THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGES OF MAYAN ORIGIN

Martín Chacach Cutzal

Prior to expound the topic it is important to define the linguistic categories language, *tongue* and dialect.

Language. Language of a people or nation (definition given by the Real Academia Española). In the same way linguists use the terms language and tongue as synonyms.

Example: French tongue, English tongue, Spanish tongue, K'iché tongue, Kaqchikel tongue, Mam tongue, etc.

Dialect: Regional variant of a language (definition given by linguists and the Real Academia Española).

This explains better how Greeks define the word dialect "certain language variant" recognized by them as a Greek variant. Since the 15th century BC Greeks spoke languages that to this date are grouped into five prime groups: Achaean, Ionic, Doric, Aeolic and Attic.

It is also important to recognize that every language in the world has its own dialects or regional variants, for example, the English of England it is different from that of America, the Spanish of Mexico it is different from that of Guatemala, the Kaqchikel of Patzún it is different from that of Sololá, the K'iché of Chichicastenango it is different from that of Nahualá, etc.

Based on the definitions presented, you can notice that Mayan languages are refered as tongue or dialect being this a colonialist connotation (assimilationist policy) that tries to ***discredit*** the prestige of Mayan languages.

As a consequence of these assimilation policies some Mayan people has lost their national identity because of the partial or total loss of their language and some people who knows the language feel ashamed of speaking it in front of Spanish speakers.

Because of that, said mental complex only contributes to Mayan languages continuing to be considered inferior.

For the enrichment of the definition of language or tongue, in Spanish the concept *lenguaje*[1] is also used frequently and has the following characteristics:

— "*Lenguaje: el lenguaje es un producto histórico social, su surgimiento está determinado por la necesidad que sintió el hombre primitivo de comunicarse con los demás, al trabajar en forma colectiva para satisfacerse sus necesidades materiales*" (Revista Académica Científica, p. 11).

— "*El lenguaje: es una fuerza creadora de la nacionalidad, también es la fuerza que determina el comportamiento del individuo en forma decisiva; por otra parte, es un producto de la nación, de las fuerzas intelectuales que actúan en ella*" (Op. Cit., p. 17).

— "*El lenguaje es el medio más eficaz que tiene el hombre para expresar sus ideas y sus sentimientos: una expresión que le permite entrar en relación con el otro*" (Azzo Ghidinelli, p. 2).

— "*El lenguaje es el conjunto de sonidos, de articulaciones de mímica facial o de movimientos de cuerpo que acompañan la conversación*" (Op. Cit., p. 9).

— "*La lengua es un vínculo para la expresión de la riqueza intelectual y artística de un pueblo*" (Revista Wani, p. 2).

— "*Una lengua que se pierde es una pérdida irreparable para la humanidad, pues es una visión particular del mundo, de unos hombres, la que se pierde*" (Idem., p. 2).

THE EXISTENCE OF LANGUAGES OF MAYAN ORIGIN

At present, the coexistence of languages of Mayan origin is recognized; its glyph writing system began around 600 BC and 50 AC and the most legible text it is found in a reused Olmec jade, Dumbarton Oaks collection. Languages of Mayan origin are 30 in its entirety, of which 9 are spoken in Mexico and 21 in Guatemala. Linguists classify the Mayan linguistic family into 6 groups, which are:

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[1] Translator's note: In English the term language is used to refer to this concept.

1) Quicheano.   This group is divided into:
Q'eqchi
Poqomchi
Poqoman
K'iché   (Achi is considered a variant of this language)
Sipakepense
Sakapulteko
Tz'utujil
Kaqchikel
Uspanteco

2) Mameano.   It is divided into:
Mam
Teko
Awakateko
Ixhil

3) Kanjobalano.   It is divided into:
Jakalteko
Akateko
Q'anjob'al
Mocho   (Mexico)
Tojolabal   (Mexico)
Chuj

4) Cholano   It is divided into:
Tzotzil   (Mexico)
Tzeltal   (Mexico)
Chol   (Mexico)
Chontal   (Mexico)
Chortí   (Mexico)

5) Yucatecano.   It is subdivided into:
Yukateko
Lakandon   (Mexico)
Mopan
Itza

6) Huastecano.   It is subdivided into:
Wasteko   (Mexico)
Chikomuselteko   (Mexico)
(Mayan family, Kaufman, 1974)

In addition to these languages, in Guatemala exists two more languages that are not part of the Mayan family which are the Xinca and Garifuna languages plus Spanish, which is the official language.

It is important to know that the languages with less number of speakers are in danger of disappearing, and as an example of this, it is known that Chikomuselteko is a dead language. Said language was spoken in the State of Chiapas, Mexico, and Xinca language spoken in the department of Santa Rosa is about to suffer the same fate because of the small number of speakers to this date.

In relation to the number of Mayan speakers, this has no certainty since censuses present a percentage of less than 50% of Guatemalan Mayan population, data that is not reliable because of the criteria used to obtain said data; most researchers state that the percentage of Mayan-speaking population vary from 65% to 70% (Lic. Sam Colop. LASA XIV International Congress, March 1988).

HISTORY OF THE MAYAN LANGUAGES IN THE FACE OF ASSIMILATION POLICIES FORMED SINCE THE COLONIAL PERIOD TO THIS DATE

Since the colonial period Mayan languages have been used for two concrete reasons:

First: to evangelize all the Mayan-speaking population, this is demonstrated by the grammar, dictionaries and other documents written in the colonial period such as the *Memorial de Sololá Anales de los Cakchiqueles* in which, according to the translation made by Adrán Recinos, it is stated that:

> *"Existen numerosos tratados teológicos y muchas artes, gramáticas y vocabularios que facilitan el estudio del idioma. Entre estos trabajos deben mencionarse en especial el Arte de las Tres Lenguas Quiché, Cakchiquel y Zutuhil, del P. Francisco Ximenes,…; Arte de la lengua Metropolitana del Reyno Cakchiquel o Guatemálico, del P. Fray Idelfonso Joseph; Vocabularios del P. Thomás Coto y el P. Francisco Varela y el excelente diccionario Cakchiquel compuesto por el P. Carmelo Saens de Santa María, con auxilio del vocabulario del P. Varela."*

> *"…de este libro puede leerse una lista de obras escritas por los religiosos en la época Colonial para facilitar el aprendizaje de las lenguas Quiché y Cakchiquel Y LA EVANGELIZACION DE LOS INDIOS"* (originally written in capital letters by the author).

The other reason for which Mayan languages have been used is to hispanize, an assimilationist policy that extinguishes Mayan languages; these extinction measures are expressed in the Legislative Decree of October 28th, 1824 which reads as follows:

"Indios. Dec. Leg. No. 14.

—Que los párrocos de acuerdo con las municipalidades, procuren extinguir el idioma de los primeros indígenas, teniendo como el mérito más relevante en la provisión de curatos el cumplimiento de este decreto" (Legislación Indigenista de Guatemala, Jorfe Skin-klee).

Another decree that evidences this assimilationist practice is the Constituent Congress Decree of October 29th, 1824 which pronounces measures to reduce the national languages to one and reads as follows:

"El Congreso Constituyente del Estado de Guatemala, considerando que debe ser uno el idioma nacional, y que mientras sean tan diversos en cuando escasos e imperfectos los que aún conservan los primeros indígenas, no son iguales ni comunes los medios de ilustrar a los pueblos, ni de perfeccionar la civilización en aquella apreciable porción del Estado, ha tenido a bien decretar y decreta.

1.- Los párrocos, de acuerdo con las municipalidades de los pueblos procurarán por los medios más análogos prudentes y eficaces extinguir el idioma de los primeros indígenas".

In the educational aspect, the practice of assimilationist policies is noticeable in the following programs: Hispanization Program created in 1964, Four-year Bilingual Education Program (1984-1984), National Bilingual Education Program (PRONEBI created in 1984, Governmental Agreement No. 1093-84).

Take as an evidence of these policies what was said by the *licenciado*[2] Sam Colop:

"Política que otorga a la vez una superioridad intrínseca a la cultura y a la lengua de la etnia ladina. De este modo se encomienda a instituciones educativas y administrativas resolver lo que se denomina el "Problema Indígena", mediante su incorporación, su integración, su asimilación a la cultura nacional".

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[2] Translator's note: Guatemalan degree.

"Dentro de este marco conceptual, se concibe al idioma oficial como medio para asimilar al pueblo maya y conformar el Estado homogéneo. Uno de los programas encargados de introducir el castellano fue el programa de castellanización".

"El proceso consistía en usar el idioma materno del niño para introducir el castellano" (Lic. Sam Colop, LASA XVI International Congress, March 1988).

As can be noticed in the citations above, in each one of the programs the assimilationist policies that tend to extinguish Mayan languages were systematized.

In relation to the current bilingual education program *Lic.* Sam Colop adds:

"…se puede decir que este bilingüismo es una modificación a la política de asimilación, en cuanto al uso de las lenguas mayas en los primeros años de la escuela".

As a complement to what was said by Lic. Sam Colop, it can be noticed that for the making of the curricular guides and other texts related to bilingual education, the curricular guides of the national system work as the fundamental base.

As a consequence of all the contributing factors to the loss of certain cultural elements, some of this causes are considered.

MAIN CAUSES OF THE ABANDONMENT OF A LANGUAGE

The causes that have most affected the Mayan population or other minority ethnic group in the abandonment of their language, are the economic and economic pressures of the dominant group.

Divisiveness or isolation of any ethnic group

Related to divisiveness or isolation it can be taken as an example what happened to a group of around of 200 "Rama" speakers, a language spoken in Nicaragua. The "Rama" group was divided in two, part of them stayed in the island and the rest live in the mountains; the speakers that stayed in the island lost their language very easily while the speakers who live in the mountains still preserve it. This case show that the different life conditions are noticeable translated as linguistic differences.

Shortage of Mayan language transmitters to new generations

This problem is easily noticeable in children and young people living in urban or semi-urban areas.

In the first place, the abandonment of the costume, an element of cultural identity that keep the multicolor prestige of Guatemalan people.

Next, the gradual abandonment of the Mayan language by a large amount of young people. They abandon their mother tongue because of a lack of loyalty to their people, or in a lot of cases, because their parents decide to not teach the Mayan language to their children.

Children have also stop speaking their own Mayan language because of cultural pressures, and this is demonstrated in a survey made in Chimaltenango, specifically in the ***Escuela Tipo Federación***, in which the results show that there was a lot of Mayan children that did not speak Kaqchikel; this incident is not generally seen in rural areas.

In this reality, question is Who are going to be the cultural transmitters to the new Mayan-speaking generation?

An attitude of disdain towards the language

A person shows an attitude of disdain towards their own language when realizes that their life conditions are not as favorable as are evident in other groups that have more amenities or, at least, dress better than them and work less. The least this person can do is disdain their own cultural elements and look for a way to overcome the condition in which they are.

In this case the question that everyone must answer is, Is the fact of being part of a minority group that speaks a Mayan language and practice certain customs an argument enough to have a less favorable life?

An attitude of doubt of the speakers themselves

The existence of an attitude of doubt of the speakers born of the thought that since their language is primitive therefore it cannot be written, it does not have grammar, has a limited vocabulary, etc., and because of that, the development of Mayan languages in the regions in which they are spoken has not been possible.

The Missioners' arrival

In other regions of Central America, as in the case of Nicaragua's "Rama" language, at the moment of missioners' arrival they did not try to learn the language because of the small number of speakers so instead they tried to teach English to the ramas; in just over a decade it was noticeable that the Rama language was disappearing. (Idem. Guani Magazine).

THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE TO ITS SPEAKERS

As it is known, the importance of language to its speakers is that big that the following aspects must be taken into account:

Tongue: human being's work tool. Ghidinelli says:

"En este parágrafo quisiéramos subrayar la función del lenguaje, en relación a los problemas humanos y en relación a las actividades concretas de trabajo, que el hombre cumple para resolver sus problemas.

Hoy que las lenguas indígenas son marginadas y reprimidas por la imposición del castellano, la actitud general de los ladinos es de hostilidad a los movimientos que las defienden y se puede observar el esfuerzo hecho para demostrar la necesidad de una lengua única para comprender, todo ello dentro de un crecimiento malestar social."

As can be seen, through the efforts made to establish a single language in the human activity, by means of schools, religious mission, juridical aspects, economic hiring and all information media, a hegemonic language is imposed, Spanish in the case of Guatemala.

Guidinelli adds:

"Si se hubiera tenido más respeto hacia los grupos indígenas se habría visto que al entrar en contacto con nuevas tecnologías esos grupos habrían elaborado en sus lenguas, vocablos aptos para volver más auténticas las adquisiciones de ñas especializaciones técnicas, haciendo posible así la supervivencia de su propia lengua".

"Este y otros innumerables ejemplos que se podrían citar demuestran qué falso es creer que los grupos indígenas no tienen creatividad para inventar algo que les sirva para resolver problemas nuevos".

Linguistic Acculturation

Ghidinelli gives a concept of acculturation:

"La aculturación es un proceso en el cual una cultura se impone a otra, vaciándola de contenido y sustituyéndola".

Within the concept of linguistic acculturation, the author previously named is cited again:

"Indudablemente la lengua, parte fundamental de la cultura, contiene todo el proceso de desarrollo del grupo que la usa, junto con el impacto de la realidad cotidiana que el grupo vive y que la lengua expresa. Es por esta razón que "Cada lengua es un mundo". La lengua es altamente socializante, es decir, unificante y simboliza la identidad común.

Por lo tanto, representa un daño profundo para un grupo humano el obligarlo a usar otra lengua o a cambiarla substancialmente, porque, de esa manera, no podría expresar sus pensamientos más personales y originales, ni los podría desarrollar según las nuevas necesidades. Quedaría privado de creatividad, mientras que esta sería un privilegio del grupo aculturante, diestro dueño de la lengua impuesta. El grupo obligado al uso de una lengua foránea pierde su identidad."

What has been exposed contains the general and deep dimension of the importance of an indigenous language in the solution of their closer needs, in the conservation of their identity, since works as inner cohesion of the group and defends it from any ethnic group.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LANGUAGE?

In the current social history of the Mayan indigenous groups there is a shortage of people technically capable of carrying out the existing languages cultural development, but this is not a determining factor since this is a problem that has been present for around

500 years, what is more important today is give recognition to those who has the right to stablish rules, regulate, strengthen, preserve and promote the languages within the technical and legal margins. To back this argument, it is important to mention some parts of the *Declaración de Patzcuaro* about the right to language.

> *"El derecho a la lengua implica:*
>
> *a) Que las etnias de América, al igual que las de todo el mundo tienen el derecho a expresarse en sus respectivas lenguas en todos los actos de su vida pública y los Estados están obligados a reconocer ese derecho dictando las reformas legislativas tendientes a la oficialización de dicha lengua;*
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> *b) Que la lengua debe constituir la base a partir de la cual se lleve a cabo la enseñanza escolar y sistemática de ella y de los demás conocimientos que se transmiten al educando, sea este niño o adulto.*
>
> *c) Que por ser dicha lengua la expresión de una particular manera de pensar y actuar, la cual sustenta una determinada concepción del mundo y la vida, su enseñanza no se puede separar de la cosmovisión, por lo que los conocimientos que se imparten deben descansar en esta última; en tal virtud los planes, programas o contenidos de estudio deberán estructurarse conforme al cumplimiento de tales fines;*
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> *d) Que el aprendizaje de otras lenguas estará subordinada a los lineamientos anteriores, razón por la cual se les conceptuará como segundas lenguas aptas para la comunicación con otros sectores de la población.*
>
> *f) Que aquéllos sectores de las etnias que por razones históricas particulares han sido objeto de una agresión colonial intensa, que ha llegado a extremos de desculturación, tales como la pérdida de la lengua, sin que por ello hayan abandonado otros elementos que conforma su identidad histórica y su conciencia colectiva,…*
>
> *g) Que los miembros de todas las etnias, de la misma manera que tienen el derecho al uso pleno de su lengua,… también tienen el derecho a ser juzgados en su propia lengua, conforme a normas establecidas por tribunales concordantes con la cultura respectiva;*

h) Que el derecho de la lengua corresponde indiscriminadamente a cada etnia, no importando el número de miembros de esta última, ya que a este resoecto privan los criterios cualitativos sobre los cuantitativos,… a lo cual también se debe poner fin mediante la reapertura de los espacios sociales cercados y la consiguiente liberación de las facultades creativas de sus pobladores".

Another very important note about the ethnic groups' rights refers to the Declaration of Barbados, 1977, which says:

Toda lengua tanto oral como escrita, debe ser gobernada por los propios hablantes, porque cualquier préstamo ideológico o lingüístico de un grupo dominante, sólo conduce a la desnaturalización del idioma.

Based on what was previously presented, one of the most important activities related to the languages of Mayan origin has been carried out in Guatemala. The Guatemalan Academy of Mayan Languages (*Academia de las Lenguas Mayas* in Spanish) in formation had the need of make a seminar on June 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1987, in the city of Antigua Guatemala with the purpose of making and unifying the alphabets taking as a base that Mayan languages has similar structural characteristics, therefore the development and promotion of literature is not possible without the unification within the technic, linguistic and pedagogic courses in all institutions that carry out Mayan linguistic work.

Among the institutions that attended the seminar are:

AEMG - Guatemalan Asociation of Mayan Writters (Asociación de Escritores Mayences de Guatemala).

ALMK – Academy of Maya-Kiché Language (Academia de la Lengua Maya-Kiché).

CALUSAC – Center of Language Learning of USAC (Centro de Aprendizaje de Lenguas de la USAC).

CIRMA – Center of Regional Research of Mesoamerica (Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica).

ISER – Guatemalan Institute of Radio Education (Instituto Guatemalteco de Educación Radiofónica).

IIN – National Indigenous Institute (Instituto Indigenista Nacional).

ILV – Summer Linguistic Institute (Instituto Lingüístico de Verano).

ORA – Regional Highland Office of Extracurricular Education (Oficina Regional Altiplano de Educación Extra-Escolar).

PLFM – Linguistic Project Francisco Marroquín (Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín).

PRONEBI – National Program of Bilingual Education (Programa Nacional de Educación Bilingüe).

URL – Rafael Landívar University (Universidad Rafael Landívar).

In the opening of the event, *Lic.* Eliú Cifuentes, representative of the Ministry of Education and PRONEBI, is quoted:

"Sólo quiero decirles que es mi mejor deseo que este evento alcance los objetivos que se han trazado, porque es importante, que todos los grupos lingüísticos que existen en Guatemala realicen una puesta en común dentro de los cánones de la cordialidad, de la comprensión y del aporte científico".

In a similar way, *Lic.* Leopoldo Colón Molina, representative of the Ministry of Culture and Sports and the National Indigenous Institute, participated said some words in the opening:

"Reiterarles las muestras de sincera aplicación por el esfuerzo que se está haciendo en este Proyecto de Unificación Lingüística. Un voto de estima singular para la Academia Maya que con este evento hace su aparición pública en el escenario de los trámites de la cultura guatemalteca,…".

"Con estas palabras me complace en nombre de los dos Ministerios inaugurar este singular evento, para prestigio de los que están asistiendo y para beneficio de nuestro país".

To understand the degree of significance of the Seminar it is important to remember the words of *Br.*[3] Ricardo Choy Ajquejay, member of the technical team of PRONEBI, at the beginning of the first plenary presentation:

"Quiero agradecer a los compañeros de la Academia por la oportunidad de iniciar formalmente la actividad de este día.

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[3] Translator's note: *Bachiller,* a Guatemalan degree.

Creo que es un momento oportuno para recordarles que este Seminario, a pesar de no tener las ventajas que ofrecen los medios de comunicación, es una de las principales e históricas para las naciones indias del país.

Es una de las principales porque es, por primera vez, en que indígenas o hablantes mismos tomarán por consenso las decisiones y mecanismos a seguir para la divulgación, fortalecimiento y consolidación del alfabeto.

Es una de las principales, porque es por primera vez, en que una actividad se organiza, se planifica y se ejecuta por una necesidad sentida; no sólo de Neolectores de Lectores, de Maestros, de Escritores, de Lingüistas y Técnicos y personas involucradas en la lingüística maya descriptiva y aplicada.

Es histórica también, porque fruto de este Seminario serán las bases de una ortografía que permitirán directa e indirectamente, una estandarización en pro de nuestra unificación lingüística".

In such important event the unification of the alphabet was possible, and later, trough the agency of the Provisional Board of directors of the Guatemalan Academy of Mayan Languages it was possible to get the Governmental Agreement No. 1046-87 signed on November 23rd. of 1987 by the President of the Republic *Lic.* Marco Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo and the Minister of Culture and Sports *Licda.* Ana Isabel Prera Flores.

The great importance of this document lies in the fact that, for the first time, the speakers of Mayan languages became aware of one of the most important elements of their identity and this lead the Mayan languages to be legally stablished, there is no doubt that this affected all institutions to some degree, but considering that it is just the beginning of a large culture's development, at the same time, the material developed to this date are mostly of religious nature and fundamentally it is noticeable the illiteracy rate in Guatemala in 1973, year in which the illiteracy rate goes up to 70.9% in rural areas (Proyecto Red de Sistemas Educativos para el Desarrollo en Centroamérica y Panamá, UNESCO 1980), this piece of information justifies why the Mayan-speaking population was not greatly affected.

SOME LEGAL BASES THAT SUPPORT THE MAYAN SPEAKERS' IDENTITY

a) The Republic's Constitution, 1985.-

Article 58. —Recognizes the right to cultural identity, principles, language and customs.

Article 66. —Protection of the Mayan ancestry indigenous groups.

Article 76. —Teaching must be done preferentially with a bilingual approach in cities in which the indigenous population is predominant.

b) The Law of National Education, Legislative Agreement 73-76.-

Article 9. —The education and dissemination of culture must be done in the official language and the Mayan languages.

Article 23. —To guarantee the efficiency and the opportunity of the educative service, the Ministry of Education will decentralize the execution of plans and programs.

Article 60. —The attention to indigenous people's cultural needs will be considered of national interest.

c) Governmental Agreement No. 1093-84.

Institutionalization of PRONEBI.

d) Governmental Agreement No. 1046-87.

Signed on November 23rd, 1987.

It repeals the Governmental Agreement of August 3rd, 1950 and officially recognizes each one of the graphic signs un each one of the alphabet according to article 1.

e) Legislative Decree No. 43-86, Law of Literacy.

Article 3. —Literacy of indigenous population.

The monolingual, indigenous speaking population has de right to be educated in their mother tongue. Bilingual population, speakers of Mayan and Spanish languages has the option to choose the language in which they want to be educated.

f) Another document that is being studied to its authorization is the Draft of Law of Education.

Article 5. —The State will promote an education system that looks after the linguistic and cultural characteristics of each one of the ethnic groups of the country.

Article 9. —The education as a process, will be object of constant evaluation and readjustment to adequate its organization and planning to the ethnic characteristics.

Article 11. —The following are aims of the national education:

Section d. the internalization of convenience rules in a democratic, pluralist and democratic society.

These are some of the legal bases in which the democratic, pluralist Mayan-speaking population is supported.

CONCLUSIONS

1.- A language is a social product that appeared because of the human need of solving their individual and collective needs.

2.- A language is the direct and simple expression of the feelings of an ethnic group and it is the strength that creates the identity of the same group.

3.- In Guatemala exists more than twenty languages and only Spanish is officially recognized.

4.- Since the colonial period to this date the Mayan origin languages have been considered as an obstacle in the development of the Guatemalan State and therefore Mayan speakers have suffered assimilation policies.

5.- It is not possible to impose a language on an ethnic group taking into account that it is a fundamental part of the culture.

6.- The imposition of a language deprives ethnics groups of their particular creativity and world view.

7.- The right to language for its written or spoken normalization corresponds indiscriminately to each ethnic group not being important the number of members in which the groups consist.

8.- Currently, there are some legal bases by which the governmental support for the development and promotion of the languages of Mayan and non-Mayan origin is possible.

RECOMMENDATIONS

— I encourage all of you, young people, to create cultural groups in your communities to get to know, enjoy, value, develop, promote and transmit our Mayan cultural principles.

— I invite each one of you to study together our Mayan languages in order to avoid its extinction and taking into account that language is the backbone of a culture.

a)   I invite to our Mayan-illiterate brothers to literate themselves and subsequently study our languages' grammar.

b)   I invite to our literate brothers to study the grammar of Mayan languages.

— To contribute to the efforts made in order to achieve the objectives of the creation of the Academy of Mayan Languages through the importance of the development of Mayan languages.

— To create literacy centers in Mayan communities.

— A special recommendation for this scholarship program is to create courses that tend to the whole consolidation of the Mayan languages, in particular, to create key courses of Mayan languages' grammar.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE MAYAN LANGUAGES IN GUATEMALA

Talk presented in LASA XIV International Congress New Orleans, LA.
March 17-19th, 1988.

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Guatemala is a multilingual State with around 8,5 million residents, of which 65% to 70% is Mayan and speaks one of the about 19 Mayan languages. Of this languages, K'iche' has 1 million speakers approximately; Mam has at least 686,000 speakers; Kaqchikel has more than 405,000 speakers, Q'eqchi' has no less than 361,000 speakers, etc.[4] There are also two linguistic communities that are not part of the Mayan language family, which are Xinka and Garifuna. The official language, nevertheless, is Spanish. In this analysis, reference is made to the Mayan people given that this is the direct target of the legal educational system of the country; though, for the purposes of languages in inequality facing the official language, the last two communities suffer the same fate.

As has been said before, the official language is Spanish, and it was not until the 1985's Constitution that the other languages acquired some recognition and were declared part of the Cultural Heritage (article 143). In the constitution, recognition and respect to indigenous culture and languages are also declared (article 66), and an education system, preferentially bilingual for the areas with predominant indigenous population is regulated. This last statements are quite new within the Guatemalan political and legal systems and seem to modify the traditional state policy to the Mayan culture and languages. This policy has taken and assimilationist approach and has looked for the implicit cultural and linguistic disappearing of the Mayan-speaking population within the so called "national culture", in other words, the Mestizo or Spanish-speaking culture[5]. This state approach can be illustrated as a spectrum that, on one hand, has advocated for the

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[4] The spelling used to write the indigenous languages' names is the spelling that was recently made official.
[5] The legal texts call this process "incorporation" or "integration" to the "national culture." This "national culture" is not the same of the Mayan-speaking people, and, in PRONEBI's (National Program of Bilingual Education) agreement and regulations, is identified as the "Spanish-speaking culture" or "western culture".

extinction of the Mayan culture and languages, and, on the other hand, it seems to recognize the cultural and linguistic right of the Mayan people. The latter, as mentioned, is quite new and only happens in the legal field until the Political Constitution of 1985.

To have a better perspective of that state approach it is important to mention certain historical aspects. It is known that, on the first centuries of the colonial period, the attacked society continued functioning by means of their native languages, while the aggressor society did it by means of the Spanish language. In 1821, when the creole independence happened, the state concern, among others, was the creation of a homogeneous republic with a sole language and culture. This implicated a forced abandonment of the culture and language by the disadvantaged nation: The Mayan-speaking people. Since then, theories and methods have emerged and have been tested in order to justify that aim. Among that currents the following stand out: the linguistic extinction policy, ladinization, *eugenismo*, *indigenismo*, etc.

A) **LINGUISTIC EXTINCTION.** On October 29th, 1824 the Constituent Congress ordered the extinction of indigenous languages because it was considered that "there should be a sole national language" and while the indigenous languages were "as diverse as they were scarce and imperfect" they were not "equal nor common… to illustrate the peoples…" This linguistic elimination work was entrusted to parish priests, and proving the success of their undertaking, the "provision of parishes will be considered later as their most important merit."

B) **LADINIZATION.** It is a confusing but assimilationist theory that considers the fact to speak Spanish, the change of external ethnic symbols, and even the change of the place of residence, as an ethnic metamorphosis. An example of this are the legally expressed wishes of Mariano Gálvez in 1836 and Justo R. Barrios in 1876. In 1836, Gálvez dictated a disposition that prevented indigenous people "without footwear, boots, shirt… jacket or tails, and a straw or palm hat"[6] from practicing municipal and parish positions.

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[6] See Sam Colop, 1983:57

In 1876, Barrios, by means of the Decree 165, ordered the ladinization of the Mam-speaking community from San Pedro Sacatepéquez, San Marcos. In other words, the ethnic conversion was sanctioned by the law[7].

Nowadays, in an ethnocentric view, and almost by definition, as Brintnall (1979) says, the economic development and the modernization of Mayan people is considered "ladinization."

C) *EUGENISMO.* The term refers to the "human biological crossing" to "improve the races." An example of this racial position is the one maintained by the 1967's Literature Nobel Prize, Miguel Angel Asturias, in his law graduation thesis in 1923. In it, Asturias wrote that the native indian, the Mayan people, represented the mental, moral, physical and material scarcity of the country. Because of that, and to get "racial, cultural and linguistic homogeneity" it was necessary to "cross them" with "superior (European) races.[8]" In his words: "Do with the native indian what is done with other animal species when they show symptoms of degeneration… **New blood,** there is the solution…".

D) **INDIGENISMO.** This theory justifies the INCORPORATION of the Mayan people within what is called "national culture" by means of a special and paternalist guardianship.

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[7] As an irony from History to that policy, the same population have come to turn "the fact of being Mayan into a symbol of virtue" (Smith. In Brintnall, 1979).

[8] M. A. Asturias, among other things, wrote in his thesis: *"El indio representa una civilización pasada y el mestizo, o LADINO que le llamamos, una civilización que viene. El indio forma la mahoría de nuestra población… representa la penuria mental, moral y material del país: es humilde, es sucio, viste de distinta manera… El ladino forma una tercera parte… y es, en último resultado, la parte viva de la nación guatemalteca... COMO ES UN INDIO: Una fisonomía fea de suyo le dan: la nariz y la boca anchas, los labios gruesos… el ojo obliquo amortiguado… Es notable su facilidad de imitar (cualidad de las razas inferiores) … el indio psíquicamente reúne signos indudables de degeneración; es fanático, toxicómano y cruel… La mestización persigue, entre sus fines, la homogeneidad racial, cultural y lingüística de un pueblo que cuenta con porciones sociales de civilización o cultura retrasada y de civilización o cultura superior… Los Estados Unidos de América y la República Argentina, suelen citarse como ejemplos de lo que la inmigración hace de los pueblos. Y si de buscar ejemplos se trata, véase entre nosotros los cruzamientos que ha habido (alemán e indio), y con facilidad se advertirá la mejora. Los hijos de alemán e india son robustos, bien dotados y en cuento al aspecto físico, desde el punto de vista estético, no puede pedirse más… Hágase con el indio lo que con otras especies animales cuando presentan síntomas de degeneración… ¿Por qué no se traen elementos de otra raza vigorosa y más apta para mejorar a nuestros indios? … En Suiza, Bélgica, Holanda, Baviera, Wutemberg y el Tirol, pueden encontrarse ejemplares… Se necesita transfundir sangre nueva en sus venas. SANGRE NUEVA, he ahí la divisa…"*

This examples reflect an assimilationist policy and a subsequent cultural abolition (ethnocide)[9] and linguistic abolition (linguistic genocide)[10]. A policy that conceives the **undervalued majority**, the Mayan people, as persons lacking of politic and power autonomy[11], and as a PROBLEM TO THE STATE (or responsible for the backwardness itself). This policy gives an intrinsic superiority to the culture and language of the Mestizo ethnic group. In this way, it is entrusted the resolution of what is called **"the indigenous problem"** to the educational and administrative institutions, which are in charge of its **incorporation**, **integration**, and **assimilatio**n to the **"national culture"**.

Within this conceptual framework, the official language is conceived as a way to assimilate the Mayan people and form the homogeneous State. One of the programs on charge of introducing Spanish was the hispanization program created on 1964 (a program in which monolingual teachers taught Spanish to monolingual Mayan kids was being used since 1929). In the 1964's program, people in charge of teaching the official language to monolingual kids were bilingual promoters (in Spanish and Mayan languages). The process consisted in using the mother language of the kid to introduce Spanish. This system is defined as an "educational process that tries to give the indigenous population the knowledge necessary to comprehend and use Spanish language, **with the aim of make their communication and coexistence easier**" (article 51 Regl. De Ley Educ. Nac. Legislative Decree No. 73-76) —the last sentence was originally highlighted in bold by the author—.

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[9] **ETHNOCIDE:** it is the destruction or elimination of a culture by means of the imposition of a different culture. Nowadays, Christian Bay (1984) says, acculturation is declared a state policy in several Latin American countries… and it is affirmed that "integration" is the aim of the State. In other words, the aim is the destruction and forced abandonment of the ethnic group and cultural identity… This is not a bloody genocide, but the result is the same: the extinction of culturally different people. Ethnocide is the same as genocide from its conception.

[10] **LINGUISTIC GENOCIDE:** it is the destruction or elimination of a language by means of the imposition of a different language. This is the result, Richard R. Day (1985) says, of the contact of two unequal societies in terms of economic, politic and international prestige resources… It is the systematic replacement of Mayan languages for the language of the dominant group and, as a result, brings the extinction of the Mayan language.

[11] In Guatemala, Mayan people are the majority of the population, but have been politically undervalued. They are called "indigenous ethnic groups", "minority groups", etc., as if they were a disperse series of human groups, and in contrast to other society that is considered united. Shermerhon, quoted by Haugen (1985) says that "minority group" is, indeed, simply a cultural group that lacks of politic and power autonomy. This way, "minority group" is a mere euphemism for **dominated group**, in contrast to the dominant minority.

In this process, the indigenous people had to learn to communicate with Spanish speakers and coexist with them, but the obligation was not mutual!

This program, although in general terms it is affirmed that is was positive, it actually seems like it did not have the success that was expected. This was because, among other reasons, the high degree of truancy, generally associated to factors of economic nature, and maybe, to reasons of cultural resistance too.

In 1980, the BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROJECT was created. It was a four-year project (1980-1984), founded by means of an agreement between the governments of Guatemala and the United States through AID. This project extended the hispanization to the second year of elementary school. The aim was to create a curriculum in four Mayan languages: Kiche', Mam, Kaqchikel and Q'eqchi'; in other words, to use these languages to introduce Spanish language. In its description it was established: "…aumentar la relevancia curricular y lingüística de la educación rural para niños que hablan lenguas mayances, por medio de prototipos de materiales educativos que servirán para el mejoramiento y extensión del programa de castellanización hasta el segundo grado de educación primaria…" (Article 2, section 2.1, Donation Agreement). It was also established as the specific objective: "To adapt and to complement the grogram with activities of teaching and learning of hispanization" (Part C of the specific objectives, numeral 1).

This transitional bilingualism was implemented in 40 pilot schools, and apparently, had better results than the previous hispanization program. It is said that truancy was reduced, and that reading levels and performance in other academic areas were better compared to the performance of the control group, which were students of other 40 monolingual schools in Spanish.[12]

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[12] Troike, R. Quoted by Richards and Richards. This could demonstrate that children and parents seem to have a higher interest when the mother language is used in the education, even if the aim is not the learning per se of Mayan languages. Certainly, some Spanish-sympathizer people that are against the use of Mayan languages in schools, also exist. In 1982, the author of the column "From the mountain" (Prensa Libre), Antonio Nájera Saravia, wrote: "Para complicar más el problema de esos nucleos retrogrados perdidos alla en la montaña, ahora han aparecido una serie de seudobenefactores. Estos bartolones de las casas espurios no tienen la menor intención de mejorarlos, ni de resolver problemas, sino de agravarlos. So pretexto de 'antropólogos', 'sociólogos', 'etnógrafos', y que se yo, han ido metiendo nociones absurdas que, si se aplicara, nos retornaría a lo 'indio', es decir, ¡a la edad de piedra! Se escuchan cosas tan obviamente contraproducentes como enseñar a leer en las lenguas autóctocas, antes o en vez de en la lengua de Cervantes. Si aprendiendo a leer y a escribir en español, se les olvida, ¡de que serviría poderlo hacer en dialectos que carecen de literatura escrita!" (Prensa Libre. August 25th, 1982, p.10)

BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL EDUCATION PROGRAM: (PRONEBI)

In 1984, the Bilingual Education Program transformed into the BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL EDUCATION PROGRAM. The agreement of its creation says: *"El Programa de Educación Bilingüe Bicultural es un proceso educativo que trata de dar a la población indígena, **empleando su propia lengua autóctona**, el conocimiento necesario para la comprensión y utilización del idioma español, con el fin de facilitar su comunicación y convivencia en el país"* (article 7, Governmental Agreement No. 1093-84) —words originally highlighted in bold by the author—.

This article that conceptualizes the new program only modifies the article that defines the hispanization process; modifies what is regarding the use of Mayan languages as a medium of transition to Spanish.

In the corresponding regulations, nevertheless, there are statements that seem to defy the assimilationist model. It is said that the development of bilingual education is based on the following:

a) Mayan origin languages, and Spanish as second language;
b) The typical elements of Mayan origin cultures and the western culture (article 2, PRONEBI's regulations).

Additionally, it is said that the Program is supported on the coexistence of two cultures and several languages within the country, and that is promoted the development of the person within two cultural and linguistic contexts to contribute to the formation of the Guatemalan "nationality" (article 3, PRONEBI's regulations). This regulations, nevertheless, is only a technical-legal norm that develops the PRONEBI Agreement and does not modify it.

This program has been expanded to 800 schools and it is expected to extend its methodology up to the fourth year of elementary school, and with that, assist 260,000 children under this system by 1990. Given the results when it was a project, it is expected that now that is a program, its benefits will be wider.

Regarding the framework generated by this bilingualism, it can be said that:

a) It appeared as a way of make the hispanization better.

b) By concept, it is a program with the aim of teach Spanish and the "national culture" to Mayan-speaking population.
c) The use of Mayan languages in schools is only transitional.

WHAT CAN BE SAID ABOUT BILINGUALISM?

Considering that, traditionally, the linguistic and cultural rights of the Mayan-speaking people has been ignored, and even denied, it can be said that bilingualism is a modification to the assimilationist policy regarding the use of Mayan languages in the first years of school. As a consequence, the concept Bilingual turns out to be a new term in the political-legal field and, sometimes, even a confusing term in the educational environment[13]. In the educational aspect, it presents specific benefits, like the relative superiority in the learning rate of their students in contrast to the learning rate of monolingual schools in Spanish. Among its problems, stand out the shortage of enough and appropriate materials, the lack of information regarding the concept 'bilingual', and the lack of institutional support[14].

It is also true that this bilingualism is transitional. Some suggest that it is "defective but remediable in the process". But also, only remediable as far as the conceptual framework allows it. Legally, it is arguable that PRONEBI's regulations reflect constitutional concepts, like the right of people and communities to their cultural identity according to their principles, their language and their customs (article 58), but it is not the case of PRONEBI's Agreement as for its assimilationist aim (article 7, Governmental Agreement No. 1093-84), which, in turn, it is considered coherent with the concept of official language.

Thus, as long as no deep changes are made, such as the linguistic regionalization, the instrumental use of Mayan languages in levels and actions of public life, etc. this bilingualism **is SUBTRACTIVE, not ADDITIVE**[15]**.** It is subtractive because promotes the transition to a new language (Spanish) and the loss of the mother language (Mayan). In this process, the student compares their mother language with Spanish and, given the economic, politic and administrative orders of the State and the official and instrumental function of Spanish, the Mayan-speaker will end choosing the last and speaking it. At the

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[13] See: INVESTIGACION-DIAGNOSTICA "PARAMETROS DE LA ENSEÑANZA BILINGÜE" By Consultoría en Enseñanza Bilingüe. PRODEPRIR. From August to December, 1986. Guatemala.

[14] Ibid, p. 30, 35-36.

[15] The subtractive bilingualism promotes the learning of a new language and, at the same time, the loss of the mother language. It is the opposite of additive bilingualism, in which a new language is added to the knowledge of the mother language. (Lambert, quoted by Haugen, 1985). Although, for additive bilingualism, It is necessary that both languages have the same prestige.

same time and consequently, the Mayan-speaker will end abandoning their mother language too. The temporary use of indigenous languages as a bridge for the adaptation to the official language seem to assure and make this process easier.

As a conclusion: the assimilationist policy continues as the underlying norm in this subtractive bilingualism.

However, it should also be mentioned that the **undervalued majority** needs, for now, to learn Spanish by force of necessity and forced by the inner and current colonialism, as it is said by Dr. Cojti Cuxil (1988). This learning, nevertheless, **is instrumental and not inclusive.** Mayan-speakers need to know Spanish as a way of communication and not as a substitute of their mother language nor a way of ethnic conversion.

Additionally, it should be mentioned that the Mayan people's will of keep their culture and languages alive is more than clear, and their own continuation through and against an external pressure for several centuries are an evidence of it. Nevertheless, this single will does not guarantee their languages' survival if and effective respect and exercise of the linguistic and cultural rights does not exist; and just until now, the Mayan languages are constitutionally recognized (article 58). For the effective exercise of the right to cultural identity, self-management of the culture and political autonomy is required.

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LEGISLATION:

1)   Political Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala of 1985.

2)   Government Agreement No. 1093-84 (PRONEBI Creation Agreement).

3)   Regulations of the Bilingual and Bicultural Education Program (PRONEBI).

THE RESPONSABILITY OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE FACE OF THE MULTIETHNIC AND MULTICULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF GUATEMALA

Ofelia Columba Déleon Meléndez

The title of this topic suggests, firstly, a brief reflection: The Guatemalan educational system has a huge responsibility in the face of the multiethnic and multicultural reality of our country. A reality that, in turn, is a complex issue that has to be faced. Said responsibility concerns directly to the governmental authorities through the Ministry of Education, which will have to face the issue by means of suitable policies.

Furthermore, the Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, as the education dean, will have to suggest the procedures necessary to implement said policies.

Additionally, the area of folklore applied to the education of the Center for Folkloric Studies of the Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, is considered committed to contribute to some extent, so the education can satisfy the actual necessities of the country.

Because of that reason, as the person responsible of said area, I expound on this topic in the following pages with the aim of make a contribution to solve the educational issues of the country.

I. THE EDUCATIONAL ISSUE OF THE INDIGENOUS GROUPS

The issue of the education of indigenous groups is faced by several American countries, and is presented with larger dimensions in Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador because the rate of indigenous population is higher. The educational systems have considered necessary to incorporate this groups to the western culture, since it is considered better and of universal nature. Hispanization and transculturation are the resources that have been used to achieve that aim.

For several years, international organizations such as the OAS and UNESCO, have explained the **necessity of respect the cultural principles of indigenous groups**,

as well as the urge of educate those groups using their own resources extracted from their cultures, such is the case of language and folklore.

The first Technical Meeting about Education and Popular and Traditional Culture was carried out in 1979 under the auspices of the Organization of American States in the city of Cuenca, Ecuador. It considers:

"Que merece especial atención el estudio de las etnias indígenas y si problemática actual, ya que la absorción cultural por los medios impositivos viola su derecho de autodeterminación, con la consiguiente pérdida de su identidad como etnia y la desaparición de patrones culturales que forman parte del acervo universal."[16]

In addition, in said meeting, the recommendations of general nature include:

"Que dentro de la sociedad americana contemporánea, los grupos humanos y especialmente las comunidades indígenas que se rigen por los valores propios de su cultura popular tradicional, se caracterizan por su condición de sectores explotados que carecen generalmente de poder decisorio a nivel de la comunidad nacional y están ubicados al margen del llamado "desarrollo."[17]

Within this framework, the cited meeting recommends:

"Garantizar la satisfacción de las necesidades básicas de nutrición, salubridad, vivienda y educación de las comunidades o grupos caracterizados por una cultura popular tradicional propia, para evitar el abandono de esa cultura popular tradicional, como requisito indispensable para su supervivencia personal y social."[18]

Furthermore, the first inter-American Congress of Ethnomusicology and Folklore carried out in 1983 in Caracas city, Venezuela, recommends that:

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[16] **Informe final de la Primera Reunión Técnica sobre Educación y Cultura Popular Tradicional**. Cuenca, Ecuador: Edición Mimeografiada, 1979, p.19.

[17] **Ibid**. P. 27.

[18] **Ibid.** P. 27.

"Se incluya en los planes y programas (educativos) las distintas manifestaciones de las culturas indígenas de nuestras entidades locales nacionales y regionales para el conocimiento y difusión de las mismas."[19]

It is also important to mention that the Committee of Governmental Experts on the Safeguarding of Folklore gathered in the headquarters of the UNESCO (Paris) from February 22nd to February 26th, 1982, considered making the following recommendation:

"Member States ensure that action to preserve folklore is extended to include indigenous or aboriginal cultures since both types, folklore and indigenous cultures, are an integral part of the world's traditional popular cultures."[20]

Regarding the application of traditional cultures, the cited group of experts recommends:

"Member States include the systematic teaching of traditional culture in educational curricula at all levels"[21]

At present, because of the variety of indigenous ethnic groups that are part of our countries, it is suggested a bilingual bicultural education be carried out in each one of them. Bilingual, means that, firstly, it should be taught to speak, read and write in the indigenous mother language, and then, or simultaneously, it should be taught to speak, read and write in Spanish. Regarding the bicultural aspect, it is understood that, firstly, it should be taught the principles of the indigenous culture, and then, the principles of other cultures, such is the case of the western culture.[22]

But according to the structure of the Latin-American educational systems, I ask myself: how far will it allow the implementation of bilingual bicultural systems, taking into account that in our countries exist variety of ethnic groups with their own languages and cultures? I consider that the complete transformation of the educational systems is

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[19] **Informe final (versión preliminar) del Primer Congreso Interamericano de Etnomusicología y Folklore**. Caracas, Venezuela. Edición Mimeografiada 1983. P. 27.

[20] **Report of the Governmental Experts on the Safeguarding of Folklore of UNESCO**. Paris, France. Mimeographed edition. 1982. Annex 1, p. 4.

[21] Ibid. Annex 1, p. 3.

[22] Franco Gabriel Hernández. **"El proyecto educativo de los grupos étnicos de México: la educación indígena bilingüe bicultural" en alternativas de educación para grupos culturalmente diferenciados.** Organización de los Estados Americanos, México, 1083. P. 100.

essential to achieve the desired objectives, otherwise, education will continue to be trough hispanization, which has been proven ineffective, and the systematic education of our countries will contribute to the destruction of millenary Latin American languages and cultures.

With the transformation of educational systems, among other things, the education of indigenous groups within their culture and trough their language is intended. The above does not mean that the intention is to keep such groups isolated from the western culture and in make them fall behind regarding the misnamed "development" of our countries, as some people could think, instead, the aim would be to stablish priorities regarding what and how indigenous people should receive education.

In Mexico, indigenous groups have presented a series of proposals to implement this type of education. Here, it is worth mentioning the called Educational project of indigenous groups of Mexico: the bilingual bicultural indigenous education, created by Franco Gabriel Hernández of the National Alliance of Bilingual Indigenous Professionals A.C. which I consider extremely valuable since I share its guidelines and, in my opinion, can be useful as a base to similar projects. Next, I will mention some fundamental aspects.

The mentioned project born from the conception of ethnic group, which is conceived as *"el grupo social poseedor de una lengua propia, una cultura propia, una historia propia, un territorio jurídico o socialmente determinado."*[23] The type of education for ethnic groups is suggested to: *"buscar incidir en la situación colonial para superarla, propone el desarrollo de la lengua y la cultura propias, además del conocimiento del castellano y de los valores de otras culturas…"*[24]

The authors of the project intend to look for an education that "*nos permita volver a nuestros pueblos, a desarrollar nuestra cultura y nuestra ciencia, así como conocer los valores culturales y científicos de otros pueblos no indígenas que nos permitan resolver nuestras necesidades vitales y que nos sirvan como instrumento de lucha en el proceso de liberación de la situación que nos oprime y nos hace fácil presa de la explotación económica, del dominio cultural y de la manipulación política*"[25]

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[23] Franco Gabriel Hernández. **Op. Cit.**, p. 95.

[24] **Ibid.**

[25] **Ibid.**, p. 98.

Bilingual bicultural education is conceived as *"aquella que instrumentada por los propios indígenas servirá para la formación y desarrollo del hombre y de la comunidad, dentro de su sistema cultural propio con base en sus conceptos del mundo y de la vida y sirviendo siempre en última instancia a la adquisición de la conciencia de una sociedad que respete la naturaleza y el hombre, y asegure la existencia de la familia y la comunidad que asegure los intereses del grupo sobre los del individuo, que bisque en el trabajo el beneficio de la colectividad y no la apropiación individual."*[26]

The creators of this Project are aware that, to carry out this new type of education it is necessary to have *"libros apropiados, planes y programas de studio, metodología y formas de evaluación adecuadas, en donde se expresen las culturas indígenas y los valores universales de las otras culturas."*[27]

The role of the indigenous educators and institutions in charge of carrying out this education is considered extremely valuable. Among the actions that for which they are responsible are:

a.   To identify, revalue and develop their own technology; to select intermediate support techniques; to support the forms of social organization and the traditional production. To organize the community for the acquisition of loan, if necessary; of supplies, if necessary; of work tools. To organize the collective commercialization at a communal and regional level; to organize the collective exploitation of natural resources (land, sea, grass, forest, minerals, etc.).

b.   To support the process of culture revaluation and the affirmation of the ethnic identity. This will be carried out with adults, children and the community by means of teaching reading, writing and grammar of their languages; the study and development of the native Philosophy; the local History of the indigenous people and the ethnic group; the time counting system in their own culture; the scientific and traditional number system of the ethnic group; the traditional weight and measurement systems and the ones of their own cultures; the traditions, dance, mythology, etc.; the native medicine; the local, regional and national geography (in a bilingual way); the official language (its strength, need and limits); to fight for the official recognition of indigenous languages and the right to their own education and cultures.

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[26] Franco Gabriel Hernández. **Op. Cit**., p. 99-100.

[27] **Ibid.**, p. 100.

c.   To fight for the representative participation of indigenous people in the national politics.

d.   To fight against the racial and social discrimination. This will be carried out raising awareness of equality and recognition of what unites and resembles all human groups; to raise awareness of the ethnic and classist sense of discrimination.

e.   To improve the diet and home and community conditions.[28]

The objectives of the bilingual bicultural education project are:

General objectives:

1.   To plan and implement the bilingual bicultural indigenous education that supports our development, the cultural revaluation, ethnic identity and mechanisms that allow its carrying out in all indigenous communities;

2.   To structure and apply a distinguishing pedagogy according to the historic situation of every ethnic group, based in their own vision of the world, of life and its representations, and from the concept of a bilingual bicultural indigenous education;

3.   To provide our experiences to the country and with this, to define its personality in the framework of ethnic and cultural diversity;

Particular objectives:

1.   To design and make bilingual bicultural indigenous education study plans and programs, from preschool and elementary school to higher education;

2.   To create practical alphabets and to identify the linguistic and grammatical structure of indigenous languages;

3.   To research, analyze and implement the suitable methodology to this new education.

4.   To design and make text books and educational resources to support the bilingual bicultural education;

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[28] Franco Gabriel Hernández. **Op. Cit.**, p. 102.

5.   To design a system of educational evaluation;

6.   To plan and develop training courses for the members of regional commissions of bilingual bicultural education.[29]

The authors of the project also propose some strategies of general nature, such as:

a.   Planning and making National Seminars about bilingual bicultural indigenous education;

b.   In the case of needing advice, this would be requested, preferentially, to indigenous professionals, and if there are none, it will be requested the advice of non-indigenous professionals with experience in the field and that have distinguished themselves because of their fight and support to the indigenous cause.

c.   The program will be ran and managed by indigenous people;

d.   Indigenous pedagogy: philosophy, objectives, plans and programs contents, methodology and procedures for the evaluation of bilingual bicultural indigenous education will have its source of knowledge in the indigenous family and community, in the teaching experience of teachers and bilingual promoters, in indigenous history written by the indigenous themselves, in the educational experience of decolonized countries and in the contributions made by other indigenous professionals, following this order of priority.

e.   The carrying out of the plan will be supported, when it is possible, in the infrastructure of official institutions that operate in indigenous regions of the country.[30]

Guatemala is a multilingual multiethnic and multicultural state in which there are between 20 and 26 languages. Guillermina Herrera classify them as follows:

a.   Non-Mayan languages: Spanish, Carib and Xinca.

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[29] Franco Gabriel Hernández. **Op. Cit.**, p. 103.

[30] **Ibid.**, p. 103-104.

b.   Mayan languages (*mayences*): Aguacateca, Cackchiquel, Chortí, Chuj, Ixil, Jacalteca, Kanjobal, Kekchí, Mam, Mopan, Pocoman, Pocomchí, Quiché, Sipacapeña, Sacapulteca, Tzutujil, Uspanteca. The above are 17 in total.

The cited linguist refers that the Francisco Marroquín Linguistic Project reports linguistic groups of Chol, Mopán, Lacandon and Yucateco in the department of Petén.[31]

Each one of the Mayan origin languages has one or many dialects.

The majority languages by 1981 were: Quiché, with 925,000 speakers; Man, with 688,500 speakers; Cakchiquel, with 405,000 speakers, and Kekchí, with 361,000 speakers. These four majority languages add up to a total of **2.404,500 speakers**.[32]

According to Guillermina Herrera, in Guatemala does not exist a linguistic development, since this implies that all members of the state are able to communicate, and this does not happen in our country, as the majority of speakers are monolingual and this prevents them from being able to communicate with the rest of the population.[33]

Indigenous ethnic groups are also numerous, as well as the cultures that these possess; the above have satisfied and satisfy the (material, social and spiritual) needs of their bearers, which does not imply that they have remained on the sidelines of the western culture, which was, has been, and is the dominant culture. These traditional cultures, as well as the languages that have an essential role within them, have been preserved despite of the repeated imposition and efforts to destroy them, since the indigenous people consider their culture and language are their only heritage.

I consider that the educational work has to tend, not only to hispanize and instruct about western culture, but, essentially, to preserve and teach using indigenous languages, and maintain and spread the traditional cultures. Because of that, bilingual and bicultural indigenous education projects must constitute the fundamental worry of the State.

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[31] Guillermina Herrera Peña. **Algunas ideas para la planificación del desarrollo lingüístico nacional (Discurso de Ingreso como miembro de número de la Academia Guatemalteca de la Lengua)** (Guatemala: Edita, 1983) p. 20.

[32] **Ibid**., p. 21.

[33] Guillermina Herrera Peña. **Curso de lingüística y lenguas de Guatemala en el Seminario de lengua y cultura Quiché, Universidad Rafael Landívar, 1984.**

In that sense, in Guatemala, the "Bilingual Education Project" for preschool and elementary school has been started. The project's scope includes the majority indigenous languages of the country, as Quiché, Mam, Cackchiquel and Kekchí.

The cited project aims to use the mother languages as a vehicle for instruction, and, at the same time, to teach Spanish progressively during the first two years of elementary school. So far, this project is in experimental phase in 10 schools of each one of the majority linguistic communities (Quiché, Mam, Cackchiquel and Kekchí).

According to Guillermina Herrera's opinion, programs like the above benefit the development and nurturing of Guatemalan indigenous languages, although this is not its main objective, since these constitute "transition programs that aim to facilitate the indigene the learning of Spanish language"[34]. According to the author cited, our educational system has not proposed the formation and stable maintenance of bilingualism.[35]

So, in our country, there are not even attempts to systemize the teaching of indigenous languages because of themselves, the value they possess and the function they perform within their linguistic communities. Here, it is intended to encourage Guatemalan linguists, and educational and indigenous authorities, to recognize the importance of this type of teaching and therefore, to plan its implementation in the short term.

Regarding the so called bicultural education, it is necessary to do some reflections:

Firstly, as has been said before, Guatemala is a multicultural country; this means that there are numerous cultures within the State. The western culture has been considered the official culture and, therefore, has been imposed since the Colonial period. But despite the miscegenation suffered because of the conquest in our country, there are other cultures, the ones of the diverse ethnic groups, such is the case of Quiché, Mam, Cackchiquel, Keqchí, etc. cultures. The origin of these cultures go back to the millenary Mayan civilization. They have been preserved until today thanks to tradition and orality, despite the numerous attempts to destroy them that have happened throughout history.

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[34] Guillermina Herrera. **Op. Cit., p. 28.**

[35] **Ibid.**

Indigenous cultures are valuable, they deserve respect and must be preserved because they withstand the identity of its bearers.

The job of value, preserve and spread indigenous cultures is the responsibility of schools. Because of that, its inclusion within the study plans and programs is proposed.

At no time the value and importance of western culture as the cradle of scientific development is denied. What it is suggested here is that both, western and indigenous cultures, be taught in schools.

As a conclusion, it can be noted that it is proposed the education taught to indigenous people with bilingual and bicultural characteristics.

Bilingual means that it must be taught both, Spanish, as it is the official language of Guatemala, and the majority indigenous language of the community.

Bicultural implies that it must be instructed in western culture, as the universal culture, and in the indigenous or native culture of the community.

For example, in Quetzaltenango, Quiché language should be taught as the mother language additional to Spanish. Regarding to culture, it should be taught western and Quiche cultures, the latter, as it is the native culture of the community.

II. THE SEARCH FOR A NATIONAL IDENTITY

Initially, it has to be mentioned that there are various types of identity:

Personal Identity

It is the continuous existence of a certain person, despite the changes in their functions and structures.

Group Identity

It consists on the fact that a person feels identified with the group they belong to; they recognize themselves as a part of the group and shares values and knowledge with the rest of the members. When the group with which the identity is shared is an ethnic group, then it is considered an **ethnic identity**.

It is also important to mention **cultural identity**, which is the identification that must be expressed to the culture within a person was born and raised. The person must share the values of their culture.

It is possible to speak of **national identity** when a nation is formed by only one ethnic group, which is very uncommon; otherwise, the various ethnic groups that form a nation must be included and harmonized within the national identity. It is necessary for all people who are part of ethnic groups to identify as a nation, and share the same fundamental values and symbols of nationality identification.[36]

Martha Davis states that the search for identity implicates self-image, which includes not only the inherited identity, which refers to the historic heritage, but also the voluntarily or forcibly acquired identity. She highlights that "it is not only about what one is, but what one would like to be and what others would like one to be."[37]

Regarding the ethnic identity, Davis quotes Frederick Barth, who states that "*la definición de un grupo étnico depende más de su autoimagen como grupo que del contenido cultural en sí. Frecuentemente, grupos llegan a parecerse, como en el caso de la dominación colonial, pero se consideran diferentes.*"[38]

That means that said differentiation is asserted by means of **symbols**. Here, "national dances" are taken as an example, since all Latin American countries have one, which is presented as a symbol of national identity to assert itself among the group and/or before the outside world. He indicates that these symbols correspond more with what one would like to be.

Davis also refers to **social identity**, which she defines as the fact of feeling identified with social and cultural groups which have more access to power, social prestige and economic well-being. She highlights that, in this sense, the external symbols of identity, either of class or of ethnic group, are emphasized. This identity appears, essentially, in capitalist societies divided into classes. When social identity is persecuted,

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[36] Antonio Galio. **Identidad Nacional.** Universidad Rafael Landívar de Guatemala. Editorial Académica Centroamericana Guatemala, 1978. Pp. 11-13.

[37] Martha E. Davis. **La etnomusicología como antropología: la realidad sociocultural latinoamericana. Ponencia presentada al Primer Congreso Interamericano de Etnomusicología y Folklor UNICEF.** Caracas, Venezuela, 1983, p. 4.

[38] **Ibid.**

then it is a forcibly acquired identity, which means it is imposed; the traditional identity of ethnic and national groups is threatened by internal and external colonialism, which tries to impose its patterns.[39]

At present, all Latin American countries are in the search for its own identity, and this is because there are not solid national identities due to the multiethnic and multicultural nature of its nations; also, it is because of the imposition of media culture, which patterns tend to favor foreign things due to the absence of appropriate cultural policies. In this sense, Isabel Arentz states that "*América Latina se busca a sí misma, ansiosamente haciéndonos pensar que ha perdido algo, quizás sea que se ha ido desprendiendo de sus propias raíces, omnubilada por adelantos de la época, siguiendo un falso espejismo que nos hace ver como indispensables muchas cosas superfluas.*"[40]

Felipe Herrera mentions that Latin America has a historic, economic, political, and cultural presence in the contemporary world, which tends to assert itself progressively, and also, that this reality is the expression of "being Latin-American."[41]

Herrera defines "being Latin-American" as "*un proceso histórico-cultural pasado, presente y futuro, cuyo escenario se ha formado con la integración de numerosas culturas, que le imprimen sus propias características y la hacen proyectar su imagen hacia el mundo.*"[42]

The cited author continues highlighting that in the search for a cultural identity, Latin America has been concerned to favor the study of its history and the artistic creation from the past: dances, popular songs, architecture, painting, etc., and it has been interested in the knowledge of its folklore. The author emphasizes the fact that, in many Latin-American countries, groups have been formed to spread regional dances; in this sense, the appearance of protest music is also mentioned.

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[39] Martha Davis **Loc. Cit.** 1983. Pp. 5-6.

[40] Isabel Aretz. **Palabras de apertura al Primer Congreso Interamericano de Etnomusicología y Folklore.** Caracas, Venezuela, 1983. Pp. 1-2.

[41] Felipe Herrera. **El escenario Latinoamericano y el desafío cultural. International Fund for Cultural Diversity, UNESCO.** Editorial Gaidoc. Santiago de Chile 1981. P. 17.

[42] **Ibid.** P. 75.

Each Latin-American country must pursue the formation of its national identity, which is currently being done. This task is closely bound to the states' cultural policies. Within these policies, education plays a main role since the achievements in that field will depend on its structure.

In addition to the search for national identities, it is considered that obtaining a Latin-American identity must be pursued. This task will be entrusted to the governments of all countries. If this purpose is postponed for too long, Latin-America will turn into a bad copy of imperialist countries, which exert the economic and cultural power in the world.

The Latin-American identity must be based on its history, popular culture, artistic creation (as long as it is original and not a copy of another), and the nationalist feeling of its population.

In relation to the above, author Eduardo Galeano states that it is not possible to speak about a "Latin-American culture", since diverse cultures and societies coexist in this continent. He believes that there is a common historical framework, which is nourished by the present and projects itself into the future. He states that those who highlight the differences in Latin-America, do so to hide the identities.

Lastly, Galeano states that "*a partir de lo que nos une, y sobre la base del respeto a las numerosas identidades nacionales que nos configuran, América Latina es sobre todo una tarea a realizar. Nuestras economías han sido orientadas hacia afuera, en función de servidumbre, y también nuestras culturas tienen sus vértices en las capitales europeas, donde los aduaneros de la literatura, por ejemplo, brindan todavía su visto bueno para que una novela paraguaya pueda ser considerada valiosa en Venezuela.*"[43]

The problem of identity in Latin-America has gained importance in recent years. It is thought that if there is a search for identity is because it is being lost, and this is in fact, correct, since cultural alienation is taking place because of the collision between the incentives caused by the consumer societies, and the historical and social realities of Latin-American countries. Fortunately, the attitude of preservation of cultural identities born in response to this phenomenon. Nevertheless, in many cases, demagogic political discourses are used due to the absence of clear definitions of the matter or because they are misunderstood.

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[43] Eduardo Galeano. **"Literatura y Cultura popular en América Latina. 10 errores o mentiras frecuentes en culturas populares".** Premiá Editora, 2nd edition, Mexico, 1983. Pp. 101-102.

One of the causes attributed to the loss of identity lie in the disproportionate and disoriented development of media like the radio, television and imported printed materials. Luckily, cultural policies tending to guide the media are promoted to face this. Another matter that is pointed out as the responsible of cultural alienation is the import of foreign techniques that are determining in the production and consumption of goods and services; as well as educational reforms that are generally adaptations of systems used in societies different of the ones of Latin-America.[44]

Many international organizations like the OAS, UNESCO, and IADAP (Andean Institute of Popular Arts by its initials in Spanish) have been concerned about this problem and have given its opinion.

The IADAP states that being Latin-American must be increasingly defined with the purpose of present its true image to the world. This will strengthen its critical awareness; looking for the mechanisms necessary to be economically and technologically self-sufficient, and essentially, affirming the paths that lead to a better and more efficient usage of cultural heritage both past and present.[45]

The First Technical Meeting on Education and Traditional Popular Culture called by the OAS, and which took place in the city of Cuenca, Ecuador in 1979, relates education with identity in the following terms: It recommends the national and regional educational system to be oriented to the identification, revaluation, development, protection and dissemination of the values that form the cultures of each country, with the aim of achieving the affirmation of the national and regional identity.[46]

Furthermore, the First Inter-American Congress of Ethnomusicology and Folklore, carried out in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1983, recommends traditional popular culture (folklore) to be included in artistic disciplines of the curriculum "as a means to achieve the cultural identity of our countries."[47]

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[44] Ctr. Felipe Herrera. **Op. Cit. Y Bocina de los Anders.** IADAP No. 21 Quito, Ecuador, S/F Editorial.

[45] Bocina de los Andes **Loc. Cit.**

[46] **Informe Final de la Primera Reunión Técnica sobre educación y cultura popular tradicional. Loc. Cit.** P. 11.

[47] **Informe Final del Primer Congreso Interamericano de Etnomusicología y Folklore. Loc. Cit.** P. 27.

As can be confirmed by what has been explained in previous paragraphs, in recent years, many specialists, institutions and events, both national and international, have come to the conclusion that Latin-American educational systems must be oriented to the knowledge, appreciation, development, protection and dissemination of the values that form the culture of each country, with the aim of achieving the national identity. Popular culture is a fundamental part of the culture of Latin-American nations.

Unfortunately, Latin-American popular culture has not been studied with the necessary scientific rigor. Despite this, its study constitutes one of the most important tasks in the field of anthropology. Said task must be promoted by American states by means of its universities and ministries of education and/or culture. This study advocates for the rescue of the particular identity of each country, as well as the Latin-American identity, which is at risk because of foreign introduction.

The task in question will have to be directed in many ways:

1.   University education of scientific researchers of popular culture.

2.   Creation of popular culture research institutes.

3.   Training of teachers in teaching service to achieve the incorporation of popular culture in educational systems, and

4.   To include the study of popular culture in all educational levels of Latin-American countries.

A. Education and the search for the national identity

Within the educational policies of many countries, the formation of a national identity is pursued. According to what has been explained in previous paragraphs, it is hard to speak about national identity in multiethnic and multicultural countries, unless this includes and harmonize the diverse ethnic groups that are part of it, which is an extremely difficult task to carry out. Because of this, it is preferable refer to the so called cultural identity.

According to many authors, the people or countries that are in the search for an identity is because they are losing it, and this is in fact, correct, since cultural alienation

is taking place. Systematized education is responsible for the task of recover or find the cultural identity of a country.

The cultural identity of Guatemala must be based on the study of its history, artistic creation and traditional popular culture (folklore).

Because of the nature of my specialty, from now on I will refer to the traditional popular culture (folklore) as an element that contributes to the achievement of the longed-for identity.

TRADITIONAL POPULAR CULTURE (FOLKLORE) AND GUATEMALAN EDUCATION

Folklore is conceived as a set of cultural expressions of spiritual, social and material nature, which occur within the popular classes. This culture is characterized by being anonymous, traditional, functional, current, geographically located, and also, because its transmission it is not institutionalized. It is also necessary to highlight that traditional popular culture or folklore is the product of a dynamic process, and therefore, it is subject to changes and transformations within its socio-economic context. Within the traditional popular culture, the cultures of indigenous ethnic groups are taken into account.

Traditional popular culture is an essential part of the national culture; for this reason, it must be included within the Guatemalan educational system. Through the incorporation of folklore in the education, it is achieved, first of all, the dissemination of folkloric heritage through school, since a system is the best means to spread it. Also, this allows the enrichment of education in its informative and formative aspects.

Within the informative aspect, traditional popular culture provides knowledge of national culture in fields such as literature, history, music, art, etc. It provides a set of useful knowledge to all educational disciplines of the diverse educational levels: social sciences, natural sciences, literature, plastic arts, industrial arts, music, etc.

Regarding the formative aspect, folklore contributes to the achievement of one of the essential purposes of education, which is the development of the personality the of students, their comprehensive development; in other words, the development of physical, cultural, spiritual, and moral aspects through the different educational levels. In this

sense, traditional popular culture provides a set of facts that allow the development of memory, imagination, attention and sociability.

Another objective that is pursued by the Guatemalan educational system within the comprehensive formation is obtaining the Guatemalan identity and nationalist feelings, as well as the formation of citizens who are aware of the problems of the country and who are capable of provide solutions to those problems.

To use folklore in teaching it is required to carry out a thorough selection of the facts that can be included and that benefit the purposes of teaching, since within traditional popular culture there are numerous aspects that are not recommendable for the formation of students, according to the requirements of the current educational system.

Because of the reasons explained above, it is essential that schools systematize the teaching of folklore in its positive aspects in all educational levels, from elementary to higher education.

Education must establish a bridge between the community and the schools. Traditional popular culture transforms in a very valuable resource for this purpose. Schools must start from spontaneous education, which is received by children in their homes and communities, to get better results. This education must be prevented from being rejected due to ignorance or carelessness, or for not being considered systematic. Teachers must highlight all the positive knowledge and values that their students have learned in the bosom of their families.

In rural areas, students carry knowledge of traditional popular culture, and in urban areas, schools are responsible to make known the folkloric elements so that students know and value their culture. Educational authorities must not allow certain situations to occur, for example, in many educational establishments, especially the ones sponsored by foreign governments, students do not feel Guatemalan, but American, German, Spaniard, etc., this is because of the education they receive, which is generally in a foreign language, with foreign books and contents strange to our culture. In many cases, these students come to despise our values and our people. They alienate, and make absurd comparisons between industrialized countries, of which they know as much as the citizens of those countries, and their own country, which they greatly ignore. Hence, foreign people are who admire and concern for our culture in general and our folklore in particular.

It is essential to include the study of folklore in Guatemalan education, so this truly has national nature. Firstly, Guatemalan culture must be made known before foreign cultures. What is the purpose of teaching plenty knowledge about other cultures, alien to our culture, in our schools if the knowledge accumulated by our people or traditional popular culture remains unknown? The objective is not to state that the knowledge of other cultures is not important in the education of the students, but it is necessary to clearly establish what is more important and what must be taught first.

To a large extent, the inefficiency in Guatemalan education lies in truancy, especially in rural areas because neither parents nor students are convinced that schools provide them useful knowledge or knowledge of their community. On the contrary, students are provided with a huge amount of contents that, in their eyes, seem useless for their practical life.

Education must start from what is already known and then, continue with the unknown; from what is immediate to what is intermediate, from close to distant. Firstly, students must get to know the community in which they live, as well as its customs, traditions, festivities, etc., that is, the traditional popular culture.

Teachers are the main educational agent, through which teaching activity is carried out. They are responsible, to a large extent, for the effectiveness of teaching; therefore, it is necessary that they receive a thorough academic training.

In the particular case of the application of traditional popular culture in teaching, teachers who carry out this activity require, in addition to the pedagogic and academic training specific to their career, a wide knowledge about traditional popular culture. This knowledge can be acquired in the following ways:

1. During their teacher formation, at the level of normal education, for which it would be necessary the existence of courses about folklore theory, Guatemalan folklore, and folklore applied to education.

2. Through training of teachers in teaching practice by means of university level courses and short courses given by universities, either within the curriculum of regular careers or in free courses. Furthermore, this courses can be given by research institutes specialized in popular traditions.

3.   Through books, magazines or articles about the topic, and the attendance of teachers to conferences, round tables, etc.

It is convenient to highlight that the criteria about traditional popular culture that teachers must handle to apply them correctly to education, constitute a vital factor to spread the folkloric heritage, according to the scientific requirements this demands. If not so, systematized education will contribute to deform the traditional popular culture.

I share the opinion of Peruvian *folkloróloga*[i] Mildred Merino de Zela, who states that: "*Educar es ir mejorando al ser y a través del hombre a la sociedad, pero no cambiarlo totalmente, eso sería raptar y robar, suplantar al hombre, educar es transformar en colaboración, desarrollando sus potenciales, no hacerlo a la manera de los conquistadores destruyéndolo todo para imponer lo suyo. Comunicaremos la ciencia moderna, partiendo del saber tradicional del pueblo.*"[48]

The task of raise awareness so that teachers understand and value the traditional popular culture it is considered fundamental. Their training at any level should not be neglected, because the objective is that they can use folklore correctly in teaching.

In many cases, especially in rural areas, teachers coexist with elements of traditional popular culture and they know them better than the researchers who arrive sporadically to the communities; moreover, their students carry folklore. So that it will depend on teachers, their ability and their formation to obtain first-hand information. When these situations occur, they must act with selective criterion to determine the facts of traditional popular culture that are useful to teaching. Regarding the facts that for educational purposes are called useless (this includes superstitions, antisocial behavioral habits, ignorance, wrong perceptions of reality, etc.), teachers must be respectful since these facts are nothing more than the result of the socio-economic conditions of the people, and of the history of the folkloric fact itself. Teachers of secondary education, however, must explain these negative facts to their students, making objective criticism and the clarifications necessary to a better understanding.

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[48] Mildred Merino de Zela. **El folklore en el proceso educativo, Instituto Riva Aguero Pontificia Universidad Católica.** Lima, Peru, 1975. P. 6.

[i] **Translator's note**: a folkrólogo(a) is a person who is specialized in the study of traditions, customs and popular beliefs of a particular culture, that is, its folklore.

To apply the traditional popular culture (positive aspects only) in the process of teaching and learning, it is necessary to distinguish the two ways by which it is possible to use it:

a.   In the form of educational applications. In this case, teachers will favor the knowledge of the traditional popular culture through researches made about the topic, just as the information of the field has been compiled by researchers.

b.   In the form of educational projections. In this sense, teachers can make known the authentic projections of traditional popular culture. In addition, in some cases is possible to make projections at schools, but as long as these projections stick to the requirements demanded by *foklorología*.

Regarding the traditional popular culture and education, an interdisciplinary group that gathered in the city of Cuenca, Ecuador, in 1980, for the purpose of planning an experimental workshop on the integration of traditional popular culture in education, believe that: "*la cultura popular tradicional es Fuente inagotable de identidad cultural, como raíz de nacionalidad. Su aplicación a la educación exige, por lo tanto, que sea la base de donde se asienta la identidad cultural de los países latinoamericanos.*"[49]

Argentinian *folkróloga* Isabel Aretz states that the dissemination of folklore by all means, but especially through schools, it is the only resource Latin-American countries have to counteract the negative action of the tendency of European and North-American countries to impose their customs, music and all its culture in general, and it is spread across through trade, the media and emigration.[50]

I consider that one of the main cultural problems that Latin-American countries, including Guatemala, face is the lack of identity.

The search and achievement of the national identity constitute aspirations of Latin-American educational systems, and should be included as objectives within the governmental policies.

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[49] **Informe final de la reunión del grupo interdisciplinario para el taller experimental sobre integración de la cultura popular tradicional en la educación.** Cuenca, Ecuador. Edición Mimeografiada, 1980. P. 2.

[50] Isabel Aretz. **Manual de folklore venezolano. Aplicación del folklore en la enseñanza. Monte Avila Editores.** Caracas, Venezuela, 1972.

Traditional popular culture is one of the sources of identity. This is how was considered by the mentioned Interdisciplinary Group gathered in Cuenca, Ecuador, in 1980. Said group, as it was mentioned before, considers that education must take traditional popular culture into account to achieve its objectives in this sense.

The application of popular tradition in schools will have the following as its general objectives:

1.   To know the Guatemalan popular traditions.

2.   To understand that popular traditions constitute and important part of the national culture.

3.   To achieve the acquisition of awareness and feelings of identity through the knowledge of Guatemalan popular traditions.

Within this wide range of expressions that form Guatemalan traditional popular culture, and according to the field researches I have done, I consider that festivities and festivals of religious nature constitute the facts that contribute more effectively to connect the diverse groups that celebrate the same festivities, which are a result of the imposition made by the conquerors during the colonial period. Despite the imposition, the popular classes included these festivities to their culture, adding some elements of prehispanic religions they practiced.

B.   The mother tongue as a source of cultural identity

A person's mother tongue constitutes the personality of the group to which they belong. It is a means of identification regarding their culture and ethnic group. This identification provides authenticity to the person, roots them to their community and unites them with the rest of people. It is a factor that unifies and gives cohesion to the group.

UNESCO considers that the mother tongue is what offers a person better possibilities of expression. And in this tongue, a person can get a better learning. This has its origins in the widely accepted principle that states that the more efficient education is the one given in the mother tongue of the learner. It also highlights that development

programs that want to adjust to the population of a country, will only be successful if they are applied in the language or languages spoken by the people. [51]

Due to the unifying characteristics of the mother tongue and its broad didactic and pedagogic possibilities, many countries have shown interest in having a single national language achieve unity.

In countries in which the population speak different languages, the problem lies in which one should be the national language. In many cases, the majority language or official language is chosen, but this is not an appropriate solution since minority languages are kept out of educational and cultural programs.

As mentioned before, there are between 20 and 26 different languages in Guatemala, and each one of them provides cohesion to the ethnic groups and are part of their cultural identity.

I consider that there should not be a process of hispanization to educate, as it has been done for a long time. As explained above, it is proposed to teach in the mother tongue and in the culture of each group.

III. AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM ADAPTED TO THE MULTIETHNIC AND MULTICULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF GUATEMALA

According to what was expressed here, it is concluded that:

The Guatemalan educational system must be redirected in order to adapt to the multiethnic and multicultural characteristics of the country. To achieve this, the following aspects must be taken into account:

a.   To make a revision of the state educational policies in order to know, respect, and value the diverse ethnic groups and cultures of Guatemala.

b.   To readjust the study plans and programs current in the country in order to include the diverse languages and cultures of Guatemala, as well as achieve the inclusion of the traditional popular culture (folklore) in all educational levels of the system.

c.   To implement bilingual and bicultural education for the ethnic groups.

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[51] **"Lenguas, un tesoro que preserva" en El Correo de la UNESCO.** París, Francia, 1983. Pp. 6-7.

d.   To promote the creation of research institutes in the field of indigenous languages and cultures, as well as popular traditions, by means of the Ministry of Education and Universities, especially the Universidad de San Carlos.

POPULAR COMUNICATION AND
MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH

Elba Villatoro

INTRODUCTION

The health status of the population of third-world countries is far from achieving physical, mental, and social well-being, as it is promoted by the World Health Organization. This reality is not different in Guatemala.

Furthermore, the complex ethnic, social and cultural situation in Guatemala, makes necessary and relevant the participation of anthropologic studies and to include health in the cultural context. Frequently, the cultural context has been avoided, forgetting that culture plays an important role in the population decision making, both in etiology and in the treatment and prevention of the different diseases.

Experiences of anthropologic work in different rural areas of the country, especially in the central and western highlands, has allowed us to observe closely the health conditions.

Most of these populations develop in unacceptable human conditions, which severely affects their health.

Women, in this particular case indigenous women, are limited even in their most basic rights: health, education, recreation, etc. Logically, this is due to socioeconomic and cultural factors that have formed barriers of different nature throughout history, and because, at the moment, the creation of specific and suitable programs to reach women population have not been encouraged.

The problem of indigenous women and education, which is a decisive factor important to recover and keep their health and that of their progeny, was what motivated us to accept the initial proposal presented by Mrs. Giovanna Caravaggi, the Projects

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Official of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund —UNICEF—, to go deep into the field, where ethnomedicine interrelates with popular communication and education.

Lastly, the author wants to make patent their gratitude to Dr. Franca Suvâ, of the Organization Médecins Sans Frontières from Suiza, for her collaboration in the bibliographic revision and for her support in the development of this study.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Due to the underdevelopment presented in Guatemala, which has worsened in recent years because of political, economic, and social crisis, the country has increasingly higher levels of poverty, and the institutional efforts to provide health to populations in need are deficient and insufficient.

In terms of health coverage, the population is unprotected since, from the 6.65 million inhabitants that constitute the population liable to be treated by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance, only 1.97 million inhabitants are treated, that is 35% of the total. From the remaining 3.67 million inhabitants, which are the majority, 65% is left totally or partially unprotected.[52]

It must be taken into account that the official health programs have a marked emphasis in curative aspects and are mainly focused on urban areas.[53]

Faced with this problem, the most affected are indigenous populations, who constitute the majority of population (from 60% to 65%) and that, because their historic development, live in rural areas. It must not be ignored the fact that this population has suffered of a marked marginalization over almost fifty hundred years because of its social stratification and its ethnic condition.

This becomes evident with the infant morbidity figures caused by diseases, which are mostly due socioeconomic factors (low income, overcrowding, lack of academic formation, lack of environmental sanitation, etc.). It must be taken into account that in the

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[52] Secretaría General de Planificación. Proyecciones Regionales de Población. Guatemala, 1984.

[53] Carlos Gehlert Mata. Vida, Enfermedad y Muerte en Guatemala. Ed. Universitaria, Guatemala, C. A., 1980

data registered by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance, is excluded the data of populations that do not go to official health services for different reasons, such as inaccessibility, or distrust towards the health personnel because of culturally different medical practices.

Regarding maternal and child health, the institutional efforts are equally deficient and insufficient. It is estimated that, by 1985, the female population in reproductive years was of 99.825 women, who mostly did not were in good health. This is reflected on the figures of maternal and child morbidity and mortality.[54]

This figures must be added to the fourth cause of morbidity of children under one year of age, which is birth injuries and obstructed labor.[55]

Concerning women' nutrition and diet, it is considered that pregnancy plays a very important role because of the health implications for both, mother and child.

It is known that nutritional deficiency during pregnancy is associated with low birth weight and consequently, damage in the mental development, and increase of infant mortality.[56-57-58]

The data registered in the departments of the Guatemalan highlands is alarming; some of the departments in which this study was carried out are Sololá, Totonicapán, Quetzaltenango, Huehuetenango and Chimaltenango, which preset the highest figures out of the national average.

According to projections made by SEGEPLAN (General Department of Planning by its acronym in Spanish)[59], it is estimated that from 1980 to 2000 the population of some departments will increase at a faster rate compared to the national level. Among the

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[54] Unidad informática del Ministerio de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social, 1979.

[55] Idem.

[56] Delgado H., et. al. Lactation in rural Guatemala: nutritional effects on mother and infants. Food Nutr. Bull. 1985, 7, (1), 15-25.

[57] Hofrander, Y. Nutrición materno-infantil. Montevideo, UNESCO, 1983, pp. 9-20. Serie de educación sobre nutrición.

[58] Assignment Children. A child survival and development revolution. 1983. UNICEF 61/62.

[59] Secretaría General de Planificación. Proyecciones Regionales de Población, Guatemala, 1984.

departments that will present the highest figures are Huehuetenango with 90.6%, Sololá with 87%, and the remaining ones with 52% to 78%. This data is extremely important to consider the effect of population dynamics in health problems, and that is why alternatives must be taken to achieve a less unequal development compared to the one that has been presented in the country until now.

HEALTH AND CULTURAL FACTORS

There has been a tendency to consider health problems from a biologic perspective; equally, it has been recognized that many problems are caused by socioeconomic factors, but cultural factors present in big populations, and that have an impact in the benefit or deterioration of health, have been avoided.

Since the 1950's, anthropologist researchers[60-61] have made known that two medical systems coexist, especially in third-world countries, the bio-medical system and the bio-cultural system, which relations have been generally of disdain, clash or antagonism.

It was until 1978, in the Declaration of Alma-ata, when within its strategies to achieve that all people of the world can achieve a good health by 2000 to a better development and productivity, it was recommended to take into consideration the traditional medical culture, and in that way, to avoid the failure of the different health projects.

Despite this acknowledgement, in Guatemala, the official health system responds to a western bio-medical model, which high-cost technology is not suitable to the socioeconomic reality of the country.

Given the cultural complexity of the country, the anthropological studies made related to this topic, in particular about knowledge, behaviors and medical practices in rural areas are meager; nevertheless, these highlight that cultural factors combined with lack of academic and maternal and child education, have an impact within the family in therapeutic and nutritional decision making. As an example, rural women does not ingest

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[60] Paul Benjamín D. The cultural context of Health Education. Symposium Proceedings. School of Social Work. Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1953.

[61] Foster George. The new field of medical anthropology in Medical Anthropology, Washington Wiley, 1978.

foodstuffs culturally classified as "of cold effect" during pregnancy, which limits the ingestion of the few foodstuffs available at home. Also, this restrict the already deficient diet during the last trimester of pregnancy to avoid fat children (2,500 g according to their conception), firstly, because of the weight that represents to do the heavy daily tasks, and secondly, for fear of a complicated birth.

Of course, these fears are associated to the difficult access to hospitals and to the rejection of culturally different obstetrical practices.[62-63-64-65-66]

Regarding social communication, its importance is undeniable. It is through it that individual interaction is possible and comprehensible, constitutes the base on which men are considered social beings capable of cooperate with others and carry our socially useful activities. Communications makes art, science, and literature equally possible and comprehensible.

The basic resource of communication that relates the person with the social environment is language, that is, the accumulation of human experiences symbolized. It is important to highlight that language is words based in a reality and represent it; in the same way, words are not things, but symbols that represent things, so they constitute the core of an effective communication.[67]

In this regard, Herkovits believes that, contrary to animals, men are defined by their symbolic function, and culture can be represented with various symbolic systems – language, myths, art, economy, etc. Through these systems, communication between

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[62] Elba Villatoro y Elena Hurtado. Estudio sobre nutrición y salud en una comunidad de Huehuetenango. Informe final. INCAP, 1985.

[63] Walter Stuardo Mejicanos V. Conocimientos, creencias y prácticas tradicionales sobre alimentación de la mujer durante el embarazo en una comunidad rural (San Antonio Palopó, Sololá). Fac. de Ciencias Médicas, USAC, Tesis, 1987

[64] Hurtado Elena. Estudio de las características y prácticas de las comadronas tradicionales en una comunidad indígena del altiplano de Guatemala. En Etnomedicina en Guatemala, Centro de Estudios Folklóricos, USAC, 1984.

[65] Elba Villatoro. El baño de vapor tradicional un recurso terapéutico en el altiplano guatemalteco. **La tradición popular**, No. 59. Centro de Estudios Folklóricos, USAC, 1986.

[66] Elba Villatoro. Prácticas y creencias médicas en una comunidad indígena de Guatemala. **Tradiciones de Guatemala**, No. 28. Centro de Estudios Folklóricos, USAC, 1987.

[67] Los Medios de Comunicación Social. Estudio sobre Comunicación Pública. Rec. Introd. Y Comentarios de Charles S. Steinberg. Ed. Roble, México 1979.

men of a same community is established.[68] This defines that the media are messages made with symbolic systems and destined to culturally different human groups; they can be incomprehensible, distorted and ineffective for what is being pursued.

At present, massive media has reached a scientific technological development unprecedented and constitute an excellent, carrier to the dissemination of new ideas and practices. Nevertheless, these ideas and practices are oriented to urban populations, since messages are disseminated in the official language and structured according to the mercantile interests and ideologies of hegemonic groups. Furthermore, researches about the impact these produce in the population and how they influence behavior changes, are very few.

In Guatemala the media that are currently available are: 5 television channels, 122 radio stations, 43 in the capital and 69 in the departments. Written press consists of 4 newspapers: Prensa Libre, El Gráfico, La Hora, and the official newspaper Diario de Centro América. In 1987, the magazines "Organismo Judicial" and "Crónica" came out.[69]

Television broadcasting is limited to urban areas. According to studies made by INCAP (Nutrition Institute of Central America and Panama by its acronym in Spanish), it only covers 26% of the 18,240 families interviewed nationwide.[70] Sandoval mentions that television broadcasting covers only 30% to 35% of the territory of Guatemala and El Salvador jointly.[71]

Dissemination of written press is equally limited, since only 15% to 20% of the population has access to it.[72] This is due to the high cost of newspapers and the high levels of illiteracy registered in the country. Even though illiteracy figures are confusing, according to estimations made in 1984, it varies from 42% to 54%.[73]

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[68] Herkovits Melville. El hombre y sus obras. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1974.

[69] Villacorta O. Manuel R. La Comunicación Social en Guatemala. Sobre los medios y otros apuntes. Editorial Plus Ultra, Guatemala, 1987.

[70] INCAP. Conocimientos, Actitudes y Prácticas en salud y nutrición. Borrador mimeografiado. Guatemala, 1987.

[71] Sandoval F. J. ¿Redescubriendo la radio? Producción y uso de materiales radiales en apoyo a programas de supervivencia infantil. Memoria 2, UNICEF, 1986.

[72] Villacorta O. Manuel R. Op. Cit.

[73] Dirección de Alfabetización y Educación de Adultos del Ministerio de Educación. Guatemala 1984.

According to SEGEPLAN, the levels of illiteracy registered in rural areas reach 76.9%, being higher in indigenous population, where it reaches levels of up to 61%, in contrast to 39% registered in mestizo population.

It is convenient to highlight that illiteracy in the departments chosen to carry out this study reaches the following figures: 71% in Huehuetenango, 56% in Sololá, 47% in Chimaltenango and 61% in Totonicapán.[74]

Regarding radio broadcasting, the coverage it offers is higher than the one of the rest of the massive media. According to studies made by INCAP in 1987, 66% of the families interviewed reported to have a radio receiver, with a 95.6% of functioning devices and used practically daily. Most audience is focused on the transmission of ranchera music, music in marimba, and news.[75]

As for education about health, researchers of the World Bank and the Pan-American Health Organization, have found a close relation between education and maternal and child morbidity. The more educational level, less impact on the problem aforementioned.[76] In this sense, the media plays an important role since they are resources capable of carrying messages to a great amount of people simultaneously.

In the case of Guatemala, according to the previous data, the radio could be the best carrier of dissemination of health messages. Nevertheless, the socioeconomic and cultural circumstances represent a very special problem that demands approaches and resolutions adapted to the reality of the country, and not indiscriminate copies of experiences in other countries.

In relation to the above, radio transmission of educational messages finds among its main problems the following:

Linguistic barriers. Guatemala is a multilingual state, since there are 23 languages with its corresponding dialects and, according to Herrera, this multilingualism is consolidated in vigorous historic roots, from which secularly established linguistic communities emerge. To this date, the establishment of an efficient communication network among its inhabitants has not been achieved. The state has not proposed

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[74] Secretaría de Planificación Económica. Proyecciones Regionales de Población. Guatemala, 1984.

[75] INCAP. Conoc., Act. y Pract. Op. cit.

[76] Cochrane, S. H., et. al. "The Effects of Education on Health". Women Education Health, PAHO. Mujeres en Salud y Desarrollo en las Américas (Pub. Científica No. 464). Wash. D.C., 1984.

concrete policies for the general treatment of these languages, and therefore, there has been a high level of monolingualism in the inside of communities.[77] This erects blinguistc barriers at various levels: 1st, the largest number of transmitted messages are in Spanish, the population with a clear understanding of them is few, and even when they understand them, the vocabulary, rhythm, and intonation used in the different messages constitute an obstacle; 2nd, when translations to Mayan languages are used, as the translations to Mam, Kekchí, Cakchiquel, and Tzutujil that have been found, translations to the different dialects of these languages are not made.

According to Cojtí, because of these reasons, radiophonic messages are not considered as relevant or important by indigenous people, and they are received with indifference and laxity.[78]

According to UNICEF, the production of radiophonic programs with translation of messages both in Spanish and in Quiché, Mam, Kekchí, Cakchiquel, Pocomchí and others is carried out with the aim that indigenous population, which is the majority, benefits from these messages; nevertheless, an evaluation about the perception of them has not been done.[79]

RATIONALE

Communication and health education have actions that emphasize the encouragement and protection of health. The management of certain strategies of social communication that allow to make known effectively messages oriented to the prevention and encouragement of maternal and child health in the different communities of the country, is fundamental. In the same way, to broadcast messages that contribute to increase or improve the quality of life of populations that live in poverty, which constitute the majority in the country.

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[77] Herrera, Guillermina. Informe II Congreso Lingüístico Nacional. Ministerio de Educación. Homenaje al CL Aniversario de Fundación Instituto Indigenista Nacional 1945-1985. Sept., 1985.

[78] Cojtí, Demetrio C. La penetración de la radiofonía en las comunicaciones tradicionales mayenses. Tesis Licenciatura. Escuela de Ciencias de la Comunicación. USAC, 1983.

[79] Producción y uso de materiales radiales. En apoyo a programas de supervivencia infantil. UNICEF. Sept. 1986.

In this sense, is undeniable that economic factors are determining in these situations; therefore, the objective that these populations can make the most of the resources at their disposal, which are wasted in many cases.

On this matter, to support the maternal and child health programs and achieve a better effectiveness of them, it is necessary to know widely the communication networks that exist internally in strictly different populations. When talking about "internally", understand this as interpersonal communication, as orality, which in many cases, either follows or feeds itself with cultural elements belonging to other neighboring cultures, or takes elements of communication belonging to a culture foreign to them; this is the case of most messages broadcasted through radio, press or television.

It is known that traditional social communication in any of its forms can be used to disseminate health messages, erase cultural barriers and encourage community participation.[80]

So far, examples of different ways of dissemination have been produced in different countries, with messages about maternal and child health[81], nutrition[82], and family planning[83], using techniques such as puppets[84-85] or prestidigitation.[86]

In Mexico, a very common means of traditional social communication in health are the shows of *merolicos*[i]*,* who combine the benefits of social communications and

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[80] Beglie, G. H. L'utilisation. des forms de comunication traditionnelles dans la diffusion des mesaggesde santé. Etude critique. OMS, MCH 85. 1985.

[81] E. Bushra. Perl S. S., Nigeria, My Brother's Children. Family Planning Education in Action. Int. Extention, CLL/IPPI. 1976.

[82] Fishman, P. B. Teaching Nutrition with Magin. J. Am. Diet. Assoc. **77**(5) 580-582. 1980.

[83] IPPF/UNESCO. Formes de communication traditionnelles: moyens moderns de diffusion et planification familiale. 1972.

[84] Aloysius C. Can puppets be effective communicators? Project Support Communications Newsletter, **7**(3). 1983.

[85] Walsh S. Puppet helpers. Paediatr. Nurs. **6**(2), **47**. 1980.

[86] Fishman, P.B. Op. cit.

[i] **Translator's note:** According to the definition given by the cited work (see 36), merolicos are Mexican medicine 'showmen," who use techniques ranging from ventriloquism to snake-handling to sell medicinal products.

interpersonal communication channels. These programs were evaluated and reported noticeable changes in behaviors, attitudes and practices that were not limited to a single objective, but they reached other health fields.[87]

In Guatemala, a pilot study was carried out in an estate in the south coast in 1975. This study consisted of 15 recordings of 15 minutes about health in cassettes. These recordings were played in the three public washing areas in the mornings and in the afternoons for three weeks. The success of the experience was evaluated at the level of information and showed positive results.[88]

The experiences in the country regarding studies of this nature are very few, there are not evaluations nor studies carried out in rural areas.

PROSPECTS AND PRIORITIES

Among the main ones is the creation of maternal and child health programs, based on the existing and culturally accepted social communication models in the rural areas of the country.

In this sense, it is fundamental to know the sources, methods and networks of communal communication, its use, management and introduction to the interior of the communities. In the same way, to detect what the communication process is, that is, the communal opinion forming and its impact in the creation of basic criteria in the decision making at home. Since it is a program oriented to maternal and child health, it is equally important to research about the beliefs, behaviors and practices that intervene in the health-disease process of the pairing mother-child.

Since it is a deep study carried out in the interior of communities, it is recommended the use of the ethnographic method, which constitutes the set of techniques of the anthropologic work. Among them are unstructured interviews, structured interviews, direct, indirect and participant observation, formal and informal conversations with different members of the communities, as well as recordings, photographs and shootings.

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[87] Simone J. J., et al. Merolicos and Helath Education. Bull. Pan. Am. Health Org. 17(1): 4-13. 1983.

[88] Fernández, S. and R. D. Colle. Comunicación en la Pila. Cycle, F. O. New York, 1977.

Both, the field research and the qualitative data analysis can be based on the manual "Field Guide for the study of Health Seaking Behavior at the Hausehold Level"[89], ant its revised edition Rapid Assessment Procedures for Nutrition and Primary Health Care.[90]

The first one has been translated to Spanish with the name Manual de Estudios Antropológicos Aplicados a Salud y Nutrición[91], which also provides the basic tools for the information gathering in social communication and education.

This manual has already been tested in Guatemala and other countries with similar problems and has been used in researches of different disciplines related to the health area, for example, medicine, nutrition, psychology, social work, etc.

Regarding the selection of samples, the following characteristics must be taken into account: communities in which high rates of mother and child morbidity and mortality are registered, little or no access to institutionalized health services due to different aspects such as geographic, economic and/or cultural inaccessibility, belonging to different ethnic or linguistic groups, predominantly indigenous populations and consequently, populations belonging to rural areas.

To obtain information as thorough as possible of both, the media and the aspects related to ethnomedicine, the research must be carried out at two levels:

a)   At the household level, it must be selected a random or intentioned sample of a certain number of families depending on the scale of the study. The house of the household will be interviewed.

b)   At the community level, the interviewees will be the lay and religious leaders recognized by the target community. Also, health personnel of the official system (doctors, nurses, health technicians, promoters, etc.) and of the traditional system (healers, midwifes, folk medicine bonesetters, etc.).

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[89] Scrimshaw S. C. M., E. Hurtado. Field Guide for the study of Health Seaking Behavior at the Hausehold Level. Food and Nutrition Bull, 1985 6(2): 27-45. 1984.

[90] Scrimshaw S. C. M., E. Hurtado. Rapid Assessment Procedures for Nutrition and Primary Health Care. Anthropological Approaches to Improving Programe Effectiveness. The United Nations University, Tokio, UNICEF, UCLA Latin American Center, 1987.

[91] Hurtado, Elena. Manual de Estudios Antropológicos Aplicados a Salud y Nutrición. Guatemala, INCAP, 1985.

Finally, and as a product of a study of this nature, valuable information about models and customs of social communication accepted in communities under study, with what suggestions in its application to Health Education Programs can be offered.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is worrying to observe the health situation in which rural areas of the country, especially indigenous populations, are caught up in; the rates of illiteracy, the accelerated level in which these populations increase and, even more worrying is to realize that the policies adopted to offer health coverage does not keep up with the needs of the population.

It is not unknown that this problem has a close relation with economic bases and it is far from being believed that this population, which constitutes the groups more vulnerable to decisions such as the accelerated increase of the prices of basic products or the valuation of medicines in dollars, can raise their livelihoods and consequently, improve their health conditions in the short or medium term.

It is also known that the meager educational programs are oriented to mestizo groups from urban and urban-rural areas. Because of this, monolingual female indigenous population present a high rate of illiteracy.

In the complexity of this problem converge multiple factors that should not be considered in isolation, nor with solutions based on models alien to the historic, economic, and sociocultural reality of this country.

Experiences both in other countries and in Guatemala show that education, and maternal and child morbidity and mortality have a close relation. Then, all health education programs should be oriented to women, taking into account that she is sometimes the first provider of health care in her quality of mother, sister, grandmother, neighbor, healer, etc.

It is clear that if the objective is to eradicate the shameful figures of illiteracy, infant mortality, and malnutrition, to wait to educate to all the population is not an option, so fast and effective alternatives must be searched.

In this sense, it is considered that the media can be an efficient carrier of to disseminate health messages. But, before introducing them, the traditional media, that is

those that are produced in the interior of communities and that have receptiveness and are trusted by the population, must be known in depth. Models of social communication that are culturally accepted must be created in order to implement maternal and child health education programs.

Only by knowing the different cultural elements and creating educational programs according to the sociocultural context of the country, institutional efforts and the few resources available to the indigenous populations, which are wasted in many cases because of cultural factors, can be used to the fullest.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PHENOMENOLOGY AND ORGANOLOGY OF DRUM MUSIC OF GARIFUNAS FROM GUATEMALA

Alfonso Arrivillaga Cortés[92]

0. INTRODUCTION

In the magazine Tradiciones de Guatemala No. 29 (1988), we presented a work titled ***Apuntes sobre los Toques de tambor entre los Garífuna de Guatemala***, in which it was made a brief sociohistorical approach about Garifunas, as well as, some concise considerations about the ethnography of the musical phenomenon and musicians: musical school, performance techniques, musical instruments, tuning, hiring of performers, texts of songs, dance, the relation musician-dancer, and specifically, it was discussed the traditional beats of the drum.

In these pages, we refer to the musical phenomenology and the (acoustic and timbral) organology of the Garifuna drum **Garaón**, the rattle **Sisira** or **Chichira** and of the **Illawoü**, in order to carry out a first approach to this topic. It is clear that the topic to be discussed is too broad to be addressed in its entirety in this article, and given the shortness of space it is not possible to address the topic more deeply.

PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE TRADITIONAL BEATS FOR DRUMS, RATTLES AND SINGING. Brief Considerations.

The following information must be considered as a first advance about drum beats of Garifunas. Only the systematization of these musical studies, and the analysis and

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[92] The style and writing of this article is the sole responsibility of the author.

comparison of the results with other similar works, will give us standards to achieve a better understanding of this musical phenomenon.[1]

We must highlight that there is no bibliography about this topic. On one hand, Isabel Aretz makes reference and an analysis of a "YANKUNU" beat of the Garifunas of Honduras, but this work does not provide any further explanations about the integral musical phenomenon.[2]

On the other hand, Nancie Solien de González informed us about some recordings of traditional music of Garifunas gathered by her, which have been analyzed by Alan Merrian. Unfortunately, we do not have the results of said researches.[3]

2. TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ANALYSIS

The transcriptions[4] and analysis that will be presented below, have the aim of find and show the elements and characteristics of this music (form, structure, melodies, rhythms, etc.). The models presented are the most common in the performances of drum music. Due to the shortness of space it was not possible to include in this work a series of graphs that accompanies each musical transcription. These have been made in graph paper to show the exact duration and pitch of each tone with the purpose of having a better display of its ambitus and meter.

In the same way, the analysis of each score has been omitted; instead, a general conclusion of the Garifunal musical phenomenon is provided at the end.

To ethnomusicologists interested in consult this material, you can check out the files of this center.

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[1] This chapter has had the valuable guidance of the work made by the musicologist Antonio Cosenza **DIE TRADITIONELLE MUSIK AUS LIVINGSTON/IZABAL/GUATEMALA FUR GARAON (TROMMEL), CHICHIRA (RASSEL) UND GESANG**, (Hamburg: Degree thesis), 1987. Cosenza and the author of this article are preparing a more thorough study about the music and dance of Guatemalan Garifunas.

[2] Cfr. Isabel Aretz. Síntesis sobre la Etnomúsica en América Latina. (Caracas, Venezuela: Monte Avila, Editores, 1980). P. 172.

[3] Comunicación personal, 1983.

[4] Cosenza. Op. Cit. Pp. 44-82.

Furthermore, for the notation some additional symbols were used since they are necessary due to the difficulty of the traditional musical writing regarding the problem of the register of microtones. These symbols are:

$(\, _\prime\,)$ A tone difficult to hear (in magnetophonic recordings) or intoned in different pitches simultaneously by more than two singers.

♯   A quarter tone higher than normal

♭   A quarter tone lower than normal

↑   A slightly higher note (lower than ♯)

↓   A slightly lower note (lower than ♭)

Regarding percussion:

✗   A tone difficult to hear (in recordings)

The letters on the left of transcriptions indicate the following:

S =   Soloist (singer)

G¹ =   "First Garaon" – "First drum" (First drum)

G² =   "Second Garaon" – "Second drum" (Second drum)

Ch =   "Chichira or Sísira" (Rattles)

Due to the difficulty or ambiguity present in the correct usage of the **tonal** musical figure to describe the first degree in these musical expressions, it will be used the term **main tone** instead.

In addition to the above, there is one more rhythm called **mixture**, which, just as its name indicates, is a mixture of the rhythms jungüjugü and punta. This time, the rhythm structures of these genres will not be included since they are going to be the object of study of another work of the same author.

2.1 Remarks about the transcriptions

About the forms:

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In the transcriptions presented, some characteristics and peculiar elements of this music at a general level can be appreciated and mentioned. The musical form is structured by means of the imitation of a motif and variants of it, but always keeping the idea of symmetrical periods, which frequently appear as a reiterative form and provides the songs a compound structure.

In singing, two responsorial forms or types appear:

In the first form, question and immediate answer phrases are repeated and reiterated. The second form presents questions and answers without repetition. Here, the secondary parts of the songs are usually sung by the choir.

In this context, due to the exact meter of the songs, the soloist does not have the opportunity to improvise.

About the scales

Although the 3rd, 6th, or 7th degree are missing in some cases, some scales used as higher or lower can be interpreted. The main tone sometimes appears at the beginning of the songs and almost always at the end of the songs.

The 1st, 3rd and 5th degree usually appear in longer tones, thus establishing the key. From these degrees the largest **melodic intervals** or skips are executed, which never surpass the **perfect fifth**.

The remaining degrees (2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th) appear in short tones. The melody is conducted in these degrees, usually in intervals of seconds. The melodic development appears in **descending** form, therefore, the melody never ends in a high tone of the scale used. **Continuous syncope** is another typical element in melodies of this music.

Furthermore, the ambitus usually covers an octave, in which the soloist sings the highest tones and the choir sing the lowest tones, with the exception of some particular cases, of course.

The singing is practiced in unison, sometimes mixing in little fragments the phrases of the soloist with the ones of the choir, during which simultaneous intervals (thirds, octaves, fifths) appear. Sometimes these **simultaneous intervals** appear even if the singer does not find the ambitus not appropriate for their voice and thus sings in the major or minor octave in relation to the natural octave.

The melodic rhythm can be divided into two forms: a first form in which the accent of the melody is oriented to the **base rhythm** (percussion), and a second form in which the melodic rhythm is oriented more freely in relation to the percussion, from which result a polyrhythmic form.

The function of percussion is the following:

The **second garaón** (second drum) and the **sísira** perform continuous rhythms. The **first garaón** (first drum) is played more freely and in a more varied way. Nevertheless, rhythmical periods can be established, which always reappear in form of recurring musical phrases or **leitmotifs** and are identified by the base rhythm of this instrument.

In **Punta**, it could be established a direct relation in form of reaction between the **first garaón** and the soloist singing. Sometimes, this relation appears but not clearly (tremolo singing).

2.2 Colophon

The remarks above must be considered as a first advance in this field of ethnomusicology. The hypothesis of this work that appear a posteriori at the moment of carrying out this analysis are numerous, among which we can mention the following:

Are the Chumba and Sambay forms identical? What relation exists between the Hungüjügü for festivities and Hungüjügü for Chugu? Does saraband has a relation of European origin?

Nevertheless, the key question is, what relation does Garifuna music has with African music, and in what specific place of Africa does it have its origin?

Regarding the last question, we are conscious that this topic does not develop specifically in this phenomenological analysis.

Lastly, we expect that this first approach can document future researches that allow the comparison between African music and Garifuna music.

Translator's note: Example No. 2.   Jungüjugü beat (ritual andfestive base)
Transcription: Antonio Cosenza.   Collectors: Cosenza – Arrevillaga.   Revision and Copy: Enrique Anleu Diaz.

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EJ. No3. Toque de Wanaragua (Yankunu).
Transcripción Antonio Cosenza
Colectores: Cosenza - Arrivillaga
Revisión y Copia de Enrique Anleu Díaz

Translator's note: Example No. 4.   Saradande beat.
Transcription: Antonio Cosenza.   Collectors: Cosenza – Arrevillaga.   Revision and Copy: Enrique Diaz.

Translator's note: Example No. 5.   Gunyei beat.
Transcription: Antonio Cosenza.   Collectors: Cosenza – Arrevillaga.   Revision and Copy: Enrique Diaz.

Translator's note: Example No. 6.   Chumba-Sambay beat.

Transcription: Antonio Cosenza.   Collectors: Cosenza – Arrevillaga.   Revision and Copy: Enrique Diaz.

Two Garifunas, Francisco Baltazar and Patricio Cayetano, playing the first and second garaón accompanied by the singing of two women. Place: Aguasagari, Livingston, Izabal. (House of Tomás García), December 1986. (Photography: Daniel Hernández).

3. ORGANOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF GARIFUNA INSTRUMENTS ACCORDING TO HORNBOSTEL-SACHS[5]

Name of the instrument: GARAON

Organological Classification: 211.221.184

Barrel drum membranophone, a drumhead, rope tie, with tension wedges.

Description: Drum with characteristics of Afro-Caribbean construction; usually, two or more drums are played. One of them is bigger than the other (the **first drum** measures 50 x 60 cm approximately, while the **second drum** measures 60 x 70 cm approximately), the latter being known as base drum or second. The other is called first drum and it is in charge of doing the drumbeats. This drum differentiates from others Afro-American drums because of its tension system. It is worth to highlight the use of wedges that stretch the ropes with the purpose of tense the drumheads of the drums. Also, logs are used to beat the drum hoop of the drumhead and keep it tensed.

Name of the instrument: SISIRA

Organological Classification: 112.131

Percussion vessel idiophone with handle.

Description: An instrument used together with the drums. Consist in a classic rattle, although the proportions of this instrument (7 cm radius approximately and a handle approximately 20 cm long) are larger than the rest of rattles present in the Republic of Guatemala. Usually, one of the rattles has more weight than the other.

Name of the instrument: ILLAWOU

Organological Classification: 112.111

Idiophones, rattles, numerous rows of rope.

Description: A series of seashells (Donax Variabilis), hanging in different rows on a fabric, which is placed in the knee of the dancers. Thanks to the versatility of their

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[5] Hornbostel, Erich M. von und Sachs, Curt. **Sistematik der Musikinstrument Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie.** (Berlin, 1914).

movements when they dance, the dancers produce a sound created by the clashing of the seashells.

CONCLUSIONS

As we have demonstrated in this work, the Garifuna musical universe is more varied than it is presented here. Only the systematic study of these expressions will allow us to have approaches more accurate of the reality under study. The phenomenological analysis demonstrates the variety of musical forms among the traditional beats of drums. To the extent that such researches can be continued, we will be able to track more accurately the origin and history of these expressions. At the organological level, the analysis of the Garaón, refer us to a membranophone, unique in the Afro-American world, especially, if we take into account the characteristics of the tension of the sound producer drumhead.

Both, the phenomenological analysis and the organological analysis preset distinctive features that are necessary to study, and which are part of a medium and long-term project that we propose to carry out.

First garaón, first drum. See the tensioning system by means of thumbtacks and a forlonera (guitar strings or thick fishing line) on top of the drumhead. (Photography: A. Arrivillaga).

Second garaón, second drum. It has the same details as the previous drum, but does not have the ends of the ropes at the end of the drum body. It can be appreciated the proportions of the instrument in relation to the human body in the background. (Photography: A. Arrivillaga).

Young Garifunas, Horacio Alvarez and Mariano Sánchez, playing the first and second garaón in motion during the festivity of St. Isidore the Laborer in Livingston, Izabal. May, 1985. (Photography: A. Arrivillaga).

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SOME DATA ABOUT PRINTED MUSIC
IN GUATEMALA

By Enrique Anleu Díaz[*]

The history of music printing in Guatemala has rich statements that show us the importance that it acquired through time, from the manuscripts with the use limited to the Church, to the needs that arose in the process of dissemination and teaching of the rules of musical discipline.

The work "Suma de todas las reglas del canto llano" written by Brother Antonio Martínez y Coll, printed in 1750 in Guatemala, and property of the Museum of the Ancient Book in Antigua Guatemala, can be considered as an important printed antecedent of musical writing since, in addition to the theoretical-literary description, the work includes examples that constitute without a doubt clear statements of musical writing.

In the "explanation" about the "musical hand" contained in this work, it can be noticed that the clef and musical symbols appear on the side of the index finger, the ring finger and the little finger. To this early example of printed music, we could add the attempt of priest D. Juan José Padilla, who published "Arte de Aritmética Práctica" in the middle of the 18th century and whose publications were cut short; among his unpublished works we can mention "Arte de Música Combinatoria con que aún los menos diestros pueden componer fácilmente". He was a "rare talent", as is described by Meléndez Chaverri, who died in 1649 and left many manuscripts of various topics. (La Ilustración en el Reino de Guatemala, by Carlos Meléndez Chaverri—p. 53—Ed. Universitaria Centroamericana, 1st. Edition, 1971, Costa Rica).

The 19th century present changes regarding the direction taken by musical productions and the esthetic needs that were demanded by the grow and transformation of the metropolis; with this, the printing of music for numerous uses acquired a role of extreme importance.

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[*] The style and writing of this article is the sole responsibility of the author.

According to data of our musical history, the first work of Guatemalan music printed abroad arrived to Guatemala in 1839; it was a work by the Guatemalan guitarist José Domingo Sol and was edited by the trader Guillermo Hall in England.

The historian Rafael Vásquez provides us an important piece of information about Benedicto Sáenz (1815-1857), who, in the middle of the 19th century, gave the order to print a mass in Paris. In Guatemala in 1867, it was founded a musical printing house by Mr. Domingo Toyotti, in which editions of national music were made.

Vásquez himself refers that in 1887, some pieces by Guatemalan authors were published in "El Album Filarmónico", edited by A. Löwenthal.

At the end of the 19th century, the publication of written music should have been very prolific and in high demand since the problem of the protection musical property began to be considered. Related to this, Mr. Eleázaro Asturias suggest a project that would benefit authors and musical editors, based on the need of guarantee the national production "protecting it from exploitation and saving it from oblivion" (Vásquez, p. 287).

According to this project, the basis of it required, firstly, the founding of a society in which composers collaborate with their works and, secondly, the establishment of a registry office in which all pieces in circulation, the pieces existing in particular archives of ancient authors, and the future pieces were registered.

The office ruled by detailed regulations would form the National Museum of Music; it would guarantee the musical property and would provide orchestral material for public services, through the payment of certain rights correspondent to the associates (C.V., p. 287).

Much of the music edited in the printing houses of the 19th century helped to the dissemination of composers' names, such is the case of Lorenzo Morales, of whom we published a photo in an edition of 1881 approximately, and in which figure the polkas La Circunstancia, La Mariposa, and Concha. At the end of the 19th century, musical editing was also carried out in the National Typographer, and in the Typographer of Arturo Siguere. Among the numerous publications made in this typographer and that were for sale in the music repertoire of G. Asturias and Company, located at 7a. Avenida Sur, printings or editions of works of the distinguished Rafael Castillo were made, and in which appear his waltzes "Flores Centroamericanas", "En el Mar", and "Primavera", his gavotte

"Concha", his mazurka "Acuarela Musical" and his two-step "Halley", in memory of the occurrence of the heavenly phenomenon.

In the National Typographer there is a wealth of printed works both, in quantity and in quality of editions, with music of important authors of the time. Thus, in copies I had the opportunity to check, among the works of Fabián Rodríguez, there is a march, "Victoria", from 1898 and dedicated to the dictator Estrada Cabrera. Other works of this publishing house correspond to different years at the end of the 19ᵗʰ century and at the beginning of the 20ᵗʰ century.

The Central Lithograph that was located in this capital at 8va. Avenida Sur No. 37, edited, on September 1887, a "Popular Anthem" with lyrics by Mr. Ramón P. Molina, which was winner in a contest sent to the politic headquarters and in which maestros Leopoldo Cantilena, Lorenzo Morales and Axel C. Holmes acted as qualifying jury. This "Popular Anthem", with music of Rafael Alvarez won a second contest and consequently was established as the National Anthem we currently have.

Important editions were made by Mr. Julián Paniagua Martínez in the "Ant. J. Benjamín's Music Printing House" in Hamburg at the beginning of the current century. It is the case of the waltz "Valeria" with music composed by Paniagua himself and dedicated to Estrada Cabrera, as well as his "Saludo al Siglo XX", also from this German publishing house.

Other examples of Guatemalan music printed abroad correspond to a series of songs written by the Guatemalan composer Miguel Angel Sandoval edited in the G. Schirmer publishing house in New York, 1940. Other songs by the same author edited by the Dallas Delkas Music Publishing and the Peer International Corporation of New York in 1932, are provided to me by mezzo-soprano Gloria Susana Castañeda.

There are some printed publications of Rafael Castillo in Guatemala, from 1897 by Fr. Gutsch Karlsruhe. The National Typograph published an album of compositions awarded in a contest organized by the national broadcaster "La Voz de Guatemala"; the album contains four sones, four popular songs, and a lied song, and was released in December, 1939.

It should be added the musical editions of "Cantilena y Pierri", which was a publishing house from the end of the 19ᵗʰ century, located in Guatemala City, and which printed 74 compositions by different authors among which we can mention Julián

González, Manuel Moraga, Víctor M. Figueroa, Leopoldo Canrilena, Lorenzo Morales and Lucas Paniagua, with mazurkas, polkas, waltzes, marches and the overture "El Perfume de la Infancia" in piano reduction as well as all the compositions of this collection.

Thanks to the kindness of the photographer Manuel Guerra Caravantes we could appreciate, revise and some observations of said editions since, thanks to his collection, we could have on our hands many of the copies of this publishing house to study them.

A piece of information that is important to record refers to the fact that, in the De Carrera theater or "Colón" theater, as it was called later, according to cello player Luis Gaytán who used to play in the orchestra organized to play in the performances of this hall, there was a "Theater Typograph", which printed music and the tickets for the performances (report provided by Lic.[*] Celso A. Lara Figueroa from a dialogue with maestro Gaytán).

Maestro Ricardo Castillo, who stayed many years in Paris, printed a work for piano called "Trois Morceaux", with its parts –L'eau qui court, Berceuse and Bacarolle. The edition was made by J. Hamelle, Editeur, in Paris 1919, and its score is provided to me by cello player Eduardo Ortiz Lara.

In 1919, maestro Julián Paniagua Martínez founded his "Typographic Workshops of Musical Repertoire", from which many publications of Guatemalan works came from. Although at present do not exist purely musical printing houses in Guatemala, we have a valuable series of music that has appeared alongside with didactic works or works associated to historical studies, which we consider as printed music of great importance.

In our country, some people have always proposed to the publication of music with purely commercial purposes, and even though nowadays the publications are invaluable historical examples of the musical numen of Guatemala, the generating impulse was primarily lucrative. At the same time, there was other people whose only ambition and interest in the field of musical publication was to preserve the indigenous musical heritage of the various regions of the country. An example of this is Jesús Castillo, as well as Sr. Manuel L. Déleon Arriaga who helped us to contact Licda. Ofelia Déleon, owner of some important printing plates that were provided to us for this work and appear in the prints 1 and 3 alongside with the printing of each one. Mr. Manuel L. Déleon Arriaga was born in

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[*] **Translator's note:** Abbreviation of the Guatemalan degree "licenciado(a)". The feminine form of this abbreviation is "licda".

Salcajá in 1873 and has a broad history of participation in important events, such as the campaign against El Salvador in 1890, the western campaign in 1897, and the fight against the revolution led by Colonel Próspero Morales, just to mention some of the events that give us information about some of the regions in which he served as a soldier. He also served as a major in the sector of Estrada Cabrera's residence in this capital city, and then was elected as Legislator, representative of the Department of Sacatepéquez. All of these characteristics describe a person with an awakened personality, and, to our case, he was interested in the music performed in all the regions he visited, taking his interest to the point that he ordered to made the printing plates to print the music that some musicians of military bands from different places transcribed to him at his request.

We only know two printing plates measuring 12.5 x 16 cm, which correspond to the first 30 years of the current century.

From a verbal report by Mr. Ricardo Juárez y Aragón, who served for a long time as Head of Workshops at the National Typograph, we learned of the intention to print music by one of our most illustrious composers, musicologists, and researchers, Maestro José Castañeda, who served as Minister of Education in 1942. This report by Mr. Juárez y Aragón contains a criticism of the corrupt ambition of some public officials at the time. Maestro José Castañeda visited Mr. Juárez y Aragón to tell him about the project of bringing types of musical writing, "eighth notes, quarter notes, half notes, and everything that is musical symbols." According to Mr. Ricardo, they were brought to the Central Customs Office, but since these characters were cast in bronze, it is possible that someone involved in the handling of the boxes thought they were pieces of jewelry, which is why they disappeared, thus depriving musical art of the opportunity to print works in those years.

From a verbal reference by maestro Celso Lara Calacán, chapel master of this city of Guatemala, he remembers that being a student in the Conservatory around 1920, to acquire music in Guatemala, there was a printing house located at 9a. Avenida entre 13 y 14 calle, which was exclusively dedicated to music printing, and it was owned by Mr. Jorge Vásquez Larrazabal; other printing hoses were the one of Mr. Mónico de León and the one of Mr. Julián Paniagua Martínez, previously mentioned, and with important books and music. Then, around 1935-1940, the music store of the Bremmer sisters was opened on 9a. Avenida. They imported music, but one of the most interesting facts, worth to mentioning, was that they were dedicated to selling handwritten music, for which they

hired to famous copyists of the time: Mr. Isidro Reyes, who had a beautiful calligraphy, and Mr. Leopoldo de la Torre, who had acquired a singular renown as a copyist.

It can be said that, thanks to the inclusion of a work for piano written by composer Enrique Solares in the album "60 Piezas para Piano del Repertorio Universal" edited by the famous publisher G. Schirmer of New York, U.S., Guatemala obtained a universal dissemination, and it is a very special case in the history of printed music. Similar cases are the ones of the album "6 Sketches for Piano" by the Guatemalan composer and pianist Manuel Herrarte, edited by the publisher Elkan Vogel, Co. of Philadelphia, printed in 1953, and the album titled "6 Modern Guatemalan Composers" by Enrique Solares, Ricardo Castillo, José Arévalo Guerra, Manuel Herrarte, Jesús Castillo and Salvador Ley, which contain short works for piano; it was also edited by the publisher Elkan Vogel, Co. of Philadelphia and in the same year (1953). It should be added other important works by Manuel Herrarte, printed abroad: his "Tres Danzas para Piano" printed in 19__, and his adagio for piano printed in 19__.

One of the most important efforts made by the General Direction of Culture and Fine Arts, was the printing of the Concert for Piano and Orchestra No. 1 by the Guatemalan composer Jorge Alvaro Sarmientos de León, edition printed in offset process in 1957.

This same entity, by means of the Department of Recollection of Folklore, edited a series of music brochures among which we can find the Baile de la Conquista and the Baile del Rabinal Achí; the musical versions of said brochures were taken from other texts, thus, the music of the latter corresponds to the Volume 43 of the Library of Popular Culture October 20 (Rabinal Achí, Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1953). The series printed by Fine Arts is titled "Música de Guatemala" and corresponds to editions of 1959 and 1960.

There is a modest edition by Enrique Solares made in Rome in a printing of the Via Frattina, from the year 1960 with suite for violin and piano.

With the National Institute of Fines Arts, the concern about editing Guatemalan music came back, which is why it was released the Volume I, titled "Música de Guatemala" which contained three compositions by the composers Felipe de Jesús Ortega with his "Canción de Amor" for mixed choirs and piano, Manuel Juárez Toledo with his "Divertimento" for string orchestra, and Enrique Anleu Díaz with his work

"Methamorphoses" for symphonic orchestra; this volume was printed in the Offset Workshops of the publishing José de Pineda Ibarra with a limited edition of 200 copies that correspond to 1974.

One of the documents of more importance in the history of Guatemalan music, is the beautiful edition of the work "Responso" for symphonic orchestra by the composer Jorge Sarmientos; the edition was made in West Germany during the First Festival of Maracaibo by the publishing "Tonos International" of Darmstadt in 1977.

Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, by means of the Faculty of Humanities, the School of Education, and the General Direction of Fine Arts directed by Olga Wilma Schwartz, published in 1981 the volume "Música de Guatemala", with broad information of historical and bibliographical data, and 407 pages of printed music, one of the more beautiful attempts of an album with some Guatemalan musical works.

The same university publishing published in 1984 the work "Leyendas y Casos de la Tradición Oral de la Ciudad de Guatemala" by the writer Celso A. Lara Figuerora, which contains music written for these legends composed by Enrique Anleu Díaz, 80 pages of printed music, choreographic indications by Julia Vela, and indications for the costumes for the work. It is important to highlight that it was made a limited edition with just the music.

As we have noticed trough the previous data, Guatemala has always had a rich musical production that has been preserved in libraries o through collections that have not reached public knowledge. The fact of the wealth of printed material in Guatemala City is a very important sign that requires the concern of the scholars, in the sense of looking for reprinting most of the material that can be found.

This work is just an attempt of foray in this topic, that is not completely studied yet. Much of what is recorded above is product of some data that are disperse in a countless number of works, many of them are unconnected to music, and others are personal reports whose source I will mention at the end of this article.
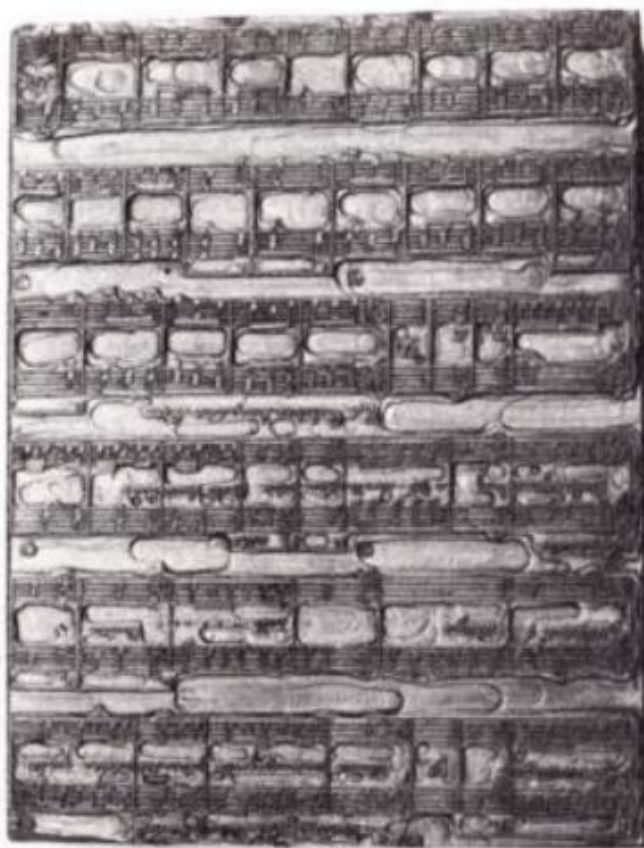
Music printing plates, property of Lic. Ofelia Déleon (Photography by Enrique Anleu Díaz, 1988).
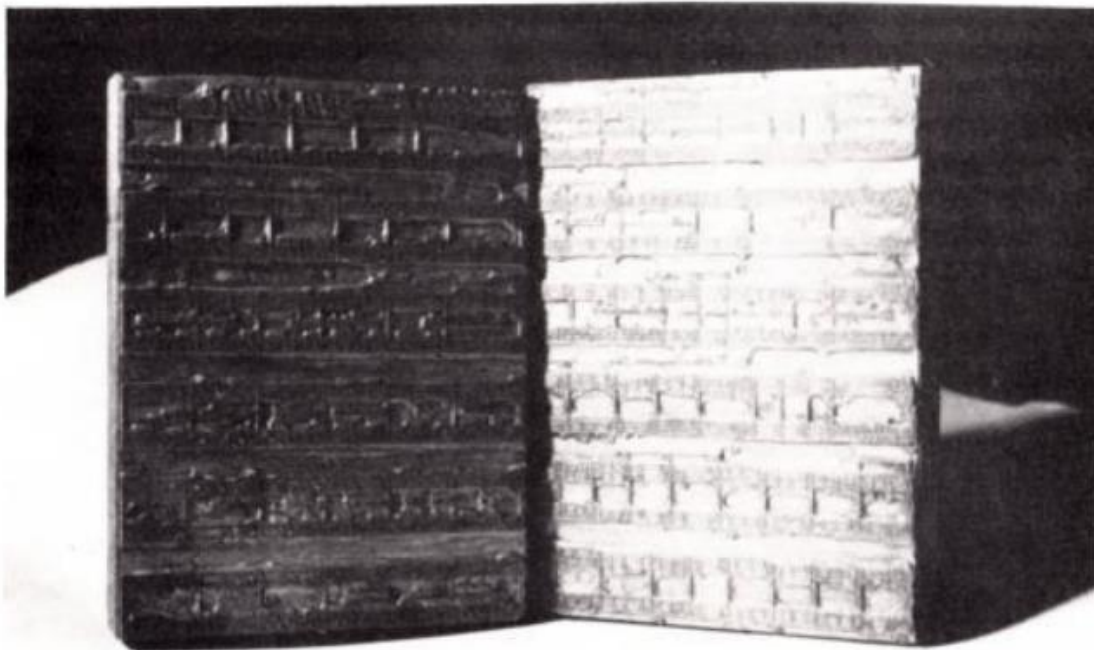
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Printing for the printing plates above. (Photography by Enrique Anleu Díaz, 1988).

Printing plates and printing of the above. (Photography by Enrique Anleu Díaz, 1988).

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SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. Maestro Celso Lara Calacán
2. Licda. Ofelia Déleon
3. Typhographer Ricardo Juárez y Aragón
4. Mezzosoprano Gloria Susana Castañeda de Palacios
5. Museo del Libro Antiguo (Museum of the Ancient Book)
7. Lic. Celso A. Lara Figueroa
8. Lic. José Luis Muñoz Navichoque
9. Maestro Eduardo Ortiz Lara
10. Pianist Celeste de Anleu
11. Photographer Manuel Guerra Caravantes

STATEMENTS

POPULAR LITERATURE OF HUEHUETENANGO, GUATEMALA
OTHER ORAL STATEMENTS OF A SAMPLE[*]

1. THE ORIGIN OF THE PATRON SAINT IN SAN PEDRO JOCOPILAS

(1-T de G)

"A long time ago, many people arrived, many people arrived to the place that is now called San Pedro Jocopilas to stay there. Given that they were many, they created a town where, in addition to their houses, they built a church to worship a Christian image that they wanted to get, but they did not know which one to choose. The town was very beautiful, but had not been baptized with the name it has today nor with any other.

It happened that one day, a man of the town was in a nearby mountain, specifically in a place called Sak'rip'al (this name does not have a translation to Spanish nor English), looking for a big tree to make firewood, which he heeded to light a fire in his cabin and cook his foodstuff. After having walked for almost all the mountain he found the tree he was looking for, from which he thought he would make a lot of firewood.

He started to cut down the tree and when it started to fall and to lean to one side, he saw a display cabinet fall at his feet, which had fallen off from a high branch. The tree fell and the woodcutter, scared, could appreciate that inside the display cabinet was an image that he recognized as St. Peter.

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[*] The legends and stories published in the section statements of the magazine **Tradiciones de Guatemala**, is part of a sample of popular literature of the department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, published by Celso A. Lara Figueroa in the bulletin **La Tradición Popular** No. 69/69, pp. 5-12. For reasons of space in the bulletin, it was not possible to include all the material collected. This statements, therefore, complete the sample. So that the theoretical and technical framework of these oral versions is exposed in said work.
Vid. Celso A. Lara Figueroa, "Popular literature of Huehuetenango, A sample", in **La Tradición Popular**, 1988 (68/69); 2-12.

The man was scared by such marvelous appearance and when he recovered serenity, he tried to raise the display cabinet to take it to the town, but he could not do it because he did not have enough strength. Because of that, he hurried to get to the town where he told the people what had happened. All people listened to him carefully and believed his words since he was a respectable man. Then, some neighbors went to the place where was the display cabinet, carrying candles, incense and burning fireworks. They also brought a marimba, which they played all the way to the mountain.

They raised the display cabinet between many man and they carried it to the town with seriousness; just like the man, all the neighborhood recognized the image of St. Peter and they decided that he would be their patron saint. That same day, they placed the image in the temple that they had already built and they did not do more ceremonies at the moment.

The next day, at dawn all the people went to the church to visit the image of the patron saint, but they were surprised when they did not find the image in its place. They then went to look for it in all town since they assumed that someone had stolen it. As it did not appear, they went to the place where the image had appeared to the man and they found it there.

They carried again to the town and they ordered a mass to be held; St. Peter was pleased with that and stayed in the town. Since then, they recognized St. Peter as their *nahual** and gave his name to the town."

Juan Chumán Calé. San Pedro Jocopilas.

2. THE ORIGIN OF THE PATRON SAINT IN MALACATANCITO.

(2-T de G)

"The town of Malacatancito was founded before, in the village that now is known with the name of San Ramón. Back then, it was nothing more than a small hamlet in which one day appeared an image of the Virgin Saint Anne. People who found her became her devotees and since the hamlet was growing, more people joined to her to worship her and built her a temple, to which they went to worship her and ask for her protection.

But the town had to be moved to other place, where is located today (right now, I do not remember why they had to move to other place), so they carried all their

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* **Translator's note:** also spelled "nagual", it is a personal guardian spirit.

belongings, as well as the image of Saint Anne; but she did not like the change and disappeared several times from the place in which they had placed her and appeared again in the hamlet of San Ramón. Then, the shamans begged to the Virgin to accompany them because they needed her to protect all the people from the town. The Virgin accepted the move and they built a new church for her.

The hamlet of San Ramón was practically abandoned because there were little people living there and, since they did not have an image to worship, they did not go to the church and left it abandoned. Time destroyed it, and now they only thing left is one of its walls, which is in ruins."

Antonio Cruz Siquibaj, Malacatancito.

3. THE ORIGIN OF THE PATRON SAINT IN SAN ANTONIO HUISTA

(3-T de G)

"The town called San Antonio Huista, in the past it was nothing more than a hamlet. Around that time, some old people found an image of St. Anthony in the place called "old cemetery", which is 1 km away from the town. They spread the news and all people from the town headed toward the place to make sure of the fact and to see with their own eyes the appearance of the image.

Since they already know that "saints" existed, they did not want to left St. Anthony abandoned and they carried him to the center of the hamlet, where they built him a church. Since then, St. Anthony was named the patron saint of the community.

Little by little, more people from other places came to live to the hamlet and then, all together founded a town they called San Antonio Huista, in honor to the found patron saint."

Viviano Chij Sáenz, San Antonio Huista.

4. JUAN CENIZO

(4-T de G)

"Juan Cenizo was a pig herder. He had some small pigs, and then, one day when he went to the city to sell his pigs, he found the daughter of the king in the terrace of the

house. Juan Cenizo carried a whistle; he was blowing his whistle waiting for people to buy his pigs when the daughter of the king went out on the terrace:

"Juan Cenizo" she said.

"What?"

"Do you sell that little pigs?"

"Yes" he said. "Do you want one?"

"Yes."

Then, she was up and he was down looking at that terrace. He then saw three moles that the daughter of the king had on one of her legs. He was in the street, and the princess was up, then when he stared up, and then she had tree moles on a certain leg. Juan Cenizo was still a kid, but then he began to grow. All the rich men were in love with the princess. Then a meeting was held in a big hall, they were guessing what moles the daughter of the king had on a certain leg.

Well, the big meeting was being held when Juan Cenizo was walking in the street, so when he saw the scene he approached, but since he was poor they did not let him in.

"Good afternoon" he said to them.

And the king was there:

"What do you want, young man?"

"I heard that the rich men have a meeting, that they have a riddle in between and that is why I approached here."

"Ah, get out of here, you know nothing."

"But I know."

He opposed. And with the intention of guessing, the rich men told Juan Cenizo to come in:

"Well, sit there, sir. How did you know that there was a meeting here?"

"Well, I was walking in the street and I heard that there was a meeting and that there was a riddle, that the daughter of the king has three moles on the certain leg."

"Ah, you'll see, get out of here, get out of there."

They were kicking him out:

"Well, let's see" the king said "if Juan Cenizo beats you, you leave, do not even think about losing to him."

(The king did not know he was going to win). Then:

"Well, stand up Juan Cenizo" they said to him. "In which leg does mi daughter has the moles?"

"On the certain leg."

"It is done!" he said. "Juan Cenizo has beaten you" the king said to them "without knowing how would it be, not knowing how or when. So it is done, Juan Cenizo won."

All the rich men were angry at him, the one you least expected had won. They were not pleased, so the kind said:

"You were not pleased because you though I would not give you another opportunity, so let's do one more thing to see who wins, let's see what happens. Tonight" he said "I am going to leave my daughter in a room, and one of you rich men, the one of the highest category, will stay there, and Juan Cenizo too."

Then Juan Cenizo went and drank a bottle of perfume, and the other man (the rich man) ate a lot of beans. Then, when it was already 3 in the morning, the king arrived, as well as the rest of the people in the group of the meeting, and then the king said:

"I am going to marry my daughter to whom she is cuddled with."

Then the rich man shit himself, he shit himself and he stank of shit. Then, since Juan Cenizo had drunk a bottle of perfume, he was slurring as people do when they are drunk, but well, when they unlocked the door all the people gathered there were not happy with what they saw, who would have thought it!

"Well, gentlemen" the king said "I am going to unlock the door. Look closely at who my daughter is cuddling with."

When they looked inside the room, the princess was hugging Juan Cenizo.

"Well, it is done then" the king said "Juan Cenizo had won, so tomorrow I am going to do the wedding for Juan Cenizo, I am going to take off those old clothes of him and I am to marry him to my daughter, he had won."

And the story ends there."

Agustín Salazar López, San Antonio Huista.

5. THE SHAPE OF THE WORLD

(5-T de G)

"There was very poor man that did not know what to do with his life, and reached his ears that there was a king who was giving position to those who did not know what to do with their lives. But the poor man did not know what the king was thinking. He went desperate, because he did not know what to do with his life. He went to see the king and said to him:

"Lord king, I came here because I heard that when there is a poor man like me that do not know what to do with their life, ya give them a place to calm their life and stop suffering for what has happened to them in life."

The king said to him:

"Yes, son, I will help you to get rid of those hard jobs in which you are suffering, and I will put you in a place in which you can rest."

But the poor man did not know yet what was the condition set by the king.

"Well, son, I want you to tell me something, just to send you to the place in which you will have an easy life."

"Yes, lord king, what do ya want me to tell you?"

"You are going to tell me what is the shape of the world."

The poor man was surprised and said to the king:

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"Lord king, I will try to discover it."

"Well, I will give you three days. If the three days pass and you do not answer my question, I will make you get rid of the hard jobs, I will take your life so that you stop suffering."

The poor man was surprised that his life was going to be taken because he was almost sure that he would not be able to answer the question of the king.

The poor man went in search of a student, to see if he could tell him what was the shape of the world. He approached to a great student and asked him the question:

"I am sorry, son, I have studied a lot, but I have never come to know what the shape of the world is."

The poor man left and arrived to a city. He went in search of a priest and went he found one, he asked him the same:

"My son, I have studied the Bible, but I have not been able to find the shape of the world."

The poor man left the city. Two days had already passed, so he only had one day left. He found an old man in a town and he said to the old man:

"Mister, I want ya to tell me, ya that are already old, maybe ya came to know what is the shape of the world."

"Yes, sonny boy, do you want to know the shape of the world?"

"Yes."

"Sonny boy, I have lived for many years, but I have never been able to know what is the shape of the world."

The poor man left the town. He went to a quiet place, inside of a mountain. There he found a drunk man sprawled in the mud, who could barely stand on his feet. When the poor man was walking and the drunk man saw him from there, where he was sprawled in the mud he shouted at him:

"Where are you going?"

The poor man did not payed attention to him since he was worried because he has only one day left to live. The poor man started running and the drunk man shouted at him:

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"I am asking you, where are you going?"

The drunk man said to him again:

"What sorrows do you carry?"

The poor man answered him:

"Ya do not have to tell me the sorrows I carry."

"Ha!" the drunk man burst out laughing.

"And what sorrows you carry? I am going to tell you."

Then the poor man stood still and said to the drunk man:

"If ya told me the sorrows I carry, I would pay attention to you?"

The drunk man burst out laughing again from where there, where he was sprawled in the mud. He fell in the puddle of mud, he fell to one side, then to the other in the same way. He was all covered in mud. Then he said to the poor man:

"Do you want to know; do you want me to tell you. I will take away the sorrows you carry."

The poor man went back to where the drunk man was:

"And what sorrows do you carry?"

"Shut up already! The sorrow I am carrying is that I have just one day left to live."

"And why is that?"

"Because I went to see the king, I am very poor and I heard that the king helped people to get rid of their sorrows and put them in a place where they can rest and do not have to work. So I went to see the king and he told me that he would help me but first I had to tell him the what shape of the word."

The drunk man burst out laughing and said to the poor man:

"And that is the sorrow you are carrying? Come closer, I am going to tell you the shape of the world."

"Don't you know the shape of the world?"

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The drunk man laughed again.

"That is what I am going to tell you now."

The poor man approached to the drunk man.

"Well, I want you to tell me what is the shape of the world because that is the sentence I have, my life."

"Ah, do not worry. That is the sentence you have then?"

"Yes."

"Well, I am going to tell ya what is the shape of the world."

"That is what I want to know, because that is the sentence of my life."

"Well, do you see the state I'm in here?"

"Yes."

"I am fucked up; I am in shit. Just see how I am. I am here, in shit. And that is the shape of the world, the shape of the world is shit, because the shape of the world is like that, some are up and some are down, some are dying and others are being born, some are loving each other and then are some who are annulling their marriages, and that is the shape of the world."

The poor man went back to where the king was keeping the advice the drunk man had given to him in mind. The poor man did not even remember to pull the drunk man out of the mud, so the drunk man stayed there, inside the mud. The poor man went back and went to see the king.

He was with the sentence in mind, and he was already convinced that he was going to be freed from his sentence.

When he approached to the king:

"Have you returned yet, son?"

"Yes, lord king."

"Well, did you find the shape of the world?"

"Yes, my king, I found it."

"And what is the shape of the world.

"Lord king" the poor man said to the king the same way the drunk man had told him "Lord king, the shape of the world is shit, because some are up and some are down, some are dying and others are being born, others are fighting and so on. That is the shape of the world."

Baldomero Ríos Argueta, Soloma.

6. THE WALK OF ST. JOHN AND ST. PETER (CONTINUATION)[1]

They set off and then, John told Jesus…

"How were you capable of doing that, of charge very little? And how much are you going to give us?"

"Each of you gets 50. 50 for you too."

"What about the remaining 50?"

"We will see that later."

"After having that amount of money at your disposal. The great amount the king would have given us and you took that little. I am not saying that they learn their things for nothing."

They were furious! And they continued walking. Over there was a goat, they found a goat and they kill it, then they put it to roast and well, they opened it and took out all the entrails.

"Set the entrails aside for me, because those are for me, you can eat the rest."

"Well, it is okay, you come back later."

And Jesus left. Oh, surprise! That was the first thing John and Peter did, they ate the entrails. One of then was the one who ate it, and did not say anything to the other. When Jesus arrived he said:

"Have you guys already eaten the goat?"

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[1] For reasons of space, this story and the next one should have been published in the bulletin **La Tradición Popular** No. 69/69, pp. 5-12. To complete the sample of popular literature of Huehuetenenango, the incomplete stories of the bulletin No. 69/69 are reproduced and completed here.

"Yes."

"Have you guys set aside the entrails for me?"

"That goat did not have any entrails" Peter said.

"How could the goat not have any entrails?"

"He did not have any, brother, that goat did not have any entrails."

"Ah, when has there ever been a goat without entrails?"

"Look, brother, that goat did not have entrails."

"I cannot believe it did not have any entrails."

"Well, it did not have any. I am sure it did not have any, it was empty inside."

"Oh, well."

And Jesus had to eat the rest. They finished eating and left. At that point, Jesus told them:

"Well, guys, we are going to separate here because I have to go to do something else and maybe you have to find another path, but I am going to separate from you, maybe we can get together later."

"That is good then, and what about the 50 quetzals[*]? Aren't you going to going to share it with us?"

"Those are going to be for the one who ate the entrails of the goat."

"I ate it, man" Peter said.

"No, I was the one who ate it" John said.

"No, man, it was me who ate the entrails of the goat."

And they kept arguing about the entrails of the goat, that one ate it and the other too. At the end, Jesus told them:

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[*] **Translator's note:** Guatemalan currency.

"Well, take half each, twenty-five for each one of you."

With that, they were satisfied and they separated. John and Peter went on one way. John and Peter arrived to a city where there was a king who was in mourning because the princess had died.

"Aha!" he said to the other "Look, man, a princess died here too, look at those big signs. What do ya say, do you dare to do the same thing that guy did before? It was easy, man, he just put her in the embers and pulled out the ashes and then the princess appeared there."

"Ah, it must be hard."

"No, it is easy."

"Let's do it then, if you dare."

So they arrived where they saw it was a big sign, it was on the palace door and it said: "The hand of the princes and half of the kingdom to whoever revives her." So they went to where the king was and they said to him:

"Sir, we have learned from the signs that the princess has died and that you are giving her hand in marriage as well as the half of your kingdom."

"Yes, that is true, and it also says below that whoever does not revive her will receive a death sentence and will be hanged."

And then:

"Lord king, we are going to revive her, do you dare?"

"If you dare, then yes!"

"It was easy to put her in the fire and pull her out."

"Well, if you dare, let's do it then" he said to him.

"And what do you need to revive the princess?" the king asked.

"We need forty cartloads of firewood" they said.

So the king ordered that forty cartloads of firewood were collected for them.

"Man, I am trembling because what if it does not work? They are going to kill us."

"Oh, but it is easy man, just to light a fire and look at the flares, then we just take the princess and throw her in it. You throw her first and then I pull out the ashes."

"No, if I am going to throw her them I am going to pull out the ashes too. If it does not work, then you try it."

So they set fire to the wood and then:

"Well, lord king, where is the princess?"

"She is lying inside."

And John went inside and took her in his arms, then he grabbed her and threw her in the fire, and they waited for the fire to finish the wood. After a while, there was nothing, not even remains of the princess, everything was ashes and ember.

"Well," he said, "now we are going to revive the princess, lord king" he said to the king.

And in the moment he was going to get in, he felt how hot it was.

"Man, this is too hot. Peter, you get it, because we already pledge it."

And then Peter tried to get in, but when he felt how hot it was he chickened out because he burned, ha!

"Let's try putting bricks" he said "maybe we can get there putting boards."

Ha! When they put boards these burned, then when they put bricks these overheated. Long story short, they could not get to the center of the fire.

"Well, are you going to revive her or not?"

"Oh, lord king, we cannot revive her because we cannot get it and reach the center of the fire. We are going to wait a little bit more."

But how long was it going to take for everything to cool down? They waited, and waited, and waited. When the king saw that they cannot get in, he said:

"Arrest them and take them to the gallows."

So they arrested them, and they already had them with their hands up and their feet tied. They were going to kill them.

"Well" the king told them   "now it is time to put a rope around their necks and give them the final pull."

Then, Jesus arrived and found them there, about to being hanged.

"Well, what happened to you guys?"

"Shut up, because of all of that nonsense you did there they are going to hang us because we wanted to do what you did and did not work, we could not get into the fire. Help us, brother, maybe you can do it."

"Lord king" Jesus told him "if I can revive the princess, will you free them and keep your word that is offered in that sign?"

"I will, immediately."

"Then I am going to revive her now."

And Jesus got in, reached the center of the fire, blew on them and the princess appeared. Oh, and how happy they were.

"Well, lord king, there is your princess."

"This time we surely are going to make money; we are going to earn a lot of money with what you did."

"Well, lord king, I have fulfilled the pledge, I have revived her."

"Well" the king said to him, "I am going to keep my word too."

"It is enough with that you give us only one hundred and fifty" Jesus said.

"Only one hundred and fifty?"

The others were scratching their heads. The king payed them the one hundred and fifty and they left.

"Well, you know your nonsense for nothing, how could it be that you charged only one hundred and fifty again? We wanted a good pay man, if you did not have the courage to charge, we would have charged for you. If we could do what you do, we would be rich already, not like you, charging only one hundred and fifty! Now you are going to give fifty to each one of us again."

"Yes, well, what else are we going to do?"

"What a shame."

And they continued walking and arguing.

"Well" he said to them, "when I went out, I had a permission for only eight days and it is time for me to go back."

"My eight days of permission are over too."

"And where do you live, in what village?"

"I live in a city, far away from here."

"Me too, I think that the three of us are going to separate here."

Well, they began to say goodbye to each other and they reached a crossroad; they shook hands and each one of them went in a different way until they arrived there, to heaven again, transformed into John and Peter. When they arrived, Jesus asked them:

"Well, Saint John, how did it go in earth?"

"Ah, not so good. Down there in earth there are a lot of fool people because there are some of them that learn to do good things there in earth but they do not take advantage of it."

"What about you, Peter?"

"It is the same for me. I realized many things, but they do not know how to do things right, that is why I came back here, because justice is righteous here and everything goes well."

"Well, go to your spots then, to look after what has been assigned to you, and the story ends here."

Esteban Cifuentes, Santa Eulalia.

7. ANIMALS AND DEVILS

There were two children who were orphans, the boy and the girl.

The girl looked after a turkey and the boy looked after a rooster, and there came a day when the moon was full. Then boy said to the girl:

"Little sister, the moon is so beautiful, right? Let's practice a song to sing to the moon."

He has his guitar, which he was playing… They practiced the song to sing to the moon. Then, they walked out. After a short time of walking they found an old lady, and she said to them:

"Children where are you going?"

"We are going to sing to the moon."

"Oh, children, how beautiful that song you are going to sing to the moon must be."

"It is, and we have practiced it a lot to sing it to the moon."

"Children, I want you to sing the song; I want to listen to the song. "

Then the boy said to the girl:

"Look, poor little old lady, she wants to listen to the song we are going to sing to the moon. Let's sing it so that she can listen to the song we are going to sing to the moon."

Then the boy started to play his guitar, and the girl joined to answer the second part of the song. Then the boy sang:

— *Luna lunera, cascabelera* [2]
cuatro toretes
par'una ternera.

The old lady was pleased to hear that song:

"Oh, what a beautiful song you are going to sing to the moon! Sing it again to listen to that beautiful song you are going to sing to the moon."

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[2] Mr. Mateo López sings without accompaniment. He says that this song "belongs to this story" that he learned it from a "head of the village" more than thirty years ago and whose name he had forgotten.

*Translator's note:** Song for the moon
Transcription by Enrique Anleu Diaz.