes a un género, sin implicar que los muxes tuvieran ese género. En otras palabras, en estos comentarios, se proporcionaba una identificación de género para las muxes que simultáneamente se negaba o se desnaturalizaba de otra manera. Dado que estas frases contrafácticas con mayor frecuencia contenían elementos femeninos, la femineidad de las muxes se desnaturalizaba más frecuentemente que su masculinidad en estas frases.

Sin embargo, parece que la mayoría de las personas, ya sean miembros del grupo interno o externo, se refieren a los muxes y a los hombres gais con el género que ellos prefieren para sí mismos. Esto apunta, como se afirma en la literatura, a la naturalización general, la tolerancia y/o el respeto por la identidad de género que las personas en Juchitán deciden adoptar. En las observaciones en Juchitán, la mayoría de los muxes se presentan de manera similar a los hombres, a pesar de autoidentificarse como entre masculino y femenino. Por lo tanto, tales patrones de referencia masculina y femenina encajan con su identidad de género.

A las muxe gunaa, por otro lado, que se identifican más estrechamente con las mujeres, la gente refería mayoritariamente con el género femenino que prefieren. Los hombres gais, que rechazan la etiqueta de “muxe” y se identifican como hombres, fueron incluso más abrumadoramente referidos con la referencia de género que prefieren, en este caso, el género masculino. Es importante tener en cuenta que estos hombres gais no necesariamente son más masculinos que los muxe nguiiu y las muxes sin una etiqueta en su expresión de género, simplemente en su identidad de género.

En coherencia con lo anterior, también parece haber una gran cantidad de variación

entre hablantes en cuanto a la frecuencia con la que asignan masculinidad a los muxes. En general, a diferencia de la variación en la /s/ al final de la sílaba, hubo una mayor cantidad de diferencias estadísticamente significativas en qué tan seguido diferentes grupos de género utilizaban la asignación de género femenino para referirse a los muxes. Esto probablemente esté vinculado a las diferencias entre diversos grupos de género con respecto a cuán dispuesto está cada grupo a interpelar a las muxes como femeninas, debido a diferencias a veces sutiles en cómo se experimentan las diferentes identidades de género en Juchitán.

Es especialmente notable, en términos de variación entre hablantes, que las personas menores de 27 años, y en particular los hombres, utilizaron la asignación de género masculino para los referentes muxes con significativamente más frecuencia, interpellando a los muxes como más cercanos al lado masculino del espectro de género de lo que otros hablantes las consideran. Por otro lado, las muxe gunaa solían usar la referencia femenina para las otras muxes, incluso cuando esos muxes no estaban identificados como muxe gunaa, interpeándolas como más femeninas que masculinos.

Como tal, parece que la feminidad muxe es negada por los jóvenes, y especialmente por los hombres, a través de su tendencia a usar altas tasas de asignación de género masculino para los referentes de muxes. Puede haber muchas razones para este comportamiento lingüístico. Por un lado, a los hombres identificados como homosexuales, que forman parte de la categoría masculina, no les gusta la etiqueta de muxe, que a menudo asocian con valores retrógrados. Por ejemplo, Fernando explicó que rechazaba la etiqueta de muxe porque quería poder casarse y tener su propia familia en lugar de tener que cuidar de sus padres.

Otro participante, identificado como homosexual de 24 años, rechazó aún más fuertemente la etiqueta de muxe, diciendo que “no la comparto (la identidad muxe) porque es una forma como muy tonta de pensar”. Vinculó el adoptar una identidad de muxe con asumir roles que implican denigración o tontería. Por consiguiente, estas personas, al usar menos el género femenino, pueden mostrar cuán fuertemente rechazan el concepto de identidad “muxe”, en lugar de rechazar la feminidad *per se*.

Por otro lado, los jóvenes y otros hombres no homosexuales también pueden ser más propensos a ver la identidad “muxe” como una expresión local de la identidad “gay”, en lugar de un estado de género intermedio (Laaksonen 2016). Esto puede deberse a que ambos grupos, debido a su asociación con la “mexicanidad” (ver sec-

ción 7.2), son más propensos a adoptar una comprensión “occidental” del género que clasifica a los hombres “gay” como hombres. Además, se pueden observar más comportamientos y actitudes antimuxe entre los hombres que entre las mujeres (Miano Borruso 2001), lo que permite inferir que las tasas más bajas de asignación de género femenino para los referentes muxes entre los hombres también pueden ser una forma de rechazar a los muxes al rechazar la validez de su diferencia percibida de los hombres. Rechazar la feminidad de las muxes puede ser particularmente importante para los hombres que no quieren que otros crean que han tenido parejas sexuales muxe.

En artículos antropológicos (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002) y en declaraciones de lxs participantes, quedó claro que los hombres “heterosexuales” a menudo tenían relaciones sexuales con parejas muxe, aunque hacerlo estaba estigmatizado. Por ejemplo, un participante masculino de 24 años comentó que muchas personas en Juchitán “dicen no eres hombre si no te has acostado con un muxe, pero no te dicen con qué muxe se acostaron ellos”. Estos hombres aparentemente han tenido relaciones sexuales con una muxe y creen que la mayoría de los otros hombres también lo han hecho, pero encontrarían demasiado estigmatizante hacerse cargo abiertamente de estas experiencias sexuales.

Dado que muchas personas en Juchitán creen que la mayoría, si no todos, los hombres han tenido relaciones sexuales con una muxe, algunos hombres pueden querer negar la feminidad de los muxes para dejar implícito que no los ven como objetos (femeninos) de deseo sexual como las mujeres. Por otro lado, se podría pensar que tendría sentido para estos hombres presentar a las muxes con las que tuvieron relaciones sexuales como femeninas, incluyendo el uso de referencia femenina, para hacer que sus deseos por las muxes parezcan menos amenazantes para su heterosexualidad. No obstante, para hablar sobre los muxes de esa manera, primero tendrían que reconocer que consideran a un muxe como una posible pareja sexual, y los hombres heterosexuales en Juchitán parecen querer negar completamente esta posibilidad, incluso si de hecho se han acostado con un muxe.

Como tal, al usar la referencia masculina para los muxes, puede ser que intenten negar la posibilidad de que incluso se les ocurra acostarse con una muxe al presentarlas como masculinas y, por lo tanto, no como objetos (femeninos) de deseo masculino. Menos problemáticamente, los hombres pueden simplemente ser menos propensos a sentirse cercanos a las muxes, puesto que las muxes son más femeninas que ellos. De-

bido a la falta de relaciones cercanas con los muxes, algunos hombres también pueden ser menos conscientes de cómo los muxes experimentan su propia identidad de género y prefieren tratarse. Esta línea de pensamiento lleva a otras interpretaciones de los hallazgos que se exploran en las secciones 7.5 y 7.6.

Por otro lado, las muxe gunaa utilizaron la referencia femenina para muxes a una tasa tan alta que claramente aplican el género femenino de manera rutinaria a personas que se identifican como más masculinas. Este punto se destaca por el hecho de que incluso la etiqueta “muxe nguui” a menudo llevaba marcas de género femenino cuando las muxe gunaa usaban la palabra. Podría haber muchas razones por las que las muxe gunaa querrían “sobreutilizar” la referencia femenina para hablar de muxes. Una razón es que, al asignarse como hombres al nacer, se les dio un nombre masculino, se les refería con género gramatical masculino y se esperaba que inicialmente asumieran roles sociales masculinos. A medida que gradualmente adoptaban una identidad muxe, este paso requería más cambios para ellas que para otros muxes, dado que, en ese momento, las muxe gunaa adoptaban un nombre femenino y comenzaban a presentarse de manera femenina.

Las muxe gunaa tienen oportunidades de trabajo restringidas y son más estigmatizadas que otras muxes (Céspedes Vargas 2015). Por esta razón, algunas muxe gunaa que conocí inicialmente se identificaron con otra etiqueta de muxe y se presentaron de manera más masculina antes de aceptar completamente su identidad de muxe gunaa y presentarse como tales al mundo. En consecuencia, es probable que haya muchas muxe gunaa que no se identifican como tales, debido al estigma, y muchas de ellas recuerden haber estado en esta posición en el pasado. Estas personas pueden creer que todas las muxes están “reprimidas” de esta manera, que quisieran identificarse y presentarse como muxe gunaa, pero que temen de las consecuencias. Algunas participantes muxe gunaa más expresaron, en consecuencia, el sentimiento de que las muxe gunaa son más auténticamente muxes y que los muxes masculinos están reprimidos. Por lo tanto, las muxe gunaa pueden negar la masculinidad de los muxes masculinos como no auténtico, incluso si esta masculinidad se siente auténtica para los muxes en cuestión (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016).

También es posible que las muxe gunaa estén “sobrecompensando” por la negación de su identidad de género en el pasado o reclamando poder femenino mediante el uso de la forma femenina para todos los muxes. De lo contrario, las muxe gunaa simple-

mente pueden sentirse más cercanas a otras muxes y, dado que típicamente utilizan la referencia femenina para sí mismas, extienden ese uso a otras muxes. Estas posibilidades encajan con otras interpretaciones de los resultados que se exploran en las secciones 7.5 y 7.6.

7.5 Interpretaciones de la variación en el género referencial – Parte 2

En esta sección, se continúa la discusión sobre la variación en la asignación de género, haciendo especial énfasis en cómo la asignación de género parece haber adquirido otros significados sociales, lo que permite que sea utilizada para otros propósitos. Se centra particularmente en cómo el género se usa para marcar diferentes tipos de relaciones sociales, así como su relación con el constructo de “zapotecidad”. Al final, se discuten posibles explicaciones para la relación entre dos factores lingüísticos ostensiblemente internos, la distribución y la frase nominal, y la asignación de género femenino.

Gran parte de la evidencia apunta al uso del femenino para referentes muxe para marcar cercanía interpersonal/psicológica, solidaridad u otros significados relacionados. En particular, el hecho de que las personas utilicen el femenino con más frecuencia para hablar de sí mismas o de sus amigos cuando el referente es muxe demuestra que el género femenino ha adquirido este significado, puesto que este hecho sería difícil de describir de otra manera. Por otro lado, el masculino parece utilizarse con frecuencia para marcar los papeles familiares que desempeñan los muxes y, de forma un tanto paradójica, también para marcar la distancia y la discriminación contra los muxes. La prueba más contundente de ello es la relación entre la descripción de un muxe como miembro de la familia y el uso del género masculino, así como la relación entre la asignación del género masculino y hablar de los no amigos.

Para ilustrar cómo las referencias femeninas y masculinas pueden indicar cercanía y no cercanía, o estatus familiar, respectivamente, se pueden considerar los siguientes ejemplos de una muxe (sin etiqueta) de 37 años. Esta participante, al hablar de sus amigas, dijo: “Ya nos acompañan muxes como así como más mis amigas ... cuando ellas van vestidas de mujeres”. Por otro lado, al mencionar a otros muxes, afirmaba: “En el mercado también hay algunos em muxes trabajando”, y, al hablar de la relación con su madre, señalaba: “Acá en la casa mi hijo va a decir mi mamá”.

En lo que respecta a las referentes muxe gunaa, el uso sistemático de la referencia femenina es un signo de respeto a su identidad al indexar de forma precisa y directa su identidad femenina. En cambio, el uso ocasional de la referencia femenina para otros muxes refleja una aceptación del estatus intermedio de las muxes. Por lo tanto, es de suponer que las personas que se sienten cercanas a los muxes los respetarán y querrán utilizar el género gramatical referencial que estos individuos prefieren para sí mismas. Por lo tanto, este reconocimiento de la feminidad adquiere un significado social adicional de cercanía, puesto que la cercanía implica y conduce al reconocimiento de la feminidad de los muxes. Este índice de orden $n+1$ (Silverstein 2003) de la referencia femenina parece haber conducido a una relación entre la amistad, o la propia autoidentificación, y una asignación de género femenino más frecuente.

Por otro lado, utilizar el género masculino para las muxe gunaa es una señal de falta de respeto hacia la identidad femenina y puede resultar muy ofensivo para las muxe gunaa. Por ejemplo, Alejandra comentó lo ofensivo que le parecía esta forma de confundir el género varias veces después de la entrevista. Para otros muxes, utilizar el marcador de género masculino exclusivamente o con demasiada frecuencia también puede indicar que el/la hablante no acepta la identidad de género intermedia de los muxes. En el caso de los hombres gais que rechazan una identidad muxe, tienden a utilizar el género masculino tanto para referirse a sí mismos como a los demás, identificándose así como hombres.

Por lo tanto, el rechazo de la feminidad de las muxes también suele coincidir con el distanciamiento social de las muxes. Las personas que rechazan la identidad muxe por sí mismas o cuando la ven en otras muestran, al mismo tiempo, su distancia social con los muxes. Esto podría dar lugar a un índice de orden $n+1$ (Silverstein 2003) que relacionara la distancia social, independientemente del género social interpelado, con los índices de asignación de género. Este índice permitiría entonces que la distancia social prediga independientemente la asignación de género masculina. Parece que a los muxes se les asigna más a menudo el género masculino cuando se habla de sus roles familiares porque, cuando nacen en sus familias, se supone que son varones y tienen una identidad masculina. Solo más tarde comienzan a desarrollar una identidad más femenina con roles correspondientemente menos masculinos (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001; Stephen 2002).

En ese sentido, las palabras que describen o indican las relaciones familiares de los

muxes parecen usarse casi invariablemente en masculino. Sin embargo, los muxes también suelen ser aceptados menos rápidamente dentro de sus familias de origen que por el resto de Juchitán, y es muy común que los muxes hablen de haber sido fuertemente rechazados por miembros de la familia durante muchos años, a menudo con violencia física, antes de que llegara la aceptación (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016; Miano Borruso 2001). Como tal, los roles familiares de los muxes se asocian frecuentemente con la discriminación, lo que también podría ayudar a explicar el hecho de que a los muxes se les asigna más a menudo el género masculino cuando se habla de estos roles.

Los constructos de “zapotecidad” y “mexicanidad” parecen menos centrales para explicar esta variación, como se enfatiza en la sección 7.6. Por un lado, un mayor grado de feminidad predic, hasta cierto punto, un mayor uso de la asignación de género femenino para las referentes muxe, lo que concuerda con el constructo de “zapotecidad”, puesto que el uso de la asignación de género femenino para las muxes es un fenómeno más o menos local. En apoyo de esta idea, se observa que lxs hablantes con un alto nivel de competencia en zapoteco, tanto bilingües equilibradxs como hablantes dominantes en zapoteco, utilizaron el género femenino para las muxes con más frecuencia que lxs hablantes monolingües o dominantes en español. Como tal, hablar zapoteco parece estar vinculado con el uso de la asignación de género femenino con más frecuencia para las muxes, lo que apunta a un posible vínculo entre la “zapotecidad” y el uso del género femenino (véase sección 7.6 para más información).

Curiosamente, sin embargo, los diferentes grupos de hablantes, basados en su competencia lingüística, se comportaron de forma más distinta para esta variable que para la /s/ implosiva. Es importante tener en cuenta que, originalmente, lxs hablantes se clasificaron como monolingües en español, bilingües dominantes en español, bilingües dominantes en zapoteco, bilingües con igual competencia en ambas lenguas o hispanohablantes con cierta competencia en zapoteco. Para el análisis del género gramatical, se reagruparon juntos al grupo bilingüe dominante en español y el grupo hispanohablante que tenía cierta competencia en zapoteco, mientras que el resto de los grupos se mantuvieron sin cambios.

En contraste, para la /s/ implosiva, la reagrupación dio lugar a un número menor de grupos, pero el grupo hispanohablante que tenía cierta competencia en zapoteco permaneció separado. Hasta cierto punto, esta diferencia puede reflejar diferencias de clase que se explican en párrafos posteriores. El grupo bilingüe equilibrado, por ejem-

plo, estaba compuesto por hablantes que tenían, en general, más acceso a la educación superior. Además, hablar solo español, incluso para aquellxs con cierta competencia en zapoteco, puede llevar a un menor uso del género gramatical femenino por la competencia lingüística y por razones de frecuencia. Para lxs hablantes monolingües en español, puede ser particularmente difícil usar más de un género gramatical para referirse a la misma persona. En prácticamente todas las variedades nativas del español, cada sustantivo se designa siempre con un solo género gramatical, y esta tendencia se extiende también a lxs referentes humanxs. Dicho de otro modo, a una persona específica se le denomina siempre con el mismo género gramatical.

Además, el uso de dos géneros gramaticales para la misma persona podría ser particularmente exigente desde el punto de vista cognitivo para lxs hablantes monolingües en español, puesto que algunos estudios sugieren que lxs hispanohablantes monolingües utilizan el género gramatical para ayudarles a procesar el significado de los sustantivos en mayor medida que lxs hispanohablantes no nativxs (Dussias et al. 2013) o bilingües. En el caso de los bilingües, el género gramatical (o la ausencia de este) en su otra lengua materna influye en la manera en que procesan el género gramatical en español (Sá-Leite et al. 2019). Dado que la asignación del género masculino es más frecuente para los muxes, es probable que estxs hablantes monolingües, en general, utilicen la referencia masculina para muxes con más frecuencia de todos modos. Como resultado, es probable que la carga cognitiva de utilizar ocasionalmente la asignación de género femenino para muxes sea mayor para lxs hispanohablantes monolingües que para otras personas.

El uso del género gramatical femenino o masculino no estaba relacionado en absoluto con pasar más tiempo fuera de Juchitán. No obstante, las personas con trabajos en el sector formal de alto estatus/altos ingresos, así como lxs hablantes bilingües equilibradxs en zapoteco y español, utilizaron la asignación de género femenina con ligeramente más frecuencia que otrxs hablantes. Lxs hablantes bilingües equilibradxs, así como lxs hablantes con empleos de alto estatus en el sector formal, parecían tener el mayor nivel de acceso a la educación formal. Por consiguiente, estos resultados muestran que los constructos de “mexicanidad” y “zapotequidad” no explican igual de bien la variación, puesto que la influencia de este constructo debería llevar a lxs hablantes con una posición socioeconómica más alta y a lxs hablantes que habían pasado más tiempo fuera de Juchitán a usar la asignación de género femenino con menos

frecuencia para los muxes.

Esta relación menos clara podría deberse a los diferentes niveles de concienciación sobre las minorías de género y el uso del género gramatical en otras partes de México. Como en muchos otros lugares, en México existe una creciente conciencia sobre las identidades trans y no binarias, y parece que un número cada vez mayor de personas se identifica abiertamente con un género que no se corresponde con su género asignado en función del sexo biológico. Al igual que en otros países, este desarrollo no está exento de controversia, dado que muchxs, incluso lxs jóvenes, se aferran firmemente a las visiones cis-normativas del género (Otero y Casado-Neira 2016). Sin embargo, en los círculos de gente bien formada, cada vez es más común conocer estas cuestiones y referirse a las personas con el género gramatical que prefieran, independientemente del género asignado al nacer.

Además, es un fenómeno común en todo México que los hombres homosexuales se refieran entre sí con el género femenino. Aunque este fenómeno se ha mencionado en contadas ocasiones en investigaciones, prácticamente cualquier hombre *gay* mexicano al que se pudiera preguntar lo confirmaría, y muchxs de lxs participantes en Juchitán hicieron referencia a este fenómeno. Además, como en Brasil (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997), aunque los travestis y otras personas trans son pocos en número, son bastante visibles en algunas zonas metropolitanas de México (Castillo 2006; Gutiérrez Martínez 2020). Al igual que en Brasil (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997), las hablantes transfemeninas en México anecdóticamente parecen soler utilizar la asignación de género gramatical femenino para sí mismas y entre sí (Gutiérrez Martínez 2020).

Por lo tanto, las personas de Juchitán que viven en áreas metropolitanas y/o interactúan frecuentemente con personas LGBT habrían escuchado a personas que considerarían “muxe” en Juchitán referirse a sí mismas con una asignación de género femenina. Para estxs hablantes, esto probablemente reforzó la norma, creada por primera vez en Juchitán, de que hay que hablar sobre la mayoría de los muxes con una asignación de género que varía entre femenino y masculino. Por otro lado, en el resto de México, fuera de Juchitán, la falta de comprensión y/o aceptación de las personas LGBT, que probablemente incluye a aquellxs con identidades no-cisgénero, es más común entre las personas con menos educación formal (Castro Cornejo y Álvarez Reyes 2023). Estas personas pueden tener menos acceso a los espacios donde se discuten estas cuestiones,

menos acceso a la información sobre las minorías de género en general, y/o más contacto con lxs evangélicxs, que en México son particularmente propensxs a no aceptar las personas LGBT. En muchas partes conservadoras de México, la población en general puede ser hostil a las minorías de género (Castillo 2006), por lo que ni se consideraría emplear la referencia de género que estas personas prefieren. De hecho, muchos muxes con quienes he hablado experimentaron un fuerte rechazo a su identidad de género en al menos algunas partes de México que visitaron.

En ese orden de ideas, la gente en Juchitán, dependiendo de sus antecedentes, podría esperarse que hayan vivido en contextos fuera de Juchitán donde las tasas más altas de asignación de género femenino eran aceptadas y esperadas para individuos que parecían “muxes” y/o donde la asignación de género masculino era la norma abrumadora. Por lo tanto, las tasas de asignación de género para los referentes muxe pueden depender de qué tipo de espacio frecuentaba la gente de Juchitán en otras partes de México y del mundo, en lugar de cuánto tiempo pasaron fuera de Juchitán en general.

Tener un trabajo de alto estatus en el sector formal generalmente implica haber pasado tiempo fuera de Juchitán en una institución educativa y/o trabajando con personas que tenían cierto acceso a la educación superior. Además, el grupo bilingüe equilibrado parecía tener un alto nivel de fluidez y alfabetización en ambos idiomas, lo que implica un alto contacto tanto con hablantes monolingües de español bien formadxs como con hablantes de zapoteco bien formadxs. Como resultado, es probable que estas personas tuvieran algún nivel de contacto con ideas progresistas sobre el género, tanto dentro como fuera de Juchitán. Este contacto podría llevar a las personas con estos trabajos a combinar el nivel de respeto que aprendieron a mostrar hacia las muxes con el nivel de respeto que aprendieron a mostrar hacia otras minorías de género similares en otros espacios, lo que haría que usaran la asignación de género femenino ligeramente con más frecuencia al hablar de referentes muxes.

Otro hallazgo que vale la pena explicar aquí es el hecho de que los pares adyacentes de controladores y controlados condujeron a una asignación de género femenino marginalmente menor en comparación con los pares no adyacentes de controladores y controlados. Para recordar cómo se definió la adyacencia, consulte el análisis de la distribución en la sección 5.4, y para ver ejemplos, consulte el cuadro en esa sección. Estos resultados concuerdan con los del estudio de Levon (2012) sobre el hebreo. En este estudio, un factor a nivel de discurso relacionado con la distribución podría ser la

causa de este patrón de variación. En concreto, dado que la tasa global de asignación de género masculino fue mayor que la tasa global de asignación de género femenino, los pares adyacentes de controlador y controlado tendrían automáticamente más probabilidades de contener al menos un marcador de género masculino que al menos uno femenino. Además, se esperaría que el acuerdo de género ocurriera con especial frecuencia en tales pares, puesto que la adyacencia condiciona el acuerdo de género (Díaz Barajas y Orozco 2019; Levon 2012). Estos dos hechos juntos podrían hacer que la adyacencia se correlacionara con la asignación de género masculino, dado que las frases sustantivas con múltiples elementos marcados para el género tendrían más probabilidades de tener al menos una marca de género masculino que condicionaría entonces la asignación de género masculino en toda la frase sustantiva.

La asignación de género femenino es ligeramente más frecuente en la posición de sujeto que en la de objeto. Debido a que los nuevos referentes se mencionan típicamente en la posición de objeto (Ashby y Bentivoglio 1993; Du Bois 2003), esto podría implicar que los nuevos referentes muxe se mencionan más frecuentemente con referencia masculina. Sin embargo, esto parece poco probable por dos razones. En primer lugar, la serialidad no fue estadísticamente significativa, lo que habría apoyado esta interpretación. En segundo lugar, desde un punto de vista impresionista, las nuevas referentes aparecían a menudo en forma de nombres femeninos. En su lugar, se propone que esta relación se debe al nivel de autonomía atribuido a las referentes muxe.

Para las cláusulas habladas o escritas en voz activa, poner un/a referente en posición de sujeto implica que es un/a participante activx en lo sucedido, mientras que la posición de objeto arroja al/a la referente como un/a receptor/a pasivx de una acción. En este orden de ideas, los estudios han demostrado que las referentes femeninas suelen ser más propensas que los masculinos a ser el objeto de una oración en voz activa o el sujeto de una oración en voz pasiva, lo que refleja una discriminación de género inconsciente en la que los hombres son actores y las mujeres son receptoras pasivas de lo sucedido (Frazer y Miller 2009; Kotek et al. 2021; Norberg 2016). En el caso de Juchitán, para las referentes muxe, la asignación de género femenino es una señal, especialmente para las muxe gunaa, pero en cierta medida también para otras muxe, de que la hablante ha asumido una identidad femenina que los demás respetan. Dicho de otro modo, es una señal de que las muxe son vistas como agentes.

Por el contrario, el uso excesivo del masculino puede negar a los muxe su identi-

dad femenina reivindicada, indicando una falta de cercanía y respeto por la identidad elegida por las muxes. Como se observa en la sección 7.6, también puede indicar las ideologías mencionadas en las que las muxes están subyugadas a los hombres. Esta falta de respeto y discriminación niega a los muxes su autonomía. Estos patrones de uso podrían hacer que apareciera una relación entre hablar de los muxes en la posición de objeto, lo que a menudo implica una falta de autonomía, y utilizar la asignación de género masculino con más frecuencia, lo que también sugiere un menor respeto por la autonomía de los muxes.

7.6 Las ideologías mencionadas y la variación en el género referencial

Para finalizar la discusión sobre la variación en el género asignado, se observa la correlación entre las ideologías mencionadas y la variación en cuestión, interpretando el significado de estas correlaciones en cuanto al género asignado en Juchitán, a la luz de los otros hallazgos. Se comienza con un recordatorio de los principales hallazgos sobre la relación entre los factores sociales y la variación en la /s/ implosiva, incluyendo qué tan bien estos hallazgos se corresponden con la relación entre las ideologías mencionadas y la variación en la /s/ al final de la sílaba. Además, se exponen cuáles de las hipótesis anteriores se confirmaron y cuáles se rechazaron. Posteriormente, se reflexiona sobre por qué las ideologías matriarcales y machistas mencionadas podrían ser determinantes significativos de la asignación de género, en lugar de otras ideologías. Finalmente, se sugiere que la asignación de género masculino puede haber adquirido un significado adicional de no aceptación/rechazo muxes, a pesar de que muchos muxes utilizan sin escrúpulos la asignación de género masculina para sí mismos y para otros muxes.

Los resultados mostraron que la asignación de género femenino se observó en el 23,09 % de los casos en los que se mencionó la ideología machista, frente al 34,05 % de las declaraciones codificadas para la ideología matriarcal. Este resultado confirma la hipótesis de que la ideología machista llevaría a un mayor uso de marcadores de género masculino para referirse a los muxes. Dado que no se observó mucha variación en la (falta de) concordancia de género en el análisis final, la hipótesis de que la ideología de género zapoteca expresada condicionaría menos concordancia en el género gramatical

no pudo confirmarse ni rechazada.

Aunque la importancia de estos hallazgos puede vincularse a los constructos de “zapotequidad” y “mexicanidad”, al igual que los hallazgos para la /s/ implosiva y la ideología mencionada, esta es una explicación menos central de los hallazgos para esta variable. El constructo de “mexicanidad” podría ayudar a explicar la similitud entre los índices más bajos de referencia femenina usados por lxs jóvenes y los hombres, así como sobre los muxes que no se identifican como muxe gunaa, y los índices más bajos de referencia femenina para los enunciados marcados para la ideología de género machista. Los hombres y lxs jóvenes tienden a emplear con más frecuencia la variante retenida de /s/, que está vinculada a la “mexicanidad”, y se podría argumentar que la asignación de género masculino para los referentes muxe se vincula más claramente a la “mexicanidad” por parte de la población local.

Hay algunas pruebas de que la “mexicanidad” podría vincularse más fácilmente a la referencia masculina y la “zapotequidad” a la referencia femenina. En primer lugar, aunque anecdóticamente los hombres gais en México suelen usar marcadores de género femenino para los otros gais que forman parte de su grupo interno y/o cuando hablan con cualquier hombre *gay* mexicano, generalmente no se encuentra que los miembros no *gay* del grupo externo sigan estos patrones, como lo hacen en Juchitán. Dado que la mayoría de las muxes de la muestra ha tenido la experiencia de ser consideradas “gais” cuando salen de Juchitán para pasar tiempo en el resto de México, podría ser, por lo tanto, que también lleguen a asociar el masculino con la forma en que la gente del resto de México se refiere a ellos.

Además, las muxes han sido reconocidas desde hace mucho tiempo en Juchitán como no del todo masculinas y tampoco del todo femeninas (Barbosa 2016; Stephen 2002). En consecuencia, la asignación de género femenino, tanto dentro del grupo interno como en el grupo externo, para los muxes está atestiguada en los datos. Por lo tanto, el uso de ambas marcas gramaticales de género para hablar de las muxes probablemente ha prevalecido por lo menos durante muchas décadas en Juchitán, lo que podría reforzar la asociación entre “mexicanidad” y masculinidad, así como entre “zapotequidad” y feminidad.

Las muxe gunaa, como se explicó en la sección 7.2, pueden entenderse como ejemplares de esta construcción de “zapotequidad”, puesto que desproporcionadamente usan ropa tradicional, ejercen trabajos tradicionales y se presentan de forma femenina,

todo lo cual está fuertemente ligado a la “zapotequidad”. Por lo tanto, el hecho de que el género femenino se utilice más a menudo para hablar de ellas podría estar vinculado, hasta cierto punto, a que la gente los asocia con la “zapotequidad”, a diferencia de otros muxes, que están menos fuertemente asociados con la “zapotequidad” o más estrechamente asociados con la “mexicanidad”. Sin embargo, no se debería poner demasiado peso en esta explicación, puesto que los resultados reflejados en la sección 6.5 sugieren otros significados sociales que podrían desempeñar un papel más importante en influir esta variación.

En concreto, parece que, si bien el género gramatical femenino marca la feminidad, también ha llegado a marcar la cercanía, la intimidad y la amistad cuando se aplica a los muxes. Al mismo tiempo, cuando se aplica a los muxes, el género gramatical masculino ha pasado a indicar la distancia y, paradójicamente, los lazos familiares, además de la masculinidad. Estos significados sociales, junto con el hecho de que la ideología machista mencionada también conduce a tasas más bajas de asignación de género femenino, sugieren que la asignación de género masculino también indexa la falta de aceptación o el rechazo de los muxes en Juchitán.

Al igual que con la variación en la /s/ implosiva, es posible que lxs empleen la ventrilocuación implícita aquí también, para recrear la voz de los hombres jóvenes y de otros hablantes que podrían considerar homófobos o sexistas, cuando mencionan la ideología machista. De este modo, las hablantes más perjudicadas por los comportamientos y las ideas machistas pueden mencionar estas ideologías, dejando bien claro que no se afilian a ellas. En este contexto, tanto el sutil cambio de locución como las estrategias de coherencia dejarían muy claro que se estaba mencionando la ideología machista expresada sin afiliarse a ella.

Además de la ideología machista mencionada, la ideología matriarcal mencionada fue estadísticamente significativa y condujo, en este caso, a un uso ligeramente mayor del género femenino referencial. Para ver un ejemplo de casos típicos de la ideología machista mencionada con referencia masculina y de la ideología matriarcal mencionada con referencia femenina, consulte el Cuadro 7.1. Esto apunta a una relación entre el uso de marcas de género femenino y la realización de comentarios que implican que las muxes son tan o más poderosas, valiosas, entre otros aspectos, que los hombres. En otras palabras, el género femenino se utiliza para marcar comentarios que indican o mencionan la superioridad muxe, o al menos el poder muxe.

Ideología matriarcal
es como la matriarca muxe ... pero él ella está en cor- tometrajes
Ideología machista
Hablaron mal de los muxes, hablando de los muxes ... que los muxes no, no es bueno, pues que se muera

Cuadro 7.1: Ejemplos de ideología matriarcal mencionada con referencia masculina e ideología machista mencionada con referencia femenina

Esta tasa ligeramente superior de género gramatical femenino en los enunciados que mencionan la ideología matriarcal se mueve en la dirección de las tasas utilizadas para muxes gunaa (82,58%), para personas con una distancia afectiva cercana a la hablante, como amigas y la hablante misma (50,95%), y por hablantes muxes femeninas como muxes gunaa (75,89%) y muxes sin etiqueta (38,62%). Además, el porcentaje de referencia femenina en los enunciados codificados por la ideología matriarcal mencionada es similar al porcentaje utilizado por lxs hablantes de 27 años o más (34,06%) y por lxs hablantes con un nivel muy alto en zapoteco, es decir, lxs hablantes dominantes en zapoteco (33,08%) y lxs bilingües equilibradxs (34,87%). De esa manera, cuando lxs hablantes hacen afirmaciones que implican superioridad o poder muxes, utilizan variantes asociadas con muxes femeninas, amistad y también hablantes de mayor edad del zapoteco.

Por lo tanto, se puede afirmar que la asignación de género femenino se utiliza para expresar el poder femenino en Juchitán, en particular un poder femenino zapoteca que está vinculado a la construcción de la “zapotequidad”. Esta interpretación también se ve reforzada por otros hallazgos. Las muxes gunaa son, como se explicó anteriormente, ejemplares de la “zapotequidad”, y son las hablantes las que más usan la asignación de género femenino y sobre las que más se usa la asignación de género femenino.

Estos hechos juntos pueden ayudar a crear y reforzar una asociación entre la asignación de género femenino y una forma de feminidad poderosa asociada con la “zapotequidad”. Las muxes gunaa también asumen roles que se asocian con el trabajo duro de las mujeres, trabajo duro que a veces, por ejemplo, en la ideología matriarcal, se considera más característico de las mujeres que de los hombres. En otras palabras, muchas de las razones por las que, en la ideología matriarcal, se considera a las mujeres superiores a los hombres están relacionadas con los roles laborales de las mujeres y las muxes. Estos roles tradicionales están asociados al constructo de “zapotequidad”.

Como tal, el uso de marcadores de género más femeninos cuando se menciona la ideología matriarcal puede estar vinculado a una comprensión de la feminidad poderosa que está relacionada con la “zapotecidad” y hace que los marcadores de género femeninos indexen el poder femenino (zapoteco).

Puesto que lxs hablantes que mencionan la ideología matriarcal parecen tener una probabilidad ligeramente mayor de afiliarse a estas ideologías que a la ideología machista, la ventrilocuación implícita funciona menos bien aquí como explicación. Generalmente, lxs hablantes tampoco se afilian completamente a esta ideología, pero normalmente la rechazan con menos frecuencia y con menos fuerza de lo que rechazan la ideología machista. La relativa falta de ventrilocuación implícita para esta ideología mencionada puede ayudar a explicar por qué es menos significativa que la ideología machista (un valor p de 0,0221 frente a un valor p de 0,0008). No obstante, en ambos casos, la forma en que lxs hablantes se orientan hacia lxs referentes no presentes puede ayudar a explicar los resultados, como se explica en las secciones 8.3 y 8.4.

Las dos ideologías mencionadas, la machista y la matriarcal, son significativas debido a su estrecha relación con la identidad de género, que, a su vez, está muy vinculada al uso del género gramatical referencial. El género masculino puede llegar a indexar el rechazo de los muxes porque a menudo se rechaza a los muxes negando su identidad de género, lo que lleva a una relación entre la ideología machista mencionada y los marcadores de género masculino. Además, el género femenino puede llegar a indexar el poder femenino, particularmente la versión zapoteca de este poder.

En general, los resultados para todos los factores relacionados con la asignación de género masculino/femenino en Juchitán, muestran que la asignación de género tiene una constelación compleja de significados sociales que están relacionados, pero no son idénticos, a la feminidad y la masculinidad como constructos sociales. Esto implica que los significados del género gramatical masculino/femenino aplicado a las personas también pueden ser complicados y matizados en otros contextos, un punto que a menudo se pasa por alto en los debates sobre el uso del lenguaje de género neutro, tanto por lxs conservadores lingüísticxs como por lxs activistas a favor del lenguaje de género neutro. Esta cuestión, junto con el uso de la asignación de género en los estudios variacionistas en general, se aborda en la sección 8.2. Habiendo presentado las interpretaciones de los principales resultados para la variación en la /s/ implosiva y la asignación de género gramatical en Juchitán en este capítulo, se discutirán las

implicaciones teóricas, prácticas y sociales de estos hallazgos en el Capítulo 8.

Capítulo 8

Una (meta)discusión de las implicaciones de los resultados

8.1 La categoría “muxe” y la variación

En los párrafos siguientes, se analiza la relación entre la categoría “muxe” y la variación, dado que no hay muchas las investigaciones que exploren la variación sociolingüística con respecto a las identidades de género no femeninas y no masculinas. Estas ideas podrían ser de utilidad en el futuro a lxs investigadorxs variacionistas que quieran estudiar el género más allá del binario y de las identidades asociadas con el norte global. En primer lugar, se examina la importancia de analizar las subcategorías dentro de un término general, como *muxe*, que superficialmente pueden parecer referirse a un grupo de género, pero que en realidad enmascaran una mayor diversidad de individuos. Más adelante, de forma más general, se exploran las implicaciones de la relación entre los patrones de variación y estas subcategorías en lo que respecta a cómo puede utilizarse la etnografía y cómo puede entenderse el género en la investigación sociolingüística.

En general, los resultados parecen indicar que las diferentes subcategorías de *muxes* a menudo se correlacionan con diferentes comportamientos lingüísticos, lo que sugiere que no es útil tratar *muxe* como una sola categoría para explicar los patrones de variación. En particular, para ambas variables, siempre hubo diferencias significativas entre *muxes gunaa* y otros *muxes*, con *muxes gunaa*, en ambos casos, asociadas con la forma femenina, la forma asociada con las mujeres, con mucha más frecuencia. Esto sugiere que los aspectos únicos de la identidad *muxe gunaa*, particularmente su fuerte afiliación con la feminidad y su correspondiente relación con los marcadores tradicionales de “zapoteco”, hacen que este grupo se destaque de otras identidades *muxe* en términos de su comportamiento lingüístico.

Sin embargo, la similitud entre el comportamiento lingüístico de los *muxes* y el de las personas hetero-cis-normativas binarias parece depender de la variable. Al observar la influencia del género como factor social en las tasas de retención de /s/ al final de la sílaba, la mayoría de los *muxes* y los hombres retienen /s/ en tasas significativamente más altas que las *muxes gunaa* y las mujeres. Además, no se encuentran

diferencias significativas entre la mayoría de los muxes y los hombres o entre las muxes gunaa y las mujeres. Esto significa que, en términos de esta variable, las muxes gunaa y mujeres muestran el mismo patrón de variación, mientras que otros muxes y hombres también muestran el mismo patrón de variación entre sí.

En lo que respecta a la asignación de género femenino y masculino, por otro lado, las diferencias significativas y no significativas entre subgrupos de muxes, hombres y mujeres adquieren otras configuraciones. Aunque todos los géneros utilizan a veces la asignación de género femenino para las referentes muxe, es mucho más común entre las muxe gunaa que en cualquier otro grupo de género. Además, los hombres (incluidos los homosexuales) utilizan el género masculino para los referentes muxe mucho más a menudo que otros grupos de género. Todxs lxs demás hablantes, incluidos los muxes nguiiu, las muxes (sin etiqueta) y las mujeres, utilizan la asignación de género femenino/masculino en porcentajes intermedios que son estadísticamente indistinguibles entre sí.

Esto sugiere que, en función de la variable, las muxe gunaa hablan más como las mujeres o emplean un estilo único, destacando su identidad de género “similar a las mujeres (sin ser femenina)”. Por otra parte, otras muxes hablan a veces más como hombres y otras veces más como mujeres, lo que pone de relieve un estatus “intermedio” constituido por el cambio entre marcadores de género ideológicamente masculinos e ideológicamente femeninos, con muy poco comportamiento lingüístico “intermedio” atestiguado. Además, los individuos homosexuales no identificados como muxes siguen patrones “masculinos” para ambas variables, lo que refleja la identificación de este grupo con los hombres y el rechazo del estatus muxe intermedio.

En general, la categoría “muxe gunaa” parece estar asociada con el estilo más singular, en el sentido de “grupos de variantes” (Eckert 2012; Eckert y Rickford 2001), puesto que utilizan muy claramente una mezcla de patrones de variación femeninos y patrones únicamente de muxe gunaa. Esto no es sorprendente, considerando el hecho de que, según las observaciones etnográficas, así como investigaciones anteriores (Barbosa 2016; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Laaksonen 2016), hay aspectos únicos de la identidad y la experiencia muxe gunaa que son menos relevantes o no aplicables a otros muxes.

Por un lado, las muxes gunaa se presentan a sí mismas de una forma mucho más femenina en comparación con otras muxes, a menudo utilizando nombres femeninos y vistiendo ropa de mujer a diario, operándose ocasionalmente para aumentar el tamaño

de sus pechos y enfadándose cuando la gente las identifica erróneamente (véase la sección 7.5. De alguna manera, su autopresentación e identidad de género son mucho más similares a las de las mujeres trans y/o travestis fuera de Juchitán que a las de otros muxes. Asimismo, las muxes gunaa experimentan más discriminación y a menudo están fuertemente vinculadas a símbolos de lo “zapoteco” (véase la sección 7.2), lo que lleva a experiencias vividas muy diferentes de su papel e identidad muxe.

En cuanto a los hablantes “homosexuales”, sus patrones de variación lingüística no parecían ser diferentes de los de otros “hombres”¹. Esto proporciona una prueba más de la constatación bien establecida de que no existe un único estilo de habla “gay” que compartan todos los hombres homosexuales (Gaudio 1994; Podesva, Roberts et al. 2002; Zimman 2013). Dado que los hablantes “gais”, como todos los hablantes “homosexuales”, marcan su homosexualidad empleando estilos diferentes entre sí, estos hablantes no emergieron como un grupo unificado basado en su uso ni de variantes de /s/ ni de referencia femenina/masculina.

De hecho, los resultados aportan incluso más pruebas en contra del estereotipo tradicional de que los hombres identificados como homosexuales hablan como mujeres (Gaudio 1994), dado que se asociaron sistemáticamente con patrones de variación idénticos a los de otros hombres. Estos resultados proporcionan más apoyo a la investigación que sugiere que los individuos homosexuales no hablan de forma diferente a las personas heterosexuales en formas unificadas y, por lo tanto, que no es particularmente útil tratar las identidades sexuales como factores sociales.

La diversidad entre las personas entendidas como muxes habría sido completamente invisible si se hubiera tratado la categoría “muxe” como una única entidad, lo que podría haber ocurrido si no hubiera utilizado la etnografía para averiguar qué distinciones localmente relevantes eran importantes para lxs hablantes. Por lo tanto, estos resultados refuerzan la importancia de utilizar enfoques de segunda ola para añadir categorías localmente relevantes a los estudios variacionistas (Eckert 1997, 2012). Dado que la relevancia de estas categorías surgió en la parte etnográfica de la tesis, en particular, refuerza la máxima importancia de los métodos etnográficamente informados

¹Los hablantes muxes a veces diferían de los hablantes masculinos en su uso de la variación, pero no creo que sea apropiado considerar a las muxes como hombres homosexuales para esta discusión. Aunque su biología es masculina y su orientación sexual suele ser homosexual, los muxes no se identifican como “hombres” y en Juchitán tampoco son vistas típicamente como hombres. Con base en la naturaleza social de la variación sociolingüística, solo se esperaría que la orientación sexual estuviera vinculada a la variación a través de su significado social, en lugar de su biología.

para cualquier estudio sociolingüístico que intente incorporar categorías más allá de la primera ola (Eckert 1997, 2012).

Además, las categorías de la segunda ola pueden incluso incorporarse a un estudio variacionista sin necesidad de una etnografía muy larga. La importancia de las categorías de la segunda ola surgió en el trabajo de campo en un período de dos semanas, puesto que estaba preparado por el conocimiento de la investigación de la segunda y tercera ola, así como otras investigaciones etnográficas sobre Juchitán, para buscar estas categorías localmente relevantes. Como tal, un método etnográficamente informado de buscar subgrupos localmente relevantes puede utilizarse para incorporar enfoques de segunda ola, incluso en proyectos que incorporan períodos cortos de trabajo de campo etnográfico.

En otros contextos con categorías de “tercer género” similares, también podría ser útil buscar subcategorías específicas dentro del término general más amplio, puesto que la observación de que la categoría general única, como “muxe” en este ejemplo, no es suficiente para comprender el uso del lenguaje podría aplicarse a otros contextos con categorías de “tercer género” similares. Como señalaron Zimman y Hall (2009), el término paraguas del llamado “tercer género” a menudo no es un fiel reflejo de las realidades vividas y de la identidad de género de las personas a las que intenta describir. Esto parece, en gran medida, ser cierto también para los muxes, en términos de su experiencia vivida, autoidentificación y uso del lenguaje con respecto a su uso de la /s/ implosiva y la asignación de género femenino/masculino de los referentes muxes.

Por lo tanto, otras investigaciones variacionistas que aborden comunidades con una minoría no masculina y no femenina que es visible pueden esperar diversidad dentro del llamado grupo del “tercer género” y utilizar métodos de inspiración etnográfica para buscar esta diversidad intergrupala. De lo contrario, su estudio podría fracasar a la hora de descubrir patrones de variación localmente relevantes. Incluso en contextos en los que no existe una identidad de género no masculina o no femenina “tradicional” o bien establecida, estos resultados tienen implicaciones para la definición y el uso del género en los estudios variacionistas. Generalmente, lxs investigadorxs que entienden el género solo como “masculino” y “femenino” pueden estar pasando por alto matices importantes en el uso del lenguaje, incluso en contextos en los que todxs lxs hablantes se identifican normativamente con una de esas dos etiquetas. Por un lado, incluso

en esos contextos, puede haber un número creciente de hablantes que se nieguen a identificarse o presentarse como claramente masculinxs o femeninxs. Por otro lado, lxs investigadorxs podrían ampliar el número de categorías de género que utilizan incluso para las personas que se identifican claramente como mujeres y hombres.

La disforia de género ha existido probablemente desde que existe el concepto de género. Sin embargo, hoy en día, en muchos países, las personas trans adoptan cada vez más abiertamente la identidad que consideran que mejor se corresponde con su experiencia de género. Este fenómeno ha llevado a un incremento en la identificación con géneros que no se corresponden con su sexo, incluyendo tanto las identidades de género binarias como las identidades no binarias entre o más allá de lo masculino y lo femenino. En consecuencia, el uso del lenguaje de las personas trans identificadas de forma binaria, así como de las personas no binarias, se ha estudiado, por ejemplo, en Becker y Zimman (2022), Gratton (2016), Knisely (2020) y Matsuno y Budge (2017). No obstante, salvo raras excepciones, como Becker y Zimman (2022) y Gratton (2016), estxs hablantes no se incluyen en los estudios variacionistas. A pesar de que estxs hablantes son típicamente una pequeña minoría del total de hablantes, podría ser útil desarrollar de vez en cuando estudios variacionistas en los que el comportamiento de estos grupos puede examinarse para ver qué nuevas ideas acerca de la relación entre el género y la variación de la lengua dicha información podría aportar.

Los hallazgos relacionados con las categorías “mujer” y “hombre” refuerzan la idea, común en los trabajos de la segunda y tercera ola, empezando por el estudio de Eckert sobre el uso de la lengua en una escuela secundaria estadounidense (1989), de que el género masculino y femenino no son categorías uniformes que afecten uniformemente a la variación (véase también Wodak y Benke (2017)). Cuando se desagregó la categoría de “muxe” y se dividió en subgrupos, resultó que las diferentes categorías de ostensiblemente el “mismo” grupo de género mostraban patrones de variación muy diferentes.

Dado que “hombres” y “mujeres”, al igual que “muxes”, no son categorías uniformes, algunas investigaciones han evidenciado que distintos grupos de “mujeres” y “hombres” varían de forma muy diferente entre sí. Por ejemplo, Eckert (1989) descubrió que las chicas “burnout”, pero no otras chicas, eran las que lideraban los cambios vocálicos en su comunidad. Además, Rissel (1989) constató que los hombres y las mujeres que apoyaban los roles de género igualitarios utilizaban tasas similares de

asibilación de la /r/, mientras que los hombres y las mujeres que apoyaban los roles de género tradicionales utilizaban la variante más asociada a su género. Por tanto, es posible que las diferencias de género solo aparezcan entre determinados subgrupos de hombres y mujeres.

Otras investigaciones podrían profundizar en esta idea. Cuando sea factible el compromiso etnográfico con una comunidad, lxs investigadorxs podrían buscar subgrupos de género de “hombres” y “mujeres” que sean relevantes a nivel local. En ese marco, si existen estos subgrupos de género relevantes a nivel local, pueden tratarlos como niveles del factor social “género”, en lugar de utilizar automáticamente las etiquetas “mujer” y “hombre”. Por ejemplo, en una comunidad en la que las mujeres y los hombres emplean diferentes patrones de variación en función de su adhesión a los roles tradicionales (sobre todo en San Luis Potosí, México, en Rissel (1989)), se pueden utilizar categorías como “hombre tradicional”, “hombre igualitario”, “mujer tradicional” y “mujer igualitaria” para las regresiones logísticas iniciales, en lugar de las categorías “mujer” y “hombre”. Posteriormente, estos niveles pueden agruparse para mejorar el ajuste del modelo y evitar la colinealidad cuando no hay diferencias entre dos de los grupos.

Con este enfoque, lxs variacionistas podrían descubrir patrones de variación que, de otro modo, quedarían invisibilizados al tratar reflexivamente el género como una categoría binaria. Sin embargo, este enfoque también permitiría analizar las diferencias que realmente varían a lo largo del eje tradicional mujer-hombre, puesto que estos patrones de variación seguirían surgiendo a lo largo de líneas binarias si inicialmente se incluyeran más grupos de género. Es importante enfatizar aquí la importancia de la etnografía. Las personas pueden identificarse como “hombres” y “mujeres” y formar grupos de género completamente distintos en lugares y circunstancias diferentes. Tal vez en una comunidad, la religiosidad sea un factor importante en la expresión, el nivel de identificación y/o la experiencia de género de las mujeres, lo que conduce a la formación de subgrupos de mujeres basados en la religiosidad. En otra comunidad, otros factores podrían ser más importantes, como un sentimiento interno de ser femenina o distinciones basadas en la clase, como la identificación *fresa* (Martínez Gómez 2014), que influirían en la formación de subcategorías de mujeres. El mismo principio, por supuesto, se aplica a las subcategorías de “hombres”. Aunque en muchas comunidades puede que no existan diferencias dentro de las categorías de mujeres y hombres

en los patrones de autoexpresión y autoidentificación de género, es crucial confirmar esto a través de métodos etnográficos en lugar de asumirlo sin más.

A este respecto, surge un área potencial de estudio futuro que parece no haberse explorado todavía: los casos en los que el género se expresa de forma diferente en función de la religión o la religiosidad. En muchas comunidades religiosas, sobre todo musulmanas, la forma en que las mujeres expresan su feminidad varía enormemente en función del nivel de religiosidad de cada una. En las comunidades donde algunas mujeres llevan *hiyab* y otras no, el velo es un claro marcador de religiosidad femenina que las mujeres sin *hiyab* no utilizan. Estas mujeres interpretan la feminidad de otras maneras, tal vez llevando el pelo largo y utilizando otras prendas de vestir o maquillaje. Estas diferencias de estilo no siempre desaparecen en entornos unisexos o familiares. Aunque las mujeres religiosas conservadoras pueden quitarse el *hiyab* en estos entornos, normalmente siguen existiendo diferencias entre las expresiones de feminidad de estas mujeres y las de otras mujeres. Por ejemplo, las mujeres que llevan *hiyab* a menudo estilizan el propio *hiyab* en función de la moda o la religiosidad y suelen optar por llevar el pelo más corto que las mujeres que no lo utilizan.

En este contexto, sería interesante investigar si las diferencias lingüísticas entre hombres y mujeres solo surgen entre los hombres y las mujeres que no llevan *hiyab*, tanto en entornos mixtos como en entornos de un solo género. Dado que las mujeres que renuncian al *hiyab* también renuncian a un destacado marcador local de feminidad, quizá sientan una mayor necesidad de marcar su feminidad mediante el uso de distintas variantes. Un estudio de este tipo podría ayudar a arrojar luz sobre otras cuestiones también, como por qué el género a veces no es un predictor significativo de la variación en las sociedades religiosas altamente segregadas por sexo, donde las diferencias binarias de género son muy importantes (Hedegard 2018). Por lo tanto, los estudios podrían separar a las mujeres y/o a los hombres en diferentes grupos en función de las influencias religiosas u otras influencias ideológicas en su expresión de género para captar mejor hasta qué punto los grupos particulares de hombres y mujeres son responsables de los patrones generales de variación de género observados en comunidades específicas.

8.2 El género gramatical como una variable sociolingüística

En esta sección, se discuten las implicaciones de los hallazgos para el uso del género gramatical como variable sociolingüística. En primer lugar, es importante señalar que la distinción realizada entre la falta de concordancia y la asignación de género es claramente válida, dado que diferentes conjuntos de restricciones internas (factores internos) condicionan la variación en la asignación y la falta de concordancia de género. Posteriormente, se argumenta que la asignación de género, cuando varía, puede utilizarse en estudios variacionistas para agregar generalizabilidad y matices a los hallazgos de estudios cualitativos sobre el uso de la asignación de género variable, al referirse a las mismas personas. En esta línea, también se sostiene que la inclusión de esta variable en la investigación variacionista contribuye a una comprensión más compleja del significado social detrás de las marcas variables de género gramatical. Se halla que estos patrones de uso y el estudio de ellos pueden desnaturalizar las conexiones entre el sexo biológico, el género social y el género gramatical. Además, se propone que los activistas LGBTQ+ y feministas podrían tener en cuenta estos significados multifacéticos para lograr sus objetivos de manera más efectiva.

Cabe señalar que muchos factores lingüísticos que fueron significativos en algunos de los estudios que examinaron la (falta de) concordancia desde una perspectiva variacionista (Díaz Barajas y Orozco 2019; Levon 2012) no fueron significativos para la asignación de género. Específicamente, a diferencia de otros estudios, el estado morfológico, el género del controlador y el número tanto del controlado como del controlador no fueron significativos. Además, para las frases nominales, hay menos niveles que fueron notables a diferencia de otros estudios. Esto sugiere fuertemente que hay restricciones diferentes que operan en la variación para la asignación de género que en la falta de concordancia, lo que refuerza la idea de que estos constituyen dos variables lingüísticas separadas. Por lo tanto, aunque una investigación más amplia podría ampliar el trabajo de autorxs como Cornips y Hulk (2008), Díaz Barajas y Orozco (2019), Levon (2012) y Upadhyay (2009) sobre la (falta de) concordancia, la asignación de género también podría ser una variable interesante en los estudios variacionistas por derecho propio.

Como variable sociolingüística separada de la (falta de) concordancia, la variable de asignación de género puede estudiarse para examinar la generalizabilidad de la

investigación antropológica sobre el uso de marcas de género masculino y femenino. En esa medida, el análisis estadístico reveló que ciertas observaciones hechas en estudios etnográficos (notablemente en Barbosa (2016)) no se confirmaron en una muestra más grande, mientras que muchas otras observaciones parecían ser mucho más generalizables. Entre estas observaciones que se confirmaron, el análisis variacionista también pudo identificar cuáles explicaban la mayor cantidad de variación (véase la sección 6.4).

Por lo tanto, esta variable también podría utilizarse para arrojar luz sobre la generalizabilidad y el poder explicativo de las diversas percepciones de la investigación antropológica sobre otros grupos de “tercer género” y LGBT, como el trabajo sobre las hijras en India (Hall y O’Donovan 1996), travestis en Brasil (Borba y Ostermann 2008; Kulick 1997), y otros grupos LGBT en el mundo de habla hispana. En consecuencia, tal información agregaría precisión y fuerza a estos hallazgos de investigación, al proporcionar una imagen más matizada de los significados sociales detrás de las asignaciones de género para referentes con las identidades de “tercer género” y/o LGBT localmente relevante en todo el mundo.

La capacidad de utilizar la asignación de género para un grupo particular de individuos como variable sociolingüística abre la posibilidad de que ciertas variables similares para otros idiomas también puedan utilizarse para ayudar a explicar el uso variable de marcas de género para referirse a los mismos individuos. Una posibilidad potencialmente interesante y contemporáneamente relevante es, para los idiomas sin género gramatical, estudiar el uso de diferentes pronombres para referirse a personas trans. La mayoría de las personas trans son referidas ocasionalmente, aunque infrecuentemente, por pronombres diferentes a los que prefieren (McNamarah 2021). Esto puede ocurrir debido a la ignorancia o incluso la hostilidad hacia las personas trans (Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021).

Este fenómeno a menudo se denomina *misgendering* en inglés (Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021), una palabra que se define como el tratamiento de una persona por el género equivocado y que, por ende, sugiere que el uso de los pronombres no preferidos de una persona trans le niega el género con el que se identifican. A su vez, esto implica que el significado social de los pronombres está estrechamente relacionado con la identidad de género, probablemente incluso más estrechamente que el género gramatical en Juchitán. El *misgendering* parece ser más común para personas no binarias (Gold-

berg et al. 2019), pero también ocurre para personas trans identificadas binariamente (Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021), en esa medida, experimentar el *misgendering* con frecuencia puede llevar a resultados negativos para la salud mental (Goldberg et al. 2019; Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021).

Al respecto, el *misgendering* se ha percibido generalmente como un signo de prejuicio antitrans (Goldberg et al. 2019; Kapusta 2016; McNamarah 2021) que proviene de perspectivas biológicamente esencialistas de género que son profundamente arraigadas. Sin embargo, debido a la hegemonía del esencialismo biológico, muchos pronombres de género neutro (es decir, los utilizados para personas no binarias) son nuevos o se usan de nuevas maneras que también pueden ser difíciles de entender para algunxs hablantes. Sobre esto, algunas investigaciones sugieren que las formas no binarias a veces son más difíciles de procesar para la mente (Zunino y Stetie 2022). Algunxs hablantes que emplean el *misgendering* pueden no estar motivadx únicamente o incluso principalmente por ignorancia o prejuicio hacia las personas trans. Sin embargo, un estudio variacionista sobre el uso de pronombres para personas trans podría brindar información sobre los significados sociales y, relacionadamente, a las causas, detrás del *misgendering*, por lo tanto, llevar a intervenciones más efectivas para lograr que los demás traten a las personas trans con los pronombres incorrectos con menos frecuencia.

Un estudio de este tipo también podría ayudar a comprender las elecciones de pronombres de las personas no binarias en general, debido a que las personas con diferentes identidades no binarias (es decir, género fluido, *genderqueer*, bigénero, agénero, entre otros) pueden preferir diferentes pronombres según su identificación específica (McNamarah 2021). En tal sentido, un estudio que revele los significados sociales y los patrones de variación respecto al uso de diferentes pronombres, especialmente uno que incluya a personas con estas identidades no binarias, podría ser útil para explicar las motivaciones detrás de la elección de pronombres para personas no binarias, basado en la amplia gama de significados sociales que cada pronombre probablemente conlleva.

Asimismo, los resultados muestran que el lenguaje binario con respecto al género, como el género gramatical, a pesar de reforzar el binarismo de género, puede tener otros significados sociales que socavan o incluso transforman los significados de género en significados diferentes y menos desiguales. En este estudio, las marcas de género gramatical también estaban aparentemente relacionadas con la amistad, el nivel de

aceptación, el estatus familiar y la etnia, lo que implica que el género gramatical puede adquirir significados que van más allá del género. Por consiguiente, esta complejidad de los nuevos significados sociales vinculados a las marcas de género en Juchitán desnaturaliza la conexión entre género gramatical e identidad de género y, por lo tanto, puede estar causando el debilitamiento semántico y la posterior gramaticalización (Sweetser 1988) del género gramatical. En otras palabras, parece que los significados pragmáticos pueden reemplazar los significados de género para el género gramatical en Juchitán, al menos cuando se usa para ciertas personas. Para la comunidad muxe, el género gramatical está perdiendo más de sus funciones semánticas y ganando funciones pragmáticas a medida que se gramaticaliza más.

Aunque esto fue muy raro, hubo algunxs hablantes que muy ocasionalmente usaban formas femeninas para referirse a referentes y formas masculinos con el objeto de aludir a referentes femeninas. Estxs hablantes generalmente hablaban mucho mejor el zapoteco que el español, por lo que su uso del género gramatical masculino para mujeres y viceversa probablemente se debía a la transferencia del zapoteco. Sin embargo, el cambio de significado social para el género gramatical, cuando se aplica a referentes no muxe, podría desempeñar un papel aquí también. Por ejemplo, una hablante anciana ocasionalmente se refería a su esposo de cuarenta y nueve años con género gramatical femenino y a mujeres con las que no tenía una estrecha relación con género gramatical masculino, lo que potencialmente muestra cercanía a su esposo² y una falta de cercanía con ciertas mujeres. Sin embargo, es importante tener en cuenta que esta interpretación debería confirmarse por investigaciones adicionales que aborden específicamente los usos pragmáticos de alternar entre formas masculinas y femeninas para referentes no muxe.

A la luz de estos hallazgos, es importante que lxs activistas siempre destaquen cómo se usa el lenguaje al evaluar si el lenguaje es opresivo o no, y limitar su enfoque en la forma que adopta el lenguaje. Aunque el uso de un lenguaje con género binario y la renuencia a utilizar alternativas de género neutro conducen al sexismo en muchos contextos, tiene otros significados potenciales en diferentes contextos. En esa medida, antes de asumir que el lenguaje con género binario o las formas genéricamente masculinas conducen a prejuicios, es importante consultar estudios sobre los efectos de tales

²Aunque “esposo” es un estado familiar, los muxes nunca se refirieron como esposos en esta muestra, y es un estado familiar que se adquiere más tarde en la vida por elección, en lugar de un estado de parentesco con el que se nace.

formas en un contexto particular, así como los efectos de las alternativas para asegurarse de que el uso problemático del lenguaje realmente contribuya a las desigualdades y que las alternativas funcionen contra esta desigualdad.

Si bien el uso de marcas de género masculino y femenino para los muxes sigue un conjunto complicado de normas y restricciones que no siempre se pueden reducir fácilmente a promover la discriminación o el prejuicio, otros usos del lenguaje con género son más claramente problemáticos. Por ejemplo, los estudios del alemán señalan que las ofertas de trabajo que utilizan el plural masculino ostensiblemente “neutral” reciben menos solicitudes de mujeres (Sczesny et al. 2016). Igualmente, otros estudios han demostrado que, en países con idiomas nacionales que emplean ampliamente formas gramaticales de género, las mujeres encuentran más discriminación en el mercado laboral (Shoham y Lee 2018).

Al mismo tiempo, el uso de formas no binarias no garantiza la falta de discriminación o la promoción de la igualdad de género. Al respecto, los estudios sobre el inglés han mostrado que, incluso para este idioma en que la mayoría de los títulos de trabajo no llevan marcas de género manifiestas, las personas a menudo asumen el género que tiene un empleado, basándose en estereotipos sobre qué género asumirá ese rol con más probabilidad (Carreiras et al. 1996). Por lo tanto, aunque la adición de formas de género neutro a idiomas como el español tiene su lugar en la eliminación de sesgos (cis)sexistas en el lenguaje, el uso de tales formas no es suficiente y puede que no siempre sea la forma más útil de promover la igualdad de género en todas las circunstancias. Una estrategia complementaria importante puede consistir en dirigir el significado detrás de las marcas gramaticales de género para que estos significados cambien de manera que conduzcan a una mayor igualdad de género.

En *El género en disputa*, Judith Butler (1990) argumentó que el género es performativo, lo que significa que se crea a través de la repetición iterativa de actos, incluidos los actos de habla, los cuales se entienden en un contexto social particular como elementos que construyen una identidad de género. Como consecuencia, esta comprensión del género abre la posibilidad de que el género pueda cambiar cuando la actuación de género cambia. Específicamente, Butler sugirió que el *performance drag* podría usarse para desnaturalizar la conexión entre sexo y género mediante la parodia. A través de esta parodia, la naturaleza performativa del género se vuelve clara, lo que desnaturaliza así el género y vacía el género de su significado.

El uso de marcadores gramaticales masculinos y femeninos se entiende típicamente como marcando la identidad masculina y femenina respectivamente. Al utilizar el género gramatical masculino para referirse a los hombres y el género gramatical femenino para referirse a las mujeres, lxs hablantes de español interpretan la masculinidad y la feminidad respectivamente. El uso de ambos marcadores para los referentes muxes también puede hacer visible de manera similar la naturaleza performativa de este aspecto de la actuación de género, dado que las muxes ocupan un espacio intermedio a pesar de referirse con géneros gramaticales binarios. El uso del género gramatical para marcar otras cualidades, como aceptación, amistad y estatus familiar, puede volverse posible debido a esta interrupción, lo que implica que los vínculos interpretados entre el género gramatical y la identidad de género pueden hacerse claros, cuestionarse y, en última instancia, cambiar cuando las marcas de género gramatical se usan de maneras normativamente inesperadas. Por lo tanto, el género gramatical tiene el potencial de pasar de ser un sistema que contribuye al refuerzo del binarismo de género a un sistema que expresa otros significados más igualitarios si se utiliza de formas que desafíen los significados de género restrictivos.

Dada la dificultad de implementar muchas formas de género neutro en un idioma como el español (es decir, muchas alternativas de género neutro no se pueden pronunciar) y el hecho de que las formas de género neutro pueden ocasionalmente simplemente ocultar la discriminación (consulte los estudios sobre inglés mencionados), instaría a lxs activistas a considerar, como una estrategia adicional para disminuir el sexismo lingüístico, tratar de cambiar los significados detrás de las marcas gramaticales de género, al utilizar formas binarias de maneras que socaven sus significados de género, al igual que las personas en Juchitán. Al decir esto, no estoy tratando de socavar la importancia y el efecto real de las formas de género neutro que actualmente existen en español en la reducción o eliminación del sexismo del idioma español (Medina Guerra 2016; Zunino y Stetie 2022). Sin embargo, al complementar su uso de lenguaje neutro en cuanto al género con formas binarias que se utilizan de maneras que socavan sus significados de género, como parece estar sucediendo ya en Juchitán, lxs activistas pueden contribuir mejor a un futuro donde el lenguaje esté cada vez más vacío de sus significados de género y ya no contribuya a las desigualdades entre hombres, mujeres y todas las demás personas.

8.3 La validez de las ideologías mencionadas como factores sociales

En esta subsección, se defiende que los resultados demuestran que la “ideología mencionada” es un constructo general válido que puede utilizarse productivamente como factor social para explicar la variación. Dicho esto, se inicia con el hallazgo de que las ideologías mencionadas se relacionan con la variación en dos variables sociolingüísticas, antes de examinar y refutar en gran medida otras explicaciones. Posteriormente, se argumenta que la validez del constructo para los estudios sociolingüísticos proporciona más pruebas de la validez del constructo en general. Finalmente, se utilizan los resultados para especular sobre qué estrategias creadoras de coherencia se utilizan a menudo para contener las ideologías mencionadas con las que los hablantes no se afilian. Igualmente, se sugiere cómo el concepto de árbitros de Bell, en su teoría del diseño de audiencias (Bell 1984), encaja con el fenómeno de la ventriloquía implícita, elaborado en la sección 7.3.

Para empezar, es importante señalar que el constructo de las ideologías mencionadas puede utilizarse para explicar la variación, lo que apunta potencialmente a su validez general. Tanto para la /s/ sílaba-final como para la asignación de género, algunas ideologías mencionadas se vinculan de forma productiva y estadísticamente significativa a la variación sociolingüística. Una posible explicación de este hallazgo, apoyada en este estudio, consiste en que las ideologías mencionadas existen y que se correlacionan con la variación, de manera que ayudan a explicar patrones de variación que, de otro modo, podrían ser difíciles o imposibles de detectar.

Sin embargo, merece la pena examinar otras posibles explicaciones alternativas de los aparentes vínculos entre la variación sociolingüística y las ideologías mencionadas. Una de estas posibles explicaciones alternativas radica en que las ideologías mencionadas podrían estar sirviendo como indicadores de otros factores sociales internos, como los temas de conversación controvertidos, en lugar de explicar la variación por sí mismas. En este sentido, algunos estudios vinculan la mención de temas politizados o controvertidos con diferencias en la variación (Gnevsheva 2015; Grieser 2019; Lynch 2009; Ravindranath 2015; Rickford y McNair-Knox 1994; Rissel 1989), y, aunque no todos estos estudios utilizaron métodos variacionistas específicamente para establecer estos vínculos, algunos de ellos sí lo hicieron. Por lo tanto, esta explicación encuentra justificación en la literatura.

Además, lxs hablantes pueden prestar más atención a su discurso cuando están “mencionando ideologías”, lo que lleva a correlaciones aparentes entre las ideologías mencionadas y la variación, causada por distintos grados de atención al discurso. Desde que Labov definió por primera vez el estilo en términos de atención al discurso (Labov 1964, 1973), lxs sociolingüistas reconocieron que, cuando lxs hablantes prestan un alto grado de atención a su discurso, suelen utilizar más rasgos estándares (Bell 2006a; Eckert y Rickford 2001). Esta explicación podría ser especialmente relevante para la variación con /s/ sílaba-final, dado que se descubrió que lxs hablantes utilizaban la [s] más estándar con más frecuencia al mencionar cualquier ideología que buscaba, aunque esta diferencia solo era significativa para dos ideologías mencionadas.

De conformidad con lo anterior, Labov (1964); (1973) sostuvo que lxs hablantes se mueven entre estilos más y menos vernáculos en su discurso, cuyo estilo se consideraba más relajado y auténtico que el habla cuidadosa. Para llegar a los vernáculos de lxs hablantes, Labov sugirió varias técnicas para conseguir que lxs hablantes prestaran menos atención a su habla, como hacerles contar una historia emotiva sobre el momento en que estuvieron más cerca de morir (Labov 1973). Sobre esto, muchxs sociolingüistas, que utilizan otros marcos para entender el estilo (como Bell (1984); (2006) y Eckert y Rickford (2001)) pueden ver valor hoy en día en el examen de las diferencias entre el habla cuidadosa y menos cuidadosa, y a menudo no conciben el habla cuidadosa como una parte menos auténtica de los repertorios de lxs hablantes. Sin embargo, la cuestión es que lxs hablantes de esta muestra podrían estar simplemente prestando más atención a su discurso cuando mencionan ideologías concretas.

Sin embargo, las pruebas sugieren que la atención prestada al discurso no es el único factor, ni siquiera necesariamente el más útil, para determinar el estilo (Bell 1984, 2006b; Eckert y Rickford 2001). De igual modo, parece convincente esta explicación alternativa, dado que no explica muchos aspectos de los resultados de esta investigación. Por un lado, aunque lxs hablantes utilizaron la [s] más estándar con más frecuencia al mencionar cualquier ideología que se rastreó, esta diferencia solo fue significativa para las ideologías mencionadas pro-español y (en una submuestra) machista. Esto me lleva a pensar que la mera “mención” de contenidos ideológicos no estaba vinculada *per se* a la variación lingüística.

Además, el mismo tema se asignó a menudo a diferentes ideologías mencionadas, por lo que es poco probable que las ideologías señaladas actúen como sustitutos de

los temas de conversación en mis datos. Por ejemplo, en muchos casos, las referencias mencionadas a temas como “lengua española” y “pérdida del zapoteco” estaban vinculadas con la ideología mencionada pro-español. Empero, dependiendo del significado del enunciado, podrían haberse codificado como ideología pro-zapoteco mencionada. Dado que el mismo tema podría ser y a menudo se asignó a diferentes ideologías aludidas, es poco probable que el tema se intercambiaba erróneamente con la ideología mencionada en estos datos.

En cuanto a la “atención al habla”, podría ser que los resultados se deban a que lxs hablantes prestan más atención a aspectos particulares de su habla cuando mencionan ideologías pro-español y machistas, lo que lleva a un mayor uso de la forma estándar y/o masculina (la más utilizada). También podría ser que prestaran menos atención a su discurso cuando mencionan ideologías matriarcales. Sin embargo, esta posibilidad parece poco probable, debido a que las ideologías mencionadas, especialmente las machistas, estaban a menudo inmersas en contenidos altamente emocionales. Si acaso, según la teoría de la atención al habla, este contexto debería haber dado lugar a patrones menos estándares de variación lingüística, como menos [s]. En cambio, se encontró el patrón opuesto.

Aunque el autor de esta investigación se preguntaba a menudo sobre temas que requerían más atención al habla o estilos de habla más formales antes de que lxs hablantes mencionaran estas ideologías, la naturaleza emocional ocasional de estas respuestas probablemente anuló cualquier efecto de la atención al habla o del estilo formal. Además, si la atención al discurso o el registro formal estuvieran actuando aquí, plantearían más preguntas de las que responderían. Por ejemplo, habría que explicar por qué algunas ideologías mencionadas no eran significativas y por qué la atención al habla o al registro formal no parecía aplicarse a la llamada “ideología matriarcal” mencionada. Por otra parte, las explicaciones de los resultados del Capítulo 7, que utilizan el concepto de ideología mencionada y se basan en teorías de indexicalidad y/o construcción de la identidad, no plantean muchas preguntas ni ofrecen explicaciones convincentes de los patrones de variación observados. En ese sentido, es posible que haya mejores explicaciones.

El hecho de que las ideologías mencionadas se correlacionen con la variación sociolingüística, y de que estas correlaciones no puedan explicarse fácilmente al recurrir a otras explicaciones, constituye una prueba más de la validez del constructo en gene-

ral. Por consiguiente, si el constructo de las ideologías mencionadas no fuera válido, sería bastante sorprendente que las ideologías mencionadas se correlacionaran de forma fiable con la variación lingüística, a pesar de la falta de una explicación alternativa plausible. De tal modo, la aparente validez del constructo refuerza aún más los argumentos expuestos en el Capítulo 2 sobre la ideología en general.

A saber, parece que lxs hablantes mencionan múltiples ideologías en su discurso, tanto si ellxs mismxs asumen esas ideologías, como si asumen otra ideología o no asumen ninguna posición ideológicamente coherente. Las ideologías mencionadas reflejan una ideología más amplia localmente relevante, aunque no son idénticas a estas ideologías más amplias, y pueden utilizarse para apoyar o cuestionar la ideología más amplia. Estas ideologías se gestionan mediante estrategias creadoras de coherencia para (re)crear discursivamente posiciones ideológicas más amplias y pueden identificarse en el discurso antes de correlacionarlas con la variación sociolingüística. En esa medida, un examen cualitativo de la forma en que lxs hablantes mencionan las distintas ideologías que afectan estadísticamente la variación puede arrojar luz sobre qué estrategias creadoras de coherencia se utilizan a menudo para contener las ideologías mencionadas con las que lxs hablantes no están de acuerdo. Parece que lxs hablantes utilizaron a menudo la estructura de los argumentos y, sobre todo, una sutil manipulación de las tácticas, para describir de forma poco atractiva las ideologías mencionadas con las que no estaban de acuerdo. Esto es especialmente evidente en el caso de la ideología machista.

Por ejemplo, un/a hablante explica las reacciones homófobas hacia el comportamiento romántico entre hombres como *el estigma de que es entre hombre y hombre*, en el que la parte en cursiva se codificó como ideología machista mencionada. Al utilizar la palabra “estigma”, el hablante califica de problemáticas las ideas homófobas, en lugar de la homosexualidad en sí, sin dejar de mencionar la ideología machista, con lo que consigue mencionar la ideología machista y, al mismo tiempo, mostrar su falta de afiliación a esta ideología. Por otro lado, a veces se desmarcaba claramente de la ideología pro-español, pero, en otros casos, no quedaba claro si lxs hablantes se alineaban o no con esta ideología, dado que a veces había una aparente ausencia de estrategias de coherencia para aclarar a qué ideología mencionada se afiliaba el/la hablante. Por consiguiente, para la variación en /s/ sílaba-final y género gramatical, lxs hablantes parecen desalinearse o alinearse solo de forma variable y no comprometida con las

ideologías mencionadas que fueron estadísticamente significativas.

A primera vista, la teoría de Bell sobre el diseño de la audiencia ofrece una explicación adecuada sobre estos resultados (1984). Según esta teoría, lxs hablantes pueden orientar su discurso hacia un/a destinatarix o referente en conversación con ellxs, o hacia un/a mediador/a, una parte ausente con la que el hablante decide identificarse (Bell 1984). Aunque la variación vinculada a las ideologías mencionadas podría entenderse como correspondiente a un desplazamiento hacia el discurso de un/a mediador/a ausente, aparentemente no se cumple una condición crucial. A saber, lxs hablantes de la muestra de este estudio parecen mencionar ideologías con las que no se identifican y que están asociadas a hablantes con lxs que a menudo no quieren alinearse. En otras palabras, parece que lxs hablantes también cambian su estilo para adaptarse al estilo de los grupos de referencia no presentes con lxs que no se identifican, en lugar de solo con lxs que se identifican, como cabría esperar en el marco de Bell (1984). Por lo tanto, la teoría de Bell sobre el diseño de la audiencia, por sí sola, proporciona una explicación incompleta de los resultados.

Esto puede demostrar que, al utilizar la ideología mencionada para realizar esta ventriloquía implícita, lxs hablantes tienen en mente un/a mediador/a con el/la que pueden desalinearse, pero hacia el/la que todavía se orientan y (mentalmente) se acomodan. En otras palabras, no se alinea con el/la mediador/a, sino que se reacciona ante él/ella y se le ventrilocúa implícitamente. Por lo tanto, lxs hablantes pueden ser reacixs a desafiliarse con esta persona imaginada, no por su propio desacuerdo con las ideologías asociadas a esa persona, sino más bien por otras razones. Adicionalmente, las ideologías impopulares, como el machismo, parecen estar en manos de personas conocidas por el/la hablante, dado que los hombres que practican el machismo suelen ser familiares, amigos o conocidos de sus víctimas. Por ello, al mencionar tales ideologías, la gente puede imaginarse a un mediador hacia el que se siente ambigua, al que quiere afiliarse como persona, al tiempo que rechaza las ideas de esa persona. Esto puede estar relacionado con el miedo a reacciones negativas, como la violencia, por parte de esa persona. Durante la recopilación de datos, como se describió y reflexionó en el Capítulo 4, se determinó el alto nivel de violencia de género y sexual en Juchitán, por lo que esta interpretación se considera plausible.

Sin embargo, también podría ser, en un sentido general, que las personas suelen acomodarse al discurso de los árbitros que imaginan, al buscar o no orientarse real-

mente hacia ellos. Quizá los cambios de estilo que describe Bell (1984) estén menos relacionados con la orientación hacia un/a destinatario o mediador/a, y más con la acomodación hacia ellos. Al respecto, numerosas investigaciones demostraron que la acomodación se produce entre interlocutores cuando quieren mostrar cierta cercanía interpersonal/psicológica y aumentar las posibilidades de entendimiento mutuo (Bell 2006b; Giles y Ogay 2007; Kerswill 2004; Trudgill 1986). Ahora bien, la acomodación suele producirse a través de la convergencia, es decir, a través de que el/la hablante cambie su discurso para acercarse al de su interlocutor/a (Bell 2006b; Giles y Ogay 2007; Kerswill 2004; Trudgill 1986). Según esta investigación, los hablantes pueden acomodarse a los demás de este modo para mejorar la comunicación, obtener aprobación social y mostrar solidaridad, entre otras razones. No obstante, el deseo de acomodarse no depende necesariamente de estar de acuerdo con las ideologías mencionadas o mantenidas por el/la interlocutor. Más bien, la necesidad de aprobación social puede ser más importante para aplacar a una persona potencialmente peligrosa o para expresar lealtad a una relación, por lo demás positiva, con una persona sexista u homófoba.

En ese orden de ideas, estos resultados podrían estar captando la fuerza de la tendencia a acomodarse a los hablantes por razones sociales. Los hablantes se acomodan tan fácilmente para ganarse la aprobación social o mejorar la comunicación, de hecho, pueden acomodarse a mediadores no presentes en su cabeza, quieran o no alinearse realmente con ese/a mediador/a. Por un lado, cuando la ideología mencionada corresponde a una ideología comúnmente sostenida, el/la hablante tiene que cambiar su discurso someramente para acomodarse al discurso de este referente mental no presente, dado que cualquier cambio en el uso de variantes particulares no es significativo. Por otro lado, cuando la ideología mencionada corresponde a una ideología poco común a la que el/la hablante no se afilia, el comportamiento lingüístico del/de la referente mental es más distante de ese del/a hablante, por lo que el/la hablante se acomoda más a este/a referente, y la diferencia llega a ser estadísticamente significativa.

8.4 La utilidad de las ideologías mencionadas en la investigación variacionista

Esta sección argumenta, basándose en los resultados, que el constructo de ideologías mencionadas es útil en la investigación variacionista por cuatro razones princi-

pales. En primer lugar, permite tener en cuenta a los individuos ideológicamente incoherentes, lo que permite a lxs investigadorxs estudiar el efecto de un aspecto de la ideología en el uso de la lengua sin tener que realizar suposiciones sobre la posición ideológica del individuo, que pueden no ajustarse a ese individuo. En segundo lugar, el constructo ayuda a reforzar y matizar los resultados que relacionan otros factores sociales con la variación, lo que posibilita una interpretación de los datos más clara de lo que sería posible de otro modo, dado que se identifican patrones de uso de la lengua que de otro modo podrían permanecer ocultos. En tercer lugar, este constructo ha ayudado a revelar el fenómeno de la ventrilocuación implícita que puede utilizarse simultáneamente para mencionar ideologías con las que uno puede no estar de acuerdo, vincular estas ideologías a un grupo social concreto y distanciarse de estas ideologías. Finalmente, los resultados de las ideologías mencionadas se suman al modelo de diseño de mediadores de Bell (1984), al demostrar que lxs hablantes pueden reaccionar y adaptarse a un/a mediador/a ausente, en lugar de alinearse necesariamente con él, cuando utilizan la ventrilocuación implícita para cambiar su estilo de habla.

Al emplear el constructo de la ideología mencionada, fue posible encontrar resultados que relacionaban el contenido ideológico con la variación, sin tener que determinar las ideologías de lxs hablantes. Esto fue útil porque, como se argumentó en el Capítulo 2, hay razones para creer que muchxs hablantes no tienen posiciones ideológicas claras, inequívocas y sostenidas en relación con muchas ideologías. Sin embargo, incluso estxs hablantes mencionan múltiples ideologías en su discurso. Por lo tanto, fue posible incluir a estxs hablantes sin intentar asignarles una ideología y vincular las ideologías mencionadas con la variación.

Igualmente, fue posible incluir en el análisis de lxs hablantes con posiciones ideológicas relativamente claras las ideologías mencionadas con las cuales no estaban afiliadas porque ellxs también expresaron ideologías que rechazaban. En consecuencia, esto posibilitó vincular de forma productiva ideologías poco populares como la ideología machista con la variación en la muestra, incluso para la gran mayoría de hablantes de lxs que no se podía decir que sostuvieran una ideología machista. De hecho, las ideologías mencionadas que influyeron en la variación de la muestra fueron, por lo general, aquellas con las que la inmensa mayoría de lxs hablantes no se identificaría, como la ideología machista, o con las que no se identificaría claramente, como la ideología proespañol y matriarcal. En ese sentido, si a lxs hablantes simplemente se les asignaran

ideologías, habría sido imposible estudiar estas relaciones entre las ideologías mencionadas y la variación.

Por consiguiente, los patrones de variación vinculados a la ideología mencionada probablemente habrían permanecido ocultos si se hubiera empleado una perspectiva teórica diferente. Es más, otros patrones de variación, además de los relacionados con la ideología mencionada, serían más difíciles de comprender. Por ejemplo, los vínculos entre las ideologías mencionadas y la variación para la sílaba final /s/ proporcionaron pruebas que reforzaron las interpretaciones de un constructo de “mexicanidad” y “zapatequidad” como parte del campo indexical para las dos variantes diferentes, al proporcionar pruebas de que no solo el español y la masculinidad, sino también las ideas vinculadas al español y la masculinidad estaban asociadas con la variante retenida. Esta conexión arroja más dudas sobre la posibilidad de que el contacto lingüístico y otros fenómenos meramente lingüísticos puedan explicar por sí solos la variación, dado que se vincula a ideologías mencionadas que corresponden en gran medida a un conjunto de ideas expresadas sobre hombres, mujeres, muxes y lengua.

De igual modo, los hallazgos que relacionan las ideologías mencionadas con la asignación de género proporcionan pruebas primarias de que la asignación de género masculina indexa la discriminación, la falta de aceptación y/u otras actitudes negativas hacia los muxes, lo que proporciona una imagen más completa de los significados sociales vinculados a esta variación. Igualmente, hay pruebas de que la asignación de género femenino, por el contrario, indexa el poder y/o la superioridad muxe, además de la identidad muxe gunaa, la feminidad y la proximidad interpersonal/psicológica. En ese sentido, las ideologías mencionadas permiten obtener una visión más amplia de los significados sociales vinculados a la variación y ayudan a poner de relieve la naturaleza social de la variación sociolingüística.

Además, el uso de las ideologías mencionadas como factores en un análisis variacionista condujo a algunos hallazgos bastante inesperados, los cuales requirieron una mayor teorización para entenderlos. En concreto, fue sorprendente que la gente hablara más como personas con cuyas ideas estaba desafiliada, mientras mencionaba esas ideas. Por lo tanto, se propuso en este estudio que un fenómeno, denominado aquí “ventrilocuación implícita”, explicaba este sorprendente hallazgo. Es posible que lxs hablantes se dirijan hacia hablantes a lxs que asocian con ideologías con las que se desafilian, especialmente la ideología machista, para vincular esa ideología con un grupo

social concreto. Al hacerlo, se distancian de esa ideología sin distanciarse necesariamente de los miembros de esos grupos sociales concretos.

Como resultado, lxs hablantes pueden hablar más como un/a mediador/a, o actor imaginado no presente (Bell 1984), incluso si no se orientan hacia (o se alinean con) ese/a mediador/a. En cambio, es posible que lxs hablantes simplemente reaccionen ante un/a mediador/a no presente, acomodándose al discurso de esa persona, a pesar de que no necesariamente se afilien u orienten hacia esta/este. Lo anterior puede ocurrir porque quieren adaptarse a estxs otrxs hablantes por diferentes razones, como un deseo de aprobación social de este/a hablante que persiste, a pesar de no estar de acuerdo con lo que suponen que cree ese/a mediador/a. En ese sentido, los resultados pueden aportar un pequeño complemento a la idea original de Bell (1984) sobre cómo se produce el cambio de estilo. En tal sentido, lxs hablantes no se orientan necesariamente hacia lxs mediadores no presentes cuando cambian de estilo. Por el contrario, el cambio de estilo puede entenderse, en términos más generales, como una reacción o una adaptación a lxs mediadores no presentes, lo que no implica necesariamente una orientación hacia esxs mediadores.

8.5 Nuevas perspectivas sobre la variación sociolingüística

En esta breve sección, vale la pena mencionar tres perspectivas relativamente novedosas sobre la variación sociolingüística que pueden extraerse de esta investigación. En primer lugar, tanto una comprensión binaria bastante tradicional del género (como masculino y femenino) como una comprensión más reciente del género, en tanto una constelación de identidades binarias y no binarias pueden ser útiles para explicar diferentes patrones de variación. En las últimas décadas, algunxs investigadorxs cuestionaron los estudios variacionistas que buscan diferencias de género que incluyen reflexiva y automáticamente el “sexo”, entendido como “masculino” o “femenino”, como factor social, por lo que plantearon que sería más útil una comprensión del género más propia del constructivismo social y potencialmente no binaria (Wodak y Benke 2017). Sin embargo, en ciertos casos, un enfoque que contemple otras identidades de género y/o espere a que las categorías de género emerjan de los datos, sigue mostrando que el género, entendido binariamente como una identidad “masculina” o “femenina” que refleja el sexo biológico, prediga significativamente los patrones de variación. Por otro

lado, para otras variables, como la asignación de género para referentes muxe en este estudio, las categorías de género, más allá de “masculino” y “femenino”, pueden ser más importantes a la hora de explicar la variación.

Esto sugiere que, incluso para el mismo grupo de hablantes, a veces una comprensión binaria del género es la mejor para explicar la variación, mientras que otras veces es necesaria una conceptualización más fluida del género. En cualquier caso, es probable que el “sexo” biológico nunca esté justificado como categoría analítica para muestras que contengan hablantes cuyo sexo biológico no se corresponda con su identidad de género. En su lugar, lxs especialistas en la variación sociolingüística podrían conceptualizar el género, en las primeras fases de la investigación, como potencialmente binario y potencialmente no binario.

De acuerdo con lo expuesto, lxs investigadorxs podrían permanecer abiertxs a la posibilidad de que, para su variable de interés concreta, un enfoque binario del género pudiera ser más útil o que uno no binario pudiera explicar mejor la variación. En tal sentido, lxs investigadorxs podrían esperar para decidir cómo codificarán el género en el análisis de regresión final hasta que sus datos estén listos para analizarse y observar qué grupos de hablantes se comportan de forma similar con respecto a la variable estudiada. Antes de llegar a ese punto, podrían estar abiertxs a codificar a todxs sus hablantes como masculinos o femeninas o a codificar otras (sub)categorías de género basadas en la identidad o la expresión de género.

En segundo lugar, se debe destacar la idea más novedosa sobre la variación sociolingüística en los resultados, a saber, que las ideologías mencionadas no solo son válidas como constructos, sino que también son herramientas útiles para explicar la variación sociolingüística. A raíz de que esta categoría se ha teorizado por primera vez en esta tesis, no se ha utilizado en ningún estudio variacionista anterior a este, por lo que este hallazgo es muy novedoso. En concreto, parece que las variantes que utiliza la gente cambian con las ideologías que mencionan en el discurso, puesto que intentan gestionar el contenido de esas ideologías y construir posiciones ideológicas más amplias, coherentes o incoherentes, a partir de ellas.

Estos cambios suelen mantenerse en un gran número de hablantes demográficamente diferentes, lo que apunta a su generalizabilidad y utilidad en estudios variacionistas a gran y pequeña escala. En efecto, esto significa que futuras investigaciones pueden ampliar este hallazgo al buscar otras ideologías mencionadas, las cuales pue-

dan estar correlacionadas con las variantes utilizadas dentro del discurso de una o de varias personas. En otras palabras, la investigación futura podría confirmar hasta qué punto las ideologías mencionadas influyen en los índices cambiantes de variación dentro del discurso para otras variables, así como en otras partes del mundo donde otras ideologías podrían ser más relevantes. Al hacerlo, se averiguaría hasta qué punto se utiliza la ventrilocuación implícita en otros contextos y confirmar que la adenda de este trabajo a la teoría de Bell (1984) es correcta, que lxs hablantes generalmente reaccionan y se acomodan, en lugar de orientarse necesariamente hacia (o alinearse con) lxs mediadores imaginadxs.

En cuanto a la tercera idea, se argumentó en la sección 7.2 que las mujeres usan la variante estándar saliente ([s]) en Juchitán con menos frecuencia que los hombres por una razón distinta a la falta de oportunidades para las mujeres. Esto es notable porque la mayoría de las investigaciones encuentran que, cuando una variante es saliente, conservadora y no estándar, las mujeres usan esa variante menos (Bakir 1986; Eckert 2012; García Mouton 2006; Labov 2001; Silva-Corvalán 2001; Trudgill 1972). Excepciones notables a esta tendencia se encuentran en países donde las mujeres están excluidas de la esfera pública y, por lo tanto, no se benefician del uso de las formas estándar destacadas para marcar o aumentar su movilidad ascendente (Bakir 1986; García Mouton 2006). No obstante, en Juchitán, esta población es muy visible en la esfera pública, al menos en ciertos sectores, donde tienen acceso a la movilidad social en las muchas áreas de la esfera pública en las cuales están incluidas.

Por lo tanto, las mujeres deben usar la [s] al final de la sílaba con menos frecuencia que los hombres por razones distintas a la falta de oportunidades para las mujeres en Juchitán, lo que podría implicar, en general, que la falta de oportunidades para las mujeres a menudo no es la mejor explicación para otros casos en los que las mujeres usan variantes salientes no estándares con más frecuencia que los hombres. En Juchitán, los cambios basados en el contacto en el campo indexical para la variable proporcionan una explicación más convincente que podría ser considerada y probada en otros contextos sociolingüísticos donde las mujeres usan con frecuencia variantes no estándares para ver hasta qué punto las mujeres realmente usan formas no estándar debido a la falta de oportunidades.

Dicho esto, los hallazgos relativos a la variación en la /s/ al final de la sílaba y la asignación de género gramatical implican, para los estudios variacionistas socio-

lingüísticos en general, en primer lugar, que a veces es útil tratar el género como un binario y a veces no. En segundo lugar, las ideologías mencionadas son válidas y útiles como factores sociales. En tercer lugar, las mujeres a menudo utilizan formas no estándar por razones que van más allá de la falta de oportunidades.

En este capítulo, en su conjunto, se presentaron estas implicaciones y también se analizaron cómo puede utilizarse la asignación del género gramatical como una variable sociolingüística, qué pueden extraer lxs activistas y lxs investigadorxs de los hallazgos sobre la variación en la asignación del género gramatical y cómo se relaciona la categoría “muxe” con la variación sociolingüística. Una vez hecho esto, en el siguiente (y último) Capítulo se efectuarán unas observaciones finales y, por consiguiente, se reflexionará sobre las implicaciones aún más amplias de la investigación.

Capítulo 9

Conclusiones principales

9.1 Conclusiones

En este capítulo, se reiteran las conclusiones principales y se exponen las implicaciones de la investigación, tanto en sentido general como en relación con Juchitán y el género específicamente. En el resto de esta subsección, se resumen los resultados más importantes del estudio para la /s/ al final de la sílaba y la asignación de género, con sus interpretaciones más importantes. Por otro lado, en las secciones 9.2 y 9.3 se examinan las implicaciones científicas y prácticas de la investigación, así como su incidencia política.

En cuanto a la retención de /s/ al final de la sílaba, hablar mejor zapoteco que español se asoció con una tasa de retención de /s/ más de 15 % menor que hablar español a un nivel alto. Esto conduce a un cambio en el campo indexical para la retención de /s/, en el que una menor retención de /s/ se vincula con la “zapotequidad” y una mayor retención de /s/ se asocia con la “mexicanidad”. Esta modificación en el campo indexical reforzó algunas relaciones entre la retención de /s/ y los factores sociales, pero cambió otras, lo que provocó sobre todo que las personas masculinas retuvieran la /s/ con más frecuencia que las personas femeninas. Los resultados para la ideología mencionada y la edad, entre otros factores, confirmaron esta interpretación.

Con relación con la variable de género gramatical, la asignación de género para los muxes es una variable distinta del (des)acuerdo de género que, a diferencia del (des)acuerdo de género, varía lo suficiente en la muestra como para realizar un análisis variacionista. En esa medida, se halló que la asignación de género es generalmente masculina para los referentes muxe, pero existen excepciones cuando la referente es una amiga del o de la hablante (o la hablante misma), o cuando la referente y la hablante se identifican como muxe gunaa (femenina). Por otra parte, la referencia masculina se utiliza particularmente por los hombres, para los referentes homosexuales (no identificados como muxe) y para los miembros muxes de la familia. Estos resultados implican que, como cabría esperar intuitivamente, la asignación de género gramatical está fuertemente relacionada con la masculinidad y la feminidad. Sin embargo, la asignación de género gramatical masculina ha adquirido los significados adicionales de

pertenencia a una familia, rechazo de la identidad muxe y la distancia social, mientras que la asignación de género gramatical femenina ha adquirido significados sociales opuestos, concretamente de la aceptación y la cercanía interpersonal/amistosa.

En lo concerniente a la ideología mencionada, el hecho de que, para ambas variables, ciertas ideologías mencionadas expliquen una buena parte de la variación que otras variables no explican apoya la utilidad del constructo de las ideologías mencionadas en la investigación variacionista. Este constructo también parece ser útil para confirmar las interpretaciones de los significados sociales de las variables que sugieren los análisis variacionistas de primera y segunda ola. En particular, la condición de que los enunciados pro-español condujeran tan fuertemente a la retención de /s/ proporciona una prueba más de la fuerte asociación entre el dominio del español y la retención de /s/, que apoya y se afirma por los conceptos de “zapotequidad” y “mexicanidad”. Además, la relación entre el género gramatical masculino y la ideología machista mencionada brinda más pruebas de que la asignación del género masculino se ha asociado con el rechazo/hostilidad hacia los muxes. Además, la relación entre el género gramatical femenino y la ideología matriarcal mencionada apoya aún más el argumento de que la asignación de género femenino se vincula con opiniones positivas de las muxes que incluyen y van más allá de la aceptación.

9.2 Las implicaciones generales de los hallazgos de la investigación

En el primer Capítulo de esta tesis, la sección 1.2, se tuvo el objetivo, en primer lugar, de contribuir a un creciente cuerpo de investigación sobre el español, que incorpora todas las olas de la investigación sociolingüística (Eckert 2012), en segundo lugar, un intento de incorporar las ideas de la tercera ola más directamente en la metodología variacionista que se ha realizado en estudios anteriores. De acuerdo con lo anterior, y para asegurarse de no incluir exclusivamente categorías de la primera ola, se emplearon métodos etnográficos para incluir categorías relevantes a nivel local y el género, entendido más allá de “hombre” y “mujer”, en este estudio variacionista.

Al correlacionar un factor de la tercera ola relacionado con la adopción de posturas, denominado ideología “mencionada” o “expresada”, con la variación lingüística directamente, se buscó incorporar las ideas de la tercera ola más a fondo en este estudio que en muchos otros anteriores. En los párrafos siguientes, se exploró el nivel de

éxito alcanzado en la consecución de estos objetivos, así como algunas implicaciones teóricas y metodológicas más amplias de los resultados, tanto para los variacionistas como para lxs investigadorxs cualitativxs en sociolingüística.

En general, como en muchas investigaciones previas en sociolingüística (véase el marco teórico en la sección 1.2, aunque las categorías de la primera ola explicaron una gran cantidad de variación en el español de Juchitán, las categorías inspiradas en la segunda y tercera ola contribuyeron a una mejor comprensión de la variación que las categorías de la primera ola por sí solas. Por un lado, las categorías de análisis de la primera ola, como los factores tradicionales, la edad, la clase social y el género binario, en muchos casos explicaron más variación que las categorías de la segunda o tercera ola, la mayoría de las cuales con frecuencia no fueron significativas o desempeñaron solo un pequeño papel en explicar la variación.

Por otra parte, aunque algunas categorías de la segunda ola, como la región, no explicaban la variación, otras categorías con una relevancia que solo se hizo evidente a través de métodos etnográficamente informados, como las subcategorías *muxe* (especialmente la categoría *muxe gunaa*) y la cantidad de tiempo pasado fuera de Juchitán, desempeñaron un papel importante en explicar la variación. Además, la categoría a nivel del discurso, que a menudo correspondía a los cambios en la postura, el estilo y la voz, “ideologías mencionadas”, predijo una gran cantidad de variación en la muestra que no se explicó por otros factores sociales y lingüísticos. Esta categoría también contribuyó a reforzar las interpretaciones de la tercera ola sobre los patrones generales de variación.

Por lo tanto, estos resultados aportan más pruebas de que lxs variacionistas de la segunda y tercera ola tienen razón en cuanto a las limitaciones del enfoque puramente laboviano de la primera ola. Por consiguiente, este enfoque deja mucha variación sin explicar. Si este estudio hubiera incluido solo las categorías tradicionales, como la edad, la clase social y el género (entendido como “hombre” o “mujer”), no se habrían descubierto los complejos significados sociales de la variación, incluyendo sus vínculos con la competencia zapoteca y la “zapotecidad”, así como los nuevos significados asociados con la variación gramatical de género. Por lo tanto, los resultados refuerzan la importancia de ir más allá de los factores sociales tradicionales en los estudios de la variación, lo cual es particularmente importante para la variación en español, dado que la investigación variacionista en español sigue siendo a menudo bastante tradicional

(véase la sección 1.2).

Sin embargo, estos significados sociales también habrían sido difíciles de descubrir sin examinar los resultados de los factores sociales de la primera ola. Por lo tanto, los resultados, en general, apuntan hacia la importancia de incluir una variedad de factores en las regresiones logísticas iniciales, asociadas a las tres olas de la investigación variacionista, dado que es probable que tanto los factores tradicionales como los más innovadores influyan conjuntamente en la variación. Sin embargo, sin incluir cada factor potencialmente relevante de la primera, segunda y tercera ola de forma explícita en los modelos de regresión logística iniciales, habría sido imposible saber cuáles influirían en la variación.

De igual modo, los resultados para las “ideologías mencionadas” implican que los factores sociales a nivel del discurso, que corresponden a cambios en la postura, el estilo y/o la voz, pueden correlacionarse directamente con la variación. Esto añade un mayor apoyo empírico a la afirmación de la tercera ola, al señalar que la postura y el estilo conducen a diferentes patrones de variación, porque era evidente que, cuando los elementos relacionados con la postura y el estilo se correlacionaban específicamente con la variación en este estudio, los resultados eran a menudo estadísticamente significativos y predictores importantes de la variación. Asimismo, los resultados apoyan la inclusión real de factores sociales internos, cuantificados a partir de elementos del discurso, incluidas, entre otras, las ideologías mencionadas, en estudios variacionistas más amplios que también incluyan otros factores sociales externos que no varían dentro del discurso de un solo individuo.

Las ideologías mencionadas, así como el tema y el estilo, entendidos como atención al discurso, formalidad, acomodación y/o expresión de identidad (como en Eckert y Rickford (2001), Grieser (2019), Labov (1981) y Lynch (2009)) podrían correlacionarse, en estudios variacionistas a gran escala, con la variación lingüística para explicar patrones de variación que los factores externos demográficos y localmente relevantes por sí solos no pueden argüir. Como consecuencia, esto implica que también se pueden utilizar otros fenómenos basados en el discurso para crear factores sociales que expliquen la variación. También supone que la identificación y el uso de un mayor conjunto de factores de este tipo podría ayudar de forma productiva a explicar una mayor parte de la variación. Las propias ideologías mencionadas podrían utilizarse también en otros estudios variacionistas para explicar de forma más completa los patrones de variación

en otras comunidades.

Adicionalmente, la aparente validez del concepto de ideologías mencionadas podría ser útil también para lxs investigadorxs cualitativxs que estudian cómo se manifiesta la ideología en el discurso. Como se argumentó en el Capítulo 2, lxs hablantes mencionan múltiples ideologías en su discurso que “llaman” o indexan posiciones ideológicas más amplias que son, en sí mismas, creadas a partir de ideologías mencionadas, mediadas por estrategias de creación de coherencia. Esto también supondría que lxs investigadorxs cualitativxs pueden buscar ideologías mencionadas en el discurso de muchxs hablantes diferentes para estudiar cómo las ideologías más amplias se introducen en el discurso, se cuestionan y se utilizan para recrear o resistir la ideología en cuestión. Por lo tanto, este concepto podría ser útil, no solo para lxs variacionistas, sino también para lxs analistas del discurso, directamente interesados en la reproducción de las ideologías hegemónicas y la resistencia contra ellas.

En cuanto a la metodología, los resultados también refuerzan la importancia de utilizar métodos etnográficos tanto para lxs investigadorxs variacionistas como para lxs cualitativxs. De tal modo, la etnografía puede conducir a la identificación de categorías relevantes de la segunda y tercera ola para su uso en estudios variacionistas. Seguidamente, puede ayudar a lxs investigadorxs cualitativxs a comprender fenómenos complejos como la forma en que se manifiestan las ideologías en un contexto concreto. Empero, dado que aún fue posible identificar categorías relevantes y comprender las ideologías locales mediante cierto uso de métodos etnográficos (se estuvo en Juchitán menos de tres meses), el estudio demuestra que un uso a corto plazo y algo restringido de métodos etnográficos, aunque no tan rico como una etnografía a largo plazo (Hammersley 2006), aún puede ser muy útil tanto para investigadorxs variacionistas como cualitativxs, siempre que se cumplan determinadas condiciones.

Ahora bien, en Juchitán, fue posible utilizar métodos etnográficamente informados con más moderación debido a la gran cantidad de trabajo antropológico previo realizado sobre Juchitán. De acuerdo con lo anterior, se empleó la autoetnografía para complementar la etnografía limitada en Juchitán y la alta relevancia local de categorías e ideologías locales particulares. Para un/a investigador/a que ha leído trabajos previos sobre Juchitán, se vuelve claro rápidamente, al pasar tiempo con los y las muxes en Juchitán, que las subcategorías muxes son altamente relevantes para la comprensión de la gente sobre su identidad y su experiencia vivida. Además, para un/a investigador/a

consciente del trabajo antropológico en Juchitán, puede quedar claro después de pasar solo unas semanas en Juchitán que las diferencias en competencia zapoteca, identidad zapoteca, vecindario y clase social son a menudo grandes y altamente salientes para la gente local. Por lo tanto, para lxs investigadorxs que trabajan en comunidades con distinciones sociales localmente relevantes, los proyectos etnográficos pueden producir nuevas categorías que son útiles para la investigación variacionista, particularmente si ya existe una amplia investigación antropológica sobre la comunidad en cuestión.

Al consultar la investigación antropológica previa sobre Juchitán, adoptar un enfoque etnográficamente informado, y luego analizar reflexivamente las observaciones, se aprendió mucho sobre cómo funciona el lenguaje, el género y la ideología en este lugar, mucho más que si faltara cualquiera de estos elementos. En efecto, esto resalta cómo orientarse con investigaciones etnográficas pasadas y analizar reflexivamente las propias observaciones puede hacer más fácil y rápido extraer conclusiones etnográficas sobre una comunidad de lo que sería posible en un contexto poco estudiado o con menos uso de métodos autoetnográficos.

Como tal, la contribución de este investigador a la literatura sociolingüística más amplia puede verse en gran medida en el refuerzo de la importancia de incluir todas las ondas en los estudios variacionistas, así como la utilidad de los factores sociales internos basados en el discurso, como las ideologías mencionadas, tanto en la investigación variacionista como en la no variacionista. Por consiguiente, esta investigación puede servir de inspiración a otras personas que quieran seguir incorporando nuevas categorías a la investigación variacionista y comprender mejor la ideología en la investigación cualitativa. Adicionalmente, esta investigación proporciona algunas implicaciones prácticas para lxs investigadorxs que deseen incorporar el concepto de ideologías mencionadas en su investigación y/o utilizar métodos etnográficos a pesar de carecer de tiempo para realizar una etnografía más completa.

9.3 Las implicaciones para Juchitán

La investigación también tiene claras implicaciones para Juchitán, que incluyen consideraciones científicas, pero también van más allá de ellas. Por un lado, los resultados tanto de la etnografía como del análisis variacionista suministran más información sobre género, lengua e ideología en Juchitán, lo que podría ser de relevancia tanto para

lxs investigadorxs que trabajan en Juchitán como para la población local. Por otro lado, hay ciertas implicaciones éticas y morales relacionadas con Juchitán que se desprenden de esta investigación, las cuales se podrían considerar.

El fenómeno muxe se describe a menudo en términos contradictorios en la literatura. Algunxs autorxs consideran que las muxes gozan de aceptación o incluso obtienen privilegios en el contexto de Juchitán (i.e., Bennholdt-Thomsen (1994), mientras que la mayoría de lxs autorxs actuales reconocen su estatus precario (i.e., Barbosa (2016). Más allá de esta cuestión, existen contradicciones en cuanto a los roles y la expresión de género típicos de los muxes (véase Bennholdt-Thomsen (1994) y Stephen (2002) *vs.* Barbosa (2016) y Gómez Jiménez et al. (2020)), sus prácticas sexuales típicas (véase Gómez Jiménez et al. (2020) y Mirandé (2016) *vs.* Barbosa (2016) y Laaksonen (2018)), y cuántos muxes viven en Juchitán (véase Laaksonen (2016) *vs.* Stephen (2002)), entre otras cuestiones. Aunque los muxes a menudo se consideran un “tercer género”, ese término se impugna (Zimman y Hall 2009). Asimismo, a partir de la investigación, se encuentra que no está claro hasta qué punto los (diferentes) muxes encajan dentro del binario de género o existen fuera de él. Basándome en los resultados de mi análisis etnográfico variacionista, se procuró arrojar luz sobre esta cuestión.

Tal vez la investigación es tan poco clara sobre el estatus de personas muxes en Juchitán, porque su estatus implica muchas contradicciones. Aunque la identidad muxe está naturalizada, las muxes son tanto aceptadas como no aceptadas en Juchitán, a veces por la misma persona. Los discursos a favor de la tolerancia o aceptación de las muxes, junto con la expectativa de que los muxes asuman roles valorados en la sociedad, coexisten con discursos anti-muxes, así como con la falta de aceptación familiar, la violencia y la denigración de ciertos roles que asumen los muxes. La existencia de las muxes, en general, está naturalizada y se considera inmutable, sin embargo, muchos padres se niegan a aceptar o incluso a intentar cambiar la identidad muxe de su hijo particular. Aunado a esto, los discursos religiosos conservadores sitúan la homosexualidad como un pecado. Además, la naturalización de las muxes y de las cualidades asociadas a ellas también puede llevar a una menor aceptación de determinados muxes que no adoptan los papeles esperados o no se involucran en las prácticas sexuales esperadas.

Resulta aún más confuso que el y la “muxe”, en cierta medida, actúa simultáneamente como una categoría “intermedia”, apenas existente, subsumible en el binario de

género, así como una cacofonía de subcategorías que encajan solo de forma variable en el binario de género, aunque por razones diferentes entre sí. Por un lado, es cierto que las muxes a menudo se describen a sí mismas y son descritas por otras como no del todo masculinas y tampoco femeninas. Su presentación de género, sus roles y expectativas sociales típicos de género y sus prácticas lingüísticas suelen diferir notablemente de las de las mujeres y los hombres. Además, todo el mundo es consciente de que los muxes son un grupo distinto en Juchitán, por lo que la mayoría utiliza el término único “muxe” para hablar de ellos, y la mayoría los describe con cualidades que enmarcan como únicas de las muxes dentro de su discurso.

Al mismo tiempo, los muxes encajan, hasta cierto punto, en el binario de género con bastante claridad. Algunas personas, incluidos algunos muxes, describen a los muxes como hombres. La mayoría de los muxes tienen una expresión de género similar y, en consecuencia, una identidad de género similar a la de los hombres o las mujeres. Las muxe gunaa son casi exactamente como las mujeres en su expresión e identidad de género, mientras que la mayoría de los otros muxes, especialmente los muxe nguui, son casi exactamente como (otros) hombres en estos aspectos. Paralelamente, esta diferencia se refleja también en las tasas de retención de /s/ sílaba-final, dado que las muxe gunaa y las mujeres utilizan tasas estadísticamente idénticas de la variante retenida que otros muxes y hombres. Además, muchas de las funciones que distinguen a los muxes, como el cuidado de los padres ancianos, no se desempeñan por todos los muxes, a menudo asumidas por mujeres (u hombres) en la ausencia de muxes. De hecho, la mayoría de los muxes asumen principalmente funciones ideológicamente masculinas o femeninas.

De igual modo, identificarse como muxe implica a menudo, pero no siempre, identificarse con una subcategoría muxe que puede o no tener una relación clara con el binario de género. Estas subcategorías también implican diferentes experiencias vividas e incluso diferentes comprensiones de lo que significa ser muxe. Dicho esto, se observó que las muxes gunaa se ven a sí mismas y, hasta cierto punto, a otros muxes como mayoritariamente femeninas, pero muchos muxes que no se identifican con subcategorías concretas se ven a sí mismos a medio camino entre lo masculino y lo femenino.

Algunos de estos otros muxes pueden identificarse explícitamente como no binarios o sin etiqueta, igualmente, otras pueden querer adoptar una identidad muxe gunaa, pero tienen demasiado miedo de las repercusiones. En consecuencia, estos muxes

se encuentran fuera de un lugar claramente definido en el binario de género, ya sea por elección explícita o porque su miedo a abrazar plenamente su feminidad les hace abrazar la masculinidad. Aunado a esto, los muxe nguiu pueden no encajar bien en el binario de género solo por los roles sexuales que asumen o por algunos pequeños marcadores de feminidad, como llevar una flor, por ello, pueden entender su identidad como básicamente masculina.

En cuanto a las prácticas sexuales, las investigaciones afirmaron que los muxe solo o predominantemente tienen sexo anal y oral en la posición pasiva, este es al menos el caso para las muxe femeninas (incluidas las muxe gunaa) (Barbosa 2016; Gómez Jiménez et al. 2020; Mirandé 2016). En cambio, otras investigaciones atestiguan que muchos muxe, incluidas las muxe gunaa, buscan *ramones*, es decir, hombres ostensiblemente heteros o bisexuales con los que pueden desempeñar el rol activo (Laaksonen 2016, 2018). Se puede confirmar rotundamente, por las experiencias del autor de este trabajo, que estas últimas investigaciones son ciertas, dado que la primera percepción parece provenir de la naturaleza tabú de tales actos sexuales (Barbosa 2016; Laaksonen 2016, 2018).

El silencio que se desarrolla en torno a tales prácticas consigue ocultar su alto nivel de frecuencia, incluso a ciertxs investigadorxs. Por razones científicas, es bueno tener claridad sobre esta cuestión, pero también es importante por razones prácticas. En esa medida, lxs investigadorxs hombres que planean trabajar en Juchitán deben estar conscientes de este fenómeno para que lleguen a Juchitán preparados para sortearlo, especialmente si planean trabajar con muxe, se sienten atraídos por hombres y/o tienen una expresión de género masculina.

De acuerdo con lo planteado, se consideró que este trabajo añade matices a los vínculos entre las prácticas sexuales y el género que otrxs investigadorxs han demostrado ser importantes en Juchitán. Específicamente, con algunas excepciones notables (por ejemplo, Cruz Vásquez (2021) y Laaksonen (2016); (2018)), pocos trabajos se han centrado en los complejos significados sociales del sexo en Juchitán, incluso para los muxe. En tal medida, los trabajos que lo han hecho resaltaron cómo la expresión del deseo sexual es localmente construida, resistida y reconstruida. Aunque este trabajo no rehúye las formas más problemáticas del deseo y las prácticas sexuales, tiende a no enfocarse en los impactos negativos de estas expresiones de la sexualidad, y su enfoque en los muxe hace que cualquier comportamiento sexual problemático de los hombres

(y las mujeres) sea un punto secundario. En cambio, en gran parte del Capítulo 4, se destacó la extendida creencia común de que los deseos sexuales son incontrolables, sobre todo para las personas con un pene, y relacioné esta creencia con la expresión local de las ideologías machista y matriarcal. Aunque se centró en gran medida en los muxes, la sexualidad de hombres y mujeres tuvo la misma importancia en este análisis.

Al hacerlo, se procuró problematizar esta creencia junto con los comportamientos y, hasta cierto punto, los deseos vinculados a ella. Me parece dudoso que, en un contexto en el que las personas creen que deben tener relaciones sexuales si sienten el deseo y que deben tener ciertos deseos en función de su biología e identidad social, la expresión de estos deseos sea realmente liberadora. Por el contrario, la expresión de estos deseos a menudo hace que las personas se involucren en prácticas que de otro modo probablemente no realizarían, lo que causa daño a sí mismxs y a otras personas. En Juchitán, hay una clara presencia de engaño desenfrenado, violencia sexual y presión para desempeñar roles sexuales. Estos fenómenos se apoyan por expectativas contradictorias, pero fuertes, de comportamiento sexual incontrolable. En tal sentido, estos comportamientos y deseos son a la vez reprimidos y fuertemente tolerados/esperados, lo que proporciona así una clara prueba de la afirmación de Foucault de que la represión crea las identidades sexuales y, por tanto, de que la expresión de la sexualidad no es en sí misma liberadora (Foucault 1976).

También creo que el uso aquí de los conceptos de “zapotecidad” y “mexicanidad”, que surgen conjuntamente de la visión general de investigaciones anteriores, observaciones etnográficas y regresiones logísticas, para explicar la variación es una contribución única de esta tesis que puede ayudar a otrxs investigadorxs que trabajan en Juchitán. Otras investigaciones han abordado los diferentes marcadores de una identidad zapoteca local en Juchitán y los vínculos entre estos marcadores (Barbosa 2016; Céspedes Vargas 2015; Dávalos Vázquez 2017; Flores Martos 2010; Miche 2006; Stephen 2002). Sin embargo, esta investigación no ha agrupado estos atributos en un único concepto con nombre, ni ha utilizado estas colecciones de atributos para describir o explicar otros fenómenos como la variación lingüística.

Asimismo, otrxs investigadorxs podrían utilizar este concepto para explicar otros fenómenos semióticos en Juchitán vinculados al género, la etnicidad y la lengua, incluyendo y yendo más allá de la variación lingüística. Para futurxs investigadorxs, que se centren en cuestiones de lengua, género e ideología, Juchitán es un lugar ideal de

investigación. Personalmente, se estima que, para explorar la interacción entre lengua, género e ideología, no podría haber elegido un lugar mejor. Las ideologías locales en torno a la lengua y, sobre todo, al género eran muy diversas, complicadas y, en ocasiones, inesperadas. Seguidamente, muchos fenómenos lingüísticos se podrían vincular con el género, la lengua y la identidad zapotecos, así como las ideologías que los sustentan.

En particular, el fenómeno muxe y la complicada interacción de las ideologías zapotecas mexicanas y locales contemporáneas y la comprensión de la identidad se prestaron bien a este estudio y probablemente se prestarían también a cualquier estudio que analizara los vínculos entre ideología, lengua y/o género. Sería difícil encontrar otro lugar en el mundo en el que existieran configuraciones tan complicadas de ideologías e identidades de género, e incluso si se pudiera encontrar un lugar así, no es probable que también tuviera una lengua indígena en lenta desaparición, pero todavía bastante vital. A veces parecía que aquí podían observarse o estudiarse todos los temas posibles relacionados con el género, la ideología y la lengua. Por lo tanto, lxs futurxs investigadorxs que se dediquen a cualquiera de estos temas deberían considerar la posibilidad de investigar en Juchitán.

Sin embargo, es muy importante que lxs investigadorxs sean conscientes de que, al menos en el momento de escribir esta tesis, Juchitán puede ser un lugar peligroso, y cualquier plan de investigación para un estudio debe incluir las precauciones necesarias con respecto a la seguridad física del/la investigador/a. Lxs investigadorxs también deben tener en cuenta su posible reacción al verse expuestxs (indirectamente) a la violencia, por lo que deben tomar medidas explícitas para hacer frente a esta posibilidad. En la fase de preparación, habría sido beneficioso tener más en cuenta las posibles reacciones emocionales y después del trabajo de campo, habría sido favorable tener personas con las que hablar que hubieran investigado o pasado tiempo en lugares igualmente difíciles. En el futuro, y ante la posibilidad de volver a trabajar en un proyecto en un lugar así, yo incluiría activamente en el plan el apoyo posterior al trabajo de campo, con lo que animaría a otrxs investigadorxs a hacer lo mismo.

En esta línea, se sugiere que lxs antropólogxs y lingüistas también sean más abiertxs sobre las dificultades prácticas y psicológicas a las que pueden enfrentarse sobre el terreno para ayudar a lxs futurxs investigadorxs a prepararse para su propio trabajo de campo. Por consiguiente, aunque muchas investigaciones reconocen las dificultades

prácticas del trabajo de campo, así como la seguridad y la comodidad de lxs participantes, existen muy pocas que mencionen explícitamente la seguridad personal y la salud mental de lxs propixs investigadorxs. Esto ha comenzado a cambiar desde de la década de 2010 (véase, por ejemplo, (Goldstein 2014; Taylor 2019; Whitt-Woosley y Sprang 2018), así como la discusión en Laaksonen (2016) sobre casi recibir un disparo en Juchitán). No obstante, otrxs investigadorxs podrían beneficiarse prácticamente si lxs antropólogxs y lingüistas, como regla general, brevemente trataran cuestiones prácticas basadas en la seguridad en su trabajo.

La exclusión de este tipo de información también dificulta la comprensión del contexto local. Muchos artículos sobre muxes que leí antes de ir a Juchitán no mencionaban la violencia local, o solo mencionaban la violencia dirigida hacia los muxes (por ejemplo, Barbosa (2016) y Miano Borruso (2001)). Esta falta de contexto para la violencia, como un aspecto de la vida que afecta, en cierta medida, a todo el mundo en Juchitán, hizo difícil comprender el contexto más amplio en torno a la violencia contra los muxes antes de ir a Juchitán, lo que hace simultáneamente más difícil captar la posición de los muxes en Juchitán en su complejidad. Hasta cierto punto, los muxes eran tanto aceptadas como rechazados, y, a saber, la violencia que a menudo experimentaban era, en algunos sentidos, única, pero en otros, similar a la que experimentan otras personas en Juchitán. Con una mayor atención a las luchas comunes de las personas que viven en Juchitán, habría sido más fácil comprender este hecho antes de llegar.

Finalmente, la población local de Juchitán se encuentra entre muchas fuerzas sociales fuertes y a veces opuestas, con sus correspondientes ideologías. No obstante, esta complicada posición también implica muchas contradicciones que podrían servir como oportunidades para que la población local cambie las condiciones locales. Con tantas influencias e ideologías correspondientes a su disposición, lxs juchitecxs están en la posición de crear, a partir de esta cacofonía, realidades alternativas a la actual. Al incorporar aspectos de la sociedad zapoteca local y mexicana más amplia que mejor les sirven y rechazar otros, tanto en su comportamiento como en las narrativas ideológicas que respaldan y reproducen, lxs juchitecxs están empezando a construir nuevas ideologías y a cambiar su realidad local, con el objeto de crear un Juchitán que refleje plenamente los estereotipos positivos sobre la ciudad, como un lugar donde se valore tanto lo moderno como lo local y se respete a todo el mundo, independientemente de su identidad.

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Appendices / Apéndices

10.1 Coding Sheets: Gender Ideologies

Hojas de codificación: Ideologías de género

<p>Postura Negativa hacia los hombres y las otras ideologías con sus comportamientos asociados <i>conformistas como los hombres heterosexuales</i> <i>la violencia de los hombres</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia la ideología matriarcal y los comportamientos matriarcales <i>ven la forma que nosotras trabajamos</i> <i>lo que más existe acá es el trabajo de las mujeres</i></p>
<p>Estereotipos: hombres = malos; muxes/mujeres = buenas <i>(los hombres) son flojos</i> <i>(los hombres) trabajan algunas horas nada más</i> <i>las tecas somos bien trabajadoras</i></p>

Table 10.1: Matriarcal Gender Ideology / Ideología de género matriarcal

<p>Postura Negativa hacia muxes, mujeres y las otras ideologías con sus comportamientos asociados <i>(hay dos tipos de gay...) uno es este de muxe puta</i> <i>no dice hombre y hombre serán uno</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia la ideología machista y los comportamientos machistas <i>y las muchachas tenían un ... un precio</i> <i>hay papás que no aceptan (a sus hijos muxes)</i></p>
<p>Estereotipos: hombres = dominantes/buenos; mujeres/muxes = sumisas/malos/hombres <i>no pues tú eres hombre (sobre una muxe gunaa)</i> y descripciones de maltrato <i>(su padre) lo golpeó (a su hijo por ser muxe)</i> <i>son violentadas</i></p>

Table 10.2: Machista Gender Ideology / Ideología de género machista

<p>Postura Negativa hacia las otras ideologías y los comportamientos no igualitarios <i>(no hay que) criticarlos (a los muxes) no (no) voy a estar toda una vida sirviendo mis papás</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia la igualdad de género y el feminismo <i>los aceptan (a los muxes) como son ya no es tan condenable (no ser virgen) somos iguales es femenino y de serlo no tiene nada de malo</i></p>
<p>Toma de una identidad igualitaria <i>yo soy gay no me considero muxe</i></p>

Table 10.3: Egalitarian Gender Ideology / Ideología de género igualitaria

<p>Postura Negativa hacia las otras ideologías y la falta de reciprocidad <i>desgraciadamente ha cambiado mucho (la universalidad de la reciprocidad)</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia la reciprocidad y los roles tradicionales de género <i>en las fiestas se mantienen mucho ... el tequio la ayuda mutua pues traen limosna</i></p>
<p>Descripciones de los roles tradicionales de género <i>(el rol) de los hombres tiene que ver con la pesca son más mujeres las que venden</i> Estereotipos que corresponden a estos roles <i>a muchos (muxes) les gusta bordar</i> Naturalización de estos roles / identidades <i>te decimos (que) ... somos muxes (no gay) los hombres pues / esa es la costumbre de aquí</i></p>

Table 10.4: Zapotec Gender Ideology / Ideología de género zapoteca

10.2 Coding Sheets: Language Ideologies

Hojas de codificación: Ideologías lingüísticas

<p>Postura Negativa hacia el monolingüismo y/o la dominancia de una lengua sobre otra <i>era monolingüe y no tenía más opción</i> <i>fui dándome cuenta de que (la confusión a la hora de expresarse se debe a la dominancia del español)</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia el bilingüismo y/o la igualdad de todas las lenguas <i>(la enseñanza bilingüe) es completamente grandísimo</i> <i>tanto el español como las lenguas indígenas (tienen la misma validez legal)</i> <i>premiar a los niños hablantes (de ambos idiomas)</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia el rol complementario del español y zapoteco <i>hablas zapoteco (en) el mercado</i> <i>en la escuela (se habla) español</i></p>

Table 10.5: Pro-Bilingual Language Ideology / Ideología lingüística pro-bilingüe

<p>Postura Negativa hacia el zapoteco, el español “impuro” y/o la igualdad de todas las lenguas <i>y su español no es bueno</i> <i>y tienen pésimo español</i> <i>no todas las lenguas son iguales</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia el español y/o el zapoteco “impuro” <i>el español es como una lengua perfecta para la poesía</i> <i>el español es muy bonito</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia la desaparición del zapoteco <i>se está perdiendo (el zapoteco)</i> <i>no les enseñan (el zapoteco a sus hijos)</i> Postura Negativa hacia el mantenimiento del zapoteco <i>porque existe la analfabetización (por mantener el zapoteco)</i></p>

Table 10.6: Pro-Spanish Language Ideology / Ideología lingüística pro-español

<p>Postura Negativa hacia el español, el zapoteco “impuro” y/o la igualdad de todas las lenguas</p> <p><i>no todas las lenguas son iguales</i> <i>ya no es un zapoteco fiel</i> <i>el español es muy militar</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia el zapoteco y/o el español “impuro”</p> <p><i>el zapoteco se presta muy bien para la poesía</i> <i>se escucha bonito (el zapoteco)</i> <i>me gusta más cuando hablo en zapoteco</i></p>
<p>Postura Positiva/Epistémica hacia el mantenimiento del zapoteco</p> <p><i>mi mamá me enseñó en zapoteco</i> <i>hablaba con mis hijos en zapoteco</i></p> <p>Postura Negativa hacia la desaparición del zapoteco</p> <p><i>esperemos que sean muchos años (antes de que desaparezca el zapoteco)</i></p>

Table 10.7: Pro-Zapotec Language Ideology / Ideología lingüística pro-zapoteca

10.3 Examples of Coherence-Making Strategies

Argument Structure

porque hay papás que no lo aceptan por eso

"because there are parents that don't accept them for that reason"

The speaker marks this case of mentioned machista ideology as not being their held ideology due to its place in the argument structure. Immediately preceding this example, the speaker mentions that there is a lot of homophobia and machismo in Juchitán. Therefore, the "por eso" (for that reason) is understood to link the lack of acceptance with homophobia, showing that the speaker disagrees with this lack of acceptance.

Stance-Taking about a Mentioned Ideology

pero qué horrible

"but how terrible"

This explanation showed a negative affective stance towards a story he told about a muxe being rejected and physically abused by his father after coming out as muxe.

This stance made it clear that the speaker did not affiliate with the mentioned machista ideologies in the story and also was coded as an instance of mentioned egalitarian gender ideology, based on the conditions in the coding sheet for that mentioned ideology.

Straw-Manning

hablar una lengua era malo

"speaking a language was bad"

In these two tone groups, the speaker explains how historically some people believed that speaking an "indigenous" language was bad. He disaffiliates with the mentioned pro-Spanish monolingual ideology by portraying it in a way that those who hold the ideology probably would not. People holding this ideology would likely not say that they believe speaking an indigenous language is bad (even if they thought it) because this would make their position seem less appealing. Thus, we can observe a case of straw-manning here in order to simultaneously mention an ideology and make the speaker's disaffiliation with the ideology clear.

Footing Shifts

y porque dicen acá

"and because they say here"

In this tone group, the speaker presents the following content, in this case, the idea, spread by some actors in the media and academia, that Juchitán is a matriarchy and paradise for LGBT people where the position of women and LGBT people is better than that of straight men, as being said by someone else. This can be considered a footing shift that allows the speaker to distance herself from the utterance and make it clear that she does not agree that this aspect of matriarchal ideology is true.

10.4 Ejemplos de estrategias creadoras de coherencia

Estructura del argumento

porque hay papás que no lo aceptan por eso

El/la hablante marca este caso de ideología machista mencionada como no idéntica a su propia ideología sostenida debido a su posición en la estructura del argumento. Inmediatamente antes de este ejemplo, el/la hablante menciona que hay mucha homofobia y machismo en Juchitán. Por lo tanto, se entiende que el "por eso" enlaza la falta de aceptación con la homofobia, mostrando que el/la hablante no está de acuerdo con esta falta de aceptación.

Adopción de una postura sobre una ideología mencionada

pero qué horrible

Esta explicación mostró una postura afectiva negativa hacia una historia que contó sobre un muxé que fue rechazado y físicamente abusado por su padre después de salir del clóset como muxé. Esta postura dejó claro que el/la hablante no se afiliaba con las ideologías machistas mencionadas en la historia y también se codificaba como una instancia de ideología de género igualitaria mencionada, según las condiciones en la hoja de codificación para esa ideología mencionada.

"Straw-manning"

hablar una lengua era malo

En estos dos grupos tonales, el/la hablante explica cómo históricamente algunas personas creían que hablar una lengua "indígena" era malo. Se desafilia con la ideología monolingüe pro-española mencionada al retratarla de una manera que probablemente no harían quienes sostienen la ideología. Es improbable que las personas que sostienen esta ideología digan que creen que hablar una lengua indígena es malo (aunque lo

piensen) porque esto haría que su posición pareciera menos atractiva. Por lo tanto, podemos observar un caso de "straw-manning" aquí para simultáneamente mencionar una ideología y dejar claro la desafiliación del/de la hablante con esta ideología.

Cambios de posicionamiento

y porque dicen acá

En este grupo de tono, el/la hablante presenta el siguiente contenido, en este caso, la idea, difundida por algunos actores en los medios de comunicación y la academia, de que Juchitán es una matriarquía y un paraíso para las personas LGBT donde la posición de las mujeres y las personas LGBT es mejor que la de los hombres heterosexuales, como si otra persona lo dijera. Esto puede considerarse un cambio de posicionamiento que permite al/a la hablante distanciarse del enunciado y dejar claro que no cree que este aspecto de la ideología matriarcal sea verdadero.