

Growth of the Toluca Valley and its effect on the disappearance of indigenous languages from 1990 to 2010: A historical-linguistic approach

Crecimiento del Valle de Toluca y su efecto en la desaparición de lenguas indígenas de 1990 a 2010: Una aproximación histórico-lingüística

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DOI: 10.35429/JEH.2020.6.4.19.29

Received January 29, 2020; Accepted June 21, 2020

Abstract

The central objective of this study is to investigate the effect of the population growth in the Toluca Valley in the maintenance of indigenous languages. The hypothesis of this paper is to analyze how the rapid growth of Toluca Valley along with the industrialization and urbanization processes have accelerated the vanishing of indigenous languages at an alarming rate; however, growth, in particular, does not correspond to the increase in the number of speakers of indigenous languages in the region. Through a historical and linguistic approach in the municipalities: Toluca, Metepec, Zinacantepec, Lerma and San Mateo Atenco, the diminishing and endangered path of indigenous languages (nahuatl, mazahua y otomí) is portrayed. The analysis period considered for the analysis runs from 1990 to 2010. Finally, the hypothesis is tested and accepted: The growth rate of the Toluca Valley has an inverse relationship with the maintenance of indigenous languages and development in the region. Therefore, some linguistic policies are proposed in order to maintain and enrich the linguistic and cultural development of those indigenous linguistic communities in the region.

Maintenance of indigenous languages, Growth, Demise and language death, Linguistic policies

Resumen

El objetivo central del presente trabajo consiste en indagar el efecto que ha tenido el crecimiento del Valle de Toluca en el desplazamiento de las lenguas indígenas. La hipótesis del estudio es que factores como el crecimiento, la industrialización y urbanización del Valle de Toluca han acelerado la desaparición de las lenguas indígenas; sin embargo, el crecimiento no corresponde con el incremento en el número de hablantes de lenguas indígenas en la región. A través de una aproximación histórico-lingüística en los municipios: Toluca, Metepec, Zinacantepec, Lerma y San Mateo Atenco, se traza la desaparición de las principales lenguas indígenas (náhuatl, mazahua y otomí). El periodo de análisis considerado comprende desde el año 1990 hasta el 2010. Finalmente, se comprueba la hipótesis planteada, esto es, la tasa de crecimiento del Valle de Toluca tiene una relación inversamente proporcional con el mantenimiento y preservación de las lenguas indígenas, así como la caída en el índice de desarrollo de las zonas indígenas. A la luz de estos planteamientos, se proponen posibles políticas lingüísticas que abonen al mantenimiento y conservación de las lenguas indígenas y con ello abonar a la preservación de la diversidad cultural y lingüística de las comunidades indígenas de la región.

Mantenimiento de lenguas indígenas, Crecimiento, Muerte de lenguas, Políticas lingüísticas

Citation: NAVA-GUADALUPE, Reynoso Jenaro. Growth of the Toluca Valley and its effect on the disappearance of indigenous languages from 1990 to 2010: A historical-linguistic approach. Journal-Economic History. 2020. 4-6: 19-29.

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Introduction

To understand the effect and impact that the growth of the regions has in relation to the maintenance or displacement of languages, it is advisable to study this phenomenon from research on urban sociolinguistics (Butragueño, 2007). The axiomatic linguistic complexity demands the review of new proposals for interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary analysis in order to be able to explain the different problems surrounding the disappearance of indigenous languages, on the one hand, and on the other, to propose possible solutions and interventions for the benefit of those linguistic communities that are. They are in a situation of vulnerability and unequal conditions, fundamentally. Likewise, this document recognizes the need to attend to one of the most urgent tasks observed in the Mexican territory: the marked social inequality of indigenous peoples.

Within the framework of Mexican sociolinguistics, few studies focus on the analysis of urban linguistic phenomenology in the Mexican context (Garza, 2003; Guerrero, 2006; Lastra & Butragueño, 2000). According to (Butragueño, 2007): "Urbanization represents one of the most important social phenomena in recent years due to the transformation of ways of life that the contiguous movement of people from the countryside to the city means" (p. 9). And he adds that despite the fact that migratory flows present a variety in their dynamics, the center of the country, and in particular, the State of Mexico continues to be an important attraction pole for industry and commerce. These last two factors explain, in part, the population growth registered in the entity under study: the Toluca Valley, made up of the municipalities: Toluca, Metepec, Zinacantepec, Lerma and San Mateo Atenco.

Historically, the Mexican territory at the beginning of the 20th century was mainly rural and it was not until the second half of the century that significant concentrations and population movements began to register towards the cities. Subsequently, the economic and social policies aimed at the modernization of the country generated conditions of enormous social inequality among the population and thus imposed the population growth residing in urban spaces in an accelerated manner starting in the 70s and 80s respectively.

In this sense, the following sections present a historical-linguistic approach with the purpose of reviewing some conditions and factors that determined the current geographical-linguistic configuration of the Toluca Valley. The main purpose is to propose language policies that contribute to the maintenance and conservation of the cultural and linguistic heritage of indigenous peoples, to pay for the reduction of conditions of inequality and extreme poverty among the indigenous population, mainly.

Next the problem of the study is developed, the antecedents; as well as the exposition of the interpretations based on the analysis of the historical data collected, finally, the proposal of linguistic policies around the maintenance of indigenous languages in the Toluca Valley is briefly described.

Description of the problem

In Mexico, social inequality represents probably the most serious structural problem that has affected the country. This situation breaks and prevents the addition and construction of a democratic scheme within the framework of equity, justice and freedom as expressed in the current official discourse.

Various factors have been attributed to this extreme and unjust inequality, namely political, economic, social and cultural. However, outside these processes are the problems associated with the use, management and distribution of indigenous languages that have a direct impact on the development of peoples. Inequality is also associated with scarce and limited access to linguistic resources that help to guarantee equal opportunities to maintain and preserve languages that are in vulnerable situations.

In this context, organizations such as CONEVAL (National Council for Evaluation of Social Development Policy) and UNICEF (United Nations Fund for Children), affirm that currently, in the country, there are 21.2 million Mexican children and adolescents in a situation of extreme poverty, the indigenous population being mainly affected (CONEVAL, 2014).

Despite the fact that the official discourse considers that economic inequality was reduced between the years 2010-2012 in people under 18 years of age, the poverty figures still remain on the alarm line with 4.7 million in extreme poverty. In 2012, the population range between 0 and 17 years old was located at a higher number 53.8% compared to the 2010 national poverty register, which was 45.5%. Among the groups of children in vulnerability, the levels of lack of health services and moderate or severe food insecurity stand out; that is, they do not have the necessary resources to maintain a required, healthy and varied diet. This situation has a direct and unfavorable impact on the permanence and maintenance of the linguistic diversity that exists in the country.

Background: Language as a resource for peoples

The conservation and preservation of the cultural and linguistic capital of indigenous peoples currently in Mexico has a direct effect on the rate of development of linguistic communities. The use and management of a language not only represents a right of the peoples, but is an inherent part of the resources they have to achieve their development and guarantee their existence. However, at present the development of indigenous peoples is located in the opposite direction and is outside the processes of economic growth and economic development of the different states.

The case that concerns us in this document concerns the analysis of population growth in the Toluca Valley and the main objective is to explain the decrease in the indigenous population in the announced municipalities as a result of the population flow registered in the periods 1990 to 2010. The main reason is the emergence of new urban settlements and the significant population growth observed in the state since 1990, surpassing the growth at the national level.

Despite the efforts of various experts and scholars in the field of linguistics worldwide, the results obtained from the review of sociodemographic data and econometric analyzes carried out, the panorama still seems arid in terms of the results obtained: while There is an apparent growth of the indigenous population, the number of users of indigenous languages decreases considerably.

Mexican academic experts have also had a notable in the different forums and congresses around the discussion on linguistic policies that promote the maintenance and revitalization of linguistic diversity on the planet. For example, the participation in the World Congress on Language Policies organized by Linguapax in Barcelona in April 2002 or in the recent Dialogue on Linguistic Diversity, Sustainability and Peace, which took place as the X Linguapax Congress within the framework of the Universal Forum of the Culturas de Barcelona, in May of that same year 2004. In this last participation of experts from all over the world, the relevance and relevance of the preservation and promotion of linguistic diversity throughout the world was highlighted. Likewise, the issue of the sustainability of linguistic diversity was recognized.

According to the Declaration of Universal Linguistic Rights proclaimed in Barcelona in 1996, the following stands out:

Article 1: This Declaration understands as a linguistic community any human society that, historically settled in a determined territorial space, recognized or not, identifies itself as a people and has developed a common language as a means of natural communication and cultural cohesion among its members. The name of a territory's own language refers to the language of the community historically established in this space.

Article 2: This Declaration starts from the principle that linguistic rights are both individual and collective, and adopts as a reference of the fullness of linguistic rights the case of a historical linguistic community in its territorial space, understood not only as a geographical area where this community lives, but also as an essential social and functional space for the full development of the language.

It is from this reference point that the rights that correspond to the linguistic groups referred to in point 5 of this article and those of people outside the territory of their community can be established as a gradation or continuum [...]

Article 3: For the purposes of this Declaration, nomadic peoples in their areas of displacement or peoples of dispersed settlement are also considered as linguistic communities within their own historical territory.

Article 4: This Declaration understands as a linguistic group any human community that shares the same language and that is settled in the territorial space of another linguistic community, but without an equivalent historicity, as happens in various cases such as those of immigrant refugees, deportees or members of diasporas. (UN, 1996)

In this framework, the need is expressed not only to recognize the rights of the various linguistic communities, but since language is, in most cases, the only natural communication resource and cohesion among the members of a given community, its use, promotion and distribution, and with it its development and existence, must be guaranteed at all times.

For Lastra (1997), “the relations between language and society have certainly interested some language scholars since always, but they referred to them as anecdotal facts, or to explain linguistic changes in a language by studying its external history” (p. 17).

Methodology: A historical-linguistic approach to the Toluca Valley

The western region of the State of Mexico, which today is called Valle de Toluca, has a long history; The accumulated knowledge dates back to the middle of the 15th century when it was inhabited by Otomian language speaking groups along the lake area of an aquatic reservoir or lagoon fed by the current that was later called the Lerma River, currently a water channel blacks and waste from the industrial zone built in that space in the twentieth century.

Of this jurisdiction, referred to by the Mexica as the Matlazincó, its delimitation or historical integration is not known, so Albores (2006, p. 11) argues in favor of establishing as the beginning the destruction of the Toltec empire in the year 1162 and as an end around the year 1474 of our era when it was submitted by the members of the triple alliance. The Matlazincó of the indicated period can be divided into three zones based on the geophysical features and the predominant languages:

The northern or mountainous area, of the Otomí and Mazahua linguistic tradition –in coexistence with Matlatzinca and Nahuatl–; the southern area or of ravines in descending mountain ranges, of the Occupational tradition – in coexistence with the Matlatzinca and Nahuatl– and the central or lake area, of the Matlatzinca tradition –in contact with the Otomí, Mazahua and Nahuatl. While the central and northern areas are located in the upper Lerma of Mexico, the southern area is located in the initial basin of the Balsas river. (Albores, 2006; 15)

González's investigations (1999, p. 113) indicate that the Otomí and Matlatzincas that inhabited the region were conquered by Confederate forces under the command of Axayacatl.

Therefore, around 1478, a recognizable process of domination and Nahuatization began in the foundation of settlements or partialities, appointment of local lords from Tenochtitlan, imposition of tax burdens, control of the land and the workforce, aspects that resulted in deep social stratification. García (1999) also assures that with this fact the introduction of a different language occurred by pointing out that the region was inhabited by:

a large number of Otomian-speaking Indians: Otomies, Matlatzincas, Mazahuas, and Occupiers), as well as some recently introduced Nahuatl-speaking Indians. This area was the heart of the important lordships of Calixtlahuaca, Teotenango, and Malinalco and 36 other minor lordships that were subordinate to them in some way by the 15th century. All of them were subdued by the military forces of the Triple Alliance around 1470-1480. (two)

From the defeat of Tenochtitlan in 1521, a process of Spanish expansion began that not only modified the structure that administered the linguistic multiculturalism of the Matlatzinco region imposed by the Mexica, but also added a Catholic patronymic to the place name of the pre-Hispanic partialities. and other administrative units were formed with a population of Otomí, Matlatzinca and Nahua ethnic groups; that is, with different languages that were sought to evangelize separately and through translators from Spanish (González, 1999, pp. 114-115).

There was then a process of Castilianization of the Nahua that turned the word Matlatzinco into Matalcingo and the jurisdiction into Valle de Matalcingo or Valle de Toluca. According to Albores (2006) that "in an early stage of Spanish rule, Hernán Cortés self-assigned the jurisdiction of New Spain called" Matalcingo "or" Valle de Toluca and Matlatzinco "which encompassed the approximate (although smaller) territory of the old Otomian jurisdiction or Mesoamerican jurisdiction, prior to the Mexica domain "(p. 15). The author adds that as the colonial period advanced, the Valley of Toluca and Matalcingo was geographically reduced until only the central or lake area of what was originally the Otomian jurisdiction was called Valle de Toluca and where the town that would become the city of Toluca by royal cedula in 1599.

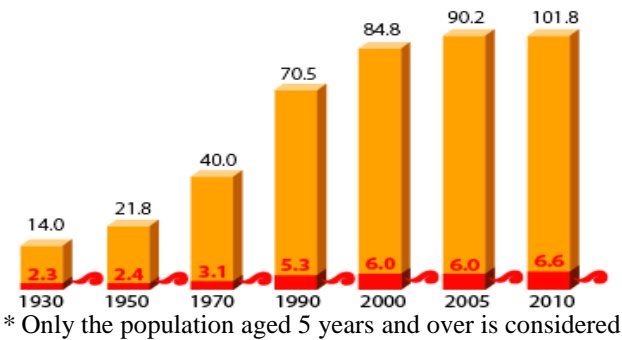
In the central zone or Valley of Toluca in the most recent version of the name of the region, Kanter (1992) includes Tenango del Valle, of which he makes a population study of the seventeenth century in which he concludes that "Life in the Valley of Toluca was shaped both by its numerous indigenous communities and by its strong economic ties with Mexico City. The indigenous population was much larger than the Spanish or the mestizo; These settlers, mostly Nahuatl-speaking, still maintained viable communities until the 19th century. These communities had voice and vote in local affairs and almost all of them still had good tracts of land from which the divisions were assigned "(p. 3).

The historical process of the 19th and 20th centuries generated two important phenomena that had and continue to have an impact on that indigenous and linguistic panorama that Kanter coined from the 18th century in the Toluca Valley region; In the first, the Indian, mestizo and Spanish peoples gave rise to the jurisdictional delimitation of the municipalities that founded the formation of the modern liberal State, and in the second. On these municipal frameworks, industrialization was implemented as a model of economic development, which had as a consequence, among others, the demographic concentration in that central region that geographically constitutes a typical valley and that, paradoxically, has erased the limits of the municipalities to conform a single large urbanized industrial zone, as Korsbaek (1992, p. 2) points out.

It is precisely this large urban area that is the geographical area of this study in which we try to know the evolution of the indigenous population and the situation of their languages, for which it was determined to monitor the five municipalities that already constitute the metropolis of Toluca. : Lerma, San Mateo Atenco, Metepec, Toluca and Zinacantepec.

General explanations on the disappearance of indigenous languages

In 2010, INEGI reported figures on the evolution of indigenous language speakers in each of the entities of the Mexican Republic, where Oaxaca showed a percentage of more than 30% of indigenous language speakers. In Graph 1, an apparent growth of the indigenous population is observed with respect to the total population from 1930 to 2010.



Graphic 1 Evolution in millions of the indigenous population

Now, with respect to the total population, the percentages are as follows:

Year	Total population*	Indigenous language speaking population (millions) *	Percentage of the population that speaks an indigenous language with respect to the total population
1930	14 028 575	2.3	16.0
1950	21 821 032	2.4	11.2
1970	40 057 728	3.1	7.8
1990	70 562 202	5.3	7.5
2000	84 794 454	6.3	7.1
2005	90 266 425	6.0	6.6
2010	101 808 216	6.6	6.5

* Only the population aged 5 years and over is considered

Table 1 Percentage of population that an indigenous woman speaks with respect to the total population

The previous figures show that for 2010, according to INEGI, through the population and housing census and data accumulated by the Ministry of Public Education SEP in 2014 and the INALI (National Institute of Indigenous Language), revealed that there are 89 indigenous languages, of which 101 808 216 are registered as active speakers and belong to indigenous populations that have their own uses and customs. These minority groups dress, celebrate festivities, eat, coexist, in particular ways, bond and interact in a peculiar way with the world that surrounds them and in accordance with their conception of life.

However, a primary identification is their language that characterizes them, despite the fact that the census shows data that of every 100 people who speak an indigenous language, 14 of them do not speak Spanish. In addition, information was also obtained that the entities with the highest number of speakers of an indigenous language are located in the states of Chiapas and Oaxaca. That is to say, from the results shown by the population and housing census in 2010, they warn that in Mexico there are 112 336 538 inhabitants, ranked 11th worldwide for its number of inhabitants and among them, it is rescued from the document published in the parliamentary gazette.

That, INALI (2014) and PROINALI (2013-2018), Institutional Program of the National Institute of Indigenous Languages that: currently 15.7 million indigenous people are identified, of which 6.9 million speak an original language, and of these a one million 96 thousand 512 do not speak Spanish.

For its part, the SEP states that:

School attendance between 6 and 14 years of age at the national level, recognized by the 2010 population and housing census, is 19.8 million people of which 18.7 attend school, that is, out of every 100 children between 6 and 14 year old, 94 attend school; However, it is also indicated that: despite the distant sectors of the cities, where some indigenous communities are found and the fact that there are among them those who cannot speak Spanish, it makes it difficult for education to reach those places, but despite.

As a result of the difficulty, the school attendance of indigenous communities has increased in the last 10 years, with particular emphasis on the fact that the average schooling in indigenous language-speaking groups is the fourth year of primary school. It points out that indigenous education centers are organized into complete and incomplete schools; The first are those that have primary school grades from first to sixth and have a teacher for each group, and the second are those that have one teacher or more to attend a group or several, but do not cover all six grades. (multigrade schools).

However, despite these figures at the national level, the possibilities of access to education, security, basic food basket, employment, and health services experienced by the inhabitants of the different indigenous communities in the country point to a detriment in the index of very low development and contrasting extreme poverty levels.

In this context, Romaine and Nettle (2000) argue that language does not occur in a vacuum. For this reason, a deep understanding of the role that language has in the social processes that affect communities or linguistic groups is required. For this reason, language studies must be supported by other disciplines and frames of reference since they play a decisive role in the process of safeguarding the linguistic richness of Mexico.

In 2014, the newspaper El Economista published Graph 1, which shows the evolution of the amount of indigenous population aged five years or more, with respect to the entire national population, and the percentage of indigenous language speakers that this represented. of which the editor highlighted the closest census figure from the 2010 population census, which states that of the total of 101. 81 million Mexicans, only 6.6 million, that is, 6.5 percent, spoke an indigenous language. The central idea of the note tries to show that although there is a recovery of the indigenous population speaking their language, their representation with respect to the total population is in decline, which represents the loss of native languages and with it the extinction of their history and your culture.



Graphic 2 Indigenous-speaking population with respect to the total population in Mexico

In the news it is argued that the ups and downs of public policies were the cause of this current situation of the population and indigenous languages, since at the beginning of the 20th century they tried to Mexicanize them through Spanish as a national language as established by the Law of Rudimentary Instruction of 1911 and the application of the Nationalist Comprehensive Education program of 1913; With the policy of President Lázaro Cárdenas, it was proposed to integrate them without erasing their roots through the creation of the Department of Education and Indigenous Culture in 1934 and the Tabasco project in 1939; in 1963 the Secretary of Public Education (SEP) tried bilingual education without good results; In 1993, modernization sought to compensate indigenous people by trying to educate them in their own language, but without in-depth curricular reforms.

Finally, it highlights that in the last 20 years the educational plans contemplate the preservation of indigenous languages with measures such as the creation of the Coordination of Intercultural Bilingual Education, dependent on the SEP, and the promulgation of the General Law of Linguistic Rights of the Peoples Natives; but, the results are not yet perceived (08-10-2014).

The process of language extinction is currently measured through a methodology called the linguistic replacement index (or also known as the linguistic displacement index) which, in the case of Mexico, refers to the process of assimilation of the mother tongue by the Castilian.

The study of the intergenerational transmission of the language supposes the questioning of a common hypothesis that ensures that the greater the number of people who speak a language, it will be stronger and will have less risk of disappearing, therefore, in an exercise of the National Commission to the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI).

It is recognized that the decrease in the teaching of the language from one generation to another has its explanation in aspects such as discriminatory stereotypes towards the indigenous and lack of opportunity for those who do not speak Spanish; that is, there would be a direct relationship between conservation of the mother tongue with a low level of development and high marginalization, particularly in older generations, while young generations abandon their language to survive (CDI, s / a; 3-5).

Analysis and results of the evolution of the indigenous population in five municipalities of the Toluca Valley: Toluca, Metepec, Zinacantepec, Lerma and San Mateo Atenco

In the five municipalities that make up the current industrial and urbanized zone, once part of Matlatzinco, Matalcingo or Valle de Toluca, the following process can be observed in a rudimentary outline.

Year	Total population	Indigenous population	Population speaking the indigenous Otomí and Nahuatl languages
1990	66 912	11 625	3 230
2000	99 870	10 936	3 135
2005	105 578	8 011	2262
2010	134 799	7 623	2124

Table 2 Indigenous language-speaking population: Municipality of Lerma

It can be observed that in the municipality of Lerma in 1990 the indigenous population represented 17.3 percent of the total population and of that percentage only 4.82 percent spoke an indigenous language, either Otomí or Nahuatl; while in 2010 the indigenous population decreased to 5.65 percent of the total population of the municipality and that only 1.57 spoke one of the two indigenous languages.

Year	Total population	Indigenous population	Population speaking the Otomí and Mazahua indigenous languages
1990	140 268	2 223	764
2000	194 463	3 327	1180
2005	206 005	2 819	990
2010	214 162	2 390	546

Table 3 Indigenous language-speaking population: Municipality of Metepec

In the case of Metepec, the comparison of the data of the extreme dates showed that of the total population in 1990, 1.58 percent was indigenous and of this only 0.54 percent used the Otomí or Mazahua to communicate. By 2010, 0.25 percent of the indigenous population, which constituted 1.11 percent of the total municipality, spoke their mother tongue.

Year	Total population	Indigenous population	Population speaking the Otomí and Mazahua indigenous languages
1990	41 926	430	133
2000	59 647	645	199
2005	66 740	712	241
2010	72 579	801	174

Table 4 Indigenous language-speaking population: Municipality of San Mateo Atenco

In another of the riverside municipalities of the river and the Lerma lagoon, San Mateo Atenco, the indigenous language-speaking population changed as follows: in 1990, 1.02 percent were indigenous and only 0.31 percent practiced their mother tongue, while the 2010 census shows that the indigenous population increased to 1.10 percent; but, indigenous language speakers decreased to 0.23 percent.

Year	Total population	Indigenous population	Population speaking the Otomí and Mazahua indigenous languages
1990	487 612	51 009	22 438
2000	666 596	62 237	23 187
2005	747 512	52 683	17 730
2010	819 561	61 156	21 144

Table 5 Indigenous language-speaking population: Municipality of Toluca

In the municipality where the capital of the entity is located in 1990, the indigenous population represented 10.46 percent of the total and 4.60 percent spoke Otomí or Mazahua; In 2010, of the total population, 7.46 were indigenous and of this, 2.57 percent spoke the original languages.

Year	Total population	Indigenous population	Population speaking the Otomí and Mazahua indigenous languages
1990	83 197	3 974	1 088
2000	121 850	3 605	839
2005	136 167	2 803	656
2010	167 759	2742	579

Table 6 Indigenous language-speaking population: Municipality of Zinacantepec

In Zinacantepec, the last municipality in the metropolitan area, at the beginning of the last decade of the 20th century, 1.30 percent spoke an indigenous language, out of 4.77 percent of the population with this characteristic, with respect to the total municipal population. However, in 2010 the indigenous population decreased to represent only 1.63 percent of the total, at the same time that the indigenous language-speaking population decreased to 0.34 percent.

In a globalization exercise of the area that make up the five municipalities, it is observed that in 1990 there was a total population of 819,915, of which 69,261 was indigenous, a figure that represented 8.44 percent of the total and only 27,653 people; this is 3.37 percent communicated through one of the three predominant native languages.

However, in 2010, one hundred percent of the population consisted of 1,418,860 inhabitants, of which 5.26 percent were considered indigenous; However, only 1.72 spoke their native language, which represents the decrease of 1.65 percent of indigenous language speakers in a period of twenty years.

In light of these results, the hypothesis presented at the beginning is verified: factors such as growth, industrialization and urbanization of the Toluca Valley have accelerated the disappearance of indigenous languages; however, the growth does not correspond to the increase in the number of speakers of indigenous languages in the region. Although the data reflect that the increase in the indigenous population, this does not correspond to the increase in users of indigenous languages, but there is a possible relationship between the growth of the indigenous population in the Toluca Valley and the growing poverty rates. extreme, coupled with low development rates in indigenous communities.

Therefore, the most alarming indicator is the disappearance of indigenous languages in the Toluca Valley, the processes of linguistic and cultural assimilation into Spanish, probably the result of current prevailing public and educational policies, which place emphasis on promotion and learning of Spanish as the dominant language.

However, and despite efforts to promote the main indigenous languages (Nahuatl, Mazahua and Otomí), inequality in access to education and other basic services for indigenous communities seems to contribute even more to the segregation and exclusion of people. the inhabitants limiting their access to equal opportunities in all areas of citizen participation.

Unfortunately, the various educational and cultural programs are not permanent nor do they belong to long-range social projects, as they derive from short- and medium-term government plans. In this context, and in the absence of public policies translated into effective language policies that contribute to a national project based on respect and guarantee of opportunities for all Mexicans in a context of linguistic and multicultural diversity. The proposal presented below has the main objective of ensuring that each member of an indigenous community is fully represented in the educational, linguistic, cultural, social and political levels, thereby avoiding marginalization and exclusion in the different spheres of citizen participation.

Linguistic policies for the maintenance and conservation of indigenous languages in the Toluca Valley: Proposal

Initially, the following question arises: how to maintain and preserve indigenous languages that are in continuous threat of disappearance or death in the complexity of our present realities and, in terms of human linguistic rights and linguistic democracy?

At present, and in light of this first historical-linguistic approach, we have a set of assimilationist linguistic policies that point to the following results:

- Denial / limitation in education at all levels in the students' mother tongue (segregation and exclusion).

- A large number of indigenous languages are of oral tradition, mainly and lack a writing system
- (situation of the various dialect variants derived from the main languages of the region: Nahuatl, Mazahua and Otomí).
- High illiteracy rates in indigenous communities, mainly.
- Situation of extreme poverty among members of indigenous communities due to the scarcity of educational, cultural and linguistic opportunities.
- High rates of marginalization and social exclusion.
- Low levels of development in indigenous communities.
- Lack of political representation of indigenous peoples.

Possibilities for change through effective language policies?

As has already been pointed out, there have been some important changes in the main languages such as Otomi and Nahuatl, but the data indicate a decrease in the number of users of these languages due to the lack of educational, employment, health and security offered to the speakers of these languages in the areas studied here. Therefore, it is necessary to design and implement language policies whose main objective is the preservation of linguistic-educational human rights, with special emphasis on the right to education through the mother tongue at all levels of training. of citizens of indigenous communities.

Without this last condition, the integral reproduction of the present generations of indigenous peoples will not be possible, since their integration into social life will always be forced towards the assimilation or else, towards the disappearance and death of indigenous languages and not towards a true process of acculturation.

The current educational system and the media represent the main agents leading to the displacement and death of indigenous languages. Behind them are accelerated and uncontrolled urbanization and growth; as well as the global economic, military, political and technological systems that contribute to the rapid process of disappearance of indigenous linguistic communities.

Given this, language policies should be thought from the following axes:

1. Use of the students' mother tongue as a means of instruction in the first years of schooling and gradual learning of the second language (Spanish) and third languages (foreign languages).
2. Maximum exposure and development of the mother tongue in all areas of citizen training.
3. Total eradication of illiteracy in indigenous communities.
4. Promotion of bilingual and trilingual literacy, as appropriate, at all educational levels and public spaces.
5. Development of teaching materials and resources in the mother tongue and second language that cover the different areas of knowledge (mathematics, science, language, arts, sports) and are not limited to some areas as at present (literature and culture).
6. Training of bilingual teachers (preferably, teachers should belong to indigenous communities).
7. Permanent bilingual cultural programs and activities with a medium and long-term focus.
8. Full political and legal representation for all members of indigenous communities.
9. Development of bilingual communication channels and media in all regions where indigenous communities are present.
10. Reorganization of the institutions that serve the different needs of indigenous peoples, which are equitably represented.
11. Autonomy for indigenous peoples. Freedom for its organization, management and distribution of resources.
12. Well-planned financial incentives from needs studies in which members of indigenous peoples participate.
13. Promotion of the cultural and linguistic capital of indigenous peoples through the inclusion of the media that is currently used to promote a dominant culture.
14. Publication of literature, history, and knowledge generated by members of indigenous communities.
15. Conservation and effective plans for the biodiversity of indigenous peoples.

Conclusions

As final reflections we have the following:

First, the hypothesis raised at the beginning of the research is verified, in which it is stated that factors such as growth, industrialization and urbanization of the Toluca Valley have accelerated the disappearance of indigenous languages.

Second, the loss of linguistic capital that influences the low level of development of indigenous peoples is evident.

Third, it was also observed that the registered growth does not correspond to the increase in the number of speakers of indigenous languages in the region. On the contrary, it is demonstrated that through a historical-linguistic approach in the municipalities: Toluca, Metepec, Zinacantepec, Lerma and San Mateo Atenco, this growth is inversely proportional to the maintenance of the central indigenous languages of the region.

Fourth, likewise, an accelerated process of disappearance of indigenous languages is evidenced due to the scarcity of effective linguistic policies that contribute to the maintenance and preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity in the Toluca Valley.

Fifth, neglect of the phenomenon of language displacement and its relationship with the latent danger of extinction of a large part of biodiversity puts at risk not only the members of linguistic communities, but the entire population in general, since inequality and its effects extend due to the lack of job, educational, cultural, health and safety opportunities that are concentrated in the great human centers. The social climate that is generated due to the disproportionate population growth that was registered from 1990 to 2010 in the Toluca Valley has accelerated the decline in speakers of indigenous languages, assimilating them more and more to the dominant culture. Otherwise, they are permanently discriminated against and socially marginalized.

Based on the sources consulted, this first historical-linguistic approach is achieved in the Toluca Valley, since although there were studies from separate historical and linguistic approaches, these had not been gathered in a single study as possible angles of analysis for inquire about the impact that the growth of the region has on indigenous linguistic communities.

Therefore, it is necessary to carry out more research on languages from other disciplines in order to pay for and enrich the angles of analysis and interpretation and thus contribute to projects that directly intervene in the solution of social problems.

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